Lives of Eminent Philosophers

Diogenes Laertius

Greek original

ΒΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΙ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἔνιοί φασιν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι. γεγενῆσθαι γὰρ παρὰ μὲν Πέρσαις Μάγους, παρὰ δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἢ Ἀσσυρίοις Χαλδαίους, καὶ Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς, παρά τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Γαλάταις τοὺς καλουμένους Δρυΐδας καὶ Σεμνοθέους, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς. Φοίνικά τε γενέσθαι Μῶχον, καὶ Θρᾷκα Ζάμολξιν, καὶ Λίβυν Ἄτλαντα.

Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ Νείλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἥφαιστον, ὃν ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προεστῶτας ἱερέας εἶναι καὶ προφήτας.

ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακόσια ἑξήκοντα τρία· ἐν οἷς ἡλίου μὲν ἐκλείψεις γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ὀκτακοσίας τριάκοντα δύο.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.

Λανθάνουσι δ’ αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ’ ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες. ἰδοὺ γοῦν παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις γέγονε Μουσαῖος, παρὰ δὲ Θηβαίοις Λίνος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασι, ποιῆσαι δὲ Θεογονίαν καὶ Σφαῖραν πρῶτον· φάναι τε ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀναλύεσθαι. τοῦτον τελευτῆσαι Φαληροῖ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφθαι τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·
Εὐμόλπου φίλον υἱὸν ἔχει τὸ Φαληρικὸν οὖδας,

Μουσαῖον, φθιμένου σῶμ’, ὑπὸ τῷδε τάφῳ.
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μουσαίου καὶ Εὐμολπίδαι καλοῦνται παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις.

Τὸν δὲ Λίνον παῖδα εἶναι Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μούσης Οὐρανίας· ποιῆσαι δὲ κοσμογονίαν, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν, καὶ ζῴων καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις. τούτῳ ἀρχὴ τῶν ποιημάτων ἥδε·
ἦν ποτέ τοι χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντ’ ἐπεφύκει.
ὅθεν λαβὼν Ἀναξαγόρας πάντα ἔφη χρήματα γεγονέναι ὁμοῦ, νοῦν δὲ ἐλθόντα αὐτὰ διακοσμῆσαι. τὸν δὲ Λίνον τελευτῆσαι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοξευθέντα ὑπ’ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγράφθαι·
ἥδε Λίνον Θηβαῖον ἐδέξατο γαῖα θανόντα,

Μούσης Οὐρανίης υἱὸν ἐϋστεφάνου.
καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἀφ’ Ἑλλήνων ἦρξε φιλοσοφία, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὴν βάρβαρον ἀπέστραπται προσηγορίαν.

Οἱ δὲ τὴν εὕρεσιν διδόντες ἐκείνοις παράγουσι καὶ Ὀρφέα τὸν Θρᾷκα, λέγοντες φιλόσοφον γεγονέναι καὶ εἶναι ἀρχαιότατον. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ τὸν περὶ θεῶν ἐξαγορεύσαντα τοιαῦτα χρὴ

φιλόσοφον καλεῖν οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ τίνα δεῖ προσαγορεύειν τὸν πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πάθος ἀφειδοῦντα τοῖς θεοῖς προστρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ σπανίως ὑπό τινων ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρουργούμενα τῷ τῆς φωνῆς ὀργάνῳ. τοῦτον δὲ ὁ μὲν μῦθος ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἀπολέσθαι φησί· τὸ δ’ ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπίγραμμα, κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως·
Θρήϊκα χρυσολύρην τῇδ’ Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν,

ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει.

Οἱ δὲ φάσκοντες ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἄρξαι φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον παρ’ ἑκάστοις αὐτῆς ἐκτίθενται· καί φασι τοὺς μὲν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ Δρυΐδας αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν. τοὺς γοῦν Γυμνοσοφιστὰς καὶ θανάτου καταφρονεῖν φησι Κλείταρχος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ· τοὺς δὲ Χαλδαίους περὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πρόρρησιν ἀσχολεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Μάγους περί τε θεραπείας θεῶν διατρίβειν καὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχάς, ὡς αὐτοὺς μόνους ἀκουομένους. ἀποφαίνεσθαί τε περί τε οὐσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως, οὓς καὶ πῦρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ· τῶν δὲ ξοάνων καταγινώσκειν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν λεγόντων ἄρρενας εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ θηλείας.

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

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

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

Τὴν δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι τοιαύτην περί τε θεῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης. φάσκειν τε ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶναι τὴν ὕλην, εἶτα τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς διακριθῆναι, καὶ ζῷα παντοῖα ἀποτελεσθῆναι. θεοὺς δ’ εἶναι ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν, τὴν δ’ Ἶσιν καλουμένην· αἰνίττεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς διά τε κανθάρου καὶ δράκοντος καὶ ἱέρακος καὶ ἄλλων, ὥς φησι Μανέθως ἐν τῇ τῶν Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῇ καὶ Ἑκαταῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φιλοσοφίας. κατασκευάζειν δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ τεμένη τῷ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μορφήν.

τὸν κόσμον γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν καὶ σφαιροειδῆ· τοὺς ἀστέρας πῦρ εἶναι, καὶ τῇ τούτων κράσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς γίνεσθαι· σελήνην ἐκλείπειν εἰς τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμπίπτουσαν· τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἐπιδιαμένειν καὶ μετεμβαίνειν· ὑετοὺς κατὰ ἀέρος τροπὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· τά τε ἄλλα

φυσιολογεῖν, ὡς Ἑκαταῖός τε καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ἱστοροῦσιν. ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, οὓς εἰς Ἑρμῆν ἀνήνεγκαν· καὶ τὰ εὔχρηστα τῶν ζῴων θεοὺς ἐδόξασαν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ γεωμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀστρολογίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν ἀνεῦρον. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως ὧδε ἔχει.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε Πυθαγόρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐν Σικυῶνι διαλεγόμενος Λέοντι τῷ Σικυωνίων τυράννῳ ἢ Φλιασίων, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῇ Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου· μηδένα γὰρ εἶναι σοφὸν [ἄνθρωπον] ἀλλ’ ἢ θεόν. θᾶττον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο σοφία, καὶ σοφὸς ὁ ταύτην ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ὃς εἴη ἂν κατ’ ἀκρότητα ψυχῆς ἀπηκριβωμένος, φιλόσοφος δὲ ὁ σοφίαν ἀσπαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ σοφοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ σοφισταί, καθὰ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ.

Σοφοὶ δὲ ἐνομίζοντο οἵδε· Θαλῆς, Σόλων, Περίανδρος, Κλεόβουλος, Χείλων, Βίας, Πιττακός. τούτοις προσαριθμοῦσιν Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην, Μύσωνα τὸν Χηνέα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον, Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον. καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφοί.

Φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγόνασιν ἀρχαί, ἥ τε ἀπὸ Ἀναξιμάνδρου καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου· τοῦ μὲν Θαλοῦ διακηκοότος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης καθηγήσατο. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μὲν Ἰωνική, ὅτι Θαλῆς Ἴων ὤν, Μιλήσιος γάρ, καθηγήσατο Ἀναξιμάνδρου· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν.

καταλήγει δὲ ἡ μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Θεόφραστον [ἡ Ἰωνική]· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ εἰς Ἐπίκουρον. Θαλοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξιμένης, οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγών· οὗ οἵ τε ἄλλοι Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημείαν συστησάμενος· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντωρ καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἀρκεσίλαος ὁ τὴν μέσην Ἀκαδημείαν εἰσηγησάμενος· οὗ Λακύδης ὁ τὴν νέαν Ἀκαδημείαν φιλοσοφήσας· οὗ Καρνεάδης, οὗ Κλειτόμαχος. καὶ ὧδε μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον.

Εἰς δὲ Χρύσιππον οὕτω καταλήγει· Σωκράτους Ἀντισθένης, οὗ Διογένης ὁ κύων, οὗ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, οὗ Κλεάνθης, οὗ Χρύσιππος. εἰς δὲ Θεόφραστον οὕτως· Πλάτωνος Ἀριστοτέλης, οὗ Θεόφραστος. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ τοῦτον καταλήγει τὸν τρόπον.

Ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ οὕτω· Φερεκύδους Πυθαγόρας, οὗ Τηλαύγης ὁ υἱός, οὗ Ξενοφάνης, οὗ Παρμενίδης, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ πολλοὶ μέν, ἐπ’ ὀνόματος δὲ Ναυσιφάνης [καὶ Ναυκύδης], ὧν Ἐπίκουρος.

Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν γεγόνασι δογματικοί, οἱ δ’ ἐφεκτικοί· δογματικοὶ μὲν ὅσοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποφαίνονται ὡς καταληπτῶν· ἐφεκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ἐπέχουσι περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀκαταλήπτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον ὑπομνήματα, οἱ δ’ ὅλως οὐ συνέγραψαν, ὥσπερ κατά τινας Σωκράτης, Στίλπων, Φίλιππος, Μενέδημος, Πύρρων, Θεόδωρος, Καρνεάδης, Βρύσων· κατά τινας Πυθαγόρας, Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος, πλὴν ἐπιστολῶν ὀλίγων· οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ ἓν σύγγραμμα· Μέλισσος, Παρμενίδης, Ἀναξαγόρας· πολλὰ δὲ Ζήνων, πλείω Ξενοφάνης, πλείω Δημόκριτος, πλείω Ἀριστοτέλης, πλείω Ἐπίκουρος, πλείω Χρύσιππος.

Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν ἀπο πόλεων προσνγορεύθησαν, ὡς οἱ Ἠλιακοὶ καὶ Μεγαρικοὶ καὶ Ἐρετρικοὶ καὶ Κυρηναϊκοί· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τόπων, ὡς οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ καὶ Στωϊκοί. καὶ ἀπὸ συμπτωμάτων δέ, ὡς οἱ Περιπατητικοί, καὶ ἀπὸ σκωμμάτων, ὡς οἱ Κυνικοί· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ διαθέσεων, ὡς οἱ Εὐδαιμονικοί· τινὲς ἀπὸ οἰήσεως, ὡς οἱ Φιλαλήθεις καὶ Ἐλεγκτικοὶ καὶ Ἀναλογητικοί· ἔνιοι δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων, ὡς οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ φύσιν πραγματείας φυσικοί· οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη σχολῆς ἠθικοί·

διαλεκτικοὶ δὲ ὅσοι περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τερθρείαν καταγίνονται.

Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, φυσικόν, ἠθικόν, διαλεκτικόν· φυσικὸν μὲν τὸ περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἠθικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ βίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· διαλεκτικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς λόγους πρεσβεῦον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀρχελάου τὸ φυσικὸν ἦν εἶδος· ἀπὸ δὲ Σωκράτους, ὡς προείρηται, τὸ ἠθικόν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου τὸ διαλεκτικόν. τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ γεγόνασιν αἱρέσεις δέκα, Ἀκαδημαϊκή, Κυρηναϊκή, Ἡλιακή, Μεγαρική, Κυνική, Ἐρετρική, Διαλεκτική, Περιπατητική, Στωϊκή, Ἐπικούρειος.

Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀρχαίας προέστη Πλάτων, τῆς μέσης Ἀρκεσίλαος, τῆς νέας Λακύδης· Κυρηναϊκῆς Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Ἡλιακῆς Φαίδων ὁ Ἠλεῖος, Μεγαρικῆς Εὐκλείδης Μεγαρεύς, Κυνικῆς Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος, Ἐρετρικῆς Μενέδημος Ἐρετριεύς, Διαλεκτικῆς Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόνιος, Περιπατητικῆς Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Στωϊκῆς Ζήνων Κιτιεύς· ἡ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κέκληται Ἐπικούρου.

Ἱππόβοτος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐννέα φησὶν αἱρέσεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς εἶναι· πρώτην Μεγαρικήν, δευτέραν Ἐρετρικήν, τρίτην Κυρηναϊκήν, τετάρτην Ἐπικούρειον, πέμπτην Ἀννικέρειον, ἕκτην Θεοδώρειον, ἑβδόμην Ζηνώνειον τὴν καὶ Στωϊκήν, ὀγδόην Ἀκαδημαϊκὴν τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐνάτην Περιπατητικήν·

οὔτε δὲ Κυνικήν, οὔτε Ἡλιακήν, οὔτε Διαλεκτικήν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πυρρώνειον οὐδ’ οἱ πλείους προσποιοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἀσάφειαν· ἔνιοι δὲ κατά τι μὲν αἵρεσιν εἶναί φασιν αὐτήν, κατά τι δὲ οὔ. δοκεῖ δὲ αἵρεσις εἶναι. αἵρεσιν μὲν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν λόγῳ τινὶ κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀκολουθοῦσαν ἢ δοκοῦσαν ἀκολουθεῖν· καθ’ ὃ εὐλόγως ἂν αἵρεσιν τὴν Σκεπτικὴν καλοῖμεν. εἰ δὲ αἵρεσιν νοοῖμεν πρόσκλισιν δόγμασιν ἀκολουθίαν ἔχουσιν, οὐκέτ’ ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο αἵρεσις· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει δόγματα. αἵδε μὲν ἀρχαὶ καὶ διαδοχαὶ καὶ τοσαῦτα μέρη καὶ τόσαι φιλοσοφίας αἱρέσεις.

Ἔτι δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐκλεκτική τις αἵρεσις εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἐκλεξαμένου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ἐξ ἑκάστης τῶν αἱρέσεων. ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτῷ, καθά φησιν ἐν τῇ Στοιχειώσει, κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι· τὸ μὲν ὡς ὑφ’ οὗ γίνεται ἡ κρίσις, τουτέστι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν· τὸ δὲ ὡς δι’ οὗ, οἷον τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην φαντασίαν. ἀρχάς τε τῶν ὅλων τήν τε ὕλην καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν, ποιότητά τε καὶ τόπον· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ καὶ ὑφ’ οὗ καὶ ποίῳ καὶ ἐν ᾧ. τέλος δὲ εἶναι ἐφ’ ὃ πάντα ἀναφέρεται, ζωὴν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τελείαν, οὐκ ἄνευ τῶν τοῦ σώματος κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός.

Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτόν
γε περὶ Θαλοῦ.

Κεφ. α′. ΘΑΛΗΣ

Ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Δοῦρις καὶ Δημόκριτός φασι, πατρὸς μὲν Ἐξαμύου, μητρὸς δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης, ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν, οἵ εἰσι Φοίνικες, εὐγενέστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀγήνορος. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησί· καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ’ ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἀναγραφῇ. ἐπολιτογραφήθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείλεῳ ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης· ὡς δ’ οἱ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενὴς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας. καὶ κατά τινας μὲν σύγγραμμα κατέλιπεν οὐδέν· ἡ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένη Ναυτικὴ ἀστρολογία Φώκου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ Σαμίου. Καλλίμαχος δ’ αὐτὸν οἶδεν εὑρετὴν τῆς ἄρκτου τῆς μικρᾶς, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

καὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι

τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ᾗ πλέουσι Φοίνικες.
κατά τινας δὲ μόνα δύο συνέγραψε, Περὶ τροπῆς καὶ Ἰσημερίας, τὰ ἄλλ’ ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι δοκιμάσας. δοκεῖ δὲ κατά τινας πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὔδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει. μαρτυρεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.

Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασιν ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχάς· ὧν ἐστι Χοιρίλος ὁ ποιητής. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῆς ἐπὶ τροπὴν πάροδον εὗρε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθοσ τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφήνατο κατά τινας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑστάτην ἡμέραν τοῦ μηνὸς τριακάδα εἶπε. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διελέχθη, ὥς τινες.

Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Ἱππίας φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀψύχοις μεταδιδόναι ψυχῆς, τεκμαιρόμενον ἐκ τῆς λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος καὶ τοῦ ἠλέκτρου.παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετρεῖν μαθόντα φησὶ Παμφίλη πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλου τὸ τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον, καὶ θῦσαι βοῦν.

οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὧν ἐστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός. οὗτος προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἅ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις Εὔφορβον εὑρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα, οἷον σκαληνὰ καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ ὅσα γραμμικῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι. Κροίσου γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐκώλυσεν· ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ, μονήρη αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδιαστήν.

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μεῖναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ, διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, [νὴ Δία], ἔλεγεν, οὐδέπω καιρός. εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι καιρός. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομνημάτων, ὅτι βουλόμενος δεῖξαι ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πλουτεῖν, φορᾶς μελλούσης ἐλαιῶν ἔσεσθαι, προνοήσας ἐμισθώσατο τὰ ἐλαιουργεῖα καὶ πάμπλειστα συνεῖλε χρήματα.

Ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἔμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. τάς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ εἰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν.

Οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο, πλὴν ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιέτριψεν. ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος καὶ ἐκμετρῆσαί φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς, παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῖν ἰσομεγέθης ἐστίν. συνεβίω δὲ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ, καθά φησι Μινύης.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα φανερὰ τὸν εὑρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλιέων καὶ διαπεμφθέντα τοῖς σοφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Μιλησίων.

φασὶ γὰρ Ἰωνικούς τινας νεανίσκους βόλον ἀγοράσαι παρὰ Μιλησίων ἁλιέων. ἀνασπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀμφισβήτησις ἦν, ἕως οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν οὕτως· ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;

τίς σοφίῃ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτου τρίποδ’ αὐδῶ. διδοῦσιν οὖν Θαλῇ· ὁ δὲ ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ ἕως Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ ἔφη σοφίᾳ πρῶτον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Δελφούς. ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἄλλως ἱστορεῖ, παρὰ Μαιανδρίου λαβὼν τοῦ Μιλησίου. Βαθυκλέα γάρ τινα Ἀρκάδα φιάλην καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπισκῆψαι δοῦναι τῶν σοφῶν ὀνηΐστῳ. ἐδόθη δὴ Θαλῇ καὶ κατὰ περίοδον πάλιν Θαλῇ·

ὁ δὲ τῷΔ ιδυμεῖ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω κατὰ τὸν Καλλίμαχον·
Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλεω δήμου

δίδωσι, τοῦτο δὶς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖον.
τὸ δὲ πεζὸν οὕτως ἔχει· Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἕλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δὶς λαβών. ὁ δὲ περιενεγκὼν τὴν φιάλην τοῦ Βαθυκλέους παῖς Θυρίων ἐκαλεῖτο, καθά φησιν Ἔλευσις ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Ἀλέξων ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν ἐνάτῳ Μυθικῶν.

Εὔδοξος δ’ ὁ Κνίδιος καὶ Εὐάνθης ὁ Μιλήσιός φασι τῶν Κροίσου τινὰ φίλων λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ποτήριον χρυσοῦν, ὅπως δῷ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὸν δὲ δοῦναι Θαλῇ.

Καὶ περιελθεῖν εἰς Χίλωνα, ὃν πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ Πυθίου τίς αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος· καὶ τὸν ἀνελεῖν Μύσωνα, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. (τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὔδοξον ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου τιθέασι, Πλάτων δ’ ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου.) περὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τάδε ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος·
Οἰταῖόν τινα φημὶ Μύσων’ ἐνὶ Χηνὶ γενέσθαι

σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσιν.
ὁ δ’ ἐρωτήσας ἦν Ἀνάχαρσις. Δαΐμαχος δ’ ὁ Πλατωνικὸς καὶ Κλέαρχος φιάλην ἀποσταλῆναι ὑπὸ Κροίσου Πιττακῷ καὶ οὕτω περιενεχθῆναι.

Ἄνδρων δ’ ἐν τῷ Τρίποδι Ἀργείους ἆθλον ἀρετῆς τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τρίποδα θεῖναι· κριθῆναι δὲ Ἀριστόδημον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃν παραχωρῆσαι Χίλωνι.

μέμνηται τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου καὶ Ἀλκαῖος οὕτως·
ὡς γὰρ δή ποτ’ Ἀριστόδαμόν φασ’ οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρτᾳ λόγον

εἰπεῖν· χρήματ’ ἀνήρ, πενιχρὸς δ’ οὐδεὶς πέλετ’ ἐσλός.
ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὑπὸ Περιάνδρου Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ πλοῖον ἔμφορτον ἀποσταλῆναι· τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κῴαν θάλασσαν ναυαγήσαντος, ὕστερον εὑρεθῆναι πρός τινων ἁλιέων τὸν τρίποδα. Φανόδικος δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων θάλασσαν εὑρεθῆναι καὶ ἀνενεχθέντα εἰς ἄστυ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας Βίαντι πεμφθῆναι·

διὰ τί δέ, ἐν τῷ περὶ Βίαντος λέξομεν.

Ἄλλοι φασὶν ἡφαιστότευκτον εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ δοθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Πέλοπι γαμοῦντι· αὖθίς τε εἰς Μενέλαον ἐλθεῖν καὶ σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ ἁρπασθέντα ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ῥιφῆναι εἰς τὴν Κῴαν θάλασσαν πρὸς τῆς Λακαίνης, εἰπούσης ὅτι περιμάχητος ἔσται. χρόνῳ δὲ Λεβεδίων τινῶν αὐτόθι γρῖφον ὠνησαμένων καταληφθῆναι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα, μαχομένων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἁλιέας γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοδον ἕως τῆς Κῶ· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἧνυτον, τοῖς Μιλησίοις μητροπόλει οὔσῃ μηνύουσιν. οἱ δ’ ἐπειδὴ διαπρεσβευόμενοι ἠλογοῦντο, πρὸς τοὺς Κῴους πολεμοῦσι. καὶ πολλῶν ἑκατέρωθεν πιπτόντων ἐκπίπτει χρησμὸς δοῦναι τῷ σοφωτάτῳ· καὶ ἀμφότεροι συνῆνεσαν Θαλῇ. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν περίοδον τῷ Διδυμεῖ τίθησιν Ἀπόλλωνι.

Κῴοις μὲν οὖν τοῦτον ἐχρήσθη τὸν τρόπον·
οὐ πρότερον λήξει νεῖκος Μερόπων καὶ Ἰώνων,

πρὶν τρίποδα χρύσειον, ὃν Ἥφαιστος βάλε πόντῳ,

ἐκ πόλιος πέμψητε καὶ ἐς δόμον ἀνδρὸς ἵκηται,

ὃς σοφὸς ᾖ τὰ ἐόντα τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα.
Μιλησίοις δέ·
ἔκγονε Μιλήτου, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾷς;
καὶ ὡς προείρηται. καὶ τόδε μὲν οὕτως.

Ἕρμιππος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Βίοις εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπό τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φασί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ Τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

λέγεται δ’ ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ γραὸς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἵνα τὰ ἄστρα κατανοήσῃ, εἰς βόθρον ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνοιμώξαντι φάναι τὴν γραῦν· σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴει γνώσεσθαι; οἶδε δ’ αὐτὸν ἀστρονομούμενον καὶ Τίμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἐπαινεῖ αὐτὸν λέγων·
οἶόν θ’ ἑπτὰ Θάλητα σοφῶν σοφὸν ἀστρονόμημα.

Τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος εἰς ἔπη τείνειν διακόσια. ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος τόδε·

τόνδε Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἰὰς θρέψασ’ ἀνέδειξεν

ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον σοφίᾳ.

Τῶν τε ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ τάδε εἶναι·
οὔ τι τὰ πολλὰ ἔπη φρονίμην ἀπεφήνατο δόξαν·

ἕν τι μάτευε σοφόν,

ἕν τι κεδνὸν αἱροῦ·

δήσεις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν κωτίλων γλώσσας ἀπεραντολόγους.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε·
πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγένητον γάρ.

κάλλιστον κόσμος· ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ.

μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ.

τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.

ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων.

σοφώτατον χρόνος· ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα.
οὐδὲν ἔφη τὸν θάνατον διαφέρειν τοῦ ζῆν. σὺ οὖν, ἔφη τις, διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις; ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί πρότερον γεγόνοι, νὺξ ἢ ἡμέρα, ἡ νύξ, ἔφη, μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον. ἠρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθοι θεοὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀδικῶν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ διανοούμενος, ἔφη. πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν ἐρόμενον εἰ ὀμόσειε μὴ μεμοιχευκέναι, οὐ χεῖρον, ἔφη, μοιχείας ἐπιορκία. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι· τί δὲ εὔκολον, τὸ ἄλλῳ ὑποθέσθαι· τί ἥδιστον, τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνειν· τί τὸ θεῖον, τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τελευτήν. τί δὲ καινὸν εἴη τεθεαμένος ἔφη· γέροντα τύραννον. πῶς ἄν τις ἀτυχίαν ῥᾷστα φέροι, εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χεῖρον πράσσοντας βλέποι· πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα βιώσαιμεν, ἐὰν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν·

τίς εὐδαίμων, ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὔπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὐπαίδευτος. φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνῆσθαί φησι· μὴ τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν εἶναι καλόν. μὴ πλούτει, φησί, κακῶς, μηδὲ διαβαλλέτω σε λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας. οὓς ἂν ἐράνους εἰσενέγκῃς, φησί, τοῖς γονεῦσιν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων. τὸν Νεῖλον εἶπε πληθύειν ἀνακοπτομένων τῶν ῥευμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐναντίων ὄντων.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς πέμπτης [ἐνάτης ?] Ὀλυμπιάδος.

ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, ἤ, ὡς Σωσικράτης φησίν, ἐνενήκοντα· τελευτῆσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονότα κατὰ Κροῖσον, ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ὑποσχέσθαι ἄνευ γεφύρας περᾶσαι, τὸ ῥεῖθρον παρατρέψαντα.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Θαλαῖ, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις, πέντε·

ῥήτωρ Καλλατιανός, κακόζηλος·

ζωγράφος Σικυώνιος, μεγαλοφυής·

τρίτος ἀρχαῖος πάνυ, κατὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Λυκοῦργον·

τέταρτος οὗ μέμνηται Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ Περὶ ζωγραφίας·

πέμπτος νεώτερος, ἄδοξος, οὗ μνημονεύει Διονύσιος ἐν Κριτικοῖς.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν σοφὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος γυμνικὸν ὑπό τε καύματος καὶ δίψους καὶ ἀσθενείας, ἤδη γηραιός. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μνήματι·
ἦ ὀλίγον τόδε σᾶμα — τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανόμακες —

τῶ πολυφροντίστω τοῦτο Θάλητος ὅρη.
ἔστι καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐπιγραμμάτων ἢ Παμμέτρῳ τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·
γυμνικὸν αὖ ποτ’ ἀγῶνα θεώμενον, ἠέλιε Ζεῦ,

τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Θαλῆν ἥρπασας ἐκ σταδίου.

αἰνέω ὅττι μιν ἐγγὺς ἀπήγαγες· ἦ γὰρ ὁ πρέσβυς

οὐκέθ’ ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀστέρας ἠδύνατο.

Τούτου ἐστὶν τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόης εἶναί φησιν, ἐξιδιοποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Χίλωνα.

Περὶ δὴ τῶν ἑπτά—ἄξιον γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθολικῶς κἀκείνων ἐπιμνησθῆναι—λόγοι φέρονται τοιοῦτοι. Δάμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος, γεγραφὼς Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, πᾶσιν ἐγκαλεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἑπτά. Ἀναξιμένης δέ φησι πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι ποιητικῇ· ὁ δὲ Δικαίαρχος οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε φιλοσόφους φησὶν αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, συνετοὺς δέ τινας καὶ νομοθετικούς. Ἀρχέτιμος δὲ ὁ Συρακούσιος ὁμιλίαν αὐτῶν ἀναγέγραφε παρὰ Κυψέλῳ, ᾗ καὶ αὐτός φησι παρατυχεῖν· Ἔφορος δὲ παρὰ Κροίσῳ πλὴν Θαλοῦ. φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς συνελθεῖν αὐτούς.

διαφωνοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλο φασίν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο·
ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων σοφός, ὃς τάδ’ ἔλεξε·

μηδὲν ἄγαν· καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.
στασιάζεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν. Μαιάνδριος μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ Κλεοβούλου καὶ Μύσωνος Λεώφαντον Γοργιάδα, Λεβέδιον ἢ Ἐφέσιον, ἐγκρίνει καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα· Πλάτων δὲ ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ Μύσωνα ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου· Ἔφορος δὲ ἀντὶ Μύσωνος Ἀνάχαρσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν προσγράφουσιν. Δικαίαρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὡμολογημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βίαντα, Πιττακόν, Σόλωνα. ἄλλους δὲ ὀνομάζει ἕξ, ὧν ἐκλέξασθαι τρεῖς, Ἀριστόδημον, Πάμφυλον, Χίλωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, Κλεόβουλον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Περίανδρον. ἔνιοι προστιθέασιν Ἀκουσίλαον Κάβα ἢ Σκάβρα Ἀργεῖον.

Ἕρμιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἑπτακαίδεκά φησιν, ὧν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄλλους ἄλλως αἱρεῖσθαι· εἶναι δὲ Σόλωνα, Θαλῆν, Πιττακόν, Βίαντα, Χίλωνα, Μύσωνα, Κλεόβουλον, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Ἀκουσίλαον, Ἐπιμενίδην, Λεώφαντον, Φερεκύδην, Ἀριστόδημον, Πυθαγόραν, Λᾶσον Χαρμαντίδου ἢ Σισυμβρίνου, ἢ ὡς Ἀριστόξενος Χαβρίνου, Ἑρμιονέα, Ἀναξαγόραν. Ἱππόβοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ Τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀναγραφῇ· Ὀρφέα, Λίνον, Σόλωνα, Περίανδρον, Ἀνάχαρσιν, Κλεόβουλον, Μύσωνα, Θαλῆν Βίαντα, Πιττακόν, Ἐπίχαρμον, Πυθαγόραν.

Φέρονται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θαλοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ αἵδε·

Θαλῆς Φερεκύδει

“Πυνθάνομαί σε πρῶτον Ἰώνων μέλλειν λόγους ἀμφὶ τῶν θείων χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας φαίνειν. καὶ τάχα μὲν ἡ γνώμη τοι δικαίη ἐς τὸ ξυνὸν καταθέσθαι γραφὴν ἢ ἐφ’ ὁποιοισοῦν ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆμα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος. εἰ δή τοι ἥδιον, ἐθέλω γενέσθαι λεσχηνευτὴς περὶ ὀτέων γράφεις· καὶ ἢν κελεύῃς, παρὰ σὲ ἀφίξομαι ἐς Σῦρον. ἦ γὰρ ἂν οὐ φρενήρεες εἴημεν ἐγώ τε καὶ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, εἰ πλώσαντες μὲν ἐς Κρήτην κατὰ τὴν τῶν κεῖθι ἱστορίην, πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὁμιλήσοντες τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὅσοι ἱερέες τε καὶ ἀστρολόγοι, παρὰ σὲ δὲ μὴ [πλώσαιμεν]. ἥξει γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σόλων, ἢν ἐπιτρέπῃς.

σὺ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτέεις ἐς Ἰωνίην, οὐδέ σε ποθὴ ἴσχει ἀνδρῶν ξείνων· ἀλλά, ὡς ἔλπομαι, ἑνὶ μούνῳ χρήματι πρόσκεαι τῇ γραφῇ. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ μηδὲν γράφοντες περιχωρέομεν τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἀσίην.

Θαλῆς Σόλωνι

“‘Ὑπαποστὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνέων δοκέεις ἄν μοι ἁρμοδιώτατα ἐν Μιλήτῳ οἶκον ποιέεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀποίκοις ὑμέων· καὶ γὰρ ἐνθαῦτά τοι δεινὸν οὐδέν. εἰ δὲ ἀσχαλήσεις ὅτι καὶ Μιλήσιοι τυραννεόμεθα-ἐχθαίρεις γὰρ πάντας αἰσυμνήτασ—ἀλλὰ τέρποι’ ἂν σὺν τοῖς ἑτάροις ἡμῖν καταβιούς. ἐπέστειλε δέ τοι καὶ Βίης ἥκειν ἐς Πριήνην· σὺ δὲ εἰ προσηνέστερόν τοι τὸ Πριηνέων ἄστυ, κεῖθι οἰκέειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ σὲ οἰκήσομεν.

Κεφ. β΄. ΣΟΛΩΝ

Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Σαλαμίνιος πρῶτον μὲν τὴν σεισάχθειαν εἰσηγήσατο Ἀθηναίοις· τὸ δὲ ἦν λύτρωσις σωμάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἐδανείζοντο καὶ πολλοὶ δι’ ἀπορίαν ἐθήτευον. ἑπτὰ δὴ ταλάντων ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ πατρῴων συνεχώρησε πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὸ ὅμοιον προὔτρεψε πρᾶξαι. καὶ οὗτος ὁ νόμος ἐκλήθη σεισάχθεια· φανερὸν δὲ διὰ τί.

Ἔπειτα τοὺς λοιποὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν, οὓς μακρὸν ἂν εἴη διεξιέναι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄξονας κατέθετο.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ [Σαλαμῖνος] ἀμφισβητουμένης ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ πολλάκις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπταικότων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ψηφισαμένων εἴ τις ἔτι συμβουλεύσοι περὶ Σαλαμῖνος μάχεσθαι, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οὗτος μαίνεσθαι προσποιησάμενος καὶ στεφανωσάμενος εἰσέπαισεν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἔνθα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέγνω διὰ κήρυκος τὰ συντείνοντα περὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐλεγεῖα καὶ παρώρμησεν αὐτούς. καὶ αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἐπολέμησαν καὶ ἐνίκων διὰ Σόλωνα.

ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐλεγεῖα τὰ μάλιστα καθαψάμενα τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε·
εἴην δὴ τότ’ ἐγὼ Φολεγάνδριος ἢ Σικινίτης

ἀντί γ’ Ἀθηναίου, πατρίδ’ ἀμειψάμενος.

αἶψα γὰρ ἂν φάτις ἥδε μετ’ ἀνθρώποισι γένοιτο·

Ἀττικὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν Σαλαμιναφετῶν.
εἶτα·
ἴομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου

ἱμερτῆς χαλεπόν τ’ αἶσχος ἀπωσόμενοι.
ἔπεισε δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ Χερρόνησον προσκτήσασθαι.

ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκοίη βίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκῃ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κεκτῆσθαι, ἀνασκάψας τινὰς τάφους ἔδειξε τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐστραμμένους, ὡς ἦν ἔθος θάπτειν Ἀθηναίοις· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τάφους πρὸς ἕω βλέποντας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἐγκεχαραγμένους, ὅπερ ἦν ἴδιον Ἀθηναίων. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ ἐγγράψαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τοῦ Ὁμήρου μετὰ τὸν
Αἴας δ’ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας—
στῆσε δ’ ἄγων, ἵν’ Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

Τοῦ δὴ λοιποῦ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡδέως κἂν τυραννεῖσθαι ἤθελον πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ δ’ οὐχ εἵλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν συγγενῆ, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης, προαισθόμενος τὸ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ διεκώλυσεν. ᾄξας γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ δόρατος καὶ ἀσπίδος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν ἕτοιμος εἶναι, λέγων ταῦτα· ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερός εἰμι· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ Πεισιστράτου μὴ συνιέντων, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μέν, διὰ δέος δὲ σιωπώντων. καὶ ἡ βουλή, Πεισιστρατίδαι ὄντες, μαίνεσθαι ἔλεγον αὐτόν· ὅθεν εἶπε ταυτί·
δείξει δὴ μανίην μὲν ἐμὴν βαιὸς χρόνος ἀστοῖς,

δείξει, ἀληθείης ἐς μέσον ἐρχομένης.

τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἐλεγεῖα προλέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἦν·
ἐκ νεφέλης φέρεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης·

βροντή τ’ ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·

ἀνδρῶνδ’ ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται· ἐς δὲ μονάρχου

δῆμος ἀϊδρίῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

Ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ κρατοῦντος οὐ πείθων ἔθηκε τὰ ὅπλα πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου καὶ εἰπών, ὦ πατρίς, βεβοήθηκά σοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰς Κύπρον, καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἦλθεν. ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τίς σοι δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων; Τέλλος, ἔφη, Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων καὶ τὰ θρυλούμενα.

Φασὶ δέ τινες ὅτι κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ Κροῖσος παντοδαπῶς καὶ καθίσας εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἤρετο αὐτὸν εἴ τι θέαμα κάλλιον τεθέαται· ὁ δέ ἀλεκτρυόνας, εἶπε, καὶ φασιανοὺς καὶ ταώς· φυσικῷ γὰρ ἄνθει κεκόσμηνται καὶ μυρίῳ καλλίονι. ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ πόλιν συνῴκισεν ἣν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν· ὀλίγους τέ τινας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκατῴκισεν, οἳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν φωνὴν ἀποξενωθέντες σολοικίζειν ἐλέχθησαν. καί εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι. ὅτε δὲ τὸν Πεισίστρατον ἔμαθεν ἤδη τυραννεῖν, τάδε ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους·

εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε δεινὰ δι’ ὑμετέρην κακότητα,

μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε.

αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ηὐξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες,

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἴσχετε δουλοσύνην.

ὑμέων δ’ εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει,

σύμπασιν δ’ ὑμῖν κοῦφος ἔνεστι νόος.

εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός,

εἰς ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε.
καὶ οὗτος μὲν τοῦτα. Πεισίστρατος δ’ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι τοῦτον ἐπέστειλε τὸν τρόπον·

Πεισίστρατος Σόλωνι

“Οὔτε μόνος Ἑλλήνων τυραννίδι ἐπεθέμην, οὔτε οὐ προσῆκόν μοι, γένους ὄντι τῶν Κοδριδῶν. ἀνέλαβον γὰρ ἐγὼ ἃ ὀμόσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι παρέξειν Κόδρῳ τε καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου γένει, ἀφείλοντο. τά τε ἄλλα ἁμαρτάνω οὐδὲν ἢ περὶ θεοὺς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ καθότι σὺ διέθηκας τοὺς θεσμοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπιτρέπω πολιτεύειν. καὶ ἄμεινόν γε πολιτεύουσιν ἢ κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· οὐκ ἐῶ γὰρ οὐδένα ὑβρίζειν· καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἐγὼ οὐ πλέον τι φέρομαι τἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τιμῆς· ὁποῖα δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρόσθεν βασιλεῦσιν ἦν τὰ ῥητὰ γέρα. ἀπάγει δὲ ἕκαστος Ἀθηναίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου δεκάτην, οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ’ ὁπόθεν ἔσται ἀναλοῦν εἴς τε θυσίας δημοτελεῖς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἦν [ὁ] πόλεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ.

“Σοὶ δ’ ἐγὼ οὔτι μέμφομαι μηνύσαντι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. εὐνοίᾳ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχθος ἐμήνυες· ἔτι τε ἀμαθίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁποίαν τινὰ ἐγὼ καταστήσομαι. ἐπεὶ μαθὼν τάχ’ ἂν ἠνέσχου καθισταμένου, οὐδ’ ἔφυγες. ἐπάνιθι τοίνυν οἴκαδε, πιστεύων μοι καὶ ἀνωμότῳ, ἄχαρι μηδὲν πείσεσθαι Σόλωνα ἐκ Πεισιστράτου. ἴσθι γὰρ μηδ’ ἄλλον τινὰ πεπονθέναι τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐχθρῶν. εἰ δὲ ἀξιώσεις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων εἷς εἶναι, ἔσῃ ἀνὰ πρώτους· οὐ γάρ τι ἐν σοὶ ἐνορῶ δολερὸν ἢ ἄπιστον· εἴτε ἄλλως Ἀθήνησιν οἰκεῖν, ἐπιτετράψεται. ἡμῶν δὲ οὕνεκα μὴ ἐστέρησο τῆς πατρίδος.

Ταῦτα μὲν Πεισίστρατος. Σόλων δὲ ὅρον ἀνθρωπίνου βίου φησὶν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα νομοθετῆσαι· ἐάν τις μὴ τρέφῃ τοὺς γονέας, ἄτιμος ἔστω· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὰ πατρῷα κατεδηδοκὼς ὁμοίως. καὶ ὁ ἀργὸς ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι. Λυσίας δ’ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νικίου Δράκοντά φησι γεγραφέναι τὸν νόμον, Σόλωνα δὲ τὸν ἡταιρηκότα εἴργειν τοῦ βήματος. συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν, Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ μὲν τάξας πεντακοσίας δραχμάς, Ἰσθμιονίκῃ δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἀνὰ λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἀπειρόκαλον γὰρ τὸ ἐξαίρειν τὰς τούτων τιμάς, ἀλλὰ μόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τελευτησάντων, ὧν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι.

Ὅθεν καὶ ἐζήλουν πολλοὶ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ γίνεσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον· ὡς Πολύζηλος, ὡς Κυνέγειρος, ὡς Καλλίμαχος, ὡς σύμπαντες οἱ Μαραθωνομάχοι· ἔτι τε Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Μιλτιάδης καὶ μυρίοι ὅσοι. ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσκούμενοι πολυδάπανοι, καὶ νικῶντες ἐπιζήμιοι καὶ στεφανοῦνται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν· γέροντές τε γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην
τρίβωνες ἐκλιπόντες οἴχονται κρόκας.
ὅπερ συνιδὼν ὁ Σόλων μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο. κάλλιστον δὲ κἀκεῖνο· τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῇ τῶν ὀρφανῶν μητρὶ μὴ συνοικεῖν, μηδ’ ἐπιτροπεύειν, εἰς ὃν ἡ οὐσία ἔρχεται τῶν ὀρφανῶν τελευτησάντων. κἀκεῖνο·

δακτυλιογλύφῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγῖδα φυλάττειν τοῦ πραθέντος δακτυλίου· καὶ ἐὰν ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἔχοντος ἐκκόψῃ τις, ἀντεκκόπτειν τοὺς δύο. ἃ μὴ ἔθου, μὴ ἀνέλῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατος ἡ

ζημία. τῷ ἄρχοντι, ἐὰν μεθύων ληφθῇ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.

Τά τε Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταυτί· οἳ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθήνας εἶχον καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Πρῶτος δὲ Σόλων τὴν τριακάδα ἔνην καὶ νέαν ὠνόμασε. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ συνειπεῖν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ νομοθετῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς στάσεως γενομένης οὔτε μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, οὔτε μετὰ τῶν πεδιέων, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παράλων ἐτάχθη.

Ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἴδωλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων· βασιλέα δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον τῇ δυνάμει. τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις ὁμοίους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ἐὰν μὲν ἐμπέσῃ τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενές, στέγειν· ἐὰν δὲ μεῖζον, διακόψαν οἴχεσθαι. ἔφασκέ τε σφραγίζεσθαι τὸν μὲν λόγον σιγῇ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ.

ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις δυναμένους παραπλησίους εἶναι ταῖς ψήφοις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἑκάστην ποτὲ μὲν πλείω σημαίνειν, ποτὲ δὲ ἧττω· καὶ τούτων τοὺς τυράννους ποτὲ μὲν ἕκαστον μέγαν ἄγειν καὶ λαμπρόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἄτιμον. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί κατὰ πατροκτόνου νόμον οὐκ ἔθηκε, διὰ τὸ ἀπελπίσαι, ἔφη. πῶς τε ἥκιστ’ ἂν ἀδικοῖεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, εἰ ὁμοίως, ἔφη, ἄχθοιντο τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι. καὶ τὸν μὲν κόρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου γεννᾶσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόρου. ἠξίωσέ τε Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν. καὶ Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε τραγῳδίας διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ’ οὖν

Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκεῖθεν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι. τοῖς τε ἀνθρώποις συνεβούλευσεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αἱρέσεων, τάδε· καλοκἀγαθίαν ὅρκου πιστοτέραν ἔχε. μὴ ψεύδου. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ’ ἂν κτήσῃ μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἄριστα. νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦ. μὴ κακοῖς ὁμίλει. θεοὺς τίμα, γονέας αἰδοῦ. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Μιμνέρμου γράψαντος,

αἶ γὰρ ἄτερ νούσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέω νμελεδωνέων

ἑξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου,

ἐπιτιμῶντα αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν·
ἀλλ’ εἴ μοι κἂν νῦν ἔτι πείσεαι, ἔξελε τοῦτον·

μηδὲ μέγαιρ’ ὅτι σεῦ λῷον ἐπεφρασάμην·

καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγυαστάδη, ὧδε δ’ ἄειδε·

ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ ἐστι τάδε·
πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, ὅρα

μὴ κρυπτὸν ἔχθος ἔχων κραδίῃ,

φαιδρῷ προσενέπῃ προσώπῳ,

γλῶσσα δέ οἱ διχόμυθος

ἐκ μελανῆς φρενὸς γεγωνῇ.

Γέγραφε δὲ δῆλον μὲν ὅτι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ δημηγορίας καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑποθήκας, ἐλεγεῖα, καὶ τὰ περὶ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ ἐπῳδούς.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε·
ἡ Μήδων ἄδικον παύσασ’ ὕβριν, ἥδε Σόλωνα

τόνδε τεκνοῖ Σαλαμὶς θεσμοθέτην ἱερόν.

Ἦκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἕκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἧς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἦρξεν Ἀθήνησι, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς νόμους. ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐν Κύπρῳ βιοὺς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῦτον ἐπισκήψας τοῖς ἰδίοις τὸν τρόπον, ἀποκομίσαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀστᾶ εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τεφρώσαντας εἰς τὴν χώραν σπεῖραι. ὅθεν καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς Χείρωσί φησιν, αὐτὸν ποιῶν λέγοντα·
οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,

ἐσπαρμένος κατὰ πᾶσαν Αἴαντος πόλιν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερον ἐπίγραμμα ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ Παμμέτρῳ, ἔνθα καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐλλογίμων διείλεγμαι παντὶ μέτρῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ, ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ μέλεσιν, ἔχον οὕτως·
σῶμα μὲν ἦρε Σόλωνος ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ Κύπριον πῦρ·

ὀστέ’ ἔχει Σαλαμίς, ὧν κόνις ἀστάχυες.

ψυχὴν δ’ ἄξονες εὐθὺς ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγον· εὖ γὰρ

θῆκε νόμους ἀστοῖς ἄχθεα κουφότατα.

Ἀπεφθέγξατο δέ, φασί, Μηδὲν ἄγαν. καὶ αὐτόν φησι Διοσκουρίδης ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἐπειδὴ δακρύοι τὸν παῖδα τελευτήσαντα, ὃν ἡμεῖς οὐ παρειλήφαμεν, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἀνύτεις, εἰπεῖν, δι’ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο δακρύω, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνύτω.

Φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ αἵδε·

Σόλων Περιάνδρῳ

“Ἀπαγγέλλεις μοι πολλούς τοι ἐπιβουλεύειν. σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν μέλλεις ἐκποδὼν ἅπαντας ποιήσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις. ἐπιβουλεύσειε δ’ ἄν τις καὶ τῶν ἀνυπόπτων, ὁ μὲν δεδιὼς περὶ αὑτῷ, ὁ δὲ σοῦ καταγνούς, οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὅ τι οὐκ ὀρρωδοῦντος· κἂν τῇ πόλει χάριν κατάθοιτο ἐξευρών, ἢν μὴ ὕποπτος εἶῃς. ἄριστον μὲν οὖν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἵνα τῆς αἰτίας ἀπαλλαγῇς. εἰ δὲ πάντως τυραννητέον, φροντίζειν ὅπως τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν δύναμιν μείζονα ἕξεις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοι δεινός, μηδὲ σὺ ἐκποδών τινα ποιοῦ.

Σόλων Ἐπιμενίδῃ

“Οὔτε οἱ ἐμοὶ θεσμοὶ ἄρα Ἀθηναίους ἐπιπολὺ ὀνήσειν ἔμελλον, οὔτε σὺ καθήρας τὴν πόλιν ὤνησας. τό τε γὰρ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νομοθέται οὐ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ δύνανται ὀνῆσαι τὰς πόλεις, οἱ δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἄγοντες ὅπως ἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ οἱ νόμοι, εὖ μὲν ἀγόντων, εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι· κακῶς δὲ [ἀγόντων], οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν.

“Οὐδ’ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἀμείνους εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνομοθέτησα. οἱ δ’ ἐπιτρέποντες τὸ ξυνὸν ἔβλαπτον, οἳ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἐμποδὼν Πεισιστράτῳ ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι. οὐδ’ ἐγὼ προλέγων πιστὸς ἦν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ πιστότερος κολακεύων Ἀθηναίους ἐμοῦ ἀληθεύοντος. ἐγὼ δὴ θέμενος πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου τὰ ὅπλα εἶπον τῶν μὲν μὴ αἰσθανομένων Πεισίστρατον τυραννησείοντα εἶναι ξυνετώτερος, τῶν δὲ ὀκνούντων ἀμύνεσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος. οἱ δὲ μανίαν Σόλωνος κατεγίγνωσκον. τελευτῶν δὲ ἐμαρτυράμην, ὦ πατρίς, οὗτος μὲν Σόλων ἕτοιμός τοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀμύνειν· τοῖς δ’ αὖ καὶ μαίνεσθαι δοκῶ. ὥστε ἄπειμί τοι ἐκ μέσου ὁ μόνος ἐχθρὸς Πεισιστράτου· οἱ δὲ καὶ

δορυφορούντων αὐτόν εἴ τι βούλονται. ἴσθι γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα, ᾧ ἑταῖρε, δεινότατα ἁψάμενον τῆς τυραννίδος.

ἤρξατο μὲν δημαγωγεῖν· εἶτα δὲ ἑαυτῷ τραύματα ποιήσας, παρελθὼν ἐπ᾽ Ἠλιαίαν ἐβόα φάμενος πεπονθέναι ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· καὶ φύλακας ἠξίου παρασχεῖν οἱ τετρακοσίους τοὺς νεωτάτους. οἱ δὲ ἀνηκουστήσαντές μου παρέσχον τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν κορυνηφόροι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσεν. ἦ μάτην ἔσπευδον ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς πένητας αὐτῶν τῆς θητείας, οἵ γε δὴ νῦν ξύμπαντες ἑνὶ δουλεύουσι Πεισιστράτῳ.

Σόλων Πεισιστράτῳ

“Πιστεύω μηδὲν κακὸν ἐκ σοῦ πείσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τυραννίδος φίλος σοὶ ἦν, καὶ νῦν οὐ μᾶλλον διάφορος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις Ἀθηναίων ὅτῳ μὴ ἀρέσκει τυραννίς. εἴτε δὲ ὑφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἄρχεσθαι ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς, εἴτε δημοκρατεῖσθαι, πεπείσθω ᾗ ἑκάτερος γιγνώσκει.

καὶ σὲ φημὶ πάντων τυράννων εἶναι βέλτιστον. ἐπανήκειν δέ μοι Ἀθήναζε οὐ καλῶς ἔχον ὁρῶ, μή μέ τις μέμψηται, εἰ διαθεὶς Ἀθηναίοις ἰσοπολιτείαν, καὶ παρὸν τυραννεῖν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀξιώσας, νῦν ἐπανελθὼν ἀρεσκοίμην οἷς σὺ πράσσεις.

Σόλων Κροίσῳ

“”Ἄγαμαί σε τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς φιλοφροσύνης· καὶ νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἰ μὴ περὶ παντός μοι ἦν οἰκεῖν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ἐδεξάμην ἂν μᾶλλον τὴν δίαιταν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ παρὰ σοὶ βασιλείᾳ ἢ Ἀθήνησι, τυραννοῦντος βιαίως Πεισιστράτου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδίων ἡμῖν ἡ βιοτή, ἔνθα πᾶσι τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἴσα. ἀφίξομαι δ᾽ οὖν παρὰ σέ, σπεύδων τοι ξένος γενέσθαι.

Κεφ. γ′. ΧΙΛΩΝ

Χίλων Δαμαγήτου Λακεδαιμόνιος. οὗτος ἐποίησεν ἐλεγεῖα εἰς ἔπη διακόσια, καὶ ἔφασκε πρόνοιαν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λογισμῷ καταληπτὴν εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν. πρός τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι μὴ ἔφορος ἐγένετο, αὐτοῦ ὄντος, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, εἶπεν, ἀδικεῖσθαι, σὺ δὲ οὔ. γέγονε δὲ ἔφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδα· Παμφίλη δέ φησι κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην. καὶ πρῶτον ἔφορον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου, ὥς φησι Σωσικράτης. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραζευγνύναι· Σάτυρος δὲ Λυκοῦργον.

Οὗτος, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, Ἱπποκράτει θυομένῳ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τῶν λεβήτων αὐτομάτων ζεσάντων, συνεβούλευσεν ἢ μὴ γῆμαι, ἤ, εἰ ἔχοι γυναῖκα, ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παῖδας ἀπείπασθαι.

φασὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ Αἰσώπου πυθέσθαι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί εἴη ποιῶν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, ἔφη, ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθαῖς. τί δύσκολον, τὸ τὰ ἀπόρρητα σιωπῆσαι, καὶ σχολὴν εὖ διαθέσθαι, καὶ ἀδικούμενον [δύνασθαι] φέρειν. προσέταττε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα· γλώττης κρατεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν συμποσίῳ. μὴ κακολογεῖν τοὺς πλησίον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀκούσεσθαι ἐφ᾽ οἷς λυπήσεσθαι.

μὴ ἀπειλεῖν μηδενί· γυναικῶδες γάρ. ταχύτερον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας πορεύεσθαι. γάμον εὐτελῆ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν. γῆρας τιμᾶν. φυλάττειν ἑαυτόν. ζημίαν αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχρόν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ ἐλύπησε, τὸ δὲ διὰ παντός. ἀτυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπεγγελᾶν. ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα πρᾷον εἶναι, ὅπως οἱ πλησίον αἰδῶνται μᾶλλον ἢ φοβῶνται. μανθάνειν τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκίας καλῶς προστατεῖν. τὴν γλῶτταν μὴ προτρέχειν τοῦ νοῦ. θυμοῦ κρατεῖν. μαντικὴν μὴ ἐχθαίρειν. μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀδυνάτων. ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεύδειν. λέγοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὴν χεῖρα· μανικὸν γάρ. νόμοις πείθεσθαι. ἠρεμίᾳ χρῆσθαι.

Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησεν ἐκεῖνο· ἐν λιθίναις ἀκόναις ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται, διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν· ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ’ ἔλεγχον. φασὶ δ’ αὐτόν ποτε γηραιὸν ἤδη ὄντα εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν συνειδείη ἄνομον ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ· διστάζειν δὲ περὶ ἑνός. κρίνων γάρ ποτε φίλῳ δίκην αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τὸν δὲ φίλον πείσειεν ἀποδικάσαι αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν φίλον τηρήσαι.

Ἐνδοξότατος δὲ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο προειπὼν περὶ Κυθήρων τῆς νήσου τῆς Λακωνικῆς. καταμαθὼν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς, εἶθε, ἔφη, μὴ ἐγεγόνει, ἢ γενομένη κατεβυθίσθη.

καὶ εὖ προὐνοήσατο. Δημάρατος μὲν γὰρ φυγὰς ὢν Λακεδαιμονίων Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευσε τὰς ναῦς συνέχειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ· κἂν ἑαλώκει ἡ Ἑλλάς, εἰ ἐπείσθη Ξέρξης. ὕστερόν τε Νικίας ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καταστρεψάμενος τὴν νῆσον, φρουρὰν ἐγκατέστησεν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πάμπολλα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακὰ διέθηκε.

Βραχυλόγος τε ἦν· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Χιλώνειον καλεῖ. . . . Βράγχου δὲ εἶναι, ὃς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔκτισε τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις. ἦν δὲ γέρων περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε Αἴσωπος ὁ λογοποιὸς ἤκμαζεν. ἐτελεύτησε δ’, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἐν Πίσῃ, τὸν υἱὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην ἀσπασάμενος πυγμῆς. ἔπαθε δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβολῇ τε χαρᾶς καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ πολυετίας. καὶ αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἐντιμότατα παρέπεμψαν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα ἡμῶν·

Φωσφόρε, σοί, Πολύδευκες, ἔχω χάριν, οὕνεκεν υἱὸς

Χίλωνος πυγμῇ χλωρὸν ἔλεν κότινον.

εἰ δ’ ὁ πατὴρ στεφανοῦχον ἰδὼν τέκνον ἤμυσεν ἡσθείς,

οὐ νεμεσητόν· ἐμοὶ τοῖος ἴτω θάνατος.
ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·
τόνδε δοριστέφανος Σπάρτα Χίλων’ ἐφύτευσεν,

ὃς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν πρῶτος ἔφυ σοφίᾳ.
ἀπεφθέγξατο, ἐγγύα, πάρα δ’ ἄτα. ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστόλιον τόδε·

Χίλων Περιάνδρῳ

“Ἐπιστέλλεις ἐμὶν ἐκστρατείαν ἐπὶ ἐκδάμως, ὡς αὐτός κα ἐξέρποις· ἐγὼν δὲ δοκέω καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα σφαλερὰ ἦμεν ἀνδρὶ μονάρχῳ, καὶ τῆνον τυράννων εὐδαιμονίζω ὅστις κα οἴκοι ἐξ αὐτὸς αὐτῶ κατθάνῃ.

Κεφ. δ′. ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΣ

Πιττακὸς Ὑρραδίου Μυτιληναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δοῦρις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Θρᾷκα εἶναι. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν Ἀλκαίου γενόμενος ἀδελφῶν Μέλαγχρον καθεῖλε τὸν τῆς Λέσβου τύραννον· καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλείτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ἐστρατήγει μὲν αὐτός, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύνων παγκρατιαστὴς Ὀλυμπιονίκης. συνέθετο δὴ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ δίκτυον ἔχων ὑπὸ τὴν ἀσπίδα λαθραίως περιέβαλε τὸν Φρύνωνα, καὶ κτείνας ἀνεσώσατο τὸ χωρίον. ὕστερον μέντοι φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς διαδικασθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Μυτιληναίους, ἀκουοντος τῆς δίκης Περιάνδρου, ὃν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσκρῖναι.

Τότε δ’ οὖν τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ δέκα ἔτη κατασχὼν καὶ εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὸ πολίτευμα, κατέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ δέκα ἐπεβίω

ἄλλα. καὶ χώραν αὐτῷ ἀπένειμαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι· ὁ δὲ ἱερὰν ἀνῆκεν, ἥτις νῦν Πιττάκειος καλεῖται. Σωσικράτης δέ φησιν ὅτι ὀλίγον ἀποτεμόμενος ἔφη τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πλεῖον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κροίσου διδόντος χρήματα οὐκ ἐδέξατο, εἰπὼν ἔχειν ὧν ἐβούλετο διπλάσια· ἄπαιδος γὰρ τἀδελφοῦ τελευτήσαντος κεκληρονομηκέναι.

Παμφίλη δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τυρραῖον καθήμενον ἐπὶ κουρείου ἐν Κύμῃ χαλκεύς τις πέλεκυν ἐμβαλὼν ἀνέλοι. τῶν δὲ Κυμαίων πεμψάντων τὸν φονέα τῷ Πιττακῷ, μαθόντα καὶ ἀπολύσαντα εἰπεῖν, συγγνώμη μετανοίας κρείσσων. Ἡράκλειτος δέ φησιν, Ἀλκαῖον ὑποχείριον λαβόντα καὶ ἀπολύσαντα φάναι, συγγνώμη τιμωρίας κρείσσων.

Νόμους δὲ ἔθηκε· τῷ μεθύοντι, ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ, διπλῆν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· ἵνα μὴ μεθύωσι, πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον οἴνου γινομένου. εἶπέ τε χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι· οὗ καὶ Σιμωνίδης μέμνηται λέγων· ἄνδρ’ ἀγαθὸν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπόν, τὸ Πιττάκειον.

μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Πρωταγόρᾳ· ἀνάγκᾳ δ’ οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται. καὶ ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποτε τί ἄριστον, τὸ παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν. καὶ ὑπὸ Κροίσου τίς ἀρχὴ μεγίστη, ἡ τοῦ ποικίλου, ἔφη, ξύλου, σημαίνων τὸν νόμον. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τὰς νίκας ἄνευ αἵματος ποιεῖσθαι. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φωκαϊκὸν φάσκοντα δεῖν ζητεῖν ἄνθρωπον σπουδαῖον, ἂν λίαν, ἔφη, ζητῇς, οὐχ εὑρήσεις. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους τί εὐχάριστον, χρόνος, ἔφη· ἀφανές, τὸ μέλλον· πιστόν, γῆ· ἄπιστον, θάλασσα. ἔλεγέ τε συνετῶν ἀνδρῶν, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰ δυσχερῆ, προνοῆσαι ὅπως μὴ γένηται·

ἀνδρείων δέ, γενόμενα εὖ θέσθαι. ὃ μέλλεις πράττειν, μὴ πρόλεγε· ἀποτυχὼν γὰρ γελασθήσῃ. ἀτυχίαν μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, νέμεσιν αἰδούμενον. παρακαταθήκην λαβόντα ἀποδοῦναι. φίλον μὴ λέγειν κακῶς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐχθρόν. εὐσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν. σωφροσύνην φιλεῖν. ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἑταιρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν.

Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησε
τάδε·
ἔχοντα χρὴ τόξα καὶ ἰοδόκον φαρέτρην

στείχειν ποτὶ φῶτα κακόν.

πιστὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν γλῶσσα διὰ στόματος

λαλεῖ διχόθυμον ἔχουσα

κραδίῃ νόημα.

ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖα ἔπη ἑξακόσια, καὶ ὑπὲρ νόμων καταλογάδην τοῖς πολίταις.

Ἦκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, [ἤδη γηραιός].
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·
οἰκείοις δακρύοις ἁ γειναμένα κατακλαίει

Πιττακὸν ἥδ’ ἱερὰ Λέσβος ἀποφθίμενον.
ἀπόφθεγμα αὐτοῦ· καιρὸν γνῶθι.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Πιττακὸς νομοθέτης, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις, ὃς καὶ μικρὸς προσηγορεύθη.

Τὸν δ’ οὖν σοφὸν λέγεταί ποτε νεανίσκῳ συμβουλευομένῳ περὶ γάμου ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, ἅ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι·

ξεῖνος Ἀταρνείτης τις ἀνήρετο Πιττακὸν οὕτω τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, παῖδα τὸν Ὑρραδίου·

ἄττα γέρον, δοιός με καλεῖ γάμος· ἡ μία μὲν δὴ νύμφη καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γενεῇ κατ’ ἐμέ·

ἡ δ’ ἑτέρη προβέβηκε. τί λώϊον; εἰ δ’ ἄγε σύν μοι βούλευσον, ποτέρην εἰς ὑμέναιον ἄγω.

εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ σκίπωνα, γεροντικὸν ὅπλον, ἀείρας, ἤνιδε, κεῖνοί σοι πᾶν ἐρέουσιν ἔπος.

οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὸ πληγῇσι θοὰς βέμβικας ἔχοντες ἔστρεφον εὐρείῃ παῖδες ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.

κείνων ἔρχεο, φησί, μετ’ ἴχνια. χὠ μὲν ἐπέστη πλησίον· οἱ δ’ ἔλεγον· τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.

ταῦτ’ ἀΐων ὁ ξεῖνος ἐφείσατο μείζονος οἴκου δράξασθαι, παίδων κληδόνα συνθέμενος.

τὴν δ’ ὀλίγην ὡς κεῖνος ἐς οἰκίον ἤγετο νύμφην. οὕτω καὶ σύ, Δίων, τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.

δοκεῖ δ’ ἐκ διαθέσεως αὐτὰ εἰρηκέναι. εὐγενεστέρα γὰρ αὐτῷ οὖσα ἡ γυνή, ἐπειδήπερ ἦν Δράκοντος ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Πενθίλου, σφόδρα κατεσοβαρεύετο αὐτοῦ.

Τοῦτον Ἀλκαῖος σαράποδα μὲν καὶ σάραπον ἀποκαλεῖ διὰ τὸ πλατύπουν εἶναι καὶ ἐπισύρειν τὼ πόδε· χειροπόδην δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ ῥαγάδας, ἃς χειράδας ἐκάλουν· γαύρηκα δὲ ὡς εἰκῆ γαυριῶντα· φύσκωνα δὲ καὶ γάστρωνα ὅτι παχὺς ἦν· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ζοφοδορπίδαν ὡς ἄλυχνον· ἀγάσυρτον δὲ ὡς ἐπισεσυρμένον καὶ ῥυπαρόν. τούτῳ γυμνασία ἦν σῖτον ἀλεῖν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ὁ φιλόσοφος.

Καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐπιστόλιον τοιόνδε·

Πιττακὸς Κροίσῳ

“Κέλεαί με ἱκνέεσθαι ἐς Λυδίην, ὅπως σοι τὸν ὄλβον ἴδοιμι· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μὴ ὁρεὶς πέπεισμαι τὸν Ἀλυάττεω παῖδα τῶν βασιλήων πολυχρυσότατον πέλειν. οὐδέν τε πλέον ἄμμιν ἱκομένοις ἐς Σάρδις· χρυσοῦ γὰρ οὐ δεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ πέπαμαι ἄρκια καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἑτάροις, ἔμπας δ’ ἵξομαι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ γενοίμην τοι συνόμιλος.

Κεφ. ε′. ΒΙΑΣ

Βίας Τευτάμου Πριηνεύς, προκεκριμένος τῶν ἑπτὰ ὑπὸ Σατύρου. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν πλούσιον, Δοῦρις δὲ πάροικόν φησι γεγονέναι. Φανόδικος δὲ κόρας αἰχμαλώτους λυτρωσάμενον Μεσσηνίας θρέψαι τε ὡς θυγατέρας καὶ προῖκας ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν. χρόνῳ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ὡς προείρηται, τοῦ τρίποδος εὑρεθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλιέων, τοῦ χαλκοῦ, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντος τῷ σοφῷ, Σάτυρος μέν φησι παρελθεῖν τὰς κόρασ—οἱ δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ Φανόδικοσ—εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν Βίαντα σοφόν, διηγησαμένας τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἀπεστάλη ὁ τρίπους· καὶ ὁ Βίας ἰδὼν ἔφη τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα σοφὸν εἶναι, οὐδὲ προσήκατο.

οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἐπεὶ ἀπόγονος ἦν Θηβαίων ἀποικίαν εἰς Πριήνην στειλάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ Φανόδικός φησι.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλυάττου πολιορκοῦντος Πριήνην τὸν Βίαντα πιήναντα δύο ἡμιόνους ἐξελάσαι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸν δὲ συνιδόντα καταπλαγῆναι τὸ μέχρι καὶ ἀλόγων διατείνειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐθενίαν. καὶ ἐβουλήθη σπείσασθαι, καὶ εἰσέπεμψεν ἄγγελον. Βίας δὲ σωροὺς ψάμμου χέας καὶ ἄνωθεν σῖτον περιχέας ἔδειξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ τέλος μαθὼν ὁ Ἀλυάττης εἰρήνην ἐσπείσατο πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνέας. θᾶττον δ’ αὐτῷ πέμψαντι πρὸς τὸν Βίαντα ἵνα ἥκοι παρ’ αὐτόν, ἐγὼ δέ,

φησίν, Ἀλυάττῃ κελεύω κρόμμυα ἐσθίειν, [ἴσον τῷ κλαίειν].

λέγεται δὲ καὶ δίκας δεινότατος γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν. ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ μέντοι τῇ τῶν λόγων ἰσχύϊ προσεχρῆτο. ὅθεν καὶ Δημόδικος ὁ Λέριος τοῦτο αἰνίττεται λέγων·
ἦν τύχῃς κρίνων δικάζευ τὴν Πριηνίην δίκην·
καὶ Ἵππῶναξ· ἃ καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως κρεῖσσον.

Τοῦτον οὖν καὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον. δίκην γὰρ ὑπέρ τινος λέξας ἤδη ὑπέργηρως ὑπάρχων, μετὰ τὸ καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς υἱοῦ κόλπους· εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκόντων τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βίαντος βοηθουμένῳ, λυθέντος τοῦ δικαστηρίου νεκρὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις εὑρέθη.

καὶ αὐτὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν·
κλεινοῖς ἐν δαπέδοισι Πριήνης φύντα καλύπτει

ἥδε Βίαντα πέτρη, κόσμον Ἴωσι μέγαν.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς·
τῇδε Βίαντα κέκευθα, τὸν ἀτρέμας ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς

εἰς Ἀΐδην, πολιῷ γήραϊ νιφόμενον.

εἶπε γάρ, εἶπε δίκην ἑτάρου τινός· εἶτ᾽ ἀποκλινθεὶς

παιδὸς ἐς ἀγκαλίδας μακρὸν ἔτεινεν ὕπνον.

Ἐποίησε δὲ περὶ Ἰωνίας, τίνα μάλιστα ἂν τρόπον
εὐδαιμονοίη, εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια. τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων
αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε·
ἀστοῖσιν ἄρεσκε πᾶσιν. ἐν πόλει* αἴκε μένῃς·

πλείσταν γὰρ ἔχει χάριν· αὐθάδης δὲ τρόπος πολλάκι βλαβερὰν ἐξέλαμψεν ἄταν.

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως ἔργον· τὸ δὲ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι ψυχῆς ἴδιον καὶ φρονήσεως. εὐπορίαν δὲ χρημάτων πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ τύχην περιγίνεσθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ ἀτυχῆ εἶναι τὸν ἀτυχίαν μὴ φέροντα· καὶ νόσον ψυχῆς τὸ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐρᾶν, ἀλλοτρίων δὲ κακῶν ἀμνημόνευτον εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δυσχερές, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον, ἔφη, μεταβολὴν εὐγενῶς ἐνεγκεῖν. συμπλέων ποτὲ ἀσεβέσι, χειμαζομένης τῆς νεὼς κἀκείνων τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων, σιγᾶτε, ἔφη, μὴ αἴσθωνται ὑμᾶς ἐνθάδε πλέοντας. ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀσεβοῦς ἀνθρώπου τί ποτέ ἐστιν εὐσέβεια, ἐσίγα. τοῦ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς σιγῆς πυθομένου, σιωπῶ, ἔφη, ὅτι περὶ τῶν οὐδέν σοι προσηκόντων πυνθάνῃ.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γλυκὺ ἀνθρώποις, ἐλπίς, ἔφη. ἴδιον ἔλεγε δικάζειν μεταξὺ ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων· τῶν μὲν γὰρ φίλων πάντως ἐχθρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὸν ἕτερον φίλον. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποιῶν ἄνθρωπος τέρπεται, ἔφη, κερδαίνων. ἔλεγέ τε τὸν βίον οὕτω μετρεῖν ὡς καὶ πολὺν καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιωσομένους, καὶ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντας· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους εἶναι κακούς. συνεβούλευέ τε ὧδε· βραδέως ἐγχείρει τοῖς πραττομένοις· ὃ δ᾽ ἂν ἕλῃ, βεβαίως τηρῶν διάμενε. μὴ

ταχὺ λάλει· μανίαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει. φρόνησιν ἀγάπα. περὶ θεῶν λέγε, ὡς εἰσίν. ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. πείσας λαβέ, μὴ βιασάμενος. ὅ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράττῃς, εἰς θεοὺς ἀνάπεμπε. ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλάμβανε σοφίαν· βεβαιότερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων.

Μέμνηται τοῦ Βίαντος καὶ Ἱππῶναξ, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ ὁ δυσάρεστος Ἡράκλειτος μάλιστα

αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσε γράψας· ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ πλέων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ τέμενος καθιέρωσαν τὸ Τευτάμειον λεγόμενον. ἀπεφθέγξατο· οἱ πλεῖστοι κακοί.

Κεφ. σ΄. ΚΛΕΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ

Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος, ὡς δὲ Δοῦρις, Κάρ· ἔνιοι δὲ εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος αὐτόν· ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ κάλλει διαφέρειν, μετασχεῖν τε τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φιλοσοφίας. γενέσθαι τε αὐτῷ θυγατέρα Κλεοβουλίνην, αἰνιγμάτων ἑξαμέτρων ποιήτριαν, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι, πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι αὐτὸν κτισθὲν ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ. οὗτος ἐποίησεν ᾄσματα καὶ γρίφους εἰς ἔπη τρισχίλια.

Καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμά τινες τὸ ἐπὶ Μίδᾳ τοῦτόν φασι ποιῆσαι·
χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ’ ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.

ἔστ’ ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,

ἠέλιός τ’ ἀνιὼν λάμπῃ, λαμπρά τε σελήνη,

καὶ ποταμοί γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,

αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,

ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

φέρουσι δὲ μαρτύριον Σιμωνίδου ᾆσμα, ὅπου φησί
τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυνος

Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον

ἀενάοις ποταμοῖς

ἄνθεσί τ’ εἰαρινοῖς

ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας

καὶ θαλασσαίαισι δίνῃς

ἀντιθέντα μένος στάλας;

ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ

καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ

φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά.
οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Ὁμήρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι προέχοντος, φασί, τοῦ Μίδα.

Φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς Παμφίλης Ὑπομνήμασι καὶ αἴνιγμα τοῖον·

εἷς ὁ πατήρ, παῖδες δυοκαίδεκα. τῶν δὲ ἑκάστῳ

παῖδες δὶς τριάκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι·

αἱ μὲν λευκαὶ ἔασιν ἰδεῖν, αἱ δ’ αὖτε μέλαιναι·

ἀθάνατοι δέ τ’ ἐοῦσαι, ἀποφθινύθουσιν ἅπασαι.
ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός.

Τῶν δὲ ᾀδομένων αὐτοῦ εὐδοκίμησε τάδε· Ἀμουσία τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν βροτοῖσι, λόγων τε πλῆθος· ἀλλ’ ὁ καιρὸς ἀρκέσει. φρόνει τι κεδνόν. μὴ μάταιος ἄχαρις γινέσθω. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν

συνοικίζειν τὰς θυγατέρας, παρθένους μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν γυναῖκας· ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι δεῖ παιδεύεσθαι καὶ τὰς παρθένους. ἔλεγέ τε τὸν φίλον δεῖν εὐεργετεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλον ᾖ φίλος· τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν φίλον ποιεῖν. φυλάσσεσθαι γὰρ τῶν μὲν φίλων

τὸν ψόγον, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ ὅταν τις ἐξίῃ τῆς οἰκίας, ζητείτω πρότερον τί μέλλει πράσσειν· καὶ ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ πάλιν, ζητείτω τί ἔπραξε. συνεβούλευέ τε εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἀσκεῖν· φιλήκοον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόλαλον· [φιλομαθῆ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμαθῆ·] γλῶσσαν εὔφημον ἴσχειν· ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖον εἶναι, κακίας ἀλλότριον· ἀδικίαν φεύγειν· πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν· ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν· βίᾳ μηδὲν πράττειν· τέκνα παιδεύειν· ἐχθρὰν διαλύειν. γυναικὶ μὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μηδὲ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μανίαν σημαίνειν. οἰκέτην παρ’ οἶνον μὴ κολάζειν, δοκεῖν γὰρ ἂν παροινεῖν. γαμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ἂν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων λάβῃς, φησί,

δεσπότας κτήσῃ τοὺς συγγενέας. μὴ ἐπεγγελᾶν τοῖς σκωπτομένοις· ἀπεχθήσεσθαι γὰρ τούτοις. εὐτυχῶν μὴ ἴσθι ὑπερήφανος· ἀπορήσας μὴ ταπεινοῦ. τὰς μεταβολὰς τῆς τύχης γενναίως ἐπίστασο φέρειν.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιός, ἔτη βιοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα·
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράφη·
ἄνδρα σοφὸν Κλεόβουλον ἀποφθίμενον καταπενθεῖ

ἥδε πάτρα Λίνδος πόντῳ ἀγαλλομένη.

Ἀπεφθέγξατο· μέτρον ἄριστον. καὶ Σόλωνι ἐπέστειλεν οὕτω·

Κλεόβουλος Σόλωνι

“Πολλοὶ μέν τιν ἔασιν ἕταροι καὶ οἶκος πάντη· φαμὶ δὲ ἐγὼν ποτανεστάταν ἐσεῖσθαι Σόλωνι τὰν Λίνδον δαμοκρατεομέναν. καὶ ἁ νᾶσος πελαγία, ἔνθα οἰκέοντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐκ Πεισιστράτω. καὶ τοὶ ἕταροι δὲ ἑκαστόθεν πὰρ τὺ βασοῦνται.

Κεφ. ζ’. ΠΕΡΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένους. οὗτος γήμας Λυσίδην, ἣν αὐτὸς Μέλισσαν ἐκάλει, τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίων τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθενείας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου θυγατέρα, οἳ σχεδὸν πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχῆς, παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐποίησε δύο, Κύψελον καὶ Λυκόφρονα· τὸν μὲν νεώτερον συνετόν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἄφρονα. χρόνῳ δὴ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς βαλὼν ὑποβάθρῳ ἢ λακτίσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον οὖσαν ἀπέκτεινε, πεισθεὶς διαβολαῖς παλλακίδων, ἃς ὕστερον ἔκαυσε.

Τόν τε παῖδα ἀπεκήρυξεν εἰς Κέρκυραν, λυπούμενον ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, ᾧ ὄνομα Λυκόφρων. ἤδη δὲ

ἐν γήρᾳ καθεστὼς μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ὅπως παραλάβοι τὴν τυραννίδα· ὃν φθάσαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διεχρήσαντο. ὅθεν ὀργισθεὶς ἔπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀλυάττην ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ· προσχούσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς Σάμῳ, ἱκετεύσαντες τὴν Ἥραν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων διεσώθησαν.

Καὶ ὃς ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἤδη γεγονὼς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Σωσικράτης δέ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑνί, πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἑνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. τοῦτον Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ξένον φησὶν εἶναι Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλησίων τυράννῳ.

Φησὶ δὲ Ἀρίστιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε, ὡς ἄρα ἐρασθεῖσα ἡ

μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Κράτεια συνῆν αὐτῷ λάθρα· καὶ ὃς ἤδετο. φανεροῦ δὲ γενομένου βαρὺς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ φωρᾷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἔφορος ἱστορεῖ ὡς εὔξαιτο, εἰ νικήσειεν Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππῳ, χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθεῖναι. νικήσας δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν χρυσίου, κατά τινα ἑορτὴν ἐπιχώριον κεκοσμημένας ἰδὼν τὰς γυναῖκας πάντα ἀφείλετο τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἔπεμψε τὸ ἀνάθημα.

Λέγουσι δέ τινες ὡς θελήσας αὐτοῦ τὸν τάφον μὴ γνωσθῆναι, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμηχανήσατο. δυσὶν ἐκέλευσε νεανίσκοις, δείξας τινὰ ὁδόν, ἐξελθεῖν νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνελεῖν καὶ θάψαι· ἔπειτα βαδίζειν ἄλλους τε κατὰ τούτων τέτταρας, καὶ ἀνελόντας θάψαι· πάλιν τε κατὰ τούτων πλείονας. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς τοῖς πρώτοις ἐντυχὼν ἀνῃρέθη. Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἐπί τι κενοτάφιον ἐπέγραψαν αὐτῷ τόδε·

πλούτου καὶ σοφίης πρύτανιν πατρὶς ἥδε Κόρινθος

κόλποις ἀγχίαλος γῆ Περίανδρον ἔχει.
ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν·
μή ποτε λυπήσῃ σε τὸ μή σε τυχεῖν τινος· ἀλλὰ

τέρπεο πᾶσιν ὁμῶς οἷσι δίδωσι θεός.

καὶ γὰρ ἀθυμήσας ὁ σοφὸς Περίανδρος ἀπέσβη,

οὕνεκεν οὐκ ἔτυχεν πρήξιος ἧς ἔθελεν.

Τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μηδὲν χρημάτων ἕνεκα πράττειν· δεῖν γὰρ τὰ κερδαντὰ κερδαίνειν. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ὑποθήκας εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια. εἶπέ τε τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀσφαλῶς τυραννήσειν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ δορυφορεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις. καί ποτε ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τυραννεῖ, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἑκουσίως ἀποστῆναι καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεθῆναι κίνδυνον φέρει. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τάδε· καλὸν ἡσυχία· ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια· κέρδος αἰσχρόν· * δημοκρατία κρεῖττον τυραννίδος· αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ φθαρταί, αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἀθάνατοι·

εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, δυστυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος· φίλοις εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι· ὃ ἂν ὁμολογήσῃς, διατήρει· λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν μὴ ποιοῦ· μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας κόλαζε.

Οὗτος πρῶτος δορυφόρους ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τυραννίδα μετέστησε· καὶ οὐκ εἴα ἐν ἄστει ζῆν τοὺς βουλομένους, καθά φησιν Ἔφορος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, ἤκμαζε δὲ περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν ὀγδόην Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα.

Σωτίων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιώτην.

τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιούς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν τὸν Κορίνθιόν φησιν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· Πλάτων δὲ οὔ φησι.

Τούτου ἐστί· Μελέτη τὸ πᾶν. ἤθελε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν διορύξαι.

Φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολή·

Περίανδρος τοῖς σοφοῖς

“Πολλὰ χάρις τῷ Πυθοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῦ εἰς ἓν ἐλθόντας εὑρεῖν. ἀξοῦντί τε καὶ ἐς Κόρινθον ταὶ ἐμαὶ ἐπιστολαί. ἐγὼν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀποδέχομαι, ὡς ἴστε αὐτοί, ὅτι δαμοτικώτατα. πεύθομαι ὡς πέρυτι ἐγένετο ὑμῶν ἁλία παρὰ τὸν Λυδὸν ἐς Σάρδεις. ἤδη ὧν μὴ ὀκνεῖτε καὶ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῆν τὸν Κορίνθου τύραννον. ὑμᾶς γὰρ καὶ ἄσμενοι ὄψονται Κορίνθιοι φοιτεῦντας ἐς οἶκον τὸν

Περιάνδρου.

Περίανδρος Προκλεῖ

“Ἐμὶν μὲν ἀκούσιον τᾶς δάμαρτος τὸ ἄγος· τὺ δὲ ἑκὼν τῷ παιδί με ἄπο θυμοῦ ποιήσαις ἀδικεῖς. ἢ ὦν παῦσον τὰν ἀπήνειαν τῶ παιδός, ἢ ἐγὼν τὺ ἀμυνοῦμαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ποινὰς ἔτισα τὶν τᾷ θυγατρί, συγκατακαύσαις αὐτᾷ τὰ πασᾶν Κορινθιᾶν εἵματα.

Ἔγραψε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θρασύβουλος οὕτω·

Θρασύβουλος Περιάνδρῳ

“Τῷ μὲν κήρυκι σεῦ οὐδὲν ὑπεκρινάμην· ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς λήϊον, τοὺς ὑπερφυέας τῶν ἀσταχύων ῥάβδῳ παίων ἀπεθέριζον, ὁμαρτέοντος ἐκείνου. καί σοι ἀναγγελέει εἰ ἐπέροιο, ὅ τι μευ ἀκούσειεν ἢ ἴδοι. σὺ δὲ ποίει οὕτως, ἢν γ’ ἐθέλῃς καρτύνασθαι τὴν αἰσυμνητίην· τοὺς ἐξόχους τῶν πολιτέων ἐξαίρειν, ἢν τέ τις ἐχθρός τοι φαίνηται, ἢν τε μή. ὕποπτος γὰρ ἀνδρὶ αἰσυμνήτῃ καὶ τῶν τις ἑτάρων.

Κεφ. η′. ΑΝΑΧΑΡΣΙΣ Ο ΣΚΥΘΗΣ

Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης Γνούρου μὲν ἦν υἱός, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Καδουΐδα τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, μητρὸς δὲ Ἑλληνίδος· διὸ καὶ δίγλωττος ἦν. οὗτος ἐποίησε τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις νομίμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς εὐτέλειαν βίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔπη ὀκτακόσια. παρέσχε δὲ καὶ ἀφορμὴν παροιμίας διὰ τὸ παρρησιαστὴς εἶναι, τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν.

Λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσικράτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκράτους. Ἕρμιππος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενον τῶν θεραπόντων τινὶ κελεῦσαι μηνῦσαι ὅτι παρείη, πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀνάχαρσις, καὶ βούλοιτο αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ξένος τε, εἰ οἷόν τε, γενέσθαι.

καὶ ὁ θεράπων εἰσαγγείλας ἐκελεύσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ, ὅτιπερ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι ξένους ποιοῦνται. ἔνθεν ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐλὼν ἔφη νῦν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εἶναι καὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ ξένους ποιεῖθαι. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς τὴν ἑτοιμότητα εἰσέφρησεν αὐτὸν καὶ μέγιστον φίλον ἐποιήσατο.

Μετὰ χρόνον δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ δοκῶν τὰ νόμιμα παραλύειν τῆς πατρίδος πολὺς ὢν ἐν τῷ ἑλληνίζειν, τοξευθεὶς ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ πρὸς τἀδελφοῦ τελευτᾷ, εἰπὼν διὰ μὲν τὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωθῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὸν φθόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀπολέσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ τελετὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιτελοῦντα διαχρησθῆναι.

Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

ἐς Σκυθίην Ἀνάχαρσις ὅτ’ ἦλυθε, πολλὰ πλανηθεὶς

πάντας ἔπειθε βιοῦν ἤθεσιν Ἑλλαδικοῖς.

τὸν δ’ ἔτι μῦθον ἄκραντον ἐνὶ στομάτεσσιν ἔχοντα

πτηνὸς ἐς ἀθανάτους ἥρπασεν ὦκα δόναξ.

Οὗτος τὴν ἄμπελον εἶπε τρεῖς φέρειν βότρυς· τὸν πρῶτον ἡδονῆς· τὸν δεύτερον μέθης· τὸν τρίτον ἀνδίας. θαυμάζειν δὲ ἔφη πῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται μὲν οἱ τεχνῖται, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὴ τεχνῖται. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό τις φιλοπότης, εἰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, εἶπεν, ἔχοι τὰς τῶν μεθυόντων ἀσχημοσύνας. θαυμάζειν τε ἔλεγε πῶς οἱ Ἕλληνες νομοθετοῦντες κατὰ τῶν ὑβριζόντων, τοὺς ἀθλητὰς τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τύπτειν ἀλλήλους. μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι

τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν.

Τὸ ἔλαιον μανίας φάρμακον ἔλεγε διὰ τὸ ἀλειφομένους τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἐπιμαίνεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. πῶς, ἔλεγεν, ἀπαγορεύοντες τὸ ψεύδεσθαι ἐν ταῖς καπηλείαις φανερῶς ψεύδονται; καὶ θαυμάζειν φησὶ τῶς Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνουσι, πλησθέντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις. ἐπιγράφεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς εἰκόσι· γλώσσης, γαστρός, αἰδοίων κρατεῖν. ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ εἰσὶν ἐν Σκύθαις αὐλοί, εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἄμπελοι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα τῶν πλοίων εἰσὶν ἀσφαλέστερα, ἔφη, τὰ νενεωλκημένα. καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη θαυμασιώτατον ἑωρακέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς πότεροι πλείους εἰσίν, οἱ ζῶντες ἢ οἱ νεκροί, ἔφη, τοὺς οὖν πλέοντας ποῦ τίθης; ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ ὅτι Σκύθης ἐστίν, ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἐμοῦ μὲν ὄνειδος ἡ πατρίς, σὺ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος.

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν τε καὶ φαῦλον, ἔφη, γλῶσσα. κρεῖττον ἔλεγεν ἕνα φίλον ἔχειν πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἢ πολλοὺς μηδενὸς ἀξίους. τὴν ἀγορὰν ὡρισμένον ἔφη τόπον εἰς τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀπατᾶν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. ὑπὸ μειρακίου παρὰ πότον ὑβρισθεὶς ἔφη, μειράκιον, ἐὰν νέος ὢν τὸν οἶνον οὐ φέρῃς, γέρων γενόμενος ὕδωρ οἴσεις.

Εὗρε δ’ εἰς τὸν βίον ἄγκυράν τε καὶ κεραμικὸν τροχόν, ὥς τινες.

Καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε·

Ἀνάχαρσις Κροίσῳ

‘‘Ἐγώ, βασιλεῦ Λυδῶν, ἀφῖγμαι εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διδαθησόμενος ἤθη τὰ τούτων καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα. χρυσοῦ δ’ οὐδὲ δέομαι, ἀλλ’ ἀπόχρη με ἐπανήκειν ἐς Σκύθας ἄνδρα ἀμείνονα. ἥκω γοῦν ἐς Σάρδεις, πρὸ μεγάλου ποιούμενος ἐν γνώμῃ τοι γενέσθαι.

Κεφ. θ′. ΜΥΣΩΝ

Μύσων Στρύμωνος, ὥς φησι Σωσικράτης Ἕρμιππον παρατιθέμενος, τὸ γένος Χηνεύς, ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς Οἰταϊκῆς ἢ Λακωνικῆς, σὺν τοῖς ἑπτὰ καταριθμεῖται. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τυράννου πατρὸς εἶναι. λέγεται δὴ πρός τινος Ἀναχάρσιδος πυνθανομένου εἴ τις αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος εἴη, τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν ἅπερ προείρηται ἐν τῷ Θαλοῦ βίῳ ὑπὲρ Χίλωνος·
Οἰταῖόν τινά φημι Μύσων’ ἐνὶ Χηνὶ γενέσθαι

σοῦ μᾶλλον πραπίδεσσιν ἀρηρότα πευκαλίμῃσι.
πολυπραγμονήσαντα δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην καὶ εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν θέρους ἐχέτλην ἀρότρῳ προσαρμόττοντα, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’, ὦ Μύσων, οὐχ ὥρα νῦν ἀρότρου. καὶ μάλα, εἶπεν, ὥστε ἐπισκευάζειν.

ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν οὕτως ἔχειν φασί, Ἠτεῖόν τινά φημι· καὶ ζητοῦσι τί ἐστιν ὁ Ἠτεῖος. Παρμενίδης μὲν οὖν δῆμον εἶναι Λακωνικῆς, ὅθεν εἶναι τὸν Μύσωνα. Σωσικράτης δ’ ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, ἀπὸ μὲν πατρὸς Ἠτεῖον εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ μητρὸς Χηνέα. Εὐθύφρων δ’ ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, Κρῆτά φησιν εἶναι· Ἠτείαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης. Ἀναξίλαος δ’ Ἀρκάδα.

Μέμνηται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἵππωναξ εἰπών·
καὶ Μύσων ὃν Ὠπόλλων

ἀνεῖλεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων.
Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς σποράδην οὐ πόρρω Τίμωνος αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀπημάντου γεγονέναι· μισανθρωπεῖν γάρ.

ὀφθῆναι γοῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μόνον ἐπ’ ἐρημίας γελῶντα· ἄφνω δέ τινος ἐπιστάντος καὶ

πυθομένου διὰ τί μηδενὸς παρόντος γελᾷ, φάναι, δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστόξενος ὅτι ἔνθεν καὶ ἄδοξος ἦν, ὅτι μηδὲ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ κώμης, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφανοῦς. ὅθεν διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ τινας Πεισιστράτῳ περιθεῖναι τῷ τυράννῳ, χωρὶς Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ, ἀντὶ Περιάνδρου θεὶς αὐτόν.

Ἔφασκε δὲ μὴ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκα τῶν λόγων τὰ πράγματα συντελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἕνεκα τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους.

Κατέστρεψε δὲ βιοὺς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐννενήκοντα.

Κεφ. ι’. ΕΠΙΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ

Ἐπιμενίδης, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Φαιστίου, οἱ δὲ Δωσιάδα οἱ δὲ Ἀγησάρχου· Κρὴς τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ, καθέσει τῆς κόμης τὸ εἶδος παραλλάσσων. οὗτός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πρόβατον, τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκκλίνας ὑπ’ ἄντρῳ τινὶ κατεκοιμήθη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη. διαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐζήτει τὸ πρόβατον, νομίζων ἐπ’ ὀλίγον κεκοιμῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὐχ εὕρισκε, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ μετεσκευασμένα πάντα καταλαβὼν καὶ παρ’ ἑτέρῳ τὴν κτῆσιν, πάλιν ἦκεν εἰς ἄστυ διαπορούμενος. κἀκεῖ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰσιὼν οἰκίαν περιέτυχε τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τίς εἴη, ἕως τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν εὑρὼν τότε ἤδη γέροντα ὄντα, πᾶσαν ἔμαθε παρ’ ἐκείνου τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

γνωσθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι θεοφιλέστατος εἶναι ὑπελήφθη.

Τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις [τότε] λοιμῷ κατεχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι ναῦν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου εἰς Κρήτην, καλοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν Ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἕκτῃ ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε καὶ λευκὰ ἦγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον· κἀκεῖθεν εἴασεν ἰέναι οἷ βούλοιντο, προστάξας τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἕνθα ἂν κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, θύειν τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λῆξαι τὸ κακόν. ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίωι βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τοῦ λοιμοῦ τὸ Κυλώνειον ἄγος σημαίνειν τε τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποθανεῖν δύο νεανίας, Κρατῖνον καὶ Κτησίβιον, καὶ λυθῆναι τὴν συμφοράν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάλαντον ἐψηφίσαντο δοῦναι αὐτῷ καὶ ναῦν τὴν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπάξουσαν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐ προσήκατο· φιλίαν δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο Κνωσίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

Καὶ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπ’ οἶκου μετ’ οὐ πολὺ μετήλλαξεν, ὥς φησι Φλέγων ἐν τῷ Περὶ μακροβίων, βιοὺς ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν· ὡς δὲ Κρῆτες λέγουσιν, ἐνὸς δέοντα τριακόσια· ὡς δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἀκηκοέναι φησί, τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

Ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν καὶ Θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια, Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγίαν τε καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλουν ἔπη ἑξακισχίλια πεντακόσια.

συνέγραψε δὲ καὶ καταλογάδην Περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ πολιτείας καὶ Περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος εἰς ἔπη τετρακισχίλια. ἱδρύσατο δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Σεμνῶν, ὥς φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος οἰκίας καὶ ἀγροὺς καθῆραι καὶ ἱερὰ ἱδρύσασθαι. εἰσὶ δ’ οἳ μὴ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ χρόνον τινὰ ἐκπατῆσαι ἀσχολούμενον περὶ ῥιζοτομίαν.

Φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σόλωνα τὸν νομοθέτην, περιέχουσα πολιτείαν ἣν διέταξε Κρησὶ Μίνως. ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων διελέγχειν πειρᾶται τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς νεαρὰν καὶ μὴ τῇ Κρητικῇ φωνῇ γεγραμμένην, Ἀτθίδι δὲ

καὶ ταύτῃ νέᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην εὗρον ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν οὕτως·

Ἐπιμενίδης Σόλωνι

“Θάρρει, ὦ ἑταῖρε. αἱ γὰρ ἔτι θητευόντεσσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μὴ εὐνομημένοις ἐπεθήκατο Πεισίστρατος, εἶχέ κα τὰν ἀρχὰν ἀεί, ἀνδραποδιξάμενος τὼς πολιήτας· νῦν δὲ οὐ κακὼς ἄνδρας δουλῶται· τοὶ μεμναμένοι τᾶς Σόλωνος μανύσιος ἀλγιόντι πεδ’ αἰσχύνας οὐδὲ ἀνεξοῦνται τυραννούμενοι. ἀλλ’ αἴ κα Πεισίστρατος αὐτὸσ κατασχέθῃ τὰν πόλιν, οὐ μὰν ἐς παῖδάς γε τήνω ἔλπομαι τὸ κράτος ἴξεσθαι· δυσμάχανον γὰρ ἀνθρώπως ἐλευθεριάξαντας ἐν τεθμοῖς ἀρίστοις δούλως ἦμεν. τὺ δὲ μὴ ἀλᾶσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔρπε ἐς Κρήτην ποθ’ ἁμέ. τουτᾶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσεῖταί τιν δεινὸς ὁ μόναρχος· αἰ δέ πη ἐπ’ ἀλατείᾳ ἐγκύρσωντί τοι τοὶ τήνω φίλοι, δειμαίνω μή τι δεινὸν πάθῃς.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὧδε. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριός τινας ἱστορεῖν ὡς λάβοι παρὰ Νυμφῶν ἔδεσμά τι καὶ φυλάττοι ἐν χηλῇ βοός· προσφερόμενός τε κατ’ ὀλίγον μηδεμιᾷ κενοῦσθαι ἀποκρίσει μηδὲ ὀφθῆναί ποτε ἐσθίων. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ. λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι Κρῆτες αὐτῷ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ· φασὶ γὰρ καὶ προγνωστικώτατον γεγονέναι. ἰδόντα γοῦν τὴν Μουνιχίαν παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἀγνοεῖν φάναι αὐτοὺς ὅσων κακῶν αἴτιον ἔσται τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτὸ διαφορῆσαι· ταῦτα ἔλεγε τοσούτοις πρότερον χρόνοις. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸν Αἰακὸν λέγοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις προείποι τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀρκάδων ἅλωσιν προσποιηθῆναί τε πολλάκις ἀναβεβιωκέναι.

Θεόπομπος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Θαυμασίοις, κατασκευάζοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἱερὸν ῥαγῆναι φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, Ἐπιμενίδη, μὴ Νυμφῶν, ἀλλὰ Διός· Κρησί τε προειπεῖν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἥτταν ὑπ’ Ἀρκάδων, καθάπερ προείρηται· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλήφθησαν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ.

Γηρᾶσαί τ’ ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις αὐτὸν ὅσαπερ ἔτη κατεκοιμήθη· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό φησι Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶν ὅτι Κούρητα αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Κρῆτες· καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ φυλάττουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς κατά τι λόγιον, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδαι ἄλλοι δύο, ὅ τε γενεαλόγος καὶ τρίτος ὁ Δωρίδι γεγραφὼς περὶ Ῥόδου.

Κεφ. ια’. ΦΕΡΕΚΥΔΗΣ

Φερεκύδης Βάβυος Σύριος, καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, Πιττακοῦ διακήκοεν. τοῦτόν φησι Θεόπομπος πρῶτον περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν γράψαι.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσια λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα καὶ ναῦν οὐριοδρομοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καταδύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδῦναι. καὶ ἀνιμηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πιόντα προειπεῖν, ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γενέσθαι. ἀνιόντα τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας εἰς Μεσσήνην τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλεῦσαι ἐξοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων· καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἑαλωκέναι.

Καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰπεῖν μήτε χρυσὸν τιμᾶν μήτε ἄργυρον, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν Θαυμασίοις· προστάξαι δὲ αὐτῷ ὄναρ τοῦτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κελεῦσαι Φερεκύδῃ πείθεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ Πυθαγόρᾳ περιάπτουσι ταῦτα.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἕρμιππος πολέμου συνεστῶτος Ἐφεσίοις καὶ Μάγνησι βουλόμενον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους νικῆσαι πυθέσθαι τινὸς παριόντος πόθεν εἴη, τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἕλκυσόν με τοίνυν, ἔφη, τῶν σκελῶν καὶ θὲς εἰς τὴν τῶν Μαγνήτων χώραν, καὶ ἀπάγγειλόν σου τοῖς πολίταις μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι αὐτόθι με θάψαι· ἐπεσκηφέναι τε ταῦτα Φερεκύδην.

ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπήγγειλεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες κρατοῦσι τῶν Μαγνήτων, καὶ τόν τε Φερεκύδην μεταλλάξαντα θάπτουσιν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶσιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυκίου ὄρους αὐτὸν δισκῆσαι. Ἀριστόξενος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ. οἱ δὲ φθειριάσαντα τὸν βίον τελευτῆσαι· ὅτε καὶ Πυθαγόρου παραγενομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου, πῶς διακέοιτο, διαβαλόντα τῆς θύρας τὸν δάκτυλον εἰπεῖν, χροῒ δῆλα· καὶ τοὐντεῦθεν παρὰ τοῖς φιλολόγοις ἡ λέξις ἐπὶ τῶν χειρόνων τάττεται, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν βελτίστων χρώμενοι διαμαρτάνουσιν.

ἔλεγέ τε ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν.

Ἄνδρων δ’ ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησι δύο γεγονέναι Φερεκύδας Συρίους, τὸν μὲν ἀστρολόγον, τὸν δὲ θεολόγον υἱὸν Βάβυος, ᾧ καὶ Πυθαγόραν σχολάσαι. Ἐρατοσθένης δ’ ἕνα μόνον, καὶ ἕτερον Ἀθηναῖον, γενεαλόγον.

Σώζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίῃ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς γῆν γέρας διδοῖ. σώζεται δὲ καὶ ἡλιοτροπεῖον ἐν Σύρῳ τῇ νήσῳ.

Φησὶ δὲ Δοῦρις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὡρῶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῆς σοφίης πάσης ἐν ἐμοὶ τέλος· ἢν δέ τι πλεῖον,

Πυθαγόρῃ τὠμῷ λέγε ταῦθ’, ὅτι πρῶτος ἁπάντων

ἔστιν ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα γῆν· οὐ ψεύδομαι ὧδ’ ἀγορεύων.

Ἴων δ’ ὁ Χῖός φησιν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἠνορέῃ τε κεκασμένος ἠδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ

καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοτον,

εἴπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων

ἀνθρώπων γνώμας ᾔδεε κἀξέμαθεν.

Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον τῷ μέτρῳ τῷ Φερεκρατείῳ·

τὸν κλεινὸν Φερεκύδην,

ὃν τίκτει ποτὲ Σῦρος,

ἐς φθεῖρας λόγος ἐστὶν

ἀλλάξαι τὸ πρὶν εἶδος,

θεῖναί τ’ εὐθὺ κελεύειν

Μαγνήτων, ἵνα νίκην

δοίη τοῖς Ἐφέσοιο

γενναίοις πολιήταις.

ἦν γὰρ χρησμός, ὃν ᾔδει

μοῦνος, τοῦτο κελεύων·

καὶ θνήσκει παρ’ ἐκείνοις.

ἦν οὖν τοῦτ’ ἄρ’ ἀληθές·

ἢν ᾖ τις σοφὸς ὄντως,

καὶ ζῶν ἐστιν ὄνησις,

χὤταν μηδὲν ὑπάρχῃ.

Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε·

Φερεκύδης Θαλῇ

“Εὖ θνήσκοις ὅταν τοι τὸ χρεὼν ἥκῃ· νοῦσός με καταλελάβηκε δεδεγμένον τὰ παρὰ σέο γράμματα. φθειρῶν ἔβρυον πᾶς καί με εἶχεν ἠπίαλος. ἐπέσκηψα δ’ ὧν τοῖσιν οἰκιήτῃσιν, ἐπήν με κατθάψωσιν, ἐς σὲ τὴν γραφὴν ἐνεῖκαι. σὺ δὲ ἢν δοκιμώσῃς σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς, οὕτω μιν φῆνον· ἢν δὲ οὐ δοκιμώσητε, μὴ φήνῃς. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὔκω ἥνδανεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεκηῖη πρηγμάτων οὐδ’ ὑπίσχομαι τἀληθὲς εἰδέναι· ἅσσα δ’ ἂν ἐπιλέγῃ θεολογέων· τὰ ἄλλα χρὴ νοέειν· ἅπαντα γὰρ αἰνίσσομαι. τῇ δὲ νούσῳ πιεζόμενος ἐπὶ μᾶλλον οὔτε τῶν τινα ἰητρῶν οὔτε τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐσιέμην· προεστεῶσι δὲ τῇ θύρῃ καὶ εἰρομένοις ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη, διεὶς δάκτυλον ἐκ τῆς κληῖθρης ἔδειξ’ ἂν ὡς ἔβρυον τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ προεῖπα αὐτοῖσι ἥκειν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐπὶ τὰς Φερεκύδεω ταφάς.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κληθέντες σοφοί, οἷς τινες καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον προσκαταλέγουσι. λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων· καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἧς καθηγήσατο Θαλῆς, οὗ διήκουσεν Ἀναξίμανδρος.

Β

Κεφ. α΄. ΑΝΑΞΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον τὸ ἄπειρον, οὐ διορίζων ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἄλλο τι. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέρη μεταβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἀμετάβλητον εἶναι. μέσην τε τὴν γῆν κεῖσθαι, κέντρου τάξιν ἐπέχουσαν οὖσαν σφαιροειδῆ· τήν τε σελήνην ψευδοφαῆ, καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς γῆς, καὶ καθαρώτατον πῦρ.

Εὗρεν δὲ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τροπάς τε καὶ ἰσημερίας σημαίνοντα, καὶ ὡροσκοπεῖα κατεσκεύασε.

καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης περίμετρον πρῶτος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαῖραν κατεσκεύασε.

Τῶν δὲ ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πεποίηται κεφαλαιώδη τὴν ἔκθεσιν, ᾗ που περιέτυχεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς καί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἑξήκοντα τεττάρων καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι, ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον. τούτου φασὶν ᾄδοντος καταγελάσαι τὰ παιδάρια, τὸν δὲ μαθόντα φάναι, βέλτιον οὖν ἡμῖν ᾀστέον διὰ τὰ παιδάρια.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀναξίμανδρος ἱστορικός, καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τῇ Ἰάδι γεγραφώς.

Κεφ. β΄. ΑΝΑΞΙΜΕΝΗΣ

Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμάνδρου. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν. οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἀέρα εἶπε καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον. κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ἄστρα οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀλλὰ

περὶ γῆν. κέχρηταί τε λέξει Ἰάδι ἁπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.

Καὶ γεγένηται μέν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἅλωσιν, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ ἑξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Λαμψακηνοί, ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός, ὃς ἀδελφῆς υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ ῥήτορος τοῦ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις γεγραφότος.

Οὗτος δὴ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐπέστειλεν ὧδε

Ἀναξιμένης Πυθαγόρῃ

“Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύου ἐπὶ γήρως οὐκ εὐπότμως οἴχεται· εὐφρόνης, ὥσπερ ἐώθει, ἅμα τῇ ἀμφιπόλῳ προϊὼν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλίου τὰ ἄστρα ἐθηεῖτο· καί—οὐ γὰρ ἐς μνήμην ἔθετο—θηεύμενος ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐκβὰς καταπίπτει. Μιλησίοισι μέν νυν ὁ αἰθερολόγος ἐν τοιῷδε κεῖται τέλει. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ λεσχηνευταὶ αὐτοί τε μεμνώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἵ τε ἡμέων παῖδές τε καὶ λεσχηνευταί, ἐπιδεξιοίμεθα δ’ ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις. ἀρχὴ μέντοι παντὸς τοῦ λόγου Θαλῇ ἀνακείσθω.

Καὶ πάλιν·

Ἀναξιμένης Πυθαγόρῃ

“Εὐβουλότατος ἦς ἡμέων, μεταναστὰς ἐκ Σάμου ἐς Κρότωνα, ἐνθάδε εἰρηνέεις. οἱ δὲ Αἰακέος παῖδες ἄλαστα κακὰ ἔρδουσι καὶ Μιλησίους οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσι αἰσυμνῆται. δεινὸς δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἄν γε ἐθέλωμεν δασμοφορέειν· ἀλλὰ μέλλουσι δὴ ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης ἁπάντων Ἴωνες Μήδοις κατίστασθαι ἐς πόλεμον· καταστᾶσι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐλπὶς ἡμῖν σωτηρίης. κῶς ἂν οὖν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν θυμῷ ἔτι ἔχοι αἰθερολογέειν, ἐν δείματι ἐὼν ὀλέθρου ἢ δουλοσύνης; σὺ δὲ εἶ καταθύμιος μὲν Κροτωνιήτῃσι, καταθύμιος δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰταλιώτῃσι· φοιτέουσι δέ τοι λεσχηνευταὶ καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης.

Κεφ. γ′. ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησιβούλου ἢ Εὐβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμένους, καὶ πρῶτος τῇ ὕλῃ νοῦν ἐπέστησεν, ἀρξάμενος οὕτω τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅ ἐστιν ἡδέως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡρμηνευμένον· πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε. παρὸ καὶ Νοῦς ἐπεκλήθη, καί φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις οὕτω·
καί που Ἀναξαγόρην φάσ’ ἔμμεναι, ἄλκιμον ἥρω

Νοῦν, ὅτι δὴ νόος αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐξαπίνης ἐπεγείρας

πάντα συνεσφήκωσεν ὁμοῦ τεταραγμένα πρόσθεν.

Οὗτος εὐγενείᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ, ὅς γε τὰ πατρῷα παρεχώρησε τοῖς οἰκείοις.

αἰτιαθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμελῶν, τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθε; καὶ τέλος ἀπέστη καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρίαν ἦν οὐ φροντίζων τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οὐδέν σοι μέλει τῆς πατρίδος; εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα μέλει τῆς πατρίδος, δείξας τὸν οὐρανόν.

Λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶναι, βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο. φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τεθνηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς ὀγδόης. ἤρξατο δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου, ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ὤν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ, ἔνθα καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐτῶν διατρῖψαι τριάκοντα.

Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οἱ δέ φασι Τάνταλον· τὴν δὲ σελήνην οἰκήσεις ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους καὶ φάραγγας. ἀρχὰς δὲ τὰς ὁμοιομερείας· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ψηγμάτων λεγομένων τὸν χρυσὸν συνεστάναι, οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σωμάτων τὸ πᾶν συγκεκρίσθαι. καὶ νοῦν μὲν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως· τῶν δὲ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν βαρέα τὸν κάτω τόπον, ὡς τὴν γῆν, τὰ δὲ κοῦφα τὸν ἄνω ἐπισχεῖν, ὡς τὸ πῦρ· ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ ἀέρα τὸν μέσον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πλατείας οὔσης τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποστῆναι, διατμισθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῶν ὑγρῶν.

τὰ δ’ ἄστρα κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν θολοειδῶς ἐνεχθῆναι, ὥστε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῆς γῆς τὸν ἀεὶ φαινόμενον εἶναι πόλον, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἔγκλισιν λαβεῖν. καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν ἀνάκλασιν εἶναι φωτὸς τῶν ὑπὸ ἡλίου μὴ καταλαμπομένων τῶν ἄστρων. τοὺς δὲ κομήτας σύνοδον πλανητῶν φλόγας ἀφιέντων· τούς τε διᾴττοντας οἷον σπινθῆρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποπάλλεσθαι. ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι λεπτυνομένου τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. βροντὰς σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν· ἀστραπὰς ἔκτριψιν νεφῶν· σεισμὸν ὑπονόστησιν ἀέρος εἰς γῆν.

Ζῷα γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων· καὶ ἄρρενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν, θήλεα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν.

Φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν προειπεῖν τὴν περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς γενομένην τοῦ λίθου πτῶσιν, ὃν εἶπεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου πεσεῖσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ Εὐριπίδην, μαθητὴν ὄντα αὐτοῦ, χρυσέαν βῶλον εἰπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ Φαέθοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθόντα ἐν δερματίνῳ καθίσαι, ὡς μέλλοντος ὕσειν· καὶ γενέσθαι. πρός τε τὸν εἰπόντα, εἰ τὰ ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ὄρη ἔσται ποτὲ θάλαττα, φασὶν εἰπεῖν, ἐάν γε ὁ χρόνος μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ. ἐρωτηθείς ποτε εἰς τί γεγέννηται, εἰς θεωρίαν, ἔφη, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ οὐρανοῦ. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ἐστερήθης Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμοῦ. ἰδὼν τὸν Μαυσώλου τάφον ἔφη, τάφος πολυτελὴς λελιθωμένης ἐστὶν οὐσίας εἴδωλον.

πρὸς τὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτᾷ, πανταχόθεν, ἔφη, ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασις.

Δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀποφήνασθαι εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ προστῆναι τοῦ λόγου Μητρόδωρον τὸν Λαμψακηνόν, γνώριμον ὄντα αὐτοῦ, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον σπουδάσαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν. πρῶτος δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς. φησὶ δὲ Σιληνὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δημύλου λίθον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν·

τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων συγκέοιτο· τῇ σφοδρᾷ δὲ περιδινήσει συνεστάναι καὶ ἀνεθέντα κατενεχθήσεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ διάφορα λέγεται. Σωτίων μὲν γάρ φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαδοχῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ Κλέωνος αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας κριθῆναι, διότι τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον· ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Περικλέους τοῦ μαθητοῦ, πέντε ταλάντοις ζημιωθῆναι καὶ φυγαδευθῆναι. Σάτυρος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὑπὸ Θουκυδίδου φησὶν εἰσαχθῆναι τὴν δίκην, ἀντιπολιτευομένου τῷ Περικλεῖ· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδισμοῦ· καὶ ἀπόντα καταδικασθῆναι θανάτῳ.

ὅτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῷ προσαγγελέντων, τῆς τε καταδίκης καὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων τελευτῆς, εἰπεῖν περὶ μὲν τῆς καταδίκης, ὅτι ἄρα κἀκείνων κἀμοῦ πάλαι ἡ φύσις κατεψηφίσατο, περὶ δὲ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι ᾔδειν αὐτοὺς θνητοὺς γεννήσας. οἱ δ’ εἰς Σόλωνα τοῦτ’ ἀναφέρουσιν, ἄλλοι εἰς Ξενοφῶντα. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ θάψαι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν αὐτοὺς Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως. Ἕρμιππος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν ὅτι καθείρχθη ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τεθνηξόμενος. Περικλῆς δὲ παρελθὼν εἶπεν εἴ τι ἔχουσιν ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν βίον· οὐδὲν δὲ εἰπόντων, καὶ

μὴν ἐγώ, ἔφη, τούτου μαθητής εἰμι· μὴ οὖν διαβολαῖς ἐπαρθέντες ἀποκτείνητε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες ἄφετε. καὶ ἀφείθη· οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν.

Ἱερώνυμος δ’ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Τῶν σποράδην ὑπομνημάτων φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Περικλῆς παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, διερρυηκότα καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὥστε ἐλέῳ μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει ἀφεθῆναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς δίκης αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

Ἔδοξε δέ πως καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ ἀπεχθῶς ἐσχηκέναι ἀποτυχὼν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινολογίας. καὶ τέλος ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Λάμψακον αὐτόθι κατέστρεψεν. ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς πόλεως ἀξιούντων τί βούλεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, φάναι, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀποθάνῃ μηνὶ κατ’ ἔτος παίζειν συγχωρεῖν. καὶ φυλάττεται τὸ ἔθος καὶ νῦν.

τελευτήσαντα δὴ αὐτὸν ἔθαψαν ἐντίμως οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἐπέγραψαν·
ἐνθάδε, πλεῖστον ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τέρμα περήσας

οὐρανίου κόσμου, κεῖται Ἀναξαγόρας.

Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·
ἠέλιον πυρόεντα μύδρον ποτὲ φάσκεν ὑπάρχειν,

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θανεῖν μέλλεν Ἀναξαγόρας·

ἀλλ’ ὁ φίλος Περικλῆς μὲν ἐρύσατο τοῦτον, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν

ἐξάγαγεν βιότου μαλθακίῃ σοφίης.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀναξαγόραι, ὧν [ἐν οὐδενὶ πάντα, ἀλλ’] ὁ μὲν ἦν ῥήτωρ Ἰσοκράτειος· ὁ δ’ ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος· ἄλλος γραμματικὸς Ζηνοδότειος.

Κεφ. δ’. ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ

Ἀρχέλαος Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος, πατρὸς Ἀπολλοδώρου, ὡς δέ τινες, Μίδωνος, μαθητὴς Ἀναξαγόρου, διδάσκαλος Σωκράτους. οὗτος πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοσοφίαν μετήγαγεν Ἀθήναζε, καὶ ἐκλήθη φυσικός, παρὸ καὶ ἔληξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ φυσικὴ φιλοσοφία, Σωκράτους τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγόντος. ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἅψασθαι τῆς ἠθικῆς. καὶ γὰρ περὶ νόμων πεφιλοσόφηκε καὶ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων· παρ’ οὗ λαβὼν Σωκράτης τῷ αὐξῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἄκρον εὑρεῖν ὑπελήφθη. ἔλεγε δὲ δύο αἰτίας εἶναι γενέσεως, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰλύος γεννηθῆναι· καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτῷ οὕτως ἔχει. τηκόμενόν φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ, καθὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ κάτω διὰ τὸ πυρῶδες συνίσταται, ποιεῖν γῆν· καθὸ δὲ περιρρεῖ, ἀέρα γεννᾶν. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς περιφορᾶς κρατεῖται. γεννᾶσθαι δέ φησι τὰ ζῷα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰλὺν παραπλησίαν γάλακτι οἷον τροφὴν ἀνιείσης· οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι. πρῶτος δὲ εἶπε φωνῆς γένεσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος πλῆξιν. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠθουμένην συνεστάναι. μέγιστον τῶν ἄστρων τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρχέλαοι· ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατηθείσης γῆς, ὁ τὰ Ἰδιοφυῆ ποιήσας, ἄλλος τεχνογράφος ῥήτωρ.

Κεφ. ε’. ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου μὲν ἦν υἱὸς λιθουργοῦ καὶ Φαιναρέτης μαίας, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ φησίν, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. ἐδόκει δὲ συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ· ὅθεν Μνησίμαχος οὕτω φησί,

Φρύγες ἐστὶ καινὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ’ Εὐριπίδου,

…ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης

τὰ φρύγαν’ ὑποτίθησι.
καὶ πάλιν, Εὐριπίδας σωκρατογόμφους. καὶ Καλλίας Πεδήταις·

Α. Τί δὴ σὺ σεμνὴ καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα;
Β. Ἔξεστι γάρ μοι· Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος.
Ἀριστοφάνης Νεφέλαις·
Εὐριπίδῃ δ’ ὁ τὰς τραγῳδίας ποιῶν

τὰς περιλαλούσας οὗτός ἐστι, τὰς σοφάς.

Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου κατά τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δάμωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καταδίκην διήκουσεν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ φυσικοῦ· οὗ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φησὶν Ἀριστόξενος. Δοῦρις δὲ καὶ δουλεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι λίθους· εἶναί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀκροπόλει Χάριτας ἔνιοί φασιν, ἐνδεδυμένας οὔσας. ὅθεν καὶ Τίμωνα ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις εἰπεῖν·

ἐκ δ’ ἄρα τῶν ἀπέκλινεν ὁ λαξόος, ἐννομολέσχης,

Ἑλλήνων ἐπαοιδός, ἀκριβολόγους ἀποφήνας,

μυκτὴρ ῥητορόμυκτος, ὑπαττικὸς εἰρωνευτής.
ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς δεινός, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἰδομενεύς· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσαν τέχνας διδάσκειν λόγων, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτὸν κωμῳδεῖ ὡς τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιοῦντα. καὶ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μετὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ Αἰσχίνου ῥητορεύειν ἐδίδαξε· λέγει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν. καὶ πρῶτος περὶ βίου διελέχθη καὶ πρῶτος φιλοσόφων καταδικασθεὶς ἐτελεύτα. φησὶ δ’ αὐτὸν Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Σπινθάρου καὶ χρηματίσασθαι· τιθέντα γοῦν τὸ βαλλόμενον κέρμα ἀθροίζειν· εἶτ’ ἀναλώσαντα πάλιν τιθέναι.

Κρίτωνα δ’ ἀναστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου καὶ παιδεῦσαι τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν χάριτος ἐρασθέντα Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος.

γνόντα δὲ τὴν φυσικὴν θεωρίαν μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὰ ἠθικὰ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπί τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· κἀκεῖνα δὲ φάσκειν ζητεῖν,
ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ’ ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.
πολλάκις δὲ βιαιότερον ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι διαλεγόμενον κονδυλίζεσθαι καὶ παρατίλλεσθαι, τὸ πλέον τε γελᾶσθαι καταφρονούμενον· καὶ πάντα ταῦτα φέρειν ἀνεξικάκως. ὅθεν καὶ λακτισθέντα, ἐπειδὴ ἠνέσχετο, τινὸς θαυμάσαντος, εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέ με ὄνος ἐλάκτισε, δίκην ἂν αὐτῷ ἐλάγχανον; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δημήτριος.

Ἀποδημίας δὲ οὐκ ἐδεήθη, καθάπερ οἱ πλείους, πλὴν εἰ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἔδει. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι μένων φιλονεικότερον συνεζήτει τοῖς προσδιαλεγομένοις, οὐχ ὥστε ἀφελέσθαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ ὥστε τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκμαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι. φασὶ δ’ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι, τί δοκεῖ; τὸν δὲ φάναι, ἃ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ.

Ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ σωμασκίας, καὶ ἦν εὐέκτης. ἐστρατεύσατο γοῦν εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἀφ’ ἵππου πεσόντα ἐν τῇ κατὰ Δήλιον μάχῃ διέσωσεν ὑπολαβών·

ὅτε καὶ πάντων φευγόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς ἠρέμα ἀνεχώρει, παρεπιστρεφόμενος ἡσυχῆ καὶ

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

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

Αὐτάρκης τε ἦν καὶ σεμνός. καί ποτε Ἀλκιβιάδου, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, διδόντος αὐτῷ χώραν μεγάλην, ἵνα ἐνοικοδομήσηται οἰκίαν, φάναι, καὶ εἰ ὑποδημάτων ἔδει, καὶ βύρσαν μοι ἐδίδους, ἵν' ἐμαυτῷ ὑποδήματα ποιησαίμην, καταγέλαστος ἂν ἦν λαβών.

πολλάκις δ' ἀφορῶν εἰς τὰ πλήθη τῶν πιπρασκομένων ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, πόσων ἐγὼ χρείαν οὐκ ἔχω. καὶ συνεχὲς ἐκεῖνα ἀνεφθέγγετο τὰ ἰαμβεῖα·
τὰ δ' ἀργυρώματ' ἐστὶν ἥ τε πορφύρα

εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.
ὑπερεφρόνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀρχελάου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ Σκόπα τοῦ Κρανωνίου καὶ Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ Λαρισσαίου, μήτε χρήματα προσέμενος παρ' αὐτῶν, μήτε παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀπελθών. εὔτακτός τε ἦν τὴν δίαιταν οὕτως, ὥστε πολλάκις Ἀθήνησι λοιμῶν γενομένων μόνος οὐκ ἐνόσησε.

Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης δύο γυναῖκας αὐτὸν ἀγαγέσθαι· προτέραν μὲν Ξανθίππην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Λαμπροκλέα· δευτέραν δὲ Μυρτώ, τὴν Ἀριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου θυγατέρα, ἣν καὶ ἄπροικον λαβεῖν, ἐξ ἧς γενέσθαι Σωφρονίσκον καὶ Μενέξενον. οἱ δὲ προτέραν γῆμαι τὴν Μυρτώ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας σχεῖν ὁμοῦ, ὧν ἐστι Σάτυρός τε καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος. φασὶ γὰρ βουληθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν συναυξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἀστὴν μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας· ὅθεν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ Σωκράτην.

Ἦν δ' ἱκανὸς καὶ τῶν σκωπτόντων [αὐτὸν] ὑπερορᾶν. καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπὶ τῇ εὐτελείᾳ, μισθόν τε οὐδένα εἰσεπράξατο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ἥδιστα ἐσθίων ἥκιστα ὄψου προσδεῖσθαι· καὶ ἥδιστα πίνων ἥκιστα τὸ μὴ παρὸν ποτὸν ἀναμένειν· καὶ ἐλαχίστων δεόμενος ἔγγιστα εἶναι θεῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἐνέσται καὶ παρὰ τῶν κωμῳδοποιῶν λαβεῖν, οἳ λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς δι' ὧν σκώπτουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτόν. Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὕτως·
ὦ τῆς μεγάλης ἐπιθυμήσας σοφίας ἄνθρωπε δικαίως,

ὡς εὐδαίμων παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διάξεις.

εἶ γὰρ μνήμων καὶ φροντιστής, καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἔνεστιν

ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, κοὔτε τι κάμνεις οὔθ' ἑστὼς οὔτε βαδίζων,

οὔτε ῥιγῶν ἄχθει λίαν, οὔτ' ἀρίστων ἐπιθυμεῖς,
οἴνου τ' ἀπέχει κἀδηφαγίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνοήτων.

Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τρίβωνι παράγων αὐτὸν φησὶν οὕτως·
Σώκρατες ἀνδρῶν βέλτιστ' ὀλίγων, πολλῷ δὲ ματαιόταθ', ἥκεις

καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καρτερικός γ’ εἶ. πόθεν ἄν σοι χλαῖνα γένοιτο;

Β. τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν κατ’ ἐπήρειαν τῶν σκυτοτόμων γεγένηται.

Α. οὗτος μέντοι πεινῶν οὕτως οὐπώποτ’ ἔτλη
κολακεῦσαι.
τοῦτο δ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑπεροπτικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρον ἐμφαίνει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης λέγων οὕτως,
ὅτι βρενθύει τ’ ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς, καὶ τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλεις,

κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ’ ἀνέχει, κἀν ἡμῖν σεμνοπροσωπεῖς.
καίτοι ἐνίοτε πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἁρμοττόμενος καὶ λαμπρὰ ἠμπίσχετο· καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος συμποσίῳ παρ’ Ἀγάθωνα βαδίζων.

Ἱκανὸς δ’ ἀμφότερα ἦν, καὶ προτρέψαι καὶ ἀποτρέψαι. ὥσπερ τὸν Θεαίτητον περὶ ἐπιστήμης διαλεχθεὶς ἔνθεον ἀπέπεμψε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησίν. Εὐθύφρονα δὲ τῷ πατρὶ γραψάμενον ξενοκτονίας δίκην περὶ ὁσίου τινὰ διαλεχθεὶς ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὸν Λύσιν δὲ ἠθικώτατον ἐποίησε προτρέψας. ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς λόγους εὑρίσκειν. ἐνέτρεψε δὲ καὶ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν υἱὸν τῇ μητρὶ ἀγριαινόμενον, ὥς που καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκε. καὶ Γλαύκωνα μὲν τὸν Πλάτωνος ἀδελφὸν θέλοντα πολιτεύεσθαι ἀπέστησε διὰ τὸ ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν· Χαρμίδην δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔχοντα οἰκείως ἐπέστησεν.

Ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ εἰς φρόνημα Ἰφικράτην τὸν στρατηγόν, δείξας αὐτῷ τοῦ κουρέως Μειδίου ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀντίον τῶν Καλλίου πτερυξαμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν Γλαυκωνίδης ἠξίου τῇ πόλει περιποιεῖν καθάπερ φασιανὸν ὄρνιν ἢ ταώ.

Ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς θαυμαστὸν πρόβατα μὲν ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν ἂν ῥᾳδίως ὅσα ἔχει, φίλους δ’ οὐκ ἂν ὀνομάσαι ὁπόσους κέκτηται· οὕτως ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν περὶ αὐτούς. ὁρῶν δ’ Εὐκλείδην ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους, ὦ Εὐκλείδη, ἔφη, σοφισταῖς μὲν δυνήσῃ χρῆσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ἄχρηστον γὰρ ᾠετο εἶναι τὴν περὶ ταῦτα γλισχρολογίαν, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ φησί.

Χαρμίδου τε οἰκέτας αὐτῷ διδόντος, ἵν’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν προσοδεύοιτο, οὐχ εἵλετο· καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπερεῖδεν Ἀλκιβιάδου κατά τινας. καὶ ἐπῄνει σχολὴν ὡς κάλλιστον κτημάτων, καθὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησίν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἓν μόνον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ἓν μόνον κακόν, τὴν ἀμαθίαν· πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ εὐγένειαν οὐδὲν σεμνὸν ἔχειν· πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον κακόν. εἰπόντος γοῦν τινος αὐτῷ ὡς εἴη Ἀντισθένης μητρὸς Θρᾴττης, σὺ δ’ ᾧου, ἔφη, οὕτως ἂν γενναῖον ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι; Φαίδωνα δὲ δι’ αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπ’ οἰκήματος καθήμενον προσέταξε Κρίτωνι λυτρώσασθαι, καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀπειργάσατο.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ λυρίζειν ἐμάνθανεν ἤδη γηραιός, μηδὲν λέγων ἄτοπον εἶναι ἅ τις μὴ οἶδεν ἐκμανθάνειν. ἔτι τε ὠρχεῖτο συνεχές, τῇ τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίᾳ λυσιτελεῖν ἡγούμενος τὴν τοιαύτην γυμνασίαν, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Συμποσίῳ φησίν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ προσημαίνειν τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ· τό τε εὖ [ἄρχεσθαι] μικρὸν μὲν μὴ εἶναι, παρὰ μικρὸν δέ· καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν μηδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο [εἰδέναι]. τούς τε τὰ πρώϊμα πολλοῦ ἐωνημένους ἀπογινώσκειν ἔλεγεν εἰς τὰς ὥρας ἐλθεῖν. καί ποτε ἐρωτηθείς, τίς ἀρετὴ νέου, τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, εἶπεν. ἔφασκέ τε δεῖν γεωμετρεῖν μέχρι ἄν τις μέτρῳ δύνηται γῆν παραλαβεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι.

Εὐριπίδου δ’ ἐν τῇ Αὐγῇ εἰπόντος περὶ ἀρετῆς,
κράτιστον εἰκῆ ταῦτ’ ἐᾶν ἀφειμένα,
ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε, φήσας γελοῖον εἶναι ἀνδράποδον μὲν μὴ εὑρισκόμενον ἀξιοῦν ζητεῖν, ἀρετὴν δ’ οὕτως ἐᾶν ἀπολωλέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς πότερον γῆμαι ἢ μή, ἔφη, ὃ ἂν αὐτῶν ποιήσῃς, μεταγνώσῃ.

ἐλεγέ τε θαυμάζειν τῶν τὰς λιθίνας εἰκόνας κατασκευαζομένων τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν ὅπως ὁμοιότατος ἔσται, αὑτῶν δ’ ἀμελεῖν, ὡς μὴ ὁμοίους τῷ λίθῳ φαίνεσθαι. ἠξίου δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους συνεχὲς κατοπτρίζεσθαι, ἵν’ εἰ μὲν καλοὶ εἶεν, ἄξιοι γίγνοιντο· εἰ δ’ αἰσχροί, παιδείᾳ τὴν δυσείδειαν ἐπικαλύπτοιεν.

Καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πλουσίους, καὶ τῆς Ξανθίππης αἰδουμένης ἔφη, θάρρει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἶεν μέτριοι, συμπεριενεχθεῖεν ἄν· εἰ δὲ φαῦλοι, ἡμῖν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μελήσει. ἔλεγέ τε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ζῆν ἵν’ ἐσθίοιεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσθίειν ἵνα ζῴη. πρὸς τὸ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον πλῆθος ἔφασκεν ὅμοιον εἴ τις τετράδραχμον ἓν ἀποδοκιμάζων τὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σωρὸν ὡς δόκιμον ἀποδέχοιτο. Αἰσχίνου δὲ εἰπόντος, πένης εἰμὶ καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχω, δίδωμι δέ σοι ἐμαυτόν, ἆρ’ οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ τὰ μέγιστά μοι διδούς; τὸν ἀποδυσπετοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ παρορᾶσθαι, ὁπότε ἐπανέστησαν οἱ τριάκοντα, ἆρα, ἔφη, μήτι σοι μεταμέλει;

πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, θάνατόν σου κατέγνωσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκείνων, εἶπεν, ἡ φύσις. οἱ δὲ τοῦτ’ Ἀναξαγόρου φασί. τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης, ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις, σὺ δέ, ἔφη, δικαίως ἐβούλου; ὄναρ δόξας τινὰ αὐτῷ λέγειν,
ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο,
πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ἔφη, εἰς τρίτην ἀποθανοῦμαι. μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὸ κώνειον πίεσθαι Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱμάτιον ἐδίδου καλόν, ἵν’ ἐκείνῳ ἐναποθάνοι· καὶ ὅς, τί δέ, ἔφη, τὸ ἐμὸν ἱμάτιον ἐμβιῶναι μὲν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐναποθανεῖν δὲ οὐχί; πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, κακῶς ὁ δεῖνά σε λέγει, καλῶς γάρ, ἔφη, λέγειν οὐκ ἔμαθε.

στρέψαντος δὲ Ἀντισθένους τὸ διερρωγὸς τοῦ τρίβωνος εἰς τοὐμφανές, ὁρῶ σου, ἔφη, διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν κενοδοξίαν. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οὐ σοὶ λοιδορεῖται ὁ δεῖνα; οὐχί, ἔφη· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι ταῦτα. ἔλεγε δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς δεῖν ἐπίτηδες ἑαυτὸν διδόναι· εἰ μὲν γάρ τι τῶν προσόντων λέξειαν, διορθώσονται· εἰ δ’ οὔ, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. πρὸς Ξανθίππην πρότερον μὲν λοιδοροῦσαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ περιχέασαν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔλεγον, εἶπεν, ὅτι Ξανθίππη βροντῶσα καὶ ὕδωρ ποιήσει; πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην εἰπόντα ὡς οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἡ Ξανθίππη λοιδοροῦσα, ἀλλ’ ἔγωγ’, ἔφη, συνείθισμαι, καθαπερεὶ καὶ τροχιλίας ἀκούων συνεχές.

καὶ σὺ μέν, εἶπε, χηνῶν βοώντων ἀνέχῃ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ἀλλά μοι ᾠὰ καὶ νεοττοὺς τίκτουσι, κἀμοί, φησί, Ξανθίππη παιδία γεννᾷ. ποτὲ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ θοἰμάτιον περιελομένης συνεβούλευον οἱ γνώριμοι χερσὶν ἀμύνασθαι, νὴ Δί’, εἶπεν, ἵν’ ἡμῶν πυκτευόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγῃ, εὖ Σώκρατες, εὖ Ξανθίππη. ἔλεγε συνεῖναι τραχείᾳ γυναικὶ καθάπερ οἱ ἱππικοὶ θυμοειδέσιν ἵπποις. ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, φησί, τούτων κρατήσαντες ῥᾳδίως τῶν ἄλλων περιγίνονται, οὕτω κἀγὼ Ξανθίππῃ χρώμενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις συμπεριενεχθήσομαι.

Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς τῆς Πυθίας ἐμαρτυρήθη, Χαιρεφῶντι ἀνελούσης
ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον,
ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐφθονήθη μάλιστα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι διήλεγχε τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἀνοήτους, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνός ἐστι Μένωνι. οὗτος γὰρ οὐ φέρων τὸν ὑπὸ Σωκράτους χλευασμὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπήλειψεν αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, ἔπειτα καὶ Μέλητον συνέπεισεν ἀπενέγκασθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἀσεβείας καὶ τῶν νέων διαφθορᾶς.

Ἀπηνέγκατο μὲν οὖν τὴν γραφὴν ὁ Μέλητος, εἶπε δὲ τὴν δίκην Πολύευκτος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ· συνέγραψε δὲ τὸν λόγον Πολυκράτης ὁ σοφιστής, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἢ Ἄνυτος, ὥς τινες· προητοίμασε δὲ πάντα Λύκων ὁ δημαγωγός.

Ἀντισθένης δ’ ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Ἀπολογίᾳ τρεῖς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῆσαί φασιν, Ἄνυτον καὶ Λύκωνα καὶ Μέλητον· τὸν μὲν Ἄνυτον ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ὀργιζόμενον· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥητόρων· καὶ τὸν Μέλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁ Σωκράτης διέσυρε. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων μὴ εἶναι ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τὸν Πολυκράτους κατὰ Σωκράτους· ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ, φησί, μνημονεύει τῶν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν ἀνασταθέντων, ἃ γέγονεν ἔτεσιν ἓξ τῆς τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτῆς ὕστερον. καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον.

Ἡ δ’ ἀντωμοσία τῆς δίκης τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον· ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶ Φαβωρῖνος, ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ· τάδε ἐγράψατο καὶ ἀντωμόσατο Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιτθεὺς Σωκράτει Σωφρονίσκου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν· ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης, οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων. τίμημα θάνατος. ὁ δ’ οὖν φιλόσοφος, Λυσίου γράψαντος ἀπολογίαν αὐτῷ, διαναγνοὺς ἔφη, καλὸς μὲν ὁ λόγος, ὦ Λυσία, οὐ μὴν ἁρμόττων γ’ ἐμοί. δηλαδὴ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλέον δικανικὸς ἢ ἐμφιλόσοφος.

εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λυσίου, πῶς, εἰ καλός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἄν σοι ἁρμόττοι; ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἱμάτια καλὰ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἴη ἂν ἐμοὶ ἀνάρμοστα;

Κρινομένου δ’ αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Τιβεριεὺς ἐν τῷ Στέμματι Πλάτωνα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ εἰπεῖν, νεώτατος ὤν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων· τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς ἐκβοῆσαι, Κατάβα, κατάβα [τουτέστι κατάβηθι]. ὅτ’ οὖν καὶ κατεδικάοθη διακοσίαις ὀγδοήκοντα μιᾷ πλείοσι ψήφοις τῶν ἀπολυουσῶν· καὶ τιμωμένων τῶν δικαστῶν τί χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔφη δραχμὰς ἀποτίσειν. Εὐβουλίδης μὲν γάρ φησιν ἑκατὸν ὁμολογῆσαι·

θορυβησάντων δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν, ἕνεκα μέν, εἶπε, τῶν ἐμοὶ διαπεπραγμένων τιμῶμαι τὴν δίκην τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως.

Καὶ οἳ θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, προσθέντες ἄλλας ψήφους ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ δεθεὶς μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἔπιε τὸ κώνειον, πολλὰ καλὰ κἀγαθὰ διαλεχθείς, ἃ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνί φησιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ παιᾶνα κατά τινας ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·
Δήλι’ Ἄπολλον χαῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεεινώ.
Διονυσόδωρος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μῦθον Αἰσώπειον οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτετευγμένως, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·
Αἴσωπός ποτ’ ἔλεξε Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμουσι,

μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδίκῳ σοφίῃ.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν· Ἀθηναῖοι δ’ εὐθὺς μετέγνωσαν, ὥστε κλεῖσαι καὶ παλαίστρας καὶ γυμνάσια. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλουσ ἐφυγάδευσαν, Μελήτου δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν· Σωκράτην δὲ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι ἐτίμησαν, ἣν ἔθεσαν ἐν τῷ πομπείῳ, Λυσίππου ταύτην ἐργασαμένου. Ἄνυτόν τε ἐπιδημήσαντα αὐθημερὸν ἐξεκήρυξαν Ἡρακλεῶται. οὐ μόνον δ’ ἐπὶ Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι πεπόνθασι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστων ὅσων. καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρον, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς ὡς μαινόμενον ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ Τυρταῖον παρακόπτειν ἔλεγον, καὶ Ἀστυδάμαντα πρότερον τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον ἐτίμησαν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ.

Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει λέγων· ἐκάνετ’ ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε. Φιλόχορος δέ φησι προτελευτῆσαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τοῦ Σωκράτους.

Ἐγεννήθη δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ Ἀψεφίωνος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει

τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Δήλιοι γενέσθαι φασίν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονὼς ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. ταὐτά φησι καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. ἔνιοι δὲ ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν φασιν.

Ἀμφότεροι δ’ ἤκουσαν Ἀναξαγόρου, καὶ οὗτος καὶ Εὐριπίδης, ὃς καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Καλλιάδου.

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ὁ Σωκράτης διειλέχθαι· ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ προνοίας τινὰ διαλέγεται, καθά φησι καὶ Ξενοφῶν, καίτοι περὶ μόνων τῶν ἠθικῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸν εἰπών. ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Ἀπολογίᾳ μνησθεὶς Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν φυσικῶν, ἃ Σωκράτης ἀρνεῖται, περὶ τούτων αὐτὸς λέγει, καίπερ ἀνατιθεὶς πάντα Σωκράτει.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης μάγον τινὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Ἀθήνας τά τε ἄλλα καταγνῶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους, καὶ δὴ καὶ βίαιον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῷ.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·
πῖνέ νυν ἐν Διὸς ὤν, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἦ σε γὰρ ὄντως

καὶ σοφὸν εἶπε θεός, καὶ θεὸς ἡ σοφίη.

πρὸς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων κώνειον ἁπλῶς σὺ ἐδέξω·

αὐτοὶ δ’ ἐξέπιον τοῦτο τεῷ στόματι.

Τούτῳ τις, καθά φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ ποιητικῆς, ἐφιλονείκει Ἀντίλοχος Λήμνιος καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τερατοσκόπος, ὡς Πυθαγόρᾳ Κύλων Κροτωνιάτης· καὶ Σύαγρος Ὁμήρῳ ζῶντι, ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι, τελευτήσαντι δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ξενοφάνης· καὶ Πινδάρῳ Ἀμφιμένης ὁ Κῷος· Θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης καὶ Βίαντι Σάλαρος Πριηνεύς· Πιττακῷ Ἀντιμενίδας καὶ Ἀλκαῖος, Ἀναξαγόρᾳ Σωσίβιος, καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ Τιμοκρέων.

Τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν οἱ κορυφαιότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης· τῶν δὲ φερομένων δέκα οἱ διασημότατοι τέσσαρες, Αἰσχίνης, Φαίδων, Εὐκλείδης, Ἀρίστιππος. λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ξενοφῶντος, εἶτα περὶ Ἀντισθένους ἐν τοῖς κυνικοῖς, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, εἶθ’ οὕτω περὶ Πλάτωνος, ἐπεὶ κατάρχει τῶν δέκα αἱρέσεων καὶ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκαδημείαν αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκολουθία τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Σωκράτης, ἱστορικός, περιήγησιν Ἄργους γεγραφώς· καὶ ἄλλος περιπατητικός, Βιθυνός· καὶ ἕτερος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής· καὶ ὁ Κῷος, ἐπικλήσεις θεῶν γεγραφώς.

Κεφ. σ′. ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Ξενοφῶν Γρύλλου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Ἐρχιεύς· αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν. τούτῳ δὲ ἐν στενωπῷ φασιν ἀπαντήσαντα Σωκράτην διατεῖναι τὴν βακτηρίαν καὶ κωλύειν παριέναι, πυνθανόμενον ποῦ πιπράσκοιτο τῶν προσφερομένων ἕκαστον· ἀποκριναμένου δὲ πάλιν πυθέσθαι, ποῦ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ γίνονται ἄνθρωποι· ἀπορήσαντος δέ, ἕπου τοίνυν, φάναι, καὶ μάνθανε. καὶ τοὐντεῦθεν ἀκροατὴς Σωκράτους ἦν. καὶ πρῶτος ὑποσημειωσάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν, Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπιγράψας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱστορίαν φιλοσόφων πρῶτος ἔγραψε.

Καὶ αὐτόν φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς ἐρασθῆναι Κλεινίου·

πρὸς ὃν καὶ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἥδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλά· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων δεξαίμην ἂν ἢ Κλεινίου ἐνὸς ὄντος γενέσθαι· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα, ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσι.

Κύρῳ δὲ φίλος ἐγένετο τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἦν αὐτῷ συνήθης Πρόξενος ὄνομα, γένος Βοιώτιος, μαθητὴς μὲν Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου, φίλος δὲ Κύρῳ. οὗτος ἐν Σάρδεσι διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπιστολὴν Ξενοφῶντι, καλῶν αὐτὸν ἵνα γένηται Κύρῳ φίλος. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δεικνύει Σωκράτει καὶ σύμβουλον ᾑρεῖτο.

καὶ ὃς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενον τῷ θεῷ. πείθεται Ξενοφῶν· ἥκει παρὰ τὸν θεόν· πυνθάνεται οὐχὶ εἰ χρὴ ἀπιέναι πρὸς Κῦρον, ἀλλ’ ὅπως· ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης αὐτὸν ᾐτιάσατο, συνεβούλευσε δὲ ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ ὃς γίνεται παρὰ Κύρῳ, καὶ τοῦ Προξένου φίλος οὐχ ἧττον ἦν αὐτῷ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν γενόμενα καὶ τὴν κάθοδον ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγεῖται. ἐχθρῶς δὲ διέκειτο πρὸς Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τὸν ξεναγόν· ὅτε καὶ λοιδορῶν αὐτόν φησιν αὐτοῦ μείζοσι κεχρῆσθαι παιδικοῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τινὶ ὀνειδίζει τετρῆσθαι τὰ ὦτα.

Μετὰ δὲ τήν τ’ ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς παρασπονδήσεις τὰς Σεύθου τοῦ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέως ἦκεν εἰς Ἀσίαν πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον τὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, μισθοῦ τοὺς Κύρου στρατιώτας αὐτῷ παρασχών· φίλος τ’ ἦν εἰς ὑπερβολήν. παρ’ ὃν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ φυγὴν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων κατεγνώσθη. γενόμενος δ’ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ χρυσίον ἔχων τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ Μεγαβύζῳ δίδωσι τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεῖ φυλάττειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθοι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄγαλμα ποιησάμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ· τοῦ δὲ ἡμίσεος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήματα. ἐντεῦθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετ’ Ἀγησιλάου, κεκλημένου εἰς τὸν πρὸς Θηβαίους πόλεμον· καὶ αὐτῷ προξενίαν ἔδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐάσας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἦκεν εἰς Σκιλλοῦντα, χωρίον τῆς Ἠλείας ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχον. εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γύναιον ὄνομα Φιλησία, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, Γρύλλος καὶ Διόδωρος, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα ἀποστασίου, οἳ καὶ Διόσκουροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Μεγαβύζου κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πανηγύρεως, κομισάμενος τὰ χρήματα χωρίον ἐπρίατο καὶ καθιέρωσε τῇ θεῷ, δι’ οὗ ποταμὸς ἔρρει Σελινοῦς, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. τοὐντεῦθεν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἑστιῶν καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφων. φησὶ δ’ ὁ Δείναρχος ὅτι καὶ οἰκίαν καὶ ἀγρὸν αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Φυλοπίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην φασὶν αὐτῷ πέμψαι αὐτόθι δωρεὰν ἀνδράποδα αἰχμάλωτα ἐκ Δαρδάνου· καὶ τὸν διαθέσθαι αὐτὰ ὡς ἠβούλετο· Ἠλείους τε στρατευσαμένους εἰς τὸν Σκιλλοῦντα [καὶ] βραδυνόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξελεῖν τὸ χωρίον. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς υἱέας αὐτοῦ εἰς Λέπρεον ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ’ ὀλίγων οἰκετῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ξενοφῶντα εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν πρότερον, εἶτα [καὶ] εἰς Λέπρεον πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, κἀκεῖθεν σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κόρινθον διασωθῆναι καὶ αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατευσομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

καὶ γὰρ ἐπεπαίδευντο αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Βίοις τῶν φιλοσόφων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διόδωρος οὐδὲν ἐπιφανὲς πράξας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνασώζεται, καὶ αὐτῷ υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος γίνεται τἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας—ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη ἡ περὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν—ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ· Κηφισοδώρου μὲν ἱππαρχοῦντος, Ἡγησίλεω δὲ στρατηγοῦντος. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ

Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔπεσε. τηνικαῦτα δὴ καὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντά φασι θύειν ἐστεμμένον· ἀπαγγελθέντος δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἀποστεφανώσασθαι· ἔπειτα μαθόντα ὅτι γενναίως, πάλιν ἐπιθέσθαι τὸν στέφανον.

ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ δακρῦσαί φασιν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ * γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ᾔδειν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς. φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐπιτάφιον Γρύλλου μυρίοι ὅσοι συνέγραψαν, τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ πατρὶ χαριζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἰσοκράτην φησὶ Γρύλλου ἐγκώμιον γεγραφέναι. Τίμων δ’ ἐπισκώπτει αὐτὸν ἐν τούτοις·
ἀσθενική τε λόγων δυὰς ἢ τριὰς ἢ ἔτι πρόσσω, οἷος Ξεινοφόων ἦτ’ Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθὴς ἴσ
γράψαι. . . .

Καὶ ὁ μὲν βίος αὐτῷ τοιόσδε. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ ἀναβέβηκε σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ξεναινέτου ἑνὶ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς.

Κατέστρεψε δέ, καθα ´ φησι Κτησικλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλιδημίδου, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων ἦρξε. τέθνηκε δ’ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ἤδη δηλαδὴ γηραιὸς ἱκανῶς· ἀνὴρ τά τ’ ἄλλα γεγονὼς ἀγαθὸς καὶ δὴ καὶ φίλιππος καὶ φιλοκύνηγος καὶ τακτικός, ὡς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων δῆλον· εὐσεβής τε καὶ φιλοθύτης καὶ ἱερεῖα διαγνῶναι ἱκανὸς καὶ Σωκράτην ζηλώσας ἀκριβῶς.

Συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία πρὸς τὰ τετταράκοντα,
ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων·

Τήν τ’ Ἀνάβασιν, ἧς κατὰ βιβλίον μὲν ἐποίησε προοίμιον, ὅλης δὲ οὔ· καὶ

Κύρου Παιδείαν καὶ

Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ

Ἀπομνημονεύματα·

Συμπόσιόν τε καὶ

Οἰκονομικὸν καὶ

Περὶ ἱππικῆς καὶ

Κυνηγετικὸν καὶ

Ἱππαρχικόν,

Ἀπολογίαν τε Σωκράτους καὶ

Περὶ πόρων καὶ

Ἱέρωνα ἢ Τυραννικόν,

Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ

Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείαν,

ἣν φησιν οὐκ εἶναι Ξενοφῶντος ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος. λέγεται δ’ ὅτι καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία λανθάνοντα ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος αὐτὸς εἰς δόξαν ἤγαγεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα γλυκύτητι τῆς ἑρμηνείας· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζηλοτύπως εἶχον αὐτός τε καὶ Πλάτων, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλάτωνος λέξομεν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν ἐπιγράμματα τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον·
οὐ μόνον εἰς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ Κῦρον,

ἀλλ’ ἄνοδον ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἥτις ἄγοι.

παιδείης γὰρ ἑῆς Ἑλληνικὰ πράγματα δείξας,

ὡς καλὸν ἡ σοφίη μνήσατο Σωκράτεος.
ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·
εἰ καὶ σέ, Ξενοφῶν, Κραναοῦ Κέκροπός τε πολῖται

φεύγειν κατέγνων, τοῦ φίλου χάριν Κύρου·

ἀλλὰ Κόρινθος ἔδεκτο φιλόξενος, ᾗ σὺ φιληδῶν

οὕτως ἀρέσκῃ· κεῖθι καὶ μένειν ἔγνως.

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

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

Κεφ. ζ’. ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

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

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

Φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν δι’ ἀπορίαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ’ Ἀριστίππου συστῆναι· δόντα τέ τινας τῶν διαλόγων δῶρα λαβεῖν.

ἔπειτ’ ἀφικόμενον Ἀθήναζε μὴ τολμᾶν σοφιστεύειν, εὐδοκιμούντων τότε τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀρίστιππον. ἐμμίσθους δ’ ἀκροάσεις ποιεῖσθαι· εἶτα συγγράφειν λόγους δικανικοὺς τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις· διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἰπεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἦτ’ Αἰσχίνου οὐκ ἀπιθὴς ἴσ γράψαι. φασὶ δ’ αὐτῷ λέγειν Σωκράτην, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπιέζετο ὑπὸ πενίας, παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ δανείζεσθαι τῶν σιτίων ὑφαιροῦντα. τούτου τοὺς διαλόγους καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ὑπώπτευεν. ἐν γοῦν Μεγάροις ἀναγινώσκοντος αὐτοῦ φασι σκῶψαι εἰπόντα, πόθεν σοι, λῃστά, ταῦτα;

Φησὶ δὲ Πολύκριτος ὁ Μενδαῖος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως

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

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

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

Κεφ. η΄. ΑΡΙΣΤΙΠΠΟΣ

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

Ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἀπροδίως ὑποκρίνασθαι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοκίμει μᾶλλον, ἀεὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν εὖ διατιθέμενος. ἀπέλαυε μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς τῶν παρόντων, οὐκ ἐθήρα δὲ πόνῳ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν οὐ παρόντων· ὅθεν καὶ Διογένης βασιλικὸν κύνα ἔλεγεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Τίμων παρέφαγεν ὡς θρυπτόμενον, οὑτωσί πως εἰπών·

οἷά τ' Ἀριστίππου τρυφερὴ φύσις ἀμφαφόωντος ψεύδη. τοῦτόν φασί ποτε κελεῦσαι πέρδικα πεντήκοντα δραχμῶν ὠνηθῆναι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄν, εἶπεν, ὀβολοῦ τοῦτον ἐπρίω; ἐπινεύσαντος δέ, τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, ἐμοὶ δύνανται αἱ πεντήκοντα δραχμαί.

Διονυσίου δέ ποτε τριῶν ἑταιρῶν οὐσῶν μίαν ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύσαντος, τὰς τρεῖς ἀπήγαγεν εἰπών, οὐδὲ τῷ Πάριδι συνήνεγκε μίαν προκρῖναι· ἀπαγαγὼν μέντοι, φασίν, αὐτὰς ἄχρι τοῦ θυρῶνος ἀπέλυσεν. οὕτως ἦν καὶ ἑλέσθαι καὶ καταφρονῆσαι πολύς. διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ χλανίδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος. Διονυσίου δὲ προσπτύσαντος αὐτῷ ἠνέσχετο. μεμψαμένου δέ τινος, εἶτα οἱ μὲν ἁλιεῖς, εἶπεν, ὑπομένουσι ῥαίνεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἵνα κωβιὸν θηράσωσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ ἀνάσχωμαι κράματι ῥανθῆναι, ἵνα βλέννοι λάβω;

Παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε, καί φησιν, εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες. ὁ δέ, καὶ σύ, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, τὸ δύνασθαι πᾶσι θαρρούντως ὁμιλεῖν. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολυτελῶς ζῆν, εἰ τοῦτ', ἔφη, φαῦλον ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἑορταῖς ἐγίνετο. ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τί πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ

φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, ἐὰν πάντες οἱ νόμοι ἀναιρεθῶσιν, ὁμοίως βιωσόμεθα.

ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου διὰ τί οἱ μὲν φιλόσοφοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων θύρας ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐκέτι, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἴσασιν ὧν δέονται, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἴσασιν. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολυτελῶς ζῆν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔφη, ἆρα φαίνεταί σοι Διονύσιος ἀγαθός; τοῦ δ' ὁμολογήσαντος, καὶ μήν, ἔφη, ζῇ ἐμοῦ πολυτελέστερον· ὥστ' οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ καλῶς ζῆν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, ἔφη, ᾧπερ οἱ δεδαμασμένοι ἵπποι τῶν ἀδαμάστων. εἰσιών ποτε εἰς ἑταίρας οἰκίαν, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μειρακίων τινὸς ἐρυθριάσαντος, οὐ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν, ἔφη, χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν.

Αἴνιγμά τινος αὐτῷ προτείναντος καὶ εἰπόντος, λῦσον, τί, ὦ μάταιε, ἔφη, λῦσαι θέλεις, ὃ καὶ δεδεμένον ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχει; ἄμεινον ἔφη ἐπαίτην ἢ ἀπαίδευτον εἶναι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρημάτων, οἱ δ' ἀνθρωπισμοῦ δέονται. λοιδορούμενός ποτε ἀνεχώρει· τοῦ δ' ἐπιδιώκοντος εἰπόντος, τί φεύγεις; ὅτι, φησί, τοῦ μὲν κακῶς λέγειν σὺ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀκούειν ἐγώ. εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς ἀεὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους βλέποι παρὰ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἰατροί. φησί, παρὰ ταῖς τῶν νοσούντων· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτό τις ἂν ἕλοιτο νοσεῖν ἢ ἰατρεύειν.

Εἰς Κόρινθον αὐτῷ πλέοντί ποτε καὶ χειμαζομένῳ συνέβη ταραχθῆναι. πρὸς οὖν τὸν εἰπόντα, ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἰδιῶται οὐ δεδοίκαμεν, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ φιλόσοφοι δειλιᾶτε, οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὁμοίας, ἔφη, ψυχῆς ἀγωνιῶμεν ἑκάτεροι. σεμνυνομένου τινὸς ἐπὶ πολυμαθείᾳ ἔφη, ὥσπερ οὐχ οἱ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐσθίοντες [καὶ γυμναζόμενοι] ὑγιαίνουσι μᾶλλον τῶν τὰ δέοντα προσφερομένων, οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ πολλὰ ἀλλ' οἱ χρήσιμα ἀναγινώσκοντές εἰσι σπουδαῖοι. πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λογογράφον δίκην εἰπόντα καὶ νικήσαντα, ἔπειτα φάσκοντα πρὸς αὐτόν, τί σε ὤνησε Σωκράτης; ἔφη, τοῦτο, τοὺς λόγους, οὓς εἶπας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι.

Τὰ ἄριστα ὑπετίθετο τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀρήτῃ, συνασκῶν αὐτὴν ὑπεροπτικὴν τοῦ πλέονος εἶναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς ἀμείνων ἔσται παιδευθείς, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, εἶπεν, ἐν γοῦν τῷ θεάτρῳ οὐ καθεδεῖται λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ συνιστάντος τινὸς αὐτῷ υἱὸν ᾔτησε πεντακοσίας δραχμάς· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, τοσούτου δύναμαι ἀνδράποδον ὠνήσασθαι, πρίω, ἔφη, καὶ ἕξεις δύο. ἀργύριον εἶπε παρὰ τῶν γνωρίμων λαμβάνειν, οὐχ ἵν' αὐτὸς χρῷτο, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐκεῖνοι εἰδεῖεν εἰς τίνα δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀργυρίοις. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι δίκην ἔχων ἐμισθώσατο ῥήτορα, καὶ γάρ, ἔφη, ὅταν δεῖπνον ἔχω, μάγειρον μισθοῦμαι.

Ἀναγκαζόμενός ποτε ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰπεῖν τι τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, γελοῖον, ἔφη, εἰ τὸ λέγειν μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνεις, τὸ δὲ πότε δεῖ λέγειν σύ με διδάσκεις. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον ἔσχατον αὐτὸν κατακλῖναι· καὶ τόν, ἐνδοξότερον, φάναι, τὸν τόπον ἠθέλησας ποιῆσαι. αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ κολυμβᾶν, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἔργοις ἀλαζονευόμενος; ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τίνι διαφέρει ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ μὴ σοφοῦ, ἔφη, εἰς ἀγνῶτας τοὺς δύο γυμνοὺς ἀπόστειλον, καὶ εἴσῃ. αὐχοῦντός τινος ἐπὶ τῷ πολλὰ πίνειν καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμίονος, φησί.

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

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

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

τοῦ δ’ ἐπινεύσαντος, τί οὖν, ἔφη, ἐμέμφου; ἔοικας γὰρ οὐ τὴν ὀψωνίαν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνάλωμα αἰτιᾶσθαι. τοῦ δὲ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον καὶ βαρυνομένου, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς, ἀπόχεε, ἔφη, τὸ πλέον καὶ ὅσον δύνασαι βάσταζε. πλέων ποτὲ ἐπεὶ τὸ σκάφος ἔγνω πειρατικόν, λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον ἠρίθμει· ἔπειτα εἰς θάλατταν ὡς μὴ θέλων παρακατέβαλε καὶ δῆθεν ἀνῴμωξεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπειπεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἄμεινον ταῦτα δι’ Ἀρίστιππον ἢ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστιππον ἀπολέσθαι. Διονυσίου ποτ’ ἐρομένου ἐπὶ τί ἥκοι, ἔφη ἐπὶ τῷ μεταδώσειν ὧν ἔχοι, καὶ μεταλήψεσθαι ὧν μὴ ἔχοι.

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

οὖσ’ ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

Δεόμενός ποτε ὑπὲρ φίλου Διονυσίου καὶ μὴ ἐπιτυγχάνων εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν ἐπισκώψαντα, οὐκ ἐγώ, φησίν, αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἔχων. διατρίβων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνου τοῦ σατράπου πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, καὶ ὧδε θαρρεῖς, πότε γάρ, εἶπεν, ὦ μάταιε, θαρρήσαιμι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν, ὅτε μέλλω Ἀρταφέρνῃ διαλέξεσθαι; τοὺς τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδευμάτων μετασχόντας, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἀπολειφθέντας ὁμοίους ἔλεγεν εἶναι τοῖς τῆς Πηνελόπης μνηστῆρσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους Μελανθὼ μὲν καὶ Πολυδώραν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεραπαίνας ἔχειν, πάντα δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν δέσποιναν δύνασθαι γῆμαι.

τὸ δ’ ὅμοιον καὶ Ἀρίστων· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καταβάντα εἰς ᾅδου τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς πάντας σχεδὸν ἑωρακέναι καὶ συντετυχηκέναι, τὴν δὲ βασίλισσαν αὐτὴν μὴ τεθεᾶσθαι.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀρίστιππος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδας μανθάνειν, ἔφη, οἷς ἄνδρες γενόμενοι χρήσονται. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἐν αἰτίᾳ ὡς ἀπὸ Σωκράτους πρὸς Διονύσιον ἔλθοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Σωκράτην μέν, εἶπεν, ἦλθον παιδείας ἕνεκεν, πρὸς δὲ Διονύσιον παιδιᾶς. ἐξ ὁμιλίας αὐτῷ χρηματισαμένῳ φησὶ Σωκράτης, πόθεν σοι τοσαῦτα; καὶ ὅς, ὅθεν σοι τὰ ὀλίγα.

Ἑταίρας εἰπούσης πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκ σοῦ κυῶ, οὐ μᾶλλον, ἔφη, γινώσκεις ἢ εἰ δι’ ὁλοσχοίνων ἰοῦσα ἔφασκες ὑπὸ τοῦδε κεκεντῆσθαι. ᾐτιάσατό τις αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπορριπτοῦντα ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότα· καὶ ὅς, καὶ τὸ φλέγμα, φησί, καὶ τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐξ ἡμῶν ἴσμεν γεννωμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀχρεῖα ὄντα ὡς πορρωτάτω ῥιπτοῦμεν. ἐκδεξάμενος τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ Διονυσίου, Πλάτωνος ἄραντος βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ἐγω μὲν γάρ, εἶπεν, ἀργυρίων, Πλάτων δὲ βιβλίων ἐστὶν ἐνδεής. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τίνος ἕνεκα ἐλέγχεται παρὰ Διονυσίου, οὗ ἕνεκα, φησίν, οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλέγχουσιν.

Ἤιτει Διονύσιον ἀργύριον, καὶ ὅς, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔφης οὐκ ἀπορήσειν τὸν σοφόν· ὁ δ’ ὑπολαβών, δός, εἶπε, καὶ περὶ τούτου ζητῶμεν. δόντος δέ, ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἠπόρηκα; εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν Διονυσίου·
ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,

κείνου στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ·
ὑπολαβών,
οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος, ἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.
τοῦτο Διοκλῆς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων φιλοσόφων· ἄλλοι γὰρ εἰς Πλάτωνα ἀναφέρουσιν. ὀργισθεὶς πρὸς Αἰσχίνην μετ’ οὐ πολύ, οὐ διαλλαχθησόμεθα, οὐ παυσόμεθα, εἶπε, ληροῦντες, ἀλλ’ ἀναμενεῖς ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος ἡμᾶς διαλλάξῃ τις; καὶ ὅς, ἄσμενος, ἔφη·

μνημόνευε τοίνυν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, ὅτι σοι πρότερος πρεσβύτερος ὢν προσῆλθον. καὶ ὁ Αἰσχίνης, εὖγε, νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, εὐλόγως εἶπας, ἐπεὶ πολλῷ μου βελτίων ὑπάρχεις· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔχθρας, σὺ δὲ φιλίας ἄρχεις. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεται.

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

Τοῦ δὲ Κυρηναϊκοῦ φιλοσόφου φέρεται βιβλία τρία μὲν ἱστορίας τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην, ἀπεσταλμένα Διονυσίῳ· ἓν δὲ ἐν ᾧ διάλογοι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀθίδι, οἱ δὲ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ γεγραμμένοι οἵδε·

Ἀρτάβαζος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ναυαγούς.

Πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας.

Πρὸς πτωχόν.

Πρὸς Λαΐδα.

Πρὸς Πῶρον.

Πρὸς Λαΐδα περὶ τοῦ κατόπτρου.

Ἑρμείας.

Ἐνύπνιον.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κύλικος.

Φιλόμηλος.

Πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι κέκτηται οἶνον παλαιὸν καὶ ἑταίρας.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ὅτι πολυτελῶς ὀψωνεῖ.

Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀρήτην τὴν θυγατέρα.

Πρὸς τὸν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν γυμνάζοντα ἑαυτόν.

Ἐρώτησις.

Ἄλλη Ἐρώτησις.

Χρεία πρὸς Διονύσιον.

Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος.

Ἄλλη ἐπὶ τῆς Διονυσίου θυγατρός.

Πρὸς τὸν οἰόμενον ἀτιμάζεσθαι.

Πρὸς τὸν συμβουλεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντα.

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

Κατὰ δὲ Σωτίωνα ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ Παναίτιον ἔστιν αὐτῷ συγγράμματα τάδε·

Περὶ παιδείας.

Περὶ ἀρετῆς.

Προτρεπτικός.

Ἀρτάβαζος.

Ναυαγοί.

Φυγάδες.

Διατριβῶν ἕξ.

Χρειῶν τρία.

Πρὸς Λαΐδα.

Πρὸς Πῶρον.

Πρὸς Σωκράτην.

Περὶ τύχης.

Τέλος δ’ ἀπέφαινε τὴν λείαν κίνησιν εἰς αἴσθησιν ἀναδιδομένην.

Ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸν βίον ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτοῦ, φέρε νῦν διέλθωμεν τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Κυρηναϊκούς, οἵ τινες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἡγησιακούς, οἱ δὲ Ἀννικερείους, οἱ δὲ Θεοδωρείους προσωνόμαζον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, ὧν τοὺς κορυφαιοτάτους Ἐρετρικούς.

ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· Ἀριστίππου διήκουσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἀρήτη καὶ Αἰθίοψ Πτολεμαεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος Κυρηναῖος· Ἀρήτης δὲ Ἀρίστιππος ὁ μητροδίδακτος ἐπικληθείς, οὗ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος, εἶτα θεός· Ἀντιπάτρου δ’ Ἐπιτιμίδης Κυρηναῖος, οὗ Παραιβάτης, οὗ Ἡγησίας ὁ πεισιθάνατος καὶ Ἀννίκερις [ὁ Πλάτωνα λυτρωσάμενος].

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τῆς Ἀριστίππου μείναντες καὶ Κυρηναϊκοὶ προσαγορευθέντες δόξαις ἐχρῶντο τοιαύταις· δύο πάθη ὑφίσταντο, πόνον καὶ ἡδονήν, τὴν μὲν λείαν κίνησιν, τὴν ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ πόνον τραχεῖαν κίνησιν.

μὴ διαφέρειν τε ἡδονὴν ἡδονῆς, μηδὲ ἥδιόν τι εἶναι· καὶ τὴν μὲν εὐδοκητὴν πᾶσι ζῴοις, τὸν δ’ ἀποκρουστικόν. ἡδονὴν μέντοι τὴν τοῦ σώματος, ἣν καὶ τέλος εἶναι, καθά φησι καὶ Παναίτιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων, οὐ τὴν καταστηματικὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν ἐπ’ ἀναιρέσει ἀλγηδόνων καὶ οἷον ἀνοχλησίαν, ἣν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἀποδέχεται καὶ τέλος εἶναί φησι. δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας διαφέρειν. τέλος μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἡδονήν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν μερικῶν ἡδονῶν σύστημα, αἷς συναριθμοῦνται καὶ αἱ παρῳχηκυῖαι καὶ αἱ μέλλουσαι.

Εἶναί τε τὴν μερικὴν ἡδονὴν δι’ αὐτὴν αἱρετήν· τὴν δ’ εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ δι’ αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἡδονάς. πίστιν δ’ εἶναι τοῦ τέλος εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸ ἀπροαιρέτως ἡμᾶς ἐκ παίδων ᾠκειῶσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ τυχόντας αὐτῆς μηθὲν ἐπιζητεῖν μηθέν τε οὕτω φεύγειν ὡς τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ ἀλγηδόνα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσχημοτάτων γένηται, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἄτοπος εἴη, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἡ ἡδονὴ δι’ αὐτὴν αἱρετὴ καὶ ἀγαθόν.

ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις, ὡς εἴρηται παρ’ Ἐπικούρῳ, δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς μὴ εἶναι ἡδονή· οὐδὲ ἡ ἀηδονία ἀλγηδών. ἐν κινήσει γὰρ εἶναι ἀμφότερα, μὴ οὔσης τῆς ἀπονίας ἢ τῆς ἀηδονίας κινήσεως, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀπονία οἱονεὶ καθεύδοντός ἐστι κατάστασις. δύνασθαι δέ φασι καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν τινας μὴ αἱρεῖσθαι κατὰ διαστροφήν· οὐ πάσας μέντοι τὰς ψυχικὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ἐπὶ σωματικαῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀλγηδόσι γίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψιλῇ τῇ τῆς πατρίδος εὐημερίᾳ ὥσπερ τῇ ἰδίᾳ χαρὰν ἐγγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ προσδοκίαν ἡδονήν φασιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι· ὅπερ ἤρεσκεν Ἐπικούρῳ.

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

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

καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον δὲ ποιητικὸν ἡδονῆς εἶναι, οὐ δι’ αὐτὸν αἱρετὸν ὄντα.

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

μηδέν τε εἶναι φύσει δίκαιον ἢ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει. ὁ μέντοι σπουδαῖος οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πράξει διὰ τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας καὶ δόξας· εἶναι δὲ τὸν σοφόν. προκοπήν τε

ἀπολείπουσι καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις. φασὶ δὲ καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἄλλον ἄλλου μᾶλλον, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις μὴ πάντοτε ἀληθεύειν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἡγησιακοὶ λεγόμενοι σκοποὺς μὲν εἶχον τοὺς αὐτούς, ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον. μήτε δὲ χάριν τι εἶναι μήτε φιλίαν μήτε εὐεργεσίαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα αἱρεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτά, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας αὐτάς, ὧν ἀπόντων μηδ' ἐκεῖνα ὑμάρχειν.

τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ὅλως ἀδύνατον εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα πολλῶν ἀναπεπλῆσθαι παθημάτων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν συμπαθεῖν τῷ σώματι καὶ ταράττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τύχην πολλὰ τῶν κατ' ἐλπίδα κωλύειν, ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα ἀνύπαρκτον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι. τήν τε ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αἱρετόν. φύσει τ' οὐδὲν ἡδὺ ἢ ἀηδὲς ὑπελάμβανον· διὰ δὲ σπάνιν ἢ ξενισμὸν ἢ κόρον τοὺς μὲν ἥδεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀηδῶς ἔχειν. πενίαν καὶ πλοῦτον πρὸς ἡδονῆς λόγον εἶναι οὐδέν· μὴ γὰρ διαφερόντως ἥδεσθαι τοὺς πλουσίους ἢ τοὺς πένητας. δουλείαν ἐπίσης ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀδιάφορον πρὸς ἡδονῆς μέτρον, καὶ εὐγένειαν δυσγενείᾳ, καὶ δόξαν ἀδοξίᾳ.

καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄφρονι τὸ ζῆν λυσιτελὲς εἶναι· τῷ δὲ φρονίμῳ ἀδιάφορον. τόν τε σοφὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα πάντα πράξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπίσης ἄξιον αὐτῷ. κἂν γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα δοκῇ παρά του καρποῦσθαι, μὴ εἶναι ἀντάξια ὧν αὐτὸς παράσχῃ. ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὡσ οὐκ ἀκριβούσας τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, τῶν τ' εὐλόγως φαινομένων πάντα πράττειν. ἔλεγον τὰ ἁμαρτήματα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἑκόντα ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλά τινι πάθει κατηναγκασμένον. καὶ μὴ μισήσειν, μᾶλλον δὲ μεταδιδάξειν. τόν τε σοφὸν οὐχ οὕτω πλεονάσειν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἱρέσει, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν κακῶν φυγῇ, τέλος τιθέμενον τὸ μὴ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν μηδὲ λυπηρῶς·

ὃ δὴ περιγίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀδιαφορήσασι περὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

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

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

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

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

Εἶναί τε πατρίδα τὸν κόσμον. κλέψειν τε καὶ μοιχεύσειν καὶ ἱεροσυλήσειν ἐν καιρῷ· μηδὲν γὰρ τούτων φύσει αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δόξης αἱρομένης, ἣ σύγκειται ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀφρόνων συνοχῆς. φανερῶς δὲ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις ἄνευ πάσης ὑφοράσεως χρήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν. διὸ καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἠρώτα· ἆρά γε γυνὴ γραμματικὴ χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον γραμματική ἐστι; ναί. καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος γραμματικὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον γραμματικός ἐστι; ναί. οὐκοῦν καὶ γυνὴ καλὴ χρησίμη ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον καλή ἐστι, καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς χρήσιμος ἂν εἴη παρ’ ὅσον καλός ἐστι; ναί. καὶ παῖς ἄρα καὶ νεανίσκος καλὸς πρὸς τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη χρήσιμος πρὸς ὃ καλός ἐστι; ναί.

ἔστι δὲ χρήσιμος πρὸς τὸ πλησιάζειν. ὧν δεδομένων ἐπῆγεν· οὐκοῦν εἴ τις πλησιασμῷ χρώμενος παρ’ ὅσον χρήσιμός ἐστιν, οὐ διαμαρτάνει· οὐδ’ ἄρα εἰ κάλλει χρήσαιτο παρ’ ὅσον χρήσιμόν ἐστι, διαμαρτήσεται. τοιαῦτα ἄττα διερωτῶν ἴσχυε τῷ λόγῳ.

Δοκεῖ δὲ θεὸς κληθῆναι, Στίλπωνος αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσαντος οὕτως, ἆρά γε, Θεόδωρε, ὃ φῂς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ εἶ; ἐπινεύσαντος δέ, φῂς δ’ εἶναι θεόν; τοῦ δ’ ὁμολογήσαντος, θεὸς εἶ ἄρα, ἔφη. δεξαμένου δ’ ἀσμένως, γελάσας φησίν, ἀλλ’, ὦ μόχθηρε, τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ κολοιὸς ἂν ὁμολογήσειας εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα μυρία.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν Θεόδωρος προσκαθίσας ποτὲ Εὐρυκλείδῃ τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, λέγε μοι, ἔφη, Εὐρυκλείδη, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια. εἰπόντος δ’ ἐκείνου, οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, ἀσεβεῖς ἄρα, ἔφη, καὶ σύ, τοῖς ἀμυήτοις διηγούμενος. καὶ μέντοι παρ’ ὀλίγον ἐκινδύνευσεν εἰς Ἄρειον ἀναχθῆναι πάγον, εἰ μὴ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο. Ἀμφικράτης δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν φησι κώνειον αὐτὸν πιεῖν καταδικασθέντα.

Διατρίβων δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου ἀπεστάλη ποθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον πρεσβευτής. ὅτε καὶ παρρησιαζομένῳ φησὶν ὁ Λυσίμαχος, λέγε μοι, Θεόδωρε, οὐ σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐκπεσὼν Ἀθήνηθεν; καὶ ὅς, ὀρθῶς ἀκήκοας· ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις οὐ δυναμένη με φέρειν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐξέβαλε. πάλιν δ’ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου, [βλέπε] ὅπως μὴ παρέσῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, οὐκ ἄν, ἔφη, ἂν μὴ Πτολεμαῖος ἀποστείλῃ. Μίθρου δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου παρεστῶτος καὶ εἰπόντος, ἔοικας σὺ μὴ μόνον θεοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, πῶς, εἶπεν, ἀγνοῶ, ὅπου γε καὶ θεοῖς σε ἐχθρὸν εἶναι νομίζω; φασὶ δέ ποτε ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρέρχεσθαι αὐτὸν συχνοὺς ἐπαγόμενον μαθητάς, Μητροκλέα δὲ τὸν κυνικὸν σκάνδικας πλύνοντα εἰπεῖν, σὺ ὁ σοφιστὴς οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἔχρῃζες μαθητῶν, εἰ λάχανα ἔπλυνες· τὸν δ’ ὑπολαβόντ’ εἰπεῖν, καὶ σὺ εἴπερ ἀνθρώποις ᾔδεις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τούτοις τοῖς λαχάνοις ἐχρῶ.

τὸ ὅμοιον ἀναφέρεται, καθὰ προείρηται, καὶ εἰς Διογένην καὶ Ἀρίστιππον.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Θεόδωρος κἀν τούτοις. τελευταῖον δ’ εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπελθὼν καὶ Μάγᾳ συμβιοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ διετέλει τυγχάνων. ἔνθεν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκβαλλόμενος λέγεται χάριέν τι εἰπεῖν· ἔφη γάρ, καλῶς ποιεῖτε, ἄνδρες Κυρηναῖοι, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα με ἐξορίζοντες.

Θεόδωροι δὲ γεγόνασιν εἴκοσι· πρῶτος Σάμιος, υἱὸς Ῥοίκου. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συμβουλεύσας ἄνθρακας ὑποτιθέναι τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νεώ· καθύγρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τόπου τοὺς ἄνθρακας ἔφη τὸ ξυλῶδες ἀποβαλόντας αὐτὸ τὸ στερεὸν ἀπαθὲς ἕξειν ὕδατι. δεύτερος Κυρηναῖος, γεωμέτρης οὗ διήκουσε Πλάτων· τρίτος ὁ προγεγραμμένος φιλόσοφος· τέταρτος οὗ τὸ φωνασκικὸν φέρεται βιβλίον πάγκαλον·

πέμπτος ὁ περὶ τῶν νομοποιῶν πεπραγματευμένος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Τερπάνδρου· ἕκτος στωικός· ἕβδομος ὁ τὰ περὶ Ῥωμαίων πεπραγματευμένος· ὄγδοος Συρακόσιος, περὶ τακτικῶν γεγραφώς· ἔνατος Βυζάντιος, ἀπὸ λόγων πολιτικῶν· δέκατος ὁμοίως, οὗ Ἀριστοτέλης μνημονεύει διὰ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς τῶν ῥητόρων· ἑνδέκατος Θηβαῖος, ἀνδριαντοποιός· δωδέκατος ζωγράφος, οὗ

μέμνηται Πολέμων· τρισκαιδέκατος ζωγράφος, Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπὲρ οὗ γράφει Μηνόδοτος· τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος Ἐφέσιος, ζωγράφος, οὗ μέμνηται Θεοφάνης ἐν τῷ περὶ γραφικῆς· πεντεκαιδέκατος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων· ἑκκαιδέκατος γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητῶν· ἑπτακαιδέκατος ἰατρός, Ἀθηναίου μαθητής· ὀκτωκαιδέκατος Χῖος, φιλόσοφος στωικός· ἐννεακαιδέκατος Μιλήσιος, καὶ αὐτὸς στωικὸς φιλόσοφος· εἰκοστὸς ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας.

Κεφ. θ΄. ΦΑΙΔΩΝ

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

Διάδοχος δ' αὐτοῦ Πλείστανος Ἠλεῖος, καὶ τρίτοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ Μενέδημον τὸν Ἐρετριέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν Φλιάσιον, μετάγοντες ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος. καὶ ἕως μὲν τούτων Ἠλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, ἀπὸ δὲ Μενεδήμου Ἐρετρικοί· περὶ οὗ λέξομεν ὕστερον διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν κατάρχειν αἱρέσεως.

Κεφ. ι΄. ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

Εὐκλείδης ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῶν πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ, ἢ Γελῶος κατ' ἐνίους, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. οὗτος καὶ τὰ Παρμενίδεια μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μεγαρικοὶ προσηγορεύοντο, εἶτ' ἐριστικοί, ὕστερον δὲ διαλεκτικοί, οὓς οὕτως ὠνόμασε πρῶτος Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν τοὺς λόγους διατίθεσθαι. πρὸς τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος ἀφικέσθαι Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτήν, δείσαντας τὴν ὠμότητα τῶν τυράννων. οὗτος ἓν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπεφαίνετο πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον· ὁτὲ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησιν, ὁτὲ δὲ θεόν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. τὰ δ' ἀντικείμενα τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνῄρει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων.

Ταῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐνίστατο οὐ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. καὶ τὸν διὰ παραβολῆς λόγον ἀνῄρει, λέγων ἤτοι ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτὸν ἢ ἐξ ἀνομοίων συνίστασθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξ ὁμοίων, περὶ αὐτὰ δεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ οἷς ὅμοιά ἐστιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀνομοίων, παρέλκειν τὴν παράθεσιν. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτά φησι Τίμων, προσπαρατρώγων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Σωκρατικούς·

ἀλλ' οὔ μοι τούτων φλεδόνων μέλει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὐ Φαίδωνος, ὅτις γένετ', οὐδ' ἐριδάντεω Εὐκλείδεω, Μεγαρεῦσιν ὃς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐρισμοῦ.

Διαλόγους δὲ συνέγραψεν ἕξ, Λαμπρίαν, Αἰσχίνην, Φοίνικα, Κρίτωνα, Ἀλκιβιάδην, Ἐρωτικόν. τῆς δ' Εὐκλείδου διαδοχῆς ἐστι καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ λόγους ἠρώτησε, τόν τε ψευδόμενον καὶ τὸν διαλανθάνοντα καὶ Ἠλέκτραν καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ σωρίτην καὶ κερατίνην καὶ φαλακρόν. περὶ τούτου φησί τις τῶν κωμικῶν·

οὑριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν
καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων
ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.
ἐᾠκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀκηκοέναι καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὢν παύσασθαι.

ὁ δ' Εὐβουλίδης καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην διεφέρετο, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτὸν διαβέβληκε.

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

Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·
οὐκ ἄρα μῦθος ἦν ἐκεῖνος εἰκαῖος,

ὡς ἀτυχής τις ἐὼν

τὸν πόδα κολυμβῶν περιέπειρέ πως ἅλῳ.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνήρ,

πρὶν Ἀλφεόν ποτ’ ἐκπερᾶν, Ἀλεξῖνος

θνῆσκε νυγεὶς καλάμῳ.
γέγραφε δ’ οὐ μόνον πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία καὶ πρὸς Ἔφορον τὸν ἱστοριογράφον.

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

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διακηκοότες Εὐβουλίδου, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Κρόνος, οὗ Διόδωρος Ἀμεινίου Ἰασεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς Κρόνος ἐπίκλην, περὶ οὗ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν·

αὐτὸς ὁ Μῶμος

ἔγραφεν ἐν τοίχοις, ὁ Κρόνος ἐστὶ σοφός.
ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος διαλεκτικός, πρῶτος δόξας εὑρηκέναι τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ κερατίνην λόγον κατά τινας. οὗτος παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Σωτῆρι διατρίβων λόγους τινὰς διαλεκτικοὺς ἠρωτήθη πρὸς Στίλπωνος· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος παραχρῆμα διαλύσασθαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τά τε ἄλλα ἐπετιμήθη καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρόνος ἤκουσεν ἐν σκώμματος μέρει.

ἐξελθὼν δὴ τοῦ συμποσίου καὶ λόγον γράψας περὶ τοῦ προβλήματος ἀθυμίᾳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·
Κρόνε Διόδωρε, τίς σε δαιμόνων κακῇ

ἀθυμίῃ ξυνείρυσεν,

ἵν’ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλῃς εἰς Τάρταρον

Στίλπωνος οὐ λύσας ἔπη

αἰνιγματώδη; τοιγὰρ εὑρέθης Κρόνος

ἔξωθε τοῦ ῥῶ κάππα τε.

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

Κεφ. ια΄. ΣΤΙΛΠΩΝ

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

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

Ἦν δὲ καὶ πολιτικώτατος.

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

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

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

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

Ἦν δ᾽ ὁ Στίλπων καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ ἀνεπίπλαστος πρός τε τὸν ἰδιώτην εὔθετος. Κράτητος γοῦν ποτε τοῦ κυνικοῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν οὐκ ἀποκριναμένου, ἀποπαρδόντος δέ, ᾔδειν, ἔφη, ὡς πάντα μᾶλλον φθέγξῃ ἢ ἃ δεῖ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχάδα προτείναντος αὐτῷ ποτε καὶ ἐρώτημα, δεξάμενον καταφαγεῖν· τοῦ δέ, ὦ

Ἡράκλεις, εἰπόντος, ἀπολώλεκα τὴν ἰσχάδα· οὐ μόνον, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐρώτημα, οὗ ἦν ἀρραβὼν ἡ ἰσχάς. πάλιν δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Κράτητα χειμῶνος συγκεκαυμένον, ὦ Κράτης, εἶπε, δοκεῖς μοι χρείαν ἔχειν ἱματίου καινοῦ. [ὅπερ ἦν νοῦ καὶ ἱματίου.] καὶ τὸν ἀχθεσθέντα παρῳδῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·
καὶ μὴν Στίλπων’ εἰσεῖδον χαλέπ’ ἄλγε’ ἔχοντα ἐν Μεγάροις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς. ἔνθα τ’ ἐρίζεσκεν, πολλοὶ δ’ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι· τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν παρὰ γράμμα διώκοντες κατέτριβον.

Λέγεται δ’ οὕτως Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιστρέψαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων συνθεῖν ἵνα αὐτὸν θεάσαιντο. καί τινος εἰπόντος, Στίλπων, θαυμάζουσί σε ὡς θηρίον, οὐ μὲν οὖν, εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινόν. δεινὸς δ’ ἄγαν ὢν ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰ εἴδη· καὶ ἔλεγε τὸν λέγοντα ἄνθρωπον εἶναι μηδένα· οὔτε γὰρ τόνδε εἶναι οὔτε τόνδε· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τόνδε ἢ τόνδε; οὐδ’ ἄρα τόνδε. καὶ πάλιν· τὸ λάχανον οὐκ ἔστι τὸ δεικνύμενον· λάχανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν πρὸ μυρίων ἐτῶν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ τοῦτο λάχανον. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν ὁμιλοῦντα Κράτητι μετάξὺ σπεῦσαι ἰχθῦς πρίασθαι· τοῦ δ’ ἐπισπωμένου καὶ φάσκοντος, καταλείπεις τὸν λόγον; οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἔχω, σὲ δὲ καταλείπω· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγος περιμενεῖ, τὸ δ’ ὄψον πεπράσεται.

Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ διάλογοι ἐννέα ψυχροί· Μόσχος, Ἀρίστιππος ἢ Καλλίας, Πτολεμαῖος, Χαιρεκράτης, Μητροκλῆς, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἐπιγένης, Πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, Ἀριστοτέλης. τούτου φησὶν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἀκοῦσαι τὸν τῆς στοᾶς κτίστην. γηραιὸν δὲ τελευτῆσαί φησιν Ἕρμιππος, οἶνον προσενεγκάμενον ὅπως θᾶττον ἀποθάνοι.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν·
τὸν Μεγαρέα Στίλπωνα, γιγνώσκεις δ’ ἴσως,

γῆρας, ἔπειτα νόσος καθεῖλε, δύσμαχον ζυγόν·

ἀλλ’ οἶνον εὗρε τῆς κακῆς συνωρίδος

φέρτερον ἡνίοχν· χανδὸν πιὼν γὰρ ἅλασεν.
προσεσκώφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Σωφίλου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐν δράματι Γάμῳ·

Στίλπωνός ἐστι βύσμαθ’ ὁ Χαρίνου λόγος.

Κεφ. ιβ΄. ΚΡΙΤΩΝ

Κρίτων Ἀθηναῖος· οὗτος μάλιστα φιλοστοργότατα διετέθη πρὸς Σωκράτην, καὶ οὕτως ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μηδέποτ’ ἐλλείπειν τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ διήκουσαν Σωκράτους, Κριτόβουλος, Ἑρμογένης, Ἐπιγένης, Κτήσιππος. ὁ δ’ οὖν Κρίτων διαλόγους γέγραφεν ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένους βιβλίῳ ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους,

Ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μαθεῖν οἱ ἀγαθοί.

Περὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν.

Τί τὸ ἐπιτήδειον ἢ Πολιτικός.

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ κακουργεῖν.

Περὶ εὐθημοσύνης.

Περὶ τοῦ νόμου.

Περὶ τοῦ θείου.

Περὶ τεχνῶν.

Περὶ συνουσίας.

Περὶ σοφίας.

Πρωταγόρας ἢ Πολιτικός.

Περὶ γραμμάτων.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς, [περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ].

Περὶ τοῦ μαθεῖν.

Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι ἢ Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.

Τί τὸ ἐπίστασθαι.

Κεφ. ιγ′. ΣΙΜΩΝ

Σίμων Ἀθηναῖος, σκυτοτόμος. οὗτος ἐρχομένου Σωκράτους ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ διαλεγομένου τινά, ὧν ἐμνημόνευεν ὑποσημειώσεις ἐποιεῖτο· ὅθεν σκυτικοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαλόγους καλοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν ἑνὶ φερόμενοι βιβλίῳ·

Περὶ θεῶν.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

Τί τὸ καλόν.

Περὶ δικαίου πρῶτον, δεύτερον.

Περὶ ἀρετῆς ὅτι οὐ διδακτόν.

Περὶ ἀνδρείας πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον.

Περὶ νόμου.

Περὶ δημαγωγίας.

Περὶ τιμῆς.

Περὶ ποιήσεως.

Περὶ εὐπαθείας.

Περὶ ἔρωτος.

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας

Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.

Περὶ μουσικῆς.

Περὶ ποιήσεως.

Τί τὸ καλόν.

Περὶ διδασκαλίας.

Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι.

Περὶ κρίσεως.

Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος.

Περὶ ἀριθμοῦ.

Περὶ ἐπιμελείας.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι.

Περὶ φιλοκερδοῦς.

Περὶ ἀλαζονείας.

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

οἱ δέ,

Περὶ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι.

Περὶ λόγου ἢ περὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος.

Περὶ κακουργίας.

Οὗτος, φασί, πρῶτος διελέχθη τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκρατικούς. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ Περικλέους θρέψειν αὐτὸν καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐκ ἂν ἔφη τὴν παρρησίαν ἀποδόσθαι.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Σίμων ῥητορικὰς τέχνας γεγραφώς· καὶ ἕτερος ἰατρὸς κατὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάνορα· καί τις ἀνδριαντοποιός.

Κεφ. ιδ′. ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ

Γλαύκων Ἀθηναῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι ἐννέα·

Φειδύλος.

Εὐριπίδης.

Ἀμύντιχος.

Εὐθίας.

Λυσιθείδης.

Ἀριστοφάνης.

Κέφαλος.

Ἀναξίφημος.

Μενέξενος.

φέρονται καὶ ἄλλοι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, οἳ νοθεύονται.

Κεφ. ιε′. ΣΙΜΜΙΑΣ

Σιμμίας Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται ἐν ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ διάλογοι τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι·

Περὶ σοφίας.

Περὶ λογισμοῦ.

Περὶ μουσικῆς.

Περὶ ἐπῶν.

Περὶ ἀνδρείας.

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας.

Περὶ ἀληθείας.

Περὶ γραμμάτων.

Περὶ διδασκαλίας.

Περὶ τέχνης.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστατεῖν.

Περὶ πρέποντος.

Περὶ αἱρετου καὶ φευκτοῦ.

Περὶ φίλου.

Περὶ τοῦ εἰδέναι.

Περὶ ψυχῆς.

Περὶ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν.

Περὶ δυνατοῦ.

Περὶ χρημάτων.

Περὶ ζωῆς.

Τί τὸ καλόν.

Περὶ ἐπιμελείας.

Περὶ ἔρωτος.

Κεφ. ισ′. ΚΕΒΗΣ

Κέβης ὁ Θηβαῖος· καὶ τούτου φέρονται διάλογοι τρεῖς·

Πίναξ.

Ἑβδόμη.

Φρύνιχος.

Κεφ. ιζ′. ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ

[Μενέδημος] Οὗτος τῶν ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος, Κλεισθένους τοῦ τῶν Θεοπροπιδῶν καλουμένων υἱός, ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς μέν, ἀρχιτέκτονος δὲ καὶ πένητος· οἱ δὲ καὶ σκηνογράφον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασι καὶ μαθεῖν ἑκάτερα τὸν Μενέδημον· ὅθεν γράψαντος αὐτοῦ ψήφισμά τι καθήψατό τις Ἀλεξίνειος, εἰπὼν ὡς οὔτε σκηνὴν οὔτε ψήφισμα προσήκει τῷ σοφῷ γράφειν. πεμφθεὶς δὲ φρουρὸς ὁ Μενέδημος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων εἰς Μέγαρα ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν πρὸς Πλάτωνα, καὶ θηραθεὶς κατέλιπε τὴν στρατείαν.

Ἀσκληπιάδου δὲ τοῦ Φλιασίου περισπάσαντος αὐτὸν ἐγένετο ἐν Μεγάροις παρὰ Στίλπωνι, οὗπερ ἀμφότεροι διήκουσαν· κἀντεῦθεν πλεύσαντες εἰς Ἦλιν Ἀγχιπύλῳ καὶ Μόσχῳ τοῖς ἀπὸ Φαίδωνος παρέβαλον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τούτων, ὡς προείρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ Φαίδωνος, Ἠλιακοὶ προσηγορεύοντο· Ἐρετρικοὶ δ’ ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος.

Φαίνεται δὴ ὁ Μενέδημος σεμνὸς ἱκανῶς γενέσθαι· ὅθεν αὐτὸν Κράτης παρῳδῶν φησι·
Φλιάσιόν τ’ Ἀσκληπιάδην καὶ ταῦρον Ἐρέτρην.
ὁ δὲ Τίμων οὕτως·
ὄγκον ἀναστήσας ὠφρυωμένος ἀφροσιβόμβαξ.

οὕτω δ’ ἦν σεμνὸς ὡς Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Κασανδρέα μετὰ Κλεϊππίδου Κυζικηνοῦ μειρακίου κληθέντα ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου ἀντειπεῖν· φοβεῖσθαι γὰρ μὴ Μενέδημος αἴσθοιτο. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐπικόπτης καὶ παρρησιαστής. μειρακίου γοῦν καταθρασυνομένου εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν· λαβὼν δὲ κάρφος διέγραφεν εἰς τοὔδαφος περαινομένου σχῆμα· ἕως ὁρώντων πάντων συνὲν τὸ μειράκιον τὴν ὕβριν ἀπηλλάγη. Ἱεροκλέους δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς συνανακάμπτοντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ πολλὰ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς Ἐρετρίας, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἠρώτησε δὲ εἰς τί αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονος περαίνει.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν θρασυνόμενον μοιχόν, ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ μόνον κράμβη χυλὸν ἔχει χρηστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥαφανίς; πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον κεκραγότα, σκέψαι, ἔφη, μή τι ὄπισθεν ἔχων λέληθας. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ συμβουλευομένου εἰ ἐπὶ κῶμον ἀφίκοιτο, σιωπήσας τἄλλα μόνον ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱός ἐστι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀναίσθητον ἀναφέροντά τι αὐτῷ εἰκαίως, ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἀγρὸν ἔχοι· φήσαντος δὲ καὶ πάμπλειστα κτήματα, πορεύου τοίνυν, ἔφη, κἀκείνων ἐπιμελοῦ, μὴ συμβῇ σοι καὶ ταῦτα καταφθεῖραι καὶ κομψὸν ἰδιώτην ἀποβαλεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ γήμαι ὁ σπουδαῖος, ἔφη, πότερον ἐγώ σοι σπουδαῖος δοκῶ ἢ οὔ; φήσαντος δ’ εἶναι, ἐγὼ τοίνυν, εἶπε, γεγάμηκα.

πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πολλὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπύθετο πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰ νομίζοι πλείω τῶν ἑκατόν. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ τῶν καλούντων ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τινος περιελεῖν τὴν πολυτέλειαν, κληθείς ποτε οὐδὲν μὲν εἶπε· σιωπῶν δ’ αὐτὸν ἐνουθέτησε μόνας ἐλαίας προσενεγκάμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παρρησιαστικὸν τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι σὺν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ φίλῳ. τοῦ γάρ τοι βασιλέως ἐπιμήνιον ἑορτὴν τελοῦντος καὶ καλέσαντος καὶ τούτους ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, τὸν Μενέδημον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ καλὸν ἦν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν συναγωγή, καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἑορτήν· εἰ δ’ οὔ, περιττῶς καὶ νῦν.

πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ τυράννου καὶ εἰπόντος ὡς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἔχοι σχολάζουσαν πρὸς τὸ διακούειν φιλοσόφων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐστηρότερον ἐνέκειτο, δεικνὺς ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ὡς χρὴ πάντα καιρὸν φιλοσόφων ἀκούειν· ὥστ’ εἰ μή τις αὐλητὴς αὐτοὺς διεπέμψατο, κἂν ἀπώλοντο. ὅθεν χειμαζομένων ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην φασὶν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡ μὲν τοῦ αὐλητοῦ εὐμουσία σέσωκεν αὐτούς, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Μενεδήμου παρρησία ἀπολώλεκεν.

Ἦν δέ, φασί, καὶ ἐκκλίτης καὶ τὰ τῆς σχολῆς ἀδιάφορος, οὔτε τάξιν γοῦν τινὰ ἦν παρ’ αὐτῷ βλέπειν οὔτε βάθρα κύκλῳ διέκειτο, ἀλλ’ οὗ ἂν ἕκαστος ἔτυχε περιπατῶν ἢ καθήμενος ἤκουε, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διακειμένου.

ἀγωνιάτης μέντοι, φασίν, ἦν ἄλλως καὶ φιλόδοξος ὥστε τὸ πρότερον τέκτονι συνοικοδομοῦντες αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὁ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐφαίνετο γυμνὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους τὸν πηλὸν παραφέρων, ὁ δὲ εἴ τιν’ ἴδοι ἐρχόμενον, παρεκρύπτετο. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἥψατο τῆς πολιτείας, οὕτως ἦν ἀγωνιάτης ὥστε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν τιθεὶς διήμαρτε τοῦ θυμιατηρίου. καί ποτε Κράτητος περιισταμένου αὐτὸν καὶ καθαπτομένου εἰς τὸ ὅτι πολιτεύεται, ἐκέλευσέ τισιν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδὲν ἧττον τηρεῖν παριόντα καὶ ὑπερκύπτοντα Ἀγαμεμνόνειόν τε καὶ Ἡγησίπολιν ἀποκαλεῖν.

Ἦν δέ πως ἠρέμα καὶ δεισιδαιμονέστερος σὺν γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ κατ’ ἄγνοιαν ἐν πανδοκείῳ ποτὲ κρεάτων ῥιπτουμένων φαγών, ἐπειδὴ μάθοι, ἐναυτία τε καὶ ὠχρία· ἕως Ἀσκληπιάδης

ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐδὲν [εἰπὼν] ἠνώχλησεν αὐτὸν τὰ κρέα, ἀλλ’ ἡ περὶ τούτων ὑπόνοια. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα μεγαλόψυχος ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ ἐλευθέριος. κατά τε τὴν ἕξιν τὴν σωματικὴν ἤδη καὶ πρεσβύτης ὑπάρχων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀθλητοῦ στερεός τε καὶ ἐπικεκαυμένος τὸ εἶδος, πίων τε καὶ τετριμμένος τὸ δὲ μέγεθος σύμμετρος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ εἰκονίου τοῦ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ σταδίῳ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἐπίτηδες, παράγυμνον, τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη φαῖνον τοῦ σώματος.

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

καὶ πρὸς χελώνης ἀετὸς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ.

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

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

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

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

Φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην συμπνοίας, οὐδέν τι διαφερούσης τῆς Πυλάδου φιλοστοργίας. ἀλλὰ πρεσβύτερος Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὡς λέγεσθαι ποιητὴν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὑποκριτὴν δὲ Μενέδημον. καί ποτέ φασιν Ἀρχιπόλιδος τρισχιλίας αὐτοῖς διαγράψαντος στηριζομένους περὶ τοῦ τίς δεύτερος ἀρεῖ, μηδέτερον λαβεῖν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτούς· ὧν τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀσκληπιάδην, τὴν δὲ μητέρα Μενέδημον. κἀπειδὴ τελευτῆσαι τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τὸ γύναιον, λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ Μενεδήμου· ἐκεῖνόν τε, ἐπειδὴ προῦστη τῆς πολιτείας, πλουσίαν γῆμαι· οὐδὲν μέντοι ἧττον μιᾶς οὔσης οἰκίας ἐπιτρέψαι τὸν Μενέδημον τὴν διοίκησιν τῇ προτέρᾳ γυναικί.

ὁ μέντοι Ἀσκληπιάδης προκατέστρεψεν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ γηραιὸς ἤδη, συζήσας τῷ Μενεδήμῳ σφόδρα

εὐτελῶς ἀπὸ μεγάλων· ὅτε καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐρωμένου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀποκλειόντων αὐτόν, ὁ Μενέδημος ἐκέλευσεν εἰσδέξασθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι Ἀσκληπιάδης αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ γῆς ὢν τὰς θύρας ἀνοίγει. ἦσαν δ' οἱ σωματοποιήσαντες αὐτοὺς Ἱππόνικός τε ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ Ἀγήτωρ ὁ Λαμιεύς· ὁ μὲν ἑκατέρῳ δοὺς τριάκοντα μνᾶς, ὁ δ' Ἱππόνικος Μενεδήμῳ εἰς ἔκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων δισχιλίας δραχμάς. ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, ἐξ Ὠρωπίας αὐτῷ γυναικὸς γεγεννημέναι.

Τὰ δὲ συμπόσια τοῦτον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν τρόπον· προηρίστα μετὰ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἕως βραδέως ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας· ἔπειτά τις ἐκάλει τοὺς παραγενομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤδη δεδειπνηκότας· ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔλθοι θᾶττον, ἀνακάμπτων ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν ἐξιόντων τί εἴη παρακείμενον καὶ πῶς ἔχοι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου· εἰ μὲν οὖν λαχάνιον ἢ ταρίχιον, ἀνεχώρουν· εἰ δὲ κρεᾴδιον, εἰσῄεσαν. ἦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν θέρους ψίαθος ἐπὶ τῶν κλινῶν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος κώδιον· προσκεφάλαιον αὐτῷ φέρειν ἔδει. τό τε περιαγόμενον ποτήριον οὐ μεῖζον ἦν κοτυλιαίου· τράγημα θέρμος ἢ κύαμος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὡρίων ἄπιος ἢ ῥοιὰ ἢ ὦχροι ἢ νὴ Δί' ἰσχάδες.

ἃ πάντα φησὶν ὁ Λυκόφρων ἐν τοῖς πεποιημένοις σατύροις αὐτῷ, οὓς Μενέδημος ἐπέγραψεν, ἐγκώμιον τοῦ φιλοσόφου ποιήσας τὸ δρᾶμα· ὧν καί τινά ἐστι τοιαυτί·
ὡς ἐκ βραχείας δαιτὸς ἡ βαιὰ κύλιξ

αὐτοῖς κυκλεῖται πρὸς μέτρον, τράγημα δὲ

ὁ σωφρονιστὴς τοῖς φιληκόοις λόγος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφρονεῖτο, κύων καὶ λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀκούων· ὕστερον δ' ἐθαυμάσθη, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσασθαι. ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, τιμώμενος πανταχοῦ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον. καὶ τῆς πόλεως διακόσια τάλαντα τελούσης πρὸς ἔτος αὐτῷ, τὰ πεντήκοντα ἀφεῖλε· πρὸς ὃν διαβληθεὶς ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίζων Πτολεμαίῳ, ἀπολογεῖται δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·

Μενέδημος βασιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ χαίρειν. ἀκούω πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεθῆναι περὶ ἡμῶν. λόγος δὲ διαβεβληκέναι αὐτὸν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων τινὰ Αἰσχύλον. δοκεῖ δ' ἐμβριθέστατα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ὡς καὶ Εὔφαντος ἐν Ἱστορίαις μνημονεύει. ἠγάπα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ μαθητὴν ἀνεκήρυττεν αὐτόν. καὶ ἡνίκα ἐνίκα τοὺς βαρβάρους περὶ Λυσιμαχίαν, γράφει ψήφισμα αὐτῷ Μενέδημος ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀκόλακον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πράσσει κατὰ γνώμην· ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλίαν ὑποπτευθεὶς προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ, διαβάλλοντος Ἀριστοδήμου ὑπεξῆλθε· καὶ διέτριβεν ἐν Ὠρωπῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἱερῷ· ἔνθα χρυσῶν ποτηρίων ἀπολομένων, καθά φησιν Ἕρμιππος, δόγματι κοινῷ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐκελεύσθη μετελθεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν ἀθυμήσας λαθραίως παρεισδὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας παραλαβὼν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἐλθὼν ἀθυμίᾳ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε.

Φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης αὐτὸν πᾶν τοὐναντίον, πρόβουλον γενόμενον τῶν Ἐρετριέων πολλάκις ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἐπαγόμενον Δημήτριον· οὐκ ἂν δὴ οὖν προδοῦναι αὐτὸν Ἀντιγόνῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ διαβολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν ψευδῆ· φοιτᾶν τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ βούλεσθαι ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦ δὲ μὴ εἴκοντος ὑπ' ἀθυμίας ἀσιτήσαντα ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. τὰ ὅμοια τούτῳ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ. μόνῳ δὲ Περσαίῳ διαπρύσιον εἶχε πόλεμον· ἐδόκει γὰρ Ἀντιγόνου βουλομένου τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀποκαταστῆσαι

τοῖς Ἐρετριεῦσι χάριν Μενεδήμου κωλῦσαι.

διὸ καί ποτε παρὰ πότον ὁ Μενέδημος ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις τά τε ἄλλα ἔφη καὶ δὴ καὶ φιλόσοφος μὲν [τοι] τοιοῦτος, ἀνὴρ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν γενησομένων κάκιστος.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος βιούς. καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὕτως ἔχον·
ἔκλυον, Μενέδημε, τεὸν μόρον, ὡς ἑκὼν ἀπέσβης ἐν ἡμέρῃσιν ἑπτὰ μηδὲν ἐσθίων.

κᾆτ' ἔργον ἔρεξας Ἐρετρικόν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄνανδρον· ἀψυχίη γὰρ ἡγεμὼν ἔπειγέ σε.

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

Γ

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

Πλάτων, Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Περικτιόνης — ἢ Πωτώνης,— Ἀθηναῖος, ἤτις τὸ γένος ἀνέφερεν εἰς Σόλωνα. τούτου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Δρωπίδης, οὗ Κριτίας, οὗ Κάλλαισχρος, οὗ Κριτίας ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ Γλαύκων, οὗ Χαρμίδης καὶ Περικτιόνη, ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστωνος Πλάτων, ἕκτος ἀπὸ Σόλωνος. ὁ δὲ Σόλων εἰς Νηλέα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀνάγειν εἰς Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου, οἵτινες ἀπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἱστοροῦνται κατὰ Θρασύλον.

Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πλάτωνος περιδείπνῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος ἐγκωμίῳ καὶ Ἀναξιλαΐδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ φιλοσόφων φασίν, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ἦν λόγος, ὡραίαν οὖσαν τὴν Περικτιόνην βιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀρίστωνα καὶ μὴ τυγχάνειν· παυόμενόν τε τῆς βίας ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄψιν· ὅθεν καθαρὰν γάμου φυλάξαι ἕως τῆς ἀποκυήσεως.

Καὶ γίνεται Πλάτων, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ὀγδόῃ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, Θαργηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, καθ' ἣν Δήλιοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα γενέσθαι φασί. τελευτᾷ δὲ—ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἔν γάμοις δειπνῶν—τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ἔτος ἓν πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα.

Νεάνθης δέ φησιν αὐτὸν τεττάρων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν. ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἕξ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν δήμων Κολλυτεύς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντιλέων ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ χρόνων. καὶ ἐγεννήθη κατά τινας ἐν Αἰγίνῃ—ἐν τῇ Φειδιάδου οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Θάλητος, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ—τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθέντος κληρούχου καὶ ἐπανελθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὁπόθ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεβλήθησαν βοηθούντων Αἰγινήταις. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγησεν Ἀθήνησι Δίωνος ἀναλίσκοντος, ὥς φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν η' Περιπάτων.

ἔσχε δ' ἀδελφοὺς Ἀδείμαντον καὶ Γλαύκωνα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Πωτώνην, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Σπεύσιππος.

Καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν γράμματα παρὰ Διονυσίῳ, οὗ καὶ μνημονεύει ἐν τοῖς Ἀντερασταῖς. ἐγυμνάσατο δὲ παρὰ Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Ἀργείῳ παλαιστῇ· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Πλάτων διὰ τὴν εὐεξίαν μετωνομάσθη, πρότερον Ἀριστοκλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου καλούμενος [ὄνομα], καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν πλατύτητα τῆς ἑρμηνείας οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι· ἢ ὅτι πλατὺς ἦν τὸ μέτωπον, ὥς φησι Νεάνθης. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ παλαῖσαί φασιν αὐτὸν Ἰσθμοῖ, καθὰ καὶ Δικαίαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων,

καὶ γραφικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι, πρῶτον μὲν διθυράμβους, ἔπειτα καὶ μέλη καὶ τραγῳδίας. ἰσχνόφωνός τε, φασίν, ἦν, ὡς καὶ Τιμόθεός φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων.

λέγεται δ’ ὅτι Σωκράτης ὄναρ εἶδε κύκνου νεοττὸν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχειν, ὃν καὶ παραχρῆμα πτεροφυήσαντα ἀναπτῆναι ἡδὺ κλάγξαντα· καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν Πλάτωνα αὐτῷ συστῆναι, τὸν δὲ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιν.

Ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κολωνόν, ὥς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον. ἔπειτα μέντοι μέλλων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τραγῳδίᾳ πρὸ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ θεάτρου Σωκράτους ἀκούσας κατέφλεξε τὰ ποιήματα εἰπών· Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ’ ὧδε· Πλάτων νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει.

τοὐντεῦθεν δὴ γεγονώς, φασίν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους· ἐκείνου δ’ ἀπελθόντος προσεῖχε Κρατύλῳ τε τῷ Ἡρακλειτείῳ καὶ Ἑρμογένει τῷ τὰ Παρμενίδου φιλοσοφοῦντι. εἶτα γενόμενος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, καθά φησιν Ἑρμόδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν. ἔπειτα εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπῆλθε πρὸς Θεόδωρον τὸν μαθηματικόν· κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς Φιλόλαον καὶ Εὔρυτον. ἔνθεν τε εἰς Αἴγυπτον παρὰ τοὺς προφήτας· οὗ φασι καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συνακολουθῆσαι καὶ αὐτόθι νοσήσαντα πρὸς τῶν ἱερέων ἀπολυθῆναι τῇ διὰ θαλάττης θεραπείᾳ· ὅθεν που καὶ εἰπεῖν·
θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τἀνθρώπων κακά.

ἀλλὰ καθ’ Ὅμηρον φάναι περὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους ἰατροὺς εἶναι. διέγνω δὴ ὁ Πλάτων καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις συμμῖξαι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας πολέμους ἀπέστη. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον προάστειον ἀλσῶδες ἀπό τινος ἥρωος ὀνομασθὲν Ἑκαδήμου, καθὰ καὶ Εὔπολις ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις φησίν·
ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμου θεοῦ.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τίμων εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα λέγων φησί·
τῶν πάντων δ’ ἡγεῖτο πλατίστακος, ἀλλ’ ἀγορητὴς

ἡδυεπής, τέττιξιν ἰσογράφος, οἵ θ’ Ἑκαδήμου

δένδρῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἱᾶσιν.

πρότερον γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ε Ἑκαδήμεια ἐκαλεῖτο. ὁ δ’ οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ Ἰσοκράτει φίλος ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν Πραξιφάνης ἀνέγραψε διατριβήν τινα περὶ ποιητῶν γενομένην ἐν ἀγρῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐπιξενωθέντος τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους. καὶ αὐτόν φησιν Ἀριστόξενος τρὶς ἐστρατεῦσθαι, ἅπαξ μὲν εἰς Τάναγραν, δεύτερον δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον, τρίτον ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ· ἔνθα καὶ ἀριστεῦσαι. μίξιν τε ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε Ἡρακλειτείων λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ Σωκρατικῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν, τὰ δὲ πολιτικὰ κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.

Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Σάτυρος, ὅτι Δίωνι ἐπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν ὠνήσασθαι τρία βιβλία Πυθαγορικὰ παρὰ Φιλολάου μνῶν ἑκατόν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ, φασίν, ἦν παρὰ Διονυσίου λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα, ὡς καὶ Ὀνήτωρ φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ εἰ χρηματιεῖται ὁ σοφός. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ προσωφέληται τὰ πλεῖστα μεταγράψας, καθά φησιν Ἄλκιμος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, ἅ ἐστι τέτταρα. ἔνθα καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φησὶ ταῦτα·

“Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτων πολλὰ τῶν Ἐπιχάρμου λέγων. σκεπτέον δέ· ὁ Πλάτων φησὶν αἰσθητὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ποιῷ μηδὲ ποσῷ διαμένον ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ ῥέον καὶ μεταβάλλον,

ὡς ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις ἀνέλῃ τὸν ἀριθμόν, τούτων οὔτε ἴσων οὔτε τινῶν οὔτε ποσῶν οὔτε ποιῶν ὄντων. ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶν ὧν ἀεὶ γένεσις, οὐσία δὲ μηδέποτε πέφυκε. νοητὸν δὲ ἐξ οὗ μηθὲν ἀπογίνεται μηδὲ προσγίνεται. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀιδίων φύσις, ἣν ὁμοίαν τε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι. καὶ μὴν ὅ γε Ἐπίχαρμος περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἐναργῶς εἴρηκεν·

— ἀλλ’ ἀεί τοι θεοὶ παρῆσαν χὐπέλιπον οὐ πώποκα, τάδε δ’ ἀεὶ πάρεσθ’ ὁμοῖα διά τε τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεί.

— ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὰν χάος πρᾶτον γενέσθαι τῶν θεῶν.

— πῶς δέ κα; μὴ ἔχον γ’ ἀπὸ τίνος μηδ’ ἐς ὅ τι πρᾶτον μόλοι.

— οὐκ ἄρ’ ἔμολε πρᾶτον οὐθέν; — οὐδὲ μὰ Δία δεύτερον,

τῶνδέ γε ὧν ἁμὲς νῦν ὧδε λέγομες ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ τάδ’ ἦν . . .

αἰ πὸτ ἀριθμόν τις περισσόν, αἰ δὲ λᾷς, πὸτ ἄρτιον,

ποτθέμειν λᾷ ψᾶφον ἢ καὶ τᾶν ὑπαρχουσᾶν λαβεῖν,

ἦ δοκεῖ κά τοί γ’ ἔθ’ ὡὐτὸς εἶμεν;—οὐκ ἐμίν γα κά.

— οὐδὲ μὰν οὐδ’ αἰ ποτὶ μέτρον παχυαῖον ποτθέμειν

λᾷ τις ἕτερον μᾶκος ἢ τοῦ πρόσθ’ ἐόντος ἀποταμεῖν,

ἔτι χ’ ὑπάρχοι κῆνο τὸ μέτρον; — οὐ γάρ. — ὧδε νῦν ὅρη

καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὔξεθ’, ὁ δέ γα μὰν φθίνει,

ἐν μεταλλαγᾷ δὲ πάντες ἐντὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

ὃ δὲ μεταλλάσσει κατὰ φύσιν κοὔποκ’ ἐν ταὐτῷ μένει,

ἕτερον εἴη κα τόδ’ ἀεὶ τῶ παρεξεστακότος.

καὶ τὺ δὴ κἀγὼ χθὲς ἄλλοι καί νυν ἄλλοι τελέθομες

καὖθις ἄλλοι κοὔποχ’ ὡὐτοὶ κατά γα τοῦτον τὸν λόγον.

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

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

ἆρ’ ἔστιν αὔλησίς τι πρᾶγμα; — πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

— ἄνθρωπος οὖν αὔλησίς ἐστιν; — οὐθαμῶς.

— φέρ’ ἴδω, τί δ’ αὐλητάς; τίς εἶμέν τοι δοκεῖ;

ἄνθρωπος; ἢ οὐ γάρ; — πάνυ μὲν οὖν. — οὐκ οὖν δοκεῖς

οὕτως ἔχειν κα καὶ περὶ τἀγαθοῦ; τὸ μὲν

ἀγαθόν τι πρᾶγμ’ εἶμεν καθ’ αὕθ’, ὅστις δέ κα

εἰδῇ μαθὼν τῆν’, ἀγαθὸς ἤδη γίγνεται.

ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστ’ αὔλησιν αὐλητὰς μαθὼν

ἢ ὄρχησιν ὀρχηστάς τις ἢ πλοκεὺς πλοκάν,

ἢ πᾶν γ’ ὁμοίως τῶν τοιούτων ὅ τι τὺ λῇς,

οὔ χ’ αὑτὸς εἴη χἀ τέχνα, τεχνικός γα μάν.

Πλάτων ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν ὑπολήψει φησίν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ μνήμη, τὰς ἰδέας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τὴν μνήμην ἠρεμοῦντός τινος καὶ μένοντος εἶναι· μένειν δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰς ἰδέας. ‹τίνα γὰρ ἂν τρόπον,’ φησί, ‹διεσῴζετο τὰ ζῷα μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ἐφαπτόμενα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν νοῦν φυσικὸν εἰληφότα; νῦν δὲ μνημονεύει τῆς ὁμοιότητός τε καὶ τροφῆς, ὁποία τις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδεικνύμενα διότι πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις ἔμφυτός ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ὁμοιότητος θεωρία· διὸ καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων αἰσθάνεται.’ πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος;

Εὔμαιε, τὸ σοφόν ἐστιν οὐ καθ’ ἓν μόνον,

ἀλλ’ ὅσσα περ ζῇ, πάντα καὶ γνώμαν ἔχει.

καὶ γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τᾶν ἀλεκτορίδων γένος,

αἰ λῇς καταμαθεῖν ἀτενές, οὐ τίκτει τέκνα

ζῶντ’, ἀλλ’ ἐπῴζει καὶ ποιεῖ ψυχὰν ἔχειν.

τὸ δὲ σοφὸν ἁ φύσις τόδ’ οἶδεν ὡς ἔχει

μόνα· πεπαίδευται γὰρ αὐταύτας ὕπο.
καὶ πάλιν·

θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἀμὲ ταῦθ’ οὕτω λέγειν

καὶ ἀνδάνειν αὐτοῖσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ δοκεῖν

καλὼς πεφύκειν· καὶ γὰρ ἁ κύων κυνὶ

κάλλιστον εἶμεν φαίνεται καὶ βοῦς βοΐ,

ὄνος δ’ ὄνῳ κάλλιστον, ὗς δέ θην ὑί.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τῶν τεττάρων βιβλίων παραπήγνυσιν ὁ Ἄλκιμος παρασημαίνων τὴν ἐξ Ἐπιχάρμου Πλάτωνι περιγινομένην ὠφέλειαν. ὅτι δ’ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς Ἐπίχαρμος ἠγνόει τὴν αὑτοῦ σοφίαν, μαθεῖν ἐστι κἀκ τούτων ἐν οἷς τὸν ζηλώσοντα προμαντεύεται·

ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ δοκέω, —δοκέων γὰρ σάφα ἴσαμι τοῦθ’ ὅτι

τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποκ’ ἐσσεῖται λόγων τούτων ἔτι.

καὶ λαβών τις αὐτὰ περιδύσας τὸ μέτρον ὃ νῦν ἔχει,

εἶμα δοὺς καὶ πορφυροῦν λόγοισι ποικίλας καλοῖς

δυσπάλαιστος ὢν τὸς ἄλλως εὐπαλαίστους ἀποφανεῖ.

Δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἠμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἠθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἃ καὶ εὑρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. τρὶς δὲ πέπλευκεν εἰς Σικελίαν· πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ θέαν τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν κρατήρων, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους τύραννος ὢν ἠνάγκασεν ὥστε συμμῖξαι αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ διαλεγόμενος περὶ τυραννίδος

καὶ φάσκων ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον αὐτὸ † μόνον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέροι, προσέκρουσεν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ οἱ λόγοι σου, φησί, γεροντιῶσι, καὶ ὅς· σοῦ δέ γε τυραννιῶσιν.

ἐντεῦθεν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ τύραννος πρῶτον μὲν ἀνελεῖν ὥρμησεν αὐτόν· εἶτα παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Δίωνος καὶ Ἀριστομένους τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτὸν Πόλλιδι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ πρεσβείαν ἀφιγμένῳ ὥστε ἀποδόσθαι. κἀκεῖνος ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγιναν ἐπίπρασκεν· ὅτε καὶ Χάρμανδρος Χαρμανδρίδου ἐγράψατο αὐτῷ δίκην θανάτου κατὰ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τεθέντα νόμον, τὸν πρῶτον ἐπιβάντα Ἀθηναίων τῇ νήσῳ ἄκριτον ἀποθνῄσκειν. ἦν δ’ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὶς τὸν νόμον, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παιδιάν, φιλόσοφον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβάντα, ἀπέλυσαν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι παραχθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τηρούμενον μηδ’ ὁτιοῦν φθέγξασθαι, ἑτοίμως δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον· οἱ δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ διέγνωσαν, πωλεῖν δὲ ἔκριναν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

Λυτροῦται δὴ αὐτὸν κατὰ τύχην παρὼν Ἀννίκερις ὁ Κυρηναῖος εἴκοσι μνῶν—οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα —καὶ ἀναπέμπει Ἀθήναζε πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους. οἱ δ’ εὐθὺς τἀργύριον ἐξέπεμψαν· ὅπερ οὐ προσήκατο εἰπὼν μὴ μόνους ἐκείνους ἀξίους εἶναι Πλάτωνος κήδεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Δίωνα ἀποστεῖλαί φασι τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸν μὴ προσέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηπίδιον αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρίασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Πόλλιν λόγος ὑπό τε Χαβρίου ἡττηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἑλίκῃ καταποντωθῆναι τοῦ δαιμονίου μηνίσαντος διὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

οὐ μὴν ἡσύχαζεν ὁ Διονύσιος· μαθὼν δὲ ἐπέστειλε Πλάτωνι μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἀντεπέστειλε μὴ τοσαύτην αὐτῷ σχολὴν εἶναι ὥστε Διονυσίου μεμνῆσθαι.

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

“Ἀρχύτας Διονυσίῳ ὑγιαίνειν.

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

Τρίτον ἦλθε διαλλαξων Δίωνα Διονυσίῳ· οὐ τυχὼν δὲ ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ἔνθα πολιτείας μὲν οὐχ ἥψατο, καίτοι πολιτικὸς ὢν ἐξ ὧν γέγραφεν. αἴτιον δὲ τὸ ἤδη τὸν δῆμον ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασιν ἐνειθίσθαι. φησὶ δὲ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων ὡς Ἀρκάδες καὶ Θηβαῖοι Μεγάλην πόλιν οἰκίζοντες παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἴσον ἔχειν οὐ θέλοντας οὐκ ἐπορεύθη. λόγος ὅτι καὶ Χαβρίᾳ συνεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ φεύγοντι θανάτου μηδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι βουληθέντος.

ὅτε καὶ ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν σὺν τῷ Χαβρίᾳ Κρωβύλος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπαντήσας φησίν· ἄλλῳ συναγορεύσων ἥκεις, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ σὲ τὸ Σωκράτους κώνειον ἀναμένει; τὸν δὲ φάναι· καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστρατευόμην, ὑπέμενον τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ

καθήκοντος διὰ φίλον ὑπομενῶ.

Οὗτος πρῶτος ἐν ἐρωτήσει λόγον παρήνεγκεν, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας. καὶ πρῶτος τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ζητήσεως τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο Λεωδάμαντι τῷ Θασίῳ. καὶ πρῶτος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀντίποδας ὠνόμασε καὶ στοιχεῖον καὶ διαλεκτικὴν καὶ ποιότητα καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὸν προμήκη καὶ τῶν περάτων τὴν ἐπίπεδον ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν.

Καὶ πρῶτος τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντεῖπε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τὸν Λυσίου τοῦ Κεφάλου ἐκθέμενος αὐτὸν κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθεώρησε τῆς γραμματικῆς τὴν δύναμιν. πρῶτός τε ἀντειρηκὼς σχεδὸν ἅπασι τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ζητεῖται διὰ τί μὴ ἐμνημόνευσε Δημοκρίτου. τούτου φησὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς εἰς Ὀλύμπια ἀνιόντος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐπιστραφῆναι εἰς αὐτόν· ὅτε καὶ Δίωνι συνέμιξε μέλλοντι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων Φαβωρίνου φέρεται ὅτι Μιθραδάτης ὁ Πέρσης ἀνδριάντα Πλάτωνος ἀνέθετο εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν καὶ ἐπέγραψε· Μιθραδάτης Ὀροντοβάτου Πέρσης Μούσαις εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε Πλάτωνος, ἣν Σιλανίων ἐποίησε.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἡρακλείδης ὅτι νέος ὢν οὕτως ἦν αἰδήμων καὶ κόσμιος ὥστε μηδέποτε ὀφθῆναι γελῶν ὑπεράγαν· τοιοῦτος δ’ ὢν ὅμως ἐσκώφθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν. Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν Ἡδυχάρει φησὶν οὕτως·

ἓν γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἕν,

τὼ δὲ δύο μόλις ἕν ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων.
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Θησεῖ·
ὅτε τὰς μορίας ἔτρωγεν ὡσπερεὶ Πλάτων.
ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων οὑτωσὶ παραγραμματίζων αὐτόν·
ὡς ἀνέπλασσε Πλάτων ὁ πεπλασμένα θαύματα εἰδώς.

Ἄλεξις Μεροπίδι·
εἰς καιρὸν ἥκεις· ὡς ἔγωγ’ ἀπορουμένη

ἄνω κάτω τε περιπατοῦσ’ ὥσπερ Πλάτων

σοφὸν οὐδὲν εὕρηκ’, ἀλλὰ κοπιῶ τὰ σκέλη.
καὶ ἐν Ἀγκυλίωνι·
λέγεις περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶσθα· συγγενοῦ τρέχων

Πλάτωνι καὶ γνώσῃ λίτρον καὶ κρόμμυον.
Ἄμφις Ἀμφικράτει·

τὸ δ’ ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι ποτ’ ἐστίν, οὗ σὺ τυγχάνειν

μέλλεις διὰ ταύτην, ἧττον οἶδα τοῦτ’ ἐγώ,

ὦ δέσποτ’, ἢ τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν.—πρόσεχε δή.

ἐν Δεξιδημίδῃ·

ὦ Πλάτων,

ὡς οὐδὲν οἶσθα πλὴν σκυθρωπάζειν μόνον,

ὥσπερ κοχλίας σεμνῶς ἐπηρκὼς τὰς ὀφρῦς.
Κρατῖνος Ψευδυποβολιμαίῳ·
ἄνθρωπος εἶ δηλονότι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχεις.

—κατὰ τὸν Πλάτων’ οὐκ οἶδα δ’, ὑπονοῶ δ’ ἔχειν.
Ἄλεξις Ὀλυμπιοδώρῳ·
σῶμα μὲν ὁμοῦ τὸ θνητὸν αὖον ἐγένετο,

τὸ δ’ ἀθάνατον ἐξῆξε πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα.

—ταῦτ’ οὐ σχολὴ Πλάτωνος;
καὶ ἐν Παρασίτῳ·
ἢ μετὰ Πλάτωνος ἀδολεσχεῖν κατὰ μόνας.
χλευάζει δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀναξίλας Βοτρυλίωνι καὶ Κίρκῃ καὶ Πλουσίαις.

Ἀρίστιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρος μειρακίου τινὸς ἀστρολογεῖν συνασκουμένου ἐρασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ προειρημένου—ἔνιοι καὶ Φαίδρου φασί—· δηλοῦν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ τάδε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, ἃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἰς αὐτούς·
ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς Ἀστὴρ ἐμός· εἴθε γενοίμην

οὐρανός, ὡς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σὲ βλέπω.

καὶ ἄλλο·
ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζῳοῖσιν Ἑῷος,

νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.

εἰς δὲ τὸν Δίωνα ὧδε·

δάκρυα μὲν Ἑκάβῃ τε καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξὶ

Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δὴ τότε γεινομέναις,

σοὶ δέ, Δίων, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων

δαίμονες εὐροίας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν.

κεῖσαι δ’ εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἀστοῖς,

ὦ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίων.

τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξιδος, φασίν, ἐρασθεὶς καὶ Φαίδρου, καθὰ προείρηται, τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον·
νῦν, ὅτε μηδὲν Ἄλεξις ὅσον μόνον εἶφ’ ὅτι καλός,

ὤπται καὶ πάντῃ πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται,

θυμέ, τί μηνύεις κυσὶν ὀστέον; εἶτ’ ἀνιήσῃ

ὕστερον; οὐχ οὕτω Φαῖδρον ἀπωλέσαμεν;
ἔχειν τε Ἀρχεάνασσαν, εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτω ποιῆσαι·
Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίραν,

ἧς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων ἕζετο δριμὺς ἔρως.

ἆ δειλοὶ νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης

πρωτοπλόου, δι’ ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ἀγάθωνα·
τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χείλεσιν εἶχον·

ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη.

καὶ ἄλλο·
τῷ μήλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ’ εἰ μὲν ἑκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,

δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος,

εἰ δ’ ἄρ’ ὃ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα

σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.
καὶ ἄλλο·
μῆλον ἐγώ. βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις· ἀλλ’ ἐπίνευσον

Ξανθίππη· κἀγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς τοὺς Ἐρετριέας τοὺς σαγηνευθέντας αὐτοῦ εἶναι·
Εὐβοίης γένος εἰμὲν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων

κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσον ἀφ’ ἡμετέρης.
κἀκεῖνο·
ἁ Κύπρις Μούσαισι· κοράσια, τὰν Ἀφροδίταν

τιμᾶτ’ ἢ τὸν Ἔρωτ’ ὔμμιν ἐφοπλίσομαι.

αἱ Μοῦσαι ποτὶ Κύπριν· Ἄρει τὰ στωμύλα ταῦτα·

ἡμῖν οὐ πέτεται τοῦτο τὸ παιδάριον.
καὶ ἄλλο·
χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὑρὼν ἔλιπεν βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ
χρυσὸν

ὃν λίπεν οὐχ εὑρὼν ἦψεν ὃν εὗρε βρόχον.

Ἀλλά τοι Μόλων ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τοῦτο, φησί, θαυμαστὸν εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἀλλ’ εἰ Πλάτων ἐν Σικελίᾳ. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν οὐκ εὐμενῶς. ὥσπερ γοῦν διαφιλονεικοῦντες τὰ ὅμοια γεγράφασι, Συμπόσιον, Σωκράτους ἀπολογίαν, τὰ ἠθικὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα — εἶθ’ ὁ μὲν Πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ Κύρου παιδείαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὁ Πλάτων πλάσμα φησὶν εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι Κῦρον τοιοῦτον — ἀμφότεροί τε Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντες, ἀλλήλων οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν Ξενοφῶν Πλάτωνος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

λέγεται δ’ ὅτι καὶ Ἀντισθένης μέλλων ἀναγινώσκειν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν παρατυχεῖν. καὶ πυθομένου, τί μέλλει ἀναγινώσκειν, εἶπεν ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν· τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος· πῶς οὖν σὺ περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου γράφεις; καὶ διδάσκοντος ὅτι περιτρέπεται, ἔγραψε διάλογον κατὰ Πλάτωνος Σάθωνα ἐπιγράψας· ἐξ οὗ διετέλουν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην ἀκούσαντα τὸν Λύσιν ἀναγινώσκοντος Πλάτωνος Ἡράκλεις, εἰπεῖν, ὡς πολλά μου καταψεύδεθ’ ὁ νεανίσκος. οὐκ ὀλίγα γὰρ ὧν οὐκ εἴρηκε Σωκράτης γέγραφεν ἀνήρ.

Εἶχε δὲ φιλέχθρως ὁ Πλάτων καὶ πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον. ἐν γοῦν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διαβάλλων αὐτόν φησιν ὅτι οὐ παρεγένετο Σωκράτει τελευτῶντι, ἀλλ’ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἦν καὶ σύνεγγυς. καὶ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην δέ τινα φιλοτιμίαν εἶχε, φασίν, ὅτι δή περ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐδοκίμει παρὰ Διονυσίῳ. ὃν ἐλθόντα δι’ ἀπορίαν ὑπὸ μὲν Πλάτωνος παροφθῆναι, ὑπὸ δ’ Ἀριστίππου συσταθῆναι. τούς τε λόγους οὓς Κρίτωνι περιτέθεικεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περὶ τῆς φυγῆς συμβουλεύοντι, φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς εἶναι

Αἰσχίνου· τὸν δ’ ἐκείνῳ περιθεῖναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτον δυσμένειαν.

Ἑαυτοῦ τε Πλάτων οὐδαμόθι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραμμάτων μνήμην πεποίηται ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ἀπολογίᾳ. φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ποιήματος εἶναι καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου. τοῦτον μόνον παραμεῖναι Πλάτωνι Φαβωρῖνός πού φησιν ἀναγινώσκοντι τὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἀναστῆναι πάντας. ἔνιοί τε φασὶν ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ὀπούντιος τοὺς Νόμους αὐτοῦ μετέγραψεν ὄντας ἐν κηρῷ. τούτου δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐπινομίδα φασὶν εἶναι. Εὐφορίων δὲ καὶ Παναίτιος εἰρήκασι πολλάκις ἐστραμμένην εὑρῆσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Πολιτείας. ἣν Πολιτείαν Ἀριστόξενός φησι πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς Πρωταγόρου γεγράφθαι Ἀντιλογικοῖς.

λόγος δὲ πρῶτον γράψαι αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον· καὶ γὰρ ἔχειν μειρακιῶδές τι τὸ πρόβλημα. Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμέμφεται ὡς φορτικόν.

Ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων λέγεται θεασάμενός τινα κυβεύοντα αἰτιάσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς, ἀλλὰ τό γ’ ἔθος, εἰπεῖν, οὐ μικρόν. ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ἀπομνημονεύματα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ὥσπερ τῶν πρότερον ἀπεκρίνατο· ὀνόματος δεῖ τυχεῖν πρῶτον, εἶτα πολλὰ ἔσται. εἰσελθόντος ποτὲ Ξενοκράτους εἶπε μαστιγῶσαι τὸν παῖδα· αὐτὸν γὰρ μὴ δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ ὠργίσθαι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ πρός τινα τῶν παίδων, μεμαστίγωσο ἄν, εἶπεν, εἰ μὴ ὠργιζόμην. ἐφ’ ἵππου καθίσας εὐθέως κατέβη φήσας εὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ ἱπποτυφίᾳ ληφθῇ. τοῖς μεθύουσι συνεβούλευε κατοπτρίζεσθαι· ἀποστήσεσθαι γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσχημοσύνης. πίνειν δ’ εἰς μέθην οὐδαμοῦ πρέπον ἔλεγε πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ πολλὰ δὲ καθεύδειν ἀπήρεσκεν αὐτῷ. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Νόμοις φησί· κοιμώμενος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος· εἶναί τε ἥδιον τῶν ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ τὸ λέγειν τἀληθῆ. καὶ περὶ ἀληθεία δ’ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις φησὶν οὕτως·

καλὸν μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὦ ξένε, καὶ μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πείθειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠξίου μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ λείπεσθαι ἢ ἐν φίλοις ἢ ἐν βιβλίοις· ἐξετόπιζε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα, καθά τινες φασί.

Καὶ ἐτελεύτα μὲν ὃν εἴπομεν τρόπον Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος τρισκαιδέκατον, καθὰ καὶ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων τρίτῳ. ὑφ’ οὗ καὶ ἐπιτιμηθῆναί φησιν αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος. Μυρωνιανὸς δ’ ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶ Φίλωνα παροιμίας μνημονεύειν περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος φθειρῶν, ὡς οὕτως αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος.

καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ, ἔνθα τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διετέλεσε φιλοσοφῶν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ προσηγορεύθη ἡ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ αἵρεσις. καὶ παρεπέμφθη πανδημεὶ πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι διαθέμενος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

“Τάδε κατέλιπε Πλάτων καὶ διέθετο· τὸ ἐν Ἰφιστιαδῶν χωρίον, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Κηφισιᾶσιν ἱεροῦ, νοτόθεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ ἐν Ἰφιστιαδῶν, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ ἀνιόντος Ἀρχέστρατος Φρεάρριος, πρὸς ἡλίου δὲ δυομένου Φίλιππος Χολλείδης· καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τοῦτο μηδενὶ μήτε ἀποδόσθαι μήτε ἀλλάξασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔστω Ἀδειμάντου τοῦ παιδίου εἰς τὸ δυνατόν·

καὶ τὸ ἐν Εἰρεσιδῶν χωρίον, ὃ παρὰ Καλλιμάχου ἐπριάμην, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, νοτόθεν δὲ Δημόστρατος Ξυπεταιών, πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόντος Εὐρυμέδων Μυρρινούσιος, πρὸς ἡλίου δυομένου Κηφισός. ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τρεῖς. φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν ἕλκουσαν ρξε’, κυμβίον ἄγον με’, δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἄγοντα συνάμφω δ’ δραχμάς, ὀβολοὺς γ’. Εὐκλείδης ὁ λιθοτόμος ὀφείλει μοι τρεῖς μνᾶς. Ἄρτεμιν ἀφίημι ἐλευθέραν. οἰκέτας καταλείπω Τύχωνα Βίκταν Ἀπολλωνίδην Διονύσιον.

σκεύη . . . . . τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὧν ἔχει ἀντίγραφα Δημήτριος. ὀφείλω δ’ οὐδενὶ οὐθέν. ἐπίτροποι

Λεωσθένης Σπεύσιππος Δημήτριος Ἡγίας Εὐρυμέδων Καλλίμαχος Θράσιππος.

Καὶ διέθετο μὲν οὕτως. ἐπεγράφη δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράμματα τάδε· πρῶτον·
σωφροσύνῃ προφέρων θνητῶν ἤθει τε δικαίῳ

ἐνθάδε δὴ κεῖται θεῖος Ἀριστοκλέης·

εἰ δέ τις ἐκ πάντων σοφίης μέγαν ἔσχεν ἔπαινον

τοῦτον ἔχει πλεῖστον καὶ φθόνος οὐχ ἕπεται.

ἕτερον δέ·
γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλπῳ κρύπτει τόδε σῶμα Πλάτωνος,

ψυχὴ δ’ ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων

υἱοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, τόν τις καὶ τηλόθι ναίων

τιμᾷ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς θεῖον ἰδόντα βίον.
καὶ ἄλλο νεώτερον·
αἰετέ, τίπτε βέβηκας ὑπὲρ τάφον; ἦ τινος, εἰπέ,

ἀστερόεντα θεῶν οἶκον ἀποσκοπέεις;

—ψυχῆς εἰμι Πλάτωνος ἀποπταμένης ἐς Ὄλυμπον

εἰκών, σῶμα δὲ γῆ γηγενὲς Ἀτθὶς ἔχει.

ἔστι καὶ ἡμέτερον οὕτως ἔχον·
καὶ πῶς εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα φῦσε Πλάτωνα,

ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων γράμμασιν ἠκέσατο;

καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦδε γεγὼς Ἀσκληπιός ἐστιν ἰητὴρ

σώματος, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀθανάτοιο Πλάτων.
καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·
Φοῖβος ἔφυσε βροτοῖς Ἀσκληπιὸν ἠδὲ Πλάτωνα,

τὸν μὲν ἵνα ψυχήν, τὸν δ’ ἵνα σῶμα σάοι.

δαισάμενος δὲ γάμον πόλιν ἦλυθεν, ἣν ποθ’ ἑαυτῷ

ἔκτισε καὶ δαπέδῳ Ζηνὸς ἐνιδρύσατο.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ταῦτα.

Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Σπεύσιππος Ἀθηναῖος, Ξενοκράτης Καλχηδόνιος, Ἀριστοτέλης Σταγειρίτης, Φίλιππος Ὀπούντιος, Ἑστιαῖος Περίνθιος, Δίων Συρακόσιος, Ἄμυκλος Ἡρακλεώτης, Ἔραστος καὶ Κορίσκος Σκήψιοι, Τιμόλαος Κυζικηνός, Εὐαίων Λαμψακηνός, Πύθων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Αἴνιοι, Ἱπποθάλης καὶ Κάλλιππος Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημήτριος Ἀμφιπολίτης, Ἡρακλείδης Ποντικὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, σὺν οἷς καὶ γυναῖκες δύο Λασθένεια Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα Φλειασία ἣ καὶ ἀνδρεῖα ἠμπίσχετο, ὥς φησι Δικαίαρχος. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστον ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέων φησὶ καὶ Λυκοῦργον.

ὁμοίως Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ. καὶ Δημοσθένην Σαβῖνος λέγει Μνησίστρατον Θάσιον παρατιθέμενος ἐν δ’ Μελετητικῆς ὕλης· καὶ εἰκός ἐστι.

Φιλοπλάτωνι δέ σοι δικαίως ὑπαρχούσῃ καὶ παρ’ ὀντινοῦν τὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου δόγματα φιλοτίμως ζητούσῃ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν

διαλόγων καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς, ὡς οἷόν τε στοιχειωδῶς καὶ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτοῦ τῶν δογμάτων τὴν περὶ τοῦ βίου συναγωγήν· γλαῦκα γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας, φασίν, εἰ δέῃ σοι τὰ κατ’ εἶδος διηγεῖσθαι.

Διαλόγους τοίνυν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήνωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξαμενὸν Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι Πλάτων ἀκριβώσας τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως ἀποφέρεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ διάλογος λόγοσ ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως συγκείμενος περί τινος τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων καὶ πολιτικῶν μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ἠθοποιίας τῶν παραλαμβανομένων προσώπων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λέξιν κατασκευῆς. διαλεκτικὴ δ’ ἐστὶ τέχνη λόγων, δι’ ἧς ἀνασκευάζομέν τι ἢ κατασκευάζομεν ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως τῶν προσδιαλεγομένων.

Τοῦ δὴ διαλόγου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ δύ’ εἰσὶν ἀνωτάτω χαρακτῆρες, ὅ τε ὑφηγητικὸς καὶ ὁ ζητητικός. διαιρεῖται δὲ ὁ ὑφηγητικὸς εἰς ἄλλους δύο χαρακτῆρας, θεωρηματικόν τε καὶ πρακτικόν. καὶ τῶν ὁ μὲν θεωρηματικὸς εἰς τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, ὁ δὲ πρακτικὸς εἰς τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν. τοῦ δὲ ζητητικοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι χαρακτῆρες, ὅ τε γυμναστικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός. καὶ τοῦ μὲν γυμναστικοῦ μαιευτικός τε καὶ πειραστικός, τοῦ δὲ ἀγωνιστικοῦ ἐνδεικτικὸς καὶ ἀνατρεπτικός.

Οὐ λανθάνει δ’ ἡμᾶς ὅτι τινὲς ἄλλως διαφέρειν τοὺς διαλόγους φασί—λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν δραματικούς, τοὺς δὲ διηγηματικούς, τοὺς δὲ μεικτούσ—ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τραγικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφως τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν διαλόγων προσωνόμασαν. εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν φυσικοῦ οἷον ὁ Τίμαιος· τοῦ δὲ λογικοῦ ὅ τε Πολιτικὸς καὶ ὁ Κρατύλος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Σοφιστής· τοῦ δ’ ἠθικοῦ ἥ τε Ἀπολογία καὶ ὁ Κρίτων καὶ Φαίδων καὶ Φαῖδρος καὶ τὸ Συμπόσιον Μενέξενός τε καὶ Κλειτοφῶν καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Φίληβος Ἵππαρχος Ἀντερασταί· τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ ἥ τε Πολιτεία καὶ οἱ Νόμοι καὶ ὁ Μίνως καὶ Ἐπινομὶς καὶ ὁ Ἀτλαντικός·

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τοῦ δὲ μαιευτικοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδαι Θεάγης Λύσις Λάχης· τοῦ δὲ πειραστικοῦ Εὐθύφρων Μένων Ἴων Χαρμίδης Θεαίτητος· τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεικτικοῦ ὡς ὁ Πρωταγόρας· καὶ τοῦ ἀνατρεπτικοῦ Εὐθύδημος Γοργίας Ἱππίαι δύο. καὶ περὶ μὲν διαλόγου τί ποτέ ἐστι καὶ τίνες αὐτοῦ διαφοραί, τοσαῦτα ἀπόχρη λέγειν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴ στάσις ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ μέν φασιν αὐτὸν δογματίζειν, οἱ δ’ οὔ, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. αὐτὸ τοίνυν τὸ δογματίζειν ἐστὶ δόγματα τιθέναι ὡς τὸ νομοθετεῖν νόμους τιθέναι. δόγματα δὲ ἑκατέρως καλεῖται, τό τε δοξαζόμενον καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτή.

Τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαζόμενον πρότασίς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ δόξα ὑπόληψις. ὁ τοίνυν Πλάτων περὶ μὲν ὧν κατείληφεν ἀποφαίνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ διελέγχει, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπέχει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Σωκράτους, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ξένου· εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ ξένοι οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπέλαβον, Πλάτων καὶ Παρμενίδης, ἀλλὰ πλάσματά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λέγων Πλάτων δογματίζει. περὶ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐλεγχομένους εἰσάγει οἷον Θρασύμαχον καὶ Καλλικλέα καὶ Πῶλον Γοργίαν τε καὶ Πρωταγόραν, ἔτι Ἱππίαν καὶ Εὐθύδημον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους.

Ποιούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις πλείστῳ χρῆται τῷ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τρόπῳ, οὐ μὴν μονοτρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ διχῇ. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἐπαγωγὴ λόγος διά τινων ἀληθῶν τὸ ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ ἀληθὲς οἰκείως ἐπιφέρων. δύο δὲ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς εἰσι τρόποι, ὅ τε κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀκολουθίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατ’ ἐναντίωσίν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ τῷ ἐρωτωμένῳ περὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόκρισιν ἀκολουθήσει τὸ ἐναντίον,

οἷον· ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ ἤτοι ἕτερός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ αὐτός. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερός ἐστι τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ὁ σὸς πατήρ, πατρὸς ἕτερος ὢν οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ· εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἂν εἴη πατήρ.

καὶ πάλιν· εἰ μή ἐστι ζῷον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λίθος ἂν εἴη ἢ ξύλον. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ λίθος ἢ ξύλον· ἔμψυχον γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινεῖται· ζῷον ἄρα ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ζῷόν ἐστι, ζῷον δὲ καὶ ὁ κύων καὶ ὁ βοῦς, εἴη ἂν καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῷον ὢν καὶ κύων καὶ βοῦς. οὗτος μὲν ὁ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν καὶ μάχην τρόπος, ᾧ ἐχρῆτο οὐ πρὸς τὸ δογματίζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ διελέγχειν. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐστὶ διπλοῦς· ὁ μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ μέρους ζητούμενον διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀποδεικνύς, ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦ καθόλου [διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ μέρους]. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ῥητορικός, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διαλεκτικός. οἷον ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ ζητεῖται, εἰ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπόδειξις τὸ εὑρῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ᾑμαγμένον.

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

Ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραμάτιζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγῳδίαν, οὕτως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος πρότερον μὲν ἦν μονοειδὴς ὡς ὁ φυσικός, δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν, τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικὸν καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Θράσυλος δέ φησι καὶ κατὰ τὴν τραγικὴν τετραλογίαν ἐκδοῦναι αὐτὸν τοὺς διαλόγους, οἷον ἐκεῖνοι τέτρασι δράμασιν ἠγωνίζοντο — Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις — ὧν τὸ τέταρτον ἦν Σατυρικόν· τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο τετραλογία.

Εἰσὶ τοίνυν, φησίν, οἱ πάντες αὐτῷ γνήσιοι διάλογοι ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα, τῆς μὲν Πολιτείας εἰς δέκα διαιρουμένης — ἣν καὶ εὑρίσκεσθαι σχεδὸν ὅλην παρὰ Πρωταγόρᾳ ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιλογικοῖς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας δευτέρῳ -τῶν δὲ Νόμων εἰς δυοκαίδεκα. τετραλογίαι δὲ ἐννέα, ἑνὸς βιβλίου χώραν ἐπεχούσης τῆς Πολιτείας καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν Νόμων. πρώτην μὲν οὖν τετραλογίαν τίθησι τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχουσαν· παραδεῖξαι γὰρ βούλεται ὁποῖος ἂν εἴη ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου βίος. διπλαῖς τε χρῆται ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς καθ’ ἑκάστου τῶν βιβλίων, τῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, τῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος.

ταύτης τῆς τετραλογίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη, ἡγεῖται Εὐθύφρων ἢ περὶ ὁσίου· ὁ διάλογος δ’ ἐστὶ πειραστικός· δεύτερος Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους, ἠθικός· τρίτος Κρίτων ἢ περὶ πρακτέου, ἠθικός· τέταρτος Φαίδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἠθικός. δευτέρα τετραλογία, ἧς ἡγεῖται Κρατύλος ἢ περὶ ὀρθότητος ὀνομάτων, λογικός· Θεαίτητος ἢ περὶ ἐπιστήμης, πειραστικός· Σοφιστὴς ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, λογικός· Πολιτικὸς ἢ περὶ βασιλείας, λογικός. τῆς τρίτης ἡγεῖται Παρμενίδης ἢ περὶ ἰδεῶν, λογικός· Φίληβος ἢ περὶ ἡδονῆς, ἠθικός· Συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, ἠθικός· Φαῖδρος ἢ περὶ ἔρωτος, ἠθικός.

Τῆς τετάρτης ἡγεῖται Ἀλκιβιάδης ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, μαιευτικός· Ἀλκιβιάδης δεύτερος ἢ περὶ εὐχῆς, μαιευτικός· Ἵππαρχος ἢ φιλοκερδής, ἠθικός· Ἀντερασταὶ ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἠθικός.

τῆς πέμπτης ἡγεῖται Θεάγης ἢ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, μαιευτικός· Χαρμίδης ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης, πειραστικός· Λάχης ἢ περὶ ἀνδρείας, μαιευτικός· Λύσις ἢ περὶ φιλίας, μαιευτικός. τῆς ἕκτης ἡγεῖται Εὐθύδημος ἢ ἐριστικός, ἀνατρεπτικός· Πρωταγόρας ἢ σοφισταί, ἐνδεικτικός· Γοργίας ἢ περὶ ῥητορικῆς, ἀνατρεπτικός· Μένων ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς, πειραστικός.

τῆς ἑβδόμης ἡγοῦνται Ἱππίαι δύο — α′ ἢ περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, β′ ἢ περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους -ἀνατρεπτικοί· Ἴων ἢ περὶ Ἰλιάδος, πειραστικός· Μενέξενος ἢ ἐπιτάφιος, ἠθικός. τῆς ὀγδόης ἡγεῖται Κλειτοφῶν ἢ προτρεπτικός, ἠθικός· Πολιτεία ἢ περὶ δικαίου, πολιτικός· Τίμαιος ἢ περὶ φύσεως, φυσικός· Κριτίας ἢ Ἀτλαντικός, ἠθικός. τῆς ἐνάτης ἡγεῖται Μίνως ἢ περὶ νόμου, πολιτικός· Νόμοι ἢ περὶ νομοθεσίας, πολιτικός· Ἐπινομὶς ἢ νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος ἢ φιλόσοφος, πολιτικός· Ἐπιστολαὶ τρεισκαίδεκα, ἠθικαί —

ἐν αἷς ἔγραφεν εὖ πράττειν, Ἐπίκουρος δὲ εὖ διάγειν, Κλέων χαίρειν — πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον μία, πρὸς Ἀρχύταν δύο, πρὸς Διονύσιον τέτταρες, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν καὶ Ἔραστον καὶ Κορίσκον μία, πρὸς Λεωδάμαντα μία, πρὸς Δίωνα μία, πρὸς Περδίκκαν μία, πρὸς τοὺς Δίωνος οἰκείους δύο. καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτω διαιρεῖ καί τινες.

Ἔνιοι δέ, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἕλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους,

καὶ πρώτην μὲν τιθέασιν ἧς ἡγεῖται Πολιτεία Τίμαιος Κριτίας· δευτέραν Σοφιστὴς Πολιτικὸς Κρατύλος· τρίτην Νόμοι Μίνως Ἐπινομίς· τετάρτην Θεαίτητος Εὐθύφρων Ἀπολογία· πέμπτην Κρίτων Φαίδων Ἐπιστολαί. τὰ δ’ ἄλλα καθ’ ἓν καὶ ἀτάκτως. ἄρχονται δὲ οἱ μέν, ὡς προείρηται, ἀπὸ τῆς Πολιτείας· οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ μείζονος· οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ Θεάγους· ἔνιοι δὲ Εὐθύφρονος· ἄλλοι Κλειτοφῶντος· τινὲς Τιμαίου· οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ Φαίδρου· ἕτεροι Θεαιτήτου· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπ’ Ἀπολογίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιοῦνται. νοθεύονται δὲ τῶν διαλόγων ὁμολογουμένως Μίδων ἢ Ἱπποτρόφος, Ἐρυξίας ἢ Ἐρασίστρατος, Ἀλκύων, Ἀκέφαλοι ἢ Σίσυφος, Ἀξίοχος, Φαίακες, Δημόδοκος, Χελιδών, Ἑβδόμη, Ἐπιμενίδης· ὧν ἡ Ἀλκυὼν Λεόντός τινος εἶναι δοκεῖ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Ὀνόμασι δὲ κέχρηται ποικίλοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι τοῖς ἀμαθέσι τὴν πραγματείαν· ἰδιαίτατα μὲν σοφίαν ἡγεῖται εἶναι τὴν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ὄντως ὄντων ἐπιστήμην, ἣν φησι περὶ θεὸν καὶ ψυχὴν σώματος κεχωρισμένην. ἰδίᾳ δὲ σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖ, ὄρεξιν οὖσαν τῆς θείας σοφίας. κοινῶς δὲ λέγεται παρ’ αὐτῷ σοφία καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐμπειρία, οἷον ὅταν σοφὸν λέγῃ τὸν δημιουργόν. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διαφερόντως σημαινομένων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ὁ γοῦν φαῦλος λέγεται παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Λικυμνίῳ φέρεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὑτωσί·

φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ’ ἀγαθόν,

πᾶσαν ἐν ἔργῳ περιταμνόμενον

σοφίαν, λέσχης ἀτρίβωνα.

χρῆται δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ἐνίοτε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κακοῦ· ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μικροῦ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διαφέρουσιν ὀνόμασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημαινομένου χρῆται. τὴν γοῦν ἰδέαν καὶ εἶδος ὀνομάζει καὶ γένος καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ αἴτιον. χρῆται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐναντίαις φωναῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. τὸ γοῦν αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὂν καλεῖ καὶ μὴ ὄν· ὂν μὲν διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μὴ ὂν δὲ διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ μεταβολήν. καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε μένον· καὶ ταὐτὸ καὶ ἓν καὶ πολλά. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πλειόνων εἴθισται ποιεῖν.

Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἐξήγησις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τριπλῆ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκδιδάξαι χρὴ ὅ τι ἐστὶν ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων· ἔπειτα, τίνος εἵνεκα λέλεκται, πότερα κατὰ προηγούμενον ἢ ἐν εἰκόνος μέρει,

καὶ εἰ εἰς δογμάτων κατασκευὴν ἢ εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, εἰ ὀρθῶς λέλεκται.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ σημεῖά τινα τοῖς βιβλίοις αὐτοῦ παρατίθενται, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων τι εἴπωμεν. Χῖ λαμβάνεται πρὸς τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ ὅλως τὴν Πλατωνικὴν συνήθειαν· διπλῆ πρὸς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι·

Χῖ περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς ἐκλογὰς καὶ καλλιγραφίας· διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων διορθώσεις· ὀβελὸς περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰκαίους ἀθετήσεις· ἀντίσιγμα περιεστιγμένον πρὸς τὰς διττὰς χρήσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν γραφῶν· κεραύνιον πρὸς τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ἀστερίσκος πρὸς τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων· ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν. τὰ μὲν σημεῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα· ἅπερ Ἀντίγονός φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζήνωνος νεωστὶ ἐκδοθέντα εἴ τις ἤθελε διαναγνῶναι, μισθὸν ἐτέλει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

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

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

Οὕτω δ’ ἐχούσης τῆς ἐκ μέσου τομῆς αὐτῇ προσαρμοζομένης πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα γινώσκειν τε τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἐναρμόζειν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν αὑτῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἁρμονίαν. καὶ γίνεσθαι δόξαν μὲν κατὰ τὸν θατέρου κύκλον ὀρθούμενον, ἐπιστήμην δὲ κατὰ τὸν ταὐτοῦ. δύο δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχάς, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην, ὃν καὶ νοῦν προσαγορεύει καὶ αἴτιον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰ συγκρίματα. ἀτάκτως δέ ποτε αὐτὴν κινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ φησιν εἰς ἕνα συναχθῆναι τόπον τάξιν ἀταξίας κρείττονα ἡγησαμένου.

τραπέσθαι δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην εἰς τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· ἐξ ὧν αὐτόν τε τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεννᾶσθαι. μόνην δὲ τὴν γῆν ἀμετάβολον εἶναί φησι, νομίζων αἰτίαν τὴν τῶν σχημάτων διαφορὰν ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ὁμογενῆ φησιν εἶναι τὰ σχήματα — ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς συγκεῖσθαι τοῦ προμήκους τριγώνου — τῆς δὲ γῆς ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ σχῆμα· πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον πυραμίδα, ἀέρος τὸ ὀκτάεδρον, ὕδατος τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον, γῆς δὲ κύβον. ὅθεν μήτε γῆν εἰς ταῦτα μεταβάλλειν, μήτε ταῦτα εἰς γῆν.

Οὐ διακεκρίσθαι δ’ εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους ἕκαστον, ὅτι ἡ περιφορὰ σφίγγουσα καὶ πρὸς τὸν μέσον συνάγουσα συγκρίνει τὰ μικρά, τὰ δὲ διακρίνει, τὰ μεγάλα. διόπερ τὰ εἴδη μεταβάλλοντα καὶ τοὺς τόπους μεταβάλλειν.

Κόσμον τε εἶναι ἕνα γεννητόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἰσθητός ἐστιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· ἔμψυχόν τε εἶναι διὰ τὸ κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῦ ἀψύχου τὸ ἔμψυχον, τοῦτο δὲ δημιούργημα ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῦ βελτίστου αἰτίου. ἕνα τε αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἄπειρον κατεσκευάσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ὑπόδειγμα ἓν ἦν ἀφ’ οὗ αὐτὸν ἐδημιούργησε· σφαιροειδῆ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γεννήσαντα τοιοῦτον ἔχειν σχῆμα.

ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ περιέχειν τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, τοῦτον δὲ τὰ σχήματα πάντων. λεῖον δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν

ὄργανον ἔχοντα κύκλῳ διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εἶναι χρῆσιν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον διαμένειν τὸν κόσμον διὰ τὸ μὴ διαλύεσθαι εἰς τὸν θεόν. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὅλης γενέσεως αἴτιον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἀγαθοποιὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν. τοῦ δὲ οὐρανοῦ τῆς γενέσεως τὸ † αἴτιον· τοῦ γὰρ καλλίστου τῶν γεννητῶν τὸ ἄριστον εἶναι τῶν νοητῶν αἴτιον. ὥστε ἐπεὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ θεός, ὅμοιος δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ ὁ οὐρανὸς κάλλιστός γε ὤν, οὐθενὶ ἂν ὅμοιος εἴη τῶν γεννητῶν ἀλλ’ ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

Συνεστάναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ πυρός, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, γῆς. ἐκ πυρὸς μέν, ὅπως ὁρατὸς ᾖ· ἐκ γῆς δέ, ὅπως στερεός· ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ καὶ ἀέρος, ὅπως ἀνάλογος — αἱ γὰρ τῶν στερεῶν δυνάμεις δύο μεσότησιν ἀναλογοῦσιν ὡς ἓν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν — ἐξ ἁπάντων δέ, ἵνα τέλειος καὶ ἄφθαρτος ᾖ.

Χρόνον τε γενέσθαι εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀϊδίου. κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἀεὶ μένειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰν χρόνον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα χρόνου μέρη εἶναι. διόπερ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως οὐκ εἶναι χρόνον· ἅμα γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον εἶναι.

Πρὸς δὲ χρόνου γένεσιν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ πλανώμενα γενέσθαι. ὅπως δὲ διάδηλος τῶν ὡρῶν ᾖ ἀριθμὸς καὶ μετάσχοι τὰ ζῷα ἀριθμοῦ, τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἀνάψαι τὸν θεόν. εἶναι δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπὲρ γῆς κύκλῳ σελήνην, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἥλιον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπάνω τοὺς πλανήτας. ἔμψυχον δὲ πάντως διὰ τὸ ἐμψύχῳ φορᾷ δεδέσθαι. ἵνα δὲ ὁ κόσμος τελειωθῇ γενόμενος ὁμοίως τῷ νοητῷ ζῴῳ, τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων γενέσθαι φύσιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖνο εἶχε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν δεῖν ἔχειν. θεοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν τὸ πολὺ πυρίνους· εἶναι δὲ τρία γένη τἆλλα, πτηνόν, ἔνυδρον, πεζόν.

γῆν δὲ πρεσβυτάτην μὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεῶν· γενέσθαι δὲ ὡς δημιούργημα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν· οὖσαν δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον. ἐπεὶ δ’ αἰτίαι εἰσὶ δύο, τὰ μὲν διὰ νοῦ εἶναι, τὰ δ’ ἐξ ἀναγκαίας αἰτίας, φησί, λεκτέον. ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶν ἀήρ, πῦρ, γῆ, ὕδωρ — καὶ οὐκ ὄντα μὲν στοιχεῖα κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ δεκτικά. ταῦτα δ’ ἐκ τῶν τριγώνων εἶναι συντιθεμένων καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα· στοιχεῖα δ’ αὐτῶν εἶναι τό τε πρόμηκες τρίγωνον καὶ τὸ ἰσοσκελές.

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

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

Περὶ δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ. τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. ὀργάνων δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ σῶμα πλεονεκτημάτων, ἰσχύος, ὑγιείας, εὐαισθησίας, τῶν ὁμοίων· καὶ τῶν ἐκτός, οἷον πλούτου καὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δόξης. οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, κἂν ταῦτα μὴ παρῇ. πολιτεύσεσθαι αὖ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους οὐ παραβήσεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ νομοθετήσειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι, ἐὰν μὴ τέλεον εὐπαραίτητα ὁρᾷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ διαφθορᾷ δήμου.

οἴεται δὲ καὶ θεοὺς ἐφορᾶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ δαίμονας εἶναι. ἔννοιάν τε καλοῦ πρῶτος

ἀπεφήνατο τὴν ἐχομένην τοῦ ἐπαινετοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ καὶ χρησίμου καὶ πρέποντος καὶ ἁρμόττοντος· ἅπερ πάντα ἔχεσθαι τοῦ ἀκολούθου τῇ φύσει καὶ ὁμολογουμένου.

Διελέξατο δὲ καὶ περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος· ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἐρωτᾶν πρῶτον αὐτὸν διασυστῆσαι κατακόρως χρησάμενον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς διαλόγοις καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ νόμον ὑπελάμβανεν ὡς ἰσχυροτέραν προτρέψαι τὰ δίκαια πράττειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον δίκας ὑπόσχοιεν ὡς κακοῦργοι.

ὅθεν καὶ μυθικώτερος ἐνίοις ὑπελήφθη τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐγκαταμίξας τὰς τοιαύτας διηγήσεις, ὅπως διὰ † τοῦ ἀδήλου τρόπου τοῦ ἔχειν τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον οὕτως ἀπέχωνται τῶν ἀδικημάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα.

Διῄρει δέ, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός· οἷον ἡ μὲν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ φρόνησις καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ψυχῇ· τὸ δὲ κάλλος καὶ ἡ εὐεξία καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς ἐν σώματι· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὐδαιμονία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός.

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρα τρία εἴδη ἐστί· τὰ μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, τὰ δὲ ἐν σώματι, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός. τῆς φιλίας τρία εἴδη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι φυσική, ἡ δὲ ἑταιρική, ἡ δὲ ξενική· φυσικὴν μὲν οὖν ταύτην λέγομεν, ἣν οἱ γονεῖς πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα ἔχουσι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ταύτης δὲ κεκλήρωται καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα. ἑταιρικὴν δὲ καλοῦμεν τὴν ἀπὸ συνηθείας γινομένην καὶ μηδὲν προσήκουσαν γένει, ἀλλ’ οἷον ἡ Πυλάδου πρὸς Ὀρέστην. ἡ δὲ ξενικὴ φιλία ἡ ἀπὸ συστάσεως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων γινομένη πρὸς τοὺς ξένους. τῆς ἄρα φιλίας ἡ μέν ἐστι φυσική, ἡ δὲ ἑταιρική, ἡ δὲ ξενική· προστιθέασι δέ τινες τετάρτην ἐρωτικήν.

Τῆς πολιτείας ἐστὶν εἴδη πέντε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι δημοκρατικόν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀριστοκρατικόν, τρίτον δὲ ὀλιγαρχικόν, τέταρτον βασιλικόν, πέμπτον τυραννικόν. δημοκρατικὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ἐν αἷς πόλεσι κρατεῖ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους δι’ ἑαυτοῦ αἱρεῖται. ἀριστοκρατία δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ μήθ’ οἱ πλούσιοι μήθ’ οἱ πένητες μήθ’ οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἄριστοι τῆς πόλεως προστατοῦσιν. ὀλιγαρχία δέ ἐστιν, ὅταν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱρῶνται· ἐλάττους γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἡ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, ἡ δὲ κατὰ γένος ἐστίν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν Καρχηδόνι κατὰ νόμον· πωλητὴ γάρ ἐστιν.

ἡ δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ κατὰ γένος· ἀπὸ γάρ τινος γένους ποιοῦνται τὴν βασιλείαν. τυραννὶς δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ παρακρουσθέντες ἢ βιασθέντες ὑπό τινος ἄρχονται. τῆς ἄρα πολιτείας ἡ μέν ἐστι δημοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία, ἡ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία, ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, ἡ δὲ τυραννίς.

Τῆς δὲ δικαιοσύνης ἐστὶν εἴδη τρία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι περὶ θεούς, ἡ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θύοντες κατὰ νόμους καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ δάνεια ἀποδιδόντες καὶ παραθήκας δικαιοπραγοῦσι περὶ ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ τῶν μνημείων ἐπιμελούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους. τῆς ἄρα δικαιοσύνης ἡ μὲν πρὸς θεούς ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἡ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀποιχομένους.

Τῆς ἐπιστήμης εἴδη ἐστὶ τρία· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι πρακτικόν, τὸ δὲ ποιητικόν, τὸ δὲ θεωρητικόν. ἡ μὲν οἰκοδομικὴ καὶ ναυπηγικὴ ποιητικαί εἰσιν· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἔργον πεποιημένον. πολιτικὴ δὲ καὶ αὐλητικὴ καὶ κιθαριστικὴ καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται πρακτικαί· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲν ἰδεῖν †θετον αὐτῶν πεποιημένον, ἀλλὰ πράττουσί τι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐλεῖ καὶ κιθαρίζει, ὁ δὲ πολιτεύεται. ἡ δὲ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἁρμονικὴ καὶ ἀστρολογικὴ θεωρητικαί· οὔτε γὰρ πράττουσιν οὔτε ποιοῦσιν οὐθέν· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν γεωμέτρης θεωρεῖ πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν αἱ γραμμαί, ὁ δ’ ἁρμονικὸς τοὺς φθόγγους, ὁ δ’ ἀστρολογικὸς τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸν κόσμον. τῶν ἄρα ἐπιστημῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι θεωρητικαί, αἱ δὲ πρακτικαί, αἱ δὲ ποιητικαί.

Τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐστιν εἴδη πέντε· ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτική, ἡ δὲ χειρουργική, ἡ δὲ διαιτητική, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονική, ἡ δὲ βοηθητική. ἡ μὲν φαρμακευτικὴ διὰ φαρμάκων ἰᾶται τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ χειρουργικὴ διὰ τοῦ τέμνειν καὶ καίειν ὑγιάζει, ἡ δὲ διαιτητικὴ διὰ τοῦ διαιτᾶν ἀπαλλάττει τὰς ἀρρωστίας, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονικὴ διὰ τοῦ γνῶναι τὸ ἀρρώστημα, ἡ δὲ βοηθητικὴ διὰ τοῦ βοηθῆσαι εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀπαλλάττει τῆς ἀλγηδόνος. τῆς ἄρα ἰατρικῆς ἡ μέν ἐστι φαρμακευτική, ἡ δὲ χειρουργική, ἡ δὲ διαιτητική, ἡ δὲ βονθητική, ἡ δὲ νοσογνωμονική.

Νόμου διαιρέσεις δύο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος. ᾧ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πολιτευόμεθα, γεγραμμένος ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ἔθη γινόμενος οὗτος ἄγραφος καλεῖται· οἷον τὸ μὴ γυμνὸν πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μηδὲ γυναικεῖον ἱμάτιον περιβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐθεὶς νόμος κωλύει, ἀλλ’ ὅμως οὐ πράττομεν διὰ τὸ ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ κωλύεσθαι. τοῦ ἄρα νόμου ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἄγραφος.

Ὁ λόγος διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε, ὧν εἷς μέν ἐστιν, ὃν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι λέγουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὃς καλεῖται πολιτικός.

ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ῥήτορες γράφουσιν † εἰς ἐπίδειξιν προφέρουσιν εἰς ἐγκώμια καὶ ψόγους καὶ κατηγορίας· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδός ἐστι ῥητορικόν. τρίτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ ἰδιῶται διαλέγονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὗτος δὴ ὁ τρόπος προσαγορεύεται ἰδιωτικός. ἑτέρα δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρωτῶντες καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν διαλέγονται· οὗτος δὲ καλεῖται ὁ λόγος διαλεκτικός. πέμπτη δὲ διαίρεσις λόγου, ὃν οἱ τεχνῖται περὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν διαλέγονται τέχνης· ὃς δὴ καλεῖται τεχνικός. τοῦ λόγου ἄρα τὸ μέν ἐστι πολιτικόν, τὸ δὲ ῥητορικόν, τὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικόν, τὸ δὲ διαλεκτικόν, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν.

Ἡ μουσικὴ εἰς τρία διαιρεῖται· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μὲν διὰ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, οἷον ἡ ᾠδή· δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, οἷον ἡ κιθαρῳδία· τρίτον ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν μόνον, οἷον κιθαριστική. τῆς ἄρα μουσικῆς ἐστι τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος μόνον, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῶν χειρῶν, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν.

Διαιρεῖται δὲ ἡ εὐγένεια εἰς εἴδη τέτταρα. ἓν μέν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι δεδυναστευκότες καὶ ἄρχοντες γεγενημένοι, τοὺς ἐκ τούτων εὐγενεῖς φασιν εἶναι. ἄλλο δέ, ἂν ὦσιν οἱ πρόγονοι ὀνομαστοί, οἷον ἀπὸ στρατηγίας, ἀπὸ στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγεννημένους εὐγενεῖς προσαγορεύομεν.

ἄλλο εἶδος, ἐὰν αὐτός τις ᾖ γεννάδας τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος· καὶ τοῦτον εὐγενῆ φασι· καὶ τῆς γε εὐγενείας αὕτη κρατίστη. τῆς ἄρα εὐγενείας τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ δυναστῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐνδόξων, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ καλοκαγαθίας.

Τὸ κάλλος διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἓν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐπαινετόν, οἷον ἡ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως εὐμορφία· ἄλλο δὲ χρηστικόν, οἷον ὄργανον καὶ οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς χρῆσίν ἐστι καλά· τὸ δὲ πρὸς νόμους καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἃ πρὸς ὠφέλειάν ἐστι καλά. τοῦ ἄρα κάλλους τὸ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἔπαινον, τὸ δὲ πρὸς χρῆσιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν.

Ἡ ψυχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστι λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν ἐστιν αἴτιον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαί τε καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων· τὸ δ’ ἐπιθυμητικὸν μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πλησιάσαι καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων. τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν μέρος αἰτιόν ἐστι τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ ἥδεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι. τῆς ἄρα ψυχῆς ἐστι τὸ μὲν λογιστικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν.

Τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς εἴδη τέτταρα· ἓν μὲν φρόνησις, ἓν δὲ δικαιοσύνη, ἄλλο δ’ ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον σωφροσύνη.

τούτων ἡ μὲν φρόνησις αἰτία τοῦ πράττειν ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα· ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις καὶ τοῖς συναλλάγμασι δικαιοπραγεῖν· ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τοῦ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ φοβεροῖς μὴ ἐξίστασθαι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μένειν· ἡ δὲ σωφροσύνη τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἡδονῆς δουλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ κοσμίως ζῆν. τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄρα τὸ μέν ἐστι φρόνησις, ἄλλο δικαιοσύνη, τρίτον ἀνδρεία, τέταρτον σωφροσύνη.

Ἡ ἀρχὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς μέρη πέντε· ἓν μὲν εἰς τὸ κατὰ νόμον, ἓν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, ἓν δὲ εἰς τὸ κατὰ ἔθος, τέταρτον εἰς τὸ κατὰ γένος, πέμπτον δὲ κατὰ βίαν.

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὰν αἱρεθῶσι, κατὰ νόμον ἄρχουσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ ἄρρενες, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἄρρενα τῶν θηλειῶν ἄρχει. ἡ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ ἔθος ἀρχὴ τοιαύτη ἐστίν, οἵαν οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ τῶν παίδων ἄρχουσι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν φοιτώντων. κατὰ γένος δὲ ἀρχὴ τοιαύτη τις λέγεται, οἵαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βασιλεῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ γένους τινὸς ἡ βασιλεία. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄρχουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀπὸ γένους ἡ βασιλεία καθίσταται. οἱ δὲ βιασάμενοι ἢ παρακρουσάμενοι ἄρχουσιν ἀκόντων τῶν πολιτῶν· ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ κατὰ βίαν λέγεται εἶναι. τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἔθος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ γένος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ βίαν.

Τῆς ῥητορείας εἴδη ἐστὶν ἕξ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ κελεύωσι πολεμεῖν ἢ συμμαχεῖν πρός τινα, καλεῖται τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος προτροπή. ὅταν δ’ ἀξιῶσι μὴ πολεμεῖν ἢ μὴ συμμαχεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδός ἐστιν ἀποτροπή. τρίτον εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις φάσκῃ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπό τινος καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον ἀποφαίνῃ· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδος κατηγορία ὀνομάζεται. τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας [ἀπολογία καλεῖται], ὅταν ἀποφαίνῃ αὐτὸν μηθὲν ἀδικοῦντα μήτε ἄλλο ἄτοπον μηθὲν πράττοντα· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀπολογίαν καλοῦσι.

πέμπτον εἶδος ῥητορείας, ὅταν τις εὖ λέγῃ καὶ ἀποφαίνῃ καλὸν κἀγαθόν· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εἶδος καλεῖται ἐγκώμιον. ἕκτον εἶδος, ὅταν τις ἀποφαίνῃ φαῦλον· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶδος καλεῖται ψόγος. τῆς ἄρα ῥητορείας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἐγκώμιον, τὸ δὲ ψόγος, τὸ δὲ προτροπή, τὸ δὲ ἀποτροπή, τὸ δὲ κατηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἀπολογία.

Τὸ ὀρθῶς λέγειν διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἓν μὲν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἓν δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, τρίτον πρὸς οὓς δεῖ λέγειν, τέταρτον δὲ πηνίκα λέγειν δεῖ. ἃ μὲν οὖν δεῖ λέγειν, ἃ μέλλει συμφέρειν τῷ λέγοντι καὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι· τὸ δὲ ὅσα δεῖ λέγειν, μὴ πλείω μηδὲ ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν.

τὸ δὲ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ λέγειν, ἄν τε πρὸς πρεσβυτέρους [ἁμαρτάνοντας] διαλέγῃ, ἁρμόττοντας δεῖ τοὺς λόγους διαλέγεσθαι ὡς πρεσβυτέροις· ἄν τε πρὸς νεωτέρους, ἁρμόττοντας δεῖ λέγεσθαι ὡς νεωτέροις. πηνίκα δὲ λέγειν ἐστί, μήτε προτέρω μήτε ὑστέρω· εἰ δὲ μή, διαμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐρεῖν.

Ἡ εὐεργεσία διαιρεῖται εἰς τέτταρα· ἢ γὰρ χρήμασιν ἢ σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις. τοῖς μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν, ὅταν δεομένῳ παραβοηθήσῃ τις εἰς χρημάτων λόγον εὐπορῆσαι· τοῖς δὲ σώμασιν εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ὅταν παραγενόμενοι τυπτομένοις παραβοηθῶσιν·

οἱ δὲ παιδεύοντες καὶ ἰατρεύοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες ἀγαθόν τι, οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις εὐεργετοῦσιν· ὅταν δ’ εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς δικαστήριον ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἄλλου βοηθὸς καὶ λόγον τινὰ ἐπιεικῆ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἴπῃ, οὗτος δὴ λόγῳ εὐεργετεῖ. τῆς ἄρα εὐεργεσίας ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ χρημάτων, ἡ δὲ διὰ σωμάτων, ἡ δὲ διὰ ἐπιστημῶν, τετάρτη διὰ λόγων.

Διαιρεῖται τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τέτταρα εἴδη· ἓν μὲν κατὰ νόμον τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, ὅταν ψήφισμα γένηται καὶ τοῦθ’ ὁ νόμος τελέσῃ· κατὰ φύσιν δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, ἥ τε ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ αἱ ὧραι. κατὰ τέχνην δὲ τέλος τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνει, οἷον ἡ οἰκοδομική· οἰκίαν γάρ τις ἐπιτελεῖ· καὶ ἡ ναυπηγική· πλοῖα γάρ.

κατὰ τύχην δὲ γίνεται τοῖς πράγμασι τέλος, ὅταν ἄλλως καὶ μὴ ὡς ὑπολαμβάνει τις ἀποβαίνῃ. τοῦ τέλους ἄρα τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ μὲν κατὰ νόμον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τέχνην, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τύχην ἐστίν.

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

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

Ἡ εὐδαιμονία διαιρεῖται εἰς πέντε μέρη· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐστιν εὐβουλία, ἕτερον δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τρίτον εὐτυχία ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι, τέταρτον εὐδοξία παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πέμπτον εὐπορία χρημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον χρησίμων.

ἡ μὲν εὐβουλία γίνεται ἐκ παιδείας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ εὐαισθησία ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν, οἷον ἐάν τις ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούῃ καὶ τῇ ῥινὶ καὶ τῷ στόματι αἰσθάνηται ὧν δεῖ αἰσθάνεσθαι· τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον εὐαισθησία. ἡ δὲ εὐτυχία, ὅταν ἐφ’ ἃ σκοπεῖ πράξῃ κατ’ ὀρθὸν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν τὸν σπουδαῖον. εὐδοξία δ’ ἐστὶν ὅταν τις εὖ ἀκούῃ· εὐπορία δ’ ἐστὶν ὅταν τις πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρήσεις οὕτως ἔχῃ ὥστε καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιῆσαι καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ εὐπόρως ἀπολειτουργῆσαι. ᾧ δὲ ὑπάρχει ταῦτα πάντα, οὗτός ἐστιν εὐδαίμων τελέως. τῆς ἄρα εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν εὐβουλία, τὸ δὲ εὐαισθησία καὶ ὑγίεια τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δὲ εὐτυχία, τὸ δὲ εὐδοξία, τὸ δὲ εὐπορία.

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

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

τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστι κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ οὐδέτερα. τούτων κακὰ μὲν ταῦτα λέγομεν, τὰ δυνάμενα βλάπτειν ἀεί, οἷον ἀκρισίαν καὶ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις

ἐναντία ἀγαθά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ἐνίοτε μὲν ὠφελεῖν, ἐνίοτε δὲ βλάπτειν—οἷον τὸ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὸ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἐσθίειν—ἢ ὅλως μήτε ὠφελῆσαι μήτε βλάψαι δυνάμενα, ταῦτα γοῦν οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε κακά ἐστι. τῶν ἄρα ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ’ οὐδέτερα τούτων.

Εὐνομία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἓν μέν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι σπουδαῖοι, εὐνομίαν φαμὲν εἶναι· ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις ἐμμένωσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ τοῦτό φαμεν εὐνομίαν εἶναι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μὴ ὄντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἔθη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα χρηστῶς πολιτεύωνται, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνομίαν προσαγορεύομεν· τῆς εὐνομίας ἄρα ἓν μέν ἐστι νόμους σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις ἐμμένωσι· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι χρηστοῖς πολιτεύωνται.

Διαιρεῖται ἡ ἀνομία εἰς τρία· ὧν ἓν μέν ἐστιν, ἐὰν ὦσιν οἱ νόμοι μοχθηροὶ καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ πρὸς πολίτας·

ἕτερον δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ πείθωνται· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν ὅλως μηδεὶς ᾖ νόμος. τῆς ἄρα ἀνομίας ἓν μέν ἐστι τὸ μοχθηροὺς εἶναι τοὺς νόμους· ἄλλο δέ, ἐὰν τοῖς οὖσι μὴ πείθωνται· τρίτον δέ, ἐὰν μηδεὶς ᾖ νόμος.

Τὰ ἐναντία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· οἷον ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία φαμὲν εἶναι, ὡς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. κακὰ δὲ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστίν, οἷον ἡ ἀσωτία τῇ ἀνελευθερίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως στρεβλοῦσθαι τῷ δικαίως στρεβλοῦσθαι· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κακὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί. τὸ δὲ βαρὺ τῷ κούφῳ καὶ τὸ ταχὺ τῷ βραδεῖ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ λευκῷ ὡς οὐδέτερα οὐδετέροις ἐναντία ἐστίν.

τῶν ἐναντίων ἄρα τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὰ κακοῖς ἐναντία ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ὡς κακὰ κακοῖς· τὰ δὲ ὡς οὐδετέροις οὐδέτερα.

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν γένη ἐστὶ τρία· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἑκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἑκτά ἐστιν, ὅσα ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν, οἷον ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια· μεθεκτὰ δέ, ὅσα ἔχειν μὲν μὴ ἐνδέχεται, μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνδέχεται· οἷον αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔχειν μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, μετασχεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνδέχεται. ὑπαρκτὰ δέ, ὅσα μήτε μετασχεῖν μήτε σχεῖν ἐνδέχεται, ὑπάρχειν δὲ δεῖ· οἷον τὸ σπουδαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀγαθόν ἐστι· καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε σχεῖν οὔτε μετασχεῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπάρχειν δεῖ [σπουδαῖον εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι]. τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρα τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἑκτά, τὰ δὲ μεθεκτά, τὰ δὲ ὑπαρκτά.

Ἡ συμβουλία διαιρεῖται εἰς τρία· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς ἓν μὲν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων χρόνων λαμβανόμενον, ἓν δὲ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, ἓν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων παραδείγματα, οἷον τί ἔπαθον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πιστεύσαντες· τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, οἷον ἀποφαίνειν τείχη ἀσθενῆ, δειλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, σῖτον ὀλίγον· τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων, οἷον ταῖς ὑπονοίαις μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὰς πρεσβείας, ὅπως μὴ ἄδοξος ἡ Ἑλλὰς γένηται. τῆς ἄρα συμβουλίας τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν παροιχομένων, τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, τὰ δ’ ἐκ τῶν μελλόντων.

Ἡ φωνὴ διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο· ἓν μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἔμψυχον, ἓν δὲ ἄψυχον. ἔμψυχον μὲν ἡ τῶν ζῴων φωνή, ἄψυχον δὲ φθόγγοι καὶ ἦχοι. τῆς τοῦ ἐμψύχου φωνῆς ἡ μέν ἐστιν ἐγγράμματος, ἡ δὲ ἀγράμματος. ἐγγράμματος μὲν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγράμματος δὲ ἡ τῶν ζῴων. τῆς ἄρα φωνῆς ἡ μὲν ἔμψυχος, ἡ δὲ ἄψυχος.

Τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμέριστα. τούτων δὲ τῶν μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ. ἀμερῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὅσα μὴ ἔχει διαίρεσιν μηδὲ ἔκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον ἥ τε μονὰς καὶ ἡ στιγμὴ καὶ ὁ φθόγγος· μεριστὰ δὲ ὅσα ἔκ τινος σύγκειται, οἷον αἵ τε συλλαβαὶ καὶ συμφωνίαι καὶ ζῷα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ χρυσός.

ὁμοιομερῆ ὅσα ἐξ ὁμοίων σύγκειται καὶ μηδὲν διαφέρει τὸ ὅλον τοῦ μέρους εἰ μὴ τῷ πλήθει, οἷον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ πᾶν τὸ χυτὸν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀνομοιομερῆ δὲ ὅσα ἐξ ἀνομοίων μερῶν σύγκειται, οἷον οἰκία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μέν ἐστι μεριστά, τὰ δὲ ἀμερῆ· τῶν δὲ μεριστῶν τὰ μὲν ὁμοιομερῆ, τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιομερῆ.

Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστι καθ’ ἑαυτά, τὰ δὲ πρός τι λέγεται. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ’ ἑαυτὰ λεγόμενά ἐστιν ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ μηδενὸς προσδεῖται· ταῦτα δ’ ἂν εἴη οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα.

τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν δι’ ἑρμηνείας χωρεῖ. τῶν δὲ πρός τι λεγομένων ὅσα προσδεῖταί τινος ἑρμηνείας, οἷον τὸ μεῖζόν τινος καὶ τὸ θᾶττόν τινος καὶ τὸ κάλλιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τό τε γὰρ μεῖζον ἐλάττονός ἐστι μεῖζον καὶ τὸ θᾶττόν τινός ἐστι θᾶττον. τῶν ὄντων ἄρα τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ καθ’ αὑτὰ λέγεται, τὰ δὲ πρός τι. ὧδε καὶ τὰ πρῶτα διῄρει κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην.

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

Δ

Κεφ. α′. ΣΠΕΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

τὰ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγαγεῖν, φιλοπόνως διειλήσασι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τἀνδρός. διεδέξατο δ’ αὐτὸν Σπεύσιππος Εὐρυμέδοντος Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν μὲν δήμων Μυρρινούσιος, υἱὸς δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Πωτώνης. καὶ ἐσχολάρχησεν ἔτη ὀκτώ, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· Χαρίτων τ’ ἀγάλματ’ ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῷ μουσείῳ τῷ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἱδρυθέντι. καὶ ἔμεινε μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Πλάτωνι δογμάτων· οὐ μὴν τό γ’ ἦθος διέμεινε τοιοῦτος. καὶ γὰρ ὀργίλος καὶ ἡδονῶν ἥττων ἦν. φασὶ γοῦν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τὸ κυνίδιον εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ῥῖψαι καὶ ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον.

Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ Πλάτωνος ἀκούειν μαθήτριαι, Λασθένειά τε ἡ Μαντινικὴ καὶ Ἀξιοθέα ἡ Φλιασία. ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφων τωθαστικῶς φησι· καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς σου μαθητρίας ἔστι καταμαθεῖν τὴν σοφίαν. καὶ Πλάτων μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων τοὺς παρ’ αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας ἐποίει· σὺ δὲ δασμολογεῖς καὶ παρ’ ἑκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων λαμβάνεις. οὗτος πρῶτος, καθά φησι Διόδωρος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ, ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐθεάσατο τὸ κοινὸν καὶ συνῳκείωσε καθόσον ἦν δυνατὸν ἀλλήλοις· καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ Ἰσοκράτους τὰ καλούμενα ἀπόρρητα ἐξήνεγκεν,

ὥς φησι Καινεύς. καὶ πρῶτος εὗρεν ᾧ τὰ φορμία τῶν φρυγάνων εὔογκα ποιοῦσιν.

Ἤδη δὲ ὑπὸ παραλύσεως καὶ τὸ σῶμα διέφθαρτο, καὶ πρὸς Ξενοκράτην διεπέμπετο παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὴν σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἀμαξίου φερόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημείαν συναντῆσαι Διογένει καὶ Χαῖρε εἰπεῖν· τὸν δὲ φάναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ σύ γε, ὅστις ὑπομένεις ζῆν τοιοῦτος ὤν. καὶ τέλος ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἑκὼν τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε γηραιὸς ὤν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·

ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ Σπεύσιππον ἐμάνθανον ὧδε θανεῖσθαι,

οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισέ μέ τις τόδε λέξαι·

ὡς ἦν οὐχὶ Πλάτωνι πρὸς αἵματος· οὐ γὰρ ἀθυμῶν

κάτθανεν ἂν διά τι σφόδρα μικρόν.

Πλούταρχος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ καὶ Σύλλα φθειρσὶν ἐκζέσαι αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακεχυμένος, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων. οὗτος, φησί, πρὸς τὸν ἐρῶντα πλούσιον ἀμόρφου ἔφη, τί δέ σοι δεῖ τούτου; ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δέκα ταλάντων εὐμορφοτέραν εὑρήσω.

Καταλέλοιπε δὲ πάμπλειστα ὑπομνήματα καὶ διαλόγους πλείονας, ἐν οἷς καὶ

Ἀρίστιππον τὸν Κυρηναῖον.

Περὶ πλούτου α′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′.

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′.

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′.

Περὶ φιλίας α′.

Περὶ θεῶν α′.

Φιλόσοφος α′.

Πρὸς Κέφαλον α′.

Κέφαλος α′.

Κλεινόμαχος ἢ Λυσίας α′.

Πολίτης α′.

Περὶ ψυχῆς α′.

Πρὸς Γρύλλον α′.

Ἀρίστιππος α′.

Τεχνῶν ἔλεγχος α′.

Ὑπομνηματικοὶ διάλογοι.

Τεχνικὸν α′.

Διάλογοι τῶν περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ὁμοίων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η θ′ ι′.

Διαιρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια ὑποθέσεις.

Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν παραδειγμάτων.

Πρὸς τὸν Ἀμάρτυρον.

Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιον.

Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Δίωνα, Διονύσιον, Φίλιππον.

Περὶ νομοθεσίας.

Μαθηματικός.

Μανδρόβολος.

Λυσίας.

Ὅροι.

Τάξεις ὑπομνημάτων.

Στίχοι τρεῖς καὶ τετρακισμύριοι τεσσαρακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. πρὸς τοῦτον γράφει καὶ Τιμωνίδης τὰς ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς κατέταξε τὰς πράξεις Δίωνός τε καὶ Βίωνος. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία τριῶν ταλάντων ὠνήσατο.

Γέγονε Σπεύσιππος καὶ ἕτερος, ἰατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος Ἀλεξανδρεύς.

Κεφ. β′. ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Ξενοκράτης Ἀγαθήνορος Χαλκηδόνιος· οὗτος ἐκ νέου Πλάτωνος ἤκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν αὐτῷ συναπεδήμησεν. ἦν δὲ τὴν φύσιν νωθρός, ὥστε λέγειν τὸν Πλάτωνα συγκρίνοντα αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλει, τῷ μὲν μύωπος δεῖ, τῷ δὲ χαλινοῦ. καὶ ἐφ’ οἷον ἵππον οἷον ὄνον ἀλείφω. σεμνὸς δὲ τά τ’ ἄλλα Ξενοκράτης καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἀεί, ὥστε αὐτῷ λέγειν συνεχὲς τὸν Πλάτωνα, Ξενόκρατες, θῦε ταῖς Χάρισι. διῆγέ τ’ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εἴ ποτε μέλλοι εἰς ἄστυ ἀνιέναι, φασὶ τοὺς θορυβώδεις πάντας καὶ προυνίκους ὑποστέλλειν αὐτοῦ τῇ παρόδῳ.

καί ποτε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν ἑταίραν ἐθελῆσαι πειρᾶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ δῆθεν διωκομένην ὑπό τινων καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ οἰκίδιον. τὸν δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου εἰσδέξασθαι, καὶ ἑνὸς ὄντος κλινιδίου δεομένῃ μεταδοῦναι τῆς κατακλίσεως· καὶ τέλος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαροῦσαν ἄπρακτον ἀναστῆναι. λέγειν τε πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους ὡς οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ἀνδριάντος ἀνασταίη. ἔνιοι δὲ Λαΐδα φασὶ παρακατακλῖναι αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητάς· τὸν δὲ οὕτως εἶναι ἐγκρατῆ, ὥστε καὶ τομὰς καὶ καύσεις πολλάκις ὑπομεῖναι περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιόπιστος σφόδρα, ὥστε μὴ ἐξὸν ἀνώμοτον μαρτυρεῖν, τούτῳ μόνῳ συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι.

καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐταρκέστατος ἦν. Ἀλεξάνδρου γοῦν ποτὲ συχνὸν ἀργύριον ἀποστείλαντος αὐτῷ, τρισχιλίας Ἀττικὰς ἀφελὼν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν ἐκείνῳ πλειόνων δεῖν πλείονας τρέφοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ Ἀντιπάτρου πεμφθὲν μὴ προσέσθαι, ὥς φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὁμοίοις. καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμηθέντα ἐπάθλῳ πολυποσίας τοῖς Χουσὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ἐξιόντα θεῖναι πρὸς τὸν ἱδρυμένον Ἑρμῆν, ἔνθαπερ τιθέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθινοὺς εἰώθει. λόγος δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πεμφθῆναι πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν δώροις μαλθασσομένους καὶ εἰς τὰς κλήσεις συνιέναι καὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ λαλεῖν· τὸν δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ποιεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτὸν προσίετο διὰ τοῦτο.

ὅθεν ἐλθόντας τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας φάσκειν ὡς μάτην αὐτοῖς Ξενοκράτης συνεληλύθοι· καὶ τοὺς ἑτοίμους εἶναι ζημιοῦν αὐτόν. μαθόντας δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς νῦν καὶ μᾶλλον φροντιστέον εἴη τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ᾔδει δωροδοκήσαντας ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐμὲ δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ ὑπαξόμενοσ φασὶ διπλασίως αὐτὸν τιμῆσαι. καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον δὲ λέγειν ὕστερον ὡς μόνος εἴη Ξενοκράτης τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένων ἀδωροδόκητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον περὶ αἰχμαλώτων Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον, καὶ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς αὐτὸν προηνέγκατο ταυτί·

ὦ Κίρκη, τίς γάρ κεν ἀνήρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη,

πρὶν τλαίη πάσσασθαι ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος,

πρὶν λύσασθ’ ἑτάρους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι;
καὶ τὸν ἀποδεξάμενον τὴν εὐστοχίαν εὐθὺς ἀφεῖναι.

Στρουθίου δέ ποτε διωκομένου ὑπὸ ἱέρακος καὶ εἰσπηδήσαντος εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτοῦ, καταψήσας μεθῆκεν, εἰπὼν τὸν ἱκέτην δεῖν μὴ ἐκδιδόναι. σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ Βίωνος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῷ ἀποκρινεῖσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ τὴν τραγῳδίαν ὑπὸ τῆς κωμῳδίας σκωπτομένην ἀποκρίσεως ἀξιοῦν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν μήτε μουσικὴν μήτε γεωμετρίαν μήτε ἀστρονομίαν μεμαθηκότα,

βουλόμενον δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν, πορεύου, ἔφη· λαβὰς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις φιλοσοφίας. οἱ δὲ τοῦτό φασιν εἰπεῖν, παρ’ ἐμοὶ γὰρ πόκος οὐ κνάπτεται.

Εἰπόντος δὲ Διονυσίου πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὡς ἀφαιρήσεται αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλον, παρὼν οὗτος καὶ δείξας τὸν ἴδιον, οὐκ ἄν γε, ἔφη, τὶς πρότερον τούτου. φασὶ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου ποτὲ ἐλθόντος εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀσπασαμένου αὐτόν, μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπροσαγορεῦσαι πρὶν ἢ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔλεγε διαπεράνασθαι. ἀτυφότατος δὲ ὢν πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἑαυτῷ ἐμελέτα, καὶ ὥραν μίαν, φασὶν, ἀπένεμε σιωπῇ.

Καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα καταλέλοιπε συγγράμματα καὶ ἔπη καὶ παραινέσεις, ἅ ἐστι ταῦτα·

Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Περὶ σοφίας ς′.

Περὶ πλούτου α′.

Ἀρκὰς α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀορίστου α′.

Περὶ τοῦ παιδίου α′.

Περὶ ἐγκρατείας α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ὠφελίμου α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου α′.

Περὶ θανάτου α′.

Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′.

Περὶ φιλίας α′ β′.

Περὶ ἐπιεικείας α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου α′ β′.

Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α′ β′.

Περὶ τοῦ γράφειν α′.

Περὶ μνήμης α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ψεύδους α′.

Καλλικλῆς α′.

Περὶ φρονήσεως α′ β′.

Οἰκονομικὸς α′.

Περὶ σωφροσύνης α′.

Περὶ δυνάμεως νόμου α′.

Περὶ πολιτείας α′.

Περὶ ὁσιότητος α′.

Ὅτι παραδοτὴ ἡ ἀρετὴ α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος α′.

Περὶ εἱμαρμένης α′.

Περὶ παθῶν α.

Περὶ βίων α′.

Περὶ ὁμονοίας α′

Περὶ μαθητῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′.

Περὶ ἀρετῆς α′ β′.

Περὶ εἰδῶν α′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′ β′.

Περὶ βίου α′.

Περὶ ἀνδρείας α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς α′.

Περὶ ἰδεῶν α′.

Περὶ τέχνης α′.

Περὶ θεῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ ψυχῆς α′ β′.

Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α′.

Πολιτικὸς α′.

Περὶ ἐπιστημοσύνης α′.

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′.

Περὶ τῶν Παρμενίδου α′.

Ἀρχέδημος ἢ περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′.

Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′.

Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′.

Λύσις τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ι′.

Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Κεφάλαιον α′.

Περὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν α′.

Πυθαγόρεια α′.

Λύσεις α′ β′.

Διαιρέσεις η′.

Θέσεων βιβλία κμγ′.

Τῆς περὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι πραγματείας βιβλία ιδμαβψμ′.

Μετὰ τοῦτο βιβλία ιε′ καὶ ἄλλα βιβλία ις′ περὶ μαθημάτων τῶν περὶ τὴν λέξιν.

Λογιστικῶν βιβλία θ′.

Τῶν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα βιβλία ς′.

Τῶν περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄλλα βιβλία δύο.

Περὶ γεωμετρῶν βιβλία ε′.

Ὑπομνημάτων α′.

Ἐναντίων α′.

Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α′.

Ἀριθμῶν θεωρία α′.

Περὶ διαστημάτων α′.

Τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίαν ς′.

Στοιχεῖα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον περὶ βασιλείας δ.

Πρὸς Ἀρύβαν.

Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα.

Περὶ γεωμετρίας α′ β′.

Στίχοι μκβδσλθ′.

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

Φαμὲν δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν οὑτωσί·
χαλκῇ προσκόψας λεκάνῃ ποτὲ καὶ τὸ μέτωπον

πλήξας ἴαχεν ὦ σύντονον, εἶτ’ ἔθανεν,

ὁ πάντα πάντη Ξενοκράτης ἀνὴρ γεγώς.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ξενοκράτεις ἕξ· ὅ τε τακτικὸς ἀρχαῖος σφόδρα * * καὶ ὁ συγγενὴς ἅμα καὶ πολίτης τῷ προειρημένῳ φιλοσόφῳ· φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγος Ἀρσινοητικός, γεγραμμένος περὶ Ἀρσινόης ἀποθανούσης. τέταρτος φιλόσοφος, ἐλεγείαν γεγραφὼς οὐκ ἐπιτυχῶς. ἴδιον δέ· ποιηταὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαλλόμενοι πεζογραφεῖν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι· πεζογράφοι δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενοι ποιητικῇ πταίουσι· τῷ δῆλον τὸ μὲν φύσεως εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τέχνης ἔργον. πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός· ἕκτος ᾄσματα γεγραφώς, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος.

Κεφ. γ′. ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ

Πολέμων Φιλοστράτου μὲν ἦν υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος τῶν δήμων Οἰῆθεν. νέος δ’ ὢν ἀκόλαστός τε καὶ διακεχυμένος ἦν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περιφέρειν ἀργύριον πρὸς τὰς ἑτοίμους λύσεις τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς διέκρυπτεν. καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ πρὸς κίονί τινι τριώβολον εὑρέθη προσπεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ διὰ [τὴν] ὁμοίαν τῇ προειρημένῃ πρόφασιν. καί ποτε

συνθέμενος τοῖς νέοις μεθύων καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος εἰς τὴν Ξενοκράτους ᾖξε σχολήν· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν διατραπεὶς εἶρε τὸν λόγον ὁμοίως· ἦν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης. ἀκοῦον δὴ τὸ μειράκιον κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐθηράθη καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο φιλόπονος ὡς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.

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

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

Ἦν οὖν ἀσόλοικός τις καὶ γενναῖος, παρῃτημένος ἃ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὀξωτὰ καὶ σιλφιωτά,

ἅπερ, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησι,
καταπυγοσύνη ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ πρὸς κρέας μέγα.
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ καθίζων ἔλεγε πρὸς τὰς θέσεις, φασί, περιπατῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ φιλογενναῖον ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν τῇ πόλει. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκπεπατηκὼς ἦν διατρίβων ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, παρ’ ὃν οἱ μαθηταὶ μικρὰ καλύβια ποιησάμενοι κατῴκουν πλησίον τοῦ μουσείου καὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας. ἐῴκει δὴ ὁ Πολέμων κατὰ πάντα ἐζηλωκέναι τὸν Ξενοκράτην· καὶ ἐρασθῆναι αὐτοῦ φησιν Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. ἀεὶ γοῦν ἐμέμνητο αὐτοῦ, τήν τ’ ἀκακίαν καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἐνεδέδυτο τἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ βάρος οἱονεὶ τῆς Δωριστὶ ἁρμονίας.

ἦν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφοκλῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐκείνοις ὅπου κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῷ
κύων τις ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν Μολοττικός,
καὶ ἔνθα ἦν κατὰ τὸν Φρύνιχον
οὐ γλύξις οὐδ’ ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.
ἔλεγεν οὖν τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐπικὸν εἶναι Σοφοκλέα, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα Ὅμηρον τραγικόν.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη ὑπὸ φθίσεως, ἱκανὰ συγγράμματα καταλιπών. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·
οὐκ ἀΐεις; Πολέμωνα κεκεύθαμεν, ὃν θέτο τῇδε
ἀρρωστίη, τὸ δεινὸν ἀνθρώποις πάθος.

οὐ μᾶλλον Πολέμωνα, τὸ σῶμα δέ· τοῦτο γὰρ
αὐτὸς

βαίνων ἐς ἄστρα διάβορον θῆκεν χαμαί.

Κεφ. δ′. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Κράτης πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἀντιγένους Ἀθηναῖος, Θριάσιος δὲ τῶν δήμων, ἀκροατὴς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος Πολέμωνος· ἀλλὰ καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἀλλήλω ἐφιλείτην ὥστε καὶ ζῶντε οὐ μόνον τῶν αὐτῶν ἤστην ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι σχεδὸν ἀναπνοῆς ἐξωμοιώσθην ἀλλήλοιν καὶ θανόντε τῆς αὐτῆς ταφῆς ἐκοινωνείτην. ὅθεν Ἀνταγόρας εἰς ἄμφω τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον·

μνήματι τῷδε Κράτητα θεουδέα καὶ Πολέμωνα

ἔννεπε κρύπτεσθαι, ξεῖνε, παρερχόμενος,

ἄνδρας ὁμοφροσύνῃ μεγαλήτορας, ὧν ἄπο μῦθος

ἱερὸς ἤϊσσεν δαιμονίου στόματος,

καὶ βίοτος καθαρὸς σοφίας ἐπὶ θεῖον ἐκόσμει

αἰῶν’ ἀστρέπτοις δόγμασι πειθόμενος.

ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον μετελθόντα παρὰ Θεοφράστου πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ὡς εἶεν θεοί τινες ἢ λείψανα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους. καὶ γὰρ ἤστην οὐ φιλοδημώδεε· ἀλλ’ οἷον Διονυσόδωρόν ποτέ φασι τὸν αὐλητὴν εἰπεῖν, σεμνυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα τῶν κρουμάτων αὐτοῦ μήτ’ ἐπὶ τριήρους μήτ’ ἐπὶ κρήνης ἀκηκοέναι, καθάπερ Ἰσμηνίου. συσσίτιον δέ φησιν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εἶναι παρὰ Κράντορι, ὁμονόως συμβιούντων τούτων τε καὶ Ἀρκεσιλάου. τὴν δὲ οἴκησιν Ἀρκεσίλαον μὲν ἔχειν μετὰ Κράντορος, Πολέμωνα δὲ σὺν Κράτητι μετὰ Λυσικλέους τινὸς τῶν πολιτῶν. ἦν δέ, φησίν, ἐρώμενος, Κράτης μέν, ὡς προείρηται, Πολέμωνος· Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ Κράντορος.

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

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

Κεφ. ε′. ΚΡΑΝΤΩΡ

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

ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιάναντα διακούειν Πολέμωνος, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα θαυμασθῆναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπεῖν Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, ταλάντων οὖσαν δυοκαίδεκα. καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ποῦ βούλεται ταφῆναι, εἰπεῖν·

ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ποιήματα γράψαι καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὰ θεῖναι. καί φησι Θεαίτητος ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ αὐτοῦ οὑτωσί·
ἤνδανεν ἀνθρώποις, ὁ δ’ ἐπὶ πλέον ἤνδανε Μούσαις

Κράντωρ, καὶ γήρως ἤλυθεν οὔτι πρόσω.

γῆ, σὺ δὲ τεθνηῶτα τὸν ἱερὸν ἄνδρ’ ὑπόδεξαι·

ἠρέμα καὶ κεῖθι ζῴη ἐν εὐθενίῃ.

Ἐθαύμαζε δὲ ὁ Κράντωρ πάντων δὴ μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον καὶ Εὐριπίδην, λέγων ἐργῶδες εἶναι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τραγικῶς ἅμα καὶ συμπαθῶς γράψαι. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βελλεροφόντου·
οἴμοι· τί δ’ οἴμοι; θνητά τοι πεπόνθαμεν.
λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνταγόρα τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὡς Κράντορος εἰς Ἔρωτα πεποιημένα φέρεσθαι ταυτί·

ἐν δοιῇ μοι θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφίσβητον,

ἤ σε θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον ἀειγενέων, Ἔρος, εἴπω,

τῶν ὅσσους Ἔρεβός τε πάλαι βασίλειά τε παῖδας

γείνατο Νὺξ πελάγεσσιν ὑπ’ εὐρέος Ὠκεανοῖο·

ἤ σέ γε Κύπριδος υἷα περίφρονος, ἠέ σε Γαίης,

ἢ Ἀνέμων· τοῖος σὺ κακὰ φρονέων ἀλάλησαι

ἀνθρώποις ἠδ’ ἐσθλά· τὸ καὶ σέο σῶμα δίφυιον.

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

χοῦτω μέλαν κατῆλθες Πλουτέως ἄβυσσον.

καὶ σὺ μὲν ἐκεῖθι χαίρεις, σῶν λόγων δὲ χήρη

ἕστηκεν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Σόλοι, πατρίς σευ.

Κεφ. σ΄. ΑΡΚΕΣΙΛΑΟΣ

Ἀρκεσίλαος Σεύθου [ἢ Σκύθου], ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ Χρονικῶν, Πιτάνης τῆς Αἰολίδος.
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξας, πρῶτος ἐπισχὼν τὰς ἀποφάσεις διὰ τὰς ἐναντιότητας τῶν λόγων. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ πρῶτος τὸν λόγον ἐκίνησε τὸν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος παραδεδομένον καὶ ἐποίησε δι’ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐριστικώτερον. παρέβαλε δὲ Κράντορι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τέταρτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὧν εἶχε δύο μὲν ὁμοπατρίους, δύο δὲ ὁμομητρίους· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὁμομητρίων πρεσβύτερον Πυλάδην, τῶν δὲ ὁμοπατρίων Μοιρέαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος.

ἤκουσε δὲ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν Αὐτολύκου τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ πολίτου τυγχάνοντος, πρὶν ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἀθήνας, μεθ’ οὗ καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεδήμησεν· ἔπειτα Ξάνθου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου μουσικοῦ· μεθ’ ὃν Θεοφράστου διήκουσεν. ἔπειτα μετῆλθεν εἰς Ἀκαδημείαν πρὸς Κράντορα· Μοιρέας μὲν γὰρ ὁ προειρημένος ἀδελφὸς ἦγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ῥητορικήν· ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἥρα, καὶ αὐτοῦ Κράντωρ ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεὶς ἐπύθετο τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας Εὐριπίδου προενεγκάμενος·

ὦ παρθέν’, εἰ σώσαιμί σ’, εἴσει μοι χάριν;
καὶ ὃς τὰ ἐχόμενα·
ἄγου μ’, ὦ ξέν’, εἴτε δμωΐδ’ ἐθέλεις εἴτ’ ἄλοχον.

ἐκ τούτου συνήστην ἀλλήλοιν· ἵνα καὶ τὸν Θεόφραστον κνιζόμενόν φασιν εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφυὴς καὶ εὐεπιχείρητος ἀπεληλυθὼς τῆς διατριβῆς εἴη νεανίσκος. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐμβριθέστατος καὶ φιλογράμματος ἱκανῶς γενόμενος ἥπτετο καὶ ποιητικῆς. καὶ αὐτοῦ φέρεται ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Ἄτταλον ἔχον οὕτω·
Πέργαμος οὐχ ὅπλοις κλεινὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵπποις

πολλάκις αὐδᾶται Πῖσαν ἀνὰ ζαθέην.

εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐκ Διόθεν θεμιτὸν θνατῷ νόον εἰπεῖν,

ἔσσεται εἰσαῦτις πολλὸν ἀοιδοτέρη.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Μηνόδωρον τὸν Εὐγάμου ἑνὸς τῶν συσχολαστῶν ἐρώμενον·

τηλοῦ μὲν Φρυγίη, τηλοῦ δ’ ἱερὴ Θυάτειρα·

ὦ Μηνόδωρε, σὴ πατρίς, Καδανάδη.

ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀχέροντα τὸν οὐ φατὸν ἶσα κέλευθα,

ὡς αἶνος ἀνδρῶν, πάντοθεν μετρεύμενα.

σῆμα δέ τοι τόδ’ ἔρεξεν ἀριφραδὲς Εὔγαμος, ᾧ σὺ

πολλῶν πενεστέων ἦσθα προσφιλέστατος.

Ἀπεδέχετο δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον Ὅμηρον, οὗ καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἰὼν πάντως τι ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρθρου λέγων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀπιέναι ὁπότε βούλοιτο ἀναγνῶναι. τόν τε Πίνδαρον ἔφασκε δεινὸν εἶναι φωνῆς ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων εὐπορίαν παρασχεῖν. Ἴωνα δὲ καὶ ἐχαρακτήριζε νέος ὤν.

Διήκουσε δὲ καὶ Ἱππονίκου τοῦ γεωμέτρου· ὃν καὶ ἔσκωψε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα νωθρὸν ὄντα καὶ χασμώδη, ἐν δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ τεθεωρημένον, εἰπὼν τὴν γεωμετρίαν αὐτοῦ χάσκοντος εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμπτῆναι. τοῦτον καὶ παρακόψαντα ἀναλαβὼν οἴκοι ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐθεράπευσεν, ἐς ὅσον ἀποκαταστῆσαι. Κράτητος δὲ ἐκλιπόντος κατέσχε τὴν σχολήν, ἐκχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ Σωκρατίδου τινός. διὰ δὲ τὸ περὶ πάντων ἐπέχειν οὐδὲ βιβλίον, φασί τινες, συνέγραψεν· οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐφωράθη Κράντοροσ τινὰ διορθῶν, ἃ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐκδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ κατακαῦσαι. ἐῴκει δὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἐκέκτητο αὐτοῦ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα κατά τινας ἐζηλώκει καὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς εἴχετο καὶ τῶν Ερετρικῶν ἥπτετο λόγων, ὅθεν καὶ ἐλέγετο ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὑπ’ Ἀρίστωνος·
πρόσθε Πλάτων, ὄπιθεν Πύρρων, μέσσος Διόδωρος.
καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·
τῇ γὰρ ἔχων Μενεδήμου ὑπὸ στέρνοισι μόλιβδον

θεύσεται ἢ Πύρρωνα τὸ πᾶν κρέας ἢ Διόδωρον.
καὶ διαλιπὼν αὐτὸν ποιεῖ λέγοντα·
νήξομαι εἰς Πύρρωνα καὶ εἰς σκολιὸν Διόδωρον.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιωματικώτατος καὶ συνηγμένος
καὶ ἐν τῇ λαλιᾷ διαστατικὸς τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐπικόπτης θ’ ἱκανῶς καὶ παρρησιαστής·

διὸ καὶ πάλιν ὁ Τίμων οὑτωσὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ·
καὶ * νόον αἰμυλίοις ἐπιπλήξεσιν ἐγκαταμιγνύς.
ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρασύτερον διαλεγόμενον νεανίσκον, οὐ λήψεταί τις, ἔφη, τοῦτον ἀστραγάλῳ; πρὸς δὲ τὸν αἰτίαν ἔχοντα περαίνεσθαι, ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτῷ ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ ἕτερον ἕτερου μεῖζον εἶναι, ἠρώτησεν εἰ οὐδὲ τὸ δεκαδάκτυλον τοῦ ἑξαδακτύλου. Ἥμονος δέ τινος Χίου ἀειδοῦς ὄντος καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντος εἶναι καλοῦ καὶ ἐν χλανίσιν ἀεὶ ἀναστρεφομένου εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ὁ σοφὸς ἐρασθήσεσθαι, ἔφη, πότερον οὐδ’ ἐὰν οὕτω καλὸς ᾖ τις ὥσπερ σὺ οὐδ’ ἐὰν οὕτω καλὰ ἱμάτια ἔχῃ; ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρακίναιδος ὢν ὡς εἰς βαρὺν τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον ἔφη·

ἔξεστ’ ἐρωτᾶν πότνιά σ’ ἢ σιγὴν ἔχω;
ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη·
γύναι, τί μοι τραχεῖα κοὐκ εἰθισμένως λαλεῖς;
στωμύλου δὲ ἀγεννοῦς πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέχοντος
ἔφη·
ἀκόλασθ’ ὁμιλεῖν γίγνεται δούλων τέκνα.
ἄλλου δὲ πολλὰ φλυαροῦντος οὐδὲ τίτθης αὐτὸν χαλεπῆς τετυχηκέναι ἔφη· τισὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀπεκρίνετο. πρὸς δὲ τὸν δανειστικὸν καὶ φιλόλογον εἰπόντα τι ἀγνοεῖν, ἔφη·
λήθουσι γάρ τοι κἀνέμων διέξοδοι

θήλειαν ὄρνιν, πλὴν ὅταν τόκος παρῇ.
ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τοῦ Σοφοκλέους.

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

Ἦν δὲ καὶ εὑρεσιλογώτατος ἀπαντῆσαι εὐστόχως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἀνενεγκεῖν τὴν περίοδον τῶν λόγων καὶ ἅπαντι συναρμόσασθαι καιρῷ. πειστικός τε ὑπὲρ πάνθ’ ὁντινοῦν· παρὸ καὶ πλείους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήντων εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καίπερ ὑπ’ ὀξύτητος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπληττόμενοι. ἀλλ’ ἔφερον ἡδέως· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸς σφόδρα καὶ ἐλπίδων ὑποπιμπλὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας. ἔν τε τῷ βίῳ κοινωνικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος. εἰσελθὼν γοῦν ποτὲ πρὸς Κτησίβιον νοσοῦντα καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπορίᾳ θλιβόμενον, κρύφα βαλάντιον ὑπέθηκε τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ· καὶ ὃς εὑρών, Ἀρκεσιλάου, φησί, τὸ παίγνιον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε χιλίας ἀπέστειλεν.

Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν Ἀρκάδα Εὐμένει συστήσας πολλῆς ἐποίησε τυχεῖν τῆς ἀξίας. ἐλευθέριός τε ὢν καὶ ἀφιλαργυρώτατος εἰς τὰς ἀργυρικὰς δείξεις ἀπήντα πρῶτος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχεκράτους καὶ Καλλικράτους τὰς χρυσιαίας παντὸς ἔσπευδε μᾶλλον. συχνοῖς τε ἐπήρκει καὶ συνηράνιζε· καί ποτέ τινος ἀργυρώματα λαβόντος εἰς ὑποδοχὴν φίλων καὶ ἀποστεροῦντος οὐκ ἀπῄτησεν οὐδὲ προσεποιήθη. οἱ δέ φασιν ἐπίτηδες χρῆσαι καὶ ἀποδιδόντος, ἐπεὶ πένης ἦν, χαρίσασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πιτάνῃ περιουσία, ἀφ’ ἧς ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Πυλάδης ὁ ἀδελφός. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχορήγει αὐτῷ πολλὰ Εὐμένης ὁ τοῦ Φιλεταίρου· διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προσεφώνει.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον θεραπευόντων καὶ ὁπότε ἥκοι ἀπαντώντων αὐτὸς ἡσύχαζε, μὴ βουλόμενος προεμπίπτειν εἰς γνῶσιν. φίλος τε ἦν μάλιστα Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντι καὶ

τὸν Πειραιᾶ· ἔν τε ταῖς ἑορταῖς κατῄει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑκάστοτε. καὶ δὴ καὶ πολλὰ ἐκείνου συμπείθοντος ὥστ’ ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ ἐπείσθη, ἀλλ’ ἕως πυλῶν ἐλθὼν ἀνέστρεψε. μετά τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων αὐτὸς ἐσιώπησεν. ἀλλ’ οὖν ὅμως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπρέσβευσεν εἰς Δημητριάδα πρὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ οὐκ ἐπέτυχε. τὸ πᾶν δὴ διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τὸν πολιτισμὸν ἐκτοπίζων.

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

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

ἔνθα καὶ παραιτούμενος ἑκάστοτε τὰς ἐπικυλικείους ἐξηγήσεις πρὸς Ἀριδείκην προτείνοντά τι θεώρημα καὶ ἀξιοῦντα εἰς αὐτὸ λέγειν εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μάλιστα φιλοσοφίας ἴδιον, τὸ τὸν καιρὸν ἑκάστων ἐπίστασθαι. εἰς δὲ τὸ διαβαλλόμενον αὐτοῦ φίλοχλον καὶ Τίμων τά τ’ ἄλλα φησίν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·
ὣς εἰπὼν ὄχλοιο περίστασιν εἰσκατέδυνεν.

οἱ δέ μιν ἠΰτε γλαῦκα πέρι σπίζαι τερατοῦντο

ἠλέματον δεικνύντες, ὀθούνεκεν ὀχλοάρεσκος.

οὐ μέγα πρῆγμα, τάλας· τί πλατύνεαι ἠλίθιος ὥς;

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἄτυφος ἦν ὥστε τοῖς μαθηταῖς παρῄνει καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν. καί τινος Χίου νεανίσκου μὴ εὐαρεστουμένου τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ προειρημένου, αὐτὸς ἀπαγαγὼν συνέστησε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, παραινέσας εὐτακτεῖν.

Χάριεν δ’ αὐτοῦ φέρεται κἀκεῖνο· πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μεταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἐπικούρειον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων οὐδέποτε, ἔφη, ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν γάλλοι γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ γάλλων ἄνδρες οὐ γίνονται.

Λοιπὸν δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει γενόμενος ἅπαντα καταλέλοιπε Πυλάδῃ τἀδελφῷ τὰ αὐτοῦ, ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐς Χῖον αὐτὸν προήγαγε τὸν Μοιρέαν λανθάνων, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγαγε. περιιὼν δὲ οὔτε γύναιον ἐπηγάγετο οὔτ’ ἐπαιδοποιήσατο. τρεῖς τε διαθήκας ποιησάμενος ἔθετο τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ πρὸς Ἀμφίκριτον, τὴν δ’ Ἀθήνησι παρά τινας τῶν φίλων, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀπέστειλεν εἰς οἶκον πρὸς Θαυμασίαν ἕνα τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀξιώσας διατηρῆσαι· πρὸς ὃν καὶ γράφει ταυτί·

“Ἄρκεσίλαος Θαυμασίᾳ χαίρειν.

“Δέδωκα Διογένει διαθήκας ἐμαυτοῦ κομίσαι πρὸς σέ διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλάκις ἀρρωστεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξέ μοι διαθέσθαι, ἵν’ εἴ τι γένοιτο ἀλλοῖον, μήτι σὲ ἠδικηκὼς ἀπίω τὸν εἰς ἔμ’ ἐκτενῶς οὕτω πεφιλοτιμημένον. καὶ ἀξιοπιστότατος δ’ εἶ τῶν ἐνθάδε σύ μοι τηρῶν αὐτὰς

διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκειότητα. πειρῶ οὖν, μεμνημένος διότι σοι πίστιν τὴν ἀναγκαιοτάτην παρακατατίθεμαι, δίκαιος ἡμῖν εἶναι, ὅπως ὅσον ἐπὶ σοὶ τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ εὐσχημόνως ᾖ μοι διῳκημένα. κεῖνται δὲ Ἀθήνησιν αὗται παρά τισι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ παρ' Ἀμφικρίτῳ.

Ἐτελεύτησε δέ, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἄκρατον ἐμφορηθεὶς πολὺν καὶ παρακόφας, ἤδη γεγονὼς ἔτος πέμπτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, ἀποδεχθεὶς πρὸς Ἀθηναίων ὡς οὐδείς.

Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν·
Ἀρκεσίλαε, τί μοι τόσον οἶνον ἄκρητον ἀφειδῶς

ἔσπασας, ὥστε φρενῶν ἐκτὸς ὄλισθες ἐῶν;

οἰκτείρω σ' οὐ τόσσον ἐπεὶ θάνες, ἀλλ' ὅτι Μούσας

ὕβρισας οὐ μετρίῃ χρησάμενος κύλικι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρκεσίλαοι· ποιητὴς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἄλλος ἐλεγείας, ἕτερος ἀγαλματοποιός· εἰς ὃν καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τουτί·
Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ' ἄγαλμα, διηκόσιαι δ' ἄρ' ὁ μισθὸς

δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος.

ἀσκητὸς δ' ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίης παλάμῃσιν

ἄξιος Ἀρκεσίλας υἱὸς Ἀριστοδίκου.

Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος φιλόσοφος, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤκμαζε περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. ζ'. ΒΙΩΝ

Βίων τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Βορυσθενίτης, ὤντινων δὲ γονέων καὶ ἀφ' οἵων πραγμάτων ἧξεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, αὐτὸς Ἀντιγόνῳ διασαφεῖ. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν
τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;
αἰσθόμενος ὅτι προδιαβέβληται, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν ἀπελεύθερος, τῷ ἀγκῶνι ἀπομυσσόμενος—διεδήλου δὲ τὸν ταριχέμπορον—γένος Βορυσθενίτης, ἔχων οὐ πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ συγγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότου πικρίας σύμβολον· μήτηρ δὲ οἵαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν γήμαι, ἀπ' οἰκήματος. ἔπειτα ὁ πατὴρ παρατελωνησάμενός τι πανοίκιος ἐπράθη μεθ' ἡμῶν. καί με ἀγοράζει τις ῥήτωρ νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ εὔχαριν· ὃς καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπέ μοι πάντα.

κἀγὼ κατακαύσας αὐτοῦ τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ πάντα συγξύσας Ἀθήναζε ἦλθον καὶ ἐφιλοσόφησα.
ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι.
ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κατ' ἐμέ. ὥστε παυσάσθωσαν Περσαῖός τε καὶ Φιλωνίδης ἱστοροῦντες αὐτά· σκόπει δέ με ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ.

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

ἐρωτηθείς ποτε τίς μᾶλλον ἀγωνιᾷ, ἔφη, ὁ τὰ μέγιστα βουλόμενος εὐημερεῖν. ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ

γήμαι—ἀναφέρεται γὰρ καὶ εἰς τοῦτον—ἔφη, ἐὰν μὲν γήμῃς αἰσχράν, ἕξεις ποινήν· ἂν δὲ καλήν, ἕξεις κοινήν. τὸ γῆρας ἔλεγεν ὅρμον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν· εἰς αὐτὸ γοῦν πάντα καταφεύγειν. τὴν δόξαν ἀρετῶν μητέρα εἶναι· τὸ κάλλος ἀλλότριον ἀγαθόν· τὸν πλοῦτον νεῦρα πραγμάτων.
πρὸς τὸν τὰ χωρία κατεδηδοκότα, τὸν μὲν Ἀμφιάραον, ἔφη, ἡ γῆ κατέπιε, σὺ δὲ τὴν γῆν. μέγα κακὸν τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κακόν. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακαόντων μὲν ὡς ἀναισθήτους, παρακαόντων δὲ ὡς αἰσθανομένους.

ἔλεγε δὲ συνεχὲς ὅτι αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι τὴν ὥραν ἄλλῳ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ἀλλοτρίας ἀποδρέπεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς σῶμα βλάπτεσθαι καὶ εἰς ψυχήν. διέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὲν εἶχεν Ἀλκιβιάδου χρείαν καὶ ἀπείχετο, μάταιος ἦν· εἰ δὲ μὴ εἶχεν, οὐδὲν ἐποίει παράδοξον. εὔκολον ἔφασκε τὴν εἰς ᾅδου ὁδόν· καταμύοντας γοῦν ἀπιέναι. τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὡς νέος μὲν ὢν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπαγάγοι τῶν γυναικῶν, νεανίσκος δὲ γενόμενος τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ ῥητορικὰ διασκούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ἐδίδασκε· πρὸς οὖν τὸν αἰτιασάμενον ἔφη, πυροὺς ἐκόμισα καὶ κριθὰς πιπράσκω;

Ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς ἐν ᾅδου μᾶλλον ἂν κολάζεσθαι εἰ ὁλοκλήροις καὶ μὴ τετρημένοις ἀγγείοις ὑδροφόρουν. πρὸς τὸν ἀδολέσχην λιπαροῦντα αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι, τὸ ἱκανόν σοι ποιήσω, φησίν, ἐὰν παρακλήτους πέμψῃς καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἔλθῃς. πλέων μετὰ πονηρῶν λῃσταῖς περιέπεσε· τῶν δέ, ἀπολώλαμεν, εἰπόντων, ἐὰν γνωσθῶμεν, ἐγὼ δέ γε, φησίν, ἐὰν μὴ γνωσθῶ. τὴν οἴησιν ἔλεγε προκοπῆς ἐγκοπήν. πρὸς τὸν μικρολόγον πλούσιον, οὐχ οὗτος, ἔφη, τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται, ἀλλ’ ἡ οὐσία τοῦτον. ἔλεγε τοὺς μικρολόγους τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς δ’ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων μηδὲν ὠφελεῖσθαι. τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ νέους ὄντας ἔφη χρῆσθαι, τῇ δὲ φρονήσει γηράσκοντας ἀκμάζειν.

τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν τὴν φρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ὅσον τὴν ὅρασιν τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων. μὴ δεῖν ἔφασκεν ὀνειδίζειν τὸ γῆρας, εἰς ὅ, ἔφη, πάντες εὐχόμεθα ἐλθεῖν. πρὸς τὸν βάσκανον ἐσκυθρωπακότα, οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφη, πότερον σοὶ κακὸν γέγονεν ἢ ἄλλῳ ἀγαθόν. τὴν δυσγένειαν πονηρὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι σύνοικον τῇ παρρησίᾳ·
δουλοῖ γὰρ ἄνδρα, κἂν θρασύσπλαγχνός τις ᾖ.
τοὺς φίλους ὁποῖοι ἂν ὦσι συντηρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίημεν πονηροῖς κεχρῆσθαι ἢ χρηστοὺς παρῃτῆσθαι.

Οὗτος τὴν ἀρχὴν μὲν παρῃτεῖτο τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκά, καθ’ ὃν χρόνον ἤκουε Κράτητος· εἶτ’ ἐπανείλετο τὴν κυνικὴν ἀγωγήν, λαβὼν τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν.

καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο μετεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἀπάθειαν; ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὰ Θεοδώρεια μετῆλθε διακούσας Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀθέου κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος λόγου σοφιστεύοντος· μεθ’ ὃν Θεοφράστου διήκουσε τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ. ἦν δὲ καὶ θεατρικὸς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοίως διαφορῆσαι, φορτικοῖς ὀνόμασι κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμενος. διὰ δὴ οὖν τὸ παντὶ εἴδει λόγου κεκρᾶσθαί φασι λέγειν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἐρατοσθένην, ὡς πρῶτος Βίων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθινὰ ἐνέδυσεν. εὐφυὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ παρῳδῆσαι· οἷά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα·
ὦ πέπον Ἀρχύτα, ψαλληγενές, ὀλβιότυφε,

τῆς ὑπάτης ἔριδος πάντων ἐμπειρότατ’ ἀνδρῶν.

καὶ ὅλως καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ γεωμετρίαν διέπαιζεν. ἦν δὲ πολυτελής· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἤμειβεν, ἐνίοτε καὶ φαντασίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐν γοῦν Ῥόδῳ τοὺς ναύτας ἔπεισε σχολαστικὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ· σὺν οἷς εἰσβάλλων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον περίβλεπτος ἦν. εἰώθει τε νεανίσκων τινῶν υἱοθεσίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀποχρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἔς τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ὥστε φυλάττεσθαι ὑπ’ εὐνοίας αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλαυτος ἦν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πολὺς

ἐγκείμενος τῷ Κοινὰ τὰ φίλων. παρ’ ὃ καὶ οὐδεὶς μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφεται, τοσούτων αὐτῷ σχολασάντων· καίτοι τινὰς εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν προῆγεν.

ὁ γοῦν Βητίων εἷς τῶν συνήθων αὐτῷ πρὸς Μενέδημόν ποτε λέγεται εἰπεῖν, ἐγώ τοι, ὦ Μενέδημε, νύκτωρ συνδέομαι Βίωνι καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον δοκῶ μοι πεπονθέναι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀθεώτερον προεφέρετο τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι, τοῦτο Θεοδώρειον ἀπολαύσας. καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε ἐμπεσὼν εἰς νόσον, ὡς ἔφασκον οἱ ἐν Χαλκίδι—αὐτόθι γὰρ καὶ κατέστρεψε—περίαπτα λαβεῖν ἐπείσθη καὶ μεταγινώσκειν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπλημμέλησεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον. ἀπορίᾳ δὲ καὶ τῶν νοσοκομούντων δεινῶς διετίθετο, ἕως Ἀντίγονος αὐτῷ δύο θεράποντας ἀπέστειλε. καὶ ἠκολούθει γε αὐτὸς ἐν φορείῳ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς κατέστρεψε καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἠτιασάμεθα·

Βίωνα, τὸν Βορυσθένης ἔφυσε γῆ Σκύθισσα,

λέγειν ἀκούομεν θεοὺς ὡς οὐδέν εἰσιν ὄντως.

κεἰ μὲν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτ’ ἔχων ἔμιμνεν, ἦν ἂν εἰκὸς

λέγειν, φρονεῖν ὅπως δοκεῖ· κακῶς μέν, ἀλλ’ ἔδοξε.

νῦν δ’ ἐς νόσον πεσὼν μακρὴν καὶ μὴ θάνῃ δεδοικὼς

ὁ μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι λέγων, ὁ νηὸν οὐδὲ βλέψας,

ὁ πολλὰ χλευάσας βροτούς, ὅσοι θεοῖς ἔθυον,

οὐ μοῦνον ἐσχάρης ὕπερ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζης

κνίσῃ, λίπει, θυλήμασιν θεῶν ἔδαισε ῥῖνας·

οὐδ’ εἶπε μοῦνον, Ἥλιτον, σύγγνωτε τοῖς πρίν· ἀλλὰ

καὶ γραῖ δῶκεν εὐμαρῶς τράχηλον εἰς ἐπῳδὴν

καὶ σκυτίσιν βραχίονας πεπεισμένως ἔδησε·

ῥάμνον τε καὶ κλάδον δάφνης ὑπὲρ θύρην ἔθηκεν,

ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν ἕτοιμος ὢν ὑπουργεῖν.

μωρὸς δ’ ὃς ἤθελέν τινος μισθοῦ τὸ θεῖον εἶναι,

ὡς τῶν θεῶν ὄντων ὅταν Βίων θέλῃ νομίζειν.

τοιγὰρ μάτην φρονῶν, ὅτ’ ἦν ἅπας ὁ λέμφος ἄνθραξ,

τὴν χεῖρα τείνας ὧδέ πως, Χαῖρ’, εἶπε, χαῖρε,

Πλουτεῦ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Βίωνες δέκα· πρῶτος ὁ Φερεκύδῃ τῷ Συρίῳ συνακμάσας, οὗ φέρεται βιβλία δύο Ἰάδι· ἔστι δὲ Προκοννήσιος. δεύτερος Συρακόσιος, τέχνας ῥητορικὰς γεγραφώς· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος Δημοκρίτειος καὶ μαθηματικός, Ἀβδη· ρίτης, Ἀτθίδι γεγραφὼς καὶ Ἰάδι· οὗτος πρῶτος εἶπεν εἶναί τινας οἰκήσεις ἔνθα γίνεσθαι ἓξ μηνῶν τὴν νύκτα καὶ ἓξ τὴν ἡμέραν. πέμπτος Σολεύς, Αἰθιοπικὰ γεγραφώς· ἕκτος ῥητορικός, οὗ φέρεται ἐννέα βιβλία Μουσῶν ἐπιγραφόμενα· ἕβδομος μελικὸς ποιητής· ὄγδοος Μιλήσιος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Πολέμων· ἔνατος ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας τῶν Ταρσικῶν λεγομένων· δέκατος ἀγαλματοποιὸς Κλαζομένιος ἢ Χῖος, οὗ μέμνηται καὶ Ἵππῶναξ.

Κεφ. η′. ΛΑΚΥΔΗΣ

Λακύδης Ἀλεξάνδρου Κυρηναῖος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς νέας Ἀκαδημείας κατάρξας καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον διαδεξάμενος, ἀνὴρ σεμνότατος καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐσχηκὼς ζηλωτάς· φιλόπονός τε ἐκ νέου καὶ πένης μέν, εὔχαρις δ’ ἄλλως καὶ εὐόμιλος. τοῦτόν φασι καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίαν γλυκύτατα ἐσχηκέναι· ἐπειδὴ γάρ τι προέλοι τοῦ ταμιείου, σφραγισάμενος πάλιν εἴσω τὸν δακτύλιον διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐρρίπτει, ὡς μηδέποτ’ αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθείη τι καὶ βασταχθείη τῶν ἀποκειμένων. μαθόντα δὴ τοῦτο τὰ θεραπόντια ἀπεσφράγιζε καὶ ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐβάσταζεν· ἔπειτα τὸν δακτύλιον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς ἐνίει εἰς τὴν στοάν· καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντα οὐδέ ποτ’ ἐφωράθη.

Ὁ γοῦν Λακύδης ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἐν τῷ κατασκευασθέντι κήπῳ ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Λακύδειον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ προσηγορεύετο. καὶ μόνος τῶν ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ζῶν παρέδωκε τὴν σχολὴν Τηλεκλεῖ καὶ Εὐάνδρῳ τοῖς Φωκαεῦσι. παρὰ δ’ Εὐάνδρου διεδέξατο Ἡγησίνους Περγαμηνός, ἀφ’ οὗ Καρνεάδης. χάριεν δ’ εἰς τὸν Λακύδην ἀναφέρεται· Ἀττάλου γὰρ αὐτὸν μεταπεμπομένου φασὶν εἰπεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας πόρρωθεν δεῖν θεωρεῖσθαι. ὀψὲ δὲ αὐτῷ γεωμετροῦντι λέγει τις, εἶτα νῦν καιρός; καὶ ὅς· εἶτα μηδὲ νῦν;

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ σχολαρχεῖν ἀρξάμενος τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἓξ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη· ἡ τελευτὴ δὲ αὐτῷ παράλυσις ἐκ πολυποσίας. καὶ αὐτῷ προσεπαίξαμεν ἡμεῖς οὑτωσί·
καὶ σέο, Λακύδη, φάτιν ἔκλυον ὡς ἄρα καὶ σὲ

Βάκχος ἑλὼν Ἀΐδῃ ποσσὶν ἔσυρεν ἄκροις.

ἦ σαφὲς ἦν, Διόνυσος ὅταν πολὺς ἐς δέμας ἔλθῃ,

λῦσε μέλη· διὸ δὴ μήτι Λυαῖος ἔφυ;

Κεφ θ′. ΚΑΡΝΕΑΔΗΣ

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

Ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος, ὥστε τὸν γυμνασίαρχον προσπέμψαι αὐτῷ μὴ οὕτω βοᾶν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ δὸς μέτρον φωνῆς. ἔνθεν εὐστόχως ἑλόντα ἀμείψασθαι· φάναι γάρ, μέτρον ἔχεις τοὺς ἀκούοντας. δεινῶς τ’ ἦν ἐπιπληκτικὸς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι δύσμαχος· τά τε δεῖπνα λοιπὸν παρῃτεῖτο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας. οὗτός ποτε Μέντορος τοῦ Βιθυνοῦ μαθητοῦ ὄντος καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος εἰς τὴν διατριβήν, ὡς ἐπείρα αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακὴν ὁ Μέντωρ, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, μεταξὺ λέγων παρῴδησεν εἰς αὐτόν·

πωλεῖταί τις δεῦρο γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής,

Μέντορι εἰδόμενος ἠμὲν δέμας ἠδὲ καὶ αὐδήν·

τοῦτον σχολῆς τῆσδ’ ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι λέγω·
καὶ ὃς ἀναστὰς ἔφη·

οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ’ ἠγείροντο μάλ’ ὦκα.

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

Φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιώσαντα ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ἀριαράθην τὸν Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ συνέγραψαν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλιπεν οὐδέν. ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν τῷ λογαοιδικῷ μέτρῳ [καὶ Ἀρχεβουλείῳ]·

τί με Καρνεάδην, τί με, Μοῦσα, θέλεις ἐλέγχειν;

ἀμαθὴς γὰρ ὃς οὔτι κάτοιδεν ὅπως δεδοίκει

τὸ θανεῖν· ὅτε καὶ φθισικήν ποτ’ ἔχων κακίστην

νόσον, οὐκ ἔθελεν λύσιν ἰσχέμεν· ἀλλ’ ἀκούσας

ὅτι φάρμακον Ἀντίπατρός τι πιὼν ἀπέσβη,

δότε τόινυν, ἔφησε, τὶ κἀμὲ πιεῖν. τί μέντοι;

τί; δότ’ οἰνόμελι. σφόδρα τ’ εἶχε πρόχειρα
ταυτί·

φύσις ἡ συνέχουσά με καὶ διαλύσεται δή.

ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἔβη κατὰ γῆς, ἐνῆν δὲ

τὰ πλέω κακὰ κέρδε’ ἔχοντα μολεῖν ἐς ᾅδου.

Λέγεται καὶ τὰς ὄψεις νυκτὸς ὑποχυθῆναι καὶ ἀγνοεῖν· κελεῦσαί τε τὸν παῖδα λύχνον ἄψαι· εἰσκομίσαντος δὲ καὶ εἰπόντος, κεκόμικα, οὐκοῦν, εἰπεῖν, σὺ ἀναγίνωσκε.

Τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι γεγόνασι μαθηταί, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Κλειτόμαχος· περὶ οὗ καὶ λεκτέον.

Γέγονε μέντοι καὶ ἄλλος Καρνεάδης, ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς ψυχρός.

Κεφ. ι΄. ΚΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ

Κλειτόμαχος Καρχηδόνιος. οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀσδρούβας καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐφιλοσόφει. ἐλθὼν δ’ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τετταράκοντ’ ἔτη γεγονὼς ἤκουσε Καρνεάδου· κἀκεῖνος ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλόπονον γράμματά τ’ ἐποίησε μαθεῖν καὶ συνήσκει τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλασεν ἐπιμελείας, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τὰ τετρακόσια βιβλία συνέγραψε. καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν Καρνεάδην καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἐφώτισεν. ἀνὴρ ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν αἱρέσεσι διαπρέψας, ἔν τε τῇ Ἀκαδημαϊκῇ καὶ περιπατητικῇ καὶ στωικῇ.

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

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

Ε

Κεφ. α΄. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ

Ἀριστοτέλης Νικομάχου καὶ Φαιστίδος Σταγειρίτης. ὁ δὲ Νικόμαχος ἦν ἀπὸ Νικομάχου τοῦ Μαχάονος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους· καὶ συνεβίω Ἀμύντᾳ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ ἰατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρείᾳ. οὗτος γνησιώτατος τῶν Πλάτωνος μαθητῶν, τραυλὸς τὴν φωνήν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχνοσκελής, φασίν, ἦν καὶ μικρόμματος ἐσθῆτί τ’ ἐπισήμῳ χρώμενος καὶ δακτυλίοις καὶ κουρᾷ. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ υἱὸν Νικόμαχον ἐξ Ἑρπυλλίδος τῆς παλλακῆς, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος.

Ἀπέστη δὲ Πλάτωνος ἔτι περιόντος· ὥστε φασὶν ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν, Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε, καθαπερεὶ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα. φησὶ δ’ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι πρεσβεύοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων σχολάρχης ἐγένετο τῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ σχολῆς Ξενοκράτης· ἐλθόντα δὴ αὐτὸν καὶ θεασάμενον ὑπ’ ἄλλῳ τὴν σχολήν, ἐλέσθαι περίπατον τὸν ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀλείμματος ἀνακάμπτοντα τοῖς μαθηταῖς συμφιλοσοφεῖν· ὅθεν περιπατητικὸν προσαγορευθῆναι. οἱ δ’, ὅτι ἐκ νόσου περιπατοῦντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συμπαρὼν διελέγετο ἄττα.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείους ἐγένοντο ἤδη, καὶ ἐκάθισεν εἰπών·
αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ξενοκράτην δ’ ἐᾶν λέγειν.
καὶ πρὸς θέσιν συνεγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητάς, ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς ἐπασκῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Ἀταρνέως ὄντα τύραννον· ὃν οἱ μέν φασι παιδικὰ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ καὶ κηδεῦσαι αὐτῷ δόντα τὴν θυγατέρα ἢ ἀδελφιδῆν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων· ὃς καὶ δοῦλον Εὐβούλου φησὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἑρμίαν, γένει Βιθυνὸν ὄντα καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνελόντα. Ἀρίστιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν ἐρασθῆναι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην παλλακίδος τοῦ Ἑρμίου.

τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος ἔγημέ τ’ αὐτὴν καὶ ἔθυεν ὑπερχαίρων τῷ γυναίῳ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἐλευσινίᾳ Δήμητρι· τῷ τε Ἑρμίᾳ παιᾶνα ἔγραψεν, ὃς ἔνδον γέγραπται. ἐντεῦθέν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λαβεῖν μαθητὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἀναστῆσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα κατασκαφεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ τυχεῖν· οἷς καὶ νόμους θεῖναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ σχολῇ νομοθετεῖν μιμούμενον Ξενοκράτην, ὥστε κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας ἄρχοντα ποιεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐδόκει ἐπιεικῶς αὐτῷ συγγεγενῆσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, συστήσας αὐτῷ τὸν συγγενῆ Καλλισθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον·

ὃν καὶ παρρησιαστικώτερον λαλοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μὴ πειθόμενον αὐτῷ φασιν ἐπιπλήξαντα εἰπεῖν·
ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ’ ἀγορεύεις.
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. δόξας γὰρ Ἑρμολάῳ συμμετεσχηκέναι τῆς εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν σιδηρᾷ περιήγετο γαλεάγρᾳ, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀκόμιστος· καὶ τέλος λέοντι παραβληθείς, οὕτω κατέστρεψεν.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς Χαλκίδα, Εὐρυμέδοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱεροφάντου δίκην ἀσεβείας γραψαμένου, ἢ Δημοφίλου, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐπειδήπερ τὸν ὕμνον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν

προειρημένον Ἑρμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδριάντος τοιοῦτον·
τόνδε ποτ’ οὐχ ὁσίως παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἁγνὴν

ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεύς,

οὐ φανερῶς λόγχῃ φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας,

ἀλλ’ ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πιὼν ἀκόνιτον ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Εὔμηλος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, βιοὺς ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα. ὁ δ’ αὐτός φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ Πλάτωνι τριακοντούτην συστῆναι, διαπίπτων· βεβίωκε γὰρ τρία μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα, Πλάτωνι δὲ ἑπτακαιδεκέτης συνέστη.

Ὁ δὲ ὕμνος ἔχει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

ἀρετά, πολύμοχθε γένει βροτείῳ,

θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ,

σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς

καὶ θανεῖν ζαλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος

καὶ πόνους τλῆναι μαλεροὺς ἀκάμαντας·

τοῖον ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις

κάρτος ἀθάνατον χρυσοῦ τε κρεῖσσον

καὶ γονέων μαλακαυγήτοιό θ’ ὕπνου.

σεῦ δ’ ἕνεχ’ οὐκ Διὸς Ἡρακλέης Λήδας τε κοῦροι

πόλλ’ ἀνέτλασαν ἔργοις

σὰν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν.

σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς

Αἴας τ’ Ἀΐδαο δόμους ἦλθον·

σᾶς δ’ ἕνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς καὶ Ἀταρνέος ἔντροφος ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγάς.

τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις, ἀθάνατόν τε μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι

Μναμοσύνας θύγατρες, Διὸς ξενίου σέβας αὔξουσαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίου.

Ἔστι δ’ οὖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·
Εὐρυμέδων ποτ’ ἔμελλεν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀσεβείας

γράψασθαι Δηοῦς μύστιδος ὢν πρόπολος,

ἀλλὰ πιὼν ἀκόνιτον ὑπέκφυγε· τοῦτ’ ἀκονιτὶ

ἦν ἄρα νικῆσαι συκοφάσεις ἀδίκους.

Τοῦτον πρῶτον Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λόγον δικανικὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράψαι φησὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ δίκῃ καὶ λέγειν ὡς Ἀθήνησιν
ὄγχνη ἐπ’ ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει, σῦκον δ’ ἐπὶ σύκῳ.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς γεννηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, παραβαλεῖν δὲ Πλάτωνι καὶ διατρῖψαι παρ’ αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, ἑπτακαιδεκέτην συστάντα· καὶ εἶς τε Μυτιλήνην ἐλθεῖν ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Πλάτωνος δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν ἀπᾶραι καὶ μεῖναι ἔτη τρία·

ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου δ’ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος,

Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἤδη γεγονότος. εἰς δ’ Ἀθήνας ἀφικέσθαι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑνδεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ σχολάσαι ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, εἶτ’ ἀπᾶραι εἰς Χαλκίδα τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ ἑξήκοντα νόσῳ, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένην καταστρέψαι ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους. λέγεται δὲ διὰ τὴν Καλλισθένους πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σύστασιν προσκροῦσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· κἀκεῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦτον λυπῆσαι Ἀναξιμένην μὲν αὐξῆσαι, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτει δῶρα.

Ἀπέσκωψε δ’ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ Θεόκριτος ὁ Χῖος, οὑτωσὶ ποιήσας, ὥς φησιν Ἀμβρύων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεοκρίτου·
Ἑρμίου εὐνούχου ἠδ’ Εὐβούλου ἅμα δούλου

σῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων τεῦξεν Ἀριστοτέλης,

ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρὸς φύσιν εἵλετο ναίειν,

ἀντ’ Ἀκαδημείας, Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖσ.
ἀλλὰ καὶ Τίμων αὐτοῦ καθήψατο εἰπών·
οὐδ’ ἄρ’ Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκαιοσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ περιετύχομεν, οὕτω πως ἐχούσαις·

“”Εσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβαίνῃ, τάδε διέθετο Ἀριστοτέλης· ἐπίτροπον μὲν εἶναι πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς Ἀντίπατρον·

ἕως δ’ ἂν Νικάνωρ καταλάβῃ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Ἀριστομένην, Τίμαρχον, Ἵππαρχον, Διοτέλην, Θεόφραστον, ἐὰν βούληται καὶ ἐνδέχηται αὐτῷ, τῶν τε παιδίων καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων. καὶ ὅταν ὥρα ᾖ τῇ παιδί, ἐκδίδοσθαι αὐτὴν Νικάνορι· ἐὰν δὲ τῇ παιδὶ συμβῇ τι—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδὲ ἔσται—πρὸ τοῦ γήμασθαι ἢ ἐπειδὰν γήμηται, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, Νικάνωρ κύριος ἔστω καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικεῖν ἀξίως καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν. ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ τῆς παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Νικομάχου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξιοῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ πατὴρ ὢν καὶ ἀδελφός. ἐὰν δέ τι πρότερον συμβῇ Νικάνορι—ὃ μὴ γένοιτο—ἢ πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν παῖδα ἢ ἐπειδὰν λάβῃ, μήπω παιδίων ὄντων, ἐὰν μέν τι ἐκεῖνος τάξῃ, ταῦτα κύρια ἔστω·

ἐὰν δὲ βούληται Θεόφραστος εἶναι μετὰ τῆς παιδός, καθάπερ πρὸς Νικάνορα· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους βουλευομένους μετ’ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδὸς καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδίου διοικεῖν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους καὶ Νικάνορα μνησθέντας ἐμοῦ καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδος, ὅτι σπουδαία περὶ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ἐὰν βούληται ἄνδρα λαμβάνειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀναξίῳ ἡμῶν δοθῇ. δοῦναι δ’ αὐτῇ πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον δεδομένοις καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντον ἐκ τῶν καταλελειμμένων καὶ θεραπαίνας τρεῖς, ἃς ἂν βούληται, καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἣν ἔχει καὶ παῖδα τὸν Πυρραῖον·

καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι βούληται οἰκεῖν, τὸν ξενῶνα τὸν πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν Σταγείροις, τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν. ὁποτέραν δ’ ἂν τούτων βούληται, κατασκευάσαι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους σκεύεσιν οἷς ἂν δοκῇ κἀκείνοις καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ Ἑρπυλλίδι ἱκανῶς. ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ Νικάνωρ καὶ Μύρμηκος τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπως ἂν ἀξίως ἡμῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπικομισθῇ σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἃ εἰλήφαμεν αὐτοῦ. εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἀμβρακίδα ἐλευθέραν καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῇ, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ, πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἣν ἔχει. δοῦναι δὲ καὶ Θαλῇ πρὸς τῇ παιδίσκῃ ἣν ἔχει, τῇ ὠνηθείσῃ, χιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ παιδίσκην·

καὶ Σίμωνι χωρὶς τοῦ πρότερον ἀργυρίου αὐτῷ δοθέντοσ εἰς παῖδ’ ἄλλον, ἢ παῖδα πρίασθαι ἢ ἀργύριον ἐπιδοῦναι. Τύχωνα δ’ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ, καὶ Φίλωνα καὶ Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ. μὴ πωλεῖν δὲ τῶν παίδων μηδένα τῶν ἐμὲ θεραπευόντων, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς· ὅταν δ’ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι κατ’ ἀξίαν. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκδεδομένων εἰκόνων παρὰ Γρυλλίωνα, ὅπως ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαι ἀνατεθῶσιν, ἥ τε Νικάνορος καὶ ἡ Προξένου, ἣν διενοούμην ἐκδοῦναι, καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Νικάνορος· καὶ τὴν Ἀριμνήστου τὴν πεποιημένην ἀναθεῖναι, ὅπως μνημεῖον αὐτοῦ ᾖ, ἐπειδὴ ἄπαις ἐτελεύτησε·

καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας τῇ Δήμητρι ἀναθεῖναι εἰς Νεμέαν ἢ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ. ὅπου δ’ ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν ταφήν, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ Πυθιάδος ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντας θεῖναι, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ προσέταξεν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ Νικάνορα σωθέντα, ἣν εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ηὐξάμην, ζῷα λίθινα τετραπήχη Διὶ σωτῆρι καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ σωτείρᾳ ἐν Σταγείροις.

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

Ἀναφέρεται δ’ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποφθέγματα κάλλιστα ταυτί. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί περιγίνεται κέρδος τοῖς ψευδομένοις, ὅταν, ἔφη, λέγωσιν ἀληθῆ, μὴ πιστεύεσθαι. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι πονηρῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐλεημοσύνην ἔδωκεν, οὐ τὸν τρόπον, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠλέησα. συνεχὲς εἰώθει λέγειν πρός τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῷ, ἔνθα ἂν καὶ ὅπου διατρίβων ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἡ μὲν ὅρασις ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος [ἀέρος] λαμβάνει τὸ φῶς, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποτεινόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκεν εὑρηκέναι πυροὺς καὶ νόμους· ἀλλὰ πυροῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι, νόμοις δὲ μή.

Τῆς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ῥίζας εἶναι πικράς, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν γλυκύν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί γηράσκει ταχύ, χάρις, ἔφη. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἐλπίς, ἐγρηγορότος, εἶπεν, ἐνύπνιον. Διογένους ἰσχάδ’ αὐτῷ διδόντος νοήσας ὅτι, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, χρείαν εἴη μεμελετηκώς, λαβὼν ἔφη Διογένην μετὰ τῆς χρείας καὶ τὴν ἰσχάδα ἀπολωλεκέναι· πάλιν τε διδόντος λαβὼν καὶ μετεωρίσας ὡς τὰ παιδία εἰπών τε μέγας Διογένης, ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τριῶν ἔφη δεῖν παιδείᾳ, φύσεως, μαθήσεως, ἀσκήσεως. ἀκούσας ὑπό τινος λοιδορεῖσθαι, ἀπόντα με, ἔφη, καὶ μαστιγούτω. τὸ κάλλος παντὸς ἔλεγεν ἐπιστολίου συστατικώτερον.

οἱ δὲ οὕτω μὲν Διογένην φασὶν ὁρίσασθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ θεοῦ δῶρον εἰπεῖν εὐμορφίαν· Σωκράτην δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον τυραννίδα· Πλάτωνα προτέρημα φύσεως· Θεόφραστον σιωπῶσαν ἀπάτην· Θεόκριτον ἐλεφαντίνην ζημίαν· Καρνεάδην ἀδορυφόρητον βασιλείαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, ὅσῳ, εἶπεν, οἱ ζῶντες τῶν τεθνεώτων. τὴν παιδείαν ἔλεγεν ἐν μὲν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις εἶναι κόσμον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀτυχίαις καταφυγήν. τῶν γονέων τοὺς παιδεύσαντας ἐντιμοτέρους εἶναι τῶν μόνον γεννησάντων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν παρασχέσθαι. πρὸς τὸν καυχώμενον ὡς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως εἴη, οὐ τοῦτο, ἔφη, δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὅστις μεγάλης πατρίδος ἄξιός ἐστιν.

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος, ἔφη, μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα. τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν οὕτω φείδεσθαι ὡς ἀεὶ ζησομένους, τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀναλίσκειν ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνηξομένους. πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί τοῖς καλοῖς πολὺν χρόνον ὁμιλοῦμεν, τυφλοῦ, ἔφη, τὸ ἐρώτημα. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποτ’ αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, τὸ ἀνεπιτάκτως ποιεῖν ἅ τινες διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων φόβον ποιοῦσιν. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν προκόπτοιεν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔφη, ἐὰν τοὺς προέχοντας

διώκοντες τοὺς ὑστεροῦντας μὴ ἀναμένωσι. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ἀδολέσχην, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ κατήντλησε, μήτι σου κατεφλυάρησα; μὰ Δί', εἶπεν· οὐ γάρ σοι προσεῖχον.

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

Συνέγραψε δὲ πάμπλειστα βιβλία, ἅπερ ἀκόλουθον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι διὰ τὴν περὶ πάντας λόγους τἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν·

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Περὶ ποιητῶν α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ φιλοσοφίας α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ πολιτικοῦ α′ β′.

Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἢ Γρῦλος α′.

Νήρινθος α′.

Σοφιστὴς α′.

Μενέξενος α′.

Ἐρωτικὸς α′.

Συμπόσιον α′.

Περὶ πλούτου α′.

Προτρεπτικὸς α′.

Περὶ ψυχῆς α′.

Περὶ εὐχῆς α′.

Περὶ εὐγενείας α′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′.

Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων α′.

Περὶ βασιλείας α′.

Περὶ παιδείας α′.

Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α′ β′ γ′.

Τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πλάτωνος α′ β′ γ′.

Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας α′ β′.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας α′.

Περὶ φιλίας α′.

Περὶ τοῦ πάσχειν ἢ πεπονθέναι α′.

Περὶ ἐπιστημῶν α′.

Περὶ ἐριστικῶν α′ β′.

Λύσεις ἐριστικαὶ δ′.

Διαιρέσεις σοφιστικαὶ δ′.

Περὶ ἐναντίων α′.

Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν α′.

Περὶ ἰδίων α′.

Ὑπομνήματα ἐπιχειρηματικὰ γ′.

Προτάσεις περὶ ἀρετῆς α′ β′.

Ἐνστάσεις α′.

Περὶ τῶν ποσαχῶς λεγομένων ἢ κατὰ πρόσθεσιν α′.

Περὶ παθῶν ἢ περὶ ὀργῆς α′.

Ἠθικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.

Περὶ στοιχείων α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ ἐπιστήμης α′.

Περὶ ἀρχῆς α′.

Διαιρέσεις ιζ′.

Διαιρετικὸν α′.

Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως α′ β′.

Περὶ κινήσεως α′.

Προτάσεις α′.

Προτάσεις ἐριστικαὶ α′.

Συλλογισμοὶ α′.

Προτέρων ἀναλυτικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′.

Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων μεγάλων α′ β′

Περὶ προβλημάτων α′.

Μεθοδικὰ α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′.

Περὶ τοῦ βελτίονος α′.

Περὶ τῆς ἰδέας α′.

Ὅροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′.

Συλλογισμῶν α′ β′.

Συλλογιστικὸν καὶ ὅροι α′.

Περὶ τοῦ αἱρετοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος α′.

Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α′.

Τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους α′ β′.

Πάθη α′.

Διαιρετικὸν α′.

Μαθηματικὸν α′.

Ὁρισμοὶ ιγ′.

Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς α′.

Προτάσεις α′.

Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′.

Περὶ καλοῦ α′.

Θέσεις ἐπιχειρηματικαὶ κε′.

Θέσεις ἐρωτικαὶ δ′.

Θέσεις φιλικαὶ β′.

Θέσεις περὶ ψυχῆς α′.

Πολιτικὰ β′.

Πολιτικῆς ἀκροάσεως ὡς ἡ Θεοφράστου α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′.

Περὶ δικαίων α′ β′.

Τεχνῶν συναγωγὴ α′ β′.

Τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α′ β′.

Τέχνη α′.

Αλλης τεχνῶν συναγωγῆς α′ β′.

Μεθοδικὸν α′.

Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγὴ α′.

Πραγματεία τέχνης ποιητικῆς α′ β′.

Ἐνθυμήματα ῥητορικὰ α′.

Περὶ μεγέθους α′.

Ἐνθυμημάτων διαιρέσεις α′.

Περὶ λέξεως α′ β′.

Περὶ συμβουλίας α′.

Συναγωγῆς α′ β′.

Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′.

Φυσικὸν α′.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀρχυτείου φιλοσοφίας α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ τῆς Σπευσίππου καὶ Ξενοκράτους α′.

Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου καὶ τῶν Ἀρχυτείων α′.

Πρὸς τὰ Μελίσσου α′.

Πρὸς τὰ Ἀλκμαίωνος α′.

Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους α′.

Πρὸς τὰ Γοργίου α′.

Πρὸς τὰ Ξενοφάνους α′.

Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α′.

Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων α′.

Περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′ θ′.

Ἀνατομῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′ ζ′ η′.

Ἐκλογὴ ἀνατομῶν α′.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθέτων ζῴων α′.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ζῴων α′.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν α′.

Περὶ φυτῶν α′ β′.

Φυσιογνωμονικὸν α′.

Ἰατρικὰ β′.

Περὶ μονάδος α′.

Σημεῖα χειμώνων α′.

Ἀστρονομικὸν α′.

Ὀπτικὸν α′.

Περὶ κινήσεως α′.

Περὶ μουσικῆς α′.

Μνημονικὸν α′.

Ἀπορημάτων Ὁμηρικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ σ′.

Ποιητικὰ α′.

Φυσικῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον λη’.

Ἐπιτεθεαμένων προβλημάτων α′ β′.

Ἐγκυκλίων α′ β′.

Μηχανικὸν α′.

Προβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου β′.

Περὶ τῆς λίθου α′.

Παραβολαὶ α′.

Ἄτακτα ιβ’.

Ἐξηγημένα κατὰ γένος ιδ′.

Δικαιώματα α′.

Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι α′.

Πυθιονῖκαι α′.

Περὶ μουσικῆς α′.

Πυθικὸς α′.

Πυθιονικῶν ἔλεγχος α′.

Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαὶ α′.

Περὶ τραγῳδιῶν α′.

Διδασκαλίαι α′.

Παροιμίαι α′.

Νόμοι συσσιτικοὶ α′.

Νόμων α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Κατηγοριῶν α′.

Περὶ ἑρμηνείας α′.

Πολιτεῖαι πόλεων δυοῖν δεούσαιν ρξ’ κοιναὶ καὶ ἴδιαι, δημοκρατικαί, ὀλιγαρχικαί, ἀριστοκρατικαὶ καὶ τυραννικαί.

Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Φίλιππον.

Σηλυμβρίων ἐπιστολαί.

Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστολαὶ δ′.

Πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον θ′.

Πρὸς Μέντορα α′.

Πρὸς Ἀρίστωνα α′.

Πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα α′.

Πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα α′.

Πρὸς Θεμισταγόραν α′.

Πρὸς Φιλόξενον α′.

Πρὸς Δημόκριτον α′.

Ἔπη ὧν ἀρχή, Ἀγνὲ θεῶν πρέσβισθ’ ἑκατηβόλε.

Ἐλεγεῖα ὧν ἀρχή, Καλλιτέκνου μητρὸς θύγατερ.

Γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι μυριάδες στίχων τέτταρες καὶ τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ διακοσίοις ἑβδομήκοντα.

Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμάτευται βιβλία. βούλεται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε· διττὸν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον, τὸν μὲν πρακτικόν, τὸν δὲ θεωρητικόν· καὶ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τόν τε ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικόν, οὗ τά τε περὶ πόλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ οἶκον ὑπογεγράφθαι· τοῦ δὲ θεωρητικοῦ τόν τε

φυσικὸν καὶ λογικόν, οὗ τὸ λογικὸν οὐχ ὁλομερῶς, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὄργανον προσηκριβωμένον. καὶ τούτου διττοὺς ὑποθέμενος σκοποὺς τό τε πιθανὸν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς διεσάφησε. δύο δὲ πρὸς ἑκάτερον δυνάμεσιν ἐχρήσατο, διαλεκτικῇ μὲν καὶ ῥητορικῇ πρὸς τὸ πιθανόν, ἀναλυτικῇ δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθές· οὐδὲν ὑπολειπόμενος οὔτε τῶν πρὸς εὕρεσιν, οὔτε τῶν πρὸς κρίσιν, οὔτε μὴν τῶν πρὸς χρῆσιν.

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

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

τάς τ’ ἀρετὰς ἔφη μὴ ἀντακολουθεῖν· ἐνδέχεσθαι γὰρ φρόνιμόν τινα καὶ ὁμοίως δίκαιον ὄντα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀκρατῆ εἶναι. ἔφη δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαθῆ μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπαθῆ δέ.

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

Ἔν τε τοῖς φυσικοῖς αἰτιολογικώτατος πάντων ἐγένετο μάλιστα, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι· διόπερ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα βιβλία συνέγραψε φυσικῶν ὑπομνημάτων. τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀσώματον ἀπέφαινε, καθὰ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων. διατείνειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν μέχρι τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ εἶναι ἀκίνητον αὐτόν· τὰ δ’ ἐπίγεια κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα συμπάθειαν οἰκονομεῖσθαι. εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄλλο πέμπτον, ἐξ οὗ τὰ αἰθέρια συνεστάναι. ἀλλοίαν δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι· κυκλοφορητικὴν γάρ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσώματον, ἐντελέχειαν οὖσαν τὴν πρώτην σώματος [γὰρ] φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.

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

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

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

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

Τοῦ δὴ Σταγειρίτου γεγόνασι μὲν πολλοὶ γνώριμοι, διαφέρων δὲ μάλιστα Θεόφραστος, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.

Κεφ. β′. ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΣ

Θεόφραστος Μελάντα Ἐρέσιος κναφέως υἱός, ὥς φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων. οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἤκουσεν Ἀλκίππου τοῦ πολίτου ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, εἶτ’ ἀκούσας Πλάτωνος μετέστη πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· κἀκείνου εἰς Χαλκίδα ὑποχωρήσαντος αὐτὸς διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν Ὀλυμπιάδι τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ. φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦλος φιλόσοφος ὄνομα Πομπύλος, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς Ἀμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ὁμοίων ἱστορικῶν κεφαλαίων. ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος γέγονεν ἀνὴρ συνετώτατος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καί, καθά φησι Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, διδάσκαλος Μενάνδρου τοῦ κωμικοῦ·

ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐεργετικὸς καὶ φιλόλογος. Κάσανδρος γοῦν αὐτὸν ἀπεδέχετο καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἔπεμψεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν· τοσοῦτον δ’ ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιοῦτο παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστ’ Ἀγνωνίδης τολμήσας ἀσεβείας αὐτὸν γράψασθαι, μικροῦ καὶ προσῶφλεν. ἀπήντων τ’ εἰς τὴν διατριβὴν αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ πρὸς δισχιλίους. οὗτος τά τ’ ἄλλα καὶ περὶ δικαστηρίου τοιαῦτα διείλεκται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπιστολῇ· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πανήγυριν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ συνέδριον ῥᾴδιον, οἷόν τις βούλεται, λαβεῖν· αἱ δ’ ἀναγνώσεις ποιοῦσιν ἐπανορθώσεις· τὸ δ’ ἀναβάλλεσθαι πάντα καὶ ἀμελεῖν οὐκέτι φέρουσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ σχολαστικὸν ὠνόμακε.

Τοιοῦτος δ’ ὤν, ὅμως ἀπεδήμησε πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ οὗτος καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σοφοκλέους τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος, μηδένα τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, ἂν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. ἀλλ’ αὖθις ἐπανῆλθον εἰς νέωτα, Φίλωνος τὸν Σοφοκλέα γραψαμένου παρανόμων. ὅτε καὶ τὸν νόμον μὲν ἄκυρον ἐποίησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα πέντε ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν κάθοδόν τε τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐψηφίσαντο, ἵνα καὶ Θεόφραστος κατέλθοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις εἴη. τοῦτον Τύρταμον λεγόμενον Θεόφραστον διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον Ἀριστοτέλης μετωνόμασεν·

οὗ καὶ τοῦ υἱέος Νικομάχου φησὶν ἐρωτικῶς διατεθῆναι, καίπερ ὄντα διδάσκαλον, Ἀρίστιππος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς. λέγεται δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Καλλισθένους τὸ ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν Ἀριστοτέλην, ὅπερ Πλάτωνα, καθὰ προείρηται, φασὶν εἰπεῖν ἐπί τε Ξενοκράτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου· φάναι γάρ, τοῦ μὲν Θεοφράστου καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὀξύτητος πᾶν τὸ νοηθὲν ἐξερμηνεύοντος, τοῦ δὲ νωθροῦ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχοντος, ὡς τῷ μὲν χαλινοῦ δέοι, τῷ δὲ κέντρου. λέγεται δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδιον κῆπον σχεῖν μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους τελευτήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὃς ἦν καὶ γνώριμος αὐτῷ, τοῦτο συμπράξαντος. φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ ἀποφθέγματα ταυτὶ χρειώδη· θᾶττον ἔφη πιστεύειν δεῖν ἵππῳ ἀχαλίνῳ ἢ λόγῳ ἀσυντάκτῳ.

πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ σιωπῶντα τὸ ὅλον ἔφη, εἰ μὲν ἀμαθὴς εἶ, φρονίμως ποιεῖς, εἰ δὲ πεπαίδευσαι, ἀφρόνως. συνεχές τε ἔλεγε πολυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα εἶναι τὸν χρόνον.

Ἐτελεύτα δὴ γηραιός, βιοὺς ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐπειδήπερ ὀλίγον ἀνῆκε τῶν πόνων. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·
οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινὶ λέχθη,

ῥήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνιέμενον·

δὴ γὰρ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἕως ἐπόνει μὲν ἄπηρος

ἦν δέμας, εἶτ' ἀνεθεὶς κάτθανε πηρομελής.

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν εἴ τι ἐπισκήπτει, εἰπεῖν, ἐπισκήπτειν μὲν ἔχειν οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἡδέων ὁ βίος διὰ τὴν δόξαν καταλαζονεύεται.

ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁπότ' ἀρχόμεθα ζῆν, τότ' ἀποθνήσκομεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι φιλοδοξίας. ἀλλ' εὐτυχεῖτε καὶ ἤτοι τὸν λόγον ἄφετε—πολὺς γὰρ ὁ πόνος—ἢ καλῶς αὐτοῦ πρόστητε· μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα. τὸ δὲ κενὸν τοῦ βίου πλέον τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐκποιεῖ βουλεύεσθαι τί πρακτέον, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπισκέψασθε τί ποιητέον. ταῦτα, φασίν, εἰπὼν ἀπέπνευσε· καὶ αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ λόγος, Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ παρέπεμψαν ποσί, τὸν ἄνδρα τιμήσαντες. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησι γηράσαντα αὐτὸν ἐν φορείῳ περιφέρεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν Ἕρμιππον, παρατιθέμενον ἱστορεῖν Ἀρκεσίλαον τὸν Πιταναῖον ἐν οἷς ἔφασκε πρὸς Λακύδην τὸν Κυρηναῖον.

Καταλέλοιπε δὲ βιβλία καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα πάμπλειστα, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιον ἡγησάμην ὑπογράψαι διὰ τὸ πάσης ἀρετῆς πεπληρῶσθαι. ἔστι δὲ τάδε·

Ἀναλυτικῶν προτέρων α′ β′ γ′.

Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′.

Περὶ ἀναλύσεως συλλογισμῶν α′.

Ἀναλυτικῶν ἐπιτομὴ α′.

Ἀνηγμένων τόπων α′ β′.

Ἀγωνιστικὸν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐρωτικοὺς λόγους θεωρίας

Περὶ αἰσθήσεων α′.

Πρὸς Ἀναξαγόραν α′.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρου α′.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξιμένους α′.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀρχελάου α′.

Περὶ ἁλῶν, νίτρου, στυπτηρίας α′.

Περὶ τῶν λιθουμένων α′ β′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων γραμμῶν α′.

Ἀκροάσεως α′ β′.

Περὶ ἀνέμων α′.

Ἀρετῶν διαφοραὶ α′.

Περὶ βασιλείας α′.

Περὶ παιδείας βασιλέως α′.

Περὶ βίων α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ γήρως α′.

Περὶ τῆς Δημοκρίτου ἀστρολογίας α′.

Τῆς μεταρσιολεσχίας α′.

Περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων α′.

Περὶ χυμῶν, χροῶν, σαρκῶν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ διακόσμου α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων α′.

Τῶν Διογένους συναγωγὴ α′.

Διορισμῶν α′ β′ γ′.

Ἐρωτικὸς α′.

Ἄλλο περὶ ἔρωτος α′.

Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α′.

Περὶ εἰδῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ ἐπιλήψεως α′.

Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ α′.

Περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους α′.

Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′.

Ἐνστάσεων α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ ἑκουσίου α′.

Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος Πολιτείας α′ β′.

Περὶ ἑτεροφωνίας ζῴων τῶν ὁμογενῶν α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀθρόων φαινομένων α′.

Περὶ δακέτων καὶ βλητικῶν α′.

Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ὅσα λέγεται φθονεῖν α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν ξηρῷ διαμενόντων α′.

Περὶ τῶν τὰς χρόας μεταβαλλόντων α′.

Περὶ τῶν φωλευόντων α′.

Περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης α′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς ἄλλο α′.

Θέσεις κδ′.

Περὶ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ α′.

Περὶ ἰλίγγων καὶ σκοτωσεων α′.

Περὶ ἱδρώτων α′.

Περὶ καταφάσεως καὶ ἀποφάσεως α′.

Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ πένθους α′.

Περὶ κόπων α.

Περὶ κινήσεως α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ λίθων α′.

Περὶ λοιμῶν α′.

Περὶ λιποψυχίας α′.

Μεγαρικὸς α′.

Περὶ μελαγχολίας α′.

Περὶ μετάλλων α′ β′.

Περὶ μέλιτος α′.

Περὶ τῶν Μητροδώρου συναγωγῆς α′.

Μεταρσιολογικῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ μέθης α′.

Νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον κδ′.

Νόμων ἐπιτομῆς α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′.

Πρὸς τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς α′.

Περὶ ὀδμῶν α′.

Περὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου.

Πρώτων προτάσεων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′.

Νομοθετῶν α′ β′ γ′.

Πολιτικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Πολιτικὸν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Πολιτικῶν ἐθῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας α′.

Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.

Περὶ παροιμιῶν α′.

Περὶ πήξεων καὶ τήξεων α′.

Περὶ πυρὸς α′ β′.

Περὶ πνευμάτων α′.

Περὶ παραλύσεως α′.

Περὶ πνιγμοῦ α′

Περὶ παραφροσυνης α′.

Περὶ παθῶν α′.

Περὶ σημείων α′.

Σοφισμάτων α′ β′.

Περὶ συλλογισμῶν λύσεως α′.

Τοπικῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ τιμωρίας α′ β′.

Περὶ τριχῶν α′.

Περὶ τυραννίδος α′.

Περὶ ὕδατος α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐνυπνίων α′.

Περὶ φιλίας α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ φιλοτιμίας α′ β′.

Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ φυσικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′ ιζ′ ιη′.

Περὶ φυσικῶν ἐπιτομῆς α′ β′.

Φυσικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′.

Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς α′.

Περὶ φυτικῶν ἱστοριῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′.

Φυτικῶν αἰτιῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′

Περὶ χυλῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.

Περὶ ψεύδους ἡδονῆς α′.

Περὶ ψυχῆς θέσις μία.

Περὶ τῶν ἀτέχνων πίστεων α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἁπλῶν διαπορημάτων α′.

Ἁρμονικῶν α′.

Περὶ ἀρετῆς α′.

Ἀφορμαὶ ἢ ἐναντιώσεις α′.

Περὶ ἀποφάσεως α′.

Περι γνώμης α′.

Περὶ γελοίου α′.

Δειλινῶν α′ β′.

Διαιρέσεις α′ β′.

Περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων α′.

Περὶ διαβολῆς α′.

Περὶ ἐπαίνου α′.

Περὶ ἐμπειρίας α′.

Ἐπιστολῶν α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ τῶν αὐτομάτων ζῴων α′.

Περὶ ἐκκρίσεως α′.

Ἐγκώμια θεῶν α′.

Περὶ ἑορτῶν α′.

Περὶ εὐτυχίας α′.

Περὶ ἐνθυμημάτων α′.

Περὶ εὑρημάτων α′ β′.

Ἠθικῶν σχολῶν α′.

Ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες α′.

Περὶ θορύβου α′.

Περὶ ἱστορίας α′.

Περὶ κρίσεως συλλογισμῶν α′.

Περὶ κολακείας α′.

Περὶ θαλάττης α′.

Πρὸς Κάσανδρον περὶ βασιλείας α′.

Περὶ κωμῳδίας α′.

[Περὶ μέτρων α′].

Περὶ λέξεως α′.

Λόγων συναγωγὴ α′.

Λύσεις α′.

Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ μέτρων α′.

Μεγακλῆς α′.

Περὶ νόμων α′.

Περὶ παρανόμων α′.

Τῶν Ξενοκράτους συναγωγῆς α′.

Ὁμιλητικὸς α′.

Περὶ ὅρκου α′.

Παραγγέλματα ῥητορικῆς α′.

Περὶ πλούτου α′.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς α′.

Προβλήματα πολιτικά, ἠθικά, φυσικά, ἐρωτικὰ α′.

Προοιμίων α′.

Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α′.

Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α′.

Περὶ παραδείγματος α′.

Περὶ προθέσεως καὶ διηγήματος α′.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἄλλο α′.

Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν α′.

Περὶ συμβουλῆς α′.

Περὶ σολοικισμῶν α′.

Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α′.

Περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν εἴδη ιζ′.

Περὶ ὑποκρίσεως α′.

῾Υπομνημάτων Ἀριστοτελικῶν ἢ Θεοφραστείων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Φυσικῶν δοξῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′ ζ′ η′ θ′ ι′ ια′ ιβ′ ιγ′ ιδ′ ιε′ ις′.

Φυσικῶν [δοξῶν] ἐπιτομῆς α′.

Περὶ χάριτος α′.

[Χαρακτῆρες ἠθικοί.]

Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ ἀληθοῦς α′.

Τῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἱστορίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Περὶ θεῶν α′ β′ γ′.

῾Ιστορικῶν γεωμετρικῶν α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Επιτομῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Ἐπιχειρημάτων α′ β′.

Θέσεις γ′.

Περὶ βασιλείας α′ β′.

Περὶ αἰτιῶν α′.

Περὶ Δημοκρίτου α′.

[Περὶ διαβολῆς α′.]

Περὶ γενέσεως α′.

Περὶ ζῴων φρονήσεως καὶ ἤθους α′.

Περὶ κινήσεως α′ β′.

Περὶ ὄψεως α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Πρὸς ὅρους α′ β′.

Περὶ τοῦ δεδόσθαι α′.

Περὶ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττονος α′.

Περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν α′.

Περὶ τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας α′.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας α′.

Προτρεπτικὸς α′.

Πῶς ἂν ἄριστα πόλεις οἰκοῖντο α′.

Τὰ ὑπομνήματα α′.

Περὶ ῥύακος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ α′.

Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων α′.

[Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων φυσικῶν α′.

Τίνες οἱ τρόποι τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου α′ β′ γ′.

Τὰ πρὸ τῶν τόπων α′.

Πρὸς Αἰσχύλον α′.

Ἀστρολογικῆς ἱστορίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′ ς′.

Ἀριθμητικῶν ἱστοριῶν περὶ αὐξήσεως α′.

Ἀκίχαρος α′.

Περὶ δικανικῶν λόγων α′.

[Περὶ διαβολῆς α′.]

Ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀστυκρέοντι, Φανίᾳ, Νικάνορι.

Περὶ εὐσεβείας α′.

Εὐϊάδος α′.

Περὶ καιρῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ οἰκείων λόγων α′.

Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς α′.

Ἄλλο διάφορον α′.

Περὶ παιδείας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης α′.

[Προτρεπτικὸς α′.]

Περὶ ἀριθμῶν α′.

Ὁριστικὰ περὶ λέξεως συλλογισμῶν α′.

Περὶ οὐρανοῦ α΄.

Πολιτικοῦ α΄ β΄.

Περὶ φύσεως.

Περὶ καρπῶν.

Περὶ ζῴων.

Ἃ γίνονται στίχων Μ΄ κ΄ γ΄ Β ω΄ η΄· τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷδε τὰ βιβλία.

Εὗρον δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ διαθήκας τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον·

“”Εσται μὲν εὖ· ἐὰν δέ τι συμβῇ, τάδε διατίθεμαι· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι ὑπάρχοντα πάντα δίδωμι Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι τοῖς υἱοῖς Λέοντος. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν παρ’ Ἱππάρχου συμβεβλημένων τάδε μοι βούλομαι γενέσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τὸ μουσεῖον καὶ τὰς θεὰς συντελεσθῆναι κἂν τι ἄλλο ἰσχύῃ περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπικοσμηθῆναι πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον· ἔπειτα τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰκόνα τεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναθήματα ὅσα πρότερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· εἶτα τὸ στωίδιον οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ πρὸς τῷ μουσείῳ μὴ χεῖρον ἢ πρότερον· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πίνακας, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῆς γῆς περίοδοί εἰσιν, εἰς τὴν κάτω στοάν·

ἐπισκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὅπως ἔχῃ τὸ τέλειον καὶ τὸ εὔσχημον. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Νικομάχου εἰκόνα συντελεσθῆναι ἴσην. τὸ μὲν τῆς πλάσεως ἔχει Πραξιτέλης, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο ἀνάλωμα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθω. σταθῆναι δὲ ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελουμένοις τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ἐν Σταγείροις ἡμῖν ὑπάρχον δίδωμι Καλλίνῳ· τὰ δὲ βιβλία πάντα Νηλεῖ. τὸν δὲ κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ κήπῳ πάσας δίδωμι τῶν γεγραμμένων φίλων ἀεὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις συσχολάζειν καὶ συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἐν αὐταῖς,

ἐπειδήπερ οὐ δυνατὸν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ ἐπιδημεῖν, μήτ’ ἐξαλλοτριοῦσι μήτ’ ἐξιδιαζομένου μηδενός, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἂν ἱερὸν κοινῇ κεκτημένοις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως καὶ φιλικῶς χρωμένοις, ὥσπερ προσῆκον καὶ δίκαιον. ἔστωσαν δὲ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἵππαρχος, Νηλεύς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Δημάρατος, Καλλισθένης, Μελάντης, Παγκρέων, Νίκιππος. ἐξεῖναι δὲ βουλομένῳ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ Μητροδώρου καὶ Πυθιάδος υἱῷ καὶ μετέχειν τούτων· καὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα προαχθῇ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν. θάψαι δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα ἁρμόττον εἶναι τοῦ κήπου, μηδὲν περίεργον μήτε περὶ τὴν ταφὴν μήτε περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιοῦντας.

ὅπως δὲ συνείρηται, μετὰ τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς συμβάντα, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν κῆπον καὶ τὸν περίπατον θεραπευόμενα συνεπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ Πομπύλον τούτων ἐποικοῦντα αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενον ἦν καὶ πρότερον· τῆς δὲ λυσιτελείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἔχοντας ταῦτα. Πομπύλῳ δὲ καὶ Θρέπτῃ πάλαι ἐλευθέροις οὖσι καὶ ἡμῖν πολλὴν χρείαν παρεσχημένοις, εἴ τι πρότερον ἔχουσι παρ’ ἡμῶν καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἃ νῦν παρ’ Ἱππάρχου αὐτοῖς συντέταχα, δισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἀσφαλῶς οἶμαι δεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ταῦτα, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς διελέχθην Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι πλεονάκις καὶ πάντα μοι συγκατετίθεντο. δίδωμι δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σωματάλην τὴν παιδίσκην.

τῶν δὲ παίδων Μόλωνα μὲν καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμένοντα ἤδη ἐλευθέρους ἀφίημι· Μανῆν δὲ καὶ Καλλίαν παραμείναντας ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ συνεργασαμένους καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους γενομένους ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. τῶν δὲ οἰκηματικῶν σκευῶν ἀποδιδόντας Πομπύλῳ ὅσ’ ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς καλῶς ἔχειν, τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξαργυρίσαι. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Καρίωνα Δημοτίμῳ, Δόνακα

δὲ Νηλεῖ· Εὔβοιον δ’ ἀποδόσθαι. δότω δ’ Ἵππαρχος Καλλίνῳ τρισχιλίας δραχμάς· Μελάντῃ δὲ καὶ Παγκρέοντι εἰ μὲν μὴ ἑωρῶμεν Ἵππαρχον καὶ ἡμῖν πρότερον χρείαν παρεσχημένον καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μάλα νεναυαγηκότα, προσετάξαμεν ἂν μετὰ Μελάντου καὶ Παγκρέοντος ἐξάγειν αὐτά.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτ’ ἐκείνοις ἑώρων ῥᾴδιον ὄντα συνοικονομεῖν λυσιτελέστερόν τ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τεταγμένον τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Ἱππάρχου, δότω Ἵππαρχος Μελάντῃ καὶ Παγκρέοντι, ἑκατέρῳ τάλαντον· διδόναι δ’ Ἵππαρχον καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένα κατὰ τοὺς ἑκάστου καιροὺς τῶν δαπανημάτων. οἰκονομήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα Ἵππαρχον ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντων· καὶ εἴ τι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος συμβέβληκεν Ἵππαρχος ἐν Χαλκίδι, Ἱππάρχου τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων Ἵππαρχος, Νηλεύς, Στράτων, Καλλῖνος, Δημότιμος, Καλλισθένης, Κτήσαρχος.

αἱ διαθῆκαι κεῖνται ἀντίγραφα τῷ Θεοφράστου δακτυλίῳ σεσημασμέναι, μία μὲν παρὰ Ἡγησίᾳ Ἱππάρχου· μάρτυρες Κάλλιππος Παλληνεύς, Φιλόμηλος Εὐωνυμεύς, Λύσανδρος Ὑβάδης, Φίλων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ἔχει Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· μάρτυρες δ’ οἱ αὐτοί. τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν ἔλαβεν Ἀδείμαντος, ἀπήνεγκε δὲ Ἀνδροσθένης ὁ υἱός· μάρτυρες Ἀρίμνηστος Κλεοβούλου, Λυσίστρατος Φείδωνος Θάσιος, Στράτων Ἀρκεσιλάου Λαμψακηνός, Θήσιππος Θησίππου ἐκ Κεραμέων, Διοσκουρίδης Διονυσίου Ἐπικηφίσιος.

Ταῦθ’ ἔχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι.

Ἀκοῦσαι δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐρασίστρατον τὸν ἰατρόν εἰσιν οἳ λέγουσι· καὶ εἰκός.

Κεφ. γ′. ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ

Διεδέξατο δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολὴν Στράτων Ἀρκεσιλάου Λαμψακηνός, οὗ καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐμνημόνευσεν· ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος καὶ φυσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην παρ’ ὀντινοῦν ἐπιμελέστατα διατετριφέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ καθηγήσατο Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου καὶ ἔλαβε, φασί, παρ’ αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ὀγδοήκοντα· σχολαρχεῖν δέ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ἤρξατο τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

Φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ βιβλία

Περὶ βασιλείας τρία.

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης τρία.

Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ γ′.

Περὶ θεῶν γ′.

Περὶ ἀρχῶν γ′.

Περὶ βίων.

Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

Περὶ βασιλέως φιλοσόφου.

Περὶ ἀνδρείας.

Περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος.

Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης.

Περὶ ζωογονίας.

Περὶ μίξεως.

Περὶ ὕπνου.

Περὶ ἐνυπνίων.

Περὶ ὄψεως.

Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς.

Περὶ χρωμάτων.

Περὶ νόσων.

Περὶ κρίσεων.

Περὶ δυνάμεων.

Περὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν μηχανημάτων.

Περὶ λιμοῦ καὶ σκοτώσεων.

Περὶ κούφου καὶ βαρέος.

Περὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ.

Περὶ χρόνου.

Περὶ τροφῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως.

Περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων ζῳων.

Περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ζῴων.

Περὶ αἰτιῶν.

Λύσεις ἀπορουμένων.

Τόπων προοίμια.

Περὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.

Περὶ τοῦ ὅρου.

Περὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον.

Περὶ ἀδίκου.

Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ὑστέρον

Περὶ τοῦ προτέρου γένους.

Περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου.

Περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος.

Εὑρημάτων ἔλεγχοι δύο.

Ὑπομνήματα, ἃ διστάζεται.

Ἐπιστολαὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχή· Στράτων Ἀρσινόῃ εὖ πράττειν.

Τοῦτόν φασιν οὕτω γενέσθαι λεπτὸν ὡς ἀναισθήτως τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·
λεπτὸς ἀνὴρ δέμας ἦν, εἴ μοι προσέχεις, ἀπὸ χρισμῶν·

Στράτωνα τοῦτόν φημί σοι

Λάμψακος ὅν ποτ’ ἔφυσεν· ἀεὶ δὲ νόσοισι παλαίων

θνήσκει λαθών, οὐδ’ ᾔσθετο.

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

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

“Τάδε διατίθεμαι, ἐάν τι πάσχω· τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καταλείπω πάντα Λαμπυρίωνι καὶ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ὑπάρχοντός μοι ἀργυρίου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν καὶ ὅσα νομίζεται μετὰ τὴν ἐκφοράν, μηδὲν μήτε περίεργον ποιοῦντες μήτ’ ἀνελεύθερον.

ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην οἵδε· Ὀλύμπιχος, Ἀριστείδης, Μνησιγένης, Ἱπποκράτης, Ἐπικράτης, Γοργύλος, Διοκλῆς, Λύκων, Ἀθάνης. καταλείπω δὲ τὴν μὲν διατριβὴν Λύκωνι, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μέν εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ δὲ ἄσχολοι. καλῶς δ’ ἂν ποιοῖεν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συγκατασκευάζοντες τούτῳ. καταλείπω δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ βιβλία πάντα, πλὴν ὧν αὐτοὶ γεγράφαμεν, καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα κατὰ τὸ συσσίτιον καὶ τὰ στρώματα καὶ τὰ ποτήρια. δότωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ Ἐπικράτει πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς καὶ τῶν παίδων ἕνα ὃν ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ.

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Λαμπυρίων καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαος ἀράσθωσαν τὰς συνθήκας ἃς ἔθετο Δάϊππος ὑπὲρ Ἰραίου· καὶ μηδὲν ὀφειλέτω μήτε Λαμπυρίωνι μήτε τοῖς Λαμπυρίωνος κληρονόμοις, ἀλλ’ ἀπηλλάχθω παντὸς τοῦ συμβολαίου. δότωσαν δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας καὶ τῶν παίδων ἕνα ὃν ἂν δοκιμάζῃ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ὅπως ἂν πολλὰ συμπεπονηκὼς ἡμῖν καὶ παρεσχημένος χρείας ἔχῃ βίον ἱκανὸν καὶ εὐσχήμονα. ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Διόφαντον ἐλεύθερον καὶ Διοκλέα καὶ Ἄβουν· Σιμίαν δὲ ἀποδίδωμι Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Δρόμωνα ἐλεύθερον. ἐπειδὰν δὲ παραγένηται Ἀρκεσίλαος, λογισάσθω Ἴραιος μετ’ Ὀλυμπίχου καὶ Ἐπικράτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελητῶν τὸ γεγονὸς ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα.

τὸ δὲ περιὸν ἀργύριον κομισάσθω Ἀρκεσίλαος παρ’ Ὀλυμπίχου, μηδὲν ἐνοχλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς χρόνους· ἀράσθω δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας Ἀρκεσίλαος ἃς ἔθετο Στράτων πρὸς Ὀλύμπιχον καὶ Ἀμεινίαν, τὰς κειμένας παρὰ Φιλοκράτει Τισαμενοῦ. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ποιείτωσαν ὡς ἂν δοκῇ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Ὀλυμπίχῳ καὶ Λύκωνι.

Καὶ αἵδε μέν εἰσιν αἱ φερόμεναι αὐτοῦ διαθῆκαι, καθά που συνήγαγε καὶ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Στράτων ἀνὴρ γέγονε, καθὰ καὶ ἄνω δεδήλωται, πολλῆς τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, διαπρέψας ἐν παντὶ λόγων εἴδει καὶ μάλιστά γε ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ φυσικῷ, ὅπερ εἶδος ἀρχαιότερόν τε καὶ σπουδαιότερον.

Κεφ. δ΄. ΛΥΚΩΝ

Τοῦτον διεδέξατο Λύκων Ἀστυάνακτος Τρωαδεύς, φραστικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ παίδων ἀγωγὴν ἄκρως συντεταγμένος. ἔφασκε γὰρ δεῖν παρεζεῦχθαι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ὡς τοῖς ἵπποις μύωπα καὶ χαλινόν. τὸ δ' ἐκφραστικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιγεγωνὸς ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ φαίνεται κἀνθένδε· φησὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ παρθένου πενιχρᾶς· βαρὺ γὰρ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη διὰ σπάνιν προικὸς ἐκτρέχουσα τὸν ἀκμαῖον τῆς ἡλικίας καιρόν. διὸ δὴ καί φασιν Ἀντίγονον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ὥσπερ μήλου τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ χάριν ἄλλοθί που μετενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου τῶν λεγομένων ἕκαστον ἔδει θεωρεῖσθαι.

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

Ἦν δὲ καὶ καθαρώτατος τὴν στολήν, ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτῳ χρῆσθαι μαλακότητι ἱματίων, καθά φησιν Ἕρμιππος. ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμναστικώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ εὐέκτης τὸ σῶμα τήν τε πᾶσαν σχέσιν ἀθλητικὴν ἐπιφαίνων, ὠτοθλαδίας καὶ ἐμπινὴς ὤν, καθά φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παλαῖσαι λέγεται τά τ' ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἰλίεια καὶ σφαιρίσαι. ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τ' ἦν φίλος τοῖς περὶ Εὐμένην καὶ Ἄτταλον, οἳ καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπεχορήγουν αὐτῷ. ἐπειράθη δ' αὐτὸν σχεῖν καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτυχεν.

οὕτω δ' ἦν ἐχθρὸς Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ περιπατητικῷ, ὡς μόνος μὴ ἀπαντᾶν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐτήσιον ἡμέραν, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάου βίῳ διειλέγμεθα.

Ἀφηγήσατο δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, Στράτωνος αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Πανθοίδου διήκουσε τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτος τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν, νόσῳ ποδαγρικῇ καταπονηθείς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν·
οὐ μὰ τόν, οὐδὲ Λύκωνα παρήσομεν, ὅττι ποδαλγὴς

κάτθανε· θαυμάζω τοῦτο μάλιστα δ' ἐγώ,

τὴν οὕτως ἀΐδαο μακρὴν ὁδὸν εἰ πρὶν ὁ ποσσὶν

ἀλλοτρίοις βαδίσας ἔδραμε νυκτὶ μιῇ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Λύκωνες· πρῶτος Πυθαγορικός, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος ἐπῶν ποιητής, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής.

Τοῦ δὲ φιλοσόφου καὶ διαθήκαις περιετύχομεν ταῖσδε·

"Τάδε διατίθεμαι περὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ἐὰν μὴ δυνηθῶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ταύτην ὑπενεγκεῖν· τὰ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ πάντα δίδωμι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀστυάνακτι καὶ Λύκωνι. καὶ οἶμαι δεῖν ἀποδοθῆναι ἀπὸ τούτων ὅσα κατακέχρημαι Ἀθήνησι παρά τινος ἔχων ἢ ἐκπεπραχώς· καὶ ἃ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἀναλωθῇ καὶ εἰς τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα.

τὰ δ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δίδωμι Λύκωνι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὔνομα φέρειν ἡμῶν καὶ συνδιατετριφέναι πλείω χρόνον ἀρεστῶς πάνυ, καθάπερ δίκαιον ἦν τὸν υἱοῦ τάξιν ἐσχηκότα. τὸν δὲ περίπατον καταλείπω τῶν γνωρίμων τοῖς βουλομένοις, Βούλωνι, Καλλίνῳ, Ἀρίστωνι, Ἀμφίωνι, Λύκωνι,

Πύθωνι, Ἀριστομάχῳ, Ἡρακλείῳ, Λυκομήδει, Λύκωνι τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ. προστησάσθωσαν δ' αὐτοὶ ὃν ἂν ὑπολαμβάνωσι διαμενεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ συναύξειν μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι. συγκατασκευαζέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ γνώριμοι κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τόπου χάριν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ καύσεως ἐπιμεληθήτωσαν Βούλων καὶ Καλλῖνος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων, ὅπως μήτ' ἀνελεύθερος γένηται μήτε περίεργος.

τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μοι γενομένων μοριῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπόλυσιν καταχωρισάτω Λύκων τοῖς νεανίσκοις εἰς ἐλαιοχρηστίαν, ὅπως κἀμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τιμήσαντος ἐμὲ μνήμη γένηται διὰ τῆς χρείας αὕτη ἡ προσήκουσα. καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἡμῶν ἀναθέτω· τὸν δὲ τόπον, ὅπως ἁρμόττων ᾖ τῆς καταστάσεως, ἐπιβλεψάτω καὶ συμπραγματευθήτω Διόφαντος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίου. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει Λύκων ἀποδότω πᾶσι παρ' ὧν τι προείληφα μετὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν τὴν ἐκείνου. παρεχέσθωσαν δὲ Βούλων καὶ Καλλῖνος καὶ ἃ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἀναλωθῇ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα. κομισάσθωσαν δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῇ καταλειπομένων ἀμφοτέροις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

τιμησάτωσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς Πασίθεμιν καὶ Μηδίαν, ἀξίους ὄντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν περὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ μείζονος ἔτι τιμῆς. δίδωμι δὲ τῷ Καλλίνου παιδίῳ Θηρικλείων ζεῦγος, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥοδιακῶν ζεῦγος, ψιλοτάπιδα, ἀμφίταπιν, περίστρωμα, προσκεφάλαια δύο τὰ βέλτιστα τῶν καταλειπομένων· ὡς ἂν ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνήκει πρὸς τιμήν, καὶ τούτων φανῶμεν μὴ ἀμνήμονες ὄντες. περὶ δὲ τῶν θεραπευόντων ἐμαυτὸν οὕτως ἐξάγω· Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφίημι τὰ λύτρα καὶ διδωμι πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ χιτῶνα, ἵνα πολλὰ πεπονηκὼς μετ' ἐμοῦ βίον εὐσχήμονα ἔχῃ. Κρίτωνι δὲ Χαλκηδονίῳ, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ λύτρα ἀφίημι καὶ δίδωμι τέτταρας μνᾶς. καὶ τὸν Μίκρον ἀφίημι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτὸν καὶ παιδευσάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν χρόνου ἓξ ἔτη.

καὶ Χάρητα ἀφίημι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ θρεψάτω Λύκων αὐτόν. καὶ δύο μνᾶς αὐτῷ δίδωμι καὶ τἀμὰ βιβλία τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα· τὰ δ' ἀνέκδοτα Καλλίνῳ ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ ἐκδῷ. δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Σύρῳ ἐλευθέρῳ ὄντι τέτταρας μνᾶς καὶ τὴν Μηνοδώραν δίδωμι· καὶ εἴ τί μοι ὀφείλει, ἀφίημι αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἱλαρᾷ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἀμφίταπιν καὶ δύο προσκεφάλαια καὶ περίστρωμα καὶ κλίνην ἣν ἂν βούληται. ἀφίημι δ' ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μίκρου μητέρα καὶ Νοήμονα καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Εὐφράνορα καὶ Ἑρμείαν. καὶ Ἀγάθωνα δύο ἔτη παραμείναντα ἀφεῖσθαι ἐλεύθερον· καὶ τοὺς φορεαφόρους Ὠφελίωνα καὶ Ποσειδώνιον τέτταρα ἔτη παραμείναντας.

δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Κρίτωνι καὶ Σύρῳ κλίνην ἑκάστῳ καὶ στρώματα τῶν καταλειπομένων ἃ ἂν φαίνηται Λύκωνι καλῶς ἔχειν. ταῦτ' ἔστω αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξασιν ὀρθῶς ἐφ' ὧν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι εἰσί. περὶ δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ἐάν τ' αὐτοῦ βούληται Λύκων θάπτειν, ἐάν τ' ἐν οἴκῳ, οὕτω ποιείτω. πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ συνορᾶν τὸ εὔσχημον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα οἰκονομήσαντι κυρία ἔστω ἡ δόσις τῶν ἐνταῦθα. μάρτυρες Καλλῖνος Ἑρμιονεύς, Ἀρίστων Κεῖος, Εὐφρόνιος Παιανιεύς.

Οὕτω μέντοι αὐτῷ συνετῶς τὰ πάντα πράττοντι τά τε περὶ παιδείαν καὶ πάντας λόγους, οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τὰ τῶν διαθηκῶν τρόπον τινὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς τε καὶ οἰκονομικῶς ἴσχει· ὥστε κἀνταῦθα ζηλωτέος.

Κεφ. ε'. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

Δημήτριος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεύς. οὗτος ἤκουσε μὲν Θεοφράστου· δημηγορῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τῆς πόλεως ἐξηγήσατο ἔτη δέκα, καὶ εἰκόνων ἠξιώθη χαλκῶν ἑξήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὧν αἱ πλείους ἐφ' ἵππων ἦσαν καὶ ἁρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθεῖσαι ἐν οὐδὲ

τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις· τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδάσθη. ἄρξασθαι δ’ αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις, ὁπότε φυγὼν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦκεν Ἅρπαλος. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα τῇ πατρίδι ἐπολιτεύσατο. καὶ γὰρ προσόδοις καὶ κατασκευαῖς ηὔξησε τὴν πόλιν, καίπερ οὐκ εὐγενὴς ὤν.

ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κόνωνος οἰκίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φησίν, ἀλλ’ ἀστῇ καὶ εὐγενεῖ συνῴκει Λαμίᾳ τῇ ἐρωμένῃ, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ φησίν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Κλέωνος πεπονθέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἱστορεῖ. Δίδυμος δ’ ἐν Συμποσιακοῖς καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρον καὶ Λαμπιτὼ καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν φησιν ἀπό τινος ἑταίρας. λέγεται δ’ ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κομίσασθαι αὖθις παρὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος· ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τοὺς μέχρι νῦν ᾀδομένους.

Σφόδρα δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅμως ἐπεσκοτήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διεσθίοντος φθόνου.

ἐπιβουλευθεὶς γὰρ ὑπό τινων δίκην θανάτου οὐ παρὼν ὤφλεν. οὐ μὴν ἐκυρίευσαν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰὸν ἀπήρυγον εἰς τὸν χαλκόν, κατασπάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποδόμενοι, τὰς δὲ βυθίσαντες, τὰς δὲ κατακόψαντες εἰς ἀμίδας· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. μία δὲ μόνη σώζεται ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Δημητρίου κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραψαν ἀνομίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος.

Φησὶ δ’ αὐτὸν Ἕρμιππος μετὰ τὸν Κασάνδρου θάνατον φοβηθέντα Ἀντίγονον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐλθεῖν τὸν Σωτῆρα· κἀκεῖ χρόνον ἱκανὸν διατρίβοντα συμβουλεύειν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης περιθεῖναι παισί. τοῦ δὲ οὐ πεισθέντος, ἀλλὰ παραδόντος τὸ διάδημα τῷ ἐκ Βερενίκης, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἀξιωθῆναι πρὸς τούτου παραφυλάττεσθαι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μέχρι τι δόξει περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἀθυμότερον διῆγε· καί πως ὑπνώττων ὑπ’ ἀσπίδος τὴν χεῖρα δηχθεὶς τὸν βίον μεθῆκε. καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ πλησίον Διοσπόλεως.

Καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράψαμεν ἡμεῖς·
ἀνεῖλεν ἀσπὶς τὸν σοφὸν Δημήτριον

ἰὸν ἔχουσα πολὺν

ἄσμηκτον, οὐ στίλβουσα φῶς ἀπ’ ὀμμάτων,

ἀλλ’ ἀΐδην μέλανα.
Ἡρακλείδης δ’ ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Σωτίωνος Διαδοχῶν τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τὴν βασιλείαν θέλειν ἐκχωρῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· τὸν δ’ ἀποτρέπειν φάσκοντα, ἂν ἄλλῳ δῷς, σὺ οὐχ ἕξεις. ὁπηνίκα δ’ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναισ—μανθάνω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο—Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς παρ’ ὀλίγον ἦλθε κριθῆναι δι’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν παρῃτήσατο Τελεσφόρος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ Δημητρίου.

Πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ’ ὀντινοῦν· ὧν ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. ἔστι δὲ τὰ

Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.

Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολιτειῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ δημαγωγίας α′ β′.

Περὶ πολιτικῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ νόμων α′.

Περὶ ῥητορικῆς α′ β′.

Στρατηγικῶν α′ β′.

Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α′ β′.

Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Πτολεμαῖος α′.

Ερωτικὸς α′.

Φαιδώνδας α′.

Μαίδων α′.

Κλέων α′.

Σωκράτης α′.

Ἀρταξέρξης α′.

Ὁμηρικὸς α′.

Ἀριστείδης α′.

Ἀριστόμαχος α′.

Προτρεπτικὸς α′.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας α′.

Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας α′.

Περὶ τῶν Ἰώνων α′.

Πρεσβευτικὸς α′.

Περὶ πίστεως α′.

Περὶ χάριτος α′.

Περὶ τύχης α′.

Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α′.

Περὶ γάμου α′.

Περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦ α′.

Περὶ εἰρήνης α′.

Περὶ νόμων α′.

Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α′.

Περὶ καιροῦ α′.

Διονύσιος α′.

Χαλκιδικὸς α′.

Ἀθηναίων καταδρομὴ α′.

Περὶ Ἀντιφάνους α′.

Προοίμιον ἱστορικὸν α′.

Ἐπιστολαὶ α′.

Ἐκκλησία ἔνορκος α′.

Περὶ γήρως α′.

Δίκαια α′.

Αἰσωπείων α′.

Χρειῶν α′.

Χαρακτὴρ δὲ φιλόσοφος, εὐτονίᾳ ῥητορικῇ καὶ δυνάμει κεκραμένος. οὗτος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ κατέστρεψαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἔφη, δι’ ἣν ἐκείνας ἀνέστησαν. ἔλεγε μικρὸν μὲν εἶναι μέρος τὰς ὀφρῦς, ὅλῳ δ’ ἐπισκοτῆσαι τῷ βίῳ δύνασθαι. οὐ μόνον τὸν πλοῦτον ἔφη τυφλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὁδηγοῦσαν αὐτὸν τύχην. ὅσον ἐν πολέμῳ δύνασθαι σίδηρον, τοσοῦτον ἐν πολιτείᾳ ἰσχύειν λόγον. ἰδών ποτε νεανίσκον ἄσωτον, ἰδού, ἔφη, τετράγωνος Ἑρμῆς ἔχων σύρμα, κοιλίαν, αἰδοῖον, πώγωνα. τῶν τετυφωμένων ἀνδρῶν ἔφη τὸ μὲν ὕψος δεῖν περιαιρεῖν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα καταλείπειν. τοὺς νέους ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τοὺς γονέας αἰδεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτούς.

τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρακαλουμένους ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτομάτους. τοσαῦτα καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρεσθαι δοκεῖ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημήτριοι ἀξιόλογοι εἴκοσι· πρῶτος Χαλκηδόνιος, ῥήτωρ καὶ Θρασυμάχου πρεσβύτερος· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος Βυζάντιος, περιπατητικός· τέταρτος καλούμενος Γραφικὸς καὶ σαφὴς διηγήσασθαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ζωγράφος· πέμπτος Ἀσπένδιος, μαθητὴς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σολέως· ἕκτος Καλλατιανός, ὁ γεγραφὼς περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης εἴκοσι βίβλους· ἕβδομος Βυζάντιος, ἐν τρισκαίδεκα βιβλίοις γεγραφὼς τὴν Γαλατῶν διάβασιν ἐξ Εὐρώπης εἰς Ἀσίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ὀκτὼ τὰ περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν τῆς Λιβύης ὑπ’ αὐτῶν διοίκησιν·

ὄγδοος ὁ διατρίψας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ σοφιστής, τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικάς· ἔνατος Ἀδραμυττηνὸς γραμματικός, ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰξίων διὰ τὸ ἀδικῆσαί τι δοκεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἥραν· δέκατος Κυρηναῖος, γραμματικός, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Στάμνος, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος· ἑνδέκατος Σκήψιος, πλούσιος καὶ εὐγενὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ φιλόλογος ἄκρως· οὗτος καὶ Μητρόδωρον προεβίβασε τὸν πολίτην. δωδέκατος γραμματικὸς Ἐρυθραῖος, πολιτογραφηθεὶς ἐν τῇ Μνῷ· τρισκαιδέκατος Βιθυνὸς Διφίλου τοῦ στωϊκοῦ υἱός, μαθητὴς δὲ Παναιτίου τοῦ Ῥοδίου·

τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος ῥήτωρ Σμυρναῖος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν λογικοί. ποιηταὶ δὲ πρῶτος ἀρχαίαν κωμῳδίαν πεποιηκώς· δεύτερος ἐπῶν ποιητής, οὗ μόνα σώζεται πρὸς τοὺς φθονεροὺς εἰρημένα τάδε·
ζωὸν ἀτιμήσαντες ἀποφθίμενον ποθέουσι·

καί ποθ’ ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο καὶ ἀπνόου εἰδώλοιο

ἄστεα νεῖκος ἐπῆλθεν, ἔριν δ’ ἐστήσατο λαός.
τρίτος Ταρσικὸς σατυρογράφος· τέταρτος ἰάμβους γεγραφώς, πικρὸς ἀνήρ· πέμπτος ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων· ἕκτος Ἐρυθραῖος, ποικιλογράφος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς καὶ

ἱστορικὰ καὶ ῥητορικὰ πεποίηκε βιβλία.

Κεφ. σ΄. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

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

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης γ΄.

Ἓν δὲ περὶ σωφροσύνης

Περί τ᾽ εὐσεβείας ε΄ καὶ

Περὶ ἀνδρείας α΄.

Κοινῶς τε περὶ ἀρετῆς α΄ καὶ ἄλλο.

Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας α΄.

Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς α΄ καὶ

Νόμων α΄ καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις.

Περὶ ὀνομάτων α΄.

Συνθῆκαι α΄.

Ἀκούσιος α΄.

Ἐρωτικὸς καὶ Κλεινίας α΄.

Φυσικὰ δὲ

Περὶ νοῦ.

Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ

Περὶ φύσεως καὶ

Περὶ εἰδώλων.

Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ α΄.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου.

Περὶ βίων α΄ β΄.

Αἰτίαι περὶ νόσων α΄.

Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ α΄.

Πρὸς τὰ Ζήνωνος α΄.

Πρὸς τὰ Μήτρωνος α΄.

Γραμματικὰ δὲ

Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας α΄ β΄.

Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α′ β′.

Καὶ μουσικὰ δὲ

Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ μουσικῆς α′ β′.

Λύσεων Ὁμηρικῶν α′ β′.

Θεωρηματικὸν α′.

Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν α′.

Χαρακτῆρες α′.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν α′.

Περὶ στοχασμοῦ α′.

Προοπτικὸν α′.

Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ′.

Πρὸς τὸν Δημόκριτον ἐξηγήσεις α′.

Λύσεων ἐριστικῶν α′ β′.

Ἀξίωμα α′.

Περὶ εἰδῶν α′.

Λύσεις α′.

Ὑποθῆκαι α′.

Πρὸς Διονύσιον α′.

Ῥητορικὰ δὲ

Περὶ τοῦ ῥητορεύειν ἢ Πρωταγόρας.

Ἱστορικά·

Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ

Περὶ εὑρημάτων.

Τούτων τὰ μὲν κωμικῶς πέπλακεν, ὡς τὸ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Περὶ σωφροσύνης· τὰ δὲ τραγικῶς, ὡς τὸ Περὶ τῶν καθ’ ᾅδην καὶ τὸ Περὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ Περὶ ἐξουσίας.

Ἔστι δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ μεσότης τις ὁμιλητικὴ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ στρατηγικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γεωμετρικά ἐστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικά. ἄλλως τ’ ἐν ἅπασι ποικίλος τε καὶ διηρμένος τὴν λέξιν ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν ἱκανῶς δυνάμενος.

Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις. ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, κελεῦσαί τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὑτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβεβηκέναι.

ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ’ οἷος ἦν.

Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·
ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη,

ὥς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων.

ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θὴρ

ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θήρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὤν, ἑάλως.
ταῦτα δέ φησι καὶ Ἱππόβοτος.

Ἕρμιππος δὲ λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν φησὶν αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας τὴν Πυθίαν λύσιν. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλείδην διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τούς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τὴν προειρημένην, ὥστ’ ἀνειπεῖν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τοῦ κακοῦ, εἰ ζῶν μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Εὐθύφρονος χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθείη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ ὡς ἥρως τιμῷτο. ἐκομίσθη ὁ δῆθεν χρησμὸς καὶ οὐδὲν ὤναντο οἱ πλάσαντες αὐτόν. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἀπόπληκτος ἐγένετο, οἵ τε θεωροὶ καταλευσθέντες διεφθάρησαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Πυθία τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν κατιοῦσα ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον καὶ ἐπιστᾶσα ἑνὶ τῶν δρακόντων δηχθεῖσα παραχρῆμα ἀπέπνευσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν. Χαμαιλέων τε τὰ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ φησι κλέψαντα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου γράψαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Αὐτόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτῷ, τοῖς περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀντιλέγων. ἔτι καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Μεταθέμενος ἢ Σπίνθαρος, ὡς ἔνιοι γράψας τὸν Παρθενοπαῖον ἐπέγραψε Σοφοκλέους. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας εἴς τι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων ἐχρῆτο μαρτυρίοις ὡς Σοφοκλέους.

αἰσθόμενος δ’ ὁ Διονύσιος ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονός· τοῦ δ’ ἀρνουμένου καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος ἐπέστειλεν ἰδεῖν τὴν παραστιχίδα· καὶ εἶχε Πάγκαλος. οὗτος δ’ ἦν ἐρώμενος Διονυσίου· ὡς δ’ ἔτι ἀπιστῶν ἔλεγε κατὰ τὴν τύχην ἐνδέχεσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, πάλιν ἀντεπέστειλεν ὁ Διονύσιος ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα εὑρήσεις·

Α. γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἁλίσκεται πάγῃ·

Β. ἁλίσκεται μέν, μετὰ χρόνον δ’ ἁλίσκεται.

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις· Ἡρακλείδης γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίσταται οὐδ’ ᾐσχύνθη.

Γεγόνασι δ’ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πυρρίχας

καὶ φλυαρίας συντεταγμένος· τρίτος Κυμαῖος, γεγραφὼς Περσικὰ ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις· τέταρτος Κυμαῖος, ῥήτωρ τέχνας γεγραφώς· πέμπτος Καλλατιανὸς ἢ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὴν Διαδοχὴν ἐν ἓξ βιβλίοις καὶ Λεμβευτικὸν λόγον, ὅθεν καὶ Λέμβος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γεγραφὼς τὰ Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα· ἕβδομος διαλεκτικὸς Βαργυληῖτης, κατ’ Ἐπικούρου γεγραφώς· ὄγδοος ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἱκεσίου· ἔνατος ἰατρὸς Ταραντῖνος, ἐμπειρικός· δέκατος ποιητικός, παραινέσεις γεγραφώς· ἑνδέκατος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς Φωκαεύς· δωδέκατος ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴς λιγυρός· τρισκαιδέκατος Μάγνης, Μιθραδατικὰ γεγραφώς· τεσσαρεσκαι δέκατος ἀστρολογούμενα συγγεγραφώς.

ΒΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΙ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΟ ΕΚΤΟΝ

Κεφ. α’. ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους Ἀθηναῖος. ἐλέγετο δ’ οὐκ εἶναι ἰθαγενής· ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν Φρυγία ἐστίν. ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Θρᾴττης μητρός· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν Τανάγρᾳ κατὰ τὴν μάχην εὐδοκιμήσας ἔδωκε λέγειν Σωκράτει ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων οὕτω γεγόνοι γενναῖος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῷ γηγενεῖς εἶναι σεμνυνομένους ἐκφαυλίζων ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι κοχλιῶν καὶ ἀττελέβων εὐγενεστέρους.

Οὗτος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἤκουσε Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος· ὅθεν τὸ ῥητορικὸν εἶδος ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ἐπιφέρει καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς.

φησὶ δ’ Ἕρμιππος ὅτι προείλετο ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανηγύρει ψέξαι τε καὶ ἐπαινέσαι Ἀθηναίους, Θηβαίους, Λακεδαιμονίους· εἶτα μέντοι παραιτήσασθαι ἰδόντα πλείους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀφιγμένους.

Ὕστερον δὲ παρέβαλε Σωκράτει, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὤνατο αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρῄνει τοῖς μαθηταῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Σωκράτην συμμαθητάς. οἰκῶν τ’ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τοὺς τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀνιὼν ἤκουε Σωκράτους, παρ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ζηλώσας κατῆρξε πρῶτος τοῦ κυνισμοῦ. καὶ ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθὸν συνέστησε διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Κύρου, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλκύσας.

Πρῶτός τε ὡρίσατο λόγον εἰπών, λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ τὸ τί ἦν ἢ ἔστι δηλῶν. ἔλεγέ τε συνεχές, μανείην μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθείην· καὶ χρὴ τοιαύταις πλησιάζειν γυναιξὶν αἳ χάριν εἴσονται. πρός τε τὸ Ποντικὸν μειράκιον μέλλον φοιτᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ πυθόμενον τίνων αὐτῷ δεῖ, φησί, βιβλιαρίου καινοῦ καὶ γραφείου καινοῦ καὶ πινακιδίου καινοῦ, τὸν νοῦν παρεμφαίνων. πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐρόμενον ποδαπὴν γήμαι, ἔφη, ἂν μὲν καλήν, ἔξεις κοινήν, ἂν δὲ αἰσχράν, ἔξεις ποινήν. ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Πλάτων αὐτὸν κακῶς λέγει, βασιλικόν, ἔφη, καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν.

Μυούμενός ποτε τὰ Ὀρφικά, τοῦ ἱερέως εἰπόντος ὅτι οἱ ταῦτα μυούμενοι πολλῶν ἐν ᾅδου ἀγαθῶν μετίσχουσι, τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις; ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὡς οὐκ εἴη ἐκ δύο ἐλευθέρων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκ δύο, ἔφη, παλαιστικῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιστικός εἰμι. ἐρωτώμενος διὰ τί ὀλίγους ἔχει μαθητάς, ἔφη, ὅτι ἀργυρέᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκβάλλω ῥάβδῳ. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί πικρῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιπλήττει, καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, φησί, τοῖς κάμνουσιν. ἰδών ποτε μοιχὸν φεύγοντα, ὦ δυστυχής, εἶπε, πηλίκον κίνδυνον ὀβολοῦ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυες. κρεῖττον ἔλεγε, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εἰς κόρακας ἢ εἰς κόλακας ἐμπεσεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νεκρούς, οἱ δὲ ζῶντας ἐσθίουσιν.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μακαριώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, τὸ εὐτυχοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν. γνωρίμου ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποδυρομένου ὡς εἴη τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἀπολωλεκώς, ἔδει γάρ, ἔφη, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς χαρτίοις καταγράφειν. ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ τὸν σίδηρον, οὕτως ἔλεγε τοὺς φθονεροὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἤθους κατεσθίεσθαι. τοὺς βουλομένους ἀθανάτους εἶναι ἔφη δεῖν εὐσεβῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν. τότ’ ἔφη τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται τοὺς φαύλους ἀπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων διακρίνειν. ἐπαινούμενός ποτε ὑπὸ πονηρῶν, ἔφη, ἀγωνιῶ μή τι κακὸν εἴργασμαι.

Ὁμονοούντων ἀδελφῶν συμβίωσιν παντὸς ἔφη τείχους ἰσχυροτέραν εἶναι. τοιαῦτ’ ἔφη δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι ἐφόδια ἃ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συγκολυμβήσει. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτ’ ἐπὶ τῷ πονηροῖς συγγενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, φησί, μετὰ τῶν νοσούντων εἰσίν, ἀλλ’ οὐ πυρέττουσιν. ἄτοπον ἔφη τοῦ μὲν σίτου τὰς αἴρας ἐκλέγειν καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἀχρείους, ἐν δὲ πολιτείᾳ τοὺς πονηροὺς μὴ παραιτεῖσθαι. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, τὸ δύνασθαι ἑαυτῷ ὁμιλεῖν. εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τινος παρὰ πότον, ᾆσον, σὺ δέ μοι, φησίν, αὔλησον. Διογένει χιτῶνα αἰτοῦντι πτύξαι προσέταξε θοιμάτιον.

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν μαθημάτων ἀναγκαιότατον, τὸ περιαιρεῖν, ἔφη, τὸ ἀπομανθάνειν.

παρεκελεύετό τε κακῶς ἀκούοντας καρτερεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λίθοις τις βάλλοιτο.

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

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

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

Αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀνύτῳ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ Μελήτῳ τοῦ θανάτου.

Ποντικοῖς γὰρ νεανίσκοις κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Σωκράτους ἀφιγμένοις περιτυχὼν ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἄνυτον, εἰπὼν ἐν ἤθει σοφώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Σωκράτους· ἐφ' ᾧ διαγανακτήσαντας τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτόν. εἰ δέ ποθι θεάσαιτο γύναιον κεκοσμημένον, ἀπῄει ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξαγαγεῖν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἔχοι ταῦτα, ἐᾶν τρυφᾶν· ἀμυνεῖσθαι γὰρ τούτοις· εἰ δὲ μή, περιαιρεῖν τὸν κόσμον.

Ἤρεσκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε. διδακτὴν ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν ἀρετήν. τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐγενεῖς [τ]οὺς καὶ ἐναρέτους·

αὐτάρκη δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, μηδενὸς προσδεομένην ὅτι μὴ Σωκρατικῆς ἰσχύος. τήν τ' ἀρετὴν τῶν ἔργων εἶναι, μήτε λόγων πλείστων δεομένην μήτε μαθημάτων. αὐτάρκη τ' εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τήν τ' ἀδοξίαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἴσον τῷ πόνῳ. καὶ τὸν σοφὸν οὐ κατὰ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους πολιτεύσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς. γαμήσειν τε τεκνοποιίας χάριν, ταῖς εὐφυεστάταις συνιόντα γυναιξί. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δέ· μόνον γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν σοφὸν τίνων χρὴ ἐρᾶν.

Ἀναγράφει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Διοκλῆς ταυτί. τῷ σοφῷ ξένον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄπορον. ἀξιέραστος ὁ ἀγαθός· οἱ σπουδαῖοι φίλοι· συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐψύχους ἅμα καὶ δικαίους· ἀναφαίρετον ὅπλον ἡ ἀρετή· κρεῖττόν ἐστι μετ' ὀλίγων ἀγαθῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κακοὺς ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν κακῶν πρὸς ὀλίγους ἀγαθοὺς μάχεσθαι. προσέχειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· πρῶτοι γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αἰσθάνονται. τὸν δίκαιον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ συγγενοῦς· ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετή· τἀγαθὰ καλά, τὰ κακὰ αἰσχρά· τὰ πονηρὰ νόμιζε πάντα ξενικά.

Τεῖχος ἀσφαλέστατον φρόνησιν· μήτε γὰρ καταρρεῖν μήτε προδίδοσθαι. τείχη κατασκευαστέον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώτοις λογισμοῖς. διελέγετο δ' ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν πυλῶν· ὅθεν τινὲς καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομασθῆναι. αὐτός τ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἁπλοκύων. καὶ πρῶτος ἐδίπλωσε τὸν τρίβωνα, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆτο· βάκτρον τ' ἀνέλαβε

καὶ πήραν. πρῶτον δὲ καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶ διπλῶσαι θοιμάτιον. Σωσικράτης δ’ ἐν τρίτῃ Διαδοχῶν Διόδωρον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον, καὶ πώγωνα καθεῖναι καὶ πήρᾳ καὶ βάκτρῳ χρῆσθαι.

Τοῦτον μόνον ἐκ πάντων Σωκρατικῶν Θεόπομπος ἐπαινεῖ καί φησι δεινόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ δι’ ὁμιλίας ἐμμελοῦς ὑπαγαγέσθαι πάνθ’ ὁντινοῦν. δῆλον δ’ ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων κἀκ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος Συμποσίου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρωδεστάτης Στωικῆς κατάρξαι· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιὸς περὶ αὐτῶν φησὶν οὕτως·
ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα

δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,

τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν

μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας.

σαρκὸς δ’ ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,

ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.

Οὗτος ἠγήσατο καὶ τῆς Διογένους ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς Κράτητος ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῆς Ζήνωνος καρτερίας, αὐτὸς ὑποθέμενος τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ θεμέλια. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἥδιστον μὲν εἶναι περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας φησὶν αὐτόν, ἐγκρατέστατον δὲ περὶ τἄλλα.

Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα τόμοι δέκα· πρῶτος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ λέξεως ἢ περὶ χαρακτήρων.

Αἴας ἢ Αἴαντος λόγος.

Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως.

Ορέστου ἀπολογία ἢ περὶ τῶν δικογράφων.

Ἰσογραφὴ ἢ Λυσίας καὶ Ἰσοκράτης.

Πρὸς τὸν Ἰσοκράτους Ἀμάρτυρον.

Τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ ζῴων φύσεως.

Περὶ παιδοποιίας ἢ περὶ γάμου ἐρωτικός.

Περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός.

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας προτρεπτικὸς πρῶτος,
δεύτερος, τρίτος.

Περὶ Θεόγνιδος δ’ ε’.

Τόμος τρίτος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ.

Περὶ ἀνδρείας.

Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ πολιτείας.

Περὶ νόμου ἢ περὶ καλοῦ καὶ δικαίου.

Περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας.

Περὶ πίστεως.

Περὶ ἐπιτρόπου ἢ περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι.

Περὶ νίκης οἰκονομικός.

Τόμος τέταρτος ἐν ᾧ

Κῦρος.

Ἡρακλῆς ὁ μείζων ἢ περὶ ἰσχύος.

Τόμος πέμπτος ἐν ᾧ

Κῦρος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.

Ἀσπασία.

Τόμος ἕκτος ἐν ᾧ

Ἀλήθεια.

Περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἀντιλογικός.

Σάθων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ διαλέκτου.

Τόμος ἕβδομος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ παιδείας ἢ ὀνομάτων α′ β′ γ′ δ′ ε′.

Περὶ ὀνομάτων χρήσεως ἐριστικός.

Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως.

Περὶ δόξης καὶ ἐπιστήμης α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.

Περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου.

Περὶ φύσεως α′ β′.

Ἐρώτημα περὶ φύσεως β′.

Δόξαι ἢ ἐριστικός.

Περὶ τοῦ μανθάνειν προβλήματα.

Τόμος ὄγδοος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ μουσικῆς.

Περὶ ἐξηγητῶν.

Περὶ Ὁμήρου.

Περὶ ἀδικίας καὶ ἀσεβείας.

Περὶ Κάλχαντος.

Περὶ κατασκόπου.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς.

Τόμος ἔνατος ἐν ᾧ

Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας.

Περὶ τῆς ῥάβδου.

Αθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου.

Περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης.

Περὶ Πρωτέως.

Κύκλωψ ἢ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως.

Περὶ οἴνου χρήσεως ἢ περὶ μέθης ἢ περὶ τοῦ Κύκλωπος.

Περὶ Κίρκης.

Περὶ Ἀμφιαράου.

Περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυνός.

Τόμος δέκατος ἐν ᾧ

Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας.

Ἡρακλῆς ἢ περὶ φρονήσεως ἢ ἰσχύος.

Κῦρος ἢ ἐρώμενος.

Κῦρος ἢ κατάσκοποι.

Μενέξενος ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν.

Ἀλκιβιάδης.

Ἀρχέλαος ἢ περὶ βασιλείας.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ συνέγραψεν.

Ὧι Τίμων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιτιμῶν παντοφυῆ φλέδονά φησιν αὐτόν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἀρρωστίᾳ· ὅτε καὶ Διογένης εἰσιὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη, μήτι χρεία φίλου; καί ποτε παρ’ αὐτὸν ξιφίδιον ἔχων εἰσῄει. τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος, τίς ἂν ἀπολύσειέ με τῶν πόνων; δείξας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἔφη, τοῦτο· καὶ ὅς, τῶν πόνων, εἶπον, οὐ τοῦ ζῆν.

ἐδόκει γάρ πως μαλακώτερον φέρειν τὴν νόσον ὑπὸ φιλοζωίας. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·
τὸν βίον ἦσθα κύων, Ἀντίσθενες, ὧδε πεφυκὼς

ὥστε δακεῖν κραδίην ῥήμασιν, οὐ στόμασιν·

ἀλλ’ ἔθανες φθισικός, τάχ’ ἐρεῖ τις ἴσως· τί δὲ τοῦτο;

πάντως εἰς Ἀΐδην δεῖ τιν’ ὁδηγὸν ἔχειν.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀντισθένεις τρεῖς· Ἡρακλείτειος εἷς, καὶ ἕτερος Ἐφέσιος, καὶ Ῥόδιός τις ἱστορικός.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀπ’ Ἀριστίππου διεληλύθαμεν καὶ Φαίδωνος, νῦν ἐλκύσωμεν τοὺς ἀπ’ Ἀντισθένους κυνικούς τε καὶ στωικούς. καὶ ἐχέτω ὧδε.

Κεφ. β΄. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ

Διογένης Ἰκεσίου τραπεζίτου Σινωπεύς. φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς, δημοσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντος

τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ παραχαράξαντος τὸ νόμισμα, φυγεῖν. Εὐβουλίδης δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διογένους αὐτόν φησι Διογένην τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καὶ συναλᾶσθαι τῷ πατρί. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ αὑτοῦ φησιν ἐν τῷ Πορδάλῳ ὡς παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα. ἔνιοι δ’ ἐπιμελητὴν γενόμενον ἀναπεισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἢ εἰς τὸ Δήλιον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀπόλλωνος πυνθάνεσθαι εἰ ταῦτα πράξει ἅπερ ἀναπείθεται· τοῦ δὲ συγχωρήσαντος τὸ πολιτικὸν νόμισμα, οὐ συνείς, τὸ κέρμα ἐκιβδήλευσε καὶ φωραθείς, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐφυγαδεύθη, ὡς δέ τινες, ἑκὼν ὑπεξῆλθε φοβηθείς.

ἔνιοι δέ φασι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν λαβόντα τὸ νόμισμα διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δεθέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυγεῖν ἐλθεῖν τ’ εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ πυνθανόμενον οὐκ εἰ παραχαράξει, ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσας ἐνδοξότατος ἔσται, οὕτω λαβεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον.

Γενόμενος δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντισθένει παρέβαλε. τοῦ δὲ διωθουμένου διὰ τὸ μηδένα προσίεσθαι, ἐξεβιάζετο τῇ προσεδρίᾳ. καί ποτε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπανατειναμένου αὐτῷ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποσχών, παῖε, εἶπεν· οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσεις οὕτω σκληρὸν ξύλον ᾧ με ἀπείρξεις ἕως ἄν τι φαίνῃ λέγων. τοὐντεῦθεν διήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅτε φυγὰς ὢν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐτελῆ βίον.

Μῦν θεασάμενος διατρέχοντα, καθά φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Μεγαρικῷ, καὶ μήτε κοίτην ἐπιζητοῦντα μήτε σκότος εὐλαβούμενον ἢ ποθοῦντά τι τῶν δοκούντων ἀπολαυστῶν, πόρον ἐξεῦρε τῆς περιστάσεως. τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος κατά τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τ’ ἐκομίσατο, ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὰ σιτία ἦν, καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ ἐχρῆτο εἰς πάντα, ἀριστῶν τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ διαλεγόμενος. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασκε, δεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ Διὸς στοὰν καὶ τὸ Πομπεῖον, αὐτῷ κατεσκευακέναι ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

βακτηρίᾳ δ’ ἐπεστηρίζετο ἀσθενήσας· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἄστει, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ὁδὸν αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῇ πήρᾳ, καθά φησιν Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναίων προστατήσας καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Αἰσχρίωνος. ἐπιστείλας δέ τινι οἰκίδιον αὐτῷ προνοήσασθαι, βραδύνοντος, τὸν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ πίθον ἔσχεν οἰκίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς διασαφεῖ. καὶ θέρους μὲν ἐπὶ ψάμμου ζεστῆς ἐκυλινδεῖτο, χειμῶνος δ’ ἀνδριάντας κεχιονισμένους περιελάμβανε, πανταχόθεν ἑαυτὸν συνασκῶν.

Δεινός τ’ ἦν κατασοβαρεύσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐκλείδου σχολὴν ἔλεγε χολήν, τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβήν, τοὺς δὲ Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας μεγάλα θαύματα μωροῖς ἔλεγε καὶ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτε μὲν ἴδοι κυβερνήτας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους, συνετώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων νομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὅτε δὲ πάλιν ὀνειροκρίτας καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς προσέχοντας τούτοις ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ πεφυσημένους, οὐδὲν ματαιότερον νομίζειν ἀνθρώπου. συνεχές τε ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸν βίον παρεσκευάσθαι δεῖν λόγον ἢ βρόχον.

Καί ποτε Πλάτωνα ἐν δείπνῳ πολυτελεῖ καταοήσας ἐλάας ἀψάμενον, τί, φησίν, ὁ σοφὸς εἰς Σικελίαν πλεύσας τῶν τραπεζῶν τούτων χάριν, νῦν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἀπολαύεις; καὶ ὅς, ἀλλὰ νὴ τοὺς θεούς, φησί, Διόγενες, κἀκεῖ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἐλάας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγινόμην. ὁ δέ, τί οὖν ἔδει πλεῖν εἰς Συρακούσας; ἢ τότε ἡ Ἀττικὴ οὐκ ἔφερεν ἐλάας; Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ Ἀρίστιππον εἰπεῖν τοῦτο. καὶ ἄλλοτε ἰσχάδας ἐσθίων ἀπήντετ’ αὐτῷ φησί τε, ἔξεστί σοι μετασχεῖν· τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ φαγόντος, ἔφη, μετασχεῖν εἶπον, οὐ καταφαγεῖν.

Πατῶν αὐτοῦ ποτε τὰ στρώματα κεκληκότος φίλους παρὰ Διονυσίου, ἔφη, πατῶ τὴν Πλάτωνος κενοσπουδίαν· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Πλάτων, ὅσον, ὦ Διόγενες, τοῦ τύφου διαφαίνεις, δοκῶν μὴ τετυφῶσθαι. οἱ δέ φασι τὸν Διογένην εἰπεῖν, πατῶ τὸν Πλάτωνος τῦφον· τὸν δὲ φάναι, ἑτέρῳ γε τύφῳ, Διόγενες· Σωτίων δ’ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φησὶ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν κύνα.

Διογένης οἶνόν ποτ᾽ ᾔτησεν αὐτόν, τότε δὲ καὶ ἰσχάδας. ὁ δὲ κεράμιον ὅλον ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ· καὶ ὅς, σύ, φησίν, ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς δύο καὶ δύο πόσα ἐστίν, Εἴκοσιν ἀποκρινῇ; οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς τὰ αἰτούμενα δίδως οὔτε πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμεν᾽ ἀποκρίνῃ. ἔσκωψε δὴ ὡς ἀπεραντολόγον.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἴδοι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄνδρας μέν, εἶπεν, οὐδαμοῦ, παῖδας δ᾽ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. σπουδαιολογουμένῳ ποτὲ ὡς οὐδεὶς προσῄει, ἐπέβαλε τερετίζειν· ἀθροισθέντων δέ, ὠνείδισεν ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς φληνάφους ἀφικνουμένων σπουδαίως, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαῖα βραδυνόντων [ὀλιγώρως]. ἔλεγέ τε περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρορύττειν καὶ λακτίζειν ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, περὶ δὲ καλοκἀγαθίας μηδένα. τούς τε γραμματικοὺς ἐθαύμαζε τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως κακὰ ἀναζητοῦντας, τὰ δ᾽ ἴδια ἀγνοοῦντας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ λύρᾳ χορδὰς ἁρμόττεσθαι, ἀνάρμοστα δ᾽ ἔχειν τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ἤθη·

τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς ἀποβλέπειν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, τὰ δ᾽ ἐν ποσὶ πράγματα παρορᾶν· τοὺς ῥήτορας λέγειν μὲν ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ δίκαια, πράττειν δὲ μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς φιλαργύρους ψέγειν μὲν τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεραγαπᾶν δέ. κατεγίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαινούντων μὲν τοὺς δικαίους, ὅτι χρημάτων ἐπάνω εἶεν, ζηλούντων δὲ τοὺς πολυχρημάτους. ἐκίνει δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ θύειν μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ κατὰ τῆς ὑγιείας δειπνεῖν. ἄγασθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δούλων οἳ λαβροφαγοῦντας ὁρῶντες τοὺς δεσπότας μηδὲν ἁρπάζοιεν τῶν ἐσθιομένων.

ἐπῄνει τοὺς μέλλοντας γαμεῖν καὶ μὴ γαμεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας καταπλεῖν καὶ μὴ καταπλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς παιδοτροφεῖν καὶ μὴ παιδοτροφεῖν, καὶ τοὺς παρασκευαζομένους συμβιοῦν τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ μὴ προσιόντας. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ δεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκτείνειν μὴ συγκεκαμμένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις. φησὶ δὲ Μένιππος ἐν τῇ Διογένους Πράσει ὡς ἁλοὺς καὶ πωλούμενος ἠρωτήθη τί οἶδε ποιεῖν. ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀνδρῶν ἄρχειν· καὶ πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα, κήρυσσε, ἔφη, εἴ τις ἐθέλει δεσπότην αὐτῷ πρίασθαι. κωλυθεὶς καθίζεσθαι, οὐδέν, ἔφη, διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅπως ἂν κέοιντο πιπράσκεσθαι.

θαυμάζειν τ᾽ ἔφη εἰ χύτραν μὲν καὶ λοπάδα ὠνούμενοι κομποῦμεν· ἄνθρωπον δὲ μόνῃ τῇ ὄψει ἀρκούμεθα. ἔλεγε τῷ Ξενιάδῃ τῷ
πριαμένῳ αὐτόν, δεῖν πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ
δοῦλος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἰατρὸς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἦν
δοῦλος, πεισθῆναι ἂν αὐτῷ. Εὔβουλος δέ φησιν
ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Διογένους Πρᾶσις οὕτως
ἄγειν τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Ξενιάδου, μετὰ τὰ λοιπὰ
μαθήματα ἱππεύειν, τοξεύειν, σφενδονᾶν, ἀκοντίζειν·
ἔπειτ᾽ ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ οὐκ ἐπέτρεπε τῷ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀθλητικῶς ἄγειν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐρυθήματος
χάριν καὶ εὐεξίας.

Κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ παῖδες πολλὰ ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Διογένους, πᾶσάν τ᾽ ἔφοδον σύντομον πρὸς τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον ἐπήσκει. ἐν οἴκῳ τ᾽ ἐδίδασκε διακονεῖσθαι λιτῇ τροφῇ χρωμένους καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντας, ἐν χρῷ κουρίας τε καὶ ἀκαλλωπίστους εἰργάζετο καὶ ἀχίτωνας καὶ ἀνυποδήτους καὶ σιωπηλοὺς καὶ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς βλέποντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐξῆγε δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ κυνηγέσια. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Διογένους ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονέας αἰτητικῶς εἶχον. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτός φησι παρὰ τῷ Ξενιάδῃ καὶ γηρᾶσαι αὐτὸν καὶ θανόντα ταφῆναι πρὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα καὶ πυνθανομένου τοῦ Ξενιάδου πῶς αὐτὸν θάψειεν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον·

τοῦ δ’ ἐρομένου διὰ τί; ὅτι μετ’ ὀλίγον, εἶπε, μέλλει τὰ κάτω ἄνω στρέφεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἤδη τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὑψηλοὺς γίνεσθαι. εἰσαγαγόντος τινὸς αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον πολυτελῆ καὶ κωλύοντος πτύσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐχρέμψατο, εἰς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἔπτυσεν, εἰπὼν χείρονα τόπον μὴ εὑρηκέναι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀριστίππου φασί. φωνήσας ποτέ, ἰὼ ἄνθρωποι, [καὶ] συνελθόντων, καθίκετο τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, εἰπών, ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσα, οὐ καθάρματα, ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Χρειῶν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἴπερ Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ ἐγεγόνειν, ἠθέλησα ἂν Διογένης γενέσθαι.

Ἀναπήρους ἔλεγεν οὐ τοὺς κωφοὺς καὶ τυφλούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας πήραν. εἰσελθών ποτε ἡμιξύρητος εἰς νέων συμπόσιον, καθά φησι Μητροκλῆς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, πληγὰς ἔλαβε· μετὰ δὲ ἐγγράψας τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς λεύκωμα τῶν πληξάντων περιήει ἐξημμένος, ἕως αὐτοὺς ὕβρει περιέθηκε καταγινωσκομένους καὶ ἐπιπληττομένους. ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν κύνα εἶναι τῶν ἐπαινουμένων, ἀλλὰ μηδένα τολμᾶν τῶν ἐπαινούντων συνεξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, Πύθια νικῶ ἄνδρας, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἄνδρας, σὺ δ’ ἀνδράποδα.

Πρὸς τοὺς εἰπόντας, γέρων εἶ καὶ λοιπὸν ἄνες, τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ δόλιχον ἔτρεχον, πρὸς τῷ τέλει ἔδει με ἀνεῖναι καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖναι; κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ πρῴην αὐτῷ χάριν ἐγνωκέναι. γυμνοῖς ποσὶ χιόνα ἐπάτει καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἄνω προείρηται· καὶ ὠμὰ δὲ κρέα ἐπεχείρησε φαγεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ διῴκησε. κατέλαβέ ποτε Δημοσθένην τὸν ῥήτορα ἐν πανδοκείῳ ἀριστῶντα. τοῦ δ’ ὑποχωροῦντος, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ. ξένων δέ ποτε θεάσασθαι θελόντων Δημοσθένην, τὸν μέσον δάκτυλον ἐκτείνας, οὗτος ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγός.

ἐκβαλόντος δ’ ἄρτον τινὸς καὶ αἰσχυνομένου ἀνελέσθαι, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν νουθετῆσαι, κεράμου τράχηλον δήσας ἔσυρε διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ.

Μιμεῖσθαι ἔλεγε τοὺς χοροδιδασκάλους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ τόνον ἐνδιδόναι ἕνεκα τοῦ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἅψασθαι τοῦ προσήκοντος τόνου. τοὺς πλείστους ἔλεγε παρὰ δάκτυλον μαίνεσθαι· ἐὰν οὖν τις τὸν μέσον προτείνας πορεύηται, δόξει τῳ μαίνεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ τὸν λιχανόν, οὐκέτι. τὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια τοῦ μηδενὸς ἔλεγε πιπράσκεσθαι καὶ ἔμπαλιν· ἀνδριάντα γοῦν τρισχιλίων πιπράσκεσθαι, χοίνικα δ’ ἀλφίτων δύο χαλκῶν.

Τῷ πριαμένῳ αὐτὸν Ξενιάδῃ φησί, ἄγε ὅπως τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσεις. τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος,
ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,
εἰ δὲ ἰατρὸν ἐπρίω νοσῶν, οὐκ ἄν, ἔφη, αὐτῷ ἐπείθου, ἀλλ’ εἶπες ἂν ὡς ἄνω ποταμῶν χωροῦσι παγαί; ἤθελέ τις παρ’ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφεῖν· ὁ δέ οἱ σαπέρδην δοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν. ὡς δ’ ὑπ’ αἰδοῦς ῥίψας ἀπῆλθε, μετὰ χρόνον ὑπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ γελάσας λέγει, τὴν σὴν καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν σαπέρδης διέλυσε. Διοκλῆς δ’ οὕτως ἀναγράφει. εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ, ἐπίταττε ἡμῖν, Διόγενες, ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἡμιωβολίου τυρὸν ἐδίδου φέρειν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ, τὴν σήν, ἔφη, καὶ ἐμὴν φιλίαν ἡμιωβολίου τυρίδιον διαλέλυκε.

Θεασάμενός ποτε παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πῖνον ἐξέρριψε τῆς πήρας τὴν κοτύλην, εἰπών, παιδίον με νενίκηκεν εὐτελείᾳ. ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὸ τρυβλίον, ὁμοίως παιδίον θεασάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κατέαξε τὸ σκεῦος, τῷ κοίλῳ τοῦ ψωμίου τὴν φακῆν ὑποδεχόμενον. συνελογίζετο δὲ καὶ οὕτως· τῶν θεῶν ἐστι πάντα· φίλοι δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντ’ ἄρα ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν. θεασάμενός ποτε γυναῖκα ἀσχημονέστερον τοῖς θεοῖς προσπίπτουσαν, βουλόμενος αὐτῆς περιελεῖν τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζωίλος ὁ Περγαῖος, προσελθὼν εἶπεν, οὐκ εὐλαβῇ, ὦ γύναι, μή ποτε θεοῦ ὄπισθεν ἑστῶτος—πάντα γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλήρη—ἀσχημονήσῃς;

τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἀνέθηκε πλήκτην, ὃς τοὺς ἐπὶ στόμα πίπτοντας ἐπιτρέχων συνέτριβεν.

Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν τὰς τραγικὰς ἀρὰς αὐτῷ συνηντηκέναι· εἶναι γοῦν
ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,

πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τοὐφ’ ἡμέραν.
ἔφασκε δ’ ἀντιτιθέναι τύχῃ μὲν θάρσος, νόμῳ δὲ φύσιν, πάθει δὲ λόγον. ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ ἡλιουμένῳ αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιστάς φησιν, αἴτησόν με ὃ θέλεις. καὶ ὅς, ἀποσκότησόν μου, φησί. μακρά τινος ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βιβλίου ἄγραφόν τι παραδείξαντος θαρρεῖτε, ἔφη, ἄνδρες· γῆν ὁρῶ. πρὸς τὸν συλλογισάμενον ὅτι κέρατα ἔχει, ἀψάμενος τοῦ μετώπου, ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, οὐχ ὁρῶ.

ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι κίνησις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀναστὰς περιεπάτει. πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, ποσταῖος, ἔφη, πάρει ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; εὐνούχου μοχθηροῦ ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν, ὁ οὖν κύριος, ἔφη, τῆς οἰκίας ποῦ εἰσέλθῃ; τῷ μύρῳ τοὺς πόδας ἀλειψάμενος ἔφη ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀπιέναι τὸ μύρον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ὄσφρησιν. ἀξιούντων Ἀθηναίων μυηθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἐν ᾅδου προεδρίας οἱ μεμυημένοι τυγχάνουσι, γελοῖον, ἔφη, εἰ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ διάξουσιν, εὐτελεῖς δέ τινες μεμυημένοι ἐν ταῖς μακάρων νήσοις ἔσονται.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἑρπύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν μῦς, ἰδού, φησί, καὶ Διογένης παρασίτους τρέφει. Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος αὐτὸν κύνα, ναί, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπανῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας. ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου ἐξιὼν τῷ μὲν πυθομένῳ εἰ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι λοῦνται, ἠρνήσατο· τῷ δ’, εἰ πολὺς ὄχλος, ὡμολόγησε. Πλάτωνος ὁρισαμένου, Ἄνθρωπός ἐστι ζῷον δίπουν ἄπτερον, καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος, τίλας ἀλεκτρυόνα εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σχολὴν καί φησιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνος ἄνθρωπος. ὅθεν τῷ ὅρῳ προσετέθη τὸ πλατυώνυχον. πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ δεῖ ἀριστᾶν, εἰ μὲν πλούσιος, ἔφη, ὅταν θέλῃ· εἰ δὲ πένης, ὅταν ἔχῃ.

Ἐν Μεγάροις ἰδὼν τὰ μὲν πρόβατα τοῖς δέρμασιν ἐσκεπασμένα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν γυμνούς, ἔφη, λυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι Μεγαρέως κριὸν εἶναι ἢ υἱόν. πρὸς τὸν ἐντινάξαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, φύλαξαι, πάλιν γάρ με, ἔφη, παίειν μέλλεις; ἔλεγε τοὺς μὲν δημαγωγοὺς ὄχλου διακόνους, τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους δόξης ἐξανθήματα. λύχνον μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἅψας περιῄει λέγων ἄνθρωπον ζητῶ. εἰστήκει ποτε κατακρουνιζόμενος· τῶν δὲ περιεστώτων ἐλεούντων, παρὼν Πλάτων ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθ’ αὐτὸν ἐλεῆσαι, ἀπόστητε, ἐνδεικνύμενος φιλοδοξίαν αὐτοῦ. ἐντρίψαντος αὐτῷ κόνδυλόν τινος, Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη, οἷόν με χρῆμ’ ἐλάνθανε τὸ μετὰ περικεφαλαίας περιπατεῖν.

ἀλλὰ καὶ Μειδίου κονδυλίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ, τῇ ἑξῆς πυκτικοὺς λαβὼν ἱμάντας καὶ καταλοήσας αὐτὸν ἔφη, τρισχίλιαί σοι κεῖνται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ. Λυσίου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου πυθομένου εἰ θεοὺς νομίζει, πῶς δέ, εἶπεν, οὐ νομίζω, ὅπου καὶ σὲ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν ὑπολαμβάνω; οἱ δὲ Θεόδωρον εἰπεῖν τοῦτο. ἰδών τινα περιρραινόμενον ἐπεῖπεν, ὦ κακόδαιμον, οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ὥσπερ τῶν ἐν γραμματικῇ ἁμαρτημάτων περιρραινόμενος οὐκ ἂν ἀπαλλαγείης, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ; ἐνεκάλει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς, αἰτεῖσθαι λέγων αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα καὶ οὐ τὰ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν.

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὰ ὀνείρατα ἐπτοημένους ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν πράττουσιν ὕπαρ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφονται, ὑπὲρ ὧν δὲ καθεύδοντες φαντασιοῦνται, πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. Ὀλυμπίασι τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, νικᾷ Διώξιππος ἄνδρας, οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀνδράποδα, ἄνδρας δ’ ἐγώ.

Ἠγαπᾶτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· μειρακίου γοῦν τὸν πίθον αὐτοῦ συντρίψαντος, τῷ μὲν πληγὰς ἔδοσαν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἄλλον παρέσχον. φησὶ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ στωικὸς ὡς μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν

συλληφθεὶς ἀπήχθη πρὸς Φίλιππον· καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς ὅστις εἴη, ἀπεκρίνατο, κατάσκοπος τῆς σῆς ἀπληστίας· ὅθεν θαυμασθεὶς ἀφείθη.

Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ πέμψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Ἀθήνας διά τινος Ἀθλίου, παρὼν ἔφη·
ἄθλιος παρ’ ἀθλίου δι’ ἀθλίου πρὸς ἄθλιον.

Περδίκκου ἀπειλήσαντος, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀποκτενεῖν, ἔφη, οὐδὲν μέγα· καὶ γὰρ κάνθαρος καὶ φαλάγγιον τοῦτ’ ἂν πράξειεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπειλεῖν ἠξίου ὡς εἰ καὶ χωρὶς ἐμοῦ ζήσαι, εὐδαιμόνως ζήσοιτο. ἐβόα πολλάκις λέγων τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ῥᾴδιον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδόσθαι, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δ’ αὐτῶν ζητούντων μελίπηκτα καὶ μύρα καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. ὅθεν πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκέτου ὑποδούμενον, οὔπω, εἶπε, μακάριος εἶ, ἂν μή σε καὶ ἀπομύξῃ· τοῦτο δ’ ἔσται πηρωθέντι σοι τὰς χεῖρας.

Θεασάμενός ποτε τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας τῶν ταμιῶν τινα φιάλην ὑφῃρημένον ἀπάγοντας ἔφη, οἱ μεγάλοι κλέπται τὸν μικρὸν ἀπάγουσι. θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον λίθους βάλλον ἐπὶ σταυρόν, εὖγε, εἶπε, τεύξῃ γὰρ τοῦ σκοποῦ. πρὸς τὰ περιστάντα μειράκια καὶ εἰπόντα, βλέπωμεν μὴ δάκῃ ἡμᾶς, θαρρεῖτε, ἔφη, παιδία· κύων τευτλία οὐκ ἐσθίει. πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λεοντῇ θρυπτόμενον, παῦσαι, ἔφη, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς στρώματα καταισχύνων. πρὸς τὸν μακαρίζοντα Καλλισθένην καὶ λέγοντα ὡς πολυτελῶν παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετέχει, κακοδαίμων μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, εἶπεν, ὃς καὶ ἀριστᾷ καὶ δειπνεῖ ὅταν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξῃ.

Χρημάτων δεόμενος ἀπαιτεῖν ἔλεγε τοὺς φίλους, οὐκ αἰτεῖν. ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, εἴθε, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἦν παρατρίψαντα μὴ πεινῆν. μειράκιον θεασάμενος μετὰ σατραπῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀπιόν, ἀποσπάσας πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπήγαγε καὶ ἐκέλευσε τηρεῖν. πρὸς τὸ κεκοσμημένον μειράκιον πυθόμενόν τι ἔφη οὐ πρότερον λέξειν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ἀνασυράμενος δείξειε πότερον γυνή ἐστιν ἢ ἀνήρ. πρὸς τὸ κοτταβίζον ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ μειράκιόν φησιν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον, τοσούτῳ χεῖρον. ἐν δείπνῳ προσερρίπτουν αὐτῷ τινες ὀστάρια ὡς κυνί· καὶ ὃς ἀπαλλαττόμενος προσεούρησεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κύων.

Τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐνδοξολογοῦντας τρισανθρώπους ἀπεκάλει ἀντὶ τοῦ τρισαθλίους. τὸν ἀμαθῆ πλούσιον πρόβατον εἶπε χρυσόμαλλον. θεασάμενος ἐπὶ ἀσώτου οἰκίᾳ ἐπιγεγραμμένον, πράσιμος, ᾔδειν, εἶπεν, ὅτι οὕτω κραιπαλῶσα ῥᾳδίως ἐξεμέσοις τὸν κεκτημένον. πρὸς τὸ καταιτιώμενον μειράκιον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοχλούντων, παῦσαι γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ τὰ δείγματα τοῦ πασχητιῶντος περιφέρων. πρὸς τὸ ῥυπαρὸν βαλανεῖον, οἱ ἐνθάδε, ἔφη, λουσάμενοι ποῦ λοῦνται; παχέος κιθαρῳδοῦ πρὸς πάντων μεμφομένου αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπῄνει· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, ἔφη, ὅτι τηλικοῦτος ὢν κιθαρῳδεῖ καὶ οὐ λῃστεύει.

Τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἀεὶ καταλειπόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἠσπάσατο, χαῖρε ἀλέκτορ· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἔφη, ᾄδων πάντας ἐγείρεις. μειρακίου ἐπιδεικνυμένου πληρώσας τὸ προκόλπιον θέρμων ἀντικρὺ ἔκαπτε· τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη πῶς ἐκεῖνον ἀφέντες εἰς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι. λέγοντος δ’ αὐτῷ τινος ἰσχυρῶς δεισιδαίμονος, μιᾷ πληγῇ τὴν κεφαλήν σου διαρρήξω, ἐγὼ δέ γε, εἶπε, πταρὼν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τρέμειν σε ποιήσω. Ἡγησίου παρακαλοῦντος χρῆσαί τι αὐτῷ τῶν συγγραμμάτων, μάταιος, ἔφη, τυγχάνεις, ὦ Ἡγησία, ὃς ἰσχάδας μὲν γραπτὰς οὐχ αἱρῇ, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀληθινάς· ἄσκησιν δὲ παριδὼν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην ὁρμᾷς.

Πρός τε τὸν ὀνειδίσαντα αὐτῷ τὴν φυγήν, ἀλλὰ τούτου γ’ ἕνεκεν, εἶπεν, ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἐφιλοσόφησα. καὶ πάλιν εἰπόντος τινός, Σινωπεῖς σου φυγὴν κατέγνωσαν, ἐγὼ δέ γε, εἶπεν, ἐκείνων μονήν. ἰδών ποτ’ Ὀλυμπιονίκην πρόβατα νέμοντα, ταχέως, εἶπεν, ὦ βέλτιστε, μετέβης

ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐπὶ τὰ Νέμεα. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἀναίσθητοί εἰσιν, ἔφη, ὅτι κρέασιν ὑείοις καὶ βοείοις ἀνῳκοδόμηνται. ᾔτει ποτὲ ἀνδριάντα· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί τοῦτο ποιεῖ, μελετῶ, εἶπεν, ἀποτυγχάνειν. αἰτῶν τινα—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐποίει διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν —ἔφη, εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῳ δέδωκας, δὸς κἀμοί· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἄρξαι.

Ἐρωτηθείς ποτε ὑπὸ τυράννου ποῖος εἴη ἀμείνων χαλκὸς εἰς ἀνδριάντα, ἔφη, ἀφ᾽ οὗ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐχαλκεύθησαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς χρῆται Διονύσιος τοῖς φίλοις, ἔφη, ὡς θυλάκοις, τοὺς μὲν πλήρεις κρημνῶν, τοὺς δὲ κενοὺς ῥίπτων. νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν,
ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς

ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ. μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν·
ἐπέγραψε· μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία. τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν. ἄσωτον θεασάμενος ἐν πανδοκείῳ ἐλάας ἐσθίοντ᾽ ἔφη, εἰ οὕτως ἠρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδείπνεις.

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θεῶν εἰκόνας εἶναι· τὸν ἔρωτα σχολαζόντων ἀσχολίαν. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἄθλιον ἐν βίῳ, ἔφη, γέρων ἄπορος. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν θηρίων κάκιστα δάκνει, ἔφη, τῶν μὲν ἀγρίων συκοφάντης, τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων κόλαξ. ἰδών ποτε δύο κενταύρους κάκιστα ἐζωγραφημένους ἔφη· πότερος τούτων Χείρων ἐστί; τὸν πρὸς χάριν λόγον ἔφη μελιτίνην ἀγχόνην εἶναι. τὴν γαστέρα Χάρυβδιν ἔλεγε τοῦ βίου. ἀκούσας ποτὲ ὅτι Διδύμων ὁ αὐλητὴς μοιχὸς ἑάλω, ἄξιος, ἔφη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί τὸ χρυσίον χλωρόν ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὅτι πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ἰδὼν γυναῖκα ἐν φορείῳ, οὐ κατὰ τὸ θηρίον, ἔφη, ἡ γαλεάγρα.

Ἰδών ποτε δραπέτην ἐπὶ φρέατι καθήμενον ἔφη, μειράκιον, βλέπε μὴ ἐμπέσῃς. ἰδὼν [μειρακύλλιον] ἱματιοκλέπτην ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἔφη, ἐπ᾽ ἀλειμμάτιον ἢ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ἱμάτιον; ἰδών ποτε γυναῖκας ἀπ᾽ ἐλαίας ἀπηγχονισμένας, εἴθε γάρ, ἔφη, πάντα τὰ δένδρα τοιοῦτον καρπὸν ἤνεγκεν. ἰδὼν λωποδύτην ἔφη,

τἰπτε σὺ ὦδε, φέριστε;

ἦ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων;
ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ παιδισκάριον ἢ παιδάριον ἔχοι, ἔφη, οὔ· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ἐὰν οὖν ἀποθάνῃς, τίς σε ἐξοίσει; ἔφη, ὁ χρῄζων τῆς οἰκίας.

Μειράκιον εὔμορφον ἀφυλάκτως ἰδὼν κοιμώμενον, νύξας, ἐπέγειραι, ἔφη,
μή τίς τοι εὕδοντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πήξῃ.
πρὸς τὸν πολυτελῶς ὀψωνοῦντα,
ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἷ᾽ ἀγοράζεις;
Πλάτωνος περὶ ἰδεῶν διαλεγομένου καὶ ὀνομάζοντος τραπεζότητα καὶ κυαθότητα, ἐγώ, εἶπεν, ὦ Πλάτων, τράπεζαν μὲν καὶ κύαθον ὁρῶ· τραπεζότητα δὲ καὶ κυαθότητα οὐδαμῶς· καὶ ὅς, κατὰ λόγον, ἔφη· οἷς μὲν γὰρ κύαθος καὶ τράπεζα θεωρεῖται, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχεις· ᾧ δὲ τραπεζότης καὶ κυαθότης βλέπεται, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχεις.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος, ποῖός τίς σοι Διογένης δοκεῖ ; Σωκράτης, εἶπε, μαινόμενος. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποίῳ καιρῷ δεῖ γαμεῖν, ἔφη, τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέπω, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδεπώποτε. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί θέλοι κονδύλου λαβεῖν, περικεφαλαίαν, ἔφη. μειράκιον ἰδὼν καλλωπιζόμενον ἔφη, εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀτυχεῖς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας, ἀδικεῖς. ἰδών ποτε μειράκιον ἐρυθριῶν, θάρρει, ἔφη· τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ χρῶμα. δυοῖν ποτε νομικοῖν ἀκούσας τοὺς δύο κατέκρινεν, εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν κεκλοφέναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀπολωλεκέναι. ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖον οἶνον ἡδέως

πίνει, ἔφη, τὸν ἀλλότριον. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, πολλοί σου καταγελῶσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐγώ, ἔφη, οὐ καταγελῶμαι.

Πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῆν, οὐ τὸ ζῆν, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κακῶς ζῆν. πρὸς τοὺς συμβουλεύοντας τὸν ἀποδράντα αὐτοῦ δοῦλον ζητεῖν, γελοῖον, ἔφη, εἰ Μάνης μὲν χωρὶς Διογένους ζῇ, Διογένης δὲ χωρὶς Μάνου οὐ δυνήσεται. ἀριστῶν ἐλάας, πλακοῦντος ἐπεισενεχθέντος, ῥίψας φησίν,
ὦ ξένε, τυράννοις ἐκποδὼν μεθίστασο·
καὶ ἄλλοτε,
μάστιξεν δ’ ἐλάαν.
ἐρωτηθεὶς ποταπὸς εἴη κύων; ἔφη πεινῶν μὲν Μελιταῖος, χορτασθεὶς δὲ Μολοττικός, τούτων οὓς ἐπαινοῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ οὐ τολμῶσι διὰ τὸν πόνον συνεξιέναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν· οὕτως οὐδ’ ἐμοὶ δύνασθε συμβιοῦν διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ οἱ σοφοὶ πλακοῦντα ἐσθίουσι, πάντα, εἶπεν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἄνθρωποι. ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί προσαίταις μὲν ἐπιδιδόασι, φιλοσόφοις δὲ οὔ, ἔφη, ὅτι χωλοὶ μὲν καὶ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι ἐλπίζουσι, φιλοσοφῆσαι δ’ οὐδέποτε. φιλάργυρον ᾔτει· τοῦ δὲ βραδύνοντος, ἄνθρωπε, εἶπεν, εἰς τροφήν σε αἰτῶ, οὐκ εἰς ταφήν. ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ἐπὶ τῷ παραχαράξαι τὸ νόμισμα ἔφη, ἦν ποτε χρόνος ἐκεῖνος ὅτ’ ἤμην ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος ὁποῖος σὺ νῦν· ὁποῖος δ’ ἐγὼ νῦν, σὺ οὐδέποτε. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνειδίσαντα, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεούρουν θᾶττον, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὔ.

Εἰς Μύνδον ἐλθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος μεγάλας τὰς πύλας, μικρὰν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, ἄνδρες Μύνδιοι, ἔφη, κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μὴ ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἐξέλθῃ. θεασάμενός ποτε πορφυροκλέπτην πεφωραμένον ἔφη,
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή.
Κρατέρου ἀξιοῦντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι, ἔφη, ἐν Ἀθήναις ἅλα λείχειν ἢ παρὰ Κρατέρῳ τῆς πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ἀπολαύειν. Ἀναξιμένει τῷ ῥήτορι παχεῖ ὄντι προσελθών, ἐπίδος καὶ ἡμῖν, ἔφη, τοῖς πτωχοῖς τῆς γαστρός· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς κουφισθήσῃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελήσεις. διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τάριχος προτείνας περιέσπασε τοὺς ἀκροατάς· ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ, τὴν Ἀναξιμένους, ἔφη, διάλεξιν ὀβολοῦ τάριχος διαλέλυκεν.

Ὀνειδιζόμενός ποτε ὅτι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἔφαγεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἐπείνησα. ἔνιοι δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι κἀκεῖνο, ὅτι Πλάτων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνοντα, προσελθὼν ἡσυχῇ εἴποι αὐτῷ· εἰ Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες· τὸν δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὁμοίως ἡσυχῇ, καὶ σὺ εἰ λάχανα ἔπλυνες, οὐκ ἂν Διονύσιον ἐθεράπευες. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οἱ πλείους σου καταγελῶσι, κἀκείνων τυχόν, εἶπεν, οἱ ὄνοι· ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὄνων ἐπιστρέφονται, οὔτ’ ἐγὼ ἐκείνων. θεασάμενός ποτε μειράκιον φιλοσοφοῦν, εὖγε, εἶπεν, ὅτι τοὺς τοῦ σώματος ἐραστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς κάλλος μετάγεις.

Θαυμάζοντός τινος τὰ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα, ἔφη, πολλῷ ἂν ἦν πλείω εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνετίθεσαν· οἱ δὲ τοῦτο Διαγόρου φασὶ τοῦ Μηλίου. εὐμόρφῳ μειρακίῳ ἀπιόντι εἰς συμπόσιον ἔφη, χείρων ἐπανήξεις· τοῦ δ’ ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς εἰπόντος, καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ χείρων οὐκ ἐγενόμην, ἔφη, Χείρων μὲν οὔ, Εὐρυτίων δέ. δύσκολον ᾔτει· τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος, ἐάν με πείσῃς· ἔφη, εἴ σε ἐδυνάμην πεῖσαι, ἔπεισα ἄν σε ἀπάγξασθαι. ἐπανήρχετο ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος εἰς Ἀθήνας· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον, ποῖ καὶ πόθεν; ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος, εἶπεν, εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν.

Ἐπανῄει ἀπ’ Ὀλυμπίων· πρὸς οὖν τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ ὄχλος εἴη πολύς, πολὺς μέν, εἶπεν, ὁ ὄχλος, ὀλίγοι δ’ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. τοὺς ἀσώτους εἶπε παραπλησίους εἶναι συκαῖς ἐπὶ κρημνῷ πεφυκυίαις, ὧν τοῦ καρποῦ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐκ ἀπογεύεται, κόρακες δὲ καὶ γῦπες ἐσθίουσι. Φρύνης

Ἀφροδίτην χρυσῆν ἀναθείσης ἐν Δελφοῖς φασὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψαι, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας. Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπόντος, ἐγώ εἰμι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς, κἀγώ, φησί, Διογένης ὁ κύων. ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ποιῶν κύων καλεῖται, ἔφη, τοὺς μὲν διδόντας σαίνων, τοὺς δὲ μὴ διδόντας ὑλακτῶν, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δάκνων.

Ἀπὸ συκῆς ὠπώριζε· τοῦ δὲ φυλάττοντος εἰπόντος, αὐτόθεν πρῴην ἄνθρωπος ἀπήγξατο, ἐγὼ οὖν, φησίν, αὐτὴν καθαρῶ. ἰδὼν Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἰς ἑταίραν πυκνότερον ἀτενίζοντα, ἴδε, ἔφη, κριὸν Ἀρειμάνιον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος κορασίου τραχηλίζεται. τὰς εὐπρεπεῖς ἑταίρας ἔλεγε θανασίμῳ μελικράτῳ παραπλησίας εἶναι. ἀριστῶντι αὐτῷ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οἱ περιεστῶτες συνεχὲς ἔλεγον, κύον· ὁ δέ, ὑμεῖς, εἶπεν, ἐστὲ κύνες, οἵ με ἀριστῶντα περιεστήκατε. δύο μαλακῶν περικρυπτομένων αὐτὸν ἔφη, μὴ εὐλαβεῖσθε· κύων τευτλία οὐ τρώγει. περὶ παιδὸς πεπορνευκότος ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, Τεγεάτης, ἔφη.

ἀφυῆ παλαιστὴν θεασάμενος ἰατρεύοντα ἔφη, τί τοῦτο; ἢ ἵνα τούς ποτέ σε νικήσαντας νῦν καταβάλῃς; θεασάμενος υἱὸν ἑταίρας λίθον εἰς ὄχλον βάλλοντα, πρόσεχε, ἔφη, μὴ τὸν πατέρα πλήξῃς.

Δείξαντος αὐτῷ παιδαρίου μάχαιραν ἣν εἰλήφει παρ’ ἐραστοῦ, ἡ μὲν μάχαιρα, ἔφη, καλή, ἡ δὲ λαβὴ αἰσχρά· ἐπαινούντων τινῶν τὸν ἐπιδόντα αὐτῷ ἔφη, ἐμὲ δ’ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖτε τὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν. ἀπαιτούμενος ὑπό τινος τρίβωνα ἔφη, εἰ μὲν ἐχαρίσω, ἔχω· εἰ δ’ ἔχρησας, χρῶμαι. ὑποβολιμαίου τινὸς εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι χρυσὸν ἔχοι ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, ναί, ἔφη, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὑποβεβλημένος κοιμᾷ.

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας, ἔφη, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν πρὸς πᾶσαν τύχην παρεσκευάσθαι. ἐρωτηθεὶς πόθεν εἴη, κοσμοπολίτης, ἔφη. θυόντων τινῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ἔφη, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποδαπὸς ἐκβῇ οὐ θύετε; ἔρανόν ποτ’ ἀπαιτούμενος πρὸς τὸν ἐρανάρχην ἔφη,
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐράνιζ’, ἀπὸ δ’ Ἕκτορος ἴσχεο χεῖρας.

Τὰς ἑταίρας ἔφη βασιλέων εἶναι βασιλίσσας· πράττειν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ αὐταῖς. ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, κἀμέ, ἔφη, Σάραπιν ποιήσατε. πρὸς τὸν ὀνειδίζοντα ὅτι εἰς τόπους ἀκαθάρτους εἰσίοι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς ἀποπάτους, ἀλλ’ οὐ μιαίνεται.

Ἐν ἱερῷ δειπνῶν, μεταξὺ ῥυπαρῶν ἄρτων παρατεθέντων, ἄρας αὐτοὺς ἔρριψεν, εἰπὼν εἰς ἱερὸν μηδὲν δεῖν ῥυπαρὸν εἰσιέναι. πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οὐδὲν εἰδὼς φιλοσοφεῖς, ἔφη, εἰ καὶ προσποιοῦμαι σοφίαν, καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν ἐστι. πρὸς τὸν συνιστάντα τὸν παῖδα καὶ λέγοντα ὡς εὐφυέστατός ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἤθη κράτιστος, τί οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐμοῦ χρῄζει; τοὺς λέγοντας μὲν τὰ σπουδαῖα, μὴ ποιοῦντας δέ, ἔλεγε μηδὲν διαφέρειν κιθάρας· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην μήτ’ ἀκούειν μήτ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι. εἰς θέατρον εἰσῄει ἐναντίος τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί, τοῦτο, ἔφη, ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ ἐπιτηδεύω ποιεῖν.

Ἰδών ποτε νεανίσκον θηλυνόμενον, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ἔφη, χείρονα τῆς φύσεως περὶ σεαυτοῦ βουλευόμενος; ἡ μὲν γάρ σε ἄνδρα ἐποίησε, σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν βιάζῃ γυναῖκα εἶναι. ἰδὼν ἄφρονα ψαλτήριον ἁρμοζόμενον οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ἔφη, τοὺς μὲν φθόγγους τῷ ξύλῳ προσαρμόττων, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν βίον μὴ ἁρμόττων; πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, ἀνεπιτήδειός εἰμι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, τί οὖν, ἔφη, ζῇς, εἰ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν μὴ μέλει σοι; πρὸς τὸν καταφρονοῦντα τοῦ πατρός, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ἔφη, καταφρονῶν τούτου δι’ ὃν μέγα φρονεῖς; ἰδὼν εὐπρεπῆ νεανίσκον ἀπρεπῶς λαλοῦντα, οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ἔφη, ἐξ ἐλεφαντίνου κολεοῦ μολυβδίνην ἕλκων μάχαιραν;

Ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι ἐν καπηλείῳ πίνει, καὶ γὰρ ἐν κουρείῳ, φησί, κείρομαι. ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι παρ’ Ἀντιπάτρου τριβώνιον ἔλαβεν, ἔφη,

οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ’ ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα.

Πρὸς τὸν ἐνσείσαντα αὐτῷ δοκόν, εἶτα εἰπόντα, φύλαξαι, πλήξας αὐτὸν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ εἶπε, φύλαξαι. πρὸς τὸν λιπαροῦντα τὴν ἑταίραν, τί θέλεις, ἔφη, τυχεῖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, οὗ τὸ ἀποτυχεῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστι; πρὸς τὸν μυριζόμενον, βλέπε, εἶπε, μὴ ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου εὐωδία δυσωδίαν σου τῷ βίῳ παράσχῃ. τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἔφη τοῖς δεσπόταις, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύειν.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί ἀνδράποδα ἐκλήθη, ὅτι, φησί, τοὺς πόδας ἀνδρῶν εἶχον, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὁποίαν σὺ νῦν ὁ ἐξετάζων. ἄσωτον ᾔτει μνᾶν· πυθομένου δὲ διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὀβολὸν αἰτεῖ, αὐτὸν δὲ μνᾶν, ὅτι, εἶπε, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάλιν ἐλπίζω λαβεῖν, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται εἰ πάλιν λήψομαι. ὀνειδιζόμενος ὅτι αὐτὸς αἰτεῖ, Πλάτωνος μὴ αἰτοῦντος, κἀκεῖνος, εἶπεν, αἰτεῖ, ἀλλ’
ἄγχι σχὼν κεφαλήν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοίαθ’ οἱ ἄλλοι.
ἰδὼν τοξότην ἀφυῆ παρὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν, εἰπών, ἵνα μὴ πληγῶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἔφη πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀτυχεῖν.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος, πῶς, εἶπε, κακός, οὗ παρόντος οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα; πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα καὶ εἰπόντα, οὐ φοβῇ με; τί γάρ, εἶπεν, εἶ; ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν; τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ἀγαθόν, τίς οὖν, εἶπε, τὸ ἀγαθὸν φοβεῖται; τὴν παιδείαν εἶπε τοῖς μὲν νέοις σωφροσύνην, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις παραμυθίαν, τοῖς δὲ πένησι πλοῦτον, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις κόσμον εἶναι. πρὸς Διδύμωνα τὸν μοιχὸν ἰατρεύοντά ποτε κόρης ὀφθαλμόν, ὅρα, φησί, μὴ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς παρθένου θεραπεύων τὴν κόρην φθείρῃς. εἰπόντος τινὸς ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐπιβουλεύεται, καὶ τί δεῖ πράττειν, ἔφη, εἰ δεήσει τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμοίως χρῆσθαι;

Ἐρωτηθεὶς τί κάλλιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἔφη, παρρησία. εἰσελθὼν εἰς διδασκάλου καὶ Μούσας μὲν ἰδὼν πολλάς, μαθητὰς δὲ ὀλίγους, σὺν θεοῖς, ἔφη, διδάσκαλε, πολλοὺς μαθητὰς ἔχεις. εἰώθει δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίτης. καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· εἰ τὸ ἀριστᾶν μηδέν ἐστιν ἄτοπον, οὐδ’ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐστιν ἄτοπον· οὐκ ἔστι δ’ ἄτοπον τὸ ἀριστᾶν· οὐδ’ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἄτοπον. χειρουργῶν τ’ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνεχές, εἴθε ἦν, ἔλεγε, καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν παρατριψάμενον τοῦ λιμοῦ παύσασθαι· ἀναφέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς αὐτόν, ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν πολλὰ ὄντα.

Διττὴν δ’ ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν, τὴν μὲν ψυχικήν, τὴν δὲ σωματικήν· ταύτην καθ’ ἣν ἐν γυμνασίᾳ συνεχεῖ γινόμεναι φαντασίαι εὐλυσίαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα παρέχονται. εἶναι δ’ ἀτελῆ τὴν ἑτέραν χωρὶς τῆς ἑτέρας, οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐεξίας καὶ ἰσχύος ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσι γενομένης, ὡς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα. παρετίθετο δὲ τεκμήρια τοῦ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ καταγίνεσθαι· ὁρᾶν τε γὰρ ἔν τε ταῖς τέχναις ταῖς βαναύσοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ὀξυχειρίαν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀπὸ τῆς μελέτης περιπεποιημένους τούς τ’ αὐλητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὅσον ὑπερφέρουσιν ἑκάτεροι τῇ ἰδίᾳ πονήσει τῇ συνεχεῖ, καὶ ὡς οὗτοι εἰ μετήνεγκαν τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἂν ἀνωφελῶς καὶ ἀτελῶς ἐμόχθουν.

Οὐδέν γε μὴν ἔλεγε τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἀσκήσεως κατορθοῦσθαι, δυνατὴν δὲ ταύτην πᾶν ἐκνικῆσαι. δέον οὖν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀχρήστων πόνων τοὺς κατὰ φύσιν ἑλομένους ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, παρὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν κακοδαιμονοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡ καταφρόνησις ἡδυτάτη προμελετηθεῖσα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ συνεθισθέντες ἡδέως ζῆν, ἀηδῶς ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον μετίασιν, οὕτως οἱ τοὐναντίον ἀσκηθέντες ἥδιον αὐτῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν καταφρονοῦσι. τοιαῦτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφαίνετο, ὄντως νόμισμα παραχαράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδούς· τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου λέγων διεξάγειν ὅνπερ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, μηδὲν ἐλευθερίας

προκρίνων.

Πάντα τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι λέγων καὶ τοιούτους λόγους ἐρωτῶν οἵους ἄνω προειρήκαμεν· πάντα τῶν θεῶν ἐστι· φίλοι δὲ τοῖς σοφοῖς οἱ θεοί· κοινὰ δὲ τὰ τῶν φίλων. πάντα ἄρα τῶν σοφῶν. περί τε τοῦ νόμου ὅτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ οὐχ οἷόν τε πολιτεύεσθαι· οὐ γάρ φησιν ἄνευ πόλεως ὄφελός τι εἶναι ἀστείου· ἀστεῖον δὲ ἡ πόλις· νόμου δὲ ἄνευ πόλεως οὐδὲν ὄφελος· ἀστεῖον ἄρα ὁ νόμος. εὐγενείας δὲ καὶ δόξας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα διέπαιζε, προκοσμήματα κακίας εἶναι λέγων· μόνην τε ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι δεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, γάμον μηδένα νομίζων, ἀλλὰ τὸν πείσαντα τῇ πεισθείσῃ συνεῖναι· κοινοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς υἱέας.

Μηδέν τε ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐξ ἱεροῦ τι λαβεῖν ἢ τῶν ζῴων τινὸς γεύσασθαι· μηδ’ ἀνόσιον εἶναι τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν ἅψασθαι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθῶν· καὶ τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ πάντ’ ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἶναι λέγων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ κρέας εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ ἄρτον, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πᾶσι διά τινων ἀδήλων πόρων [καὶ] ὄγκων εἰσκρινομένων καὶ συνατμιζομένων, ὡς δῆλον ἐν τῷ Πυέστῃ ποιεῖ, εἴ γ’ αὐτοῦ αἱ τραγῳδίαι καὶ μὴ Φιλίσκου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου ἐκείνου γνωρίμου ἢ Πασιφῶντος τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ, ὅν φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ συγγράψαι. μουσικῆς τε καὶ γεωμετρικῆς καὶ ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελεῖν, ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίων.

Εὐστοχώτατος δ’ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι τῶν λόγων, ὡς δῆλον ἐξ ὧν προειρήκαμεν.

Καὶ πρᾶσιν ἤνεγκε γενναιότατα· πλέων γὰρ εἰς Αἴγιναν καὶ πειραταῖς ἁλοὺς ὧν ἦρχε Σκίρπαλος, εἰς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεὶς ἐπιπράσκετο· καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος τί οἶδε ποιεῖν, ἔφη, ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν. ὅτε καὶ δείξας τινὰ Κορίνθιον εὐπάρυφον, τὸν προειρημένον Ξενιάδην, ἔφη, τούτῳ με πώλει· οὗτος δεσπότου χρῄζει. ὠνεῖται δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Ξενιάδης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παιδίοις καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνεχείρισε τὴν οἰκίαν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐν πᾶσι διετίθει, ὥστε ἐκεῖνος περιιὼν ἔλεγεν· ἀγαθὸς δαίμων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου εἰσελήλυθε.

Φησὶ δὲ Κλεομένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παιδαγωγικῷ τοὺς γνωρίμους λυτρώσασθαι αὐτὸν θελῆσαι, τὸν δ’ εὐήθεις αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λέοντας δούλους εἶναι τῶν τρεφόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τρέφοντας τῶν λεόντων. δούλου γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηρία φοβερὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἦν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πειθώ, ὥστε πάνθ’ ὁντινοῦν ῥᾳδίως αἱρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις. λέγεται γοῦν Ὀνησίκριτόν τινα Αἰγινήτην πέμψαι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δυοῖν ὄντοιν υἱοῖν τὸν ἕτερον Ἀνδροσθένην, ὃν ἀκούσαντα τοῦ Διογένους αὐτόθι προσμεῖναι· τὸν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον Φιλίσκον τὸν προειρημένον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Φιλίσκον κατασχεθῆναι·

τὸ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένον μηδὲν ἧττον συνεῖναι τοῖς παισὶ συμφιλοσοφοῦντα. τοιαύτη τις προσῆν ἴυγξ τοῖς Διογένους λόγοις. ἤκουσε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπίκλην χρηστὸς καὶ Στίλπων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἄνδρες πολιτικοί.

Λέγεται δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοὺς τελευτῆσαι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφοροι λέγονται λόγοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολύποδα φαγόντα ὠμὸν χολερικῇ ληφθῆναι καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα συγκρατήσαντα, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Κερκιδᾶς ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης [ἢ Κρής], λέγων ἐν τοῖς μελιάμβοις οὕτως·
οὐ μὰν ὁ πάρος γε Σινωπεὺς

τῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας,

ἀλλ’ ἀνέβα χεῖλος ποτ’ ὀδόντας ἐρείσας

[καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακών]. ἦς γὰρ ἀλαθέως

Διογένης Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων.

Ἄλλοι φασὶ πολύπουν κυσὶ συμμερίσασθαι βουλόμενον οὕτω δηχθῆναι τοῦ ποδὸς τὸν τένοντα καὶ καταστρέψαι. οἱ μέντοι γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἴκαζον τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος συγκράτησιν. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ διάγων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορίνθου γυμνασίῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔθος ἦκον οἱ γνώριμοι καὶ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ εἴκασαν αὐτὸν κοιμᾶσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τις νυσταλέος καὶ ὑπνηλός. ὅθεν, ἀποπετάσαντες τὸν τρίβωνα ἔκπνουν αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ ὑπέλαβον τοῦτο πρᾶξαι βουλόμενον λοιπὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν τοῦ βίου.

Ἔνθα καὶ στάσις, ὥς φασιν, ἐγένετο τῶν γνωρίμων, τίνες αὐτὸν θάψουσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι χειρῶν ἦλθον. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὑπὸ τούτοις ταφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τῇ πύλῃ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ἐπέστησάν τ’ αὐτῷ κίονα καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λίθου Παρίου κύνα. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψαν οὕτω·
γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι

κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰών, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ·

μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιοτᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἔδειξας

θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάταν.

Ἔστι καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ προκελευσματικῷ μέτρῳ·
Α. Διόγενες, ἄγε λέγε τίς ἔλαβέ σε μόρος

ἐς Ἄϊδος. Δ. ἔλαβέ με κυνὸς ἄγριον ὀδάξ.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τελευτῶντα αὐτὸν [καὶ] ἐντείλασθαι ἄταφον ῥῖψαι ὡς πᾶν θηρίον αὐτοῦ μετάσχοι, ἢ εἴς γε βόθρον συνῶσαι καὶ ὀλίγην κόνιν ἐπαμῆσαι· οἱ δέ, εἰς τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χρήσιμος γένηται.

Δημήτριος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις φησὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, Διογένην δ’ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τελευτῆσαι. ἦν δὲ γέρων κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε· διάλογοι·

Κεφαλίων.

Ἰχθύας.

Κολοιός.

Πόρδαλος.

Δῆμος Ἀθηναίων.

Πολιτεία.

Τέχνη ἠθική.

Περὶ πλούτου.

Ἐρωτικός.

Θεόδωρος.

Ὑψίας.

Ἀρίσταρχος.

Περὶ θανάτου.

Ἐπιστολαί.

Τραγῳδίαι ἑπτά·

Ἑλένη.

Θυέστης.

Ἡρακλῆς.

Ἀχιλλεύς.

Μήδεια.

Χρύσιππος.

Οἰδίπους.

Σωσικράτης δ’ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Διαδοχῆς καὶ Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων οὐδὲν εἶναι Διογένους φασί· τά τε τραγῳδάριά φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος Φιλίσκου εἶναι τοῦ Αἰγινήτου, γνωρίμου τοῦ Διογένους. Σωτίων δ’ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ταῦτα μόνα φησὶ Διογένους εἶναι, Περὶ ἀρετῆς, Περὶ ἀγαθοῦ, Ἐρωτικόν, Πτωχόν, Τολμαῖον, Πόρδαλον, Κάσανδρον, Κεφαλίωνα, Φιλίσκον, Ἀρίσταρχον, Σίσυφον, Γανυμήδην, Χρείας, Ἐπιστολάς.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Διογένεις πέντε· πρῶτος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, φυσικός· ἀρχὴ δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· Λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκέει μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι. δεύτερος Σικυώνιος, ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον· τρίτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τέταρτος στωικός, γένος Σελευκεύς, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλώνιος καλούμενος διὰ τὴν γειτονίαν· πέμπτος Ταρσεύς, γεγραφὼς περὶ ποιητικῶν ζητημάτων ἃ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

Τὸν δὴ φιλόσοφον Ἀθηνόδωρός φησιν ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων ἀεὶ στιλπνὸν φαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀλείφεσθαι.

Κεφ. γ’. ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ

Μόνιμος Συρακόσιος μαθητὴς μὲν Διογένους, οἰκέτης δέ τινος τραπεζίτου Κορινθίου, καθά φησι Σωσικράτης. πρὸς τοῦτον συνεχὲς ἀφικνούμενος ὁ Ξενιάδης ὁ τὸν Διογένην ἐωνημένος τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων διηγούμενος εἰς ἔρωτα τἀνδρὸς ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μόνιμον. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μανίαν προσποιηθεὶς τό τε κέρμα διερρίπτει καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀργύριον, ἕως αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης παρῃτήσατο· καὶ ὃς εὐθέως Διογένους ἦν. παρηκολούθησε δὲ καὶ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ συχνὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἴχετο, ὅτε καὶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ὁ δεσπότης ἐδόκει μαίνεσθαι.

Ἐγένετο δ’ ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, ὡς καὶ Μένανδρον
αὐτοῦ τὸν κωμικὸν μεμνῆσθαι. ἔν τινι γοῦν τῶν
δραμάτων ἐν τῷ Ἱπποκόμῳ εἶπεν οὕτως·

Μόνιμός τις ἦν ἄνθρωπος, ὦ Φίλων, σοφός,

ἀδοξότερος μικρῷ δ’. Α. ὁ τὴν πήραν ἔχων;

Β. πήρας μὲν οὖν τρεῖς· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος ῥῆμά τι

ἐφθέγξατ’ οὐδὲν ἐμφερές, μὰ τὸν Δία,

τῷ γνῶθι σαυτόν, οὐδὲ τοῖς βοωμένοις

τούτοις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ προσαιτῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν·

τὸ γὰρ ὑποληφθὲν τῦφον εἶναι πᾶν ἔφη.
οὗτος μὲν ἐμβριθέστατος ἐγένετο, ὥστε δόξης μὲν καταφρονεῖν, πρὸς δ’ ἀλήθειαν παρορμᾶν.

Γέγραφε δὲ παίγνια σπουδῇ λεληθυίᾳ μεμιγμένα καὶ Περὶ ὁρμῶν δύο καὶ Προτρεπτικόν.

Κεφ. δ’. ΟΝΗΣΙΚΡΙΤΟΣ

Ὀνησίκριτος· τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Αἰγινήτην, Δημήτριος δ’ ὁ Μάγνης Ἀστυπαλαιᾶ φησιν εἶναι. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων Διογένους μαθητῶν. ἔοικε δέ τι ὅμοιον πεπονθέναι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ Κύρῳ συνεστράτευσεν, οὗτος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κἀκεῖνος μὲν Παιδείαν Κύρου, ὁ δὲ πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦχθη γέγραφε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκώμιον Κύρου, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πεποίηκε. καὶ τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ δὲ παραπλήσιος, πλὴν ὅτι ὡς ἀπόγραφος ἐξ ἀρχετύπου δευτερεύει.

Γέγονε καὶ Μένανδρος Διογένους μαθητής, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Δρυμός, θαυμαστὴς Ὁμήρου, καὶ Ἡγησίας Σινωπεὺς ὁ Κλοιὸς ἐπίκλην, καὶ Φιλίσκος ὁ Αἰγινήτης, ὡς προειρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. ε’. ΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Κράτης Ἀσκώνδου Θηβαῖος. καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων τοῦ κυνὸς μαθητῶν. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν οὐ Διογένους αὐτὸν μαθητὴν γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ. τούτου Παίγνια φέρεται τάδε·
Πήρη τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι τύφῳ,

καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυπος, οὐδὲν ἔχουσα,

εἰς ἣν οὔτε τις εἰσπλεῖ ἀνὴρ μωρὸς παράσιτος,

οὔτε λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πυγῇσιν·

ἀλλὰ θύμον καὶ σκόρδα φέρει καὶ σῦκα καὶ ἄρτους,

ἐξ ὧν οὐ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων,

οὐχ ὅπλα κέκτηνται περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης.

Ἔστι καὶ ἐφημερὶς ἡ θρυλουμένη οὕτως ἔχουσα·
τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ’, ἰατρῷ δραχμήν,

κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνόν,

πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πᾶσαν εἰσιέναι οἰκίαν καὶ νουθετεῖν· ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόδε·
ταῦτ’ ἔχω ὅσσ’ ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ
Μουσῶν

σέμν’ ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῦφος ἔμαρψεν.

καὶ ὅτι ἐκ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ περιγένοιτο
θέρμων τε χοῖνιξ καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς μέλειν.
φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ κἀκεῖνο·
ἔρωτα παύει λιμός, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνος·

ἐὰν δὲ τούτοις μὴ δύνῃ χρῆσθαι, βρόχος.

Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς θεασάμενον ἔν τινι τραγῳδίᾳ Τήλεφον σπυρίδιον ἔχοντα καὶ τἆλλα λυπρὸν ᾖξαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν· ἐξαργυρισάμενόν τε τὴν οὐσίαν—καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν—ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ [ἑκατὸν] διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις διανεῖμαι ταῦτα. αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν ὡς καὶ Φιλήμονα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν·
καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἱμάτιον δασύ,

ἵν’ ὡς Κράτης ᾖ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος.
φησὶ δὲ Διοκλῆς πεῖσαι αὐτὸν Διογένην τὴν οὐσίαν μηλόβοτον ἀνεῖναι καὶ εἴ τι ἀργύριον εἴη, εἰς θάλατταν βαλεῖν.

Καὶ Κράτητος μέν, φησίν, ὁ οἶκος ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου * * Ἱππαρχίας δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. πολλάκις τε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τῶν συγγενῶν τινας προσιόντας καὶ ἀποτρέποντας ἐδίωκε καὶ ἦν γενναῖος. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης τραπεζίτῃ τινὶ παρακαταθέσθαι τἀργύριον, συνθέμενον, εἰ μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἰδιῶται γένοιντο, αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δὲ φιλόσοφοι, τῷ δήμῳ διανεῖμαι· μηδενὸς γὰρ ἐκείνους δεήσεσθαι φιλοσοφοῦντας. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησιν, ἐξ Ἱππαρχίας, περὶ ἧς λέξομεν, γενομένου παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὄνομα Πασικλέους, ὅτ’ ἐξ ἐφήβων ἐγένετο, ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ οἴκημα παιδίσκης καὶ φάναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ πατρῷον εἶναι τὸν γάμον·

τοὺς δὲ τῶν μοιχευόντων τραγικούς, φυγὰς γὰρ καὶ φόνους ἔχειν ἔπαθλον· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑταίραις προσιόντων κωμικούς· ἐξ ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μέθης μανίαν ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

Τούτου γέγονε Πασικλῆς ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς Εὐκλείδου.

Χάριεν δ’ αὐτοῦ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φέρει. φησὶ γάρ· παρακαλῶν περί του τὸν γυμνασίαρχον, τῶν ἰσχίων αὐτοῦ ἥπτετο· ἀγανακτοῦντος δέ, ἔφη, τί γάρ; οὐχὶ καὶ ταῦτα σά ἐστι καθάπερ καὶ τὰ γόνατα; ἔλεγέ τ’ ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀδιάπτωτον εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐν ῥοιᾷ καὶ σαπρόν τινα κόκκον εἶναι. Νικόδρομον ἐξερεθίσας τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ὑπωπιάσθη· προσθεὶς οὖν πιττάκιον τῷ μετώπῳ ἐπέγραψε, Νικόδρομος ἐποίει.

τὰς πόρνας ἐπίτηδες ἐλοιδόρει, συγγυμνάζων ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας.

Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα πέμψαντα αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ὠνείδισεν εἰπών, εἶθε γὰρ αἱ κρῆναι καὶ ἄρτους ἔφερον. δῆλον οὖν ὡς ὕδωρ ἔπινεν. ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀστυνόμων ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὅτι σινδόνα ἠμφίεστο, ἔφη, καὶ Θεόφραστον ὑμῖν δείξω σινδόνα περιβεβλημένον· ἀπιστούντων δέ, ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ κουρεῖον καὶ ἔδειξε κειρόμενον. ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου μαστιγωθείσ—οἱ δέ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ ὑπ’ Εὐθυκράτουσ—καὶ ἑλκόμενος τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέλεγεν ἀφροντιστῶν,
ἕλκε ποδὸς τεταγὼν διὰ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο.

Διοκλῆς δέ φησιν ἑλχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἐρετρικοῦ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εὐπρεπὴς ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρησιμεύειν Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ Φλιασίῳ, ἀψάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν μηρῶν ὁ Κράτης ἔφη, ἔνδον Ἀσκληπιάδης. ἐφ’ ᾧ δυσχεράναντα τὸν Μενέδημον ἕλκειν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιλέγειν.

Ζήνων δ’ αὖ ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις καὶ κώδιον αὐτόν φησί ποτε προσράψαι τῷ τρίβωνι ἀνεπιστρεπτοῦντα. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αἰσχρὸς καὶ γυμναζόμενος ἐγελᾶτο. εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ἐπαίρων τὰς χεῖρας, θάρρει, Κράτης, ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος·

τούτους δ’ ὄψει τοὺς καταγελῶντας, ἤδη καὶ συνεσπασμένους ὑπὸ νόσου καί σε μακαρίζοντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ καταμεμφομένους ἐπὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ. ἔλεγε δὲ μέχρι τούτου δεῖν φιλοσοφεῖν, μέχρι ἂν

δόξωσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἶναι ὀνηλάται. ἐρήμους ἔλεγε τοὺς μετὰ κολάκων ὄντας ὥσπερ τοὺς μόσχους ἐπειδὰν μετὰ λύκων ὦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοις τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε τούτοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας. συναισθανόμενος ὅτι ἀποθνήσκει, ἐπῇδε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγων,
στείχεις δή, φίλε κυρτών,

βαίνεις τ’ εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους κυφὸς διὰ γῆρας.
ἦν γὰρ κυφὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου.

Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πυθόμενον εἰ βούλεται αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα ἀνορθωθῆναι, ἔφη, καὶ τί δεῖ; πάλιν γὰρ ἴσως Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλος αὐτὴν κατασκάψει. ἔχειν δὲ πατρίδα ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν ἀνάλωτα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ Διογένους εἶναι πολίτης ἀνεπιβουλεύτου φθόνῳ. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Διδύμαις οὕτως·
συμπεριπατήσεις γὰρ τρίβων’ ἔχουσ’ ἐμοί,

ὥσπερ Κράτητι τῷ κυνικῷ ποθ’ ἡ γυνή,

καὶ θυγατέρ’ ἐξέδωκ’ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη

αὐτός, ἐπὶ πείρᾳ δοὺς τριάκονθ’ ἡμέρας.

Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ.

Κεφ. σ’. ΜΗΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ

Μητροκλῆς ὁ Μαρωνείτης, ἀδελφὸς Ἱππαρχίας, ὃς πρότερον ἀκούων Θεοφράστου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ τοσοῦτον διέφθαρτο, ὥστε ποτὲ μελετῶν καὶ μεταξύ πως ἀποπαρδὼν ὑπ’ ἀθυμίας οἴκοι κατάκλειστος ἦν, ἀποκαρτερεῖν βουλόμενος. μαθὼν δὴ ὁ Κράτης εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακληθεὶς καὶ θέρμους ἐπίτηδες βεβρωκὼς ἔπειθε μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων μηδὲν φαῦλον πεποιηκέναι· τέρας γὰρ ἂν γεγονέναι εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πνεύματα κατὰ φύσιν ἀπεκρίνετο· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀποπαρδὼν αὐτὸν ἀνέρρωσεν, ἀφ’ ὁμοιότητος τῶν ἔργων παραμυθησάμενος. τοὐντεῦθεν ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἱκανὸς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ.

Οὗτος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα κατακαίων, ὥς φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν πρώτῳ Χρειῶν, ἐπέλεγε·
τάδ’ ἔστ’ ὀνείρων νερτέρων φαντάσματα,
[οἷον λῆρος]· οἱ δ’, ὅτι τὰς Θεοφράστου ἀκροάσεις καταφλέγων ἐπέλεγε,
Ἥφαιστε, πρόμολ’ ὧδε, Θέτις νύ τι σεῖο χατίζει.
οὗτος ἔλεγε τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀργυρίου ὠνητὰ εἶναι, οἷον οἰκίαν· τὰ δὲ χρόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὡς παιδείαν. τὸν πλοῦτον βλαβερόν, εἰ μή τις ἀξίως αὐτῷ χρῷτο.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὑπὸ γήρως ἑαυτὸν πνίξας.

Μαθηταὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ Θεόμβροτος καὶ Κλεομένης, Θεομβρότου Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Κλεομένους Τίμαρχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Ἐφέσιος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐχεκλῆς Θεομβρότου διήκουσεν, οὗ Μενέδημος, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν. ἐγένετο καὶ Μένιππος Σινωπεὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανής.

Κεφ. ζ’. ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΑ

Ἐθηράθη δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μητροκλέους Ἱππαρχία. Μαρωνεῖται δ’ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι.

Καὶ ἦρα τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τοῦ βίου, οὐδενὸς τῶν μνηστευομένων ἐπιστρεφομένη, οὐ πλούτου, οὐκ εὐγενείας, οὐ κάλλους· ἀλλὰ πάντ’ ἦν Κράτης αὐτῇ. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἠπείλει τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἀναιρήσειν αὑτήν, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ δοθείη. Κράτης μὲν οὖν παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ἀποτρέψαι τὴν παῖδα, πάντ’ ἐποίει, καὶ τέλος μὴ πείθων, ἀναστὰς καὶ

ἀποθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκευὴν ἀντικρὺ αὐτῆς ἔφη, ὁ μὲν νυμφίος οὗτος, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὕτη, πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύου· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι κοινωνόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενηθείη.

Εἴλετο ἡ παῖς καὶ ταὐτὸν ἀναλαβοῦσα σχῆμα συμπεριῄει τἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ συνεγίνετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἀπῄει. ὅτε καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἦλθεν, ἔνθα Θεόδωρον τὸν ἐπίκλην Ἄθεον ἐπήλεγξε, σόφισμα προτείνασα τοιοῦτον· ὃ ποιῶν Θεόδωρος οὐκ ἂν ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτο, οὐδ' Ἱππαρχία ποιοῦσα τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν λέγοιτ' ἄν· Θεόδωρος δὲ τύπτων ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, οὐδ' ἄρα Ἱππαρχία Θεόδωρον τύπτουσα ἀδικεῖ. ὁ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν οὐδὲν ἀπήντησεν, ἀνέσυρε δ' αὐτῆς θοιμάτιον· ἀλλ' οὔτε κατεπλάγη Ἱππαρχία οὔτε διεταράχθη ὡς γυνή.

ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτῇ,
αὕτη 'στὶν ἡ τὰς παρ' ἱστοῖς ἐκλιποῦσα κερκίδας;
ἐγώ, φησίν, εἰμί, Θεόδωρε· ἀλλὰ μὴ κακῶς σοι δοκῶ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, εἰ, τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἔμελλον ἱστοῖς προσαναλώσειν, τοῦτον εἰς παιδείαν κατεχρησάμην; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τῆς φιλοσόφου.

Φέρεται δὲ τοῦ Κράτητος βιβλίον Ἐπιστολαί, ἐν αἷς ἄριστα φιλοσοφεῖ, τὴν λέξιν ἔστιν ὅτε παραπλήσιος Πλάτωνι. γέγραφε καὶ τραγῳδίας ὑψηλότατον ἐχούσας φιλοσοφίας χαρακτῆρα, οἷόν ἐστι κἀκεῖνο·
οὐχ εἷς πάτρας μοι πύργος, οὐ μία στέγη,

πάσης δὲ χέρσου καὶ πόλισμα καὶ δόμος

ἕτοιμος ἡμῖν ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι πάρα.

Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γηραιὸς καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.

Κεφ. η΄. ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΣ

Μένιππος, καὶ οὗτος κυνικός, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν Φοῖνιξ, δοῦλος, ὥς φησιν Ἀχαϊκὸς ἐν Ἠθικοῖς. Διοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ Ποντικὸν εἶναι καὶ Βάτωνα καλεῖσθαι. ἀτηρότερον δ' αἰτῶν ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ἴσχυσε Θηβαῖος γενέσθαι.

Φέρει μὲν οὖν σπουδαῖον οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ πολλοῦ καταγέλωτος γέμει καί τι ἴσον τοῖς Μελεάγρου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν γενομένου.

Φησὶ δ' Ἕρμιππος ἡμεροδανειστὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ναυτικῷ τόκῳ δανείζειν καὶ ἐξενεχυριάζειν, ὥστε πάμπλειστα χρήματα ἀθροίζειν·

τέλος δ' ἐπιβουλευθέντα πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ ὑπ' ἀθυμίας βρόχῳ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαι. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαίξαμεν εἰς αὐτόν·

Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ Κρητικὸν κύνα,

ἡμεροδανειστήν—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπεκλήζετο—οἶσθα Μένιππον ἴσως.

Θήβησιν οὗτος ὡς διωρύγη ποτὲ

καὶ πάντ' ἀπέβαλεν οὐδ' ἐνόει φύσιν κυνός, αὐτὸν ἀνεκρέμασεν.

Ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ βιβλί' αὐτοῦ οὐκ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου καὶ Ζωπύρου τῶν Κολοφωνίων, οἳ τοῦ παίζειν ἕνεκα συγγράφοντες ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ ὡς εὖ δυναμένῳ διαθέσθαι.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Μένιπποι ἕξ· πρῶτος ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθον ἐπιτεμόμενος, δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος, τρίτος Στρατονικεὺς σοφιστής, Κὰρ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν· τέταρτος ἀνδριαντοποιός,

πέμπτος καὶ ἕκτος ζωγράφοι· μέμνηται δ’ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπολλόδωρος.

Τὰ δ’ οὖν τοῦ κυνικοῦ βιβλία ἐστὶ δεκατρία,

Νέκυια.

Διαθῆκαι.

Ἐπιστολαὶ κεκομψευμέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν προσώπου.

Πρὸς τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μαθηματικοὺς καὶ γραμματικοὺς καὶ

Γονὰς Ἐπικούρου καὶ

Τὰς θρησκευομένας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν εἰκάδας.

καὶ ἄλλα.

Κεφ. θ΄. ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ

Μενέδημος Κωλώτου τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ μαθητής. οὗτος, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, εἰς τοσοῦτον τερατείας ἦλασεν ὥστε Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα περιήει, λέγων ἐπίσκοπος ἀφῖχθαι ἐξ ᾅδου τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων, ὅπως πάλιν κατιὼν ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ δαίμοσιν. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐσθὴς αὕτη· χιτὼν φαιὸς ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινικῆ, πῖλος Ἀρκαδικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων ἐνυφασμένα τὰ δώδεκα στοιχεῖα, ἐμβάται τραγικοί, πώγων ὑπερμεγέθης, ῥάβδος ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μειλίνη.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ βίοι τῶν κυνικῶν ἑκάστου. προσυπογράψομεν δὲ καὶ τὰ κοινῇ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτοῖς, αἵρεσιν καὶ ταύτην εἶναι ἐγκρίνοντες τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οὐ, καθά φασί τινες, ἔνστασιν βίου. ἀρέσκει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν τόπον περιαιρεῖν, ἐμφερῶς Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ, μόνῳ δὲ προσέχειν τῷ ἠθικῷ. καὶ ὅπερ τινὲς ἐπὶ Σωκράτους, τοῦτο Διοκλῆς ἐπὶ Διογένους ἀναγράφει, τοῦτον φάσκων λέγειν, Δεῖ ζητεῖν
ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ’ ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.
παραιτοῦνται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα. γράμματα γοῦν μὴ μανθάνειν ἔφασκεν ὁ Ἀντισθένης τοὺς σώφρονας γενομένους, ἵνα μὴ διαστρέφοιντο τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.

περιαιροῦσι δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύντα αὐτῷ ὡροσκοπεῖον, χρήσιμον, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑστερῆσαι δείπνου. πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον αὐτῷ μουσικὸν ἔφη·
γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,

εὖ δ’ οἶκος, οὐ ψαλμοῖσι καὶ τερετίσμασιν.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τέλος εἶναι τὸ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῆν, ὡς Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὁμοίως τοῖς στωικοῖς· ἐπεὶ καὶ κοινωνία τις ταῖς δύο ταύταις αἱρέσεσίν ἐστιν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν κυνισμὸν εἰρήκασι σύντομον ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ὁδόν. καὶ οὕτως ἐβίω καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ λιτῶς βιοῦν, αὐτάρκεσι χρωμένοις σιτίοις καὶ τρίβωσι μόνοις, πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ εὐγενείας καταφρονοῦσιν. ἔνιοι γοῦν καὶ βοτάναις καὶ παντάπασιν ὕδατι χρῶνται ψυχρῷ σκέπαις τε ταῖς τυχούσαις καὶ πίθοις, καθάπερ Διογένης, ὃς ἔφασκε θεῶν μὲν ἴδιον εἶναι μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θεοῖς ὁμοίων τὸ ὀλίγων χρῄζειν.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν διδακτὴν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀναπόβλητον ὑπάρχειν· ἀξιέραστόν τε τὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ φίλον τῷ ὁμοίῳ, τύχῃ τε μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπειν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα λέγουσιν ὁμοίως Ἀρίστωνι τῷ Χίῳ.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ κυνικοί· μετιτέον δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς στωικούς, ὧν ἦρξε Ζήνων, μαθητὴς γενόμενος Κράτητος.

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ζ

Κεφ. α’. ΖΗΝΩΝ

Ζήνων Μνασέου ἢ Δημέου Κιτιεὺς ἀπὸ Κύπρου, πολίσματος Ἑλληνικοῦ, Φοίνικας ἐποίκους ἐσχηκότος.

Τὸν τράχηλον ἐπὶ θάτερα νενευκὼς ἦν, ὥς φησι Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων· καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δέ φησιν ὁ Τύριος ὅτι ἰσχνὸς ἦν, ὑπομήκης, μελάγχρουσ—ὅθεν τις αὐτὸν εἶπεν Αἰγυπτίαν κληματίδα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Παροιμιῶν—παχύκνημός τε καὶ ἀπαγὴς καὶ ἀσθενής· διὸ καί φησι Περσαῖος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι συμποτικοῖς τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτὸν δεῖπνα παραιτεῖσθαι. ἔχαιρε δέ, φασί, σύκοις χλωροῖς καὶ ἡλιοκαΐαις.

Διήκουσε δέ, καθὰ προείρηται, Κράτητος· εἶτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαί φασιν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα, ὡς Τιμοκράτης ἐν τῷ Δίωνι· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πολέμωνος. Ἑκάτων δέ φησι καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ζήνωνος, χρηστηριασαμένου αὐτοῦ τί πράττων ἄριστα βιώσεται, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς· ὅθεν ξυνέντα τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναγινώσκειν. τῷ οὖν Κράτητι παρέβαλε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐναυάγησεν. ἀνελθὼν δ’ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρά τινα βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δ’ ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἡσθεὶς ἐπύθετο ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες.

εὐκαίρως δὲ παριόντος Κράτητος, ὁ βιβλιοπώλης δείξας αὐτόν φησι, τούτῳ παρακολούθησον. ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος, ἄλλως μὲν εὔτονος ὢν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντίαν. ὅθεν ὁ Κράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεῦσαι δίδωσι χύτραν φακῆς διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φέρειν. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἶδεν αὐτὸν αἰδούμενον καὶ παρακαλύπτοντα, παίσας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κατάγνυσι τὴν χύτραν· φεύγοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς φακῆς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν ῥεούσης, φησὶν ὁ Κράτης, τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας.

Ἕως μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος· ὅτε καὶ τὴν Πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ γράψαντος, τινὲς ἔλεγον παίζοντες ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς οὐρᾶς αὐτὴν γεγραφέναι. γέγραφε δὲ πρὸς τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ τάδε·

Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν βίου.

Περὶ ὁρμῆς ἢ περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως.

Περὶ παθῶν.

Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος.

Περὶ νόμου.

Περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας.

Περὶ ὄψεως.

Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου.

Περὶ σημείων.

Πυθαγορικά.

Καθολικά.

Περὶ λέξεων.

Προβλημάτων Ὁμηρικῶν πέντε.

Περὶ ποιητικῆς ἀκροάσεως.

Ἔστι δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ

Τέχνη καὶ

Λύσεις καὶ

Ἔλεγχοι δύο.

Απομνημονεύματα Κράτητος.

Ἠθικά.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν τὰ βιβλία. τελευταῖον δὲ ἀπέστη καὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἤκουσεν ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν· ἵνα καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, νῦν εὐπλόηκα, ὅτε νεναυάγηκα. οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράτητος τοῦτ’ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν·

ἄλλοι δὲ διατρίβοντα ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀκοῦσαι τὴν ναυαγίαν καὶ εἰπεῖν, εὖ γε ποιεῖ ἡ τύχη προσελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφίᾳ. ἔνιοι δέ, διαθέμενον Ἀθήνησι τὰ φορτία, οὕτω τραπῆναι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.

Ἀνακάμπτων δὴ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτίῳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου ποικίλῃ, διετίθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις τετρακόσιοι ἀνῄρηντ’ ἐν αὐτῷ. προσῄεσαν δὴ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως, πρότερον Ζηνώνειοι καλούμενοι, καθά φησι καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς. καὶ πρότερόν γε Στωικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ διατρίβοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ποιηταί, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, οἳ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ηὔξησαν.

Ἐτίμων δὴ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα τὸν Ζήνωνα, οὕτως ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῷ τὰς κλεῖς παρακαταθέσθαι καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι, κόσμον ἡγουμένους τὴν τἀνδρὸς εἰκόνα. ἀντεποιοῦντο δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Σιδῶνι Κιτιεῖς. ἀπεδέχετο δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀντίγονος καὶ εἴ ποτ’ Ἀθήναζε ἥκοι, ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ πολλά τε παρεκάλει ἀφικέσθαι ὡς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν παρῃτήσατο, Περσαῖον δ’ ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων ἀπέστειλεν, ὃς ἦν Δημητρίου μὲν υἱός, Κιτιεὺς δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἤδη γέροντος ὄντος Ζήνωνος. ἡ δ’ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, καθὰ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζήνωνός φησι·

“Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος Ζήνωνι φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

“Ἐγὼ τύχῃ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ νομίζω προτερεῖν τοῦ σοῦ βίου, λόγου δὲ καὶ παιδείας καθυστερεῖν καὶ τῆς τελείας εὐδαιμονίας ἣν σὺ κέκτησαι. διόπερ κέκρικα προσφωνῆσαί σοι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἐμέ, πεπεισμένος σε μὴ ἀντερεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀξιούμενον. σὺ οὖν πειράθητι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συμμίξαι μοι, διειληφὼς τοῦτο διότι οὐχ ἑνὸς ἐμοῦ παιδευτὴς ἔσῃ, πάντων δὲ Μακεδόνων συλλήβδην. ὁ γὰρ τὸν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχοντα καὶ παιδεύων καὶ ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ κατ’ ἀρετὴν φανερὸς ἔσται καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους παρασκευάζων πρὸς εὐανδρίαν. οἷος γὰρ ἂν ὁ ἡγούμενος ᾖ, τοιούτους εἰκὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους.

Καὶ ὁ Ζήνων ἀντιγράφει ὧδε·

“Βασιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ Ζήνων χαίρειν.

“Ἀποδέχομαί σου τὴν φιλομάθειαν καθόσον τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ εἰς ὄνησιν τεινούσης, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῆς δημώδους καὶ εἰς διαστροφὴν ἠθῶν ἀντέχῃ παιδείας. ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὠρεγμένος, ἐκκλίνων δὲ τὴν πολυθρύλητον ἡδονήν, ἢ τινῶν θηλύνει νέων ψυχάς, φανερός ἐστιν οὐ μόνον φύσει πρὸς εὐγένειαν κλίνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρέσει. φύσις δὲ εὐγενὴς μετρίαν ἄσκησιν προσλαβοῦσα, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἀφθόνως διδάξοντα, ῥᾳδίως ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν τελείαν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρετῆς.

ἐγὼ δὲ συνέχομαι σώματι ἀσθενεῖ διὰ γῆρας· ἐτῶν γάρ εἰμι ὀγδοήκοντα· διόπερ οὐ δύναμαί σοι συμμίξαι. ἀποστέλλω δέ σοί τινας τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συσχολαστῶν, οἳ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπονται ἐμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ κατὰσῶμα προτεροῦσιν· οἷς συνὼν οὐδενὸς καθυστερήσεις τῶν πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνηκόντων.

Ἀπέστειλε δὲ Περσαῖον καὶ Φιλωνίδην τὸν Θηβαῖον, ὧν ἀμφοτέρων Ἐπίκουρος μνημονεύει ὡς συνόντων Ἀντιγόνῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστολῇ. ἔδοξε δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπογράψαι.

καὶ ἔχει ὧδε·

“Ἐπ’ Ἀρρενίδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέρᾳ, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἵππων Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπεταιὼν καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι, Θράσων Θράσωνος Ἀνακαιεὺς εἶπεν·

“Ἐπειδὴ Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιεὺς ἔτη πολλὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διετέλεσε καὶ τοὺς εἰς σύστασιν αὐτῷ τῶν νέων πορευομένους παρακαλῶν ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην παρώρμα πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, παράδειγμα τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἐκθεὶς ἅπασιν ἀκόλουθον ὄντα τοῖς λόγοις οἷς διελέγετο,

τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ζήνωνα Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ δημοσίᾳ· τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ τάφου χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων. ἐγγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλαις λιθίναισ δύο καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Λυκείῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὰς στήλας γινόμενον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, ὅπως ἂν ἅπαντες εἴδωσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ [τῶν] Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ζῶντας τιμᾷ καὶ τελευτήσαντας.

ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν κεχειροτόνηνται Θράσων Ἀνακαιεύς, Φιλοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, Μέδων Ἀχαρνεύς, Μίκυθος Συπαληττεύς, Δίων Παιανιεύς.

Καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος οὐκ ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτὸν εἶναι Κιτιέα. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ λουτρῶνος συμβαλλομένων εἷς ὢν καὶ ἀναγραφόμενος ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, Ζήνωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ἠξίωσε καὶ τὸ Κιτιεύς προστεθῆναι. ποιήσας δέ ποτε κοῖλον ἐπίθημα τῇ ληκύθῳ περιέφερε νόμισμα, λύσιν ἕτοιμον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἵν’ ἔχοι Κράτης ὁ διδάσκαλος.

φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ χίλια τάλαντα ἔχοντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ταῦτα δανείζειν ναυτικῶς. ἤσθιε δ’ ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἰναρίου ἔπινε. παιδαρίοις τε ἐχρῆτο σπανίως, ἅπαξ ἢ δίς που παιδισκαρίῳ τινί, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη μισογύνης εἶναι, σύν τε Περσαίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ᾤκει· καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐλητρίδιον εἰσαγαγόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, σπάσας πρὸς τὸν Περσαῖον αὐτὸ ἀπήγαγεν. ἦν τε, φασίν, εὐσυμπερίφορος, ὡς πολλάκις Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπικωμάσαι αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἅμ’ αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κῶμον, εἶτα μέντοι ὑποδῦναι.

ἐξέκλινε δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ πολυδημῶδες, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἄκρου καθίζεσθαι τοῦ βάθρου, κερδαίνοντα τὸ γοῦν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἐνοχλήσεως. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μετὰ πλειόνων δύο ἢ τριῶν περιεπάτει. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν εἰσέπραττε τοὺς περιισταμένους, ὥστε δεδιότασ τὸ διδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, καθά φησι Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ χαλκοῦ· πλειόνων τε περιστάντων αὐτόν, δείξας ἐν τῇ στοᾷ κατ᾽ ἄκρου τὸ ξύλινον περιφερὲς τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔφη, τοῦτό ποτ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ ἔκειτο, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμποδίζειν ἰδίᾳ ἐτέθη· καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐκ τοῦ 3μέσου βαστάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἧττον ἡμῖν ἐνοχλήσετε.

Δημοχάρους δὲ τοῦ Λάχητος ἀσπαζομένου αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκοντος λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ὧν ἂν χρείαν ἔχῃ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ὡς ἐκείνου πάντα παρέξοντος, ἀκούσας οὐκέτ᾽ αὐτῷ συνδιέτριψε.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οἷον εἴη θέατρον ἀπολωλεκώς· ὅθεν καὶ διὰ Θράσωνος πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ᾔτησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ταφήν. ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ διὰ τί θαυμάζει αὐτόν, ὅτι, ἔφη, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτῷ διδομένων ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ οὐδέποτ᾽ ἐχαυνώθη οὐδὲ ταπεινὸς ὤφθη.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ζητητικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις φησὶν οὕτω·
καὶ Φοίνισσαν ἴδον λιχνόγραυν σκιερῷ ἐνὶ τύφῳ

πάντων ἰμείρουσαν· ὁ δ᾽ ἔρρει γυργαθὸς αὐτῆς

σμικρὸς ἐών· νοῦν δ᾽ εἶχεν ἐλάσσονα κινδαψοῖο.

Ἐπιμελῶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φίλωνα τὸν διαλεκτικὸν διεκρίνετο καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου οὐχ ἧττον Διοδώρου τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυμνορρύπαροί τινες, ὥς φησι καὶ ὁ Τίμων·
ὄφρα πενεστάων σύναγεν νέφος, οἳ περὶ πάντων

πτωχότατοί τ᾽ ἦσαν καὶ κουφότατοι βροτοὶ ἀστῶν.

Αὐτὸν δὲ στυγνόν τ᾽ εἶναι καὶ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνεσπασμένον. ἦν εὐτελής τε σφόδρα καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐχόμενος σμικρολογίας, προσχήματι οἰκονομίας. εἰ δέ τινα ἐπικόπτοι, περιεσταλμένως καὶ οὐ χάδην, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν· λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλωπιζομένου ποτὲ ἔφη.

ὀχέτιον γάρ τι ὀκνηρῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαίνοντος, δικαίως, εἶπεν, ὑφορᾷ τὸν πηλόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοπτρίσασθαι. ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φήσας ἔλαιον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ, προσήτησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἀπελθόντα μέντοι ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι ὁπότερος εἰη ἀναιδέστερος. ἐρωτικῶς δὲ διακείμενος Χρεμωνίδου, παρακαθιζόντων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κλεάνθους, ἀνέστη· θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνθους ἔφη καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούω τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κράτιστον εἶναι φάρμακον πρὸς τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα ἡσυχίαν. δυοῖν δ᾽ ὑπανακειμένοιν ἐν πότῳ καὶ τοῦ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν σκιμαλίζοντος τῷ ποδί, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνον τῷ γόνατι. ἐπιστραφέντος δέ, τί οὖν ἔφη οἴει τὸν ὑποκάτω σου πάσχειν ὑπὸ σοῦ;

πρὸς δὲ τὸν φιλόπαιδα οὔτε τοὺς διδασκάλους ἔφη φρένας ἔχειν, ἀεὶ διατρίβοντας ἐν παιδαρίοις, οὔτ᾽ ἐκείνους. ἔφασκε δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀσολοίκων λόγους καὶ ἀπηρτισμένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ· εὐοφθάλμους μὲν καὶ περιγεγραμμένους καθὰ καὶ τὸ νόμισμα, οὐδὲν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα βελτίονας. τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀφωμοίου τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τετραδράχμοις εἰκῇ μὲν κεκομμένοις καὶ σολοίκως, καθέλκειν μέντοι πολλάκις τὰς κεκαλλιγραφημένας [λέξεις]. Ἀρίστωνος δὲ τοῦ μαθητοῦ πολλὰ διαλεγομένου οὐκ εὐφυῶς, ἔνια δὲ καὶ προπετῶς καὶ θρασέως, ἀδύνατον, εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή σε ὁ πατὴρ μεθύων ἐγέννησεν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ λάλον ἀπεκάλει, βραχυλόγος ὤν.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὀψοφάγον μηδὲν τοῖς συμβιωταῖς καταλιπόντα, παρατεθέντος ποτὲ μεγάλου ἰχθύος, ἄρας οἷος ἦν κατεσθίειν· ἐμβλέψαντος δέ, τί οὖν, ἔφη, τοὺς συμβιωτὰς οἴει πάσχειν καθ' ἡμέραν, εἰ σὺ μίαν μὴ δύνασαι ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν ὀψοφαγίαν; μειρακίου δὲ περιεργότερον παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐρωτῶντος ζήτημά τι, προσήγαγε πρὸς κάτοπτρον καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβλέψαι· ἔπειτ' ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἁρμόττοντα εἶναι τῇ ὄψει τοιαύτῃ ζητήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάσκοντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ Ἀντισθένης οὐκ ἀρέσκοι, χρείαν Σοφοκλέους προενεγκάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινα καὶ καλὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ· τοῦ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, ἔφη, εἰ μέν τι κακὸν ἦν εἰρημένον [ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους], τοῦτ' ἐκλεγόμενος καὶ μνημονεύων, εἰ δέ τι καλόν, οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενος κατέχειν;

Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι μικρὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ λογάρια τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγεις, εἶπε, τἀληθῆ· δεῖ μέντοι καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν βραχείας εἶναι, εἰ δυνατόν. λέγοντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ περὶ Πολέμωνος ὡς ἄλλα προθέμενος ἄλλα λέγει, σκυθρωπάσας ἔφη πόσου γὰρ ἂν ἠγάπας τὰ διδόμενα; δεῖν δ' ἔφη τόνῳ διαλεγόμενον ὥσπερ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τὴν μὲν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχειν, τὸ μέντοι στόμα μὴ διέλκειν· ὃ ποιεῖν τοὺς πολλὰ μὲν λαλοῦντας, ἀδύνατα δέ. τοῖς εὖ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν καταλείπεσθαι τόπον ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τεχνίταις εἰς τὸ θεάσασθαι, τοὐναντίον δὲ τὸν ἀκούοντα οὕτω πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις γίνεσθαι ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν ἐπισημείωσιν.

Νεανίσκου πολλὰ λαλοῦντος ἔφη τὰ ὦτά σου εἰς τὴν γλῶτταν συνερρύηκεν. πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφός οὐδέν, ἔφη, ὑμῶν ἀθλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι τῶν καλῶν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἀσόφους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τυχηρὰ ἀμαθεῖς. καὶ προεφέρετο τὸ τοῦ Καφισίου, ὃς ἐπιβαλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν μεγάλα φυσᾶν, πατάξας εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα. νεανίσκου δέ τινος θρασύτερον διαλεγομένου, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, ἔφη, μειράκιον, ἃ ἐπέρχεταί μοι.

Ῥοδίου δέ τινος καλοῦ καὶ πλουσίου, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέν, προσκειμένου αὐτῷ, μὴ βουλόμενος ἀνέχεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ κεκονιμένα τῶν βάθρων ἐκάθιζεν αὐτόν, ἵνα μολύνῃ τὴν χλανίδα· ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν τῶν πτωχῶν τόπον, ὥστε συνανατρίβεσθαι τοῖς ῥάκεσιν αὐτῶν· καὶ τέλος ἀπῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος. πάντων ἔλεγεν ἀπρεπέστερον εἶναι τὸν τῦφον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν νέων. μὴ τὰς φωνὰς καὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀπομνημονεύειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς χρείας τὸν νοῦν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ ἔψησίν τινα ἢ σκευασίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. δεῖν τ' ἔλεγε τοὺς νέους πάσῃ κοσμιότητι χρῆσθαι ἐν πορείᾳ καὶ σχήματι καὶ περιβολῇ· συνεχές τε προεφέρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Καπανέως Εὐριπίδου στίχους, ὅτι βίος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ
ἥκιστα δ' ὄλβῳ γαῦρος ἦν, φρόνημα δὲ

οὐδέν τι μεῖζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνήρ.

Ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς οἰήσεως ἀλλοτριώτερον πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, μηδενός θ' ἡμᾶς οὕτως εἶναι ἐνδεεῖς ὡς χρόνου. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐστι φίλος, ἄλλος, ἔφη, ἐγώ. δοῦλον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ, φασίν, ἐμαστίγου· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, εἴμαρτό μοι κλέψαι, ἔφη, καὶ δαρῆναι. τὸ κάλλος εἶπε τῆς σωφροσύνης ἄνθος εἶναι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν σωφροσύνην. τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς παιδάριον μεμωλωπισμένον θεασάμενος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὁρῶ σου, ἔφη, τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ ἴχνη· πρὸς τὸν κεχρισμένον τῷ μύρῳ, τίς ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὁ γυναικὸς ὄζων; Διονυσίου δὲ τοῦ Μεταθεμένου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ διὰ τί αὐτὸν μόνον οὐ διορθοῖ, ἔφη, οὐ γάρ σοι πιστεύω. πρὸς τὸ φλυαροῦν μειράκιον, διὰ τοῦτο, εἶπε, δύο ὦτα ἔχομεν, στόμα δὲ ἕν, ἵνα πλείονα μὲν ἀκούωμεν, ἧττονα δὲ λέγωμεν.

ἐν συμποσίῳ κατακείμενος σιγῇ τὴν αἰτίαν ἠρωτήθη· ἔφη οὖν τῷ ἐγκαλέσαντι ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς

τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι παρῆν τις σιωπᾶν ἐπιστάμενος· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐρωτήσαντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τί εἴποιεν παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἔχει πρὸς λοιδορίαν, καθάπερ, εἶπεν, εἰ πρεσβευτὴς ἀναπόκριτος ἀποστέλλοιτο. φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος, ἕλκοντος αὐτὸν Κράτητος τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπὸ Στίλπωνος, εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κράτης, λαβὴ φιλοσόφων ἐστὶν ἐπιδέξιος ἡ διὰ τῶν ὤτων· πείσας οὖν ἕλκε τούτων· εἰ δέ με βιάζῃ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρὰ σοὶ ἔσται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ παρὰ Στίλπωνι.

Συνδιέτριψε δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος· παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ διαλεκτικὰ ἐξεπόνησεν. ἤδη δὲ προκόπτων εἰσῄει καὶ πρὸς Πολέμωνα ὑπ' ἀτυφίας, ὥστε φασὶ λέγειν ἐκεῖνον, οὐ λανθάνεις, ὦ Ζήνων, ταῖς κηπαίαις παρεισρέων θύραις καὶ τὰ δόγματα κλέπτων Φοινικικῶς μεταμφιεννύς. καὶ πρὸς τὸν δείξαντα δ' αὐτῷ διαλεκτικὸν ἐν τῷ θερίζοντι λόγῳ ἑπτὰ διαλεκτικὰς ἰδέας πυθέσθαι, πόσας εἰσπράττεται μισθοῦ· ἀκούσαντα δὲ ἑκατόν, διακοσίας αὐτῷ δοῦναι. τοσοῦτον ἦσκει φιλομάθειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον καθῆκον ὠνομακέναι καὶ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι. τούς θ' Ἡσιόδου στίχους μεταγράφειν οὕτω·
κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται,

ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ.

κρείττονα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀκοῦσαι καλῶς δυνάμενον τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πᾶν συννοήσαντος· τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον τὸ συνεῖναι, τῷ δ' εὖ πεισθέντι προσεῖναι καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν.

Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ, φησί, διὰ τί αὐστηρὸς ὢν ἐν τῷ πότῳ διαχεῖται ἔφη, καὶ οἱ θέρμοι πικροὶ ὄντες βρεχόμενοι γλυκαίνονται. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Χρειῶν ἀνίεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινωνίαις. ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ. τὸ εὖ γίνεσθαι μὲν παρὰ μικρόν, οὐ μὴν μικρὸν εἶναι. [οἱ δὲ Σωκράτους.]

Ἦν δὲ καρτερικώτατος καὶ λιτότατος, ἀπύρῳ τροφῇ χρώμενος καὶ τρίβωνι λεπτῷ, ὥστε λέγεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ·
τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,

οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή,

οὐκ ἔροτις δήμου ἐναρεῖ μένος, ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἀτειρὴς

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ τέτατι νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.
οἵ γε μὴν κωμικοὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σκωμμάτων. ἵνα καὶ Φιλήμων φησὶν οὕτως ἐν δράματι Φιλοσόφοις·
εἷς ἄρτος, ὄψον ἰσχάς, ἐπιπιεῖν ὕδωρ.

φιλοσοφίαν καινὴν γὰρ οὗτος φιλοσοφεῖ,

πεινῆν διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει·
οἱ δὲ Ποσειδίππου.

Ἤδη δὲ καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν σχεδὸν ἐχώρησεν. ἐλέγετο γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ·
τοῦ φιλοσόφου Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερος.
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ποσείδιππος Μεταφερομένοις·

ὥστ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα

εἶναι δοκεῖν Ζήνωνος ἐγκρατέστερον.

Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πάντας ὑπερεβάλλετο τῷ τ' εἴδει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι καὶ δὴ νὴ Δία τῇ

μακαριότητι· ὀκτὼ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα βιοὺς ἔτη κατέστρεψεν, ἄνοσος καὶ ὑγιὴς διατελέσας. Περσαῖος δέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς Ἠθικαῖς σχολαῖς δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, ἐλθεῖν δ’ Ἀθήναζε δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιός φησιν ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς σχολῆς αὐτὸν ἔτη δυοῖν δέοντα ἑξήκοντα. ἐτελεύτα δὴ οὕτως· ἐκ τῆς σχολῆς ἀπιὼν προσέπταισε καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον περιέρρηξε· παίσας δὲ τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρί, φησὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Νιόβης,
ἔρχομαι· τί μ’ αὔεις;
καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποπνίξας ἑαυτόν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δ’ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καὶ ψηφίσμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐτίμησαν, τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ προσμαρτυροῦντες. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Σιδώνιος ἐποίησεν οὕτως εἰς αὐτόν·
τῆνος ὅδε Ζήνων Κιτίῳ φίλος, ὅς ποτ’ Ὄλυμπον

ἔδραμεν, οὐκ Ὄσσῃ Πήλιον ἀνθέμενος,

οὐδὲ τά γ’ Ἡρακλῆος ἀέθλεε· τὰν δέ ποτ’ ἄστρα

ἀτραπιτὸν μούνας εὗρε σαοφροσύνας.

καὶ ἄλλο Ζηνόδοτος ὁ στωικός, Διογένους μαθητής·
ἔκτισας αὐτάρκειαν, ἀφεὶς κενεαυχέα πλοῦτον,

Ζήνων, σὺν πολιῷ σεμνὸς ἐπισκυνίῳ·

ἄρσενα γὰρ λόγον εὗρες, ἐνηθλήσω δὲ προνοίᾳ

αἵρεσιν, ἀτρέστου ματέρ’ ἐλευθερίας·

εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος

κεῖνος, ἀφ’ οὗ γραπτὰν Ἑλλὰς ἔχει σελίδα;
καὶ κοινῇ δὲ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιός φησιν οὕτως·

ὦ στωικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα

δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,

τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν

μούνα καὶ βιοτὰν ῥύσατο καὶ πόλιας.

σαρκὸς δ’ ἡδυπάθημα, φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις,

ἡ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.

Εἴπομεν ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ Ζήνων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ
Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·
τὸν Κιτιᾶ Ζήνωνα θανεῖν λόγος ὡς ὑπὸ γήρως

πολλὰ καμὼν ἐλύθη μένων ἄσιτος·

οἱ δ’, ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ’ ἔφη χερὶ γαῖαν ἀλοίσας

ἔρχομαι αὐτόματος· τί δὴ καλεῖς με;
ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τελευτῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τελευτῆς ταῦτα.

Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Μνασέαν πολλάκις ἅτ’ ἔμπορον Ἀθήναζε παραγίνεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν βιβλίων ἀποφέρειν ἔτι παιδὶ ὄντι τῷ Ζήνωνι·

ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συγκεκροτῆσθαι. καὶ οὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰς Ἀθήνας Κράτητι παραβαλεῖν. δοκεῖ δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸς ὁρίσαι τῶν ἄλλων πλανωμένων περὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις. ὤμνυε δέ, φασί, καὶ κάππαριν, καθάπερ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα. ἔνιοι μέντοι, ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον τὸν σκεπτικόν, ἐν πολλοῖς κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ζήνωνος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν ἄχρηστον ἀποφαίνειν λέγουσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Πολιτείας, δεύτερον ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀλλοτρίους λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀλλήλων εἶναι πάντας τοὺς μὴ σπουδαίους, καὶ γονεῖς τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφῶν, καὶ οἰκείους οἰκείων.

Πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ παριστάντα πολίτας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ ἐλευθέρους τοὺς σπουδαίους μόνον, ὥστε τοῖς στωικοῖς οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐχθροί· οὐ γάρ εἰσι σοφοί. κοινάς τε τὰς γυναῖκας δογματίζειν ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς διακοσίους στίχουσ μήθ’ ἱερὰ μήτε δικαστήρια μήτε γυμνάσια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. περί τε νομίσματος οὕτως γράφειν, νόμισμα δ’ οὔτ’ ἀλλαγῆς ἕνεκεν οἴεσθαι δεῖν κατασκευάζειν οὔτ’ ἀποδημίας ἕνεκεν. καὶ ἐσθῆτι δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κελεύει χρῆσθαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μηδὲν μόριον ἀποκεκρύφθαι.

ὅτι δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ Πολιτεία καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας φησί. περί τ’ ἐρωτικῶν διείλεκται κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης Ἐρωτικῆς τέχνης· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς τὰ παραπλήσια γράφει. τοιουτότροπά τινά ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ ῥήτορι· ὃς καὶ ἐκτμηθῆναί φησιν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ κακῶς λεγόμενα παρὰ τοῖς στωικοῖς ὑπ’ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ στωικοῦ πιστευθέντος τὴν ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιοθήκην· εἶτ’ ἀντιτεθῆναι αὐτά, φωραθέντος τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ κινδυνεύσαντος. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων αὐτοῦ.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Ζήνωνες ὀκτώ· πρῶτος ὁ Ἐλεάτης, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν· δεύτερος αὐτὸς οὗτος· τρίτος Ῥόδιος, τὴν ἐντόπιον γεγραφὼς ἱστορίαν ἐνιαίαν· τέταρτος ἱστορικός, τὴν Πύρρου γεγραφὼς στρατείαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτομὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Καρχηδονίοις· πέμπτος Χρυσίππου μαθητής, βιβλία μὲν ὀλίγα γεγραφώς, μαθητὰς δὲ πλείστους καταλελοιπώς· ἕκτος ἰατρὸς Ἡροφίλειος, νοῆσαι μὲν ἱκανός, γράψαι δ’ ἄτονος· ἕβδομος γραμματικός, οὗ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται· ὄγδοος Σιδώνιος τὸ γένος, φιλόσοφος Ἐπικούρειος καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι σαφής.

Μαθηταὶ δὲ Ζήνωνος πολλοὶ μέν, ἔνδοξοι δὲ Περσαῖος Δημητρίου Κιτιεύς, ὃν οἱ μὲν γνώριμον αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ οἰκέτην ἕνα τῶν εἰς βιβλιογραφίαν πεμπομένων αὐτῷ παρ’ Ἀντιγόνου, οὗ καὶ τροφεὺς ἦν τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλκυονέως. διάπειραν δέ ποτε βουληθεὶς λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ πλαστῶς ἀγγελθῆναι ὡς εἴη τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφῃρημένα· καὶ σκυθρωπάσαντος, ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ πλοῦτος ἀδιάφορον;

Βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ βασιλείας.

Πολιτεία Λακωνική.

Περὶ γάμου.

Περὶ ἀσεβείας.

Θυέστης.

Περὶ ἐρώτων.

Προτρεπτικοί.

Διατριβῶν.

Χρειῶν δ΄

Ἀπομνημονεύματα.

Πρὸς τοὺς Πλάτωνος νόμους ζ΄.

Ἀρίστων Μιλτιάδου Χῖος, ὁ τὴν ἀδιαφορίαν εἰσηγησάμενος. Ἥριλλος Καρχηδόνιος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τέλος εἰπών. Διονύσιος ὁ μεταθέμενος εἰς τὴν ἡδονήν· διὰ γὰρ σφοδρὰν ὀφθαλμίαν ὤκνησεν ἔτι λέγειν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον· οὗτος ἦν Ἡρακλεώτης. Σφαῖρος Βοσποριανός· Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος, ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν σχολήν· ὃν καὶ ἀφωμοίου ταῖς σκληροκήροις δέλτοις, αἳ μόλις μὲν γράφονται, διατηροῦσι δὲ τὰ γραφέντα. διήκουσε δ’ ὁ Σφαῖρος καὶ Κλεάνθους μετὰ τὴν Ζήνωνος τελευτήν· καὶ λέξομεν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κλεάνθους.

Ἦσαν δὲ Ζήνωνος μαθηταὶ καὶ οἵδε, καθά φησιν Ἱππόβοτος· Φιλωνίδης Θηβαῖος, Κάλλιππος Κορίνθιος, Ποσειδώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Ἀθηνόδωρος Σολεύς, Ζήνων Σιδώνιος.

Κοινῇ δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν στωικῶν δογμάτων ἔδοξέ μοι ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος εἰπεῖν βίῳ, διὰ τὸ τοῦτον κτίστην γενέσθαι τῆς αἱρέσεως. ἔστι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα βιβλία πολλά, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν στωικῶν. τὰ δὲ δόγματα κοινῶς ἐστι τάδε· λελέχθω δ’ ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν.

Τριμερῆ φασὶν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγον· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μέν τι φυσικόν, τὸ δὲ ἠθικόν, τὸ δὲ λογικόν. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτος διεῖλε Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ α΄ Περὶ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῇ α΄ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Σύλλος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τὰ δόγματα εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ Εὔδρομος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ στοιχειώσει καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος.

Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέρη ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος τόπους καλεῖ, ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος καὶ Εὔδρομος εἴδη, ἄλλοι γένη.

εἰκάζουσι δὲ ζῴῳ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὀστοῖς μὲν καὶ νεύροις τὸ λογικὸν προσομοιοῦντες, τοῖς δὲ σαρκωδεστέροις τὸ ἠθικόν, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ πάλιν ᾠῷ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτὸς εἶναι τὸ λογικόν, τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἠθικόν, τὰ δ’ ἐσωτάτω τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ ἀγρῷ παμφόρῳ· οὗ τὸν μὲν περιβεβλημένον φραγμὸν τὸ λογικόν, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν τὸ ἠθικόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἢ τὰ δένδρα τὸ φυσικόν. ἢ πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένῃ καὶ κατὰ λόγον διοικουμένῃ.

Καὶ οὐθὲν μέρος τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποκεκρίσθαι, καθά τινες αὐτῶν φασιν, ἀλλὰ μεμίχθαι αὐτά. καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν μικτὴν ἐποίουν. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λογικὸν τάττουσι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φυσικόν, καὶ τρίτον τὸ ἠθικόν· ὧν ἐστι Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ λόγου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀρχέδημος καὶ Εὔδρομος.

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαεὺς Διογένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἄρχεται, ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος δεύτερα τὰ ἠθικά, Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἄρχονται, καθά φησι Φανίας ὁ Ποσειδωνίου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ποσειδωνείων σχολῶν. ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης ἓξ μέρη φησί, διαλεκτικόν, ῥητορικόν, ἠθικόν, πολιτικόν, φυσικόν, θεολογικόν. ἄλλοι δ’ οὐ τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα μέρη φασίν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῆς τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Ζήνων ὁ Ταρσεύς. τὸ δὲ λογικὸν μέρος φασὶν ἔνιοι εἰς δύο διαιρεῖσθαι ἐπιστήμας, εἰς ῥητορικὴν καὶ εἰς διαλεκτικήν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ὁρικὸν εἶδος, τὸ περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸ ὁρικὸν περιαιροῦσι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ κανόνων καὶ κριτηρίων παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὑρεῖν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰς τῶν φαντασιῶν διαφορὰς ἀπευθύνουσι. καὶ τὸ ὁρικὸν δὲ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐννοιῶν τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνεται. τήν τε ῥητορικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν τοῦ

εὖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐν διεξόδῳ λόγων καὶ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν τοῦ ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐρωτήσει καὶ ἀποκρίσει λόγων· ὅθεν καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ὁρίζονται, ἐπιστήμην ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν ῥητορικὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι τριμερῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐγκωμιαστικόν.

Εἶναι δ’ αὐτῆς τὴν διαίρεσιν εἵς τε τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν φράσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τάξιν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. τὸν δὲ ῥητορικὸν λόγον εἵς τε τὸ προοίμιον καὶ εἰς τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους καὶ τὸν ἐπίλογον.

Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν διαιρεῖσθαι εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν σημαινομένων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τόπον· καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν σημαινομένων εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν φαντασιῶν τόπον καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ὑφισταμένων λεκτῶν ἀξιωμάτων καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων καὶ γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων καὶ συλλογισμῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰ πράγματα σοφισμάτων·

ὧν εἶναι ψευδομένους λόγους καὶ ἀληθεύοντας καὶ ἀποφάσκοντας σωρίτας τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτοις, ἐλλιπεῖς καὶ ἀπόρους καὶ περαίνοντας καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένους κερατίνας τε καὶ οὔτιδας καὶ θερίζοντας.

Εἶναι δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἴδιον τόπον καὶ τὸν προειρημένον περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς φωνῆς, ἐν ᾧ δείκνυται ἡ ἐγγράμματος φωνὴ καὶ τίνα τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη, καὶ περὶ σολοικισμοῦ καὶ βαρβαρισμοῦ καὶ ποιημάτων καὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμμελοῦς φωνῆς καὶ περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ περὶ ὅρων κατά τινας καὶ διαιρέσεων καὶ λέξεων.

Εὐχρηστοτάτην δέ φασιν εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν θεωρίαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποδεικτικὸν ἐμφαίνειν, ὅπερ συμβάλλεσθαι πολὺ πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν δογμάτων, καὶ τάξιν καὶ μνήμην τὸ ἐπιστατικὸν κατάλημμα ἐμφαίνειν.

Εἶναι δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν σύστημα ἐκ λημμάτων καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς· τὸν δὲ συλλογισμὸν λόγον συλλογιστικὸν ἐκ τούτων· τὴν δ’ ἀπόδειξιν λόγον διὰ τῶν μᾶλλον καταλαμβανομένων τὸ ἧττον καταλαμβανόμενον περαίνοντα.

Τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκείως μετενηνεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων τῶν ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου γινομένων.

τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικήν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον· καταληπτικὴν μέν, ἣν κριτήριον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων φασί, τὴν γινομένην ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπεσφραγισμένην καὶ ἐναπομεμαγμένην· ἀκατάληπτον δὲ τὴν μὴ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, ἢ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος μέν, μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπάρχον· τὴν μὴ τρανῆ μηδὲ ἔκτυπον.

Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν εἴδει περιέχουσαν ἀρετάς· τήν τ’ ἀπροπτωσίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πότε δεῖ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μή· τὴν δ’ ἀνεικαιότητα ἰσχυρὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδιδόναι αὐτῷ·

τὴν δ’ ἀνελεγξίαν ἰσχὺν ἐν λόγῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἀπάγεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον· τὴν δ’ ἀματαιότητα ἕξιν ἀναφέρουσαν τὰς φαντασίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον. αὐτήν τε τὴν ἐπιστήμην φασὶν ἢ κατάληψιν ἀσφαλῆ ἢ ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀμετάπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. οὐκ ἄνευ δὲ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας τὸν σοφὸν ἄπτωτον ἔσεσθαι ἐν λόγῳ· τό τε γὰρ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ

ψεῦδος διαγινώσκεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τό τ’ ἀμφιβόλως λεγόμενον διευκρινεῖσθαι· χωρίς τ’ αὐτῆς οὐκ εἶναι ὁδῷ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

Διατείνειν δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι προπέτειαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γινόμενα, ὥστ’ εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ εἰκαιότητα τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἀγυμνάστους ἔχοντας τὰς φαντασίας. οὐκ ἄλλως τ’ ὀξὺν καὶ ἀγχίνουν καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεινὸν ἐν λόγοις φανήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὀρθῶς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρός τε τὰ προκείμενα διαλεχθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἅπερ ἐμπείρου διαλεκτικῆς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.

Ἐν οὖν τοῖς λογικοῖς ταῦτ’ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ κεφαλαιωδῶς. καὶ ἵνα καὶ κατὰ μέρος εἴπωμεν καὶ τὰ ἅπερ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν εἰσαγωγικὴν τείνει τέχνην, καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ λέξεως τίθησι Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδρομῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λέγων οὕτως·

“Ἀρέσκει τοῖς Στωικοῖς τὸν περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως προτάττειν λόγον, καθότι τὸ κριτήριον, ᾧ ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν πραγμάτων γινώσκεται, κατὰ γένος φαντασία ἐστί, καὶ καθότι ὁ περὶ συγκαταθέσεως καὶ ὁ περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ νοήσεως λόγος, προάγων τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας συνίσταται. προηγεῖται γὰρ ἡ φαντασία, εἶθ’ ἡ διάνοια ἐκλαλητικὴ ὑπάρχουσα, ὃ πάσχει ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας, τοῦτο ἐκφέρει λόγῳ.

Διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα· φάντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἷα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, φαντασία δέ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τουτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται. οὐ γὰρ δεκτέον τὴν τύπωσιν οἱονεὶ τύπον σφραγιστῆρος, ἐπεὶ ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστι πολλοὺς τύπους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι. νοεῖται δὲ [ἡ] φαντασία ἡ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος κατὰ τὸ ὑπάρχον ἐναπομεμαγμένη καὶ ἐναποτετυπωμένη καὶ ἐναπεσφραγισμένη, οἷα οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἀπὸ μὴ ὑπάρχοντος.

Τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἱ μέν εἰσιν αἰσθητικαί, αἱ δ’ οὔ· αἰσθητικαὶ μὲν αἱ δι’ αἰσθητηρίου ἢ αἰσθητηρίων λαμβανόμεναι, οὐκ αἰσθητικαὶ δ’ αἱ διὰ τῆς διανοίας καθάπερ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λόγῳ λαμβανομένων. τῶν δὲ αἰσθητικῶν αἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων μετ’ εἴξεως καὶ συγκαταθέσεως γίνονται. εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν φαντασιῶν καὶ ἐμφάσεις αἱ ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ ὑπαρχόντων γινόμεναι.

Ἔτι τῶν φαντασιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι λογικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄλογοι· λογικαὶ μὲν αἱ τῶν λογικῶν ζῴων, ἄλογοι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀλόγων. αἱ μὲν οὖν λογικαὶ νοήσεις εἰσίν, αἱ δ’ ἄλογοι οὐ τετυχήκασιν ὀνόματος. καὶ αἱ μέν εἰσι τεχνικαί, αἱ δὲ ἄτεχνοι· ἄλλως γοῦν θεωρεῖται ὑπὸ τεχνίτου εἰκὼν καὶ ἄλλως ὑπὸ ἀτέχνου.

Αἴσθησις δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικοὺς τό τ’ ἀφ’ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις διῆκον καὶ ἡ δι’ αὐτῶν κατάληψις καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια κατασκευή, καθ’ ἥν τινες πηροὶ γίνονται. καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια δὲ αἴσθησις καλεῖται. ἡ δὲ κατάληψις γίνεται κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἰσθήσει μὲν λευκῶν καὶ μελάνων καὶ τραχέων καὶ λείων, λόγῳ δὲ τῶν δι’ ἀποδείξεως συναγομένων, ὥσπερ τοῦ θεοὺς εἶναι, καὶ προνοεῖν τούτους. τῶν γὰρ νοουμένων τὰ μὲν κατὰ περίπτωσιν ἐνοήθη, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ὁμοιότητα, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μετάθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ σύνθεσιν, τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν.

Κατὰ περίπτωσιν μὲν οὖν ἐνοήθη τὰ αἰσθητά· καθ’ ὁμοιότητα δὲ τὰ ἀπό τινος παρακειμένου, ὡς Σωκράτης ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος· κατ’ ἀναλογίαν δὲ αὐξητικῶς μέν, ὡς ὁ Τιτυὸς καὶ Κύκλωψ· μειωτικῶς δέ, ὡς ὁ Πυγμαῖος. καὶ τὸ κέντρον δὲ τῆς γῆς κατ’ ἀναλογίαν ἐνοήθη ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτέρων σφαιρῶν. κατὰ μετάθεσιν δέ, οἷον ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους· κατὰ σύνθεσιν δὲ ἐνοήθη Ἱπποκένταυρος· καὶ κατ’ ἐναντίωσιν θάνατος. νοεῖται δὲ καὶ κατὰ μετάβασίν τινα, ὡς τὰ λεκτὰ καὶ ὁ τόπος. φυσικῶς δὲ νοεῖται δίκαιόν τι καὶ ἀγαθόν· καὶ κατὰ στέρησιν, οἷον ἄχειρ.

τοιάδε τινὰ καὶ περὶ φαντασίας καὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ νοήσεως δογματίζουσι.

Κριτήριον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας φασὶ τυγχάνειν τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν, τουτέστι τὴν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δυωδεκάτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βόηθος κριτήρια πλείονα ἀπολείπει, νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ ὄρεξιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην· ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος διαφερόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ λόγου κριτήριά φησιν εἶναι αἴσθησιν καὶ πρόληψιν· ἔστι δ’ ἡ πρόληψις ἔννοια φυσικὴ τῶν καθόλου. ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Στωικῶν τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον κριτήριον ἀπολείπουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ κριτηρίου φησί.

Τῆς δὲ διαλεκτικῆς θεωρίας συμφώνως δοκεῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρχεσθαι τόπου. ἔστι δὲ φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος ἢ τὸ ἴδιον αἰσθητὸν ἀκοῆς, ὥς φησι Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς τέχνῃ. ζῴου μέν ἐστι φωνὴ ἀὴρ ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς πεπληγμένος, ἀνθρώπου δ’ ἔστιν ἔναρθρος καὶ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, ὡς ὁ Διογένης φησίν, ἥτις ἀπὸ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν τελειοῦται. καὶ σῶμα δ’ ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὥς φησιν Ἀρχέδημός τ’ ἐν τῇ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Διογένης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν.

πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦν σῶμά ἐστι· ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ φωνὴ προσιοῦσα τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φωνούντων. λέξις δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης, φωνὴ ἐγγράμματος, οἷον Ἡμέρα. λόγος δέ ἐστι φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί. διάλεκτος δέ ἐστι λέξις κεχαραγμένη ἐθνικῶς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ἢ λέξις ποταπή, τουτέστι ποιὰ κατὰ διάλεκτον, οἷον κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀτθίδα Θάλαττα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα Ἡμέρη.

Τῆς δὲ λέξεως στοιχεῖά ἐστι τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα γράμματα. τριχῶς δὲ λέγεται τὸ γράμμα, τό τε στοιχεῖον ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ στοιχείου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, οἷον Ἄλφα·

φωνήεντα δέ ἐστι τῶν στοιχείων ἑπτά, α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω· ἄφωνα δὲ ἕξ, β, γ, δ, κ, π, τ. διαφέρει δὲ φωνὴ καὶ λέξις, ὅτι φωνὴ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἦχός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ τὸ ἔναρθρον μόνον. λέξις δὲ λόγου διαφέρει, ὅτι λόγος ἀεὶ σημαντικός ἐστι, λέξις δὲ καὶ ἄσημος, ὡς ἡ βλίτυρι, λόγος δὲ οὐδαμῶς. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ προφέρεσθαι· προφέρονται μὲν γὰρ αἱ φωναί, λέγεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ λεκτὰ τυγχάνει.

Τοῦ δὲ λόγου ἐστὶ μέρη πέντε, ὥς φησι Διογένης τ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φωνῆς καὶ Χρύσιππος, ὄνομα, προσηγορία, ῥῆμα, σύνδεσμος, ἄρθρον· ὁ δ’ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν μεσότητα τίθησιν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ λέξεως καὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

Ἔστι δὲ προσηγορία μὲν κατὰ τὸν Διογένην μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον κοινὴν ποιότητα, οἷον Ἄνθρωπος, Ἵππος· ὄνομα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου δηλοῦν ἰδίαν ποιότητα, οἷον Διογένης, Σωκράτης· ῥῆμα δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου σημαῖνον ἀσύνθετον κατηγόρημα, ὡς ὁ Διογένης, ἤ, ὥς τινες, στοιχεῖον λόγου ἄπτωτον, σημαῖνόν τι συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, οἷον Γράφω, Λέγω· σύνδεσμος δέ ἐστι μέρος λόγου ἄπτωτον, συνδοῦν τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου· ἄρθρον δέ ἐστι στοιχεῖον λόγου πτωτικόν, διορίζον τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, οἷον Ὁ, Ἡ, Τό, Οἱ, Αἱ, Τά.

Ἀρεταὶ δὲ λόγου εἰσὶ πέντε, Ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, πρέπον, κατασκευή. Ἑλληνισμὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστι φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ καὶ μὴ εἰκαίᾳ συνηθείᾳ· σαφήνεια δέ ἐστι λέξις γνωρίμως παριστῶσα τὸ νοούμενον· συντομία δέ ἐστι λέξις αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα περιέχουσα πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ πράγματος· πρέπον δέ ἐστι λέξις οἰκεία τῷ πράγματι· κατασκευὴ δέ ἐστι λέξις ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν. ὁ δὲ βαρβαρισμὸς ἐκ τῶν κακιῶν λέξις ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων Ἑλλήνων, σολοικισμὸς δέ ἐστι λόγος ἀκαταλλήλως συντεταγμένος.

Ποίημα δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Περὶ λέξεως εἰσαγωγῇ, λέξις ἔμμετρος ἢ ἔνρυθμος μετὰ σκευῆς τὸ λογοειδὲς ἐκβεβηκυῖα· τὸ ἔνρυθμον δ’ εἶναι τό
γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ.
ποίησις δέ ἐστι σημαντικὸν ποίημα, μίμησιν περιέχον θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπείων.

Ὅρος δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ὅρων, λόγος κατ’ ἀνάλυσιν ἀπαρτιζόντως ἐκφερόμενος, ἤ, ὡς Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅρων, ἰδίου ἀπόδοσις. ὑπογραφὴ δέ ἐστι λόγος τυπωδῶς εἰσάγων εἰς τὰ πράγματα, ἢ ὅρος ἁπλούστερον τὴν τοῦ ὅρου δύναμιν προσενηνεγμένος. γένος δέ ἐστὶ πλειόνων καὶ ἀναφαιρέτων ἐννοημάτων σύλληψις, οἷον Ζῷον· τοῦτο γὰρ περιείληφε τὰ κατὰ μέρος ζῷα.

Ἐννόημα δέ ἐστι φάντασμα διανοίας, οὔτε τὶ ὂν οὔτε ποιόν, ὡσανεὶ δέ τι ὂν καὶ ὡσανεὶ ποιόν, οἷον γίνεται ἀνατύπωμα ἵππου καὶ μὴ παρόντος.

Εἶδος δέ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ γένους περιεχόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ζῴου ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιέχεται. γενικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ γένος ὂν γένος οὐκ ἔχει, οἷον τὸ ὄν· εἰδικώτατον δέ ἐστιν ὃ εἶδος ὂν εἶδος οὐκ ἔχει, ὥσπερ ὁ Σωκράτης.

Διαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους ἡ εἰς τὰ προσεχῆ εἴδη τομή, οἷον Τῶν ζῴων τὰ μέν ἐστι λογικά, τὰ δὲ ἄλογα. ἀντιδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς εἶδος τομὴ κατὰ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ἂν κατ’ ἀπόφασιν, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθά. ὑποδιαίρεσις δέ ἐστι διαίρεσις ἐπὶ διαιρέσει, οἷον Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθά, τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθά, καὶ Τῶν οὐκ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι κακά, τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα.

Μερισμὸς δέ ἐστι γένους εἰς τόπους κατάταξις, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνις· οἷον Τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν ἐστι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα.

Ἀμφιβολία δέ ἐστι λέξις δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονα πράγματα σημαίνουσα λεκτικῶς καὶ κυρίως καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθος, ὥσθ’ ἅμα τὰ πλείονα ἐκδέξασθαι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν λέξιν· οἷον Αὐλητρὶς πέπτωκε· δηλοῦνται γὰρ δι’ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τοιοῦτον, Οἰκία τρὶς πέπτωκε, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, Αὐλήτρια πέπτωκε.

Διαλεκτικὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, ἐπιστήμη ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων· τυγχάνει δ’ αὕτη, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησι, περὶ σημαίνοντα καὶ σημαινόμενα. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ περὶ φωνῆς θεωρίᾳ τοιαῦτα λέγεται τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν σημαινομένων τόπῳ τέτακται ὁ περὶ λεκτῶν καὶ αὐτοτελῶν καὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ συλλογισμῶν λόγος καὶ ὁ περὶ ἐλλιπῶν τε καὶ κατηγορημάτων καὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων.

Φασὶ δὲ [τὸ] λεκτὸν εἶναι τὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν λογικὴν ὑφιστάμενον. τῶν δὲ λεκτῶν τὰ μὲν λέγουσιν εἶναι αὐτοτελῆ οἱ Στωικοί, τὰ δ’ ἐλλιπῆ. ἐλλιπῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἀναπάρτιστον ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει· ἐπιζητοῦμεν γάρ, Τίς; αὐτοτελῆ δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπηρτισμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἐκφοράν, οἷον Γράφει Σωκράτης. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐλλιπέσι λεκτοῖς τέτακται τὰ κατηγορήματα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοτελέσι τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ οἱ συλλογισμοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα.

Ἔστι δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα τὸ κατά τινος ἀγορευόμενον ἢ πρᾶγμα συντακτὸν περί τινος ἢ τινῶν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρόν φασιν, ἢ λεκτὸν ἐλλιπὲς συντακτὸν ὀρθῇ πτώσει πρὸς ἀξιώματος γένεσιν. τῶν δὲ κατηγορημάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συμβάματα, οἷον τὸ διὰ πέτρας πλεῖν. · καὶ τὰ μέν ἐστι τῶν κατηγορημάτων ὀρθά, ἃ δ’ ὕπτια, ἃ δ’ οὐδέτερα. ὀρθὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συντασσόμενα μιᾷ τῶν πλαγίων πτώσεων πρὸς κατηγορήματος γένεσιν, οἷον Ἀκούει, Ὁρᾷ, Διαλέγεται· ὕπτια δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ συντασσόμενα τῷ παθητικῷ μορίῳ, οἷον Ἀκούομαι, Ὁρῶμαι· οὐδέτερα δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ μηδετέρως

ἔχοντα, οἷον Φρονεῖ, Περιπατεῖ. ἀντιπεπονθότα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπτίοις, ἃ ὕπτια ὄντα ἐνεργήματα [δέ] ἐστιν, οἷον Κείρεται·

ἐμπεριέχει γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὁ κειρόμενος. πλάγιαι δὲ πτώσεις εἰσὶ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ καὶ αἰτιατική.

Ἀξίωμα δέ ἐστιν ὅ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς ἢ ψεῦδος· ἢ πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς ἀποφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Διαλεκτικοῖς ὅροις ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἀποφαντὸν ἢ καταφαντὸν ὅσον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ, οἷον Ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ. ὠνόμασται δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀξιοῦσθαι ἢ ἀθετεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ λέγων Ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἀξιοῦν δοκεῖ τὸ ἡμέραν εἶναι. οὔσης μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας, ἀληθὲς γίνεται τὸ προκείμενον ἀξίωμα· μὴ οὔσης δέ, ψεῦδος.

διαφέρει δ’ ἀξίωμα καὶ ἐρώτημα καὶ πύσμα καὶ προστακτικὸν καὶ ὁρκικὸν καὶ ἀρατικὸν καὶ ὑποθετικὸν καὶ προσαγορευτικὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον ἀξιώματι. ἀξίωμα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὃ λέγοντες ἀποφαινόμεθα, ὅπερ ἢ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἢ ψεῦδος. ἐρώτημα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα αὐτοτελὲς μέν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα, αἰτητικὸν δὲ ἀποκρίσεως, οἷον ἆρά γ’ ἡμέρα ἐστί ; τοῦτο δ’ οὔτε ἀληθές ἐστιν οὔτε ψεῦδος, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἡμέρα ἐστίν ἀξίωμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἆρά γ’ ἡμέρα ἐστίν ; ἐρώτημα. πύσμα δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα πρὸς ὃ συμβολικῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος, Ναί, ἀλλὰ δεῖ εἰπεῖν οἰκεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ τόπῳ.

Προστακτικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ λέγοντες προστάσσομεν, οἷον,
σὺ μὲν βάδιζε τὰς ἐπ’ Ἰνάχου ῥοάς.
ὁρκικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα * * προσαγορευτικὸν δέ ἐστι πρᾶγμα ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, προσαγορεύοι ἄν, οἷον,
Ἀτρείδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον.
ὅμοιον δ’ ἐστὶν ἀξιώματι ὃ τὴν ἐκφορὰν ἔχον ἀξιωματικὴν παρά τινος μορίου πλεονασμὸν ἢ πάθος ἔξω πίπτει τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, οἷον,
καλός γ’ ὁ παρθενών.
ὡς Πριαμίδῃσιν ἐμφερὴς ὁ βουκόλος.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπαπορητικόν τι πρᾶγμα διενηνοχὸς ἀξιώματος, ὃ εἰ λέγοι τις, ἀποροίη ἄν·
ἆρ’ ἔστι συγγενές τι λύπη καὶ βίος;
οὔτε δ’ ἀληθῆ ἐστιν οὔτε ψευδῆ τὰ ἐρωτήματα καὶ τὰ πύσματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἢ ἀληθῶν ἢ ψευδῶν ὄντων.

Τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἁπλᾶ, τὰ δ’ οὐχ ἁπλᾶ, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρῖνιν. ἁπλᾶ μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ συνεστῶτα ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὴ διαφορουμένου [ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων], οἷον τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστίν· οὐχ ἁπλᾶ δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ συνεστῶτ’ ἐξ ἀξιώματος διαφορουμένου ἢ ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων

ἐξ ἀξιώματος μὲν διαφορουμένου, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἡμέρα ἐστίν· ἐξ ἀξιωμάτων δέ, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁπλοῖς ἀξιώμασίν ἐστι τὸ ἀποφατικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρνητικὸν καὶ τὸ στερητικὸν καὶ τὸ κατηγορικὸν καὶ τὸ καταγορευτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀόριστον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐχ ἁπλοῖς ἀξιώμασι τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ παρασυνημμένον καὶ τὸ συμπεπλεγμένον καὶ τὸ διεζευγμένον καὶ τὸ αἰτιῶδες καὶ τὸ διασαφοῦν τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον. * * καὶ ἀποφατικὸν μὲν οἷον οὐχὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν. εἶδος δὲ τούτου τὸ ὑπεραποφατικόν. ὑπεραποφατικὸν δ’ ἐστὶν ἀποφατικὸν ἀποφατικοῦ, οἷον οὐχὶ ἡμέρα οὐκ ἔστι· τίθησι δὲ τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστίν.

Ἀρνητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀρνητικοῦ μορίου καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον οὐδεὶς περιπατεῖ· στερητικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ ἀξιώματος κατὰ δύναμιν, οἷον

ἀφιλάνθρωπός ἐστιν οὗτος· κατηγορικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον Δίων περιπατει· καταγορευτικὸν δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐκ πτώσεως ὀρθῆς δεικτικῆς καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον οὗτος περιπατεῖ· ἀόριστον δέ ἐστι τὸ συνεστὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου μορίου ἢ ἀορίστων μορίων καὶ κατηγορήματος, οἷον τὶς περιπατεῖ, ἐκεῖνος κινεῖται.

Τῶν δ’ οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων συνημμένον μέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν ταῖς Διαλεκτικαῖς φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, τὸ συνεστὸς διὰ τοῦ εἰ συναπτικοῦ συνδέσμου. ἐπαγγέλλεται δ’ ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος ἀκολουθεῖν τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι. παρασυνημμένον δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ Κρῖνίς φησιν ἐν τῇ Διαλεκτικῇ τέχνῃ, ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπεί συνδέσμου παρασυνῆπται ἀρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀξιώματος καὶ λῆγον εἰς ἀξίωμα, οἷον ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δ’ ὁ σύνδεσμος ἀκολουθεῖν τε τὸ δεύτερον τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑφεστάναι.

συμπεπλεγμένον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα ὃ ὑπό τινων συμπλεκτικῶν συνδέσμων συμπέπλεκται, οἷον καὶ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ φῶς ἐστι. διεζευγμένον δέ ἐστιν ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤτοι διαζευκτικοῦ συνδέσμου διέζευκται, οἷον ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν. ἐπαγγέλλεται δ’ ὁ σύνδεσμος οὗτος τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ψεῦδος εἶναι. αἰτιῶδες δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ συντασσόμενον διὰ τοῦ διότι, οἷον διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· οἱονεὶ γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ δευτέρου. διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ συνταττόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ διασαφοῦντος τὸ μᾶλλον συνδέσμου καὶ τοῦ ἢ μέσου τῶν ἀξιωμάτων τασσομένου, οἷον μᾶλλον ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστι.

διασαφοῦν δὲ τὸ ἧττον ἀξίωμά ἐστι τὸ ἐναντίον τῷ προκειμένῳ, οἷον ἧττον νύξ ἐστιν ἢ ἡμέρα ἐστίν. ἔτι τῶν ἀξιωμάτων κατά τ’ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ψεῦδος ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστὶν ἀποφατικόν, οἷον τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστί καὶ τὸ οὐχ ἡμέρα ἐστί. συνημμένον οὖν ἀληθές ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι. τοῦτ’ ἀληθές ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ οὐχὶ φῶς, ἀντικείμενον τῷ λήγοντι, μάχεται τῷ ἡμέρα ἐστί. συνημμένον δὲ ψεῦδός ἐστιν οὗ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λήγοντος οὐ μάχεται τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, Δίων περιπατεῖ· τὸ γὰρ οὐχὶ Δίων περιπατεῖ οὐ μάχεται τῷ ἡμέρα ἐστί.

Παρασυνημμένον δ’ ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐστίν, ἥλιός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ γῆς. ψεῦδος δ’ ὃ ἢ ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οἷον ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ, ἂν ἡμέρας οὔσης λέγηται. αἰτιῶδες δ’ ἀληθὲς μέν ἐστιν ὃ ἀρχόμενον ἀπ’ ἀληθοῦς εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει, οὐ μὴν ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀκόλουθον, οἷον διότι ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐστίν ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ φῶς ἐστι, τῷ δὲ φῶς ἐστιν οὐχ ἕπεται τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστίν. αἰτιῶδες δὲ ψεῦδός ἐστιν ὃ ἤτοι ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἄρχεται ἢ μὴ εἰς ἀκόλουθον λήγει ἢ ἔχει τῷ λήγοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀνακόλουθον, οἷον διότι νύξ ἐστι, Δίων περιπατεῖ.

πιθανὸν δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ ἄγον εἰς συγκατάθεσιν, οἷον εἴ τίς τι ἔτεκεν, ἐκείνη ἐκείνου μήτηρ ἐστί. ψεῦδος δὲ τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὄρνις ᾠοῦ ἐστι μήτηρ.

Ἔτι τε τὰ μέν ἐστι δυνατά, τὰ δ’ ἀδύνατα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα. δυνατὸν μὲν τὸ ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μὴ ἐναντιουμένων πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον ζῇ Διοκλῆς· ἀδύνατον δὲ ὃ μή ἐστιν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον ἡ γῆ ἵπταται. ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἀληθὲς ὂν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιδεκτικὸν τοῦ ψεῦδος εἶναι, ἢ ἐπιδεκτικὸν μέν ἐστι, τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐναντιοῦται πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος εἶναι, οἷον ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ. οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν ὃ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν καὶ ψεῦδος οἷόν τε εἶναι, τῶν ἐκτὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιουμένων, οἷον τὸ περιπατεῖ Δίων.

εὔλογον δέ ἐστιν ἀξίωμα τὸ πλείονας ἀφορμὰς ἔχον εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οἷον βιώσομαι αὔριον.

Καὶ ἄλλαι δέ εἰσι διαφοραὶ ἀξιωμάτων καὶ μεταπτώσεις αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀληθῶν εἰς ψεύδη καὶ

ἀντιστροφαί, περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ πλάτει λέγομεν.

Λόγος δέ ἐστιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρῖνίν φασι, τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐκ λήμματος καὶ προσλήψεως καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· φῶς ἄρα ἐστί. λῆμμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστι, φῶς ἐστι· πρόσληψις τὸ ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν· ἐπιφορὰ δὲ τὸ φῶς ἄρα ἐστί. τρόπος δέ ἐστιν οἱονεὶ σχῆμα λόγου, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον.

Λογότροπος δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων σύνθετον, οἷον εἰ ζῇ Πλάτων, ἀναπνεῖ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον. παρεισήχθη δὲ ὁ λογότροπος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μακροτέραις συντάξεσι τῶν λόγων μηκέτι τὴν πρόσληψιν μακρὰν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφορὰν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ συντόμως ἐπενεγκεῖν, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον.

Τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ἀπέραντοι, οἱ δὲ περαντικοί. ἀπέραντοι μὲν ὧν τὸ ἀντικείμενον τῆς ἐπιφορᾶς οὐ μάχεται τῇ διὰ τῶν λημμάτων συμπλοκῇ, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· περιπατεῖ ἄρα Δίων.

Τῶν δὲ περαντικῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ὁμωνύμως τῷ γένει λέγονται περαντικοί· οἱ δὲ συλλογιστικοί. συλλογιστικοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ἤτοι ἀναπόδεικτοι ὄντες ἢ ἀναγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναποδείκτους κατά τι τῶν θεμάτων ἤ τινα, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰ περιπατεῖ Δίων, κινεῖται Δίων· ἀλλὰ μὴν περιπατεῖ Δίων· κινεῖται ἄρα Δίων. περαντικοὶ δέ εἰσιν εἰδικῶς οἱ συνάγοντες μὴ συλλογιστικῶς, οἷον οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ψεῦδός ἐστι τὸ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ νύξ ἐστι· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα νύξ ἐστιν. ἀσυλλόγιστοι δ’ εἰσὶν οἱ παρακείμενοι μὲν πιθανῶς τοῖς συλλογιστικοῖς, οὐ συνάγοντες δέ, οἷον εἰ ἵππος ἐστὶ Δίων, ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵππος οὐκ ἔστι Δίων· οὐκ ἄρα ζῷόν ἐστι Δίων.

Ἔτι τῶν λόγων οἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ψευδεῖς. ἀληθεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσι λόγοι οἱ δι’ ἀληθῶν συνάγοντες, οἷον εἰ ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, ἡ κακία βλάπτει· ἀλλὰ μὴν ὠφελεῖ ἡ ἀρετή· ἡ κακία ἄρα βλάπτει. ψευδεῖς δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν λημμάτων ἔχοντές τι ψεῦδος ἢ ἀπέραντοι ὄντες, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἡμέρα δέ ἐστι· ζῇ ἄρα Δίων. καὶ δυνατοὶ δ’ εἰσὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀδύνατοι καὶ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναπόδεικτοί τινες, τῷ μὴ χρῄζειν ἀποδείξεως, ἄλλοι μὲν παρ’ ἄλλοις, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Χρυσίππῳ πέντε, δι’ ὧν πᾶς λόγος πλέκεται· οἵτινες λαμβάνονται ἐπὶ τῶν περαντικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συλλογισμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τροπικῶν.

πρῶτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἡγουμένου, ἀφ’ οὗ ἄρχεται τὸ συνημμένον καὶ τὸ λῆγον ἐπιφέρει, οἷον εἰ τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· τὸ ἄρα δεύτερον. δεύτερος δ’ ἐστὶν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ συνημμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τοῦ λήγοντος τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν νύξ ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἡμέρα ἐστίν. ἡ γὰρ πρόσληψις γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ λήγοντι καὶ ἡ ἐπιφορὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου τῷ ἡγουμένῳ. τρίτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ δι’ ἀποφατικῆς συμπλοκῆς καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ συμπλοκῇ ἐπιφέρων τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ, οἷον οὐχὶ τέθνηκε Πλάτων καὶ ζῇ Πλάτων· ἀλλὰ μὴν τέθνηκε Πλάτων· οὐκ ἄρα ζῇ Πλάτων.

τέταρτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ὁ διὰ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ τὸ ἀντικείμενον τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔχων συμπέρασμα, οἷον ἤτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ πρῶτον· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δεύτερον. πέμπτος δέ ἐστιν ἀναπόδεικτος ἐν ᾧ πᾶς λόγος συντάσσεται ἐκ διεζευγμένου καὶ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ διεζευγμένῳ ἀντικειμένων καὶ ἐπιφέρει τὸ λοιπόν, οἷον ἤτοι ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ἢ νύξ ἐστιν· οὐχὶ δὲ νύξ ἐστιν· ἡμέρα ἄρα ἐστίν.

Ἐπ’ ἀληθεῖδ’ ἀληθὲς ἕπεται κατὰ τοὺς Στωικούς, ὡς τῷ ἡμέρα ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς ἐστι· καὶ ψεύδει

ψεῦδος, ὡς τῷ νύξ ἐστι ψεύδει τὸ σκότος ἐστί· καὶ ψεύδει ἀληθές, ὡς τῷ ἵπτασθαι τὴν γῆν τὸ εἶναι τὴν γῆν. ἀληθεῖ μέντοι ψεῦδος οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ· τῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν γῆν τὸ πέτεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ.

Καὶ ἄποροι δέ τινές εἰσι λόγοι ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι καὶ διαλεληθότες καὶ σωρῖται καὶ κερατίναι καὶ οὔτιδες. ἔστι δὲ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος, οἷον ὁ τοιοῦτος * * οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν δύο ὀλίγα ἐστίν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μέν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τῶν δέκα· τὰ δὲ δύο ὀλίγα ἐστί· καὶ τὰ δέκα ἄρα. * * οὔτις δέ ἐστι λόγος συνακτικὸς ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμένου συνεστώς, πρόσληψιν δὲ καὶ ἐπιφορὰν ἔχων, οἷον εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ῥόδῳ ἀλλὰ μήν ἐστί τις ἐνταῦθα· οὐκ ἄρα τίς ἐστιν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. * *

Καὶ τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἐν τοῖς λογικοῖς οἱ Στωικοί, ἵνα μάλιστα κρατύνωσι διαλεκτικὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ πράγματα διὰ τῆς ἐν λόγοις θεωρίας ὁρᾶσθαι, ὅσα τε τοῦ φυσικοῦ τόπου τυγχάνει καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὅσα τοῦ ἠθικοῦ. εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν τί δεῖ λέγειν περί τ' ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος, ὅπως διέταξαν οἱ νόμοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. δυοῖν δ' οὔσαιν συνηθείαιν ταῖν ὑποπιπτούσαιν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ἡ μὲν τί ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων σκοπεῖ, ἡ δὲ τί καλεῖται. καὶ ὧδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὸ λογικόν.

Τὸ δ' ἠθικὸν μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας διαιροῦσιν εἴς τε τὸν περὶ ὁρμῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν τόπον καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ παθῶν καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ περὶ τέλους περί τε τῆς πρώτης ἀξίας καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν. [καὶ] οὕτω δ' ὑποδιαιροῦσιν οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀρχέδημον καὶ Ζήνωνα τὸν Ταρσέα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Ποσειδώνιον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κιτιεὺς Ζήνων καὶ ὁ Κλεάνθης, ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιότεροι, ἀφελέστερον περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διέλαβον. οὗτοι δὲ διεῖλον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν καὶ τὸν φυσικόν.

Τὴν δὲ πρώτην ὁρμήν φασι τὸ ζῷον ἴσχειν ἐπὶ τὸ τηρεῖν ἑαυτό, οἰκειούσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν, πρῶτον οἰκεῖον λέγων εἶναι παντὶ ζῴῳ τὴν αὑτοῦ σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνείδησιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸ αὑτῷ τὸ ζῷον, οὔτε ποιήσασαν αὐτό, μήτ' ἀλλοτριῶσαι μήτ' οἰκειῶσαι. ἀπολείπεται τοίνυν λέγειν συστησαμένην αὐτὸ οἰκειῶσαι πρὸς ἑαυτό· οὕτω γὰρ τά τε βλάπτοντα διωθεῖται καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσίεται.

Ὃ δὲ λέγουσί τινες, πρὸς ἡδονὴν γίγνεσθαι τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν τοῖς ζῴοις, ψεῦδος ἀποφαίνουσιν.

ἐπιγέννημα γάρ φασιν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν, ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὅταν αὐτὴ καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητήσασα τὰ ἐναρμόζοντα τῇ συστάσει ἀπολάβῃ· ὃν τρόπον ἀφιλαρύνεται τὰ ζῷα καὶ θάλλει τὰ φυτά. οὐδέν τε, φασί, διήλλαξεν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὅτι χωρὶς ὁρμῆς καὶ αἰσθήσεως κἀκεῖνα οἰκονομεῖ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τινα φυτοειδῶς γίνεται. ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς τοῖς ζῴοις ἐπιγενομένης, ᾗ συγχρώμενα πορεύεται πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τούτοις μὲν τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν διοικεῖσθαι· τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ τελειοτέραν προστασίαν δεδοαένου, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ζῆν ὀρθῶς γίνεσθαι τού τοις κατὰ φύσιν· τεχνίτης γὰρ οὗτος ἐπιγίνεται τῆς ὁρμῆς.

Διόπερ πρῶτος ὁ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως τέλος εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν· ἄγει γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἡμᾶς ἡ φύσις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τελῶν. πάλιν δ' ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν τῷ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων ζῆν, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελῶν· μέρη γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς τοῦ ὅλου.

διόπερ τέλος γίνεται τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατά τε τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων, οὐδὲν ἐνεργοῦντας ὧν ἀπαγορεύειν εἴωθεν ὁ νόμος ὁ κοινός, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διὶ, καθηγεμόνι τούτῳ τῆς τῶν ὄντων διοικήσεως ὄντι· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔροιαν βίου, ὅταν πάντα πράττηται κατὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ παρ' ἑκάστῳ δαίμονος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων διοικητοῦ βούλησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Διογένης τέλος φησὶ ῥητῶς τὸ εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ. Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τὸ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελοῦντα ζῆν.

Φύσιν δὲ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐξακούει, ᾗ ἀκολούθως δεῖ ζῆν, τήν τε κοινὴν καὶ ἰδίως τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνθης τὴν κοινὴν μόνην ἐκδέχεται φύσιν, ᾗ ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μέρους.

Τήν τ' ἀρετὴν διάθεσιν εἶναι ὁμολογουμένην· καὶ αὐτὴν δι' αὐτὴν εἶναι αἱρετήν, οὐ διά τινα φόβον ἢ ἐλπίδα ἤ τι τῶν ἔξωθεν· ἐν αὐτῇ τ' εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἅτ' οὔσῃ ψυχῇ πεποιημένῃ πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν παντὸς τοῦ βίου. διαστρέφεσθαι δὲ τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον, ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγματειῶν πιθανότητας, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατήχησιν τῶν συνόντων· ἐπεὶ ἡ φύσις ἀφορμὰς δίδωσιν ἀδιαστρόφους.

Ἀρετὴ δ' ἡ μέν τις κοινῶς παντὶ τελείωσις, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντος· καὶ ἡ ἀθεώρητος, ὥσπερ ὑγίεια· καὶ ἡ θεωρηματική, ὡς φρόνησις. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπιστημονικὰς μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεωρηματικὰς τὰς ἐχούσας τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ θεωρημάτων, ὡς φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην· ἀθεωρήτους δὲ τὰς κατὰ παρέκτασιν θεωρουμένας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν θεωρημάτων συνεστηκυίαις, καθάπερ ὑγίειαν καὶ ἰσχύν. τῇ γὰρ σωφροσύνῃ τεθεωρημένῃ ὑπαρχούσῃ συμβαίνει ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ παρεκτείνεσθαι τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθάπερ τῇ ψαλίδος οἰκοδομίᾳ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

καλοῦνται δ' ἀθεώρητοι ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσι συγκαταθέσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπιγίνονται καὶ περὶ φαύλους [γίγνονται], ὡς ὑγίεια, ἀνδρεία. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ ὑπαρκτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν φησιν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τὸ γενέσθαι ἐν προκοπῇ τοὺς περὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακίαν ὑπαρκτὴν διὰ τὸ ἀντικεῖσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ. διδακτήν τ' εἶναι αὐτήν, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τέλους φησὶ καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς καὶ Ἑκάτων· ὅτι δὲ διδακτή ἐστι, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἐκ φαύλων.

Παναίτιος μὲν οὖν δύο φησὶν ἀρετάς, θεωρητικὴν καὶ πρακτικήν· ἄλλοι δὲ λογικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ ἠθικήν· τέτταρας δὲ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον καὶ πλείονας οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπολλοφάνης μίαν λέγει, τὴν φρόνησιν.

Τῶν δ' ἀρετῶν τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταύταις ὑποτεταγμένας. πρώτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν, ἀνδρείαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην· ἐν εἴδει δὲ τούτων μεγαλοψυχίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, καρτερίαν, ἀγχίνοιαν, εὐβουλίαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν φρόνησιν εἶναι ἐπιστήμην κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων, τὴν δ' ἀνδρείαν ἐπιστήμην ὧν αἱρετέον καὶ ὧν εὐλαβητέον καὶ οὐδετέρων·

τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην * * τὴν δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὑπεράνω ποιοῦσαν τῶν συμβαινόντων κοινῇ φαύλων τε καὶ σπουδαίων· τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν διάθεσιν ἀνυπέρβατον τῶν κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἢ ἕξιν ἀήττητον ἡδονῶν. τὴν δὲ καρτερίαν ἐπιστήμην ἢ ἕξιν ὧν ἐμμενετέον καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδετέρων. τὴν δ' ἀγχίνοιαν ἕξιν εὑρετικὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα· τὴν δ' εὐβουλίαν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ σκοπεῖσθαι ποῖα καὶ πῶς πράττοντες πράξομεν συμφερόντως.

Ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὰς μὲν εἶναι πρώτας, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ ταύτας· οἷον ἀφροσύνην μὲν καὶ δειλίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀκολασίαν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις, ἀκρασίαν δὲ καὶ βραδύνοιαν καὶ

κακοβουλίαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ ταύτας. εἶναι δ’ ἀγνοίας τὰς κακίας, ὧν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἐπιστῆμαι.

Ἀγαθὸν δὲ κοινῶς μὲν τὸ οὗ τι ὄφελος, ἰδίως δ’ ἤτοι ταὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἕτερον ὠφελείας. ὅθεν αὐτήν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν τριχῶς οὕτω λέγεσθαι· οἷον τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀφ’ οὗ συμβαίνει ὠφελεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ καθ’ ὃ συμβαίνει, ὡς τὴν πρᾶξιν τὴν κατ’ ἀρετήν· ὑφ’ οὗ δέ, ὡς τὸν σπουδαῖον τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ἀρετῆς.

Ἄλλως δ’ οὕτως ἰδίως ὁρίζονται τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ τέλειον κατὰ φύσιν λογικοῦ ὡς λογικοῦ. τοιοῦτον δ’ εἶναι τὴν ἀρετήν, ὥς τε μετέχοντα τάς τε πράξεις τὰς κατ’ ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους εἶναι· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἀφροσύνην, δειλίαν, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· μετέχοντα δὲ κακίας τάς τε πράξεις τὰς κατὰ κακίαν καὶ τοὺς φαύλους· ἐπιγεννήματα δὲ τήν τε δυσθυμίαν καὶ τὴν δυσφροσύνην καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι περὶ ψυχήν, τὰ δ’ ἐκτός, τὰ δ’ οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν οὔτ’ ἐκτός. τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς κατὰ ταύτας πράξεις· τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς τό τε σπουδαίαν ἔχειν πατρίδα καὶ σπουδαῖον φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ’ οὔτ’ ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι σπουδαῖον καὶ εὐδαίμονα.

ἀνάπαλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι, τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰς κατ’ αὐτὰς πράξεις· τὰ δ’ ἐκτὸς τὸ ἄφρονα πατρίδα ἔχειν καὶ ἄφρονα φίλον καὶ τὴν τούτων κακοδαιμονίαν· τὰ δ’ οὔτ’ ἐκτὸς οὔτε περὶ ψυχὴν τὸ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι φαῦλον καὶ κακοδαίμονα.

Ἔτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δὲ τελικὰ καὶ ποιητικά. τὸν μὲν οὖν φίλον καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένας ὠφελείας ποιητικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθά· θάρσος δὲ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τέρψιν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατ’ ἀρετὴν πρᾶξιν τελικά.

Ποιητικὰ δὲ καὶ τελικὰ εἶναι ἀγαθὰ τὰς ἀρετάς. καθὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστιν ἀγαθά· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τελικά, τὰ δὲ ποιητικά, τὰ δ’ ἀμφοτέρως ἔχοντα. τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γινομένας βλάβας ποιητικὰ εἶναι· κατάπληξιν δὲ καὶ ταπεινότητα καὶ δουλείαν καὶ ἀτερπίαν καὶ δυσθυμίαν καὶ περιλυπίαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κατὰ κακίαν πρᾶξιν τελικά· ἀμφοτέρως δ’ ἔχοντα τὰς κακίασ, ἐπεὶ καθὸ μὲν ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, ποιητικά ἐστι· καθὸ δὲ συμπληροῦσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε μέρη αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι, τελικά.

Ἔτι τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέν εἰσιν ἕξεις, τὰ δὲ διαθέσεις, τὰ δ’ οὔθ’ ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις. διαθέσεις μὲν αἱ ἀρεταί, ἕξεις δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, οὔτε δ’ ἕξεις οὔτε διαθέσεις αἱ ἐνέργειαι. κοινῶς δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μικτὰ μέν ἐστιν εὐτεκνία καὶ εὐγηρία, ἁπλοῦν δ’ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιστήμη. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν παρόντα αἱ ἀρεταί, οὐκ ἀεὶ δέ, οἷον χαρά, περιπάτησις.

Πᾶν δ’ ἀγαθὸν συμφέρον εἶναι καὶ δέον καὶ λυσιτελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ εὔχρηστον καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ αἱρετὸν καὶ δίκαιον.

συμφέρον μὲν ὅτι φέρει τοιαῦτα ὧν συμβαινόντων ὠφελούμεθα· δέον δ’ ὅτι συνέχει ἐν οἷς χρή· λυσιτελὲς δ’ ὅτι λύει τὰ τελούμενα εἰς αὐτό, ὥστε τὴν ἀντικατάλλαξιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πραγματείας ὑπεραίρειν τῇ ὠφελείᾳ· χρήσιμον δ’ ὅτι χρείαν ὠφελείας παρέχεται· εὔχρηστον δ’ ὅτι τὴν χρείαν ἐπαινετὴν ἀπεργάζεται· καλὸν δ’ ὅτι συμμέτρως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρείαν· ὠφέλιμον δ’ ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε ὠφελεῖν· αἱρετὸν δ’ ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστε εὐλόγως αὐτὸ αἱρεῖσθαι· δίκαιον δ’ ὅτι νόμῳ ἐστὶ σύμφωνον καὶ κοινωνίας ποιητικόν.

Καλὸν δὲ λέγουσι τὸ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τὸ πάντας ἀπέχειν τοὺς ἐπιζητουμένους ἀριθμοὺς

ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τὸ τελέως σύμμετρον. εἴδη δ’ εἶναι τοῦ καλοῦ τέτταρα, δίκαιον, ἀνδρεῖον, κόσμιον, ἐπιστημονικόν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖσδε τὰς καλὰς πράξεις συντελεῖσθαι. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ εἶναι εἴδη τέτταρα, τό τ’ ἄδικον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ ἄκοσμον καὶ ἄφρον. λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ καλὸν μοναχῶς μὲν τὸ ἐπαινετοὺς παρεχόμενον τοὺς ἔχοντας ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἐπαίνου ἄξιον· ἑτέρως δὲ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· ἄλλως δὲ τὸ ἐπικοσμοῦν, ὅταν λέγωμεν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι.

Λέγουσι δὲ μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ μετέχον ἀρετῆς, ᾧ ἐστιν ἴσον τὸ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καλὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἰσοδυναμεῖν τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅπερ ἴσον ἐστὶ τούτῳ. ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, καλόν ἐστιν· ἔστι δὲ καλόν· ἀγαθὸν ἄρα ἐστί. δοκεῖ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἴσα εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπ’ ἄκρον εἶναι αἱρετὸν καὶ μήτ’ ἄνεσιν μήτ’ ἐπίτασιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι. τῶν δ’ ὄντων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ κακά, τὰ δ’ οὐδέτερα.

Ἀγαθὰ μὲν οὖν τάς τ’ ἀρετάς, φρόνησιν, δικαιοσύνην, ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην καὶ τὰ λοιπά· κακὰ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, ἀφροσύνην, ἀδικίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά. οὐδέτερα δὲ ὅσα μήτ’ ὠφελεῖ μήτε βλάπτει, οἷον ζωή, ὑγίεια, ἡδονή, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, εὐγένεια· καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία, θάνατος, νόσος, πόνος, αἶσχος, ἀσθένεια, πενία, ἀδοξία, δυσγένεια καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ τέλους καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ καὶ Χρύσιππος. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτ’ ἀγαθά, ἀλλ’ ἀδιάφορα κατ’ εἶδος προηγμένα.

ὡς γὰρ ἴδιον θερμοῦ τὸ θερμαίνειν, οὐ τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτω καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ὠφελεῖν, οὐ τὸ βλάπτειν· οὐ μᾶλλον δ’ ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἀγαθὸν οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔθ’ ὑγίεια. ἔτι τέ φασιν, ᾧ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι, τοῦτ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὑγιείᾳ ἔστιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς χρῆσθαι· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἀγαθὸν πλοῦτος καὶ ὑγίεια. Ποσειδώνιος μέντοι καὶ ταῦτά φησι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθόν φασιν Ἑκάτων τ’ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἡδονῆς· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αἰσχρὰς ἡδονάς, μηδὲν δ’ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀγαθόν.

ὠφελεῖν δέ ἐστι κινεῖν ἢ ἴσχειν κατ’ ἀρετήν, βλάπτειν δὲ κινεῖν ἢ ἴσχειν κατὰ κακίαν.

Διχῶς δὲ λέγεσθαι ἀδιάφορα· ἅπαξ μὲν τὰ μήτε πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν μήτε πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν συνεργοῦντα, ὡς ἔχει πλοῦτος, δόξα, ὑγίεια, ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων εὐδαιμονεῖν, τῆς ποιᾶς αὐτῶν χρήσεως εὐδαιμονικῆς οὔσης ἢ κακοδαιμονικῆς. ἄλλως δὲ λέγεται ἀδιάφορα τὰ μήθ’ ὁρμῆς μήτ’ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά, ὡς ἔχει τὸ ἀρτίας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἢ περιττάς, ἢ ἐκτεῖναι τὸν δάκτυλον ἢ συστεῖλαι, τῶν προτέρων ἀδιαφόρων οὐκέθ’ οὕτω λεγομένων· ὁρμῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀφορμῆς κινητικά.

διὸ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται, τὰ δὲ ἀπεκλέγεται τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπίσης ἐχόντων πρὸς αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγήν.

Τῶν ἀδιαφόρων τὰ μὲν λέγουσι προηγμένα, τὰ δὲ ἀποπροηγμένα· προηγμένα μὲν τὰ ἔχοντα ἀξίαν, ἀποπροηγμένα δὲ τὰ ἀπαξίαν ἔχοντα. ἀξίαν δὲ τὴν μέν τινα λέγουσι σύμβλησιν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογούμενον βίον, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ πᾶν ἀγαθόν· τὴν δὲ εἶναι μέσην τινὰ δύναμιν ἢ χρείαν συμβαλλομένην πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἥντινα προσφέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν βίον πλοῦτος ἢ ὑγίεια· τὴν δ’ εἶναι ἀξίαν ἀμοιβὴν δοκιμαστοῦ, ἣν ἂν ὁ ἔμπειρος τῶν πραγμάτων τάξῃ, ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι πυροὺς πρὸς τὰς σὺν ἡμιόνῳ κριθάς.

Προηγμένα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ἃ καὶ ἀξίαν ἔχει, οἷον ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν εὐφυΐαν, τέχνην, προκοπὴν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν ζωήν, ὑγίειαν, ῥώμην, εὐεξίαν, ἀρτιότητα, κάλλος καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πλοῦτον, δόξαν, εὐγένειαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ἀποπροηγμένα δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἀφυΐαν, ἀτεχνίαν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σωματικῶν θάνατον, νόσον,

ἀσθένειαν, καχεξίαν, πήρωσιν, αἶσχος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς πενίαν, ἀδοξίαν, δυσγένειαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια· οὔτε δὲ προήχθη οὔτ’ ἀποπροήχθη τὰ οὐδετέρως ἔχοντα.

Ἔτι τῶν προηγμένων τὰ μὲν δι’ αὑτὰ προῆκται, τὰ δὲ δι’ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι’ αὑτὰ καὶ δι’ ἕτερα. δι’ αὑτὰ μὲν εὐφυΐα, προκοπὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι’ ἕτερα δὲ πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· δι’ αὑτὰ δὲ καὶ δι’ ἕτερα ἰσχύς, εὐαισθησία, ἀρτιότης. δι’ αὑτὰ μέν, ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν ἐστί· δι’ ἕτερα δέ, ὅτι περιποιεῖ χρείας οὐκ ὀλίγας. ὁμοίως δ’ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἀποπροηγμένον κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον λόγον.

Ἔτι δὲ καθῆκόν φασιν εἶναι ὃ πραχθὲν εὔλογόν [τε] ἴσχει ἀπολογισμόν, οἷον τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα διατείνει· ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ κἀπὶ τούτων καθήκοντα.

Κατωνομάσθαι δ’ οὕτως ὑπὸ πρώτου Ζήνωνος τὸ καθῆκον, ἀπὸ τοῦ κατά τινας ἥκειν τῆς προσονομασίας εἰλημμένης. ἐνέργημα δ’ αὐτὸ εἶναι ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν κατασκευαῖς οἰκεῖον. τῶν γὰρ καθ’ ὁρμὴν ἐνεργουμένων τὰ μὲν καθήκοντα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, τὰ δ’ οὔτε καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον.

Καθήκοντα μὲν οὖν εἶναι ὅσα λόγος αἱρεῖ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ γονεῖς τιμᾶν, ἀδελφούς, πατρίδα, συμπεριφέρεσθαι φίλοις· παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον δέ, ὅσα μὴ αἱρεῖ λόγος, ὡς ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα, γονέων ἀμελεῖν, ἀδελφῶν ἀφροντιστεῖν, φίλοις μὴ συνδιατίθεσθαι, πατρίδα ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια·

οὔτε δὲ καθήκοντα οὔτε παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον, ὅσα οὔθ’ αἱρεῖ λόγος πράττειν οὔτ’ ἀπαγορεύει, οἷον κάρφος ἀνελέσθαι, γραφεῖον κρατεῖν ἢ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἶναι καθήκοντα ἄνευ περιστάσεως, τὰ δὲ περιστατικά. καὶ ἄνευ μὲν περιστάσεως τάδε, ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ αἰσθητηρίων καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ τὸ πηροῦν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν διαρριπτεῖν. ἀνὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. ἔτι τῶν καθηκόντων τὰ μὲν ἀεὶ καθήκει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἀεί. καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν καθήκει τὸ κατ’ ἀρετὴν ζῆν, οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ περιπατεῖν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις τι καθῆκον, ὡς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς.

Φασὶ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ὀκταμερῆ· μέρη γὰρ αὐτῆς τά τε πέντε αἰσθητήρια καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν μόριον καὶ τὸ διανοητικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἡ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ γεννητικόν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐπιγίνεσθαι τὴν διαστροφὴν ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀφ’ ἧς πολλὰ πάθη βλαστάνειν καὶ ἀκαταστασίας αἴτια. ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἡ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὁρμὴ πλεονάζουσα.

Τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν.

δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἥ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψίς ἐστι τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως καὶ τἄλλα.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν λύπην εἶναι συστολὴν ἄλογον· εἴδη δ’ αὐτῆς ἔλεον, φθόνον, ζῆλον, ζηλοτυπίαν, ἄχθος, ἐνόχλησιν, ἀνίαν, ὀδύνην, σύγχυσιν. ἔλεον μὲν οὖν εἶναι λύπην ὡς ἐπ’ ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, φθόνον δὲ λύπην ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς, ζῆλον δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ζηλοτυπίαν δὲ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει,

ἄχθος δὲ λύπην βαρύνουσαν, ἐνόχλησιν λύπην στενοχωροῦσαν καὶ δυσχωρίαν παρασκευάζουσαν, ἀνίαν λύπην ἐκ διαλογισμῶν μένουσαν ἢ ἐπιτεινομένην, ὀδύνην λύπην ἐπίπονον, σύγχυσιν λύπην ἄλογον, ἀποκναίουσαν καὶ κωλύουσαν τὰ παρόντα συνορᾶν.

Ὁ δὲ φόβος ἐστὶ προσδοκία κακοῦ. εἰς δὲ τὸν φόβον ἀνάγεται καὶ ταῦτα, δεῖμα, ὄκνος, αἰσχύνη, ἔκπληξις, θόρυβος, ἀγωνία. δεῖμα μὲν οὖν ἐστι φόβος δέος ἐμποιῶν, αἰσχύνη δὲ φόβος ἀδοξίας, ὄκνος δὲ φόβος μελλούσης ἐνεργείας, ἔκπληξις δὲ φόβος ἐκ φαντασίας ἀσυνήθους πράγματος,

θόρυβος δὲ φόβος μετὰ κατεπείξεως φωνῆς, ἀγωνία δὲ φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος.

Ἡ δ’ ἐπιθυμία ἐστὶν ἄλογος ὄρεξις, ὑφ’ ἣν τάττεται καὶ ταῦτα, σπάνις, μῖσος, φιλονεικία, ὀργή, ἔρως, μῆνις, θυμός. ἔστι δ’ ἡ μὲν σπάνις ἐπιθυμία τις ἐν ἀποτεύξει καὶ οἷον κεχωρισμένη ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος, τεταμένη δὲ διακενῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸ καὶ σπωμένη· μῖσος δ’ ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ κακῶς εἶναί τινι μετὰ προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρατάσεως· φιλονεικία δ’ ἐπιθυμία τις περὶ αἱρέσεως· ὀργὴ δ’ ἐπιθυμία τιμωρίας τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἠδικηκέναι οὐ προσηκόντως· ἔρως δέ ἐστιν ἐπιθυμία τις οὐχὶ περὶ σπουδαίους· ἔστι γὰρ ἐπιβολὴ φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον.

μῆνις δέ ἐστιν ὀργή τις πεπαλαιωμένη καὶ ἐπίκοτος, ἐπιτηρητικὴ δέ, ὅπερ ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῶνδε· εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,

ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσσῃ.
ὁ δὲ θυμός ἐστιν ὀργὴ ἀρχομένη.

Ἡδονὴ δέ ἐστιν ἄλογος ἔπαρσις ἐφ’ αἱρετῷ δοκοῦντι ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ’ ἣν τάττεται κήλησις, ἐπιχαιρεκακία, τέρψις, διάχυσις. κήλησις μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡδονὴ δι’ ὤτων κατακηλοῦσα· ἐπιχαιρεκακία δὲ ἡδονὴ ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς· τέρψις δέ, οἷον τρέψις, προτροπή τις ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον· διά· χυσις δ’ ἀνάλυσις ἀρετῆς.

Ὡς δὲ λέγεταί τινα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστήματα, οἷον ποδάγρα καὶ ἀρθρίτιδες, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλοδοξία καὶ φιληδονία καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. τὸ γὰρ ἀρρώστημά ἐστι νόσημα μετ’ ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ νόσημα οἴησις σφόδρα δοκοῦντος αἱρετοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐεμπτωσίαι τινὲς λέγονται, οἷον κατάρρους καὶ διάρροια, οὕτω κἀπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσιν εὐκαταφορίαι, οἷον φθονερία, ἐλεημοσύνη, ἔριδες καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας φασὶ τρεῖς, χαράν, εὐλάβειαν, βούλησιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν [φασὶν] εἶναι τῇ ἡδονῇ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔπαρσιν· τὴν δ’ εὐλάβειαν τῷ φόβῳ, οὖσαν εὔλογον ἔκκλισιν. φοβηθήσεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν οὐδαμῶς, εὐλαβηθήσεσθαι δέ. τῇ δ’ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἶναι τὴν βούλησιν, οὖσαν εὔλογον ὄρεξιν. καθάπερ οὖν ὑπὸ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη πίπτει τινά, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς πρώτας εὐπαθείας· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν βούλησιν εὔνοιαν, εὐμένειαν, ἀσπασμόν, ἀγάπησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν αἰδῶ, ἀγνείαν· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν τέρψιν, εὐφροσύνην, εὐθυμίαν.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπαθῆ εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ ἀνέμπτωτον εἶναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀπαθῆ τὸν φαῦλον, ἐν ἴσῳ λεγόμενον τῷ σκληρῷ καὶ ἀτέγκτῳ. ἄτυφόν τ’ εἶναι τὸν σοφόν· ἴσως γὰρ ἔχειν πρός τε τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἄτυφον, κατὰ τὸν εἰκαῖον τεταγμένον, ὅς ἐστι φαῦλος. καὶ αὐστηροὺς δέ φασιν εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, τῷ μήτ’ αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὁμιλεῖν μήτε παρ’ ἄλλων τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν προσδέχεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλον δὲ εἶναι αὐστηρόν, παραπλησίως λεγόμενον τῷ αὐστηρῷ οἴνῳ, ᾧ πρὸς μὲν φαρμακοποιίαν χρῶνται, πρὸς δὲ πρόποσιν οὐ πάνυ.

Ἀκιβδήλους τοὺς σπουδαίους φυλακτικούς τ’ εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς παριστάναι, διὰ παρασκευῆς τῆς τὰ φαῦλα μὲν ἀποκρυπτούσης, τὰ δ’ ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιούσης. ἁπλάστους τε· περιῃρηκέναι γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τῷ εἴδει. ἀπράγμονάς τ’ εἶναι· ἐκκλίνειν γὰρ τὸ πράττειν τι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μέν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δέ. ἔτι δ’ οὐδὲ μανήσεσθαι· προσπεσεῖσθαι μέντοι ποτὲ αὐτῷ φαντασίας ἀλλοκότους διὰ μελαγχολίαν

ἢ λήρησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν αἱρετῶν λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν. οὐδὲ μὴν λυπηθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, διὰ τὸ τὴν λύπην ἄλογον εἶναι συστολὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.

Θείους τ' εἶναι· ἔχειν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς οἱονεὶ θεόν. τὸν δ' φαῦλον ἄθεον. διττὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἄθεον, τόν τ' ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐξουθενητικὸν τοῦ θείου· ὅπερ οὐκ εἶναι περὶ πάντα φαῦλον. θεοσεβεῖς τε τοὺς σπουδαίους· ἐμπείρους γὰρ εἶναι τῶν περὶ θεοὺς νομίμων· εἶναί τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν θεραπείας. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θύσειν αὐτοὺς θεοῖς ἁγνούς θ' ὑπάρχειν· ἐκνεύειν γὰρ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς ἁμαρτήματα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄγασθαι αὐτούς· ὁσίους τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δικαίους πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. μόνους θ' ἱερέας τοὺς σοφούς· ἐπεσκέφθαι γὰρ περὶ θυσιῶν, ἱδρύσεων, καθαρμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς οἰκείων.

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γονέας σέβεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν δευτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ μετὰ θεούς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν φυσικὴν εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι. ἀρέσκει τ' αὐτοῖς ἴσα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Ἠθικῶν ζητημάτων καὶ Περσαῖος καὶ Ζήνων. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀληθοῦς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ψεῦδος ψεύδους· οὕτως οὐδ' ἀπάτη ἀπάτης, οὐδ' ἁμάρτημα ἁμαρτήματος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπέχων Κανώβου καὶ ὁ ἕνα ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν Κανώβῳ· οὕτω καὶ ὁ πλέον καὶ ὁ ἔλαττον ἁμαρτάνων ἐπίσης οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν.

Ἡρακλείδης μέντοι ὁ Ταρσεύς, Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ταρσέως γνώριμος, καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἄνισά φασι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

Πολιτεύσεσθαί φασι τὸν σοφὸν ἂν μή τι κωλύῃ, ὥς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων· καὶ γὰρ κακίαν ἐφέξειν καὶ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν παρορμήσειν. καὶ γαμήσειν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, καὶ παιδοποιήσεσθαι. ἔτι τε μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφόν, τουτέστι ψεύδει μὴ συγκαταθήσεσθαι μηδενί. κυνιεῖν τ' αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν κυνισμὸν σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ. γεύσεσθαί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατὰ περίστασιν. μόνον τ' ἐλεύθερον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας.

εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δουλείαν τὴν ἐν ὑποτάξει καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐν κτήσει τε καὶ ὑποτάξει, ᾗ ἀντιτίθεται ἡ δεσποτεία, φαύλη οὖσα καὶ αὕτη. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐλευθερους εἶναι τοὺς σοφούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθύνου, ἥτις περὶ μόνους ἂν τοὺς σοφοὺς συσταίη, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κυρίως κεχρῆσθαι Ζήνωνα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν· ἐγνωκέναι γάρ φησι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, μηδένα δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀρχικοὺς δικαστικούς τε καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μόνους εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα. ἔτι καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους, τῷ ἀπεριπτώτους εἶναι ἁμαρτήματι.

ἀβλαβεῖς τ' εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους βλάπτειν οὔθ' αὑτούς. ἐλεήμονάς τε μὴ εἶναι συγγνώμην τ' ἔχειν μηδενί· μὴ γὰρ παριέναι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιβαλλούσας κολάσεις, ἐπεὶ τό γ' εἴκειν καὶ ὁ ἔλεος αὐτή θ' ἡ ἐπιείκεια οὐδένειά ἐστι ψυχῆς πρὸς κολάσεις προσποιουμένης χρηστότητα· μηδ' οἴεσθαι σκληροτέρας αὐτὰς εἶναι. ἔτι τε τὸν σοφὸν οὐδὲν θαυμάζειν τῶν δοκούντων παραδόξων, οἷον Χαρώνεια καὶ ἀμπώτιδας καὶ πηγὰς θερμῶν ὑδάτων καὶ πυρὸς ἀναφυσήματα. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, φασί, βιώσεται ὁ σπουδαῖος· κοινωνικὸς γὰρ φύσει καὶ πρακτικός. τὴν μέντοι ἄσκησιν ἀποδέξεται ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑπομονῆς.

Εὔξεταί τε, φασίν, ὁ σοφός, αἰτούμενος τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ καθηκόντων καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ παραδόξων. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μονοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν κοινωνίαν τινὰ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ

τὸν βίον, χρωμένων ἡμῶν τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἑαυτοῖς. δι’ αὐτόν θ’ αἱρετὸν τὸν φίλον ἀποφαίνονται καὶ τὴν πολυφιλίαν ἀγαθόν. ἔν τε τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ εἶναι φιλίαν μηδενί τε τῶν φαύλων φίλον εἶναι. πάντας τε τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ φρονίμους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἴσην τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ μανίαν πάντα πράττειν.

Πάντα τ’ εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς καὶ πάντα φαμὲν τὰ αὐλήματα εὖ αὐλεῖν τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν. καὶ τῶν σοφῶν δὲ πάντα εἶναι· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς παντελῆ ἐξουσίαν τὸν νόμον. τῶν δὲ φαύλων εἶναί τινα λέγεται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ἄλλως μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλως δὲ τῶν χρωμένων φαμέν.

Τὰς δ’ ἀρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις καὶ τὸν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ θεωρήματα κοινά, καθάπερ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν φησιν, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, Ἑκάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν.

τὸν γὰρ ἐνάρετον θεωρητικόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ πρακτικὸν τῶν ποιητέων. τὰ δὲ ποιητέα καὶ αἱρετέα ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπομενητέα καὶ ἐμμενητέα καὶ ἀπονεμητέα, ὥστ’ εἰ τὰ μὲν αἱρετικῶς ποιεῖ, τὰ δ’ ὑπομενητικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἀπονεμητικῶς, τὰ δ’ ἐμμενητικῶς, φρόνιμός τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων. κεφαλαιοῦσθαί θ’ ἑκάστην τῶν ἀρετῶν περί τι ἴδιον κεφάλαιον, οἷον τὴν ἀνδρείαν περὶ τὰ ὑπομενητέα, τὴν φρόνησιν περὶ τὰ ποιητέα καὶ μὴ καὶ οὐδέτερα· ὁμοίως τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τρέπεσθαι. ἔπονται δὲ τῇ μὲν φρονήσει εὐβουλία καὶ σύνεσις, τῇ δὲ σωφροσύνῃ εὐταξία καὶ κοσμιότης, τῇ δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ ἰσότης καὶ εὐγνωμοσύνη, τῇ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ ἀπαραλλαξία καὶ εὐτονία.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν μεταξὺ εἶναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, τῶν Περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπήν· ὡς γὰρ δεῖν φασιν ἢ ὀρθὸν εἶναι ξύλον ἢ στρεβλόν, οὕτως ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, οὔτε δὲ δικαιότερον οὔτ’ ἀδικώτερον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρύσιππος μὲν ἀποβλητήν, Κλεάνθης δὲ ἀναπόβλητον· ὁ μὲν ἀποβλητὴν διὰ μέθην καὶ μελαγχολίαν, ὁ δ’ ἀναπόβλητον διὰ βεβαίους καταλήψεις· καὶ αὐτὴν δι’ αὐτὴν αἱρετὴν εἶναι.
αἰσχυνόμεθα γοῦν ἐφ’ οἷς κακῶς πράττομεν, ὡς ἂν μόνον τὸ καλὸν εἰδότες ἀγαθόν. αὐτάρκη τ’ εἶναι αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζήνων καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ Ἑκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ἀγαθῶν.

εἰ γάρ, φησίν, αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία πρὸς τὸ πάντων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖν, ἔστι δὲ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης ἔσται καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν καταφρονοῦσα καὶ τῶν δοκούντων ὀχληρῶν. ὁ μέντοι Παναίτιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ αὐτάρκη λέγουσι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ χρείαν εἶναί φασι καὶ ὑγιείας καὶ χορηγίας καὶ ἰσχύος.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ παντὸς χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην φασίν· ἀναπόβλητος γάρ ἐστι καὶ πάντοτε τῇ ψυχῇ χρῆται οὖσῃ τελείᾳ ὁ σπουδαῖος. φύσει τε τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ μὴ θέσει, ὡς καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ.

δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς μηδὲ διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν ἀφίστασθαι φιλοσοφίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ προλείψειν ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὡς καὶ Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς Προτρεπτικοῖς. εὐχρηστεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος.

Ἔτι ἀρέσκει αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι ἡμῖν δίκαιον πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα, διὰ τὴν ἀνομοιότητα, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ καθήκοντος. καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐμφαινόντων διὰ τοῦ εἴδους τὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐαν, ὥς φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ἠθικῇ.

Εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐπιβολὴν φιλοποιίας διὰ κάλλος ἐμφαινόμενον· καὶ μὴ εἶναι συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ

φιλίας. τὸν γοῦν Θρασωνίδην καίπερ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχοντα τὴν ἐρωμένην, διὰ τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῆς. εἶναι οὖν τὸν ἔρωτα φιλίας, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἔρωτός φησι· καὶ μὴ εἶναι θεόπεμπτον αὐτόν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἄνθος ἀρετῆς.

Βίων δὲ τριῶν ὄντων, θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καὶ λογικοῦ, τὸν τρίτον φασὶν αἱρετέον· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπίτηδες τὸ λογικὸν ζῷον πρὸς θεωρίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν. εὐλόγως τέ φασιν ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλων, κἂν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδόνι ἢ πηρώσεσιν ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις.

Ἀρέσκει δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας δεῖν παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς, ὥστε τὸν ἐντυχόντα τῇ ἐντυχούσῃ χρῆσθαι, καθά φησι Ζήνων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας, [ἀλλ' ἔτι Διογένης ὁ κυνικὸς καὶ Πλάτων]. πάντας τε παῖδας ἐπίσης στέρξομεν πατέρων τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ζηλοτυπία περιαιρεθήσεται. πολιτείαν δ' ἀρίστην τὴν μικτὴν ἔκ τε δημοκρατίας καὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας.

Καὶ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς δόγμασι τοιαῦτα λέγουσι καὶ τούτων πλείω μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων· ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἡμῖν λελέχθω καὶ στοιχειωδῶς.

Τὸν δὲ φυσικὸν λόγον διαιροῦσιν εἴς τε τὸν περὶ σωμάτων τόπον καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ στοιχείων καὶ θεῶν καὶ περάτων καὶ τόπου καὶ κενοῦ. καὶ οὕτω μὲν εἰδικῶς, γενικῶς δ' εἰς τρεῖς τόπους, τόν τε περὶ κόσμου καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ τρίτον τὸν αἰτιολογικόν.

Τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διαιρεῖσθαί φασιν εἰς δύο μέρη. μιᾷ γὰρ σκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τῶν ἀπλανῶν καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων, οἷον εἰ ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τηλικοῦτος ἡλίκος φαίνεται, καὶ ὁμοίως εἰ ἡ σελήνη, καὶ περὶ δινήσεως καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις ζητημάτων.

ἑτέραν δ' αὐτοῦ σκέψιν εἶναι ἥτις μόνοις τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐπιβάλλει, καθ' ἣν ζητεῖται ἥ τ' οὐσία αὐτοῦ [καὶ εἰ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἴδους] καὶ εἰ γενητὸς ἢ ἀγένητος καὶ εἰ ἔμψυχος ἢ ἄψυχος καὶ εἰ φθαρτὸς ἢ ἄφθαρτος καὶ εἰ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. τόν τ' αἰτιολογικὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν διμερῆ. μιᾷ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψει ἐπικοινωνεῖν τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν ζήτησιν, καθ' ἣν ζητοῦσι περί τε τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ γινομένων καὶ περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων· τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, οἷον πῶς ὁρῶμεν, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς κατοπτρικῆς φαντασίας, ὅπως νέφη συνίσταται, βρονταὶ καὶ ἴριδες καὶ ἅλως καὶ κομῆται καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀΐδιον ὄντα διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς δημιουργεῖν ἕκαστα. τίθησι δὲ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο Ζήνων μὲν ὁ Κιτιεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ οὐσίας, Κλεάνθης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν πρὸς τῷ τέλει, Ἀρχέδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ στοιχείων καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. διαφέρειν δέ φασιν ἀρχὰς καὶ στοιχεῖα· τὰς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἀγενήτους καὶ ἀφθάρτους, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθείρεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσωμάτους εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀμόρφους, τὰ δὲ μεμορφῶσθαι.

Σῶμα δ' ἐστίν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ, τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, εἰς μῆκος, εἰς πλάτος, εἰς βάθος· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ στερεὸν σῶμα καλεῖται. ἐπιφάνεια δ' ἐστὶ σώματος πέρας ἢ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος μόνον ἔχον, βάθος δ' οὔ· ταύτην δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ μετεώρων καὶ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀπολείπει. γραμμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιφανείας πέρας ἢ μῆκος ἀπλατὲς ἢ τὸ μῆκος μόνον ἔχον. στιγμὴ δ' ἐστὶ γραμμῆς πέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶ σημεῖον ἐλάχιστον.

Ἕν τ’ εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία· πολλάς τ’ ἑτέρας ὀνομασίας προσονομάζεσθαι.

κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν καθ’ αὑτὸν ὄντα τρέπειν τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν δι’ ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου, τοιόνδ’ ὑπολείπεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ, εὐεργὸν αὑτῷ ποιοῦντα τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς γένεσιν· εἶτ’ ἀπογεννᾶν πρῶτον τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ζήνων τ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀρχέδημος ἔν τινι Περὶ στοιχείων. ἔστι δὲ στοιχεῖον ἐξ οὗ πρώτου γίνεται τὰ γινόμενα καὶ εἰς ὃ ἔσχατον ἀναλύεται.

τὰ δὴ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα εἶναι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην· εἶναι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ τὸ θερμόν, τὸ δ’ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑγρόν, τόν τ’ ἀέρα τὸ ψυχρὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὸ ξηρόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος. ἀνωτάτω μὲν οὖν εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, ὃ δὴ αἰθέρα καλεῖσθαι, ἐν ᾧ πρώτην τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν γεννᾶσθαι, εἶτα τὴν τῶν πλανωμένων· μεθ’ ἣν τὸν ἀέρα, εἶτα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὑποστάθμην δὲ πάντων τὴν γῆν, μέσην ἁπάντων οὖσαν.

Λέγουσι δὲ κόσμον τριχῶς· αὐτόν τε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁπάσης οὐσίας ἰδίως ποιόν, ὃς δὴ ἄφθαρτός ἐστι καὶ ἀγένητος, δημιουργὸς ὢν τῆς διακοσμήσεως, κατὰ χρόνων ποιὰς περιόδους ἀναλίσκων εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν οὐσίαν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεννῶν.

καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι· καὶ τρίτον τὸ συνεστηκὸς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ ἔστι κόσμος ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας ἤ, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ στοιχειώσει, σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἢ σύστημα ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἕνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. οὐρανὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐσχάτη περιφέρεια ἐν ᾗ πᾶν ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον.

Τὸν δὴ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν, καθά φησι Χρύσιππός τ’ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ θεῶν, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· ἀλλ’ ἤδη δι’ ὧν μὲν μᾶλλον, δι’ ὧν δὲ ἧττον.

δι’ ὧν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἕξις κεχώρηκεν, ὡς διὰ τῶν ὀστῶν καὶ τῶν νεύρων· δι’ ὧν δὲ ὡς νοῦς, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ Περὶ κόσμου. Χρύσιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν φασι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μέντοι Χρύσιππος διαφορώτερον πάλιν τὸ καθαρώτερον τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐν ταὐτῷ, ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὥσπερ κεχωρηκέναι διὰ τῶν ἐν ἀέρι καὶ διὰ τῶν ζῴων ἁπάντων καὶ φυτῶν· διὰ δὲ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς καθ’ ἕξιν.

Ἕνα τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον πεπερασμένον, σχῆμ’ ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν ἁρμοδιώτατον τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐν τοῖς περὶ κόσμου. ἔξωθεν δ’ αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι· ἀσώματον δὲ τὸ οἷόν τε κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ σωμάτων οὐ κατεχόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἀλλ’ ἡνῶσθαι αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκάζειν τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια σύμπνοιαν καὶ συντονίαν. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ κενοῦ Χρύσιππος μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ κενοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα [ἀ]σώματα ὁμοίως.

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀσώματον, διάστημα ὄντα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως. τούτου δὲ τὸν μὲν παρῳχηκότα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἀπείρους, τὸν δ’ ἐνεστῶτα πεπερασμένον. ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἅτε γενητὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῶν δι’ αἰσθήσεως νοουμένων, οὗ τε τὰ μέρη

φθαρτά ἐστι, καὶ τὸ ὅλον· τὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φθαρτά· εἰς ἄλληλα γὰρ μεταβάλλει· φθαρτὸς ἄρα ὁ κόσμος. καὶ εἴ τι ἐπιδεκτικόν ἐστι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῆς, φθαρτόν ἐστι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἄρα· ἐξαυχμοῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐξυδατοῦται.

Γίνεσθαι δὲ τὸν κόσμον ὅταν ἐκ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία τραπῇ δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὑγρότητα, εἶτα τὸ παχυμερὲς αὐτοῦ συστὰν ἀποτελεσθῇ γῆ, τὸ δὲ λεπτομερὲς ἐξαερωθῇ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ. εἶτα κατὰ μίξιν ἐκ τούτων φυτά τε καὶ ζῷα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. περὶ δὴ οὖν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τοῦ κόσμου φησὶ Ζήνων μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ὅλου, Χρύσιππος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ κόσμου καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Περὶ κόσμου. Παναίτιος δ' ἄφθαρτον ἀπεφήνατο τὸν κόσμον.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ζῷον ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ νοερὸν καὶ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος [φησὶν] ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος·

ζῷον μὲν οὕτως ὄντα, οὐσίαν ἔμψυχον αἰσθητικήν. τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦ μὴ ζῴου κρεῖττον· οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κρεῖττον· ζῷον ἄρ' ὁ κόσμος. ἔμψυχον δέ, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκεῖθεν οὔσης ἀποσπάσματος. Βόηθος δέ φησιν οὐκ εἶναι ζῷον τὸν κόσμον. ὅτι θ' εἷς ἐστι Ζήνων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου. τὸ δὲ πᾶν λέγεται, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὅ τε κόσμος καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἔξωθεν κενοῦ σύστημα. ὁ μὲν οὖν κόσμος πεπερασμένος ἐστί, τὸ δὲ κενὸν ἄπειρον.

Τῶν δ' ἄστρων τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τῷ ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα κατ' ἰδίας κινεῖσθαι κινήσεις. τὸν δ' ἥλιον λοξὴν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου· ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἑλικοειδῆ. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον εἰλικρινὲς πῦρ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ μετεώρων· καὶ μείζονα τῆς γῆς, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαιροειδῆ, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτόν φασιν, ἀναλόγως τῷ κόσμῳ. πῦρ μὲν οὖν εἶναι, ὅτι τὰ πυρὸς πάντα ποιεῖ· μείζω δὲ τῆς γῆς τῷ πᾶσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φωτίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. καὶ τὸ τὴν γῆν δὲ κωνοειδῆ σκιὰν ἀποτελεῖν τὸ μείζονα εἶναι σημαίνει· πάντοθεν δὲ βλέπεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος.

Γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ἅτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν. τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νοερὸν ὄντα ἀναμμα· τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀερομιγῆ τυγχάνουσαν καὶ πρόσγειον οὖσαν, ὡς ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκίνητον οὖσαν. τὴν δὲ σελήνην οὐκ ἴδιον ἔχειν φῶς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡλίου λαμβάνειν ἐπιλαμπομένην.

Ἐκλείπειν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐπιπροσθούσης αὐτῷ σελήνης κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μέρος, ὡς Ζήνων ἀναγράφει ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου.

φαίνεται γὰρ ὑπερχομένη ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσα αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν παραλλάττουσα· γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο διὰ λεκάνης ὕδωρ ἐχούσης. τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ τῆς γῆς σκίασμα· ὅθεν καὶ ταῖς πανσελήνοις ἐκλείπειν μόναις, καίπερ κατὰ διάμετρον ἱσταμένην κατὰ μῆνα τῷ ἡλίῳ, ὅτι κατὰ λοξοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον κινουμένη παραλλάττει τῷ πλάτει, ἢ βορειοτέρα ἢ νοτιωτέρα γινομένη. ὅταν μέντοι τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσων γένηται, εἶτα διαμετρήσῃ τὸν ἥλιον, τότ' ἐκλείπει· γίνεται δὲ τὸ πλάτος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν διὰ μέσων ἐν χηλαῖς καὶ σκορπίῳ καὶ κριῷ καὶ ταύρῳ, ὡς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδώνιον.

Θεὸν δ' εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι

δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ’ ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἥραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἥφαιστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὑγρόν, καὶ Δήμητραν κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσηγορίας ἐχόμενοί τινος οἰκειότητος ἀπέδοσαν.

Οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μέν φησι τὸν ὅλον κόσμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ θεῶν. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Περὶ κόσμου ἀεροειδῆ φησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν· Βόηθος δὲ ἐν τῇ Περὶ φύσεως οὐσίαν θεοῦ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαῖραν. φύσιν δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποφαίνονται τὴν συνέχουσαν τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν φύουσαν τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὐτῆς κινουμένη κατὰ σπερματικοὺς λόγους ἀποτελοῦσά τε καὶ συνέχουσα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις καὶ τοιαῦτα δρῶσα ἀφ’ οἵων ἀπεκρίθη.

ταύτην δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἡδονῆς, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας. καθ’ εἱμαρμένην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι Χρύσιππος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης καὶ Ζήνων, Βόηθος δ’ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἱμαρμένης. ἔστι δ’ εἱμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη ἢ λόγος καθ’ ὃν ὁ κόσμος διεξάγεται. καὶ μὴν καὶ μαντικὴν ὑφεστάναι πᾶσάν φασιν, εἰ καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶναι· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τέχνην ἀποφαίνουσι διά τινας ἐκβάσεις, ὥς φησι Ζήνων τε καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ μαντικῆς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παναίτιος ἀνυπόστατον αὐτήν φησιν.

Οὐσίαν δέ φασι τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων τὴν πρώτην ὕλην, ὡς καὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ζήνων. ὕλη δέ ἐστιν ἐξ ἧς ὁτιδηποτοῦν γίνεται. καλεῖται δὲ διχῶς, οὐσία τε καὶ ὕλη, ἥ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὅλων οὔτε πλείων οὔτ’ ἐλάττων γίνεται, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ πλείων καὶ ἐλάττων. σῶμα δέ ἐστι κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἡ οὐσία καὶ πεπερασμένη, καθά φησιν Ἀντίπατρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ. καὶ παθητὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν· εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἄτρεπτος, οὐκ ἂν τὰ γινόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγίνετο· ἔνθεν κἀκεῖν’ ὡς ἥ τε τομὴ εἰς ἄπειρόν ἐστιν. (ἦν ἄπειρον οὐκ εἰς ἄπειρόν φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος· οὐ γάρ ἐστί τι ἄπειρον, εἰς ὃ γίνεται ἡ τομή. ἀλλ’ ἀκατάληκτός ἐστι.)

Καὶ τὰς κράσεις δὲ διόλου γίνεσθαι, καθά φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φυσικῶν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ περιγραφὴν καὶ παράθεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ὀλίγος οἶνος βληθεὶς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀντιπαρεκταθήσεται, εἶτα συμφθαρήσεται.

Φασὶ δ’ εἶναι καί τινας δαίμονας ἀνθρώπων συμπάθειαν ἔχοντας, ἐπόπτας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων· καὶ ἥρωας τὰς ὑπολελειμμένας τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχάς.

Τῶν δ’ ἐν ἀέρι γινομένων χειμῶνα μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα κατεψυγμένον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πρόσω ἄφοδον, ἔαρ δὲ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ

ἀέρος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πορείαν, θέρος δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα καταθαλπόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἄρκτον πορείᾳ, μετόπωρον δὲ τῇ παλινδρομίᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν γίνεσθαι. τοὺς δ’ ἀνέμους ἀέρος εἶναι ῥύσεις· παραλλαττούσας δὲ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τόπους ἀφ’ ὧν ῥέουσι. τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίνεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐξατμίζοντα τὰ νέφη. Ἶριν δ’ εἶναι αὐγὰς ἀφ’ ὑγρῶν νεφῶν ἀνακεκλασμένας ἤ, ὡς Ποσειδώνιός φησιν ἐν τῇ Μετεωρολογικῇ, ἔμφασιν ἡλίου τμήματος ἢ σελήνης ἐν νέφει δεδροσισμένῳ, κοίλῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πρὸς φαντασίαν, ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ φανταζομένην κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν. κομήτας τε καὶ πωγωνίας καὶ

λαμπαδίας πυρὰ εἶναι ὑφεστῶτα πάχους ἀέρος εἰς τὸν αἰθερώδη τόπον ἀνενεχθέντος.

σέλας δὲ πυρὸς ἀθρόου ἔξαψιν ἐν ἀέρι φερομένου ταχέως καὶ φαντασίαν μήκους ἐμφαίνοντος. ὑετὸν δ’ ἐκ νέφους μεταβολὴν εἰς ὕδωρ, ἐπειδὰν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἢ ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνενεχθεῖσα ὑγρασία ὑφ’ ἡλίου μὴ τυγχάνῃ κατεργασίας· καταψυχθὲν δὲ τοῦτο πάχνην καλεῖσθαι. χάλαζαν δὲ νέφος πεπηγός, ὑπὸ πνεύματος διαθρυφθέν· χιόνα δ’ ὑγρὸν ἐκ νέφους πεπηγότος, ὡς Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τοῦ Φυσικοῦ λόγου· ἀστραπὴν δ’ ἔξαψιν νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος, ὡς Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου· βροντὴν δὲ τὸν τούτων ψόφον ἐκ παρατρίψεως ἢ ῥήξεως·

κεραυνὸν δ’ ἔξαψιν σφοδρὰν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας πίπτουσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος. οἱ δὲ συστροφὴν πυρώδους ἀέρος βιαίως καταφερομένην. τυφῶνα δὲ κεραυνὸν πολύν, βίαιον καὶ πνευματώδη ἢ πνεῦμα καπνῶδες ἐρρωγότος νέφους· πρηστῆρα δὲ νέφος περισχισθὲν πυρὶ μετὰ πνεύματος. σεισμοὺς δὲ γίνεσθαι ῥυέντος πνεύματοσ εἰς τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς ἢ καθειρχθέντος [πνεύματος] ἐν τῇ γῇ, καθά φησι Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ· εἶναι δ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν σεισματίας, τοὺς δὲ χασματίας, τοὺς δὲ κλιματίας, τοὺς δὲ βρασματίας.

Ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν διακόσμησιν ὧδε ἔχειν· μέσην τὴν γῆν κέντρου λόγον ἐπέχουσαν, μεθ’ ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ σφαιροειδές, ἔχον τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον τῇ γῇ, ὥστε τὴν γῆν ἐν ὕδατι εἶναι· μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ δ’ ἀέρα ἐσφαιρωμένον. κύκλους δ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πέντε, ὧν πρῶτον ἀρκτικὸν ἀεὶ φαινόμενον, δεύτερον τροπικὸν θερινόν, τρίτον ἰσημερινόν, τέταρτον χειμερινὸν τροπικόν, πέμπτον ἀνταρκτικὸν ἀφανῆ. λέγονται δὲ παράλληλοι καθότι οὐ συννεύουσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους· γράφονται μέντοι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κέντρον. ὁ δὲ ζωδιακὸς λοξός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐπιὼν τοὺς παραλλήλους.

ζῶναί τ’ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰσι πέντε· πρώτη βόρειος [καὶ] ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀρκτικὸν κύκλον, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος· δευτέρα εὔκρατος· τρίτη ἀοίκητος ὑπὸ καυμάτων, ἡ διακεκαυμένη καλουμένη· τετάρτη ἡ ἀντεύκρατος· πέμπτη νότιος, ἀοίκητος διὰ ψῦχος.

Δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὴν μὲν φύσιν εἶναι πῦρ τεχνικόν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα πυροειδὲς καὶ τεχνοειδές· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αἰσθητικὴν φύσιν. ταύτην δ’ εἶναι τὸ συμφυὲς ἡμῖν πνεῦμα· διὸ καὶ σῶμα εἶναι καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἐπιμένειν· φθαρτὴν δ’ ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἄφθαρτον, ἧς μέρη εἶναι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις.

Ζήνων δ’ ὁ Κιτιεὺς καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἔμπνους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου κινεῖσθαι. Κλεάνθης μὲν οὖν πάσας ἐπιδιαμένειν μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνον.

Μέρη δὲ ψυχῆς λέγουσιν ὀκτώ, τὰς πέντ’ αἰσθήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν σπερματικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ φωνητικὸν καὶ τὸ λογιστικόν. ὁρᾶν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τῆς ὁράσεως καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φωτὸς ἐντεινομένου κωνοειδῶς, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Φυσικῶν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. γίνεσθαι μέντοι τὸ κωνοειδὲς τοῦ ἀέρος πρὸς τῇ ὄψει, τὴν δὲ βάσιν πρὸς τῷ ὁρωμένῳ· ὡς διὰ βακτηρίας οὖν τοῦ ταθέντος ἀέρος τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγγέλλεσθαι.

Ἀκούειν δὲ τοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε φωνοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος ἀέρος πληττομένου σφαιροειδῶς, εἶτα κυματουμένου καὶ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσπίπτοντος, ὡς κυματοῦται τὸ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ ὕδωρ κατὰ κύκλους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβληθέντος λίθου. τὸν δὲ ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τόνου περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τροπάς.

Σπέρμα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ οἷόν τε γεννᾶν τοιαῦτ’ ἀφ’ οἵου καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπεκρίθη· ἀνθρώπου δὲ

σπέρμα, ὃ μεθίησιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεθ’ ὑγροῦ, συγκιρνᾶσθαι τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσι κατὰ μιγμὸν τοῦ τῶν προγόνων λόγου.

εἶναι δ’ αὐτὸ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, ἃ παλαιωθέντα οὐκέτι φύεται, ὡς δῆλον διαπεπνευκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ἀφ’ ὅλων δὲ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτό φασι καταφέρεσθαι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σφαῖρον· πάντων γοῦν γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν. τὸ δὲ τῆς θηλείας ἄγονον ἀποφαίνονται· ἄτονόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ ὑδατῶδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρός φησιν. ἡγεμονικὸν δ’ εἶναι τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾧ αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὁρμαὶ γίνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται· ὅπερ εἶναι ἐν καρδίᾳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ φυσικὰ τὸ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν δοκεῖ, στοχαζομένοις τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος. ἃ δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν διηνέχθησαν, ἔστι τάδε.

Κεφ. β′. ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ

Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος ὁ Φάλανθος, ἐπικαλούμενος Σειρήν, τέλος ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ ἀδιαφόρως ἔχοντα ζῆν πρὸς τὰ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας μηδ’ ἡντινοῦν ἐν αὐτοῖς παραλλαγὴν ἀπολείποντα, ἀλλ’ ἐπίσης ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχοντα· εἶναι γὰρ ὅμοιον τὸν σοφὸν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ὑποκριτῇ, ὃς ἄν τε Θερσίτου ἄν τε Ἀγαμέμνονος πρόσωπον ἀναλάβῃ, ἑκάτερον ὑποκρινεῖται προσηκόντως. τόν τε φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν λογικὸν ἀνῄρει, λέγων τὸν μὲν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, τὸν δ’ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἠθικὸν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

Ἐοικέναι δὲ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἀραχνίοις, ἃ καίτοι δοκοῦντα τεχνικόν τι ἐμφαίνειν, ἄχρηστά ἐστιν. ἀρετάς τ’ οὔτε πολλὰς εἰσῆγεν, ὡς ὁ Ζήνων, οὔτε μίαν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλουμένην, ὡς οἱ Μεγαρικοί, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ πρός τί πως ἔχειν. οὕτω δὲ φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ἐν Κυνοσάργει διαλεγόμενος ἴσχυσεν αἱρετιστὴς ἀκοῦσαι. Μιλτιάδης οὖν καὶ Δίφιλος Ἀριστώνειοι προσηγορεύοντο. ἦν δέ τις πειστικὸς καὶ ὄχλῳ πεποιημένος· ὅθεν ὁ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, καί τις Ἀρίστωνος γενεὴν ἀπὸ αἱμύλου ἔλκων.

Παραβαλὼν δὲ Πολέμωνι, φησὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Μάγνης, μετέθετο, Ζήνωνος ἀρρωστίᾳ μακρᾷ περιπεσόντος. μάλιστα δὲ προσεῖχε Στωικῷ δόγματι τῷ τὸν σοφὸν ἀδόξαστον εἶναι. πρὸς ὃ Περσαῖος ἐναντιούμενος διδύμων ἀδελφῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ παρακαταθήκην δοῦναι, ἔπειτα τὸν ἕτερον ἀπολαβεῖν· καὶ οὕτως ἀπορούμενον διήλεγξεν. ἀπετείνετο δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκεσίλαον· ὅτε θεασάμενος ταῦρον τερατώδη μήτραν ἔχοντα, οἴμοι, ἔφη, δέδοται Ἀρκεσιλάῳ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ τῆς ἐναργείας.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάμενον Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν οὐδὲν καταλαμβάνειν, ἆρ’ οὐδὲ τὸν πλησίον σου καθήμενον ὁρᾷς; εἶπεν· ἀρνησαμένου δέ,
τίς δέ σ’ ἐτύφλωσεν (ἔφη), τίς ἀφείλετο λαμπάδος αὐγάς;

Βιβλία δ’ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Προτρεπτικῶν β′.

Περὶ τῶν Ζήνωνος δογμάτων.

Διάλογοι.

Σχολῶν ς′.

Περὶ σοφίας διατριβῶν ζ′.

Ἐρωτικαὶ διατριβαί.

Ὑπομνήματα ὑπὲρ κενοδοξίας.

Ὑπομνημάτων κε′.

Ἀπομνημονευμάτων γ′.

Χρειῶν ια′.

Πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας.

Πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξίνου ἀντιγραφάς.

Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς γ′.

Πρὸς Κλεάνθην, Ἐπιστολῶν δ′.

Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Σωσικράτης μόνας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς φασι, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ Ἀρίστωνος.

Τοῦτον λόγος φαλακρὸν ὄντα ἐγκαυθῆναι ὑπὸ
ἡλίου καὶ ὧδε τελευτῆσαι. προσεπαίξαμεν δ’
αὐτῷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τῷ ἰάμβῳ τῷ χωλῷ·

τί δὴ γέρων ὢν καὶ φάλανθος, ὦ ’ρίστων,

τὸ βρέγμ’ ἔδωκας ἡλίῳ κατοπτῆσαι;

τοιγὰρ τὸ θερμὸν πλεῖον ἢ δέοι ζητῶν

τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄντως εὗρες οὐ θέλων Ἅδην.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀρίστων Ἰουλιήτης περιπατητικός, ὁ δέ τις μουσικὸς Ἀθηναῖος, τέταρτος ποιητὴς τραγῳδίας, πέμπτος Ἁλαιεὺς τέχνας γεγραφὼς ῥητορικάς, ἕκτος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς περιπατητικός.

Κεφ. γ′. ΗΡΙΛΛΟΣ

Ἥριλλος δ’ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τέλος εἶπε τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀεὶ πάντ’ ἀναφέροντα πρὸς τὸ μετ’ ἐπιστήμης ζῆν καὶ μὴ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ διαβεβλημένον. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἕξιν ἐν φαντασιῶν προσδέξει ἀνυπόπτωτον ὑπὸ λόγου. ποτὲ δ’ ἔλεγε μηδὲν εἶναι τέλος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰ πράγματ’ ἀλλάττεσθαι αὐτό, ὡς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χαλκὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου γινόμενον ἀνδριάντα ἢ Σωκράτους. διαφέρειν δὲ τέλος καὶ ὑποτελίδα· τῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ σοφοὺς στοχάζεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ μόνον τὸν σοφόν. τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀδιάφορα εἶναι. ἔστι δ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία ὀλιγόστιχα μέν, δυνάμεως δὲ μεστὰ καὶ περιέχοντα ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ζήνωνα.

Λέγεται δ’ ὅτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἠράσθησαν ἱκανοί, οὓς ἀποτρέψαι βουλόμενος ὁ Ζήνων ἠνάγκασε ξυρᾶσθαι Ἥριλλον, οἱ δ’ ἀπετράποντο.

Τὰ δὲ βιβλία ἐστὶ τάδε·

Περὶ ἀσκήσεως.

Περὶ παθῶν.

Περὶ ὑπολήψεως.

Νομοθέτης.

Μαιευτικός.

Ἀντιφέρων.

Διδάσκαλος.

Διασκευάζων.

Εὐθύνων.

Ἑρμῆς.

Μήδεια.

Διάλογοι.

Θέσεων ἠθικῶν.

Κεφ. δ′. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

Διονύσιος δ’ ὁ Μεταθέμενος τέλος εἶπε τὴν
ἡδονὴν διὰ περίστασιν ὀφθαλμίας· ἀλγήσας γὰρ
ἐπιπόνως ὤκνησεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πόνον ἀδιάφορον.

Ἦν δὲ παῖς μὲν Θεοφάντου, πόλεως δ’ Ἡρακλείας. ἤκουσε δέ, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πολίτου, ἔπειτ’ Ἀλεξίνου καὶ Μενεδήμου, τελευταῖον δὲ Ζήνωνος.

Καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν φιλογράμματος ὢν παντοδαποῖς ἐπεχείρει ποιήμασιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον ἀπεδέχετο, ζηλῶν αὐτόν. ἀποστὰς δὲ τοῦ Ζήνωνος πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς ἀπετράπη καὶ εἴς τε τὰ χαμαιτυπεῖα εἰσῄει καὶ τἄλλ’ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἡδυπάθει. βιοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ὀγδοήκοντ’ ἀσιτίᾳ κατέστρεψε.

Βιβλία δ’ αὐτοῦ φέρεται τάδε·

Περὶ ἀπαθείας β′.

Περὶ ἀσκήσεως β′.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς δ′.

Περὶ πλούτου καὶ χάριτος καὶ τιμωρίας.

Περὶ ἀνθρώπων χρήσεως.

Περὶ εὐτυχίας.

Περὶ ἀρχαίων βασιλέων.

Περὶ τῶν ἐπαινουμένων.

Περὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθῶν.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ διενεχθέντες. διεδέξατο δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα Κλεάνθης, περὶ οὗ λεκτέον.

Κεφ. ε’. ΚΛΕΑΝΘΗΣ

Κλεάνθης Φανίου Ἄσσιος. οὗτος πρῶτον ἦν πύκτης, ὥς φησιν Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς. ἀφικόμενος δ’ εἰς Ἀθήνας τέσσαρας ἔχων δραχμάς, καθά φασί τινες, καὶ Ζήνωνι παραβαλὼν ἐφιλοσόφησε γενναιότατα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔμεινε δογμάτων. διεβοήθη δ’ ἐπὶ φιλοπονίᾳ, ὅς γε πένης ὢν ἄγαν ὥρμησε μισθοφορεῖν· καὶ νύκτωρ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἤντλει, μεθ’ ἡμέραν δ’ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγυμνάζετο· ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀχθῆναι, λόγους δώσοντα πόθεν ἐς τοσοῦτον εὐέκτης ὢν διαζῇ· ἔπειτ’ ἀποφυγεῖν, τόν τε κηπουρὸν

μάρτυρα παρασχόντα παρ’ ὃν ἤντλει,

div moved

καὶ τὴν ἀλφιτόπωλιν παρ’ ᾗ τἄλφιτα ἔπεττεν. ἀποδεξαμένους δ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας ψηφίσασθαι δέκα μνᾶς δοθῆναι, Ζήνωνα δὲ κωλῦσαι λαβεῖν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτῷ τρισχιλίας δοῦναι. ἡγούμενόν τε τῶν ἐφήβων ἐπί τινα θέαν ὑπ’ ἀνέμου παραγυμνωθῆναι καὶ ὀφθῆναι ἀχίτωνα· ἐφ’ ᾧ κρότῳ τιμηθῆναι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις. ἐθαυμάσθη δὴ οὖν καὶ διὰ τόδε. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονον αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι ὄντα ἀκροατήν, διὰ τί ἀντλεῖ· τὸν δ’ εἰπεῖν, ἀντλῶ γὰρ μόνον; τίδ’ ; οὐχὶ σκάπτω ; τίδ’ ; οὐκ ἄρδω καὶ πάντα ποιῶ φιλοσοφίας ἕνεκα; καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων αὐτὸν συνεγύμναζεν εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὀβολὸν φέρειν ἀποφορᾶς.

καί ποτ’ ἀθροισθὲν τὸ κέρμα ἐκόμισεν εἰς μέσον τῶν γνωρίμων καί φησι, Κλεάνθης μὲν καὶ ἄλλον Κλεάνθην δύναιτ’ ἂν τρέφειν, εἰ βούλοιτο· οἱ δ’ ἔχοντες ὅθεν τραφήσονται παρ’ ἑτέρων ἐπιζητοῦσι τἀπιτήδεια, καίπερ ἀνειμένως φιλοσοφοῦντες. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Κλεάνθης ἐκαλεῖτο. ἦν δὲ πονικὸς μέν, ἀφύσικος δὲ καὶ βραδὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως· διὸ καὶ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως·
τίς δ’ οὗτος κτίλος ὣς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν, μωλύτης ἐπέων φίλος Ἄσσιος, ὅλμος ἄτολμος;

Καὶ σκωπτόμενος δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν συμμαθητῶν ἠνείχετο καὶ ὄνος ἀκούων προσεδέχετο, λέγων αὐτὸς μόνος δύνασθαι βαστάζειν τὸ Ζήνωνος φορτίον.

καί ποτ’ ὀνειδιζόμενος ὡς δειλός, διὰ τοῦτο, εἶπεν, ὀλίγα ἁμαρτάνω. προκρίνων δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον τοῦ τῶν πλουσίων ἔλεγεν, ἐν ᾧ σφαιρίζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι γῆν σκληρὰν καὶ ἄκαρπον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεσθαι σκάπτων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπέπληττεν· ὧν ἀκούσας Ἀρίστων, τίνι, ἔφη, ἐπιπλήττεις; καὶ ὃς γελάσας, πρεσβύτῃ, φησί, πολιὰς μὲν ἔχοντι, νοῦν δὲ μή. εἰπόντος δέ τινος Ἀρκεσίλαον μὴ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, παῦσαι, ἔφη, καὶ μὴ ψέγε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ καθῆκον ἀναιρεῖ, τοῖς γοῦν ἔργοις αὐτὸ τιθεῖ. καὶ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, οὐ κολακεύομαι, φησί· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κλεάνθης, ναί, ἔφη, σὲ κολακεύω φάμενος ἄλλα μὲν λέγειν, ἕτερα δὲ ποιεῖν.

Ἐρομένου τινὸς τί ὑποτίθεσθαι δεῖ τῷ υἱῷ, τὸ τῆς Ἠλέκτρας, ἔφη,
σῖγα, σῖγα, λεπτὸν ἴχνος.
Λάκωνός τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι ὁ πόνος ἀγαθόν, διαχυθείς φησιν,
αἵματός εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος.
φησὶ δ’ ὁ Ἑκάτων ἐν ταῖς Χρείαις, εὐμόρφου μειρακίου εἰπόντος, εἰ ὁ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τύπτων γαστρίζει, καὶ ὁ εἰς τοὺς μηροὺς τύπτων μηρίζει, ἔφη, σὺ μέντοι τοὺς διαμηρισμοὺς ἔχε, μειράκιον· αἱ δ’ ἀνάλογοι φωναὶ τὰ ἀνάλογα οὐ πάντως σημαίνουσι πράγματα. μειρακίῳ ποτὲ διαλεγόμενος ἐπύθετο εἰ αἰσθάνεται· τοῦ δ’ ἐπινεύσαντος, διὰ τί οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ οὐκ αἰσθάνομαι ὅτι αἰσθάνῃ;

Σωσιθέου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐν θεάτρῳ εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν παρόντα,
οὓς ἡ Κλεάνθους μωρία βοηλατεῖ,
ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ σχήματος· ἐφ’ ᾧ ἀγασθέντες οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκρότησαν, τὸν δὲ Σωσίθεον ἐξέβαλον. μεταγινώσκοντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ λοιδορίᾳ προσήκατο, εἰπὼν ἄτοπον εἶναι τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φλυαρουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, αὐτὸν δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ τυχούσῃ βλασφημίᾳ δυσχεραίνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου ὅμοιόν τι πάσχειν ταῖς λύραις, αἳ καλῶς φθεγξάμεναι αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀκούουσι. λέγεται δέ, φάσκοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ Ζήνωνα καταληπτὸν εἶναι τὸ ἦθος ἐξ εἴδους, νεανίσκους τινὰς εὐτραπέλους ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν

κίναιδον ἐσκληραγωγημένον ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦ ἤθους· τὸν δὲ διαπορούμενον κελεῦσαι ἀπιέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὡς δ’ ἀπιὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔπταρεν, ἔχω, εἶπεν, αὐτόν, ὁ Κλεάνθης, μαλακός ἐστι.

πρὸς δὲ τὸν μονήρη καὶ ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα, οὐ φαύλῳ, ἔφη, ἀνθρώπῳ λαλεῖς. ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτῷ τινος εἰς τὸ γῆρας, Κἀγώ, ἔφη, ἀπιέναι βούλομαι· ὅταν δὲ πανταχόθεν ἐμαυτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα περινοῶ καὶ γράφοντα καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα, πάλιν μένω. τοῦτόν φασιν εἰς ὄστρακα καὶ βοῶν ὠμοπλάτας γράφειν ἅπερ ἤκουε παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος, ἀπορίᾳ κερμάτων ὥστε ὠνήσασθαι χαρτία. τοιοῦτος δ’ ὢν ἐξίσχυσε, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων ἀξιολόγων Ζήνωνος μαθητῶν, αὐτὸς διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολήν.

Βιβλία δὲ κάλλιστα καταλέλοιπεν, ἅ ἐστι τάδε·

Περὶ χρόνου.

Περὶ τῆς [τοῦ] Ζήνωνος φυσιολογίας δύο.

Τῶν Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις, τέσσαρα.

Περὶ αἰσθήσεως.

Περὶ τέχνης.

Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.

Πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον.

Πρὸς Ἥριλλον.

Περὶ ὁρμῆς δύο.

Ἀρχαιολογία.

Περὶ θεῶν.

Περὶ γιγάντων.

Περὶ ὑμεναίου.

Περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος τρία.

Περὶ εὐβουλίας.

Περὶ χάριτος.

Προτρεπτικός.

Περὶ ἀρετῶν.

Περὶ εὐφυΐας.

Περὶ Γοργίππου.

Περὶ φθονερίας.

Περὶ ἔρωτος.

Περὶ ἐλευθερίας.

Ἐρωτικὴ τέχνη.

Περὶ τιμῆς.

Περὶ δόξης.

Πολιτικός.

Περὶ βουλῆς

Περὶ νόμων.

Περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν.

Περὶ ἀγωγῆς.

Περὶ τοῦ λόγου τρία.

Περὶ τέλους.

Περὶ καλῶν.

Περὶ πράξεων.

Περὶ ἐπιστήμης.

Περὶ βασιλείας.

Περὶ φιλίας.

Περὶ συμποσίου.

Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρετὴ [καὶ] ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός.

Περὶ τοῦ τὸν σοφὸν σοφιστεύειν.

Περὶ χρειῶν.

Διατριβῶν δύο.

Περὶ ἡδονῆς.

Περὶ ἰδίων.

Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων.

Περὶ διαλεκτικῆς.

Περὶ τρόπων.

Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.

Ταῦτα αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία.

Καὶ τελευτᾷ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· διῴδησεν αὐτῷ τὸ οὖλον· ἀπαγορευσάντων δὲ τῶν ἰατρῶν, δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέσχετο τροφῆς. καί πως ἔσχε καλῶς ὥστε τοὺς ἰατροὺς αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ συνήθη συγχωρεῖν· τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι, ἀλλ’ εἰπόντα ἤδη αὐτῷ προωδοιπορῆσθαι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀποσχόμενον τελευτῆσαι ταὐτὰ Ζήνωνι, καθά φασί τινες, [ὀγδοήκοντα] ἔτη βιώσαντα καὶ ἀκούσαντα Ζήνωνος ἔτη ἐννεακαίδεκα.

Ἐπαίξαμεν δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως·

Αἰνῶ Κλεάνθην, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Ἀΐδην·

ἰδὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρέσβυν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο

τὸ μὴ οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνεσιν ἐν φθιτοῖς ἔχειν

τοσοῦτον ἀντλήσαντα τοῦ βίου χρόνον.

Κεφ. σ΄. ΣΦΑΙΡΟΣ

Τούτου, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν, ἤκουσε μετὰ Ζήνωνα καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Βοσποριανός, ὃς προκοπὴν ἱκανὴν περιποιησάμενος λόγων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπῄει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλοπάτορα. λόγου δέ ποτε γενομένου περὶ τοῦ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τοῦ Σφαίρου εἰπόντος ὡς οὐ δοξάσει, βουλόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέγξαι αὐτόν, κηρίνας ῥόας ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι· τοῦ δὲ Σφαίρου ἀπατηθέντος ἀνεβόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ψευδεῖ συγκατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν φαντασίᾳ. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Σφαῖρος εὐστόχως ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰπὼν οὕτως συγκατατεθεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὅτι ῥόαι εἰσίν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι εὔλογόν ἐστι ῥόας αὐτὰς εἶναι· διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ εὐλόγου. πρὸς δὲ Μνησίστρατον κατηγοροῦντα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον οὐ φησι βασιλέα εἶναι, τοιοῦτον δ’ ὄντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλέα εἶναι.

Βιβλία δὲ γέγραφε τάδε·

Περὶ κόσμου δύο.

Περὶ στοιχείων.

Περὶ σπέρματος.

Περὶ τύχης.

Περὶ ἐλαχίστων.

Πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα.

Περὶ αἰσθητηρίων.

Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου πέντε διατριβῶν.

Περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς διατάξεως.

Περὶ καθήκοντος.

Περὶ ὁρμῆς.

Περὶ παθῶν δύο.

Περὶ βασιλείας.

Περὶ Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας.

Περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Σωκράτους τρίς.

Περὶ νόμου.

Περὶ μαντικῆς.

Διαλόγους ἐρωτικούς.

Περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριακῶν φιλοσόφων.

Περὶ ὁμοίων.

Περὶ ὅρων.

Περὶ ἕξεως.

Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τρία.

Περὶ λόγου.

Περὶ πλούτου.

Περὶ δόξης.

Περὶ θανάτου.

Τέχνης διαλεκτικῆς δύο.

Περὶ κατηγορημάτων.

Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν.

Ἐπιστολάς.

Κεφ. ζ′. ΧΡΓΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Χρύσιππος Ἀπολλωνίου Σολεὺς ἢ Ταρσεύς, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, μαθητὴς Κλεάνθους. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν δόλιχον ἤσκει, ἔπειτ’ ἀκούσας Ζήνωνος ἢ Κλεάνθους, ὡς Διοκλῆς καὶ οἱ πλείους, ἔτι τε ζῶντος ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἐγένετο κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· ἀνὴρ εὐφυὴς καὶ ὀξύτατος ἐν παντὶ μέρει οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις διηνέχθη πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Κλεάνθην, ᾧ καὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγε μόνης τῆς τῶν δογμάτων διδασκαλίας χρῄζειν, τὰς δὲ ἀποδείξεις αὐτὸς εὑρήσειν. μετενόει μέντοι ὁπότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτείνοιτο, ὥστε συνεχὲς προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα·
ἐγὼ δὲ τἄλλα μακάριος πέφυκ’ ἀνὴρ

πλὴν εἰς Κλεάνθην· τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ εὐδαιμονῶ.

Οὕτω δ’ ἐπίδοξος ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πλείους ὅτι εἰ παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν [ἡ] διαλεκτική, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλη ἦν ἢ ἡ Χρυσίππειος. πλεονάσας δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν λέξιν οὐ κατώρθωσε. πονικώτατός τε παρ’ ὀντινοῦν γέγονεν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ ἑπτακόσιά ἐστιν. ἐπλήθυνε δ’ αὐτὰ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστῃ τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος· ὥστε καὶ ἐπειδή ποτ’ ἔν τινι τῶν συγγραμμάτων παρ’ ὀλίγον τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μήδειαν ὅλην παρετίθετο καί τις μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε τὸ βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί ἄρα ἔχοι, ἔφη, Χρυσίππου Μήδειαν.

Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν δογμάτων, βουλόμενος παριστάνειν ὅτι τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει γεγραμμένα καὶ ἀπαράθετα ὄντα μυρίῳ πλείω ἐστὶ τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων, φησὶν οὕτως αὐτῇ τῇ λέξει· εἰ γάρ τις ἀφέλοι τῶν Χρυσίππου βιβλίων ὅσ’ ἀλλότρια παρατέθειται, κενὸς αὐτῷ ὁ χάρτης καταλελείψεται. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἡ δὲ παρεδρεύουσα πρεσβῦτις αὐτῷ, ὥς φησι Διοκλῆς, ἔλεγεν ὡς πεντακοσίους γράφοι στίχους ἡμερησίους. Ἑκάτων δέ φησιν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πατρῴας εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθείσης.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελής, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ὃς σχεδόν τι ὑποκέκρυπται τῷ πλησίον ἱππεῖ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύψιππον ἔλεγεν. οὗτος ὀνειδισθεὶς ὑπό τινος ὅτι οὐχὶ παρ’ Ἀρίστωνι μετὰ πολλῶν σχολάζοι, εἰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἶπε προσεῖχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφιλοσόφησα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν κατεξανιστάμενον Κλεάνθους διαλεκτικὸν καὶ προτείνοντα αὐτῷ σοφίσματα, πέπαυσο, εἶπε, περιέλκων τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπὸ τῶν πραγματικωτέρων, ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρότεινε τοῖς νέοις. πάλιν δ’ ἐπεί τις ζητῶν καταμόνας αὐτῷ διελέγετο εὐσταθῶς, ἔπειτα δὲ θεωρῶν προσιόντα ὄχλον ἤρχετο φιλονεικεῖν, ἔφη,

οἴμοι, κασίγνητ’, ὄμμα σὸν ταράσσεται·

ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου λύσσαν ἀρτίως φρονῶν.

Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς οἰνώσεσιν ἡσύχαζε παραφε· ρόμενος τοῖς σκέλεσιν, ὥστ’ εἰπεῖν τὴν δούλην, Χρυσίππου μόνα τὰ σκέλη μεθύει. οὕτω δ’ ἦν φρονηματίας ὥστ’ ἐρομένου τινὸς τίνι συστήσω τὸν υἱόν; εἰπεῖν, ἐμοί· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑπελάμβανον εἶναί τιν’ ἐμοῦ βελτίονα, παρ’ αὐτῷ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐφιλοσόφουν. ὅθεν φασὶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ λεχθῆναι,
οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι·
καί,
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.

Τέλος δ’ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Λακύδῃ, καθά φησι Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ, παραγενόμενος ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συνεφιλοσόφησε·

δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ πληθῶν τῇ τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν συστάσει χρησάμενος.

Τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Ὠδείῳ σχολάζοντά φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐπὶ θυσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν κληθῆναι· ἔνθα προσενεγκάμενον γλυκὺν ἄκρατον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεμπταῖον ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βιώσαντ’ ἔτη, κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ τετταρακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν παίγνιον εἰς αὐτόν·
ἰλιγγίασε Βάκχον ἐκπιὼν χανδὸν

Χρύσιππος, οὐδ’ ἐφείσατο

οὐ τῆς στοᾶς οὐδ’ ἧς πάτρης, οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς,

ἀλλ’ ἦλθε δῶμ’ ἐς Ἄΐδεω.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασι γέλωτι συσχεθέντα αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· ὄνου γὰρ τὰ σῦκα αὐτῷ φαγόντος, εἰπόντα τῇ γραῒ διδόναι ἄκρατον ἐπιρροφῆσαι τῷ ὄνῳ, ὑπερκαγχάσαντα τελευτῆσαι.

Δοκεῖ δ’ ὑπερόπτης τις γεγονέναι. τοσαῦτα γοῦν συγγράψας οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων προσπεφώνηκεν. ἠρκεῖτό τε γραϊδίῳ μόνῳ, καθὰ καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις φησί. Πτολεμαίου τε πρὸς Κλεάνθην ἐπιστείλαντος ἢ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἢ πέμψαι τινά, Σφαῖρος μὲν ἀπῆλθε, Χρύσιππος δὲ περιεῖδε. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς υἱεῖς, Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Φιλοκράτην, συνεκρότησε. καὶ πρῶτος ἐθάρρησε σχολὴν ἔχειν ὕπαιθρον ἐν Λυκείῳ, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Χρύσιππος Κνίδιος ἰατρός, παρ’ οὗ φησιν Ἐρασίστρατος εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ὠφελῆσθαι. καὶ ἕτερος υἱὸς τούτου, ἰατρὸς Πτολεμαίου, ὃς διαβληθεὶς περιήχθη καὶ μαστιγούμενος ἐκολάσθη· ἄλλος μαθητὴς Ἐρασιστράτου, καί τις Γεωργικὰ γεγραφώς.

Ὁ δὴ φιλόσοφος καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἠρώτα λόγους· ὁ λέγων τοῖς ἀμυήτοις τὰ μυστήρια ἀσεβεῖ· ὁ δέ γ’ ἱεροφάντης τοῖς ἀμυήτοις λέγει τὰ μυστήρια· ἀσεβεῖ ἄρα ὁ ἱεροφάντης. ἄλλο· ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῦτ’ οὐδ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ φρέαρ ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἄλλο· ἔστι τις κεφαλή· ἐκείνην δ’ οὐκ ἔχεις· ἔστι δέ γέ τις κεφαλὴ ἣν οὐκ ἔχεισ· οὐκ ἄρα ἔχεις κεφαλήν.

ἄλλο· εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἐν Μεγάροις, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις· ἄνθρωπος δ’ ἐστὶν ἐν Μεγάροις· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν Ἀθήναις. καὶ πάλιν· εἴ τι λαλεῖς, τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται· ἅμαξαν δὲ λαλεῖς· ἅμαξα ἄρα διὰ τοῦ στόματός σου διέρχεται. καί· εἴ τι οὐκ ἀπέβαλες, τοῦτ’ ἔχεις· κέρατα δ’ οὐκ ἀπέβαλες· κέρατ’ ἄρ’ ἔχεις. οἱ δ’ Εὐβουλίδου τοῦτό φασιν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ κατατρέχουσι τοῦ Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγεγραφότος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους στίχους ἃ μηδεὶς ἠτυχηκὼς μολύνειν τὸ στόμα εἴποι ἄν.

αἰσχροτάτην γάρ, φασί, ταύτην ἀναπλάττει ἱστορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ ὡς φυσικήν, χαμαιτύπαις μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν ἢ θεοῖς, ἔτι τ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ πινάκων γράψασι κατακεχωρισμένην· μήτε γὰρ παρὰ Πολέμωνι μήτε παρ' Ὑψικράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρ' Ἀντιγόνῳ εἶναι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ πεπλάσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ μητράσι λέγει συνέρχεσθαι καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ υἱοῖς· τὰ δ' αὐτά φησι καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν μὴ δι' ἑαυτὰ αἱρετῶν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ δικαίου κατὰ τοὺς χιλίους στίχους καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας κατεσθίειν κελεύων. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βίου καὶ πορισμοῦ προνοεῖν λέγων ὅπως ποριστέον τῷ σοφῷ·

καίτοι τίνος χάριν ποριστέον αὐτῷ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν, ἀδιάφορον τὸ ζῆν· εἰ δὲ ἡδονῆς, καὶ αὕτη ἀδιάφορος· εἰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτάρκης αὕτη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. καταγέλαστοι δὲ καὶ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ πορισμοῦ, οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ βασιλέως· εἴκειν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεήσει. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ φιλίας· λήμματος γὰρ ὤνιος ἡ φιλία ἔσται. καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ σοφίας· μισθαρνήσει γὰρ ἡ σοφία. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγκαλεῖται.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνδοξότατα τὰ βιβλί' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς εἶδος ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα καταχωρίσαι. καὶ ἔστι τάδε·

Λογικοῦ τόπου.

Θέσεις λογικαί.

Τῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου σκεμμάτων.

Ὅρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ς′.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὀνομάτων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′.

Τέχνη διαλεκτικὴ πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν α′.

Συνημμένων πιθανῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δ′.

Λογικοῦ τόπου τοῦ περὶ τὰ πράγματα.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ ἀξιωμάτων α′.

Περὶ τῶν οὐχ ἁπλῶν ἀξιωμάτων α′.

Περὶ τοῦ συμπεπλεγμένου πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′ β′.

Περὶ ἀποφατικῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν γ′.

Περὶ τῶν καταγορευτικῶν πρὸς Ἀθηνόδωρον α′.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρησιν λεγομένων πρὸς Θέαρον α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἀξιωμάτων πρὸς Δίωνα α′ β′ γ′.

Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀορίστων α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους λεγομένων α′ β′.

Περὶ συντελικῶν ἀξιωμάτων β′.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ ἀληθοῦς διεζευγμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′.

Περὶ ἀληθοῦς συνημμένου πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′ β′ γ′ δ′.

Αἵρεσις πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′.

Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀκολούθων α′.

Περὶ τοῦ διὰ τριῶν πάλιν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην α′.

Περὶ δυνατῶν πρὸς Κλεῖτον δ′.

Πρὸς τὸ περὶ σημασιῶν Φίλωνος α′.

Περὶ τοῦ τίνα ἐστὶ τὰ ψευδῆ α′.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ προσταγμάτων β′.

Περὶ ἐρωτήσεως β′.

Περὶ πεύσεως δ′.

Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πεύσεως α′.

Ἐπιτομὴ περὶ ἀποκρίσεως α′.

Περὶ ζητήσεως β′.

Περὶ ἀποκρίσεως δ′.

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Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ τῶν κατηγορημάτων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ι′.

Περὶ ὀρθῶν καὶ ὑπτίων πρὸς Φύλαρχον α′.

Περὶ τῶν συναμμάτων πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίδην α′.

Πρὸς Πασύλον περὶ κατηγορημάτων δ′.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ τῶν πέντε πτώσεων α′.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὡρισμένων ἐκφορῶν α′.

Περὶ παρεμφάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β′.

Περὶ τῶν προσηγορικῶν β′.

Λογικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὰς λέξεις καὶ τὸν κατ’ αὐτὰς λόγον.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ τῶν ἑνικῶν καὶ πληθυντικῶν ἐκφορῶν ς′.

Περὶ λέξεων πρὸς Σωσιγένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ε′.

Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς λέξεις ἀνωμαλίας πρὸς Δίωνα δ′.

Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς σωριτῶν λόγων γ′.

Περὶ σολοικισμῶν.

Περὶ σολοικιζόντων λόγων πρὸς Διονύσιον α′.

Λόγοι παρὰ τὰς συνηθείας α′.

Λέξις πρὸς Διονύσιον α′.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ε′.

Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τῶν λεγομένων δ′.

Περὶ τῆς συντάξεως καὶ στοιχείων τῶν λεγομενων πρὸς Φίλιππον γ′.

Περὶ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Νικίαν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἕτερα λεγομένου α′.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Πρὸς τοὺς μὴ διαιρουμένους β′.

Περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν πρὸς Ἀπολλᾶν δ′.

Περὶ τῶν τροπικῶν ἀμφιβολιῶν α′.

Περὶ συνημμένης τροπικῆς ἀμφιβολίας β′.

Πρὸς τὸ περὶ ἀμφιβολιῶν Πανθοίδου β′.

Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας εἰσαγωγῆς ε′.

Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς Ἐπικράτην ἀμφιβολιῶν α′.

Συνημμένα πρὸς τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν εἰς τὰς ἀμφιβολίας β′.

Λογικοῦ τόπου πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Τέχνη λόγων καὶ τρόπων πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε′.

Περὶ τῶν λόγων γ′.

Περὶ τρόπων συστάσεως πρὸς Στησαγόραν β′.

Σύγκρισις τῶν τροπικῶν ἀξιωμάτων α′.

Περὶ ἀντιστρεφόντων λόγων καὶ συνημμένων α′.

Πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα ἢ περὶ τῶν ἑξῆς προβλημάτων α′.

Περὶ τοῦ τίνα συλλογιστικά τινος μετ’ ἄλλου τε καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐπιφορῶν πρὸς Ἀρισταγόραν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ τάττεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν πλείοσι τρόποις α′.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τῷ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐν συλλογιστικῷ καὶ ἀσυλλογίστῳ τετάχθαι τρόπῳ β′.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα ταῖς τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀναλύσεσι γ′.

Πρὸς τὸ περὶ τρόπων Φίλωνος πρὸς Τιμόστρατον α′.

Λογικὰ συνημμένα πρὸς Τιμοκράτην καὶ Φιλομαθῆ· εἰς τὰ περὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων α′.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν περαινόντων λόγων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′.

Περὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀναποδείκτων συλλογισμων πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′.

Περὶ τῆς ἀναλύσεως τῶν συλλογισμῶν α′.

Περὶ τῶν παρελκόντων λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β′.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς θεωρημάτων α′.

Περὶ συλλογισμῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν πρὸς Ζήνωνα α′.

Τῶν πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τρόπων πρὸς Ζήνωνα γ′.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ψευδῆ σχήματα συλλογισμῶν ε′.

Λόγοι συλλογιστικοὶ κατ’ ἀνάλυσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναποδείκτοις α′.

Τροπικὰ ζητήματα πρὸς Ζήνωνα καὶ Φιλομαθῆ α′ ‘τοῦτο δοκεῖ ψευδεπίγραφον’.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ τῶν μεταπιπτόντων λόγων πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′ ψευδεπίγραφον.

Λόγοι μεταπίπτοντες πρὸς τὴν μεσότητα γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα).

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμεινίου διαζευκτικοὺς α′.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ ὑποθέσεων πρὸς Μελέαγρον γ′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους πρὸς Μελέαγρον πάλιν α′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν β′.

Λόγοι ὑποθετικοὶ θεωρημάτων β′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν β′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποθετικῶν γ′ (ψευδεπίγραφα).

Περὶ ἐκθέσεων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα α′.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν ψευδόμενον εἰσαγωγῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα α′.

Λόγοι ψευδόμενοι πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ ψευδομένου πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ς′.

Σύνταξις ἕκτη·

Πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ ἀληθῆ εἶναι α′.

Πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῆς τομῆς διαλύοντας τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν τέμνειν τὰ ἀόριστα α′.

Πρὸς τὰ ἀντειρημένα τοῖς κατὰ τῆς τομῆς τῶν ἀορίστων πρὸς Πασύλον γ′.

Λύσις κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην α′.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ψευδομένου λύσεως πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα γ′.

Λύσεις τῶν Ἡδύλου ὑποθετικῶν πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα καὶ Ἀπολλᾶν α′.

Σύνταξις ἑβδόμη·

Πρὸς τοὺς φάσκοντας τὰ λήμματα ἔχειν ψευδῆ τὸν ψευδόμενον λόγον α′.

Περὶ ἀποφάσκοντος πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστοκρέοντα β′.

Λόγοι ἀποφάσκοντες πρὸς γυμνασίαν α′.

Περὶ τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν λόγου πρὸς Στησαγόραν α′ β′.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑπολήψεις λόγων καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων πρὸς Ὀνήτορα β′.

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκεκαλυμμένου πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον β′.

Περὶ τοῦ διαλελῃθότος πρὸς Ἀθηνάδην α′.

Σύνταξις ὀγδόη·

Περὶ τοῦ οὔτιδος πρὸς Μενεκράτην η′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀορίστου καὶ ὡρισμένου λόγων πρὸς Πασύλον β′.

Περὶ οὔτιδος λόγου πρὸς Ἐπικράτην α′.

Σύνταξις ἐνάτη·

Περὶ τῶν σοφισμάτων πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Πόλλιν β′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀπόρων διαλεκτικῶν πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην ε′.

Πρὸς τὸ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθόδιον πρὸς Σφαῖρον α′.

Σύνταξις δεκάτη·

Κατὰ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ς′.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς συνηθείας πρὸς Γοργιππίδην ζ′.

Λογικοῦ τόπου τὰ τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων διαφορῶν ἐκτὸς ὄντα καὶ περιέχοντα τὰσ σποράδην καὶ οὐ σωματικὰς ζητήσεις λογικάς, περὶ τῶν καταλεγομένων ζητημάτων ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα τοῦ λογικοῦ ἕνδεκα καὶ τριακόσια.

Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐννοιῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ λόγου πρὸς Θεόπορον α′.

Θέσεις ἠθικαὶ α′.

Πιθανὰ λήμματα εἰς τὰ δόγματα πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ γ′.

Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ ἀστείου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′.

Ὅρων τῶν τοῦ φαύλου πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′.

Ὅρων τῶν ἀναμέσων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον β′.

Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ γένος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ′.

Ὅρων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας πρὸς Μητρόδωρον α′ β′.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα γ′.

Περὶ τῶν ὅρων πρὸς Μητρόδωρον ζ′.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ὅροις ἀντιλεγομένων πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα ζ′.

Πιθανὰ εἰς τοὺς ὅρους πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην β′.

Περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν πρὸς Γοργιππίδην β′.

Περὶ διαιρέσεων α′.

Περὶ ἐναντίων πρὸς Διονύσιον β′.

Πιθανὰ πρὸς τὰς διαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων α′.

Σύνταξις τετάρτη·

Περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα ζ′.

Ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα δ′.

Σύνταξις πέμπτη·

Περὶ παροιμιῶν πρὸς Ζηνόδοτον β′.

Περὶ ποιημάτων πρὸς Φιλομαθῆ α′.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀκούειν β′.

Πρὸς τοὺς κριτικοὺς πρὸς Διόδωρον α′.

Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτου συνισταμένας τέχνας καὶ ἀρετάς.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Πρὸς τὰς ἀναζωγραφήσεις πρὸς Τιμώνακτα α′.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἕκαστα λέγομεν καὶ διανοούμεθα α′.

Περὶ τῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς Λαοδάμαντα β′.

Περὶ ὑπολήψεως πρὸς Πυθώνακτα γ′.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοξάσειν τὸν σοφὸν α′.

Περὶ καταλήψεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀγνοίας δ′.

Περὶ λόγου β′.

Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ λόγου πρὸς Λεπτίνην.

Σύνταξις δευτέρα·

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκρίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὴν διαλεκτικὴν σὺν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι πρὸς Ζήνωνα β′.

Περὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′.

Περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς γ′.

Περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς πρὸς Διοσκουρίδην δ′.

Σύνταξις τρίτη·

Περὶ ἕξεως πρὸς Κλέωνα γ′.

Περὶ τέχνης καὶ ἀτεχνίας πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα δ′.

Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς Διόδωρον δ′.

Περὶ τοῦ ποιὰς εἶναι τὰς ἀρετὰς α′.

Περὶ ἀρετῶν πρὸς Πόλλιν β′.

Ἠθικοῦ τόπου περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν.

Σύνταξις πρώτη·

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς πρὸς Ἀριστοκρέοντα ι′.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τέλος δ′.

Ἀποδείξεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν δ′.

Περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς * * *

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Κεφ. α′. ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ διαγενομένους ἄνδρας ἀξιολόγους διεληλύθαμεν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλικῆς διαλάβωμεν, ἧς ἦρξε Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος, Σάμιος ἤ, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος, Τυρρηνὸς ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν νήσων ἃς ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες. ἔνιοι δ’ υἱὸν μὲν εἶναι Μαρμάκου τοῦ Ἱππάσου τοῦ Εὐθύφρονος τοῦ Κλεωνύμου φυγάδος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος, οἰκεῖν δ’ ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Μάρμακον, ὅθεν Σάμιον τὸν Πυθαγόραν λέγεσθαι·

συστῆναι δ’ εἰς Λέσβον ἐλθόντα Φερεκύδῃ ὑπὸ Ζωίλου τοῦ θείου. καὶ τρία ποτήρια κατασκευασάμενος ἀργυρᾶ δῶρον ἀπήνεγκεν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἱερέων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἔσχε δ’ ἀδελφούς, πρεσβύτερον μὲν Εὔνομον, μέσον δὲ Τυρρηνόν· καὶ δοῦλον Ζάμολξιν, ᾧ Γέται θύουσι, Κρόνον νομίζοντες, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. οὗτος ἤκουσε μέν, καθὰ προείρηται, Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἦκεν εἰς Σάμον καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἑρμοδάμαντος τοῦ ἀπογόνου Κρεωφύλου, ἤδη πρεσβυτέρου. νέος δ’ ὢν καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἀπεδήμησε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πάσας ἐμυήθη τάς θ’ Ἑλληνικὰς καὶ βαρβαρικὰς τελετάς.

ἐγένετ’ οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὁπηνίκα καὶ Πολυκράτης αὐτὸν Ἀμάσιδι συνέστησε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς· καὶ ἐξέμαθε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, καθά φησιν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ πρωτευσάντων, καὶ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἐγένετο καὶ Μάγοις. εἶτ’ ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα· καὶ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔμαθεν. εἶτ’ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας· κἀκεῖ νόμους θεὶς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἳ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες ᾠκονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.

Τοῦτόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς περὶ αὑτοῦ τάδε λέγειν, ὡς εἴη ποτὲ γεγονὼς Αἰθαλίδης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς νομισθείη· τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται πλὴν ἀθανασίας. αἰτήσασθαι οὖν ζῶντα καὶ τελευτῶντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν συμβαινόντων. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ζωῇ πάντων διαμνημονεῦσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, τηρῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν μνήμην. χρόνῳ δ’ ὕστερον εἰς Εὔφορβον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Μενέλεω τρωθῆναι. ὁ δ’ Εὔφορβος ἔλεγεν ὡς Αἰθαλίδης ποτὲ γεγόνοι καὶ ὅτι παρ’ Ἑρμοῦ τὸ δῶρον λάβοι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιπόλησιν, ὡς περιεπολήθη καὶ εἰς ὅσα

φυτὰ καὶ ζῷα παρεγένετο καὶ ὅσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν Ἅιδῃ ἔπαθε καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τίνα ὑπομένουσιν.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ Εὔφορβος ἀποθάνοι, μεταβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἑρμότιμον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν θέλων δοῦναι εἶτ' ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Βραγχίδας καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπέδειξεν ἣν Μενέλαος ἀνέθηκεν ἀσπίδα, (ἔφη γὰρ αὐτόν, ὅτ' ἀπέπλει ἐκ Τροίας, ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἀσπίδα,) διασεσηπυῖαν ἤδη, μόνον δὲ διαμένον τὸ ἐλεφάντινον πρόσωπον. ἐπειδὴ δ' Ἑρμότιμος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πύρρον τὸν Δήλιον ἁλιέα· καὶ πάντα πάλιν μνημονεύειν, πῶς πρόσθεν Αἰθαλίδης, εἶτ' Εὔφορβος, εἶτα Ἑρμότιμος, εἶτα Πύρρος γένοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρος ἀπέθανε, γενέσθαι Πυθαγόραν καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων μεμνῆσθαι.

Ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν μηδὲ ἓν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμά φασιν παίζοντες. Ἡράκλειτος γοῦν ὁ φυσικὸς μονονουχὶ κέκραγε καί φησι· Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθείην, κακοτεχνίην. οὕτω δ' εἶπεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐναρχόμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦ Φυσικοῦ συγγράμματος λέγει ὧδε· οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν ἀναπνέω, οὐ μὰ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ πίνω, οὔ κοτ' οἴσω ψόγον περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε. γέγραπται δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ συγγράμματα τρία, Παιδευτικόν, Πολιτικόν, Φυσικόν·

τὸ δὲ φερόμενον ὡς Πυθαγόρου Λύσιδός ἐστι τοῦ Ταραντίνου Πυθαγορικοῦ, φυγόντος εἰς Θήβας καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδα καθηγησαμένου. φησὶ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ γεγραφέναι αὐτὸν καὶ Περὶ τοῦ ὅλου ἐν ἔπεσιν, δεύτερον τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·
ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ' ἡσυχίης τάδε πάντα·
τρίτον Περὶ ψυχῆς, τέταρτον Περὶ εὐσεβείας, πέμπτον Ἡλοθαλῆ τὸν Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ Κῴου πατέρα, ἕκτον Κρότωνα καὶ ἄλλους. τὸν δὲ Μυστικὸν λόγον Ἱππάσου φησὶν εἶναι, γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Πυθαγόρου, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἄστωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου γραφέντας ἀνατεθῆναι Πυθαγόρᾳ.

φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἠθικῶν δογμάτων λαβεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν παρὰ Θεμιστοκλείας τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς. Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἔνια ποιήσαντα ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς Ὀρφέα. αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Σκοπιάδας, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, Μὴ * * ἀναίδευ μηδενί. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν Διαδοχαῖς φησιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ Φλιασίων τυράννου τίς εἴη, φιλόσοφος, εἰπεῖν. καὶ τὸν βίον ἐοικέναι πανηγύρει· ὡς οὖν εἰς ταύτην οἱ μὲν ἀγωνιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δέ γε βέλτιστοι ἔρχονται θεαταί, οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ οἱ μὲν ἀνδραποδώδεις, ἔφη, φύονται δόξης καὶ πλεονεξίας θηραταί, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ συγγράμμασι τοῖς προειρημένοις φέρεται Πυθαγόρου τάδε καθολικῶς. οὐκ ἐᾷ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον. τὴν μέθην ἓν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς βλάβην καλεῖ καὶ πλησμονὴν πᾶσαν ἀποδοκιμάζει, λέγων μὴ παραβαίνειν μήτε τῶν ποτῶν μήτε τῶν σιτίων μηδένα τὴν συμμετρίαν. καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων δέ φησιν οὕτως· Ἀφροδίσια χειμῶνος ποιέεσθαι, μὴ θέρεος· φθινοπώρου δὲ καὶ ἦρος κουφότερα, βαρέα δὲ πᾶσαν ὥρην καὶ ἐς ὑγιείην οὐκ ἀγαθά. ἀλλὰ καί ποτ' ἐρωτηθέντα πότε δεῖ πλησιάζειν εἰπεῖν· ὅταν βούλῃ γενέσθαι σωυτοῦ ἀσθενέστερος.

Διαιρεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου βίον οὕτως· Παῖς εἴκοσι ἔτεα, νεηνίσκος εἴκοσι, νεηνίης εἴκοσι, γέρων εἴκοσι. αἱ δὲ ἡλικίαι πρὸς τὰς ὥρας ὧδε σύμμετροι· παῖς ἔαρ, νεηνίσκος θέρος, νεηνίης φθινόπωρον, γέρων χειμών. ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν νεηνίσκος μειράκιον, ὁ δὲ νεηνίης ἀνήρ. εἶπέ τε πρῶτος, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, κοινὰ τὰ φίλων εἶναι καὶ φιλίαν ἰσότητα. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ μαθηταὶ κατετίθεντο τὰς οὐσίας εἰς ἕν [ποιούμενοι]. πενταετίαν θ' ἡσύχαζον, μόνον τῶν λόγων

κατακούοντες καὶ οὐδέπω Πυθαγόραν ὁρῶντες εἰς ὃ δοκιμασθεῖεν· τοὐντεῦθεν δ’ ἐγίνοντο τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως μετεῖχον. ἀπείχοντο δὲ καὶ σοροῦ κυπαρισσίνης διὰ τὸ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σεμνοπρεπέστατος λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δόξαν εἶχον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλων ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφιγμένος. λόγος δέ ποτ’ αὐτοῦ παραγυμνωθέντος τὸν μηρὸν ὀφθῆναι χρυσοῦν· καὶ ὅτι Νέσσος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβαίνοντα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσαι πολὺς ἦν ὁ φάσκων. Τίμαιός τέ φησιν ἐν δεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνοικούσας ἀνδράσι θεῶν ἔχειν ὀνόματα, Κόρας, Νύμφας, εἶτα Μητέρας καλουμένας. τοῦτον καὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, Μοίριδος πρώτου εὑρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἀντικλείδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

μάλιστα δὲ σχολάσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν περὶ τὸ ἀριθμητικὸν εἶδος αὐτῆς· τόν τε κανόνα τὸν ἐκ μιᾶς χορδῆς εὑρεῖν. οὐκ ἠμέλησε δ’ οὐδ’ ἰατρικῆς. φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικὸς ἑκατόμβην θῦσαι αὐτόν, εὑρόντα ὅτι τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου ἡ ὑποτείνουσα πλευρὰ ἴσον δύναται ταῖς περιεχούσαις. καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον·
ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεὲς εὕρετο γράμμα,

κεῖν’ ἐφ’ ὅτῳ κλεινὴν ἤγαγε βουθυσίην.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρῶτος κρέασιν ἀσκῆσαι ἀθλητάς, καὶ πρῶτόν γ’ Εὐρυμένην, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, τῶν πρότερον ἰσχάσι ξηραῖς καὶ τυροῖς ὑγροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πυροῖς σωμασκούντων αὐτούς, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας φησίν.

οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν ἀλείπτην τινὰ τοῦτον σιτίσαι τὸν τρόπον, μὴ τοῦτον. τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ τὸ φονεύειν ἀπαγορεύειν, μὴ ὅτι γεύεσθαι τῶν ζῴων κοινὸν δίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχόντων ψυχῆς. καὶ τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ πρόσχημα· τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπηγόρευεν ἅπτεσθαι συνασκῶν καὶ συνεθίζων εἰς εὐκολίαν βίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥστε εὐπορίστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰς τροφάς, ἄπυρα προσφερομένοις καὶ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πίνουσιν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ ψυχῆς ὀξύτητα περιγίνεσθαι. ἀμέλει καὶ βωμὸν προσκυνῆσαι μόνον ἐν Δήλῳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ γενέτορος, ὅς ἐστιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Κερατίνου, διὰ τὸ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πόπανα μόνα τίθεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός, ἱερεῖον δὲ μηδέν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Δηλίων πολιτείᾳ.

Πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκολον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις· καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ εἰσηγήσασθαι, καθά φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός· πρῶτόν τε Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον τὸν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης. οὕτω δ’ ἐθαυμάσθη ὥστ’ ἔλεγον τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ μάντιας θεῶ φωνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φησι δι’ ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσίων ἐτέων ἐξ ἀΐδεω παραγεγενῆσθαι ἐς ἀνθρώπους. τοιγὰρ καὶ προσεκαρτέρουν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα προσῄεσαν καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Πευκέτιοι Μεσσάπιοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.

Μέχρι δὲ Φιλολάου οὐκ ἦν τι γνῶναι Πυθαγόρειον δόγμα· οὗτος δὲ μόνος ἐξήνεγκε τὰ διαβόητα τρία βιβλία, ἃ Πλάτων ἐπέστειλεν ἑκατὸν μνῶν ὠνηθῆναι. τῶν θ’ ἑξακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπήντων αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἴ τινες ἀξιωθεῖεν αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, ἔγραφον πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ὡς μεγάλου τινὸς τετυχηκότες. Μεταποντῖνοί γε μὴν τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸν στενωπὸν δὲ μουσεῖον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπαῖς ἱστορίαις· ἔλεγόν τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πυθαγόρειοι μὴ εἶναι πρὸς πάντας πάντα ῥητά, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν δεκάτῃ Παιδευτικῶν νόμων·

ἔνθα καὶ Ξενόφιλον τὸν Πυθαγορικόν, ἐρωτηθέντα πῶς ἂν μάλιστα τὸν υἱὸν παιδεύσειεν, εἰπεῖν,

εἰ πόλεως εὐνομουμένης γενηθείη. ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεργάσασθαι καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀτὰρ καὶ Ζάλευκον καὶ Χαρώνδαν τοὺς νομοθέτας· ἱκανός τε γὰρ ἦν φιλίας ἐργάτης τά τ’ ἄλλα καὶ εἴ τινα πύθοιτο τῶν συμβόλων αὐτοῦ κεκοινωνηκότα, εὐθύς τε προσηταιρίζετο καὶ φίλον κατεσκεύαζεν.

Ἦν δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ σύμβολα τάδε· πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν, ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν, καρδίην μὴ ἐσθίειν, φορτίον μὴ συγκαθαιρεῖν, ουνεπιτιθέναι δέ, τὰ στρώματα ἀεὶ συνδεδεμένα ἔχειν, ἐν δακτυλίῳ εἰκόνα θεοῦ μὴ περιφέρειν, χύτρας ἴχνος συγχεῖν ἐν τῇ τέφρᾳ, δᾳδίῳ θᾶκον μὴ ὀμόργνυσθαι, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμίχειν, τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν, μὴ ῥᾳδίως δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ὁμωροφίους χελιδόνας μὴ ἔχειν, γαμψώνυχα μὴ τρέφειν, ἀπονυχίσμασι καὶ κουραῖς μὴ ἐπουρεῖν μηδὲ ἐφίστασθαι, ὀξεῖαν μάχαιραν ἀποστρέφειν, ἀποδημοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἀνεπιστρεπτεῖν.

Ἤθελε δ’ αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν δυναστῶν ὀργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μὴ κινεῖν. τὸ δὲ ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, τουτέστι τὸ ἴσον καὶ δίκαιον μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν. ἐπί τε χοίνικος μὴ καθίζειν ἐν ἴσῳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος· ἡ γὰρ χοῖνιξ ἡμερησία τροφή. διὰ δὲ τοῦ καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐδήλου μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίαις καὶ λύπαις κατατήκειν. διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰς ἀποδημίαν βαδίζοντα μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι παρῄνει τοῖς ἀπαλλαττομένοις τοῦ βίου μὴ ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ζῆν μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἡδονῶν ἐπάγεσθαι. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταῦτα λοιπόν ἐστιν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ παρέλκωμεν.

Παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μήτ’ ἐρυθῖνον ἐσθίειν μήτε μελάνουρον, καρδίας τ’ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κυάμων· Ἀριστοτέλης δέ φησι καὶ μήτρας καὶ τρίγλης ἐνίοτε. αὐτὸν δ’ ἀρκεῖσθαι μέλιτι μόνῳ φασί τινες ἢ κηρίῳ ἢ ἄρτῳ, οἴνου δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν μὴ γεύεσθαι· ὄψῳ τε τὰ πολλὰ λαχάνοις ἑφθοῖς τε καὶ ὠμοῖς, τοῖς δὲ θαλαττίοις σπανίως. στολὴ δ’ αὐτῷ λευκή, καθαρά, καὶ στρώματα λευκὰ ἐξ ἐρίων· τὰ γὰρ λινᾶ οὔπω εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφῖκτο τοὺς τόπους. οὐδέποτ’ ἐγνώσθη οὔτε διαχωρῶν οὔτε ἀφροδισιάζων οὔτε μεθυσθείς.

ἀπείχετο καὶ γέλωτος καὶ πάσης ἀρεσκείας οἷον σκωμμάτων καὶ διηγημάτων φορτικῶν. ὀργιζόμενός τ’ οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλαζεν οὔτ’ ἐλεύθερον οὐδένα. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸ νουθετεῖν πεδαρτᾶν. μαντικῇ τ’ ἐχρῆτο τῇ διὰ τῶν κληδόνων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐμπύρων, ἔξω τῆς διὰ λιβάνου. θυσίαις τε ἐχρῆτο ἀψύχοις, οἱ δέ φασιν, ὅτι ἀλέκτορσι μόνον καὶ ἐρίφοις γαλαθηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἁπαλίαις, ἥκιστα δὲ ἄρνασιν. ὅ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τἄλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνον δ’ ἀπέχεσθαι βοὸς ἀροτῆρος καὶ κριοῦ.

Ὅ δ’ αὐτός φησιν, ὡς προείρηται, καὶ τὰ δόγματα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς Θεμιστοκλείας. φησὶ δ’ Ἱερώνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς ᾅδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν, τὴν δ’ Ὁμήρου κρεμαμένην ἀπὸ δένδρου καὶ ὄφεις περὶ αὐτὴν ἀνθ’ ὧν εἶπον περὶ θεῶν, κολαζομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας συνεῖναι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναιξί· καὶ δὴ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Κρότωνι. φησὶ δ’ Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φυσιολόγων Πυθαγόραν αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγόρευεν οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ Πυθίου.

Λέγεται παρεγγυᾶν αὐτὸν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς μαθηταῖς τάδε λέγειν εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσιοῦσι,
πῇ παρέβην; τί δ’ ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;
σφάγιά τε θεοῖς προσφέρειν κωλύειν, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἀναίμακτον βωμὸν προσκυνεῖν. μηδ’ ὀμνύναι θεούς· ἀσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖν ἀξιόπιστον παρέχειν. τούς τε πρεσβυτέρους τιμᾶν, τὸ προηγούμενον τῷ χρόνῳ τιμιώτερον ἡγουμένους· ὡς ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἀνατολὴν δύσεως, ἐν βίῳ δ’ ἀρχὴν τελευτῆς, ἐν ζωῇ δὲ γένεσιν φθορᾶς.

καὶ θεοὺς μὲν δαιμόνων προτιμᾶν, ἥρωας δ’ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς γονέας. ἀλλήλοις θ’ ὁμιλεῖν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ’ ἐχθροὺς φίλους ἐργάσασθαι. ἴδιόν τε μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι. νόμῳ βοηθεῖν, ἀνομίᾳ πολεμεῖν· φυτὸν ἥμερον μήτε φθίνειν μήτε σίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ζῷον ὃ μὴ βλάπτει ἀνθρώπους. αἰδῶ καὶ εὐλάβειαν εἶναι μήτε γέλωτι κατέχεσθαι μήτε σκυθρωπάζειν. φεύγειν σαρκῶν πλεονασμόν, ὁδοιπορίης ἄνεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν ποιεῖσθαι, μνήμην ἀσκεῖν, ἐν ὀργῇ μήτε τι λέγειν μήτε πράσσειν, μαντικὴν πᾶσαν τιμᾶν,

ᾠδαῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς λύραν ὕμνῳ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν εὔλογον χάριν ἔχειν. τῶν δὲ κυάμων ἀπέχεσθαι διὰ τὸ πνευματώδεις ὄντας μάλιστα μετέχειν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ· καὶ ἄλλως κοσμιωτέρας ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὰς γαστέρας, μὴ παραληφθέντας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς καθ’ ὕπνους φαντασίας λείας καὶ ἀταράχους ἀποτελεῖν.

Φησὶ δ’ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς καὶ ταῦτα εὑρηκέναι ἐν Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν.

ἀρχὴν μὲν ἁπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς γραμμάς, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπεδα σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων τὰ στερεὰ σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ σώματα, ὧν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· μεταβάλλειν δὲ καὶ τρέπεσθαι δι’ ὅλων, καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν κόσμον ἔμψυχον, νοερόν, σφαιροειδῆ, μέσην περιέχοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὴν σφαιροειδῆ καὶ περιοικουμένην.

εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀντίποδας καὶ τὰ ἡμῖν κάτω ἐκείνοις ἄνω. ἰσόμοιρά τ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς καὶ σκότος, καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν· ὧν κατ’ ἐπικράτειαν θερμοῦ μὲν θέρος γίνεσθαι, ψυχροῦ δὲ χειμῶνα, ξηροῦ δ’ ἔαρ, καὶ ὑγροῦ φθινόπωρον. ἐὰν δὲ ἰσομοιρῇ, τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους, οὗ τὸ μὲν θάλλον ἔαρ ὑγιεινόν, τὸ δὲ φθίνον φθινόπωρον νοσερόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας θάλλειν μὲν τὴν ἕω, φθίνειν δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν· ὅθεν καὶ νοσερωτέραν εἶναι. τόν τε περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα ἄσειστον καὶ νοσερὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα θνητά· τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω ἀεικίνητόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγιᾶ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀθάνατα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῖα.

ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἴτιον. τήν τε σελήνην λάμπεσθαι ὑφ’ ἡλίου. καὶ ἀνθρώποις εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγένειαν, κατὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἄνθρωπον θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. εἱμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς διοικήσεως. διήκειν τ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνα διὰ τοῦ αἰθέρος τοῦ τε ψυχροῦ καὶ παχέος. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ψυχρὸν αἰθέρα, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν παχὺν αἰθέρα. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ εἰς τὰ βένθη δύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιεῖν πάντα.

καὶ ζῆν μὲν πάνθ’ ὅσα μετέχει τοῦ θερμοῦ· διὸ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ζῷα εἶναι· ψυχὴν μέντοι μὴ ἔχειν πάντα. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τῷ συμμετέχειν ψυχροῦ αἰθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν ζωῆς· ἀθάνατόν τ’ εἶναι αὐτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ’ οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι. τὰ δὲ ζῷα γεννᾶσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ σπερμάτων, τὴν δ’ ἐκ γῆς γένεσιν ἀδύνατον ὑφίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σπέρμα εἶναι σταγόνα ἐγκεφάλου περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ θερμὸν ἀτμόν· ταύτην δὲ προσφερομένην τῇ μήτρᾳ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἰχῶρα καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ αἷμα προΐεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν σάρκας τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὀστᾶ καὶ τρίχας καὶ τὸ ὅλον συνίστασθαι σῶμα· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ ψυχὴν καὶ αἴσθησιν.

μορφοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παγὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους ἐν ἑπτὰ ἢ ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ πλεῖστον μησὶ τελεωθὲν ἀποκυΐσκεσθαι τὸ βρέφος· ἔχειν δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῆς ζωῆς, ὧν εἰρομένων συνέχεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἁρμονίας λόγους,

ἑκάστων ἐν τεταγμένοις καιροῖς ἐπιγινομένων. τήν τ’ αἴσθησιν κοινῶς καὶ κατ’ εἶδος τὴν ὅρασιν ἀτμόν τιν’ εἶναι ἄγαν θερμόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται δι’ ἀέρος ὁρᾶν καὶ δι’ ὕδατος· ἀντερείδεσθαι γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ. ἐπεί τοι εἰ ψυχρὸς ἦν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἀτμός, διειστήκει ἂν πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα· νῦν δὲ * * ἔστιν ἐν οἷς ἡλίου πύλας καλεῖ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰσθήσεων δογματίζει.

Τὴν δ’ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαιρεῖσθαι τριχῆ, εἴς τε νοῦν καὶ φρένας καὶ θυμόν. νοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ θυμὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις, φρένας δὲ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ καρδίας μέχρις ἐγκεφάλου· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν θυμόν, φρένας δὲ καὶ νοῦν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ· σταγόνας δ’ εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτων τὰς αἰσθήσεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν φρόνιμον ἀθάνατον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ θνητά. τρέφεσθαί τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος· τοὺς δὲ λόγους ψυχῆς ἀνέμους εἶναι. ἀόρατόν τ’ εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀόρατος.

δεσμά τ’ εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα· ὅταν δ’ ἰσχύῃ καὶ καθ’ αὑτὴν γενομένη ἠρεμῇ, δεσμὰ γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐκριφθεῖσαν δ’ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὁμοίαν τῷ σώματι. τὸν δ’ Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπαῖον λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθόνιον, ἐπειδήπερ οὗτος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης· καὶ ἄγεσθαι τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕψιστον, τὰς δ’ ἀκαθάρτους μήτ’ ἐκείναις πελάζειν μήτ’ ἀλλήλαις, δεῖσθαι δ’ ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δεσμοῖς ὑπ’ Ἐρινύων.

εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πέμπεσθαι ἀνθρώποις τούς τ’ ὀνείρους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόσου τε καὶ ὑγιείας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προβάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσιν· εἴς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πᾶσαν καὶ κληδόνας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. μέγιστον δέ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν. εὐδαιμονεῖν τ’ ἀνθρώπους ὅταν ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ προσγένηται, μηδέποτε δ’ ἠρεμεῖν μηδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν * * ῥόον κρατεῖν.

Ὅρκιόν τ’ εἶναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Δία ὅρκιον λέγεσθαι. τήν τ’ ἀρετὴν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸν θεόν· διὸ καὶ καθ’ ἁρμονίαν συνεστάναι τὰ ὅλα. φιλίαν τ’ εἶναι ἐναρμόνιον ἰσότητα. τιμὰς θεοῖς δεῖν νομίζειν καὶ ἥρωσι μὴ τὰς ἴσας, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἀεὶ μετ’ εὐφημίας λευχειμονοῦντας καὶ ἁγνεύοντας, ἥρωσι δ’ ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας. τὴν δ’ ἁγνείαν εἶναι διὰ καθαρμῶν καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ διὰ τοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀπό τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι βρωτῶν θνησειδίων τε κρεῶν καὶ τριγλῶν καὶ μελανούρων καὶ ᾠῶν καὶ τῶν ᾠοτόκων ζῴων καὶ κυάμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν παρακελεύονται καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες.

φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν κυάμων ἤτοι ὅτι αἰδοίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι ἢ ὅτι Ἅιδου πύλαις. * * ἀγόνατον γὰρ μόνον· ἢ ὅτι φθείρει ἢ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ ὅλου φύσει ὅμοιον ἢ ὅτι ὀλιγαρχικόν· κληροῦνται γοῦν αὐτοῖς. τὰ δὲ πεσόντα μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος· καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἥρωσι,
μηδὲ γεύεσθ’ ἄττ’ ἂν ἐντὸς τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ·

Ἀλεκτρυόνος μὴ ἅπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερὸς τοῦ Μηνὸς καὶ ἱκέτης· τὸ δ’ ἦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τῷ τε Μηνὶ ἱερός· σημαίνει γὰρ τὰς ὥρας. καὶ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν τῆς τἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ μέλαν τοῦ κακοῦ. τῶν ἰχθύων μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, ὅσοι ἱεροί· μὴ γὰρ δεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ τετάχθαι θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ ἐλευθέροις καὶ δούλοις. ἄρτον μὴ καταγνύειν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἕνα οἱ πάλαι τῶν φίλων ἐφοίτων,

καθάπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι· μηδὲ διαιρεῖν, ὃς συνάγει αὐτούς· οἱ δέ, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ᾅδου κρίσιν· οἱ δ’ εἰς πόλεμον δειλίαν ποιεῖν· οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἄρχεται τὸ ὅλον.

Καὶ τῶν σχημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον σφαῖραν εἶναι τῶν στερεῶν, τῶν δ’ ἐπιπέδων κύκλον. γῆρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ μειούμενον ὅμοιον· καὶ αὔξην καὶ νεότητα ταὐτόν. ὑγίειαν τὴν τοῦ εἴδους διαμονήν, νόσον τὴν τούτου φθοράν. περὶ τῶν ἁλῶν, ὅτι δεῖ παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ δικαίου· οἱ γὰρ ἅλες πᾶν σῴζουσιν ὅ τι ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῶν καθαρωτάτων ἡλίου καὶ θαλάσσης.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέν φησιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρηκέναι, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐχόμενα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης.

Τὴν δὲ σεμνοπρέπειαν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις δάκνων αὐτὸν ὅμως οὐ παρέλιπεν, εἰπὼν οὕτω·
Πυθαγόρην τε γόητας ἀποκλίναντ’ ἐπὶ δόξας

θήρῃ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων, σεμνηγορίης ὀαριστήν.
περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἧς ἀρχή,
νῦν αὖτ’ ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον.
ὃ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὕτως ἔχει·
καί ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος παριόντα

φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος·

παῦσαι μηδὲ ῥάπιζ’, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶ

ψυχή, τὴν ἔγνων φθεγξαμένης ἀΐων.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ξενοφάνης. ἔσκωψε δ’ αὐτὸν Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Πυθαγοριζούσῃ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ταραντίνοις φησὶν οὕτως·
ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἄν τιν’ ἰδιώτην ποθὲν

λάβωσιν εἰσελθόντα, διαπειρώμενον

τῆς τῶν λόγων ῥώμης ταράττειν καὶ κυκᾶν

τοῖς ἀντιθέτοις, τοῖς πέρασι, τοῖς παρισώμασιν,

τοῖς ἀποπλάνοις, τοῖς μεγέθεσιν νουβυστικῶς.
Μνησίμαχος δ’ Ἀλκμαίωνι·
ὡς Πυθαγοριστὶ θύομεν τῷ Λοξίᾳ,

ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν ἐσθίοντες παντελῶς.

Ἀριστοφῶν Πυθαγοριστῇ·
ἔφη καταβὰς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν τῶν κάτω

ἰδεῖν ἑκάστους, διαφέρειν δὲ πάμπολυ

τοὺς Πυθαγοριστὰς τῶν νεκρῶν· μόνοισι γὰρ

τούτοισι τὸν Πλούτωνα συσσιτεῖν ἔφη

δι’ εὐσέβειαν. β. δυσχερῆ θεὸν λέγεις,

εἰ τοῖς ῥύπου μεστοῖσιν ἥδεται ξυνών.
ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ·

ἐσθίουσί τε

λάχανά τε καὶ πίνουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕδωρ·

φθεῖρας δὲ καὶ τρίβωνα τήν τ’ ἀλουσίαν

οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειε τῶν ἑτέρων νεκρῶν.

Ἐτελεύτα δ’ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. συνεδρεύοντος μετὰ τῶν συνήθων ἐν τῇ Μίλωνος οἰκίᾳ [τούτου], ὑπό τινος τῶν μὴ παραδοχῆς ἀξιωθέντων διὰ φθόνον ὑποπρησθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν συνέβη· τινὲς δ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν εὐλαβουμένους. τὸν δὴ Πυθαγόραν καταληφθῆναι διεξιόντα· καὶ πρός τινι χωρίῳ γενόμενος πλήρει κυάμων, ἵνα [αὐτόθι] ἔστη, εἰπὼν ἁλῶναι ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πατῆσαι [ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ κρεῖττον ἢ λαλῆσαι]· καὶ ὧδε πρὸς τῶν διωκόντων ἀποσφαγῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα· διαφυγεῖν δ’ ὀλίγους, ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἄρχιππος ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ Λῦσις ὁ προειρημένος.

Φησὶ δὲ Δικαίαρχος τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀποθανεῖν καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἱερὸν τῶν Μουσῶν, τετταράκοντ’ ἡμέρας ἀσιτήσαντα. Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίων ἐπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ * * πανδαισίαν εὐρόντα Κύλωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου εἰς Μεταπόντιον ὑπεξελθεῖν κἀκεῖ τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι ἀσιτίᾳ, μὴ βουλόμενον περαιτέρω ζῆν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι, πολεμούντων Ἀκραγαντίνων καὶ Συρακοσίων, ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Πυθαγόραν μετὰ τῶν συνήθων καὶ προστῆναι τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων· τροπῆς δὲ γενομένης περικάμπτοντα αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν κυάμων χώραν ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀναιρεθῆναι· τούς τε λοιπούς, ὄντας πρὸς τοὺς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐν Τάραντι κατακαυθῆναι, θέλοντας ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι τοῖς προεστῶσι.

Καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ Πυθαγόρου φησὶν ὁ Ἕρμιππος. [λέγει γὰρ] ὡς γενόμενος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ γῆς οἰκίσκον ποιήσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἐντείλαιτο τὰ γινόμενα εἰς δέλτον γράφειν σημειουμένην καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἔπειτα καθιέναι αὐτῷ ἔστ’ ἂν ἀνέλθῃ. τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τὴν μητέρα. τὸν δὲ Πυθαγόραν μετὰ χρόνον ἀνελθεῖν ἰσχνὸν καὶ κατεσκελετευμένον· εἰσελθόντα τ’ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκειν ὡς ἀφῖκται ἐξ ᾅδου· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ συμβεβηκότα. οἱ δὲ σαινόμενοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐδάκρυόν τε καὶ ᾤμωζον καὶ ἐπίστευον εἶναι τὸν Πυθαγόραν θεῖόν τινα, ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, ὡς καὶ μαθησομένας τι τῶν αὐτοῦ· ἃς καὶ Πυθαγορικὰς κληθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἕρμιππος.

Ἦν δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ γυνή, Θεανὼ ὄνομα, Βροντίνου τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου θυγάτηρ· οἱ δέ, γυναῖκα μὲν εἶναι Βροντίνου, μαθήτριαν δὲ Πυθαγόρου. ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ θυγάτηρ Δαμώ, ὥς φησι Λῦσις ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Ἵππασον, περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων οὕτως· λέγοντι δὲ πολλοὶ τὺ καὶ δαμοσίᾳ φιλοσοφέν, ὅπερ ἀπαξίωσε Πυθαγόρας, ὅς γέ τοι Δαμοῖ τᾷ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ παρακαταθέμενος τὰ ὑπομνάματα ἐπέσκαψε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τᾶς οἰκίας παραδιδόμεν. ἁ δὲ δυναμένα πολλῶν χραμάτων ἀποδίδοσθαι τὼς λόγως οὐκ ἐβουλάθη· πενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶ πατρὸς ἐπισκάψιας ἐνόμιζε χρυσῶ τιμιωτέρας ἦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα γυνά.

Ἦν καὶ Τηλαύγης υἱὸς αὐτοῖς, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν πατέρα καὶ κατά τινας Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθηγήσατο· Ἱππόβοτός γέ τοί φησι λέγειν Ἐμπεδοκλέα,
Τήλαυγες, κλυτὲ κοῦρε Θεανοῦς Πυθαγόρεώ τε.
σύγγραμμα δὲ [φέρεται] τοῦ Τηλαύγους οὐδέν, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Θεανοῦς τινα. ἀλλὰ καί φασιν αὐτὴν ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ποσταία γυνὴ ἀπ’ ἀνδρὸς καθαρεύει, φάναι, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου οὐδέποτε. τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα μελλούσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῄνει ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἅμ’ αὐτοῖσιν

ἀναλαμβάνειν. ἐρωτηθεῖσα, ποῖα; ἔφη, ταῦτα δι’ ἃ γυνὴ κέκλημαι.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν Πυθαγόρας, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης
φησὶν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ἐτελεύτα, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπογραφὴν τῶν ἡλικιῶν·
ὡς δ’ οἱ πλείους, ἔτη βιοὺς ἐνενήκοντα. καὶ
ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν πεπαιγμένα οὕτως ἔχοντα·
οὐ μόνος ἐμψύχων ἄπεχες χέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς·

τίς γὰρ ὃς ἐμψύχων ἥψατο, Πυθαγόρα;

ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἑψηθῇ τι καὶ ὀπτηθῇ καὶ ἁλισθῇ,

δὴ τότε καὶ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔχον ἐσθίομεν.
ἄλλο·
ἦν ἄρα Πυθαγόρης τοῖος σοφός, ὥστε μὲν αὐτὸς

μὴ ψαύειν κρειῶν καὶ λέγεν ὡς ἄδικον,

σιτίζειν δ’ ἄλλους. ἄγαμαι σοφόν· αὐτὸς ἔφα μὲν

οὐκ ἀδικεῖν, ἄλλους δ’ αὐτὸς ἔτευχ’ ἀδικεῖν.

καὶ ἄλλο·
τὰς φρένας ἢν ἐθέλῃς τὰς Πυθαγόραο νοῆσαι,

ἀσπίδος Εὐφόρβου βλέψον ἐς ὀμφάλιον.

φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος, Ἐγὼν ἦν πρόβροτος· ὃς δ’ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν,

φάσκων ὥς τις ἔην, οὔτις ἔην ὅτ’ ἔην.
καὶ ἄλλο, ὡς ἐτελεύτα·
αἲ, αἲ, Πυθαγόρης τί τόσον κυάμους ἐσεβάσθη;

καὶ θάνε φοιτηταῖς ἄμμιγα τοῖς ἰδίοις.

χωρίον ἦν κυάμων· ἵνα μὴ τούτους δὲ πατήσῃ,

ἐξ Ἀκραγαντίνων κάτθαν’ ἐνὶ τριόδῳ.

Ἤκμαζε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστημα διέμενε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα·

τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὓς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος εἶδε, Ξενόφιλός τε ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης καὶ Φάντων ὁ Φλιάσιος καὶ Ἐχεκράτης καὶ Διοκλῆς καὶ Πολύμναστος, Φλιάσιοι καὶ αὐτοί. ἦσαν δ’ ἀκροαταὶ Φιλολάου καὶ Εὐρύτου τῶν Ταραντίνων.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Πυθαγόραι τέτταρες περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, οὐ πολὺ ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντες· εἷς μὲν Κροτωνιάτης, τυραννικὸς ἄνθρωπος· ἕτερος Φλιάσιος, σωμασκητής, [ἀλείπτης, ὥς φασί τινες]· τρίτος Ζακύνθιος· τέταρτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὗ φασιν εἶναι τἀπόρρητα τῆς φιλοσοφίας· [αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος·] ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ Αὐτὸς ἔφα παροιμιακὸν εἰς τὸν βίον ἦλθεν.

οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Ῥηγῖνον γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθαγόραν, πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι· καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδριαντοποιὸν Σάμιον· καὶ ἕτερον ῥήτορα μοχθηρόν· καὶ ἰατρὸν ἄλλον, τὰ περὶ κήλης γεγραφότα καί τινα περὶ Ὁμήρου συντεταγμένον· καὶ ἕτερον Δωρικὰ πεπραγματευμένον, ὡς Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι, καθὸ καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας παρατίθεται, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετταρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, κομήτην καὶ ἁλουργίδα

φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθέντα τ’ ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι.

δηλοῦν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοὐπίγραμμα ὅπερ ἐποίησε Θεαίτητος·

Πυθαγόρην τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὦ ξεῖνε, κομήτην,

ᾀδόμενον πύκτην εἰ κατέχεις Σάμιον,

Πυθαγόρης ἐγώ εἰμι· τὰ δ’ ἔργα μου εἴ τιν’ ἔροιο

Ἠλείων, φήσεις αὐτὸν ἄπιστα λέγειν.

Τοῦτον ὁ Φαβωρῖνός φησιν ὅροις χρήσασθαι διὰ τῆς μαθηματικῆς ὕλης, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ Σωκράτην καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πλησιάσαντας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ’ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τοὺς στωικούς.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην· ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Παρμενίδην· ὡς δὲ Ζήνων, Ἡσίοδον.

τούτῳ φασὶν ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι Κύλωνα καθάπερ Ἀντίλοχον Σωκράτει.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·
οὗτος πυκτεύσων ἐς Ὀλύμπια παισὶν ἄνηβος

ἦλυθε Πυθαγόρης ὁ Κράτεω Σάμιος.
ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος καὶ ὧδε ἐπέστειλε·

Πυθαγόρης Ἀναξιμένει.

“Καὶ σύ, ὦ λῷστε, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἦς Πυθαγόρεω γενεήν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστὰς ἂν οἴχεο ἐκ Μιλήτου· νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σε ἡ πατρόθεν εὔκλεια, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἂν κατείρυκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἐοικότα. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ ὀνήιστοι τὰς πόλιας ἐκλείψετε, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτέων ὁ κόσμος αἱρεθήσεται, ἐπικινδυνότερα δ’ αὐτῇσι τὰ ἐκ Μήδων.

οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερολογέειν μελεδωνόν τε εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα περὶ τοὺς ἐμεωυτοῦ μύθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὓς διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιῶται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Πυθαγόρου διεληλύθαμεν, ῥητέον περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν· μεθ’ οὓς περὶ τῶν σποράδην κατά τινας φερομένων· ἔπειθ’ οὕτως ἐξάψομεν τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀξίων λόγου ἕως Ἐπικούρου καθὰ καὶ προειρήκαμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν Θεανοῦς καὶ Τηλαύγους διειλέγμεθα· λεκτέον δὲ νῦν περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους πρῶτον· κατὰ γάρ τινας Πυθαγόρου διήκουσεν.

Κεφ. β΄. ΕΜΠΕΔΟΚΛΗΣ

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἱππόβοτος, Μέτωνος ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, Ἀκραγαντῖνος. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγει προσιστορῶν ἐπίσημον ἄνδρα γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸν πάππον τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕρμιππος τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ φησίν. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων, ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας ἱπποτροφηκότος τοῦ πάππου. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς φησιν ὡς
ἦν μὲν Μέτωνος υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους

αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους

ὁ Γλαῦκος ἐλθεῖν φησιν.

εἶθ’ ὑποβάς·
οἱ δ’ ἱστοροῦντες, ὡς πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν

εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει

πρὸς Ἀθηνάους ἐμοί γε τελέως ἀγνοεῖν

δοκοῦσιν· ἢ γὰρ οὐκέτ’ ἦν ἢ παντελῶς

ὑπεργεγηρακώς, ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται.
Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης,
ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι. ὁ δὲ τὴν
μίαν καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκὼς
κέλητι τούτου πάππος ἦν ὁμώνυμος,
ὥσθ’ ἅμα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου σημαίνεσθαι.

Σάτυρος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Βίοις φησὶν ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ἐξαινέτου, κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸν Ἐξαίνετον· ἐπί τε τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν μὲν ἵππῳ κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τὸν δ’ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πάλῃ ἥ, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ, δρόμῳ. ἐγὼ δ’ εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσε τοῖς θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἔσχε Καλλικρατίδην. Τηλαύγης δ’ ὁ Πυθαγόρου παῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φιλόλαον ἐπιστολῇ φησι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα Ἀρχινόμου εἶναι υἱόν.

Ὅτι δ’ ἦν Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τῶν Καθαρμῶν φησιν·
ὦ φίλοι οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ναίετ’ ἀν’ ἄκρα πόλεος.
καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τάδε.

Ἀκοῦσαι δ’ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ τῆς ἑνάτης ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτι καταγνωσθεὶς ἐπὶ λογοκλοπίᾳ τότε, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων, τῶν λόγων ἐκωλύθη μετέχειν. μεμνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου λέγοντα·
ἦν δέ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδώς,

ὃς δὴ μήκιστον πραπίδων ἐκτήσατο πλοῦτον.
οἱ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς Παρμενίδην αὐτὸν λέγειν ἀναφέροντα.

Φησὶ δὲ Νεάνθης ὅτι μέχρι Φιλολάου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἐκοινώνουν οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τῶν λόγων. ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἐδημοσίωσεν αὐτά, νόμον ἔθεντο μηδενὶ μεταδώσειν ἐποποιῷ. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ Πλάτωνα παθεῖν φησι· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον κωλυθῆναι. τίνος μέντοι γε αὐτῶν ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, οὐκ εἶπε· τὴν γὰρ περιφερομένην ὡς Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολὴν ὅτι τε μετέσχεν Ἱππάσου καὶ Βροντίνου, μὴ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστον.

Ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μιμητὴν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἐν ἔπεσι τὸν Περὶ φύσεως ἐξενεγκεῖν λόγον.

Ἕρμιππος δὲ οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτήν, ᾧ καὶ συνδιατρῖψαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιίαν· ὕστερον δὲ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν. Ἀλκιδάμας δ’ ἐν τῷ Φυσικῷ φησι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήνωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου, εἶθ’ ὕστερον ἀποχωρῆσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ’ ἰδίαν φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ Πυθαγόρου· καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα ζηλῶσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ’ ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησι πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὑρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ποιητῶν φησιν ὅτι καὶ Ὁμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν

φράσιν γέγονεν, μεταφορητικός τε ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύγμασι χρώμενος· καὶ διότι γράψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα ποιήματα τήν τε τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν καὶ προοίμιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, ταῦθ' ὕστερον κατέκαυσεν ἀδελφή τις αὐτοῦ (ἢ θυγάτηρ, ὥς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος), τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἄκουσα, τὰ δὲ Περσικὰ βουληθεῖσα διὰ τὸ ἀτελείωτα εἶναι.

καθόλου δέ φησι καὶ τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν γράψαι καὶ πολιτικούς· Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἑτέρου φησὶν εἶναι τὰς τραγῳδίας. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ τρισὶ καὶ τετταράκοντά φησιν ἐντετυχηκέναι, Νεάνθης δὲ νέον ὄντα γεγραφέναι τὰς τραγῳδίας καὶ αὐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἐντετυχηκέναι.

Φησὶ δὲ Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις ὅτι καὶ ἰατρὸς ἦν καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος. Γοργίαν γοῦν τὸν Λεοντῖνον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μαθητήν, ἄνδρα ὑπερέχοντα ἐν ῥητορικῇ καὶ Τέχνην ἀπολελοιπότα· ὅν φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιῶναι.

τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω, δι' ὧν φησι· φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ πεύσῃ, ἐπεὶ μούνῳ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα. παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος, οἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ὀρνύμενοι πνοιαῖσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἄρουραν· καὶ πάλιν, ἢν ἐθέλῃσθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματ' ἐπάξεις· θήσεις δ' ἐξ ὄμβροιο κελαινοῦ καίριον αὐχμὸν ἀνθρώποις, θήσεις δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐχμοῖο θερείου ῥεύματα δενδρεόθρεπτα, τά τ' αἰθέρι ναιήσονται, ἄξεις δ' ἐξ Ἀΐδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός.

Φησὶ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμῆναι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιῆσαι περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· λήξαντος δὲ κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι. Ἡρακλείδης τε ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων φησὶ καὶ Παυσανίᾳ ὑφηγήσασθαι αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄπνουν. ἦν δ' ὁ Παυσανίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν οὕτως·

Παυσανίη, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαΐφρονος Ἀγχίτου υἱέ.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε·
Παυσανίην ἰητρὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀγχίτου υἱὸν

φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρὶς ἔθρεψε Γέλα,

ὃς πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαραινομένους καμάτοισι

φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων.
τὴν γοῦν ἄπνουν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης φησὶ τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι, ὡς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας συντηρεῖν ἄπνουν καὶ ἄσφυκτον τὸ σῶμα· ὅθεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἰητρὸν καὶ μάντιν, λαμβάνων ἅμα καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν στίχων·

ὦ φίλοι, οἳ μέγα ἄστυ κατὰ ξανθοῦ Ἀκράγαντος

ναίετ' ἀν' ἄκρα πόλεος, ἀγαθῶν μελεδήμονες ἔργων,

χαίρετ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς

πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,

ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείοις·

τοῖσιν ἅμ' εὖτ' ἂν ἵκωμαι ἐς ἄστεα τηλεθάοντα,

ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί, σεβίζομαι· οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕπονται

μυρίοι, ἐξερέοντες ὅπῃ πρὸς κέρδος ἀταρπός·

οἱ μὲν μαντοσυνέων κεχρημένοι, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ νούσων

παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλύειν εὐηκέα βάξιν.

Μέγαν δὲ τὸν Ἀκράγαντα εἰπεῖν φησιν ἐπεὶ μυριάδες αὐτὸν κατῴκουν ὀγδοήκοντα· ὅθεν τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα εἰπεῖν, τρυφώντων αὐτῶν, Ἀκραγαντῖνοι τρυφῶσι μὲν ὡς αὔριον ἀποθανούμενοι, οἰκίας δὲ κατασκευάζονται ὡς πάντα τὸν χρόνον βιωσόμενοι.

Αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς Καθαρμοὺς [ἐν] Ὀλυμπίασι ῥαψῳδῆσαι λέγεται Κλεομένη τὸν ῥαψῳδόν, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. φησὶ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἀλλότριον, εἴ γε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διδομένην παρῃτήσατο, καθάπερ Ξάνθος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει, τὴν λιτότητα δηλονότι πλέον ἀγαπήσας.

τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ καὶ Τίμαιος εἴρηκε, τὴν αἰτίαν ἅμα παρατιθέμενος τοῦ δημοτικὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι κληθεὶς ὑπό τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡσ προβαίνοντος τοῦ δείπνου τὸ ποτὸν οὐκ εἰσεφέρετο, τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχαζόντων, μισοπονήρως διατεθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν εἰσφέρειν· ὁ δὲ κεκληκὼς ἀναμένειν ἔφη τὸν τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτην. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο, ἐγενήθη συμποσίαρχος, τοῦ κεκληκότος δηλονότι καταστήσαντος, ὃς ὑπεγράφετο τυραννίδος ἀρχήν· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἢ πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἡσύχασε· τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς δικαστήριον ἀπέκτεινε καταδικάσας ἀμφοτέρους, τόν τε κλήτορα καὶ τὸν συμποσίαρχον. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἦδε.

Πάλιν δ’ Ἄκρωνος τοῦ ἰατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῴου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἀκρότητα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε, τά τ’ ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεὶς καί τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐρωτήσας· τί δ’ ἐπιγράψομεν ἐλεγεῖον; ἢ τοῦτο;
ἄκρον ἰατρὸν Ἄκρων’ Ἀκραγαντῖνον πατρὸς Ἄκρου

κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης.
τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεύτερον στίχον οὕτω προφέρονται,
ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει.
τοῦτό τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι.

Ὕστερον δ’ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ τὸ τῶν χιλίων ἄθροισμα κατέλυσε συνεστὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἦν τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ δημοτικὰ φρονούντων. ὅ γέ τοι Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ια’ καὶ ιβ’, πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, φησὶν ἐναντίαν ἐσχηκέναι γνώμην αὐτὸν τῇ πολιτείᾳ φαίνεσθαι· ἔστιν ὅπου δ’ ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαυτον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει [ἴδοι τις ἄν]· φησὶ γοῦν,
χαίρετ’· ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς πωλεῦμαι,
καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καθ’ ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐπεδήμει Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπιστροφῆς ἠξιοῦτο πλείονος, ὥστε μηδενὸς ἑτέρου μνείαν γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις τοσαύτην ὅσην Ἐμπεδοκλέους.

Ὕστερον μέντοι τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος οἰκτιζομένου, ἀντέστησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ καθόδῳ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπόγονοι· διόπερ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας ἐτελεύτησεν. οὐ παρῆκε δ’ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ὁ Τίμων, ἀλλ’ ὧδ’ αὐτοῦ καθάπτεται λέγων·

καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀγοραίων

ληκητὴς ἐπέων· ὅσα δ’ ἔσθενε, τόσσα διεῖλεν,

ἀρχῶν ὃς διέθηκ’ ἀρχὰς ἐπιδευέας ἄλλων.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου διάφορός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἄπνου διηγησάμενος, ὡς ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν, φησὶν ὅτι θυσίαν συνετέλει πρὸς τῷ Πεισιάνακτος ἀγρῷ. συνεκέκλητο δὲ τῶν φίλων τινές, ἐν οἷς καὶ

Παυσανίας.

εἶτα μετὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χωρισθέντες ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδροις ὡς ἀγροῦ παρακειμένου, οἱ δ’ ὅπῃ βούλοιντο, αὐτὸς δ’ ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ’ οὗπερ κατεκέκλιτο. ὡς δ’ ἡμέρας γενηθείσης ἐξανέστησαν, οὐχ ηὑρέθη μόνος. ζητουμένου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνακρινομένων καὶ φασκόντων μὴ εἰδέναι, εἷς τις ἔφη μέσων νυκτῶν φωνῆς ὑπερμεγέθους ἀκοῦσαι προσκαλουμένης Ἐμπεδοκλέα, εἶτ’ ἐξαναστὰς ἑωρακέναι φῶς οὐράνιον καὶ λαμπάδων φέγγος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκπλαγέντων, καταβὰς ὁ Παυσανίας ἔπεμψέ τινας ζητήσοντας. ὕστερον δὲ ἐκώλυε πολυπραγμονεῖν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ.

Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι Πάνθειάν τινα Ἀκραγαντίνην ἀπηλπισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν· τοὺς δὲ κληθέντας εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὠδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων· χαλκᾶς γὰρ εἴθιστο ὑποδεῖσθαι. πρὸς τοῦθ’ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀντέλεγε.

Διόδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου γράφων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τῦφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα. τοῖς Σελινουντίοις ἐμπεσόντος λοιμοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου ποταμοῦ δυσωδίας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς φθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν, ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ δύο τινὰς ποταμοὺς τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἰδίαις δαπάναις· καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκῆναι τὰ ῥεύματα. οὕτω δὴ λήξαντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ τῶν Σελινουντίων εὐωχουμένων ποτὲ παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἐπιφανῆναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· τοὺς δ’ ἐξαναστάντας προσκυνεῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ. ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι.

τούτοις δ’ ἐναντιοῦται Τίμαιος, ῥητῶς λέγων ὡς ἐξεχώρησεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν· ὅθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἄδηλον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίρρησιν ἐν τῇ ιδ’· Συρακόσιόν τε γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πεισιάνακτα καὶ ἀγρὸν οὐκ ἔχειν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι· Παυσανίαν τε μνημεῖον ἂν πεποιηκέναι τοῦ φίλου, τοιούτου διαδοθέντος λόγου, ἢ ἀγαλμάτιόν τι ἢ σηκὸν οἷα θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον εἶναι. πῶς οὖν, φησὶν, εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας ἥλατο ὢν ὡσ σύνεγγυς ὄντων οὐδὲ μνείαν ποτὲ ἐπεποίητο; τετελεύτηκεν οὖν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.

οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον τάφον αὐτοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν. τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπιφέρει· ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός ἐστιν Ἡρακλείδης τοιοῦτος παραδοξολόγος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης πεπτωκέναι ἄνθρωπον λέγων.

Ἱππόβοτος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀνδριὰς ἐγκεκαλυμμένος Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἔκειτο πρότερον μὲν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίου ἀκάλυφος δηλονότι μεταθέντων αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων· γραπταὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰκόνες καὶ νῦν περιφέρονται. Νεάνθης δ’ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ὁ καὶ περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εἰπών φησι Μέτωνος τελευτήσαντος τυραννίδος ἀρχὴν ὑποφύεσθαι· εἶτα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα πεῖσαι τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους παύσασθαι μὲν τῶν στάσεων, ἰσότητα δὲ πολιτικὴν ἀσκεῖν.

Ἔτι τε πολλὰς τῶν πολιτίδων ἀπροίκους ὑπαρχούσας αὐτὸν προικίσαι διὰ τὸν παρόντα πλοῦτον· διὸ δὴ πορφύραν τε ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ στρόφιον ἐπιθέσθαι χρυσοῦν, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ἔτι τ’ ἐμβάδας χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμμα Δελφικόν. κόμη τε ἦν αὐτῷ βαθεῖα καὶ παῖδες ἀκόλουθοι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφ’ ἑνὸς σχήματος ἦν. τοιοῦτος δὴ

προῄει, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐντυχόντων καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀξιωσάντων οἱονεὶ βασιλείας τινὸς παράσημον. ὕστερον δὲ διά τινα πανήγυριν πορευόμενον ἐπ᾽ ἀμάξης ὡς εἰς Μεσσήνην πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν κλάσαι· νοσήσαντα δ᾽ ἐκ τούτου τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τάφον ἐν Μεγάροις.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης διαφέρεται· φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑξήκοντ᾽ ἐτῶν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δὲ ἐννέα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Δημήτριος δ᾽ ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ σοφιστῶν βιβλίῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον
ἀψάμενον βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ᾽ ὑψηλοῖο κρανείης

αὐχέν᾽ ἀποκρεμάσαι, ψυχὴν δ᾽ Ἄϊδόσδε κατελθεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ προειρημένῳ Τηλαύγους ἐπιστολίῳ λέγεται αὐτὸν εἰς θάλατταν ὑπὸ γήρως ὀλισθόντα τελευτῆσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ σκωπτικὸν μέν, τοῦτον δ᾽ ἔχον τὸν τρόπον·

καὶ σύ ποτ᾽, Ἐμπεδόκλεις, διερῇ φλογὶ σῶμα καθήρας

πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητήρων ἔκπιες ἀθανάτων·

οὐκ ἐρέω δ᾽ ὅτι σαυτὸν ἑκὼν βάλες ἐς ῥόον Αἴτνης,

ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἔμπεσες οὐκ ἐθέλων.
καὶ ἄλλο·
ναὶ μὴν Ἐμπεδοκλῆα θανεῖν λόγος ὥς ποτ᾽ ἀμάξης

ἔκπεσε καὶ μηρὸν κλάσσατο δεξιτερόν·

εἰ δὲ πυρὸς κρητῆρας ἐσήλατο καὶ πίε τὸ ζῆν,

πῶς ἂν ἔτ᾽ ἐν Μεγάροις δείκνυτο τοῦδε τάφος;

Ἐδόκει δ᾽ αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα· Φιλίαν θ᾽ ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ Νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται. φησὶ δ᾽ οὕτω·

Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ᾽ Ἀϊδωνεὺς

Νῆστίς θ᾽, ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον·
Δία μὲν τὸ πῦρ λέγων, Ἥρην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Ἀϊδωνέα δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Νῆστιν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ.

Καὶ ταῦτα, φησίν, ἀλλάττοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει, ὡς ἂν ἀϊδίου τῆς τοιαύτης διακοσμήσεως οὔσης· ἐπιφέρει γοῦν·
ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν᾽ εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα,

ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖ δίχ᾽ ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει.>

Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιόν φησι πυρὸς ἄθροισμα μέγα καὶ τῆς σελήνης μείζω· τὴν δὲ σελήνην δισκοειδῆ, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἴδη ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῦν·
ἤδη γάρ ποτ᾽ ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε

θάμνος τ᾽ οἰωνός τε καὶ ἔξαλος ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Περὶ φύσεως αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Καθαρμοὶ εἰς ἔπη τείνουσι πεντακισχίλια, ὁ δὲ Ἰατρικὸς λόγος εἰς ἔπη ἑξακόσια. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν προειρήκαμεν.

Κεφ. γ΄. ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΣ

Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡλοθαλοῦς Κῷος. καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου. τριμηνιαῖος δ’ ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα, ἐντεῦθεν δ’ εἰς Συρακούσας, ὥς φησι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

εἴ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἅλιος ἄστρων

καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον’ ἔχει δύναμιν,

φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίᾳ προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον,

ὃν πατρὶς ἐστεφάνωσ’ ἅδε Συρακοσίων.

οὗτος ὑπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἰατρολογεῖ· καὶ παραστιχίδα γε ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πεποίηκεν, οἷς διασαφεῖ ὅτι ἑαυτοῦ ἐστι τὰ συγγράμματα. βιοὺς δ’ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα κατέστρεψεν.

Κεφ. δ’. ΑΡΧΥΤΑΣ

Ἀρχύτας Μνησαγόρου Ταραντῖνος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος, Ἑστιαίου, Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ αὐτός. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Πλάτωνα ῥυσάμενος δι’ ἐπιστολῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου μέλλοντ’ ἀναιρεῖσθαι. ἐθαυμάζετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ· καὶ δὴ ἑπτάκις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστρατήγησε, τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ στρατηγούντων διὰ τὸ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον. πρὸς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς δύο, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτῷ πρότερος ἐγεγράφει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

“Ἀρχύτας Πλάτωνι ὑγιαίνειν.

“Καλῶς ποιέεις ὅτι ἀποπέφευγας ἐκ τᾶς ἀρρωστίας· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτός τυ ἐπέσταλκας καὶ τοὶ περὶ Λαμίσκον ἀπάγγελον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐπεμελήθημες καὶ ἀνήλθομες ὡς Λευκανὸς καὶ ἐνετύχομες τοῖς Ὀκκέλω ἐκγόνοις. τὰ μὲν ὦν Περὶ νόμω καὶ Βασιληίας καὶ Ὁσιότατος καὶ τᾶς τῶ παντὸς γενέσιος αὐτοί τ’ ἔχομες καὶ τὶν ἀπεστάλκαμες· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οὔτοι νῦν γα δύναται εὑρεθῆμεν, αἰ δέ κα εὑρεθῇ, ἥξει τοι.

“Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀρχύτας· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἀντεπιστέλλει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

“Πλάτων Ἀρχύτᾳ εὖ πράττειν.

“Τὰ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ ἐλθόντα ὑπομνήματα θαυμαστῶς ἄσμενοί τε ἐλάβομεν καὶ τοῦ γράψαντος αὐτὰ ἠγάσθημεν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄξιος ἐκείνων τῶν παλαιῶν προγόνων. λέγονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι Μυραῖοι εἶναι· οὗτοι δ’ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντος ἐξαναστάντων Τρώων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς ὁ παραδεδομένος μῦθος δηλοῖ. τὰ δὲ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ὑπομνήματα, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλας, ἱκανῶς μὲν οὔπω ἔχει· ὡς δέ ποτε τυγχάνει ἔχοντα ἀπέσταλκά σοι. περὶ δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμφότεροι συμφωνοῦμεν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ παρακελεύεσθαι. ἔρρωσο.

Καὶ ὧδε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ ἐπιστολαί.

Γεγόνασι δ’ Ἀρχύται τέτταρες· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Μυτιληναῖος μουσικός, τρίτος Περὶ γεωργίας συγγεγραφώς, τέταρτος ἐπιγραμματοποιός. ἔνιοι καὶ πέμπτον ἀρχιτέκτονά φασιν, οὗ φέρεται βιβλίον Περὶ μηχανῆς, ἀρχὴν ἔχον ταύτην, τάδε παρὰ Τεύκρου Καρχηδονίου διήκουσα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ μουσικοῦ φέρεται καὶ τόδε, ὡς ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐξακουεσθαι εἴποι, τὸ γὰρ ὄργανον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διαγωνιζόμενον λαλεῖ.

Τὸν δὲ Πυθαγορικὸν Ἀριστόξενός φησι μηδέποτε στρατηγοῦντα ἡττηθῆναι· φθονούμενον δ’ ἅπαξ ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τοὺς αὐτίκα ληφθῆναι.

Οὗτος πρῶτος τὰ μηχανικὰ ταῖς μαθηματικαῖς προσχρησάμενος ἀρχαῖς μεθώδευσε καὶ πρῶτος κίνησιν ὀργανικὴν διαγράμματι γεωμετρικῷ προσήγαγε, διὰ τῆς τομῆς τοῦ ἡμικυλίνδρου δύο

μέσας ἀνὰ λόγον λαβεῖν ζητῶν εἰς τὸν τοῦ κύβου διπλασιασμόν. κἀν γεωμετρίᾳ πρῶτος κύβον εὗρεν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ.

Κεφ. ε′. ΑΛΚΜΑΙΩΝ

Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιάτης. καὶ οὗτος Πυθαγόρου διήκουσε· καὶ τὰ πλεῖστά γε ἰατρικὰ λέγει, ὅμως δὲ καὶ φυσιολογεῖ ἐνίοτε λέγων δύο τὰ πολλά ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος φυσικὸν λόγον συγγεγραφέναι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην καθόλου τε τὰ ὑπὲρ ταύτην ἔχειν ἀΐδιον φύσιν.

Ἦν δὲ Πειρίθου υἱός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐναρχόμενος τοῦ συγγράμματός φησιν· Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιήτης τάδε ἔλεξε Πειρίθου υἱὸς Βροτίνῳ καὶ Λέοντι καὶ Βαθύλλῳ· περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων, περὶ τῶν θνητῶν σαφήνειαν μὲν θεοὶ ἔχοντι, ὡς δ’ ἀνθρώποις τεκμαίρεσθαι’ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον, καὶ κινεῖσθαι αὐτὴν συνεχὲς ὡς τὸν ἥλιον.

Κεφ. σ′. ΙΠΠΑΣΟΣ

Ἵππασος Μεταποντῖνος καὶ αὐτὸς Πυθαγορικός. ἔφη δὲ χρόνον ὡρισμένον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς καὶ πεπερασμένον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀεικίνητον.

Φησὶ δ’ αὐτὸν Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις μηδὲν καταλιπεῖν σύγγραμμα. γεγόνασι δ’ Ἵππασοι δύο, οὗτός τε καὶ ἕτερος γεγραφὼς ἐν πέντε βιβλίοις Λακώνων πολιτείαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Λάκων.

Κεφ. ζ′. ΦΙΛΟΛΑΟΣ

Φιλόλαος Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγορικός. παρὰ τούτου Πλάτων ὠνήσασθαι τὰ βιβλία τὰ Πυθαγορικὰ Δίωνι γράφει. ἐτελεύτα δὲ νομισθεὶς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τυραννίδι. καὶ ἡμῶν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτόν·
τὴν ὑπόνοιαν πᾶσι μάλιστα λέγω θεραπεύειν·

εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ δρᾷς, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς, ἀτυχεῖς.

οὕτω καὶ Φιλόλαον ἀνεῖλε Κρότων ποτὲ πάτρη,

ὥς μιν ἔδοξε θέλειν δῶμα τύραννον ἔχειν.

Δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ πάντα ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ γίνεσθαι. καὶ τὴν γῆν κινεῖσθαι κατὰ κύκλον πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ’ Ἱκέταν τὸν Συρακόσιόν φασιν.

Γέγραφε δὲ βιβλίον ἕν, ὅ φησιν Ἕρμιππος λέγειν τινὰ τῶν συγγραφέων Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον παραγενόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν πρὸς Διονύσιον ὠνήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξανδρινῶν μνῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μεταγεγραφέναι τὸν Τίμαιον. ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβεῖν αὐτά, παρὰ Διονυσίου παραιτησάμενον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς νεανίσκον ἀπηγμένον τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου μαθητῶν.

Τοῦτόν φησι Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις πρῶτον ἐκδοῦναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν βιβλία καὶ ἐπιγράψαι Περὶ φύσεως, ὧν ἀρχὴ ἥδε· ἁ φύσις δ’ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἁρμόχθη ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων καὶ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα.

Κεφ. η′. ΕΥΔΟΞΟΣ

Εὔδοξος Αἰσχίνου Κνίδιος, ἀστρολόγος, γεωμέτρης, ἰατρός, νομοθέτης. οὗτος τὰ μὲν γεωμετρικὰ Ἀρχύτα διήκουσε, τὰ δ’ ἰατρικὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου, καθὰ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξί φησι. Σωτίων δ’ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς λέγει καὶ Πλάτωνος αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι. γενόμενον γὰρ

ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ στενῶς διακείμενον κατὰ κλέος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπᾶραι σὺν Θεομέδοντι τῷ ἰατρῷ, τρεφόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δέ, καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα· καταχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὁσημέραι ἀνιέναι Ἀθήναζε καὶ ἀκούσαντα τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐτόθι ὑποστρέφειν.

δύο δὴ μῆνας διατρίψαντα οἴκαδ' ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων ἐρανισθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπᾶραι μετὰ Χρυσίππου τοῦ ἰατροῦ, συστατικὰς φέροντα παρ' Ἀγησιλάου πρὸς Νεκτάναβιν· τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτὸν συστῆσαι. καὶ τέτταρας μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτῷ διατρίψαντ' αὐτόθι ξυρόμενόν θ' ὑπήνην καὶ ὀφρὺν τὴν Ὀκταετηρίδα κατά τινας συγγράψαι. ἐντεῦθέν τε γενέσθαι ἐν Κυζίκῳ καὶ τῇ Προποντίδι σοφιστεύοντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μαυσωλὸν ἀφικέσθαι. ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπανελθεῖν Ἀθήναζε, πάνυ πολλοὺς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντα μαθητάς, ὥς φασί τινες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πλάτωνα λυπῆσαι, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν παρεπέμψατο.

τινὲς δέ φασι καὶ συμπόσιον ἔχοντι τῷ Πλάτωνι αὐτὸν τὴν ἡμικύκλιον κατάκλισιν, πολλῶν ὄντων, εἰσηγήσασθαι. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Νικόμαχος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους τὴν ἡδονὴν λέγειν τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἀπεδέχθη δὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μεγαλοτίμως, ὡς τό γε περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφισμα γενόμενον δηλοῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιφανέστατος ἐγένετο, γράψας τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις νόμους, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τετάρτῃ Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καὶ ἀστρολογούμενα καὶ γεωμετρούμενα καὶ ἕτερ' ἄττα ἀξιόλογα.

Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τρεῖς, Ἀκτίδα, Φιλτίδα, Δελφίδα.

φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Βάτωνα καὶ Κυνῶν διαλόγους συνθεῖναι· οἱ δέ, γεγραφέναι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους τῇ αὐτῶν φωνῇ, τοῦτον δὲ μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. τούτου διήκουσε Χρύσιππος ὁ Ἐρίνεω Κνίδιος τά τε περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου καὶ τῶν μετεωρολογουμένων, τὰ δ' ἰατρικὰ παρὰ Φιλιστίωνος τοῦ Σικελιώτου.

Κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ ὑπομνήματα κάλλιστα. τούτου γέγονε παῖς Ἀρισταγόρας, οὗ Χρύσιππος Ἀεθλίου μαθητής, οὗ τὰ θεραπεύματα φέρεται ὁρατικά, τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρημάτων [τῶν] ὑπὸ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πεσόντων.

Γεγόνασι δ' Εὔδοξοι τρεῖς· αὐτὸς οὗτος, ἕτερος Ῥόδιος ἱστορίας γεγραφώς, τρίτος Σικελιώτης παῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητὴς κωμωδίας, νικας ἑλὼν ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς, Ληναϊκὰς δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς. εὑρίσκομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἰατρὸν Κνίδιον, περὶ οὗ φησιν Εὔδοξος ἐν Γῆς περιόδῳ ὡς εἴη παραγγέλλων ἀεὶ συνεχὲς κινεῖν τὰ ἄρθρα πάσῃ γυμνασίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὁμοίως.

Ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι τὸν Κνίδιον Εὔδοξον ἀκμάσαι κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, εὑρεῖν τε τὰ περὶ τὰς καμπύλας γραμμάς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρίτον ἄγων καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος. ὅτε δὲ συνεγένετο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Χονούφιδι τῷ Ἡλιουπολίτῃ, ὁ Ἆπις αὐτοῦ θοἰμάτιον περιελιχμήσατο. ἔνδοξον οὖν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔσεσθαι, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·
ἐν Μέμφει λόγος ἐστὶν προμαθεῖν τὴν ἰδίην

Εὔδοξόν ποτε μοῖραν παρὰ τοῦ καλλικέρω

ταύρου. κοὐδὲν ἔλεξεν· βοῖ γὰρ πόθεν λόγος;

φύσις οὐκ ἔδωκε μόσχῳ λάλον Ἄπιδι στόμα.

παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν λέχριος στὰς ἐλιχμήσατο στολήν,

προφανῶς τοῦτο διδάσκων, Ἀποδύσῃ βιοτὴν

ὅσον οὔπω. διὸ καί οἱ ταχέως ἦλθε μόρος,

δεκάκις πέντ’ ἐπὶ τρισσαῖς ἐσιδόντι Πλειάδας.

Τοῦτον ἀντὶ Εὐδόξου Ἔνδοξον ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς φήμης.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων Πυθαγορικῶν διεληλύθαμεν, νῦν ἤδη περὶ τῶν σποράδην, ὥς φασι, διαλεχθῶμεν· λεκτέον δὲ πρῶτον περὶ Ἡρακλείτου.

Θ

Κεφ. α΄. ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ

Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἦ, ὥς τινες, Ἡράκωντος Ἐφέσιος. οὗτος ἤκμαζε μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. μεγαλόφρ ων δὲ γέγονε παρ’ ὀντιναοῦ καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δῆλον, ἐν ᾧ φησι, πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὖτίς τε Ξενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖον. εἶναι γὰρ ἓν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὁτέη ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων. τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ῥαπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.

Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὕβριν χρὴ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊὴν καὶ μάχεσθαι χρὴ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου ὅκωσπερ τείχεος. καθάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐκβαλεῖν Ἑρμόδωρον, ἐν οἷς φησιν, ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, οἵτινες Ἑρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἑωυτῶν ὀνήιστον ἐξέβαλον λέγοντες, Ἡμέων μηδὲ εἷς ὀνήιστος ἔστω· εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος, ἄλλῃ τε καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων. ἀξιούμενος δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερεῖδε διὰ τὸ ἤδη κεκρατῆσθαι τῇ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τὴν πόλιν.

ἀναχωρήσας δ’ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἠστραγάλιζε· περιστάντων δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐφεσίων, τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε; εἶπεν· ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ’ ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι;

Καὶ τέλος μισανθρωπήσας καὶ ἐκπατήσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διητᾶτο, πόας σιτούμενος καὶ βοτάνας. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιτραπεὶς εἰς ὕδερον κατῆλθεν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ δύναιντ’ ἐξ ἐπομβρίας αὐχμὸν ποιῆσαι· τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων, αὐτὸν εἰς βουστάσιον κατορύξας τῇ τῶν βολίτων ἀλέᾳ ἤλπισεν ἐξατμισθήσεσθαι. οὐδὲν δ’ ἀνύων οὐδ’ οὕτως, ἐτελεύτα βιοὺς ἔτη ἑξήκοντα.

Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·
πολλάκις Ἡράκλειτον ἐθαύμασα, πῶς ποτε τὸ ζῆν

ὧδε διαντλήσας δύσμορος εἶτ’ ἔθανεν·

σῶμα γὰρ ἀρδεύσασα κακὴ νόσος ὕδατι φέγγος

ἔσβεσεν ἐν βλεφάροις καὶ σκότον ἠγάγετο.

Ἕρμιππος δέ φησι λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰατροῖς εἴ τις δύναται τὰ ἔντερα κεινώσας τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξερᾶσαι· ἀπειπόντων δέ, θεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς παῖδας βολίτοις καταπλάττειν· οὕτω δὴ κατατεινόμενον δευτεραῖον τελευτῆσαι καὶ θαφθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ’ ὁ Κυζικηνός φησι μὴ δυνηθέντ’ αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλιτα μεῖναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κυνόβρωτον γενέσθαι.

Γέγονε δὲ θαυμάσιος ἐκ παίδων, ὅτε καὶ νέος ὢν ἔφασκε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντ’ ἐγνωκέναι. ἤκουσέ τ’ οὐδενός, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἔφη διζήσασθαι καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ.

Σωτίων δέ φησιν εἰρηκέναι τινὰς Ξενοφάνους αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι· λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὸν ὕδερον αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι, ἀποθανεῖν δ’ ἄλλῃ νόσῳ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησι.

Τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διῄρηται δ’ εἰς τρεῖς λόγους, εἵς τε τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολογικόν.

ἀνέθηκε δ’ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, ὡς μέν τινες, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὅπως οἱ δυνάμενοι μόνοι προσίοιεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημώδους εὐκαταφρόνητον ᾖ. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λέγων,
τοῖς δ’ ἔνι κοκκυστής, ὀχλολοίδορος Ἡράκλειτος, αἰνικτὴς ἀνόρουσε.

Θεόφραστος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας τὰ μὲν ἡμιτελῆ, τὰ δ’ ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλως ἔχοντα γράψαι. σημεῖον δ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν Διαδοχαῖς· ἐκχωρῆσαι γὰρ τἀδελφῷ τῆς βασιλείας. τοσαύτην δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε τὸ σύγγραμμα ὡς καὶ αἱρετιστὰς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας Ἡρακλειτείους.

Ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῷ καθολικῶς μὲν τάδε· ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι· πάντα δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ’ εἱμαρμένην καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντιοδρομίας ἁρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα· καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη. εἴρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τὸ μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο, πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει. τήν τ’ οἴησιν ἱερὰν νόσον ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ὅρασιν ψεύδεσθαι. λαμπρῶς τ’ ἐνίοτε ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ σαφῶς ἐκβάλλει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νωθέστατον ῥᾳδίως γνῶναι καὶ δίαρμα ψυχῆς λαβεῖν· ἥ τε βραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀσύγκριτον.

Καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους δὲ αὐτῷ ὧδ’ ἔχει τῶν δογμάτων· πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον καὶ πυρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τὰ πάντα, ἀραιώσει καὶ πυκνώσει γινόμενα. σαφῶς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐκτίθεται. γίνεσθαί τε πάντα κατ’ ἐναντιότητα καὶ ῥεῖν τὰ ὅλα ποταμοῦ δίκην, πεπεράνθαι τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἕνα εἶναι κόσμον· γεννᾶσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐκπυροῦσθαι κατά τινας περιόδους ἐναλλὰξ τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ’ εἱμαρμένην. τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἄγον καλεῖσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἔριν, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὁμολογίαν καὶ εἰρήνην, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω κάτω, τόν τε κόσμον γίνεσθαι κατ’ αὐτήν.

Πυκνούμενον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξυγραίνεσθαι συνιστάμενόν τε γίνεσθαι ὕδωρ, πηγνύμενον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς γῆν τρέπεσθαι· καὶ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω εἶναι. πάλιν τε αὖ τὴν γῆν χεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ λοιπά, σχεδὸν πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀνάγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω ὁδός. γίνεσθαι δ’ ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ἃς μὲν λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαράς, ἃς δὲ σκοτεινάς. αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν, τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτέρων. τὸ δὲ περιέχον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν οὐ δηλοῖ· εἶναι μέντοι ἐν αὐτῷ σκάφας ἐπεστραμμένας κατὰ κοῖλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐν αἷς ἀθροιζομένας τὰς λαμπρὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποτελεῖν φλόγας, ἃς εἶναι τὰ ἄστρα.

λαμπροτάτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ θερμοτάτην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἄστρα πλεῖον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἧττον λάμπειν καὶ θάλπειν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην προσγειοτέραν οὖσαν μὴ διὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ φέρεσθαι τόπου. τὸν μέντοι ἥλιον ἐν διαυγεῖ καὶ ἀμιγεῖ κινεῖσθαι καὶ σύμμετρον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἔχειν διάστημα· τοιγάρτοι μᾶλλον θερμαίνειν τε καὶ φωτίζειν. ἐκλείπειν τε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ἄνω στρεφομένων τῶν σκαφῶν· τούς τε κατὰ μῆνα τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμοὺς γίνεσθαι στρεφομένης ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς σκάφης. ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα γίνεσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ ὥρας ἐτείους καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑετούς τε καὶ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια

κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἀναθυμιάσεις.

τὴν μὲν γὰρ λαμπρὰν ἀναθυμίασιν φλογωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν ἐπικρατήσασαν νύκτ’ ἀποτελεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λαμπροῦ τὸ θερμὸν αὐξόμενον θέρος ποιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τὸ ὑγρὸν πλεονάζον χειμῶνα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιολογεῖ. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνεται ποία τίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

Τὰ δὲ περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ ὅσα ἐντυχὼν τῷ συγγράμματι εἶποι, κομίσαντος Εὐριπίδου, καθά φησιν Ἀρίστων, ἐν τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους εἰρήκαμεν.

Σέλευκος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνά τινα ἱστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῇ Κράτητά τινα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὸ βιβλίον· ὃν καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπιγράφουσι δ’ αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν Μούσας, οἱ δὲ Περὶ φύσεως, Διόδοτος δὲ
ἀκριβὲς οἰάκισμα πρὸς σταθμὴν βίου,
ἄλλοι γνώμον’ ἠθῶν, τοῦ θ’ ὅλου κόσμου τρόπιν ἑνός τε ξυμπάντων τε. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί σιωπᾷ, φάναι ἵν’ ὑμεῖς λαλῆτε. ἐπόθησε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαρεῖος μετασχεῖν καὶ ἔγραψεν ὧδε πρὸς αὐτόν·

“Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω Ἡράκλειτον Ἐφέσιον σοφὸν ἄνδρα προσαγορεύει χαίρειν.

“Καταβέβλησαι λόγον Περὶ φύσεως δυσνόητόν τε καὶ δυσεξήγητον. ἔν τισι μὲν οὖν ἑρμηνευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν σὴν δοκεῖ δύναμίν τινα περιέχειν θεωρίας κόσμου τε τοῦ σύμπαντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γινομένων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν θειοτάτῃ κείμενα κινήσει· τῶν δὲ πλείστων ἐποχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μετεσχηκότας συγγραμμάτων διαπορεῖσθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρὰ σοὶ ἐξηγήσεως. βασιλεὺς οὖν Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου βούλεται τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως μετασχεῖν καὶ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς. ἔρχου δὴ συντόμως πρὸς ἐμὴν ὄψιν καὶ βασίλειον οἶκον.

Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνεπισήμαντοι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὄντες παρορῶσι τὰ καλῶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνδεικνύμενα πρὸς σπουδαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ μάθησιν. παρ’ ἐμοὶ δ’ ὑπάρχει σοι πᾶσα μὲν προεδρία, καθ’ ἡμέραν δὲ καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία προσαγόρευσις καὶ βίος εὐδόκιμος σαῖς παραινέσεσιν.

“Ἡράκλειτος Ἐφέσιος βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ πατρὸς Ὑστάσπεω χαίρειν.

“Ὁκόσοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθηίης καὶ δικαιοπραγμοσύνης ἀπέχονται, ἀπληστίῃ δὲ καὶ δοξοκοπίῃ προσέχουσι κακῆς ἕνεκα ἀνοίης. ἐγὼ δ’ ἀμνηστίην ἔχων πάσης πονηρίης καὶ κόρον φεύγων παντὸς οἰκειούμενον φθόνῳ καὶ διὰ τὸ περιίστασθαι ὑπερηφανίην οὐκ ἂν ἀφικοίμην εἰς Περσῶν χώρην, ὀλίγοις ἀρκεόμενος κατ’ ἐμὴν γνώμην.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα.

Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονῆσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα παμπλείστην, καταφρονούμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ. πλεῖστοί τέ εἰσιν ὅσοι ἐξήγηνται αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς Κλεάνθης τε καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός, πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διονύσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδοτος, ὃς οὔ φησι περὶ φύσεως εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολιτείας, τὸ δὲ περὶ φύσεως ἐν παραδείγματος εἴδει κεῖσθαι.

Ἱερώνυμος δέ φησι καὶ Σκυθῖνον τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον διὰ μέτρου ἐκβάλλειν. πολλά τ’ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράμματα φέρεται, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε·
Ἡράκλειτος ἐγώ· τί μ’ ἄνω κάτω ἕλκετ’ ἄμουσοι;

οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐπόνουν, τοῖς δ’ ἔμ’ ἐπισταμένοις.

εἷς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμύριοι, οἱ δ’ ἀνάριθμοι

οὐδείς. ταῦτ’ αὐδῶ καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ.
καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε·
μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτου ἐπ’ ὀμφαλὸν εἴλεε βίβλον

τοὐφεσίου· μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπιτός.

ὀρφνὴ καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἀλάμπετον· ἢν δέ σε μύστης

εἰσαγάγῃ, φανεροῦ λαμπρότερ’ ἠελίου.

Γεγόνασι δ’ Ἡράκλειτοι πέντε· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος· δεύτερος ποιητὴς λυρικός, οὗ ἐστι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγκώμιον· τρίτος ἐλεγείας ποιητὴς Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, εἰς ὃν Καλλίμαχος πεποίηκεν οὕτως·
εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δ’ ἐμὲ δάκρυ

ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ’ ὁσσάκις ἀμφότεροι

ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που,

ξεῖν’ Ἁλικαρνασσεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδιή,

αἱ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ᾗσιν ὁ πάντων

ἁρπάκτης Ἀΐδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.
τέταρτος Λέσβιος, ἱστορίαν γεγραφὼς Μακεδονικήν· πέμπτος σπουδογέλοιος, ἀπὸ κιθαρῳδίας μεταβεβηκὼς εἰς τόδε τὸ εἶδος.

Κεφ. β′. ΧΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ

Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἢ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐπαινεῖται πρὸς τοῦ Τίμωνος· φησὶ γοῦν,
Ξεινοφάνην θ’ ὑπάτυφον, Ὁμηραπάτην ἐπικόπτην.
οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας * * * διέτριβε δὲ καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. διήκουσε δὲ κατ’ ἐνίους μὲν οὐδενός, κατ’ ἐνίους δὲ Βότωνος Ἀθηναίου ἤ, ὥς τινες, Ἀρχελάου. καί, ὡς Σωτίων φησί, κατ’ Ἀναξίμανδρον ἦν. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ’ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψῴδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ, καθάψασθαι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδου. μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτός φησιν·

ἤδη δ’ ἑπτά τ’ ἔασι καὶ ἑξήκοντ’ ἐνιαυτοὶ

βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ’ ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα γῆν·

ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότ’ ἦσαν ἐείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,

εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ’ οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

Φησὶ δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα, κόσμους δ’ ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δέ. τὰ νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἀφ’ ἡλίου ἀτμίδος ἀναφερομένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. οὐσίαν

θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπῳ· ὅλον δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὅλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν· σύμπαντά τε εἶναι νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀΐδιον. πρῶτός τε ἀπεφήνατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον φθαρτόν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμα.

Ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἥσσω νοῦ εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἢ ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα. Ἐμπεδοκλέους δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀνεύρετός ἐστιν ὁ σοφός, εἰκότως, ἔφη· σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπιγνωσόμενον τὸν σοφόν. φησὶ δὲ Σωτίων πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἀκατάληπτ' εἶναι τὰ πάντα, πλανώμενος.

Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια. καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτόν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. δοκεῖ δὲ πεπρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ * * καὶ λελύσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθά φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ. γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ξενοφάνης Λέσβιος ποιητὴς ἰάμβων.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ σποράδην.

Κεφ. γ'. ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ

Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης (τοῦτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκοῦσαι). ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀκούσας καὶ Ξενοφάνους οὐκ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀμεινίᾳ Διοχαίτα τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ, ὡς ἔφη Σωτίων, ἀνδρὶ πένητι μέν, καλῷ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἀποθανόντος ἡρῷον ἱδρύσατο γένους τε ὑπάρχων λαμπροῦ καὶ πλούτου, καὶ ὑπ' Ἀμεινίου ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ξενοφάνους εἰς ἡσυχίαν προετράπη.

Πρῶτος δ' οὗτος τὴν γῆν ἀπέφαινε σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι. δύο τε εἶναι στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ὕλης.

γένεσίν τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἡλίου πρῶτον γενέσθαι· αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερέχειν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι, καθὰ μέμνηται καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς, πάντων σχεδὸν ἐκτιθέμενος τὰ δόγματα. δισσήν τε ἔφη τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ δόξαν. διὸ καί φησί που·

χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι

ἠμὲν Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ,

ἠδὲ βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής.

Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ ποιημάτων φιλοσοφεῖ, καθάπερ Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς. κριτήριον δὲ τὸν λόγον εἶπε· τάς τε αἰσθήσεις μὴ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπάρχειν. φησὶ γοῦν·
μηδέ σ' ἔθος πολύπειρον ὁδὸν κατὰ τήνδε βιάσθω

νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχήεσσαν ἀκουὴν

καὶ γλῶσσαν, κρῖναι δὲ λόγῳ πολύδηριν ἔλεγχον.

διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ὁ Τίμων·

Παρμενίδου τε βίην μεγαλόφρονος οὐ πολύδοξον,

ὅς ῥ' ἀπὸ φαντασίας ἀπάτης ἀνενείκατο νώσεις.
εἰς τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτων τὸν διάλογον γέγραφε, Παρμενίδην ἐπιγράψας ἢ Περὶ ἰδεῶν.

Ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑνάτην καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. καὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτος πεφωρακέναι τὸν

αὐτὸν εἶναι Ἕσπερον καὶ Φωσφόρον, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πέμπτῳ Ἀπομνημονευμάτων· οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόραν· Καλλίμαχος δέ φησι μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι τοῖς πολίταις, ὥς φησι Σπεύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ φιλοσόφων. καὶ πρῶτος ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λόγον, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Παρμενίδης, ῥήτωρ τεχνογράφος.

Κεφ. δ΄. ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΣ

Μέλισσος Ἰθαιγένους Σάμιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Παρμενίδου· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν Ἡρακλείτῳ· ὅτε καὶ συνέστησεν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἀγνοοῦσι, καθάπερ Ἱπποκράτης Δημόκριτον Ἀβδηρίταις. γέγονε δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποδοχῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἠξιωμένος· ὅθεν ναύαρχος αἱρεθεὶς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθαυμάσθη διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετήν.

Ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἓν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ πλῆρες· κίνησίν τε μὴ εἶναι, δοκεῖν δ’ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ἀποφαίνεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι γνῶσιν αὐτῶν.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἠκμακέναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. ε΄. ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΑΤΗΣ

Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης. τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν εἶναι ἐν Χρονικοῖς [Πύρητος τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην] φύσει μὲν Τελευταγόρου, θέσει δὲ Παρμενίδου τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην Πύρητος. περὶ τούτου καὶ Μελίσσου Τίμων φησὶ ταῦτα·
ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν

Ζήνωνος πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος, ἠδὲ Μέλισσον,

πολλῶν φαντασμῶν ἐπάνω, παύρων γε μὲν ἥσσω.

Ὁ δὴ Ζήνων διακήκοε Παρμενίδου καὶ γέγονεν αὐτοῦ παιδικά. καὶ εὐμήκης ἦν, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Παρμενίδῃ, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ αὐτοῦ μέμνηται καὶ Ἐλεατικὸν Παλαμήδην αὐτὸν καλεῖ. φησὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης εὑρετὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι διαλεκτικῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικῆς.

Γέγονε δὲ ἀνὴρ γενναιότατος καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ἐν πολιτείᾳ· φέρεται γοῦν αὐτοῦ βιβλία πολλῆς συνέσεως γέμοντα. καθελεῖν δὲ θελήσας Νέαρχον τὸν τύραννον—οἱ δὲ Διομέδοντα—συνελήφθη, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σατύρου ἐπιτομῇ. ὅτε καὶ ἐξεταζόμενος τοὺς συνειδότας καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅπλων ὧν ἦγεν εἰς Λιπάραν, πάντας ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς φίλους, βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔρημον καταστῆσαι· εἶτα περί τινων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν τινα ἔφη αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὗς καὶ δακὼν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἕως ἀπεκεντήθη, ταὐτὸν Ἀριστογείτονι τῷ τυραννοκτόνῳ παθών.

Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις τὸν μυκτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀποτραγεῖν. Ἀντισθένης δὲ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς φησι μετὰ τὸ μηνῦσαι τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτηθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου εἴ τις ἄλλος εἴη· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, σὺ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀλιτήριος. πρός τε τοὺς παρεστῶτας φάναι· θαυμάζω ὑμῶν τὴν δειλίαν, εἰ τούτων ἕνεκεν ὧν νῦν ἐγὼ ὑπομένω, δουλεύετε τῷ τυράννῳ· καὶ τέλος ἀποτραγόντα τὴν γλῶτταν προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ· τοὺς δὲ πολίτας παρορμηθέντας αὐτίκα τὸν τύραννον καταλεῦσαι. ταὐτὰ δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πλείους λαλοῦσιν. Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν εἰς ὅλμον αὐτὸν βληθῆναι καὶ κατακοπῆναι.

Καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς εἴπομεν οὕτως·
ἤθελες, ὦ Ζήνων, καλὸν ἤθελες ἄνδρα τύραννον

κτείνας ἐκλῦσαι δουλοσύνης Ἐλέαν.

ἀλλ’ ἐδάμης· δὴ γάρ δε λαβὼν ὁ τύραννος ἐν ὅλμῳ

κόψε. τί τοῦτο λέγω; σῶμα γάρ, οὐχὶ δὲ σέ.

Γέγονε δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς ὁ Ζήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπεροπτικὸς τῶν μειζόνων κατ’ ἴσον Ἡρακλείτῳ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τὴν πρότερον μὲν Ὑέλην, ὕστερον δ’ Ἐλέαν, Φωκαέων οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, αὐτοῦ δὲ πατρίδα, πόλιν εὐτελῆ καὶ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν ἐπισταμένην ἠγάπησε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀθηναίων μεγαλαυχίας, οὐκ ἐπιδημήσας πώμαλα πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ αὐτόθι καταβιούς.

Οὗτος καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα πρῶτος λόγον ἠρώτησε [Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησι Παρμενίδην] καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς. ἀρέσκει δ’ αὐτῷ τάδε· κόσμους εἶναι κενόν τε μὴ εἶναι· γεγενῆσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ, λαμβανόντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλληλα τὴν μεταβολήν· γένεσίν τε ἀνθρώπων ἐκ γῆς εἶναι καὶ ψυχὴν κρᾶμα ὑπάρχειν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ μηδενὸς τούτων ἐπικράτησιν.

Τοῦτόν φασι λοιδορούμενον ἀγανακτῆσαι· αἰτιασαμένου δέ τινος, φάναι ἐὰν μὴ λοιδορούμενος προσποιῶμαι, οὐδ’ ἐπαινούμενος αἰσθήσομαι.

Ὅτι δὲ γεγόνασι Ζήνωνες ὀκτὼ ἐν τῷ Κιτιεῖ διειλέγμεθα. ἤκμαζε δ’ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ἑνάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Κεφ. σ΄. ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΣ

Λεύκιππος Ἐλεάτης, ὡς δέ τινες, Ἀβδηρίτης, κατ’ ἐνίους δὲ Μιλήσιος. οὗτος ἤκουσε Ζήνωνος. ἤρεσκε δ’ αὐτῷ ἄπειρα εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβάλλειν, τό τε πᾶν εἶναι κενὸν καὶ πλῆρες [σωμάτων]. τούς τε κόσμους γίνεσθαι σωμάτων εἰς τὸ κενὸν ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ ἀλλήλοις περιπλεκομένων· ἔκ τε τῆς κινήσεως κατὰ τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν. φέρεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐν μείζονι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν σελήνην· τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινουμένην· σχῆμά τ’ αὐτῆς τυμπανῶδες εἶναι. πρῶτός τε ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ὑπεστήσατο. καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς μὲν ταῦτα· ἐπὶ μέρους δ’ ὧδε ἔχει.

Τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρόν φησιν, ὡς προείρηται· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν πλῆρες εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κενόν, ἃ καὶ στοιχεῖά φησι. κόσμους τε ἐκ τούτων ἀπείρους εἶναι καὶ διαλύεσθαι εἰς ταῦτα. γίνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς κόσμους οὕτω· φέρεσθαι κατ’ ἀποτομὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπείρου πολλὰ σώματα παντοῖα τοῖς σχήμασιν εἰς μέγα κενόν, ἅπερ ἀθροισθέντα δίνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι μίαν, καθ’ ἣν προσκρούοντα ἀλλήλοισ καὶ παντοδαπῶς κυκλούμενα διακρίνεσθαι χωρὶς τὰ ὅμοια πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια. ἰσορρόπων δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος μηκέτι δυναμένων περιφέρεσθαι, τὰ μὲν λεπτὰ χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔξω κενόν, ὥσπερ διαττώμενα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ συμμένειν καὶ περιπλεκόμενα συγκατατρέχειν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ποιεῖν πρῶτόν τι σύστημα σφαιροειδές.

τοῦτο δ’ οἷον ὑμένα ἀφίστασθαι, περιέχοντ’ ἐν ἑαυτῷ παντοῖα σώματα· ὧν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέσου ἀντέρεισιν περιδινουμένων λεπτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν πέριξ ὑμένα, συρρεόντων ἀεὶ τῶν συνεχῶν κατ’ ἐπίψαυσιν τῆς δίνης. καὶ οὕτω γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν, συμμενόντων τῶν ἐνεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον. αὐτόν τε πάλιν τὸν περιέχοντα οἷον ὑμένα αὔξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐπέκκρισιν τῶν ἔξωθεν σωμάτων· δίνῃ τε φερόμενον αὐτὸν ὧν ἂν ἐπιψαύοῃ, ταῦτα ἐπικτᾶσθαι. τούτων δέ τινα συμπλεκόμενα ποιεῖν σύστημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κάθυγρον καὶ πηλῶδες, ξηρανθέντα καὶ περιφερόμενα σὺν τῇ τοῦ ὅλου δίνῃ, εἶτ’ ἐκπυρωθέντα τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποτελέσαι φύσιν.

Εἶναι δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον ἐξώτατον, τὸν δὲ τῆς σελήνης προσγειότατον, τῶν ἄλλων μεταξὺ τούτων. καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἄστρα πυροῦσθαι διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς, τὸν δ’ ἥλιον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν

ἀστέρων ἐκπυροῦσθαι· τὴν δὲ σελήνην τοῦ πυρὸς ὀλίγον μεταλαμβάνειν. ἐκλείπειν δ’ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην * * τὴν δὲ λόξωσιν τοῦ Ζῳδιακοῦ γενέσθαι τῷ κεκλίσθαι τὴν γῆν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτῳ ἀεί τε νίφεσθαι καὶ κατάψυχρα εἶναι καὶ πήγνυσθαι. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν σπανίως, τὴν δὲ σελήνην συνεχές, διὰ τὸ ἀνίσους εἶναι τοὺς κύκλους αὐτῶν. εἶναί τε ὥσπερ γενέσεις κόσμου, οὕτω καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις καὶ φθοράς, κατά τινα ἀνάγκην, ἣν ὁποία ἐστὶν οὐ διασαφεῖ.

Κεφ. ζ′. ΔΗΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ

Δημόκριτος Ἡγησιστράτου, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηνοκρίτου, τινὲς Δαμασίππου Ἀβδηρίτης ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Μιλήσιος. οὗτος μάγων τινῶν διήκουσε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Ξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάτας καταλιπόντος, ἡνίκα ἐξενίσθη παρ’ αὐτῷ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· παρ’ ὧν τά τε περὶ θεολογίας καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἔμαθεν ἔτι παῖς ὤν. ὕστερον δὲ Λευκίππῳ παρέβαλε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ κατά τινας, ἔτεσιν ὢν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. Φαβωρῖνος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ λέγειν Δημόκριτον περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου ὡς οὐκ εἴησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ δόξαι αἵ τε περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἀλλὰ ἀρχαῖαι, τὸν δ’ ὑφῃρῆσθαι.

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διασύρειν τε αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ τῆς διακοσμήσεως καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι δὴ μὴ προσήκατο αὐτόν. πῶς οὖν κατά τινας ἀκήκοεν αὐτοῦ;

Φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὁμωνύμοις καὶ Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησόμενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι. τοῖς τε Γυμνοσοφισταῖς φασί τινες συμμῖξαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐλθεῖν. τρίτον τε ὄντα ἀδελφὸν νείμασθαι τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείους φασὶ τὴν ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἐλέσθαι τὴν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ, χρείαν ἔχοντα διὰ τὸ ἀποδημῆσαι τούτου κἀκείνων δολίως ὑποπτευσάντων.

ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν τάλαντά φησιν εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ μέρος, ἃ πάντα καταναλῶσαι. λέγει δ’ ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἦν φιλόπονος ὥστε τοῦ περικήπου δωμάτιόν τι ἀποτεμόμενος κατάκλειστος ἦν· καί ποτε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς θυσίαν βοῦν ἀγαγόντος καὶ αὐτόθι προσδήσαντος, ἱκανὸν χρόνον μὴ γνῶναι, ἕως αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος διαναστήσας προφάσει τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν βοῦν διηγήσατο. δοκεῖ δέ, φησί, καὶ Ἀθήναζε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ σπουδάσαι γνωσθῆναι, δόξης καταφρονῶν. καὶ εἰδέναι μὲν Σωκράτη, ἀγνοεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· ἦλθον γάρ, φησίν, εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ οὔτις με ἔγνωκεν.

Εἴπερ οἱ Ἀντερασταὶ Πλάτωνός εἰσι, φησὶ Θρασύλος, οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ παραγενόμενος ἀνώνυμος, τῶν περὶ Οἰνοπίδην καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ἕτερος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σωκράτην ὁμιλίᾳ διαλεγόμενος περὶ φιλοσοφίας, ᾧ, φησίν, ὡς πεντάθλῳ ἔοικεν ὁ φιλόσοφος, καὶ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πένταθλος· τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ καὶ τὰ ἠθικὰ ἤσκητο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγκυκλίους λόγους καὶ περὶ τεχνῶν πᾶσαν εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν. τούτου ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λόγος ἔργου σκιή. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ μηδὲ ἐλθεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μεῖζον, εἴγε τοσαύτης πόλεως ὑπερεφρόνησεν, οὐκ ἐκ τόπου δόξαν λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τόπῳ δόξαν περιθεῖναι προελόμενος.

Δῆλον δὲ κἀκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων οἷος ἦν. δοκεῖ δέ, φησὶν ὁ Θρασύλος, ζηλωτὴς γεγονέναι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου μέμνηται, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ συγγράμματι. πάντα δὲ δοκεῖν παρὰ τούτου λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοῦ δ’ ἂν ἀκηκοέναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ τῶν χρόνων ἐμάχετο. πάντως μέντοι τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν τινος ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτὸν Γλαῦκος ὁ

Ῥηγῖνος, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αὐτῷ γεγονώς. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Φιλολάῳ αὐτὸν συγγεγονέναι.

Ἦσκει δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας, ἐρημάζων ἐνίοτε καὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐνδιατρίβων.

ἐλθόντα δή φησιν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ταπεινότατα διάγειν, ἅτε πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν καταναλωκότα· τρέφεσθαί τε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἀπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Δαμάσου. ὡς δὲ προειπών τινα τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμησε, λοιπὸν ἐνθέου δόξης παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἠξιώθη. νόμου δ’ ὄντος τὸν ἀναλώσαντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν μὴ ἀξιοῦσθαι ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντισθένης συνέντα, μὴ ὑπεύθυνος γενηθείη πρός τινων φθονούντων καὶ συκοφαντούντων, ἀναγνῶναι αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃς ἁπάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων προέχει· καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις τιμηθῆναι· μὴ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι· καὶ τελευτήσαντ’ αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ ταφῆναι, βιώσαντα ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη.

ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τοὺς συγγενέας αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Μέγαν διάκοσμον, ὃν μόνον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τιμηθῆναι. ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ Ἱππόβοτός φησιν.

Ἀριστόξενος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φησι Πλάτωνα θελῆσαι συμφλέξαι τὰ Δημοκρίτου συγγράμματα, ὁπόσα ἐδυνήθη συναγαγεῖν, Ἀμύκλαν δὲ καὶ Κλεινίαν τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς κωλῦσαι αὐτόν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος· παρὰ πολλοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ἤδη τὰ βιβλία. καὶ δῆλον δέ· πάντων γὰρ σχεδὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμνημένος ὁ Πλάτων οὐδαμοῦ Δημοκρίτου διαμνημονεύει, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἔνθ’ ἀντειπεῖν τι αὐτῷ δέοι, δῆλον ὅτι εἰδὼς ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο· ὅν γε καὶ Τίμων τοῦτον ἐπαινέσας τὸν τρόπον ἔχει·
οἷον Δημόκριτόν τε περίφρονα, ποιμένα μύθων,

ἀμφίνοον λεσχῆνα μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἀνέγνων.

Γέγονε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ Μικρῷ διακόσμῳ, νέος κατὰ πρεσβύτην Ἀναξαγόραν, ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. συντετάχθαι δέ φησι τὸν Μικρὸν διάκοσμον ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις. γεγόνοι δ’ ἄν, ὡς μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ὡς δὲ Θρασύλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Δημοκρίτου βιβλίων, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐνιαυτῷ, φησί, πρεσβύτερος ὢν Σωκράτους. εἴη ἂν οὖν κατ’ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Οἰνοπίδην· καὶ γὰρ τούτου μέμνηται.

μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς δόξης τῶν περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα, ὡς κατ’ αὐτὸν μάλιστα διαβεβοημένων, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου, ὃς ὁμολογεῖται κατὰ Σωκράτην γεγονέναι.

Φησὶ δ’ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περιπάτων, ἐλθόντος Ἱπποκράτους πρὸς αὐτόν, κελεῦσαι κομισθῆναι γάλα· καὶ θεασάμενον τὸ γάλα εἰπεῖν εἶναι αἰγὸς πρωτοτόκου καὶ μελαίνης· ὅθεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἱπποκράτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ κόρης ἀκολουθούσης τῷ Ἱπποκράτει, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀσπάσασθαι οὕτω χαῖρε κόρη, τῇ δ’ ἐχομένῃ χαῖρε γύναι· καὶ ἦν ἡ κόρη τῆς νυκτὸς διεφθαρμένη.

Τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὸν Δημόκριτόν φησιν Ἕρμιππος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ἤδη ὑπέργηρων ὄντα πρὸς τῷ καταστρέφειν εἶναι. τὴν οὖν ἀδελφὴν λυπεῖσθαι ὅτι ἐν τῇ τῶν θεσμοφόρων ἑορτῇ μέλλοι τεθνήξεσθαι καὶ τῇ θεῷ τὸ καθῆκον αὐτὴ οὐ ποιήσειν τὸν δὲ θαρρεῖν εἰπεῖν καὶ κελεῦσαι αὐτῷ προσφέρειν ἄρτους θερμοὺς ὀσημέραι. τούτους δὴ ταῖς ῥισὶ προσφέρων διεκράτησεν αὐτὸν τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆλθον αἱ ἡμέραι, τρεῖς δ’ ἦσαν, ἀλυπότατα τὸν βίον προήκατο, ὥς φησιν ὁ

Ἵππαρχος, ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιούς.

Ἡμεῖς τ’ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Παμμέτρῳ τοῦτον ἐποιήσαμεν τὸν τρόπον·
καὶ τίς ἔφυ σοφὸς ὧδε, τίς ἔργον ἔρεξε τοσοῦτον

ὅσσον ὁ παντοδαὴς ἤνυσε Δημόκριτος;

ὃς Θάνατον παρεόντα τρί’ ἤματα δώμασιν ἔσχεν

καὶ θερμοῖς ἄρτων ἄσθμασιν ἐξένισεν.
τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός.

Δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ τάδε· ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους καὶ κενόν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα νενομίσθαι· ἀπείρους τε εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητοὺς καὶ φθαρτούς. μηδέν τε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι μηδὲ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι. καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους δὲ ἀπείρους εἶναι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος, φέρεσθαι δ’ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δινουμένας, καὶ οὕτω πάντα τὰ συγκρίματα γεννᾶν, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, γῆν· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀτόμων τινῶν συστήματα· ἄπερ εἶναι ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτα διὰ τὴν στερρότητα. τόν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ τοιούτων λείων καὶ περιφερῶν ὄγκων συγκεκρίσθαι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως· ἣν καὶ νοῦν ταὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁρᾶν δ’ ἡμᾶς κατ’ εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις.

Πάντα τε κατ’ ἀνάγκην γίνεσθαι, τῆς δίνης αἰτίας οὔσης τῆς γενέσεως πάντων, ἣν ἀνάγκην λέγει. τέλος δ’ εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, ὡς ἔνιοι παρακούσαντες ἐξεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ταραττομένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους. καλεῖ δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ εὐεστὼ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι. ποιότητας δὲ νόμῳ εἶναι, φύσει δ’ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

Τὰ δὲ βιβλία αὐτοῦ καὶ Θρασύλος ἀναγέγραφε κατὰ τάξιν οὕτως ὡσπερεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος κατὰ τετραλογίαν.

Ἔστι δε ἤθικα μὲν τάδε·

Πυθαγόρης.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ διαθέσεως.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου.

Τριτογένεια ⸂τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν, ὅτι τρία γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἃ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα συνέχει⸃.

Περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς.

Ἀμαλθείης κέρας.

Περὶ εὐθυμίης.

Ὑπομνημάτων ἠθικῶν· ἡ γὰρ Εὐεστὼ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἠθικα.

Φυσικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Μέγας διάκοσμος (ὃν οἱ περὶ Θεόφραστον Λευκίππου φασὶν εἶναι).

Μικρὸς διάκοσμος.

Κοσμογραφίη.

Περὶ τῶν πλανήτων.

Περὶ φύσεως πρῶτον.

Περὶ ἀνθρώπου φύσιος (ἢ Περὶ σαρκός), δεύτερον.

Περὶ νοῦ.

Περὶ αἰσθησίων (ταῦτά τινες ὅμου γράφοντες Περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιγράφουσι).

Περὶ χυμῶν.

Περὶ χροῶν.

Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων ῥυσμῶν.

Περὶ ἀμειψιρυσμιῶν.

Κρατυντήρια (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπικριτικὰ τῶν προειρημένων).

Περὶ εἰδώλων ἢ περὶ προνοίας.

Περὶ λογικῶν ἢ κανὼν α′ β′ γ’.

Ἀπορημάτων.

ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φύσεως.

Τὰ δὲ ἀσύντακτά ἐστι τάδε·

Αἰτίαι οὐράνιαι.

Αἰτίαι ἀέριοι.

Αἰτίαι ἐπίπεδοι.

Αἰτίαι περὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρί.

Αἰτίαι περὶ φωνῶν.

Αἰτίαι περὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν.

Αἰτίαι περὶ ζῴων α′ β′ γ’.

Αἰτίαι σύμμικτοι.

Περὶ τῆς λίθου.

ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀσύντακτα.

Μαθηματικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ διαφορῆς γωνίης ἢ Περὶ ψαύσιος κύκλου καὶ σφαίρης.

Περὶ γεωμετρίης.

Γεωμετρικῶν.

Ἀριθμοί.

Περὶ ἀλόγων γραμμῶν καὶ ναστῶν α# β#.

Ἐκπετάσματα.

Μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς ἢ Ἀστρονομίη, παράπηγμα.

Ἅμιλλα κλεψύδρας καὶ οὐρανοῦ.

Οὐρανογραφίη.

Γεωγραφίη.

Πολογραφίη.

Ἀκτινογραφίη.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά.

Μουσικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονίης.

Περὶ ποιήσιος.

Περὶ καλλοσύνης ἐπέων.

Περὶ εὐφώνων καὶ δυσφ·νων γραμμάτων.

Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων.

Περὶ ἀοιδῆς.

Περὶ ῥημάτων.

Ὀνομαστικῶν.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ μουσικά.

Τεχνικὰ δὲ τάδε·

Πρόγνωσις.

Περὶ διαίτης ἢ διαιτητικόν.

[Ἡ] Ἰητρικὴ γνώμη.

Αἰτίαι περὶ ἀκαιριῶν καὶ ἐπικαιριῶν.

Περὶ γεωργίης ἢ Γεωμετρικόν.

Περὶ ζωγραφίης.

Τακτικὸν καὶ

Ὁπλομαχικόν.

τοσαῦτα καὶ τάδε.

Τάττουσι δέ τινες κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων καὶ ταῦτα·

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ.

Ὠκεανοῦ περίπλους.

Περὶ ἱστορίης.

Χαλδαϊκὸς λόγος.

Φρύγιος λόγος.

Περὶ πυρετοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ νόσου βησσόντων.

Νομικὰ αἴτια.

Χειρόκμητα [ἢ] προβλήματα.

Τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὅσα τινὲς ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ διεσκεύασται, τὰ δ’

ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶν ἀλλότρια. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοσαῦτα.

Γεγόνασι δὲ Δημόκριτοι ἕξ· πρῶτος αὐτὸς οὗτος, δεύτερος Χῖος μουσικὸς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τρίτος ἀνδριαντοποιὸς οὗ μέμνηται Ἀντίγονος, τέταρτος περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγραφὼς καὶ τῆς πόλεως Σαμοθρᾴκης, πέμπτος ποιητὴς ἐπιγραμμάτων σαφὴς καὶ ἀνθηρός, ἕκτος Περγαμηνὸς ἀπὸ ῥητορικῶν λόγων εὐδοκιμήσασ.

Κεφ. η′. ΠΡΩΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Πρωταγόρας Ἀρτέμωνος ἦ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Δείνων ἐν Περσικῷ ε′, Μαιανδρίου Ἀβδηρίτης, καθά φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νόμων, ὃς καὶ Θουρίοις νόμους γράψαι φησὶν αὐτόν· ὡς δ′ Εὔπολις ἐν Κόλαξιν, Τήιος· φησὶ γάρ,
Ἔνδοθι μέν ἐστι Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήιος.
οὗτος καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος λόγους ἀναγινώσκοντες ἠρανίζοντο· καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ φησὶ βαρύφωνον εἶναι τὸν Πρόδικον. διήκουσε δ′ ὁ Πρωταγόρας Δημοκρίτου. ἐκαλεῖτό τε Σοφία, ὥς φησι Φαβωρῖνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ.

Καὶ πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος ἀντικειμένους ἀλλήλοις· οἷς καὶ συνηρώτα, πρῶτος τοῦτο πράξας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤρξατό που τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν. ἔλεγέ τε μηδὲν εἶναι ψυχὴν παρὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ, καὶ πάντ′ εἶναι ἀληθῆ. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τοῦτον ἤρξατο τὸν τρόπον· περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ′ ὡς εἰσίν, οὔθ′ ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἥ τ′ ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἐξεβλήθη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων· καὶ τὰ βιβλί′ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκι ἀναλεξάμενοι παρ′ ἑκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.

Οὗτος πρῶτος μισθὸν εἰσεπράξατο μνᾶς ἑκατόν· καὶ πρῶτος μέρη χρόνου διώρισε καὶ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐξέθετο καὶ λόγωνἀγῶνας ἐποιήσατο καὶ σοφίσματα τοῖς πραγματολογοῦσι προσήγαγε· καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφεὶς πρὸς τοὔνομα διελέχθη καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐπιπόλαιον γένος τῶν ἐριστικῶν ἐγέννησεν· ἵνα καὶ Τίμων φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ,
Πρωταγόρης τ′ ἐπίμεικτος ἐριζέμεναι εὖ εἰδώς.

οὗτος καὶ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν εἶδος τῶν λόγων πρῶτος ἐκίνησε. καὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένους λόγον τὸν πειρώμενον ἀποδεικνύειν ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, οὗτος πρῶτος διείλεκται, καθά φησι Πλάτων ἐν Εὐθυδήμῳ. καὶ πρῶτος κατέδειξε τὰς πρὸς τὰς θέσεις ἐπιχειρήσεις, ὥς φησιν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ διαλεκτικὸς ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Χρύσιππον. καὶ πρῶτος τὴν καλουμένην τύλην, ἐφ′ ἧς τὰ φορτία βαστάζουσιν, εὗρεν, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ παιδείας· φορμοφόρος γὰρ ἦν, ὡς καὶ Ἐπίκουρός πού φησι. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἤρθη πρὸς Δημοκρίτου ξύλα δεδεκὼς ὀφθείς. διεῖλέ τε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέτταρα, εὐχωλήν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν·

(οἱ ·ὲ εἰς ἑπτά, διήγησιν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν, ἀπαγγελίαν, εὐχωλήν, κλῆσιν), οὓς καὶ πυθμένας εἶπε λόγων. Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ τέτταρας λόγους φησί, φάσιν, ἀπόφασιν, ἐρώτησιν, προσαγόρευσιν.

Πρῶτον δὲ τῶν λόγων ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέγνω τὸν Περὶ θεῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνω παρεθέμεθα· ἀνέγνω δ′ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ Εὐριπίδου οἰκίᾳ ἤ, ὥς τινες, ἐν τῇ Μεγακλείδου· ἄλλοι ἐν Λυκείῳ, μαθητοῦ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῷ χρήσαντος Ἀρχαγόρου τοῦ Θεοδότου. κατηγόρησε δ′ αὐτοῦ Πυθόδωρος Πολυζήλου, εἷς τῶν τετρακοσίων· Ἀριστοτέλης δ′ Εὔαθλόν φησιν.

Ἔστι δὲ τὰ σωζόμενα αὐτοῦ βιβλία τάδε·

* * Τέχνη ἐριστικῶν.

Περὶ πάλης.

Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων.

Περὶ πολιτείας.

Περὶ φιλοτιμίας.

Περὶ ἀρετῶν.

Περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου.

Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρασσομένων.

Προστακτικός.

Δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ, Ἀντιλογιῶν α′ β′.

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ βιβλία. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Πλάτων εἰς αὐτὸν διάλογον.

Φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος, πλέοντος αὐτοῦ ἐς Σικελίαν, τὴν ναῦν καταποντωθῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι Εὐριπίδην ἐν τῷ Ἰξίονι. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, βιώσαντα ἔτη πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα·

Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησιν ἑβδομήκοντα, σοφιστεῦσαι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἀκμάζειν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Ἔστι καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἡμῶν οὕτως ἔχον·
καὶ σεῦ, Πρωταγόρη, φάτιν ἔκλυον, ὡς ἄρ’ Ἀθηνέων

ἔκ ποτ’ ἰὼν καθ’ ὁδὸν πρέσβυς ἐὼν ἔθανες·

εἵλετο γάρ σε φυγεῖν Κέκροπος πόλις· ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που

Παλλάδος ἄστυ φύγες, Πλουτέα δ’ οὐκ ἔφυγες.

Λέγεται δέ ποτ’ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντα τὸν μισθὸν Εὔαθλον τὸν μαθητήν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος, ἀλλ’ οὐδέπω νίκην νενίκηκα, εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν νικήσω, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐνίκησα, λαβεῖν με δεῖ· ἐὰν δὲ σύ, ὅτι σύ.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πρωταγόρας ἀστρολόγος, εἰς ὃν καὶ Εὐφορίων ἐπικήδειον ἔγραψε· καὶ τρίτος Στωικὸς φιλόσοφος.

Κεφ. θ′. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΗΣ

Διογένης Ἀπολλοθέμιδος Ἀπολλωνιάτης, ἀνὴρ φυσικὸς καὶ ἄγαν ἐλλόγιμος. ἤκουσε δέ, φησὶν Ἀντισθένης, Ἀναξιμένους. ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις κατ’ Ἀναξαγόραν. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ διὰ μέγαν φθόνον μικροῦ κινδυνεῦσαι Ἀθήνησιν.

Ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ τάδε· στοιχεῖον εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, κόσμους ἀπείρους καὶ κενὸν ἄπειρον· τόν τε ἀέρα πυκνούμενον καὶ ἀραιούμενον γεννητικὸν εἶναι τῶν κόσμων· οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι οὐδ’ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι· τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην, ἠρεισμένην ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, τὴν σύστασιν εἰληφυῖαν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θερμοῦ περιφορὰν καὶ πῆξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ.

Ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος ἥδε· λόγου παντὸς ἀρχόμενον δοκεῖ μοι χρεὼν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναμφισβήτητον παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δ’ ἑρμηνείαν ἁπλῆν καὶ σεμνήν.

Κεφ. ι΄. ΑΝΑΞΑΡΧΟΣ

Ἀνάξαρχος Ἀβδηρίτης. οὗτος ἤκουσε Διογένους τοῦ Σμυρναίου· ὁ δὲ Μητροδώρου τοῦ Χίου, ὃς ἔλεγε μηδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδε. Μητρόδωρον δὲ Νεσσᾶ τοῦ Χίου, οἱ δὲ Δημοκρίτου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀνάξαρχος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῆν καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ εἶχεν ἐχθρὸν Νικοκρέοντα τὸν Κύπρου τύραννον· καί ποτ' ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὸν τί ἄρα δοκεῖ τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰπεῖν φασιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πάντα πολυτελῶς· ἔδει δὲ λοιπὸν κεφαλὴν σατράπου τινὸς παρατεθεῖσθαι·

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ἀπορρίπτων πρὸς τὸν Νικοκρέοντα. ὁ δὲ μνησικακήσας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτε πλέων ἀκουσίως προσηνέχθη τῇ Κύπρῳ ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ὅλμον βαλὼν ἐκέλευσε τύπτεσθαι σιδηροῖς ὑπέροις. τὸν δ' οὐ φροντίσαντα τῆς τιμωρίας εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον, πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πτίσσεις. κελεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικοκρέοντος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ ἐκτμηθῆναι, λόγος ἀποτραγόντα προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ. καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·
πτίσσετε, Νικοκρέων, ἔτι καὶ μάλα· θύλακός ἐστι·

πτίσσετ'· Ἀνάξαρχος δ' ἐν Διός ἐστι πάλαι.

καί σε διαστείλασα γνάφοις ὀλίγον τάδε λέξει

ῥήματα Φερσεφόνη, ἔρρε μυλωθρὲ κακέ.

Οὗτος διὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν τοῦ βίου Εὐδαιμονικὸς ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου δυνατὸς σωφρονίζειν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰόμενον εἶναι θεὸν ἐπέστρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔκ τινος πληγῆς εἶδεν αὐτῷ καταρρέον αἷμα, δείξας τῇ χειρὶ πρὸς αὐτόν φησι, τουτὶ μὲν αἷμα καὶ οὐκ
ἰχὼρ οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.
Πλούταρχος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦτο λέξαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους φησίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοτε προπίνοντα αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον δεῖξαι τὴν κύλικα καὶ εἰπεῖν
βεβλήσεταί τις θεῶν βροτησίᾳ χερί.

Κεφ. ια΄. ΠΥΡΡΩΝ

Πύρρων Ἠλεῖος Πλειστάρχου μὲν ἦν υἱός, καθὰ καὶ Διοκλῆς ἱστορεῖ· ὥς φησι δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, πρότερον ἦν ζωγράφος, καὶ ἤκουσε Βρύσωνος τοῦ Στίλπωνος, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς, εἶτ' Ἀναξάρχου, ξυνακολουθῶν πανταχοῦ, ὡς καὶ τοῖς Γυμνοσοφισταῖς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ συμμίξαι καὶ τοῖς Μάγοις. ὅθεν γενναιότατα δοκεῖ φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας καὶ ἐποχῆς εἶδος εἰσαγαγών, ὡς Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' ἄδικον· καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων μηδὲν εἶναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, νόμῳ δὲ καὶ ἔθει πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον τόδε ἢ τόδε εἶναι ἕκαστον.

Ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ τῷ βίῳ, μηδὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος μηδὲ φυλαττόμενος, ἅπαντα ὑφιστάμενος, ἁμάξας, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ κύνας καὶ ὅλως μηδὲν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπιτρέπων. σώζεσθαι μέντοι, καθά φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καρύστιον Ἀντίγονον, ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακολουθούντων. Αἰνεσίδημος δέ φησι φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐποχῆς λόγον, μὴ μέντοι γ' ἀπροοράτως ἕκαστα πράττειν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη κατεβίω.

Ἀντίγονος δέ φησιν ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πύρρωνος τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄδοξός τ' ἦν καὶ πένης καὶ ζωγράφος. σώζεσθαί τ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἤλιδι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λαμπαδιστὰς μετρίως

ἔχοντας.

ἐκπατεῖν τ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρημάζειν, σπανίως ποτ’ ἐπιφαινόμενον τοῖς οἴκοι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα Ἰνδοῦ τινος ὀνειδίζοντος Ἀναξάρχῳ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἕτερόν τινα διδάξαι οὗτος ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸς αὐλὰς βασιλικὰς θεραπεύων. ἀεί τ’ εἶναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καταστήματι, ὥστ’ εἰ καί τις αὐτὸν καταλίποι μεταξὺ λέγοντα, αὐτῷ διαπεραίνειν τὸν λόγον, καίτοι κεκινημένον τε * * * ὄντα ἐν νεότητι. πολλάκις, φησί, καὶ ἀπεδήμει, μηδενὶ προειπών, καὶ συνερρέμβετο οἷστισιν ἤθελεν. καί ποτ’ Ἀναξάρχου εἰς τέλμα ἐμπεσόντος, παρῆλθεν οὐ βοηθήσας· τινῶν δὲ αἰτιωμένων, αὐτὸς Ἀνάξαρχος ἐπῄνει τὸ ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἄστοργον αὐτοῦ.

Καταληφθεὶς δέ ποτε καὶ αὐτῷ λαλῶν καὶ ἐρωτηθεὶς τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη μελετᾶν χρηστὸς εἶναι. ἔν τε ταῖς ζητήσεσιν ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς κατεφρονεῖτο διὰ τὸ καὶ διεξοδικῶς λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἐρώτησιν· ὅθεν καὶ Ναυσιφάνην ἤδη νεανίσκον ὄντα θηραθῆναι. ἔφασκε γοῦν γίνεσθαι δεῖν τῆς μὲν διαθέσεως τῆς Πυρρωνείου, τῶν δὲ λόγων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις καὶ Ἐπίκουρον θαυμάζοντα τὴν Πύρρωνος ἀναστροφὴν συνεχὲς αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὕτω δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος τιμηθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἀρχιερέα καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνον πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀτέλειαν ψηφίσασθαι.

Καὶ δὴ καὶ ζηλωτὰς εἶχε πολλοὺς τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι * * * καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις·

῎Ω γέρον, ὦ Πύρρων, πῶς ἢ πόθεν ἔκδυσιν εὗρες

λατρείης δοξῶν [τε] κενεοφροσύνης τε σοφιστῶν,

καὶ πάσης ἀπάτης πειθοῦς τ’ ἀπελύσαο δεσμά;

οὐδ’ ἔμελέν σοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι, τίνες αὖραι

Ἑλλάδ’ ἔχουσι, πόθεν τε καὶ εἰς ὅ, τι κύρει ἕκαστα.

καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς·

τοῦτό μοι, ὦ Πύρρων, ἱμείρεται ἦτορ ἀκοῦσαι,

πῶς ποτ’ ἀνὴρ ἔτ’ ἄγεις ῥᾳστα μεθ’ ἡσυχίης

μοῦνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεοῦ τρόπον ἡγεμονεύων.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ αὐτὸν ἐτίμησαν, καθά φησι Διοκλῆς, ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν τὸν Θρᾷκα διαχρήσασθαι.

εὐσεβῶς δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ συνεβίω μαίᾳ οὔσῃ, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς φέρων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπίπρασκεν ὀρνίθια, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ χοιρίδια, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθαιρεν ἀδιαφόρως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ δέλφακα λούειν αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ χολήσας τι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Φιλίστα δ’ ἐκαλεῖτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐπιλαβόμενον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐν γυναίῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. καὶ κυνός ποτ’ ἐπενεχθέντος διασοβηθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰτιασάμενον, ὡς χαλεπὸν εἴη ὁλοσχερῶς ἐκδῦναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· διαγωνίζεσθαι δ’ ὡς οἷόν τε πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ γε λόγῳ.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ σηπτικῶν φαρμάκων καὶ τομῶν καὶ καύσεων ἐπί τινος ἕλκους αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς συναγαγεῖν. καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ διασαφεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν αὐτοῦ ἐν οἷς πρὸς Πύθωνα διέξεισιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, γνώριμος αὐτοῦ γεγονώς, ἔλεγεν ὡς ἐμέμνητο μάλιστα μὲν Δημοκρίτου, εἶτα δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν καὶ συνεχὲς λέγων,

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν·

καὶ ὅτι σφηξὶ καὶ μυίαις καὶ ὀρνέοις εἴκαζε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. προφέρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε·

ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;

κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων·
καὶ ὅσα συντείνει εἰς τὸ ἀβέβαιον καὶ κενόσπουδον ἅμα καὶ παιδαριῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι διέξεισι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ ἐσκυθρωπακότων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, αὐτὸς γαληνὸς ὢν ἀνέρρωσε τὴν ψυχήν, δείξας ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χοιρίδιον ἐσθίον καὶ εἰπὼν ὡς χρὴ τὸν σοφὸν ἐν τοιαύτῃ καθεστάναι ἀταραξίᾳ. μόνος δὲ Νουμήνιος καὶ δογματίσαι φησὶν αὐτόν. τούτου πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μαθηταὶ γεγόνασιν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν Εὐρύλοχος· οὗ φέρεται ἐλάσσωμα τόδε. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς οὕτω παρωξύνθη ποτὲ ὥστε τὸν ὀβελίσκον ἄρας μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἕως τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐδίωκε τὸν μάγειρον.

καὶ ἐν Ἤλιδι καταπονούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀπορρίψας θοιμάτιον διενήξατο [πέραν] τὸν Ἀλφειόν. ἦν οὖν πολεμιώτατος τοῖς σοφισταῖς, ὡς καὶ Τίμων φησίν.

Ὁ δὲ Φίλων τὰ πλεῖστα διελέγετο ἑαυτῷ. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τούτου φησὶν οὕτως·
ἢ τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων αὐτόσχολον αὐτολαλητὴν

οὐκ ἐμπαζόμενον δόξης ἐρίδων τε Φίλωνα.

Πρὸς τούτοις διήκουε τοῦ Πύρρωνος Ἑκαταῖός τε ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ὁ τοὺς Σίλλους πεποιηκώς, περὶ οὗ λέξομεν, ἔτι τε Ναυσιφάνης ὁ Τήιος, οὗ φασί τινες ἀκοῦσαι Ἐπίκουρον. οὗτοι πάντες Πυρρώνειοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀπορητικοὶ δὲ καὶ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐφεκτικοὶ καὶ ζητητικοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἷον δόγματος προσηγορεύοντο.

ζητητικοὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ζητεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, σκεπτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκέπτεσθαι ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὑρίσκειν, ἐφεκτικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ζήτησιν πάθους· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐποχήν· ἀπορητικοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπορεῖν καὶ αὐτούς. Πυρρώνειοι δὲ ἀπὸ Πύρρωνος. Θεοδόσιος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς Σκεπτικοῖς κεφαλαίοις οὗ φησι δεῖν Πυρρώνειον καλεῖσθαι τὴν σκεπτικήν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ καθ᾽ ἕτερον κίνημα τῆς διανοίας ἄληπτόν ἐστιν, οὐκ εἰσόμεθα τὴν Πύρρωνος διάθεσιν· μὴ εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲ Πυρρώνειοι καλοίμεθ᾽ ἄν. πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν Πύρρωνα μηδ᾽ ἔχειν τι δόγμα. λέγοιτο δ᾽ ἄν τις Πυρρώνειος ὁμότροπος.

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἔνιοί φασιν Ὅμηρον ·, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων παρ᾽ ὀντινοῦν ἄλλοτ᾽ ἄλλως ἀποφαίνεται καὶ οὐδὲν ὁρικῶς δογματίζει περὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν σκεπτικὰ εἶναι, οἷον τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ Ἐγγύα, πάρα δ᾽ ἄτα· δηλοῦσθαι γὰρ τῷ βεβαίως καὶ πεπεισμένως διεγγυωμένῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄτην. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Εὐριπίδην σκεπτικῶς ἔχειν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρχίλοχος μέν φησι·
τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνεω πάϊ,

γίγνεται θνητοῖς ὁκοίην Ζεὺς ἐπ᾽ ἡμέρην ἄγει.
Εὐριπίδης δέ·
(ὦ Ζεῦ,) τί δῆτα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους βροτοὺς
φρονεῖν λέγουσι; σοῦ γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα
δρῶμέν τε τοιάδ᾽ ἃ ᾽ν σὺ τυγχάνῃς θέλων.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης καὶ Δημόκριτος κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς σκεπτικοὶ τυγχάνουσιν· ἐν οἷς Ξενοφάνης μέν φησι,
καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται εἰδώς.
Ζήνων δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ἀναιρεῖ λέγων, τὸ κινούμενον οὔτ᾽ ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται οὔτ᾽ ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστι· Δημόκριτος δὲ τὰς ποιότητας ἐκβάλλων, ἵνα φησί, νόμῳ ψυχρόν, νόμῳ θερμόν, ἐτεῇ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν· καὶ πάλιν, ἐτεῇ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια. καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸ μὲν

ἀληθὲς θεοῖς τε καὶ θεῶν παισὶν ἐκχωρεῖν, τὸν δ’ εἰκότα λόγον ζητεῖν. καὶ Εὐριπίδην λέγειν·

τίς δ’ οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,

τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν νομίζεται βροτοῖς;
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα·
οὕτως οὔτ’ ἐπιδερκτὰ τάδ’ ἀνδράσιν οὔτ’ ἐπακουστὰ

οὔτε νόῳ περιληπτά·
καὶ ἐπάνω,
αὐτὸ μόνον πεισθέντες ὅτῳ προσέκυρσεν ἕκαστος·
ἔτι μὴν Ἡράκλειτον, μὴ εἰκῆ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων
συμβαλλώμεθα· καὶ Ἱπποκράτην [ἔπειτα] ἐνδοιαστῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνεσθαι· καὶ πρὶν Ὅμηρον,
στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ’ ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ’ ἔνι μῦθοι·
καὶ
ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
καὶ
ὁπποῖόν κ’ εἴπῃσθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ’ ἐπακούσαις·
τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν λέγων καὶ ἀντίθεσιν τῶν λόγων.

Διετέλουν δὴ οἱ σκεπτικοὶ τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων δόγματα πάντ’ ἀνατρέποντες, αὐτοὶ δ’ οὐδὲν ἀπεφαίνοντο δογματικῶς, ἕως δὲ τοῦ προφέρεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ διηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ὁρίζοντες, μηδ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ὥστε καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁρίζειν ἀνῄρουν, λέγοντες οἷον Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν, ἐπεὶ ὥριζον ἄν· προφερόμεθα δέ, φασί, τὰς ἀποφάσεις εἰς μήνυσιν τῆς ἀπροπτωσίας, ὡς, εἰ καὶ νεύσαντας, τοῦτο ἐνεδέχετο δηλῶσαι· διὰ τῆς οὖν Οὐδὲν ὁρίζομεν φωνῆς τὸ τῆς ἀρρεψίας πάθος δηλοῦται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς Παντὶ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.

λέγεται δὲ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καὶ θετικῶς, ὡς ὁμοίων τινῶν ὄντων· οἷον, Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ πειρατὴς κακός ἐστιν ἢ ὁ ψεύστης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σκεπτικῶν οὐ θετικῶς ἀλλ’ ἀναιρετικῶς λέγεται, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνασκευάζοντος καὶ λέγοντος, Οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ Σκύλλα γέγονεν ἢ ἡ Χίμαιρα. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Μᾶλλον ποτὲ μὲν συγκριτικῶς ἐκφέρεται, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν μᾶλλον τὸ μέλι γλυκὺ ἢ τὴν σταφίδα· ποτὲ δὲ θετικῶς καὶ ἀναιρετικῶς, ὡς ὅταν φῶμεν, Μᾶλλον ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει· σημαίνομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἀρετὴ ὠφελεῖ, βλάπτει δ’ οὔ.

ἀναιροῦσι δ’ οἱ σκεπτικοὶ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον φωνήν· ὡς γὰρ οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστι πρόνοια ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστι. σημαίνει οὖν ἡ φωνή, καθά φησι καὶ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνι, τὸ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπροσθετεῖν. ἡ δὲ Παντὶ λόγῳ φωνὴ καὶ αὐτὴ συνάγει τὴν ἐποχήν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πραγμάτων διαφωνούντων, τῶν δὲ λόγων ἰσοσθενούντων ἀγνωσία τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπακολουθεῖ· καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ λόγος ἀντίκειται, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ περιτραπεὶς ἀπόλλυται, κατ’ ἴσον τοῖς καθαρτικοῖς, ἃ τὴν ὕλην προεκκρίναντα καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπεκκρίνεται καὶ ἐξαπόλλυται.

Πρὸς ὅ φασιν οἱ δογματικοὶ * * μὴ αἴρειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ προσεπισχυρίζειν. μόνον οὖν διακόνοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν μὴ λόγῳ λόγον ἀνελεῖν· καθ’ ὃν τρόπον εἰώθαμεν λέγειν τόπον μὴ εἶναι καὶ δεῖ πάντως τὸν τόπον εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δογματικῶς, ἀποδεικτικῶς δέ· καὶ μηδὲν γίνεσθαι κατ’ ἀνάγκην καὶ δεῖ τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰπεῖν. τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐχρῶντο· οἷα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, μὴ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μόνον φαίνεσθαι· ζητεῖν τ’ ἔλεγον οὐχ ἅπερ νοοῦσιν, ὅ τι γὰρ νοεῖται δῆλον, ἀλλ’ ὧν ταῖς

αἰσθήσεσι μετίσχουσιν.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ Πυρρώνειος λόγος μήνυσίς τις τῶν φαινομένων ἢ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν νοουμένων, καθ' ἣν πάντα πᾶσι συμβάλλεται καὶ συγκρινόμενα πολλὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἔχοντα εὑρίσκεται, καθά φησιν Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῇ εἰς τὰ Πυρρώνεια ὑποτυπώσει. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς σκέψεσιν ἀντιθέσεις προαποδεικνύντες καθ' οὓς τρόπους πείθει τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνῄρουν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν πίστιν· πείθειν γὰρ τά τε κατ' αἴσθησιν συμφώνως ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ μηδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γοῦν μεταπίπτοντα τά τε συνήθη καὶ τὰ νόμοις διεσταλμένα καὶ τὰ τέρποντα καὶ τὰ θαυμαζόμενα.

ἐδείκνυσαν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς πείθουσιν ἴσας τὰς πιθανότητας.

Αἱ δ' ἀπορίαι κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας τῶν φαινομένων ἢ νοουμένων, ἃς ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἦσαν κατὰ δέκα τρόπους, καθ' οὓς τὰ ὑποκείμενα παραλλάττοντα ἐφαίνετο. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δέκα τρόπους τίθησιν.

[Εἷς] πρῶτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ζῴων πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα καὶ βλάβην καὶ ὠφέλειαν. συνάγεται δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν προσπίπτειν φαντασίας καὶ τὸ διότι τῇ τοιαύτῃ μάχῃ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἐπέχειν· τῶν γὰρ ζῴων τὰ μὲν χωρὶς μίξεως γίνεσθαι, ὡς τὰ πυρίβια καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος φοῖνιξ καὶ εὐλαί· τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐπιπλοκῆς, ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα·

καὶ τὰ μὲν οὕτως, τὰ δ' οὕτως συγκέκριται· διὸ καὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει διαφέρει, ὡς κίρκοι μὲν ὀξύτατοι, κύνες δ' ὀσφρητικώτατοι. εὔλογον οὖν τοῖς διαφόροις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διάφορα καὶ τὰ φαντάσματα προσπίπτειν· καὶ τῇ μὲν αἰγὶ τὸν θαλλὸν εἶναι ἐδώδιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ πικρόν, καὶ τὸ κώνειον ὄρτυγι μὲν τρόφιμον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ θανάσιμον, καὶ ὁ ἀπόπατος ὑῒ μὲν ἐδώδιμος, ἵππῳ δ' οὔ.

Δεύτερος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις καὶ τὰς ἰδιοσυγκρισίας· Δημοφῶν γοῦν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπεζοκόμος ἐν σκιᾷ ἐθάλπετο, ἐν ἡλίῳ δ' ἐρρίγου.

Ἄνδρων δ' ὁ Ἀργεῖος, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου Λιβύης ὥδευεν ἄποτος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰατρικῆς, ὁ δὲ γεωργίας, ἄλλος δ' ἐμπορίας ὀρέγεται· καὶ ταὐτὰ οὓς μὲν βλάπτει, οὓς δὲ ὠφελεῖ· ὅθεν ἐφεκτέον.

Τρίτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων διαφοράς. τὸ γοῦν μῆλον ὁράσει μὲν ὠχρόν, γεύσει δὲ γλυκύ, ὀσφρήσει δ' εὐῶδες ὑποπίπτει. καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ μορφὴ παρὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν κατόπτρων ἀλλοία θεωρεῖται. ἀκολουθεῖ οὖν μὴ μᾶλλον εἶναι τοῖον τὸ φαινόμενον ἢ ἀλλοῖον.

Τέταρτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ κοινῶς παραλλαγάς, οἷον ὑγίειαν, νόσον, ὕπνον, ἐγρήγορσιν, χαράν, λύπην, νεότητα, γῆρας, θάρσος, φόβον, ἔνδειαν, πλήρωσιν, μῖσος, φιλίαν, θερμασίαν, ψύξιν· παρὰ τὸ πνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ πιεσθῆναι τοὺς πόρους. ἀλλοῖα οὖν φαίνεται τὰ προσπίπτοντα παρὰ τὰς ποιὰς διαθέσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ μαινόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἔχουσι· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἢ ἡμεῖς; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἑστῶτα βλέπομεν. Θέων δ' ὁ Τιθοραιεὺς ὁ στωικὸς κοιμώμενος περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ καὶ Περικλέους δοῦλος ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ τέγους.

Πέμπτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς πίστεις καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συνθήκας καὶ δογματικὰς ὑπολήψεις. ἐν τούτῳ περιέχεται τὰ περὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, περὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ ψευδῶν, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν φαινομένων πάντων. τὸ γοῦν αὐτὸ παρ' οἷς μὲν δίκαιον, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἄδικον· καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλοις δὲ κακόν. Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον ἡγοῦνται θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι, Ἕλληνες δ' ἔκθεσμον. καὶ Μασσαγέται μέν, ὥς φησι καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Περιόδου, κοινὰς ἔχουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἕλληνες δ' οὔ· Κίλικές τε λῃστείαις ἔχαιρον, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἕλληνες.

θεούς τ’ ἄλλοι ἄλλους ἡγοῦνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖσθαι, οἱ δ’ οὔ. θάπτουσι δ’ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ταριχεύοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καίοντες, Παίονες δ’ εἰς λίμνας ῥιπτοῦντες· ὅθεν περὶ τἀληθοῦς ἡ ἐποχή.

Ἕκτος ὁ παρὰ τὰς μίξεις καὶ κοινωνίας, καθ’ ὃν εἰλικρινῶς οὐδὲν καθ’ αὑτὸ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀέρι, σὺν φωτί, σὺν ὑγρῷ, σὺν στερεῷ, θερμότητι, ψυχρότητι, κινήσει, ἀναθυμιάσεσιν, ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν. ἡ γοῦν πορφύρα διάφορον ὑποφαίνει χρῶμα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ λύχνῳ. καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῶμα ἀλλοῖον ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν φαίνεται καὶ · ὑπὸ δύσιν· καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀέρι ὑπὸ δυοῖν κουφιζόμενος

λίθος ἐν ὕδατι ῥᾳδίως μετατίθεται, ἤτοι βαρὺς ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος κουφιζόμενος ἢ ἐλαφρὸς [ὢν] καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος βαρυνόμενος. ἀγνοοῦμεν οὖν τὸ κατ’ ἰδίαν, ὡς ἔλαιον ἐν μύρῳ.

Ἕβδομος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις καὶ ποιὰς θέσεις καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς τόποις. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὰ δοκοῦντ’ εἶναι μεγάλα μικρὰ φαίνεται, τὰ τετράγωνα στρογγύλα, τὰ ὁμαλὰ ἐξοχὰς ἔχοντα, τὰ ὀρθὰ κεκλασμένα, τὰ ὠχρὰ ἑτερόχροα. ὁ γοῦν ἥλιος παρὰ τὸ διάστημα μικρὸς φαίνεται· καὶ τὰ ὄρη πόρρωθεν ἀεροειδῆ καὶ λεῖα, ἐγγύθεν δὲ τραχέα.

ἔτι ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχων μὲν ἀλλοῖος, μεσουρανῶν δ’ οὐχ ὅμοιος. καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα ἐν μὲν ἄλσει ἀλλοῖον, ἐν δὲ ψιλῇ γῇ ἕτερον· καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν παρὰ τὴν ποιὰν θέσιν, ὅ τε τῆς περιστερᾶς τράχηλος παρὰ τὴν στροφήν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἔνι ἔξω τόπων καὶ θέσεων ταῦτα κατανοῆσαι, ἀγνοεῖται ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν.

Ὄγδοος ὁ παρὰ τὰς ποσότητας καὶ ποιότητας αὐτῶν ἢ θερμότητας ἢ ψυχρότητας ἢ ταχύτητας ἢ βραδύτητας ἢ ὠχρότητας ἢ ἑτεροχροιότητας. ὁ γοῦν οἶνος μέτριος μὲν ληφθεὶς ῥώννυσι, πλείων δὲ παρίησιν· ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τροφὴ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Ἔνατος ὁ παρὰ τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς ἢ ξένον ἢ σπάνιον. οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ’ οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται οὐ θαυμάζονται, οὐδ’ ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι καθ’ ἡμέραν ὁρᾶται. τὸν ἔνατον Φαβωρῖνος ὄγδοον, Σέξτος δὲ καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος δέκατον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δέκατον Σέξτος ὄγδοόν φησι, Φαβωρῖνος δὲ ἔνατον.

Δέκατος ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλα σύμβλησιν, καθάπερ τὸ κοῦφον παρὰ τὸ βαρύ, τὸ ἰσχυρὸν παρὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, τὸ μεῖζον παρὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τὸ ἄνω παρὰ τὸ κάτω. τὸ γοῦν δεξιὸν φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δεξιόν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον σχέσιν νοεῖται· μετατεθέντος γοῦν ἐκείνου, οὐκέτ’ ἐστὶ δεξιόν.

ὁμοίως καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὡς πρός τι καὶ ἡμέρα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πάντα ὡς πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν. ἄγνωστα οὖν τὰ πρός τι [ὡς] καθ’ ἑαυτά. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα τρόποι.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀγρίππαν τούτοις ἄλλους πέντε προσεισάγουσι, τόν τ’ ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας καὶ τὸν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλοντα καὶ τὸν πρός τι καὶ τὸν ἐξ ὑποθέσεως καὶ τὸν δι’ ἀλλήλων. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς διαφωνίας ὃ ἂν προτεθῇ ζήτημα παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἢ τῇ συνηθείᾳ, πλείστης μάχης καὶ ταραχῆς πλῆρες ἀποδεικνύει· ὁ δ’ εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκβάλλων οὐκ ἐᾷ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὸ ζητούμενον, διὰ τὸ ἄλλο ἀπ’ ἄλλου τὴν πίστιν λαμβάνειν καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.

ὁ δὲ πρός τι οὐδέν φησι καθ’ ἑαυτὸ λαμβάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μεθ’ ἑτέρου. ὅθεν ἄγνωστα εἶναι. ὁ δ’ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τρόπος συνίσταται, οἰομένων τινῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτόθεν δεῖν λαμβάνειν ὡς πιστὰ καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι· ὅ ἐστι μάταιον· τὸ ἐναντίον γάρ τις ὑποθήσεται. ὁ δὲ δι’ ἀλλήλων τρόπος συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ ὀφεῖλον τοῦ ζητουμένου πράγματος εἶναι βεβαιωτικὸν χρείαν ἔχῃ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζητουμένου πίστεως, οἷον εἰ τὸ εἶναι πόρους τις βεβαιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραλαμβάνοι πρὸς βεβαίωσιν τοῦ ἀπορροίας γίνεσθαι.

Ἀνῄρουν δ’ οὗτοι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν καὶ κριτήριον καὶ σημεῖον καὶ αἴτιον καὶ κίνησιν καὶ μάθησιν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ φύσει τι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. πᾶσα γὰρ ἀπόδειξις, φασίν, ἢ ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων σύγκειται χρημάτων ἢ ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀποδεδειγμένων, κἀκεῖνα δεήσεταί τινος ἀποδείξεως κἀντεῦθεν εἰς ἄπειρον· εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀναποδείκτων, ἤτοι πάντων ἢ τινῶν ἢ καὶ ἑνὸς μόνου δισταζομένου, καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἶναι ἀναπόδεικτον. εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ, φασίν, ὑπάρχειν τινὰ μηδεμιᾶς ἀποδείξεως δεόμενα, θαυμαστοὶ τῆς γνώμης, εἰ μὴ συνιᾶσιν ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὡς ἄρ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχει τὴν πίστιν, ἀποδείξεως χρή.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τοῦ τέτταρα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα βεβαιωτέον. πρὸς τῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀποδείξεων ἀπιστουμένων ἄπιστον εἶναι καὶ τὴν γενικὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἵνα τε γνῶμεν ὅτι ἔστιν ἀπόδειξις, κριτηρίου δεῖ· καὶ ὅτι ἔστι κριτήριον, ἀποδείξεως δεῖ· ὅθεν ἑκάτερα ἀκατάληπτα ἀναπεμπόμενα ἐπ’ ἄλληλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν καταλαμβάνοιτο τὰ ἄδηλα, τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἀγνοουμένης; ζητεῖται δ’ οὐκ εἰ φαίνεται τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ’ εἰ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν οὕτως ἔχει.

Εὐήθεις δὲ τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἀπέφαινον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως περαινόμενον οὐ σκέψεως ἀλλὰ θέσεως ἔχει λόγον. τοιούτῳ δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀδυνάτων ἔστιν ἐπιχειρεῖν.

div moved

τοὺς δ’ οἰομένους μὴ δεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ περίστασιν κρίνειν τἀληθὲς μηδ’ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν νομοθετεῖν, ἔλεγον αὐτοὺς μέτρα τῶν πάντων ὁρίζειν, οὐχ ὁρῶντας ὅτι πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον κατ’ ἀντιπερίστασιν καὶ διάθεσιν φαίνεται. ἤτοι γοῦν πάντ’ ἀληθῆ ῥητέον ἢ πάντα ψευδῆ. εἰ δ’ ἔνιά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ, τίνι διακριτέον; οὔτε γὰρ αἰσθήσει τὰ κατ’ αἴσθησιν, πάντων ἴσων αὐτῇ φαινομένων, οὔτε νοήσει διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ἄλλη δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰς ἐπίκρισιν δύναμις οὐχ ὁρᾶται. ὁ οὖν, φασί, περί τινος διαβεβαιούμενος αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ πρότερον ὀφείλει τὰς περὶ τούτου δόξας καταστῆσαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνῃρήκασι. δεῖ δ’ ἢ δι’ αἰσθητοῦ ἢ νοητοῦ κριθῆναι. ἑκάτερα δὲ ἀμφισβητεῖται.

div moved

οὐδὲ τοίνυν δυνατὸν τὰς περὶ αἰσθητῶν ἢ νοητῶν ἐπικρῖναι δόξας· εἴ τε διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς νοήσεσι μάχην ἀπιστητέον πᾶσιν, ἀναιρεθήσεται τὸ μέτρον ᾧ δοκεῖ τὰ πάντα διακριβοῦσθαι· πᾶν οὖν ἴσον ἡγήσονται. ἔτι, φασίν, ὁ συζητῶν ἡμῖν τὸ φαινόμενον πιστός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ. εἰ μὲν οὖν πιστός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἔξει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν ᾧ φαίνεται τοὐναντίον· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς πιστός ἐστι τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐναντίος· εἰ δ’ ἄπιστος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιστηθήσεται τὸ φαινόμενον λέγων.

Τό τε πεῖθον οὐχ ὑποληπτέον ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχειν. οὐ γὰρ πάντας τὸ αὐτὸ πείθει οὐδὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς συνεχές. γίνεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἡ πιθανότης, παρὰ τὸ ἔνδοξον τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τὸ φροντιστικὸν ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰμύλον ἢ παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἢ παρὰ τὸ κεχαρισμένον.

Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ τὸ κριτήριον λόγῳ τοιῷδε. ἤτοι κέκριται καὶ τὸ κριτήριον ἢ ἄκριτόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἄκριτόν ἐστιν, ἄπιστον καθέστηκε καὶ διημάρτηκε τἀληθοῦς καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους· εἰ δὲ κέκριται, ἓν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γενήσεται κρινομένων, ὥστ’ ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ κρίνειν καὶ κρίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κεκρικὸς τὸ κριτήριον ὑφ’ ἑτέρου κριθήσεται κἀκεῖνο ὑπ’ ἄλλου καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.

πρὸς τῷ καὶ διαφωνεῖσθαι τὸ κριτήριον, τῶν μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κριτήριον εἶναι λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἄλλων τὸν λόγον, ἐνίων τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν. αἱ δ’ αἰσθήσεις ψεύδονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος διάφωνος. ἡ δὲ καταληπτικὴ φαντασία ὑπὸ νοῦ κρίνεται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ποικίλως τρέπεται. ἄγνωστον οὖν ἐστι τὸ κριτήριον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἀλήθεια.

Σημεῖόν τ’ οὐκ εἶναι· εἰ γάρ ἐστι, φασί, σημεῖον, ἤτοι αἰσθητόν ἐστιν ἢ νοητόν· αἰσθητὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν κοινόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἴδιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν τῶν κατὰ διαφοράν, τὸ δὲ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι. νοητὸν δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ νοητὸν ἤτοι φαινόμενόν ἐστι φαινομένου ἢ ἀφανὲς ἀφανοῦς ἢ ἀφανὲς φαινομένου ἢ φαινόμενον ἀφανοῦς· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἐστίν· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἐστὶ σημεῖον. φαινόμενον μὲν οὖν φαινομένου οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ φαινόμενον οὐ δεῖται σημείου· ἀφανὲς δ’ ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἐκκαλυπτόμενον ὑπό τινος·

ἀφανὲς δὲ φαινομένου οὐ δύναται, καθότι δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ ἑτέρῳ παρέξον ἀφορμὴν καταλήψεως· φαινόμενον δ’ ἀφανοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτι τὸ σημεῖον τῶν πρός τι ὂν συγκαταλαμβάνεσθαι ὀφείλει τῷ οὗ ἐστι σημεῖον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν. οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ἀδήλων ἂν καταλαμβάνοιτο· διὰ γὰρ τῶν σημείων λέγεται τὰ ἄδηλα καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

Ἀναιροῦσι δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὧδε· τὸ αἴτιον τῶν πρός τι ἔστι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ αἰτιατόν ἐστι· τὰ δὲ πρός τι ἐπινοεῖται μόνον, ὑπάρχει δ’ οὔ·

καὶ τὸ αἴτιον οὖν ἐπινοοῖτ’ ἂν μόνον, ἐπεὶ εἴπερ ἐστὶν αἴτιον, ὀφείλει ἔχειν τὸ οὗ λέγεται αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔσται αἴτιον. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ, μὴ παρόντος τοῦ πρὸς ὃ λέγεται πατήρ, οὐκ ἂν εἴη πατήρ, οὑτωσὶ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον· οὐ πάρεστι δὲ πρὸς ὃ νοεῖται τὸ αἴτιον· οὔτε γὰρ γένεσις οὔτε φθορὰ οὔτ’ ἄλλο τι· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἐστὶν αἴτιον. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἤτοι σῶμα σώματός ἐστιν αἴτιον ἢ ἀσώματον ἀσωμάτου· οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων· οὐκ ἄρ’ ἐστὶν αἴτιον. σῶμα μὲν οὖν σώματος οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ἐπείπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει φύσιν. καὶ εἰ τὸ ἕτερον αἴτιον λέγεται παρ’ ὅσον ἐστὶ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, σῶμα ὄν, αἴτιον γενήσεται.

κοινῶς δ’ ἀμφοτέρων αἰτίων ὄντων, οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ πάσχον. ἀσώματον δ’ ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον· ἀσώματον δὲ σώματος οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ποιεῖ σῶμα. σῶμα δ’ ἀσωμάτου οὐκ ἂν εἴη αἴτιον, ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον τῆς πασχούσης ὕλης ὀφείλει εἶναι· μηδὲν δὲ πάσχον διὰ τὸ ἀσώματον εἶναι οὐδ’ ἂν ὑπό τινος γένοιτο· οὐκ ἔστι τοίνυν αἴτιον. ᾧ συνεισάγεται τὸ ἀνυποστάτους εἶναι τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχάς· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τι τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ δρῶν.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κίνησίς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ κινούμενον ἤτοι ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ μὴ ἔστιν· καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέν ἐστι τόπῳ οὐ κινεῖται, ἐν ᾧ δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ κινεῖται· οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν κίνησις.

Ἀνῄρουν δὲ καὶ μάθησιν. εἴπερ, φασί, διδάσκεταί τι, ἤτοι τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται ἢ τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ εἶναι. οὔτε δὲ τὸ ὂν τῷ εἶναι διδάσκεται —ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων φύσις πᾶσι φαίνεται καὶ γινώσκεται—οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὂν τῷ μὴ ὄντι· τῷ γὰρ μὴ ὄντι οὐδὲν συμβέβηκεν, ὥστ’ οὐδὲ τὸ διδάσκεσθαι.

Οὐδὲ μὴν γένεσίς ἐστι, φασίν. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὂν γίνεται, ἔστι γάρ, οὔτε τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑφέστηκε· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑφεστὼς μηδ’ ὂν οὐδὲ τὸ γίνεσθαι εὐτύχηκε.

Φύσει τε μὴ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν· εἰ γάρ τί ἐστι φύσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, πᾶσιν ὀφείλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὥσπερ ἡ χιὼν πᾶσι ψυχρόν· κοινὸν δ’ οὐδὲν πάντων ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν ἐστιν· οὐκ ἄρα ἐστὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν. ἤτοι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ῥητέον ἀγαθὸν ἢ οὐ πᾶν· καὶ πᾶν μὲν οὐ ῥητέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑφ’ οὗ μὲν δοξάζεται ἀγαθόν, ὡς ἡ ἡδονὴ ὑπὸ Ἐπικούρου· ὑφ’ οὗ δὲ κακόν, ὑπ’ Ἀντισθένους. συμβήσεται τοίνυν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ κακόν. εἰ δ’ οὐ πᾶν λέγομεν τὸ ὑπό τινος δοξαζόμενον ἀγαθόν, δεήσει ἡμᾶς διακρίνειν τὰς δόξας· ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενόν ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν τῶν λόγων. ἄγνωστον οὖν τὸ φύσει ἀγαθόν.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅλον τῆς συναγωγῆς αὐτῶν τρόπον συνιδεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολειφθεισῶν συντάξεων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πύρρων οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ μέντοι συνήθεις αὐτοῦ Τίμων καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος καὶ

Νουμήνιος καὶ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι.

Οἷς ἀντιλέγοντες οἱ δογματικοί φασιν αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δογματίζειν· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ δοκοῦσι διελέγχειν καταλαμβάνονται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρατύνουσι καὶ δογματίζουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε φασὶ μηδὲν ὁρίζειν καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ λόγον ἀντικεῖσθαι, αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁρίζονται καὶ δογματίζουσι.

πρὸς οὓς ἀποκρίνονται, Περὶ μὲν ὧν ὡς ἄνθρωποι πάσχομεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτι ζῶμεν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ φαινομένων διαγινώσκομεν· περὶ δ’ ὧν οἱ δογματικοὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται τῷ λόγῳ, φάμενοι κατειλῆφθαι, περὶ τούτων ἐπέχομεν ὡς ἀδήλων, μόνα δὲ τὰ πάθη γινώσκομεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ὁρῶμεν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὸ ὅτι τόδε νοοῦμεν γινώσκομεν, πῶς δ’ ὁρῶμεν ἢ πῶς νοοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦμεν· καὶ ὅτι τόδε λευκὸν φαίνεται διηγηματικῶς λέγομεν, οὐ διαβεβαιούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὄντως ἐστί. περὶ δὲ τῆς Οὐδὲν ὁρίζω φωνῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων λέγομεν ὡς οὐ δογμάτων·

οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ὅμοια τῷ λέγειν ὅτι σφαιροειδής ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἄδηλον, αἱ δ’ ἐξομολογήσεις εἰσί. ἐν ᾧ οὖν λέγομεν μηδὲν ὁρίζειν, οὐδ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁρίζομεν.

Πάλιν οἱ δογματικοί φασιν καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντ’ ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος συνέστηκεν. οἱ δὲ ψεύδεσθαί φασιν αὐτούς· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς ὁρᾶν ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον τιθέμεθα, οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοιοῦτον ὄν. καὶ ὅτι τὸ πῦρ καίει αἰσθανόμεθα· εἰ δὲ φύσιν ἔχει καυστικὴν ἐπέχομεν.

καὶ ὅτι κινεῖταί τις βλέπομεν, καὶ ὅτι φθείρεται πῶς δὲ ταῦτα γίνεται οὐκ ἴσμεν. μόνον οὖν, φασίν, ἀνθιστάμεθα πρὸς τὰ παρυφιστάμενα τοῖς φαινομένοις ἄδηλα. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὴν εἰκόνα ἐξοχὰς λέγομεν ἔχειν, τὸ φαινόμενον διασαφοῦμεν· ὅταν δ’ εἴπωμεν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξοχάς, οὐκέτι ὃ φαίνεται, ἕτερον δὲ λέγομεν· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθωνί φησι μὴ ἐκβεβηκέναι τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδαλμοῖς οὕτω λέγει,
ἀλλὰ τὸ φαινόμενον πάντη σθένει οὖπερ ἂν ἔλθῃ.
καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ αἰσθήσεών φησι, τὸ μέλι ὅτι ἐστὶ γλυκὺ οὐ τίθημι, τὸ δ’ ὅτι φαίνεται ὁμολογῶ.

Καὶ Αἰνεσίδημος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πυρρωνείων λόγων οὐδέν φησιν ὁρίζειν τὸν Πύρρωνα δογματικῶς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, τοῖς δὲ φαινομένοις ἀκολουθεῖν. ταὐτὰ δὲ λέγει κἀν τῷ Κατὰ σοφίας κἀν τῷ Περὶ ζητήσεως. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ζεῦξις ὁ Αἰνεσιδήμου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ διττῶν λόγων καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ἀπελλᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ τιθέασι τὰ φαινόμενα μόνα. ἔστιν οὖν κριτήριον κατὰ τοὺς σκεπτικοὺς τὸ φαινόμενον, ὡς καὶ Αἰνεσίδημός φησιν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος. Δημόκριτος δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν φαινομένων, τὰ δὲ μὴ εἶναι.

πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ κριτήριον τῶν φαινομένων οἱ δογματικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτ’ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν διάφοροι προσπίπτουσι φαντασίαι, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ἢ στρογγύλου ἢ τετραγώνου, ὁ σκεπτικὸς εἰ μὲν οὐδετέραν προκρινεῖ, ἀπρακτήσει· εἰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ κατακολουθήσει, οὐκέτι τὸ ἰσοσθενές, φασί, τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀποδώσει. πρὸς οὓς οἱ σκεπτικοί φασιν ὅτι ὅτε προσπίπτουσιν ἀλλοῖαι φαντασίαι, ἑκατέρας ἐροῦμεν φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ φαινόμενα τιθέναι ὅτι φαίνεται. τέλος δὲ οἱ σκεπτικοί φασι τὴν ἐποχήν, ᾗ σκιᾶς τρόπον ἐπακολουθεῖ ἡ ἀταραξία, ὥς φασιν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Τίμωνα καὶ Αἰνεσίδημον·

οὔτε γὰρ τάδ’ ἐλούμεθα ἢ ταῦτα φευξόμεθα ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστι· τὰ δ’ ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἀνάγκην, οὐ δυνάμεθα φεύγειν, ὡς τὸ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ ἀλγεῖν· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ λόγῳ περιελεῖν ταῦτα. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν δογματικῶν ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν ὁ σκεπτικὸς μὴ φεύγων τό, εἰ κελευσθείη, κρεουργεῖν τὸν πατέρα, φασὶν οἱ σκεπτικοὶ ὡς δυνήσεται βιοῦν ὥστε * * περὶ τῶν δογματικῶν ζητήσεων ἐπέχειν, οὐ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ τηρητικῶν. ὥστε καὶ αἱρούμεθά τι

κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ φεύγομεν καὶ νόμοις χρώμεθα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπάθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν πρᾳότητα τέλος εἰπεῖν φασι τοὺς σκεπτικούς.

Κεφ. ιβ΄. ΤΙΜΩΝ

Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ Νικαεὺς ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Εἰς τοὺς Σίλλους ὑπομνήματι, ἃ προσφωνεῖ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, φησὶ τὸν Τίμωνα εἶναι πατρὸς μὲν Τιμάρχου, Φλιάσιον δὲ τὸ γένος· νέον δὲ καταλειφθέντα χορεύειν, ἔπειτα καταγνόντα ἀποδημῆσαι εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Στίλπωνα· κἀκείνῳ συνδιατρίψαντα αὖθις ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε καὶ γῆμαι. εἶτα πρὸς Πύρρωνα εἰς Ἦλιν ἀποδημῆσαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς κἀκεῖ διατρίβειν ἕως αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον Ξάνθον ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἰατρικὴν ἐδίδαξε καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ βίου κατέλιπε.

ὁ δ’ ἐλλόγιμος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ φησίν. ἀπορῶν μέντοι τροφῶν ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα· ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τε σοφιστεύων ἐπὶ πλέον ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιώθη· ἐντεῦθέν τε πορισάμενος ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κἀκεῖ διέτριβε μέχρι καὶ τελευτῆς, ὀλίγον χρόνον εἰς Θήβας διαδραμών. ἐγνώσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ.

Ἦν δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ φιλοπότης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰ σχολάζοι ποιήματα συνέγραφε καὶ ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας καὶ σατύρους καὶ δράματα κωμικὰ τριάκοντα, τὰ δὲ τραγικὰ ἑξήκοντα, σίλλους τε καὶ κιναίδους.

φέρεται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ καταλογάδην βιβλία εἰς ἐπῶν τείνοντα μυριάδας δύο, ὧν καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος μέμνηται, ἀναγεγραφὼς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν βίον. τῶν δὲ σίλλων τρία ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἂν σκεπτικὸς ὢν πάντας λοιδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικοὺς ἐν παρῳδίας εἴδει. ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοδιήγητον ἔχει τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι. φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον περὶ ἑκάστων, ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ διηγούμενός ἐστι· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων· ὅθεν δὴ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Ἐπί- λογον ἐπέγραψαν.

τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ταὐτὰ περιέχει πράγματα, πλὴν ὅτι μονοπρόσωπός ἐστιν ἡ ποίησις· ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ ἥδε,

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι ὅσοι πολυπράγμονές ἐστε σοφισταί.

Ἐτελεύτησε δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ. τοῦτον ἐγὼ καὶ ἑτερόφθαλμον ἤκουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν Κύκλωπα ἐκάλει. γέγονε καὶ ἕτερος Τίμων ὁ μισάνθρωπος.

Ὁ δ’ οὖν φιλόσοφος καὶ φιλόκηπος ἦν σφόδρα καὶ ἰδιοπράγμων, ὡς καὶ Ἀντίγονός φησι. λόγος γοῦν εἰπεῖν Ἱερώνυμον τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, Ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοξεύουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, οὕτω τῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν διώκοντες θηρῶσι τοὺς μαθητάς, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ διαμυκτηρίσαι· φιλογράμματός τε καὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μύθους γράψαι ἱκανὸς καὶ δράματα συνδιατιθέναι. μετεδίδου δὲ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ. θορυβούμενός θ’ ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπαινῶν καὶ κυνῶν ἐποίει μηδέν, σπουδάζων περὶ τὸ ἠρεμάζειν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄρατον πυθέσθαι αὐτοῦ πῶς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσαιτο, τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἐντυγχάνοι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἤδη διωρθωμένοις. εἰκῆ τε αὐτῷ ἔκειτο τὰ ποιήματα, ἐνίοτε ἡμίβρωτα·

ὥστε καὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ ῥήτορι ἀναγινώσκοντά τι ἐπιτυλίττειν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπελθὸν διεξιέναι·

ἐλθόντα τ’ ἐφ’ ἡμισείας, οὕτως εὑρεῖν τὸ ἀπόσπασμα τέως ἀγνοοῦντα. τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀδιάφορος. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔρους · ὡς μηδ’ ἀριστᾶν συγχωρεῖν. φασὶ δ’ αὐτὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον θεασάμενον διὰ τῶν Κερκώπων ἰόντα, εἰπεῖν, τί σὺ δεῦρο, ἔνθαπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλεύθεροι; συνεχές τε ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθει πρὸς τοὺς τὰς αἰσθήσεις μετ’ ἐπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ νοῦ ἐγκρίνοντας,
συνῆλθεν Ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ Νουμήνιος.
εἰώθει δὲ καὶ παίζειν τοιαῦτα. πρὸς οὖν τὸν θαυμάζοντα πάντα ἔφη, τί δ’ οὐ θαυμάζεις ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες τέτταρας ἔχομεν ὀφθαλμούς; ἦν δ’ αὐτός τε ἑτερόφθαλμος καὶ ὁ Διοσκουρίδης μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ πρὸς ὃν ἔλεγεν ὑγιής.

ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ ποθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου διὰ τί παρείη ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἔφη, ἵν’ ὑμᾶς ἀναπεπταμένους ὁρῶν γελῶ. ὅμως δὲ καθαπτόμενος Ἀρκεσιλάου ἐν τοῖς σίλλοις ἐπῄνεκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρκεσιλάου περιδείπνῳ.

Τούτου διάδοχος, ὡς μὲν Μηνόδοτός φησι, γέγονεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ διέλιπεν ἡ ἀγωγὴ ἕως αὐτὴν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἀνεκτήσατο. ὡς δ’ Ἱππόβοτός φησι καὶ Σωτίων, διήκουσαν αὐτοῦ Διοσκουρίδης Κύπριος καὶ Νικόλοχος Ῥόδιος καὶ Εὐφράνωρ Σελευκεὺς Πραῦλους τ’ ἀπὸ Τρωάδος, ὃς οὕτω καρτερικὸς ἐγένετο, καθά φησι Φύλαρχος ἱστορῶν, ὥστ’ ἀδίκως ὑπομεῖναι ὡς ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ κολασθῆναι, μηδὲ λόγου τοὺς πολίτας καταξιώσας.

Εὐφράνορος δὲ διήκουσεν Εὔβουλος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, οὗ Πτολεμαῖος, οὗ Σαρπηδὼν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρακλείδου δ’ Αἰνεσίδημος Κνώσιος, ὃς καὶ Πυρρωνείων λόγων ὀκτὼ συνέγραψε βιβλία· οὗ Ζεύξιππος ὁ πολίτης, οὗ Ζεῦξις ὁ Γωνιόπους, οὗ Ἀντίοχος Λαοδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκου· τούτου δὲ Μηνόδοτος ὁ Νικομηδεύς, ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρικός, καὶ Θειωδᾶς Λαοδικεύς· Μηνοδότου δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Ἀριέως Ταρσεύς· Ἡροδότου δὲ διήκουσε Σέξτος ὁ ἐμπειρικός, οὗ καὶ τὰ δέκα τῶν Σκεπτικῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάλλιστα· Σέξτου δὲ διήκουσε Σατορνῖνος ὁ Κυθηνᾶς, ἐμπειρικὸς καὶ αὐτός.

I

ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ

Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους καὶ Χαιρεστράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Γαργήττιος, γένους τοῦ τῶν Φιλαϊδῶν, ὥς φησι Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐγενείας. τοῦτόν φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ κληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων τὴν Σάμον ἐκεῖθι τραφῆναι· ὀκτωκαιδεκέτη δ’ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας, Ξενοκράτους μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, Ἀριστοτέλους δ’ ἐν Χαλκίδι διατρίβοντος. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεσόντων ὑπὸ Περδίκκου μετελθεῖν εἰς Κολοφῶνα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα·

χρόνον δέ τινα διατρίψαντα αὐτόθι καὶ μαθητὰς ἀθροίσαντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους· καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος κατ’ ἐπιμιξίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφεῖν, ἔπειτα ἰδίᾳ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν αἵρεσιν συστήσαντα. ἐφάψασθαι δὲ φιλοσοφίας αὐτός φησιν ἔτη γεγονὼς τετταρεσκαίδεκα. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου βίου φησὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καταγνόντα τῶν γραμματιστῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἑρμηνεῦσαι αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ χάους. φησὶ δ’ Ἕρμιππος γραμματοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἔπειτα μέντοι περιτυχόντα τοῖς Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ᾖξαι·

διὸ καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα φάσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ·
ὕστατος αὖ φυσικῶν καὶ κύντατος, ἐκ Σάμου ἐλθὼν

γραμμαδιδασκαλίδης, ἀναγωγότατος ζωόντων.

Συνεφιλοσόφουν δ’ αὐτῷ προτρεψαμένῳ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τρεῖς ὄντες, Νεοκλῆς Χαιρέδημος Ἀριστόβουλος, καθά φησι Φιλόδημος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων συντάξεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦλος Μῦς ὄνομα, καθά φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ἐν Ὁμοίοις ἱστορικοῖς κεφαλαίοις. Διότιμος δ’ ὁ Στωικὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πικρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν, ἐπιστολὰς φέρων πεντήκοντα ἀσελγεῖς ὡς Ἐπικούρου· καὶ ὁ τὰ εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερόμενα ἐπιστόλια ὡς Ἐπικούρου συντάξας.

ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν στωικὸν καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Σωτίων ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Διοκλείων ἐλέγχων, ἅ ἐστι δ’ πρὸς τοῖς κ’, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς. καὶ γὰρ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιιόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν, καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυπροῦ τινος μισθαρίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἕνα προαγωγεύειν, Λεοντίῳ καὶ συνεῖναι τῇ ἑταίρᾳ. τὰ δὲ Δημοκρίτου περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων καὶ Ἀριστίππου περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὡς ἴδια λέγειν· μὴ εἶναί τε γνησίως ἀστόν, ὡς Τιμοκράτης φησὶ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐπικούρου ἐφηβείας. Μιθρῆν τε αἰσχρῶς κολακεύειν τὸν Λυσιμάχου διοικητήν, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Παιᾶνα καὶ ἄνακτα καλοῦντα·

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰδομενέα καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Τιμοκράτην τοὺς ἔκπυστα αὐτοῦ τὰ κρύφια ποιήσαντας ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ κολακεύειν αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς μὲν Λεόντιον Παιὰν ἄναξ, φίλον Λεοντάριον, οἵου κροτοθορύβου ἡμᾶς ἐνέπλησας ἀναγνόντας σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον· πρὸς δὲ Θεμίσταν τὴν Λεοντέως γυναῖκα Οἷός τε φησίν εἰμί, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμεῖς πρός με ἀφίκησθε, αὐτὸς τρικύλιστος, ὅπου ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ Θεμίστα παρακαλῆτε, ὠθεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ Πυθοκλέα ὡραῖον ὄντα Καθεδοῦμαι φησὶ προσδοκῶν τὴν ἱμερτὴν καὶ ἰσόθεόν σου εἴσοδον. καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Θεμίσταν γράφων νομίζειν αὐτῇ παραινεῖν, καθά φησι Θεόδωρος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον.

καὶ ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖς ἑταίραις γράφειν, καὶ μάλιστα Λεοντίῳ, ἧς καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἐρασθῆναι. ἔν τε τῷ Περὶ τέλους γράφειν οὕτως· Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἔχω τί νοήσω τἀγαθόν, ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι’ ἀφροδισίων καὶ τὰς δι’ ἀκροαμάτων καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς. ἔν τε τῇ πρὸς Πυθοκλέα ἐπιστολῇ γράφειν Παιδείαν δὲ πᾶσαν, μακάριε, φεῦγε τἀκάτιον ἀράμενος. Ἐπίκτητός τε κιναιδολόγον αὐτὸν καλεῖ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα λοιδορεῖ.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Εὐφραντοῖς ὁ Μητροδώρου μὲν ἀδελφός, μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκφοιτήσας φησὶ δὶς αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμεῖν ἀπὸ τρυφῆς, ἑαυτόν τε διηγεῖται μόγις ἐκφυγεῖν ἰσχῦσαι τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐκείνας φιλοσοφίας καὶ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην συνδιαγωγήν.

τόν τε Ἐπίκουρον πολλὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἠγνοηκέναι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸν βίον, τό τε σῶμα ἐλεεινῶς διακεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φορείου διαναστῆναι· μνᾶν τε ἀναλίσκειν ἡμερησίαν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λεόντιον ἐπιστολῇ γράφει καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους. συνεῖναί τε αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μητροδώρῳ ἑταίρας καὶ ἄλλας, Μαμμάριον καὶ Ἡδεῖαν καὶ Ἐρώτιον καὶ Νικίδιον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βίβλοις ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως τὰ πλεῖστα ταὐτὰ λέγειν καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ναυσιφάνει τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ αὐτῇ λέξει φάσκειν οὕτως· Ἀλλ’ ἴτωσαν· εἶχε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὠδίνων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος καύχησιν τὴν σοφιστικήν, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων.

καὶ αὐτὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς περὶ Ναυσιφάνους λέγειν· Ταῦτα ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔκστασιν τοιαύτην, ὥστε μοι λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκαλον. πλεύμονά τε αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ πόρνην· τούς τε περὶ Πλάτωνα Διονυσοκόλακας καὶ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα χρυσοῦν, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη ἄσωτον, ὃν καταφαγόντα τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ φαρμακοπωλεῖν· φορμοφόρον τε Πρωταγόραν καὶ γραφέα Δημοκρίτου καὶ ἐν

κώμαις γράμματα διδάσκειν· Ἡράκλειτόν τε κυκητὴν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ληρόκριτον καὶ Ἀντίδωρον Σαννίδωρον· τούς τε Κυνικοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος· καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς πολυφθόρους, Πύρρωνα δ’ ἀμαθῆ καὶ ἀπαίδευτον.

Μεμήνασι δ’ οὗτοι. τῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ μάρτυρες ἱκανοὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου πρὸς πάντας εὐγνωμοσύνης ἥ τε πατρὶς χαλκαῖς εἰκόσι τιμήσασα οἵ τε φίλοι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὡς μηδ’ ἂν πόλεσιν ὅλαις μετρεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· οἵ τε γνώριμοι πάντες ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτοῦ σειρῆσι προσκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρνεάδην ἀποχωρήσαντος, τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτοῦ χρηστότησιν· ἥ τε διαδοχή, πασῶν σχεδὸν ἐκλιπουσῶν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσαεὶ διαμένουσα καὶ νηρίθμους ἀρχὰς ἀπολύουσα ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης τῶν γνωρίμων·

ἥ τε πρὸς τοὺς γονέας εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εὐποιία πρός τε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἡμερότης, ὡς δῆλον κἀκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶ συνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ, ὧν ἦν ἐνδοξότατος ὁ προειρημένος Μῦς· καθόλου τε ἡ πρὸς πάντας αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία. τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ὁσιότητος καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις· ὑπερβολῇ γὰρ ἐπιεικείας οὐδὲ πολιτείας ἥψατο. καὶ χαλεπωτάτων δὲ καιρῶν κατασχόντων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτόθι καταβιῶναι, δὶς ἢ τρὶς τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τόπους πρὸς τοὺς φίλους διαδραμόντα. οἳ καὶ πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ συνεβίουν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, καθά φησι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος· ὃν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα μνῶν πρίασθαι.

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Διοκλῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς φησιν εὐτελέστατα καὶ λιτότατα διαιτώμενοι. κοτύλῃ γοῦν, φησίν, οἰνιδίου ἠρκοῦντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ποτόν. τόν τ’ Ἐπίκουρον μὴ ἀξιοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κατατίθεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας, καθάπερ τὸν Πυθαγόραν κοινὰ τὰ φίλων λέγοντα· ἀπιστούντων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἰ δ’ ἀπίστων οὐδὲ φίλων. αὐτός τέ φησιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, ὕδατι μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ ἄρτῳ λιτῷ. καί, πέμψον μοι τυροῦ, φησί, κυθριδίου, ἵν’ ὅταν βούλωμαι πολυτελεύσασθαι δύνωμαι. τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι τέλος δογματίζων, ὃν καὶ Ἀθήναιος δι’ ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως ὑμνεῖ·

ἄνθρωποι, μοχθεῖτε τὰ χείρονα, καὶ διὰ κέρδος

ἄπληστοι νεικέων ἄρχετε καὶ πολέμων·

τᾶς φύσιος δ’ ὁ πλοῦτος ὅρον τινὰ βαιὸν ἐπίσχει,

αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσιες τὰν ἀπέραντον ὁδόν.

τοῦτο Νεοκλῆος πινυτὸν τέκος ἢ παρὰ Μουσέων

ἔκλυεν ἢ Πυθοῦς ἐξ ἱερῶν τριπόδων.
εἰσόμεθα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον προϊόντες ἔκ τε τῶν δογμάτων ἔκ τε τῶν ῥητῶν αὐτοῦ.

Μάλιστα δ’ ἀπεδέχετο, φησὶ Διοκλῆς, τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξαγόραν, καίτοι ἔν τισιν ἀντειρηκὼς αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Σωκράτους διδάσκαλον. ἐγύμναζε δέ, φησί, τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμματα.

Τοῦτον Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς Ναυσιφάνους ἀκοῦσαί φησι καὶ Πραξιφάνους· αὐτὸς δὲ οὔ φησιν, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐρύλοχον ἐπιστολῇ. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ Λεύκιππόν τινα γεγενῆσθαί φησι φιλόσοφον, οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε Ἕρμαρχος, ὃν ἔνιοί φασι καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἐπικούρειος διδάσκαλον Δημοκρίτου γεγενῆσθαι. Δημήτριος δέ φησιν ὁ Μάγνης καὶ Ξενοκράτους αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαι.

Κέχρηται δὲ λέξει κυρίᾳ κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἢν ὅτι ἰδιωτάτη ἐστίν, Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς αἰτιᾶται. σαφὴς δ’ ἦν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ῥητορικῆς ἀξιοῖ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σαφήνειαν ἀπαιτεῖν.

καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ Χαίρειν Εὖ πράττειν καὶ Σπουδαίως ζῆν.

Ἀρίστων δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἐπικούρου βίῳ τὸν Κανόνα γράψαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ναυσιφάνους Τρίποδος, οὗ καὶ ἀκοῦσαί φησιν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παμφίλου τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἄρξασθαί τε φιλοσοφεῖν ἐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα δυοκαίδεκα, ἀφηγήσασθαι δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἐτῶν ὄντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα.

Ἐγεννήθη δέ, φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους ἄρχοντος μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος τελευτῆς ἑπτά.

ὑπάρχοντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πρῶτον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ καὶ Λαμψάκῳ συστήσασθαι σχολὴν ἐπὶ ἔτη πέντε· ἔπειτα οὕτως εἰς Ἀθήνας μετελθεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἔτη βιώσαντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα. τήν τε σχολὴν διαδέξασθαι Ἕρμαρχον Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖον. τελευτῆσαι δ’ αὐτὸν λίθῳ τῶν οὔρων ἐπισχεθέντων, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἕρμαρχος ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς, ἡμέρας νοσήσαντα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. ὅτε καί φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐμβάντα αὐτὸν εἰς πύελον χαλκῆν κεκραμένην ὕδατι θερμῷ καὶ αἰτήσαντα ἄκρατον ῥοφῆσαι·

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τοῖς τε φίλοις παραγγείλαντα τῶν δογμάτων μεμνῆσθαι, οὕτω τελευτῆσαι.

Καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτω·
χαίρετε, καὶ μέμνησθε τὰ δόγματα· τοῦτ’ Ἐπίκουρος

ὕστατον εἶπε φίλοις τοὔπος ἀποφθίμενος·

θερμὴν ἐς πύελον γὰρ ἐληλύθεεν καὶ ἄκρατον

ἔσπασεν, εἶτ’ Ἀΐδην ψυχρὸν ἐπεσπάσατο.
οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τἀνδρός, ἥδε δὲ ἡ τελευτή.

Καὶ διέθετο ὧδε· “Κατὰ τάδε δίδωμι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα Ἀμυνομάχῳ Φιλοκράτους Βατῆθεν καὶ Τιμοκράτει Δημητρίου Ποταμίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Μητρῴῳ ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑκατέρῳ δόσιν,

ἐφ’ ᾧ τε τὸν μὲν κῆπον καὶ τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ παρέξουσιν Ἑρμάρχῳ Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναίῳ καὶ τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἂν Ἕρμαρχος καταλίπῃ διαδόχοις τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐνδιατρίβειν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν· καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἀπὸ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἂν συνδιασώσωσιν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὴν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ διατριβὴν παρακατατίθεμαι τοῖς τ’ αὐτῶν κληρονόμοις, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατον ᾖ, ὅπως ἂν κἀκεῖνοι διατηρῶσιν τὸν κῆπον, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἷς ἂν οἱ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν φιλοσοφοῦντες παραδῶσιν. τὴν δ’ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ παρεχέτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐνοικεῖν Ἑρμάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἕως ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ζῇ.

“Ἐκ δὲ τῶν γινομένων προσόδων τῶν δεδομένων ἀφ’ ἡμῶν Ἀμυνομάχῳ καὶ Τιμοκράτει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεριζέσθωσαν μεθ’ Ἑρμάρχου σκοπούμενοι εἴς τε τὰ ἐναγίσματα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν εἰθισμένην ἄγεσθαι γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἑκάστου ἔτους τῇ προτέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ εἰς τὴν γινομένην σύνοδον ἑκάστου μηνὸς ταῖς εἰκάσι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν τε καὶ Μητροδώρου μνήμην

κατατεταγμένην. συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμέραν τοῦ Ποσειδεῶνος· συντελείτωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Πολυαίνου τοῦ Μεταγειτνιῶνος καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς.

“Ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Μητροδώρου Ἐπικούρου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Πολυαίνου, φιλοσοφούντων αὐτῶν καὶ συζώντων μεθ’ Ἑρμάρχου. ὡσαύτως δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Μητροδώρου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείσθωσαν, καὶ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐκδότωσαν ᾧ ἂν Ἕρμαρχος ἕληται τῶν φιλοσοφούντων μετ’ αὐτοῦ, οὔσης αὐτῆς εὐτάκτου καὶ πειθαρχούσης Ἑρμάρχῳ. διδότωσαν δ’ Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν προσόδων εἰς τροφὴν τούτοις, ὅ τι ἂν αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιδέχεσθαι δοκῇ σκοπουμένοις μεθ’ Ἑρμάρχου.

“Ποιείσθωσαν δὲ μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἕρμαρχον κύριον τῶν προσόδων, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ συγκαταγεγηρακότος ἡμῖν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ καταλελειμμένου ἡγεμόνος τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν ἕκαστα γίνηται. τὴν δὲ προῖκα τῷ θήλει παιδίῳ, ἐπειδὰν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ, μερισάτωσαν Ἀμυνόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ὅσον ἂν ἐπιδέχηται ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαιροῦντες μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμάρχου γνώμης. ἐπιμελείσθωσαν δὲ καὶ Νικάνορος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἵν’ ὅσοι τῶν συμφιλοσοφούντων ἡμῖν χρείαν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις παρεσχημένοι καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκειότητα ἐνδεδειγμένοι συγκαταγηράσκειν μεθ’ ἡμῶν προείλοντο ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς καθεστήκωσιν παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.

“Δοῦναι δὲ τὰ βιβλία τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν πάντα Ἑρμάρχῳ.

“Ἐὰν δέ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ Ἕρμαρχον γένηται πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Μητροδώρου παιδία εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν, δοῦναι Ἀμυνόμαχον καὶ Τιμοκράτην, ὅπως ἂν εὐτακτούντων αὐτῶν ἕκαστα γίνηται τῶν ἀναγκαίων, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ὑφ’ ἡμῶν προσόδων. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ὡς συντετάχαμεν ἐπιμελείσθωσαν, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἕκαστα γίγνηται. ἀφίημι δὲ τῶν παίδων ἐλεύθερον Μῦν, Νικίαν, Λύκωνα· ἀφίημι δὲ καὶ Φαίδριον ἐλευθερίᾳ.

Ἤδη δὲ τελευτῶν γράφει πρὸς Ἰδομενέα τήνδε
ἐπιστολήν·

“Τὴν μακαρίαν ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. στραγγουρία τε παρηκολουθήκει καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντα τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μεγέθους. ἀντιπαρετάττετο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ. σὺ δ’ ἀξίως τῆς ἐκ μειρακίου παραστάσεως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν παίδων Μητροδώρου.

Καὶ διέθετο μὲν ὧδε.

Μαθητὰς δὲ ἔσχε πολλοὺς μέν, σφόδρα δὲ ἐλλογίμους Μητρόδωρον Ἀθηναίου ἢ Τιμοκρατους καὶ Σάνδης Λαμψακηνόν· ὃς ἀφ’ οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πλὴν ἓξ μηνῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ἔπειτ’ ἐπανῆλθε.

γέγονε δὲ ἀγαθὸς πάντα, καθὰ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν προηγουμέναις γραφαῖς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Τιμοκράτους. τοιοῦτος δ’ ὢν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βατίδα ἐξέδοτο Ἰδομενεῖ, καὶ Λεόντιον τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν ἀναλαβὼν εἶχε παλλακήν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀκατάπληκτος πρός τε τὰς ὀχλήσεις καὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Μητροδώρῳ φησί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆσαι πεντηκοστὸν τρίτον ἔτος ἄγοντα, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις διαθήκαις, ὡς προαπεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ δηλονότι, ἐπισκήπτει περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὸν προειρημένον εἰκαῖόν τινα ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μητροδώρου Τιμοκράτην.

Βιβλία δέ ἐστι τοῦ Μητροδώρου τάδε·

Πρὸς τοὺς ἰατροὺς τρία.

Περὶ αἰσθήσεων.

Πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.

Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.

Περὶ τῆς Ἐπικούρου ἀρρωστίας.

Πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς.

Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐννέα.

Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ σοφίαν πορείας.

Περὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς.

Περὶ πλούτου.

Πρὸς Δημόκριτον.

Περὶ εὐγενείας.

Ἦν καὶ Πολύαινος Ἀθηνοδώρου Λαμψακηνός, ἐπιεικὴς καὶ φιλικός, ὡς οἱ περὶ Φιλόδημόν φασι. καὶ ὁ διαδεξάμενος αὐτὸν Ἕρμαρχος Ἀγεμόρτου Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ πατρὸς μὲν πένητος, τὰς δ’ ἀρχὰς προσέχων ῥητορικοῖς.

Φέρεται καὶ τούτου βιβλία κάλλιστα τάδε·

Ἐπιστολικὰ περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους εἴκοσι καὶ δύο.

Περὶ τῶν μαθημάτων.

Πρὸς Πλάτωνα.

Πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην.

Ἐτελεύτα δὲ παραλύσει, γενόμενος ἱκανὸς ἀνήρ.

Λεοντεύς τε Λαμψακηνὸς ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Θεμίστα, πρὸς ἣν καὶ γέγραφεν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος· ἔτι τε Κολώτης καὶ Ἰδομενεύς, καὶ αὐτοὶ Λαμψακηνοί. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐλλόγιμοι, ὧν ἦν καὶ Πολύστρατος ὁ διαδεξάμενος Ἕρμαρχον· ὃν διεδέξατο Διονύσιος· ὃν Βασιλείδης. καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δ’ ὁ Κηποτύραννος γέγονεν ἐλλόγιμος, ὃς ὑπὲρ τετρακόσια συνέγραψε βιβλία· δύο τε Πτολεμαῖοι Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ὅ τε μέλας καὶ ὁ λευκός. Ζήνων τε ὁ Σιδώνιος, ἀκροατὴς Ἀπολλοδώρου, πολυγράφος ἀνήρ·

καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λάκων· Διογένης τε ὁ Ταρσεὺς ὁ τὰς ἐπιλέκτους σχολὰς συγγράψας· καὶ Ὡρίων καὶ ἄλλοι οὓς οἱ γνήσιοι Ἐπικούρειοι σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλοῦσιν.

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Ἐπίκουροι τρεῖς· ὅ τε Λεοντέως υἱὸς καὶ Θεμίστας· ἕτερος Μάγνης· τέταρτος ὁπλομάχος.

Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος πλήθει βιβλίων· κύλινδροι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους εἰσί. γέγραπται δὲ μαρτύριον ἔξωθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν Ἐπικούρου φωναί. ἐζήλου δὲ αὐτὸν Χρύσιππος ἐν πολυγραφίᾳ, καθά φησι καὶ Καρνεάδης παράσιτον αὐτὸν τῶν βιβλίων ἀποκαλῶν· εἰ γάρ τι γράψαι ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, φιλονεικεῖ τοσοῦτον γράψαι ὁ Χρύσιππος.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλάκις ταὐτὰ γέγραφε καὶ τὸ ἐπελθόν, καὶ ἀδιόρθωτα εἴακε τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι·

καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια τοσαῦτά ἐστιν ὡς ἐκείνων μόνων γέμειν τὰ βιβλία, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνι ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει. καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα μὲν Ἐπικούρῳ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα, ὧν τὰ βέλτιστά ἐστι τάδε·

Περὶ φύσεως ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.

Περὶ ἀτόμων καὶ κενοῦ.

Περὶ ἔρωτος.

Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς.

Πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρικούς.

Διαπορίαι.

Κύριαι δόξαι.

Περὶ αἱρέσεων καὶ φυγῶν.

Περὶ τέλους.

Περὶ κριτηρίου ἢ Κανών.

Χαιρέδημος.

Περὶ θεῶν.

Περὶ ὁσιότητος.

Ἡγησιάναξ.

Περὶ βίων δ’.

Περὶ δικαιοπραγίας.

Νεοκλῆς πρὸς Θεμίσταν.

Συμπόσιον.

Εὐρύλοχος πρὸς Μητρόδωρον.

Περὶ τοῦ ὁρᾶν.

Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ γωνίας.

Περὶ ἁφῆς.

Περὶ εἱμαρμένης.

Περὶ παθῶν δόξαι πρὸς Τιμοκράτην.

Προγνωστικόν.

Προτρεπτικός.

Περὶ εἰδώλων.

Περὶ φαντασίας.

Ἀριστόβουλος.

Περὶ μουσικῆς.

Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.

Περὶ δώρων καὶ χάριτος.

Πολυμήδης.

Τιμοκράτης γ’.

Μητρόδωρος ε’.

Ἀντίδωρος β΄.

Περὶ νόσων δόξαι πρὸς Μίθρην.

Καλλιστόλας.

Περὶ βασιλείας.

Ἀναξιμένης.

Ἐπιστολαί.

Ἃ δὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐκθέσθαι πειράσομαι τρεῖς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ παραθέμενος, ἐν αἷς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτέτμηται·

θήσομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας καὶ εἴ τι ἔδοξεν ἐκλογῆς ἀξίως ἀνεφθέγχθαι, ὥστε σὲ πανταχόθεν καταμαθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα κἂν κρίνειν εἰδέναι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐπιστολὴν γράφει πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρὸς Πυθοκλέα, ἥτις ἐστὶ περὶ μεταρσίων· τὴν τρίτην πρὸς Μενοικέα, ἔστι δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ περὶ βίων. ἀρκτέον δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ὀλίγα προειπόντα περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίας.

Διαιρεῖται τοίνυν εἰς τρία, τό τε κανονικὸν καὶ φυσικὸν καὶ ἠθικόν.

τὸ μὲν οὖν κανονικὸν ἐφόδους ἐπὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἔχει, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Κανών· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν τὴν περὶ φύσεως θεωρίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς Περὶ φύσεως βίβλοις ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς κατὰ στοιχεῖον· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν τὰ περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Περὶ βίων βίβλοις καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τῷ Περὶ τέλους. εἰώθασι μέντοι τὸ κανονικὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ φυσικῷ τάττειν· καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸ περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ στοιχειωτικόν· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, καὶ περὶ φύσεως· τὸ δὲ ἠθικὸν περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν καὶ περὶ βίων καὶ τέλους.

Τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ὡς παρέλκουσαν ἀποδοκιμάζουσιν· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ τοὺς φυσικοὺς χωρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πραγμάτων φθόγγους. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Κανόνι λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ προλήψεις καὶ τὰ πάθη, οἱ δ’ Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ τὰς φανταστικὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιτομῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυρίαις δόξαις. πᾶσα γάρ, φησίν, αἴσθησις ἄλογός ἐστι καὶ μνήμης οὐδεμιᾶς δεκτική· οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ’ αὑτῆς οὔτε ὑφ’ ἑτέρου κινηθεῖσα δύναταί τι προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν· οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ δυνάμενον αὐτὰς διελέγξαι.

οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὁμογένεια αἴσθησις τὴν ὁμογενῆ διὰ τὴν ἰσοσθένειαν, οὔθ’ ἡ ἀνομογένεια τὴν ἀνομογένειαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσι κριτικαί· οὔτε μὴν λόγος, πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἤρτηται. οὔθ’ ἡ ἑτέρα τὴν ἑτέραν, πάσαις γὰρ προσέχομεν. καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπαισθήματα δ’ ὑφεστάναι πιστοῦται τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλήθειαν. ὑφέστηκε δὲ τό τε ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων χρὴ σημειοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπίνοιαι πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεγόνασι κατά τε περίπτωσιν καὶ ἀναλογίαν καὶ ὁμοιότητα καὶ σύνθεσιν, συμβαλλομένου τι καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ. τά τε τῶν μαινομένων φαντάσματα καὶ τὰ κατ’ ὄναρ ἀληθῆ, κινεῖ γάρ· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὂν οὐ κινεῖ.

Τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν λέγουσιν οἱονεὶ κατάληψιν ἢ δόξαν ὀρθὴν ἢ ἔννοιαν ἢ καθολικὴν νόησιν ἐναποκειμένην, τουτέστι μνήμην τοῦ πολλάκις ἔξωθεν φανέντος, οἷον τὸ Τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ῥηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος εὐθὺς κατὰ πρόληψιν καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ νοεῖται προηγουμένων τῶν αἰσθήσεων. παντὶ οὖν ὀνόματι τὸ πρώτως ὑποτεταγμένον ἐναργές ἐστι· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐζητήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτό· οἷον Τὸ πόρρω ἑστὼς ἵππος ἐστὶν ἢ βοῦς· δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ πρόληψιν ἐγνωκέναι ποτὲ ἵππου καὶ βοὸς μορφήν· οὐδ’ ἂν ὠνομάσαμέν τι μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μαθόντες. ἐναργεῖς οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προλήψεις· καὶ τὸ δοξαστὸν ἀπὸ προτέρου τινὸς ἐναργοῦς ἤρτηται, ἐφ’ ὃ ἀναφέροντες λέγομεν, οἷον Πόθεν ἴσμεν εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος;

τὴν δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑπόληψιν λέγουσιν, ἀληθῆ τέ φασι καὶ ψευδῆ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρῆται ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρῆται, ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. ὅθεν τὸ προσμένον εἰσήχθη· οἷον τὸ προσμεῖναι καὶ ἐγγὺς γενέσθαι τῷ πύργῳ καὶ μαθεῖν ὁποῖος ἐγγὺς φαίνεται.

Πάθη δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι δύο, ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀλγηδόνα, ἱστάμενα περὶ πᾶν ζῷον, καὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκεῖον, τὴν δὲ ἀλλότριον· δι’ ὧν κρίνεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις καὶ φυγάς. τῶν τε ζητήσεων εἶναι τὰς μὲν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς δὲ περὶ ψιλὴν τὴν φωνήν. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου στοιχειωδῶς.

Ἀνιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

“Ἐπίκουρος Ἡροδότῳ χαίρειν.

“Τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἕκαστα τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἀναγεγραμμένων ἡμῖν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδὲ τὰς μείζους τῶν συντεταγμένων βίβλους διαθρεῖν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας εἰς τὸ κατασχεῖν τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων γε δοξῶν τὴν μνήμην ἱκανῶς αὐτὸς παρεσκεύασα, ἵνα παρ’ ἑκάστους τῶν καιρῶν ἐν τοῖς κυριωτάτοις βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δύνωνται, καθ’ ὅσον ἂν ἐφάπτωνται τῆς περὶ φύσεως θεωρίας. καὶ τοὺς προβεβηκότας δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβλέψει τὸν τύπον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας τὸν κατεστοιχειωμένον δεῖ μνημονεύειν· τῆς γὰρ ἀθρόας ἐπιβολῆς πυκνὸν δεόμεθα, τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐχ ὁμοίως.

“Βαδιστέον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνα συνεχῶς, ἐν δὲ τῇ μνήμῃ τὸ τοσοῦτο ποιητέον, ἀφ’ οὗ ἥ τε κυριωτάτη ἐπιβολὴ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἔσται καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀκρίβωμα πᾶν ἐξευρήσεται, τῶν ὁλοσχερωτάτων τύπων εὖ περιειλημμένων καὶ μνημονευομένων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ τετελεσιουργημένῳ τοῦτο κυριώτατον τοῦ παντὸς ἀκριβώματος γίνεται, τὸ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὀξέως δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ἑκάστων πρὸς ἁπλᾶ στοιχειώματα καὶ φωνὰς συν-αγομένων. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὸ πύκνωμα τῆς συνεχοῦς τῶν ὅλων περιοδείας εἰδέναι μὴ δυνάμενον διὰ βραχεῶν φωνῶν ἅπαν ἐμπεριλαβεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἂν ἐξακριβωθέν.

“Ὅθεν δὴ πᾶσι χρησίμης οὔσης τοῖς ᾠκειωμένοις φυσιολογίᾳ τῆς τοιαύτης ὁδοῦ, παρεγγυῶν τὸ συνεχὲς ἐνέργημα ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα ἐγγαληνίζων τῷ βίῳ ἐποίησά σοι καὶ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἐπιτομὴν καὶ στοιχείωσιν τῶν ὅλων δοξῶν.

“Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ εἰληφέναι, ὅπως ἂν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἢ ζητούμενα ἢ ἀπορούμενα ἔχωμεν εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάγοντες ἐπικρίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτα πάντα ἡμῖν ἴῃ εἰς ἄπειρον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἢ κενοὺς φθόγγους ἔχωμεν.

ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐννόημα καθ’ ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἔξομεν τὸ ζητούμενον ἢ ἀπορούμενον καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἐφ’ ὃ ἀνάξομεν.

“Ἔτι τε τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ πάντως τηρεῖν καὶ ἁπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴτε διανοίας εἴθ’

ὅτου δήποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα παθη, ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα.

“Ταῦτα δεῖ διαλαβόντας συνορᾶν ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς ἐγίνετ’ ἂν σπερμά- των γε οὐθὲν προσδεόμενον.

καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπωλώλει τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὄντων εἰς ἃ διελύετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν οἷον νῦν ἐστι, καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν εἰς ὃ μεταβαλεῖ. παρὰ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν οὐθέν ἐστιν, ὃ ἂν εἰσελθὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν μεταβολὴν ποιήσαιτο.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ φησι κατ’ ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ ά Περὶ φύσεως] τὸ πᾶν ἐστι σώματα καὶ κενόν· σώματα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔστιν, αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις ἐπὶ πάντων μαρτυρεῖ, καθ’ ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἄδηλον τῷ λογισμῷ τεκμαίρεσθαι·

εἰ δὲ μὴ ἦν ὃ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἀναφῆ φύσιν ὀνομάζομεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ σώματα ὅπου ἦν οὐδὲ δι’ οὗ ἐκινεῖτο, καθάπερ φαίνεται κινούμενα. παρὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐθὲν οὐδ’ ἐπινοηθῆναι δύναται οὔτε περιληπτῶς οὔτε ἀναλόγως τοῖς περιληπτοῖς ὡς καθ’ ὅλας φύσεις λαμβανόμενα καὶ μὴ ὡς τὰ τούτων συμπτώματα ἢ συμβεβηκότα λεγόμενα.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ τῇ ιδ’ καὶ ιε’ καὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ] σωμάτων τὰ μέν ἐστι συγκρίσεις, τὰ δ’ ἐξ ὧν αἱ συγκρίσεις πεποίηνται·

ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἄτομα καὶ ἀμετάβλητα, εἴπερ μὴ μέλλει πάντα εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθαρήσεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἰσχύοντα ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων, πλήρη τὴν φύσιν ὄντα, οἷα δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅπῃ ἢ ὅπως διαλυθήσεται. ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀτόμους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σωμάτων φύσεις.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρόν ἐστι. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄκρον ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον παρ’ ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται· τὸ δὲ πᾶν οὐ παρ’ ἕτερόν τι θεωρεῖται· ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄκρον πέρας οὐκ ἔχει· πέρας δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἄπειρον ἂν εἴη καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἄπειρόν ἐστι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κενοῦ.

εἴ τε γὰρ ἦν τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὡρισμένα, οὐθαμοῦ ἂν ἔμενε τὰ σώματα, ἀλλ’ ἐφέρετο κατὰ τὸ ἄπειρον κενὸν διεσπαρμένα, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὰ ὑπερείδοντα καὶ στέλλοντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνακοπάς· εἴ τε τὸ κενὸν ἦν ὡρισμένον, οὐκ ἂν εἶχε τὰ ἄπειρα σώματα ὅπου ἐνέστη.

“Πρός τε τούτοις τὰ ἄτομα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ μεστά, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται καὶ εἰς ἃ διαλύονται, ἀπερίληπτά ἐστι ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῶν σχημάτων· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας διαφορὰς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περιειλημμένων. καὶ καθ’ ἑκάστην δὲ σχημάτισιν ἁπλῶς ἄπειροί εἰσιν αἱ ὅμοιαι, ταῖς δὲ διαφοραῖς οὐχ ἁπλῶς

ἄπειροι ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀπερίληπτοι, [οὐδὲ γάρ φησιν ἐνδοτέρω εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν τομὴν τυγχάνειν. λέγει δέ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ ποιότητες μεταβάλλονται, εἰ μέλλει τις μὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἁπλῶς εἰς ἄπειρον αὐτὰς ἐκβάλλειν].

“Κινοῦνταί τε συνεχῶς αἱ ἄτομοι [φησὶ δὲ ἐνδοτέρω καὶ ἰσοταχῶς αὐτὰς κινεῖσθαι τοῦ κενοῦ τὴν εἶξιν ὁμοίαν παρεχομένου καὶ τῇ κουφοτάτῃ καὶ τῇ βαρυτάτῃ.] τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰς μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διιστάμεναι, αἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν παλμὸν ἴσχουσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι τῇ περιπλοκῇ κεκλειμέναι ἢ στεγαζόμενοι παρὰ τῶν πλεκτικῶν.

“Ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσις ἡ διορίζουσα ἑκάστην αὐτὴν τοῦτο παρασκευάζει, τὴν ὑπέρεισιν οὐχ οἵα τε οὖσα ποιεῖσθαι· ἥ τε στερεότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐταῖς κατὰ τὴν σύγκρουσιν τὸν ἀποπαλμὸν ποιεῖ, ἐφ’ ὁπόσον ἂν ἡ περιπλοκὴ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἐκ τῆς συγκρούσεως διδῷ.

ἀρχὴ δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀιδίων τῶν ἀτόμων οὐσῶν καὶ τοῦ κενοῦ. [φησὶ δ’ ἐνδοτέρω μηδὲ ποιότητά τινα περὶ τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ μεγέθους καὶ βάρους· τὸ δὲ χρῶμα παρὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀλλάττεσθαι ἐν ταῖς Δώδεκα στοιχειώσεσί φησι. πᾶν τε μέγεθος μὴ εἶναι περὶ αὐτάς· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἄτομος ὤφθη αἰσθήσει.]

“Ἤτοσαύτη δὴ φωνὴ τούτων πάντων μνημονευομένων τὸν ἱκανὸν τύπον ὑποβάλλει ταῖς περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἐπινοίαις.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κόσμοι ἄπειροί εἰσιν, οἵ θ’ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι. αἵ τε γὰρ ἄτομοι ἄπειροι οὖσαι, ὡς ἄρτι ἀπεδείχθη, φέρονται καὶ πορρωτάτω. οὐ γὰρ κατανήλωνται αἱ τοιαῦται ἄτομοι, ἐξ ὧν ἂν γένοιτο κόσμος ἢ ὑφ’ ὧν ἂν ποιηθείη, οὔτ’ εἰς ἕνα οὔτ’ εἰς πεπερασμένους, οὔθ’ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι οὔθ’ ὅσοι διάφοροι τούτοις. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμποδοστατῆσόν ἐστι πρὸς τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κόσμων.

“Καὶμὴν καὶ τύποι ὁμοιοσχήμονες τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἰσί, λεπτότησιν ἀπέχοντες μακρὰν τῶν φαινομένων. οὔτε γὰρ συστάσεις ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι γίνεσθαι τοιαῦται οὔτ’ ἐπιτηδειότητες πρὸς κατεργασίας τῶν κοιλωμάτων καὶ λεπτοτήτων γίνεσθαι, οὔτε ἀπόρροιαι τὴν ἐξῆς θέσιν καὶ βάσιν διατηροῦσαι, ἥνπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς στερεμνίοις εἶχον· τούτους δὲ τοὺς τύπους εἴδωλα προσαγορεύομεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ φορὰ κατὰ μηδεμίαν ἀπάντησιν τῶν ἀντικοψόντων γινομένη πᾶν μῆκος περιληπτὸν ἐν ἀπερινοήτῳ χρόνῳ συντελεῖ. βράδους γὰρ καὶ τάχους ἀντικοπὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀντικοπὴ ὁμοίωμα λαμβάνει.

“Οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ἅμα κατὰ τοὺς διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὺς χρόνους αὐτὸ τὸ φερόμενον σῶμα ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείους τόπους ἀφικνεῖται — ἀδιανόητον γάρ,— καὶ τοῦτο συναφικνούμενον ἐν αἰσθητῷ χρόνῳ ὅθεν δήποθεν τοῦ ἀπείρου οὐκ ἐξ οὗ ἂν περιλάβωμεν τὴν φορὰν τόπου ἔσται ἀφιστάμενον· ἀντικοπῇ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔσται, κἂν μέχρι τοσούτου τὸ τάχος τῆς φορᾶς μὴ ἀντικόπτον καταλίπωμεν. χρήσιμον δὴ καὶ τοῦτο κατασχεῖν τὸ στοιχεῖον. εἶθ’ ὅτι τὰ εἴδωλα ταῖς λεπτότησιν ἀνυπερβλήτοις κέχρηται, οὐθὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ τῶν φαινομένων· ὅθεν καὶ τάχη ἀνυπέρβλητα ἔχει, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα πρὸς τῷ τῷ ἀπείρῳ αὐτῶν μηθὲν ἀντικόπτειν ἢ ὀλίγα ἀντικόπτειν, πολλαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπείροις εὐθὺς ἀντικόπτειν τι.

“Πρός τε τούτοις, ὅτι ἡ γένεσις τῶν εἰδώλων ἅμα νοήματι συμβαίνει. καὶ γὰρ ῥεῦσις ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς συνεχής, οὐκ ἐπίδηλος τῇ μειώσει διὰ τὴν ἀνταναπλήρωσιν, σῴζουσα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ στερεμνίου θέσιν καὶ τάξιν τῶν ἀτόμων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, εἰ καὶ ἐνίοτε συγχεομένη ὑπάρχει, καὶ συστάσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι ὀξεῖαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δεῖν κατὰ βάθος τὸ συμπλήρωμα γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι τινὲς γεννητικοὶ τῶν τοιούτων φύσεων εἰσίν. οὐθὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, ἂν βλέπῃ τίς τινα τρόπον τὰς ἐναργείας ἵνα καὶ τὰς συμπαθείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνοίσει.

“Δεῖ δὲ καὶ νομίζειν ἐπεισιόντος τινὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ διανοεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐναποσφραγίσαιτο τὰ ἔξω τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν τοῦ τε χρώματος καὶ τῆς μορφῆς διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν τε κἀκείνων, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν ἀκτίνων ἢ ὠνδήποτε ῥευμάτων ἀφ’ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα παραγινομένων, οὕτως ὡς τύπων τινῶν ἐπεισιόντων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμοχρόων τε καὶ ὁμοιομόρφων κατὰ τὸ ἐναρμόττον μέγεθος εἰς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὠκέως ταῖς φοραῖς χρωμένων,

εἶτα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ συνεχοῦς τὴν φαντασίαν ἀποδιδόντων καὶ τὴν συμπάθειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου σῳζόντων κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν σύμμετρον ἐπερεισμὸν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῷ στερεμνίῳ τῶν ἀτόμων πάλσεως. καὶ ἣν ἂν λάβωμεν φαντασίαν ἐπιβλητικῶς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἢ τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις εἴτε μορφῆς εἴτε συμβεβηκότων, μορφή ἐστιν αὕτη τοῦ

στερεμνίου, γινομένη κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς πύκνωμα ἢ ἐγκατάλειμμα τοῦ εἰδώλου· τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ διημαρτημένον ἐν τῷ προσδοξαζομένῳ ἀεί ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσμένοντος ἐπιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθήσεσθαι, εἶτ’ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυρουμένου ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρουμένου [κατά τινα κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν, καθ’ ἣν τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται.]

“Ἥ τε γὰρ ὁμοιότης τῶν φαντασμῶν οἱονεὶ ἐν εἰκόνι λαμβανομένων ἢ καθ’ ὕπνους γινομένων ἢ κατ’ ἄλλας τινὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν κριτηρίων οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπῆρχε τοῖς οὖσί τε καὶ ἀληθέσι προσαγορευομένοις, εἰ μὴ ἦν τινα καὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἃ παραβάλλομεν· τὸ δὲ διημαρτημένον οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρχεν, εἰ μὴ ἐλαμβάνομεν καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ κίνησιν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συνημμένην μὲν τῇ φανταστικῇ ἐπιβολῇ, διάληψιν δὲ ἔχουσαν· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην, ἐὰν μὲν μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ψεῦδος γίνεται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμαρτυρηθῇ ἢ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρηθῇ, τὸ ἀληθές.

“Καὶ ταύτην οὖν σφόδρα γε δεῖ τὴν δόξαν κατέχειν, ἵνα μήτε τὰ κριτήρια ἀναιρῆται τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐναργείας μήτε τὸ διημαρτημένον ὁμοίως βεβαιούμενον πάντα συνταράττῃ.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν γίνεται ῥεύματος φερομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ φωνοῦντος ἢ ἠχοῦντος ἢ ψοφοῦντος ἢ ὁπωσδήποτε ἀκουστικὸν πάθος παρασκευάζοντος. τὸ δὲ ῥεῦμα τοῦτο εἰς ὁμοιομερεῖς ὄγκους διασπείρεται, ἅμα τινὰ διασῴζοντας συμπάθειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἑνότητα ἰδιότροπον, διατείνουσαν πρὸς τὸ ἀποστεῖλαν καὶ τὴν ἐπαίσθησιν τὴν ἐπ’ ἐκείνου ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ποιοῦσαν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τὸ ἔξωθεν μόνον ἔνδηλον παρασκευάζουσαν·

ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναφερομένης τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν συμπαθείας οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπαίσθησις. οὐκ αὐτὸν οὖν δεῖ νομίζειν τὸν ἀέρα ὑπὸ τῆς προιεμένης φωνῆς ἢ καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν σχηματίζεσθαι—πολλὴν γὰρ ἔνδειαν ἕξει τοῦτο πάσχων ὑπ’ ἐκείνης, —ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς τὴν γινομένην πληγὴν ἐν ἡμῖν, ὅταν φωνὴν ἀφίωμεν, τοιαύτην ἔκθλιψιν ὄγκων τινῶν ῥεύματος πνευματώδους ἀποτελεστικῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἀκουστικὸν ἡμῖν παρασκευάζει.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν νομιστέον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὐθὲν πάθος ἐργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ ὄγκοι τινὲς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποφερόμενοι σύμμετροι πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ αἰσθητήριον κινεῖν, οἱ μὲν τοῖοι τεταραγμένως καὶ ἀλλοτρίως, οἱ δὲ τοῖοι ἀταράχως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχοντες.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους νομιστέον μηδεμίαν ποιότητα τῶν φαινομένων προσφέρεσθαι πλὴν σχήματος καὶ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης σχήματος συμφυῆ ἐστι. ποιότης γὰρ πᾶσα μεταβάλλει· αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι οὐδὲν μεταβάλλουσιν, ἐπειδή περ δεῖ τι ὑπομένειν ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσι τῶν συγκρίσεων στερεὸν καὶ ἀδιάλυτον, ὃ τὰς μεταβολὰς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ποιήσεται οὐδ’ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μεταθέσεις ἐν πολλοῖς, τινῶν δὲ καὶ προσόδους καὶ ἀφόδους. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ μετατιθέμενα ἄφθαρτα εἶναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος φύσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ὀγκοὺς δὲ καὶ σχηματισμοὺς ἰδίους· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομένειν.

“Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν μετασχηματιζομένοις κατὰ τὴν περιαίρεσιν τὸ σχῆμα ἐνυπάρχον λαμβάνεται, αἱ δὲ ποιότητες οὐκ ἐνυπάρχουσαι ἐν τῷ μεταβάλλοντι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καταλείπεται, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἀπολλύμεναι. ἱκανὰ οὖν τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα ταῦτα τὰς τῶν συγκρίσεων διαφορὰς ποιεῖν, ἐπειδή περ ὑπολείπεσθαί γέ τινα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φθείρεσθαι.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ δεῖ νομίζειν πᾶν μέγεθος ἐν ταῖς ἀτόμοις ὑπάρχειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀντιμαρτυρῇ· παραλλαγὰς δέ τινας μεγεθῶν νομιστέον εἶναι. βέλτιον γὰρ καὶ τούτου προσόντος τὰ κατὰ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις γινόμενα ἀποδοθήσεται.

πᾶν δὲ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν οὔτε χρήσιμόν ἐστι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ποιοτήτων διαφοράς, ἀφῖχθαί τε ἅμ’ ἔδει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁρατὰς ἀτόμους· ὃ οὐ θεωρεῖται γινόμενον οὔθ’ ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο ὁρατὴ ἄτομος ἔστιν ἐπινοῆσαι.

“Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ σώματι ἀπείρους ὄγκους εἶναι οὐδ’ ὁπηλίκους οὖν. ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὴν εἰς ἄπειρον τομὴν ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον ἀναιρετέον, ἵνα μὴ πάντα ἀσθενῆ ποιῶμεν κἀν ταῖς περιλήψεσι τῶν ἀθρόων εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν ἀναγκαζώμεθα τὰ ὄντα θλίβοντες καταναλίσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μετάβασιν μὴ νομιστέον γίνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις εἰς ἄπειρον μηδ’ ἐπὶ τοὔλαττον.

“Οὔτε γὰρ ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἄπειροι ὄγκοι ἔν τινι ὑπάρχουσιν ἢ ὁπηλίκοι οὖν, ἔστι νοῆσαι ὅπως ἂν ἔτι τοῦτο πεπερασμένον εἴη τὸ μέγεθος. πηλίκοι γάρ τινες δῆλον ὡς οἱ ἄπειροί εἰσιν ὄγκοι· καὶ οὗτοι ὁπηλίκοι ἄν ποτε ὦσιν, ἄπειρον ἂν ἦν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἄκρον τε ἔχοντος τοῦ πεπερασμένου διαληπτόν, εἰ μὴ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ θεωρητόν, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς τούτου τοιοῦτον νοεῖν καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν βαδίζοντα εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ.

“Τό τε ἐλάχιστον τὸ ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει δεῖ κατανοεῖν ὅτι οὔτε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον τὸ τὰς μεταβάσεις ἔχον οὔτε πάντῃ πάντως ἀνόμοιον, ἀλλ’ ἔχον μέν τινα κοινότητα τῶν μεταβατῶν, διάληψιν δὲ μερῶν οὐκ ἔχον· ἀλλ’ ὅταν διὰ τὴν τῆς κοινότητος προσεμφέρειαν οἰηθῶμεν διαλήψεσθαί τι αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτάδε, τὸ δὲ ἐπέκεινα, τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν δεῖ προσπίπτειν. ἐξῆς τε θεωροῦμεν ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καταρχόμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ μέρεσι μερῶν ἁπτόμενα, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἰδιότητι τῇ ἑαυτῶν τὰ μεγέθη καταμετροῦντα, τὰ πλείω πλεῖον καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω ἔλαττον.

“Ταύτῃ τῇ ἀναλογίᾳ νομιστέον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀτόμῳ ἐλάχιστον κεχρῆσθαι· μικρότητι γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δῆλον ὡς διαφέρει τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρουμένου, ἀναλογίᾳ δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ κέχρηται. ἐπεί περ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος ἔχει ἡ ἄτομος, κατὰ τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἀναλογίαν κατηγορήσαμεν, μικρόν τι μόνον μακρὰν ἐκβαλόντες. ἔτι τε τὰ ἐλάχιστα καὶ ἀμιγῆ πέρατα δεῖ νομίζειν τῶν μηκῶν τὸ καταμέτρημα ἐξ αὐτῶν πρώτων τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ ἐλάττοσι παρασκευάζοντα τῇ διὰ λόγου θεωρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀοράτων. ἡ γὰρ κοινότης ἡ ὑπάρχουσα αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἀμετάβολα ἱκανὴ τὸ μέχρι τούτου συντελέσαι, συμφόρησιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων κίνησιν ἐχόντων οὐχ οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀπείρου ὡς μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ κατώτατω οὐ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τὸ ἄνω ἢ κάτω. ἴσμεν μέντοι τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ἂν στῶμεν, εἰς ἄπειρον ἄγειν ὄν, μηδέποτε φανεῖσθαι τοῦτο ἡμῖν, ἢ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον, ἅμα ἄνω τε εἶναι καὶ κάτω πρὸς τὸ αὐτό· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀδύνατον διανοηθῆναι. ὥστε ἔστι μίαν λαβεῖν φορὰν τὴν ἄνω νοουμένην εἰς ἄπειρον καὶ μίαν τὴν κάτω, ἂν καὶ μυριάκις πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐπάνω τὸ παρ’ ἡμῶν φερόμενον εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν τόπους ἀφικνῆται ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ὑποκάτω τὸ παρ’ ἡμῶν κάτω φερόμενον· ἡ γὰρ ὅλη φορὰ οὐθὲν ἧττον ἑκατέρα ἑκατέρᾳ ἀντικειμένη ἐπ’ ἄπειρον νοεῖται.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἰσοταχεῖς ἀναγκαῖον τὰς ἀτόμους εἶναι, ὅταν διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ εἰσφέρωνται μηθενὸς ἀντικόπτοντος. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βαρέα θᾶττον οἰσθήσεται τῶν μικρῶν καὶ κούφων, ὅταν γε δὴ μηδὲν ἀπαντᾷ αὐτοῖς· οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ τῶν μεγάλων, πάντα πόρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντα, ὅταν μηθὲν μηδὲ ἐκείνοις ἀντικόπτῃ· οὔθ’ ἡ ἄνω οὔθ’ ἡ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διὰ τῶν κρούσεων φορά, οὔθ’ ἡ κάτω διὰ τῶν ἰδίων βαρῶν. ἐφ’ ὁπόσον γὰρ ἂν κατίσχῃ ἑκάτερον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ν ἅμα νοήματι τὴν φορὰν σχήσει, ἕως ἀντικόψῃ ἢ ἔξωθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βάρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλήξαντος δύναμιν.

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κατὰ τὰς συγκρίσεις θάττων ἑτέρα ἑτέρας φορηθήσεται τῶν ἀτόμων ἰσοταχῶν οὐσῶν, τῷ ἐφ’ ἕνα τόπον φέρεσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀθροίσμασιν ἀτόμους κατὰ τὸν ἐλάχιστον συνεχῆ χρόνον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐφ’ ἕνα κατὰ τοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητοὺς χρόνους· ἀλλὰ πυκνὸν ἀντικόπτουσιν,

ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν αἴσθησιν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς γίνηται. τὸ γὰρ προσδοξαζόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ὡς ἄρα καὶ οἱ διὰ λόγου θεωρητοὶ χρόνοι τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς φορᾶς ἔξουσιν, οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐπεὶ τό γε θεωρούμενον πᾶν ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀληθές ἐστι.

"Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεῖ συνορᾶν ἀναφέροντα ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ πάθη—οὕτω γὰρ ἡ βεβαιοτάτη πίστις ἔσται,—ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμά ἐστι λεπτομερὲς παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα παρεσπαρμένον, προσεμφερέστατον δὲ πνεύματι θερμοῦ τινα κρᾶσιν ἔχοντι καὶ πῇ μὲν τούτῳ προσεμφερές, πῇ δὲ τούτῳ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος πολλὴν παραλλαγὴν εἰληφὸς τῇ λεπτομερείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων, συμπαθὲς δὲ τούτῳ μᾶλλον καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ ἀθροίσματι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς δηλοῦσι καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ αἱ εὐκινησίαι καὶ αἱ διανοήσεις καὶ ὧν στερόμενοι θνῄσκομεν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν δεῖ κατέχειν·

οὐ μὴν εἰλήφει ἂν ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθροίσματος ἐστεγάζετό πως. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα παρασκευάσαν ἐκείνῃ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην μετείληφε καὶ αὐτὸ τοιούτου συμπτώματος παρ' ἐκείνης, οὐ μέντοι πάντων ὧν ἐκείνη κέκτηται· διὸ ἀπαλλαγείσης τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ταύτην ἐκέκτητο τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἅμα συγγεγενημένον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν, ὃ διὰ τῆς συντελεσθείσης περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεως κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν σύμπτωμα αἰσθητικὸν εὐθὺς ἀποτελοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ τὴν ὁμούρησιν καὶ συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐκείνῳ, καθάπερ εἶπον.

"Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ οὐδέποτε ἄλλου τινὸς μέρους ἀπηλλαγμένου ἀναισθητεῖ· ἀλλ' ἃ ἂν καὶ ταύτης ξυναπόληται τοῦ στεγάζοντος λυθέντος εἴθ' ὅλου εἴτε καὶ μέρους τινός, ἐάν περ διαμένῃ, ἕξει τὴν αἴσθησιν. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄθροισμα διαμένον καὶ ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκείνου ἀπηλλαγμένου, ὅσον ποτέ ἐστι τὸ συντεῖνον τῶν ἀτόμων πλῆθος εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ λυομένου τοῦ ὅλου ἀθροίσματος ἡ ψυχὴ διασπείρεται καὶ οὐκέτι ἔχει τὰς αὐτὰς δυνάμεις οὐδὲ κινεῖται, ὥσπερ οὐδ' αἴσθησιν κέκτηται.

"Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε νοεῖν αὐτὸ αἰσθανόμενον μὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συστήματι καὶ ταῖς κινήσεσι ταύταις χρώμενον, ὅταν τὰ στεγάζοντα καὶ περιέχοντα μὴ τοιαῦτα ᾖ, ἐν οἷς νῦν οὖσα ἔχει ταύτας τὰς κινήσεις. [λέγει ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ ἐξ ἀτόμων αὐτὴν συγκεῖσθαι λειοτάτων καὶ στρογγυλωτάτων, πολλῷ τινι διαφερουσῶν τῶν τοῦ πυρός· καὶ τὸ μέν τι ἄλογον αὐτῆς, ὃ τῷ λοιπῷ παρεσπάρθαι σώματι· τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θώρακι, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς. ὕπνον τε γίνεσθαι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν τῶν παρ' ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν παρεσπαρμένων ἐγκατεχομένων ἢ διαφορουμένων, εἶτα συμπιπτόντων τοῖς ἐπερεισμοῖς. τό τε σπέρμα ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν σωμάτων φέρεσθαι.]

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοεῖν, ὅ τι τὸ ἀσώματον λέγομεν κατὰ τὴν πλείστην ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸ νοηθέντος ἄν· καθ' ἑαυτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ ἀσώματον πλὴν τοῦ κενοῦ. τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὔτε ποιῆσαι οὔτε παθεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ κίνησιν μόνον δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς σώμασι παρέχεται. ὥστε οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαΐζουσιν. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἂν ἐδύνατο ποιεῖν οὔτε πάσχειν, εἰ ἦν τοιαύτη· νῦν δ' ἐναργῶς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαλαμβάνεται περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ συμπτώματα.

"Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα τὰ διαλογίσματα τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάγων τις ἐπὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, μνημονεύων τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ ῥηθέντων, ἱκανῶς κατόψεται τοῖς τύποις ἐμπεριειλημμένα εἰς τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξακριβοῦσθαι βεβαίως.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰ βάρη καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατηγορεῖται σώματος ὡσανεὶ συμβεβηκότα ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖς ὁρατοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν

αὐτὴν γνωστά, οὔθ’ ὡς καθ’ ἑαυτάς εἰσι φύσεις δοξαστέον—οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἐπινοῆσαι τοῦτο—

οὔτε ὅλως ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν, οὔθ’ ὡς ἕτερ’ ἄττα προσυπάρχοντα τούτῳ ἀσώματα, οὔθ’ ὡς μόρια τούτου, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα καθόλου ἐκ τούτων πάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀίδιον, οὐχ οἷον δὲ εἶναι συμπεφορημένον-ὥσπερ ὅταν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὄγκων μεῖζον ἄθροισμα συστῇ ἤτοι τῶν πρώτων ἢ τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μεγεθῶν τοῦδέ τινος ἐλαττόνων,—ἀλλὰ μονον, ὡς λέγω, ἐκ τούτων ἁπάντων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἔχον ἀίδιον. καὶ ἐπιβολὰς μὲν ἔχοντα ἰδίας πάντα ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ διαλήψεις, συμπαρακολουθοῦντος δὲ τοῦ ἀθρόου καὶ οὐθαμῇ ἀποσχιζομένου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀθρόαν ἔννοιαν τοῦ σώματος κατηγορίαν εἰληφότος.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμπίπτει πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἀίδιον παρακολουθεῖν οὔτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἀοράτοις καὶ οὔτε ἀσώματα. ὥστε δὴ κατὰ τὴν πλείστην φορὰν τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι χρώμενοι φανερὰ ποιοῦμεν τὰ συμπτώματα οὔτε τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ἔχειν, ὃ συλλαβόντες κατὰ τὸ ἀθρόον σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὔτε τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθούντων, ὧν ἄνευ σῶμα οὐ δυνατὸν νοεῖσθαι. κατ’ ἐπιβολὰς δ’ ἄν τινας παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀθρόου ἕκαστα προσαγορευθείη,

ἀλλ’ ὅτε δήποτε ἕκαστα συμβαίνοντα θεωρεῖται, οὐκ ἀίδιον τῶν συμπτωμάτων παρακολουθούντων. καὶ οὐκ ἐξελατέον ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ταύτην τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ὅλου φύσιν ᾧ συμβαίνει ὃ δὴ καὶ σῶμα προσαγορεύομεν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἀίδιον παρακολουθούντων, οὐδ’ αὖ καθ’ αὐτὰ νομιστέον—οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο διανοητὸν οὔτ’ ἐπὶ τούτων οὔτ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀίδιον συμβεβηκότων,—ἀλλ’ ὅπερ καὶ φαίνεται, συμπτώματα πάντα κατὰ τὰ σώματα νομιστέον, καὶ οὐκ ἀίδιον παρακολουθοῦντα οὐδ’ αὖ φύσεως καθ’ ἑαυτὰ τάγμα ἔχοντα, ἀλλ’ ὃν τρόπον αὐτὴ ἡ αἴσθησις τὴν ἰδιότητα ποιεῖ, θεωρεῖται.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε δεῖ προσκατανοῆσαι σφοδρῶς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ χρόνον οὐ ζητητέον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ζητοῦμεν ἀνάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰς βλεπομένας παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προλήψεις, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνάργημα, καθ’ ὃ τὸν πολὺν ἢ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναφωνοῦμεν, συγγενικῶς τοῦτο περιφέροντες, ἀναλογιστέον. καὶ οὔτε διαλέκτους ὡς βελτίους μεταληπτέον, ἀλλ’ αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις κατ’ αὐτοῦ χρηστέον, οὔτε ἄλλο τι κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορητέον, ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντος τῷ ἰδιώματι τούτῳ—καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ποιοῦσί τινες,-ἀλλὰ μόνον ᾧ συμπλέκομεν τὸ ἴδιον τοῦτο καὶ παραμετροῦμεν, μάλιστα ἐπιλογιστέον.

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖται ἀλλ’ ἐπιλογισμοῦ, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ταῖς νυξὶ συμπλέκομεν καὶ τοῖς τούτων μέρεσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀπαθείαις, καὶ κινήσεσι καὶ στάσεσιν, ἴδιόν τι σύμπτωμα περὶ ταῦτα πάλιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐννοοῦντες, καθ’ ὃ χρόνον ὀνομάζομεν. [φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ φύσεως καὶ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ ἐπιτομῇ.]

“Ἐπί τε τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς κόσμους δεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν σύγκρισιν πεπερασμένην τὸ ὁμοειδὲς τοῖς θεωρουμένοις πυκνῶς ἔχουσαν νομίζειν γεγονέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου, πάντων τούτων ἐκ συστροφῶν ἰδίων ἀποκεκριμένων καὶ μειζόνων καὶ ἐλαττόνων· καὶ πάλιν διαλύεσθαι πάντα, τὰ μὲν θᾶττον, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερον, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε τοῦτο πάσχοντα. [δῆλον οὖν ὡς καὶ φθαρτούς φησι τοὺς κόσμους, μεταβαλλόντων τῶν μερῶν. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τὴν γῆν τῷ ἀέρι ἐποχεῖσθαι.]

“Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόσμους οὔτε ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ νομίζειν ἕνα σχηματισμὸν ἔχοντας * * [ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόρους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ιβ’ Περὶ φύσεως αὐτός φησιν· οὓς μὲν γὰρ σφαιροειδεῖς, καὶ ᾠοειδεῖς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀλλοιοσχήμονας ἑτέρους· οὐ μέντοι πᾶν σχῆμα ἔχειν. οὐδὲ ζῷα εἶναι ἀποκριθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου.] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀποδείξειεν οὐδείς, ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐμπεριελήφθη τὰ τοιαῦτα σπέρματα, ἐξ ὧν ζῷά τε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τὰ

θεωρούμενα συνίσταται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνήθη. [ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐντραφῆναι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς νομιστέον.]

“Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναί τε καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι· τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτης παρεγγυηθέντα ὕστερον ἐπακριβοῦν καὶ προσεξευρίσκειν ἐν μὲν τισὶ θᾶττον, ἐν δὲ τισὶ βραδύτερον καὶ ἐν μὲν τισὶ περιόδοις καὶ χρόνοις μείζους λαμβάνειν ἐπιδόσεισ, ἐν δὲ τισὶ καὶ ἐλάττους.

“Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ’ ἕκαστα ἔθνη ἴδια πάσχουσας πάθη καὶ ἰδία λαμβανούσας φαντάσματα ἰδίως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν στελλόμενον ὑφ’ ἑκάστων τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων, ὡς ἄν ποτε καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἐθνῶν διαφορὰ ᾖ·

ὕστερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ’ ἕκαστα ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια τεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἧττον ἀμφιβόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συντομωτέρως δηλουμένας· τινὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ συνορώμενα πράγματα εἰσφέροντας τοὺς συνειδότας παρεγγυῆσαί τινας φθόγγους ἀναγκασθέντας ἀναφωνῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ ἑλομένους κατὰ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν οὕτως ἑρμηνεῦσαι.

“Καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φορὰν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ ἔκλειψιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν καὶ τὰ σύστοιχα τούτοις μήτε λειτουργοῦντός τινος νομίζειν δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διατάττοντος ἢ διατάξοντος καὶ ἅμα τὴν πάσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετ’ ἀφθαρσίας

(οὐ γὰρ συμφωνοῦσιν πραγματεῖαι καὶ φροντίδες καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ χάριτες μακαριότητι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδεήσει τῶν πλησίον ταῦτα γίγνεται), μήτε αὖ πυρὸς ἀνάμματα συνεστραμμένου τὴν μακαριότητα κεκτημένα κατὰ βούλησιν τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας λαμβάνειν· ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ σέμνωμα τηρεῖν, κατὰ πάντα ὀνόματα φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐννοίας, ἵνα μηδ’ ὑπεναντίαι ἐξ αὐτῶν γένωνται τῷ σεμνώματι δόξαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸν μέγιστον τάραχον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπεναντιότης παρασκευάσει. ὅθεν δὴ κατὰ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐναπολήψεις τῶν συστροφῶν τούτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσει δεῖ δοξάζειν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην καὶ περίοδον συντελεῖσθαι.

“Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων αἰτίαν ἐξακριβῶσαι φυσιολογίας ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ νομίζειν, καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἐνταῦθα πεπτωκέναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τίνες φύσεις αἱ θεωρούμεναι κατὰ τὰ μετέωρα ταυτί, καὶ ὅσα συντείνει πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοῦτο ἀκρίβειαν.

“Ἔτι τε οὐ τὸ πλεοναχῶς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως πως ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἁπλῶς μὴ εἶναι ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ φύσει τῶν διάκρισιν ὑποβαλλόντων ἢ τάραχον μηθέν· καὶ τοῦτο καταλαβεῖν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἔστιν ἁπλῶς εἶναι.

“Τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πεπτωκός, τῆς δύσεως καὶ ἀνατολῆς καὶ τροπῆς καὶ ἐκλείψεως καὶ ὅσα συγγενῆ τούτοις μηθὲν ἔτι πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τὰς γνώσεις συντείνειν, ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως τοὺς φόβους ἔχειν τοὺς ταῦτα κατειδότας, τίνες δ’ αἱ φύσεις ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ τίνες αἱ κυριώταται αἰτίαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ προσῄδεισαν ταῦτα· τάχα δὲ καὶ πλείους, ὅταν τὸ θάμβος ἐκ τῆς τούτων προσκατανοήσεως μὴ δύνηται τὴν λύσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν κυριωτάτων οἰκονομίαν.

“Διὸ δὴ κἂν πλείους αἰτίας εὑρίσκωμεν τροπῶν καὶ δύσεων καὶ ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐκλείψεων καὶ τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος γινομένοις ἦν,

οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων χρείαν ἀκρίβειαν μὴ ἀπειληφέναι, ὅση πρὸς τὸ ἀτάραχον καὶ μακάριον ἡμῶν συντείνει. ὥστε παραθεωροῦντας ποσαχῶς παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται, αἰτιολογητέον ὑπέρ τε τῶν μετεώρων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀδήλου, καταφρονοῦντας τῶν οὔτε τὸ μοναχῶς ἔχον ἢ γινόμενον γνωριζόντων οὔτε τὸ πλεοναχῶς συμβαῖνον, τὴν ἐκ τῶν

ἀποστημάτων φαντασίαν παριδόντων, ἔτι τε ἀγνοούντων καὶ ἐν ποίοις οὐκ ἐστιν ἀταρακτῆσαι καὶ ἐν ποίοις ὁμοίως ἀταρακτῆσαι. ἂν οὖν οἰώμεθα καὶ ὡδί πως ἐνδεχόμενον αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι, αὐτὸ τὸ ὅτι πλεοναχῶς γίνεται γνωρίζοντες, ὥσπερ κἂν ὅτι ὡδί πως γίνεται εἴδωμεν, ἀταρακτήσομεν.

“Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὅλως ἅπασιν ἐκεῖνο δεῖ κατανοεῖν, ὅτι τάραχος ὁ κυριώτατος ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς γίνεται ἐν τῷ ταῦτά τε μακάρια δοξάζειν εἶναι καὶ ἄφθαρτα, καὶ ὑπεναντίας ἔχειν τούτῳ βουλήσεις ἅμα καὶ πράξεις καὶ αἰτίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνιόν τι δεινὸν ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν ἢ ὑποπτεύειν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους εἴ τε καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι φοβουμένους ὥσπερ οὖσαν κατ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ δόξαις ταῦτα πάσχειν ἀλλ’ ἀλόγῳ γέ τινι παραστάσει, ὅθεν μὴ ὁρίζοντας τὸ δεινὸν τὴν ἴσην ἢ καὶ ἐπιτεταμένην ταραχὴν λαμβάνειν τῷ εἰκαίως δοξάζοντι ταῦτα·

ἡ δὲ ἀταραξία τὸ τούτων πάντων ἀπολελύσθαι καὶ συνεχῆ μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κυριωτάτων.

“Ὅθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ταῖς κοιναῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον ταῖς ἰδίαις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργείᾳ. ἂν γὰρ τούτοις προσέχωμεν, τὸ ὅθεν ὁ τάραχος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐγίνετο ἐξαιτιολογήσομεν ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀπολύσομεν, ὑπέρ τε μετεώρων αἰτιολογοῦντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀεὶ παρεμπιπτόντων, ὅσα φοβεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσχάτως.

“Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ Ἡρόδοτε, ἔστι κεφαλαιωδέστατα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐπιτετμημένα.

ὥστ’ ἐὰν γένηται δυνατὸς ὁ λόγος οὗτος κατασχεθεὶς μετ’ ἀκριβείας, οἶμαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα βαδίσῃ τις τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβωμάτων, ἀσύμβλητον αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀδρότητα λήψεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ καθαρὰ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσει πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐξακριβουμένων κατὰ τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐν μνήμῃ τιθέμενα συνεχῶς βοηθήσει.

“Τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος ἤδη ἐξακριβοῦντας ἱκανῶς ἢ καὶ τελείως, εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναλύοντας ἐπιβολάς, τὰς πλείστας τῶν περιοδειῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ παντελῶς τῶν ἀποτελουμένων εἰσίν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄνευ φθόγγων τρόπον τὴν ἅμα νοήματι περίοδον τῶν κυριωτάτων πρὸς γαληνισμὸν ποιοῦνται.

Καὶ ἥδε μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν. περὶ δὲ τῶν μετεώρων ἥδε.

“Ἐπίκουρος Πυθοκλεῖ χαίρειν.

“Ἠνεγκέ μοι Κλέων ἐπιστολὴν παρά σου, ἐν ᾗ φιλοφρονούμενός τε περὶ ἡμᾶς διετέλεις ἀξίως τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ σεαυτὸν σπουδῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐπειρῶ μνημονεύειν τῶν εἰς μακάριον βίον συντεινόντων διαλογισμῶν, ἐδέου τε σεαυτῷ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων σύντομον καὶ εὐπερίγραφον διαλογισμὸν ἀποστεῖλαι, ἵνα ῥᾳδίως μνημονεύῃς· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῖν γεγραμμένα δυσμνημόνευτα εἶναι, καί τοι, ὡς ἔφης, συνεχῶς αὐτὰ βαστάζεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡδέως τέ σου τὴν δέησιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἡδείαις συνεσχέθημεν.

γράψαντες οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα συντελοῦμεν ἅπερ ἠξίωσας πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσόμενα χρήσιμα τὰ διαλογίσματα ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς νεωστὶ φυσιολογίας γνησίου γεγευμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἀσχολίας βαθυτέρας τῶν ἐγκυκλίων τινὸς ἐμπεπλεγμένοις. καλῶς δὴ αὐτὰ διάλαβε, καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχων ὀξέως αὐτὰ περιόδευε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἀπεστείλαμεν.

“Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλο τι τέλος ἐκ τῆς περὶ μετεώρων γνώσεως εἴτε κατὰ συναφὴν λεγομένων εἴτε αὐτοτελῶς νομίζειν εἶναι ἤπερ ἀταραξίαν καὶ πίστιν βέβαιον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

μήτε τὸ ἀδύνατον παραβιάζεσθαι μήτε ὁμοίαν κατὰ πάντα τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς περὶ βίων λόγοις ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φυσικῶν προβλημάτων κάθαρσιν, οἷον ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σώματα καὶ ἀναφὴς φύσις ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτι ἄτομα τὰ στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα μοναχὴν ἔχει τοῖς φαινομένοις συμφωνίαν· ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε πλεοναχὴν ἔχει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι σύμφωνον κατηγορίαν.

“Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἀξιώματα κενὰ καὶ νομοθεσίας φυσιολογητέον, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται· οὐ γὰρ ἤδη ἀλογίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἔχει χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀθορύβως ἡμᾶς ζῆν. πάντα μὲν οὖν γίνεται ἀσείστως καί, πάντων κατὰ πλεοναχὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαιρομένων, συμφώνως τοῖς φαινομένοις, ὅταν τις τὸ πιθανολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόντως καταλίπῃ· ὅταν δέ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ὁμοίως σύμφωνον ὂν τῷ φαινομένῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ. σημεῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συντελουμένων φέρειν τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν τινα φαινομένων, ἃ θεωρεῖται ᾗ ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινόμενα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνδέχεται πλεοναχῶς γενέσθαι.

τὸ μέντοι φάντασμα ἑκάστου τηρητέον καὶ ἔτι τὰ συναπτόμενα τούτῳ διαιρετέον, ἃ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν γινομένοις πλεοναχῶς συντελεῖσθαι.

“Κόσμος ἐστὶ περιοχή ιτς οὐρανοῦ, ἄστρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα περιέχουσα, ἀποτομὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ λήγουσα [καὶ καταλήγουσα ἐν πέρατι ἢ ἀραιῷ ἢ πυκνῷ καὶ οὗ λυομένου πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σύγχυσιν λήψεται.] ἢ ἐν περιαγομένῳ ἢ ἐν στάσιν ἔχοντι καὶ στρογγύλην ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ οἵαν δήποτε περιγραφήν· πανταχῶς γὰρ ἐνδέχεται· τῶν γὰρ φαινομένων οὐδὲν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν ᾧ λῆγον οὐκ ἔστι καταλαβεῖν.

“”Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοι εἰσὶν ἄπειροι τὸ πλῆθος ἔστι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται κόσμος γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετακοσμίῳ, ὃ λέγομεν μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, ἐν πολυκένῳ τόπῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν μεγάλῳ εἰλικρινεῖ καὶ κενῷ, καθάπερ τινές φασιν, ἐπιτηδείων τινῶν σπερμάτων ῥυέντων ἀφ’ ἑνὸς κόσμου ἢ μετακοσμίου ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ πλειόνων κατὰ μικρὸν προσθέσεις τε καὶ διαρθρώσεις καὶ μεταστάσεις ποιούντων ἐπ’ ἄλλον τόπον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, καὶ ἐπαρδεύσεις ἐκ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπιτηδείως ἕως τελειώσεως καὶ διαμονῆς ἐφ’ ὅσον τὰ ὑποβληθέντα θεμέλια τὴν προσδοχὴν δύναται ποιεῖσθαι.

οὐ γὰρ ἀθροισμὸν δεῖ μόνον γενέσθαι οὐδὲ δῖνον ἐν ᾧ ἐνδέχεται κόσμον γίνεσθαι κενῷ κατὰ τὸ δοξαζόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὔξεσθαί τε, ἕως ἂν ἑτέρῳ προσκρούσῃ, καθάπερ τῶν φυσικῶν καλουμένων φησί τις· τοῦτο γὰρ μαχόμενόν ἐστι τοῖς φαινομένοις.

“”Ἡλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα οὐ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ γενόμενα ὕστερον ἐμπεριελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμου [καὶ ὅσα γε δὴ σῴζει], ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς διεπλάττετο καὶ αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανεν [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα] κατὰ προσκρίσεις καὶ δινήσεις λεπτομερῶν τινων φύσεων, ἤτοι πνευματικῶν ἢ πυροειδῶν ἢ συναμφοτέρων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡ αἴσθησις ὑποβάλλει.

“Τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡλίκον φαίνεται· [τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ ια’ Περὶ φύσεως· εἰ γάρ, φησί, τὸ μέγεθος διὰ τὸ διάστημα ἀπεβεβλήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἂν τὴν χρόαν. ἄλλο γὰρ τούτῳ συμμετρότερον διάστημα οὐθέν ἐστι.] κατὰ δὲ τὸ καθ’ αὑτὸ ἤτοι μεῖζον τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἢ μικρῷ ἔλαττον ἢ τηλικοῦτον τυγχάνει. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν πυρὰ ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρούμενα κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν θεωρεῖται. καὶ πᾶν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔνστημα ῥᾳδίως διαλυθήσεται, ἐάν τις τοῖς ἐναργήμασι προσέχῃ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως βιβλίοις δείκνυμεν.

ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρων καὶ κατὰ ἄναψιν γενέσθαι δυνατὸν καὶ σβέσιν, τοιαύτης οὔσης περιστάσεως καὶ καθ' ἑκατέρους τοὺς τόπους, ὥστε τὰ προειρημένα ἀποτελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. καὶ κατ' ἐμφάνειάν τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ πάλιν ἐπιπροσθέτησιν τὸ προειρημένον δύναιτ' ἂν συντελεῖσθαι· οὐδὲ γάρ τι τῶν φαινομένων ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ. τάς τε κινήσεις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου οὐρανοῦ δίνην, ἢ τούτου μὲν στάσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ δίνην κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ γενέσει τοῦ κόσμου ἀνάγκην ἀπογεννηθεῖσαν ἐπ' ἀνατολῇ·

* * *σφοδροτάτῃ θερμασίᾳ κατά τινα ἐπινέμησιν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑξῆς τόπους ἰόντος.

"Τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐνδέχεται μὲν γίνεσθαι κατὰ λόξωσιν οὐρανοῦ οὕτω τοῖς χρόνοις κατηναγκασμένου· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἀέρος ἀντέξωσιν ἢ καὶ ὕλης ἀεὶ ἐπιτηδείας τῆς μὲν ἐχομένης ἐμπιπραμένης τῆς δ' ἐκλιπούσης· ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιαύτην δίνην κατειληθῆναι τοῖς ἄστροις τούτοις, ὥσθ' οἷόν τιν' ἕλικα κινεῖσθαι. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐναργημάτων διαφωνεῖ, ἐάν τις ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μερῶν, ἐχόμενος τοῦ δυνατοῦ, εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις ἕκαστον τούτων δύνηται ἐπάγειν, μὴ φοβούμενος τὰς ἀνδραποδώδεις ἀστρολόγων τεχνιτείας.

"Κένωσίς τε σελήνης καὶ πάλιν πλήρωσις καὶ κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ σώματος τούτου δύναιτ' ἂν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σχηματισμοὺς ἀέρος ὁμοίως, ἔτι τε καὶ κατ' ἐμπροσθετήσεις καὶ κατὰ πάντας τρόπους, καθ' οὓς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται εἰς τὰς τοῦ εἴδους τούτου ἀποδόσεις, ἐὰν μή τις τὸν μοναχῇ τρόπον κατηγαπηκὼς τοὺς ἄλλους κενῶς ἀποδοκιμάζῃ, οὐ τεθεωρηκὼς τί δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι καὶ τί ἀδύνατον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατα θεωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν. ἔτι τε ἐνδέχεται τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν τὸ φῶς, ἐνδέχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου.

καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρεῖται πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα, πολλὰ δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρων. καὶ οὐθὲν ἐμποδοστατεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινομένων, ἐάν τις τοῦ πλεοναχοῦ τρόπου ἀεὶ μνήμην ἔχῃ καὶ τὰς ἀκολούθους αὐτοῖς ὑποθέσεις ἅμα καὶ αἰτίας συνθεωρῇ καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων εἰς τὰ ἀνακόλουθα ταῦτ' ὀγκοῖ ματαίως καὶ καταρρέπῃ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν μοναχὸν τρόπον. ἡ δὲ ἔμφασις τοῦ προσώπου ἐν αὐτῇ δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ παραλλαγὴν μερῶν καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν, καὶ ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν τρόποι θεωροῖντο τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις κεκτημένοι.

ἐπὶ πάντων γὰρ τῶν μετεώρων τὴν τοιαύτην ἴχνευσιν οὐ προετέον. ἢν γάρ τις ᾖ μαχόμενος τοῖς ἐναργήμασιν, οὐδέποτε δυνήσεται ἀταραξίας γνησίου μεταλαβεῖν.

"Ἔκλειψις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης δύναται μὲν γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ σβένσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο θεωρεῖται γιγνόμενον· καὶ ἤδη καὶ κατ' ἐπιπροσθέτησιν ἄλλων τινῶν, ἢ γῆς ἢ ἀοράτου τινὸς ἑτέρου τοιούτου. καὶ ὧδε τοὺς οἰκείους ἀλλήλοις τρόπους συνθεωρητέον, καὶ τὰς ἅμα συγκυρήσεις τινῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι. [ἐν δὲ τῇ ιβ' Περὶ φύσεως ταῦτα λέγει καὶ πρός, ἥλιον ἐκλείπειν σελήνης ἐπισκοτούσης, σελήνην δὲ τοῦ τῆς γῆς σκιάσματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἀναχώρησιν.

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Διογένης ὁ Ἐπικούρειος ἐν τῇ α΄ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων.]

"Ἔτι τε τάξις περιόδου, καθάπερ ἔνια καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν τυχόντων γίνεται, λαμβανέσθω· καὶ ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς ταῦτα μηδαμῇ προσαγέσθω, ἀλλ' ἀλειτούργητος διατηρείσθω καὶ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ μακαριότητι· ὡς εἰ τοῦτο μὴ πραχθήσεται, ἅπασα ἡ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων αἰτιολογία ματαία ἔσται, καθάπερ τισὶν ἤδη ἐγένετο οὐ δυνατοῦ τρόπου ἐφαψαμένοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ μάταιον ἐκπεσοῦσι τῷ καθ' ἕνα τρόπον μόνον οἴεσθαι γίνεσθαι τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἐκβάλλειν εἴς τε τὸ ἀδιανόητον φερομένους καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα, ἃ δεῖ σημεῖα ἀποδέχεσθαι, μὴ δυναμένους συνθεωρεῖν.

“Μήκη νυκτῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν παραλλάττοντα καὶ παρὰ τὸ ταχείας ἡλίου κινήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν βραδείας ὑπὲρ γῆς παρὰ τὰ μήκη τόπων παραλλάττοντα καὶ τόπους τινὰς περαιοῦν τάχιον ἢ βραδύτερον, ὡς καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν τινα θεωρεῖται, οἷς συμφώνως δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἓν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φαινομένοις μάχονται καὶ τοῦ ᾗ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ θεωρῆσαι διαπεπτώκασιν.

“Ἐπισημασίαι δύνανται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ συγκυρήσεις καιρῶν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφανέσι παρ’ ἡμῖν ζῴοις, καὶ παρ’ ἑτεροιώσεις ἀέρος καὶ μεταβολάς. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐ μάχεται τοῖς φαινομένοις·

ἐπὶ δὲ ποίοις παρὰ τοῦτο ἢ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον γίνεται οὐκ ἔστι συνιδεῖν.

“Νέφη δύναται γίνεσθαι καὶ συνίστασθαι καὶ παρὰ πιλήσεις ἀέρος πνευμάτων συνώσει, καὶ παρὰ περιπλοκὰς ἀλληλούχων ἀτόμων καὶ ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι καὶ κατὰ ῥευμάτων συλλογὴν ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων· καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείους αἱ τῶν τοιούτων συστάσεις οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦσι συντελεῖσθαι. ἤδη δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ᾗ μὲν θλιβομένων, ᾗ δὲ μεταβαλλόντων ὕδατα δύναται συντελεῖσθαι,

ἔτι τε ῥευμάτων κατ’ ἀποφορὰν ἀπὸ ἐπιτηδείων τόπων δι’ ἀέρος κινουμένων, βιαιοτέρας ἐπαρδεύσεως γινομένης ἀπό τινων ἀθροισμάτων ἐπιτηδείων εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐκπέμψεις. βροντὰς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασι τῶν νεφῶν ἀνείλησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγγείοις, καὶ παρὰ πυρὸς πεπνευματωμένου βόμβον ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν καὶ διαστάσεις, καὶ κατὰ παρατρίψεις νεφῶν καὶ κατάξεις πῆξιν εἰληφότων κρυσταλλοειδῆ. καὶ τὸ ὅλον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πλεοναχῶς γίνεσθαι λέγειν ἐκκαλεῖται τὰ φαινόμενα.

καὶ ἀστραπαὶ δ’ ὡσαύτως γίνονται κατὰ πλείους τρόπους· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ παράτριψιν καὶ σύγκρουσιν νεφῶν ὁ πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικὸς σχηματισμὸς ἐξολισθαίνων ἀστραπὴν γεννᾷ· καὶ κατ’ ἐκριπισμὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων τῶν τοιούτων σωμάτων ἃ τὴν λαμπηδόνα ταύτην παρασκευάζει, καὶ κατ’ ἐκπιασμόν, θλίψεως τῶν νεφῶν γινομένης, εἴθ’ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων εἴθ’ ὑπὸ πνευμάτων· καὶ κατ’ ἐμπερίληψιν δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄστρων κατεσπαρμένου φωτός, εἶτα συνελαυνομένου ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως νεφῶν τε καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ διεκπίπτοντος διὰ τῶν νεφῶν· ἢ κατὰ διήθησιν διὰ τῶν νεφῶν τοῦ λεπτομερεστάτου φωτός, [ᾗ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς νέφη συνεφλέχθαι καὶ τὰς βροντὰς ἀποτελεῖσθαι] καὶ τὴν τούτου κίνησιν· καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκπύρωσιν τὴν γινομένην διά τε συντονίαν φορᾶς καὶ διὰ σφοδρὰν κατείλησιν·

καὶ κατὰ ῥήξεις δὲ νεφῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἔκπτωσίν τε πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν ἀτόμων καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς φάντασμα ἀποτελουσῶν. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ πλείους τρόπους ῥᾳδίως ἔσται καθορᾶν ἐχόμενον ἀεὶ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ τὸ τούτοις ὅμοιον δυνάμενον συνθεωρεῖν. προτερεῖ δὲ ἀστραπὴ βροντῆς ἐν τοιᾷδέ τινι περιστάσει νεφῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἅμα τῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐμπίπτειν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τὸν ἀστραπῆς ἀποτελεστικὸν σχηματισμόν, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνειλούμενον τὸν βόμβον ἀποτελεῖν τοῦτον· καὶ κατ’ ἔμπτωσιν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα, τῷ τάχει συντονωτέρῳ κεχρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀστραπήν, ὑστερεῖν δὲ τὴν βροντήν,

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καθά περ ἐπ’ ἐνίων ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωρουμένων καὶ πληγάς τινας ποιουμένων. κεραυνοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πλείονας πνευμάτων συλλογὰς καὶ κατείλησιν ἰσχυράν τε ἐκπύρωσιν· καὶ κατάρρηξιν μέρους καὶ ἔκπτωσιν ἰσχυροτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, τῆς ῥήξεως γινομένης διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἑξῆς τόπους πυκνοτέρους εἶναι διὰ πίλησιν νεφῶν· καὶ κατὰ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἔκπτωσιν ἀνειλουμένου, καθὰ καὶ βροντὴν ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι, πλείονος

γενομένου πυρὸς καὶ πνευματωθέντος ἰσχυρότερον καὶ ῥήξαντος τὸ νέφος διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς, τῷ πίλησιν γίνεσθαι [τὸ μὲν πολὺ πρὸς ὄρος τι ὑψηλόν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα κεραυνοὶ πίπτουσιν], ἀεὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα.

καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους πλείονας ἐνδέχεται κεραυνοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι· μόνον ὁ μῦθος ἀπέστω· ἀπέσται δέ, ἐάν τις καλῶς τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀκολουθῶν περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν σημειῶται.

“Πρηστῆρας ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ κάθεσιν νέφους εἰς τοὺς κάτω τόπους στυλοειδῶς ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀθρόου ὠσθέντος καὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος πολλοῦ φερομένου, ἅμα καὶ τὸ νέφος εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ὠθοῦντος τοῦ ἐκτὸς πνεύματος· καὶ κατὰ περίστασιν δὲ πνεύματος εἰς κύκλον, ἀέρος τινὸς ἐπισυνωθουμένου ἄνωθεν· καὶ ῥύσεως πολλῆς πνευμάτων γενομένης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης εἰς τὰ πλάγια διαρρυῆναι διὰ τὴν πέριξ τοῦ ἀέρος πίλησιν.

καὶ ἕως μὲν γῆς τοῦ πρηστῆρος καθιεμένου στρόβιλοι γίνονται, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἡ ἀπογέννησις κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ πνεύματος γίνηται· ἕως δὲ θαλάττης δῖνοι ἀποτελοῦνται.

“Σεισμοὺς ἐνδέχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀπόληψιν καὶ παρὰ μικροὺς ὄγκους αὐτῆς παράθεσιν καὶ συνεχῆ κίνησιν, ὅταν κράδανσιν τῇ γῇ παρασκευάζῃ· καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐμπεριλαμβάνει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πίπτειν εἴσω ἐδάφη εἰς ἀντροειδεῖς τόπους τῆς γῆς ἐκπνευματοῦντα ἐπειλημένον ἀέρα. καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διάδοσιν τῆς κινήσεως ἐκ τῶν πτώσεων ἐδαφῶν πολλῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀνταπόδοσιν, ὅταν πυκνώμασι σφοδροτέροις τῆς γῆς ἀπαντήσῃ, ἐνδέχεται σεισμοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι.

καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ πλείους τρόπους τὰς κινήσεις ταύτας τῆς γῆς γίνεσθαι.

“Τὰ δὲ πνεύματα συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι κατὰ χρόνον ἀλλοφυλίας τινὸς ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν παρεισδυομένης, καὶ καθ’ ὕδατος ἀφθόνου συλλογήν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πνεύματα γίνεται καὶ ὀλίγων πεσόντων εἰς τὰ πολλὰ κοιλώματα, διαδόσεως τούτων γινομένης.

“Χάλαζα συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν ἰσχυροτέραν, πάντοθεν δὲ πνευματωδῶν περίστασίν τινων κᾇτα μέρισιν· καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν μετριωτέραν ὑδατοειδῶν τινων, πνευματωδῶν δέ τινων ὁμούρησιν ἅμα τήν τε σύνωσιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένην καὶ τὴν διάρρηξιν πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μέρη συνίστασθαι πηγνύμενα καὶ κατ’ ἀθροότητα.

ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια οὐκ ἀδυνάτως μὲν ἔχει γίνεσθαι πάντοθεν τῶν ἄκρων ἀποτηκομένων καὶ ἐν τῇ συστάσει πάντοθεν, ὡς λέγεται, κατὰ μέρη ὁμαλῶς περιισταμένων εἴτε ὑδατοειδῶν τινων εἴτε πνευματωδῶν.

“Χιόνα δ’ ἐνδέχεται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ ὕδατος λεπτοῦ ἐκχεομένου ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν διὰ πόρων συμμετρίας καὶ θλίψεις ἐπιτηδείων νεφῶν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ πνεύματος σφοδράς, εἶτα τούτου πῆξιν ἐν τῇ φορᾷ λαμβάνοντος διά τινα ἰσχυρὰν ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω τόποις τῶν νεφῶν ψυχρασίας περίστασιν. καὶ κατὰ πῆξιν δ’ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ὁμαλῆ ἀραιότητα ἔχουσι τοιαύτη πρόεσις ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνοιτο ἂν πρὸς ἄλληλα θλιβομένων τῶν ὑδατοειδῶν καὶ συμπαρακειμένων· ἃ οἱονεὶ σύνωσιν ποιούμενα χάλαζαν ἀποτελεῖ, ὃ μάλιστα γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἔαρι.

καὶ κατὰ τρίψιν δὲ νεφῶν πῆξιν εἰληφότων ἀπόπαλσιν ἂν λαμβάνοι τὸ τῆς χιόνος τοῦτο ἄθροισμα. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ τρόπους ἐνδέχεται χιόνα συντελεῖσθαι.

“Δρόσος συντελεῖται καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑγρασίας ἀποτελεστικὰ γίνεται· καὶ κατ’ ἀναφορὰν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ νοτερῶν τόπων ἢ ὕδατα κεκτημένων, ἐν οἷοις τόποις μάλιστα δρόσος συντελεῖται, εἶτα σύνοδον τούτων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ λαβόντων καὶ ἀποτέλεσιν ὑγρασίας καὶ πάλιν φορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάτω τόπους, καθά περ ὁμοίως

καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ πλειόνων τοιαῦτά τινα συντελούμενα θεωρεῖται.

καὶ πάχνη δὲ συντελεῖται οὐ διαφερόντωσ τῶν δρόσων, τοιούτων τινῶν πῆξίν τινα ποιὰν λαβόντων διὰ περίστασίν τινα ἀέρος ψυχροῦ.

“Κρύσταλλος συντελεῖται καὶ κατ’ ἔκθλιψιν μὲν τοῦ περιφεροῦς σχηματισμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, σύνωσιν δὲ τῶν σκαληνῶν καὶ ὀξυγωνίων τῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ὑπαρχόντων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πρόσκρισιν, ἃ συνελασθέντα πῆξιν τῷ ὕδατι παρεσκεύασε, ποσὰ τῶν περιφερῶν ἐκθλίψαντα.

“῾Ίρις γίνεται κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἀέρα ὑδατοειδῆ· ἢ κατὰ σύμφυσιν ἰδίαν τοῦ τε φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἢ τὰ τῶν χρωμάτων τούτων ἰδιώματα ποιήσει εἴ τε πάντα εἴ τε μονοειδῶς· ἀφ’ οὗ πάλιν ἀπολάμποντος τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τοῦ ἀέρος χρῶσιν ταύτην λήψεται, οἵαν θεωροῦμεν, κατὰ πρόσλαμψιν πρὸς τὰ μέρη.

τὸ δὲ τῆς περιφερείας τοῦτο φάντασμα γίνεται διὰ τὸ τὸ διάστημα πάντοθεν ἴσον ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως θεωρεῖσθαι, ἢ σύνωσιν τοιαύτην λαμβανουσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ἀτόμων ἢ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀποφερομένων περιφέρειάν τινα καθίεσθαι τὴν σύγκρισιν ταύτην.

“῎Αλως περὶ τὴν σελήνην γίνεται καὶ πάντοθεν ἀέρος προσφερομένου πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὰ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ῥεύματα ἀποφερόμενα ὁμαλῶς ἀναστέλλοντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ’ ὅσον κύκλῳ περιστῆσαι τὸ νεφοειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ μὴ τὸ παράπαν διακρῖναι, ἢ καὶ τὸν πέριξ ἀέρα αὐτῆς ἀναστέλλοντος συμμέτρως πάντοθεν εἰς τὸ περιφερὲς τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ παχυμερὲς περιστῆσαι.

ὃ γίνεται κατὰ μέρη τινὰ ἤτοι ἔξωθεν βιασαμένου τινὸς ῥεύματος ἢ τῆς θερμασίας ἐπιτηδείων πόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο ἀπεργάσασθαι.

“Κομῆται ἀστέρες γίνονται ἤτοι πυρὸς ἐν τόποις τισὶ διὰ χρόνων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συστρεφομένου περιστάσεως γινομένης, ἢ ἰδίαν τινὰ κίνησιν διὰ χρόνων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἴσχοντος ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ὥστε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄστρα ἀναφανῆναι, ἢ αὐτὰ ἐν χρόνοις τισὶν ὁρμῆσαι διά τινα περίστασιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς τόπους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι. τήν τε ἀφάνισιν τούτων γίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰς ἀντικειμένας ταύταις αἰτίας.

τινὰ ἄστρα στρέφεσθαι αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ κόσμου ἑστάναι, περὶ ὃ τὸ λοιπὸν στρέφεται, καθά περ τινές φασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δίνην ἀέρος ἔγκυκλον αὐτῷ περιεστάναι, ἢ κωλυτικὴ γίνεται τοῦ περιπολεῖν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα· ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἑξῆς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὕλην ἐπιτηδείαν μὴ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ κείμενα θεωρεῖται. καὶ κατ’ ἄλλους δὲ πλείονας τρόπους τοῦτο δυνατὸν συντελεῖσθαι, ἐάν τις δύνηται τὸ σύμφωνον τοῖς φαινομένοις συλλογίζεσθαι. τινὰ τῶν ἄστρων πλανᾶσθαι, εἰ οὕτω ταῖς κινήσεσι χρώμενα συμβαίνει, τινὰ δὲ ὁμαλῶς κινεῖσθαι,

ἐνδέχεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸ κύκλῳ κινούμενα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω κατηναγκάσθαι, ὥστε τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην φέρεσθαι ὁμαλῆ οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ κατά τιν’ ἄλλην τισὶν ἀνωμαλίαις χρωμένην. ἐνδέχεται δὲ καὶ καθ’ οὓς τόπους φέρεται οὗ μὲν παρεκτάσεις ἀέρος εἶναι ὁμαλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνωθούσας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ὁμαλῶς τε ἐκκαούσας, οὗ δὲ ἀνωμαλεῖς οὕτως ὥστε τὰς θεωρουμένας παραλλαγὰς συντελεῖσθαι. τὸ δὲ μίαν αἰτίαν τούτων ἀποδιδόναι, πλεοναχῶς τῶν φαινομένων ἐκκαλουμένων, μανικὸν καὶ οὐ καθηκόντως πραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ματαίαν ἀστρολογίαν ἐζηλωκότων καὶ εἰς τὸ κενὸν αἰτίας τινῶν ἀποδιδόντων, ὅταν τὴν θείαν φύσιν μηδαμῆ λειτουργιῶν ἀπολύωσι.

τινὰ ἄστρα ὑπολειπόμενά τινων θεωρεῖσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ παρὰ τὸ βραδύτερον συμπεριφέρεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν κύκλον περιιόντα καὶ παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἐναντίαν κινεῖσθαι ἀντισπώμενα

ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δίνης· καὶ παρὰ τὸ περιφέρεσθαι τὰ μὲν διὰ πλείονος τόπου, τὰ δὲ δι’ ἐλάττονος, τὴν αὐτὴν δίνην περικυκλοῦντα. τὸ δὲ ἁπλῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τούτων καθῆκόν ἐστι τοῖς τερατεύεσθαί τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς βουλομένοις.

“Οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀστέρες ἐκπίπτειν καὶ παρὰ μέρος κατὰ παράτριψιν ἑαυτῶν δύναται συντελεῖσθαι καὶ παρ’ ἔκπτωσιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ἐκπνευμάτωσις γένηται, καθά περ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστραπῶν ἐλέγομεν·

καὶ κατὰ σύνοδον δὲ ἀτόμων πυρὸς ἀποτελεστικῶν, συμφυλίας γενομένης εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι, καὶ κίνησιν οὗ ἂν ἡ ὁρμὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον γένηται· καὶ κατὰ πνεύματος δὲ συλλογὴν ἐν πυκνώμασί τισιν ὁμιχλοειδέσι, καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν τούτου διὰ τὴν κατείλησιν, εἶτ’ ἐπέκρηξιν τῶν περιεχόντων, καὶ ἐφ’ ὃν ἂν τόπον ἡ ὁρμὴ γένηται τῆς φορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτον φερομένου. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τρόποι εἰς τὸ τοῦτο τελέσαι ἀμύθητοί εἰσιν.

“Αἱ δ’ ἐπισημασίαι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπί τισι ζῴοις κατὰ συγκύρημα γίνονται τοῦ καιροῦ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάγκην τινὰ προσφέρεται τοῦ ἀποτελεσθῆναι χειμῶνα, οὐδὲ κάθηταί τις θεία φύσις παρατηροῦσα τὰς τῶν ζῴων τούτων ἐξόδους κἄπειτα τὰς ἐπισημασίας ταύτας ἐπιτελεῖ.

οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ τυχὸν ζῷον, κἂν εἰ μικρὸν χαριέστερον εἴη, ἡ τοιαύτη μωρία ἐμπέσοι, μὴ ὅτι εἰς παντελῆ εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτημένον.

Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα, Πυθόκλεις, μνημόνευσον· κατὰ πολύ τε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἐκβήσῃ καὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ τούτοις συνορᾶν δυνήσῃ· μάλιστα δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀπόδος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν τούτοις θεωρίαν, ἔτι τε κριτηρίων καὶ παθῶν, καὶ οὗ ἕνεκεν ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμεθα· ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα συνθεωρούμενα ῥᾳδίως τὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰτίας συνορᾶν ποιήσει. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ καταγαπήσαντες ᾗ μάλιστα οὔτ’ ἂν αὐτὰ ταῦτα καλῶς συνθεωρήσαιεν οὔτε οὗ ἕνεκεν δεῖ θεωρεῖν ταῦτα περιεποιήσαντο.

ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν μετεώρων δοκεῖ.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν βιωτικῶν καὶ ὅπως χρὴ τὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖσθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐκφεύγειν, οὑτωσὶ γράφει. πρότερον δὲ διέλθωμεν ἅ τε αὐτῷ δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.

Βλάβας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ διὰ μῖσος ἢ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ καταφρόνησιν γίνεσθαι, ὧν τὸν σοφὸν λογισμῷ περιγίνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἅπαξ γενόμενον σοφὸν μηκέτι τὴν ἐναντίαν λαμβάνειν διάθεσιν μηδὲ πλάττειν ἑκόντα· πάθεσι μᾶλλον συσχεθήσεσθαι· οὐκ ἂν ἐμποδίσαι πρὸς τὴν σοφίαν. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ πάσης σώματος ἕξεως σοφὸν γενέσθαι ἂν οὐδ’ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει.

κἂν στρεβλωθῇ δ’ ὁ σοφός, εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα, μόνον τε χάριν ἕξειν τὸν σοφόν, καὶ ἐπὶ φίλοις καὶ παροῦσι καὶ ἀποῦσιν ὁμοίως διά τε λόγου καὶ διὰ πράξεως. ὅτε μέντοι στρεβλοῦται, ἔνθα καὶ μύζει καὶ οἰμώζει. γυναικί τ’ οὐ μιγήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ᾗ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιτομῇ τῶν Ἐπικούρου ἠθικῶν δογμάτων. οὐδὲ κολάσειν οἰκέτας, ἐλεήσειν μέντοι καὶ συγγνώμην τινὶ ἕξειν τῶν σπουδαίων. ἐρασθήσεσθαι τὸν σοφὸν οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ ταφῆς φροντιεῖν· οὐδὲ θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὡς Διογένης ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ φησίν. οὐδὲ ῥητορεύσειν καλῶς. συνουσίαν δέ φασιν ὀνῆσαι μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ ἔβλαψε.

Καὶ μηδὲ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τεκνοποιήσειν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς Διαπορίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως. κατὰ περίστασιν δέ ποτε βίου γαμήσειν. καὶ διατραπήσεσθαί τινας. οὐδὲ μὴν ληρήσειν ἐν μέθῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. οὐδὲ πολιτεύσεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ βίων· οὐδὲ τυραννεύσειν· οὐδὲ κυνιεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Περὶ βίων· οὐδὲ πτωχεύσειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πηρωθέντα τὰς ὄψεις μὴ ἐξάξειν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου,

ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φησι. καὶ λυπηθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφόν, ὡς ὁ Διογένης ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων· καὶ δικάσεσθαι· καὶ συγγράμματα καταλείψειν· οὐ πανηγυριεῖν δέ· καὶ κτήσεως προνοήσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. φιλαγρήσειν. τύχῃ τ' ἀντιτάξεσθαι, φίλον τε οὐδένα προήσεσθαι. εὐδοξίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προνοήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ καταφρονήσεσθαι· μᾶλλόν τε εὐφρανθήσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις.

Εἰκόνας τε ἀναθήσειν. εὖ εἰ ἔχοι, ἀδιαφόρως ἂν σχοίη. μόνον τε τὸν σοφὸν ὀρθῶς ἂν περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς διαλέξεσθαι· ποιήματά τε ἐνεργείᾳ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι. οὐ κινεῖσθαί τε ἕτερον ἑτέρου σοφώτερον. χρηματιεῖσθαί τε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μόνης σοφίας, ἀπορήσαντα. καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καιρῷ θεραπεύσειν. καὶ ἐπιχαρήσεσθαί τινι ἐπὶ τῷ διορθώματι· καὶ σχολὴν κατασκευάσειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστ' ὀχλαγωγῆσαι· καὶ ἀναγνώσεσθαι ἐν πλήθει, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑκόντα· δογματιεῖν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσειν· καὶ καθ' ὕπνους δὲ ὅμοιον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ φίλου ποτὲ τεθνήξεσθαι.

Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτήματα ἄνισα εἶναι. καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν τισὶ μὲν ἀγαθόν, τισὶ δ' ἀδιάφορον. τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν φύσει μὴ γίνεσθαι, λογισμῷ δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος· καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας· δεῖν μέντοι προκατάρχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τὴν γῆν σπείρομεν), συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν τοῖς ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκπεπληρωμ ένοις.

Τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διχῇ νοεῖσθαι, τήν τε ἀκροτάτην,
οἵα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν θεόν, ἐπίτασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν· καὶ
τὴν κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν ἡδονῶν.

Μετιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

"Ἐπίκουρος Μενοικεῖ χαίρειν.

"Μήτε νέος τις ὢν μελλέτω φιλοσοφεῖν, μήτε γέρων ὑπάρχων κοπιάτω φιλοσοφῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄωρος οὐδείς ἐστιν οὔτε πάρωρος πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ὑγιαῖνον. ὁ δὲ λέγων ἢ μήπω τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἢ παρεληλυθέναι τὴν ὥραν ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ λέγοντι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ μήπω παρεῖναι τὴν ὥραν ἢ μηκέτι εἶναι τὴν ὥραν. ὥστε φιλοσοφητέον καὶ νέῳ καὶ γέροντι, τῷ μὲν ὅπως γηράσκων νεάζῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διὰ τὴν χάριν τῶν γεγονότων, τῷ δ' ὅπως νέος ἅμα καὶ παλαιὸς ᾖ διὰ τὴν ἀφοβίαν τῶν μελλόντων. μελετᾶν οὖν χρὴ τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, εἴ περ παρούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντα ἔχομεν, ἀπούσης δέ, πάντα πράττομεν εἰς τὸ ταύτην ἔχειν.

"Ἃ δέ σοι συνεχῶς παρήγγελλον, ταῦτα καὶ πρᾶττε καὶ μελέτα, στοιχεῖα τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ταῦτ' εἶναι διαλαμβάνων. πρῶτον μὲν τὸν θεὸν ζῷον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις ὑπεγράφη, μηθὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ πρόσαπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτοῦ δυνάμενον τὴν μετ' ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητα περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαζε. θεοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν. ἐναργὴς δέ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις· οἵους δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν· οὐ γὰρ φυλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς οἵους νοοῦσιν. ἀσεβὴς δὲ οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων.

οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις· ἔνθεν αἱ μέγισται βλάβαι τε τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπάγονται καὶ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέχονται, πᾶν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες.

"Συνέθιζε δὲ ἐν τῷ νομίζειν μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον· ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει· στέρησις δέ ἐστιν αἰσθήσεως ὁ θάνατος. ὅθεν γνῶσις ὀρθὴ τοῦ μηθὲν εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θάνατον ἀπολαυστὸν ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς θνητόν, οὐκ ἄπειρον προστιθεῖσα χρόνον ἀλλὰ τὸν

τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀφελομένη πόθον.

οὐθὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ζῆν δεινὸν τῷ κατειληφότι γνησίως τὸ μηθὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν τῷ μὴ ζῆν δεινόν. ὥστε μάταιος ὁ λέγων δεδιέναι τὸν θάνατον οὐχ ὅτι λυπήσει παρών, ἀλλ' ὅτι λυπεῖ μέλλων. ὃ γὰρ παρὸν οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ, προσδοκώμενον κενῶς λυπεῖ. τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδή περ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν· ὅταν δ' ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμέν. οὔτε οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἐπειδήπερ περὶ οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θάνατον ὁτὲ μὲν ὡς μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν φεύγουσιν, ὁτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ζῆν κακῶ αἱροῦνται.

ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὔτε παραιτεῖται τὸ ζῆν οὔτε φοβεῖται τὸ μὴ ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ προσίσταται τὸ ζῆν οὔτε δοξάζεται κακὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ζῆν. ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ σιτίον οὐ τὸ πλεῖον πάντως ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥδιστον αἱρεῖται, οὕτω καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν μήκιστον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥδιστον καρπίζεται. ὁ δὲ παραγγέλλων τὸν μὲν νέον καλῶς ζῆν, τὸν δὲ γέροντα καλῶς καταστρέφειν εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀσπαστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μελέτην τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν. πολὺ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ ὁ λέγων, καλὸν μὲν μὴ φῦναι,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεποιθὼς τοῦτό φησι, πῶς οὐκ ἀπέρχεται τοῦ ζῆν; ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἴπερ ἦν βεβουλευμένον αὐτῷ βεβαίως· εἰ δὲ μωκώμενος, μάταιος ἐν τοῖς οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένοις.

"Μνημονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα μήτε πάντως προσμένωμεν ὡς ἐσόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενον.

"Ἀναλογιστέον δὲ ὡς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαί, αἱ δὲ κεναί. καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν αἱ μὲν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ μόνον· τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων αἱ μὲν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀοχλησίαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ζῆν.

τούτων γὰρ ἁπλανὴς θεωρία πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ φυγὴν ἐπανάγειν οἶδεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν ἐστι τέλος. τούτου γὰρ χάριν πάντα πράττομεν, ὅπως μήτε ἀλγῶμεν μήτε ταρβῶμεν· ὅταν δ' ἅπαξ τοῦτο περὶ ἡμᾶς γένηται, λύεται πᾶς ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χειμών, οὐκ ἔχοντος τοῦ ζῴου βαδίζειν ὡς πρὸς ἐνδέον τι καὶ ζητεῖν ἕτερον ᾧ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθὸν συμπληρωθήσεται. τότε γὰρ ἡδονῆς χρείαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀλγῶμεν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ ἀλγῶμεν, οὐκέτι τῆς ἡδονῆς δεόμεθα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος λέγομεν εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν·

ταύτην γὰρ ἀγαθὸν πρῶτον καὶ συγγενικὸν ἔγνωμεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης καταρχόμεθα πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτην καταντῶμεν ὡς κανόνι τῷ πάθει πᾶν ἀγαθὸν κρίνοντες. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο καὶ σύμφυτον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν ἡδονὴν αἱρούμεθα, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑπερβαίνομεν, ὅταν πλεῖον ἡμῖν τὸ δυσχερὲς ἐκ τούτων ἕπηται· καὶ πολλὰς ἀλγηδόνας ἡδονῶν κρείττους νομίζομεν, ἐπειδὰν μείζων ἡμῖν ἡδονὴ παρακολουθῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείνασι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. πᾶσα οὖν ἡδονὴ διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν οἰκείαν ἀγαθόν, οὐ πᾶσα μέντοι γ' αἱρετή· καθά περ καὶ ἀλγηδὼν πᾶσα κακόν, οὐ πᾶσα δὲ ἀεὶ φευκτὴ πεφυκυῖα.

τῇ μέντοι συμμετρήσει καὶ συμφερόντων καὶ ἀσυμφόρων βλέψει ταῦτα πάντα κρίνειν καθήκει· χρώμεθα γὰρ τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κατά τινας χρόνους ὡς κακῷ, τῷ δὲ κακῷ τἄμπαλιν ὡς ἀγαθῷ. καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζομεν, οὐχ ἵνα πάντως τοῖς ὀλίγοις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν τὰ πολλά, τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἀρκώμεθα, πεπεισμένοι γνησίως ὅτι ἥδιστα πολυτελείας ἀπολαύουσιν οἱ ἥκιστα ταύτης δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν πᾶν εὐπόριστόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κενὸν δυσπόριστον. οἱ γὰρ λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ διαίτῃ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν

ἅπαξ τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ’ ἔνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῇ·

καὶ μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέγκηται. τὸ συνεθίζειν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἁπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελέσι διαίταις καὶ ὑγιείας ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρήσεις ἄοκνον ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἐκ διαλειμμάτων προσερχομένους κρεῖττον ἡμᾶς διατίθησι καὶ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἀφόβους παρασκευάζει.

“Ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν.

οὐ γὰρ πότοι καὶ κῶμοι συνείροντες οὐδ’ ἀπολαύσεις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν οὐδ’ ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα φέρει πολυτελὴς τράπεζα, τὸν ἡδὺν γεννᾷ βίον, ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμὸς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐξερευνῶν πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ τὰς δόξας ἐξελαύνων ἐξ ὧν πλεῖστος τὰς ψυχὰς καταλαμβάνει θόρυβος. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν φρόνησις· διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφίας τιμιώτερον ὑπάρχει φρόνησις, ἐξ ἧς αἱ λοιπαὶ πᾶσαι πεφύκασιν ἀρεταί, διδάσκουσα ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως· συμπεφύκασι γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῷ ζῆν ἡδέως, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡδέως τούτων ἐστὶν ἀχώριστον.

“Ἐπεὶ τίνα νομίζεις εἶναι κρείττονα τοῦ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ὅσια δοξάζοντος καὶ περὶ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς ἀφόβως ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιλελογισμένου τέλος, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρας ὡς ἔστιν εὐσυμπλήρωτόν τε καὶ εὐπόριστον διαλαμβάνοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ὡς ἢ χρόνους ἢ πόνους ἔχει βραχεῖς, τὴν δὲ ὑπό τινων δεσπότιν εἰσαγομένην πάντων διαγελῶντος εἱμαρμένην καὶ μᾶλλον ἃ μὲν κατ’ ἀνάγκην γίγνεσθαι λέγοντος, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης, ἃ δὲ παρ’ ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἄστατον ὁρᾶν, τὸ δὲ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἀδέσποτον, ᾧ καὶ τὸ μεμπτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον παρακολουθεῖν πέφυκεν

(ἐπεὶ κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ περὶ θεῶν μύθῳ κατακολουθεῖν ἢ τῇ τῶν φυσικῶν εἱμαρμένῃ δουλεύειν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα παραιτήσεως ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ τιμῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀπαραίτητον ἔχει τὴν ἀνάγκην), τὴν δὲ τύχην οὔτε θεόν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντος (οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀτάκτως θεῷ πράττεται) οὔτε ἀβέβαιον αἰτίαν (οὐκ οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ἐκ ταύτης πρὸς τὸ μακαρίως ζῆν ἀνθρώποις δίδοσθαι, ἀρχὰς μέντοι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ὑπὸ ταύτης χορηγεῖσθαι),

κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντος εὐλογίστως ἀτυχεῖν ἢ ἀλογίστως εὐτυχεῖν· βέλτιον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τὸ καλῶς κριθὲν μὴ ὀρθωθῆναι διὰ ταύτην.

“Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις συγγενῆ μελέτα πρὸς σεαυτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πρός τε τὸν ὅμοιον σεαυτῷ, καὶ οὐδέποτε οὔθ’ ὕπαρ οὔτ’ ὄναρ διαταραχθήσῃ, ζήσεις δὲ ὡς θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις. οὐθὲν γὰρ ἔοικε θνητῷ ζῴῳ ζῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἀγαθοῖς.

Μαντικὴν δ’ ἅπασαν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἐπιτομῇ. καί φησι· μαντικὴ οὖσα ἀνύπαρκτος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑπαρκτή, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα γινόμενα.

Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω διείλεκται ἀλλαχόθι.

Διαφέρεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν καταστηματικὴν οὐκ ἐγκρίνουσι, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἐν κινήσει· ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέραν * * ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ὥς φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τέλους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ βίων καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ φιλοσόφους ἐπιστολῇ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων

καὶ Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ Τιμοκράτει λέγουσιν οὕτω· νοουμένης δὲ ἡδονῆς τῆς τε κατὰ κίνησιν καὶ τῆς καταστηματικῆς. ὁ δ’ Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἱρέσεων οὕτω λέγει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀταραξία καὶ ἀπονία καταστηματικαί εἰσιν ἡδοναί· ἡ δὲ χαρὰ καὶ ἡ εὐφροσύνη κατὰ κίνησιν ἐνεργείᾳ βλέπονται.

Ἔτι πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναϊκούς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χείρους τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῶν ψυχικῶν, κολάζεσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας σώματι· ὁ δὲ τὰς ψυχικάς. τὴν γοῦν σάρκα τὸ παρὸν μόνον χειμάζειν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον. οὕτως οὖν καὶ μείζονας ἡδονὰς εἶναι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀποδείξει δὲ χρῆται τοῦ τέλος εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν τῷ τὰ ζῷα ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι τῇ μὲν εὐαρεστεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ πόνῳ προσκρούειν φυσικῶς καὶ χωρὶς λόγου. αὐτοπαθῶς οὖν φεύγομεν τὴν ἀλγηδόνα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καταβιβρωσκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ χιτῶνος βοᾷ

δάκνων ἰύζων· ἀμφὶ δ’ ἔστενον πέτραι

Λοκρῶν τ’ ὄρειοι πρῶνες Εὐβοίας τ’ ἄκραι.

Διὰ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς αἱρεῖσθαι, οὐ δι’ αὐτάς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἰατρικὴν διὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν, καθά φησι καὶ Διογένης ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἐπιλέκτων, ὃς καὶ διαγωγὴν λέγει τὴν ἀγωγήν. ὁ δ’ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ἀχώριστόν φησι τῆς ἡδονῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνην· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα χωρίζεσθαι, οἷον βρωτά.

Καὶ φέρε οὖν δὴ νῦν τὸν κολοφῶνα, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιθῶμεν τοῦ παντὸς συγγράμματος καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰς Κυρίας αὐτοῦ δόξας παραθέμενοι καὶ ταύταις τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα κατακλείσαντες, τέλει χρησάμενοι τῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀρχῇ.

[I.] Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται· ἐν ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον. [ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησι τοὺς θεοὺς λόγῳ θεωρητούς, οὓς μὲν κατ’ ἀριθμὸν ὑφεστῶτας, οὓς δὲ καθ’ ὁμοείδειαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐπιρρύσεως τῶν ὁμοίων εἰδώλων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποτετελεσμένωι ἀνθρωποειδῶς.]

[II.] Ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ’ ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

[III.] Ὅρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἡ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. ὅπου δ’ ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῇ, καθ’ ὃν ἂν χρόνον ᾖ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ τὸ λυπούμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφότερον.

[IV.] Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἡδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμμένει. αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἢ περ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.

[V.] Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίωσ ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. ὅτῳ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὗ ζῆν φρονίμως, καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ἡδέως ζῆν.

[VI.] Ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἦν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν ποτε τοῦθ’ οἷός τ’ ᾖ παρασκευάζεσθαι.

[VII.] Ἔνδοξοι καὶ περίβλεπτοί τινες ἐβουλήθησαν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀσφάλειαν οὕτω νομίζοντες περιποιήσεσθαι. ὥστ’ εἰ μὲν ἀσφαλὴς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων βίος, ἀπέλαβον τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀσφαλής, οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὗ ἕνεκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως οἰκεῖον ὠρέχθησαν.

[VIII.] Οὐδεμία ἡδονὴ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ κακόν· ἀλλὰ τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίους

ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὀχλήσεις τῶν ἡδονῶν.

[IX.] Εἰ κατεπυκνοῦτο πᾶσα ἡδονή, καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ περὶ ὅλον τὸ ἄθροισμα ὑπῆρχεν ἢ τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη τῆς φύσεως, οὐκ ἄν ποτε διέφερον ἀλλήλων αἱ ἡδοναί.

[X.] Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τούς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι ἐμεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν εἰσπληρουμένοις τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅ περ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.

[XI.] Εἰ μηθὲν ἡμᾶς αἱ τῶν μετεώρων ὑποψίαι ἠνώχλουν καὶ αἱ περὶ θανάτου, μή ποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ᾖ τι, ἔτι τε τὸ μὴ κατανοεῖν τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἀλγηδόνων καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, οὐκ ἂν προσεδεόμεθα φυσιολογίας.

[XII.] Οὐκ ἦν τὸ φοβούμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδότα τίς ἡ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ’ ὑποπτευόμενόν τι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.

[XIII.] Οὐθὲν ὄφελος ἦν τὴν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστώτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ.

[XIV.] Τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τινὸς δυνάμει τε ἐξερειστικὴ καὶ εὐπορίᾳ εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια.

[XV.] Ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ὥρισται καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν· ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτει.

[XVI.] Βραχέα σοφῷ τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διῴκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικήσει.

[XVII.] Ὁ δίκαιος ἀταρακτότατος, ὁ δ’ ἄδικος πλείστης ταραχῆς γέμων.

[XVIII.] Οὐκ ἐπαύξεται ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡ ἡδονή, ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ τὸ κατ’ ἔνδειαν ἀλγοῦν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ποικίλλεται. τῆς δὲ διανοίας τὸ πέρας τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀπεγέννησεν ἥ τε τούτων αὐτῶν ἐκλόγησις καὶ τῶν ὁμογενῶν τούτοις, ὅσα τοὺς μεγίστους φόβους παρεσκεύαζε τῇ διανοίᾳ.

[XIX.] Ὁ ἄπειρος χρόνος ἴσην ἔχει τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ ὁ πεπερασμένος, ἐάν τις αὐτῆς τὰ πέρατα καταμετρήσῃ τῷ λογισμῷ.

[XX.] Ἡ μὲν σὰρξ ἀπέλαβε τὰ πέρατα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄπειρα, καὶ ἄπειρος αὐτὴν χρόνος παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ διάνοια τοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τέλους καὶ πέρατος λαβοῦσα τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰῶνος φόβους ἐκλύσασα τὸν παντελῆ βίον παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ οὐθὲν ἔτι τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνου προσεδεήθη· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἔφυγε τὴν ἡδονήν, οὐθ’ ἡνίκα τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τὰ πράγματα παρεσκεύαζεν, ὡς ἐλλείπουσά τι τοῦ ἀρίστου βίου κατέστρεφεν.

[XXI.] Ὁ τὰ πέρατα τοῦ βίου κατειδὼς οἶδεν, ὡς εὐπόριστόν ἐστι τὸ τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ’ ἔνδειαν ἐξαιροῦν καὶ τὸ τὸν ὅλον βίον παντελῆ καθιστάν· ὥστ’ οὐδὲν προσδεῖται πραγμάτων ἀγῶνας κεκτημένων.

[XXII.] Τὸ ὑφεστηκὸς δεῖ τέλος ἐπιλογίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἐφ’ ἣν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἀνάγομεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα ἀκρισίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἔσται μεστά.

[XXIII.] Εἰ μάχῃ πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, οὐχ ἕξεις οὐδ’ ἃς ἂν φῇς αὐτῶν διεψεῦσθαι πρὸς τί ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κρίνῃς.

[XXIV.] Εἴ τιν’ ἐκβαλεῖς ἁπλῶς αἴσθησιν καὶ μὴ διαιρήσεις τὸ δοξαζόμενον κατὰ τὸ προσμένον καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας, συνταράξεις καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰσθήσεις τῇ ματαίῳ δόξῃ, ὥστε τὸ κριτήριον ἅπαν ἐκβαλεῖς. εἰ δὲ βεβαιώσεις καὶ τὸ προσμένον ἅπαν ἐν ταῖς δοξαστικαῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐπιμαρτύρησιν, οὐκ ἐκλείψεις τὸ διεψευσμένον· ὡς τετηρηκὼς ἔσῃ πᾶσαν ἀμφισβήτησιν κατὰ πᾶσαν κρίσιν τοῦ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς.

[XXV.] Εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπανοίσεις ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἴ τε φυγὴν εἴ τε δίωξιν ποιούμενος εἰς ἄλλο τι, οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι τοῖς λόγοις αἱ πράξεις ἀκόλουθοι.

[XXVI.] Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ὅσαι μὴ ἐπ’ ἀλγοῦν ἐπανάγουσιν ἐὰν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλ’ εὐδιάχυτον τὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχουσιν, ὅταν δυσπόριστοι ἢ βλάβης ἀπεργαστικαὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι.

[XXVII.] Ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις.

[XXVIII.] Ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη θαρρεῖν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεινὸν μηδὲ πολυχρόνιον, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὡρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίαις μάλιστα κατεῖδε συντελουμένην.

[XXIX.] Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτ’ ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι. [φυσικὰς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἡγεῖται ὁ Ἐπίκουρος τὰς ἀλγηδόνος ἀπολυούσας, ὡς ποτὸν ἐπὶ δίψους· φυσικὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας δὲ τὰς ποικιλλούσας μόνον τὴν ἡδονήν, μὴ ὑπεξαιρουμένας δὲ τὸ ἄλγημα, ὡς πολυτελῆ σιτία· οὔτε δὲ φυσικὰς οὔτ’ ἀναγκαίας, ὡς στεφάνους καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀναθέσεις.]

[XXX.] Ἐν αἷς τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, μὴ ἐπ’ ἀλγοῦν δὲ ἐπαναγουσῶν ἐὰν μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, ὑπάρχει ἡ σπουδὴ σύντονος, παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν αὗται γίνονται καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν οὐ διαχέονται ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κενοδοξίαν.

[XXXI.] Τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιόν ἐστι σύμβολον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλήλους μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXII.] Ὅσα τῶν ζῴων μὴ ἠδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν ἄλλα μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐθὲν ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἄδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα μὴ ἠδύνατο ἢ μὴ ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXIII.] Οὐκ ἦν τι καθ’ ἑαυτὸ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς μετ’ ἀλλήλων συστροφαῖς καθ’ ὁπηλίκους δή ποτε ἀεὶ τόπους συνθήκη τις ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

[XXXIV.] Ἡ ἀδικία οὐ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν κακόν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν φόβῳ, εἰ μὴ λήσει τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐφεστηκότας κολαστάς.

[XXXV.] Οὐκ ἔστι τὸν λάθρᾳ τι κινοῦντα ὧν συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πιστεύειν ὅτι λήσει, κἂν μυριάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνῃ. μέχρι γὰρ καταστροφῆς ἄδηλον εἰ καὶ λήσει.

[XXXVI.] Κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι τὸ δίκαιον τὸ αὐτό, συμφέρον γάρ τι ἦν ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίᾳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον χώρας καὶ ὅσων δή ποτε αἰτιῶν οὐ πᾶσι συνέπεται τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον εἶναι.

[XXXVII.] Τὸ μὲν ἐπιμαρτυρούμενον ὅτι συμφέρει ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας

τῶν νομισθέντων εἶναι δικαίων, ἔχει τὸν τοῦ δικαίου χαρακτῆρα, ἐάν τε τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσι γένηται ἐάν τε μὴ τὸ αὐτό. ἐάν δὲ νόμον θῆταί τις, μὴ ἀποβαίνῃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίας, οὐκέτι τοῦτο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν ἔχει. κἂν μεταπίπτῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον συμφέρον, χρόνον δέ τινα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν ἐναρμόττῃ, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἦν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτοὺς συνταράττουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἁπλῶς εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν.

[XXXVIII.] Ἔνθα μὴ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν περιεστώτων πραγμάτων ἀνεφάνη μὴ ἁρμόττοντα εἰς τὴν πρόληψιν τὰ νομισθέντα δίκαια ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα δίκαια. ἔνθα δὲ καινῶν γενομένων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ἔτι συνέφερε τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια κείμενα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τότε μὲν ἦν δίκαια, ὅτε συνέφερεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν τῶν συμπολιτευομένων· ὕστερον δ’ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι δίκαια, ὅτε μὴ συνέφερεν.

[XXXIX.] Ὁ τὸ μὴ θαρροῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἄριστα συστησάμενος οὗτος τὰ μὲν δυνατὰ ὁμόφυλα κατεσκευάσατο· τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλά γε· ὅσα δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀνεπίμεικτος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξωρίσαθ’ ὅσα τούτων λυσιτελῆ πράττειν.

[XL.] Ὅσοι τὴν δύναμιν ἔσχον τοῦ τὸ θαρρεῖν μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν ὁμορούντων παρασκευάσασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐβίωσαν μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἥδιστα τὸ βεβαιότατον πίστωμα ἔχοντες, καὶ πληρεστάτην οἰκειότητα ἀπολαβόντες οὐκ ὠδύραντο ὡς πρὸς ἔλεον τὴν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος προκαταστροφήν.

English translation

BOOK I

Prologue

There are some who say that the study of philosophy had its beginning among the barbarians. They urge that the Persians have had their Magi, the Babylonians or Assyrians their Chaldaeans, and the Indians their Gymnosophists; and among the Celts and Gauls there are the people called Druids or Holy Ones, for which they cite as authorities the Magicus of Aristotle and Sotion in the twenty-third book of his Succession of Philosophers. Also they say that Mochus was a Phoenician, Zamolxis a Thracian, and Atlas a Libyan.

If we may believe the Egyptians, Hephaestus was the son of the Nile, and with him philosophy began, priests and prophets being its chief exponents.

Hephaestus lived 48,863 years before Alexander of Macedon, and in the interval there occurred 373 solar and 832 lunar eclipses.

The date of the Magians, beginning with Zoroaster the Persian, was 5000 years before the fall of Troy, as given by Hermodorus the Platonist in his work on mathematics; but Xanthus the Lydian reckons 6000 years from Zoroaster to the expedition of Xerxes, and after that event he places a long line of Magians in succession, bearing the names of Ostanas, Astrampsychos, Gobryas, and Pazatas, down to the conquest of Persia by Alexander.

These authors forget that the achievements which they attribute to the barbarians belong to the Greeks, with whom not merely philosophy but the human race itself began. For instance, Musaeus is claimed by Athens, Linus by Thebes. It is said that the former, the son of Eumolpus, was the first to compose a genealogy of the gods and to construct a sphere, and that he maintained that all things proceed from unity and are resolved again into unity. He died at Phalerum, and this is his epitaph:
Musaeus, to his sire Eumolpus dear,

In Phalerean soil lies buried here;
and the Eumolpidae at Athens get their name from the father of Musaeus.

Linus again was (so it is said) the son of Hermes and the Muse Urania. He composed a poem describing the creation of the world, the courses of the sun and moon, and the growth of animals and plants. His poem begins with the line:
Time was when all things grew up at once;
and this idea was borrowed by Anaxagoras when he declared that all things were originally together until Mind came and set them in order. Linus died in Euboea, slain by the arrow of Apollo, and this is his epitaph:
Here Theban Linus, whom Urania bore,

The fair-crowned Muse, sleeps on a foreign shore.
And thus it was from the Greeks that philosophy took its rise: its very name refuses to be translated into foreign speech.

But those who attribute its invention to barbarians bring forward Orpheus the Thracian, calling him a philosopher of whose antiquity there can be no doubt. Now, considering the sort of things

he said about the gods, I hardly know whether he ought to be called a philosopher; for what are we to make of one who does not scruple to charge the gods with all human suffering, and even the foul crimes wrought by the tongue amongst a few of mankind? The story goes that he met his death at the hands of women; but according to the epitaph at Dium in Macedonia he was slain by a thunderbolt; it runs as follows:

Here have the Muses laid their minstrel true,

The Thracian Orpheus whom Jove's thunder slew.

But the advocates of the theory that philosophy took its rise among the barbarians go on to explain the different forms it assumed in different countries. As to the Gymnosophists and Druids we are told that they uttered their philosophy in riddles, bidding men to reverence the gods, to abstain from wrongdoing, and to practise courage. That the Gymnosophists at all events despise even death itself is affirmed by Clitarchus in his twelfth book; he also says that the Chaldaeans apply themselves to astronomy and forecasting the future; while the Magi spend their time in the worship of the gods, in sacrifices and in prayers, implying that none but themselves have the ear of the gods. They propound their views concerning the being and origin of the gods, whom they hold to be fire, earth, and water; they condemn the use of images, and especially the error of attributing to the divinities difference of sex.

They hold discourse of justice, and deem it impious to practise cremation; but they see no impiety in marriage with a mother or daughter, as Sotion relates in his twenty-third book. Further, they practise divination and forecast the future, declaring that the gods appear to them in visible form. Moreover, they say that the air is full of shapes which stream forth like vapour and enter the eyes of keen-sighted seers. They prohibit personal ornament and the wearing of gold. Their dress is white, they make their bed on the ground, and their food is vegetables, cheese, and coarse bread; their staff is a reed and their custom is, so we are told, to stick it into the cheese and take up with it the part they eat.

With the art of magic they were wholly unacquainted, according to Aristotle in his Magicus and Dinon in the fifth book of his History Dinon tells us that the name Zoroaster, literally interpreted, means star-worshipper; and Hermodorus agrees with him in this. Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue On Philosophy declares that the Magi are more ancient than the Egyptians; and further, that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Oromasdes, the other Hades or Arimanius. This is confirmed by Hermippus in his first book about the Magi, Eudoxus in his Voyage round the World, and Theopompus in the eighth book of his Philippica.

The last-named author says that according to the Magi men will live in a future life and be immortal, and that the world will endure through their invocations. This is again confirmed by Eudemus of Rhodes. But Hecataeus relates that according to them the gods are subject to birth. Clearchus of Soli in his tract On Education further makes the Gymnosophists to be descended from the Magi; and some trace the Jews also to the same origin. Furthermore, those who have written about the Magi criticize Herodotus. They urge that Xerxes would never have cast javelins at the sun nor have let down fetters into the sea, since in the creed of the Magi sun and sea are gods. But that statues of the gods should be destroyed by Xerxes was natural enough.

The philosophy of the Egyptians is described as follows so far as relates to the gods and to justice. They say that matter was the first principle, next the four elements were derived from

matter, and thus living things of every species were produced.

The sun and the moon are gods bearing the names of Osiris and Isis respectively; they make use of the beetle, the dragon, the hawk, and other creatures as symbols of divinity, according to Manetho in his Epitome of Physical Doctrines, and Hecataeus in the first book of his work On the Egyptian Philosophy. They also set up statues and temples to these sacred animals because they do not know the true form of the deity.

They hold that the universe is created and perishable, and that it is spherical in shape. They say that the stars consist of fire, and that, according as the fire in them is mixed, so events happen upon earth; that the moon is eclipsed when it falls into the earth's shadow; that the soul survives death and passes into other bodies; that rain is caused by change in the atmosphere; of all other phenomena they give physical explanations, as related by Hecataeus and Aristagoras. They also laid down laws on the subject of justice, which they ascribed to Hermes; and they deified those animals which are serviceable to man. They also claimed to have invented geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic. Thus much concerning the invention of philosophy.

But the first to use the term, and to call himself a philosopher or lover of wisdom, was Pythagoras; for, said he, no man is wise, but God alone. Heraclides of Pontus, in his De mortua, makes him say this at Sicyon in conversation with Leon, who was the prince of that city or of Phlius. All too quickly the study was called wisdom and its professor a sage, to denote his attainment of mental perfection; while the student who took it up was a philosopher or lover of wisdom. Sophists was another name for the wise men, and not only for philosophers but for the poets also. And so Cratinus when praising Homer and Hesiod in his Archilochi gives them the title of sophist.

The men who were commonly regarded as sages were the following: Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, Pittacus. To these are added Anacharsis the Scythian, Myson of Chen, Pherecydes of Syros, Epimenides the Cretan; and by some even Pisistratus the tyrant. So much for the sages or wise men.

But philosophy, the pursuit of wisdom, has had a twofold origin; it started with Anaximander on the one hand, with Pythagoras on the other. The former was a pupil of Thales, Pythagoras was taught by Pherecydes. The one school was called Ionian, because Thales, a Milesian and therefore an Ionian, instructed Anaximander; the other school was called Italian from Pythagoras, who worked for the most part in Italy.

And the one school, that of Ionia, terminates with Clitomachus and Chrysippus and Theophrastus, that of Italy with Epicurus. The succession passes from Thales through Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, to Socrates, who introduced ethics or moral philosophy; from Socrates to his pupils the Socratics, and especially to Plato, the founder of the Old Academy; from Plato, through Speusippus and Xenocrates, the succession passes to Polemo, Crantor, and Crates, Arcesilaus, founder of the Middle Academy, Lacydes, founder of the New Academy, Carneades, and Clitomachus. This line brings us to Clitomachus.

There is another which ends with Chrysippus, that is to say by passing from Socrates to Antisthenes, then to Diogenes the Cynic, Crates of Thebes, Zeno of Citium, Cleanthes, Chrysippus. And yet again another ends with Theophrastus; thus from Plato it passes to Aristotle, and from Aristotle to Theophrastus. In this manner the school of Ionia comes to an end.

In the Italian school the order of succession is as follows: first Pherecydes, next Pythagoras, next his son Telauges, then Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno of Elea, Leucippus, Democritus, who had many pupils, in particular Nausiphanes [and Naucydes], who were teachers of Epicurus.

Philosophers may be divided into dogmatists and sceptics: all those who make assertions about things assuming that they can be known are dogmatists; while all who suspend their judgement on the ground that things are unknowable are sceptics. Again, some philosophers left writings behind them, while others wrote nothing at all, as was the case according to some authorities with Socrates, Stilpo, Philippus, Menedemus, Pyrrho, Theodorus, Carneades, Bryson; some add Pythagoras and Aristo of Chios, except that they wrote a few letters. Others wrote no more than one treatise each, as Melissus, Parmenides, Anaxagoras. Many works were written by Zeno, more by Xenophanes, more by Democritus, more by Aristotle, more by Epicurus, and still more by Chrysippus.

Some schools took their name from cities, as the Elians and the Megarians, the Eretrians and the Cyrenaics; others from localities, as the Academics and the Stoics; others from incidental circumstances, as the Peripatetics; others again from derisive nicknames, as the Cynics; others from their temperaments, as the Eudaemonists or Happiness School; others from a conceit they entertained, as Truthlovers, Refutationists, and Reasoners from Analogy; others again from their teachers, as Socratics, Epicureans, and the like; some take the name of Physicists from their investigation of nature, others that of Moralists because they discuss morals; while those who are occupied with verbal jugglery are styled Dialecticians.

Philosophy has three parts, physics, ethics, and dialectic or logic. Physics is the part concerned with the universe and all that it contains; ethics that concerned with life and all that has to do with us; while the processes of reasoning employed by both form the province of dialectic. Physics flourished down to the time of Archelaus; ethics, as we have said, started with Socrates; while dialectic goes as far back as Zeno of Elea. In ethics there have been ten schools: the Academic, the Cyrenaic, the Elian, the Megarian, the Cynic, the Eretrian, the Dialectic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean.

The founders of these schools were: of the Old Academy, Plato; of the Middle Academy, Arcesilaus; of the New Academy, Lacydes; of the Cyrenaic, Aristippus of Cyrene; of the Elian, Phaedo of Elis; of the Megarian, Euclides of Megara; of the Cynic, Antisthenes of Athens; of the Eretrian, Menedemus of Eretria; of the Dialectical school, Clitomachus of Carthage; of the Peripatetic, Aristotle of Stagira; of the Stoic, Zeno of Citium; while the Epicurean school took its name from Epicurus himself.

Hippobotus in his work On Philosophical Sects declares that there are nine sects or schools, and gives them in this order: (1) Megarian, (2) Eretrian, (3) Cyrenaic, (4) Epicurean, (5) Annicerean,, (6) Theodorean, (7) Zenonian or Stoic, (8) Old Academic, (9) Peripatetic.

He passes over the Cynic, Elian, and Dialectical schools; for as to the Pyrrhonians, so indefinite are their conclusions that hardly any authorities allow them to be a sect; some allow their claim in certain respects, but not in others. It would seem, however, that they are a sect, for we use the term of those who in their attitude to appearance follow or seem to follow some principle; and on this ground we should be justified in calling the Sceptics a sect. But if we are to understand by sect a bias in favour of coherent positive doctrines, they could no longer be called a sect,, for they have no positive doctrines. So much for the beginnings of philosophy, its

subsequent developments, its various parts, and the number of the philosophic sects.

One word more: not long ago an Eclectic school was introduced by Potamo of Alexandria,, who made a selection from the tenets of all the existing sects. As he himself states in his Elements of Philosophy, he takes as criteria of truth (1) that by which the judgement is formed, namely, the ruling principle of the soul; (2) the instrument used, for instance the most accurate perception. His universal principles are matter and the efficient cause, quality, and place; for that out of which and that by which a thing is made, as well as the quality with which and the place in which it is made, are principles. The end to which he refers all actions is life made perfect in all virtue, natural advantages of body and environment being indispensable to its attainment.

It remains to speak of the philosophers themselves, and in the first place of Thales.

Chapter 1. THALES (floruit circa 585 B.C., the date of the eclipse)

Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus are agreed that Thales was the son of Examyas and Cleobulina, and belonged to the Thelidae who are Phoenicians, and among the noblest of the descendants of Cadmus and Agenor. As Plato testifies, he was one of the Seven Sages. He was the first to receive the name of Sage, in the archonship of Damasias at Athens, when the term was applied to all the Seven Sages, as Demetrius of Phalerum mentions in his List of Archons. He was admitted to citizenship at Miletus when he came to that town along with Nileos, who had been expelled from Phoenicia. Most writers, however, represent him as a genuine Milesian and of a distinguished family.

After engaging in politics he became a student of nature. According to some he left nothing in writing; for the Nautical Astronomy attributed to him is said to be by Phocus of Samos. Callimachus knows him as the discoverer of the Ursa Minor; for he says in his Iambics:
Who first of men the course made plain

Of those small stars we call the Wain,

Whereby Phoenicians sail the main..
But according to others he wrote nothing but two treatises, one On the Solstice and one On the Equinox, regarding all other matters as incognizable. He seems by some accounts to have been the first to study astronomy,, the first to predict eclipses of the sun and to fix the solstices; so Eudemus in his History of Astronomy. It was this which gained for him the admiration of Xenophanes and Herodotus and the notice of Heraclitus and Democritus.

And some, including Choerilus the poet, declare that he was the first to maintain the immortality of the soul. He was the first to determine the sun’s course from solstice to solstice, and according to some the first to declare the size of the sun to be one seven hundred and twentieth part of the solar circle, and the size of the moon to be the same fraction of the lunar circle. He was the first to give the last day of the month the name of Thirtieth, and the first, some say, to discuss physical problems.

Aristotle and Hippias affirm that, arguing from the magnet and from amber, he attributed a soul or life even to inanimate objects. Pamphila states that, having learnt geometry from the Egyptians, he was the first to inscribe a right-angled triangle in a circle, whereupon he sacrificed an ox.

Others tell this tale of Pythagoras, amongst them Apollodorus the arithmetician. (It was

Pythagoras who developed to their furthest extent the discoveries attributed by Callimachus in his Iambics to Euphorbus the Phrygian, I mean scalene triangles and whatever else has to do with theoretical geometry.)

Thales is also credited with having given excellent advice on political matters. For instance, when Croesus sent to Miletus offering terms of alliance, he frustrated the plan; and this proved the salvation of the city when Cyrus obtained the victory. Heraclides makes Thales himself say that he had always lived in solitude as a private individual and kept aloof from State affairs.

Some authorities say that he married and had a son Cybisthus; others that he remained unmarried and adopted his sister's son, and that when he was asked why he had no children of his own he replied because he loved children. The story is told that, when his mother tried to force him to marry, he replied it was too soon, and when she pressed him again later in life, he replied that it was too late. Hieronymus of Rhodes in the second book of his Scattered Notes relates that, in order to show how easy it is to grow rich, Thales, foreseeing that it would be a good season for olives, rented all the oil-mills and thus amassed a fortune.

His doctrine was that water is the universal primary substance, and that the world is animate and full of divinities. He is said to have discovered the seasons of the year and divided it into 365 days.

He had no instructor, except that he went to Egypt and spent some time with the priests there. Hieronymus informs us that he measured the height of the pyramids by the shadow they cast, taking the observation at the hour when our shadow is of the same length as ourselves. He lived, as Minyas relates, with Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus.

The well-known story of the tripod found by the fishermen and sent by the people of Miletus to all the Wise Men in succession runs as follows.

Certain Ionian youths having purchased of the Milesian fishermen their catch of fish, a dispute arose over the tripod which had formed part of the catch. Finally the Milesians referred the question to Delphi, and the god gave an oracle in this form:
Who shall possess the tripod? Thus replies

Apollo: Whosoever is most wise.
Accordingly they give it to Thales, and he to another, and so on till it comes to Solon, who, with the remark that the god was the most wise, sent it off to Delphi. Callimachus in his Iambics has a different version of the story, which he took from Maeandrius of Miletus. It is that Bathycles, an Arcadian, left at his death a bowl with the solemn injunction that it should be given to him who had done most good by his wisdom. So it was given to Thales, went the round of all the sages, and came back to Thales again.

And he sent it to Apollo at Didyma, with this dedication, according to Callimachus:
Lord of the folk of Neleus' line,

Thales, of Greeks adjudged most wise,

Brings to thy Didymaean shrine

His offering, a twice-won prize.
But the prose inscription is:
Thales the Milesian, son of Examyas [dedicates this] to Delphinian Apollo after twice winning the

prize from all the Greeks.
The bowl was carried from place to place by the son of Bathycles, whose name was Thyrion, so it is stated by Eleusis in his work On Achilles, and Alexo the Myndian in the ninth book of his Legends.

But Eudoxus of Cnidos and Euanthes of Miletus agree that a certain man who was a friend of Croesus received from the king a golden goblet in order to bestow it upon the wisest of the Greeks; this man gave it to Thales, and from him it passed to others and so to Chilon.

Chilon laid the question Who is a wiser man than I? before the Pythian Apollo, and the god replied Myson. Of him we shall have more to say presently. (In the list of the Seven Sages given by Eudoxus, Myson takes the place of Cleobulus; Plato also includes him by omitting Periander.) The answer of the oracle respecting him was as follows:

Myson of Chen in Oeta; this is he

Who for wiseheartedness surpasseth thee;
and it was given in reply to a question put by Anacharsis. Daimachus the Platonist and Clearchus allege that a bowl was sent by Croesus to Pittacus and began the round of the Wise Men from him.

The story told by Andron in his work on The Tripod is that the Argives offered a tripod as a prize of virtue to the wisest of the Greeks; Aristodemus of Sparta was adjudged the winner but retired in favour of Chilon.

Aristodemus is mentioned by Alcaeus thus:
Surely no witless word was this of the Spartan, I deem,

Wealth is the worth of a man; and poverty void of esteem.
Some relate that a vessel with its freight was sent by Periander to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, and that, when it was wrecked in Coan waters, the tripod was afterwards found by certain fishermen. However, Phanodicus declares it to have been found in Athenian waters and thence brought to Athens. An assembly was held and it was sent to Bias;

for what reason shall be explained in the life of Bias.

There is yet another version, that it was the work of Hephaestus presented by the god to Pelops on his marriage. Thence it passed to Menelaus and was carried off by Paris along with Helen and was thrown by her into the Coan sea, for she said it would be a cause of strife. In process of time certain people of Lebedus, having purchased a catch of fish thereabouts, obtained possession of the tripod, and, quarrelling with the fishermen about it, put in to Cos, and, when they could not settle the dispute, reported the fact to Miletus, their mother-city. The Milesians, when their embassies were disregarded, made war upon Cos; many fell on both sides, and an oracle pronounced that the tripod should be given to the wisest; both parties to the dispute agreed upon Thales. After it had gone the round of the sages, Thales dedicated it to Apollo of Didyma.

The oracle which the Coans received was on this wise:
Hephaestus cast the tripod in the sea;

Until it quit the city there will be

No end to strife, until it reach the seer

Whose wisdom makes past, present, future clear.

That of the Milesians beginning Who shall possess the tripod? has been quoted above. So much for this version of the story.

Hermippus in his Lives refers to Thales the story which is told by some of Socrates, namely, that he used to say there were three blessings for which he was grateful to Fortune: first, that I was born a human being and not one of the brutes; next, that I was born a man and not a woman; thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian.

It is said that once, when he was taken out of doors by an old woman in order that he might observe the stars, he fell into a ditch, and his cry for help drew from the old woman the retort, How can you expect to know all about the heavens, Thales, when you cannot even see what is just before your feet? Timon too knows him as an astronomer, and praises him in the Silli where he says:
Thales among the Seven the sage astronomer.

His writings are said by Lobon of Argos to have run to some two hundred lines. His statue is said to bear this inscription:
Pride of Miletus and Ionian lands,

Wisest astronomer, here Thales stands.

Of songs still sung these verses belong to him:
Many words do not declare an understanding heart.

Seek one sole wisdom.

Choose one sole good.

For thou wilt check the tongues of chatterers prating without end.

Here too are certain current apophthegms assigned to him:
Of all things that are, the most ancient is God, for he is uncreated.

The most beautiful is the universe, for it is God’s workmanship.

The greatest is space, for it holds all things.

The swiftest is mind, for it speeds everywhere.

The strongest, necessity, for it masters all.

The wisest, time, for it brings everything to light.
He held there was no difference between life and death. Why then, said one, do you not die? Because, said he, there is no difference.

To the question which is older, day or night, he replied: Night is the older by one day. Some one asked him whether a man could hide an evil deed from the gods: No, he replied, nor yet an evil thought. To the adulterer who inquired if he should deny the charge upon oath he replied that perjury was no worse than adultery. Being asked what is difficult, he replied, To know oneself. What is easy? To give advice to another. What is most pleasant? Success. What is the divine? That which has neither beginning nor end. To the question what was the strangest thing he had ever seen, his answer was, An aged tyrant. How can one best bear adversity? If he should see his enemies in worse plight. How shall we lead the best and most righteous life? By refraining from doing what we blame in others.

What man is happy? He who has a healthy body, a resourceful mind and a docile nature. He tells

us to remember friends, whether present or absent; not to pride ourselves upon outward appearance, but to study to be beautiful in character. Shun ill-gotten gains, he says. Let not idle words prejudice thee against those who have shared thy confidence. Whatever provision thou hast made for thy parents, the same must thou expect from thy children. He explained the overflow of the Nile as due to the etesian winds which, blowing in the contrary direction, drove the waters upstream.

Apollodorus in his Chronology places his birth in the first year of the 35th Olympiad [640 B.C.].

He died at the age of 78 (or, according to Sosicrates, of 90 years); for he died in the 58th Olympiad, being contemporary with Croesus, whom he undertook to take across the Halys without building a bridge, by diverting the river.

There have lived five other men who bore the name of Thales, as enumerated by Demetrius of Magnesia in his Dictionary of Men of the Same Name:

1. A rhetorician of Callatia, with an affected style.

2. A painter of Sicyon, of great gifts.

3. A contemporary of Hesiod, Homer and Lycurgus, in very early times.

4. A person mentioned by Duris in his work On Painting.

5. An obscure person in more recent times who is mentioned by Dionysius in his Critical Writings.

Thales the Sage died as he was watching an athletic contest from heat, thirst, and the weakness incident to advanced age. And the inscription on his tomb is:
Here in a narrow tomb great Thales lies;

Yet his renown for wisdom reached the skies.
I may also cite one of my own, from my first book, Epigrams in Various Metres:
As Thales watched the games one festal day

The fierce sun smote him, and he passed away;

Zeus, thou didst well to raise him; his dim eyes

Could not from earth behold the starry skies.

To him belongs the proverb Know thyself, which Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers attributes to Phemonoë, though admitting that it was appropriated by Chilon.

This seems the proper place for a general notice of the Seven Sages, of whom we have such accounts as the following. Damon of Cyrene in his History of the Philosophers carps at all sages, but especially the Seven. Anaximenes remarks that they all applied themselves to poetry; Dicaearchus that they were neither sages nor philosophers, but merely shrewd men with a turn for legislation. Archetimus of Syracuse describes their meeting at the court of Cypselus, on which occasion he himself happened to be present; for which Ephorus substitutes a meeting without Thales at the court of Croesus. Some make them meet at the Pan-Ionian festival, at Corinth, and at Delphi.

Their utterances are variously reported, and are attributed now to one now to the other, for instance the following:
Chilon of Lacedaemon’s words are true:

Nothing too much; good comes from measure due.
Nor is there any agreement how the number is made up; for Maeandrius, in place of Cleobulus and Myson, includes Leophantus, son of Gorgiadas, of Lebedus or Ephesus, and Epimenides the Cretan in the list; Plato in his Protagoras admits Myson and leaves out Periander; Ephorus substitutes Anacharsis for Myson; others add Pythagoras to the Seven. Dicaearchus hands down four names fully recognized: Thales, Bias, Pittacus and Solon; and appends the names of six others, from whom he selects three: Aristodemus, Pamphylus, Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Cleobulus, Anacharsis, Periander. Others add Acusilaus, son of Cabas or Scabras, of Argos.

Hermippus in his work On the Sages reckons seventeen, from which number different people make different selections of seven. They are: Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Chilon, Myson, Cleobulus, Periander, Anacharsis, Acusilaus, Epimenides, Leophantus, Pherecydes, Aristodemus, Pythagoras, Lasos, son of Charmantides or Sisymbrinus, or, according to Aristoxenus, of Chabrinus, born at Hermione, Anaxagoras. Hippobotus in his List of Philosophers enumerates: Orpheus, Linus, Solon, Periander, Anacharsis, Cleobulus, Myson, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Epicharmus, Pythagoras.

Here follow the extant letters of Thales.

Thales to Pherecydes

I hear that you intend to be the first Ionian to expound theology to the Greeks. And perhaps it was a wise decision to make the book common property without taking advice, instead of entrusting it to any particular persons whatsoever, a course which has no advantages. However, if it would give you any pleasure, I am quite willing to discuss the subject of your book with you; and if you bid me come to Syros I will do so. For surely Solon of Athens and I would scarcely be sane if, after having sailed to Crete to pursue our inquiries there, and to Egypt to confer with the priests and astronomers, we hesitated to come to you. For Solon too will come, with your permission.

You, however, are so fond of home that you seldom visit Ionia and have no longing to see strangers, but, as I hope, apply yourself to one thing, namely writing, while we, who never write anything, travel all over Hellas and Asia.

Thales to Solon

If you leave Athens, it seems to me that you could most conveniently set up your abode at Miletus, which is an Athenian colony; for there you incur no risk. If you are vexed at the thought that we are governed by a tyrant, hating as you do all absolute rulers, you would at least enjoy the society of your friends. Bias wrote inviting you to Priene; and if you prefer the town of Priene for a residence, I myself will come and live with you.

Chapter 2. SOLON (archon 594 B.C.)

Solon, the son of Execestides, was born at Salamis. His first achievement was the σεισάχθεια or Law of Release, which he introduced at Athens; its effect was to ransom persons and property. For men used to borrow money on personal security, and many were forced from poverty to become serfs or daylabourers. He then first renounced his claim to a debt of seven talents due to his father, and encouraged others to follow his example. This law of his was called σεισάχθεια, and the reason is obvious.

He next went on to frame the rest of his laws, which would take time to enumerate, and inscribed them on the revolving pillars.

His greatest service was this: Megara and Athens laid rival claims to his birthplace Salamis, and after many defeats the Athenians passed a decree punishing with death any man who should propose a renewal of the Salaminian war. Solon, feigning madness, rushed into the Agora with a garland on his head; there he had his poem on Salamis read to the Athenians by the herald and roused them to fury. They renewed the war with the Megarians and, thanks to Solon, were victorious.

These were the lines which did more than anything else to inflame the Athenians:
Would I were citizen of some mean isle

Far in the Sporades! For men shall smile

And mock me for Athenian: Who is this?

An Attic slave who gave up Salamis;

and
Then let us fight for Salamis and fair fame,

Win the beloved isle, and purge our shame!
He also persuaded the Athenians to acquire the Thracian Chersonese.

And lest it should be thought that he had acquired Salamis by force only and not of right, he opened certain graves and showed that the dead were buried with their faces to the east, as was the custom of burial among the Athenians; further, that the tombs themselves faced the east, and that the inscriptions graven upon them named the deceased by their demes, which is a style peculiar to Athens. Some authors assert that in Homer's catalogue of the ships after the line:
Ajax twelve ships from Salamis commands,
Solon inserted one of his own:
And fixed their station next the Athenian bands.

Thereafter the people looked up to him, and would gladly have had him rule them as tyrant; he refused, and, early perceiving the designs of his kinsman Pisistratus (so we are told by Sosicrates), did his best to hinder them. He rushed into the Assembly armed with spear and shield, warned them of the designs of Pisistratus, and not only so, but declared his willingness to render assistance, in these words: Men of Athens, I am wiser than some of you and more courageous than others: wiser than those who fail to understand the plot of Pisistratus, more courageous than those who, though they see through it, keep silence through fear. And the members of the council, who were of Pisistratus' party, declared that he was mad: which made him say the lines:
A little while, and the event will show

To all the world if I be mad or no.

That he foresaw the tyranny of Pisistratus is proved by a passage from a poem of his:
On splendid lightning thunder follows straight,

Clouds the soft snow and flashing hail-stones bring;

So from proud men comes ruin, and their state

Falls unaware to slavery and a king.

When Pisistratus was already established, Solon, unable to move the people, piled his arms in front of the generals' quarters, and exclaimed, My country, I have served thee with my word and sword! Thereupon he sailed to Egypt and to Cyprus, and thence proceeded to the court of Croesus. There Croesus put the question, Whom do you consider happy? and Solon replied, Tellus of Athens, and Cleobis and Biton, and went on in words too familiar to be quoted here.

There is a story that Croesus in magnificent array sat himself down on his throne and asked Solon if he had ever seen anything more beautiful. Yes, was the reply, cocks and pheasants and peacocks; for they shine in nature's colours, which are ten thousand times more beautiful. After leaving that place he lived in Cilicia and founded a city which he called Soli after his own name. In it he settled some few Athenians, who in process of time corrupted the purity of Attic and were said to solecize. Note that the people of this town are called Solenses, the people of Soli in Cyprus Solii. When he learnt that Pisistratus was by this time tyrant, he wrote to the Athenians on this wise:

If ye have suffered sadly through your own wickedness, lay not the blame for this upon the gods. For it is you yourselves who gave pledges to your foes and made them great; this is why you bear the brand of slavery. Every one of you treadeth in the footsteps of the fox, yet in the mass ye have little sense. Ye look to the speech and fair words of a flatterer, paying no regard to any practical result.

Thus Solon. After he had gone into exile Pisistratus wrote to him as follows:

Pisistratus to Solon

I am not the only man who has aimed at a tyranny in Greece, nor am I, a descendant of Codrus, unfitted for the part. That is, I resume the privileges which the Athenians swore to confer upon Codrus and his family, although later they took them away. In everything else I commit no offence against God or man; but I leave to the Athenians the management of their affairs according to the ordinances established by you. And they are better governed than they would be under a democracy; for I allow no one to extend his rights, and though I am tyrant I arrogate to myself no undue share of reputation and honour, but merely such stated privileges as belonged to the kings in former times. Every citizen pays a tithe of his property, not to me but to a fund for defraying the cost of the public sacrifices or any other charges on the State or the expenditure on any war which may come upon us.

I do not blame you for disclosing my designs; you acted from loyalty to the city, not through any enmity to me, and further, in ignorance of the sort of rule which I was going to establish; since, if you had known, you would perhaps have tolerated me and not gone into exile. Wherefore return home, trusting my word, though it be not sworn, that Solon will suffer no harm from Pisistratus. For neither has any other enemy of mine suffered; of that you may be sure. And if you choose to become one of my friends, you will rank with the foremost, for I see no trace of treachery in you, nothing to excite mistrust; or if you wish to live at Athens on other terms, you have my permission. But do not on my account sever yourself from your country.

So far Pisistratus. To return to Solon: one of his sayings is that 70 years are the term of man's life.

He seems to have enacted some admirable laws; for instance, if any man neglects to provide for

his parents, he shall be disfranchised; moreover there is a similar penalty for the spendthrift who runs through his patrimony. Again, not to have a settled occupation is made a crime for which any one may, if he pleases, impeach the offender. Lysias, however, in his speech against Nicias ascribes this law to Draco, and to Solon another depriving open profligates of the right to speak in the Assembly. He curtailed the honours of athletes who took part in the games, fixing the allowance for an Olympic victor at 500 drachmae, for an Isthmian victor at 100 drachmae, and proportionately in all other cases. It was in bad taste, he urged, to increase the rewards of these victors, and to ignore the exclusive claims of those who had fallen in battle, whose sons ought, moreover, to be maintained and educated by the State.

The effect of this was that many strove to acquit themselves as gallant soldiers in battle, like Polyzelus, Cynegirus, Callimachus and all who fought at Marathon; or again like Harmodius and Aristogiton, and Miltiades and thousands more. Athletes, on the other hand, incur heavy costs while in training, do harm when successful, and are crowned for a victory over their country rather than over their rivals, and when they grow old they, in the words of Euripides,

Are worn threadbare, cloaks that have lost the nap;

and Solon, perceiving this, treated them with scant respect. Excellent, too, is his provision that the guardian of an orphan should not marry the mother of his ward, and that the next heir who would succeed on the death of the orphans should be disqualified from acting as their guardian.

Furthermore, that no engraver of seals should be allowed to retain an impression of the ring which he has sold, and that the penalty for depriving a one-eyed man of his single eye should be the loss of the offender’s two eyes. A deposit shall not be removed except by the depositor himself, on pain of death. That the magistrate found intoxicated should be punished with death.

He has provided that the public recitations of Homer shall follow in fixed order: thus the second reciter must begin from the place where the first left off. Hence, as Dieuchidas says in the fifth book of his Megarian History, Solon did more than Pisistratus to throw light on Homer. The passage in Homer more particularly referred to is that beginning Those who dwelt at Athens …

Solon was the first to call the 30th day of the month the Old-and-New day, and to institute meetings of the nine archons for private conference, as stated by Apollodorus in the second book of his work On Legislators. When civil strife began, he did not take sides with those in the city, nor with the plain, nor yet with-the coast section.

One of his sayings is: Speech is the mirror of action; and another that the strongest and most capable is king. He compared laws to spiders’ webs, which stand firm when any light and yielding object falls upon them, while a larger thing breaks through them and makes off. Secrecy he called the seal of speech, and occasion the seal of secrecy.

He used to say that those who had influence with tyrants were like the pebbles employed in calculations; for, as each of the pebbles represented now a large and now a small number, so the tyrants would treat each one of those about them at one time as great and famous, at another as of no account. On being asked why he had not framed any law against parricide, he replied that he hoped it was unnecessary. Asked how crime could most effectually be diminished, he replied, If it caused as much resentment in those who are not its victims as in those who are, adding, Wealth breeds satiety, satiety outrage. He required the Athenians to adopt a lunar month. He prohibited Thespis from performing tragedies on the ground that fiction was pernicious.

When therefore Pisistratus appeared with self-inflicted wounds, Solon said, This comes from acting tragedies. His counsel to men in general is stated by Apollodorus in his work on the Philosophic Sects as follows: Put more trust in nobility of character than in an oath. Never tell a lie. Pursue worthy aims. Do not be rash to make friends and, when once they are made, do not drop them. Learn to obey before you command. In giving advice seek to help, not to please, your friend. Be led by reason. Shun evil company. Honour the gods, reverence parents. He is also said to have criticized the couplet of Mimnermus:>
Would that by no disease, no cares opprest,

I in my sixtieth year were laid to rest;

and to have replied thus:
Oh take a friend’s suggestion, blot the line,

Grudge not if my invention better thine;

Surely a wiser wish were thus expressed,

At eighty years let me be laid to rest.
Of the songs sung this is attributed to Solon:
Watch every man and see whether, hiding hatred in his heart, he speaks with friendly countenance, and his tongue rings with double speech from a dark soul.

He is undoubtedly the author of the laws which bear his name; of speeches, and of poems in elegiac metre, namely, counsels addressed to himself, on Salamis and on the Athenian constitution, five thousand lines in all, not to mention poems in iambic metre and epodes.

His statue has the following inscription:
At Salamis, which crushed the Persian might,

Solon the legislator first saw light.

He flourished, according to Sosicrates, about the 46th Olympiad, in the third year of which he was archon at Athens; it was then that he enacted his laws. He died in Cyprus at the age of eighty. His last injunctions to his relations were on this wise: that they should convey his bones to Salamis and, when they had been reduced to ashes, scatter them over the soil. Hence Cratinus in his play, The Chirons, makes him say:
This is my island home; my dust, men say,

Is scattered far and wide o’er Ajax’ land.

An epigram of my own is also contained in the collection of Epigrams in Various Metres mentioned above, where I have discoursed of all the illustrious dead in all metres and rhythms, in epigrams and lyrics. Here it is:
Far Cyprian fire his body burnt; his bones,

Turned into dust, made grain at Salamis:

Wheel-like, his pillars bore his soul on high;

So light the burden of his laws on men.

It is said that he was the author of the apophthegm Nothing too much, Ne quid nimis. According to Dioscurides in his Memorabilia, when he was weeping for the loss of his son, of whom nothing more is known, and some one said to him, It is all of no avail, he replied, That is why I

weep, because it is of no avail.

The following letters are attributed to Solon:

Solon to Periander

You tell me that many are plotting against you. You must lose no time if you want to get rid of them all. A conspirator against you might arise from a quite unexpected quarter, say, one who had fears for his personal safety or one who disliked your timorous dread of anything and everything. He would earn the gratitude of the city who found out that you had no suspicion. The best course would be to resign power, and so be quit of the reproach. But if you must at all hazards remain tyrant, endeavour to make your mercenary force stronger than the forces of the city. Then you have no one to fear, and need not banish any one.

Solon to Epimenides

It seems that after all I was not to confer much benefit on Athenians by my laws, any more than you by purifying the city. For religion and legislation are not sufficient in themselves to benefit cities; it can only be done by those who lead the multitude in any direction they choose. And so, if things are going well, religion and legislation are beneficial; if not, they are of no avail.

Nor are my laws nor all my enactments any better; but the popular leaders did the commonwealth harm by permitting licence, and could not hinder Pisistratus from setting up a tyranny. And, when I warned them, they would not believe me. He found more credit when he flattered the people than I when I told them the truth. I laid my arms down before the generals' quarters and told the people that I was wiser than those who did not see that Pisistratus was aiming at tyranny, and more courageous than those who shrank from resisting him. They, however, denounced Solon as mad. And at last I protested: My country, I, Solon, am ready to defend thee by word and deed; but some of my countrymen think me mad. Wherefore I will go forth out of their midst as the sole opponent of Pisistratus; and let them, if they like, become his bodyguard. For you must know, my friend, that he was beyond measure ambitious to be tyrant.

He began by being a popular leader; his next step was to inflict wounds on himself and appear before the court of the Heliaea, crying out that these wounds had been inflicted by his enemies; and he requested them to give him a guard of 400 young men. And the people without listening to me granted him the men, who were armed with clubs. And after that he destroyed the democracy. It was in vain that I sought to free the poor amongst the Athenians from their condition of serfdom, if now they are all the slaves of one master, Pisistratus.

Solon to Pisistratus

I am sure that I shall suffer no harm at your hands; for before you became tyrant I was your friend, and now I have no quarrel with you beyond that of every Athenian who disapproves of tyranny. Whether it is better for them to be ruled by one man or to live under a democracy, each of us must decide for himself upon his own judgement.

You are, I admit, of all tyrants the best; but I see that it is not well for me to return to Athens. I gave the Athenians equality of civil rights; I refused to become tyrant when I had the opportunity; how then could I escape censure if I were now to return and set my approval on all that you are doing?

Solon to Croesus

I admire you for your kindness to me; and, by Athena, if I had not been anxious before all things to live in a democracy, I would rather have fixed my abode in your palace than at Athens, where Pisistratus is setting up a rule of violence. But in truth to live in a place where all have equal rights is more to my liking. However, I will come and see you, for I am eager to make your acquaintance.

Chapter 3. CHILON (c. 560B.C.)

Chilon, son of Damagetas, was a Lacedaemonian. He wrote a poem in elegiac metre some 200 lines in length; and he declared that the excellence of a man is to divine the future so far as it can be grasped by reason. When his brother grumbled that he was not made ephor as Chilon was, the latter replied, I know how to submit to injustice and you do not. He was made ephor in the 55th Olympiad; Pamphila, however, says the 56th. He first became ephor, according to Sosicrates, in the archonship of Euthydemus. He first proposed the appointment of ephors as auxiliaries to the kings, though Satyrus says this was done by Lycurgus.

As Herodotus relates in his first Book, when Hippocrates was sacrificing at Olympia and his cauldrons boiled of their own accord, it was Chilon who advised him not to marry, or, if he had a wife, to divorce her and disown his children.

The tale is also told that he inquired of Aesop what Zeus was doing and received the answer: He is humbling the proud and exalting the humble. Being asked wherein lies the difference between the educated and the uneducated, Chilon answered, In good hope. What is hard? To keep a secret, to employ leisure well, to be able to bear an injury. These again are some of his precepts: To control the tongue, especially at a banquet.

Not to abuse our neighbours, for if you do, things will be said about you which you will regret. Do not use threats to any one; for that is womanish. Be more ready to visit friends in adversity than in prosperity. Do not make an extravagant marriage. De mortuis nil nisi bonum. Honour old age. Consult your own safety. Prefer a loss to a dishonest gain: the one brings pain at the moment, the other for all time. Do not laugh at another’s misfortune. When strong, be merciful, if you would have the respect, not the fear, of your neighbours. Learn to be a wise master in your own house. Let not your tongue outrun your thought. Control anger. Do not hate divination. Do not aim at impossibilities. Let no one see you in a hurry. Gesticulation in speaking should be avoided as a mark of insanity. Obey the laws. Be restful.

Of his songs the most popular is the following: By the whetstone gold is tried, giving manifest proof; and by gold is the mind of good and evil men brought to the test. He is reported to have said in his old age that he was not aware of having ever broken the law throughout his life; but on one point he was not quite clear. In a suit in which a friend of his was concerned he himself pronounced sentence according to the law, but he persuaded his colleague who was his friend to acquit the accused, in order at once to maintain the law and yet not to lose his friend.

He became very famous in Greece by his warning about the island of Cythera off the Laconian coast. For, becoming acquainted with the nature of the island, he exclaimed: Would it had never been placed there, or else had been sunk in the depths of the sea.

And this was a wise warning; for Demaratus, when an exile from Sparta, advised Xerxes to anchor his fleet off the island; and if Xerxes had taken the advice Greece would have been conquered. Later, in the Peloponnesian war, Nicias reduced the island and placed an Athenian

garrison there, and did the Lacedaemonians much mischief.

He was a man of few words; hence Aristagoras of Miletus calls this style of speaking Chilonean. . . . is of Branchus, founder of the temple at Branchidae. Chilon was an old man about the 52nd Olympiad, when Aesop the fabulist was flourishing. According to Hermippus, his death took place at Pisa, just after he had congratulated his son on an Olympic victory in boxing. It was due to excess of joy coupled with the weakness of a man stricken in years. And all present joined in the funeral procession.

I have written an epitaph on him also, which runs as follows:

I praise thee, Pollux, for that Chilon's son

By boxing feats the olive chaplet won.

Nor at the father's fate should we repine;

He died of joy; may such a death be mine.
The inscription on his statue runs thus:
Here Chilon stands, of Sparta's warrior race,

Who of the Sages Seven holds highest place.
His apophthegm is: Give a pledge, and suffer for it. A short letter is also ascribed to him.

Chilon to Periander

You tell me of an expedition against foreign enemies, in which you yourself will take the field. In my opinion affairs at home are not too safe for an absolute ruler; and I deem the tyrant happy who dies a natural death in his own house.

Chapter 4. PITTACUS (c. 600B.C.)

Pittacus was the son of Hyrrhadius and a native of Mitylene. Duris calls his father a Thracian. Aided by the brothers of Alcaeus he overthrew Melanchrus, tyrant of Lesbos; and in the war between Mitylene and Athens for the territory of Achileis he himself had the chief command on the one side, and Phrynon, who had won an Olympic victory in the pancratium, commanded the Athenians. Pittacus agreed to meet him in single combat; with a net which he concealed beneath his shield he entangled Phrynon, killed him, and recovered the territory. Subsequently, as Apollodorus states in his Chronology, Athens and Mitylene referred their claims to arbitration. Periander heard the appeal and gave judgement in favour of Athens.

At the time, however, the people of Mitylene honoured Pittacus extravagantly and entrusted him with the government. He ruled for ten years and brought the constitution into order, and then laid down his office. He lived another ten years after his abdication and received from the people of Mitylene a grant of land, which he dedicated as sacred domain; and it bears his name to this day Sosicrates relates that he cut off a small portion for himself and pronounced the half to be more than the whole. Furthermore, he declined an offer of money made him by Croesus, saying that he had twice as much as he wanted; for his brother had died without issue and he had inherited his estate.

Pamphila in the second book of her Memorabilia narrates that, as his son Tyrraeus sat in a barber's shop in Cyme, a smith killed him with a blow from an axe. When the people of Cyme sent the murderer to Pittacus, he, on learning the story, set him at liberty and declared that It is

better to pardon now than to repent later. Heraclitus, however, says that it was Alcaeus whom he set at liberty when he had got him in his power, and that what he said was: Mercy is better than vengeance.

Among the laws which he made is one providing that for any offence committed in a state of intoxication the penalty should be doubled; his object was to discourage drunkenness, wine being abundant in the island. One of his sayings is, It is hard to be good, which is cited by Simonides in this form: Pittacus's maxim, Truly to become a virtuous man is hard.

Plato also cites him in the Protagoras: Even the gods do not fight against necessity. Again, Office shows the man. Once, when asked what is the best thing, he replied, To do well the work in hand. And, when Croesus inquired what is the best rule, he answered, The rule of the shifting wood, by which he meant the law. He also urged men to win bloodless victories. When the Phocaean said that we must search for a good man, Pittacus rejoined, If you seek too carefully, you will never find him. He answered various inquiries thus: What is agreeable? Time. Obscure? The future. Trustworthy? The earth. Untrustworthy? The sea. It is the part of prudent men, he said, before difficulties arise, to provide against their arising;

and of courageous men to deal with them when they have arisen. Do not announce your plans beforehand; for, if they fail, you will be laughed at. Never reproach any one with a misfortune, for fear of Nemesis. Duly restore what has been entrusted to you. Speak no ill of a friend, nor even of an enemy. Practise piety. Love temperance. Cherish truth, fidelity, skill, cleverness, sociability, carefulness.

Of his songs the most popular is this:
With bow and well-stored quiver

We must march against our foe,

Words of his tongue can no man trust,

For in his heart there is a deceitful thought.

He also wrote poems in elegiac metre, some 600 lines, and a prose work On Laws for the use of the citizens.

He was flourishing about the 42nd Olympiad. He died in the archonship of Aristomenes, in the third year of the 52nd Olympiad, having lived more than seventy years, to a good old age. The inscription on his monument runs thus:
Here holy Lesbos, with a mother's woe,

Bewails her Pittacus whom death laid low.
To him belongs the apophthegm, Know thine opportunity.

There was another Pittacus, a legislator, as is stated by Favorinus in the first book of his Memorabilia, and by Demetrius in his work on Men of the Same Name. He was called the Less.

To return to the Sage: the story goes that a young man took counsel with him about marriage, and received this answer, as given by Callimachus in his Epigrams:

A stranger of Atarneus thus inquired of Pittacus, the son of Hyrrhadius:

Old sire, two offers of marriage are made to me; the one bride is in wealth and birth my equal;

The other is my superior. Which is the better? Come now and advise me which of the two I shall

wed.

So spake he. But Pittacus, raising his staff, an old man’s weapon, said, See there, yonder boys will tell you the whole tale.

The boys were whipping their tops to make them go fast and spinning them in a wide open space.

Follow in their track, said he. So he approached near, and the boys were saying, Keep to your own sphere.

When he heard this, the stranger desisted from aiming at the lordlier match, assenting to the warning of the boys.

And, even as he led home the humble bride, so do you, Dion, keep to your own sphere.

The advice seems to have been prompted by his situation. For he had married a wife superior in birth to himself: she was the sister of Draco, the son of Penthilus, and she treated him with great haughtiness.

Alcaeus nicknamed him σαράπους and σάραπος because he had flat feet and dragged them in walking; also Chilblains, because he had chapped feet, for which their word was χειράς; and Braggadocio, because he was always swaggering; Paunch and Potbelly, because he was stout; a Diner-in-the-Dark, because he dispensed with a lamp; and the Sloven, because he was untidy and dirty. The exercise he took was grinding corn, as related by Clearchus the philosopher.

The following short letter is ascribed to him:

Pittacus to Croesus

You bid me come to Lydia in order to see your prosperity: but without seeing it I can well believe that the son of Alyattes is the most opulent of kings. There will be no advantage to me in a journey to Sardis, for I am not in want of money, and my possessions are sufficient for my friends as well as myself. Nevertheless, I will come, to be entertained by you and to make your acquaintance.

Chapter 5. BIAS (c. 570 B.C.)

Bias, the son of Teutames, was born at Priene, and by Satyrus is placed at the head of the Seven Sages. Some make him of a wealthy family, but Duris says he was a labourer living in the house. Phanodicus relates that he ransomed certain Messenian maidens captured in war and brought them up as his daughters, gave them dowries, and restored them to their fathers in Messenia. In course of time, as has been already related, the bronze tripod with the inscription To him that is wise having been found at Athens by the fishermen, the maidens according to Satyrus, or their father according to other accounts, including that of Phanodicus, came forward into the assembly and, after the recital of their own adventures, pronounced Bias to be wise. And thereupon the tripod was dispatched to him; but Bias, on seeing it, declared that Apollo was wise, and refused to take the tripod.

But others say that he dedicated it to Heracles in Thebes, since he was a descendant of the Thebans who had founded a colony at Priene; and this is the version of Phanodieus.

A story is told that, while Alyattes was besieging Priene, Bias fattened two mules and drove them into the camp, and that the king, when he saw them, was amazed at the good condition of the

citizens actually extending to their beasts of burden. And he decided to make terms and sent a messenger. But Bias piled up heaps of sand with a layer of corn on the top, and showed them to the man, and finally, on being informed of this, Alyattes made a treaty of peace with the people of Priene. Soon afterwards, when Alyattes sent to invite Bias to his court, he replied, Tell Alyattes, from me, to make his diet of onions, that is, to weep.

It is also stated that he was a very effective pleader; but he was accustomed to use his powers of speech to a good end. Hence it is to this that Demodicus of Leros makes reference in the line:
If you happen to be prosecuting a suit, plead as they do at Priene;
and Hipponax thus: More powerful in pleading causes than Bias of Priene.

This was the manner of his death. He had been pleading in defence of some client in spite of his great age. When he had finished speaking, he reclined his head on his grandson's bosom. The opposing counsel made a speech, the judges voted and gave their verdict in favour of the client of Bias, who, when the court rose, was found dead in his grandson's arms.

The city gave him a magnificent funeral and inscribed on his tomb:
Here Bias of Priene lies, whose name

Brought to his home and all Ionia fame.
My own epitaph is:
Here Bias rests. A quiet death laid low

The aged head which years had strewn with snow.

His pleading done, his friend preserved from harms,

A long sleep took him in his grandson's arms.

He wrote a poem of 2000 lines on Ionia and the manner of rendering it prosperous. Of his songs the most popular is the following:
Find favour with all the citizens . . .

. . . in whatever state you dwell.

For this earns most gratitude;

the headstrong spirit often flashes forth with harmful bane.

The growth of strength in man is nature's work; but to set forth in speech the interests of one's country is the gift of soul and reason. Even chance brings abundance of wealth to many. He also said that he who could not bear misfortune was truly unfortunate; that it is a disease of the soul to be enamoured of things impossible of attainment; and that we ought not to dwell upon the woes of others. Being asked what is difficult, he replied, Nobly to endure a change for the worse. He was once on a voyage with some impious men; and, when a storm was encountered, even they began to call upon the gods for help. Peace! said he, lest they hear and become aware that you are here in the ship. When an impious man asked him to define piety, he was silent; and when the other inquired the reason, I am silent, he replied, because you are asking questions about what does not concern you.

Being asked What is sweet to men, he answered, Hope. He said he would rather decide a dispute between two of his enemies than between two of his friends; for in the latter case he would be certain to make one of his friends his enemy, but in the former case he would make one of his enemies his friend. Asked what occupation gives a man most pleasure, he replied,

Making money. He advised men to measure life as if they had both a short and a long time to live; to love their friends as if they would some day hate them, the majority of mankind being bad. Further, he gave this advice: Be slow to set about an enterprise, but persevere in it steadfastly when once it is undertaken. Do not be hasty of speech, for that is a sign of madness.

Cherish wisdom. Admit the existence of the gods. If a man is unworthy, do not praise him because of his wealth. Gain your point by persuasion, not by force. Ascribe your good actions to the gods. Make wisdom your provision for the journey from youth to old age; for it is a more certain support than all other possessions.

Bias is mentioned by Hipponax as stated above, and Heraclitus, who is hard to please, bestows upon him especial praise in these words: In Priene lived Bias, son of Teutames, a man of more consideration than any. And the people of Priene dedicated a precinct to him, which is called the Teutameum. His apophthegm is: Most men are bad.

Chapter 6 CLEOBULUS (c 600 B.C.)

Cleobulus, the son of Euagoras, was born at Lindus, but according to Duris he was a Carian. Some say that he traced his descent back to Heracles, that he was distinguished for strength and beauty, and was acquainted with Egyptian philosophy. He had a daughter Cleobuline, who composed riddles in hexameters; she is mentioned by Cratinus, who gives one of his plays her name, in the plural form Cleobulinae. He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Athena which was founded by Danaus. He was the author of songs and riddles, making some 3000 lines in all.

The inscription on the tomb of Midas is said by some to be his:
I am a maiden of bronze and I rest upon Midas's tomb. So long as water shall flow and tall trees grow,

and the sun shall rise and shine, and the bright moon, and rivers shall run and the sea wash the shore, here abiding on his tearsprinkled tomb I shall tell the passers-by—Midas is buried here.
The evidence they adduce is a poem of Simonides in which he says:
Who, if he trusts his wits, will praise Cleobulus the dweller at Lindus for opposing the strength of a column to everflowing rivers, the flowers of spring, the flame of the sun, and the golden moon and the eddies of the sea? But all things fall short of the might of the gods; even mortal hands break marble in pieces; this is a fool's devising.
The inscription cannot be by Homer, because he lived, they say, long before Midas.

The following riddle of Cleobulus is preserved in Pamphila's collection:

One sire there is, he has twelve sons, and each of these has twice thirty daughters different in feature; some of the daughters are white, the others again are black; they are immortal, and yet they all die.
And the answer is, The year.

Of his songs the most popular are: It is want of taste that reigns most widely among mortals and multitude of words; but due season will serve. Set your mind on something good. Do not become thoughtless or rude. He said that we ought to give our daughters to their husbands maidens in years but women in wisdom; thus signifying that girls need to be educated as well as boys. Further, that we should render a service to a friend to bind him closer to us, and to an enemy in order to make a friend of him. For we have to guard against the censure of friends and the intrigues of enemies.

When anyone leaves his house, let him first inquire what he means to do; and on his return let him ask himself what he has effected. Moreover, he advised men to practise bodily exercise; to be listeners rather than talkers; to choose instruction rather than ignorance; to refrain from ill-omened words; to be friendly to virtue, hostile to vice; to shun injustice; to counsel the state for the best; not to be overcome by pleasure; to do nothing by violence; to educate their children; to put an end to enmity. Avoid being affectionate to your wife, or quarrelling with her, in the presence of strangers; for the one savours of folly, the other of madness. Never correct a servant over your wine, for you will be thought to be the worse for wine. Mate with one of your own rank; for if you take a wife who is superior to you, her kinsfolk will become your masters.

When men are being bantered, do not laugh at their expense, or you will incur their hatred. Do not be arrogant in prosperity; if you fall into poverty, do not humble yourself. Know how to bear the changes of fortune with nobility.

He died at the ripe age of seventy; and the inscription over him is:
Here the wise Rhodian, Cleobulus, sleeps,

And o’er his ashes sea-proud Lindus weeps.

His apophthegm was: Moderation is best. And he wrote to Solon the following letter:

Cleobulus to Solon

You have many friends and a home wherever you go; but the most suitable for Solon will, say I, be Lindus, which is governed by a democracy. The island lies on the high seas, and one who lives here has nothing to fear from Pisistratus. And friends from all parts will come to visit you.

Chapter 7. PERIANDER (tyrant 625-585 B.C.)

Periander, the son of Cypselus, was born at Corinth, of the family of the Heraclidae. His wife was Lysida, whom he called Melissa. Her father was Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, her mother Eristheneia, daughter of Aristocrates and sister of Aristodemus, who together reigned over nearly the whole of Arcadia, as stated by Heraclides of Pontus in his book On Government. By her he had two sons, Cypselus and Lycophron, the younger a man of intelligence, the elder weak in mind. However, after some time, in a fit of anger, he killed his wife by throwing a footstool at her, or by a kick, when she was pregnant, having been egged on by the slanderous tales of concubines, whom he afterwards burnt alive.

When the son whose name was Lycophron grieved for his mother, he banished him to Corcyra.

And when well advanced in years he sent for his son to be his successor in the tyranny; but the Corcyraeans put him to death before he could set sail. Enraged at this, he dispatched the sons of the Corcyraeans to Alyattes that he might make eunuchs of them; but, when the ship touched at Samos, they took sanctuary in the temple of Hera, and were saved by the Samians.

Periander lost heart and died at the age of eighty. Sosicrates’ account is that he died fortyone years before Croesus, just before the 49th Olympiad. Herodotus in his first book says that he was a guest-friend of Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus.

Aristippus in the first book of his work On the Luxury of the Ancients accuses him of incest with his own mother Crateia, and adds that, when the fact came to light, he vented his annoyance in indiscriminate severity. Ephorus records his now that, if he won the victory at Olympia in the chariot-race, he would set up a golden statue. When the victory was won, being in sore straits

for gold, he despoiled the women of all the ornaments which he had seen them wearing at some local festival. He was thus enabled to send the votive offering.

There is a story that he did not wish the place where he was buried to be known, and to that end contrived the following device. He ordered two young men to go out at night by a certain road which he pointed out to them; they were to kill the man they met and bury him. He afterwards ordered four more to go in pursuit of the two, kill them and bury them; again, he dispatched a larger number in pursuit of the four. Having taken these measures, he himself encountered the first pair and was slain. The Corinthians placed the following inscription upon a cenotaph:

In mother earth here Periander lies,

The prince of sea-girt Corinth rich and wise.
My own epitaph on him is:

Grieve not because thou hast not gained thine end,

But take with gladness all the gods may send;

Be warned by Periander's fate, who died

Of grief that one desire should be denied.

To him belongs the maxim: Never do anything for money; leave gain to trades pursued for gain. He wrote a didactic poem of 2000 lines. He said that those tyrants who intend to be safe should make loyalty their bodyguard, not arms. When some one asked him why he was tyrant, he replied, Because it is as dangerous to retire voluntarily as to be dispossessed. Here are other sayings of his: Rest is beautiful. Rashness has its perils. Gain is ignoble. Democracy is better than tyranny. Pleasures are transient, honours are immortal.

Be moderate in prosperity, prudent in adversity. Be the same to your friends whether they are in prosperity or in adversity. Whatever agreement you make, stick to it. Betray no secret. Correct not only the offenders but also those who are on the point of offending.

He was the first who had a bodyguard and who changed his government into a tyranny, and he would let no one live in the town without his permission, as we know from Ephorus and Aristotle. He flourished about the 38th Olympiad and was tyrant for forty years.

Sotion and Heraclides and Pamphila in the fifth book of her Commentaries distinguish two Perianders, one a tyrant, the other a sage who was born in Ambracia.

Neanthes of Cyzicus also says this, and adds that they were near relations. And Aristotle maintains that the Corinthian Periander was the sage; while Plato denies this.

His apophthegm is: Practice makes perfect. He planned a canal across the Isthmus.

A letter of his is extant:

Periander to the Wise Men

Very grateful am I to the Pythian Apollo that I found you gathered together; and my letters will also bring you to Corinth, where, as you know, I will give you a thoroughly popular reception. I learn that last year you met in Sardis at the Lydian court. Do not hesitate therefore to come to me, the ruler of Corinth. The Corinthians will be pleased to see you coming to the house of Periander.

Periander to Procles

The murder of my wife was unintentional; but yours is deliberate guilt when you set my son's heart against me. Either therefore put an end to my son's harsh treatment, or I will revenge myself on you. For long ago I made expiation to you for your daughter by burning on her pyre the apparel of all the women of Corinth.

There is also a letter written to him by Thrasybulus, as follows:

Thrasybulus to Periander

I made no answer to your herald; but I took him into a cornfield, and with a staff smote and cut off the over-grown ears of corn, while he accompanied me. And if you ask him what he heard and what he saw, he will give his message. And this is what you must do if you want to strengthen your absolute rule: put to death those among the citizens who are pre-eminent, whether they are hostile to you or not. For to an absolute ruler even a friend is an object of suspicion.

Chapter 8. ANACHARSIS

Anacharsis the Scythian was the son of Gnurus and brother of Caduidas, king of Scythia. His mother was a Greek, and for that reason he spoke both languages. He wrote on the institutions of the Greeks and the Scythians, dealing with simplicity of life and military matters, a poem of 800 lines. So outspoken was he that he furnished occasion for a proverb, To talk like a Scythian.

Sosicrates makes him come to Athens about the 47th Olympiad in the archonship of Eucrates. Hermippus relates that on his arrival at the house of Solon he told one of the servants to announce that Anacharsis had come and was desirous of seeing him and, if possible, of becoming his guest.

The servant delivered his message and was ordered by Solon to tell him that men as a rule choose their guests from among their own countrymen. Then Anacharsis took him up and said that he was now in his own country and had a right to be entertained as a guest. And Solon, struck with his ready wit, admitted him into his house and made him his greatest friend.

After a while Anacharsis returned to Scythia, where, owing to his enthusiasm for everything Greek, he was supposed to be subverting the national institutions, and was killed by his brother while they were out hunting together. When struck by the arrow he exclaimed, My reputation carried me safe through Greece, but the envy it excited at home has been my ruin. In some accounts it is said that he was slain while performing Greek rites.

Here is my own epitaph upon him:

Back from his travels Anacharsis came,

To hellenize the Scythians all aglow;

Ere half his sermon could their minds inflame,

A wingèd arrow laid the preacher low.

It was a saying of his that the vine bore three kinds of grapes: the first of pleasure, the next of intoxication, and the third of disgust. He said he wondered why in Greece experts contend in the games and non-experts award the prizes. Being asked how one could avoid becoming a toper, he answered, By keeping before your eyes the disgraceful exhibition made by the drunkard.

Again, he expressed surprise that the Greek lawgivers should impose penalties on wanton outrage, while they honour athletes for bruising one another. After ascertaining that the ship's side was four fingers' breadth in thickness, he remarked that the passengers were just so far from death.

Oil he called a drug which produced madness, because the athletes when they anoint themselves with it are maddened against each other. How is it, he asked, that the Greeks prohibit falsehood and yet obviously tell falsehoods in retail trade? Nor could he understand why at the beginning of their feasts they drink from small goblets and when they are full from large ones. The inscription on his statues is: Bridle speech, gluttony, and sensuality. Being asked if there were flutes in Scythia, he replied, No, nor yet vines. To the question what vessels were the safest his reply was, Those which have been hauled ashore. And he declared the strangest thing he had seen in Greece to be that they leave the smoke on the mountains and convey the fuel into the city. When some one inquired which were more in number, the living or the dead, he rejoined, In which category, then, do you place those who are on the seas? When some Athenian reproached him with being a Scythian, he replied, Well, granted that my country is a disgrace to me, you are a disgrace to your country.

To the question, What among men is both good and bad? his answer was The tongue. He said it was better to have one friend of great worth than many friends worth nothing at all. He defined the market as a place set apart where men may deceive and overreach one another. When insulted by a boy over the wine he said, If you cannot carry your liquor when you are young, boy, you will be a water carrier when you are old.

According to some he was the inventor of the anchor and the potter's wheel.

To him is attributed the following letter:

Anacharsis to Croesus

I have come, O King of the Lydians, to the land of the Greeks to be instructed in their manners and pursuits. And I am not even in quest of gold, but am well content to return to Scythia a better man. At all events here I am in Sardis, being greatly desirous of making your acquaintance.

Chapter 9. MYSON (c. 600 B.C.)

Myson was the son of Strymon, according to Sosicrates, who quotes Hermippus as his authority, and a native of Chen, a village in the district of Oeta or Laconia; and he is reckoned one of the Seven Sages. They say that his father was a tyrant. We are told by some one that, when Anacharsis inquired if there were anyone wiser than himself, the Pythian priestess gave the response which has already been quoted in the Life of Thales as her reply to a question by Chilon:
Myson of Chen in Oeta; this is he

Who for wiseheartedness surpasseth thee.
His curiosity aroused, Anacharsis went to the village in summer time and found him fitting a share to a plough and said, Myson, this is not the season for the plough. It is just the time to repair it, was the reply.

Others cite the first line of the oracle differently, Myson of Chen in Etis, and inquire what Myson

of Etis means. Parmenides indeed explains that Etis is a district in Laconia to which Myson belonged. Sosicrates in his Successions of Philosophers makes him belong to Etis on the father's side and to Chen on the mother's. Euthyphro, the son of Heraclides of Pontus, declares that he was a Cretan, Eteia being a town in Crete. Anaxilaus makes him an Arcadian.

Myson is mentioned by Hipponax, the words being:
And Myson, whom Apollo's self proclaimed

Wisest of all men.
Aristoxenus in his Historical Gleanings says he was not unlike Timon and Apemantus, for he was a misanthrope.

At any rate he was seen in Lacedaemon laughing to himself in a lonely spot; and when some one suddenly appeared and asked him why he laughed when no one was near, he replied, That is just the reason. And Aristoxenus says that the reason why he remained obscure was that he belonged to no city but to a village and that an unimportant one. Hence because he was unknown, some writers, but not Plato the philosopher, attributed to Pisistratus the tyrant what properly belonged to Myson. For Plato mentions him in the Protagoras, reckoning him as one of the Seven instead of Periander.

He used to say we should not investigate facts by the light of arguments, but arguments by the light of facts; for the facts were not put together to fit the arguments, but the arguments to fit the facts.

He died at the age of ninety-seven.

Chapter 10. EPIMENIDES (c. 600 B.C.)

Epimenides, according to Theopompus and many other writers, was the son of Phaestius; some, however, make him the son of Dosiadas, others of Agesarchus. He was a native of Cnossos in Crete, though from wearing his hair long he did not look like a Cretan. One day he was sent into the country by his father to look for a stray sheep, and at noon he turned aside out of the way, and went to sleep in a cave, where he slept for fifty-seven years. After this he got up and went in search of the sheep, thinking he had been asleep only a short time. And when he could not find it, he came to the farm, and found everything changed and another owner in possession. Then he went back to the town in utter perplexity; and there, on entering his own house, he fell in with people who wanted to know who he was. At length he found his younger brother, now an old man, and learnt the truth from him.

So he became famous throughout Greece, and was believed to be a special favourite of heaven.

Hence, when the Athenians were attacked by pestilence, and the Pythian priestess bade them purify the city, they sent a ship commanded by Nicias, son of Niceratus, to Crete to ask the help of Epimenides. And he came in the 46th Olympiad, purified their city, and stopped the pestilence in the following way. He took sheep, some black and others white, and brought them to the Areopagus; and there he let them go whither they pleased, instructing those who followed them to mark the spot where each sheep lay down and offer a sacrifice to the local divinity. And thus, it is said, the plague was stayed. Hence even to this day altars may be found in different parts of Attica with no name inscribed upon them, which are memorials of this atonement. According to some writers he declared the plague to have been caused by the pollution which Cylon brought on the city and showed them how to remove it. In consequence two young men, Cratinus and

Ctesibius, were put to death and the city was delivered from the scourge.

The Athenians voted him a talent in money and a ship to convey him back to Crete. The money he declined, but he concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance between Cnossos and Athens.

So he returned home and soon afterwards died. According to Phlegon in his work On Longevity he lived one hundred and fifty-seven years; according to the Cretans two hundred and ninety-nine years. Xenophanes of Colophon gives his age as 154, according to hearsay.

He wrote a poem On the Birth of the Curetes and Corybantes and a Theogony, 5000 lines in all; another on the building of the Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis in 6500 lines.

He also compiled prose works On Sacrifices and the Cretan Constitution, also On Minos and Rhadamanthus, running to about 4000 lines. At Athens again he founded the temple of the Eumenides, as Lobon of Argos tells us in his work On Poets. He is stated to have been the first who purified houses and fields, and the first who founded temples. Some are found to maintain that he did not go to sleep but withdrew himself for a while, engaged in gathering simples.

There is extant a letter of his to Solon the lawgiver, containing a scheme of government which Minos drew up for the Cretans. But Demetrius of Magnesia, in his work on poets and writers of the same name, endeavours to discredit the letter on the ground that it is late and not written in the Cretan dialect but in Attic, and New Attic too. However, I have found another letter by him which runs as follows:

Epimenides to Solon

Courage, my friend. For if Pisistratus had attacked the Athenians while they were still serfs and before they had good laws, he would have secured power in perpetuity by the enslavement of the citizens. But, as it is, he is reducing to subjection men who are no cowards, men who with pain and shame remember Solon's warning and will never endure to be under a tyrant. But even should Pisistratus himself hold down the city, I do not expect that his power will be continued to his children; for it is hard to contrive that men brought up as free men under the best laws should be slaves. But, instead of going on your travels, come quietly to Crete to me; for here you will have no monarch to fear, whereas, if some of his friends should fall in with you while you are travelling about, I fear you may come to some harm.

This is the tenor of the letter. But Demetrius reports a story that he received from the Nymphs food of a special sort and kept it in a cow's hoof; that he took small doses of this food, which was entirely absorbed into his system, and he was never seen to eat. Timaeus mentions him in his second book. Some writers say that the Cretans sacrifice to him as a god; for they say that he had superhuman foresight. For instance, when he saw Munichia, at Athens, he said the Athenians did not know how many evils that place would bring upon them; for, if they did, they would destroy it even if they had to do so with their teeth. And this he said so long before the event. It is also stated that he was the first to call himself Aeacus; that he foretold to the Lacedaemonians their defeat by the Arcadians; and that he claimed that his soul had passed through many incarnations.

Theopompus relates in his Mirabilia that, as he was building a temple to the Nymphs, a voice came from heaven: Epimenides, not a temple to the Nymphs but to Zeus, and that he foretold to the Cretans the defeat of the Lacedaemonians by the Arcadians, as already stated; and in very truth they were crushed at Orchomenus.

And he became old in as many days as he had slept years; for this too is stated by Theopompus. Myronianus in his Parallels declares that the Cretans called him one of the Curetes. The Lacedaemonians guard his body in their own keeping in obedience to a certain oracle; this is stated by Sosibius the Laconian.

There have been two other men named Epimenides, namely, the genealogist and another who wrote in Doric Greek about Rhodes.

Chapter 11. PHERECYDES (flor. c. 540 B.C.)

Pherecydes, the son of Babys, and a native of Syros according to Alexander in his Successions of Philosophers, was a pupil of Pittacus. Theopompus tells us that he was the first who wrote in Greek on nature and the gods.

Many wonderful stories are told about him. He was walking along the beach in Samos and saw a ship running before the wind; he exclaimed that in no long time she would go down, and, even as he watched her, down she went. And as he was drinking water which had been drawn up from a well he predicted that on the third day there would be an earthquake; which came to pass. And on his way from Olympia he advised Perilaus, his host in Messene, to move thence with all belonging to him; but Perilaus could not be persuaded, and Messene was afterwards taken.

He bade the Lacedaemonians set no store by gold or silver, as Theopompus says in his Mirabilia. He told them he had received this command from Heracles in a dream; and the same night Heracles enjoined upon the kings to obey Pherecydes. But some fasten this story upon Pythagoras.

Hermippus relates that on the eve of war between Ephesus and Magnesia he favoured the cause of the Ephesians, and inquired of some one passing by where he came from, and on receiving the reply From Ephesus, he said, Drag me by the legs and place me in the territory of Magnesia; and take a message to your countrymen that after their victory they must bury me there, and that this is the last injunction of Pherecydes.

The man gave the message; a day later the Ephesians attacked and defeated the Magnesians; they found Pherecydes dead and buried him on the spot with great honours. Another version is that he came to Delphi and hurled himself down from Mount Corycus. But Aristoxenus in his work On Pythagoras and his School affirms that he died a natural death and was buried by Pythagoras in Delos; another account again is that he died of a verminous disease, that Pythagoras was also present and inquired how he was, that he thrust his finger through the doorway and exclaimed, My skin tells its own tale, a phrase subsequently applied by the grammarians as equivalent to getting worse, although some wrongly understand it to mean all is going well.

He maintained that the divine name for table is θυωρός, or that which takes care of offerings.

Andron of Ephesus says that there were two natives of Syros who bore the name of Pherecydes: the one was an astronomer, the other was the son of Babys and a theologian, teacher of Pythagoras. Eratosthenes, however, says that there was only one Pherecydes of Syros, the other Pherecydes being an Athenian and a genealogist.

There is preserved a work by Pherecydes of Syros, a work which begins thus: Zeus and Time and

Earth were from all eternity, and Earth was called Γῆ because Zeus gave her earth (γῆ) as guerdon (γέρας). His sun-dial is also preserved in the island of Syros.

Duris in the second book of his Horae gives the inscription on his tomb as follows:

All knowledge that a man may have had I;

Yet tell Pythagoras, were more thereby,

That first of all Greeks is he; I speak no lie.
Ion of Chios says of him:
With manly worth endowed and modesty,

Though he be dead, his soul lives happily,

If wise Pythagoras indeed saw light

And read the destinies of men aright.

There is also an epigram of my own in the Pherecratean metre:
The famous Pherecydes, to whom Syros gave birth,

when his former beauty was consumed by vermin, gave orders that he should be taken straight to the Magnesian land in order that he might give victory to the noble Ephesians. There was an oracle, which he alone knew, enjoining this; and there he died among them. It seems then it is a true tale; if anyone is truly wise, he brings blessings both in his lifetime and when he is no more.

He lived in the 59th Olympiad. He wrote the following letter:

Pherecydes to Thales

May yours be a happy death when your time comes. Since I received your letter, I have been attacked by disease. I am infested with vermin and subject to a violent fever with shivering fits. I have therefore given instructions to my servants to carry my writing to you after they have buried me. I would like you to publish it, provided that you and the other sages approve of it, and not otherwise. For I myself am not yet satisfied with it. The facts are not absolutely correct, nor do I claim to have discovered the truth, but merely such things as one who inquires about the gods picks up. The rest must be thought out, for mine is all guess-work. As I was more and more weighed down with my malady, I did not permit any of the physicians or my friends to come into the room where I was, but, as they stood before the door and inquired how I was, I thrust my finger through the keyhole and showed them how plague-stricken I was; and I told them to come to-morrow to bury Pherecydes.

So much for those who are called the Sages, with whom some writers also class Pisistratus the tyrant. I must now proceed to the philosophers and start with the philosophy of Ionia. Its founder was Thales, and Anaximander was his pupil.

BOOK II

Chapter 1. ANAXIMANDERWith this Life Diels (Dox. Gr. p. 133) compares Hippolytus (Ref. Haer. i. 6), Plutarch (Strom. 2), Aëtius, i. 3. 3; iii. 11. 1; iii. 10. 2; ii. 11. 5; ii. 20. 1; ii. 24. 2; ii. 29. 1; ii. 21. 1; iii. 15. 6; v. 19. 4, which go back to Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 2. (611-546 B.C.)

Anaximander, the son of Praxiades, was a native of Miletus. He laid down as his principle and element that which is unlimited without defining it as air or water or anything else. He held that the parts undergo change, but the whole is unchangeable; that the earth, which is of spherical shape, lies in the midst, occupying the place of a centre; that the moon, shining with borrowed light, derives its illumination from the sun; further, that the sun is as large as the earth and consists of the purest fire.

He was the first inventor of the gnomon and set it up for a sundial in Lacedaemon, as is stated by Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History, in order to mark the solstices and the equinoxes; he also constructed clocks to tell the time.

He was the first to draw on a map the outline of land and sea, and he constructed a globe as well.

His exposition of his doctrines took the form of a summary which no doubt came into the hands, among others, of Apollodorus of Athens. He says in his Chronology that in the second year of the 58th Olympiad Anaximander was sixty-four, and that he died not long afterwards. Thus he flourished almost at the same time as Polycrates the tyrant of Samos. There is a story that the boys laughed at his singing, and that, when he heard of it, he rejoined, Then to please the boys I must improve my singing.

There is another Anaximander, also of Miletus, a historian who wrote in the Ionic dialect.

Chapter 2. ANAXIMENESDiels (op. cit. p. 135) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. i. 7. 1; Plutarch, Strom. 3; Aëtius, i. 3. 4; iii. 15. 8; ii. 13. 10; ii. 16. 6; iii. 4. 1; iii. 3. 1; iii. 5. 10; iii. 14. 3, ultimately from Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 2. (flor. c. 546 B.C.)

Anaximenes, the son of Eurystratus, a native of Miletus, was a pupil of Anaximander. According to some, he was also a pupil of Parmenides. He took for his first principle air or that which is unlimited. He held that the stars move round the earth but do not go under it. He writes simply and unaffectedly in the Ionic dialect.

According to Apollodorus he was contemporary with the taking of Sardis and died in the 63rd Olympiad.

There have been two other men named Anaximenes, both of Lampsacus, the one a rhetorician who wrote on the achievements of Alexander, the other, the nephew of the rhetorician, who was a historian.

Anaximenes the philosopher wrote the following letters:

Anaximenes to Pythagoras

Thales, the son of Examyas, has met an unkind fate in his old age. He went out from the court of his house at night, as was his custom, with his maidservant to view the stars, and, forgetting where he was, as he gazed, he got to the edge of a steep slope and fell over. In such wise have the Milesians lost their astronomer. Let us who were his pupils cherish his memory, and let it be cherished by our children and pupils; and let us not cease to entertain one another with his words. Let all our discourse begin with a reference to Thales.

And again:

Anaximenes to Pythagoras

You were better advised than the rest of us when you left Samos for Croton, where you live in peace. For the sons of Aeaces work incessant mischief, and Miletus is never without tyrants. The king of the Medes is another terror to us, not indeed so long as we are willing to pay tribute; but the Ionians are on the point of going to war with the Medes to secure their common freedom, and once we are at war we have no more hope of safety. How then can Anaximenes any longer think of studying the heavens when threatened with destruction or slavery? Meanwhile you find favour with the people of Croton and with the other Greeks in Italy; and pupils come to you even from Sicily.

Chapter 3. ANAXAGORASDiels (Dox. Gr. p. 137) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. i. 8. 1-11; Aëtius, i. 3. 5; iv. 1. 3; ii. 20. 6; ii. 21. 3; ii. 28. 5; ii. 29. 7; ii. 23. 2; ii. 25. 9; iii. 1. 5; iii. 2. 2; iii. 2. 9; iii. 3. 4; iii. 15. 14; v. 7. 4, and Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 4. For Anaxagoras as astronomer see Sir T. L. Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, pp. 78-85. (500-428 B.C.)

Anaxagoras, the son of Hegesibulus or Eubulus, was a native of Clazomenae. He was a pupil of Anaximenes, and was the first who set mind above matter, for at the beginning of his treatise, which is composed in attractive and dignified language, he says, All things were together; then came Mind and set them in order. This earned for Anaxagoras himself the nickname of Nous or Mind, and Timon in his Silli says of him:
Then, I ween, there is Anaxagoras, a doughty champion, whom they call Mind, because forsooth his was the mind which suddenly woke up and fitted closely together all that had formerly been in a medley of confusion.

He was eminent for wealth and noble birth, and furthermore for magnanimity, in that he gave up his patrimony to his relations.

For, when they accused him of neglecting it, he replied, Why then do you not look after it? And at last he went into retirement and engaged in physical investigation without troubling himself about public affairs. When some one inquired, Have you no concern in your native land? Gently, he replied, I am greatly concerned with my fatherland, and pointed to the sky.

He is said to have been twenty years old at the invasion of Xerxes and to have lived seventy-two years. Apollodorus in his Chronology says that he was born in the 70th Olympiad, and died in the first year of the 88th Olympiad. He began to study philosophy at Athens in the archonship of Callias when he was twenty; Demetrius of Phalerum states this in his list of archons; and at Athens they say he remained for thirty years.

He declared the sun to be a mass of red-hot metal and to be larger than the Peloponnesus, though others ascribe this view to Tantalus; he declared that there were dwellings on the moon, and moreover hills and ravines. He took as his principles the homoeomeries or homogeneous molecules; for just as gold consists of fine particles which are called gold-dust, so he held the whole universe to be compounded of minute bodies having parts homogeneous to themselves. His moving principle was Mind; of bodies, he said, some, like earth, were heavy, occupying the region below, others, light like fire, held the region above, while water and air were intermediate in position. For in this way over the earth, which is flat, the sea sinks down after the moisture has been evaporated by the sun.

In the beginning the stars moved in the sky as in a revolving dome, so that the celestial pole which is always visible was vertically overhead; but subsequently the pole took its inclined position. He held the Milky Way to be a reflection of the light of stars which are not shone upon by the sun; comets to be a conjunction of planets which emit flames; shooting-stars to be a sort of sparks thrown off by the air. He held that winds arise when the air is rarefied by the sun's heat; that thunder is a clashing together of the clouds, lightning their violent friction; an earthquake a subsidence of air into the earth.

Animals were produced from moisture, heat, and an earthy substance; later the species were propagated by generation from one another, males from the right side, females from the left.

There is a story that he predicted the fall of the meteoric stone at Aegospotami, which he said would fall from the sun. Hence Euripides, who was his pupil, in the Phathon calls the sun itself a golden clod. Furthermore, when he went to Olympia, he sat down wrapped in a sheep-skin cloak as if it were going to rain; and the rain came. When some one asked him if the hills at Lampsacus would ever become sea, he replied, Yes, it only needs time. Being asked to what end he had been born, he replied, To study sun and moon and heavens. To one who inquired, You miss the society of the Athenians? his reply was, Not I, but they miss mine. When he saw the tomb of Mausolus, he said, A costly tomb is an image of an estate turned into stone.

To one who complained that he was dying in a foreign land, his answer was, The descent to Hades is much the same from whatever place we start.

Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History says Anaxagoras was the first to maintain that Homer in his poems treats of virtue and justice, and that this thesis was defended at greater length by his friend Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who was the first to busy himself with Homer's physical doctrine. Anaxagoras was also the first to publish a book with diagrams. Silenus in the first book of his History gives the archonship of Demylus as the date when the meteoric stone fell,

and says that Anaxagoras declared the whole firmament to be made of stones; that the rapidity of rotation caused it to cohere; and that if this were relaxed it would fall.

Of the trial of Anaxagoras different accounts are given. Sotion in his Succession of the Philosophers says that he was indicted by Cleon on a charge of impiety, because he declared the sun to be a mass of red-hot metal; that his pupil Pericles defended him, and he was fined five talents and banished. Satyrus in his Lives says that the prosecutor was Thucydides, the opponent of Pericles, and the charge one of treasonable correspondence with Persia as well as of impiety; and that sentence of death was passed on Anaxagoras by default.

When news was brought him that he was condemned and his sons were dead, his comment on the sentence was, Long ago nature condemned both my judges and myself to death; and on his sons, I knew that my children were born to die. Some, however, tell this story of Solon, and others of Xenophon. That he buried his sons with his own hands is asserted by Demetrius of Phalerum in his work On Old Age. Hermippus in his Lives says that he was confined in the prison pending his execution; that Pericles came forward and asked the people whether they had any fault to find with him in his own public career; to which they replied that they had not. Well, he continued, I am a pupil of Anaxagoras; do not then be carried away by slanders and put him to death. Let me prevail upon you to release him. So he was released; but he could not brook the indignity he had suffered and committed suicide.

Hieronymus in the second book of his Scattered Notes states that Pericles brought him into

court so weak and wasted from illness that he owed his acquittal not so much to the merits of his case as to the sympathy of the judges. So much then on the subject of his trial.

He was supposed to have borne Democritus a grudge because he had failed to get into communication with him. At length he retired to Lampsacus and there died. And when the magistrates of the city asked if there was anything he would like done for him, he replied that he would like them to grant an annual holiday to the boys in the month in which he died; and the custom is kept up to this day.

So, when he died, the people of Lampsacus gave him honourable burial and placed over his grave the following inscription:
Here Anaxagoras, who in his quest

Of truth scaled heaven itself, is laid to rest.

I also have written an epigram upon him:

The sun’s a molten mass,

Quoth Anaxagoras;

This is his crime, his life must pay the price.

Pericles from that fate

Rescued his friend too late;

His spirit crushed, by his own hand he dies.

There have been three other men who bore the name of Anaxagoras [of whom no other writer gives a complete list]. The first was a rhetorician of the school of Isocrates; the second a sculptor, mentioned by Antigonus; the third a grammarian, pupil of Zenodotus.

Chapter 4. ARCHELAUSDiels (Dox. Gr. p. 139) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. i. 9. 1-5; Aëtius, i. 3. 6; Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 4. (c. 450 B.C.)

Archelaus, the son of Apollodorus, or as some say of Midon, was a citizen of Athens or of Miletus; he was a pupil of Anaxagoras, who first brought natural philosophy from Ionia to Athens. Archelaus was the teacher of Socrates. He was called the physicist inasmuch as with him natural philosophy came to an end, as soon as Socrates had introduced ethics. It would seem that Archelaus himself also treated of ethics, for he has discussed laws and goodness and justice; Socrates took the subject from him and, having improved it to the utmost, was regarded as its inventor. Archelaus laid down that there were two causes of growth or becoming, heat and cold; that living things were produced from slime; and that what is just and what is base depends not upon nature but upon convention.

His theory is to this effect. Water is melted by heat and produces on the one hand earth in so far as by the action of fire it sinks and coheres, while on the other hand it generates air in so far as it overflows on all sides. Hence the earth is confined by the air, and the air by the circumambient fire. Living things, he holds, are generated from the earth when it is heated and throws off slime of the consistency of milk to serve as a sort of nourishment, and in this same way the earth produced man. He was the first who explained the production of sound as being the concussion of the air, and the formation of the sea in hollow places as due to its filtering through the earth. He declared the sun to be the largest of the heavenly bodies and the universe to be unlimited.

There have been three other men who bore the name of Archelaus: the topographer who described the countries traversed by Alexander; the author of a treatise on Natural Curiosities; and lastly a rhetorician who wrote a handbook on his art.

Chapter 5. SOCRATES (469-399 B.C.)

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and of Phaenarete, a midwife, as we read in the Theaetetus of Plato; he was a citizen of Athens and belonged to the deme Alopece. It was thought that he helped Euripides to make his plays; hence Mnesimachus writes:
This new play of Euripides is The Phrygians; and Socrates provides the wood for frying.
And again he calls Euripides an engine riveted by Socrates. And Callias in The Captives:

A. Pray why so solemn, why this lofty air?

B. I've every right; I'm helped by Socrates.
Aristophanes in The Clouds:
'Tis he composes for Euripides

Those clever plays, much sound and little sense.

According to some authors he was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and also of Damon, as Alexander states in his Successions of Philosophers. When Anaxagoras was condemned, he became a pupil of Archelaus the physicist; Aristoxenus asserts that Archelaus was very fond of him. Duris makes him out to have been a slave and to have been employed on stonework, and the draped figures of the Graces on the Acropolis have by some been attributed to him. Hence the passage in Timon's Silli:
From these diverged the sculptor, a prater about laws, the enchanter of Greece, inventor of subtle arguments, the sneerer who mocked at fine speeches, half-Attic in his mock humility.
He was formidable in public speaking, according to Idomeneus; moreover, as Xenophon tells us, the Thirty forbade him to teach the art of words.

And Aristophanes attacks him in his plays for making the worse appear the better reason. For Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History says Socrates and his pupil Aeschines were the first to teach rhetoric; and this is confirmed by Idomeneus in his work on the Socratic circle. Again, he was the first who discoursed on the conduct of life, and the first philosopher who was tried and put to death. Aristoxenus, the son of Spintharus, says of him that he made money; he would at all events invest sums, collect the interest accruing, and then, when this was expended, put out the principal again.

Demetrius of Byzantium relates that Crito removed him from his workshop and educated him, being struck by his beauty of soul;

that he discussed moral questions in the workshops and the market-place, being convinced that the study of nature is no concern of ours; and that he claimed that his inquiries embraced
Whatso'er is good or evil in an house;
that frequently, owing to his vehemence in argument, men set upon him with their fists or tore his hair out; and that for the most part he was despised and laughed at, yet bore all this ill-usage patiently. So much so that, when he had been kicked, and some one expressed surprise at his taking it so quietly, Socrates rejoined, Should I have taken the law of a donkey, supposing that he had kicked me? Thus far Demetrius.

Unlike most philosophers, he had no need to travel, except when required to go on an expedition. The rest of his life he stayed at home and engaged all the more keenly in argument with anyone who would converse with him, his aim being not to alter his opinion but to get at the truth. They relate that Euripides gave him the treatise of Heraclitus and asked his opinion upon it, and that his reply was, The part I understand is excellent, and so too is, I dare say, the part I do not understand; but it needs a Delian diver to get to the bottom of it.

He took care to exercise his body and kept in good condition. At all events he served on the expedition to Amphipolis; and when in the battle of Delium Xenophon had fallen from his horse, he stepped in and saved his life.

For in the general flight of the Athenians he personally retired at his ease, quietly turning round from time to time and ready to defend himself in case he were attacked. Again, he served at Potidaea, whither he had gone by sea, as land communications were interrupted by the war; and while there he is said to have remained a whole night without changing his position, and to have won the prize of valour. But he resigned it to Alcibiades, for whom he cherished the tenderest affection, according to Aristippus in the fourth book of his treatise On the Luxury of the Ancients. Ion of Chios relates that in his youth he visited Samos in the company of Archelaus; and Aristotle that he went to Delphi; he went also to the Isthmus, according to Favorinus in the first book of his Memorabilia.

His strength of will and attachment to the democracy are evident from his refusal to yield to Critias and his colleagues when they ordered him to bring the wealthy Leon of Salamis before them for execution, and further from the fact that he alone voted for the acquittal of the ten generals; and again from the facts that when he had the opportunity to escape from the prison he declined to do so, and that he rebuked his friends for weeping over his fate, and addressed to them his most memorable discourses in the prison.

He was a man of great independence and dignity of character. Pamphila in the seventh book of her Commentaries tells how Alcibiades once offered him a large site on which to build a house; but he replied, Suppose, then, I wanted shoes and you offered me a whole hide to make a pair with, would it not be ridiculous in me to take it?

Often when he looked at the multitude of wares exposed for sale, he would say to himself, How many things I can do without! And he would continually recite the lines:
The purple robe and silver’s shine

More fits an actor’s need than mine.

He showed his contempt for Archelaus of Macedon and Scopas of Cranon and Eurylochus of Larissa by refusing to accept their presents or to go to their court. He was so orderly in his way of life that on several occasions when pestilence broke out in Athens he was the only man who escaped infection.

Aristotle says that he married two wives: his first wife was Xanthippe, by whom he had a son, Lamprocles; his second wife was Myrto, the daughter of Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry. By her he had Sophroniscus and Menexenus. Others make Myrto his first wife; while some writers, including Satyrus and Hieronymus of Rhodes, affirm that they were both his wives at the same time. For they say that the Athenians were short of men and, wishing to increase the population, passed a decree permitting a citizen to marry one Athenian woman and have children by another; and that Socrates accordingly did so.

He could afford to despise those who scoffed at him. He prided himself on his plain living, and never asked a fee from anyone. He used to say that he most enjoyed the food which was least in need of condiment, and the drink which made him feel the least hankering for some other drink; and that he was nearest to the gods in that he had the fewest wants. This may be seen from the Comic poets, who in the act of ridiculing him give him high praise. Thus Aristophanes:
O man that justly desirest great wisdom, how blessed will be thy life amongst Athenians and Greeks, retentive of memory and thinker that thou art, with endurance of toil for thy character; never art thou weary whether standing or walking, never numb with cold, never hungry for breakfast; from wine and from gross feeding and all other frivolities thou dost turn away.

Ameipsias too, when he puts him on the stage wearing a cloak, says:

A. You come to join us, Socrates, worthiest of a small band and emptiest by far! You are a robust fellow. Where can we get you a proper coat?

B. Your sorry plight is an insult to the cobblers.

A. And yet, hungry as he is, this man has never stooped to flatter.
This disdainful, lofty spirit of his is also noticed by Aristophanes when he says:
Because you stalk along the streets, rolling your eyes, and endure, barefoot, many a hardship, and gaze up at us [the clouds].
And yet at times he would even put on fine clothes to suit the occasion, as in Plato's Symposium, where he is on his way to Agathon's house.

He showed equal ability in both directions, in persuading and dissuading men; thus, after conversing with Theaetetus about knowledge, he sent him away, as Plato says, fired with a divine impulse; but when Euthyphro had indicted his father for manslaughter, Socrates, after some conversation with him upon piety, diverted him from his purpose. Lysis, again, he turned, by exhortation, into a most virtuous character. For he had the skill to draw his arguments from facts. And when his son Lamprocles was violently angry with his mother, Socrates made him feel ashamed of himself, as I believe Xenophon has told us. When Plato's brother Glaucon was desirous of entering upon politics, Socrates dissuaded him, as Xenophon relates, because of his want of experience; but on the contrary he encouraged Charmides to take up politics because he had a gift that way.

He roused Iphicrates the general to a martial spirit by showing him how the fighting cocks of Midias the barber flapped their wings in defiance of those of Callias. Glauconides demanded that he should be acquired for the state as if he were some pheasant or peacock.

He used to say it was strange that, if you asked a man how many sheep he had, he could easily tell you the precise number; whereas he could not name his friends or say how many he had, so slight was the value he set upon them. Seeing Euclides keenly interested in eristic arguments, he said to him: You will be able to get on with sophists, Euclides, but with men not at all. For he thought there was no use in this sort of hair-splitting, as Plato shows us in the Euthydemus.

Again, when Charmides offered him some slaves in order that he might derive an income from them, he declined the offer; and according to some he scorned the beauty of Alcibiades. He would extol leisure as the best of possessions, according to Xenophon in the Symposium. There is, he said, only one good, that is, knowledge, and only one evil, that is, ignorance; wealth and good birth bring their possessor no dignity, but on the contrary evil. At all events, when some one told him that Antisthenes' mother was a Thracian, he replied, Nay, did you expect a man so

noble to have been born of two Athenian parents? He made Crito ransom Phaedo who, having been taken prisoner in the war, was kept in degrading slavery, and so won him for philosophy.

Moreover, in his old age he learnt to play the lyre, declaring that he saw no absurdity in learning a new accomplishment. As Xenophon relates in the Symposium, it was his regular habit to dance, thinking that such exercise helped to keep the body in good condition. He used to say that his supernatural sign warned him beforehand of the future; that to make a good start was no trifling advantage, but a trifle turned the scale; and that he knew nothing except just the fact of his ignorance. He said that, when people paid a high price for fruit which had ripened early, they must despair of seeing the fruit ripen at the proper season. And, being once asked in what consisted the virtue of a young man, he said, In doing nothing to excess. He held that geometry should be studied to the point at which a man is able to measure the land which he acquires or parts with.

On hearing the line of Euripides' play Auge where the poet says of virtue:
'Tis best to let her roam at will,
he got up and left the theatre. For he said it was absurd to make a hue and cry about a slave who could not be found, and to allow virtue to perish in this way. Some one asked him whether he should marry or not, and received the reply, Whichever you do you will repent it. He used to express his astonishment that the sculptors of marble statues should take pains to make the block of marble into a perfect likeness of a man, and should take no pains about themselves lest they should turn out mere blocks, not men. He recommended to the young the constant use of the mirror, to the end that handsome men might acquire a corresponding behaviour, and ugly men conceal their defects by education.

He had invited some rich men and, when Xanthippe said she felt ashamed of the dinner, Never mind, said he, for if they are reasonable they will put up with it, and if they are good for nothing, we shall not trouble ourselves about them. He would say that the rest of the world lived to eat, while he himself ate to live. Of the mass of men who do not count he said it was as if some one should object to a single tetradrachm as counterfeit and at the same time let a whole heap made up of just such pieces pass as genuine. Aeschines said to him, I am a poor man and have nothing else to give, but I offer you myself, and Socrates answered, Nay, do you not see that you are offering me the greatest gift of all? To one who complained that he was overlooked when the Thirty rose to power, he said, You are not sorry for that, are you?

To one who said, You are condemned by the Athenians to die, he made answer, So are they, by nature. But some ascribe this to Anaxagoras. When his wife said, You suffer unjustly, he retorted, Why, would you have me suffer justly? He had a dream that some one said to him:
On the third day thou shalt come to the fertile fields of Phthia;
and he told Aeschines, On the third day I shall die. When he was about to drink the hemlock, Apollodorus offered him a beautiful garment to die in: What, said he, is my own good enough to live in but not to die in? When he was told that So-and-so spoke ill of him, he replied, True, for he has never learnt to speak well.

When Antisthenes turned his cloak so that the tear in it came into view, I see, said he, your vanity through your cloak. To one who said, Don't you find so-and-so very offensive? his reply was, No, for it takes two to make a quarrel. We ought not to object, he used to say, to be subjects for the Comic poets, for if they satirize our faults they will do us good, and if not they do not touch us. When Xanthippe first scolded him and then drenched him with water, his rejoinder

was, Did I not say that Xanthippe's thunder would end in rain? When Alcibiades declared that the scolding of Xanthippe was intolerable, Nay, I have got used to it, said he, as to the continued rattle of a windlass. And you do not mind the cackle of geese.

No, replied Alcibiades, but they furnish me with eggs and goslings. And Xanthippe, said Socrates, is the mother of my children. When she tore his coat off his back in the market-place and his acquaintances advised him to hit back, Yes, by Zeus, said he, in order that while we are sparring each of you may join in with Go it, Socrates! Well done, Xanthippe! He said he lived with a shrew, as horsemen are fond of spirited horses, but just as, when they have mastered these, they can easily cope with the rest, so I in the society of Xanthippe shall learn to adapt myself to the rest of the world.

These and the like were his words and deeds, to which the Pythian priestess bore testimony when she gave Chaerephon the famous response:
Of all men living Socrates most wise.

For this he was most envied; and especially because he would take to task those who thought highly of themselves, proving them to be fools, as to be sure he treated Anytus, according to Plato's Meno. For Anytus could not endure to be ridiculed by Socrates, and so in the first place stirred up against him Aristophanes and his friends; then afterwards he helped to persuade Meletus to indict him on a charge of impiety and corrupting the youth.

The indictment was brought by Meletus, and the speech was delivered by Polyeuctus, according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History. The speech was written by Polycrates the sophist, according to Hermippus; but some say that it was by Anytus. Lycon the demagogue had made all the needful preparations.

Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers, and Plato in his Apology, say that there were three accusers, Anytus, Lycon and Meletus; that Anytus was roused to anger on behalf of the craftsmen and politicians, Lycon on behalf of the rhetoricians, Meletus of the poets, all three of which classes had felt the lash of Socrates. Favorinus in the first book of his Memorabilia declares that the speech of Polycrates against Socrates is not authentic; for he mentions the rebuilding of the walls by Conon, which did not take place till six years after the death of Socrates. And this is the case.

The affidavit in the case, which is still preserved, says Favorinus, in the Metron, ran as follows: This indictment and affidavit is sworn by Meletus, the son of Meletus of Pitthos, against Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus of Alopece: Socrates is guilty of refusing to recognize the gods recognized by the state, and of introducing other new divinities. He is also guilty of corrupting the youth. The penalty demanded is death. The philosopher then, after Lysias had written a defence for him, read it through and said: A fine speech, Lysias; it is not, however, suitable to me. For it was plainly more forensic than philosophical.

Lysias said, If it is a fine speech, how can it fail to suit you? Well, he replied, would not fine raiment and fine shoes be just as unsuitable to me?

Justus of Tiberias in his book entitled The Wreath says that in the course of the trial Plato mounted the platform and began: Though I am the youngest, men of Athens, of all who ever rose to address you—whereupon the judges shouted out, Get down! Get down! When therefore he was condemned by 281 votes more than those given for acquittal, and when the judges were assessing what he should suffer or what fine he should pay, he proposed to pay 25 drachmae.

Eubulides indeed says he offered 100.

When this caused an uproar among the judges, he said, Considering my services, I assess the penalty at maintenance in the Prytaneum at the public expense.

Sentence of death was passed, with an accession of eighty fresh votes. He was put in prison, and a few days afterwards drank the hemlock, after much noble discourse which Plato records in the Phaedo. Further, according to some, he composed a paean beginning:
All hail, Apollo, Delos' lord!

Hail Artemis, ye noble pair!
Dionysodorus denies that he wrote the paean. He also composed a fable of Aesop, not very skilfully, beginning:
Judge not, ye men of Corinth, Aesop cried,

Of virtue as the jury-courts decide.

So he was taken from among men; and not long afterwards the Athenians felt such remorse that they shut up the training grounds and gymnasia. They banished the other accusers but put Meletus to death; they honoured Socrates with a bronze statue, the work of Lysippus, which they placed in the hall of processions. And no sooner did Anytus visit Heraclea than the people of that town expelled him on that very day. Not only in the case of Socrates but in very many others the Athenians repented in this way. For they fined Homer (so says Heraclides) 50 drachmae for a madman, and said Tyrtaeus was beside himself, and they honoured Astydamas before Aeschylus and his brother poets with a bronze statue.

Euripides upbraids them thus in his Palamedes: Ye have slain, have slain, the all-wise, the innocent, the Muses' nightingale. This is one account; but Philochorus asserts that Euripides died before Socrates.

He was born, according to Apollodorus in his Chronology, in the archonship of Apsephion, in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad, on the 6th day of the month of Thargelion, when the Athenians purify their city, which according to the Delians is the birthday of Artemis. He died in the first year of the 95th Olympiad at the age of seventy. With this Demetrius of Phalerum agrees; but some say he was sixty when he died.

Both were pupils of Anaxagoras, I mean Socrates and Euripides, who was born in the first year of the 75th Olympiad in the archonship of Calliades.

In my opinion Socrates discoursed on physics as well as on ethics, since he holds some conversations about providence, even according to Xenophon, who, however, declares that he only discussed ethics. But Plato, after mentioning Anaxagoras and certain other physicists in the Apology, treats for his own part themes which Socrates disowned, although he puts everything into the mouth of Socrates.

Aristotle relates that a magician came from Syria to Athens and, among other evils with which he threatened Socrates, predicted that he would come to a violent end.

I have written verses about him too, as follows:
Drink then, being in Zeus's palace, O Socrates; for truly did the god pronounce thee wise, being wisdom himself; for when thou didst frankly take the hemlock at the hands of the Athenians, they themselves drained it as it passed thy lips.

He was sharply criticized, according to Aristotle in his third book On Poetry, by a certain Antilochus of Lemnos, and by Antiphon the soothsayer, just as Pythagoras was by Cylon of Croton, or as Homer was assailed in his lifetime by Syagrus, and after his death by Xenophanes of Colophon. So too Hesiod was criticized in his lifetime by Cercops, and after his death by the aforesaid Xenophanes; Pindar by Amphimenes of Cos; thales by Pherecydes; Bias by Salarus of Priene; Pittacus by Antimenidas and Alcaeus; Anaxagoras by Sosibius; and Simonides by Timocreon.

Of those who succeeded him and were called Socratics the chief were Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes, and of ten names on the traditional list the most distinguished are Aeschines, Phaedo, Euclides, Aristippus. I must first speak of Xenophon; Antisthenes will come afterwards among the Cynics; after Xenophon I shall take the Socratics proper, and so pass on to Plato. With Plato the ten schools begin: he was himself the founder of the First Academy. This then is the order which I shall follow.

Of those who bear the name of Socrates there is one, a historian, who wrote a geographical work upon Argos; another, a Peripatetic philosopher of Bithynia; a third, a poet who wrote epigrams; lastly, Socrates of Cos, who wrote on the names of the gods.

Chapter 6. XENOPHON (426?-354 B.C.)

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was a citizen of Athens and belonged to the deme Erchia; he was a man of rare modesty and extremely handsome. The story goes that Socrates met him in a narrow passage, and that he stretched out his stick to bar the way, while he inquired where every kind of food was sold. Upon receiving a reply, he put another question, And where do men become good and honourable? Xenophon was fairly puzzled; Then follow me, said Socrates, and learn. From that time onward he was a pupil of Socrates. He was the first to take notes of, and to give to the world, the conversation of Socrates, under the title of Memorabilia. Moreover, he was the first to write a history of philosophers.

Aristippus, in the fourth book of his work On the Luxury of the Ancients, declares that he was enamoured of Clinias,

and said in reference to him, It is sweeter for me to gaze on Clinias than on all the fair sights in the world. I would be content to be blind to everything else if I could but gaze on him alone. I am vexed with the night and with sleep because I cannot see Clinias, and most grateful to the day and the sun for showing him to me.

He gained the friendship of Cyrus in the following way. He had an intimate friend named Proxenus, a Boeotian, a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini and a friend of Cyrus. Proxenus, while living in Sardis at the court of Cyrus, wrote a letter to Xenophon at Athens, inviting him to come and seek the friendship of Cyrus.

Xenophon showed this letter to Socrates and asked his advice, which was that he should go to Delphi and consult the oracle. Xenophon complied and came into the presence of the god. He inquired, not whether he should go and seek service with Cyrus, but in what way he should do so. For this Socrates blamed him, yet at the same time he advised him to go. On his arrival at the court of Cyrus he became as warmly attached to him as Proxenus himself. We have his own sufficient narrative of all that happened on the expedition and on the return home. He was, however, at enmity with Meno of Pharsalus, the mercenary general, throughout the expedition,

and, by way of abuse, charges him with having a favourite older than himself. Again, he reproaches one Apollonides with having had his ears bored.

After the expedition and the misfortunes which overtook it in Pontus and the treacheries of Seuthes, the king of the Odrysians, he returned to Asia, having enlisted the troops of Cyrus as mercenaries in the service of Agesilaus, the Spartan king, to whom he was devoted beyond measure. About this time he was banished by the Athenians for siding with Sparta. When he was in Ephesus and had a sum of money, he entrusted one half of it to Megabyzus, the priest of Artemis, to keep until his return, or if he should never return, to apply to the erection of a statue in honour of the goddess. But the other half he sent in votive offerings to Delphi. Next he came to Greece with Agesilaus, who had been recalled to carry on the war against Thebes. And the Lacedaemonians conferred on him a privileged position.

He then left Agesilaus and made his way to Scillus, a place in the territory of Elis not far from the city. According to Demetrius of Magnesia he was accompanied by his wife Philesia, and, in a speech written for the freedman whom Xenophon prosecuted for neglect of duty, Dinarchus mentions that his two sons Gryllus and Diodorus, the Dioscuri as they were called, also went with him. Megabyzus having arrived to attend the festival, Xenophon received from him the deposit of money and bought and dedicated to the goddess an estate with a river running through, which bears the same name Selinus as the river at Ephesus. And from that time onward he hunted, entertained his friends, and worked at his histories without interruption. Dinarchus, however, asserts that it was the Lacedaemonians who gave him a house and land.

At the same time we are told that Phylopidas the Spartan sent to him at Scillus a present of captive slaves from Dardanus, and that he disposed of them as he thought fit, and that the Elians marched against Scillus, and owing to the slowness of the Spartans captured the place, whereupon his sons retired to Lepreum with a few of the servants, while Xenophon himself, who had previously gone to Elis, went next to Lepreum to join his sons, and then made his escape with them from Lepreum to Corinth and took up his abode there. Meanwhile the Athenians passed a decree to assist Sparta, and Xenophon sent his sons to Athens to serve in the army in defence of Sparta.

According to Diocles in his Lives of the Philosophers, they had been trained in Sparta itself. Diodorus came safe out of the battle without performing any distinguished service, and he had a son of the same name (Gryllus) as his brother. Gryllus was posted with the cavalry and, in the battle which took place about Mantinea, fought stoutly and fell, as Ephorus relates in his twenty-fifth book, Cephisodorus being in command of the cavalry and Hegesilaus commander-in-chief. In this battle Epaminondas also fell. On this occasion Xenophon is said to have been sacrificing, with a chaplet on his head, which he removed when his son’s death was announced. But afterwards, upon learning that he had fallen gloriously, he replaced the chaplet on his head.

Some say that he did not even shed tears, but exclaimed, I knew my son was mortal. Aristotle mentions that there were innumerable authors of epitaphs and eulogies upon Gryllus, who wrote, in part at least, to gratify his father. Hermippus too, in his Life of Theophrastus, affirms that even Isocrates wrote an encomium on Gryllus. Timon, however, jeers at Xenophon in the lines:
A feeble pair or triad of works, or even a greater number, such as would come from Xenophon or the might of Aeschines, that not unpersuasive writer.

Such was his life. He flourished in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad, and he took part in the expedition of Cyrus in the archonship of Xenaenetus in the year before the death of Socrates.

He died, according to Ctesiclides of Athens 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, the son of Amyntas, came to the throne of Macedon. He died at Corinth, as is stated by Demetrius of Magnesia, obviously at an advanced age. He was a worthy man in general, particularly fond of horses and hunting, an able tactician as is clear from his writings, pious, fond of sacrificing, and an expert in augury from the victims; and he made Socrates his exact model.

He wrote some forty books in all, though the division into books is not always the same, namely:

The Anabasis, with a preface to each separate book but not one to the whole work.

Cyropaedia.

Hellenica.

Memorabilia.

Symposium.

Oeconomicus.

On Horsemanship.

On Hunting.

On the Duty of a Cavalry General.

A Defence of Socrates.

On Revenues.

Hieron or Of Tyranny.

Agesilaus.

The Constitutions of Athens and Sparta.

Demetrius of Magnesia denies that the last of these works is by Xenophon. There is a tradition that he made Thucydides famous by publishing his history, which was unknown, and which he might have appropriated to his own use. By the sweetness of his narrative he earned the name of the Attic Muse. Hence he and Plato were jealous of each other, as will be stated in the chapter on Plato.

There is an epigram of mine on him also:
Up the steep path to fame toiled Xenophon

In that long march of glorious memories;

In deeds of Greece, how bright his lesson shone!

How fair was wisdom seen in Socrates!
There is another on the circumstances of his death:
Albeit the countrymen of Cranaus and Cecrops condemned thee, Xenophon, to exile on account of thy friendship for Cyrus, yet hospitable Corinth welcomed thee, so well content with the delights of that city wast thou, and there didst resolve to take up thy rest.

In other authorities I find the statement that he flourished, along with the other Socratics, in the

89th Olympiad, and Istrus affirms that he was banished by a decree of Eubulus and recalled by a decree of the same man.

There have been seven Xenophons: the first our subject himself; the second an Athenian, brother of Pythostratus, who wrote the Theseid, and himself the author, amongst other works, of a biography of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the third a physician of Cos; the fourth the author of a history of Hannibal; the fifth an authority on legendary marvels; the sixth a sculptor, of Paros; the seventh a poet of the Old Comedy.

Chapter 7. AESCHINES (c. 400 B.C.)

Aeschines was the son of Charinus the sausagemaker, but others make his father's name Lysanias. He was a citizen of Athens, industrious from his birth up. For this reason he never quitted Socrates; hence Socrates' remark, Only the sausage-maker's son knows how to honour me. Idomeneus declared that it was Aeschines, not Crito, who advised Socrates in the prison about making his escape, but that Plato put the words into the mouth of Crito because Aeschines was more attached to Aristippus than to himself. It was said maliciously—by Menedemus of Eretria in particular—that most of the dialogues which Aeschines passed off as his own were really dialogues of Socrates obtained by him from Xanthippe. Those of them which are said to have no beginning (ἀκέφαλοι) are very slovenly and show none of the vigour of Socrates; Pisistratus of Ephesus even denied that they were written by Aeschines.

Persaeus indeed attributes the majority of the seven to Pasiphon of the school of Eretria, who inserted them among the dialogues of Aeschines. Moreover, Aeschines made use of the Little Cyrus, the Lesser Heracles and the Alcibiades of Antisthenes as well as dialogues by other authors. However that may be, of the writings of Aeschines those stamped with a Socratic character are seven, namely Miltiades, which for that reason is somewhat weak; then Callias, Axiochus, Aspasia, Alcibiades, Telauges, and Rhinon.

They say that want drove him to Sicily to the court of Dionysius, and that Plato took no notice of him, but he was introduced to Dionysius by Aristippus, and on presenting certain dialogues received gifts from him.

Afterwards on his return to Athens he did not venture to lecture owing to the popularity of Plato and Aristippus. But he took fees from pupils, and subsequently composed forensic speeches for aggrieved clients. This is the point of Timon's reference to him as the might of Aeschines, that not unconvincing writer. They say that Socrates, seeing how he was pinched by poverty, advised him to borrow from himself by reducing his rations. Aristippus among others had suspicions of the genuineness of his dialogues. At all events, as he was reading one at Megara, Aristippus rallied him by asking, Where did you get that, you thief?

Polycritus of Mende, in the first book of his History of Dionysius, says that he lived with the tyrant until his expulsion from Syracuse, and survived until the return of Dion, and that with him was Carcinus the tragic poet. There is also extant an epistle of Aeschines to Dionysius. That he had received a good rhetorical training is clear from his defence of the father of Phaeax the general, and from his defence of Dion. He is a close imitator of Gorgias of Leontini. Moreover, Lysias attacked him in a speech which he entitled On dishonesty. And from this too it is clear that he was a rhetorician. A single disciple of his is mentioned, Aristotle, whose nickname was Story.

Panaetius thinks that, of all the Socratic dialogues, those by Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes and Aeschines are genuine; he is in doubt about those ascribed to Phaedo and Euclides; but he rejects the others one and all.

There are eight men who have borne the name of Aeschines: (1) our subject himself; (2) the author of handbooks of rhetoric; (3) the orator who opposed Demosthenes; (4) an Arcadian, a pupil of Isocrates; (5) a Mitylenean whom they used to call the scourge of rhetoricians; (6) a Neapolitan, an Academic philosopher, a pupil and favourite of Melanthius of Rhodes; (7) a Milesian who wrote upon politics; (8) a sculptor.

Chapter 8. ARISTIPPUS (c. 435-350 B.C.)

Aristippus was by birth a citizen of Cyrene and, as Aeschines informs us, was drawn to Athens by the fame of Socrates. Having come forward as a lecturer or sophist, as Phanias of Eresus, the Peripatetic, informs us, he was the first of the followers of Socrates to charge fees and to send money to his master. And on one occasion the sum of twenty minae which he had sent was returned to him, Socrates declaring that the supernatural sign would not let him take it; the very offer, in fact, annoyed him. Xenophon was no friend to Aristippus; and for this reason he has made Socrates direct against Aristippus the discourse in which he denounces pleasure. Not but what Theodorus in his work On Sects abuses him, and so does Plato in the dialogue On the Soul, as has been shown elsewhere.

He was capable of adapting himself to place, time and person, and of playing his part appropriately under whatever circumstances. Hence he found more favour than anybody else with Dionysius, because he could always turn the situation to good account. He derived pleasure from what was present, and did not toil to procure the enjoyment of something not present Hence Diogenes called him the king’s poodle Timon, too, sneered at him for luxury in these words:
Such was the delicate nature of Aristippus, who groped after error by touch.
He is said to have ordered a partridge to be bought at a cost of fifty drachmae, and, when someone censured him, he inquired, Would not you have given an obol for it? and, being answered in the affirmative, rejoined, Fifty drachmae are no more to me.

And when Dionysius gave him his choice of three courtesans, he carried off all three, saying, Paris paid dearly for giving the preference to one out of three. And when he had brought them as far as the porch, he let them go. To such lengths did he go both in choosing and in disdaining. Hence the remark of Strato, or by some accounts of Plato, You alone are endowed with the gift to flaunt in robes or go in rags. He bore with Dionysius when he spat on him, and to one who took him to task he replied, If the fishermen let themselves be drenched with sea-water in order to catch a gudgeon, ought I not to endure to be wetted with negus in order to take a blenny?

Diogenes, washing the dirt from his vegetables, saw him passing and jeered at him in these terms, If you had learnt to make these your diet, you would not have paid court to kings, to which his rejoinder was, And if you knew how to associate with men, you would not be washing vegetables. Being asked what he had gained from philosophy, he replied, The ability to feel at ease in any society. Being reproached for his extravagance, he said, If it were wrong to be extravagant, it would not be in vogue at the festivals of the gods.
Being once asked what advantage philosophers have, he replied, Should all laws be repealed,

we shall go on living as we do now.

When Dionysius inquired what was the reason that philosophers go to rich men's houses, while rich men no longer visit philosophers, his reply was that the one know what they need while the other do not. When he was reproached by Plato for his extravagance, he inquired, Do you think Dionysius a good man? and the reply being in the affirmative, And yet, said he, he lives more extravagantly than I do. So that there is nothing to hinder a man living extravagantly and well. To the question how the educated differ from the uneducated, he replied, Exactly as horses that have been trained differ from untrained horses. One day, as he entered the house of a courtesan, one of the lads with him blushed, whereupon he remarked, It is not going in that is dangerous, but being unable to go out.

Some one brought him a knotty problem with the request that he would untie the knot. Why, you simpleton, said he, do you want it untied, seeing that it causes trouble enough as it is? It is better, he said, to be a beggar than to be uneducated; the one needs money, the others need to be humanized. One day that he was reviled, he tried to slip away; the other pursued him, asking, Why do you run away? Because, said he, as it is your privilege to use foul language, so it is my privilege not to listen. In answer to one who remarked that he always saw philosophers at rich men's doors, he said, So, too, physicians are in attendance on those who are sick, but no one for that reason would prefer being sick to being a physician.

It happened once that he set sail for Corinth and, being overtaken by a storm, he was in great consternation. Some one said, We plain men are not alarmed, and are you philosophers turned cowards? To this he replied, The lives at stake in the two cases are not comparable. When some one gave himself airs for his wide learning, this is what he said: As those who eat most and take the most exercise are not better in health than those who restrict themselves to what they require, so too it is not wide reading but useful reading that tends to excellence. An advocate, having pleaded for him and won the case, thereupon put the question, What good did Socrates do you? Thus much, was the reply, that what you said of me in your speech was true.

He gave his daughter Arete the very best advice, training her up to despise excess. He was asked by some one in what way his son would be the better for being educated. He replied, If nothing more than this, at all events, when in the theatre he will not sit down like a stone upon stone. When some one brought his son as a pupil, he asked a fee of 500 drachmae. The father objected, For that sum I can buy a slave. Then do so, was the reply, and you will have two. He said that he did not take money from his friends for his own use, but to teach them upon what objects their money should be spent. When he was reproached for employing a rhetorician to conduct his case, he made reply, Well, if I give a dinner, I hire a cook.

Being once compelled by Dionysius to enunciate some doctrine of philosophy, It would be ludicrous, he said, that you should learn from me what to say, and yet instruct me when to say it. At this, they say, Dionysius was offended and made him recline at the end of the table. And Aristippus said, You must have wished to confer distinction on the last place. To some one who boasted of his diving, Are you not ashamed, said he, to brag of that which a dolphin can do? Being asked on one occasion what is the difference between the wise man and the unwise, Strip them both, said he, and send them among strangers and you will know. To one who boasted that he could drink a great deal without getting drunk, his rejoinder was, And so can a mule.

To one who accused him of living with a courtesan, he put the question, Why, is there any

difference between taking a house in which many people have lived before and taking one in which nobody has ever lived? The answer being No, he continued, Or again, between sailing in a ship in which ten thousand persons have sailed before and in one in which nobody has ever sailed? There is no difference. Then it makes no difference, said he, whether the woman you live with has lived with many or with nobody. To the accusation that, although he was a pupil of Socrates, he took fees, his rejoinder was, Most certainly I do, for Socrates, too, when certain people sent him corn and wine, used to take a little and return all the rest; and he had the foremost men in Athens for his stewards, whereas mine is my slave Eutychides. He enjoyed the favours of Laïs, as Sotion states in the second book of his Successions of Philosophers.

To those who censured him his defence was, I have Lais, not she me; and it is not abstinence from pleasures that is best, but mastery over them without ever being worsted. to one who reproached him with extravagance in catering, he replied, Wouldn't you have bought this if you could have got it for three obols? The answer being in the affirmative, Very well, then, said Aristippus, I am no longer a lover of pleasure, it is you who are a lover of money. One day Simus, the steward of Dionysius, a Phrygian by birth and a rascally fellow, was showing him costly houses with tesselated pavements, when Aristippus coughed up phlegm and spat in his face. And on his resenting this he replied, I could not find any place more suitable.

When Charondas (or, as others say, Phaedo) inquired, Who is this who reeks with unguents? he replied, It is I, unlucky wight, and the still more unlucky Persian king. But, as none of the other animals are at any disadvantage on that account, consider whether it be not the same with man. Confound the effeminates who spoil for us the use of good perfume. Being asked how Socrates died, he answered, As I would wish to die myself. Polyxenus the sophist once paid him a visit and, after having seen ladies present and expensive entertainment, reproached him with it later. After an interval Aristippus asked him, Can you join us today?

On the other accepting the invitation, Aristippus inquired, Why, then, did you find fault? For you appear to blame the cost and not the entertainment. When his servant was carrying money and found the load too heavy—the story is told by Bion in his Lectures—Aristippus cried, Pour away the greater part, and carry no more than you can manage. Being once on a voyage, as soon as he discovered the vessel to be manned by pirates, he took out his money and began to count it, and then, as if by inadvertence, he let the money fall into the sea, and naturally broke out into lamentation. Another version of the story attributes to him the further remark that it was better for the money to perish on account of Aristippus than for Aristippus to perish on account of the money. Dionysius once asked him what he was come for, and he said it was to impart what he had and obtain what he had not.

But some make his answer to have been, When I needed wisdom, I went to Socrates; now that I am in need of money, I come to you. He used to complain of mankind that in purchasing earthenware they made trial whether it rang true, but had no regular standard by which to judge life. Others attribute this remark to Diogenes. One day Dionysius over the wine commanded everybody to put on purple and dance. Plato declined, quoting the line:
I could not stoop to put on women's robes.
Aristippus, however, put on the dress and, as he was about to dance, was ready with the repartee:
Even amid the Bacchic revelry

True modesty will not be put to shame.

He made a request to Dionysius on behalf of a friend and, failing to obtain it, fell down at his feet. And when some one jeered at him, he made reply, It is not I who am to blame, but Dionysius who has his ears in his feet. He was once staying in Asia and was taken prisoner by Artaphernes, the satrap. Can you be cheerful under these circumstances? some one asked. Yes, you simpleton, was the reply, for when should I be more cheerful than now that I am about to converse with Artaphernes? Those who went through the ordinary curriculum, but in their studies stopped short at philosophy, he used to compare to the suitors of Penelope. For the suitors won Melantho, Polydora and the rest of the handmaidens, but were anything but successful in their wooing of the mistress.

A similar remark is ascribed to Ariston. For, he said, when Odysseus went down into the under-world, he saw nearly all the dead and made their acquaintance, but he never set eyes upon their queen herself.

Again, when Aristippus was asked what are the subjects which handsome boys ought to learn, his reply was, Those which will be useful to them when they are grown up. To the critic who censured him for leaving Socrates to go to Dionysius, his rejoinder was, Yes, but I came to Socrates for education and to Dionysius for recreation. When he had made some money by teaching, Socrates asked him, Where did you get so much? to which he replied, Where you got so little.

A courtesan having told him that she was with child by him, he replied, You are no more sure of this than if, after running through coarse rushes, you were to say you had been pricked by one in particular. Someone accused him of exposing his son as if it was not his offspring Whereupon he replied, Phlegm, too, and vermin we know to be of our own begetting, but for all that, because they are useless, we cast them as far from us as possible. He received a sum of money from Dionysius at the same time that Plato carried off a book and, when he was twitted with this, his reply was,, Well, I want money, Plato wants books. Some one asked him why he let himself be refuted by Dionysius. For the same reason, said he, as the others refute him.

Dionysius met a request of his for money with the words, Nay, but you told me that the wise man would never be in want. To which he retorted, Pay! Pay! and then let us discuss the question; and when he was paid, Now you see, do you not, said he, that I was not found wanting? Dionysius having repeated to him the lines:
Whoso betakes him to a prince’s court

Becomes his slave, albeit of free birth,

he retorted:
If a free man he come, no slave is he.
This is stated by Diocles in his work On the Lives of Philosophers; other writers refer the anecdotes to Plato. After getting in a rage with Aeschines, he presently addressed him thus: Are we not to make it up and desist from vapouring, or will you wait for some one to reconcile us over the wine-bowl? To which he replied, Agreed.

Then remember, Aristippus went on, that, though I am your senior, I made the first approaches. Thereupon Aeschines said, Well done, by Hera, you are quite right; you are a much better man than I am. For the quarrel was of my beginning, you make the first move to friendship. Such are the repartees which are attributed to him.

There have been four men called Aristippus, (1) our present subject, (2) the author of a book

about Arcadia, (3) the grandchild by a daughter of the first Aristippus, who was known as his mother's pupil, (4) a philosopher of the New Academy.

The following books by the Cyrenaic philosopher are in circulation: a history of Libya in three Books, sent to Dionysius; one work containing twenty-five dialogues, some written in Attic, some in Doric, as follows:

Artabazus.

To the shipwrecked.

To the Exiles.

To a Beggar.

To Laïs.

To Porus.

To Laïs, On the Mirror.

Hermias.

A Dream.

To the Master of the Revels.

Philomelus.

To his Friends.

To those who blame him for his love of old wine and of women.

To those who blame him for extravagant living.

Letter to his daughter Arete.

To one in training for Olympia.

An Interrogatory.

Another Interrogatory.

An Occasional Piece to Dionysius.

Another, On the Statue.

Another, On the daughter of Dionysius.

To one who considered himself slighted.

To one who essayed to be a counsellor.

Some also maintain that he wrote six Books of Essays; others, and among them Sosicrates of Rhodes, that he wrote none at all.

According to Sotion in his second book, and Panaetius, the following treatises are his:

On Education.

On Virtue.

Introduction to Philosophy.

Artabazus.

The Ship-wrecked.

The Exiles.

Six books of Essays.

Three books of Occasional Writings (χρεῖαι).

To Laïs.

To Porus.

To Socrates.

On Fortune.

He laid down as the end the smooth motion resulting in sensation.

Having written his life, let me now proceed to pass in review the philosophers of the Cyrenaic school which sprang from him, although some call themselves followers of Hegesias, others followers of Anniceris, others again of Theodorus. Not but what we shall notice further the pupils of Phaedo, the chief of whom were called the school of Eretria.

The case stands thus. The disciples of Aristippus were his daughter Arete, Aethiops of Ptolemais, and Antipater of Cyrene. The pupil of Arete was Aristippus, who went by the name of mother-taught, and his pupil was Theodorus, known as the atheist, subsequently as god. Antipater's pupil was Epitimides of Cyrene, his was Paraebates, and he had as pupils Hegesias, the advocate of suicide, and Anniceris, who ransomed Plato.

Those then who adhered to the teaching of Aristippus and were known as Cyrenaics held the following opinions. They laid down that there are two states, pleasure and pain, the former a smooth, the latter a rough motion, and that pleasure does not differ from pleasure nor is one pleasure more pleasant than another.

The one state is agreeable and the other repellent to all living things. However, the bodily pleasure which is the end is, according to Panaetius in his work On the Sects, not the settled pleasure following the removal of pains, or the sort of freedom from discomfort which Epicurus accepts and maintains to be the end. They also hold that there is a difference between end and happiness. Our end is particular pleasure, whereas happiness is the sum total of all particular pleasures, in which are included both past and future pleasures.

Particular pleasure is desirable for its own sake, whereas happiness is desirable not for its own sake but for the sake of particular pleasures. That pleasure is the end is proved by the fact that from our youth up we are instinctively attracted to it, and, when we obtain it, seek for nothing more, and shun nothing so much as its opposite, pain. Pleasure is good even if it proceed from the most unseemly conduct, as Hippobotus says in his work On the Sects. For even if the action be irregular, still, at any rate, the resultant pleasure is desirable for its own sake and is good.

The removal of pain, however, which is put forward in Epicurus, seems to them not to be pleasure at all, any more than the absence of pleasure is pain. For both pleasure and pain they hold to consist in motion, whereas absence of pleasure like absence of pain is not motion, since painlessness is the condition of one who is, as it were, asleep. They assert that some people may fail to choose pleasure because their minds are perverted; not all mental pleasures and pains, however, are derived from bodily counterparts. For instance, we take disinterested delight in the

prosperity of our country which is as real as our delight in our own prosperity. Nor again do they admit that pleasure is derived from the memory or expectation of good, which was a doctrine of Epicurus.

For they assert that the movement affecting the mind is exhausted in course of time. Again they hold that pleasure is not derived from sight or from hearing alone. At all events, we listen with pleasure to imitation of mourning, while the reality causes pain. They gave the names of absence of pleasure and absence of pain to the intermediate conditions. However, they insist that bodily pleasures are far better than mental pleasures, and bodily pains far worse than mental pains, and that this is the reason why offenders are punished with the former. For they assumed pain to be more repellent, pleasure more congenial. For these reasons they paid more attention to the body than to the mind. Hence, although pleasure is in itself desirable, yet they hold that the things which are productive of certain pleasures are often of a painful nature, the very opposite of pleasure; so that to accumulate the pleasures which are productive of happiness appears to them a most irksome business.

They do not accept the doctrine that every wise man lives pleasantly and every fool painfully, but regard it as true for the most part only. It is sufficient even if we enjoy but each single pleasure as it comes. They say that prudence is a good, though desirable not in itself but on account of its consequences; that we make friends from interested motives, just as we cherish any part of the body so long as we have it; that some of the virtues are found even in the foolish; that bodily training contributes to the acquisition of virtue; that the sage will not give way to envy or love or superstition, since these weaknesses are due to mere empty opinion; he will, however, feel pain and fear, these being natural affections;

and that wealth too is productive of pleasure, though not desirable for its own sake.

They affirm that mental affections can be known, but not the objects from which they come; and they abandoned the study of nature because of its apparent uncertainty, but fastened on logical inquiries because of their utility. But Meleager in his second book On Philosophical Opinions, and Clitomachus in his first book On the Sects, affirm that they maintain Dialectic as well as Physics to be useless, since, when one has learnt the theory of good and evil, it is possible to speak with propriety, to be free from superstition, and to escape the fear of death.

They also held that nothing is just or honourable or base by nature, but only by convention and custom. Nevertheless the good man will be deterred from wrong-doing by the penalties imposed and the prejudices that it would arouse. Further that the wise man really exists. They allow progress to be attainable in philosophy as well as in other matters. They maintain that the pain of one man exceeds that of another, and that the senses are not always true and trustworthy.

The school of Hegesias, as it is called, adopted the same ends, namely pleasure and pain. In their view there is no such thing as gratitude or friendship or beneficence, because it is not for themselves that we choose to do these things but simply from motives of interest, apart from which such conduct is nowhere found.

They denied the possibility of happiness, for the body is infected with much suffering, while the soul shares in the sufferings of the body and is a prey to disturbance, and fortune often disappoints. From all this it follows that happiness cannot be realized. Moreover, life and death are each desirable in turn. But that there is anything naturally pleasant or unpleasant they deny;

when some men are pleased and others pained by the same objects, this is owing to the lack or rarity or surfeit of such objects. Poverty and riches have no relevance to pleasure; for neither the rich nor the poor as such have any special share in pleasure.

Slavery and freedom, nobility and low birth, honour and dishonour, are alike indifferent in a calculation of pleasure. To the fool life is advantageous, while to the wise it is a matter of indifference. The wise man will be guided in all he does by his own interests, for there is none other whom he regards as equally deserving. For supposing him to reap the greatest advantages from another, they would not be equal to what he contributes himself. They also disallow the claims of the senses, because they do not lead to accurate knowledge. Whatever appears rational should be done. They affirmed that allowance should be made for errors, for no man errs voluntarily, but under constraint of some suffering; that we should not hate men, but rather teach them better. The wise man will not have so much advantage over others in the choice of goods as in the avoidance of evils, making it his end to live without pain of body or mind.

This then, they say, is the advantage accruing to those who make no distinction between any of the objects which produce pleasure.

The school of Anniceris in other respects agreed with them, but admitted that friendship and gratitude and respect for parents do exist in real life, and that a good man will sometimes act out of patriotic motives. Hence, if the wise man receive annoyance, he will be none the less happy even if few pleasures accrue to him. The happiness of a friend is not in itself desirable, for it is not felt by his neighbour. Instruction is not sufficient in itself to inspire us with confidence and to make us rise superior to the opinion of the multitude. Habits must be formed because of the bad disposition which has grown up in us from the first.

A friend should be cherished not merely for his utility—for, if that fails, we should then no longer associate with him—but for the good feeling for the sake of which we shall even endure hardships. Nay, though we make pleasure the end and are annoyed when deprived of it, we shall nevertheless cheerfully endure this because of our love to our friend.

The Theodoreans derived their name from Theodorus, who has already been mentioned, and adopted his doctrines. Theodorus was a man who utterly rejected the current belief in the gods. And I have come across a book of his entitled Of the Gods which is not contemptible. From that book, they say, Epicurus borrowed most of what he wrote on the subject.

Theodorus was also a pupil of Anniceris and of Dionysius the dialectician, as Antisthenes mentions in his Successions of Philosophers. He considered joy and grief to be the supreme good and evil, the one brought about by wisdom, the other by folly. Wisdom and justice he called goods, and their opposites evils, pleasure and pain being intermediate to good and evil. Friendship he rejected because it did not exist between the unwise nor between the wise; with the former, when the want is removed, the friendship disappears, whereas the wise are selfsufficient and have no need of friends. It was reasonable, as he thought, for the good man not to risk his life in the defence of his country, for he would never throw wisdom away to benefit the unwise.

He said the world was his country. Theft, adultery, and sacrilege would be allowable upon occasion, since none of these acts is by nature base, if once you have removed the prejudice against them, which is kept up in order to hold the foolish multitude together. The wise man

would indulge his passions openly without the least regard to circumstances. Hence he would use such arguments as this. Is a woman who is skilled in grammar useful in so far as she is skilled in grammar? Yes. And is a boy or a youth skilled in grammar useful in so far as he is skilled in grammar? Yes.

Again, is a woman who is beautiful useful in so far as she is beautiful? And the use of beauty is to be enjoyed? Yes. When this was admitted, he would press the argument to the conclusion, namely, that he who uses anything for the purpose for which it is useful does no wrong. And by some such interrogatories he would carry his point.

He appears to have been called θεός (god) in consequence of the following argument addressed to him by Stilpo. Are you, Theodorus, what you declare yourself to be? To this he assented, and Stilpo continued, And do you say you are god? To this he agreed. Then it follows that you are god. Theodorus accepted this, and Stilpo said with a smile, But, you rascal, at this rate you would allow yourself to be a jackdaw and ten thousand other things.

However, Theodorus, sitting on one occasion beside Euryclides, the hierophant, began, Tell me, Euryclides, who they are who violate the mysteries? Euryclides replied, Those who disclose them to the uninitiated. Then you violate them, said Theodorus, when you explain them to the uninitiated. Yet he would hardly have escaped from being brought before the Areopagus if Demetrius of Phalerum had not rescued him. And Amphicrates in his book Upon Illustrious Men says he was condemned to drink the hemlock.

For a while he stayed at the court of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and was once sent by him as ambassador to Lysimachus. And on this occasion his language was so bold that Lysimachus said, Tell me, are you not the Theodorus who was banished from Athens? To which he replied, Your information is correct, for, when Athens could not bear me any more than Semele could Dionysus, she cast me out. And upon Lysimachus adding, Take care you do not come here again, I never will, said he, unless Ptolemy sends me. Mithras, the king’s minister, standing by and saying, It seems that you can ignore not only gods but kings as well, Theodorus replied, How can you say that I ignore the gods when I regard you as hateful to the gods? He is said on one occasion in Corinth to have walked abroad with a numerous train of pupils, and Metrocles the Cynic, who was washing chervil, remarked, You, sophist that you are, would not have wanted all these pupils if you had washed vegetables. Thereupon Theodorus retorted, And you, if you had known how to associate with men, would have had no use for these vegetables.

A similar anecdote is told of Diogenes and Aristippus, as mentioned above.

Such was the character of Theodorus and his surroundings. At last he retired to Cyrene, where he lived with Magas and continued to be held in high honour. The first time that he was expelled from Cyrene he is credited with a witty remark: Many thanks, men of Cyrene, said he, for driving me from Libya into Greece.

Some twenty persons have borne the name of Theodorus: (1) a Samian, the son of Rhoecus. He it was who advised laying charcoal embers under the foundations of the temple in Ephesus; for, as the ground was very damp, the ashes, being free from woody fibre, would retain a solidity which is actually proof against moisture. (2) A Cyrenaean geometer, whose lectures Plato attended. (3) The philosopher above referred to. (4) The author of a fine work on practising the voice.

(5) An authority upon musical composers from Terpander onwards. (6) A Stoic. (7) A writer upon

the Romans. (8) A Syracusan who wrote upon Tactics. (9) A Byzantine, famous for his political speeches. (10) Another, equally famous, mentioned by Aristotle in his Epitome of Orators. (11) A Theban sculptor. (12) A painter, mentioned by Polemo. (13) An Athenian painter, of whom Menodotus writes. (14) An Ephesian painter, who is mentioned by Theophanes in his work upon painting. (15) A poet who wrote epigrams. (16) A writer on poets. (17) A physician, pupil of Athenaeus. (18) A Stoic philosopher of Chios. (19) A Milesian, also a Stoic philosopher (20) A tragic poet.

Chapter 9. PHAEDO

Phaedo was a native of Elis, of noble family, who on the fall of that city was taken captive and forcibly consigned to a house of ill-fame. But he would close the door and so contrive to join Socrates' circle, and in the end Socrates induced Alcibiades or Crito with their friends to ransom him; from that time onwards he studied philosophy as became a free man. Hieronymus in his work On Suspense of Judgement attacks him and calls him a slave. Of the dialogues which bear his name the Zopyrus and Simon are genuine; the Nicias is doubtful; the Medius is said by some to be the work of Aeschines, while others ascribe it to Polyaenus; the Antimachus or The Elders is also doubted; the Cobblers' Tales are also by some attributed to Aeschines.

He was succeeded by Plistanus of Elis, and a generation later by Menedemus of Eretria and Asclepiades of Phlius, who came over from Stilpo's school. Till then the school was known as that of Elis, but from Menedemus onward it was called the Eretrian school. Of Menedemus we shall have to speak hereafter, because he too started a new school.

Chapter 10. EUCLIDES

Euclides was a native of Megara on the Isthmus,or according to some of Gela, as Alexander states in his Successions of Philosophers. He applied himself to the writings of Parmenides, and his followers were called Megarians after him, then Eristics, and at a later date Dialecticians, that name having first been given to them by Dionysius of Chalcedon because they put their arguments into the form of question and answer. Hermodorus tells us that, after the death of Socrates, Plato and the rest of the philosophers came to him, being alarmed at the cruelty of the tyrants. He held the supreme good to be really one, though called by many names, sometimes wisdom, sometimes God, and again Mind, and so forth. But all that is contradictory of the good he used to reject, declaring that it had no existence.

When he impugned a demonstration, it was not the premisses but the conclusion that he attacked. He rejected the argument from analogy, declaring that it must be taken either from similars or from dissimilars. If it were drawn from similars, it is with these and not with their analogies that their arguments should deal; if from dissimilars, it is gratuitous to set them side by side. Hence Timon says of him, with a side hit at the other Socratics as well:

But I care not for these babblers, nor for anyone besides, not for Phaedo whoever he be, nor wrangling Euclides, who inspired the Megarians with a frenzied love of controversy.

He wrote six dialogues, entitled Lamprias, Aeschines, Phoenix, Crito, Alcibiades, and a Discourse on Love. To the school of Euclides belongs Eubulides of Miletus, the author of many dialectical arguments in an interrogatory form, namely, The Liar, The Disguised, Electra, The Veiled Figure, The Sorites, The Horned One, and The Bald Head. Of him it is said by one of the Comic poets:
Eubulides the Eristic, who propounded his quibbles about horns and confounded the orators

with falsely pretentious arguments, is gone with all the braggadocio of a Demosthenes.
Demosthenes was probably his pupil and thereby improved his faulty pronunciation of the letter R.

Eubulides kept up a controversy with Aristotle and said much to discredit him.

Among other members the school of Eubulides included Alexinus of Elis, a man very fond of controversy, for which reason he was called Elenxinus. In particular he kept up a controversy with Zeno. Hermippus says of him that he left Elis and removed to Olympia, where he studied philosophy. His pupils inquired why he took up his abode here, and were told that it was his intention to found a school which should be called the Olympian school. But as their provisions ran short and they found the place unhealthy, they left it, and for the rest of his days Alexinus lived in solitude with a single servant. And some time afterwards, as he was swimming in the Alpheus, the point of a reed ran into him, and of this injury he died.

I have composed the following lines upon him:
It was not then a vain tale that once an unfortunate man, while diving, pierced his foot somehow with a nail; since that great man Alexinus, before he could cross the Alpheus, was pricked by a reed and met his death.
He has written not only a reply to Zeno but other works, including one against Ephorus the historian.

To the school of Eubulides also belonged Euphantus of Olynthus, who wrote a history of his own times. He was besides a poet and wrote several tragedies, with which he made a great reputation at the festivals. He taught King Antigonus and dedicated to him a work On Kingship which was very popular. He died of old age.

There are also other pupils of Eubulides, amongst them Apollonius surnamed Cronus. He had a pupil Diodorus, the son of Ameinias of Iasus, who was also nicknamed Cronus. Callimachus in his Epigrams says of him:
Momus himself chalked up on the walls Cronus is wise.
He too was a dialectician and was supposed to have been the first who discovered the arguments known as the Veiled Figure and the Horned One. When he was staying with Ptolemy Soter, he had certain dialectical questions addressed to him by Stilpo, and, not being able to solve them on the spot, he was reproached by the king and, among other slights, the nickname Cronus was applied to him by way of derision.

He left the banquet and, after writing a pamphlet upon the logical problem, ended his days in despondency. Upon him too I have written lines:
Diodorus Cronus, what sad fate

Buried you in despair,

So that you hastened to the shades below,

Perplexed by Stilpo’s quibbles?

You would deserve your name of Cronus better

If C and R were gone.

The successors of Euclides include Ichthyas, the son of Metallus, an excellent man, to whom Diogenes the Cynic has addressed one of his dialogues; Clinomachus of Thurii, who was the first

to write about propositions, predications and the like; and Stilpo of Megara, a most distinguished philosopher, of whom we have now to treat.

Chapter 11. STILPO

Stilpo, a citizen of Megara in Greece, was a pupil of some of the followers of Euclides, although others make him a pupil of Euclides himself, and furthermore of Thrasymachus of Corinth, who was the friend of Ichthyas, according to Heraclides. And so far did he excel all the rest in inventiveness and sophistry that nearly the whole of Greece was attracted to him and joined the school of Megara. On this let me cite the exact words of Philippus the Megarian philosopher: for from Theophrastus he drew away the theorist Metrodorus and Timagoras of Gela, from Aristotle the Cyrenaic philosopher, Clitarchus, and Simmias; and as for the dialecticians themselves, he gained over Paeonius from Aristides; Diphilus of Bosphorus, the son of Euphantus, and Myrmex, the son of Exaenetus, who had both come to refute him, he made his devoted adherents.

And besides these he won over Phrasidemus the Peripatetic, an accomplished physicist, and Alcimus the rhetorician, the first orator in all Greece; Crates, too, and many others he got into his toils, and, what is more, along with these, he carried off Zeno the Phoenician.

He was also an authority on politics.

He married a wife, and had a mistress named Nicarete, as Onetor has somewhere stated. He had a profligate daughter, who was married to his friend Simmias of Syracuse. And, as she would not live by rule, some one told Stilpo that she was a disgrace to him. To this he replied, Not so, any more than I am an honour to her.

Ptolemy Soter, they say, made much of him, and when he had got possession of Megara, offered him a sum of money and invited him to return with him to Egypt. But Stilpo would only accept a very moderate sum, and he declined the proposed journey, and removed to Aegina until Ptolemy set sail. Again, when Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, had taken Megara, he took measures that Stilpo’s house should be preserved and all his plundered property restored to him. But when he requested that a schedule of the lost property should be drawn up, Stilpo denied that he had lost anything which really belonged to him, for no one had taken away his learning, while he still had his eloquence and knowledge.

And conversing upon the duty of doing good to men he made such an impression on the king that he became eager to hear him. There is a story that he once used the following argument concerning the Athena of Phidias: Is it not Athena the daughter of Zeus who is a goddess? And when the other said Yes, he went on, But this at least is not by Zeus but by Phidias, and, this being granted, he concluded, This then is not a god. For this he was summoned before the Areopagus; he did not deny the charge, but contended that the reasoning was correct, for that Athena was no god but a goddess; it was the male divinities who were gods. However, the story goes that the Areopagites ordered him to quit the city, and that thereupon Theodorus, whose nickname was Θεός, said in derision, Whence did Stilpo learn this? and how could he tell whether she was a god or a goddess? But in truth Theodorus was most impudent, and Stilpo most ingenious.

When Crates asked him whether the gods take delight in prayers and adorations, he is said to have replied, Don’t put such a question in the street, simpleton, but when we are alone! It is said that Bion, when he was asked the same question whether there are gods, replied:

Will you not scatter the crowd from me, O much-enduring elder?

In character Stilpo was simple and unaffected, and he could readily adapt himself to the plain man. For instance, when Crates the Cynic did not answer the question put to him and only insulted the questioner, I knew, said Stilpo, that you would utter anything rather than what you ought.

And once when Crates held out a fig to him when putting a question, he took the fig and ate it. Upon which the other exclaimed, O Heracles, I have lost the fig, and Stilpo remarked, Not only that but your question as well, for which the fig was payment in advance. Again, on seeing Crates shrivelled with cold in the winter, he said, You seem to me, Crates, to want a new coat, i.e. to be wanting in sense as well. And the other being annoyed replied with the following burlesque:
And Stilpo I saw enduring toilsome woes in Megara, where men say that the bed of Typhos is. There he would ever be wrangling, and many comrades about him, wasting time in the verbal pursuit of virtue.

It is said that at Athens he so attracted the public that people would run together from the workshops to look at him. And when some one said, Stilpo, they stare at you as if you were some strange creature. No, indeed, said he, but as if I were a genuine man. And, being a consummate master of controversy, he used to demolish even the ideas, and say that he who asserted the existence of Man meant no individual; he did not mean this man or that. For why should he mean the one more than the other? Therefore neither does he mean this individual man. Again, vegetable is not what is shown to me, for vegetable existed ten thousand years ago. Therefore this is not vegetable. The story goes that while in the middle of an argument with Crates he hurried off to buy fish, and, when Crates tried to detain him and urged that he was leaving the argument, his answer was, Not I. I keep the argument though I am leaving you; for the argument will remain, but the fish will soon be sold.

Nine dialogues of his are extant written in frigid style, Moschus, Aristippus or Callias, Ptolemy, Chaerecrates, Metrocles, Anaximenes, Epigenes, To his Daughter, Aristotle. Heraclides relates that Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, was one of Stilpo’s pupils; Hermippus that Stilpo died at a great age after taking wine to hasten his end.

I have written an epitaph on him also:
Surely you know Stilpo the Megarian; old age and then disease laid him low, a formidable pair. But he found in wine a charioteer too strong for that evil team; he quaffed it eagerly and was borne along.
He was also ridiculed by Sophilus the Comic poet in his drama The Wedding:
What Charinus says is just Stilpo’s stoppers.

Chapter 12. CRITO

Crito was a citizen of Athens. He was most affectionate in his disposition towards Socrates, and took such care of him that none of his wants were left unsupplied. Further, his sons Critobulus, Hermogenes, Epigenes and Ctesippus were pupils of Socrates. Crito too wrote seventeen dialogues which are extant in a single volume under the titles:

That men are not made good by instruction.

Concerning superfluity.

What is expedient, or The Statesman.

Of Beauty.

On Doing Ill.

On Tidiness.

On Law.

Of that which is Divine.

On Arts.

Of Society.

Of Wisdom.

Protagoras, or The Statesman.

On Letters.

Of Poetry.

Of Learning.

On Knowing, or On Science.

What is Knowledge.

Chapter 13. SIMON

Simon was a citizen of Athens and a cobbler. When Socrates came to his workshop and began to converse, he used to make notes of all that he could remember. And this is why people apply the term leathern to his dialogues. These dialogues are thirty-three in number, extant in a single volume:

Of the Gods.

Of the Good.

On the Beautiful.

What is the Beautiful.

On the Just: two dialogues.

Of Virtue, that it cannot be taught.

Of Courage: three dialogues.

On Law.

On Guiding the People.

Of Honour.

Of Poetry.

On Good Eating.

On Love.

On Philosophy.

On Knowledge.

On Music.

On Poetry.

What is the Beautiful

On Teaching.

On the Art of Conversation

Of Judging.

Of Being.

Of Number.

On Diligence.

On Efficiency.

On Greed.

On Pretentiousness.

On the Beautiful

Others are:

On Deliberation.

On Reason, or On Expediency.

On Doing Ill.

He was the first, so we are told, who introduced the Socratic dialogues as a form of conversation. When Pericles promised to support him and urged him to come to him, his reply was, I will not part with my free speech for money.

There was another Simon, who wrote treatises On Rhetoric; another, a physician, in the time of Seleucus Nicanor; and a third who was a sculptor.

Chapter 14. GLAUCON

Glaucon was a citizen of Athens. Nine dialogues of his are extant in a single volume:

Phidylus.

Euripides.

Amyntichus.

Euthias.

Lysithides.

Aristophanes.

Cephalus.

Anaxiphemus.

Menexenus.

There are also extant thirty-two others, which are considered spurious.

Chapter 15. SIMMIAS

Simmias was a citizen of Thebes. Twenty-three dialogues of his are extant in a single volume:

On Wisdom.

On Reasoning.

On Music.

On Verses.

Of Courage.

On Philosophy.

Of Truth.

On Letters.

On Teaching.

On Art.

On Government.

Of that which is becoming.

Of that which is to be chosen and avoided.

On Friendship.

On Knowledge.

Of the Soul.

On a Good Life.

Of that which is possible.

On Money.

On Life.

What is the beautiful.

On Diligence.

On Love.

Chapter 16. CEBES

Cebes was a citizen of Thebes. Three dialogues of his are extant:

The Tablet.

The Seventh Day.

Phrynichus.

Chapter 17. MENEDEMUS

Menedemus belonged to Phaedo’s school; he was the son of Clisthenes, a member of the clan

called the Theopropidae, of good family, though a builder and a poor man; others say that he was a scenepainter and that Menedemus learnt both trades. Hence, when he had proposed a decree, a certain Alexinius attacked him, declaring that the philosopher was not a proper person to design either a scene or a decree. When Menedemus was dispatched by the Eretrians to Megara on garrison duty, he paid a visit to Plato at the Academy and was so captivated that he abandoned the service of arms.

Asclepiades of Phlius drew him away, and he lived at Megara with Stilpo, whose lectures they both attended. Thence they sailed to Elis, where they joined Anchipylus and Moschus of the school of Phaedo. Down to their time, as was stated in the Life of Phaedo, the school was called the Elian school. Afterwards it was called the Eretrian school, from the city to which my subject belonged.

It would appear that Menedemus was somewhat pompous. Hence Crates burlesques him thus:
Asclepiades the sage of Phlius and the Eretrian bull;
and Timon as follows:
A puffing, supercilious purveyor of humbug.

He was a man of such dignity that, when Eurylochus of Casandrea was invited by Antigonus to court along with Cleïppides, a youth of Cyzicus, he declined the invitation, being afraid that Menedemus would hear of it, so caustic and outspoken was he. When a young gallant would have taken liberties with him, he said not a word but picked up a twig and drew an insulting picture on the ground, until all eyes were attracted and the young man, perceiving the insult, made off. When Hierocles, who was in command of the Piraeus, walked up and down along with him in the shrine of Amphiaraus, and talked much of the capture of Eretria, he made no other reply beyond asking him what Antigonus's object was in treating him as he did.

To an adulterer who was giving himself airs he said, Do you not know that, if cabbage has a good flavour, so for that matter has radish? Hearing a youth who was very noisy, he said, See what there is behind you. When Antigonus consulted him as to whether he should go to a rout, he sent a message to say no more than this, that he was the son of a king. When a stupid fellow related something to him with no apparent object, he inquired if he had a farm. And hearing that he had, and that there was a large stock of cattle on it, he said, Then go and look after them, lest it should happen that they are ruined and a clever farmer thrown away. To one who inquired if the good man ever married, he replied, Do you think me good or not? The reply being in the affirmative, he said, Well, I am married.

Of one who affirmed that there were many good things, he inquired how many, and whether he thought there were more than a hundred. Not being able to curb the extravagance of some one who had invited him to dinner, he said nothing when he was invited, but rebuked his host tacitly by confining himself to olives. However, on account of this freedom of speech he was in great peril in Cyprus with his friend Asclepiades when staying at the court of Nicocreon. For when the king held the usual monthly feast and invited these two along with the other philosophers, we are told that Menedemus said that, if the gathering of such men was a good thing, the feast ought to have been held every day; if not, then it was superfluous even on the present occasion.

The tyrant having replied to this by saying that on this day he had the leisure to hear philosophers, he pressed the point still more stubbornly, declaring, while the feast was going on, that any and every occasion should be employed in listening to philosophers. The

consequence was that, if a certain flute-player had not got them away, they would have been put to death. Hence when they were in a storm in the boat Asclepiades is reported to have said that the fluteplayer through good playing had proved their salvation when the free speech of Menedemus had been their undoing.

He shirked work, it is said, and was indifferent to the fortunes of his school. At least no order could be seen in his classes, and no circle of benches; but each man would listen where he happened to be, walking or sitting, Menedemus himself behaving in the same way.

In other respects he is said to have been nervous and careful of his reputation; so much so that, when Menedemus himself and Asclepiades were helping a man who had formerly been a builder to build a house, whereas Asclepiades appeared stripped on the roof passing the mortar, Menedemus would try to hide himself as often as he saw anyone coming. After he took part in public affairs, he was so nervous that, when offering the frankincense, he would actually miss the censer. And once, when Crates stood about him and attacked him for meddling in politics, he ordered certain men to have Crates locked up. But Crates none the less watched him as he went by and, standing on tiptoe, called him a pocket Agamemnon and Hegesipolis.

He was also in a way rather superstitious. At all events once, when he was at an inn with Asclepiades and had inadvertently eaten some meat which had been thrown away, he turned sick and pale when he learnt the fact, until Asclepiades rebuked him, saying that it was not the meat which disturbed him but merely his suspicion of it. In all other respects he was magnanimous and liberal. In his habit of body, even in old age, he was as firm and sunburnt in appearance as any athlete, being stout and always in the pink of condition; in stature he was wellproportioned, as may be seen from the statuette in the ancient Stadium at Eretria. For it represents him, intentionally no doubt, almost naked, and displays the greater part of his body.

He was fond of entertaining and used to collect numerous parties about him because Eretria was unhealthy; amongst these there would be parties of poets and musicians. He welcomed Aratus also and Lycophron the tragic poet, and Antagoras of Rhodes, but, above all, he applied himself to the study of Homer and, next, the Lyric poets; then to Sophocles, and also to Achaeus, to whom he assigned the second place as a writer of satiric dramas, giving Aeschylus the first. Hence he quoted against his political opponents the following lines:
Ere long the swift is overtaken by the feeble,

And the eagle by the tortoise,

which are from the Omphale, a satiric drama of Achaeus. Therefore it is a mistake to say that he had read nothing except the Medea of Euripides, which some have asserted to be the work of Neophron of Sicyon.

He despised the teachers of the school of Plato and Xenocrates as well as the Cyrenaic philosopher Paraebates. He had a great admiration for Stilpo; and on one occasion, when he was questioned about him, he made no other answer than that he was a gentleman. Menedemus was difficult to see through, and in making a bargain it was difficult to get the better of him. He would twist and turn in every direction, and he excelled in inventing objections. He was a great controversialist, according to Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers. In particular he was fond of using the following argument: Is the one of two things different from the other? Yes. And is conferring benefits different from the good? Yes. Then to confer benefits is not good.

It is said that he disallowed negative propositions, converting them into affirmatives, and of these he admitted simple propositions only, rejecting those which are not simple, I mean hypothetical and complex propositions. Heraclides declares that, although in his doctrines he was a Platonist, yet he made sport of dialectic. So that, when Alexinus once inquired if he had left off beating his father, his answer was, Why, I was not beating him and have not left off; and upon Alexinus insisting that he ought to have cleared up the ambiguity by a plain Yes or No, It would be absurd, he said, for me to conform to your rules when I can stop you on the threshold. And when Bion persistently ran down the soothsayers, Menedemus said he was slaying the slain.

On hearing some one say that the greatest good was to get all you want, he rejoined, To want the right things is a far greater good. Antigonus of Carystus asserts that he never wrote or composed anything, and so never held firmly by any doctrine. He adds that in discussing questions he was so pugnacious that he would only retire after he had been badly mauled. And yet, though he was so violent in debate, he was as mild as possible in his conduct. For instance, though he made sport of Alexinus and bantered him cruelly, he was nevertheless very kind to him, for, when his wife was afraid that on her journey she might be set upon and robbed, he gave her an escort from Delphi to Chalcis.

He was a very warm friend, as is shown by his affection for Asclepiades, which was hardly inferior to the devotion shown by Pylades. But, Asclepiades being the elder, it was said that he was the playwright and Menedemus the actor. They say that once, when Archipolis had given them a cheque for half a talent, they stickled so long over the point as to whose claim came second that neither of them got the money. It is said that they married a mother and her daughter; Asclepiades married the daughter and Menedemus the mother. But after the death of his own wife, Asclepiades took the wife of Menedemus; and afterwards the latter, when he became head of the state, married a rich woman as his second wife. Nevertheless, as they kept one household, Menedemus entrusted his former wife with the care of his establishment.

However, Asclepiades died first at a great age at Eretria, having lived with Menedemus economically, though they had ample means. Some time afterwards a favourite of Asclepiades, having come to a party and being refused admittance by the pupils, Menedemus ordered them to admit him, saying that even now, when under the earth, Asclepiades opened the door for him. It was Hipponicus the Macedonian and Agetor of Lamia who were their chief supporters; the one gave each of the two thirty minae, while Hipponicus furnished Menedemus with two thousand drachmae with which to portion his daughters. There were three of them according to Heraclides, his children by a wife who was a native of Oropus.

He used to give his parties in this fashion: he would breakfast beforehand with two or three friends and stay until it was late in the day. And in the next place some one would summon the guests who had arrived and who had themselves already dined, so that, if anyone came too soon, he would walk up and down and inquire from those who came out of the house what was on the table and what o’clock it was. If then it was only vegetables or salt fish, they would depart; but if there was meat, they would enter the house. In the summer time a rush mat was put upon each couch, in winter time a sheepskin. The guest brought his own cushion. The loving-cup which was passed round was no larger than a pint cup. The dessert consisted of lupins or beans, sometimes of ripe fruit such as pears, pomegranates, a kind of pulse, or even dried figs.

All of these facts are mentioned by Lycophron in his satiric drama entitled Menedemus, which was composed as a tribute to him. Here is a specimen of it:
And after a temperate feast the modest cup was passed round with discretion, and their dessert was temperate discourse for such as cared to listen.

At first he was despised, being called a cynic and a humbug by the Eretrians. But afterwards he was greatly admired, so much so that they entrusted him with the government of the state. He was sent as envoy to Ptolemy and to Lysimachus, being honoured wherever he went. He was, moreover, envoy to Demetrius, and he caused the yearly tribute of two hundred talents which the city used to pay Demetrius to be reduced by fifty talents. And when he was accused to Demetrius of intriguing to hand over the city to Ptolemy, he defended himself in a letter which commences thus:

Menedemus to King Demetrius, greeting. I hear that a report has reached you concerning me. There is a tradition that one Aeschylus who belonged to the opposite party had made these charges against him. He seems to have behaved with the utmost dignity in the embassy to Demetrius on the subject of Oropus, as Euphantus relates in his Histories. Antigonus too was much attached to him and used to proclaim himself his pupil. And when he vanquished the barbarians near the town of Lysimachia, Menedemus moved a decree in his honour in simple terms and free from flattery, beginning thus:

On the motion of the generals and the councillors—Whereas King Antigonus is returning to his own country after vanquishing the barbarians in battle, and whereas in all his undertakings he prospers according to his will, the senate and the people have decreed . . .

On these grounds, then, and from his friendship for him in other matters, he was suspected of betraying the city to Antigonus, and, being denounced by Aristodemus, withdrew from Eretria and stayed awhile in Oropus in the temple of Amphiaraus. And, because some golden goblets were missing from the temple, he was ordered to depart by a general vote of the Boeotians, as is stated by Hermippus; and thereupon in despair, after a secret visit to his native city, he took with him his wife and daughters and came to the court of Antigonus, where he died of a broken heart.

Heraclides tells quite another story, that he was made councillor of the Eretrians and more than once saved the city from a tyranny by calling in Demetrius —so then he would not be likely to betray the city to Antigonus, but was made the victim of a false charge; that he betook himself to Antigonus and was anxious to regain freedom for his country; that, as Antigonus would not give way, in despair he put an end to his life by abstaining from food for seven days. The account of Antigonus of Carystus is similar. With Persaeus alone he carried on open warfare, for it was thought that, when Antigonus was willing for Menedemus’s sake to restore to the Eretrians their democracy, Persaeus prevented him.

Hence on one occasion over the wine Menedemus refuted Persaeus in argument and said, amongst other things, Such he is as a philosopher but, as a man, the worst of all that are alive or to be born hereafter.

According to the statement of Heraclides he died in his seventy-fourth year. I have written the following epigram upon him:
I heard of your fate, Menedemus, how, of your own free will, you expired by starving yourself for seven days, a deed right worthy of an Eretrian, but unworthy of a man; but despair was your

leader and urged you on.

These then are the disciples of Socrates or their immediate successors. We must now pass to Plato, the founder of the Academy, and his successors, so far as they were men of reputation.

BOOK III

PLATO (427-347 B.C.)

Plato was the son of Ariston and a citizen of Athens. His mother was Perictione (or Potone), who traced back her descent to Solon. For Solon had a brother, Dropides; he was the father of Critias, who was the father of Callaeschrus, who was the father of Critias, one of the Thirty, as well as of Glaucon, who was the father of Charmides and Perictione. Thus Plato, the son of this Perictione and Ariston, was in the sixth generation from Solon. And Solon traced his descent to Neleus and Poseidon. His father too is said to be in the direct line from Codrus, the son of Melanthus, and, according to Thrasylus, Codrus and Melanthus also trace their descent from Poseidon.

Speusippus in the work entitled Plato's Funeral Feast, Clearchus in his Encomium on Plato, and Anaxilaïdes in his second book On Philosophers, tell us that there was a story at Athens that Ariston made violent love to Perictione, then in her bloom, and failed to win her; and that, when he ceased to offer violence, Apollo appeared to him in a dream, whereupon he left her unmolested until her child was born.

Apollodorus in his Chronology fixes the date of Plato's birth in the 88th Olympiad, on the seventh day of the month Thargelion, the same day on which the Delians say that Apollo himself was born. He died, according to Hermippus, at a wedding feast, in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, in his eightyfirst year.

Neanthes, however, makes him die at the age of eighty-four. He is thus seen to be six years the junior of Isocrates. For Isocrates was born in the archonship of Lysimachus, Plato in that of Ameinias, the year of Pericles' death. He belonged to the deme Collytus, as is stated by Antileon in his second book On Dates. He was born, according to some, in Aegina, in the house of Phidiades, the son of Thales, as Favorinus states in his Miscellaneous History, for his father had been sent along with others to Aegina to settle in the island, but returned to Athens when the Athenians were expelled by the Lacedaemonians, who championed the Aeginetan cause. That Plato acted as choregus at Athens, the cost being defrayed by Dion, is stated by Athenodorus in the eighth book of a work entitled Walks.

He had two brothers, Adeimantus and Glaucon, and a sister, Potone, who was the mother of Speusippus.

He was taught letters in the school of Dionysius, who is mentioned by him in the Rivals. And he learnt gymnastics under Ariston, the Argive wrestler. And from him he received the name of Plato on account of his robust figure, in place of his original name which was Aristocles, after his grandfather, as Alexander informs us in his Successions of Philosophers. But others affirm that he got the name Plato from the breadth of his style, or from the breadth of his forehead, as suggested by Neanthes. Others again affirm that he wrestled in the Isthmian Games—this is stated by Dicaearchus in his first book On Lives—

and that he applied himself to painting and wrote poems, first dithyrambs, afterwards lyric poems and tragedies. He had, they say, a weak voice; this is confirmed by Timotheus the

Athenian in his book On Lives. It is stated that Socrates in a dream saw a cygnet on his knees, which all at once put forth plumage, and flew away after uttering a loud sweet note. And the next day Plato was introduced as a pupil, and thereupon he recognized in him the swan of his dream.

At first he used to study philosophy in the Academy, and afterwards in the garden at Colonus (as Alexander states in his Successions of Philosophers), as a follower of Heraclitus. Afterwards, when he was about to compete for the prize with a tragedy, he listened to Socrates in front of the theatre of Dionysus, and then consigned his poems to the flames, with the words:
Come hither, O fire-god, Plato now has need of thee.

From that time onward, having reached his twentieth year (so it is said), he was the pupil of Socrates. When Socrates was gone, he attached himself to Cratylus the Heraclitean, and to Hermogenes who professed the philosophy of Parmenides. Then at the age of twenty-eight, according to Hermodorus, he withdrew to Megara to Euclides, with certain other disciples of Socrates. Next he proceeded to Cyrene on a visit to Theodorus the mathematician, thence to Italy to see the Pythagorean philosophers Philolaus and Eurytus, and thence to Egypt to see those who interpreted the will of the gods; and Euripides is said to have accompanied him thither. There he fell sick and was cured by the priests, who treated him with sea-water, and for this reason he cited the line:
The sea doth wash away all human ills.

Furthermore he said that, according to Homer, beyond all men the Egyptians were skilled in healing. Plato also intended to make the acquaintance of the Magians, but was prevented by the wars in Asia. Having returned to Athens, he lived in the Academy, which is a gymnasium outside the walls, in a grove named after a certain hero, Hecademus, as is stated by Eupolis in his play entitled Shirkers:
In the shady walks of the divine Hecademus.
Moreover, there are verses of Timon which refer to Plato:
Amongst all of them Plato was the leader, a big fish, but a sweet-voiced speaker, musical in prose as the cicala who, perched on the trees of Hecademus, pours forth a strain as delicate as a lily.

Thus the original name of the place was Hecademy, spelt with e. Now Plato was a friend of Isocrates. And Praxiphanes makes them converse about poets at a country-seat where Plato was entertaining Isocrates. And Aristoxenus asserts that he went on service three times, first to Tanagra, secondly to Corinth, and thirdly at Delium, where also he obtained the prize of valour. He mixed together doctrines of Heraclitus, the Pythagoreans and Socrates. In his doctrine of sensible things he agrees with Heraclitus, in his doctrine of the intelligible with Pythagoras, and in political philosophy with Socrates.

Some authorities, amongst them Satyrus, say that he wrote to Dion in Sicily instructing him to purchase three Pythagorean books from Philolaus for 100 minae. For they say he was well off, having received from Dionysius over eighty talents. This is stated by Onetor in an essay upon the theme, Whether a wise man will make money. Further, he derived great assistance from Epicharmus the Comic poet, for he transcribed a great deal from him, as Alcimus says in the essays dedicated to Amyntas, of which there are four. In the first of them he writes thus:

It is evident that Plato often employs the words of Epicharmus. Just consider. Plato asserts that

the object of sense is that which never abides in quality or quantity, but is ever in flux and change.

The assumption is that the things from which you take away number are no longer equal nor determinate, nor have they quantity or quality. These are the things to which becoming always, and being never, belongs. But the object of thought is something constant from which nothing is subtracted, to which nothing is added. This is the nature of the eternal things, the attribute of which is to be ever alike and the same. And indeed Epicharmus has expressed himself plainly about objects of sense and objects of thought.

A. But gods there always were; never at any time were they wanting, while things in this world are always alike, and are brought about through the same agencies.

B. Yet it is said that Chaos was the first-born of the gods.

A. How so? If indeed there was nothing out of which, or into which, it could come first.

B. What! Then did nothing come first after all?

A. No, by Zeus, nor second either,

at least of the things which we are thus talking about now; on the contrary, they existed from all eternity. . . .

A. But suppose some one chooses to add a single pebble to a heap containing either an odd or an even number, whichever you please, or to take away one of those already there; do you think the number of pebbles would remain the same?

B. Not I.

A. Nor yet, if one chooses to add to a cubit-measure another length, or cut off some of what was there already, would the original measure still exist?

B. Of course not.

A. Now consider mankind in this same way. One man grows, and another again shrinks; and they are all undergoing change the whole time. But a thing which naturally changes and never remains in the same state must ever be different from that which has thus changed. And even so you and I were one pair of men yesterday, are another to-day, and again will be another to-morrow, and will never remain ourselves, by this same argument.

Again, Alcimus makes this further statement: There are some things, say the wise, which the soul perceives through the body, as in seeing and hearing; there are other things which it discerns by itself without the aid of the body. Hence it follows that of existing things some are objects of sense and others objects of thought. Hence Plato said that, if we wish to take in at one glance the principles underlying the universe, we must first distinguish the ideas by themselves, for example, likeness, unity and plurality, magnitude, rest and motion; next we must assume the existence of

beauty, goodness, justice and the like, each existing in and for itself; in the third place we must see how many of the ideas are relative to other ideas, as are knowledge, or magnitude, or ownership, remembering that the things within our experience bear the same names as those ideas because they partake of them; I mean that things which partake of justice are just, things which partake of beauty are beautiful. Each one of the ideas is eternal, it is a notion, and

moreover is incapable of change. Hence Plato says that they stand in nature like archetypes, and that all things else bear a resemblance to the ideas because they are copies of these archetypes. Now here are the words of Epicharmus about the good and about the ideas:

A. Is flute-playing a thing?

B. Most certainly.

A. Is man then flute-playing?

B. By no means.

A. Come, let me see, what is a flute-player? Whom do you take him to be? Is he not a man?

B. Most certainly.

A. Well, don't you think the same would be the case with the good? Is not the good in itself a thing? And does not he who has learnt that thing and knows it at once become good? For, just as he becomes a flute-player by learning flute-playing, or a dancer when he has learnt dancing, or a plaiter when he has learnt plaiting, in the same way, if he has learnt anything of the sort, whatever you like, he would not be one with the craft but he would be the craftsman.

Now Plato in conceiving his theory of Ideas says: Since there is such a thing as memory, there must be ideas present in things, because memory is of something stable and permanent, and nothing is permanent except the ideas. For how, he says, could animals have survived unless they had apprehended the idea and had been endowed by Nature with intelligence to that end? As it is, they remember similarities and what their food is like, which shows that animals have the innate power of discerning what is similar. And hence they perceive others of their own kind. How then does Epicharmus put it?

Wisdom is not confined, Eumaeus, to one kind alone, but all living creatures likewise have understanding. For, if you will study intently the hen among poultry, she does not bring forth the chicks alive, but sits clucking on the eggs and wakens life in them. As for this wisdom of hers, the true state of the case is known to Nature alone, for the hen has learnt it from herself.
And again:
It is no wonder then that we talk thus and are pleased with ourselves and think we are fine folk. For a dog appears the fairest of things to a dog, an ox to an ox, an ass to an ass, and verily a pig to a pig.

These and the like instances Alcimus notes through four books, pointing out the assistance derived by Plato from Epicharmus. That Epicharmus himself was fully conscious of his wisdom can also be seen from the lines in which he foretells that he will have an imitator:
And as I think—for when I think anything I know it full well—that my words will some day be remembered; some one will take them and free them from the metre in which they are now set, nay, will give them instead a purple robe, embroidering it with fine phrases; and, being invincible, he will make every one else an easy prey.

Plato, it seems, was the first to bring to Athens the mimes of Sophron which had been neglected, and to draw characters in the style of that writer; a copy of the mimes, they say, was actually found under his pillow. He made three voyages to Sicily, the first time to see the island and the craters of Etna: on this occasion Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, being on the throne, forced him to become intimate with him. But when Plato held forth on tyranny and

maintained that the interest of the ruler alone was not the best end, unless he were also pre-eminent in virtue, he offended Dionysius, who in his anger exclaimed, You talk like an old dotard. And you like a tyrant, rejoined Plato.

At this the tyrant grew furious and at first was bent on putting him to death; then, when he had been dissuaded from this by Dion and Aristomenes, he did not indeed go so far but handed him over to Pollis the Lacedaemonian, who had just then arrived on an embassy, with orders to sell him into slavery. And Pollis took him to Aegina and there offered him for sale. And then Charmandrus, the son of Charmandrides, indicted him on a capital charge according to the law in force among the Aeginetans, to the effect that the first Athenian who set foot upon the island should be put to death without a trial. This law had been passed by the prosecutor himself, according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History. But when some one urged, though in jest, that the offender was a philosopher, the court acquitted him. There is another version to the effect that he was brought before the assembly and, being kept under close scrutiny, he maintained an absolute silence and awaited the issue with confidence. The assembly decided not to put him to death but to sell him just as if he were a prisoner of war.

Anniceris the Cyrenaic happened to be present and ransomed him for twenty minae—according to others the sum was thirty minae—and dispatched him to Athens to his friends, who immediately remitted the money. But Anniceris declined it, saying that the Athenians were not the only people worthy of the privilege of providing for Plato. Others assert that Dion sent the money and that Anniceris would not take it, but bought for Plato the little garden which is in the Academy. Pollis, however, is stated to have been defeated by Chabrias and afterwards to have been drowned at Helice, his treatment of the philosopher having provoked the wrath of heaven, as Favorinus says in the first book of his Memorabilia.

Dionysius, indeed, could not rest. On learning the facts he wrote and enjoined upon Plato not to speak evil of him. And Plato replied that he had not the leisure to keep Dionysius in his mind.

The second time he visited the younger Dionysius, requesting of him lands and settlers for the realization of his republic. Dionysius promised them but did not keep his word. Some say that Plato was also in great danger, being suspected of encouraging Dion and Theodotas in a scheme for liberating the whole island; on this occasion Archytas the Pythagorean wrote to Dionysius, procured his pardon, and got him conveyed safe to Athens. The letter runs as follows:

Archytas to Dionysius, wishing him good health.

We, being all of us the friends of Plato, have sent to you Lamiscus and Photidas in order to take the philosopher away by the terms of the agreement made with you. You will do well to remember the zeal with which you urged us all to secure Plato’s coming to Sicily, determined as you were to persuade him and to undertake, amongst other things, responsibility for his safety so long as he stayed with you and on his return. Remember this too, that you set great store by his coming, and from that time had more regard for him than for any of those at your court. If he has given you offence, it behoves you to behave with humanity and restore him to us unhurt. By so doing you will satisfy justice and at the same time put us under an obligation.

The third time he came to reconcile Dion and Dionysius, but, failing to do so, returned to his own country without achieving anything. And there he refrained from meddling with politics, although his writings show that he was a statesman. The reason was that the people had already been accustomed to measures and institutions quite different from his own. Pamphila in

the twenty-fifth book of her Memorabilia says that the Arcadians and Thebans, when they were founding Megalopolis, invited Plato to be their legislator; but that, when he discovered that they were opposed to equality of possessions, he refused to go. There is a story that he pleaded for Chabrias the general when he was tried for his life, although no one else at Athens would do so,

and that, on this occasion, as he was going up to the Acropolis along with Chabrias, Crobylus the informer met him and said, What, are you come to speak for the defence? Don't you know that the hemlock of Socrates awaits you? To this Plato replied, As I faced dangers when serving in the cause of my country, so I will face them now in the cause of duty for a friend.

He was the first to introduce argument by means of question and answer, says Favorinus in the eighth book of his Miscellaneous History; he was the first to explain to Leodamas of Thasos the method of solving problems by analysis; and the first who in philosophical discussion employed the terms antipodes, element, dialectic, quality, oblong number, and, among boundaries, the plane superficies; also divine providence.

He was also the first philosopher who controverted the speech of Lysias, the son of Cephalus, which he has set out word for word in the Phaedrus, and the first to study the significance of grammar. And, as he was the first to attack the views of almost all his predecessors, the question is raised why he makes no mention of Democritus. Neanthes of Cyzicus says that, on his going to Olympia, the eyes of all the Greeks were turned towards him, and there he met Dion, who was about to make his expedition against Dionysius. In the first book of the Memorabilia of Favorinus there is a statement that Mithradates the Persian set up a statue of Plato in the Academy and inscribed upon it these words: Mithradates the Persian, the son of Orontobates, dedicated to the Muses a likeness of Plato made by Silanion.

Heraclides declares that in his youth he was so modest and orderly that he was never seen to laugh outright. In spite of this he too was ridiculed by the Comic poets. At any rate Theopompus in his Hedychares says:
There is not anything that is truly one, even the number two is scarcely one, according to Plato.
Moreover, Anaxandrides in his Theseus says:
He was eating olives exactly like Plato.
Then there is Timon who puns on his name thus:
As Plato placed strange platitudes.

Alexis again in the Meropis:
You have come in the nick of time. For I am at my wits' end and walking up and down, like Plato, and yet have discovered no wise plan but only tired my legs.
And in the Ancylion:
You don't know what you are talking about: run about with Plato, and you'll know all about soap and onions.
Amphis, too, in the Amphicrates says:

A. And as for the good, whatever that be, that you are likely to get on her account, I know no more about it, master, than I do of the good of Plato.

B. Just attend.

And in the Dexidemides:
O Plato, all you know is how to frown with eyebrows lifted high like any snail.
Cratinus, too, in The False Changeling:

A. Clearly you are a man and have a soul.

B. In Plato’s words, I am not sure but suspect that I have.
And Alexis in the Olympiodorus:

A. My mortal body withered up, my immortal part sped into the air.

B. Is not this a lecture of Plato’s?
And in the Parasite:
Or, with Plato, to converse alone.
Anaxilas, again, in the Botrylion, and in Circe and Rich Women, has a gibe at him.

Aristippus in his fourth book On the Luxury of the Ancients says that he was attached to a youth named Aster, who joined him in the study of astronomy, as also to Dion who has been mentioned above, and, as some aver, to Phaedrus too. His passionate affection is revealed in the following epigrams which he is said to have written upon them:

Star-gazing Aster, would I were the skies,
To gaze upon thee with a thousand eyes.
And another:
Among the living once the Morning Star,

Thou shin’st, now dead, like Hesper from afar.

And he wrote thus upon Dion:

Tears from their birth the lot had been

Of Ilium’s daughters and their queen.

By thee, O Dion, great deeds done

New hopes and larger promise won.

Now here thou liest gloriously,

How deeply loved, how mourned by me.

This, they say, was actually inscribed upon his tomb at Syracuse.

Again, it is said that being enamoured of Alexis and Phaedrus, as before mentioned, he composed the following lines:
Now, when Alexis is of no account, I have said no more than this. He is fair to see, and everywhere all eyes are turned upon him. Why, my heart, do you show the dogs a bone? And then will you smart for this hereafter? Was it not thus that we lost Phaedrus?
He is also credited with a mistress, Archeanassa, upon whom he wrote as follows:
I have a mistress, fair Archeanassa of Colophon, on whose very wrinkles sits hot love. O hapless ye who met such beauty on its first voyage, what a flame must have been kindled in you!

There is another upon Agathon:
While kissing Agathon, my soul leapt to my lips, as if fain, alas! to pass over to him.
And another:
I throw an apple to you and, if indeed you are willing to love me, then receive it and let me taste your virgin charms. But if you are otherwise minded, which heaven forbid, take this very apple and see how short-lived all beauty is.
And another:

An apple am I, thrown by one who loves you. Nay, Xanthippe, give consent, for you and I are both born to decay.

It is also said that the epigram on the Eretrians, who were swept out of the country, was written by him:
We are Eretrians by race, from Euboea, and lie near Susa. How far, alas, from our native land!
And again:
Thus Venus to the Muses spoke:

Damsels, submit to Venus' yoke,

Or dread my Cupid's arms.

Those threats, the virgins nine replied,

May weigh with Mars, but we deride

Love's wrongs, or darts, or charms.
And again:
A certain person found some gold,

Carried it off and, in its stead,

Left a strong halter, neatly rolled.

The owner found his treasure fled,

And, daunted by his fortune's wreck,

Fitted the halter to his neck.

Further, Molon, being his enemy, said, It is not wonderful that Dionysius should be in Corinth, but rather that Plato should be in Sicily. And it seems that Xenophon was not on good terms with him. At any rate, they have written similar narratives as if out of rivalry with each other, a Symposium, a Defence of Socrates, and their moral treatises or Memorabilia. Next, the one wrote a Republic, the other a Cyropaedia. And in the Laws Plato declares the story of the education of Cyrus to be a fiction, for that Cyrus did not answer to the description of him. And although both make mention of Socrates, neither of them refers to the other, except that Xenophon mentions Plato in the third book of his Memorabilia.

It is said also that Antisthenes, being about to read publicly something that he had composed, invited Plato to be present. And on his inquiring what he was about to read, Antisthenes replied that it was something about the impossibility of contradiction. How then, said Plato, can you write on this subject? thus showing him that the argument refutes itself. Thereupon he wrote a dialogue against Plato and entitled it Sathon. After this they continued to be estranged from one another. They say that, on hearing Plato read the Lysis, Socrates exclaimed, By Heracles, what a number of lies this young man is telling about me! For he has included in the dialogue much that Socrates never said.

Plato was also on bad terms with Aristippus. At least in the dialogue Of the Soul he disparages him by saying that he was not present at the death of Socrates, though he was no farther off than Aegina. Again, they say that he showed a certain jealousy of Aeschines, because of his reputation with Dionysius, and that, when he arrived at the court, he was despised by Plato because of his poverty, but supported by Aristippus. And Idomeneus asserts that the arguments

used by Crito, when in the prison he urges Socrates to escape, are really due to Aeschines, and that Plato transferred them to Crito because of his enmity to Aeschines.

Nowhere in his writings does Plato mention himself by name, except in the dialogue On the Soul and the Apology. Aristotle remarks that the style of the dialogues is half-way between poetry and prose. And according to Favorinus, when Plato read the dialogue On the Soul, Aristotle alone stayed to the end; the rest of the audience got up and went away. Some say that Philippus of Opus copied out the Laws, which were left upon waxen tablets, and it is said that he was the author of the Epinomis. Euphorion and Panaetius relate that the beginning of the Republic was found several times revised and rewritten, and the Republic itself Aristoxenus declares to have been nearly all of it included in the Controversies of Protagoras.

There is a story that the Phaedrus was his first dialogue. For the subject has about it something of the freshness of youth. Dicaearchus, however, censures its whole style as vulgar.

A story is told that Plato once saw some one playing at dice and rebuked him. And, upon his protesting that he played for a trifle only, But the habit, rejoined Plato, is not a trifle. Being asked whether there would be any memoirs of him as of his predecessors, he replied, A man must first make a name, and he will have no lack of memoirs. One day, when Xenocrates had come in, Plato asked him to chastise his slave, since he was unable to do it himself because he was in a passion.

Further, it is alleged that he said to one of his slaves, I would have given you a flogging, had I not been in a passion. Being mounted on horseback, he quickly got down again, declaring that he was afraid he would be infected with horse-pride. He advised those who got drunk to view themselves in a mirror; for they would then abandon the habit which so disfigured them. To drink to excess was nowhere becoming, he used to say, save at the feasts of the god who was the giver of wine. He also disapproved of over-sleeping. At any rate in the Laws he declares that

no one when asleep is good for anything. He also said that the truth is the pleasantest of sounds. Another version of this saying is that the pleasantest of all things is to speak the truth. Again, of truth he speaks thus in the Laws: Truth, O stranger, is a fair and durable thing. But it is a thing of which it is hard to persuade men. His wish always was to leave a memorial of himself behind, either in the hearts of his friends or in his books. He was himself fond of seclusion according to some authorities.

His death, the circumstances of which have already been related, took place in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Philip, as stated by Favorinus in the third book of his Memorabilia, and according to Theopompus honours were paid to him at his death by Philip. But Myronianus in his Parallels says that Philo mentions some proverbs that were in circulation about Plato’s lice, implying that this was the mode of his death.

He was buried in the Academy, where he spent the greatest part of his life in philosophical study. And hence the school which he founded was called the Academic school. And all the students there joined in the funeral procession. The terms of his will were as follows:

These things have been left and devised by Plato: the estate in Iphistiadae, bounded on the north by the road from the temple at Cephisia, on the south by the temple of Heracles in Iphistiadae, on the east by the property of Archestratus of Phrearrhi, on the west by that of Philippus of Chollidae: this it shall be unlawful for anyone to sell or alienate, but it shall be the property of the boy Adeimantus to all intents and purposes:

the estate in Eiresidae which I bought of Callimachus, bounded on the north by the property of Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, on the south by the property of Demostratus of Xypete, on the east by that of Eurymedon of Myrrhinus, and on the west by the Cephisus; three minae of silver; a silver vessel weighing 165 drachmas; a cup weighing 45 drachmas; a gold signet-ring and earring together weighing four drachmas and three obols. Euclides the lapidary owes me three minae. I enfranchise Artemis. I leave four household servants, Tychon, Bictas, Apollonides and Dionysius.

Household furniture, as set down in the inventory of which Demetrius has the duplicate. I owe no one anything. My executors are Leosthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus and Thrasippus.

Such were the terms of his will. The following epitaphs were inscribed upon his tomb:
Here lies the god-like man Aristocles, eminent among men for temperance and the justice of his character. And he, if ever anyone, had the fullest meed of praise for wisdom, and was too great for envy.

Next:
Earth in her bosom here hides Plato's body, but his soul hath its immortal station with the blest, Ariston's son, whom every good man, even if he dwell afar off, honours because he discerned the divine life.
And a third of later date:

A. Eagle, why fly you o'er this tomb? Say, is your gaze fixed upon the starry house of one of the immortals?

B. I am the image of the soul of Plato, which has soared to Olympus, while his earth-born body rests in Attic soil.

There is also an epitaph of my own which runs thus:
If Phoebus did not cause Plato to be born in Greece, how came it that he healed the minds of men by letters? As the god's son Asclepius is a healer of the body, so is Plato of the immortal soul.
And another on the manner of his death:
Phoebus gave to mortals Asclepius and Plato, the one to save their souls, the other to save their bodies. From a wedding banquet he has passed to that city which he had founded for himself and planted in the sky.
Such then are his epitaphs.

His disciples were Speusippus of Athens, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Aristotle of Stagira, Philippus of Opus, Hestiaeus of Perinthus, Dion of Syracuse, Amyclus of Heraclea, Erastus and Coriscus of Scepsus, 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 two women, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius, who is reported by Dicaearchus to have worn men's clothes. Some say that Theophrastus too attended his lectures. Chamaeleon adds Hyperides the orator and Lycurgus,

and in this Polemo agrees. Sabinus makes Demosthenes his pupil, quoting, in the fourth book of his Materials for Criticism, Mnesistratus of Thasos as his authority. And it is not improbable.

Now, as you are an enthusiastic Platonist, and rightly so, and as you eagerly seek out that philosopher's doctrines in preference to all others, I have thought it necessary to give some

account of the true nature of his discourses, the arrangement of the dialogues, and the method of his inductive procedure, as far as possible in an elementary manner and in main outline, in order that the facts I have collected respecting his life may not suffer by the omission of his doctrines. For, in the words of the proverb, it would be taking owls to Athens, were I to give you of all people the full particulars.

They say that Zeno the Eleatic was the first to write dialogues. But, according to Favorinus in his Memorabilia, Aristotle in the first book of his dialogue On Poets asserts that it was Alexamenus of Styra or Teos. In my opinion Plato, who brought this form of writing to perfection, ought to be adjudged the prize for its invention as well as for its embellishment. A dialogue is a discourse consisting of question and answer on some philosophical or political subject, with due regard to the characters of the persons introduced and the choice of diction. Dialectic is the art of discourse by which we either refute or establish some proposition by means of question and answer on the part of the interlocutors.

Of the Platonic dialogues there are two most general types, the one adapted for instruction and the other for inquiry. And the former is further divided into two types, the theoretical and the practical. And of these the theoretical is divided into the physical and logical, and the practical into the ethical and political. The dialogue of inquiry also has two main divisions, the one of which aims at training the mind and the other at victory in controversy. Again, the part which aims at training the mind has two subdivisions, the one akin to the midwife's art, the other merely tentative. And that suited to controversy is also subdivided into one part which raises critical objections, and another which is subversive of the main position.

I am not unaware that there are other ways in which certain writers classify the dialogues. For some dialogues they call dramatic, others narrative, and others again a mixture of the two. But the terms they employ in their classification of the dialogues are better suited to the stage than to philosophy. Physics is represented by the Timaeus, logic by the Statesman, Cratylus, Parmenides and Sophist, ethics by the Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus and Symposium, as well as by the Menexenus, Clitophon, the Epistles, Philebus, Hipparchus and the Rivals, and lastly politics by the Republic, the Laws, Minos, Epinomis, and the dialogue concerning Atlantis.

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To the class of mental obstetrics belong the two Alcibiades, Theages, Lysis and Laches, while the Euthyphro, Meno, Io, Charmides and Theaetetus illustrate the tentative method. In the Protagoras is seen the method of critical objections; in the Euthydemus, Gorgias, and the two dialogues entitled Hippias that of subversive argument. So much then for dialogue, its definition and varieties.

Again, as there is great division of opinion between those who affirm and those who deny that Plato was a dogmatist, let me proceed to deal with this further question. To be a dogmatist in philosophy is to lay down positive dogmas, just as to be a legislator is to lay down laws. Further, under dogma two things are included, the thing opined and the opinion itself.

Of these the former is a proposition, the latter a conception. Now where he has a firm grasp Plato expounds his own view and refutes the false one, but, if the subject is obscure, he suspends judgement. His own views are expounded by four persons, Socrates, Timaeus, the Athenian Stranger, the Eleatic Stranger. These strangers are not, as some hold, Plato and Parmenides, but imaginary characters without names, for, even when Socrates and Timaeus are

the speakers, it is Plato's doctrines that are laid down. To illustrate the refutation of false opinions, he introduces Thrasymachus, Callicles, Polus, Gorgias, Protagoras, or again Hippias, Euthydemus and the like.

In constructing his proofs he makes most use of induction, not always in the same way, but under two forms. For induction is an argument which by means of certain true premisses properly infers a truth resembling them. And there are two kinds of induction, the one proceeding by way of contradiction, the other from agreement. In the kind which proceeds by contradiction the answer given to every question will necessarily be the contrary of the respondent's position, e.g. My father is either other than or the same as your father. If then your father is other than my father, by being other than a father he will not be a father. But if he is the same as my father, then by being the same as my father he will be my father.

And again: If man is not an animal, he will be either a stick or a stone. But he is not a stick or a stone; for he is animate and self-moved. Therefore he is an animal. But if he is an animal, and if a dog or an ox is also an animal, then man by being an animal will be a dog and an ox as well. This is the kind of induction which proceeds by contradiction and dispute, and Plato used it, not for laying down positive doctrines but for refutation. The other kind of induction by agreement appears in two forms, the one proving the particular conclusion under discussion from a particular, the other proceeding by way of the universal [by means of particular facts]. The former is suited to rhetoric, the latter to dialectic. For instance, under the first form the question is raised, Did so-and-so commit a murder? The proof is that he was found at the time with stains of blood on him.

This is the rhetorical form of induction, since rhetoric also is concerned with particular facts and not with universals. It does not inquire about justice in the abstract, but about particular cases of justice. The other kind, where the general proposition is first established by means of particular facts, is the induction of dialectic. For instance, the question put is whether the soul is immortal, and whether the living come back from the dead. And this is proved in the dialogue On the Soul by means of a certain general proposition, that opposites proceed from opposites. And the general proposition itself is established by means of certain propositions which are particular, as that sleep comes from waking and vice versa, the greater from the less and vice versa. This is the form which he used to establish his own views.

But, just as long ago in tragedy the chorus was the only actor, and afterwards, in order to give the chorus breathing space, Thespis devised a single actor, Aeschylus a second, Sophocles a third, and thus tragedy was completed, so too with philosophy: in early times it discoursed on one subject only, namely physics, then Socrates added the second subject, ethics, and Plato the third, dialectics, and so brought philosophy to perfection. Thrasylus says that he published his dialogues in tetralogies, like those of the tragic poets. Thus they contended with four plays at the Dionysia, the Lenaea, the Panathenaea and the festival of Chytri. Of the four plays the last was a satiric drama; and the four together were called a tetralogy.

Now, says Thrasylus, the genuine dialogues are fifty-six in all, if the Republic be divided into ten and the Laws into twelve. Favorinus, however, in the second book of his Miscellaneous History declares that nearly the whole of the Republic is to be found in a work of Protagoras entitled Controversies. This gives nine tetralogies, if the Republic takes the place of one single work and the Laws of another. His first tetralogy has a common plan underlying it, for he wishes to describe what the life of the philosopher will be. To each of the works Thrasylus affixes a double

title, the one taken from the name of the interlocutor, the other from the subject.

This tetralogy, then, which is the first, begins with the Euthyphro or On Holiness, a tentative dialogue; the Apology of Socrates, an ethical dialogue, comes second; the third is Crito or On what is to be done, ethical; the fourth Phaedo or On the Soul, also ethical. The second tetralogy begins with Cratylus or On Correctness of Names, a logical dialogue, which is followed by Theaetetus or On Knowledge, tentative, the Sophist or On Being, a logical dialogue, the Statesman or On Monarchy, also logical. The third tetralogy includes, first, Parmenides or On Ideas, which is logical, next Philebus or On Pleasure, an ethical dialogue, the Banquet or On the Good, ethical, Phaedrus or On Love, also ethical.

The fourth tetralogy starts with Alcibiades or On the Nature of Man, an obstetric dialogue; this is followed by the second Alcibiades or On Prayer, also obstetric; then comes Hipparchus or The Lover of Gain, which is ethical, and The Rivals or On Philosophy, also ethical. The fifth tetralogy includes, first, Theages or On Philosophy, an obstetric dialogue, then Charmides or On Temperance, which is tentative, Laches or On Courage, obstetric, and Lysis or On Friendship, also obstetric. The sixth tetralogy starts with Euthydemus or The Eristic, a refutative dialogue, which is followed by Protagoras or Sophists, critical, Gorgias or On Rhetoric, refutative, and Meno or On Virtue, which is tentative.

The seventh tetralogy contains, first, two dialogues entitled Hippias, the former On Beauty, the latter On Falsehood, both refutative; next Ion or On the Iliad, which is tentative, and Menexenus or The Funeral Oration, which is ethical. The eighth tetralogy starts with Clitophon or Introduction, which is ethical, and is followed by the Republic or On Justice, political, Timaeus or On Nature, a physical treatise, and Critias or Story of Atlantis, which is ethical. The ninth tetralogy starts with Minos or On Law, a political dialogue, which is followed by the Laws or On Legislation, also political, Epinomis or Nocturnal Council, or Philosopher, political, and lastly the Epistles, thirteen in number, which are ethical.

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In these epistles his heading was Welfare, as that of Epicurus was A Good Life, and that of Cleon All Joy. They comprise: one to Aristodemus, two to Archytas, four to Dionysius, one to Hermias, Erastus and Coriscus, one each to Leodamas, Dion and Perdiccas, and two to Dion’s friends. This is the division adopted by Thrasylus and some others.

Some, including Aristophanes the grammarian, arrange the dialogues arbitrarily in trilogies.

In the first trilogy they place the Republic, Timaeus and Critias; in the second the Sophist, the Statesman and Cratylus; in the third the Laws, Minos and Epinomis; in the fourth Theaetetus, Euthyphro and the Apology; in the fifth Crito, Phaedo and the Epistles. The rest follow as separate compositions in no regular order. Some critics, as has already been stated, put the Republic first, while others start with the greater Alcibiades, and others again 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, while many begin with the Apology. The following dialogues are acknowledged to be spurious: the Midon or Horse-breeder , the Eryxias or Erasistratus, the Alcyon, the Acephali or Sisyphus, the Axiochus, the Phaeacians, the Demodocus, the Chelidon, the Seventh Day, the Epimenides. Of these the Alcyon is thought to be the work of a certain Leon, according to Favorinus in the fifth book of his Memorabilia.

Plato has employed a variety of terms in order to make his system less intelligible to the

ignorant. But in a special sense he considers wisdom to be the science of those things which are objects of thought and really existent, the science which, he says, is concerned with God and the soul as separate from the body. And especially by wisdom he means philosophy, which is a yearning for divine wisdom. And in a general sense all experience is also termed by him wisdom, e.g. when he calls a craftsman wise. And he applies the same terms with very different meanings. For instance, the word φαῦλος (slight, plain) is employed by him in the sense of ἁπλοῦς (simple, honest), just as it is applied to Heracles in the Licymnius of Euripides in the following passage:
Plain (φαῦλος), unaccomplished, staunch to do great deeds, unversed in talk, with all his store of wisdom curtailed to action.

But sometimes Plato uses this same word (φαῦλος) to mean what is bad, and at other times for what is small or petty. Again, he often uses different terms to express the same thing. For instance, he calls the Idea form (εἶδος), genus (γένος), archetype (παράδειγμα), principle (ἀρχή) and cause (αἴτιον). He also uses contrary expressions for the same thing. Thus he calls the sensible thing both existent and non-existent, existent inasmuch as it comes into being, non-existent because it is continually changing. And he says the Idea is neither in motion nor at rest; that it is uniformly the same and yet both one and many. And it is his habit to do this in many more instances.

The right interpretation of his dialogues includes three things: first, the meaning of every statement must be explained; next, its purpose, whether it is made for a primary reason or by way of illustration, and whether to establish his own doctrines or to refute his interlocutor; in the third place it remains to examine its truth.

And since certain critical marks are affixed to his works let us now say a word about these. The cross X is taken to indicate peculiar expressions and figures of speech, and generally any idiom of Platonic usage; the diple (>) calls attention to doctrines and opinions characteristic of Plato;

the dotted cross (⁜) denotes select passages and beauties of style; the dotted diple (⸖) editors' corrections of the text; the dotted obelus (÷) passages suspected without reason; the dotted antisigma (Ↄ·) repetitions and proposals for transpositions; the ceraunium the philosophical school; the asterisk () an agreement of doctrine; the obelus (-) a spurious passage. So much for the critical marks and his writings in general. As Antigonus of Carystus says in his Life of Zeno, when the writings were first edited with critical marks, their possessors charged a certain fee to anyone who wished to consult them.

The doctrines he approved are these. He held that the soul is immortal, that by transmigration it puts on many bodies, and that it has a numerical first principle, whereas the first principle of the body is geometrical; and he defined soul as the idea of vital breath diffused in all directions. He held that it is self-moved and tripartite, the rational part of it having its seat in the head, the passionate part about the heart, while the appetitive is placed in the region of the navel and the liver..

And from the centre outwards it encloses the body on all sides in a circle, and is compounded of elements, and, being divided at harmonic intervals, it forms two circles which touch one another twice; and the interior circle, being slit six times over, makes seven circles in all. And this interior circle moves by way of the diagonal to the left, and the other by way of the side to the right. Hence also the one is supreme, being a single circle, for the other interior circle was divided; the

former is the circle of the Same, the latter that of the Other, whereby he means that the motion of the soul is the motion of the universe together with the revolutions of the planets..

And the division from the centre to the circumference which is adjusted in harmony with the soul being thus determined, the soul knows that which is, and adjusts it proportionately because she has the elements proportionately disposed in herself. And when the circle of the Other revolves aright, the result is opinion; but from the regular motion of the circle of the Same comes knowledge. He set forth two universal principles, God and matter, and he calls God mind and cause; he held that matter is devoid of form and unlimited, and that composite things arise out of it; and that it was once in disorderly motion but, inasmuch as God preferred order to disorder, was by him brought together in one place.

This substance, he says, is converted into the four elements, fire, water, air, earth, of which the world itself and all that therein is are formed. Earth alone of these elements is not subject to change, the assumed cause being the peculiarity of its constituent triangles. For he thinks that in all the other elements the figures employed are homogeneous, the scalene triangle out of which they are all put together being one and the same, whereas for earth a triangle of peculiar shape is employed; the element of fire is a pyramid, of air an octahedron, of water an icosahedron, of earth a cube. Hence earth is not transmuted into the other three elements, nor these three into earth.

But the elements are not separated each into its own region of the universe, because the revolution unites their minute particles, compressing and forcing them together into the centre, at the same time as it separates the larger masses. Hence as they change their shapes, so also do they change the regions which they occupy.

And there is one created universe, seeing that it is perceptible to sense, which has been made by God. And it is animate because that which is animate is better than that which is inanimate. And this piece of workmanship is assumed to come from a cause supremely good. It was made one and not unlimited because the pattern from which he made it was one. And it is spherical because such is the shape of its maker.

For that maker contains the other living things, and this universe the shapes of them all. It is smooth and has no organ all round because it has no need of organs. Moreover, the universe remains imperishable because it is not dissolved into the Deity. And the creation as a whole is caused by God, because it is the nature of the good to be beneficent, and the creation of the universe has the highest good for its cause. For the most beautiful of created things is due to the best of intelligible causes; so that, as God is of this nature, and the universe resembles the best in its perfect beauty, it will not be in the likeness of anything created, but only of God.

The universe is composed of fire, water, air and earth; of fire in order to be visible; of earth in order to be solid; of water and air in order to be proportional. For the powers represented by solids are connected by two mean proportionals in a way to secure the complete unity of the whole. And the universe was made of all the elements in order to be complete and indestructible.

Time was created as an image of eternity. And while the latter remains for ever at rest, time consists in the motion of the universe. For night and day and month and the like are all parts of time; for which reason, apart from the nature of the universe, time has no existence. But so soon as the universe is fashioned time exists.

And the sun and moon and planets were created as means to the creation of time. And God kindled the light of the sun in order that the number of the seasons might be definite and in order that animals might possess number. The moon is in the circle immediately above the earth, and the sun in that which is next beyond that, and in the circles above come the planets. Further, the universe is an animate being, for it is bound fast in animate movement. And in order that the universe which had been created in the likeness of the intelligible living creature might be rendered complete, the nature of all other animals was created. Since then its pattern possesses them, the universe also ought to have them. And thus it contains gods for the most part of a fiery nature; of the rest there are three kinds, winged, aquatic and terrestrial.

And of all the gods in heaven the earth is the oldest. And it was fashioned to make night and day. And being at the centre it moves round the centre. And since there are two causes, it must be affirmed, he says, that some things are due to reason and others have a necessary cause, the latter being air, fire, earth and water, which are not exactly elements but rather recipients of form. They are composed of triangles, and are resolved into triangles. The scalene triangle and the isosceles triangle are their constituent elements.

The principles, then, and causes assumed are the two above mentioned, of which God and matter are the exemplar. Matter is of necessity formless like the other recipients of form. Of all these there is a necessary cause. For it somehow or other receives the ideas and so generates substances, and it moves because its power is not uniform, and, being in motion, it in turn sets in motion those things which are generated from it. And these were at first in irrational and irregular motion, but after they began to frame the universe, under the conditions possible they were made by God symmetrical and regular.

For the two causes existed even before the world was made, as well as becoming in the third place, but they were not distinct, merely traces of them being found, and in disorder. When the world was made, they too acquired order. And out of all the bodies there are the universe was fashioned. He holds God, like the soul, to be incorporeal. For only thus is he exempt from change and decay. As already stated, he assumes the Ideas to be causes and principles whereby the world of natural objects is what it is.

On good and evil he would discourse to this effect. He maintained that the end to aim at is assimilation to God, that virtue is in itself sufficient for happiness, but that it needs in addition, as instruments for use, first, bodily advantages like health and strength, sound senses and the like, and, secondly, external advantages such as wealth, good birth and reputation. But the wise man will be no less happy even if he be without these things. Again, he will take part in public affairs, will marry, and will refrain from breaking the laws which have been made. And as far as circumstances allow he will legislate for his own country, unless in the extreme corruption of the people he sees that the state of affairs completely justifies his abstention.

He thinks that the gods take note of human life and that there are superhuman beings. He was the first to define the notion of good as that which is bound up with whatever is praiseworthy and rational and useful and proper and becoming. And all these are bound up with that which is consistent and in accord with nature.

He also discoursed on the propriety of names, and indeed he was the first to frame a science for rightly asking and answering questions, having employed it himself to excess. And in the dialogues he conceived righteousness to be the law of God because it is stronger to incite men

to do righteous acts, that malefactors may not be punished after death also.

Hence to some he appeared too fond of myths. These narratives he intermingles with his works in order to deter men from wickedness, by reminding them how little they know of what awaits them after death. Such, then, are the doctrines he approved.

He used also to divide things, according to Aristotle, in the following manner. Goods are in the mind or in the body, or external. For example, justice, prudence, courage, temperance and such like are in the mind; beauty, a good constitution, health and strength in the body; while friends, the welfare of one's country and riches are amongst external things.

Thus there are three kinds of goods: goods of the mind, goods of the body and external goods. There are three species of friendship: one species is natural, another social, and another hospitable. By natural friendship we mean the affection which parents have for their offspring and kinsmen for each other. And other animals besides man have inherited this form.

By the social form of friendship we mean that which arises from intimacy and has nothing to do with kinship; for instance, that of Pylades for Orestes. The friendship of hospitality is that which is extended to strangers owing to an introduction or letters of recommendation. Thus friendship is either natural or social or hospitable. Some add a fourth species, that of love.

There are five forms of civil government: one form is democratic, another aristocratic, a third oligarchic, a fourth monarchic, a fifth that of a tyrant. The democratic form is that in which the people has control and chooses at its own pleasure both magistrates and laws. The aristocratic form is that in which the rulers are neither the rich nor the poor nor the nobles, but the state is under the guidance of the best. Oligarchy is that form in which there is a property-qualification for the holding of office; for the rich are fewer than the poor. Monarchy is either regulated by law or hereditary. At Carthage the kingship is regulated by law, the office being put up for sale.

But the monarchy in Lacedaemon and in Macedonia is hereditary, for they select the king from a certain family. A tyranny is that form in which the citizens are ruled either through fraud or force by an individual. Thus civil government is either democratic, aristocratic, oligarchic, or a monarchy or a tyranny.

There are three species of justice. One is concerned with gods, another with men, and the third with the departed. For those who sacrifice according to the laws and take care of the temples are obviously pious towards the gods. Those again who repay loans and restore what they have received upon trust act justly towards men. Lastly, those who take care of tombs are obviously just towards the departed. Thus one species of justice relates to the gods, another to men, while a third species is concerned with the departed.

There are three species of knowledge or science, one practical, another productive, and a third theoretical. For architecture and shipbuilding are productive arts, since the work produced by them can be seen. Politics and flute-playing, harp-playing and similar arts are practical. For nothing visible is produced by them; yet they do or perform something. In the one case the artist plays the flute or the harp, in the other the politician takes part in politics. Geometry and harmonics and astronomy are theoretical sciences. For they neither perform nor produce anything. But the geometer considers how lines are related to each other, the student of harmony investigates sounds, the astronomer stars and the universe. Thus some sciences are theoretical, others are practical, and others are productive.

There are five species of medicine: the first is pharmacy, the second is surgery, the third deals with diet and regimen, the fourth with diagnosis, the fifth with remedies. Pharmacy cures sickness by drugs, surgery heals by the use of knife and cautery, the species concerned with diet prescribes a regimen for the removal of disease, that concerned with diagnosis proceeds by determining the nature of the ailment, that concerned with remedies by prescribing for the immediate removal of the pain. The species of medicine, then, are pharmacy, surgery, diet and regimen, diagnosis, prescription of remedies.

There are two divisions of law, the one written and the other unwritten. Written law is that under which we live in different cities, but that which has arisen out of custom is called unwritten law; for instance, not to appear in the market-place undressed or in women's attire. There is no statute forbidding this, but nevertheless we abstain from such conduct because it is prohibited by an unwritten law. Thus law is either written or unwritten.

There are five kinds of speech, of which one is that which politicians employ in the assemblies; this is called political speech.

The second division is that which the rhetors employ in written compositions, whether composed for display or praise or blame, or for accusation. Hence this division is termed rhetorical. The third division of speech is that of private persons conversing with one another; this is called the mode of speech of ordinary life. Another division of speech is the language of those who converse by means of short questions and answers; this kind is called dialectical. The fifth division is the speech of craftsmen conversing about their own subjects; this is called technical language. Thus speech is either political, or rhetorical, or that of ordinary conversation, or dialectical, or technical.

Music has three divisions. One employs the mouth alone, like singing. The second employs both the mouth and the hands, as is the case with the harper singing to his own accompaniment. The third division employs the hands alone; for instance, the music of the harp. Thus music employs either the mouth alone, or the mouth and the hands, or the hands alone.

Nobility has four divisions. First, when the ancestors are gentle and handsome and also just, their descendants are said to be noble. Secondly, when the ancestors have been princes or magistrates, their descendants are said to be noble. The third kind arises when the ancestors have been illustrious; for instance, through having held military command or through success in the national games. For then we call the descendants noble.

The last division includes the man who is himself of a generous and high-minded spirit. He too is said to be noble. And this indeed is the highest form of nobility. Thus, of nobility, one kind depends on excellent ancestors, another on princely ancestors, a third on illustrious ancestors, while the fourth is due to the individual's own beauty and worth.

Beauty has three divisions. The first is the object of praise, as of form fair to see. Another is serviceable; thus an instrument, a house and the like are beautiful for use. Other things again which relate to customs and pursuits and the like are beautiful because beneficial. Of beauty, then, one kind is matter for praise, another is for use, and another for the benefit it procures.

The soul has three divisions. One part of it is rational, another appetitive, and a third irascible. Of these the rational part is the cause of purpose, reflection, understanding and the like. The appetitive part of the soul is the cause of desire of eating, sexual indulgence and the like, while the irascible part is the cause of courage, of pleasure and pain, and of anger. Thus one part of

the soul is rational, another appetitive, and a third irascible.

Of perfect virtue there are four species: prudence, justice, bravery and temperance.

Of these prudence is the cause of right conduct, justice of just dealing in partnerships and commercial transactions. Bravery is the cause which makes a man not give way but stand his ground in alarms and perils. Temperance causes mastery over desires, so that we are never enslaved by any pleasure, but lead an orderly life. Thus virtue includes first prudence, next justice, thirdly bravery, and lastly temperance.

Rule has five divisions, one that which is according to law, another according to nature, another according to custom, a fourth by birth, a fifth by force.

Now the magistrates in cities when elected by their fellow-citizens rule according to law. The natural rulers are the males, not only among men, but also among the other animals; for the males everywhere exert wide-reaching rule over the females. Rule according to custom is such authority as attendants exercise over children and teachers over their pupils. Hereditary rule is exemplified by that of the Lacedaemonian kings, for the office of king is confined to a certain family. And the same system is in force for the kingdom of Macedonia; for there too the office of king goes by birth. Others have acquired power by force or fraud, and govern the citizens against their will; this kind of rule is called forcible. Thus rule is either by law, or by nature, or by custom, or by birth, or by force.

There are six kinds of rhetoric. For when the speakers urge war or alliance with a neighbouring state, that species of rhetoric is called persuasion. But when they speak against making war or alliance, and urge their hearers to remain at peace, this kind of rhetoric is called dissuasion. A third kind is employed when a speaker asserts that he is wronged by some one whom he makes out to have caused him much mischief; accusation is the name applied to the kind here defined. The fourth kind of rhetoric is termed defence; here the speaker shows that he has done no wrong and that his conduct is in no respect abnormal; defence is the term applied in such a case.

A fifth kind of rhetoric is employed when a speaker speaks well of some one and proves him to be worthy and honourable; encomium is the name given to this kind. A sixth kind is that employed when the speaker shows some one to be unworthy; the name given to this is invective. Under rhetoric, then, are included encomium, invective, persuasion, dissuasion, accusation and defence.

Successful speaking has four divisions. The first consists in speaking to the purpose, the next to the requisite length, the third before the proper audience, and the fourth at the proper moment. The things to the purpose are those which are likely to be expedient for speaker and hearer. The requisite length is that which is neither more nor less than enough.

To speak to the proper audience means this: in addressing persons older than yourself, the discourse must be made suitable to the audience as being elderly men; whereas in addressing juniors the discourse must be suitable to young men. The proper time of speaking is neither too soon nor too late; otherwise you will miss the mark and not speak with success.

Of conferring benefits there are four divisions. For it takes place either by pecuniary aid or by personal service, by means of knowledge or of speech. Pecuniary aid is given when one assists a man in need, so that he is relieved from all anxiety on the score of money. Personal service is

given when men come up to those who are being beaten and rescue them.

Those who train or heal, or who teach something valuable, confer benefit by means of knowledge. But when men enter a law-court and one appears as advocate for another and delivers an effective speech on his behalf, he is benefiting him by speech. Thus benefits are conferred by means either of money or of personal service, or of knowledge, or of speech.

There are four ways in which things are completed and brought to an end. The first is by legal enactment, when a decree is passed and this decree is confirmed by law. The second is in the course of nature, as the day, the year and the seasons are completed. The third is by the rules of art, say the builder's art, for so a house is completed; and so it is with shipbuilding, whereby vessels are completed.

Fourthly, matters are brought to an end by chance or accident, when they turn out otherwise than is expected. Thus the completion of things is due either to law, or to nature, or to art, or to chance.

Of power or ability there are four divisions. First, whatever we can do with the mind, namely calculate or anticipate; next, whatever we can effect with the body, for instance, marching, giving, taking and the like. Thirdly, whatever we can do by a multitude of soldiers or a plentiful supply of money; hence a king is said to have great power. The fourth division of power or influence is doing, or being done by, well or ill; thus we can become ill or be educated, be restored to health and the like. Power, then, is either in the mind, or the body, or in armies and resources, or in acting and being acted upon.

Philanthropy is of three kinds. One is by way of salutations, as when certain people address every one they meet and, stretching out their hand, give him a hearty greeting; another mode is seen when one is given to assisting every one in distress; another mode of philanthropy is that which makes certain people fond of giving dinners. Thus philanthropy is shown either by a courteous address, or by conferring benefits, or by hospitality and the promotion of social intercourse.

Welfare or happiness includes five parts. One part of it is good counsel, a second soundness of the senses and bodily health, a third success in one's undertakings, a fourth a reputation with one's fellow-men, a fifth ample means in money and in whatever else subserves the end of life.

Now deliberating well is a result of education and of having experience of many things. Soundness of the senses depends upon the bodily organs: I mean, if one sees with his eyes, hears with his ears, and perceives with his nostrils and his mouth the appropriate objects, then such a condition is soundness of the senses. Success is attained when a man does what he aims at in the right way, as becomes a good man.

A man has a good reputation when he is well spoken of. A man has ample means when he is so equipped for the needs of life that he can afford to benefit his friends and discharge his public services with lavish display. If a man has all these things, he is completely happy. Thus of welfare or happiness one part is good counsel, another soundness of senses and bodily health, a third success, a fourth a good reputation, a fifth ample means.

There are three divisions of the arts and crafts. The first division consists of mining and forestry, which are productive arts. The second includes the smith's and carpenter's arts which transform material; for the smith makes weapons out of iron, and the carpenter transforms timber into

flutes and lyres. The third division is that which uses what is thus made, as horsemanship employs bridles, the art of war employs weapons, and music flutes and the lyre. Thus of art there are three several species, those above-mentioned in the first, second and third place.

Good is divided into four kinds. One is the possessor of virtue, whom we affirm to be individually good. Another is virtue itself and justice; these we affirm to be good. A third includes such things as food, suitable exercises and drugs. The fourth kind which we affirm to be good includes the arts of flute-playing, acting and the like. Thus there are four kinds of good: the possession of virtue; virtue itself; thirdly, food and beneficial exercises; lastly, flute-playing, acting, and the poetic art.

Whatever is is either evil or good or indifferent. We call that evil which is capable of invariably doing harm; for instance, bad judgement and folly and injustice and the like. The contraries of these things are good. But the things which can sometimes benefit and sometimes harm, such as walking and sitting and eating, or which can neither do any benefit nor harm at all, these are things indifferent, neither good nor evil. Thus all things whatever are either good, or evil, or neither good nor evil.

Good order in the state falls under three heads. First, if the laws are good, we say that there is good government. Secondly, if the citizens obey the established laws, we also call this good government. Thirdly, if, without the aid of laws, the people manage their affairs well under the guidance of customs and institutions, we call this again good government. Thus three forms of good government may exist, (1) when the laws are good, (2) when the existing laws are obeyed, (3) when the people live under salutary customs and institutions.

Disorder in a state has three forms. The first arises when the laws affecting citizens and strangers are alike bad,

the second when the existing laws are not obeyed, and the third when there is no law at all. Thus the state is badly governed when the laws are bad or not obeyed, or lastly, when there is no law.

Contraries are divided into three species. For instance, we say that goods are contrary to evils, as justice to injustice, wisdom to folly, and the like. Again, evils are contrary to evils, prodigality is contrary to niggardliness, and to be unjustly tortured is the contrary of being justly tortured, and so with similar evils. Again, heavy is the contrary of light, quick of slow, black of white, and these pairs are contraries, while they are neither good nor evil.

Thus, of contraries, some are opposed as goods to evils, others as evils to evils, and others, as things which are neither good nor evil, are opposed to one another.

There are three kinds of goods, those which can be exclusively possessed, those which can be shared with others, and those which simply exist. To the first division, namely, those which can be exclusively possessed, belong such things as justice and health. To the next belong all those which, though they cannot be exclusively possessed, can be shared with others. Thus we cannot possess the absolute good, but we can participate in it. The third division includes those goods the existence of which is necessary, though we can neither possess them exclusively nor participate in them. The mere existence of worth and justice is a good; and these things cannot be shared or had in exclusive possession, but must simply exist. Of goods, then, some are possessed exclusively, some shared, and others merely subsist.

Counsel is divided under three heads. One is taken from past time, one from the future, and the third from the present. That from past time consists of examples; for instance, what the Lacedaemonians suffered through trusting others. Counsel drawn from the present is to show, for instance, that the walls are weak, the men cowards, and the supplies running short. Counsel from the future is. for instance, to urge that we should not wrong the embassies by suspicions, lest the fair fame of Hellas be stained. Thus counsel is derived from the past, the present and the future.

Vocal sound falls into two divisions according as it is animate or inanimate. The voice of living things is animate sound; notes of instruments and noises are inanimate. And of the animate voice part is articulate, part inarticulate, that of men being articulate speech, that of the animals inarticulate. Thus vocal sound is either animate or inanimate.

Whatever exists is either divisible or indivisible. Of divisible things some are divisible into similar and others into dissimilar parts. Those things are indivisible which cannot be divided and are not compounded of elements, for example, the unit, the point and the musical note; whereas those which have constituent parts, for instance, syllables, concords in music, animals, water, gold, are divisible.

If they are composed of similar parts, so that the whole does not differ from the part except in bulk, as water, gold and all that is fusible, and the like, then they are termed homogeneous. But whatever is composed of dissimilar parts, as a house and the like, is termed heterogeneous. Thus all things whatever are either divisible or indivisible, and of those which are divisible some are homogeneous, others heterogeneous in their parts.

Of existing things some are absolute and some are called relative. Things said to exist absolutely are those which need nothing else to explain them, as man, horse, and all other animals.

For none of these gains by explanation. To those which are called relative belong all which stand in need of some explanation, as that which is greater than something or quicker than something, or more beautiful and the like. For the greater implies a less, and the quicker is quicker than something. Thus existing things are either absolute or relative. And in this way, according to Aristotle, Plato used to divide the primary conceptions also.

There was also another man named Plato, a philosopher of Rhodes, a pupil of Panaetius, as is stated by Seleucus the grammarian in his first book On Philosophy; another a Peripatetic and pupil of Aristotle; and another who was a pupil of Praxiphanes; and lastly, there was Plato, the poet of the Old Comedy.

BOOK IV

Chapter 1. SPEUSIPPUS (circa 407-339 B.C.) (Head of the Academy, 347-339 B.C.)

The foregoing is the best account of Plato that we were able to compile after a diligent examination of the authorities. He was succeeded by Speusippus, an Athenian and son of Eurymedon, who belonged to the deme of Myrrhinus, and was 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 erected by Plato in the Academy. He adhered faithfully to Plato’s doctrines. In character, however, he was unlike him, being prone to anger and easily overcome by pleasures. At any rate there is a story that in a fit of passion he flung his favourite

dog into the well, and that pleasure was the sole motive for his journey to Macedonia to be present at the wedding-feast of Casander.

It was said that among those who attended his lectures were the two women who had been pupils of Plato, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Phlius. And at the time Dionysius in a letter says derisively, We may judge of your wisdom by the Arcadian girl who is your pupil. And, whereas Plato exempted from fees all who came to him, you levy tribute on them and collect it whether they will or no. According to Diodorus in the first book of his Memorabilia, Speusippus was the first to discern the common element in all studies and to bring them into connexion with each other so far as that was possible.

And according to Caeneus he was the first to divulge what Isocrates called the secrets of his art, and the first to devise the means by which fagots of firewood are rendered portable.

When he was already crippled by paralysis, he sent a message to Xenocrates entreating him to come and take over the charge of the school. They say that, as he was being conveyed to the Academy in a tiny carriage, he met and saluted Diogenes, who replied, Nay, if you can endure to live in such a plight as this, I decline to return your greeting. At last in old age he became so despondent that he put an end to his life. Here follows my epigram upon him:
Had I not learnt that Speusippus would die thus, no one would have persuaded me to say that he was surely not of Plato’s blood; for else he would never have died in despair for a trivial cause.

Plutarch in the Lives of Lysander and Sulla makes his malady to have been morbus pedicularis. That his body wasted away is affirmed by Timotheus in his book On Lives. Speusippus, he says, meeting a rich man who was in love with one who was no beauty, said to him, Why, pray, are you in such sore need of him? For ten talents I will find you a more handsome bride.

He has left behind a vast store of memoirs and numerous dialogues, among them:

Aristippus the Cyrenaic.

On Wealth, one book.

On Pleasure, one book.

On Justice,

On Philosophy,

On Friendship,

On the Gods,

The Philosopher,

A Reply to Cephalus,

Cephalus,

Clinomachus or Lysias,

The Citizen,

Of the Soul,

A Reply to Gryllus,

Aristippus,

Criticism of the Arts, each in one book.

Memoirs, in the form of dialogues.

Treatise on System, in one book.

Dialogues on the Resemblances in Science, in ten books.

Divisions and Hypotheses relating to the Resemblances.

On Typical Genera and Species.

A Reply to the Anonymous Work.

Eulogy of Plato.

Epistles to Dion, Dionysius and Philip.

On Legislation.

The Mathematician.

Mandrobolus.

Lysias.

Definitions.

Arrangements of Commentaries.

They comprise in all 43,475 lines. To him Timonides addresses his narrative in which he related the achievements of Dion and Bion. Favorinus also in the second book of his Memorabilia relates that Aristotle purchased the works of Speusippus for three talents.

There was another Speusippus, a physician of Alexandria, of the school of Herophilus.

Chapter 2. XENOCRATES (396-314 B.C.) (Head of the Academy 339-314 B.C.)

Xenocrates, the son of Agathenor, was a native of Chalcedon. He was a pupil of Plato from his earliest youth; moreover he accompanied him on his journey to Sicily. He was naturally slow and clumsy. Hence Plato, comparing him to Aristotle, said, The one needed a spur, the other a bridle. And again, See what an ass I am training and what a horse he has to run against. However, Xenocrates was in all besides dignified and grave of demeanour, which made Plato say to him continually, Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces. He spent most of his time in the Academy; and whenever he was going to betake himself to the city, it is said that all the noisy rabble and hired porters made way for him as he passed.

And that once the notorious Phryne tried to make his acquaintance and, as if she were being chased by some people, took refuge under his roof; that he admitted her out of ordinary humanity and, there being but one small couch in the room, permitted her to share it with him, and at last, after many importunities, she retired without success, telling those who inquired that he whom she quitted was not a man but a statue. Another version of the story is that his pupils induced Laïs to invade his couch; and that so great was his endurance that he many times submitted to amputation and cautery. His words were entirely worthy of credit, so much so that, although it was illegal for witnesses to give evidence unsworn, the Athenians allowed Xenocrates alone to do so.

Furthermore, he was extremely independent; at all events, when Alexander sent him a large sum of money, he took three thousand Attic drachmas and sent back the rest to Alexander, whose needs, he said, were greater than his own, because he had a greater number of people to keep. Again, he would not accept the present sent him by Antipater, as Myronianus attests in his Parallels. And when he had been honoured at the court of Dionysius with a golden crown as the prize for his prowess in drinking at the Feast of Pitchers, he went out and placed it on the statue of Hermes just as he had been accustomed to place there garlands of flowers. There is a story that, when he was sent, along with others also, on an embassy to Philip, his colleagues, being bribed, accepted Philip's invitations to feasts and talked with him. Xenocrates did neither the one nor the other. Indeed on this account Philip declined to see him.

Hence, when the envoys returned to Athens, they complained that Xenocrates had accompanied them without rendering any service. Thereupon the people were ready to fine him. But when he told them that now more than ever they ought to consider the interests of the state—for, said he, Philip knew that the others had accepted his bribes, but that he would never win me over—then the people paid him double honours. And afterwards Philip said that, of all who had arrived at his court, Xenocrates was the only man whom he could not bribe. Moreover, when he went as envoy to Antipater to plead for Athenians taken prisoners in the Lamian war, being invited to dine with Antipater, he quoted to him the following lines:
O Circe! what righteous man would have the heart to taste meat and drink ere he had redeemed his company and beheld them face to face?
and so pleased Antipater with his ready wit that he at once released them.

When a little sparrow was pursued by a hawk and rushed into his bosom, he stroked it and let it go, declaring that a suppliant must not be betrayed. When bantered by Bion, he said he would make no reply. For neither, said he, does tragedy deign to answer the banter of comedy. To some one who had never learnt either music or geometry or astronomy, but nevertheless wished to attend his lectures, Xenocrates said, Go your ways, for you offer philosophy nothing to lay hold of. Others report him as saying, It is not to me that you come for the carding of a fleece.

When Dionysius told Plato that he would lose his head, Xenocrates, who was present, pointed to his own and added, No man shall touch it till he cut off mine. They say too that, when Antipater came to Athens and greeted him, he did not address him in return until he had finished what he was saying. He was singularly free from pride; more than once a day he would retire into himself, and he assigned, it is said, a whole hour to silence.

He left a very large number of treatises, poems and addresses, of which I append a list:

On Nature, six books.

On Wisdom, six books.

On Wealth, one book.

The Arcadian, one book.

On the Indeterminate, one book.

On the Child, one book.

On Continence, one book.

On Utility, one book.

On Freedom, one book.

On Death, one book.

On the Voluntary, one book.

On Friendship, two books.

On Equity, one book.

On that which is Contrary, two books.

On Happiness, two books.

On Writing, one book.

On Memory, one book.

On Falsehood, one book.

Callicles, one book.

On Prudence, two books.

The Householder, one book.

On Temperance, one book.

On the Influence of Law, one book.

On the State, one book.

On Holiness, one book.

That Virtue can be taught, one book.

On Being, one book.

On Fate, one book.

On the Emotions, one book.

On Modes of Life, one book.

On Concord, one book.

On Students, two books.

On Justice, one book.

On Virtue, two books.

On Forms, one book.

On Pleasure, two books.

On Life, one book.

On Bravery, one book.

On the One, one book.

On Ideas, one book.

On Art, one book.

On the Gods, two books.

On the Soul, two books.

On Science, one book.

The Statesman, one book.

On Cognition, one book.

On Philosophy, one book.

On the Writings of Parmenides, one book.

Archedemus or Concerning Justice, one book.

On the Good, one book.

Things relating to the Understanding, eight books.

Solution of Logical Problems, ten books.

Physical Lectures, six books.

Summary, one book.

On Genera and Species, one book.

Things Pythagorean, one book.

Solutions, two books.

Divisions, eight books.

Theses, in twenty books, 30,000 lines.

The Study of Dialectic, in fourteen books, 12,740 lines.

After this come fifteen books, and then sixteen books of Studies relating to Style.

Nine books on Ratiocination.

Six books concerned with Mathematics.

Two other books entitled Things relating to the Intellect.

On Geometers, five books.

Commentaries, one book.

Contraries, one book.

On Numbers, one book.

Theory of Numbers, one book.

On Dimensions, one book.

On Astronomy, six books.

Elementary Principles of Monarchy, in four books, dedicated to Alexander.

To Arybas.

To Hephaestion.

On Geometry, two books.

These works comprise in all 224,239 lines.

Such was his character, and yet, when he was unable to pay the tax levied on resident aliens, the Athenians put him up for sale. And Demetrius of Phalerum purchased him, thereby making twofold restitution, to Xenocrates of his liberty, and to the Athenians of their tax. This we learn from Myronianus of Amastris in the first book of his Chapters on Historical Parallels. He succeeded Speusippus and was head of the school for twenty-five years from the archonship of Lysimachides, beginning in the second year of the 110th Olympiad. He died in his 82nd year from the effects of a fall over some utensil in the night.

Upon him I have expressed myself as follows:
Xenocrates, that type of perfect manliness, stumbled over a vessel of bronze and broke his head, and, with a loud cry, expired.

There have been six other men named Xenocrates: (1) a tactician in very ancient times; (2) the kinsman and fellow-citizen of the philosopher: a speech by him is extant entitled the Arsinoëtic, treating of a certain deceased Arsinoë; (4) a philosopher and not very successful writer of elegies; it is a remarkable fact that poets succeed when they undertake to write prose, but prose-writers who essay poetry come to grief; whereby it is clear that the one is a gift of nature and the other of art; (5) a sculptor; (6) a writer of songs mentioned by Aristoxenus.

Chapter 3. POLEMO (Head of the Academy from 314 to c. 276 B.C.)

Polemo, the son of Philostratus, was an Athenian who belonged to the deme of Oea. In his youth he was so profligate and dissipated that he actually carried about with him money to procure the immediate gratification of his desires, and would even keep sums concealed in lanes and alleys. Even in the Academy a piece of three obols was found close to a pillar, where he had buried it for the same purpose. And one day, by agreement with his young friends, he burst into the school of Xenocrates quite drunk, with a garland on his head. Xenocrates, however, without being at all disturbed, went on with his discourse as before, the subject being temperance. The lad, as he listened, by degrees was taken in the toils. He became so industrious as to surpass all the other scholars, and rose to be himself head of the school in the 116th Olympiad.

Antigonus of Carystus in his Biographies says that his father was foremost among the citizens and kept horses to compete in the chariot-race; that Polemo himself had been defendant in an action brought by his wife, who charged him with cruelty owing to the irregularities of his life; but that, from the time when he began to study philosophy, he acquired such strength of character as always to maintain the same unruffled calm of demeanour. Nay more, he never lost control of his voice. This in fact accounts for the fascination which he exercised over Crantor. Certain it is that, when a mad dog bit him in the back of his thigh, he did not even turn pale, but remained undisturbed by all the clamour which arose in the city at the news of what had happened. In the theatre too he was singularly unmoved.

For instance, Nicostratus, who was nicknamed Clytemnestra, was once reading to him and Crates something from Homer; and, while Crates was deeply affected, he was no more moved than if he had not heard him. Altogether he was a man such as Melanthius the painter describes in his work On Painting. There he says that a certain wilfulness and stubbornness should be stamped on works of art, and that the same holds good of character. Polemo used to say that we should exercise ourselves with facts and not with mere logical speculations, which leave us, like a man who has got by heart some paltry handbook on harmony but never practised, able,

indeed, to win admiration for skill in asking questions, but utterly at variance with ourselves in the ordering of our lives.

He was, then, refined and generous, and would beg to be excused, in the words of Aristophanes about Euripides, the acid, pungent style,

which, as the same author says, is strong seasoning for meat when it is high. Further, he would not, they say, even sit down to deal with the themes of his pupils, but would argue walking up and down. It was, then, for his love of what is noble that he was honoured in the state. Nevertheless would he withdraw from society and confine himself to the Garden of the Academy, while close by his scholars made themselves little huts and lived not far from the shrine of the Muses and the lecture-hall. It would seem that in all respects Polemo emulated Xenocrates. And Aristippus in the fourth book of his work On the Luxury of the Ancients affirms him to have been his favourite. Certainly he always kept his predecessor before his mind and, like him, wore that simple austere dignity which is proper to the Dorian mode.

He loved Sophocles, particularly in those passages where it seemed as if, in the phrase of the comic poet,
A stout Molossian mastiff lent him aid,
and where the poet was, in the words of Phrynichus,
Nor must, nor blended vintage, but true Pramnian.
Thus he would call Homer the Sophocles of epic, and Sophocles the Homer of tragedy

He died at an advanced age of gradual decay, leaving behind him a considerable number of works. I have composed the following epigram upon him:>
Dost thou not hear? We have buried Polemo, laid here by that fatal scourge of wasted strength. Yet not Polemo, but merely his body, which on his way to the stars he left to moulder in the ground.

Chapter 4. CRATES (of Athens) (Head of the Academy in third century B.C.)

Crates, whose father was Antigenes, was an Athenian belonging to the deme of Thria. He was a pupil and at the same time a favourite of Polemo, whom he succeeded in the headship of the school. The two were so much attached to each other that they not only shared the same pursuits in life but grew more and more alike to their latest breath, and, dying, shared the same tomb. Hence Antagoras, writing of both, employed this figure:
Passing stranger, say that in this tomb rest godlike Crates and Polemo, men magnanimous in concord, from whose inspired lips flowed sacred speech, and whose pure life of wisdom, in accordance with unswerving tenets, decked them for a bright immortality.

Hence Arcesilaus, who had quitted Theophrastus and gone over to their school, said of them that they were gods or a remnant of the Golden Age. They did not side with the popular party, but were such as Dionysodorus the flute-player is said to have claimed to be, when he boasted that no one ever heard his melodies, as those of Ismenias were heard, either on shipboard or at the fountain. According to Antigonus, their common table was in the house of Crantor; and these two and Arcesilaus lived in harmony together. Arcesilaus and Crantor shared the same house, while Polemo and Crates lived with Lysicles, one of the citizens. Crates, as already stated, was the favourite of Polemo and Arcesilaus of Crantor.

According to Apollodorus in the third book of his Chronology, Crates at his death left behind him

works, some of a philosophical kind, others on comedy, others again speeches delivered in the assembly or when he was envoy. He also left distinguished pupils; among them Arcesilaus, of whom we shall speak presently—for he was also a pupil of Crates; another was Bion of Borysthenes, who was afterwards known as the Theodorean, from the school which he joined; of him too we shall have occasion to speak next after Arcesilaus.

There have been ten men who bore the name of Crates: (1) the poet of the Old Comedy; (2) a rhetorician of Tralles, a pupil of Isocrates; (3) a sapper and miner who accompanied Alexander; (4) the Cynic, of whom more hereafter; (5) a Peripatetic philosopher; (6) the Academic philosopher described above; (7) a grammarian of Malos; (8) the author of a geometrical work; (9) a composer of epigrams; (10) an Academic philosopher of Tarsus.

Chapter 5. CRANTOR (Perhaps about 340-290 B.C.)

Crantor of Soli, though he was much esteemed in his native country, left it for Athens and attended the lectures of Xenocrates at the same time as Polemo. He left memoirs extending to 30,000 lines, some of which are by some critics attributed to Arcesilaus. He is said to have been asked what it was in Polemo that attracted him, and to have replied, The fact that I never heard him raise or lower his voice in speaking. He happened to fall ill, and retired to the temple of Asclepius, where he proceeded to walk about. At once people flocked round him in the belief that he had retired thither, not on account of illness, but in order to open a school. Among them was Arcesilaus, who wished to be introduced by his means to Polemo, notwithstanding the affection which united the two, as will be related in the Life of Arcesilaus.

However, when he recovered, he continued to attend Polemo’s lectures, and for this he was universally praised. He is also said to have left Arcesilaus his property, to the value of twelve talents. And when asked by him where he wished to be buried, he answered:
Sweet in some nook of native soil to rest.
It is also said that he wrote poems and deposited them under seal in the temple of Athena in his native place. And Theaetetus the poet writes thus of him:
Pleasing to men, more pleasing to the Muses, lived Crantor, and never saw old age. Receive, O earth, the hallowed dead; gently may he live and thrive even in the world below.

Crantor admired Homer and Euripides above all other poets; it is hard, he said, at once to write tragedy and to stir the emotions in the language of everyday life. And he would quote the line from the story of Bellerophon:
Alas! But why Alas? We have suffered the lot of mortals.
And it is said that there are extant these lines of the poet Antagoras, spoken by Crantor on Love:

My mind is in doubt, since thy birth is disputed, whether I am to call thee, Love, the first of the immortal gods, the eldest of all the children whom old Erebus and queenly Night brought to birth in the depths beneath wide Ocean;

or art thou the child of wise Cypris, or of Earth, or of the Winds? So many are the goods and ills thou devisest for men in thy wanderings. Therefore hast thou a body of double form.

He was also clever at inventing terms. For instance, he said of a tragic player’s voice that it was unpolished and unpeeled. And of a certain poet that his verses abounded in miserliness. And that the disquisitions of Theophrastus were written with an oyster-shell. His most highly

esteemed work is the treatise On Grief. He died before Polemo and Crates, his end being hastened by dropsy. I have composed upon him the following epigram:
The worst of maladies overwhelmed you, Crantor, and thus did you descend the black abyss of Pluto. While you fare well even in the world below, the Academy and your country of Soli are bereft of your discourses.

Chapter 6. ARCESILAUS (c. 318-242 B.C.)

Arcesilaus, the son of Seuthes, according to Apollodorus in the third book of his Chronology, came from Pitane in Aeolis. With him begins the Middle Academy; he was the first to suspend his judgement owing to the contradictions of opposing arguments. He was also the first to argue on both sides of a question, and the first to meddle with the system handed down by Plato and, by means of question and answer, to make it more closely resemble eristic. He came across Crantor in this way. He was the youngest of four brothers, two of them being his brothers by the same father, and two by the same mother. Of the last two Pylades was the elder, and of the former two Moereas, and Moereas was his guardian.

At first, before he left Pitane for Athens, he was a pupil of the mathematician Autolycus, his fellow-countryman, and with him he also travelled to Sardis. Next he studied under Xanthus, the musician, of Athens; then he was a pupil of Theophrastus. Lastly, he crossed over to the Academy and joined Crantor. For while his brother Moereas, who has already been mentioned, wanted to make him a rhetorician, he was himself devoted to philosophy, and Crantor, being enamoured of him, cited the line from the Andromeda of Euripides:
O maiden, if I save thee, wilt thou be grateful to me?
and was answered with the next line:
Take me, stranger, whether for maidservant or for wife.

After that they lived together. Whereupon Theophrastus, nettled at his loss, is said to have remarked, What a quick-witted and ready pupil has left my school! For, besides being most effective in argument and decidedly fond of writing books, he also took up poetry. And there is extant an epigram of his upon Attalus which runs thus:
Pergamos, not famous in arms alone, is often celebrated for its steeds in divine Pisa. And if a mortal may make bold to utter the will of heaven, it will be much more sung by bards in days to come.
And again upon Menodorus, the favourite of Eugamus, one of his fellow-students:

Far, far away are Phrygia and sacred Thyatira, thy native land, Menodorus, son of Cadanus. But to unspeakable Acheron the ways are equal, from whatever place they be measured, as the proverb saith. To thee Eugamus raised this far-seen monument, for thou wert dearest to him of all who for him toiled.

He esteemed Homer above all the poets and would always read a passage from him before going to sleep. And in the morning he would say, whenever he wanted to read Homer, that he would pay a visit to his dear love. Pindar too he declared matchless for imparting fullness of diction and for affording a copious store of words and phrases. And in his youth he made a special study of Ion.

He also attended the lectures of the geometer Hipponicus, at whom he pointed a jest as one who was in all besides a listless, yawning sluggard but yet proficient in his subject. Geometry, he

said, must have flown into his mouth while it was agape. When this man's mind gave way, Arcesilaus took him to his house and nursed him until he was completely restored. He took over the school on the death of Crates, a certain Socratides having retired in his favour. According to some, one result of his suspending judgement on all matters was that he never so much as wrote a book. Others relate that he was caught revising some works of Crantor, which according to some he published, according to others he burnt. He would seem to have held Plato in admiration, and he possessed a copy of his works.

Some represent him as emulous of Pyrrho as well. He was devoted to dialectic and adopted the methods of argument introduced by the Eretrian school. On account of this Ariston said of him:
Plato the head of him, Pyrrho the tail, midway Diodorus.
And Timon speaks of him thus:
Having the lead of Menedemus at his heart, he will run either to that mass of flesh, Pyrrho, or to Diodorus.
And a little farther on he introduces him as saying:
I shall swim to Pyrrho and to crooked Diodorus.

He was highly axiomatic and concise, and in his discourse fond of distinguishing the meaning of terms. He was satirical enough, and outspoken.

This is why Timon speaks of him again as follows:
And mixing sound sense with wily cavils.
Hence, when a young man talked more boldly than was becoming, Arcesilaus exclaimed, Will no one beat him at a game of knuckle-bone? Again, when some one of immodest life denied that one thing seemed to him greater than another, he rejoined, Then six inches and ten inches are all the same to you? There was a certain Hemon, a Chian, who, though ugly, fancied himself to be handsome, and always went about in fine clothes. He having propounded as his opinion that the wise man will never fall in love, Arcesilaus replied, What, not with one so handsome as you and so handsomely dressed? And when one of loose life, to imply that Arcesilaus was arrogant, addressed him thus:

Queen, may I speak, or must I silence keep?
his reply was:
Woman, why talk so harshly, not as thou art wont?
When some talkative person of no family caused him considerable trouble, he cited the line:
Right ill to live with are the sons of slaves.
Of another who talked much nonsense he said that he could not have had even a nurse to scold him. And some persons he would not so much as answer. To a money-lending student, upon his confessing ignorance of something or other, Arcesilaus replied with two lines from the Oenomaus of Sophocles:
Be sure the hen-bird knows not from what quarter the wind blows until she looks for a new brood in the nest.

A certain dialectic, a follower of Alexinus, was unable to repeat properly some argument of his teacher, whereupon Arcesilaus reminded him of the story of Philoxenus and the brickmakers. He found them singing some of his melodies out of tune; so he retaliated by trampling on the bricks they were making, saying, If you spoil my work, I'll spoil yours. He was, moreover, genuinely annoyed with any who took up their studies too late. By some natural impulse he was betrayed into using such phrases as I assert, and So-and-so (mentioning the name) will not

assent to this. And this trait many of his pupils imitated, as they did also his style of speaking and his whole address.

Very fertile in invention, he could meet objection acutely or bring the course of discussion back to the point at issue, and fit it to every occasion. In persuasiveness he had no equal, and this all the more drew pupils to the school, although they were in terror of his pungent wit. But they willingly put up with that; for his goodness was extraordinary, and he inspired his pupils with hopes. He showed the greatest generosity in private life, being ever ready to confer benefits, yet most modestly anxious to conceal the favour. For instance, he once called upon Ctesibius when he was ill and, seeing in what straits he was, quietly put a purse under his pillow. He, when he found it, said, This is the joke of Arcesilaus. Moreover, on another occasion, he sent him 1000 drachmas.

Again, by introducing Archias the Arcadian to Eumenes, he caused him to be advanced to great dignity. And, as he was very liberal, caring very little for money, so he was the first to attend performances where seats were paid for, and he was above all eager to go to those of Archecrates and Callicrates, for which the fee was a gold piece. And he helped many people and collected subscriptions for them. Some one once borrowed his silver plate in order to entertain friends and never brought it back, but Arcesilaus did not ask him for it and pretended it had not been borrowed. Another version of the story is that he lent it on purpose, and, when it was returned, made the borrower a present of it because he was poor. He had property in Pitane from which his brother Pylades sent him supplies. Furthermore, Eumenes, the son of Philetaerus, furnished him with large sums, and for this reason Eumenes was the only one of the contemporary kings to whom he dedicated any of his works.

And whereas many persons courted Antigonus and went to meet him whenever he came to Athens, Arcesilaus remained at home, not wishing to thrust himself upon his acquaintance. He was on the best of terms with Hierocles, the commandant in Munichia and Piraeus, and at every festival would go down to see him. And though Hierocles joined in urging him to pay his respects to Antigonus, he was not prevailed upon, but, after going as far as the gates, turned back. And after the battle at sea, when many went to Antigonus or wrote him flattering letters, he held his peace. However, on behalf of his native city, he did go to Demetrias as envoy to Antigonus, but failed in his mission. He spent his time wholly in the Academy, shunning politics.

Once indeed, when at Athens, he stopped too long in the Piraeus, discussing themes, out of friendship for Hierocles, and for this he was censured by certain persons. He was very lavish, in short another Aristippus, and he was fond of dining well, but only with those who shared his tastes. He lived openly with Theodete and Phila, the Elean courtesans, and to those who censured him he quoted the maxims of Aristippus. He was also fond of boys and very susceptible. Hence he was accused by Ariston of Chios, the Stoic, and his followers, who called him a corrupter of youth and a shameless teacher of immorality.

He is said to have been particularly enamoured of Demetrius who sailed to Cyrene, and of Cleochares of Myrlea; of him the story is told that, when a band of revellers came to the door, he told them that for his part he was willing to admit them but that Cleochares would not let him. This same youth had amongst his admirers Democharesthe son of Laches, and Pythocles the son of Bugelus, and once when Arcesilaus had caught them, with great forbearance he ordered them off. For all this he was assailed and ridiculed by the critics abovementioned, as a friend of the mob who courted popularity. The most virulent attacks were made upon him in the circle of

Hieronymus the Peripatetic, whenever he collected his friends to keep the birthday of Halcyoneus, son of Antigonus, an occasion for which Antigonus used to send large sums of money to be spent in merrymaking.

There he had always shunned discussion over the wine; and when Aridices, proposing a certain question, requested him to speak upon it, he replied, The peculiar province of philosophy is just this, to know that there is a time for all things. As to the charge brought against him that he was the friend of the mob, Timon, among many other things, has the following:

So saying, he plunged into the surrounding crowd. And they were amazed at him, like chaffinches about an owl, pointing him out as vain, because he was a flatterer of the mob. And why, insignificant thing that you are, do you puff yourself out like a simpleton?

And yet for all that he was modest enough to recommend his pupils to hear other philosophers. And when a certain youth from Chios was not well pleased with his lectures and preferred those of the above-mentioned Hieronymus, Arcesilaus himself took him and introduced him to that philosopher, with an injunction to behave well.

Another pleasant story told of him is this. Some one had inquired why it was that pupils from all the other schools went over to Epicurus, but converts were never made from the Epicureans: Because men may become eunuchs, but a eunuch never becomes a man, was his answer.

At last, being near his end, he left all his property to his brother Pylades, because, unknown to Moereas, he had taken him to Chios and thence brought him to Athens. In all his life he never married nor had any children. He made three wills: the first he left at Eretria in the charge of Amphicritus, the second at Athens in the charge of certain friends, while the third he dispatched to his home to Thaumasias, one of his relatives, with the request that he would keep it safe. To this man he also wrote as follows:

Arcesilaus to Thaumasias greeting.

I have given Diogenes my will to be conveyed to you. For, owing to my frequent illnesses and the weak state of my body, I decided to make a will, in order that, if anything untoward should happen, you, who have been so devotedly attached to me, should not suffer by my decease. You are the most deserving of all those in this place to be entrusted with the will, on the score both of age and of relationship to me. Remember then that I have reposed the most absolute confidence in you, and strive to deal justly by me, in order that, so far as you are concerned, the provisions I have made may be carried out with fitting dignity. A copy is deposited at Athens with some of my acquaintance, and another in Eretria with Amphicritus.

He died, according to Hermippus, through drinking too freely of unmixed wine which affected his reason; he was already seventy-five and regarded by the Athenians with unparalleled good-will.

I have written upon him as follows:
Why, pray, Arcesilaus, didst thou quaff so unsparingly unmixed wine as to go out of thy mind? I pity thee not so much for thy death as because thou didst insult the Muses by immoderate potations.

Three other men have borne the name of Arcesilaus: a poet of the Old Comedy, another poet who wrote elegies, and a sculptor besides, on whom Simonides composed this epigram:
This is a statue of Artemis and its cost two hundred Parian drachmas, which bear a goat for their

device. It was made by Arcesilaus, the worthy son of Aristodicus, well practised in the arts of Athena.

According to Apollodorus in his Chronology, the philosopher described in the foregoing flourished about the 120th Olympiad.

Chapter 7. BION (third century B.C.)

Bion was by birth a citizen of Borysthenes [Olbia]; who his parents were, and what his circumstances before he took to philosophy, he himself told Antigonus in plain terms. For, when Antigonus inquired:
Who among men, and whence, are you? What is your city and your parents?
he, knowing that he had already been maligned to the king, replied, My father was a freedman, who wiped his nose on his sleeve—meaning that he was a dealer in salt fish—a native of Borysthenes, with no face to show, but only the writing on his face, a token of his master's severity. My mother was such as a man like my father would marry, from a brothel. Afterwards my father, who had cheated the revenue in some way, was sold with all his family. And I, then a not ungraceful youngster, was bought by a certain rhetorician, who on his death left me all he had.

And I burnt his books, scraped everything together, came to Athens and turned philosopher.
This is the stock and this the blood from which I boast to have sprung.
Such is my story. It is high time, then, that Persaeus and Philonides left off recounting it. Judge me by myself.

In truth Bion was in other respects a shifty character, a subtle sophist, and one who had given the enemies of philosophy many an occasion to blaspheme, while in certain respects he was even pompous and able to indulge in arrogance. He left very many memoirs, and also sayings of useful application. For example, when he was reproached for not paying court to a youth, his excuse was, You can't get hold of a soft cheese with a hook.

Being once asked who suffers most from anxiety, he replied, He who is ambitious of the greatest prosperity. Being consulted by some one as to whether he should marry—for this story is also told of Bion— he made answer, If the wife you marry be ugly, she will be your bane; if beautiful, you will not keep her to yourself. He called old age the harbour of all ills; at least they all take refuge there. Renown he called the mother of virtues; beauty another's good; wealth the sinews of success. To some one who had devoured his patrimony he said, The earth swallowed Amphiaraus, but you have swallowed your land. To be unable to bear an ill is itself a great ill. He used to condemn those who burnt men alive as if they could not feel, and yet cauterized them as if they could.

He used repeatedly to say that to grant favours to another was preferable to enjoying the favours of others. For the latter means ruin to both body and soul. He even abused Socrates, declaring that, if he felt desire for Alcibiades and abstained, he was a fool; if he did not, his conduct was in no way remarkable. The road to Hades, he used to say, was easy to travel; at any rate men passed away with their eyes shut. He said in censure of Alcibiades that in his boyhood he drew away the husbands from their wives, and as a young man the wives from their husbands. When the Athenians were absorbed in the practice of rhetoric, he taught philosophy at Rhodes. To some one who found fault with him for this he replied, How can I sell barley when

what I brought to market is wheat?

He used to say that those in Hades would be more severely punished if the vessels in which they drew water were whole instead of being pierced with holes. To an importunate talker who wanted his help he said, I will satisfy your demand, if you will only get others to plead your cause and stay away yourself. On a voyage in bad company he fell in with pirates. When his companions said, We are lost if we are discovered, And I too, he replied, unless I am discovered. Conceit he styled a hindrance to progress. Referring to a wealthy miser he said, He has not acquired a fortune; the fortune has acquired him. Misers, he said, took care of property as if it belonged to them, but derived no more benefit from it than if it belonged to others. When we are young, said he, we are courageous, but it is only in old age that prudence is at its height.

Prudence, he said, excels the other virtues as much as sight excels the other senses. He used to say that we ought not to heap reproaches on old age, seeing that, as he said, we all hope to reach it. To a slanderer who showed a grave face his words were, I don't know whether you have met with ill luck, or your neighbour with good. He used to say that low birth made a bad partner for free speech, for—
It cows a man, however bold his heart.
We ought, he remarked, to watch our friends and see what manner of men they are, in order that we may not be thought to associate with the bad or to decline the friendship of the good.

Bion at the outset used to deprecate the Academic doctrines, even at the time when he was a pupil of Crates. Then he adopted the Cynic discipline, donning cloak and wallet.

For little else was needed to convert him to the doctrine of entire insensibility. Next he went over to Theodorean views, after he had heard the lectures of Theodorus the Atheist, who used every kind of sophistical argument. And after Theodorus he attended the lectures of Theophrastus the Peripatetic. He was fond of display and great at cutting up anything with a jest, using vulgar names for things. Because he employed every style of speech in combination, Eratosthenes, we hear, said of him that he was the first to deck philosophy with bright-flowered robes. He was clever also at parody. Here is a specimen of his style:
O gentle Archytas, musician-born, blessed in thine own conceit, most skilled of men to stir the bass of strife.

And in general he made sport of music and geometry. He lived extravagantly, and for this reason he would move from one city to another, sometimes contriving to make a great show. Thus at Rhodes he persuaded the sailors to put on students' garb and follow in his train. And when, attended by them, he made his way into the gymnasium, all eyes were fixed on him. It was his custom also to adopt certain young men for the gratification of his appetite and in order that he might be protected by their goodwill. He was extremely selfish and insisted strongly on the maxim that friends share in common. And hence it came about that he is not credited with a single disciple, out of all the crowds who attended his lectures. And yet there were some who followed his lead in shamelessness.

For instance, Betion, one of his intimates, is said once to have addressed Menedemus in these words: For my part, Menedemus, I pass the night with Bion, and I don't think I am any the worse for it. In his familiar talk he would often vehemently assail belief in the gods, a taste which he had derived from Theodorus. Afterwards, when he fell ill (so it was said by the people of Chalcis where he died), he was persuaded to wear an amulet and to repent of his offences against

religion. And even for want of nurses he was in a sad plight, until Antigonus sent him two servants. And it is stated by Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History that the king himself followed in a litter.

Even so he died, and in these lines I have taken him to task:

We hear that Bion, to whom the Scythian land of Borysthenes gave birth, denied that the gods really exist. Had he persisted in holding this opinion, it would have been right to say, He thinks as he pleases: wrongly, to be sure, but still he does think so. But in fact, when he fell ill of a lingering disease and feared death, he who denied the existence of the gods, and would not even look at a temple,

who often mocked at mortals for sacrificing to deities, not only over hearth and high altars and table, with sweet savour and fat and incense did he gladden the nostrils of the gods; nor was he content to say I have sinned, forgive the past,

but he cheerfully allowed an old woman to put a charm round his neck, and in full faith bound his arms with leather and placed the rhamnus and the laurel-branch over the door, being ready to submit to anything sooner than die. Fool for wishing that the divine favour might be purchased at a certain price, as if the gods existed just when Bion chose to recognize them! It was then with vain wisdom that, when the driveller was all ashes, he stretched out his hand and said Hail, Pluto, hail!

Ten men have borne the name of Bion: (1) the contemporary of Pherecydes of Syria, to whom are assigned two books in the Ionic dialect; he was of Proconnesus; (2) a Syracusan, who wrote rhetorical handbooks; (3) our philosopher; (4) a follower of Democritus and mathematician of Abdera, who wrote both in Attic and in Ionic: he was the first to affirm that there are places where the night lasts for six months and the day for six months; (5) a native of Soli, who wrote a work on Aethiopia; (6) a rhetorician, the author of nine books called after the Muses; (7) a lyric poet; (8) a Milesian sculptor, mentioned by Polemo; (9) a tragic poet, one of the poets of Tarsus, as they are called; (10) a sculptor of Clazomenae or Chios, mentioned by Hipponax.

Chapter 8. LACYDES (Head of the Academy c. 242-216 B.C.)

Lacydes, son of Alexander, was a native of Cyrene He was the founder of the New Academy and the successor of Arcesilaus: a man of very serious character who found numerous admirers; industrious from his youth up and, though poor, of pleasant manners and pleasant conversation. A most amusing story is told of his housekeeping. Whenever he brought anything out of the store-room, he would seal the door up again and throw his signet-ring inside through the opening, to ensure that nothing laid up there should be stolen or carried off. So soon, then, as his rogues of servants got to know this, they broke the seal and carried off what they pleased, afterwards throwing the ring in the same way through the opening into the store-room. Nor were they ever detected in this.

Lacydes used to lecture in the Academy, in the garden which had been laid out by King Attalus, and from him it derived its name of Lacydeum. He did what none of his predecessors had ever done; in his lifetime he handed over the school to Telecles and Evander, both of Phocaea. Evander was succeeded by Hegesinus of Pergamum, and he again by Carneades. A good saying is attributed to Lacydes. When Attalus sent for him, he is said to have remarked that statues are best seen from a distance. He stadied geometry late, and some one said to him, Is this a proper

time? To which he replied, Nay, is it not even yet the proper time?

He assumed the headship of the school in the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad, and at his death he had been head for twenty-six years. His end was a palsy brought on by drinking too freely. And here is a quip of my own upon the fact:
Of thee too, O Lacydes, I have heard a tale, that Bacchus seized thee and dragged thee on tip-toe to the underworld. Nay, was it not clear that when the wine-god comes in force into the frame, he loosens our limbs? Perhaps this is why he gets his name of the Loosener.

Chapter 9. CARNEADES (c. 213-129 B C.)

Carneades, the son of Epicomus or (according to Alexander in his Successions of Philosophers) of Philocomus, was a native of Cyrene. He studied carefully the writings of the Stoics and particularly those of Chrysippus, and by combating these successfully he became so famous that he would often say:
Without Chrysippus where should I have been?
The man's industry was unparalleled, although in physics he was not so strong as in ethics. Hence he would let his hair and nails grow long from intense devotion to study. Such was his predominance in philosophy that even the rhetoricians would dismiss their classes and repair to him to hear him lecture.

His voice was extremely powerful, so that the keeper of the gymnasium sent to him and requested him not to shout so loud. To which he replied, Then give me something by which to regulate my voice. Thereupon by a happy hit the man replied in the words, You have a regulator in your audience. His talent for criticizing opponents was remarkable, and he was a formidable controversialist. And for the reasons already given he further declined invitations to dine out. One of his pupils was Mentor the Bithynian, who tried to ingratiate himself with a concubine of Carneades; so on one occasion (according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History), when Mentor came to lecture, Carneades in the course of his remarks let fall these lines by way of parody at his expense:

Hither comes an old man of the sea, infallible, like to Mentor in person and in voice. Him I proclaim to have been banished from this school.
Thereupon the other got up and replied:
Those on their part made proclamation, and these speedily assembled.

He seems to have shown some want of courage in the face of death, repeating often the words, Nature which framed this whole will also destroy it. When he learnt that Antipater committed suicide by drinking a potion, he was greatly moved by the constancy with which he met his end, and exclaimed, Give it then to me also. And when those about him asked What? A honeyed draught, said he. At the time he died the moon is said to have been eclipsed, and one might well say that the brightest luminary in heaven next to the sun thereby gave token of her sympathy.

According to Apollodorus in his Chronology, he departed this life in the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad at the age of eighty-five years. Letters of his to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, are extant. Everything else was compiled by his pupils; he himself left nothing in writing. I have written upon him in logaoedic metre as follows:
Why, Muse, oh why wouldst thou have me censure Carneades? For he is ignorant who knoweth not how he feared death. When wasting away with the worst of diseases, he would not find

release. But when he heard that Antipater's life was quenched by drinking a potion,

Give me too, he cried, a draught to drink. What? pray what? Give me a draught of honeyed wine. He had often on his lips the words, Nature which holds this frame together will surely dissolve it. None the less he too went down to the grave, and he might have got there sooner by cutting short his tale of woes.

It is said that his eyes went blind at night without his knowing it, and he ordered the slave to light the lamp. The latter brought it and said, Here it is. Then, said Carneades, read.

He had many other disciples, but the most illustrious of them all was Clitomachus, of whom we have next to speak.

There was another Carneades, a frigid elegiac poet.

Chapter 10. CLITOMACHUS (Head of the Academy from 129 B.C.)

Clitomachus was a Carthaginian, his real name being Hasdrubal, and he taught philosophy at Carthage in his native tongue. He had reached his fortieth year when he went to Athens and became a pupil of Carneades. And Carneades, recognizing his industry, caused him to be educated and took part in training him. And to such lengths did his diligence go that he composed more than four hundred treatises. He succeeded Carneades in the headship of the school, and by his writings did much to elucidate his opinions. He was eminently well acquainted with the three sects—the Academy, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics.

The Academics in general are assailed by Timon in the line:
The prolixity of the Academics unseasoned by salt.

Having thus reviewed the Academics who derived from Plato, we will now pass on to the Peripatetics, who also derived from Plato. They begin with Aristotle.

BOOK V

Chapter 1. ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.)

Aristotle, son of Nicomachus and Phaestis, was a native of Stagira. His father, Nicomachus, as Hermippus relates in his book On Aristotle, traced his descent from Nicomachus who was the son of Machaon and grandson of Asclepius; and he resided with Amyntas, the king of Macedon, in the capacity of physician and friend. Aristotle was Plato's most genuine disciple; he spoke with a lisp, as we learn from Timotheus the Athenian in his book On Lives; further, his calves were slender (so they say), his eyes small, and he was conspicuous by his attire, his rings, and the cut of his hair. According to Timaeus, he had a son by Herpyllis, his concubine, who was also called Nicomachus.

He seceded from the Academy while Plato was still alive. Hence the remark attributed to the latter: Aristotle spurns me, as colts kick out at the mother who bore them. Hermippus in his Lives mentions that he was absent as Athenian envoy at the court of Philip when Xenocrates became head of the Academy, and that on his return, when he saw the school under a new head, he made choice of a public walk in the Lyceum where he would walk up and down discussing philosophy with his pupils until it was time to rub themselves with oil. Hence the name Peripatetic. But others say that it was given to him because, when Alexander was recovering from an illness and taking daily walks, Aristotle joined him and talked with him on

certain matters.

In time the circle about him grew larger; he then sat down to lecture, remarking:
It were base to keep silence and let Xenocrates speak.
He also taught his pupils to discourse upon a set theme, besides practising them in oratory. Afterwards, however, he departed to Hermias the eunuch, who was tyrant of Atarneus, and there is one story that he was on very affectionate terms with Hermias; according to another, Hermias bound him by ties of kinship, giving him his daughter or his niece in marriage, and so Demetrius of Magnesia narrates in his work on Poets and Writers of the Same Name. The same author tells us that Hermias had been the slave of Eubulus, and that he was of Bithynian origin and had murdered his master. Aristippus in his first book On the Luxury of the Ancients says that Aristotle fell in love with a concubine of Hermias,

and married her with his consent, and in an excess of delight sacrificed to a weak woman as the Athenians did to Demeter of Eleusis; and that he composed a paean in honour of Hermias, which is given below; next that he stayed in Macedonia at Philip's court and received from him his son Alexander as his pupil; that he petitioned Alexander to restore his native city which had been destroyed by Philip and obtained his request; and that he also drew up a code of laws for the inhabitants. We learn further that, following the example of Xenocrates, he made it a rule in his school that every ten days a new president should be appointed. When he thought that he had stayed long enough with Alexander, he departed to Athens, having first presented to Alexander his kinsman Callisthenes of Olynthus.

But when Callisthenes talked with too much freedom to the king and disregarded his own advice, Aristotle is said to have rebuked him by citing the line:
Short-lived, I ween, wilt thou be, my child, by what thou sayest.
And so indeed it fell out. For he, being suspected of complicity in the plot of Hermolaus against the life of Alexander, was confined in an iron cage and carried about until he became infested with vermin through lack of proper attention; and finally he was thrown to a lion and so met his end.

To return to Aristotle: he came to Athens, was head of his school for thirteen years, and then withdrew to Chalcis because he was indicted for impiety by Eurymedon the hierophant, or, according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History, by Demophilus, the ground of the charge being the hymn he composed to the aforesaid Hermias,

as well as the following inscription for his statue at Delphi:
This man in violation of the hallowed law of the immortals was unrighteously slain by the king of the bow-bearing Persians, who overcame him, not openly with a spear in murderous combat, but by treachery with the aid of one in whom he trusted.

At Chalcis he died, according to Eumelus in the fifth book of his Histories, by drinking aconite, at the age of seventy. The same authority makes him thirty years old when he came to Plato; but here he is mistaken. For Aristotle lived to be sixty-three, and he was seventeen when he became Plato's pupil.

The hymn in question runs as follows:

O virtue, toilsome for the generation of mortals to achieve, the fairest prize that life can win, for thy beauty, O virgin, it were a doom glorious in Hellas even to die and to endure fierce, untiring labours. Such courage dost thou implant in the mind, imperishable, better than gold, dearer

than parents or soft-eyed sleep. For thy sake Heracles, son of Zeus, and the sons of Leda endured much in the tasks whereby they pursued thy might.

And yearning after thee came Achilles and Ajax to the house of Hades, and for the sake of thy dear form the nursling of Atarneus too was bereft of the light of the sun. Therefore shall his deeds be sung, and the Muses, the daughters of Memory, shall make him immortal, exalting the majesty of Zeus, guardian of strangers, and the grace of lasting friendship.

There is, too, something of my own upon the philosopher which I will quote:
Eurymedon, the priest of Deo's mysteries, was once about to indict Aristotle for impiety, but he, by a draught of poison, escaped prosecution. This then was an easy way of vanquishing unjust calumnies.

Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History affirms that Aristotle was the first to compose a forensic speech in his own defence written for this very suit; and he cites him as saying that at Athens
Pear upon pear grows old and fig upon fig.

According to Apollodorus in his Chronology he was born in the first year of the 99th Olympiad. He attached himself to Plato and resided with him twenty years, having become his pupil at the age of seventeen. He went to Mitylene in the archonship of Eubulus in the fourth year of the 108th Olympiad. When Plato died in the first year of that Olympiad, during the archonship of Theophilus, he went to Hermias and stayed with him three years.

In the archonship of Pythodotus, in the second year of the 109th Olympiad, he went to the court of Philip, Alexander being then in his fifteenth year. His arrival at Athens was in the second year of the 111th Olympiad, and he lectured in the Lyceum for thirteen years; then he retired to Chalcis in the third year of the 114th Olympiad and died a natural death, at the age of about sixty-three, in the archonship of Philocles, in the same year in which Demosthenes died at Calauria. It is said that he incurred the king's displeasure because he had introduced Callisthenes to him, and that Alexander, in order to cause him annoyance, honoured Anaximenes and sent presents to Xenocrates.

Theocritus of Chios, according to Ambryon in his book On Theocritus, ridiculed him in an epigram which runs as follows:
To Hermias the eunuch, the slave withal of Eubulus, an empty monument was raised by empty-witted Aristotle, who by constraint of a lawless appetite chose to dwell at the mouth of the Borborus [muddy stream] rather than in the Academy.
Timon again attacked him in the line:
No, nor yet Aristotle's painful futility.

Such then was the life of the philosopher. I have also come across his will, which is worded thus:

All will be well; but, in case anything should happen, Aristotle has made these dispositions. Antipater is to be executor in all matters and in general;

but, until Nicanor shall arrive, Aristomenes, Timarchus, Hipparchus, Dioteles and (if he consent and if circumstances permit him) Theophrastus shall take charge as well of Herpyllis and the children as of the property. And when the girl shall be grown up she shall be given in marriage to Nicanor; but if anything happen to the girl (which heaven forbid and no such thing will happen) before her marriage, or when she is married but before there are children, Nicanor shall have full powers, both with regard to the child and with regard to everything else, to

administer in a manner worthy both of himself and of us. Nicanor shall take charge of the girl and of the boy Nicomachus as he shall think fit in all that concerns them as if he were father and brother. And if anything should happen to Nicanor (which heaven forbid!) either before he marries the girl, or when he has married her but before there are children, any arrangements that he may make shall be valid.

And if Theophrastus is willing to live with her, he shall have the same rights as Nicanor. Otherwise the executors in consultation with Antipater shall administer as regards the daughter and the boy as seems to them to be best. The executors and Nicanor, in memory of me and of the steady affection which Herpyllis has borne towards me, shall take care of her in every other respect and, if she desires to be married, shall see that she be given to one not unworthy; and besides what she has already received they shall give her a talent of silver out of the estate and three handmaids whomsoever she shall choose besides the maid she has at present and the man-servant Pyrrhaeus;

and if she chooses to remain at Chalcis, the lodge by the garden, if in Stagira, my father's house. Whichever of these two houses she chooses, the executors shall furnish with such furniture as they think proper and as Herpyllis herself may approve. Nicanor shall take charge of the boy Myrmex, that he be taken to his own friends in a manner worthy of me with the property of his which we received. Ambracis shall be given her freedom, and on my daughter's marriage shall receive 500 drachmas and the maid whom she now has. And to Thale shall be given, in addition to the maid whom she has and who was bought, a thousand drachmas and a maid.

And Simon, in addition to the money before paid to him towards another servant, shall either have a servant purchased for him or receive a further sum of money. And Tycho, Philo, Olympius and his child shall have their freedom when my daughter is married. None of the servants who waited upon me shall be sold but they shall continue to be employed; and when they arrive at the proper age they shall have their freedom if they deserve it. My executors shall see to it, when the images which Gryllion has been commissioned to execute are finished, that they be set up, namely that of Nicanor, that of Proxenus, which it was my intention to have executed, and that of Nicanor's mother; also they shall set up the bust which has been executed of Arimnestus, to be a memorial of him seeing that he died childless,

and shall dedicate my mother's statue to Demeter at Nemea or wherever they think best. And wherever they bury me, there the bones of Pythias shall be laid, in accordance with her own instructions. And to commemorate Nicanor's safe return, as I vowed on his behalf, they shall set up in Stagira stone statues of life size to Zeus and Athena the Saviours.

Such is the tenor of Aristotle's will. It is said that a very large number of dishes belonging to him were found, and that Lyco mentioned his bathing in a bath of warm oil and then selling the oil. Some relate that he placed a skin of warm oil on his stomach, and that, when he went to sleep, a bronze ball was placed in his hand with a vessel under it, in order that, when the ball dropped from his hand into the vessel, he might be waked up by the sound.

Some exceedingly happy sayings are attributed to him, which I proceed to quote. To the question, What do people gain by telling lies? his answer was, Just this, that when they speak the truth they are not believed. Being once reproached for giving alms to a bad man, he rejoined, It was the man and not his character that I pitied. He used constantly to say to his friends and pupils, whenever or wherever he happened to be lecturing, As sight takes in light from the

surrounding air, so does the soul from mathematics. Frequently and at some length he would say that the Athenians were the discoverers of wheat and of laws; but, though they used wheat, they had no use for laws.

The roots of education, he said, are bitter, but the fruit is sweet. Being asked, What is it that soon grows old? he answered, Gratitude. He was asked to define hope, and he replied, It is a waking dream. When Diogenes offered him dried figs, he saw that he had prepared something caustic to say if he did not take them; so he took them and said Diogenes had lost his figs and his jest into the bargain. And on another occasion he took them when they were offered, lifted them up aloft, as you do babies, and returned them with the exclamation, Great is Diogenes. Three things he declared to be indispensable for education: natural endowment, study, and constant practice. On hearing that some one abused him, he rejoined, He may even scourge me so it be in my absence. Beauty he declared to be a greater recommendation than any letter of introduction.

Others attribute this definition to Diogenes; Aristotle, they say, defined good looks as the gift of god, Socrates as a short-lived reign, Plato as natural superiority, Theophrastus as a mute deception, Theocritus as an evil in an ivory setting, Carneades as a monarchy that needs no bodyguard. Being asked how the educated differ from the uneducated, As much, he said, as the living from the dead. He used to declare education to be an ornament in prosperity and a refuge in adversity. Teachers who educated children deserved, he said, more honour than parents who merely gave them birth; for bare life is furnished by the one, the other ensures a good life. To one who boasted that he belonged to a great city his reply was, That is not the point to consider, but who it is that is worthy of a great country.

To the query, What is a friend? his reply was, A single soul dwelling in two bodies. Mankind, he used to say, were divided into those who were as thrifty as if they would live for ever, and those who were as extravagant as if they were going to die the next day. When some one inquired why we spend much time with the beautiful, That, he said, is a blind man’s question. When asked what advantage he had ever gained from philosophy, he replied, This, that I do without being ordered what some are constrained to do by their fear of the law. The question being put, how can students make progress, he replied, By pressing hard on those in front and not waiting for those behind. To the chatterbox who poured out a flood of talk upon him and then inquired, Have I bored you to death with my chatter? he replied, No, indeed; for I was not attending to you.

When some one accused him of having given a subscription to a dishonest man—for the story is also told in this form —It was not the man, said he, that I assisted, but humanity. To the question how we should behave to friends, he answered, As we should wish them to behave to us. Justice he defined as a virtue of soul which distributes according to merit. Education he declared to be the best provision for old age. Favorinus in the second book of his Memorabilia mentions as one of his habitual sayings that He who has friends can have no true friend. Further, this is found in the seventh book of the Ethics. These then are the sayings attributed to him.

His writings are very numerous and, considering the man’s all-round excellence, I deemed it incumbent on me to catalogue them:

Of Justice, four books.

On Poets, three books.

On Philosophy, three books.

Of the Statesman, two books.

On Rhetoric, or Grylus, one book.

Nerinthus, one book.

The Sophist, one book.

Menexenus, one book.

Concerning Love, one book.

Symposium, one book.

Of Wealth, one book.

Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.

Of the Soul, one book.

Of Prayer, one book.

On Noble Birth, one book.

On Pleasure, one book.

Alexander, or a Plea for Colonies, one book.

On Kingship, one book.

On Education, one book.

Of the Good, three books.

Extracts from Plato’s Laws, three books.

Extracts from the Republic, two books.

Of Household Management, one book.

Of Friendship, one book.

On being or having been affected, one book.

Of Sciences, one book.

On Controversial Questions, two books.

Solutions of Controversial Questions, four books.

Sophistical Divisions, four books.

On Contraries, one book.

On Genera and Species, one book.

On Essential Attributes, one book.

Three note - books on Arguments for Purposes of Refutation.

Propositions concerning Virtue, two books.

Objections, one book.

On the Various Meanings of Terms or Expressions where a Determinant is added, one book.

Of Passions or of Anger, one book.

Five books of Ethics.

On Elements, three books.

Of Science, one book.

Of Logical Principle, one book.

Logical Divisions, seventeen books.

Concerning Division, one book.

On Dialectical Questioning and Answering, two books.

Of Motion, one book.

Propositions, one book.

Controversial Propositions, one book.

Syllogisms, one book.

Eight books of Prior Analytics.

Two books of Greater Posterior Analytics.

Of Problems, one book.

Eight books of Methodics.

Of the Greater Good, one book.

On the Idea, one book.

Definitions prefixed to the Topics, seven books.

Two books of Syllogisms.

Concerning Syllogism with Definitions, one book.

Of the Desirable and the Contingent, one book.

Preface to Commonplaces, one book.

Two books of Topics criticizing the Definitions.

Affections or Qualities, one book.

Concerning Logical Division, one book.

Concerning Mathematics, one book.

Definitions, thirteen books.

Two books of Refutations.

Of Pleasure, one book.

Propositions, one book.

On the Voluntary, one book.

On the Beautiful, one book.

Theses for Refutation, twenty-five books.

Theses concerning Love, four books.

Theses concerning Friendship, two books.

Theses concerning the Soul, one book.

Politics, two books.

Eight books of a course of lectures on Politics like that of Theophrastus.

Of Just Actions, two books.

A Collection of Arts [that is, Handbooks], two books.

Two books of the Art of Rhetoric.

Art, a Handbook, one book.

Another Collection of Handbooks, two books.

Concerning Method, one book.

Compendium of the Art of Theodectes, one book.

A Treatise on the Art of Poetry, two books.

Rhetorical Enthymemes, one book.

Of Degree, one book.

Divisions of Enthymemes, one book.

On Diction, two books.

Of Taking Counsel, one book.

A Collection or Compendium, two books.

On Nature, three books.

Concerning Nature, one book.

On the Philosophy of Archytas, three books.

On the Philosophy of Speusippus and Xenocrates, one book.

Extracts from the Timaeus and from the Works of Archytas, one book.

A Reply to the Writings of Melissus, one book.

A Reply to the Writings of Alcmaeon, one book.

A Reply to the Pythagoreans, one book.

A Reply to the Writings of Gorgias, one book.

A Reply to the Writings of Xenophanes, one book.

A Reply to the Writings of Zeno, one book.

On the Pythagoreans, one book.

On Animals, nine books.

Eight books of Dissections.

A selection of Dissections, one book.

On Composite Animals, one book.

On the Animals of Fable, one book.

On Sterility, one book.

On Plants, two books.

Concerning Physiognomy, one book.

Two books concerning Medicine.

On the Unit, one book.

Prognostics of Storms, one book.

Concerning Astronomy, one book.

Concerning Optics, one book.

On Motion, one book.

On Music, one book.

Concerning Memory, one book.

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Two books of Routine Instruction.

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Claims advanced, one book.

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Victors at the Pythian Games, one book.

On Music, one book.

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De Interpretatione, one book.

Constitutions of 158 Cities, in general and in particular, democratic, oligarchic, aristocratic, tyrannical.

Letters to Philip.

Letters of Selymbrians.

Letters to Alexander, four books.

Letters to Antipater, nine books.

To Mentor, one book.

To Ariston, one book.

To Olympias, one book.

To Hephaestion, one book.

To Themistagoras, one book.

To Philoxenus, one book.

In reply to Democritus, one book.

Verses beginning Ἁγνὲ θεῶν πρέσβισθ' ἑκατηβόλε (Holy One and Chiefest of Gods, far-darting).

Elegiac verses beginning Καλλιτέκνου μητρὸς θύγατερ (Daughter of a Mother blessed with fair offspring).

In all 445,270 lines.

Such is the number of the works written by him. And in them he puts forward the following views. There are two divisions of philosophy, the practical and the theoretical. The practical part includes ethics and politics, and in the latter not only the doctrine of the state but also that of the household is sketched. The theoretical part includes physics and logic, although logic is not an independent science, but is elaborated as an instrument to the rest of science. And he clearly laid down that it has a twofold aim, probability and truth. For each of these he employed two faculties, dialectic and rhetoric where probability is aimed at, analytic and philosophy where the end is truth; he neglects nothing which makes either for discovery or for judgement or for utility.

As making for discovery he left in the Topics and Methodics a number of propositions, whereby the student can be well supplied with probable arguments for the solution of problems. As an aid to judgement he left the Prior and Posterior Analytics. By the Prior Analytics the premisses are judged, by the Posterior the process of inference is tested. For practical use there are the precepts on controversy and the works dealing with question and answer, with sophistical fallacies, syllogisms and the like. The test of truth which he put forward was sensation in the sphere of objects actually presented, but in the sphere of morals dealing with the state, the household and the laws, it was reason.

The one ethical end he held to be the exercise of virtue in a completed life. And happiness he maintained to be made up of goods of three sorts: goods of the soul, which indeed he designates as of the highest value; in the second place bodily goods, health and strength, beauty and the like; and thirdly external goods, such as wealth, good birth, reputation and the like. And he regarded virtue as not of itself sufficient to ensure happiness; bodily goods and external goods were also necessary, for the wise man would be miserable if he lived in the midst of pains, poverty, and similar circumstances. Vice, however, is sufficient in itself to secure misery, even if it be ever so abundantly furnished with corporeal and external goods.

He held that the virtues are not mutually interdependent. For a man might be prudent, or again just, and at the same time profligate and unable to control his passions. He said too that the wise man was not exempt from all passions, but indulged them in moderation.

He defined friendship as an equality of reciprocal good-will, including under the term as one species the friendship of kinsmen, as another that of lovers, and as a third that of host and guest. The end of love was not merely intercourse but also philosophy. According to him the wise man would fall in love and take part in politics; furthermore he would marry and reside at a king’s court. Of three kinds of life, the contemplative, the practical, and the pleasure-loving life, he gave the preference to the contemplative. He held that the studies which make up the ordinary education are of service for the attainment of virtue.

In the sphere of natural science he surpassed all other philosophers in the investigation of causes, so that even the most insignificant phenomena were explained by him. Hence the unusual number of scientific notebooks which he compiled. Like Plato he held that God was incorporeal; that his providence extended to the heavenly bodies, that he is unmoved, and that earthly events are regulated by their affinity with them (the heavenly bodies). Besides the four elements he held that there is a fifth, of which the celestial bodies are composed. Its motion is of a different kind from that of the other elements, being circular. Further, he maintained the soul to be incorporeal, defining it as the first entelechy [i.e. realization] of a natural organic body potentially possessed of life.

By the term realization he means that which has an incorporeal form. This realization, according to him, is twofold. Either it is potential, as that of Hermes in the wax, provided the wax be adapted to receive the proper mouldings, or as that of the statue implicit in the bronze; or again it is determinate, which is the case with the completed figure of Hermes or the finished statue. The soul is the realization of a natural body, since bodies may be divided into (a) artificial bodies made by the hands of craftsmen, as a tower or a ship, and (b) natural bodies which are the work of nature, such as plants and the bodies of animals. And when he said organic he meant constructed as means to an end, as sight is adapted for seeing and the ear for hearing. Of a body potentially possessed of life, that is, in itself.

There are two senses of potential, one answering to a formed state and the other to its exercise in act. In the latter sense of the term he who is awake is said to have soul, in the former he who is asleep. It was then in order to include the sleeper that Aristotle added the word potential.

He held many other opinions on a variety of subjects which it would be tedious to enumerate. For altogether his industry and invention were remarkable, as is shown by the catalogue of his writings given above, which come to nearly 400 in number, i.e. counting those only the genuineness of which is not disputed. For many other written works and pointed oral sayings

are attributed to him.

There were in all eight Aristotles: (1) our philosopher himself; (2) an Athenian statesman, the author of graceful forensic speeches; (3) a scholar who commented on the Iliad; (4) a Sicilian rhetorician, who wrote a reply to the Panegyric of Isocrates; (5) a disciple of Aeschines the Socratic philosopher, surnamed Myth; (6) a native of Cyrene, who wrote upon the art of poetry; (7) a trainer of boys, mentioned by Aristoxenus in his Life of Plato; (8) an obscure grammarian, whose handbook On Redundancy is still extant.

Aristotle of Stagira had many disciples; the most distinguished was Theophrastus, of whom we have next to speak.

Chapter 2. THEOPHRASTUS (c. 370-286 B.C.) (Head of the School from 323 B.C.)

Theophrastus was a native of Eresus, the son of Melantes, a fuller, as stated by Athenodorus in the eighth book of his Walks. He first heard his countryman Alcippus lecture in his native town and afterwards he heard Plato, whom he left for Aristotle. And when the latter withdrew to Chalcis he took over the school himself in the 114th Olympiad. A slave of his named Pompylus is also said to have been a philosopher, according to Myronianus of Amastris in the first book of his Historical Parallels. Theophrastus was a man of remarkable intelligence and industry and, as Pamphila says in the thirtysecond book of her Memorabilia, he taught Menander the comic poet.

Furthermore, he was ever ready to do a kindness and fond of discussion. Casander certainly granted him audience and Ptolemy made overtures to him. And so highly was he valued at Athens that, when Agnonides ventured to prosecute him for impiety, the prosecutor himself narrowly escaped punishment. About 2000 pupils used to attend his lectures. In a letter to Phanias the Peripatetic, among other topics, he speaks of a tribunal as follows: To get a public or even a select circle such as one desires is not easy. If an author reads his work, he must re-write it. Always to shirk revision and ignore criticism is a course which the present generation of pupils will no longer tolerate. And in this letter he has called some one pedant.

Although his reputation stood so high, nevertheless for a short time he had to leave the country with all the other philosophers, when Sophocles the son of Amphiclides proposed a law that no philosopher should preside over a school except by permission of the Senate and the people, under penalty of death. The next year, however, the philosophers returned, as Philo had prosecuted Sophocles for making an illegal proposal. Whereupon the Athenians repealed the law, fined Sophocles five talents, and voted the recall of the philosophers, in order that Theophrastus also might return and live there as before. He bore the name of Tyrtamus, and it was Aristotle who re-named him Theophrastus on account of his graceful style.

And Aristippus, in his fourth book On the Luxury of the Ancients, asserts that he was enamoured of Aristotle’s son Nicomachus, although he was his teacher. It is said that Aristotle applied to him and Callisthenes what Plato had said of Xenocrates and himself (as already related), namely, that the one needed a bridle and the other a goad; for Theophrastus interpreted all his meaning with an excess of cleverness, whereas the other was naturally backward. He is said to have become the owner of a garden of his own after Aristotle’s death, through the intervention of his friend Demetrius of Phalerum. There are pithy sayings of his in circulation as follows: An unbridled horse, he said, ought to be trusted sooner than a badly-arranged discourse.

To some one who never opened his lips at a banquet he remarked: Yours is a wise course for an ignoramus, but in an educated man it is sheer folly. He used constantly to say that in our expenditure the item that costs most is time.

He died at the age of eighty-five, not long after he had relinquished his labours. My verses upon him are these:
Not in vain was the word spoken to one of human kind, Slacken the bow of wisdom and it breaks. Of a truth, so long as Theophrastus laboured he was sound of limb, but when released from toil his limbs failed him and he died.

It is said that his disciples asked him if he had any last message for them, to which he replied: Nothing else but this, that many of the pleasures which life boasts are but in the seeming.

For when we are just beginning to live, lo! we die. Nothing then is so unprofitable as the love of glory. Farewell, and may you be happy. Either drop my doctrine, which involves a world of labour, or stand forth its worthy champions, for you will win great glory. Life holds more disappointment than advantage. But, as I can no longer discuss what we ought to do, do you go on with the inquiry into right conduct.
With these words, they say, he breathed his last. And according to the story all the Athenians, out of respect for the man, escorted his bier on foot. And Favorinus tells that he had in his old age to be carried about in a litter; and this he says on the authority of Hermippus, whose account is taken from a remark of Arcesilaus of Pitane to Lacydes of Cyrene.

He too has left a very large number of writings. I think it right to catalogue them also because they abound in excellence of every kind. They are as follows:

Three books of Prior Analytics.

Seven books of Posterior Analytics.

On the Analysis of Syllogisms, one book.

Epitome of Analytics, one book.

Two books of Classified Topics.

Polemical discussion on the Theory of Eristic Argument.

Of the Senses, one book.

A Reply to Anaxagoras, one book.

On the Writings of Anaxagoras, one book.

On the Writings of Anaximenes, one book.

On the Writings of Archelaus, one book.

Of Salt, Nitre and Alum, one book.

Of Petrifactions, two books.

On Indivisible Lines, one book.

Two books of Lectures.

Of the Winds, one book.

Characteristics of Virtues, one book.

Of Kingship, one book.

Of the Education of Kings, one book.

Of Various Schemes of Life, three books.

Of Old Age, one book.

On the Astronomy of Democritus, one book.

On Meteorology, one book.

On Visual Images or Emanations, one book.

On Flavours, Colours and Flesh, one book.

Of the Order of the World, one book.

Of Mankind, one book.

Compendium of the Writings of Diogenes, one book.

Three books of Definitions.

Concerning Love, one book.

Another Treatise on Love, one book.

Of Happiness, one book.

On Species or Forms, two books.

On Epilepsy, one book.

On Frenzy, one book.

Concerning Empedocles, one book.

Eighteen books of Refutative Arguments.

Three books of Polemical Objections.

Of the Voluntary, one book.

Epitome of Plato’s Republic, two books.

On the Diversity of Sounds uttered by Animals of the same Species, one book.

Of Sudden Appearances, one book.

Of Animals which bite or gore, one book.

Of Animals reputed to be spiteful, one book.

Of the Animals which are confined to Dry Land, one book.

Of those which change their Colours, one book.

Of Animals that burrow, one book.

Of Animals, seven books.

Of Pleasure according to Aristotle, one book.

Another treatise on Pleasure, one book.

Theses, twenty-four books.

On Hot and Cold, one book.

On Vertigo and Dizziness, one book.

On Sweating Sickness, one book.

On Affirmation and Negation, one book.

Callisthenes, or On Bereavement, one book.

On Fatigues, one book.

On Motion, three books.

On Precious Stones, one book.

On Pestilences, one book.

On Fainting, one book.

Megarian Treatise, one book.

Of Melancholy, one book.

On Mines, two books.

On Honey, one book.

Compendium on the Doctrines of Metrodorus, one book.

Two books of Meteorology.

On Intoxication, one book.

Twenty-four books of Laws distinguished by the letters of the alphabet.

Ten books of an Epitome of Laws.

Remarks upon Definitions, one book.

On Smells, one book.

On Wine and Oil.

Introduction to Propositions, eighteen books.

Of Legislators, three books.

Of Politics, six books.

A Political Treatise dealing with important Crises, four books.

Of Social Customs, four books.

Of the Best Constitution, one book.

A Collection of Problems, five books.

On Proverbs, one book.

On Coagulation and Liquefaction, one book.

On Fire, two books.

On Winds, one book.

Of Paralysis, one book.

Of Suffocation, one book.

Of Mental Derangement, one book.

On the Passions, one book.

On Symptoms, one book.

Two books of Sophisms.

On the solution of Syllogisms, one book.

Two books of Topics.

Of Punishment, two books.

On Hair, one book.

Of Tyranny, one book.

On Water, three books.

On Sleep and Dreams, one book.

Of Friendship, three books.

Of Ambition, two books.

On Nature, three books.

On Physics, eighteen books.

An Epitome of Physics, two books.

Eight books of Physics.

A Reply to the Physical Philosophers, one book

Of Botanical Researches, ten books.

Of Botanical Causes, eight books.

On Juices, five books.

Of False Pleasure, one book.

One Dissertation on the Soul.

On Unscientific Proofs, one book.

On Simple Problems, one book.

Harmonics, one book.

Of Virtue, one book.

Materials for Argument, or Contrarieties, one book.

On Negation, one book.

On Judgement, one book.

Of the Ludicrous, one book.

Afternoon Essays, two books.

Divisions, two books.

On Differences, one book.

On Crimes, one book.

On Calumny, one book.

Of Praise, one book.

Of Experience, one book.

Three books of Letters.

On Animals produced spontaneously, one book.

Of Secretion, one book.

Panegyrics on the Gods, one book.

On Festivals, one book.

Of Good Fortune, one book.

On Enthymemes, one book.

Of Discoveries, two books.

Lectures on Ethics, one book.

Character Sketches, one book.

On Tumult or Riot, one book.

On Research, one book.

On Judging of Syllogisms, one book.

Of Flattery, one book.

Of the Sea, one book.

To Casander on Kingship, one book.

Of Comedy, one book.

[Of Metres, one book.]

Of Diction, one book.

A Compendium of Arguments, one book.

Solutions, one book.

On Music, three books.

On Measures, one book.

Megacles, one book.

On Laws, one book.

On Illegalities, one book.

A Compendium of the Writings of Xenocrates, one book.

Concerning Conversation, one book.

On Taking an Oath, one book.

Rhetorical Precepts, one book.

Of Wealth, one book.

On the Art of Poetry, one book.

Problems in Politics, Ethics, Physics, and in the Art of Love, one book.

Preludes, one book.

A Collection of Problems, one book.

On Physical Problems, one book.

On Example, one book.

On Introduction and Narrative, one book.

Another tract on the Art of Poetry, one book.

Of the Wise, one book.

On Consultation, one book.

On Solecisms, one book.

On the Art of Rhetoric, one book.

The Special Commonplaces of the Treatises on Rhetoric, seventeen books.

On Acting, one book.

Lecture Notes of Aristotle or Theophrastus, six books.

Sixteen books of Physical Opinions.

Epitome of Physical Opinions, one book.

On Gratitude, one book.

[Character Sketches, one book.]

On Truth and Falsehood, one book.

The History of Theological Inquiry, six books.

Of the Gods, three books.

Geometrical Researches, four books.

Epitomes of Aristotle’s work on Animals, six books.

Two books of Refutative Arguments.

Theses, three books.

Of Kingship, two books.

Of Causes, one book.

On Democritus, one book.

[Of Calumny, one book.]

Of Becoming, one book.

Of the Intelligence and Character of Animals, one book.

On Motion, two books.

On Vision, four books.

Relating to Definitions, two books.

On Data, one book.

On Greater and Less, one book.

On the Musicians, one book.

Of the Happiness of the Gods, one book.

A Reply to the Academics, one book.

Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.

How States can best be governed, one book.

Lecture-Notes, one book.

On the Eruption in Sicily, one book.

On Things generally admitted, one book.

[On Problems in Physics, one book.]

What are the methods of attaining Knowledge, one book.

On the Fallacy known as the Liar, three books.

Prolegomena to Topics, one book.

Relating to Aeschylus, one book.

Astronomical Research, six books.

Arithmetical Researches on Growth, one book.

Acicharus, one book.

On Forensic Speeches, one book.

[Of Calumny, one book.]

Correspondence with Astycreon, Phanias and Nicanor.

Of Piety, one book.

Evias, one book.

On Times of Crisis, two books.

On Relevant Arguments, one book.

On the Education of Children, one book.

Another treatise with the same title, one book.

Of Education or of the Virtues or of Temperance, one book.

[An Exhortation to Philosophy, one book.]

On Numbers, one book.

Definitions concerning the Diction of Syllogisms, one book.

Of the Heavens, one book.

Concerning Politics, two books.

On Nature.

On Fruits.

On Animals.

In all 232,808 lines. So much for his writings.

I have also come across his will, couched in the following terms:

All will be well; but in case anything should happen, I make these dispositions. I give and bequeath all my property at home to Melantes and Pancreon, the sons of Leon. It is my wish that out of the trust funds at the disposal of Hipparchus the following appropriations should be made. First, they should be applied to finish the rebuilding of the Museum with the statues of the goddesses, and to add any improvements which seem practicable to beautify them. Secondly, to replace in the temple the bust of Aristotle with the rest of the dedicated offerings which formerly were in the temple. Next, to rebuild the small cloister adjoining the Museum at least as handsomely as before, and to replace in the lower cloister the tablets containing maps of the countries traversed by explorers.

Further, to repair the altar so that it may be perfect and elegant. It is also my wish that the statue of Nicomachus should be completed of life size. The price agreed upon for the making of the statue itself has been paid to Praxiteles, but the rest of the cost should be defrayed from the source above mentioned. The statue should be set up in whatever place seems desirable to the executors entrusted with carrying out my other testamentary dispositions. Let all that concerns the temple and the offerings set up be arranged in this manner. The estate at Stagira belonging to me I give and bequeath to Callinus. The whole of my library I give to Neleus. The garden and the walk and the houses adjoining the garden, all and sundry, I give and bequeath to such of my friends hereinafter named as may wish to study literature and philosophy there in common,

since it is not possible for all men to be always in residence, on condition that no one alienates the property or devotes it to his private use, but so that they hold it like a temple in joint possession and live, as is right and proper, on terms of familiarity and friendship. Let the community consist of Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Demaratus, Callisthenes, Melantes, Pancreon, Nicippus. Aristotle, the son of Metrodorus and Pythias, shall also have the right to study and associate with them if he so desire. And the oldest of them shall pay every attention to him, in order to ensure for him the utmost proficiency in philosophy. Let me be buried in any spot in the garden which seems most suitable, without unnecessary outlay upon my funeral or upon my monument.

And according to previous agreement let the charge of attending, after my decease, to the temple and the monument and the garden and the walk be shared by Pompylus in person, living close by as he does, and exercising the same supervision over all other matters as before; and those who hold the property shall watch over his interests. Pompylus and Threpta have long been emancipated and have done me much service; and I think that 2000 drachmas certainly ought to belong to them from previous payments made to them by me, from their own earnings, and my present bequest to them to be paid by Hipparchus, as I stated many times in conversation with Melantes and Pancreon themselves, who agreed with me. I give and

bequeath to them the maidservant Somatale.

And of my slaves I at once emancipate Molon and Timon and Parmeno; to Manes and Callias I give their freedom on condition that they stay four years in the garden and work there together and that their conduct is free from blame. Of my household furniture let so much as the executors think right be given to Pompylus and let the rest be sold. I also devise Carion to Demotimus, and Donax to Neleus. But Euboeus must be sold. Let Hipparchus pay to Callinus 3000 drachmas. And if I had not seen that Hipparchus had done great service to Melantes and Pancreon and formerly to me, and that now in his private affairs he has made shipwreck, I would have appointed him jointly with Melantes and Pancreon to carry out my wishes.

But, since I saw that it was not easy for them to share the management with him, and I thought it more advantageous for them to receive a fixed sum from Hipparchus, let Hipparchus pay Melantes and Pancreon one talent each and let Hipparchus provide funds for the executors to defray the expenses set down in the will, as each disbursement falls due. And when Hipparchus shall have carried out all these injunctions, he shall be released in full from his liabilities to me. And any advance that he has made in Chalcis in my name belongs to him alone. Let Hipparchus, Neleus, Strato, Callinus, Demotimus, Callisthenes and Ctesarchus be executors to carry out the terms of the will.

One copy of the will, sealed with the signet-ring of Theophrastus, is deposited with Hegesias, the son of Hipparchus, the witnesses being Callippus of Pallene, Philomelus of Euonymaea, Lysander of Hyba, and Philo of Alopece. Olympiodorus has another copy, the witnesses being the same. The third copy was received by Adeimantus, the bearer being Androsthenes junior; and the witnesses are Arimnestus the son of Cleobulus, Lysistratus the son of Pheidon of Thasos, Strato the son of Arcesilaus of Lampsacus, Thesippus the son of Thesippus of Cerameis, and Dioscurides the son of Dionysius of Epicephisia.

Such is the tenor of his will.

There are some who say that Erasistratus the physician was also a pupil of his, and it is not improbable.

Chapter 3. STRATO (Head of the School 286-268 B.C.)

His successor in the school was Strato, the son of Arcesilaus, a native of Lampsacus, whom he mentioned in his will; a distinguished man who is generally known as the physicist, because more than anyone else he devoted himself to the most careful study of nature. Moreover, he taught Ptolemy Philadelphus and received, it is said, 80 talents from him. According to Apollodorus in his Chronology he became head of the school in the 123rd Olympiad, and continued to preside over it for eighteen years.

There are extant of his works:

Of Kingship, three books.

Of Justice, three books.

Of the Good, three books.

Of the Gods, three books.

On First Principles, three books.

On Various Modes of Life.

Of Happiness.

On the Philosopher-King.

Of Courage.

On the Void.

On the Heaven.

On the Wind.

Of Human Nature.

On the Breeding of Animals.

Of Mixture.

Of Sleep.

Of Dreams.

Of Vision.

Of Sensation.

Of Pleasure.

On Colours.

Of Diseases.

Of the Crises in Diseases.

On Faculties.

On Mining Machinery.

Of Starvation and Dizziness.

On the Attributes Light and Heavy.

Of Enthusiasm or Ecstasy.

On Time.

On Growth and Nutrition.

On Animals the existence of which is questioned.

On Animals in Folk-lore or Fable.

Of Causes.

Solutions of Difficulties.

Introduction to Topics.

Of Accident.

Of Definition.

On difference of Degree.

Of Injustice.

Of the logically Prior and Posterior.

Of the Genus of the Prior.

Of the Property or Essential Attribute.

Of the Future.

Examinations of Discoveries, in two books.

Lecture-notes, the genuineness of which is doubted.

Letters beginning Strato to Arsinoë greeting.

Strato is said to have grown so thin that he felt nothing when his end came. And I have written some lines upon him as follows:
A thin, spare man in body, take my word for it, owing to his use of unguents, was this Strato, I at least affirm, to whom Lampsacus gave birth. For ever wrestling with diseases, he died unawares or ever he felt the hand of death.

There have been eight men who bore the name of Strato: (1) a pupil of Isocrates; (2) our subject; (3) a physician, a disciple, or, as some say, a fosterchild, of Erasistratus; (4) a historian, who treated of the struggle of Philip and Perseus against the Romans; (5) * *; (6) a poet who wrote epigrams; (7) a physician who lived in ancient times, mentioned by Aristotle; (8) a Peripatetic philosopher who lived in Alexandria.

But to return to Strato the physicist. His will is also extant and it runs as follows:

In case anything should happen to me I make these dispositions. All the goods in my house I give and bequeath to Lampyrio and Arcesilaus. From the money belonging to me in Athens, in the first place my executors shall provide for my funeral and for all that custom requires to be done after the funeral, without extravagance on the one hand or meanness on the other.

The executors of this my will shall be Olympichus, Aristides, Mnesigenes, Hippocrates, Epicrates, Gorgylus, Diocles, Lyco, Athanes. I leave the school to Lyco, since of the rest some are too old and others too busy. But it would be well if the others would co-operate with him. I also give and bequeath to him all my books, except those of which I am the author, and all the furniture in the dining-hall, the cushions and the drinking-cups. The trustees shall give Epicrates 500 drachmas and one of the servants whom Arcesilaus shall approve.

And in the first place Lampyrio and Arcesilaus shall cancel the agreement which Daïppus made on behalf of Iraeus. And he shall not owe anything either to Lampyrio or to Lampyrio’s heirs, but shall have a full discharge from the whole transaction. Next, the executors shall give him 500 drachmas in money and one of the servants whom Arcesilaus shall approve, so that, in return for all the toil he has shared with me and all the services he has rendered me, he may have the means to maintain himself respectably. Further, I emancipate Diophantus, Diocles and Abus; and Simias I make over to Arcesilaus. I also emancipate Dromo.

As soon as Arcesilaus has arrived, Iraeus shall, with Olympichus, Epicrates, and the other executors, prepare an account of the money expended upon the funeral and the other customary charges. Whatever money remains over, Arcesilaus shall take over from Olympichus, without however pressing him as to times and seasons. Arcesilaus shall also cancel the agreement made by Strato with Olympichus and Ameinias and deposited with Philocrates the son of Tisamenus. With regard to my monument they shall make it as Arcesilaus, Olympichus

and Lyco shall approve.

Such are the terms of his extant will, according to the Collection of Ariston of Ceos. Strato himself, however, was, as stated above, a man entitled to full approbation, since he excelled in every branch of learning, and most of all in that which is styled physics, a branch of philosophy more ancient and important than the others.

Chapter 4. LYCO (299-225 B.C.)

Strato's successor was Lyco, the son of Astyanax of Troas, a master of expression and of the foremost rank in the education of boys. For he used to say that modesty and love of honour were as necessary an equipment for boys as spur and bridle for horses. His eloquence and sonorousness of diction appear from the following fact; he speaks of a penniless maiden as follows: A grievous burden to a father is a girl, when for lack of a dowry she runs past the flower of her age. Hence the remark which Antigonus is said to have made about him, that it was not possible to transfer elsewhere the fragrance and charm of the apple, but each separate expression must be contemplated in the speaker himself as every single apple is on the tree.

This was because Lyco's voice was exceedingly sweet, so that some persons altered his name to Glyco, by prefixing a G. But in writing he fell off sadly. For instance, those who regretted their neglect to learn when they had the opportunity and wished they had done so he would hit off neatly as follows, remarking that they were their own accusers, betraying, by vain regret, repentance for an incorrigible laziness. Those who deliberated wrongly he used to say were out in their calculations, as if they had used a crooked rule to test something straight, or looked at the reflection of a face in troubled water or a distorting mirror. Again, Many go in search of the garland of the market-place; few or none seek the crown at Olympia. He often gave the Athenians advice on various subjects and thus conferred on them the greatest benefits.

In his dress he was most immaculate, so that the clothes he wore were unsurpassed for the softness of the material, according to Hermippus. Furthermore, he was well practised in gymnastics and kept himself in condition, displaying all an athlete's habit of body, with battered ears and skin begrimed with oil, so we are told by Antigonus of Carystus. Hence it is said that he not only wrestled but played the game of ball common in his birthplace of Ilium. He was esteemed beyond all other philosophers by Eumenes and Attalus, who also did him very great service. Antiochus too tried to get hold of him, but without success.

He was so hostile to Hieronymus the Peripatetic that he alone declined to meet him on the anniversary which we have mentioned in the Life of Arcesilaus.

He presided over the school forty-four years after Strato had bequeathed it to him by his will in the 127th Olympiad. Not but what he also attended the lectures of the logician Panthoides. He died at the age of seventy-four after severe sufferings from gout. This is my epitaph upon him:
Nor, I swear! will I pass over Lyco either, for all that he died of the gout. But this it is which amazes me the most, if he who formerly could walk only with the feet of others, did in a single night traverse the long, long road to Hades.

Other men have borne the name of Lyco: (1) a Pythagorean, (2) our present subject, (3) an epic poet, (4) a poet who wrote epigrams.

I have also come across this philosopher's will. It is this:

These are my dispositions concerning my property, in case I should be unable to sustain my present ailment. All the goods in my house I give to my brothers Astyanax and Lyco, and from this source should, I think, be paid all the money I have laid out at Athens, whether by borrowing or by purchase, as well as all the cost of my funeral and the other customary charges.

But my property in town and at Aegina I give to Lyco because he bears the same name with me, and has resided for a long time with me to my entire satisfaction, as became one whom I treated as my son. I leave the Peripatus to such of my friends as choose to make use of it, to Bulo, Callinus, Ariston, Amphion, Lyco, Pytho, Aristomachus, Heracleus, Lycomedes, and my nephew Lyco. They shall put over it any such person as in their opinion will persevere in the work of the school and will be most capable of extending it. And all my other friends should co-operate for love of me and of the spot. Bulo and Callinus, together with their colleagues, shall provide for my funeral and cremation, so as to avoid meanness on the one hand and extravagance on the other.

After my decease Lyco shall make over, for the use of the young men, the oil from the olive-trees belonging to me in Aegina for the due commemoration—so long as they use it—of myself and the benefactor who did me honour. He shall also set up my statue, and shall choose a convenient site where it shall be erected, with the assistance of Diophantus and Heraclides the son of Demetrius. From my property in town Lyco shall repay all from whom I have borrowed anything after his departure. Bulo and Callinus shall provide the sums expended upon my funeral and other customary charges. These sums they shall recover from the moneys in the house bequeathed by me to them both in common.

They shall also remunerate the physicians Pasithemis and Medias who for their attention to me and their skill deserve far higher reward. I bequeath to the child of Callinus a pair of Thericlean cups, and to his wife a pair of Rhodian vessels, a smooth carpet, a rug with nap on both sides, a sofa cover and two cushions the best that are left, that, so far as I have the means of recompensing them, I may prove not ungrateful. With regard to the servants who have waited upon me, my wishes are as follows. To Demetrius I remit the purchase-money for the freedom which he has long enjoyed, and bequeath to him five minas and a suit of clothes to ensure him a decent maintenance, in return for all the toil he has borne with me. To Crito of Chalcedon I also remit the purchasemoney for his freedom and bequeath to him four minas. And Micrus I emancipate; and Lyco shall keep him and educate him for the next six years.

And Chares I emancipate, and Lyco shall maintain him, and I bequeath him two minas and my published writings, while those which have not been given to the world I entrust to Callinus, that he may carefully edit them. To Syrus who has been set free I give four minas and Menodora, and I remit to him any debt he owes me. And to Hilara I give five minas and a double-napped rug, two cushions, a sofa-cover and a bed, whichever she prefers. I also set free the mother of Micrus as well as Noëmon, Dion, Theon, Euphranor and Hermias. Agathon should be set free after two years, and the litter-bearers Ophelio and Posidonius after four years' further service.

To Demetrius, to Crito and to Syrus I give a bed apiece and such bed-furniture out of my estate as Lyco shall think proper. These shall be given them for properly performing their appointed tasks. As regards my burial, let Lyco bury me here if he chooses, or if he prefers to bury me at home let him do so, for I am persuaded that his regard for propriety is not less than my own. When he has managed all these things, he can dispose of the property there, and such disposition shall be binding. Witnesses are Callinus of Hermione, Ariston of Ceos, Euphronius of

Paeania.

Thus while his shrewdness is seen in all his actions, in his teaching and in all his studies, in some ways his will is no less remarkable for carefulness and wise management, so that in this respect also he is to be admired

Chapter 5. DEMETRIUS (perhaps 350-280 B.C.; supreme in Athens 318-307 B.C.)

Demetrius, the son of Phanostratus, was a native of Phalerum. He was a pupil of Theophrastus, but by his speeches in the Athenian assembly he held the chief power in the State for ten years and was decreed 360 bronze statues, most of them representing him either on horseback or else driving a chariot or a pair of horses. And these statues were completed in less than 300 days, so much was he esteemed. He entered politics, says Demetrius of Magnesia in his work on Men of the Same Name, when Harpalus, fleeing from Alexander, came to Athens. As a statesman he rendered his country many splendid services. For he enriched the city with revenues and buildings, though he was not of noble birth.

For he was one of Conon’s household servants, according to Favorinus in the first book of his Memorabilia; yet Lamia, with whom he lived, was a citizen of noble family, as Favorinus also states in his first book. Further, in his second book Favorinus alleges that he suffered violence from Cleon, while Didymus in his Table-talk relates how a certain courtesan nicknamed him Charito-Blepharos (having the eyelids of the Graces), and Lampito (of shining eyes). He is said to have lost his sight when in Alexandria and to have recovered it by the gift of Sarapis; whereupon he composed the paeans which are sung to this day.

For all his popularity with the Athenians he nevertheless suffered eclipse through all-devouring envy.

Having been indicted by some persons on a capital charge, he let judgement go by default; and, when his accusers could not get hold of his person, they disgorged their venom on the bronze of his statues. These they tore down from their pedestals; some were sold, some cast into the sea, and others were even, it is said, broken up to make bedroom-utensils. Only one is preserved in the Acropolis. In his Miscellaneous History Favorinus tells us that the Athenians did this at the bidding of King Demetrius.

And in the official list the year in which he was archon was styled the year of lawlessness, according to this same Favorinus.

Hermippus tells us that upon the death of Casander, being in fear of Antigonus, he fled to Ptolemy Soter. There he spent a considerable time and advised Ptolemy, among other things, to invest with sovereign power his children by Eurydice. To this Ptolemy would not agree, but bestowed the diadem on his son by Berenice, who, after Ptolemy’s death, thought fit to detain Demetrius as a prisoner in the country until some decision should be taken concerning him. There he lived in great dejection, and somehow, in his sleep, received an asp-bite on the hand which proved fatal. He is buried in the district of Busiris near Diospolis.

Here are my lines upon him:
A venomous asp was the death of the wise Demetrius, an asp withal of sticky venom, darting, not light from its eyes, but black death.
Heraclides in his epitome of Sotion’s Successions of Philosophers says that Ptolemy himself wished to transmit the kingdom to Philadelphus, but that Demetrius tried to dissuade him,

saying, If you give it to another, you will not have it yourself. At the time when he was being continually attacked in Athens, Menander, the Comic poet, as I have also learnt, was very nearly brought to trial for no other cause than that he was a friend of Demetrius. However, Telesphorus, the nephew of Demetrius, begged him off.

In the number of his works and their total length in lines he has surpassed almost all contemporary Peripatetics. For in learning and versatility he has no equal. Some of these works are historical and others political; there are some dealing with poets, others with rhetoric. Then there are public speeches and reports of embassies, besides collections of Aesop's fables and much else. He wrote:

Of Legislation at Athens, five books.

Of the Constitutions of Athens, two books.

Of Statesmanship, two books.

On Politics, two books.

Of Laws, one book.

On Rhetoric, two books.

On Military Matters, two books.

On the Iliad, two books.

On the Odyssey, four books.

And the following works, each in one book:

Ptolemy.

Concerning Love.

Phaedondas.

Maedon.

Cleon.

Socrates.

Artaxerxes.

Concerning Homer.

Aristides.

Aristomachus.

An Exhortation to Philosophy.

Of the Constitution.

On the ten years of his own Supremacy.

Of the Ionians.

Concerning Embassies.

Of Belief.

Of Favour.

Of Fortune.

Of Magnanimity.

Of Marriage.

Of the Beam in the Sky.

Of Peace.

On Laws.

On Customs.

Of Opportunity.

Dionysius.

Concerning Chalcis.

A Denunciation of the Athenians.

On Antiphanes.

Historical Introduction.

Letters.

A Sworn Assembly.

Of Old Age.

Rights.

Aesop’s Fables.

Anecdotes.

His style is philosophical, with an admixture of rhetorical vigour and force. When he heard that the Athenians had destroyed his statues, That they may do, said he, but the merits which caused them to be erected they cannot destroy. He used to say that the eyebrows formed but a small part of the face, and yet they can darken the whole of life by the scorn they express. Again, he said that not only was Plutus blind, but his guide, Fortune, as well; that all that steel could achieve in war was won in politics by eloquence. On seeing a young dandy, There, quoth he, is a four-square Hermes for you, with trailing robe, belly, beard and all. When men are haughty and arrogant, he declared we should cut down their tall stature and leave them their spirit unimpaired. Children should honour their parents at home, out-of-doors everyone they meet, and in solitude themselves.

In prosperity friends do not leave you unless desired, whereas in adversity they stay away of their own accord. All these sayings seem to be set down to his credit.

There have been twenty noteworthy men called Demetrius: (1) a rhetorician of Chalcedon, older than Thrasymachus; (2) the subject of this notice; (3) a Peripatetic of Byzantium; (4) one called the graphic writer, clear in narrative; he was also a painter; (5) a native of Aspendus, a pupil of Apollonius of Soli; (6) a native of Callatis, who wrote a geography of Asia and Europe in twenty books; (7) a Byzantine, who wrote a history of the migration of the Gauls from Europe into Asia in thirteen books, and another work in eight books dealing with Antiochus and Ptolemy and

their settlement of Libya;

(8) the sophist who lived at Alexandria, author of handbooks of rhetoric; (9) a grammarian of Adramyttium, surnamed Ixion because he was thought to be unjust to Hera; (10) a grammarian of Cyrene, surnamed Wine-jar, an eminent man; (11) a native of Scepsis, a man of wealth and good birth, ardently devoted to learning; he was also the means of bringing his countryman Metrodorus into prominence; (12) a grammarian of Erythrae enrolled as a citizen of Mnos; (13) a Bithynian, son of Diphilus the Stoic and pupil of Panaetius of Rhodes;

(14) a rhetorician of Smyrna. The foregoing were prose authors. Of poets bearing this name the first belonged to the Old Comedy; the second was an epic poet whose lines to the envious alone survive:
While he lives they scorn the man whom they regret when he is gone; yet, some day, for the honour of his tomb and lifeless image, contention seizes cities and the people set up strife;
the third of Tarsus, writer of satires; the fourth, a writer of lampoons, in a bitter style; the fifth, a sculptor mentioned by Polemo; the sixth, of Erythrae, a versatile man, who also wrote historical and rhetorical works.

Chapter 6. HERACLIDES (floruit 360 B.C.)

Heraclides, son of Euthyphro, born at Heraclea in the Pontus, was a wealthy man. At Athens he first attached himself to Speusippus. He also attended the lectures of the Pythagoreans and admired the writings of Plato. Last of all he became a pupil of Aristotle, as Sotion says in his Successions of Philosophers. He wore fine soft clothes, and he was extremely corpulent, which made the Athenians call him Pompicus rather than Ponticus. He was mild and dignified of aspect. Works by him survive of great beauty and excellence. There are ethical dialogues:

Of Justice, three books.

Of Temperance, one book.

Of Piety, five books.

Of Courage, one book.

Of Virtue in general, one book.

A second with the same title.

Of Happiness, one book.

Of Government, one book.

On Laws, one book, and on subjects kindred to these.

Of Names, one book.

Agreements, one book.

On the Involuntary, one book.

Concerning Love, and Clinias, one book.

Others are physical treatises:

Of Reason.

Of the Soul, and a separate treatise with the same title.

Of Nature.

Of Images.

Against Democritus.

Of Celestial Phenomena, one book

Of Things in the Under-world.

On Various Ways of Life, two books.

The Causes of Diseases, one book.

Of the Good, one book.

Against Zeno’s Doctrines, one book.

A Reply to Metron’s Doctrines, one book.

To grammar and criticism belong:

Of the Age of Homer and Hesiod, two books

Of Archilochus and Homer, two books.

Of a literary nature are:

A work on passages in Euripides and Sophocles, three books.

On Music, two books.

Solutions of Homeric Problems, two books.

Of Theorems, one book.

On the Three Tragic Poets, one book.

Characters, one book.

Of Poetry and Poets, one book.

Of Conjecture, one book.

Concerning Prevision, one book.

Expositions of Heraclitus, four books.

Expositions in Reply to Democritus, one book.

Solutions of Eristic Problems, two books.

Logical Proposition, one book.

Of Species, one book.

Solutions, one book.

Admonitions, one book.

A Reply to Dionysius, one book.

To rhetoric belongs:

Of Public Speaking, or Protagoras.

To history:

On the Pythagoreans.

Of Discoveries.

Some of these works are in the style of comedy, for instance the tracts On Pleasure and On Temperance; others in the style of tragedy, as the books entitled Of those in Hades, Of Piety, and Of Authority.

Again, he has a sort of intermediate style of conversation which he employs when philosophers, generals and statesmen converse with each other. Furthermore, he wrote geometrical and dialectical works, and is, besides, everywhere versatile and lofty in diction, and a great adept at charming the reader's mind.

It seems that he delivered his native city from oppressions by assassinating its ruler, as is stated in his work on Men of the Same Name by Demetrius of Magnesia, who also tells the following story about him: As a boy, and when he grew up, he kept a pet snake, and, being at the point of death, he ordered a trusted attendant to conceal the corpse but to place the snake on his bier, that he might seem to have departed to the gods.

All this was done. But while the citizens were in the very midst of the procession and were loud in his praise, the snake, hearing the uproar, popped up out of the shroud, creating widespread confusion. Subsequently, however, all was revealed, and they saw Heraclides, not as he appeared, but as he really was.

I have written of him as follows:
You wished, Heraclides, to leave to all mankind a reputation that after death you lived as a snake. But you were deceived, you sophist, for the snake was really a brute beast, and you were detected as more of a beast than a sage.
Hippobotus too has this tale.

Hermippus relates that, when their territory was visited by famine, the people of Heraclea besought the Pythian priestess for relief, but Heraclides bribed the sacred envoys as well as the aforesaid priestess to reply that they would be rid of the calamity if Heraclides, the son of Euthyphro, were crowned with a crown of gold in his lifetime and after his death received heroic honours. The pretended oracle was brought home, but its forgers got nothing by it. For directly Heraclides was crowned in the theatre, he was seized with apoplexy, whereupon the envoys to the oracle were stoned to death. Moreover, at the very same time the Pythian priestess, after she had gone down to the shrine and taken her seat, was bitten by one of the snakes and died instantly. Such are the tales told about his death.

Aristoxenus the musician asserts that Heraclides also composed tragedies, inscribing upon them the name of Thespis. Chamaeleon complains that Heraclides' treatise on the works of Homer and Hesiod was plagiarized from his own. Furthermore, Autodorus the Epicurean criticizes him in a polemic against his tract Of Justice. Again, Dionysius the Renegade, or, as some people call him, the Spark, when he wrote the Parthenopaeus, entitled it a play of Sophocles; and Heraclides, such was his credulity, in one of his own works drew upon this forged play as Sophoclean evidence.

Dionysius, on perceiving this, confessed what he had done; and, when the other denied the fact and would not believe him, called his attention to the acrostic which gave the name of Pancalus, of whom Dionysius was very fond. Heraclides was still unconvinced. Such a thing, he said, might

very well happen by chance. To this Dionysius, You will also find these lines:
a. An old monkey is not caught by a trap.
b. Oh yes, he's caught at last, but it takes time.
And this besides: Heraclides is ignorant of letters and not ashamed of his ignorance.

Fourteen persons have borne the name of Heraclides: (1) the subject of this notice; (2) a fellowcitizen of his, author of Pyrrhic verses and tales;

(3) a native of Cyme, who wrote of Persia in five books; (4) another native of Cyme, who wrote rhetorical textbooks; (5) of Callatis or Alexandria, author of the Succession of Philosophers in six books and a work entitled Lembeuticus, from which he got the surname of Lembus (a fast boat or scout); (6) an Alexandrian who wrote on the Persian national character; (7) a dialectician of Bargylis, who wrote against Epicurus; (8) a physician of the school of Hicesius; (9) another physician of Tarentum, an empiric; (10) a poet who was the author of admonitions; (11) a sculptor of Phocaea; (12) a Ligurian poet, author of epigrams; (13) Heraclides of Magnesia, who wrote a history of Mithradates; (14) the compiler of an Astronomy.

BOOK VI

Chapter 1. ANTISTHENES (c. 446-366 B.C.)

Antisthenes, the son of Antisthenes, was an Athenian. It was said, however, that he was not of pure Attic blood. Hence his reply to one who taunted him with this: The mother of the gods too is a Phrygian. For his mother was supposed to have been a Thracian. Hence it was that, when he had distinguished himself in the battle of Tanagra, he gave Socrates occasion to remark that, if both his parents had been Athenians, he would not have turned out so brave. He himself showed his contempt for the airs which the Athenians gave themselves on the strength of being sprung from the soil by the remark that this did not make them any better born than snails or wingless locusts.

To begin with, he became a pupil of Gorgias the rhetorician, and hence the rhetorical style that he introduces in his dialogues, and especially in his Truth and in his Exhortations.

According to Hermippus he intended at the public gathering for the Isthmian games to discourse on the faults and merits of Athenians, Thebans and Lacedaemonians, but begged to be excused when he saw throngs arriving from those cities.

Later on, however, he came into touch with Socrates, and derived so much benefit from him that he used to advise his own disciples to become fellow-pupils with him of Socrates. He lived in the Peiraeus, and every day would tramp the five miles to Athens in order to hear Socrates. From Socrates he learned his hardihood, emulating his disregard of feeling, and thus he inaugurated the Cynic way of life. He demonstrated that pain is a good thing by instancing the great Heracles and Cyrus, drawing the one example from the Greek world and the other from the barbarians.

He was the first to define statement (or assertion) by saying that a statement is that which sets forth what a thing was or is. He used repeatedly to say, I'd rather be mad than feel pleasure, and We ought to make love to such women as will feel a proper gratitude. When a lad from Pontus was about to attend his lectures, and asked him what he required, the answer was, Come with a new book, a new pen, and new tablets, if you have a mind to (implying the need of brains as well). When someone inquired what sort of wife he ought to marry, he said, If she's beautiful,

you'll not have her to yourself; if she's ugly, you'll pay for it dearly. Being told that Plato was abusing him, he remarked, It is a royal privilege to do good and be ill spoken of.

When he was being initiated into the Orphic mysteries, the priest said that those admitted into these rites would be partakers of many good things in Hades. Why then, said he, don't you die?

Being reproached because his parents were not both free-born, Nor were they both wrestlers, quoth he, but yet I am a wrestler. To the question why he had but few disciples he replied, Because I use a silver rod to eject them. When he was asked why he was so bitter in reproving his pupils he replied, Physicians are just the same with their patients. One day upon seeing an adulterer running for his life he exclaimed, Poor wretch, what peril you might have escaped at the price of an obol. He used to say, as we learn from Hecato in his Anecdotes, that it is better to fall in with crows than with flatterers; for in the one case you are devoured when dead, in the other case while alive.

Being asked what was the height of human bliss, he replied, To die happy. When a friend complained to him that he had lost his notes, You should have inscribed them, said he, on your mind instead of on paper. As iron is eaten away by rust, so, said he, the envious are consumed by their own passion. Those who would fain be immortal must, he declared, live piously and justly. States, said he, are doomed when they are unable to distinguish good men from bad. Once, when he was applauded by rascals, he remarked, I am horribly afraid I have done something wrong.

When brothers agree, no fortress is so strong as their common life, he said. The right outfit for a voyage, he said, is such as, even if you are shipwrecked, will go through the water with you. One day when he was censured for keeping company with evil men, the reply he made was, Well, physicians are in attendance on their patients without getting the fever themselves. It is strange, said he, that we weed out the darnel from the corn and the unfit in war, but do not excuse evil men from the service of the state. When he was asked what advantage had accrued to him from philosophy, his answer was, The ability to hold converse with myself. Some one having called upon him over the wine for a song, he replied, Then you must accompany me on the pipe. When Diogenes begged a coat of him, he bade him fold his cloak around him double.

Being asked what learning is the most necessary, he replied, How to get rid of having anything to unlearn. And he advised that when men are slandered, they should endure it more courageously than if they were pelted with stones.

And he used to taunt Plato with being conceited. At all events when in a procession he spied a spirited charger he said, turning to Plato, It seems to me that you would have made just such a proud, showy steed. This because Plato was constantly praising horseflesh. And one day he visited Plato, who was ill, and seeing the basin into which Plato had vomited, remarked, The bile I see, but not the pride.

He used to recommend the Athenians to vote that asses are horses. When they deemed this absurd, his reply was, But yet generals are found among you who had had no training, but were merely elected. Many men praise you, said one. Why, what wrong have I done? was his rejoinder. When he turned the torn part of his cloak so that it came into view, Socrates no sooner saw this than he said, I spy your love of fame peeping through your cloak. Phanias in his work on the Socratics tells us how some one asked him

what he must do to be good and noble, and he replied, You must learn from those who know

that the faults you have are to be avoided. When some one extolled luxury his reply was, May the sons of your enemies live in luxury.

To the youth who was posing fantastically as an artist's model he put this question, Tell me, if the bronze could speak, on what, think you, would it pride itself most? On its beauty, was the reply. Then, said he, are you not ashamed of delighting in the very same quality as an inanimate object? When a young man from Pontus promised to treat him with great consideration as soon as his boat with its freight of salt fish should arrive, he took him and an empty wallet to a flour-dealer's, got it filled, and was going away. When the woman asked for the money, The young man will pay, said he, when his boatload of salt fish arrives.

Antisthenes is held responsible for the exile of Anytus and the execution of Meletus.

For he fell in with some youths from Pontus whom the fame of Socrates had brought to Athens, and he led them off to Anytus, whom he ironically declared to be wiser than Socrates; whereupon (it is said) those about him with much indignation drove Anytus out of the city. If he saw a woman anywhere decked out with ornaments, he would hasten to her house and bid her husband bring out his horse and arms, and then, if the man possessed them, let his extravagance alone, for (he said) the man could with these defend himself; but, if he had none, he would bid him strip off the finery.

Favourite themes with him were the following. He would prove that virtue can be taught; that nobility belongs to none other than the virtuous.

And he held virtue to be sufficient in itself to ensure happiness, since it needed nothing else except the strength of a Socrates. And he maintained that virtue is an affair of deeds and does not need a store of words or learning; that the wise man is selfsufficing, for all the goods of others are his; that ill repute is a good thing and much the same as pain; that the wise man will be guided in his public acts not by the established laws but by the law of virtue; that he will also marry in order to have children from union with the handsomest women; furthermore that he will not disdain to love, for only the wise man knows who are worthy to be loved.

Diocles records the following sayings of his: To the wise man nothing is foreign or impracticable. A good man deserves to be loved. Men of worth are friends. Make allies of men who are at once brave and just. Virtue is a weapon that cannot be taken away. It is better to be with a handful of good men fighting against all the bad, than with hosts of bad men against a handful of good men. Pay attention to your enemies, for they are the first to discover your mistakes. Esteem an honest man above a kinsman. Virtue is the same for women as for men. Good actions are fair and evil actions foul. Count all wickedness foreign and alien.

Wisdom is a most sure stronghold which never crumbles away nor is betrayed. Walls of defence must be constructed in our own impregnable reasonings. He used to converse in the gymnasium of Cynosarges (White hound) at no great distance from the gates, and some think that the Cynic school derived its name from Cynosarges. Antisthenes

himself too was nicknamed a hound pure and simple. And he was the first, Diocles tells us, to double his cloak and be content with that one garment and to take up a staff and a wallet. Neanthes too asserts that he was the first to double his mantle. Sosicrates, however, in the third book of his Successions of Philosophers says this was first done by Diodorus of Aspendus, who also let his beard grow and used a staff and a wallet.

Of all the Socratics Antisthenes alone is praised by Theopompus, who says he had consummate skill and could by means of agreeable discourse win over whomsoever he pleased. And this is clear from his writings and from Xenophon's Banquet. It would seem that the most manly section of the Stoic School owed its origin to him. Hence Athenaeus the epigrammatist writes thus of them:

Ye experts in Stoic story, ye who commit to sacred pages most excellent doctrines—that virtue alone is the good of the soul: for virtue alone saves man's life and cities. But that Muse that is one of the daughters of Memory approves the pampering of the flesh, which other men have chosen for their aim.

Antisthenes gave the impulse to the indifference of Diogenes, the continence of Crates, and the hardihood of Zeno, himself laying the foundations of their state. Xenophon calls him the most agreeable of men in conversation and the most temperate in everything else.

His writings are preserved in ten volumes. The first includes:

A Treatise on Expression, or Styles of Speaking.

Ajax, or The Speech of Ajax.

Odysseus, or Concerning Odysseus.

A Defence of Orestes, or Concerning Forensic Writers.

Isography (similar writing), or Lysias and Isocrates.

A Reply to the Speech of Isocrates entitled Without Witnesses.

Vol. 2 includes:

Of the Nature of Animals.

Of Procreation of Children, or Of Marriage: a discourse on love.

Of the Sophists: a work on Physiognomy.

On Justice and Courage: a hortative work in three books.

Concerning Theognis, making a fourth and a fifth book.

In the third volume are treatises:

Of the Good.

Of Courage.

Of Law, or Of a Commonwealth.

Of Law, or Of Goodness and Justice.

Of Freedom and Slavery.

Of Belief.

Of the Guardian, or On Obedience.

Of Victory: an economic work.

In the fourth volume are included:

Cyrus.

The Greater Heracles, or Of Strength.

The fifth contains:

Cyrus, or Of Sovereignty.

Aspasia.

The sixth:

Truth.

Of Discussion: a handbook of debate.

Satho, or Of Contradiction, in three books.

On Talk.

The seventh volume contains the following:

On Education, or On Names, in five books.

On the Use of Names: a controversial work.

Of Questioning and Answering.

Of Opinion and Knowledge, in four books.

Of Dying.

Of Life and Death.

Of Those in the Underworld.

Of Nature, in two books.

A Problem concerning Nature, two books.

Opinions, or The Controversialist.

Problems about Learning.

In the eighth volume are:

On Music.

On Commentators.

On Homer.

On Wickedness and Impiety.

On Calchas.

On the Scout.

On Pleasure.

The ninth volume contains:

Of the Odyssey.

Of the Minstrel’s Staff.

Athena, or Of Telemachus.

Of Helen and Penelope.

Of Proteus.

Cyclops, or Of Odysseus.

Of the Use of Wine, or Of Intoxication, or Of the Cyclops.

Of Circe.

Of Amphiaraus.

Of Odysseus, Penelope and the Dog.

The contents of the tenth volume are:

Heracles, or Midas.

Heracles, or Of Wisdom or Strength.

Cyrus, or The Beloved.

Cyrus, or The Scouts.

Menexenus, or On Ruling.

Alcibiades.

Archelaus, or Of Kingship.

This is the list of his writings.

Timon finds fault with him for writing so much and calls him a prolific trifler. He died of disease just as Diogenes, who had come in, inquired of him, Have you need of a friend? Once too Diogenes, when he came to him, brought a dagger. And when Antisthenes cried out, Who will release me from these pains? replied, This, showing him the dagger. I said, quoth the other, from my pains, not from life.

It was thought that he showed some weakness in bearing his malady through love of life. And here are my verses upon him:
Such was your nature, Antisthenes, that in your lifetime you were a very bulldog to rend the heart with words, if not with teeth. Yet you died of consumption. Maybe some one will say, What of that? We must anyhow have some guide to the world below.

There have been three other men named Antisthenes: one a follower of Heraclitus, another a native of Ephesus, and the third of Rhodes, a historian.

And whereas we have enumerated the pupils of Aristippus and of Phaedo, we will now append an account of the Cynics and Stoics who derive from Antisthenes. And let it be in the following order.

Chapter 2. DIOGENES (404-323 B.C.)

Diogenes was a native of Sinope, son of Hicesius, a banker. Diocles relates that he went into exile because his father was entrusted with the money of the state and adulterated the coinage. But Eubulides in his book on Diogenes says that Diogenes himself did this and was forced to leave home along with his father. Moreover Diogenes himself actually confesses in his Pordalus that he adulterated the coinage. Some say that having been appointed to superintend the workmen he was persuaded by them, and that he went to Delphi or to the Delian oracle in his own city and inquired of Apollo whether he should do what he was urged to do. When the god

gave him permission to alter the political currency, not understanding what this meant, he adulterated the state coinage, and when he was detected, according to some he was banished, while according to others he voluntarily quitted the city for fear of consequences.

One version is that his father entrusted him with the money and that he debased it, in consequence of which the father was imprisoned and died, while the son fled, came to Delphi, and inquired, not whether he should falsify the coinage, but what he should do to gain the greatest reputation; and that then it was that he received the oracle.

On reaching Athens he fell in with Antisthenes. Being repulsed by him, because he never welcomed pupils, by sheer persistence Diogenes wore him out. Once when he stretched out his staff against him, the pupil offered his head with the words, Strike, for you will find no wood hard enough to keep me away from you, so long as I think you've something to say. From that time forward he was his pupil, and, exile as he was, set out upon a simple life.

Through watching a mouse running about, says Theophrastus in the Megarian dialogue, not looking for a place to lie down in, not afraid of the dark, not seeking any of the things which are considered to be dainties, he discovered the means of adapting himself to circumstances. He was the first, say some, to fold his cloak because he was obliged to sleep in it as well, and he carried a wallet to hold his victuals, and he used any place for any purpose, for breakfasting, sleeping, or conversing. And then he would say, pointing to the portico of Zeus and the Hall of Processions, that the Athenians had provided him with places to live in.

He did not lean upon a staff until he grew infirm; but afterwards he would carry it everywhere, not indeed in the city, but when walking along the road with it and with his wallet; so say Olympiodorus, once a magistrate at Athens, Polyeuctus the orator, and Lysanias the son of Aeschrio. He had written to some one to try and procure a cottage for him. When this man was a long time about it, he took for his abode the tub in the Metroön, as he himself explains in his letters. And in summer he used to roll in it over hot sand, while in winter he used to embrace statues covered with snow, using every means of inuring himself to hardship.

He was great at pouring scorn on his contemporaries. The school of Euclides he called bilious, and Plato's lectures waste of time, the performances at the Dionysia great peep-shows for fools, and the demagogues the mob's lacqueys. He used also to say that when he saw physicians, philosophers and pilots at their work, he deemed man the most intelligent of all animals; but when again he saw interpreters of dreams and diviners and those who attended to them, or those who were puffed up with conceit of wealth, he thought no animal more silly. He would continually say that for the conduct of life we need right reason or a halter.

Observing Plato one day at a costly banquet taking olives, How is it, he said, that you the philosopher who sailed to Sicily for the sake of these dishes, now when they are before you do not enjoy them? Nay, by the gods, Diogenes, replied Plato, there also for the most part I lived upon olives and such like. Why then, said Diogenes, did you need to go to Syracuse? Was it that Attica at that time did not grow olives? But Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History attributes this to Aristippus. Again, another time he was eating dried figs when he encountered Plato and offered him a share of them. When Plato took them and ate them, he said, I said you might share them, not that you might eat them all up.

And one day when Plato had invited to his house friends coming from Dionysius, Diogenes trampled upon his carpets and said, I trample upon Plato's vainglory. Plato's reply was, How

much pride you expose to view, Diogenes, by seeming not to be proud. Others tell us that what Diogenes said was, I trample upon the pride of Plato, who retorted, Yes, Diogenes, with pride of another sort. Sotion, however, in his fourth book makes the Cynic address this remark to Plato himself. Diogenes once asked him for wine, and after that also for some dried figs; and Plato sent him a whole jar full. Then the other said, If some one asks you how many two and two are, will you answer, Twenty? So, it seems, you neither give as you are asked nor answer as you are questioned. Thus he scoffed at him as one who talked without end.

Being asked where in Greece he saw good men, he replied, Good men nowhere, but good boys at Lacedaemon. When one day he was gravely discoursing and nobody attended to him, he began whistling, and as people clustered about him, he reproached them with coming in all seriousness to hear nonsense, but slowly and contemptuously when the theme was serious. He would say that men strive in digging and kicking to outdo one another, but no one strives to become a good man and true. And he would wonder that the grammarians should investigate the ills of Odysseus, while they were ignorant of their own. Or that the musicians should tune the strings of the lyre, while leaving the dispositions of their own souls discordant;

that the mathematicians should gaze at the sun and the moon, but overlook matters close at hand; that the orators should make a fuss about justice in their speeches, but never practise it; or that the avaricious should cry out against money, while inordinately fond of it. He used also to condemn those who praised honest men for being superior to money, while themselves envying the very rich. He was moved to anger that men should sacrifice to the gods to ensure health and in the midst of the sacrifice should feast to the detriment of health. He was astonished that when slaves saw their masters were gluttons, they did not steal some of the viands.

He would praise those who were about to marry and refrained, those who intending to go a voyage never set sail, those who thinking to engage in politics do no such thing, those also who purposing to rear a family do not do so, and those who make ready to live with potentates, yet never come near them after all. He used to say, moreover, that we ought to stretch out our hands to our friends with the fingers open and not closed. Menippus in his Sale of Diogenes tells how, when he was captured and put up for sale, he was asked what he could do. He replied, Govern men. And he told the crier to give notice in case anybody wanted to purchase a master for himself. Having been forbidden to sit down, It makes no difference, said he, for in whatever position fishes lie, they still find purchasers.

And he said he marvelled that before we buy a jar or dish we try whether it rings true, but if it is a man are content merely to look at him. To Xeniades who purchased him he said, You must obey me, although I am a slave; for, if a physician or a steersman were in slavery, he would be obeyed. Eubulus in his book entitled The Sale of Diogenes tells us that this was how he trained the sons of Xeniades. After their other studies he taught them to ride, to shoot with the bow, to sling stones and to hurl javelins. Later, when they reached the wrestling-school, he would not permit the master to give them full athletic training, but only so much as to heighten their colour and keep them in good condition.

The boys used to get by heart many passages from poets, historians, and the writings of Diogenes himself; and he would practise them in every short cut to a good memory. In the house too he taught them to wait upon themselves, and to be content with plain fare and water to drink. He used to make them crop their hair close and to wear it unadorned, and to go lightly clad, barefoot, silent, and not looking about them in the streets. He would also take them out

hunting. They on their part had a great regard for Diogenes and made requests of their parents for him. The same Eubulus relates that he grew old in the house of Xeniades, and when he died was buried by his sons. There Xeniades once asked him how he wished to be buried. To which he replied, On my face.

Why? inquired the other. Because, said he, after a little time down will be converted into up. This because the Macedonians had now got the supremacy, that is, had risen high from a humble position. Some one took him into a magnificent house and warned him not to expectorate, whereupon having cleared his throat he discharged the phlegm into the man's face, being unable, he said, to find a meaner receptacle. Others father this upon Aristippus. One day he shouted out for men, and when people collected, hit out at them with his stick, saying, It was men I called for, not scoundrels. This is told by Hecato in the first book of his Anecdotes. Alexander is reported to have said, Had I not been Alexander, I should have liked to be Diogenes.

The word disabled (ἀναπήρους), Diogenes held, ought to be applied not to the deaf or blind, but to those who have no wallet (πήρα). One day he made his way with head half shaven into a party of young revellers, as Metrocles relates in his Anecdotes, and was roughly handled by them. Afterwards he entered on a tablet the names of those who had struck him and went about with the tablet hung round his neck, till he had covered them with ridicule and brought universal blame and discredit upon them. He described himself as a hound of the sort which all men praise, but no one, he added, of his admirers dared go out hunting along with him. When some one boasted that at the Pythian games he had vanquished men, Diogenes replied, Nay, I defeat men, you defeat slaves.

To those who said to him, You are an old man; take a rest, What? he replied, if I were running in the stadium, ought I to slacken my pace when approaching the goal? ought I not rather to put on speed? Having been invited to a dinner, he declared that he wouldn't go; for, the last time he went, his host had not expressed a proper gratitude. He would walk upon snow barefoot and do the other things mentioned above. Not only so; he even attempted to eat meat raw, but could not manage to digest it. He once found Demosthenes the orator lunching at an inn, and, when he retired within, Diogenes said, All the more you will be inside the tavern. When some strangers expressed a wish to see Demosthenes, he stretched out his middle finger and said, There goes the demagogue of Athens.

Some one dropped a loaf of bread and was ashamed to pick it up; whereupon Diogenes, wishing to read him a lesson, tied a rope to the neck of a wine-jar and proceeded to drag it across the Ceramicus.

He used to say that he followed the example of the trainers of choruses; for they too set the note a little high, to ensure that the rest should hit the right note. Most people, he would say, are so nearly mad that a finger makes all the difference. For, if you go along with your middle finger stretched out, some one will think you mad, but, if it's the little finger, he will not think so. Very valuable things, said he, were bartered for things of no value, and vice versa. At all events a statue fetches three thousand drachmas, while a quart of barley-flour is sold for two copper coins.

To Xeniades, who purchased him, he said, Come, see that you obey orders. When he quoted the line,

Backward the streams flow to their founts,
Diogenes asked, If you had been ill and had purchased a doctor, would you then, instead of obeying him, have said Backward the streams flow to their founts? Some one wanted to study philosophy under him. Diogenes gave him a tunny to carry and told him to follow him. And when for shame the man threw it away and departed, some time after on meeting him he laughed and said, The friendship between you and me was broken by a tunny. The version given by Diocles, however, is as follows. Some one having said to him, Lay your commands upon us, Diogenes, he took him away and gave him a cheese to carry, which cost half an obol. The other declined; whereupon he remarked, The friendship between you and me is broken by a little cheese worth half an obol.

One day, observing a child drinking out of his hands, he cast away the cup from his wallet with the words, A child has beaten me in plainness of living. He also threw away his bowl when in like manner he saw a child who had broken his plate taking up his lentils with the hollow part of a morsel of bread. He used also to reason thus: All things belong to the gods. The wise are friends of the gods, and friends hold things in common. Therefore all things belong to the wise. One day he saw a woman kneeling before the gods in an ungraceful attitude, and wishing to free her of superstition, according to Zoïlus of Perga, he came forward and said, Are you not afraid, my good woman, that a god may be standing behind you?—for all things are full of his presence—and you may be put to shame?

He dedicated to Asclepius a bruiser who, whenever people fell on their faces, used to run up to them and bruise them.

All the curses of tragedy, he used to say, had lighted upon him. At all events he was

A homeless exile, to his country dead.

A wanderer who begs his daily bread.
But he claimed that to fortune he could oppose courage, to convention nature, to passion reason. When he was sunning himself in the Craneum, Alexander came and stood over him and said, Ask of me any boon you like. To which he replied, Stand out of my light. Some one had been reading aloud for a very long time, and when he was near the end of the roll pointed to a space with no writing on it. Cheer up, my men, cried Diogenes; there’s land in sight. To one who by argument had proved conclusively that he had horns, he said, touching his forehead, Well, I for my part don’t see any.

In like manner, when somebody declared that there is no such thing as motion, he got up and walked about. When some one was discoursing on celestial phenomena, How many days, asked Diogenes, were you in coming from the sky? A eunuch of bad character had inscribed on his door the words, Let nothing evil enter. How then, he asked, is the master of the house to get in? When he had anointed his feet with unguent, he declared that from his head the unguent passed into the air, but from his feet into his nostrils. The Athenians urged him to become initiated, and told him that in the other world those who have been initiated enjoy a special privilege. It would be ludicrous, quoth he, if Agesilaus and Epaminondas are to dwell in the mire, while certain folk of no account will live in the Isles of the Blest because they have been initiated.

When mice crept on to the table he addressed them thus, See now even Diogenes keeps parasites. When Plato styled him a dog, Quite true, he said, for I come back again and again to those who have sold me. As he was leaving the public baths, somebody inquired if many men

were bathing. He said, No. But to another who asked if there was a great crowd of bathers, he said, Yes. Plato had defined Man as an animal, biped and featherless, and was applauded. Diogenes plucked a fowl and brought it into the lecture-room with the words, Here is Plato's man. In consequence of which there was added to the definition, having broad nails. To one who asked what was the proper time for lunch, he said, If a rich man, when you will; if a poor man, when you can.

At Megara he saw the sheep protected by leather jackets, while the children went bare. It's better, said he, to be a Megarian's ram than his son. To one who had brandished a beam at him and then cried, Look out, he replied, What, are you intending to strike me again? He used to call the demagogues the lackeys of the people and the crowns awarded to them the efflorescence of fame. He lit a lamp in broad daylight and said, as he went about, I am looking for a man. One day he got a thorough drenching where he stood, and, when the bystanders pitied him, Plato said, if they really pitied him, they should move away, alluding to his vanity. When some one hit him a blow with his fist, Heracles, said he, how came I to forget to put on a helmet when I walked out?

Further, when Meidias assaulted him and went on to say, There are 3000 drachmas to your credit, the next day he took a pair of boxing-gauntlets, gave him a thrashing and said, There are 3000 blows to your credit. When Lysias the druggist asked him if he believed in the gods, How can I help believing in them, said he, when I see a god-forsaken wretch like you? Others give this retort to Theodorus. Seeing some one perform religious purification, he said, Unhappy man, don't you know that you can no more get rid of errors of conduct by sprinklings than you can of mistakes in grammar? He would rebuke men in general with regard to their prayers, declaring that they asked for those things which seemed to them to be good, not for such as are truly good.

As for those who were excited over their dreams he would say that they cared nothing for what they did in their waking hours, but kept their curiosity for the visions called up in their sleep. At Olympia, when the herald proclaimed Dioxippus to be victor over the men, Diogenes protested, Nay, he is victorious over slaves, I over men.

Still he was loved by the Athenians. At all events, when a youngster broke up his tub, they gave the boy a flogging and presented Diogenes with another. Dionysius the Stoic says that after Chaeronea he was seized and dragged off to Philip, and being asked who he was, replied, A spy upon your insatiable greed. For this he was admired and set free.

Alexander having on one occasion sent a letter to Antipater at Athens by a certain Athlios, Diogenes, who was present, said:
Graceless son of graceless sire to graceless wight by graceless squire.

Perdiccas having threatened to put him to death unless he came to him, That's nothing wonderful, quoth he, for a beetle or a tarantula would do the same. Instead of that he would have expected the threat to be that Perdiccas would be quite happy to do without his company. He would often insist loudly that the gods had given to men the means of living easily, but this had been put out of sight, because we require honeyed cakes, unguents and the like. Hence to a man whose shoes were being put on by his servant, he said, You have not attained to full felicity, unless he wipes your nose as well; and that will come, when you have lost the use of your hands.

Once he saw the officials of a temple leading away some one who had stolen a bowl belonging

to the treasurers, and said, The great thieves are leading away the little thief. Noticing a lad one day throwing stones at a cross (gibbet), Well done, he said, you will hit your mark. When some boys clustered round him and said, Take care he doesn't bite us, he answered, Never fear, boys, a dog does not eat beetroot. To one who was proud of wearing a lion's skin his words were, Leave off dishonouring the habiliments of courage. When some one was extolling the good fortune of Callisthenes and saying what splendour he shared in the suite of Alexander, Not so, said Diogenes, but rather ill fortune; for he breakfasts and dines when Alexander thinks fit.

Being short of money, he told his friends that he applied to them not for alms, but for repayment of his due. When behaving indecently in the marketplace, he wished it were as easy to relieve hunger by rubbing an empty stomach. Seeing a youth starting off to dine with satraps, he dragged him off, took him to his friends and bade them keep strict watch over him. When a youth effeminately attired put a question to him, he declined to answer unless he pulled up his robe and showed whether he was man or woman. A youth was playing cottabos in the baths. Diogenes said to him, The better you play, the worse it is for you. At a feast certain people kept throwing all the bones to him as they would have done to a dog. Thereupon he played a dog's trick and drenched them.

Rhetoricians and all who talked for reputation he used to call thrice human, meaning thereby thrice wretched. An ignorant rich man he used to call the sheep with the golden fleece. Seeing a notice on the house of a profligate, To be sold, he said, I knew well that after such surfeiting you would throw up the owner. To a young man who complained of the number of people who annoyed him by their attentions he said, Cease to hang out a sign of invitation. Of a public bath which was dirty he said, When people have bathed here, where are they to go to get clean? There was a stout musician whom everybody depreciated and Diogenes alone praised. When asked why, he said, Because being so big, he yet sings to his lute and does not turn brigand.

The musician who was always deserted by his audience he greeted with a Hail chanticleer, and when asked why he so addressed him, replied, Because your song makes every one get up. A young man was delivering a set speech, when Diogenes, having filled the front fold of his dress with lupins, began to eat them, standing right opposite to him. Having thus drawn off the attention of the assemblage, he said he was greatly surprised that they should desert the orator to look at himself. A very superstitious person addressed him thus, With one blow I will break your head. And I, said Diogenes, by a sneeze from the left will make you tremble. Hegesias having asked him to lend him one of his writings, he said, You are a simpleton, Hegesias; you do not choose painted figs, but real ones; and yet you pass over the true training and would apply yourself to written rules.

When some one reproached him with his exile, his reply was, Nay, it was through that, you miserable fellow, that I came to be a philosopher. Again, when some one reminded him that the people of Sinope had sentenced him to exile, And I them, said he, to home-staying. Once he saw an Olympic victor tending sheep and thus accosted him: Too quickly, my good friend, have you left Olympia for Nemea. Being asked why athletes are so stupid, his answer was, Because they are built up of pork and beef. He once begged alms of a statue, and, when asked why he did so, replied, To get practice in being refused. In asking alms —as he did at first by reason of his poverty— he used this form: If you have already given to anyone else, give to me also; if not, begin with me.

On being asked by a tyrant what bronze is best for a statue, he replied, That of which Harmodius

and Aristogiton were moulded. Asked how Dionysius treated his friends, Like purses, he replied; so long as they are full, he hangs them up, and, when they are empty, he throws them away. Some one lately wed had set up on his door the notice:
The son of Zeus, victorious Heracles,

Dwells here; let nothing evil enter in.
To which Diogenes added After war, alliance. The love of money he declared to be mother-city of all evils. Seeing a spendthrift eating olives in a tavern, he said, If you had breakfasted in this fashion, you would not so be dining.

Good men he called images of the gods, and love the business of the idle. To the question what is wretched in life he replied, An old man destitute. Being asked what creature's bite is the worst, he said, Of those that are wild a sycophant's; of those that are tame a flatterer's. Upon seeing two centaurs very badly painted, he asked, Which of these is Chiron? (worse man). Ingratiating speech he compared to honey used to choke you. The stomach he called livelihood's Charybdis. Hearing a report that Didymon the flute-player had been caught in adultery, his comment was, His name alone is sufficient to hang him. To the question why gold is pale, his reply was, Because it has so many thieves plotting against it. On seeing a woman carried in a litter, he remarked that the cage was not in keeping with the quarry.

One day seeing a runaway slave sitting on the brink of a well, he said, Take care, my lad, you don't fall in. Seeing a boy taking clothes at the baths, he asked, Is it for a little unguent (ἀλειμμάτιον) or is it for a new cloak (ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον)? Seeing some women hanged from an olive-tree, he said, Would that every tree bore similar fruit. On seeing a footpad he accosted him thus:
What mak'st thou here, my gallant?

Com'st thou perchance for plunder of the dead?
Being asked whether he had any maid or boy to wait on him, he said No. If you should die, then, who will carry you out to burial? Whoever wants the house, he replied.

Noticing a good-looking youth lying in an exposed position, he nudged him and cried, Up, man, up, lest some foe thrust a dart into thy back! To one who was feasting lavishly he said:
Short-liv'd thou'lt be, my son, by what thou—buy'st.
As Plato was conversing about Ideas and using the nouns tablehood and cuphood, he said, Table and cup I see; but your tablehood and cuphood, Plato, I can nowise see. That's readily accounted for, said Plato, for you have the eyes to see the visible table and cup; but not the understanding by which ideal tablehood and cuphood are discerned.

On being asked by somebody, What sort of a man do you consider Diogenes to be? A Socrates gone mad, said he. Being asked what was the right time to marry, Diogenes replied, For a young man not yet: for an old man never at all. Being asked what he would take to be soundly cuffed, he replied, A helmet. Seeing a youth dressing with elaborate care, he said, If it's for men, you're a fool; if for women, a knave. One day he detected a youth blushing. Courage, quoth he, that is the hue of virtue. One day after listening to a couple of lawyers disputing, he condemned them both, saying that the one had no doubt stolen, but the other had not lost anything. To the question what wine he found pleasant to drink, he replied, That for which other people pay. When he was told that many people laughed at him, he made answer, But I am not laughed down.

When some one declared that life is an evil, he corrected him: Not life itself, but living ill. When he was advised to go in pursuit of his runaway slave, he replied, It would be absurd, if Manes can live without Diogenes, but Diogenes cannot get on without Manes. When breakfasting on olives amongst which a cake had been inserted, he flung it away and addressed it thus:
Stranger, betake thee from the princes' path.
And on another occasion thus:
He lashed an olive.
Being asked what kind of hound he was, he replied, When hungry, a Maltese; when full, a Molossian —two breeds which most people praise, though for fear of fatigue they do not venture out hunting with them. So neither can you live with me, because you are afraid of the discomforts.

Being asked if the wise eat cakes, Yes, he said, cakes of all kinds, just like other men. Being asked why people give to beggars but not to philosophers, he said, Because they think they may one day be lame or blind, but never expect that they will turn to philosophy. He was begging of a miserly man who was slow to respond; so he

said, My friend, it's for food that I'm asking, not for funeral expenses. Being reproached one day for having falsified the currency, he said, That was the time when I was such as you are now; but such as I am now, you will never be. To another who reproached him for the same offence he made a more scurrilous repartee.

On coming to Myndus and finding the gates large, though the city itself was very small, he cried, Men of Myndus, bar your gates, lest the city should run away. Seeing a man who had been caught stealing purple, he said:
Fast gripped by purple death and forceful fate.
When Craterus wanted him to come and visit him, No, he replied, I would rather live on a few grains of salt at Athens than enjoy sumptuous fare at Craterus's table. He went up to Anaximenes the rhetorician, who was fat, and said, Let us beggars have something of your paunch; it will be a relief to you, and we shall get advantage. And when the same man was discoursing, Diogenes distracted his audience by producing some salt fish. This annoyed the lecturer, and Diogenes said, An obol's worth of salt fish has broken up Anaximenes' lecture-class.

Being reproached for eating in the market-place, Well, it was in the market-place, he said, that I felt hungry. Some authors affirm that the following also belongs to him: that Plato saw him washing lettuces, came up to him and quietly said to him, Had you paid court to Dionysius, you wouldn't now be washing lettuces, and that he with equal calmness made answer, If you had washed lettuces, you wouldn't have paid court to Dionysius. When some one said, Most people laugh at you, his reply was, And so very likely do the asses at them; but as they don't care for the asses, so neither do I care for them. One day observing a youth studying philosophy, he said, Well done, Philosophy, that thou divertest admirers of bodily charms to the real beauty of the soul.

When some one expressed astonishment at the votive offerings in Samothrace, his comment was, There would have been far more, if those who were not saved had set up offerings. But others attribute this remark to Diagoras of Melos. To a handsome youth, who was going out to dinner, he said, You will come back a worse man. When he came back and said next day, I went and am none the worse for it, Diogenes said, Not Worse-man (Chiron), but Lax-man (Eurytion).

He was asking alms of a bad-tempered man, who said, Yes, if you can persuade me. If I could have persuaded you, said Diogenes, I would have persuaded you to hang yourself. He was returning from Lacedaemon to Athens; and on some one asking, Whither and whence? he replied, From the men's apartments to the women's.

He was returning from Olympia, and when somebody inquired whether there was a great crowd, Yes, he said, a great crowd, but few who could be called men. Libertines he compared to figtrees growing upon a cliff: whose fruit is not enjoyed by any man, but is eaten by ravens and vultures. When Phryne set up a golden statue of Aphrodite in Delphi, Diogenes is said to have written upon it: From the licentiousness of Greece. Alexander once came and stood opposite him and said, I am Alexander the great king. And I, said he, am Diogenes the Cynic. Being asked what he had done to be called a hound, he said, I fawn on those who give me anything, I yelp at those who refuse, and I set my teeth in rascals.

He was gathering figs, and was told by the keeper that not long before a man had hanged himself on that very fig-tree. Then, said he, I will now purge it. Seeing an Olympian victor casting repeated glances at a courtesan, See, he said, yonder ram frenzied for battle, how he is held fast by the neck fascinated by a common minx. Handsome courtesans he would compare to a deadly honeyed potion. He was breakfasting in the marketplace, and the bystanders gathered round him with cries of dog. It is you who are dogs, cried he, when you stand round and watch me at my breakfast. When two cowards hid away from him, he called out, Don't be afraid, a hound is not fond of beetroot.

After seeing a stupid wrestler practising as a doctor he inquired of him, What does this mean? Is it that you may now have your revenge on the rivals who formerly beat you? Seeing the child of a courtesan throw stones at a crowd, he cried out, Take care you don't hit your father.

A boy having shown him a dagger that he had received from an admirer, Diogenes remarked, A pretty blade with an ugly handle. When some people commended a person who had given him a gratuity, he broke in with You have no praise for me who was worthy to receive it. When some one asked that he might have back his cloak, If it was a gift, replied Diogenes, I possess it; while, if it was a loan, I am using it. A supposititious son having told him that he had gold in the pocket of his dress, True, said he, and therefore you sleep with it under your pillow.

On being asked what he had gained from philosophy, he replied, This at least, if nothing else—to be prepared for every fortune. Asked where he came from, he said, I am a citizen of the world. Certain parents were sacrificing to the gods, that a son might be born to them. But, said he, do you not sacrifice to ensure what manner of man he shall turn out to be? When asked for a subscription towards a club, he said to the president:
Despoil the rest; off Hector keep thy hands.

The mistresses of kings he designated queens; for, said he, they make the kings do their bidding. When the Athenians gave Alexander the title of Dionysus, he said, Me too you might make Sarapis. Some one having reproached him for going into dirty places, his reply was that the sun too visits cesspools without being defiled.

When he was dining in a temple, and in the course of the meal loaves not free from dirt were put on the table, he took them up and threw them away, declaring that nothing unclean ought to enter a temple. To the man who said to him, You don't know anything, although you are a philosopher, he replied, Even if I am but a pretender to wisdom, that in itself is philosophy.

When some one brought a child to him and declared him to be highly gifted and of excellent character, What need then, said he, has he of me? Those who say admirable things, but fail to do them, he compared to a harp; for the harp, like them, he said, has neither hearing nor perception. He was going into a theatre, meeting face to face those who were coming out, and being asked why, This, he said, is what I practise doing all my life.

Seeing a young man behaving effeminately, Are you not ashamed, he said, that your own intention about yourself should be worse than nature's: for nature made you a man, but you are forcing yourself to play the woman. Observing a fool tuning a psaltery, Are you not ashamed, said he, to give this wood concordant sounds, while you fail to harmonize your soul with life? To one who protested that he was ill adapted for the study of philosophy, he said, Why then do you live, if you do not care to live well? To one who despised his father, Are you not ashamed, he said, to despise him to whom you owe it that you can so pride yourself? Noticing a handsome youth chattering in unseemly fashion, Are you not ashamed, he said, to draw a dagger of lead from an ivory scabbard?

Being reproached with drinking in a tavern, Well, said he, I also get my hair cut in a barber's shop. Being reproached with accepting a cloak from Antipater, he replied:
The gods' choice gifts are nowise to be spurned.

When some one first shook a beam at him and then shouted Look out, Diogenes struck the man with his staff and added Look out. To a man who was urgently pressing his suit to a courtesan he said, Why, hapless man, are you at such pains to gain your suit, when it would be better for you to lose it? To one with perfumed hair he said, Beware lest the sweet scent on your head cause an ill odour in your life. He said that bad men obey their lusts as servants obey their masters.

The question being asked why footmen are so called, he replied, Because they have the feet of men, but souls such as you, my questioner, have. He asked a spendthrift for a mina. The man inquired why it was that he asked others for an obol but him for a mina. Because, said Diogenes, I expect to receive from others again, but whether I shall ever get anything from you again lies on the knees of the gods. Being reproached with begging when Plato did not beg, Oh yes, says he, he does, but when he does so—
He holds his head down close, that none may hear.

Seeing a bad archer, he sat down beside the target with the words in order not to get hit. Lovers, he declared, derive their pleasures from their misfortune.

Being asked whether death was an evil thing, he replied, How can it be evil, when in its presence we are not aware of it? When Alexander stood opposite him and asked, Are you not afraid of me? Why, what are you? said he, a good thing or a bad? Upon Alexander replying A good thing, Who then, said Diogenes, is afraid of the good? Education, according to him, is a controlling grace to the young, consolation to the old, wealth to the poor, and ornament to the rich. When Didymon, who was a rake, was once treating a girl's eye, Beware, says Diogenes, lest the oculist instead of curing the eye should ruin the pupil. On somebody declaring that his own friends were plotting against him, Diogenes exclaimed, What is to be done then, if you have to treat friends and enemies alike?

Being asked what was the most beautiful thing in the world, he replied, Freedom of speech. On entering a boys' school, he found there many statues of the Muses, but few pupils. By the help

of the gods, said he, schoolmaster, you have plenty of pupils. It was his habit to do everything in public, the works of Demeter and of Aphrodite alike. He used to draw out the following arguments. If to breakfast be not absurd, neither is it absurd in the market-place; but to breakfast is not absurd, therefore it is not absurd to breakfast in the marketplace. Behaving indecently in public, he wished it were as easy to banish hunger by rubbing the belly. Many other sayings are attributed to him, which it would take long to enumerate.

He used to affirm that training was of two kinds, mental and bodily: the latter being that whereby, with constant exercise, perceptions are formed such as secure freedom of movement for virtuous deeds; and the one half of this training is incomplete without the other, good health and strength being just as much included among the essential things, whether for body or soul. And he would adduce indisputable evidence to show how easily from gymnastic training we arrive at virtue. For in the manual crafts and other arts it can be seen that the craftsmen develop extraordinary manual skill through practice. Again, take the case of flute-players and of athletes: what surpassing skill they acquire by their own incessant toil; and, if they had transferred their efforts to the training of the mind, how certainly their labours would not have been unprofitable or ineffective.

Nothing in life, however, he maintained, has any chance of succeeding without strenuous practice; and this is capable of overcoming anything. Accordingly, instead of useless toils men should choose such as nature recommends, whereby they might have lived happily. Yet such is their madness that they choose to be miserable. For even the despising of pleasure is itself most pleasurable, when we are habituated to it; and just as those accustomed to a life of pleasure feel disgust when they pass over to the opposite experience, so those whose training has been of the opposite kind derive more pleasure from despising pleasure than from the pleasures themselves. This was the gist of his conversation; and it was plain that he acted accordingly, adulterating currency in very truth, allowing convention no such authority as he allowed to natural right, and asserting that the manner of life he lived was the same as that of Heracles when he preferred liberty to everything.

He maintained that all things are the property of the wise, and employed such arguments as those cited above. All things belong to the gods. The gods are friends to the wise, and friends share all property in common; therefore all things are the property of the wise. Again as to law: that it is impossible for society to exist without law; for without a city no benefit can be derived from that which is civilized. But the city is civilized, and there is no advantage in law without a city; therefore law is something civilized. He would ridicule good birth and fame and all such distinctions, calling them showy ornaments of vice. The only true commonwealth was, he said, that which is as wide as the universe. He advocated community of wives, recognizing no other marriage than a union of the man who persuades with the woman who consents. And for this reason he thought sons too should be held in common.

And he saw no impropriety either in stealing anything from a temple or in eating the flesh of any animal; nor even anything impious in touching human flesh, this, he said, being clear from the custom of some foreign nations. Moreover, according to right reason, as he put it, all elements are contained in all things and pervade everything: since not only is meat a constituent of bread, but bread of vegetables; and all other bodies also, by means of certain invisible passages and particles, find their way in and unite with all substances in the form of vapour. This he makes plain in the Thyestes, if the tragedies are really his and not the work of his friend Philiscus of

Aegina or of Pasiphon, the son of Lucian, who according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History wrote them after the death of Diogenes. He held that we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy, and the like studies, as useless and unnecessary.

He became very ready also at repartee in verbal debates, as is evident from what has been said above.

Further, when he was sold as a slave, he endured it most nobly. For on a voyage to Aegina he was captured by pirates under the command of Scirpalus, conveyed to Crete and exposed for sale. When the auctioneer asked in what he was proficient, he replied, In ruling men. Thereupon he pointed to a certain Corinthian with a fine purple border to his robe, the man named Xeniades above-mentioned, and said, Sell me to this man; he needs a master. Thus Xeniades came to buy him, and took him to Corinth and set him over his own children and entrusted his whole household to him. And he administered it in all respects in such a manner that Xeniades used to go about saying, A good genius has entered my house.

Cleomenes in his work entitled Concerning Pedagogues says that the friends of Diogenes wanted to ransom him, whereupon he called them simpletons; for, said he, lions are not the slaves of those who feed them, but rather those who feed them are at the mercy of the lions: for fear is the mark of the slave, whereas wild beasts make men afraid of them. The man had in fact a wonderful gift of persuasion, so that he could easily vanquish anyone he liked in argument. At all events a certain Onesicritus of Aegina is said to have sent to Athens the one of his two sons named Androsthenes, and he having become a pupil of Diogenes stayed there; the father then sent the other also, the aforesaid Philiscus, who was the elder, in search of him; but Philiscus also was detained in the same way.

When, thirdly, the father himself arrived, he was just as much attracted to the pursuit of philosophy as his sons and joined the circle—so magical was the spell which the discourses of Diogenes exerted. Amongst his hearers was Phocion surnamed the Honest, and Stilpo the Megarian, and many other men prominent in political life.

Diogenes is said to have been nearly ninety years old when he died. Regarding his death there are several different accounts. One is that he was seized with colic after eating an octopus raw and so met his end. Another is that he died voluntarily by holding his breath. This account was followed by Cercidas of Megalopolis (or of Crete), who in his meliambics writes thus:
Not so he who aforetime was a citizen of Sinope,

That famous one who carried a staff, doubled his cloak, and lived in the open air.

But he soared aloft with his lip tightly pressed against his teeth

And holding his breath withal. For in truth he was rightly named

Diogenes, a true-born son of Zeus, a hound of heaven.

Another version is that, while trying to divide an octopus amongst the dogs, he was so severely bitten on the sinew of the foot that it caused his death. His friends, however, according to Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers, conjectured that it was due to the retention of his breath. For he happened to be living in the Craneum, the gymnasium in front of Corinth. When his friends came according to custom and found him wrapped up in his cloak, they thought that he must be asleep, although he was by no means of a drowsy or somnolent habit. They therefore drew aside his cloak and found that he was dead. This they supposed to have

been his deliberate act in order to escape thenceforward from life.

Hence, it is said, arose a quarrel among his disciples as to who should bury him: nay, they even came to blows; but, when their fathers and men of influence arrived, under their direction he was buried beside the gate leading to the Isthmus. Over his grave they set up a pillar and a dog in Parian marble upon it. Subsequently his fellow-citizens honoured him with bronze statues, on which these verses were inscribed:
Time makes even bronze grow old: but thy glory, Diogenes, all eternity will never destroy. Since thou alone didst point out to mortals the lesson of self-sufficingness and the easiest path of life.

We too have written on him in the proceleusmatic metre:
A. Diogenes, come tell me what fate took you to the world below?

D. A dog’s savage tooth.

But some say that when dying he left instructions that they should throw him out unburied, that every wild beast might feed on him, or thrust him into a ditch and sprinkle a little dust over him. But according to others his instructions were that they should throw him into the Ilissus, in order that he might be useful to his brethren.

Demetrius in his work On Men of the Same Name asserts that on the same day on which Alexander died in Babylon Diogenes died in Corinth. He was an old man in the 113th Olympiad.

The following writings are attributed to him. Dialogues:

Cephalion.

Ichthyas.

Jackdaw.

Pordalus.

The Athenian Demos.

Republic.

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 Successions, and Satyrus in the fourth book of his Lives, allege that Diogenes left nothing in writing, and Satyrus adds that the sorry tragedies are by his friend Philiscus, the Aeginetan. Sotion in his seventh book declares that only the following are genuine works of Diogenes: On Virtue, On Good, On Love, A Mendicant, Tolmaeus, Pordalus, Casandrus, Cephalion, Philiscus, Aristarchus, Sisyphus, Ganymedes, Anecdotes, Letters.

There have been five men who were named Diogenes. The first, of Apollonia, a natural philosopher. The beginning of his treatise runs thus: At the outset of every discourse, methinks, one should see to it that the basis laid down is unquestionable. The second—of Sicyon—who wrote an Account of Peloponnesus. The third, our present subject. The fourth, a Stoic born at Seleucia, who is also called the Babylonian, because Seleucia is near Babylon. The fifth, of Tarsus, author of a work on poetical problems, which he attempts to solve.

Now the philosopher is said by Athenodorus in the eighth book of his Walks to have always had a sleek appearance owing to his use of unguents.

Chapter 3. MONIMUS (fourth century B.C.)

Monimus of Syracuse was a pupil of Diogenes; and, according to Sosicrates, he was in the service of a certain Corinthian banker, to whom Xeniades, the purchaser of Diogenes, made frequent visits, and by the account which he gave of his goodness in word and deed, excited in Monimus a passionate admiration of Diogenes. For he forthwith pretended to be mad and proceeded to fling away the small change and all the money on the banker’s table, until at length his master dismissed him; and he then straightway devoted himself to Diogenes. He often followed Crates the Cynic as well, and embraced the like pursuits; whereupon his master, seeing him do this, was all the more persuaded that he was mad.

He came to be a distinguished man; so much so that he is even mentioned by the comic poet Menander. At any rate in one of his plays, The Groom, his words are:
One Monimus there was, a wise man, Philo,

But not so very famous.

A. He, you mean,

Who carried the scrip?

B. Nay, not one scrip, but three.

Yet never a word, so help me Zeus, spake he

To match the saying, Know thyself, nor such

Famed watchwords. Far beyond all these he went,

Your dusty mendicant, pronouncing wholly vain

All man’s supposings.
Monimus indeed showed himself a very grave moralist, so that he ever despised mere opinion

and sought only truth.

He has left us, besides some trifles blended with covert earnestness, two books, On Impulses and an Exhortation to Philosophy.

Chapter 4. ONESICRITUS (flor. 330 B.C.)

Onesicritus some report to have been an Aeginetan, but Demetrius of Magnesia says that he was a native of Astypalaea. He too was one of the distinguished pupils of Diogenes. His career seems to have resembled that of Xenophon; for Xenophon joined the expedition of Cyrus, Onesicritus that of Alexander; and the former wrote the Cyropaedia, or Education of Cyrus, while the latter has described how Alexander was educated: the one a laudation of Cyrus, the other of Alexander. And in their diction they are not unlike: except that Onesicritus, as is to be expected in an imitator, falls short of his model.

Amongst other pupils of Diogenes were Menander, who was nicknamed Drymus or Oakwood, a great admirer of Homer; Hegesias of Sinope, nicknamed Dog-collar; and Philiscus of Aegina mentioned above.

Chapter 5. CRATES (of Thebes, flor. 326 B.C.)

Crates, son of Ascondas, was a Theban. He too was amongst the Cynic's famous pupils. Hippobotus, however, alleges that he was a pupil not of Diogenes, but of Bryson the Achaean. The following playful lines are attributed to him:
There is a city Pera in the midst of wine-dark vapour,

Fair, fruitful, passing squalid, owning nought,

Into which sails nor fool nor parasite

Nor glutton, slave of sensual appetite,

But thyme it bears, garlic, and figs and loaves,

For which things' sake men fight not each with other,

Nor stand to arms for money or for fame.

There is also his widely circulated day-book, which runs as follows:

Set down for the chef ten minas, for the doctor

One drachma, for a flatterer talents five,

For counsel smoke, for mercenary beauty

A talent, for a philosopher three obols.

He was known as the Door-opener—the caller to whom all doors fly open—from his habit of entering every house and admonishing those within. Here is another specimen of his composition:
That much I have which I have learnt and thought,

The noble lessons taught me by the Muses:

But wealth amassed is prey to vanity.
And again he says that what he has gained from philosophy is

A quart of lupins and to care for no one.
This too is quoted as his:
Hunger stops love, or, if not hunger, Time,

Or, failing both these means of help,—a halter.

He flourished in the 113th Olympiad.

According to Antisthenes in his Successions, the first impulse to the Cynic philosophy was given to him when he saw Telephus in a certain tragedy carrying a little basket and altogether in a wretched plight. So he turned his property into money,—for he belonged to a distinguished family,—and having thus collected about 200 talents, distributed that sum among his fellow-citizens. And (it is added) so sturdy a philosopher did he become that he is mentioned by the comic poet Philemon. At all events the latter says:
In summer-time a thick cloak he would wear

To be like Crates, and in winter rags.
Diocles relates how Diogenes persuaded Crates to give up his fields to sheep pasture, and throw into the sea any money he had.

In the home of Crates Alexander is said to have lodged, as Philip once lived in Hipparchia's. Often, too, certain of his kinsmen would come to visit him and try to divert him from his purpose. These he would drive from him with his stick, and his resolution was unshaken. Demetrius of Magnesia tells a story that he entrusted a banker with a sum of money on condition that, if his sons proved ordinary men he was to pay it to them, but, if they became philosophers, then to distribute it among the people: for his sons would need nothing, if they took to philosophy. Eratosthenes tells us that by Hipparchia, of whom we shall presently speak, he had a son born to him named Pasicles, and after he had ceased to be a cadet on service, Crates took him to a brothel and told him that was how his father had married.

The marriage of intrigue and adultery, he said, belonged to tragedy, having exile or assassination as its rewards; while the weddings of those who take up with courtesans are material for comedy, for as a result of extravagance and drunkenness they bring about madness.

This man had a brother named Pasicles, who was a disciple of Euclides.

Favorinus, in the second book of his Memorabilia, tells a pleasant story of Crates. For he relates how, when making some request of the master of the gymnasium, he laid hold on his hips; and when he demurred, said, What, are not these hip-joints yours as much as your knees? It was, he used to say, impossible to find anybody wholly free from flaws; but, just as in a pomegranate, one of the seeds is always going bad. Having exasperated the musician Nicodromus, he was struck by him on the face. So he stuck a plaster on his forehead with these words on it, Nicodromus's handiwork.

He carried on a regular campaign of invective against the courtesans, habituating himself to meet their abuse.

When Demetrius of Phalerum sent him loaves of bread and some wine, he reproached him, saying, Oh that the springs yielded bread as well as water! It is clear, then, that he was a water-drinker. When the police-inspectors found fault with him for wearing muslin, his answer was, I'll show you that Theophrastus also wears muslin. This they would not believe: so he led

them to a barber's shop and showed them Theophrastus being shaved. At Thebes he was flogged by the master of the gymnasium—another version being that it was by Euthycrates and at Corinth; and being dragged by the heels, he called out, as if it did not affect him:
Seized by the foot and dragged o'er heaven's high threshold:

Diocles, however, says that it was by Menedemus of Eretria that he was thus dragged. For he being handsome and being thought to be intimate with Asclepiades the Phliasian, Crates slapped him on the side with a brutal taunt; whereupon Menedemus, full of indignation, dragged him along, and he declaimed as above.

Zeno of Citium in his Anecdotes relates that in a fit of heedlessness he sewed a sheepskin to his cloak. He was ugly to look at, and when performing his gymnastic exercises used to be laughed at. He was accustomed to say, raising his hands, Take heart, Crates, for it is for the good of your eyes and of the rest of your body.

You will see these men, who are laughing at you, tortured before long by disease, counting you happy, and reproaching themselves for their sluggishness. He used to say that we should study philosophy to the point of seeing in generals nothing but donkey-drivers. Those who live with flatterers he declared to be as defenceless as calves in the midst of wolves; for neither these nor those have any to protect them, but only such as plot against them. Perceiving that he was dying, he would chant over himself this charm, You are going, dear hunchback, you are off to the house of Hades,—bent crooked by old age. For his years had bowed him down.

When Alexander inquired whether he would like his native city to be rebuilt, his answer was, Why should it be? Perhaps another Alexander will destroy it again. Ignominy and Poverty he declared to be his country, which Fortune could never take captive. He was, he said, a fellow-citizen of Diogenes, who defied all the plots of envy. Menander alludes to him in the Twin Sisters in the following lines: Wearing a cloak you'll go about with me,

As once with Cynic Crates went his wife:

His daughter too, as he himself declared,

He gave in marriage for a month on trial.

We come now to his pupils.

Chapter 6. METROCLES (c. 300 B.C.)

Metrocles of Maroneia was the brother of Hipparchia. He had been formerly a pupil of Theophrastus the Peripatetic, and had been so far corrupted by weakness that, when he made a breach of good manners in the course of rehearsing a speech, it drove him to despair, and he shut himself up at home, intending to starve himself to death. On learning this Crates came to visit him as he had been asked to do, and after advisedly making a meal of lupins, he tried to persuade him by argument as well that he had committed no crime, for a prodigy would have happened if he had not taken the natural means of relieving himself. At last by reproducing the action he succeeded in lifting him from his dejection, using for his consolation the likeness of the occurrences. From that time forward Metrocles was his pupil, and became proficient in philosophy.

Hecato in the first book of his Anecdotes tells us he burned his compositions with the words:
Phantoms are these of dreams o' the world below.

Others say that when he set fire to his notes of Theophrastus's lectures, he added the line:
Come hither, Hephaestus, Thetis now needeth thee.
He divided things into such as are procurable for money, like a house, and such as can be procured by time and trouble, like education. Wealth, he said, is harmful, unless we put it to a worthy use.

He died of old age, having choked himself.

His disciples were Theombrotus and Cleomenes: Theombrotus had for his pupil Demetrius of Alexandria, while Cleomenes instructed Timarchus of Alexandria and Echecles of Ephesus. Not but what Echecles also heard Theombrotus, whose lectures were attended by Menedemus, of whom we shall speak presently. Menippus of Sinope also became renowned amongst them.

Chapter 7. HIPPARCHIA (c. 300 B.C .)

Hipparchia too, sister of Metrocles, was captured by their doctrines. Both of them were born at Maroneia.

She fell in love with the discourses and the life of Crates, and would not pay attention to any of her suitors, their wealth, their high birth or their beauty. But to her Crates was everything. She used even to threaten her parents she would make away with herself, unless she were given in marriage to him. Crates therefore was implored by her parents to dissuade the girl, and did all he could, and at last, failing to persuade her, got up, took off his clothes before her face and said, This is the bridegroom, here are his possessions; make your choice accordingly; for you will be no helpmeet of mine, unless you share my pursuits.

The girl chose and, adopting the same dress, went about with her husband and lived with him in public and went out to dinners with him. Accordingly she appeared at the banquet given by Lysimachus, and there put down Theodorus, known as the atheist, by means of the following sophism. Any action which would not be called wrong if done by Theodorus, would not be called wrong if done by Hipparchia. Now Theodorus does no wrong when he strikes himself: therefore neither does Hipparchia do wrong when she strikes Theodorus. He had no reply wherewith to meet the argument, but tried to strip her of her cloak. But Hipparchia showed no sign of alarm or of the perturbation natural in a woman.

And when he said to her:
Is this she

Who quitting woof and warp and comb and loom?
she replied, It is I, Theodorus,—but do you suppose that I have been ill advised about myself, if instead of wasting further time upon the loom I spent it in education? These tales and countless others are told of the female philosopher.

There is current a work of Crates entitled Epistles, containing excellent philosophy in a style which sometimes resembles that of Plato. He has also written tragedies, stamped with a very lofty kind of philosophy; as, for example, the following passage:
Not one tower hath my country nor one roof,

But wide as the whole earth its citadel

And home prepared for us to dwell therein.

He died in old age, and was buried in Boeotia.

Chapter 8. MENIPPUS

Menippus, also a Cynic, was by descent a Phoenician—a slave, as Achaïcus in his treatise on Ethics says. Diocles further informs us that his master was a citizen of Pontus and was named Baton. But as avarice made him very resolute in begging, he succeeded in becoming a Theban.

There is no seriousness in him; but his books overflow with laughter, much the same as those of his contemporary Meleager.

Hermippus says that he lent out money by the day and got a nickname from doing so. For he used to make loans on bottomry and take security, thus accumulating a large fortune.

At last, however, he fell a victim to a plot, was robbed of all, and in despair ended his days by hanging himself. I have composed a trifle upon him:

May be, you know Menippus,

Phoenician by birth, but a Cretan hound:

A money-lender by the day—so he was called—

At Thebes when once on a time his house was broken into

And he lost his all, not understanding what it is to be a Cynic,

He hanged himself.

Some authorities question the genuineness of the books attributed to him, alleging them to be by Dionysius and Zopyrus of Colophon, who, writing them for a joke, made them over to Menippus as a person able to dispose of them advantageously.

There have been six men named Menippus: the first the man who wrote a History of the Lydians and abridged Xanthus; the second my present subject; the third a sophist of Stratonicea, a Carian by descent; the fourth a sculptor; the fifth and sixth painters, both mentioned by Apollodorus.

However, the writings of Menippus the Cynic are thirteen in number:

Necromancy.

Wills.

Epistles artificially composed as if by the gods.

Replies to the physicists and mathematicians and grammarians; and

A book about the birth of Epicurus; and

The School’s reverence for the twentieth day.

Besides other works.

Chapter 9. MENEDEMUS

Menedemus was a pupil of Colotes of Lampsacus. According to Hippobotus he had attained such a degree of audacity in wonder-working that he went about in the guise of a Fury, saying that he had come from Hades to take cognisance of sins committed, and was going to return and report them to the powers down below. This was his attire: a grey tunic reaching to the feet, about it a crimson girdle; an Arcadian hat on his head with the twelve signs of the zodiac

inwrought in it; buskins of tragedy; and he wore a very long beard and carried an ashen staff in his hand.

Such are the lives of the several Cynics. But we will go on to append the doctrines which they held in common—if, that is, we decide that Cynicism is really a philosophy, and not, as some maintain, just a way of life. They are content then, like Ariston of Chios, to do away with the subjects of Logic and Physics and to devote their whole attention to Ethics. And what some assert of Socrates, Diocles records of Diogenes, representing him as saying: We must inquire into

Whate'er of good or ill within our halls is wrought.

They also dispense with the ordinary subjects of instruction. At least Antisthenes used to say that those who had attained discretion had better not study literature, lest they should be perverted by alien influences.

So they get rid of geometry and music and all such studies. Anyhow, when somebody showed Diogenes a clock, he pronounced it a serviceable instrument to save one from being late for dinner. Again, to a man who gave a musical recital before him he said:

By men's minds states are ordered well, and households,

Not by the lyre's twanged strings or flute's trilled notes.

They hold further that Life according to Virtue is the End to be sought, as Antisthenes says in his Heracles: exactly like the Stoics. For indeed there is a certain close relationship between the two schools. Hence it has been said that Cynicism is a short cut to virtue; and after the same pattern did Zeno of Citium live his life.

They also hold that we should live frugally, eating food for nourishment only and wearing a single garment. Wealth and fame and high birth they despise. Some at all events are vegetarians and drink cold water only and are content with any kind of shelter or tubs, like Diogenes, who used to say that it was the privilege of the gods to need nothing and of god-like men to want but little.

They hold, further, that virtue can be taught, as Antisthenes maintains in his Heracles, and when once acquired cannot be lost; and that the wise man is worthy to be loved, impeccable, and a friend to his like; and that we should entrust nothing to fortune. Whatever is intermediate between Virtue and Vice they, in agreement with Ariston of Chios, account indifferent.

So much, then, for the Cynics. We must now pass on to the Stoics, whose founder was Zeno, a disciple of Crates.

BOOK VII

Chapter 1. ZENO (333-261 B.C.)

Zeno, the son of Mnaseas (or Demeas), was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek city which had received Phoenician settlers. He had a wry neck, says Timotheus of Athens in his book On Lives. Moreover, Apollonius of Tyre says he was lean, fairly tall, and swarthy—hence some one called him an Egyptian vine-branch, according to Chrysippus in the first book of his Proverbs. He had thick legs; he was flabby and delicate. Hence Persaeus in his Convivial Reminiscences relates that he declined most invitations to dinner. They say he was fond of eating green figs and of basking in the sun.

He was a pupil of Crates, as stated above. Next they say he attended the lectures of Stilpo and Xenocrates for ten years—so Timocrates says in his Dion—and Polemo as well. It is stated by Hecato and by Apollonius of Tyre in his first book on Zeno that he consulted the oracle to know what he should do to attain the best life, and that the god's response was that he should take on the complexion of the dead. Whereupon, perceiving what this meant, he studied ancient authors. Now the way he came across Crates was this. He was shipwrecked on a voyage from Phoenicia to Peiraeus with a cargo of purple. He went up into Athens and sat down in a bookseller's shop, being then a man of thirty. As he went on reading the second book of Xenophon's Memorabilia, he was so pleased that he inquired where men like Socrates were to be found.

Crates passed by in the nick of time, so the bookseller pointed to him and said, Follow yonder man. From that day he became Crates's pupil, showing in other respects a strong bent for philosophy, though with too much native modesty to assimilate Cynic shamelessness. Hence Crates, desirous of curing this defect in him, gave him a potful of lentil-soup to carry through the Ceramicus; and when he saw that he was ashamed and tried to keep it out of sight, with a blow of his staff he broke the pot. As Zeno took to flight with the lentil-soup flowing down his legs, Why run away, my little Phoenician? quoth Crates, nothing terrible has befallen you.

For a certain space, then, he was instructed by Crates, and when at this time he had written his Republic, some said in jest that he had written it on Cynosura, i.e. on the dog's tail. Besides the Republic he wrote the following works:

Of Life according to Nature.

Of Impulse, or Human Nature.

Of Emotions.

Of Duty.

Of Law.

Of Greek Education.

Of Vision.

Of the Whole World.

Of Signs.

Pythagorean Questions.

Universals.

Of Varieties of Style.

Homeric Problems, in five books.

Of the Reading of Poetry.

There are also by him:

A Handbook of Rhetoric.

Solutions.

Two books of Refutations.

Recollections of Crates.

Ethics.

This is a list of his writings. But at last he left Crates, and the men above mentioned were his masters for twenty years. Hence he is reported to have said, I made a prosperous voyage when I suffered shipwreck. But others attribute this saying of his to the time when he was under Crates.

A different version of the story is that he was staying at Athens when he heard his ship was wrecked and said, It is well done of thee, Fortune, thus to drive me to philosophy. But some say that he disposed of his cargo in Athens, before he turned his attention to philosophy.

He used then to discourse, pacing up and down in the painted colonnade, which is also called the colonnade or Portico of Pisianax, but which received its name from the painting of Polygnotus; his object being to keep the spot clear of a concourse of idlers. It was the spot where in the time of the Thirty 1400 Athenian citizens had been put to death. Hither, then, people came henceforth to hear Zeno, and this is why they were known as men of the Stoa, or Stoics; and the same name was given to his followers, who had formerly been known as Zenonians. So it is stated by Epicurus in his letters. According to Eratosthenes in his eighth book On the Old Comedy, the name of Stoic had formerly been applied to the poets who passed their time there, and they had made the name of Stoic still more famous.

The people of Athens held Zeno in high honour, as is proved by their depositing with him the keys of the city walls, and their honouring him with a golden crown and a bronze statue. This last mark of respect was also shown to him by citizens of his native town, who deemed his statue an ornament to their city, and the men of Citium living in Sidon were also proud to claim him for their own. Antigonus (Gonatas) also favoured him, and whenever he came to Athens would hear him lecture and often invited him to come to his court. This offer he declined but dispatched thither one of his friends, Persaeus, the son of Demetrius and a native of Citium, who flourished in the 130th Olympiad (260-256 b.c.), at which time Zeno was already an old man. According to Apollonius of Tyre in his work upon Zeno, the letter of Antigonus was couched in the following terms:

King Antigonus to Zeno the philosopher, greeting.

While in fortune and fame I deem myself your superior, in reason and education I own myself inferior, as well as in the perfect happiness which you have attained. Wherefore I have decided to ask you to pay me a visit, being persuaded that you will not refuse the request. By all means, then, do your best to hold conference with me, understanding clearly that you will not be the instructor of myself alone but of all the Macedonians taken together. For it is obvious that whoever instructs the ruler of Macedonia and guides him in the paths of virtue will also be training his subjects to be good men. As is the ruler, such for the most part it may be expected that his subjects will become.

And Zeno’s reply is as follows:

Zeno to King Antigonus, greeting.

I welcome your love of learning in so far as you cleave to that true education which tends to advantage and not to that popular counterfeit of it which serves only to corrupt morals. But if anyone has yearned for philosophy, turning away from much-vaunted pleasure which renders effeminate the souls of some of the young, it is evident that not by nature only, but also by the

bent of his will he is inclined to nobility of character. But if a noble nature be aided by moderate exercise and further receive ungrudging instruction, it easily comes to acquire virtue in perfection.

But I am constrained by bodily weakness, due to old age, for I am eighty years old; and for that reason I am unable to join you. But I send you certain companions of my studies whose mental powers are not inferior to mine, while their bodily strength is far greater, and if you associate with these you will in no way fall short of the conditions necessary to perfect happiness.

So he sent Persaeus and Philonides the Theban; and Epicurus in his letter to his brother Aristobulus mentions them both as living with Antigonus. I have thought it well to append the decree also which the Athenians passed concerning him.

It reads as follows:

In the archonship of Arrhenides, in the fifth prytany of the tribe Acamantis on the twenty-first day of Maemacterion, at the twenty-third plenary assembly of the prytany, one of the presidents, Hippo, the son of Cratistoteles, of the deme Xypetaeon, and his co-presidents put the question to the vote; Thraso, the son of Thraso of the deme Anacaea, moved:

Whereas Zeno of Citium, son of Mnaseas, has for many years been devoted to philosophy in the city and has continued to be a man of worth in all other respects, exhorting to virtue and temperance those of the youth who come to him to be taught, directing them to what is best, affording to all in his own conduct a pattern for imitation in perfect consistency with his teaching,

it has seemed good to the people— and may it turn out well—to bestow praise upon Zeno of Citium, the son of Mnaseas, and to crown him with a golden crown according to the law, for his goodness and temperance, and to build him a tomb in the Ceramicus at the public cost. And that for the making of the crown and the building of the tomb, the people shall now elect five commissioners from all Athenians, and the Secretary of State shall inscribe this decree on two stone pillars and it shall be lawful for him to set up one in the Academy and the other in the Lyceum. And that the magistrate presiding over the administration shall apportion the expense incurred upon the pillars, that all may know that the Athenian people honour the good both in their life and after their death.

Thraso of the deme Anacaea, Philocles of Peiraeus, Phaedrus of Anaphlystus, Medon of Acharnae, Micythus of Sypalettus, and Dion of Paeania have been elected commissioners for the making of the crown and the building.

These are the terms of the decree.

Antigonus of Carystus tells us that he never denied that he was a citizen of Citium. For when he was one of those who contributed to the restoration of the baths and his name was inscribed upon the pillar as Zeno the philosopher, he requested that the words of Citium should be added. He made a hollow lid for a flask and used to carry about money in it, in order that there might be provision at hand for the necessities of his master Crates.

It is said that he had more than a thousand talents when he came to Greece, and that he lent this money on bottomry. He used to eat little loaves and honey and to drink a little wine of good bouquet. He rarely employed men-servants; once or twice indeed he might have a young girl to wait on him in order not to seem a misogynist. He shared the same house with Persaeus, and

when the latter brought in a little flute-player he lost no time in leading her straight to Persaeus. They tell us he readily adapted himself to circumstances, so much so that King Antigonus often broke in on him with a noisy party, and once took him along with other revellers to Aristocles the musician; Zeno, however, in a little while gave them the slip.

He disliked, they say, to be brought too near to people, so that he would take the end seat of a couch, thus saving himself at any rate from one half of such inconvenience. Nor indeed would he walk about with more than two or three. He would occasionally ask the bystanders for coppers, in order that, for fear of being asked to give, people might desist from mobbing him, as Cleanthes says in his work On Bronze. When several persons stood about him in the Colonnade he pointed to the wooden railing at the top round the altar and said, This was once open to all, but because it was found to be a hindrance it was railed off. If you then will take yourselves off out of the way you will be the less annoyance to us.

When Democharés, the son of Laches, greeted him and told him he had only to speak or write for anything he wanted to Antigonus, who would be sure to grant all his requests, Zeno after hearing this would have nothing more to do with him.

After Zeno's death Antigonus is reported to have said, What an audience I have lost. Hence too he employed Thraso as his agent to request the Athenians to bury Zeno in the Ceramicus. And when asked why he admired him, Because, said he, the many ample gifts I offered him never made him conceited nor yet appear poor-spirited.

His bent was towards inquiry, and he was an exact reasoner on all subjects. Hence the words of Timon in his Silli:
A Phoenician too I saw, a pampered old woman ensconced in gloomy pride, longing for all things; but the meshes of her subtle web have perished, and she had no more intelligence than a banjo.

He used to dispute very carefully with Philo the logician and study along with him. Hence Zeno, who was the junior, had as great an admiration for Philo as his master Diodorus. And he had about him certain ragged dirty fellows, as Timon says in these lines:
The while he got together a crowd of ignorant serfs, who surpassed all men in beggary and were the emptiest of townsfolk.

Zeno himself was sour and of a frowning countenance. He was very niggardly too, clinging to meanness unworthy of a Greek, on the plea of economy, If he pitched into anyone he would do it concisely, and not effusively, keeping him rather at arm's length. I mean, for example, his remark upon the fop showing himself off.

When he was slowly picking his way across a watercourse, With good reason, quoth Zeno, he looks askance at the mud, for he can't see his face in it. When a certain Cynic declared he had no oil in his flask and begged some of him, Zeno refused to give him any. However, as the man went away, Zeno bade him consider which of the two was the more impudent. Being enamoured of Chremonides, as he and Cleanthes were sitting beside the youth, he got up, and upon Cleanthes expressing surprise, Good physicians tell us, said he, that the best cure for inflammation is repose. When of two reclining next to each other over the wine, the one who was neighbour to Zeno kicked the guest below him, Zeno himself nudged the man with his knee, and upon the man turning round, inquired, How do you think your neighbour liked what you did to him?

To a lover of boys he remarked, Just as schoolmasters lose their common-sense by spending all their time with boys, so it is with people like you. He used to say that the very exact expressions used by those who avoided solecisms were like the coins struck by Alexander: they were beautiful in appearance and well-rounded like the coins, but none the better on that account. Words of the opposite kind he would compare to the Attic tetradrachms, which, though struck carelessly and inartistically, nevertheless outweighed the ornate phrases. When his pupil Ariston discoursed at length in an uninspired manner, sometimes in a headstrong and over - confident way. Your father, said he, must have been drunk when he begat you. Hence he would call him a chatterbox, being himself concise in speech.

There was a gourmand so greedy that he left nothing for his table companions. A large fish having been served, Zeno took it up as if he were about to eat the whole. When the other looked at him, What do you suppose, said he, those who live with you feel every day, if you cannot put up with my gourmandise in this single instance? A youth was putting a question with more curiosity than became his years, whereupon Zeno led him to a mirror, and bade him look in it; after which he inquired if he thought it became anyone who looked like that to ask such questions. Some one said that he did not in general agree with Antisthenes, whereupon Zeno produced that author’s essay on Sophocles, and asked him if he thought it had any excellence; to which the reply was that he did not know. Then are you not ashamed, quoth he, to pick out and mention anything wrong said by Antisthenes, while you suppress his good things without giving them a thought?

Some one having said that he thought the chainarguments of the philosophers seemed brief and curt, Zeno replied, You are quite right; indeed, the very syllables ought, if possible, to be clipped. Some one remarked to him about Polemo, that his discourse was different from the subject he announced. He replied with a frown, Well, what value would you have set upon what was given out? He said that when conversing we ought to be earnest and, like actors, we should have a loud voice and great strength; but we ought not to open the mouth too wide, which is what your senseless chatterbox does. Telling periods, he said, unlike the works of good craftsmen, should need no pause for the contemplation of their excellences; on the contrary, the hearer should be so absorbed in the discourse itself as to have no leisure even to take notes.

Once when a young man was talking a good deal, he said, Your ears have slid down and merged in your tongue. To the fair youth, who gave it as his opinion that the wise man would not fall in love, his reply was: Then who can be more hapless than you fair youths? He used to say that even of philosophers the greater number were in most things unwise, while about small and casual things they were quite ignorant. And he used to cite the saying of Caphisius, who, when one of his pupils was endeavouring to blow the flute lustily, gave him a slap and told him that to play well does not depend on loudness, though playing loudly may follow upon playing well. And to a youth who was talking somewhat saucily his rejoinder was, I would rather not tell you what I am thinking, my lad.

A Rhodian, who was handsome and rich, but nothing more, insisted on joining his class; but so unwelcome was this pupil, that first of all Zeno made him sit on the benches that were dusty, that he might soil his cloak, and then he consigned him to the place where the beggars sat, that he might rub shoulders with their rags; so at last the young man went away. Nothing, he declared, was more unbecoming than arrogance, especially in the young. He used also to say that it was not the words and expressions that we ought to remember, but we should exercise

our mind in disposing to advantage of what we hear, instead of, as it were, tasting a well-cooked dish or well-dressed meal. The young, he thought, should behave with perfect propriety in walk, gait and dress, and he used continually to quote the lines of Euripides about Capaneus:
Large means had he, yet not the haughtiness

That springs from wealth, nor cherished prouder thoughts

Of vain ambition than the poorest man.

Again he would say that if we want to master the sciences there is nothing so fatal as conceit, and again there is nothing we stand so much in need of as time. To the question Who is a friend? his answer was, A second self (alter ego). We are told that he was once chastising a slave for stealing, and when the latter pleaded that it was his fate to steal, Yes, and to be beaten too, said Zeno. Beauty he called the flower of chastity, while according to others it was chastity which he called the flower of beauty. Once when he saw the slave of one of his acquaintance marked with weals, I see, said he, the imprints of your anger. To one who had been drenched with unguent, Who is this, quoth he, who smells of woman? When Dionysius the Renegade asked, Why am I the only pupil you do not correct? the reply was, Because I mistrust you. To a stripling who was talking nonsense his words were, The reason why we have two ears and only one mouth is that we may listen the more and talk the less.

One day at a banquet he was reclining in silence and was asked the reason: whereupon he bade his critic carry word to the king that there was one present who knew how to hold his tongue. Now those who inquired of him were ambassadors from King Ptolemy, and they wanted to know what message they should take back from him to the king. On being asked how he felt about abuse, he replied, As an envoy feels who is dismissed without an answer. Apollonius of Tyre tells us how, when Crates laid hold on him by the cloak to drag him from Stilpo, Zeno said, The right way to seize a philosopher, Crates, is by the ears: persuade me then and drag me off by them; but, if you use violence, my body will be with you, but my mind with Stilpo.

According to Hippobotus he forgathered with Diodorus, with whom he worked hard at dialectic. And when he was already making progress, he would enter Polemo's school: so far from all selfconceit was he. In consequence Polemo is said to have addressed him thus: You slip in, Zeno, by the garden door—I'm quite aware of it—you filch my doctrines and give them a Phoenician make-up. A dialectician once showed him seven logical forms concerned with the sophism known as The Reaper, and Zeno asked him how much he wanted for them. Being told a hundred drachmas, he promptly paid two hundred: to such lengths would he go in his love of learning. They say too that he first introduced the word Duty and wrote a treatise on the subject. It is said, moreover, that he corrected Hesiod's lines thus:
He is best of all men who follows good advice: good too is he who finds out all things for himself.

The reason he gave for this was that the man capable of giving a proper hearing to what is said and profiting by it was superior to him who discovers everything himself. For the one had merely a right apprehension, the other in obeying good counsel superadded conduct.

When he was asked why he, though so austere, relaxed at a drinking-party, he said, Lupins too are bitter, but when they are soaked become sweet. Hecato too in the second book of his Anecdotes says that he indulged freely at such gatherings. And he would say, Better to trip with the feet than with the tongue. Well-being is attained by little and little, and nevertheless it is no

little thing itself. [Others attribute this to Socrates.]

He showed the utmost endurance, and the greatest frugality; section placement? the food he used required no fire to dress, and the cloak he wore was thin. Hence it was said of him:
The cold of winter and the ceaseless rain

Come powerless against him: weak the dart

Of the fierce summer sun or racking pain

To bend that iron frame. He stands apart

Unspoiled by public feast and jollity:

Patient, unwearied night and day doth he

Cling to his studies of philosophy.
Nay more: the comic poets by their very jests at his expense praised him without intending it. Thus Philemon says in a play, Philosophers:
This man adopts a new philosophy.

He teaches to go hungry: yet he gets

Disciples. One sole loaf of bread his food;

His best dessert dried figs; water his drink.
Others attribute these lines to Poseidippus.

By this time he had almost become a proverb. At all events, More temperate than Zeno the philosopher was a current saying about him. Poseidippus also writes in his Men Transported:

So that for ten whole days

More temperate than Zeno’s self he seemed.

And in very truth in this species of virtue and in dignity he surpassed all mankind, ay, and in happiness; for he was ninety-eight when he died and had enjoyed good health without an ailment to the

last. Persaeus, however, in his ethical lectures makes him die at the age of seventy-two, having come to Athens at the age of twenty-two. But Apollonius says that he presided over the school for fifty-eight years. The manner of his death was as follows. As he was leaving the school he tripped and fell, breaking a toe. Striking the ground with his fist, he quoted the line from the Niobe:
I come, I come, why dost thou call for me?
and died on the spot through holding his breath.

The Athenians buried him in the Ceramicus and honoured him in the decrees already cited above, adding their testimony of his goodness. Here is the epitaph composed for him by Antipater of Sidon:
Here lies great Zeno, dear to Citium, who scaled high Olympus, though he piled not Pelion on Ossa, nor toiled at the labours of Heracles, but this was the path he found out to the stars—the way of temperance alone.

Here too is another by Zenodotus the Stoic, a pupil of Diogenes:
Thou madest self-sufficiency thy rule,

Eschewing haughty wealth, O godlike Zeno,

With aspect grave and hoary brow serene.

A manly doctrine thine: and by thy prudence

With much toil thou didst found a great new school,

Chaste parent of unfearing liberty.

And if thy native country was Phoenicia,

What need to slight thee? came not Cadmus thence,

Who gave to Greece her books and art of writing?

And Athenaeus the epigrammatist speaks of all the Stoics in common as follows:

O ye who've learnt the doctrines of the Porch

And have committed to your books divine

The best of human learning, teaching men

That the mind's virtue is the only good !

She only it is who keeps the lives of men

And cities,—safer than high gates and walls.

But those who place their happiness in pleasure

Are led by the least worthy of the Muses.

We have ourselves mentioned the manner of Zeno's death in the Pammetros (a collection of poems in various metres):

The story goes that Zeno of Citium after enduring many hardships by reason of old age was set free, some say by ceasing to take food; others say that once when he had tripped he beat with his hand upon the earth and cried, I come of my own accord; why then call me?

For there are some who hold this to have been the manner of his death.

So much then concerning his death.

Demetrius the Magnesian, in his work on Men of the Same Name, says of him: his father, Mnaseas, being a merchant often went to Athens and brought away many books about Socrates for Zeno while still a boy.

Hence he had been well trained even before he left his native place. And thus it came about that on his arrival at Athens he attached himself to Crates. And it seems, he adds, that, when the rest were at a loss how to express their views, Zeno framed a definition of the end. They say that he was in the habit of swearing by capers just as Socrates used to swear by the dog. Some there are, and among them Cassius the Sceptic and his disciples, who accuse Zeno at length. Their first count is that in the beginning of his Republic he pronounced the ordinary education useless: the next is that he applies to all men who are not virtuous the opprobrious epithets of foemen, enemies, slaves, and aliens to one another, parents to children, brothers to brothers, friends to friends.

Again, in the Republic, making an invidious contrast, he declares the good alone to be true citizens or friends or kindred or free men; and accordingly in the view of the Stoics parents and children are enemies, not being wise. Again, it is objected, in the Republic he lays down

community of wives, and at line 200 prohibits the building of temples, lawcourts and gymnasia in cities; while as regards a currency he writes that we should not think it need be introduced either for purposes of exchange or for travelling abroad. Further, he bids men and women wear the same dress and keep no part of the body entirely covered.

That the Republic is the work of Zeno is attested by Chrysippus in his De Republica. And he discussed amatory subjects in the beginning of that book of his which is entitled The Art of Love. Moreover, he writes much the same in his Interludes. So much for the criticisms to be found not only in Cassius but in Isidorus of Pergamum, the rhetorician. Isidorus likewise affirms that the passages disapproved by the school were expunged from his works by Athenodorus the Stoic, who was in charge of the Pergamene library; and that afterwards, when Athenodorus was detected and compromised, they were replaced. So much concerning the passages in his writings which are regarded as spurious.

There have been eight persons of the name of Zeno. First the Eleatic, of whom more hereafter; the second our present subject; the third a Rhodian who wrote a local history in one volume; the fourth a historian who wrote about the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy and Sicily, and besides that an epitome of the political history of Rome and Carthage; the fifth a pupil of Chrysippus, who left few writings but many disciples; the sixth a physician of the school of Herophilus, a competent practitioner, though a poor writer; the seventh a grammarian, who besides other writings has left behind him epigrams; the eighth a Sidonian by birth and an Epicurean philosopher, lucid both in thinking and in style.

Of the many disciples of Zeno the following are the most famous: Persaeus, son of Demetrius, of Citium, whom some call a pupil and others one of the household, one of those sent him by Antigonus to act as secretary; he had been tutor to Antigonus's son Halcyoneus. And Antigonus once, wishing to make trial of him, caused some false news to be brought to him that his estate had been ravaged by the enemy, and as his countenance fell, Do you see, said he, that wealth is not a matter of indifference?

The following works are by Persaeus:

Of Kingship.

The Spartan Constitution.

Of Marriage.

Of Impiety.

Thyestes.

Of Love.

Exhortations.

Interludes.

Four books of Anecdotes.

Memorabilia.

A Reply to Plato's Laws in seven books.

Ariston, the son of Miltiades and a native of Chios, who introduced the doctrine of things morally indifferent; Herillus of Carthage, who affirmed knowledge to be the end; Dionysius, who became

a renegade to the doctrine of pleasure, for owing to the severity of his ophthalmia he had no longer the nerve to call pain a thing indifferent: his native place was Heraclea; Sphaerus of Bosporus; Cleanthes, son of Phanias, of Assos, his successor in the school: him Zeno used to compare to hard waxen tablets which are difficult to write upon, but retain the characters written upon them. Sphaerus also became the pupil of Cleanthes after Zeno's death, and we shall have occasion to mention him in the Life of Cleanthes.

And furthermore the following according to Hippobotus were pupils of Zeno: Philonides of Thebes; Callippus of Corinth; Posidonius of Alexandria; Athenodorus of Soli; and Zeno of Sidon.

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. I have already given a list of his numerous writings, in which he has spoken as has no other of the Stoics. And his tenets in general are as follows. In accordance with my usual practice a summary statement must suffice.

Philosophic doctrine, say the Stoics, falls into three parts: one physical, another ethical, and the third logical. Zeno of Citium was the first to make this division in his Exposition of Doctrine, and Chrysippus too did so in the first book of his Exposition of Doctrine and the first book of his Physics; and so too Apollodorus and Syllus in the first part of their Introductions to Stoic Doctrine, as also Eudromus in his Elementary Treatise on Ethics, Diogenes the Babylonian, and Posidonius.

These parts are called by Apollodorus Heads of Commonplace; by Chrysippus and Eudromus specific divisions; by others generic divisions.

Philosophy, they say, is like an animal, Logic corresponding to the bones and sinews, Ethics to the fleshy parts, Physics to the soul. Another simile they use is that of an egg: the shell is Logic, next comes the white, Ethics, and the yolk in the centre is Physics. Or, again, they liken Philosophy to a fertile field: Logic being the encircling fence, Ethics the crop, Physics the soil or the trees. Or, again, to a city strongly walled and governed by reason.

No single part, some Stoics declare, is independent of any other part, but all blend together. Nor was it usual to teach them separately. Others, however, start their course with Logic, go on to Physics, and finish with Ethics; and among those who so do are Zeno in his treatise On Exposition, Chrysippus, Archedemus and Eudromus.

Diogenes of Ptolemaïs, it is true, begins with Ethics; but Apollodorus puts Ethics second, while Panaetius and Posidonius begin with Physics, as stated by Phanias, the pupil of Posidonius, in the first book of his Lectures of Posidonius. Cleanthes makes not three, but six parts, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Ethics, Politics, Physics, Theology. But others say that these are divisions not of philosophic exposition, but of philosophy itself: so, for instance, Zeno of Tarsus. Some divide the logical part of the system into the two sciences of rhetoric and dialectic; while some would add that which deals with definitions and another part concerning canons or criteria: some, however, dispense with the part about definitions.

Now the part which deals with canons or criteria they admit as a means for the discovery of truth, since in the course of it they explain the different kinds of perceptions that we have. And similarly the part about definitions is accepted as a means of recognizing truth, inasmuch as things are apprehended by means of general notions. Further, by rhetoric they understand the science of speaking well on matters set forth by plain narrative, and by dialectic that of correctly discussing subjects by question and answer; hence their alternative definition of it as the science

of statements true, false, and neither true nor false.

Rhetoric itself, they say, has three divisions: deliberative, forensic, and panegyric.

Rhetoric according to them may be divided into invention of arguments, their expression in words, their arrangement, and delivery; and a rhetorical speech into introduction, narrative, replies to opponents, and peroration.

Dialectic (they hold) falls under two heads: subjects of discourse and language. And the subjects fall under the following headings: presentations and the various products to which they give rise, propositions enunciated and their constituent subjects and predicates, and similar terms whether direct or reversed, genera and species, arguments too, moods, syllogisms and fallacies whether due to the subject matter or to the language;

these including both false and true and negative arguments, sorites and the like, whether defective, insoluble, or conclusive, and the fallacies known as the Veiled, or Horned, No man, and The Mowers.

The second main head mentioned above as belonging to Dialectic is that of language, wherein are included written language and the parts of speech, with a discussion of errors in syntax and in single words, poetical diction, verbal ambiguities, euphony and music, and according to some writers chapters on terms, divisions, and style.

The study of syllogisms they declare to be of the greatest service, as showing us what is capable of yielding demonstration; and this contributes much to the formation of correct judgements, and their arrangement and retention in memory give a scientific character to our conception of things.

An argument is in itself a whole containing premisses and conclusion, and an inference (or syllogism) is an inferential argument composed of these. Demonstration is an argument inferring by means of what is better apprehended something less clearly apprehended.

A presentation (or mental impression) is an imprint on the soul: the name having been appropriately borrowed from the imprint made by the seal upon the wax.

There are two species of presentation, the one apprehending a real object, the other not. The former, which they take to be the test of reality, is defined as that which proceeds from a real object, agrees with that object itself, and has been imprinted seal-fashion and stamped upon the mind: the latter, or non-apprehending, that which does not proceed from any real object, or, if it does, fails to agree with the reality itself, not being clear or distinct.

Dialectic, they said, is indispensable and is itself a virtue, embracing other particular virtues under it. Freedom from precipitancy is a knowledge when to give or withhold the mind’s assent to impressions. By wariness they mean a strong presumption against what at the moment seems probable, so as not to be taken in by it.

Irrefutability is strength in argument so as not to be brought over by it to the opposite side. Earnestness (or absence of frivolity) is a habit of referring presentations to right reason. Knowledge itself they define either as unerring apprehension or as a habit or state which in reception of presentations cannot be shaken by argument. Without the study of dialectic, they say, the wise man cannot guard himself in argument so as never to fall; for it enables him to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and to discriminate what is merely plausible and what

is ambiguously expressed, and without it he cannot methodically put questions and give answers.

Overhastiness in assertion affects the actual course of events, so that, unless we have our perceptions well trained, we are liable to fall into unseemly conduct and heedlessness; and in no other way will the wise man approve himself acute, nimblewitted, and generally skilful in argument; for it belongs to the same person to converse well and to argue well, to put questions to the purpose and to respond to the questions put; and all these qualifications are qualifications belonging to the skilled dialectician.

Such is, summarily stated, the substance of their logical teaching. And in order to give it also in detail, let me now cite as much of it as comes within the scope of their introductory handbook. I will quote verbatim what Diocles the Magnesian says in his Synopsis of Philosophers. These are his words:

The Stoics agree to put in the forefront the doctrine of presentation and sensation, inasmuch as the standard by which the truth of things is tested is generically a presentation, and again the theory of assent and that of apprehension and thought, which precedes all the rest, cannot be stated apart from presentation. For presentation comes first; then thought, which is capable of expressing itself, puts into the form of a proposition that which the subject receives from a presentation.

There is a difference between the process and the outcome of presentation. The latter is a semblance in the mind such as may occur in sleep, while the former is the act of imprinting something on the soul, that is a process of change, as is set forth by Chrysippus in the second book of his treatise Of the Soul (De anima). For, says he, we must not take impression in the literal sense of the stamp of a seal, because it is impossible to suppose that a number of such impressions should be in one and the same spot at one and the same time. The presentation meant is that which comes from a real object, agrees with that object, and has been stamped, imprinted and pressed seal-fashion on the soul, as would not be the case if it came from an unreal object.

According to them some presentations are data of sense and others are not: the former are the impressions conveyed through one or more sense-organs; while the latter, which are not data of sense, are those received through the mind itself, as is the case with incorporeal things and all the other presentations which are received by reason. Of sensuous impressions some are from real objects and are accompanied by yielding and assent on our part. But there are also presentations that are appearances and no more, purporting, as it were, to come from real objects.

Another division of presentations is into rational and irrational, the former being those of rational creatures, the latter those of the irrational. Those which are rational are processes of thought, while those which are irrational have no name. Again, some of our impressions are scientific, others unscientific: at all events a statue is viewed in a totally different way by the trained eye of a sculptor and by an ordinary man.

The Stoics apply the term sense or sensation (αἴσθησις) to three things: (1) the current passing from the principal part of the soul to the senses, (2) apprehension by means of the senses, (3) the apparatus of the sense-organs, in which some persons are deficient. Moreover, the activity of the sense-organs is itself also called sensation. According to them it is by sense that we

apprehend black and white, rough and smooth, whereas it is by reason that we apprehend the conclusions of demonstration, for instance the existence of gods and their providence. General notions, indeed, are gained in the following ways: some by direct contact, some by resemblance, some by analogy, some by transposition, some by composition, and some by contrariety.

By incidence or direct contact have come our notions of sensible things; by resemblance notions whose origin is something before us, as the notion of Socrates which we get from his bust; while under notions derived from analogy come those which we get (1) by way of enlargement, like that of Tityos or the Cyclops, or (2) by way of diminution, like that of the Pygmy. And thus, too, the centre of the earth was originally conceived on the analogy of smaller spheres. Of notions obtained by transposition creatures with eyes on the chest would be an instance, while the centaur exemplifies those reached by composition, and death those due to contrariety. Furthermore, there are notions which imply a sort of transition to the realm of the imperceptible: such are those of space and of the meaning of terms. The notions of justice and goodness come by nature. Again, privation originates notions; for instance, that of the man without hands. Such are their tenets concerning presentation, sensation, and thought.

The standard of truth they declare to be the apprehending presentation, i.e. that which comes from a real object—according to Chrysippus in the twelfth book of his Physics and to Antipater and Apollodorus. Boëthus, on the other hand, admits a plurality of standards, namely intelligence, senseperception, appetency, and knowledge; while Chrysippus in the first book of his Exposition of Doctrine contradicts himself and declares that sensation and preconception are the only standards, preconception being a general notion which comes by the gift of nature (an innate conception of universals or general concepts). Again, certain others of the older Stoics make Right Reason the standard; so also does Posidonius in his treatise On the Standard.

In their theory of dialectic most of them see fit to take as their starting-point the topic of voice. Now voice is a percussion of the air or the proper object of the sense of hearing, as Diogenes the Babylonian says in his handbook On Voice. While the voice or cry of an animal is just a percussion of air brought about by natural impulse, man’s voice is articulate and, as Diogenes puts it, an utterance of reason, having the quality of coming to maturity at the age of fourteen. Furthermore, voice according to the Stoics is something corporeal: I may cite for this Archedemus in his treatise On Voice, Diogenes, Antipater and Chrysippus in the second book of his Physics.

For whatever produces an effect is body; and voice, as it proceeds from those who utter it to those who hear it, does produce an effect. Reduced to writing, what was voice becomes a verbal expression, as day; so says Diogenes. A statement or proposition is speech that issues from the mind and signifies something, e.g. It is day. Dialect (διάλεκτος) means a variety of speech which is stamped on one part of the Greek world as distinct from another, or on the Greeks as distinct from other races; or, again, it means a form peculiar to some particular region, that is to say, it has a certain linguistic quality; e.g. in Attic the word for sea is not θάλασσα but θάλαττα, and in Ionic day is not ἡμέρα but ἡμέρη.

Elements of language are the four-and-twenty letters. Letter, however, has three meanings: (1) the particular sound or element of speech; (2) its written symbol or character; (3) its name, as Alpha is the name of the sound A.

Seven of the letters are vowels, a, e, ē i, o, u, ō, and six are mutes, b, g, d, k, p, t. There is a

difference between voice and speech; because, while voice may include mere noise, speech is always articulate. Speech again differs from a sentence or statement, because the latter always signifies something, whereas a spoken word, as for example βλίτυρι, may be unintelligible—which a sentence never is. And to frame a sentence is more than mere utterance, for while vocal sounds are uttered, things are meant, that is, are matters of discourse.

There are, as stated by Diogenes in his treatise on Language and by Chrysippus, five parts of speech: proper name, common noun, verb, conjunction, article. To these Antipater in his work On Words and their Meaning adds another part, the mean.

A common noun or appellative is defined by Diogenes as part of a sentence signifying a common quality, e.g. man, horse; whereas a name is a part of speech expressing a quality peculiar to an individual, e.g. Diogenes, Socrates. A verb is, according to Diogenes, a part of speech signifying an isolated predicate, or, as othersdefine it, an un-declined part of a sentence, signifying something that can be attached to one or more subjects, e.g. I write, I speak. A conjunction is an indeclinable part of speech, binding the various parts of a statement together; and an article is a declinable part of speech, distinguishing the genders and numbers of nouns, e.g. ὁ, ἡ, τό, οἱ, αἱ, τά.

There are five excellences of speech—pure Greek, lucidity, conciseness, appropriateness, distinction. By good Greek is meant language faultless in point of grammar and free from careless vulgarity. Lucidity is a style which presents the thought in a way easily understood; conciseness a style that employs no more words than are necessary for setting forth the subject in hand; appropriateness lies in a style akin to the subject; distinction in the avoidance of colloquialism. Among vices of style barbarism is violation of the usage of Greeks of good standing; while there is solecism when the sentence has an incongruous construction.

Posidonius in his treatise On Style defines a poetical phrase as one that is metrical or rhythmical, thus mechanically avoiding the character of prose; an example of such rhythmical phrase is:
O mightiest earth, O sky, God’s canopy.
And if such poetical phraseology is significant and includes a portrayal or representation of things human and divine, it is poetry.

A term is, as stated by Antipater in his first book On Terms, a word which, when a sentence is analysed, is uttered with complete meaning; or, according to Chrysippus in his book On Definitions, is a rendering back one’s own. Delineation is a statement which brings one to a knowledge of the subject in outline, or it may be called a definition which embodies the force of the definition proper in a simpler form. Genus (in logic) is the comprehension in one of a number of inseparable objects of thought: e.g. Animal; for this includes all particular animals.

A notion or object of thought is a presentation to the intellect, which though not really substance nor attribute is quasi-substance or quasi-attribute. Thus an image of a horse may rise before the mind, although there is no horse present.

Species is that which is comprehended under genus: thus Man is included under Animal. The highest or most universal genus is that which, being itself a genus, has no genus above: namely, reality or the real; and the lowest and most particular species is that which, being itself a species, has no species below it, e.g. Socrates.

Division of a genus means dissection of it into its proximate species, thus: Animals are either rational or irrational (dichotomy). Contrary division dissects the genus into species by contrary

qualities: for example, by means of negation, as when all things that are are divided into good and not good. Subdivision is division applied to a previous division: for instance, after saying, Of things that are some are good, some are not good, we proceed, and of the not good some are bad, some are neither good nor bad (morally indifferent).

Partition in logic is (according to Crinis) classification or distribution of a genus under heads: for instance, Of goods some are mental, others bodily.

Verbal ambiguity arises when a word properly, rightfully, and in accordance with fixed usage denotes two or more different things, so that at one and the same time we may take it in several distinct senses: e.g. in Greek, where by the same verbal expression may be meant in the one case that A house has three times fallen, in the other that a dancing-girl has fallen.

Posidonius defines Dialectic as the science dealing with truth, falsehood, and that which is neither true nor false; whereas Chrysippus takes its subject to be signs and things signified. Such then is the gist of what the Stoics say in their theory of language.

To the department dealing with things as such and things signified is assigned the doctrine of expressions, including those which are complete in themselves, as well as judgements and syllogisms and that of defective expressions comprising predicates both direct and reversed.

By verbal expression they mean that of which the content corresponds to some rational presentation. Of such expressions the Stoics say that some are complete in themselves and others defective. Those are defective the enunciation of which is unfinished, as e.g. writes, for we inquire Who? Whereas in those that are complete in themselves the enunciation is finished, as Socrates writes. And so under the head of defective expressions are ranged all predicates, while under those complete in themselves fall judgements, syllogisms, questions, and inquiries.

A predicate is, according to the followers of Apollodorus, what is said of something; in other words, a thing associated with one or more subjects; or, again, it may be defined as a defective expression which has to be joined on to a nominative case in order to yield a judgement. Of predicates some are adjectival [and so have personal subjects], as e.g. to sail through rocks. Again, some predicates are direct, some reversed, some neither. Now direct predicates are those that are constructed with one of the oblique cases, as hears, sees, converses; while reversed are those constructed with the passive voice, as I am heard, I am seen. Neutral are such as correspond to neither of these, as thinks, walks. Reflexive predicates are those among the passive, which, although in form passive, are yet active operations, as he gets his hair cut:

for here the agent includes himself in the sphere of his action. The oblique cases are genitive, dative, and accusative.

A judgement is that which is either true or false, or a thing complete in itself, capable of being denied in and by itself, as Chrysippus says in his Dialectical Definitions: A judgement is that which in and by itself can be denied or affirmed, e.g. It is day, Dion is walking. The Greek word for judgement (ἀξίωμα) is derived from the verb ἀξιοῦν, as signifying acceptance or rejection; for when you say It is day, you seem to accept the fact that it is day. Now, if it really is day, the judgement before us is true, but if not, it is false.

There is a difference between judgement, interrogation, and inquiry, as also between imperative, adjurative, optative, hypothetical, vocative, whether that to which these terms are applied be a thing or a judgement. For a judgement is that which, when we set it forth in speech,

becomes an assertion, and is either false or true: an interrogation is a thing complete in itself like a judgement but demanding an answer, e.g. Is it day? and this is so far neither true nor false. Thus It is day is a judgement; Is it day? an interrogation. An inquiry is something to which we cannot reply by signs, as you can nod Yes to an interrogation; but you must express the answer in words, He lives in this or that place.

An imperative is something which conveys a command: e.g.
Go thou to the waters of Inachus.
An adjurative utterance is something … A vocative utterance is something the use of which implies that you are addressing some one; for instance: Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, lord of men.
A quasi-proposition is that which, having the enunciation of a judgement, yet in consequence of the intensified tone or emotion of one of its parts falls outside the class of judgements proper, e.g.
Yea, fair indeed the Parthenon!

How like to Priam's sons the cowherd is!

There is also, differing from a proposition or judgement, what may be called a timid suggestion, the expression of which leaves one at a loss, e.g.
Can it be that pain and life are in some sort akin?
Interrogations, inquiries and the like are neither true nor false, whereas judgements (or propositions) are always either true or false.

The followers of Chrysippus, Archedemus, Athenodorus, Antipater and Crinis divide propositions into simple and not simple. Simple are those that consist of one or more propositions which are not ambiguous, as It is day. Not simple are those that consist of one or more ambiguous propositions.

They may, that is, consist either of a single ambiguous proposition, e.g. If it is day, it is day, or of more than one proposition, e.g. If it is day, it is light.

With simple propositions are classed those of negation, denial, privation, affirmation, the definitive and the indefinitive; with those that are not simple the hypothetical, the inferential, the coupled or complex, the disjunctive, the causal, and that which indicates more or less. An example of a negative proposition is It is not day. Of the negative proposition one species is the double negative. By double negative is meant the negation of a negation, e.g. It is not not-day. Now this presupposes that it is day.

A denial contains a negative part or particle and a predication: such as this, No one is walking. A privative proposition is one that contains a privative particle reversing the effect of a judgement, as, for example, This man is unkind. An affirmative or assertory proposition is one that consists of a noun in the nominative case and a predicate, as Dion is walking. A definitive proposition is one that consists of a demonstrative in the nominative case and a predicate, as This man is walking. An indefinitive proposition is one that consists of an indefinite word or words and a predicate, e.g. Some one is walking, or There's some one walking; He is in motion.

Of propositions that are not simple the hypothetical, according to Chrysippus in his Dialectics and Diogenes in his Art of Dialectic, is one that is formed by means of the conditional conjunction If. Now this conjunction promises that the second of two things follows consequentially upon the first, as, for instance, If it is day, it is light. An inferential proposition

according to Crinis in his Art of Dialectic is one which is introduced by the conjunction Since and consists of an initial proposition and a conclusion; for example, Since it is day-time, it is light. This conjunction guarantees both that the second thing follows from the first and that the first is really a fact.

A coupled proposition is one which is put together by certain coupling conjunctions, e.g. It is day-time and it is light. A disjunctive proposition is one which is constituted such by the disjunctive conjunction Either, as e.g. Either it is day or it is night. This conjunction guarantees that one or other of the alternatives is false. A causal proposition is constructed by means of the conjunction Because, e.g. Because it is day, it is light. For the first clause is, as it were, the cause of the second. A proposition which indicates more or less is one that is formed by the word signifying rather and the word than in between the clauses, as, for example, It is rather day-time than night.

Opposite in character to the foregoing is a proposition which declares what is less the fact, as e.g. It is less or not so much night as day. Further, among propositions there are some which in respect of truth and falsehood stand opposed to one another, of which the one is the negative of the other, as e.g. the propositions It is day and It is not day. A hypothetical proposition is therefore true, if the contradictory of its conclusion is incompatible with its premiss, e.g. If it is day, it is light. This is true. For the statement It is not light, contradicting the conclusion, is incompatible with the premiss It is day. On the other hand, a hypothetical proposition is false, if the contradictory of its conclusion does not conflict with the premiss, e.g. If it is day, Dion is walking. For the statement Dion is not walking does not conflict with the premiss It is day.

An inferential proposition is true if starting from a true premiss it also has a consequent conclusion, as e.g. Since it is day, the sun is above the horizon. But it is false if it starts from a false premiss or has an inconsequent conclusion, as e.g. Since it is night, Dion is walking, if this be said in day-time. A causal proposition is true if its conclusion really follows from a premiss itself true, though the premiss does not follow conversely from the conclusion, as e.g. Because it is day, it is light, where from the it is day the it is light duly follows, though from the statement it is light it would not follow that it is day. But a causal proposition is false if it either starts from a false premiss or has an inconsequent conclusion or has a premiss that does not correspond with the conclusion, as e.g. Because it is night, Dion is walking.

A probable judgement is one which induces to assent, e.g. Whoever gave birth to anything, is that thing's mother. This, however, is not necessarily true; for the hen is not mother of an egg.

Again, some things are possible, others impossible; and some things are necessary, others are not necessary. A proposition is possible which admits of being true, there being nothing in external circumstances to prevent it being true, e.g. Diocles is alive. Impossible is one which does not admit of being true, as e.g. The earth flies. That is necessary which besides being true does not admit of being false or, while it may admit of being false, is prevented from being false by circumstances external to itself, as Virtue is beneficial. Not necessary is that which, while true, yet is capable of being false if there are no external conditions to prevent, e.g. Dion is walking.

A reasonable proposition is one which has to start with more chances of being true than not, e.g. I shall be alive to-morrow.

And there are other shades of difference in propositions and grades of transition from true to false— and conversions of their terms—which we now go on to describe broadly.

An argument, according to the followers of Crinis, consists of a major premiss, a minor premiss, and a conclusion, such as for example this: If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore it is light. Here the sentence If it is day, it is light is the major premiss, the clause it is day is the minor premiss, and therefore it is light is the conclusion. A mood is a sort of outline of an argument, like the following: If the first, then the second; but the first is, therefore the second is.

Symbolical argument is a combination of full argument and mood; e.g. If Plato is alive, he breathes; but the first is true, therefore the second is true. This mode of argument was introduced in order that when dealing with long complex arguments we should not have to repeat the minor premiss, if it be long, and then state the conclusion, but may arrive at the conclusion as concisely as possible: if A, then B.

Of arguments some are conclusive, others inconclusive. Inconclusive are such that the contradictory of the conclusion is not incompatible with combination of the premisses, as in the following: If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore Dion walks.

Of conclusive some are denoted by the common name of the whole class, conclusive proper, others are called syllogistic. The syllogistic are such as either do not admit of, or are reducible to such as do not admit of, immediate proof in respect of one or more of the premisses; e.g. If Dion walks, then Dion is in motion; but Dion is walking, therefore Dion is in motion. Conclusive specifically are those which draw conclusions, but not by syllogism; e.g. the statement It is both day and night is false: now it is day; therefore it is not night. Arguments not syllogistic are those which plausibly resemble syllogistic arguments, but are not cogent proof; e.g. If Dion is a horse, he is an animal; but Dion is not a horse, therefore he is not an animal.

Further, arguments may be divided into true and false. The former draw their conclusions by means of true premisses; e.g. If virtue does good, vice does harm; but virtue does good, therefore vice does harm. Those are false which have error in the premisses or are inconclusive; e.g. If it is day, it is light; but it is day, therefore Dion is alive. Arguments may also be divided into possible and impossible, necessary and not necessary. Further, there are statements which are indemonstrable because they do not need demonstration; they are employed in the construction of every argument. As to the number of these, authorities differ; Chrysippus makes them five. These are assumed alike in reasoning specifically conclusive and in syllogisms both categorical and hypothetical.

The first kind of indemonstrable statement is that in which the whole argument is constructed of a hypothetical proposition and the clause with which the hypothetical proposition begins, while the final clause is the conclusion; as e.g. If the first, then the second; but the first is, therefore the second is. The second is that which employs a hypothetical proposition and the contradictory of the consequent, while the conclusion is the contradictory of the antecedent; e.g. If it is day, it is light; but it is night, therefore it is not day. Here the minor premiss is the contradictory of the consequent; the conclusion the contradictory of the antecedent. The third kind of indemonstrable employs a conjunction of negative propositions for major premiss and one of the conjoined propositions for minor premiss, concluding thence the contradictory of the remaining proposition; e.g. It is not the case that Plato is both dead and alive; but he is dead, therefore Plato is not alive.

The fourth kind employs a disjunctive proposition and one of the two alternatives in the disjunction as premisses, and its conclusion is the contradictory of the other alternative; e.g.

Either A or B; but A is, therefore B is not. The fifth kind is that in which the argument as a whole is constructed of a disjunctive proposition and the contradictory of one of the alternatives in the disjunction, its conclusion being the other alternative; e.g. Either it is day or it is night; but it is not night, therefore it is day.

From a truth a truth follows, according to the Stoics, as e.g. It is light from It is day; and from a falsehood a falsehood, as It is dark from It is night, if this latter be untrue. Also a truth may follow from a falsehood; e.g. from The earth flies will follow The earth exists; whereas from a truth no falsehood will follow, for from the existence of the earth it does not follow that the earth flies aloft.

There are also certain insoluble arguments: the Veiled Men, the Concealed, Sorites, Horned Folk, the Nobodies. The Veiled is as follows: . . . It cannot be that if two is few, three is not so likewise, nor that if two or three are few, four is not so; and so on up to ten. But two is few, therefore so also is ten. . . . The Nobody argument is an argument whose major premiss consists of an indefinite and a definite clause, followed by a minor premiss and conclusion; for example, If anyone is here, he is not in Rhodes; but there is some one here, therefore there is not anyone in Rhodes. . . .

Such, then, is the logic of the Stoics, by which they seek to establish their point that the wise man is the true dialectician. For all things, they say, are discerned by means of logical study, including whatever falls within the province of Physics, and again whatever belongs to that of Ethics. For else, say they, as regards statement and reasoning Physics and Ethics could not tell how to express themselves, or again concerning the proper use of terms, how the laws have defined various actions. Moreover, of the two kinds of common-sense inquiry included under Virtue one considers the nature of each particular thing, the other asks what it is called. Thus much for their logic.

The ethical branch of philosophy they divide as follows: (1) the topic of impulse; (2) the topic of things good and evil; (3) that of the passions; (4) that of virtue; (5) that of the end; (6) that of primary value and of actions; (7) that of duties or the befitting; and (8) of inducements to act or refrain from acting. The foregoing is the subdivision adopted by Chrysippus, Archedemus, Zeno of Tarsus, Apollodorus, Diogenes, Antipater, and Posidonius, and their disciples. Zeno of Citium and Cleanthes treated the subject somewhat less elaborately, as might be expected in an older generation. They, however, did subdivide Logic and Physics as well as Ethics.

An animal’s first impulse, say the Stoics, is to selfpreservation, because nature from the outset endears it to itself, as Chrysippus affirms in the first book of his work On Ends: his words are, The dearest thing to every animal is its own constitution and its consciousness thereof; for it was not likely that nature should estrange the living thing from itself or that she should leave the creature she has made without either estrangement from or affection for its own constitution. We are forced then to conclude that nature in constituting the animal made it near and dear to itself; for so it comes to repel all that is injurious and give free access to all that is serviceable or akin to it.

As for the assertion made by some people that pleasure is the object to which the first impulse of animals is directed, it is shown by the Stoics to be false. For pleasure, if it is really felt, they declare to be a by-product, which never comes until nature by itself has sought and found the means suitable to the animal’s existence or constitution; it is an aftermath comparable to the

condition of animals thriving and plants in full bloom. And nature, they say, made no difference originally between plants and animals, for she regulates the life of plants too, in their case without impulse and sensation, just as also certain processes go on of a vegetative kind in us. But when in the case of animals impulse has been superadded, whereby they are enabled to go in quest of their proper aliment, for them, say the Stoics, Nature's rule is to follow the direction of impulse. But when reason by way of a more perfect leadership has been bestowed on the beings we call rational, for them life according to reason rightly becomes the natural life. For reason supervenes to shape impulse scientifically.

This is why Zeno was the first (in his treatise On the Nature of Man) to designate as the end life in agreement with nature (or living agreeably to nature), which is the same as a virtuous life, virtue being the goal towards which nature guides us. So too Cleanthes in his treatise On Pleasure, as also Posidonius, and Hecato in his work On Ends. Again, living virtuously is equivalent to living in accordance with experience of the actual course of nature, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his De finibus; for our individual natures are parts of the nature of the whole universe.

And this is why the end may be defined as life in accordance with nature, or, in other words, in accordance with our own human nature as well as that of the universe, a life in which we refrain from every action forbidden by the law common to all things, that is to say, the right reason which pervades all things, and is identical with this Zeus, lord and ruler of all that is. And this very thing constitutes the virtue of the happy man and the smooth current of life, when all actions promote the harmony of the spirit dwelling in the individual man with the will of him who orders the universe. Diogenes then expressly declares the end to be to act with good reason in the selection of what is natural. Archedemus says the end is to live in the performance of all befitting actions.

By the nature with which our life ought to be in accord, Chrysippus understands both universal nature and more particularly the nature of man, whereas Cleanthes takes the nature of the universe alone as that which should be followed, without adding the nature of the individual.

And virtue, he holds, is a harmonious disposition, choice-worthy for its own sake and not from hope or fear or any external motive. Moreover, it is in virtue that happiness consists; for virtue is the state of mind which tends to make the whole of life harmonious. When a rational being is perverted, this is due to the deceptiveness of external pursuits or sometimes to the influence of associates. For the starting-points of nature are never perverse.

Virtue, in the first place, is in one sense the perfection of anything in general, say of a statue; again, it may be non-intellectual, like health, or intellectual, like prudence. For Hecato says in his first book On the Virtues that some are scientific and based upon theory, namely, those which have a structure of theoretical principles, such as prudence and justice; others are non-intellectual, those that are regarded as co-extensive and parallel with the former, like health and strength. For health is found to attend upon and be co-extensive with the intellectual virtue of temperance, just as strength is a result of the building of an arch.

These are called non-intellectual, because they do not require the mind's assent; they supervene and they occur even in bad men: for instance, health, courage. The proof, says Posidonius in the first book of his treatise on Ethics, that virtue really exists is the fact that Socrates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes and their followers made moral progress. And for the existence of vice as a

fundamental fact the proof is that it is the opposite of virtue. That it, virtue, can be taught is laid down by Chrysippus in the first book of his work On the End, by Cleanthes, by Posidonius in his Protreptica, and by Hecato; that it can be taught is clear from the case of bad men becoming good.

Panaetius, however, divides virtue into two kinds, theoretical and practical; others make a threefold division of it into logical, physical, and ethical; while by the school of Posidonius four types are recognized, and more than four by Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Antipater, and their followers. Apollophanes for his part counts but one, namely, practical wisdom.

Amongst the virtues some are primary, some are subordinate to these. The following are the primary: wisdom, courage, justice, temperance. Particular virtues are magnanimity, continence, endurance, presence of mind, good counsel. And wisdom they define as the knowledge of things good and evil and of what is neither good nor evil; courage as knowledge of what we ought to choose, what we ought to beware of, and what is indifferent;

justice . . .; magnanimity as the knowledge or habit of mind which makes one superior to anything that happens, whether good or evil equally; continence as a disposition never overcome in that which concerns right reason, or a habit which no pleasures can get the better of; endurance as a knowledge or habit which suggests what we are to hold fast to, what not, and what is indifferent; presence of mind as a habit prompt to find out what is meet to be done at any moment; good counsel as knowledge by which we see what to do and how to do it if we would consult our own interests.

Similarly, of vices some are primary, others subordinate: e.g. folly, cowardice, injustice, profligacy are accounted primary; but incontinence, stupidity, ill-advisedness subordinate. Further, they hold that the vices are forms of ignorance of those things whereof the corresponding virtues are the knowledge.

Good in general is that from which some advantage comes, and more particularly what is either identical with or not distinct from benefit. Whence it follows that virtue itself and whatever partakes of virtue is called good in these three senses—viz. as being (1) the source from which benefit results; or (2) that in respect of which benefit results, e.g. the virtuous act; or (3) that by the agency of which benefit results, e.g. the good man who partakes in virtue.

Another particular definition of good which they give is the natural perfection of a rational being qua rational. To this answers virtue and, as being partakers in virtue, virtuous acts and good men; as also its supervening accessories, joy and gladness and the like.

So with evils: either they are vices, folly, cowardice, injustice, and the like; or things which partake of vice, including vicious acts and wicked persons as well as their accompaniments, despair, moroseness, and the like.

Again, some goods are goods of the mind and others external, while some are neither mental nor external. The former include the virtues and virtuous acts; external goods are such as having a good country or a good friend, and the prosperity of such. Whereas to be good and happy oneself is of the class of goods neither mental nor external.

Similarly of things evil some are mental evils, namely, vices and vicious actions; others are outward evils, as to have a foolish country or a foolish friend and the unhappiness of such; other evils again are neither mental nor outward, e.g. to be yourself bad and unhappy.

Again, goods are either of the nature of ends or they are the means to these ends, or they are at the same time end and means. A friend and the advantages derived from him are means to good, whereas confidence, high - spirit, liberty, delight, gladness, freedom from pain, and every virtuous act are of the nature of ends.

The virtues (they say) are goods of the nature at once of ends and of means. On the one hand, in so far as they cause happiness they are means, and on the other hand, in so far as they make it complete, and so are themselves part of it, they are ends. Similarly of evils some are of the nature of ends and some of means, while others are at once both means and ends. Your enemy and the harm he does you are means; consternation, abasement, slavery, gloom, despair, excess of grief, and every vicious action are of the nature of ends. Vices are evils both as ends and as means, since in so far as they cause misery they are means, but in so far as they make it complete, so that they become part of it, they are ends.

Of mental goods some are habits, others are dispositions, while others again are neither the one nor the other. The virtues are dispositions, while accomplishments or avocations are matters of habit, and activities as such or exercise of faculty neither the one nor the other. And in general there are some mixed goods: e.g. to be happy in one’s children or in one’s old age. But knowledge is a pure good. Again, some goods are permanent like the virtues, others transitory like joy and walking-exercise.

All good (they say) is expedient, binding, profitable, useful, serviceable, beautiful, beneficial, desirable, and just or right.

It is expedient, because it brings about things of such a kind that by their occurrence we are benefited. It is binding, because it causes unity where unity is needed; profitable, because it defrays what is expended on it, so that the return yields a balance of benefit on the transaction. It is useful, because it secures the use of benefit; it is serviceable, because the utility it affords is worthy of all praise. It is beautiful, because the good is proportionate to the use made of it; beneficial, because by its inherent nature it benefits; choiceworthy, because it is such that to choose it is reasonable. It is also just or right, inasmuch as it is in harmony with law and tends to draw men together.

The reason why they characterize the perfect good as beautiful is that it has in full all the factors required by nature or has perfect proportion. Of the beautiful there are (say they) four species, namely, what is just, courageous, orderly and wise; for it is under these forms that fair deeds are accomplished. Similarly there are four species of the base or ugly, namely, what is unjust, cowardly, disorderly, and unwise. By the beautiful is meant properly and in an unique sense that good which renders its possessors praiseworthy, or briefly, good which is worthy of praise; though in another sense it signifies a good aptitude for one’s proper function; while in yet another sense the beautiful is that which lends new grace to anything, as when we say of the wise man that he alone is good and beautiful.

And they say that only the morally beautiful is good. So Hecato in his treatise On Goods, book iii., and Chrysippus in his work On the Morally Beautiful. They hold, that is, that virtue and whatever partakes of virtue consists in this: which is equivalent to saying that all that is good is beautiful, or that the term good has equal force with the term beautiful, which comes to the same thing. Since a thing is good, it is beautiful; now it is beautiful, therefore it is good. They hold that all goods are equal and that all good is desirable in the highest degree and admits of

no lowering or heightening of intensity. Of things that are, some, they say, are good, some are evil, and some neither good nor evil (that is, morally indifferent).

Goods comprise the virtues of prudence, justice, courage, temperance, and the rest; while the opposites of these are evils, namely, folly, injustice, and the rest. Neutral (neither good nor evil, that is) are all those things which neither benefit nor harm a man: such as life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, fair fame and noble birth, and their opposites, death, disease, pain, ugliness, weakness, poverty, ignominy, low birth, and the like. This Hecato affirms in his De fine, book vii., and also Apollodorus in his Ethics. and Chrysippus. For, say they, such things (as life, health, and pleasure) are not in themselves goods, but are morally indifferent, though falling under the species or subdivision things preferred.

For as the property of hot is to warm, not to cool, so the property of good is to benefit, not to injure; but wealth and health do no more benefit than injury, therefore neither wealth nor health is good. Further, they say that that is not good of which both good and bad use can be made; but of wealth and health both good and bad use can be made; therefore wealth and health are not goods. On the other hand, Posidonius maintains that these things too are among goods. Hecato in the ninth book of his treatise On Goods, and Chrysippus in his work On Pleasure, deny that pleasure is a good either; for some pleasures are disgraceful, and nothing disgraceful is good.

To benefit is to set in motion or sustain in accordance with virtue; whereas to harm is to set in motion or sustain in accordance with vice.

The term indifferent has two meanings: in the first it denotes the things which do not contribute either to happiness or to misery, as wealth, fame, health, strength, and the like; for it is possible to be happy without having these, although, if they are used in a certain way, such use of them tends to happiness or misery. In quite another sense those things are said to be indifferent which are without the power of stirring inclination or aversion; e.g. the fact that the number of hairs on one’s head is odd or even or whether you hold out your finger straight or bent. But it was not in this sense that the things mentioned above were termed indifferent, they being quite capable of exciting inclination or aversion.

Hence of these latter some are taken by preference, others are rejected, whereas indifference in the other sense affords no ground for either choosing or avoiding.

Of things indifferent, as they express it, some are preferred, others rejected. Such as have value, they say, are preferred, while such as have negative, instead of positive, value are rejected. Value they define as, first, any contribution to harmonious living, such as attaches to every good; secondly, some faculty or use which indirectly contributes to the life according to nature: which is as much as to say any assistance brought by wealth or health towards living a natural life; thirdly, value is the full equivalent of an appraiser, as fixed by an expert acquainted with the facts—as when it is said that wheat exchanges for so much barley with a mule thrown in.

Thus things of the preferred class are those which have positive value, e.g. amongst mental qualities, natural ability, skill, moral improvement, and the like; among bodily qualities, life, health, strength, good condition, soundness of organs, beauty, and so forth; and in the sphere of external things, wealth, fame, noble birth, and the like. To the class of things rejected belong, of mental qualities, lack of ability, want of skill, and the like; among bodily qualities, death, disease, weakness, being out of condition, mutilation, ugliness, and the like; in the sphere of

external things, poverty, ignominy, low birth, and so forth. But again there are things belonging to neither class; such are not preferred, neither are they rejected.

Again, of things preferred some are preferred for their own sake, some for the sake of something else, and others again both for their own sake and for the sake of something else. To the first of these classes belong natural ability, moral improvement, and the like; to the second wealth, noble birth, and the like; to the last strength, perfect faculties, soundness of bodily organs. Things are preferred for their own sake because they accord with nature; not for their own sake, but for the sake of something else, because they secure not a few utilities. And similarly with the class of things rejected under the contrary heads.

Furthermore, the term Duty is applied to that for which, when done, a reasonable defence can be adduced, e.g. harmony in the tenor of life's process, which indeed pervades the growth of plants and animals. For even in plants and animals, they hold, you may discern fitness of behaviour.

Zeno was the first to use this term καθῆκον of conduct. Etymologically it is derived from κατά τινας ἥκειν, i.e. reaching as far as, being up to, or incumbent on so and so. And it is an action in itself adapted to nature's arrangements. For of the acts done at the prompting of impulse some, they observe, are fit and meet, others the reverse, while there is a third class which is neither the one nor the other.

Befitting acts are all those which reason prevails with us to do; and this is the case with honouring one's parents, brothers and country, and intercourse with friends.

Unbefitting, or contrary to duty, are all acts that reason deprecates, e.g. to neglect one's parents, to be indifferent to one's brothers, not to agree with friends, to disregard the interests of one's country, and so forth. Acts which fall under neither of the foregoing classes are those which reason neither urges us to do nor forbids, such as picking up a twig, holding a style or a scraper, and the like.

Again, some duties are incumbent unconditionally, others in certain circumstances. Unconditional duties are the following: to take proper care of health and one's organs of sense, and things of that sort. Duties imposed by circumstances are such as maiming oneself and sacrifice of property. And so likewise with acts which are violations of duty. Another division is into duties which are always incumbent and those which are not. To live in accordance with virtue is always a duty, whereas dialectic by question and answer or walking-exercise and the like are not at all times incumbent. The same may be said of the violations of duty.

And in things intermediate also there are duties; as that boys should obey the attendants who have charge of them.

According to the Stoics there is an eight-fold division of the soul: the five senses, the faculty of speech, the intellectual faculty, which is the mind itself, and the generative faculty, being all parts of the soul. Now from falsehood there results perversion, which extends to the mind; and from this perversion arise many passions or emotions, which are causes of instability. Passion, or emotion, is defined by Zeno as an irrational and unnatural movement in the soul, or again as impulse in excess.

The main, or most universal, emotions, according to Hecato in his treatise On the Passions, book ii., and Zeno in his treatise with the same title, constitute four great classes, grief, fear, desire or

craving, pleasure.

They hold the emotions to be judgements, as is stated by Chrysippus in his treatise On the Passions: avarice being a supposition that money is a good, while the case is similar with drunkenness and profligacy and all the other emotions.

And grief or pain they hold to be an irrational mental contraction. Its species are pity, envy, jealousy, rivalry, heaviness, annoyance, distress, anguish, distraction. Pity is grief felt at undeserved suffering; envy, grief at others' prosperity; jealousy, grief at the possession by another of that which one desires for oneself; rivalry, pain at the possession by another of what one has oneself.

Heaviness or vexation is grief which weighs us down, annoyance that which coops us up and straitens us for want of room, distress a pain brought on by anxious thought that lasts and increases, anguish painful grief, distraction irrational grief, rasping and hindering us from viewing the situation as a whole.

Fear is an expectation of evil. Under fear are ranged the following emotions: terror, nervous shrinking, shame, consternation, panic, mental agony. Terror is a fear which produces fright; shame is fear of disgrace; nervous shrinking is a fear that one will have to act; consternation is fear due to a presentation of some unusual occurrence;

panic is fear with pressure exercised by sound; mental agony is fear felt when some issue is still in suspense.

Desire or craving is irrational appetency, and under it are ranged the following states: want, hatred, contentiousness, anger, love, wrath, resentment. Want, then, is a craving when it is baulked and, as it were, cut off from its object, but kept at full stretch and attracted towards it in vain. Hatred is a growing and lasting desire or craving that it should go ill with somebody. Contentiousness is a craving or desire connected with partisanship; anger a craving or desire to punish one who is thought to have done you an undeserved injury. The passion of love is a craving from which good men are free; for it is an effort to win affection due to the visible presence of beauty.

Wrath is anger which has long rankled and has become malicious, waiting for its opportunity, as is illustrated by the lines:
Even though for the one day he swallow his anger, yet doth he still keep his displeasure thereafter in his heart, till he accomplish it.
Resentment is anger in an early stage.

Pleasure is an irrational elation at the accruing of what seems to be choiceworthy; and under it are ranged ravishment, malevolent joy, delight, transport. Ravishment is pleasure which charms the ear. Malevolent joy is pleasure at another's ills. Delight is the mind's propulsion to weakness, its name in Greek (τέρψις) being akin to τρέψις or turning. To be in transports of delight is the melting away of virtue.

And as there are said to be certain infirmities in the body, as for instance gout and arthritic disorders, so too there is in the soul love of fame, love of pleasure, and the like. By infirmity is meant disease accompanied by weakness; and by disease is meant a fond imagining of something that seems desirable. And as in the body there are tendencies to certain maladies such as colds and diarrhoea, so it is with the soul, there are tendencies like enviousness,

pitifulness, quarrelsomeness, and the like.

Also they say that there are three emotional states which are good, namely, joy, caution, and wishing. Joy, the counterpart of pleasure, is rational elation; caution, the counterpart of fear, rational avoidance; for though the wise man will never feel fear, he will yet use caution. And they make wishing the counterpart of desire (or craving), inasmuch as it is rational appetency. And accordingly, as under the primary passions are classed certain others subordinate to them, so too is it with the primary eupathies or good emotional states. Thus under wishing they bring well-wishing or benevolence, friendliness, respect, affection; under caution, reverence and modesty; under joy, delight, mirth, cheerfulness.

Now they say that the wise man is passionless, because he is not prone to fall into such infirmity. But they add that in another sense the term apathy is applied to the bad man, when, that is, it means that he is callous and relentless. Further, the wise man is said to be free from vanity; for he is indifferent to good or evil report. However, he is not alone in this, there being another who is also free from vanity, he who is ranged among the rash, and that is the bad man. Again, they tell us that all good men are austere or harsh, because they neither have dealings with pleasure themselves nor tolerate those who have. The term harsh is applied, however, to others as well, and in much the same sense as a wine is said to be harsh when it is employed medicinally and not for drinking at all.

Again, the good are genuinely in earnest and vigilant for their own improvement, using a manner of life which banishes evil out of sight and makes what good there is in things appear. At the same time they are free from pretence; for they have stripped off all pretence or make-up whether in voice or in look. Free too are they from all business cares, declining to do anything which conflicts with duty. They will take wine, but not get drunk. Nay more, they will not be liable to madness either; not but what there will at times occur to the good man strange impressions due to melancholy or delirium, ideas not determined by the principle of what is choiceworthy but contrary to nature. Nor indeed will the wise man ever feel grief; seeing that grief is irrational contraction of the soul, as Apollodorus says in his Ethics.

They are also, it is declared, godlike; for they have a something divine within them; whereas the bad man is godless. And yet of this word—godless or ungodly—there are two senses, one in which it is the opposite of the term godly, the other denoting the man who ignores the divine altogether: in this latter sense, as they note, the term does not apply to every bad man. The good, it is added, are also worshippers of God; for they have acquaintance with the rites of the gods, and piety is the knowledge of how to serve the gods. Further, they will sacrifice to the gods and they keep themselves pure; for they avoid all acts that are offences against the gods, and the gods think highly of them: for they are holy and just in what concerns the gods. The wise too are the only priests; for they have made sacrifices their study, as also the building of temples, purifications, and all the other matters appertaining to the gods.

The Stoics approve also of honouring parents and brothers in the second place next after the gods. They further maintain that parental affection for children is natural to the good, but not to the bad. It is one of their tenets that sins are all equal: so Chrysippus in the fourth book of his Ethical Questions, as well as Persaeus and Zeno. For if one truth is not more true than another, neither is one falsehood more false than another, and in the same way one deceit is not more so than another, nor sin than sin. For he who is a hundred furlongs from Canopus and he who is only one furlong away are equally not in Canopus, and so too he who commits the greater sin

and he who commits the less are equally not in the path of right conduct.

But Heraclides of Tarsus, who was the disciple of Antipater of Tarsus, and Athenodorus both assert that sins are not equal.

Again, the Stoics say that the wise man will take part in politics, if nothing hinders him—so, for instance, Chrysippus in the first book of his work On Various Types of Life—since thus he will restrain vice and promote virtue. Also (they maintain) he will marry, as Zeno says in his Republic, and beget children. Moreover, they say that the wise man will never form mere opinions, that is to say, he will never give assent to anything that is false; that he will also play the Cynic, Cynicism being a short cut to virtue, as Apollodorus calls it in his Ethics; that he will even turn cannibal under stress of circumstances. They declare that he alone is free and bad men are slaves, freedom being power of independent action, whereas slavery is privation of the same;

though indeed there is also a second form of slavery consisting in subordination, and a third which implies possession of the slave as well as his subordination; the correlative of such servitude being lordship; and this too is evil. Moreover, according to them not only are the wise free, they are also kings; kingship being irresponsible rule, which none but the wise can maintain: so Chrysippus in his treatise vindicating Zeno's use of terminology. For he holds that knowledge of good and evil is a necessary attribute of the ruler, and that no bad man is acquainted with this science. Similarly the wise and good alone are fit to be magistrates, judges, or orators, whereas among the bad there is not one so qualified. Furthermore, the wise are infallible, not being liable to error.

They are also without offence; for they do no hurt to others or to themselves. At the same time they are not pitiful and make no allowance for anyone; they never relax the penalties fixed by the laws, since indulgence and pity and even equitable consideration are marks of a weak mind, which affects kindness in place of chastizing. Nor do they deem punishments too severe. Again, they say that the wise man never wonders at any of the things which appear extraordinary, such as Charon's mephitic caverns, ebbings of the tide, hot springs or fiery eruptions. Nor yet, they go on to say, will the wise man live in solitude; for he is naturally made for society and action. He will, however, submit to training to augment his powers of bodily endurance.

And the wise man, they say, will offer prayers, and ask for good things from the gods: so Posidonius in the first book of his treatise On Duties, and Hecato in his third book On Paradoxes. Friendship, they declare, exists only between the wise and good, by reason of their likeness to one another. And by friendship they mean a common use of all that has to do with life, wherein we treat our friends as we should ourselves. They argue that a friend is worth having for his own sake and that it is a good thing to have many friends. But among the bad there is, they hold, no such thing as friendship, and thus no bad man has a friend. Another of their tenets is that the unwise are all mad, inasmuch as they are not wise but do what they do from that madness which is the equivalent of their folly.

Furthermore, the wise man does all things well, just as we say that Ismenias plays all airs on the flute well. Also everything belongs to the wise. For the law, they say, has conferred upon them a perfect right to all things. It is true that certain things are said to belong to the bad, just as what has been dishonestly acquired may be said, in one sense, to belong to the state, in another sense to those who are enjoying it.

They hold that the virtues involve one another, and that the possessor of one is the possessor of

all, inasmuch as they have common principles, as Chrysippus says in the first book of his work On Virtues, Apollodorus in his Physics according to the Early School, and Hecato in the third book of his treatise On Virtues.

For if a man be possessed of virtue, he is at once able to discover and to put into practice what he ought to do. Now such rules of conduct comprise rules for choosing, enduring, staying, and distributing; so that if a man does some things by intelligent choice, some things with fortitude, some things by way of just distribution, and some steadily, he is at once wise, courageous, just, and temperate. And each of the virtues has a particular subject with which it deals, as, for instance, courage is concerned with things that must be endured, practical wisdom with acts to be done, acts from which one must abstain, and those which fall under neither head. Similarly each of the other virtues is concerned with its own proper sphere. To wisdom are subordinate good counsel and understanding; to temperance, good discipline and orderliness; to justice, equality and fair-mindedness; to courage, constancy and vigour.

It is a tenet of theirs that between virtue and vice there is nothing intermediate, whereas according to the Peripatetics there is, namely, the state of moral improvement. For, say the Stoics, just as a stick must be either straight or crooked, so a man must be either just or unjust. Nor again are there degrees of justice and injustice; and the same rule applies to the other virtues. Further, while Chrysippus holds that virtue can be lost, Cleanthes maintains that it cannot. According to the former it may be lost in consequence of drunkenness or melancholy;

the latter takes it to be inalienable owing to the certainty of our mental apprehension. And virtue in itself they hold to be worthy of choice for its own sake. At all events we are ashamed of bad conduct as if we knew that nothing is really good but the morally beautiful. Moreover, they hold that it is in itself sufficient to ensure well-being: thus Zeno, and Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise On Virtues, and Hecato in the second book of his treatise On Goods:

For if magnanimity by itself alone can raise us far above everything, and if magnanimity is but a part of virtue, then too virtue as a whole will be sufficient in itself for well-being —despising all things that seem troublesome. Panaetius, however, and Posidonius deny that virtue is self-sufficing: on the contrary, health is necessary, and some means of living and strength.

Another tenet of theirs is the perpetual exercise of virtue, as held by Cleanthes and his followers. For virtue can never be lost, and the good man is always exercising his mind, which is perfect. Again, they say that justice, as well as law and right reason, exists by nature and not by convention: so Chrysippus in his work On the Morally Beautiful.

Neither do they think that the divergence of opinion between philosophers is any reason for abandoning the study of philosophy, since at that rate we should have to give up life altogether: so Posidonius in his Exhortations. Chrysippus allows that the ordinary Greek education is serviceable.

It is their doctrine that there can be no question of right as between man and the lower animals, because of their unlikeness. Thus Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise On Justice, and Posidonius in the first book of his De officio. Further, they say that the wise man will feel affection for the youths who by their countenance show a natural endowment for virtue. So Zeno in his Republic, Chrysippus in book i. of his work On Modes of Life, and Apollodorus in his Ethics.

Their definition of love is an effort toward friendliness due to visible beauty appearing, its sole

end being friendship, not bodily enjoyment. At all events, they allege that Thrasonides, although he had his mistress in his power, abstained from her because she hated him. By which it is shown, they think, that love depends upon regard, as Chrysippus says in his treatise Of Love, and is not sent by the gods. And beauty they describe as the bloom or flower of virtue.

Of the three kinds of life, the contemplative, the practical, and the rational, they declare that we ought to choose the last, for that a rational being is expressly produced by nature for contemplation and for action. They tell us that the wise man will for reasonable cause make his own exit from life, on his country's behalf or for the sake of his friends, or if he suffer intolerable pain, mutilation, or incurable disease.

It is also their doctrine that amongst the wise there should be a community of wives with free choice of partners, as Zeno says in his Republic and Chrysippus in his treatise On Government [and not only they, but also Diogenes the Cynic and Plato]. Under such circumstances we shall feel paternal affection for all the children alike, and there will be an end of the jealousies arising from adultery. The best form of government they hold to be a mixture of democracy, kingship, and aristocracy (or the rule of the best).

Such, then, are the statements they make in their ethical doctrines, with much more besides, together with their proper proofs: let this, however, suffice for a statement of them in a summary and elementary form.

Their physical doctrine they divide into sections (1) about bodies; (2) about principles; (3) about elements; (4) about the gods; (5) about bounding surfaces and space whether filled or empty. This is a division into species; but the generic division is into three parts, dealing with (i.) the universe; (ii.) the elements; (iii.) the subject of causation.

The part dealing with the universe admits, they say, of division into two: for with one aspect of it the mathematicians also are concerned, in so far as they treat questions relating to the fixed stars and the planets, e.g. whether the sun is or is not just so large as it appears to be, and the same about the moon, the question of their revolutions, and other inquiries of the same sort. But there is another aspect or field of cosmological inquiry, which belongs to the physicists alone:

this includes such questions as what the substance of the universe is, whether the sun and the stars are made up of form and matter, whether the world has had a beginning in time or not, whether it is animate or inanimate, whether it is destructible or indestructible, whether it is governed by providence, and all the rest. The part concerned with causation, again, is itself subdivided into two. And in one of its aspects medical inquiries have a share in it, in so far as it involves investigation of the ruling principle of the soul and the phenomena of soul, seeds, and the like. Whereas the other part is claimed by the mathematicians also, e.g. how vision is to be explained, what causes the image on the mirror, what is the origin of clouds, thunder, rainbows, halos, comets, and the like.

They hold that there are two principles in the universe, the active principle and the passive. The passive principle, then, is a substance without quality, i.e. matter, whereas the active is the reason inherent in this substance, that is God. For he is everlasting and is the artificer of each several thing throughout the whole extent of matter. This doctrine is laid down by Zeno of Citium in his treatise On Existence, Cleanthes in his work On Atoms, Chrysippus in the first book of his Physics towards the end, Archedemus in his treatise On Elements, and Posidonius in the

second book of his Physical Exposition. There is a difference, according to them, between principles and elements; the former being without generation or destruction, whereas the elements are destroyed when all things are resolved into fire. Moreover, the principles are incorporeal and destitute of form, while the elements have been endowed with form.

Body is defined by Apollodorus in his Physics as that which is extended in three dimensions, length, breadth, and depth. This is also called solid body. But surface is the extremity of a solid body, or that which has length and breadth only without depth. That surface exists not only in our thought but also in reality is maintained by Posidonius in the third book of his Celestial Phenomena. A line is the extremity of a surface or length without breadth, or that which has length alone. A point is the extremity of a line, the smallest possible mark or dot.

God is one and the same with Reason, Fate, and Zeus; he is also called by many other names.

In the beginning he was by himself; he transformed the whole of substance through air into water, and just as in animal generation the seed has a moist vehicle, so in cosmic moisture God, who is the seminal reason of the universe, remains behind in the moisture as such an agent, adapting matter to himself with a view to the next stage of creation. Thereupon he created first of all the four elements, fire, water, air, earth. They are discussed by Zeno in his treatise On the Whole, by Chrysippus in the first book of his Physics, and by Archedemus in a work On Elements. An element is defined as that from which particular things first come to be at their birth and into which they are finally resolved.

The four elements together constitute unqualified substance or matter. Fire is the hot element, water the moist, air the cold, earth the dry. Not but what the quality of dryness is also found in the air. Fire has the uppermost place; it is also called aether, and in it the sphere of the fixed stars is first created; then comes the sphere of the planets, next to that the air, then the water, and lowest of all the earth, which is at the centre of all things.

The term universe or cosmos is used by them in three senses: (1) of God himself, the individual being whose quality is derived from the whole of substance; he is indestructible and ingenerable, being the artificer of this orderly arrangement, who at stated periods of time absorbs into himself the whole of substance and again creates it from himself.

(2) Again, they give the name of cosmos to the orderly arrangement of the heavenly bodies in itself as such; and (3) in the third place to that whole of which these two are parts. Again, the cosmos is defined as the individual being qualifying the whole of substance, or, in the words of Posidonius in his elementary treatise on Celestial Phenomena, a system made up of heaven and earth and the natures in them, or, again, as a system constituted by gods and men and all things created for their sake. By heaven is meant the extreme circumference or ring in which the deity has his seat.

The world, in their view, is ordered by reason and providence: so says Chrysippus in the fifth book of his treatise On Providence and Posidonius in his work On the Gods, book iii.—inasmuch as reason pervades every part of it, just as does the soul in us. Only there is a difference of degree; in some parts there is more of it, in others less.

For through some parts it passes as a hold or containing force, as is the case with our bones and sinews; while through others it passes as intelligence, as in the ruling part of the soul. Thus, then, the whole world is a living being, endowed with soul and reason, and having aether for its ruling principle: so says Antipater of Tyre in the eighth book of his treatise On the Cosmos.

Chrysippus in the first book of his work On Providence and Posidonius in his book On the Gods say that the heaven, but Cleanthes that the sun, is the ruling power of the world. Chrysippus, however, in the course of the same work gives a somewhat different account, namely, that it is the purer part of the aether; the same which they declare to be preeminently God and always to have, as it were in sensible fashion, pervaded all that is in the air, all animals and plants, and also the earth itself, as a principle of cohesion.

The world, they say, is one and finite, having a spherical shape, such a shape being the most suitable for motion, as Posidonius says in the fifth book of his Physical Discourse and the disciples of Antipater in their works on the Cosmos. Outside of the world is diffused the infinite void, which is incorporeal. By incorporeal is meant that which, though capable of being occupied by body, is not so occupied. The world has no empty space within it, but forms one united whole. This is a necessary result of the sympathy and tension which binds together things in heaven and earth. Chrysippus discusses the void in his work On Void and in the first book of his Physical Sciences; so too Apollophanes in his Physics, Apollodorus, and Posidonius in his Physical Discourse, book ii. But these, it is added [i.e. sympathy and tension], are likewise bodies.

Time too is incorporeal, being the measure of the world's motion. And time past and time future are infinite, but time present is finite. They hold that the world must come to an end, inasmuch as it had a beginning, on the analogy of those things which are understood by the senses. And that of which the parts are perishable is perishable as a whole. Now the parts of the world are perishable, seeing that they are transformed one into the other. Therefore the world itself is doomed to perish. Moreover, anything is destructible if it admits of deterioration; therefore the world is so, for it is first evaporated and again dissolved into water.

The world, they hold, comes into being when its substance has first been converted from fire through air into moisture and then the coarser part of the moisture has condensed as earth, while that whose particles are fine has been turned into air, and this process of rarefaction goes on increasing till it generates fire. Thereupon out of these elements animals and plants and all other natural kinds are formed by their mixture. The generation and the destruction of the world are discussed by Zeno in his treatise On the Whole, by Chrysippus in the first book of his Physics, by Posidonius in the first book of his work On the Cosmos, by Cleanthes, and by Antipater in his tenth book On the Cosmos. Panaetius, however, maintained that the world is indestructible.

The doctrine that the world is a living being, rational, animate and intelligent, is laid down by Chrysippus in the first book of his treatise On Providence, by Apollodorus in his Physics, and by Posidonius.

It is a living thing in the sense of an animate substance endowed with sensation; for animal is better than non-animal, and nothing is better than the world, ergo the world is a living being. And it is endowed with soul, as is clear from our several souls being each a fragment of it. Boëthus, however, denies that the world is a living thing. The unity of the world is maintained by Zeno in his treatise On the Whole, by Chrysippus, by Apollodorus in his Physics, and by Posidonius in the first book of his Physical Discourse. By the totality of things, the All, is meant, according to Apollodorus, (1) the world, and in another sense (2) the system composed of the world and the void outside it. The world then is finite, the void infinite.

Of the stars some are fixed, and are carried round with the whole heaven; others, the wandering

stars or planets, have their special motions. The sun travels in an oblique path through the zodiac. Similarly the moon travels in a spiral path. The sun is pure fire: so Posidonius in the seventh book of his Celestial Phenomena. And it is larger than the earth, as the same author says in the sixth book of his Physical Discourse. Moreover it is spherical in shape like the world itself according to this same author and his school. That it is fire is proved by its producing all the effects of fire; that it is larger than the earth by the fact that all the earth is illuminated by it; nay more, the heaven beside. The fact too that the earth casts a conical shadow proves that the sun is greater than it. And it is because of its great size that it is seen from every part of the earth.

The moon, however, is of a more earthy composition, since it is nearer to the earth. These fiery bodies and the stars generally derive their nutriment, the sun from the wide ocean, being a fiery kindling, though intelligent; the moon from fresh waters, with an admixture of air, close to the earth as it is: thus Posidonius in the sixth book of his Physics; the other heavenly bodies being nourished from the earth. They hold that the stars are spherical in shape and that the earth too is so and is at rest; and that the moon does not shine by her own light, but by the borrowed light of the sun when he shines upon her.

An eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon passes in front of it on the side towards us, as shown by Zeno with a diagram in his treatise On the Whole.

For the moon is seen approaching at conjunctions and occulting it and then again receding from it. This can best be observed when they are mirrored in a basin of water. The moon is eclipsed when she falls into the earth's shadow: for which reason it is only at the full moon that an eclipse happens [and not always then], although she is in opposition to the sun every month; because the moon moves in an oblique orbit, diverging in latitude relatively to the orbit of the sun, and she accordingly goes farther to the north or to the south. When, however, the moon's motion in latitude has brought her into the sun's path through the zodiac, and she thus comes diametrically opposite to the sun, there is an eclipse. Now the moon is in latitude right on the zodiac, when she is in the constellations of Cancer, Scorpio, Aries and Taurus: so Posidonius and his followers tell us.

The deity, say they, is a living being, immortal, rational, perfect or intelligent in happiness, admitting nothing evil [into him], taking providential care of the world and all that therein is, but he is not of human shape. He is, however, the artificer of the universe and, as it were, the father of all, both in general and in that particular part of him which is all-pervading, and which is called many names according to its various powers. They give the name Dia (Δία) because all things are due to (διά) him; Zeus (Ζῆνα) in so far as he is the cause of life (ζῆν) or pervades all life; the name Athena is given, because the ruling part of the divinity extends to the aether; the name Hera marks its extension to the air; he is called Hephaestus since it spreads to the creative fire; Poseidon, since it stretches to the sea; Demeter, since it reaches to the earth. Similarly men have given the deity his other titles, fastening, as best they can, on some one or other of his peculiar attributes.

The substance of God is declared by Zeno to be the whole world and the heaven, as well as by Chrysippus in his first book Of the Gods, and by Posidonius in his first book with the same title. Again, Antipater in the seventh book of his work On the Cosmos says that the substance of God is akin to air, while Boëthus in his work On Nature speaks of the sphere of the fixed stars as the substance of God. Now the term Nature is used by them to mean sometimes that which holds

the world together, sometimes that which causes terrestrial things to spring up. Nature is defined as a force moving of itself, producing and preserving in being its offspring in accordance with seminal principles within definite periods, and effecting results homogeneous with their sources.

Nature, they hold, aims both at utility and at pleasure, as is clear from the analogy of human craftsmanship. That all things happen by fate or destiny is maintained by Chrysippus in his treatise De fato, by Posidonius in his De fato, book ii., by Zeno and by Boëthus in his De fato, book i. Fate is defined as an endless chain of causation, whereby things are, or as the reason or formula by which the world goes on. What is more, they say that divination in all its forms is a real and substantial fact, if there is really Providence. And they prove it to be actually a science on the evidence of certain results: so Zeno, Chrysippus in the second book of his De divinatione, Athenodorus, and Posidonius in the second book of his Physical Discourse and the fifth book of his De divinatione. But Panaetius denies that divination has any real existence.

The primary matter they make the substratum of all things: so Chrysippus in the first book of his Physics, and Zeno. By matter is meant that out of which anything whatsoever is produced. Both substance and matter are terms used in a twofold sense according as they signify (1) universal or (2) particular substance or matter. The former neither increases nor diminishes, while the matter of particular things both increases and diminishes. Body according to them is substance which is finite: so Antipater in his second book On Substance, and Apollodorus in his Physics. Matter can also be acted upon, as the same author says, for if it were immutable, the things which are produced would never have been produced out of it. Hence the further doctrine that matter is divisible ad infinitum. Chrysippus says that the division is not ad infinitum, but itself infinite; for there is nothing infinitely small to which the division can extend. But nevertheless the division goes on without ceasing.

Hence, again, their explanation of the mixture of two substances is, according to Chrysippus in the third book of his Physics, that they permeate each other through and through, and that the particles of the one do not merely surround those of the other or lie beside them. Thus, if a little drop of wine be thrown into the sea, it will be equally diffused over the whole sea for a while and then will be blended with it.

Also they hold that there are daemons (δαίμονες) who are in sympathy with mankind and watch over human affairs. They believe too in heroes, that is, the souls of the righteous that have survived their bodies.

Of the changes which go on in the air, they describe winter as the cooling of the air above the earth due to the sun’s departure to a distance from the earth;

spring as the right temperature of the air consequent upon his approach to us; summer as the heating of the air above the earth when he travels to the north; while autumn they attribute to the receding of the sun from us. As for the winds, they are streams of air, differently named according to the localities from which they blow. And the cause of their production is the sun through the evaporation of the clouds. The rainbow is explained as the reflection of the sun’s rays from watery clouds or, as Posidonius says in his Meteorology, an image of a segment of the sun or moon in a cloud suffused with dew, which is hollow and visible without intermission, the image showing itself as if in a mirror in the form of a circular arch. Comets, bearded stars, and meteors are fires which arise when dense air is carried up to the region of aether.

A shooting star is the sudden kindling of a mass of fire in rapid motion through the air, which leaves a trail behind it presenting an appearance of length. Rain is the transformation of cloud into water, when moisture drawn up by the sun from land or sea has been only partially evaporated. If this is cooled down, it is called hoar-frost. Hail is frozen cloud, crumbled by a wind; while snow is moist matter from a cloud which has congealed: so Posidonius in the eighth book of his Physical Discourse. Lightning is a kindling of clouds from being rubbed together or being rent by wind, as Zeno says in his treatise On the Whole; thunder the noise these clouds make when they rub against each other or burst.

Thunderbolt is the term used when the fire is violently kindled and hurled to the ground with great force as the clouds grind against each other or are torn by the wind. Others say that it is a compression of fiery air descending with great force. A typhoon is a great and violent thunderstorm whirlwind-like, or a whirlwind of smoke from a cloud that has burst. A prester is a cloud rent all round by the force of fire and wind. Earthquakes, say they, happen when the wind finds its way into, or is imprisoned in, the hollow parts of the earth: so Posidonius in his eighth book; and some of them are tremblings, others openings of the earth, others again lateral displacements, and yet others vertical displacements.

They maintain that the parts of the world are arranged thus. The earth is in the middle answering to a centre; next comes the water, which is shaped like a sphere all round it, concentric with the earth, so that the earth is in water. After the water comes a spherical layer of air. There are five celestial circles: first, the arctic circle, which is always visible; second, the summer tropic; third, the circle of the equinox; fourth, the winter tropic; and fifth, the antarctic, which is invisible to us. They are called parallel, because they do not incline towards one another; yet they are described round the same centre. The zodiac is an oblique circle, as it crosses the parallel circles.

And there are five terrestrial zones: first, the northern zone which is beyond the arctic circle, uninhabitable because of the cold; second, a temperate zone; a third, uninhabitable because of great heats, called the torrid zone; fourth, a counter-temperate zone; fifth, the southern zone, uninhabitable because of its cold.

Nature in their view is an artistically working fire, going on its way to create; which is equivalent to a fiery, creative, or fashioning breath. And the soul is a nature capable of perception. And they regard it as the breath of life, congenital with us; from which they infer first that it is a body and secondly that it survives death. Yet it is perishable, though the soul of the universe, of which the individual souls of animals are parts, is indestructible.

Zeno of Citium and Antipater, in their treatises De anima, and Posidonius define the soul as a warm breath; for by this we become animate and this enables us to move. Cleanthes indeed holds that all souls continue to exist until the general conflagration; but Chrysippus says that only the souls of the wise do so.

They count eight parts of the soul: the five senses, the generative power in us, our power of speech, and that of reasoning. They hold that we see when the light between the visual organ and the object stretches in the form of a cone: so Chrysippus in the second book of his Physics and Apollodorus. The apex of the cone in the air is at the eye, the base at the object seen. Thus the thing seen is reported to us by the medium of the air stretching out towards it, as if by a stick.

We hear when the air between the sonant body and the organ of hearing suffers concussion, a vibration which spreads spherically and then forms waves and strikes upon the ears, just as the water in a reservoir forms wavy circles when a stone is thrown into it. Sleep is caused, they say, by the slackening of the tension in our senses, which affects the ruling part of the soul. They consider that the passions are caused by the variations of the vital breath.

Semen is by them defined as that which is capable of generating offspring like the parent. And the human semen which is emitted by a human parent in a moist vehicle is mingled with parts of the soul, blended in the same ratio in which they are present in the parent.

Chrysippus in the second book of his Physics declares it to be in substance identical with vital breath or spirit. This, he thinks, can be seen from the seeds cast into the earth, which, if kept till they are old, do not germinate, plainly because their fertility has evaporated. Sphaerus and his followers also maintain that semen derives its origin from the whole of the body; at all events every part of the body can be reproduced from it. That of the female is according to them sterile, being, as Sphaerus says, without tension, scanty, and watery. By ruling part of the soul is meant that which is most truly soul proper, in which arise presentations and impulses and from which issues rational speech. And it has its seat in the heart.

Such is the summary of their Physics which I have deemed adequate, my aim being to preserve a due proportion in my work. But the points on which certain of the Stoics differed from the rest are the following.

Chapter 2. ARISTON (c. 320-250 b.c.)

Ariston the Bald, of Chios, who was also called the Siren, declared the end of action to be a life of perfect indifference to everything which is neither virtue nor vice; recognizing no distinction whatever in things indifferent, but treating them all alike. The wise man he compared to a good actor, who, if called upon to take the part of a Thersites or of an Agamemnon, will impersonate them both becomingly. He wished to discard both Logic and Physics, saying that Physics was beyond our reach and Logic did not concern us: all that did concern us was Ethics.

Dialectical reasonings, he said, are like spiders' webs, which, though they seem to display some artistic workmanship, are yet of no use. He would not admit a plurality of virtues with Zeno, nor again with the Megarians one single virtue called by many names; but he treated virtue in accordance with the category of relative modes. Teaching this sort of philosophy, and lecturing in the Cynosarges, he acquired such influence as to be called the founder of a sect. At any rate Miltiades and Diphilus were denominated Aristoneans. He was a plausible speaker and suited the taste of the general public. Hence Timon's verse about him:
One who from wily Ariston's line boasts his descent.

After meeting Polemo, says Diocles of Magnesia, while Zeno was suffering from a protracted illness, he recanted his views. The Stoic doctrine to which he attached most importance was the wise man's refusal to hold mere opinions. And against this doctrine Persaeus was contending when he induced one of a pair of twins to deposit a certain sum with Ariston and afterwards got the other to reclaim it. Ariston being thus reduced to perplexity was refuted. He was at variance with Arcesilaus; and one day when he saw an abortion in the shape of a bull with a uterus, he said, Alas, here Arcesilaus has had given into his hand an argument against the evidence of the senses.

When some Academic alleged that he had no certainty of anything, Ariston said, Do you not even see your neighbour sitting by you? and when the other answered No, he rejoined,
Who can have blinded you? who robbed you of luminous eyesight?

The books attributed to him are as follows:

Exhortations, two books.

Of Zeno’s Doctrines.

Dialogues.

Lectures, six books.

Dissertations on Philosophy, seven books.

Dissertations on Love.

Commonplaces on Vainglory.

Notebooks, twenty-five volumes.

Memorabilia, three books.

Anecdotes, eleven books.

Against the Rhetoricians.

An Answer to the Counter-pleas of Alexinus.

Against the Dialecticians, three books.

Letters to Cleanthes, four books.

Panaetius and Sosicrates consider the Letters to be alone genuine; all the other works named they attribute to Ariston the Peripatetic.

The story goes that being bald he had a sunstroke and so came to his end. I have composed a trifling poem upon him in limping iambics as follows:
Wherefore, Ariston, when old and bald did you let the sun roast your forehead? Thus seeking warmth more than was reasonable, you lit unwillingly upon the chill reality of Death.

There was also another Ariston, a native of Iulis; a third, a musician of Athens; a fourth, a tragic poet; a fifth, of Halae, author of treatises on rhetoric; a sixth, a Peripatetic philosopher of Alexandria.

Chapter 3. HERILLUS (flor. c. 260 b.c.)

Herillus of Carthage declared the end of action to be Knowledge, that is, so to live always as to make the scientific life the standard in all things and not to be misled by ignorance. Knowledge he defined as a habit of mind, not to be upset by argument, in the acceptance of presentations. Sometimes he used to say there was no single end of action, but it shifted according to varying circumstances and objects, as the same bronze might become a statue either of Alexander or of Socrates. He made a distinction between end-in-chief and subordinate end: even the unwise may aim at the latter, but only the wise seek the true end of life. Everything that lies between virtue and vice he pronounced indifferent. His writings, though they do not occupy much space, are full of vigour and contain some controversial passages in reply to Zeno.

He is said to have had many admirers when a boy; and as Zeno wished to drive them away, he compelled Herillus to have his head shaved, which disgusted them.

His books are the following:

Of Training.

Of the Passions.

Concerning Opinion or Belief.

The Legislator.

The Obstetrician.

The Challenger.

The Teacher.

The Reviser.

The Controller.

Hermes.

Medea.

Dialogues.

Ethical Themes.

Chapter 4. DIONYSIUS (c. 330-250 b.c.)

Dionysius, the Renegade, declared that pleasure was the end of action; this under the trying circumstance of an attack of ophthalmia. For so violent was his suffering that he could not bring himself to call pain a thing indifferent.

He was the son of Theophantus and a native of Heraclea. At first, as Diocles relates, he was a pupil of his fellow-townsman, Heraclides, next of Alexinus and Menedemus, and lastly of Zeno.

At the outset of his career he was fond of literature and tried his hand at all kinds of poetry; afterwards he took Aratus for his model, whom he strove to imitate. When he fell away from Zeno, he went over to the Cyrenaics, and used to frequent houses of ill fame and indulge in all other excesses without disguise. After living till he was nearly eighty years of age, he committed suicide by starving himself.

The following works are attributed to him:

Of Apathy, two books

On Training, two books.

Of Pleasure, four books.

Of Wealth, Popularity and Revenge

How to live amongst Men.

Of Prosperity.

Of Ancient Kings.

Of those who are Praised.

Of the Customs of Barbarians.

These three, then, are the heterodox Stoics. The legitimate successor to Zeno, however, was Cleanthes: of whom we have now to speak.

Chapter 5. CLEANTHES (331-232 b.c.)

Cleanthes, son of Phanias, was a native of Assos. This man, says Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers, was at first a pugilist. He arrived in Athens, as some people say, with four drachmas only, and meeting with Zeno he studied philosophy right nobly and adhered to the same doctrines throughout. He was renowned for his industry, being indeed driven by extreme poverty to work for a living. Thus, while by night he used to draw water in gardens, by day he exercised himself in arguments: hence the nickname Phreantles or Welllifter was given him. He is said to have been brought into court to answer the inquiry how so sturdy a fellow as he made his living,

moved

and then to have been acquitted on producing as his witnesses the gardener in whose garden he drew water and the woman who sold the meal which he used to crush. The Areopagites were satisfied and voted him a donation of ten minas, which Zeno forbade him to accept. We are also told that Antigonus made him a present of three thousand drachmas. Once, as he was conducting some youths to a public spectacle, the wind blew his cloak aside and disclosed the fact that he wore no shirt, whereupon he was applauded by the Athenians, as is stated by Demetrius of Magnesia in his work on Men of the Same Name. This then also increased the admiration felt for him. There is another story that Antigonus when attending his lectures inquired of him why he drew water and received the reply, Is drawing water all I do? What? Do I not dig? What? Do I not water the garden? or undertake any other labour for the love of philosophy? For Zeno used to discipline him to this and bid him return him an obol from his wages.

And one day he produced a handful of small coin before his acquaintance and said, Cleanthes could even maintain a second Cleanthes, if he liked, whereas those who possess the means to keep themselves yet seek to live at the expense of others, and that too though they have plenty of time to spare from their studies. Hence Cleanthes was called a second Heracles. He had industry, but no natural aptitude for physics, and was extraordinarily slow. On which account Timon describes him thus:
Who is this that like a bell-wether ranges over the ranks of men, a dullard, lover of verse, hailing from Assos, a mass of rock, unventuresome.

And he used to put up with gibes from his fellowpupils and did not mind being called the ass, telling them that he alone was strong enough to carry the load of Zeno.

Once when he was reproached with cowardice, he replied, That is why I so seldom go wrong. Again, when extolling his own manner of life above that of the wealthy, he used to say that, while they were playing at ball, he was at work digging hard and barren ground. He would often find fault with himself too, and one day when Ariston heard him doing this and asked, Who is it you are scolding so? he, laughing, said, An old man with grey hairs and no wits. To some one who declared that Arcesilaus did not do what he ought, his reply was, No more of this; do not

censure him. For if by his words he does away with duty, he maintains it at all events by his deeds. And Arcesilaus rejoined, I am not to be won by flattery. Whereupon Cleanthes said, True, but my flattery consists in alleging that your theory is incompatible with your practice.

When some one inquired of him what lesson he ought to give his son, Cleanthes in reply quoted words from the Electra:
Silence, silence, light be thy step.
A Lacedaemonian having declared that toil was a good thing, he was overjoyed and said,
Thou art of gentle blood, dear child.
Dicit autem Hecato in Sententiis eum, cum adulescens quidam formosus dixisset, Si pulsans ventrem ventrizat, pulsans coxas coxizat, dixisse, Tibi habeas, adulescens, coxizationes: nempe vocabula quae conveniunt analogia non semper etiam significatione conveniunt. Once in conversation with a youth he put the question, Do you see? and when the youth nodded assent, he went on, Why, then, don't I see that you see?

He was present in the theatre when the poet Sositheus uttered the verse—
Driven by Cleanthes' folly like dumb herds,
and he remained unmoved in the same attitude. At which the audience were so astonished that they applauded him and drove Sositheus off the stage. Afterwards when the poet apologized for the insult, he accepted the apology, saying that, when Dionysus and Heracles were ridiculed by the poets without getting angry, it would be absurd for him to be annoyed at casual abuse. He used to say that the Peripatetics were in the same case as lyres which, although they give forth sweet sounds, never hear themselves. It is said that when he laid it down as Zeno's opinion that a man's character could be known from his looks, certain witty young men brought before him a rake with hands horny from toil in the country and requested him to state what the man's character was. Cleanthes was perplexed and ordered the man to go away; but when, as he was making off, he sneezed, I have it, cried Cleanthes, he is effeminate.

To the solitary man who talked to himself he remarked, You are not talking to a bad man. When some one twitted him on his old age, his reply was, I too am ready to depart; but when again I consider that I am in all points in good health and that I can still write and read, I am content to wait. We are told that he wrote down Zeno's lectures on oyster-shells and the blade-bones of oxen through lack of money to buy paper. Such was he; and yet, although Zeno had many other eminent disciples, he was able to succeed him in the headship of the school.

He has left some very fine writings, which are as follows:

Of Time.

Of Zeno's Natural Philosophy, two books.

Interpretations of Heraclitus, four books.

De Sensu.

Of Art.

A Reply to Democritus.

A Reply to Aristarchus.

A Reply to Herillus.

Of Impulse, two books.

Antiquities.

Of the Gods.

Of Giants.

Of Marriage.

On Homer.

Of Duty, three books.

Of Good Counsel.

Of Gratitude.

An Exhortation.

Of the Virtues.

Of Natural Ability.

Of Gorgippus.

Of Envy.

Of Love.

Of Freedom.

The Art of Love.

Of Honour.

Of Fame.

The Statesman.

Of Deliberation.

Of Laws.

Of Litigation.

Of Education.

Of Logic, three books.

Of the End.

Of Beauty.

Of Conduct.

Of Knowledge.

Of Kingship.

Of Friendship.

On the Banquet.

On the Thesis that Virtue is the same in Man and in Woman.

On the Wise Man turning Sophist.

Of Usages.

Lectures, two books.

Of Pleasure.

On Properties.

On Insoluble Problems.

Of Dialectic.

Of Moods or Tropes.

Of Predicates.

This, then, is the list of his works.

His end was as follows. He had severe inflammation of the gums, and by the advice of his doctors he abstained from food for two whole days. As it happened, this treatment succeeded, so that the doctors were for allowing him to resume his usual diet. To this, however, he would not consent, but declaring that he had already got too far on the road, he went on fasting the rest of his days until his death at the same age as Zeno according to some authorities, having spent nineteen years as Zeno's pupil.

My lighter verse on him runs thus:
I praise Cleanthes, but praise Hades more,

Who could not bear to see him grown so old,

So gave him rest at last among the dead,

Who'd drawn such load of water while alive.

Chapter 6. SPHAERUS (flor. c. 220 B.C.)

Amongst those who after the death of Zeno became pupils of Cleanthes was Sphaerus of Bosporus, as already mentioned. After making considerable progress in his studies, he went to Alexandria to the court of King Ptolemy Philopator. One day when a discussion had arisen on the question whether the wise man could stoop to hold opinion, and Sphaerus had maintained that this was impossible, the king, wishing to refute him, ordered some waxen pomegranates to be put on the table. Sphaerus was taken in and the king cried out, You have given your assent to a presentation which is false. But Sphaerus was ready with a neat answer. I assented not to the proposition that they are pomegranates, but to another, that there are good grounds for thinking them to be pomegranates. Certainty of presentation and reasonable probability are two totally different things. Mnesistratus having accused him of denying that Ptolemy was a king, his reply was, Being of such quality as he is, Ptolemy is indeed a king.

The books that he wrote were as follows:

Of the Cosmos, two books.

Of Elements.

Of Seed.

Of Fortune.

Of Minimal Parts.

Against Atoms and Images.

Of Organs of Sense.

A Course of Five Lectures on Heraclitus.

On the Right Arrangement of Ethical Doctrine.

Of Duty.

Of Impulse.

Of the Passions, two books.

Of Kingship.

Of the Spartan Constitution.

Of Lycurgus and Socrates, three books.

Of Law.

On Divination.

Dialogues on Love.

Of the School of Eretria.

Of Similars.

Of Terms.

Of Habit.

Of Contradictions, three books.

Of Discourse.

Of Wealth.

Of Fame.

Of Death.

Handbook of Dialectic, two books.

Of Predicates.

Of Ambiguous Terms.

Letters.

Chapter 7. CHRYSIPPUS (c. 282-206 B.C.)

Chrysippus, the son of Apollonius, came either from Soli or from Tarsus, as Alexander relates in his Successions. He was a pupil of Cleanthes. Before this he used to practise as a long-distance runner; but afterwards he came to hear Zeno, or, as Diocles and most people say, Cleanthes; and then, while Cleanthes was still living, withdrew from his school and attained exceptional eminence as a philosopher. He had good natural parts and showed the greatest acuteness in every branch of the subject; so much so that he differed on most points from Zeno, and from Cleanthes as well, to whom he often used to say that all he wanted was to be told what the doctrines were; he would find out the proofs for himself. Nevertheless, whenever he had

contended against Cleanthes, he would afterwards feel remorse, so that he constantly came out with the lines:
Blest in all else am I, save only where

I touch Cleanthes: there I am ill-fortuned.

So renowned was he for dialectic that most people thought, if the gods took to dialectic, they would adopt no other system than that of Chrysippus. He had abundance of matter, but in style he was not successful. In industry he surpassed every one, as the list of his writings shows; for there are more than 705 of them. He increased their number by arguing repeatedly on the same subject, setting down anything that occurred to him, making many corrections and citing numerous authorities. So much so that in one of his treatises he copied out nearly the whole of Euripides' Medea, and some one who had taken up the volume, being asked what he was reading, replied, The Medea of Chrysippus.

Apollodorus of Athens in his Collection of Doctrines, wishing to show that what Epicurus wrote with force and originality unaided by quotations was far greater in amount than the books of Chrysippus, says, to quote his exact words, If one were to strip the books of Chrysippus of all extraneous quotations, his pages would be left bare. So much for Apollodorus. Of Chrysippus the old woman who sat beside him used to say, according to Diocles, that he wrote 500 lines a day. Hecato says that he came to the study of philosophy, because the property which he had inherited from his father had been confiscated to the king's treasury.

In person he was insignificant, as is shown by the statue in the Ceramicus, which is almost hidden by an equestrian statue hard by; and this is why Carneades called him Crypsippus or Horse-hidden. Once when somebody reproached him for not going with the multitude to hear Ariston, he rejoined, If I had followed the multitude, I should not have studied philosophy. When some dialectician got up and attacked Cleanthes, proposing sophistical fallacies to him, Chrysippus called to him, Cease to distract your elder from matters of importance; propound such quibbles to us juniors. Again, when somebody who had a question to ask was steadily conversing with him in private, and then upon seeing a crowd approaching began to be more contentious, he said:
Ah! brother mine, thine eye is growing wild:

To madness fast thou'rt changing, sane but now.

At wine-parties he used to behave quietly, though he was unsteady on his legs; which caused the woman-slave to say, As for Chrysippus, only his legs get tipsy. His opinion of himself was so high that when some one inquired, To whom shall I entrust my son? he replied, To me: for, if I had dreamt of there being anyone better than myself, I should myself be studying with him. Hence, it is said, the application to him of the line:
He alone has understanding; the others flit shadow-like around;
and
But for Chrysippus, there had been no Porch.

At last, however,—so we are told by Sotion in his eighth book,—he joined Arcesilaus and Lacydes and studied philosophy under them in the Academy.

And this explains his arguing at one time against, and at another in support of, ordinary experience, and his use of the method of the Academy when treating of magnitudes and numbers.

On one occasion, as Hermippus relates, when he had his school in the Odeum, he was invited by his pupils to a sacrificial feast. There after he had taken a draught of sweet wine unmixed with water, he was seized with dizziness and departed this life five days afterwards, having reached the age of seventy-three years, in the 143rd Olympiad. This is the date given by Apollodorus in his Chronology. I have toyed with the subject in the following verses:
Chrysippus turned giddy after gulping down a draught of Bacchus; he spared not the Porch nor his country nor his own life, but fared straight to the house of Hades.

Another account is that his death was caused by a violent fit of laughter; for after an ass had eaten up his figs, he cried out to the old woman, Now give the ass a drink of pure wine to wash down the figs. And thereupon he laughed so heartily that he died.

He appears to have been a very arrogant man.At any rate, of all his many writings he dedicated none to any of the kings. And he was satisfied with one old woman's judgement, says Demetrius in his work called Men of the Same Name. When Ptolemy wrote to Cleanthes requesting him to come himself or else to send some one to his court, Sphaerus undertook the journey, while Chrysippus declined to go. On the other hand, he sent for his sister's sons, Aristocreon and Philocrates, and educated them. Demetrius above mentioned is also our authority for the statement that Chrysippus was the first who ventured to hold a lecture-class in the open air in the Lyceum.

There was another Chrysippus, a native of Cnidus, a physician, to whom Erasistratus says that he was under great obligation. And another besides, a son of the former, court-physician to Ptolemy, who on a false charge was dragged about and castigated with the lash. And yet another was a pupil of Erasistratus, and another the author of a work on Agriculture.

To return to the philosopher. He used to propound arguments such as the following: He who divulges the mysteries to the uninitiated is guilty of impiety. Now the hierophant certainly does reveal the mysteries to the uninitiated, ergo he is guilty of impiety. Or again: What is not in the city is not in the house either: now there is no well in the city, ergo there is none in the house either. Yet another: There is a certain head, and that head you have not. Now this being so, there is a head which you have not, therefore you are without a head.

Again: If anyone is in Megara, he is not in Athens: now there is a man in Megara, therefore there is not a man in Athens. Again: If you say something, it passes through your lips: now you say wagon, consequently a wagon passes through your lips. And further: If you never lost something, you have it still; but you never lost horns, ergo you have horns. Others attribute this to Eubulides.

There are people who run Chrysippus down as having written much in a tone that is gross and indecent. For in his work On the ancient Natural Philosophers at line 600 or thereabouts he interprets the story of Hera and Zeus coarsely, with details which no one would soil his lips by repeating.

Indeed, his interpretation of the story is condemned as most indecent. He may be commending physical doctrine; but the language used is more appropriate to street-walkers than to deities; and it is moreover not even mentioned by bibliographers, who wrote on the titles of books. What Chrysippus makes of it is not to be found in Polemo nor Hypsicrates, no, nor even in Antigonus. It is his own invention. Again, in his Republic he permits marriage with mothers and daughters and sons. He says the same in his work On Things for their own Sake not Desirable,

right at the outset. In the third book of his treatise On Justice, at about line 1000, he permits eating of the corpses of the dead. And in the second book of his On the Means of Livelihood, where he professes to be considering a priori how the wise man is to get his living, occur the words:

And yet what reason is there that he should provide a living? For if it be to support life, life itself is after all a thing indifferent. If it be for pleasure, pleasure too is a thing indifferent. While if it be for virtue, virtue in itself is sufficient to constitute happiness. The modes of getting a livelihood are also ludicrous, as e.g. maintenance by a king; for he will have to be humoured: or by friends; for friendship will then be purchasable for money: or living by wisdom; for so wisdom will become mercenary. These are the objections urged against him.

As the reputation of his writings stands so high, I have decided to make a separate catalogue of them, arranged according to the class of subject treated. And they are as follows:

I. Logic.

Logical Theses.

The Philosopher's Inquiries.

Dialectical Definitions addressed to Metrodorus, six books.

On the Terms used in Dialectic, addressed to Zeno, one book.

Art of Dialectic, addressed to Aristagoras, one book.

Probable Hypothetical Judgements, addressed to Dioscurides, four books.

II. Logic dealing with the subject matter.

First series:

Of Judgements, one book.

Of Judgements which are not Simple, one book.

Of the Complex Judgement, addressed to Athenades, two books.

Of Negative Judgements, addressed to Aristagoras, three books.

Of Affirmative Judgements, addressed to Athenodorus, one book.

Of Judgements expressed by means of Privation, addressed to Thearus, one book.

Of Indefinite Judgements, addressed to Dion, three books.

On the Variety of Indefinite Judgements, four books.

On Temporal Judgements, two books.

On Judgements in the Perfect Tense, two books.

Second series:

Of a True Disjunctive Judgement, addressed to Gorgippides, one book.

Of a True Hypothetical Judgement, addressed to Gorgippides, four books.

Choosing from Alternatives, addressed to Gorgippides, one book.

A Contribution to the Subject of Consequents, one book.

On the Argument which employs three Terms, also addressed to Gorgippides, one book.

On Judgements of Possibility, addressed to Clitus, four books.

A Reply to the Work of Philo on Meanings, one book.

On the Question what are False Judgements, one book.

Third series:

Of Imperatives, two books.

Of Asking Questions, two books.

Of Inquiry, four books.

Epitome of Interrogation and Inquiry, one book.

Epitome of Reply, one book.

Of Investigation, two books.

Of Answering Questions, four books.

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Fourth series:

Of Predicates, addressed to Metrodorus, ten books.

Of Nominatives and Oblique Cases, addressed to Phylarchus, one book.

Of Hypothetical Syllogisms, addressed to Apollonides, one book.

A Work, addressed to Pasylus, on Predicates, four books.

Fifth series:

Of the Five Cases, one book.

Of Enunciations classified according to subject matter, one book.

Of Modification of Significance, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.

Of Proper Nouns, two books.

III. Logic, as concerned with words or phrases and the sentence.

First series:

Of Singular and Plural Expressions, six books.

On Single Words, addressed to Sosigenes and Alexander, five books.

Of Anomalous Words or Phrases, addressed to Dion, four books.

Of the Sorites Argument as applied to Uttered Words, three books.

On Solecisms, one book.

On Solecistic Sentences, addressed to Dionysius, one book.

Sentences violating Ordinary Usage, one book.

Diction, addressed to Dionysius, one book.

Second series:

Of the Elements of Speech and on Words Spoken, five books.

Of the Arrangement of Words Spoken, four books.

Of the Arrangement and Elements of Sentences, addressed to Philip, three books.

Of the Elements of Speech, addressed to Nicias, one book.

Of the Relative Term, one book.

Third series:

Against Those who reject Division, two books.

On Ambiguous Forms of Speech, addressed to Apollas, four books.

On Figurative Ambiguities, one book.

Of Ambiguity in the Moods of the Hypothetical Syllogism, two books.

A Reply to the Work of Panthoides on Ambiguities, two books.

Introduction to the Study of Ambiguities, five books.

Epitome of the Work on Ambiguities, addressed to Epicrates, one book.

Materials collected for the Introduction to the Study of Ambiguities, two books.

IV. Logic as concerned with syllogisms and moods.

First series:

Handbook of Arguments and Moods, addressed to Dioscurides, five books.

Of Syllogisms, three books.

Of the Construction of Moods, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.

Comparison of the Judgements expressed in the Moods, one book.

Of Reciprocal and Hypothetical Syllogisms, one book.

To Agathon, or Of the Problems that remain, one book.

On the Question what Premisses are capable of demonstrating a given Conclusion with the Aid of one or more Subsidiary Premisses, one book.

Of Inferences, addressed to Aristagoras, one book.

How the same Syllogism may be drawn up in several Moods, one book.

Reply to the Objections brought against drawing out the same Argument syllogistically and without a Syllogism, two books.

Reply to the Objections against the Analyses of Syllogisms, three books.

Reply to Philo’s Work on Moods, addressed to Timostratus, one book.

Collected Logical Writings, addressed to Timocrates and Philomathes: a Criticism of their Works on Moods and Syllogisms, one book.

Second series:

On Conclusive Arguments, addressed to Zeno, one book.

On the Primary Indemonstrable Syllogisms, addressed to Zeno, one book.

On the Analysis of Syllogisms, one book.

Of Redundant Arguments, addressed to Pasylus, two books.

Of the Rules for Syllogisms, one book.

Of Introductory or Elementary Syllogisms, addressed to Zeno, one book.

Of the Introductory Moods, addressed to Zeno, three books.

Of the Syllogisms under False Figures, five books.

Syllogistic Arguments by Resolution in Indemonstrable Arguments, one book.

Inquiries into the Moods: addressed to Zeno and Philomathes, one book. (This appears to be spurious.)

Third series:

On Variable Arguments, addressed to Athenades, one book. (This also is spurious.)

Variable Arguments concerning the Mean, three books. (Spurious.)

A Reply to Ameinias' Disjunctive Syllogisms, one book.

Fourth series:

On Hypotheses, addressed to Meleager, three books.

Hypothetical Syllogisms upon the Laws, again addressed to Meleager, one book.

Hypothetical Syllogisms to serve as Introduction, two books.

Hypothetical Syllogisms consisting of Theorems, two books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Hedylus, two books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Alexander, three books. (Spurious.)

On Explanatory Symbols, addressed to Laodamas, one book.

Fifth series:

Introduction to the Mentiens Argument, addressed to Aristocreon, one book.

Arguments of the Mentiens Type, to serve as Introduction, one book.

Of the Mentiens Argument, addressed to Aristocreon, six books.

Sixth series:

Reply to those who hold that Propositions may be at once False and True, one book.

To those who solve the Mentiens by dissecting it, addressed to Aristocreon, two books.

Proofs showing that Indefinite Arguments ought not to be dissected, one book.

Reply to Objections urged against those who condemn the Dissection of Indefinite Arguments, addressed to Pasylus, three books.

Solution in the Style of the Ancients, addressed to Dioscurides, one book.

On the Solution of the Mentiens, addressed to Aristocreon, three books.

Solutions of the Hypothetical Arguments of Hedylus, addressed to Aristocreon and Apollas, one book.

Seventh series:

To those who maintain that the Premisses of the Mentiens are false, one book.

Of the Sceptic who denies, addressed to Aristocreon, two books.

Negative Arguments, to serve as Logical Exercises, one book.

Of the Argument from Small Increments, addressed to Stesagoras, two books.

Of the Arguments affecting Ordinary Suppositions and on those who are Inactive or Silent, addressed to Onetor, two books.

Of the Fallacy of the Veiled Person, addressed to Aristobulus, two books.

On the Puzzle of the Man who escapes Detection, addressed to Athenades, one book.

Eighth series:

Of the Nobody Puzzle, addressed to Menecrates, eight books.

Of the Arguments derived from the Indeterminate and the Determined, addressed to Pasylus, two books.

Of the Nobody Argument, addressed to Epicrates, one book.

Ninth series:

Of Sophisms, addressed to Heraclides and Pollis, two books.

Of Dialectical Puzzles, addressed to Dioscurides, five books.

Reply to the Method of Arcesilaus, dedicated to Sphaerus, one book.

Tenth series:

Attack upon Common Sense, addressed to Metrodorus, six books.

Defence of Common Sense, addressed to Gorgippides, seven books.

V. Under Logic.

Thirty-nine investigations outside the range of the four above-mentioned main divisions dealing with isolated logical investigations not included in separate wholes of the subjects enumerated. The total of the logical writings is three hundred and eleven.

1. Ethics dealing with the classification of ethical conceptions.

First series:

Outline of Ethical Theory, addressed to Theoporos, one book.

Ethical Theses, one book.

Probable Premisses for Ethical Doctrines, addressed to Philomathes, three books.

Definitions of the Good or Virtuous, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Definitions of the Bad or Vicious, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Definitions of the Morally Intermediate, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Definitions of the Generic Notions [in Ethics], addressed to Metrodorus, seven books.

Definitions concerned with other Branches of Science, addressed to Metrodorus, two books.

Second series:

Of Similes, addressed to Aristocles, three books.

Of Definitions, addressed to Metrodorus, seven books.

Third series:

Of the Objections wrongly urged against the Definitions, addressed to Laodamas, seven books.

Probabilities in Support of the Definitions, addressed to Dioscurides, two books.

Of Species and Genera, addressed to Gorgippides, two books.

Of Classifications, one book.

Of Contraries, addressed to Dionysius, two books.

Probable Arguments relative to the Classifications, Genera and Species, and the Treatment of Contraries, one book.

Fourth series:

Of Etymological Matters, addressed to Diocles, seven books.

Points of Etymology, addressed to Diocles, four books.

Fifth series:

Of Proverbs, addressed to Zenodotus, two books.

Of Poems, addressed to Philomathes, one book.

On the Right Way of reading Poetry, two books.

A Reply to Critics, addressed to Diodorus, one book.

2. Ethics dealing with the common view and the sciences and virtues thence arising.

First series:

Against the Touching up of Paintings, addressed to Timonax, one book.

How it is we name each Thing and form a Conception of it, one book.

Of Conceptions, addressed to Laodamas, two books.

Of Opinion or Assumption, addressed to Pythonax, three books.

Proofs that the Wise Man will not hold Opinions, one book.

Of Apprehension, of Knowledge and of Ignorance, four books.

Of Reason, two books.

Of the Use of Reason, addressed to Leptines.

Second series:

That the Ancients rightly admitted Dialectic as well as Demonstration, addressed to Zeno, two books.

Of Dialectic, addressed to Aristocreon, four books.

Of the Objections urged against the Dialecticians, three books.

Of Rhetoric, addressed to Dioscurides, four books.

Third series:

Of formed State, or Habit, of Mind, addressed to Cleon, three books.

Of Art and the Inartistic, addressed to Aristocreon, four books.

Of the Difference between the Virtues, addressed to Diodorus, four books.

Of the Characters of the several Virtues, one book.

Of Virtues, addressed to Pollis, two books.

3. Ethics, dealing with things good and evil.

First series:

Of the Good or Morally Beautiful and Pleasure, addressed to Aristocreon, ten books.

Proofs that Pleasure is not the End-in-chief of Action, four books.

Proofs that Pleasure is not a Good, four books.

Of the Arguments commonly used on Behalf of [Pleasure].

BOOK VIII

Chapter 1. PYTHAGORAS (c. 582-500 B.C.)

Having now completed our account of the philosophy of Ionia starting with Thales, as well as of its chief representatives, let us proceed to examine the philosophy of Italy, which was started by Pythagoras, son of the gem-engraver Mnesarchus, and according to Hermippus, a Samian, or, according to Aristoxenus, a Tyrrhenian from one of those islands which the Athenians held after clearing them of their Tyrrhenian inhabitants. Some indeed say that he was descended through Euthyphro, Hippasus and Marmacus from Cleonymus, who was exiled from Phlius, and that, as Marmacus lived in Samos, so Pythagoras was called a Samian.

From Samos he went, it is said, to Lesbos with an introduction to Pherecydes from his uncle Zoïlus. He had three silver flagons made and took them as presents to each of the priests of Egypt. He had brothers, of whom Eunomus was the elder and Tyrrhenus the second; he also had a slave, Zamolxis, who is worshipped, so says Herodotus, by the Getans, as Cronos. He was a pupil, as already stated, of Pherecydes of Syros, after whose death he went to Samos to be the pupil of Hermodamas, Creophylus’s descendant, a man already advanced in years. While still young, so eager was he for knowledge, he left his own country and had himself initiated into all the mysteries and rites not only of Greece but also of foreign countries.

Now he was in Egypt when Polycrates sent him a letter of introduction to Amasis; he learnt the Egyptian language, so we learn from Antiphon in his book On Men of Outstanding Merit, and he also journeyed among the Chaldaeans and Magi. Then while in Crete he went down into the cave of Ida with Epimenides; he also entered the Egyptian sanctuaries, and was told their secret lore concerning the gods. After that he returned to Samos to find his country under the tyranny of Polycrates; so he sailed away to Croton in Italy, and there he laid down a constitution for the

Italian Greeks, and he and his followers were held in great estimation; for, being nearly three hundred in number, so well did they govern the state that its constitution was in effect a true aristocracy (government by the best).

This is what Heraclides of Pontus tells us he used to say about himself: that he had once been Aethalides and was accounted to be Hermes' son, and Hermes told him he might choose any gift he liked except immortality; so he asked to retain through life and through death a memory of his experiences. Hence in life he could recall everything, and when he died he still kept the same memories. Afterwards in course of time his soul entered into Euphorbus and he was wounded by Menelaus. Now Euphorbus used to say that he had once been Aethalides and obtained this gift from Hermes, and then he told of the wanderings of his soul, how it migrated hither and thither, into how many plants and animals it had come, and all that it underwent in Hades, and all that the other souls there have to endure.

When Euphorbus died, his soul passed into Hermotimus, and he also, wishing to authenticate the story, went up to the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, where he identified the shield which Menelaus, on his voyage home from Troy, had dedicated to Apollo, so he said: the shield being now so rotten through and through that the ivory facing only was left. When Hermotimus died, he became Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos, and again he remembered everything, how he was first Aethalides, then Euphorbus, then Hermotimus, and then Pyrrhus. But when Pyrrhus died, he became Pythagoras, and still remembered all the facts mentioned.

There are some who insist, absurdly enough, that Pythagoras left no writings whatever. At all events Heraclitus, the physicist, almost shouts in our ear, Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, practised inquiry beyond all other men, and in this selection of his writings made himself a wisdom of his own, showing much learning but poor workmanship. The occasion of this remark was the opening words of Pythagoras's treatise On Nature, namely, Nay, I swear by the air I breathe, I swear by the water I drink, I will never suffer censure on account of this work. Pythagoras in fact wrote three books. On Education, On Statesmanship, and On Nature.

But the book which passes as the work of Pythagoras is by Lysis of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, who fled to Thebes and taught Epaminondas. Heraclides, the son of Serapion, in his Epitome of Sotion, says that he also wrote a poem On the Universe, and secondly the Sacred Poem which begins:
Young men, come reverence in quietude

All these my words;
thirdly On the Soul, fourthly Of Piety, fifthly Helothales the Father of Epicharmus of Cos, sixthly Croton, and other works as well. The same authority says that the poem On the Mysteries was written by Hippasus to defame Pythagoras, and that many others written by Aston of Croton were ascribed to Pythagoras.

Aristoxenus says that Pythagoras got most of his moral doctrines from the Delphic priestess Themistoclea. According to Ion of Chios in his Triagmi he ascribed some poems of his own making to Orpheus. They further attribute to him the Scopiads which begins thus:
Be not shameless, before any man.
Sosicrates in his Successions of Philosophers says that, when Leon the tyrant of Phlius asked him who he was, he said, A philosopher, and that he compared life to the Great Games, where some went to compete for the prize and others went with wares to sell, but the best as

spectators; for similarly, in life, some grow up with servile natures, greedy for fame and gain, but the philosopher seeks for truth. Thus much for this part of the subject.

The contents in general of the aforesaid three treatises of Pythagoras are as follows. He forbids us to pray for ourselves, because we do not know what will help us. Drinking he calls, in a word, a snare, and he discountenances all excess, saying that no one should go beyond due proportion either in drinking or in eating. Of sexual indulgence, too, he says, Keep to the winter for sexual pleasures, in summer abstain; they are less harmful in autumn and spring, but they are always harmful and not conducive to health. Asked once when a man should consort with a woman, he replied, When you want to lose what strength you have.

He divides man's life into four quarters thus: Twenty years a boy, twenty years a youth, twenty years a young man, twenty years an old man; and these four periods correspond to the four seasons, the boy to spring, the youth to summer, the young man to autumn, and the old man to winter, meaning by youth one not yet grown up and by a young man a man of mature age. According to Timaeus, he was the first to say, Friends have all things in common and Friendship is equality; indeed, his disciples did put all their possessions into one common stock. For five whole years they had to keep silence, merely listening to his discourses without seeing him, until they passed an examination, and thenceforward they were admitted to his house and allowed to see him. They would never use coffins of cypress, because the sceptre of Zeus was made from it, so we are informed by Hermippus in his second book On Pythagoras.

Indeed, his bearing is said to have been most dignified, and his disciples held the opinion about him that he was Apollo come down from the far north. There is a story that once, when he was disrobed, his thigh was seen to be of gold; and when he crossed the river Nessus, quite a number of people said they heard it welcome him. According to Timaeus in the tenth book of his History, he remarked that the consorts of men bore divine names, being called first Virgins, then Brides, and then Mothers. He it was who brought geometry to perfection, while it was Moeris who first discovered the beginnings of the elements of geometry: Anticlides in his second book On Alexander affirms this,

and further that Pythagoras spent most of his time upon the arithmetical aspect of geometry; he also discovered the musical intervals on the monochord. Nor did he neglect even medicine. We are told by Apollodorus the calculator that he offered a sacrifice of oxen on finding that in a right-angled triangle the square on the hypotenuse is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle. And there is an epigram running as follows:
What time Pythagoras that famed figure found,

For which the noble offering he brought.

He is also said to have been the first to diet athletes on meat, trying first with Eurymenes— so we learn from Favorinus in the third book of his Memorabilia—whereas in former times they had trained on dried figs, on butter, and even on wheatmeal, as we are told by the same Favorinus in the eighth book of his Miscellaneous History.

Some say it was a certain trainer named Pythagoras who instituted this diet, and not our Pythagoras, who forbade even the killing, let alone the eating, of animals which share with us the privilege of having a soul. This was the excuse put forward; but his real reason for forbidding animal diet was to practise people and accustom them to simplicity of life, so that they could live on things easily procurable, spreading their tables with uncooked foods and drinking pure water

only, for this was the way to a healthy body and a keen mind. Of course the only altar at which he worshipped was that of Apollo the Giver of Life, behind the Altar of Horns at Delos, for thereon were placed flour and meal and cakes, without the use of fire, and there was no animal victim, as we are told by Aristotle in his Constitution of Delos.

He was the first, they say, to declare that the soul, bound now in this creature, now in that, thus goes on a round ordained of necessity. He too, according to Aristoxenus the musician, was the first to introduce weights and measures into Greece. It was he who first declared that the Evening and Morning Stars are the same, as Parmenides maintains. So greatly was he admired that his disciples used to be called prophets to declare the voice of God, besides which he himself says in a written work that after two hundred and seven years in Hades he has returned to the land of the living. Thus it was that they remained his staunch adherents, and men came to hear his words from afar, among them Lucanians, Peucetians, Messapians and Romans.

Down to the time of Philolaus it was not possible to acquire knowledge of any Pythagorean doctrine, and Philolaus alone brought out those three celebrated books which Plato sent a hundred minas to purchase. Not less than six hundred persons went to his evening lectures; and those who were privileged to see him wrote to their friends congratulating themselves on a great piece of good fortune. Moreover, the Metapontines named his house the Temple of Demeter and his porch the Museum, so we learn from Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History. And the rest of the Pythagoreans used to say that not all his doctrines were for all men to hear, our authority for this being Aristoxenus in the tenth book of his Rules of Pedagogy,

where we are also told that one of the school, Xenophilus by name, asked by some one how he could best educate his son, replied, By making him the citizen of a well-governed state. Throughout Italy Pythagoras made many into good men and true, men too of note like the lawgivers Zaleucus and Charondas; for he had a great gift for friendship, and especially, when he found his own watchwords adopted by anyone, he would immediately take to that man and make a friend of him.

The following were his watchwords or precepts: don’t stir the fire with a knife, don’t step over the beam of a balance, don’t sit down on your bushel, don’t eat your heart, don’t help a man off with a load but help him on, always roll your bed-clothes up, don’t put God’s image on the circle of a ring, don’t leave the pan’s imprint on the ashes, don’t wipe up a mess with a torch, don’t commit a nuisance towards the sun, don’t walk the highway, don’t shake hands too eagerly, don’t have swallows under your own roof, don’t keep birds with hooked claws, don’t make water on nor stand upon your nail-and hair-trimmings, turn the sharp blade away, when you go abroad don’t turn round at the frontier.

This is what they meant. Don’t stir the fire with a knife: don’t stir the passions or the swelling pride of the great. Don’t step over the beam of a balance: don’t overstep the bounds of equity and justice. Don’t sit down on your bushel: have the same care of to-day and the future, a bushel being the day’s ration. By not eating your heart he meant not wasting your life in troubles and pains. By saying do not turn round when you go abroad, he meant to advise those who are departing this life not to set their hearts’ desire on living nor to be too much attracted by the pleasures of this life. The explanations of the rest are similar and would take too long to set out.

Above all, he forbade as food red mullet and blacktail, and he enjoined abstinence from the hearts of animals and from beans, and sometimes, according to Aristotle, even from paunch

and gurnard. Some say that he contented himself with just some honey or a honeycomb or bread, never touching wine in the daytime, and with greens boiled or raw for dainties, and fish but rarely. His robe was white and spotless, his quilts of white wool, for linen had not yet reached those parts. He was never known to over-eat, to behave loosely, or to be drunk.

He would avoid laughter and all pandering to tastes such as insulting jests and vulgar tales. He would punish neither slave nor free man in anger. Admonition he used to call setting right. He used to practise divination by sounds or voices and by auguries, never by burnt-offerings, beyond frankincense. The offerings he made were always inanimate; though some say that he would offer cocks, sucking goats and porkers, as they are called, but lambs never. However, Aristoxenus has it that he consented to the eating of all other animals, and only abstained from ploughing oxen and rams.

The same authority, as we have seen, asserts that Pythagoras took his doctrines from the Delphic priestess Themistoclea. Hieronymus, however, says that, when he had descended into Hades, he saw the soul of Hesiod bound fast to a brazen pillar and gibbering, and the soul of Homer hung on a tree with serpents writhing about it, this being their punishment for what they had said about the gods; he also saw under torture those who would not remain faithful to their wives. This, says our authority, is why he was honoured by the people of Croton. Aristippus of Cyrene affirms in his work On the Physicists that he was named Pythagoras because he uttered the truth as infallibly as did the Pythian oracle.

He is said to have advised his disciples as follows: Always to say on entering their own doors:
Where did I trespass? What did I achieve?

And unfulfilled what duties did I leave?
Not to let victims be brought for sacrifice to the gods, and to worship only at the altar unstained with blood. Not to call the gods to witness, man’s duty being rather to strive to make his own word carry conviction. To honour their elders, on the principle that precedence in time gives a greater title to respect; for as in the world sunrise comes before sunset, so in human life the beginning before the end, and in all organic life birth precedes death.

And he further bade them to honour gods before demi-gods, heroes before men, and first among men their parents; and so to behave one to another as not to make friends into enemies, but to turn enemies into friends. To deem nothing their own. To support the law, to wage war on lawlessness. Never to kill or injure trees that are not wild, nor even any animal that does not injure man. That it is seemly and advisable neither to give way to unbridled laughter nor to wear sullen looks. To avoid excess of flesh, on a journey to let exertion and slackening alternate, to train the memory, in wrath to restrain hand and tongue, to respect all divination,

to sing to the lyre and by hymns to show due gratitude to gods and to good men. To abstain from beans because they are flatulent and partake most of the breath of life; and besides, it is better for the stomach if they are not taken, and this again will make our dreams in sleep smooth and untroubled.

Alexander in his Successions of Philosophers says that he found in the Pythagorean memoirs the following tenets as well.

The principle of all things is the monad or unit; arising from this monad the undefined dyad or two serves as material substratum to the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the undefined dyad spring numbers; from numbers, points; from points, lines; from lines, plane

figures; from plane figures, solid figures; from solid figures, sensible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth and air; these elements interchange and turn into one another completely, and combine to produce a universe animate, intelligent, spherical, with the earth at its centre, the earth itself too being spherical and inhabited round about.

There are also antipodes, and our down is their up. Light and darkness have equal part in the universe, so have hot and cold, and dry and moist; and of these, if hot preponderates, we have summer; if cold, winter; if dry, spring; if moist, late autumn. If all are in equilibrium, we have the best periods of the year, of which the freshness of spring constitutes the healthy season, and the decay of late autumn the unhealthy. So too, in the day, freshness belongs to the morning, and decay to the evening, which is therefore more unhealthy. The air about the earth is stagnant and unwholesome, and all within it is mortal; but the uppermost air is ever-moved and pure and healthy, and all within it is immortal and consequently divine.

The sun, the moon, and the other stars are gods; for, in them, there is a preponderance of heat, and heat is the cause of life. The moon is illumined by the sun. Gods and men are akin, inasmuch as man partakes of heat; therefore God takes thought for man. Fate is the cause of things being thus ordered both as a whole and separately. The sun’s ray penetrates through the aether, whether cold or dense—the air they call cold aether, and the sea and moisture dense aether —and this ray descends even to the depths and for this reason quickens all things.

All things live which partake of heat—this is why plants are living things —but all have not soul, which is a detached part of aether, partly the hot and partly the cold, for it partakes of cold aether too. Soul is distinct from life; it is immortal, since that from which it is detached is immortal. Living creatures are reproduced from one another by germination; there is no such thing as spontaneous generation from earth. The germ is a clot of brain containing hot vapour within it; and this, when brought to the womb, throws out, from the brain, ichor, fluid and blood, whence are formed flesh, sinews, bones, hairs, and the whole of the body, while soul and sense come from the vapour within.

First congealing in about forty days, it receives form and, according to the ratios of harmony, in seven, nine, or at the most ten, months, the mature child is brought forth. It has in it all the relations constituting life, and these, forming a continuous series, keep it together according to the ratios of harmony, each appearing at regulated intervals. Sense generally, and sight in particular, is a certain unusually hot vapour. This is why it is said to see through air and water, because the hot aether is resisted by the cold; for, if the vapour in the eyes had been cold, it would have been dissipated on meeting the air, its like. As it is, in certain [lines] he calls the eyes the portals of the sun. His conclusion is the same with regard to hearing and the other senses.

The soul of man, he says, is divided into three parts, intelligence, reason, and passion. Intelligence and passion are possessed by other animals as well, but reason by man alone. The seat of the soul extends from the heart to the brain; the part of it which is in the heart is passion, while the parts located in the brain are reason and intelligence. The senses are distillations from these. Reason is immortal, all else mortal. The soul draws nourishment from the blood; the faculties of the soul are winds, for they as well as the soul are invisible, just as the aether is invisible.

The veins, arteries, and sinews are the bonds of the soul. But when it is strong and settled down into itself, reasonings and deeds become its bonds. When cast out upon the earth, it wanders in

the air like the body. Hermes is the steward of souls, and for that reason is called Hermes the Escorter, Hermes the Keeper of the Gate, and Hermes of the Underworld, since it is he who brings in the souls from their bodies both by land and sea; and the pure are taken into the uppermost region, but the impure are not permitted to approach the pure or each other, but are bound by the Furies in bonds unbreakable.

The whole air is full of souls which are called genii or heroes; these are they who send men dreams and signs of future disease and health, and not to men alone, but to sheep also and cattle as well; and it is to them that purifications and lustrations, all divination, omens and the like, have reference. The most momentous thing in human life is the art of winning the soul to good or to evil. Blest are the men who acquire a good soul; [if it be bad] they can never be at rest, nor ever keep the same course two days together.

Right has the force of an oath, and that is why Zeus is called the God of Oaths. Virtue is harmony, and so are health and all good and God himself; this is why they say that all things are constructed according to the laws of harmony. The love of friends is just concord and equality. We should not pay equal worship to gods and heroes, but to the gods always, with reverent silence, in white robes, and after purification, to the heroes only from midday onwards. Purification is by cleansing, baptism and lustration, and by keeping clean from all deaths and births and all pollution, and abstaining from meat and flesh of animals that have died, mullets, gurnards, eggs and egg-sprung animals, beans, and the other abstinences prescribed by those who perform mystic rites in the temples.

According to Aristotle in his work On the Pythagoreans, Pythagoras counselled abstinence from beans either because they are like the genitals, or because they are like the gates of Hades . . . as being alone unjointed, or because they are injurious, or because they are like the form of the universe, or because they belong to oligarchy, since they are used in election by lot. He bade his disciples not to pick up fallen crumbs, either in order to accustom them not to eat immoderately, or because connected with a person’s death; nay, even, according to Aristophanes, crumbs belong to the heroes, for in his Heroes he says:
Nor taste ye of what falls beneath the board !

Another of his precepts was not to eat white cocks, as being sacred to the Month and wearing suppliant garb—now supplication ranked with things good— sacred to the Month because they announce the time of day; and again white represents the nature of the good, black the nature of evil. Not to touch such fish as were sacred; for it is not right that gods and men should be allotted the same things, any more than free men and slaves. Not to break bread; for once friends used to meet over one loaf,

as the barbarians do even to this day; and you should not divide bread which brings them together; some give as the explanation of this that it has reference to the judgement of the dead in Hades, others that bread makes cowards in war, others again that it is from it that the whole world begins.

He held that the most beautiful figure is the sphere among solids, and the circle among plane figures. Old age may be compared to everything that is decreasing, while youth is one with increase. Health means retention of the form, disease its destruction. Of salt he said it should be brought to table to remind us of what is right; for salt preserves whatever it finds, and it arises from the purest sources, sun and sea.

This is what Alexander says that he found in the Pythagorean memoirs. What follows is Aristotle's.

But Pythagoras's great dignity not even Timon overlooked, who, although he digs at him in his Silli, speaks of
Pythagoras, inclined to witching works and ways,

Man-snarer, fond of noble periphrase.

Xenophanes confirms the statement about his having been different people at different times in the elegiacs beginning:
Now other thoughts, another path, I show.
What he says of him is as follows:
They say that, passing a belaboured whelp,

He, full of pity, spake these words of dole:

Stay, smite not ! 'Tis a friend, a human soul;

I knew him straight whenas I heard him yelp !

Thus Xenophanes. But Cratinus also lampooned him both in the Pythagorizing Woman and also in The Tarentines, where we read:

They are wont,

If haply they a foreigner do find,

To hold a cross-examination

Of doctrines' worth, to trouble and confound him

With terms, equations, and antitheses

Brain-bung'd with magnitudes and periphrases.
Again, Mnesimachus in the Alcmaeon:
To Loxias we sacrifice: Pythagoras his rite,

Of nothing that is animate we ever take a bite.

And Aristophon in the Pythagorist:
A. He told how he travelled in Hades and looked on the dwellers below,

How each of them lives, but how different by far from the lives of the dead

Were the lives of the Pythagoreans, for these alone, so he said,

Were suffered to dine with King Pluto, which was for their piety's sake.

B. What an ill-tempered god for whom such swine, such creatures good company make;
and in the same later:

Their food is just greens, and to wet it pure water is all that they drink;

And the want of a bath, and the vermin, and their old threadbare coats so do stink

That none of the rest will come near them.

Pythagoras met his death in this wise. As he sat one day among his acquaintances at the house of Milo, it chanced that the house was set ablaze out of jealousy by one of the people who were

not accounted worthy of admittance to his presence, though some say it was the work of the inhabitants of Croton anxious to safeguard themselves against the setting-up of a tyranny. Pythagoras was caught as he tried to escape; he got as far as a certain field of beans, where he stopped, saying he would be captured rather than cross it, and be killed rather than prate about his doctrines; and so his pursuers cut his throat. So also were murdered more than half of his disciples, to the number of forty or thereabouts; but a very few escaped, including Archippus of Tarentum and Lysis, already mentioned.

Dicaearchus, however, says that Pythagoras died a fugitive in the temple of the Muses at Metapontum after forty days' starvation. Heraclides, in his Epitome of the Lives of Satyrus, says that, after burying Pherecydes at Delos, he returned to Italy and, when he found Cylon of Croton giving a luxurious banquet to all and sundry, retired to Metapontum to end his days there by starvation, having no wish to live longer. On the other hand, Hermippus relates that, when the men of Agrigentum and Syracuse were at war, Pythagoras and his disciples went out and fought in the van of the army of the Agrigentines, and, their line being turned, he was killed by the Syracusans as he was trying to avoid the beanfield; the rest, about thirty-five in number, were burned at the stake in Tarentum for trying to set up a government in opposition to those in power.

Hermippus gives another anecdote. Pythagoras, on coming to Italy, made a subterranean dwelling and enjoined on his mother to mark and record all that passed, and at what hour, and to send her notes down to him until he should ascend. She did so. Pythagoras some time afterwards came up withered and looking like a skeleton, then went into the assembly and declared he had been down to Hades, and even read out his experiences to them. They were so affected that they wept and wailed and looked upon him as divine, going so far as to send their wives to him in hopes that they would learn some of his doctrines; and so they were called Pythagorean women. Thus far Hermippus.

Pythagoras had a wife, Theano by name, daughter of Brontinus of Croton, though some call her Brontinus's wife and Pythagoras's pupil. He had a daughter Damo, according to the letter of Lysis to Hippasus, which says of him, I am told by many that you discourse publicly, a thing which Pythagoras deemed unworthy, for certain it is that, when he entrusted his daughter Damo with the custody of his memoirs, he solemnly charged her never to give them to anyone outside his house. And, although she could have sold the writings for a large sum of money, she would not, but reckoned poverty and her father's solemn injunctions more precious than gold, for all that she was a woman.

They also had a son Telauges, who succeeded his father and, according to some, was Empedocles' instructor. At all events Hippobotus makes Empedocles say:

Telauges, famed

Son of Theano and Pythagoras.

Telauges wrote nothing, so far as we know, but his mother Theano wrote a few things. Further, a story is told that being asked how many days it was before a woman becomes pure after intercourse, she replied, With her own husband at once, with another man never. And she advised a woman going in to her own husband to put off her shame with her clothes, and on leaving him to put it on again along with them. Asked Put on what? she replied, What makes me to be called a woman.

To return to Pythagoras. According to Heraclides, the son of Serapion, he was eighty years old when he died, and this agrees with his own description of the life of man, though most authorities say he was ninety. And there are jesting lines of my own upon him as follows:
Not thou alone from all things animate

Didst keep, Pythagoras. All food is dead

When boil'd and bak'd and salt-besprinkle-èd;

For then it surely is inanimate.

Again:
So wise was wise Pythagoras that he

Would touch no meats, but called it impious,

Bade others eat. Good wisdom: not for us

To do the wrong; let others impious be.

And again:
If thou wouldst know the mind of old Pythagoras,

Look on Euphorbus' buckler and its boss.

He says I've lived before. If, when he says he was,

He was not, he was no-one when he was.
And again, of the manner of his death:
Woe! Woe! Whence, Pythagoras, this deep reverence for beans? Why did he fall in the midst of his disciples? A bean-field there was he durst not cross; sooner than trample on it, he endured to be slain at the cross-roads by the men of Acragas.

He flourished in the 60th Olympiad and his school lasted until the ninth or tenth generation.

For the last of the Pythagoreans, whom Aristoxenus in his time saw, were Xenophilus from the Thracian Chalcidice, Phanton of Phlius, and Echecrates, Diocles and Polymnastus, also of Phlius, who were pupils of Philolaus and Eurytus of Tarentum.

There were four men of the name of Pythagoras living about the same time and at no great distance from one another: (1) of Croton, a man with tyrannical leanings; (2) of Phlius, an athlete, some say a trainer; (3) of Zacynthus; (4) our subject, who discovered the secrets of philosophy [and taught them], and to whom was applied the phrase, The Master said (Ipse dixit), which passed into a proverb of ordinary life.

Some say there was also another Pythagoras, a sculptor of Rhegium, who is thought to have been the first to aim at rhythm and symmetry; another a sculptor of Samos; another a bad orator; another a doctor who wrote on hernia and also compiled some things about Homer; and yet another who, so we are told by Dionysius, wrote a history of the Dorian race. Eratosthenes says, according to what we learn from Favorinus in the eighth book of his Miscellaneous History, that the last-named was the first to box scientifically, in the 48th Olympiad, keeping his hair long and wearing a purple robe; and that when he was excluded with ridicule from the boys' contest, he went at once to the men's and won that;

this is declared by Theaetetus's epigram:
Know'st one Pythagoras, long-haired Pythagoras,

The far-fam'd boxer of the Samians?

I am Pythagoras; ask the Elians

What were my feats, thou'lt not believe the tale.

Favorinus says that our philosopher used definitions throughout the subject matter of mathematics; their use was extended by Socrates and his disciples, and afterwards by Aristotle and the Stoics.

Further, we are told that he was the first to call the heaven the universe and the earth spherical, though Theophrastus says it was Parmenides, and Zeno that it was Hesiod.

It is said that Cylon was a rival of Pythagoras, as Antilochus was of Socrates.

Pythagoras the athlete was also the subject of another epigram as follows:
Gone to box with other lads

Is the lad Pythagoras,

Gone to the games Olympian

Crates' son the Samian.
The philosopher also wrote the following letter:

Pythagoras to Anaximenes.

Even you, O most excellent of men, were you no better born and famed than Pythagoras, would have risen and departed from Miletus. But now your ancestral glory has detained you as it had detained me were I Anaximenes's peer. But if you, the best men, abandon your cities, then will their good order perish, and the peril from the Medes will increase.

For always to scan the heavens is not well, but more seemly is it to be provident for one's mother country. For I too am not altogether in my discourses but am found no less in the wars which the Italians wage with one another.

Having now finished our account of Pythagoras, we have next to speak of the noteworthy Pythagoreans; after them will come the philosophers whom some denominate sporadic [i.e. belonging to no particular school]; and then, in the next place, we will append the succession of all those worthy of notice as far as Epicurus, in the way that we promised. We have already treated of Theano and Telauges: so now we have first to speak of Empedocles, for some say he was a pupil of Pythagoras.

Chapter 2. EMPEDOCLES (484-424 B.C.)

Empedocles was, according to Hippobotus, the son of Meton and grandson of Empedocles, and was a native of Agrigentum. This is confirmed by Timaeus in the fifteenth book of his Histories, and he adds that Empedocles, the poet's grandfather, had been a man of distinction. Hermippus also agrees with Timaeus. So, too, Heraclides, in his treatise On Diseases, says that he was of an illustrious family, his grandfather having kept racehorses. Eratosthenes also in his Olympic Victories records, on the authority of Aristotle, that the father of Meton was a victor in the 71st Olympiad.

The grammarian Apollodorus in his Chronology tells us that
He was the son of Meton, and Glaucus says he went to Thurii, just then founded.

Then farther on he adds:
Those who relate that, being exiled from his home, he went to Syracuse and fought in their ranks against the Athenians seem, in my judgement at least, to be completely mistaken. For by that time either he was no longer living or in extreme old age, which is inconsistent with the story.
For Aristotle and Heraclides both affirm that he died at the age of sixty. The victor with the ridinghorse in the 71st Olympiad was
This man's namesake and grandfather,
so that Apollodorus in one and the same passage indicates the date as well as the fact.

But Satyrus in his Lives states that Empedocles was the son of Exaenetus and himself left a son named Exaenetus, and that in the same Olympiad Empedocles himself was victorious in the horse-race and his son in wrestling, or, as Heraclides in his Epitome has it, in the foot-race. I found in the Memorabilia of Favorinus a statement that Empedocles feasted the sacred envoys on a sacrificial ox made of honey and barley-meal, and that he had a brother named Callicratides. Telauges, the son of Pythagoras, in his letter to Philolaus calls Empedocles the son of Archinomus.

That he belonged to Agrigentum in Sicily he himself testifies at the beginning of his Purifications:
My friends, who dwell in the great city sloping down to yellow Acragas, hard by the citadel.
So much for his family.

Timaeus in the ninth book of his Histories says he was a pupil of Pythagoras, adding that, having been convicted at that time of stealing his discourses, he was, like Plato, excluded from taking part in the discussions of the school; and further, that Empedocles himself mentions Pythagoras in the lines:
And there lived among them a man of superhuman knowledge, who verily possessed the greatest wealth of wisdom.
Others say that it is to Parmenides that he is here referring.

Neanthes states that down to the time of Philolaus and Empedocles all Pythagoreans were admitted to the discussions. But when Empedocles himself made them public property by his poem, they made a law that they should not be imparted to any poet. He says the same thing also happened to Plato, for he too was excommunicated. But which of the Pythagoreans it was who had Empedocles for a pupil he did not say. For the epistle commonly attributed to Telauges and the statement that Empedocles was the pupil of both Hippasus and Brontinus he held to be unworthy of credence.

Theophrastus affirms that he was an admirer of Parmenides and imitated him in his verses, for Parmenides too had published his treatise On Nature in verse.

But Hermippus's account is that he was an admirer not so much of Parmenides as of Xenophanes, with whom in fact he lived and whose writing of poetry he imitated, and that his meeting with the Pythagoreans was subsequent. Alcidamas tells us in his treatise on Physics that Zeno and Empedocles were pupils of Parmenides about the same time, that afterwards they left him, and that, while Zeno framed his own system, Empedocles became the pupil of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras, emulating the latter in dignity of life and bearing, and the former in his physical investigations.

Aristotle in his Sophist calls Empedocles the inventor of rhetoric as Zeno of dialectic. In his treatise On Poets he says that Empedocles was of Homer's school and powerful in diction, being great in metaphors and in the use of all other poetical devices. He also says that he wrote other poems, in particular the invasion of Xerxes and a hymn to Apollo, which a sister of his (or, according to Hieronymus, his daughter) afterwards burnt. The hymn she destroyed unintentionally, but the poem on the Persian war deliberately, because it was unfinished.

And in general terms he says he wrote both tragedies and political discourses. But Heraclides, the son of Sarapion, attributes the tragedies to a different author. Hieronymus declares that he had come across forty-three of these plays, while Neanthes tells us that Empedocles wrote these tragedies in his youth, and that he, Neanthes, was acquainted with seven of them.

Satyrus in his Lives says that he was also a physician and an excellent orator: at all events Gorgias of Leontini, a man pre-eminent in oratory and the author of a treatise on the art, had been his pupil. Of Gorgias Apollodorus says in his Chronology that he lived to be one hundred and nine.

Satyrus quotes this same Gorgias as saying that he himself was present when Empedocles performed magical feats. Nay more: he contends that Empedocles in his poems lays claim to this power and to much besides when he says:
And thou shalt learn all the drugs that are a defence to ward off ills and old age, since for thee alone shall I accomplish all this. Thou shalt arrest the violence of the unwearied winds that arise and sweep the earth, laying waste the cornfields with their blasts; and again, if thou so will, thou shalt call back winds in requital. Thou shalt make after the dark rain a seasonable drought for men, and again after the summer drought thou shalt cause tree-nourishing streams to pour from the sky. Thou shalt bring back from Hades a dead man's strength.

Timaeus also in the eighteenth book of his Histories remarks that Empedocles has been admired on many grounds. For instance, when the etesian winds once began to blow violently and to damage the crops, he ordered asses to be flayed and bags to be made of their skin. These he stretched out here and there on the hills and headlands to catch the wind and, because this checked the wind, he was called the wind-stayer. Heraclides in his book On Diseases says that he furnished Pausanias with the facts about the woman in a trance. This Pausanias, according to Aristippus and Satyrus, was his bosom-friend, to whom he dedicated his poem On Nature thus:

Give ear, Pausanias, thou son of Anchitus the wise!
Moreover he wrote an epigram upon him:
The physician Pausanias, rightly so named, son of Anchitus, descendant of Asclepius, was born and bred at Gela. Many a wight pining in fell torments did he bring back from Persephone's inmost shrine.
At all events Heraclides testifies that the case of the woman in a trance was such that for thirty days he kept her body without pulsation though she never breathed; and for that reason Heraclides called him not merely a physician but a diviner as well, deriving the titles from the following lines also:

My friends, who dwell in the grcat city sloping down to yellow Acragas, hard by the citadel, busied with goodly works, all hail! I go about among you an immortal god, no more a mortal, so honoured of all, as is meet, crowned with fillets and flowery garlands. Straightway as soon as I enter with these, men and women, into flourishing towns, I am reverenced and tens of

thousands follow, to learn where is the path which leads to welfare, some desirous of oracles, others suffering from all kinds of diseases, desiring to hear a message of healing.

Timaeus explains that he called Agrigentum great, inasmuch as it had 800,000 inhabitants. Hence Empedocles, he continues, speaking of their luxury, said, The Agrigentines live delicately as if tomorrow they would die, but they build their houses well as if they thought they would live for ever.

It is said that Cleomenes the rhapsode recited this very poem, the Purifications, at Olympia: so Favorinus in his Memorabilia. Aristotle too declares him to have been a champion of freedom and averse to rule of every kind, seeing that, as Xanthus relates in his account of him, he declined the kingship when it was offered to him, obviously because he preferred a frugal life.

With this Timaeus agrees, at the same time giving the reason why Empedocles favoured democracy, namely, that, having been invited to dine with one of the magistrates, when the dinner had gone on some time and no wine was put on the table, though the other guests kept quiet, he, becoming indignant, ordered wine to be brought. Then the host confessed that he was waiting for the servant of the senate to appear. When he came he was made master of the revels, clearly by the arrangement of the host, whose design of making himself tyrant was but thinly veiled, for he ordered the guests either to drink wine or have it poured over their heads. For the time being Empedocles was reduced to silence; the next day he impeached both of them, the host and the master of the revels, and secured their condemnation and execution. This, then, was the beginning of his political career.

Again, when Acron the physician asked the council for a site on which to build a monument to his father, who had been eminent among physicians, Empedocles came forward and forbade it in a speech where he enlarged upon equality and in particular put the following question: But what inscription shall we put upon it? Shall it be this?
Acron the eminent physician of Agrigentum, son of Acros, is buried beneath the steep eminence of his most eminent native city?
Others give as the second line:
Is laid in an exalted tomb on a most exalted peak.
Some attribute this couplet to Simonides.

Subsequently Empedocles broke up the assembly of the Thousand three years after it had been set up, which proves not only that he was wealthy but that he favoured the popular cause. At all events Timaeus in his eleventh and twelfth books (for he mentions him more than once) states that he seems to have held opposite views when in public life and when writing poetry. In some passages one may see that he is boastful and selfish. At any rate these are his words:
All hail! I go about among you an immortal god, no more a mortal, etc.
At the time when he visited Olympia he demanded an excessive deference, so that never was anyone so talked about in gatherings of friends as Empedocles.

Subsequently, however, when Agrigentum came to regret him, the descendants of his personal enemies opposed his return home; and this was why he went to Peloponnesus, where he died. Nor did Timon let even him alone, but fastens upon him in these words:
Empedocles, too, mouthing tawdry verses; to all that had independent force, he gave a separate existence; and the principles he chose need others to explain them.

As to his death different accounts are given. Thus Heraclides, after telling the story of the

woman in a trance, how that Empedocles became famous because he had sent away the dead woman alive, goes on to say that he was offering a sacrifice close to the field of Peisianax. Some of his friends had been invited to the sacrifice, including Pausanias.

Then, after the feast, the remainder of the company dispersed and retired to rest, some under the trees in the adjoining field, others wherever they chose, while Empedocles himself remained on the spot where he had reclined at table. At daybreak all got up, and he was the only one missing. A search was made, and they questioned the servants, who said they did not know where he was. Thereupon someone said that in the middle of the night he heard an exceedingly loud voice calling Empedocles. Then he got up and beheld a light in the heavens and a glitter of lamps, but nothing else. His hearers were amazed at what had occurred, and Pausanias came down and sent people to search for him. But later he bade them take no further trouble, for things beyond expectation had happened to him, and it was their duty to sacrifice to him since he was now a god.

Hermippus tells us that Empedocles cured Panthea, a woman of Agrigentum, who had been given up by the physicians, and this was why he was offering sacrifice, and that those invited were about eighty in number. Hippobotus, again, asserts that, when he got up, he set out on his way to Etna; then, when he had reached it, he plunged into the fiery craters and disappeared, his intention being to confirm the report that he had become a god. Afterwards the truth was known, because one of his slippers was thrown up in the flames; it had been his custom to wear slippers of bronze. To this story Pausanias is made (by Heraclides) to take exception.

Diodorus of Ephesus, when writing of Anaximander, declares that Empedocles emulated him, displaying theatrical arrogance and wearing stately robes. We are told that the people of Selinus suffered from pestilence owing to the noisome smells from the river hard by, so that the citizens themselves perished and their women died in childbirth, that Empedocles conceived the plan of bringing two neighbouring rivers to the place at his own expense, and that by this admixture he sweetened the waters. When in this way the pestilence had been stayed and the Selinuntines were feasting on the river bank, Empedocles appeared; and the company rose up and worshipped and prayed to him as to a god. It was then to confirm this belief of theirs that he leapt into the fire.

These stories are contradicted by Timaeus, who expressly says that he left Sicily for Peloponnesus and never returned at all; and this is the reason Timaeus gives for the fact that the manner of his death is unknown. He replies to Heraclides, whom he mentions by name, in his fourteenth book. Pisianax, he says, was a citizen of Syracuse and possessed no land at Agrigentum. Further, if such a story had been in circulation, Pausanias would have set up a monument to his friend, as to a god, in the form of a statue or shrine, for he was a wealthy man. How came he, adds Timaeus, to leap into the craters, which he had never once mentioned though they were not far off? He must then have died in Peloponnesus.

It is not at all surprising that his tomb is not found; the same is true of many other men. After urging some such arguments Timaeus goes on to say, But Heraclides is everywhere just such a collector of absurdities, telling us, for instance, that a man dropped down to earth from the moon.

Hippobotus assures us that formerly there was in Agrigentum a statue of Empedocles with his head covered, and afterwards another with the head uncovered in front of the Senate House at

Rome, which plainly the Romans had removed to that site. For portrait-statues with inscriptions are extant even now. Neanthes of Cyzicus, who tells about the Pythagoreans, relates that, after the death of Meton, the germs of a tyranny began to show themselves, that then it was Empedocles who persuaded the Agrigentines to put an end to their factions and cultivate equality in politics.

Moreover, from his abundant means he bestowed dowries upon many of the maidens of the city who had no dowry. No doubt it was the same means that enabled him to don a purple robe and over it a golden girdle, as Favorinus relates in his Memorabilia, and again slippers of bronze and a Delphic laurel-wreath. He had thick hair, and a train of boy attendants. He himself was always grave, and kept this gravity of demeanour unshaken. In such sort would he appear in public; when the citizens met him, they recognized in this demeanour the stamp, as it were, of royalty. But afterwards, as he was going in a carriage to Messene to attend some festival, he fell and broke his thigh; this brought an illness which caused his death at the age of seventy-seven. Moreover, his tomb is in Megara.

As to his age, Aristotle's account is different, for he makes him to have been sixty when he died; while others make him one hundred and nine. He flourished in the 84th Olympiad. Demetrius of Troezen in his pamphlet Against the Sophists said of him, adapting the words of Homer:
He tied a noose that hung aloft from a tall cornel-tree and thrust his neck into it, and his soul went down to Hades.

In the short letter of Telauges which was mentioned above it is stated that by reason of his age he slipped into the sea and was drowned. Thus and thus much of his death.

There is an epigram of my own on him in my Pammetros in a satirical vein, as follows:

Thou, Empedocles, didst cleanse thy body with nimble flame, fire didst thou drink from everlasting bowls. I will not say that of thine own will thou didst hurl thyself into the stream of Etna; thou didst fall in against thy will when thou wouldst fain not have been found out.
And another:
Verily there is a tale about the death of Empedocles, how that once he fell from a carriage and broke his right thigh. But if he leapt into the bowls of fire and so took a draught of life, how was it that his tomb was shown still in Megara?

His doctrines were as follows, that there are four elements, fire, water, earth and air, besides friendship by which these are united, and strife by which they are separated. These are his words:
Shining Zeus and life-bringing Hera, Aidoneus and Nestis, who lets flow from her tears the source of mortal life,
where by Zeus he means fire, by Hera earth, by Aidoneus air, and by Nestis water.

And their continuous change, he says, never ceases, as if this ordering of things were eternal. At all events he goes on:
At one time all things uniting in one through Love, at another each carried in a different direction through the hatred born of strife.

The sun he calls a vast collection of fire and larger than the moon; the moon, he says, is of the shape of a quoit, and the heaven itself crystalline. The soul, again, assumes all the various forms of animals and plants. At any rate he says:
Before now I was born a boy and a maid, a bush and a bird, and a dumb fish leaping out of the

sea.

His poems On Nature and Purifications run to 5000 lines, his Discourse on Medicine to 600. Of the tragedies we have spoken above.

Chapter 3. EPICHARMUS (c. 550-460 B.C.)

Epicharmus of Cos, son of Helothales, was another pupil of Pythagoras. When three months old he was sent to Megara in Sicily and thence to Syracuse, as he tells us in his own writings. On his statue this epigram is written:
If the great sun outshines the other stars,

If the great sea is mightier than the streams,

So Epicharmus' wisdom all excelled,

Whom Syracuse his fatherland thus crowned.
He has left memoirs containing his physical, ethical and medical doctrines, and he has made marginal notes in most of the memoirs, which clearly show that they were written by him. He died at the age of ninety.

Chapter 4. ARCHYTAS (fourth century B.C.)

Archytas of Tarentum, son of Mnesagoras or, if we may believe Aristoxenus, of Hestiaeus, was another of the Pythagoreans. He it was whose letter saved Plato when he was about to be put to death by Dionysius. He was generally admired for his excellence in all fields; thus he was generalissimo of his city seven times, while the law excluded all others even from a second year of command. We have two letters written to him by Plato, he having first written to Plato in these terms:

Archytas wishes Plato good health.

You have done well to get rid of your ailment, as we learn both from your own message and through Lamiscus that you have: we attended to the matter of the memoirs and went up to Lucania where we found the true progeny of Ocellus [to wit, his writings]. We did get the works On Law, On Kingship, Of Piety, and On the Origin of the Universe, all of which we have sent on to you; but the rest are, at present, nowhere to be found; if they should turn up, you shall have them.

This is Archytas's letter; and Plato's answer is as follows:

Plato to Archytas greeting.

I was overjoyed to get the memoirs which you sent, and I am very greatly pleased with the writer of them; he seems to be a right worthy descendant of his distant forbears. They came, so it is said, from Myra, and were among those who emigrated from Troy in Laomedon's time, really good men, as the traditional story shows. Those memoirs of mine about which you wrote are not yet in a fit state; but such as they are I have sent them on to you. We both agree about their custody, so I need not give any advice on that head. Farewell.

These then are the letters which passed between them.

Four men have borne the name of Archytas: (1) our subject; (2) a musician, of Mytilene; (3) the compiler of a work On Agriculture; (4) a writer of epigrams. Some speak of a fifth, an architect,

to whom is attributed a book On Mechanism which begins like this: These things I learnt from Teucer of Carthage. A tale is told of the musician that, when it was cast in his teeth that he could not be heard, he replied, Well, my instrument shall speak for me and win the day.

Aristoxenus says that our Pythagorean was never defeated during his whole generalship, though he once resigned it owing to bad feeling against him, whereupon the army at once fell into the hands of the enemy.

He was the first to bring mechanics to a system by applying mathematical principles; he also first employed mechanical motion in a geometrical construction, namely, when he tried, by means of a section of a half-cylinder, to find two mean proportionals in order to duplicate the cube. In geometry, too, he was the first to discover the cube, as Plato says in the Republic.

Chapter 5. ALCMAEON

Alcmaeon of Croton, another disciple of Pythagoras, wrote chiefly on medicine, but now and again he touches on natural philosophy, as when he says, Most human affairs go in pairs. He is thought to have been the first to compile a physical treatise, so we learn from Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History; and he said that the moon [and] generally [the heavenly bodies] are in their nature eternal.

He was the son of Pirithous, as he himself tells us at the beginning of his treatise: These are the words of Alcmaeon of Croton, son of Pirithous, which he spake to Brotinus, Leon and Bathyllus: Of things invisible, as of mortal things, only the gods have certain knowledge; but to us, as men, only inference from evidence is possible, and so on. He held also that the soul is immortal and that it is continuously in motion like the sun.

Chapter 6. HIPPASUS (fourth century B.C.)

Hippasus of Metapontum was another Pythagorean, who held that there is a definite time which the changes in the universe take to complete and that the All is limited and ever in motion.

According to Demetrius in his work on Men of the Same Name, he left nothing in writing. There were two men named Hippasus, one being our subject, and the other a man who wrote The Laconian Constitution in five books; and he himself was a Lacedaemonian.

Chapter 7. PHILOLAUS (Perhaps late fifth century)

Philolaus of Croton was a Pythagorean, and it was from him that Plato requests Dion to buy the Pythagorean treatises. He (Dion) was put to death because he was thought to be aiming at a tyranny. This is what we have written upon him:
Fancies of all things are most flattering;

If you intend, but do not, you are lost.

So Croton taught Philolaus to his cost,

Who fancied he would like to be their king.

His doctrine is that all things are brought about by necessity and in harmonious inter-relation. He was the first to declare that the earth moves in a circle, though some say that it was Hicetas of Syracuse.

He wrote one book, and it was this work which, according to Hermippus, some writer said that

Plato the philosopher, when he went to Sicily to Dionysius's court, bought from Philolaus's relatives for the sum of forty Alexandrine minas of silver, from which also the Timaeus was transcribed. Others say that Plato received it as a present for having procured from Dionysius the release of a young disciple of Philolaus who had been cast into prison.

According to Demetrius in his work on Men of the Same Name, Philolaus was the first to publish the Pythagorean treatises, to which he gave the title On Nature, beginning as follows: Nature in the ordered universe was composed of unlimited and limiting elements, and so was the whole universe and all that is therein.

Chapter 8. EUDOXUS (c. 407-357 B.C.)

Eudoxus of Cnidos, the son of Aeschines, was an astronomer, a geometer, a physician and a legislator. He learned geometry from Archytas and medicine from Philistion the Sicilian, as Callimachus tells us in his Tables. Sotion in his Successions of Philosophers says that he was also a pupil of Plato. When he was about twenty-three years old and in straitened circumstances, he was attracted by the reputation of the Socratics and set sail for Athens with Theomedon the physician, who provided for his wants. Some even say that he was Theomedon's favourite. Having disembarked at Piraeus he went up every day to Athens and, when he had attended the Sophists' lectures, returned again to the port.

After spending two months there, he went home and, aided by the liberality of his friends, he proceeded to Egypt with Chrysippus the physician, bearing with him letters of introduction from Agesilaus to Nectanabis, who recommended him to the priests. There he remained one year and four months with his beard and eyebrows shaved, and there, some say, he wrote his Octaëteris. From there he went to Cyzicus and the Propontis, giving lectures; afterwards he came to the court of Mausolus. Then at length he returned to Athens, bringing with him a great number of pupils: according to some, this was for the purpose of annoying Plato, who had originally passed him over.

Some say that, when Plato gave a banquet, Eudoxus, owing to the numbers present, introduced the fashion of arranging couches in a semicircle. Nicomachus, the son of Aristotle, states that he declared pleasure to be the good.He was received in his native city with great honour, proof of this being the decree concerning him. But he also became famous throughout Greece, as legislator for his fellow-citizens, so we learn from Hermippus in his fourth book On the Seven Sages, and as the author of astronomical and geometrical treatises and other important works.

He had three daughters, Actis, Philtis and Delphis.

Eratosthenes in his writings addressed to Baton tells us that he also composed Dialogues of Dogs; others say that they were written by Egyptians in their own language and that he translated them and published them in Greece. Chrysippus of Cnidos, the son of Erineus, attended his lectures on the gods, the world, and the phenomena of the heavens, while in medicine he was the pupil of Philistion the Sicilian.

Eudoxus also left some excellent commentaries. He had a son Aristagoras, who had a son Chrysippus, the pupil of Aëthlius. To this Chrysippus we owe a medical work on the treatment of the eye, speculations upon nature having occupied his mind.

Three men have borne the name of Eudoxus: (1) our present subject; (2) a historian, of Rhodes; (3) a Sicilian Greek, the son of Agathocles, a comic poet, who three times won the prize in the

city Dionysia and five times at the Lenaea, so we are told by Apollodorus in his Chronology. We also find another physician of Cnidos mentioned by Eudoxus in his Geography as advising people to be always exercising their limbs by every form of gymnastics, and their sense-organs in the same way.

The same authority, Apollodorus, states that Eudoxus of Cnidos flourished about the 103rd Olympiad, and that he discovered the properties of curves. He died in his fifty-third year. When he was in Egypt with Chonuphis of Heliopolis, the sacred bull Apis licked his cloak. From this the priests foretold that he would be famous but shortlived, so we are informed by Favorinus in his Memorabilia.

There is a poem of our own upon him, which runs thus:
It is said that at Memphis Eudoxus learned his coming fate from the bull with beautiful horns. No words did it utter; for whence comes speech to a bull? Nature did not provide the young bull Apis with a chattering tongue. But, standing sideways by him, it licked his robe, by which it plainly prophesied you shall soon die. Whereupon, soon after, this fate overtook him, when he had seen fifty-three risings of the Pleiades.

Eudoxus used to be called Endoxos (illustrious) instead of Eudoxus by reason of his brilliant reputation.

Having now dealt with the famous Pythagoreans, let us next discuss the so-called sporadic philosophers. And first we must speak of Heraclitus.

BOOK IX

Chapter 1. HERACLITUS

Heraclitus, son of Bloson or, according to some, of Heracon, was a native of Ephesus. He flourished in the 69th Olympiad. He was lofty-minded beyond all other men, and over-weening, as is clear from his book in which he says: Much learning does not teach understanding; else would it have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, or, again, Xenophanes and Hecataeus. For this one thing is wisdom, to understand thought, as that which guides all the world everywhere. And he used to say that Homer deserved to be chased out of the lists and beaten with rods, and Archilochus likewise.

Again he would say: There is more need to extinguish insolence than an outbreak of fire, and The people must fight for the law as for citywalls. He attacks the Ephesians, too, for banishing his friend Hermodorus: he says: The Ephesians would do well to end their lives, every grown man of them, and leave the city to beardless boys, for that they have driven out Hermodorus, the worthiest man among them, saying, We will have none who is worthiest among us; or if there be any such, let him go elsewhere and consort with others. And when he was requested by them to make laws, he scorned the request because the state was already in the grip of a bad constitution.

He would retire to the temple of Artemis and play at knuckle-bones with the boys; and when the Ephesians stood round him and looked on, Why, you rascals, he said, are you astonished? Is it not better to do this than to take part in your civil life?

Finally, he became a hater of his kind and wandered on the mountains, and there he continued to live, making his diet of grass and herbs. However, when this gave him dropsy, he made his

way back to the city and put this riddle to the physicians, whether they were competent to create a drought after heavy rain. They could make nothing of this, whereupon he buried himself in a cowshed, expecting that the noxious damp humour would be drawn out of him by the warmth of the manure. But, as even this was of no avail, he died at the age of sixty.

There is a piece of my own about him as follows:
Often have I wondered how it came about that Heraclitus endured to live in this miserable fashion and then to die. For a fell disease flooded his body with water, quenched the light in his eyes and brought on darkness.

Hermippus, too, says that he asked the doctors whether anyone could by emptying the intestines draw off the moisture; and when they said it was impossible, he put himself in the sun and bade his servants plaster him over with cow-dung. Being thus stretched and prone, he died the next day and was buried in the market-place. Neanthes of Cyzicus states that, being unable to tear off the dung, he remained as he was and, being unrecognizable when so transformed, he was devoured by dogs.

He was exceptional from his boyhood; for when a youth he used to say that he knew nothing, although when he was grown up he claimed that he knew everything. He was nobody's pupil, but he declared that he inquired of himself, and learned everything from himself. Some, however, had said that he had been a pupil of Xenophanes, as we learn from Sotion, who also tells us that Ariston in his book On Heraclitus declares that he was cured of the dropsy and died of another disease. And Hippobotus has the same story.

As to the work which passes as his, it is a continuous treatise On Nature, but is divided into three discourses, one on the universe, another on politics, and a third on theology.

This book he deposited in the temple of Artemis and, according to some, he deliberately made it the more obscure in order that none but adepts should approach it, and lest familiarity should breed contempt. Of our philosopher Timon gives a sketch in these words:
In their midst uprose shrill, cuckoo-like, a mob-reviler, riddling Heraclitus.

Theophrastus puts it down to melancholy that some parts of his work are half-finished, while other parts make a strange medley. As a proof of his magnanimity Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers cites the fact that he renounced his claim to the kingship in favour of his brother. So great fame did his book win that a sect was founded and called the Heracliteans, after him.

Here is a general summary of his doctrines. All things are composed of fire, and into fire they are again resolved; further, all things come about by destiny, and existent things are brought into harmony by the clash of opposing currents; again, all things are filled with souls and divinities. He has also given an account of all the orderly happenings in the universe, and declares the sun to be no larger than it appears. Another of his sayings is: Of soul thou shalt never find boundaries, not if thou trackest it on every path; so deep is its cause. Self-conceit he used to call a falling sickness (epilepsy) and eyesight a lying sense. Sometimes, however, his utterances are clear and distinct, so that even the dullest can easily understand and derive therefrom elevation of soul. For brevity and weightiness his exposition is incomparable.

Coming now to his particular tenets, we may state them as follows: fire is the element, all things are exchange for fire and come into being by rarefaction and condensation; but of this he gives no clear explanation. All things come into being by conflict of opposites, and the sum of things

flows like a stream. Further, all that is is limited and forms one world. And it is alternately born from fire and again resolved into fire in fixed cycles to all eternity, and this is determined by destiny. Of the opposites that which tends to birth or creation is called war and strife, and that which tends to destruction by fire is called concord and peace. Change he called a pathway up and down, and this determines the birth of the world.

For fire by contracting turns into moisture, and this condensing turns into water; water again when congealed turns into earth. This process he calls the downward path. Then again earth is liquefied, and thus gives rise to water, and from water the rest of the series is derived. He reduces nearly everything to exhalation from the sea. This process is the upward path. Exhalations arise from earth as well as from sea; those from sea are bright and pure, those from earth dark. Fire is fed by the bright exhalations, the moist element by the others. He does not make clear the nature of the surrounding element. He says, however, that there are in it bowls with their concavities turned towards us, in which the bright exhalations collect and produce flames. These are the stars.

The flame of the sun is the brightest and the hottest; the other stars are further from the earth and for that reason give it less light and heat. The moon, which is nearer to the earth, traverses a region which is not pure. The sun, however, moves in a clear and untroubled region, and keeps a proportionate distance from us. That is why it gives us more heat and light. Eclipses of the sun and moon occur when the bowls are turned upwards; the monthly phases of the moon are due to the bowl turning round in its place little by little. Day and night, months, seasons and years, rains and winds and other similar phenomena are accounted for by the various exhalations.

Thus the bright exhalation, set aflame in the hollow orb of the sun, produces day, the opposite exhalation when it has got the mastery causes night; the increase of warmth due to the bright exhalation produces summer, whereas the preponderance of moisture due to the dark exhalation brings about winter. His explanations of other phenomena are in harmony with this. He gives no account of the nature of the earth, nor even of the bowls. These, then, were his opinions.

The story told by Ariston of Socrates, and his remarks when he came upon the book of Heraclitus, which Euripides brought him, I have mentioned in my Life of Socrates.

However, Seleucus the grammarian says that a certain Croton relates in his book called The Diver that the said work of Heraclitus was first brought into Greece by one Crates, who further said it required a Delian diver not to be drowned in it. The title given to it by some is The Muses, by others Concerning Nature; but Diodotus calls it

A helm unerring for the rule of life;

others a guide of conduct, the keel of the whole world, for one and all alike. We are told that, when asked why he kept silence, he replied, Why, to let you chatter. Darius, too, was eager to make his acquaintance, and wrote to him as follows:

King Darius, son of Hystaspes, to Heraclitus the wise man of Ephesus, greeting.

You are the author of a treatise On Nature which is hard to understand and hard to interpret. In certain parts, if it be interpreted word for word, it seems to contain a power of speculation on the whole universe and all that goes on within it, which depends upon motion most divine; but for the most part judgement is suspended, so that even those who are the most conversant with

literature are at a loss to know what is the right interpretation of your work. Accordingly King Darius, son of Hystaspes, wishes to enjoy your instruction and Greek culture. Come then with all speed to see me at my palace.

For the Greeks as a rule are not prone to mark their wise men; nay, they neglect their excellent precepts which make for good hearing and learning. But at my court there is secured for you every privilege and daily conversation of a good and worthy kind, and a life in keeping with your counsels.

Heraclitus of Ephesus to King Darius, son of Hystaspes, greeting.

All men upon earth hold aloof from truth and justice, while, by reason of wicked folly, they devote themselves to avarice and thirst for popularity. But I, being forgetful of all wickedness, shunning the general satiety which is closely joined with envy, and because I have a horror of splendour, could not come to Persia, being content with little, when that little is to my mind.

So independent was he even when dealing with a king.

Demetrius, in his book on Men of the Same Name, says that he despised even the Athenians, although held by them in the highest estimation; and, notwithstanding that the Ephesians thought little of him, he preferred his own home the more. Demetrius of Phalerum, too, mentions him in his Defence of Socrates; and the commentators on his work are very numerous, including as they do Antishenes and Heraclides of Pontus, Cleanthes and Sphaerus the Stoic, and again Pausanias who was called the imitator of Heraclitus, Nicomedes, Dionysius, and, among the grammarians, Diodotus. The latter affirms that it is not a treatise upon nature, but upon government, the physical part serving merely for illustration.

Hieronymus tells us that Scythinus, the satirical poet, undertook to put the discourse of Heraclitus into verse. He is the subject of many epigrams, and amongst them of this one:
Heraclitus am I. Why do ye drag me up and down, ye illiterate? It was not for you I toiled, but for such as understand me. One man in my sight is a match for thirty thousand, but the countless hosts do not make a single one. This I proclaim, yea in the halls of Persephone.

Another runs as follows:
Do not be in too great a hurry to get to the end of Heraclitus the Ephesian's book: the path is hard to travel. Gloom is there and darkness devoid of light. But if an initiate be your guide, the path shines brighter than sunlight.

Five men have borne the name of Heraclitus: (1) our philosopher; (2) a lyric poet, who wrote a hymn of praise to the twelve gods; (3) an elegiac poet of Halicarnassus, on whom Callimachus wrote the following epitaph:

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead,

They brought me bitter news to hear and bitter tears to shed.

I wept as I remembered how often you and I

Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.

And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian guest,

A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest,

Still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake;

For Death, he taketh all away, but them he cannot take;
(4) a Lesbian who wrote a history of Macedonia; (5) a jester who adopted this profession after having been a musician.

Chapter 2. XENOPHANESDiels (Dox. Gr. p. 140) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. i. 14. 1; Plutarch, Strom. 4; Aëtius, i. 3. 12, ii. 4. 11, ii. 20. 3, iii. 9. 4, ii. 24. 9, i. 3. 12, iii. 16. 5, ultimately from Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 5, Fr. 16. (570-478 B.C.)

Xenophanes, a native of Colophon, the son of Dexius, or, according to Apollodorus, of Orthomenes, is praised by Timon, whose words at all events are:
Xenophanes, not over-proud, perverter of Homer, castigator.
He was banished from his native city and lived at Zancle in Sicily [and having joined the colony planted at Elea taught there]. He also lived in Catana. According to some he was no man's pupil, according to others he was a pupil of Boton of Athens, or, as some say, of Archelaus. Sotion makes him a contemporary of Anaximander. His writings are in epic metre, as well as elegiacs and iambics attacking Hesiod and Homer and denouncing what they said about the gods. Furthermore he used to recite his own poems. It is stated that he opposed the views of Thales and Pythagoras, and attacked Epimenides also. He lived to a very great age, as his own words somewhere testify:

Seven and sixty are now the years that have been tossing my cares up and down the land of Greece; and there were then twenty and five years more from my birth up, if I know how to speak truly about these things.

He holds that there are four elements of existent things, and worlds unlimited in number but not overlapping [in time]. Clouds are formed when the vapour from the sun is carried upwards and lifts them into the surrounding air. The substance of God is spherical, in no way resembling man. He is all eye and all ear, but does not breathe; he is the totality of mind and thought, and is eternal. Xenophanes was the first to declare that everything which comes into being is doomed to perish, and that the soul is breath.

He also said that the mass of things falls short of thought; and again that our encounters with tyrants should be as few, or else as pleasant, as possible. When Empedocles remarked to him that it is impossible to find a wise man, Naturally, he replied, for it takes a wise man to recognize a wise man. Sotion says that he was the first to maintain that all things are incognizable, but Sotion is in error.

One of his poems is The Founding of Colophon, and another The Settlement of a Colony at Elea in Italy, making 2000 lines in all. He flourished about the 60th Olympiad. That he buried his sons with his own hands like Anaxagoras is stated by Demetrius of Phalerum in his work On Old Age and by Panaetius the Stoic in his book Of Cheerfulness. He is believed to have been sold into slavery by [... and to have been set free by] the Pythagoreans Parmeniscus and Orestades: so Favorinus in the first book of his Memorabilia. There was also another Xenophanes, of Lesbos, an iambic poet.

Such were the sporadic philosophers.

Chapter 3. PARMENIDESDiels (op. cit. p. 141) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haer. i. 11. 1, 2; Plutarch, Strom. 5; Aëtius, i. 3. 14, iv. 9. 1, iv. 5. 12, iii. 15. 7; ultimately

from Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 6. 7, 17. [flor. c. 500 B.C.]

Parmenides, a native of Elea, son of Pyres, was a pupil of Xenophanes (Theophrastus in his Epitome makes him a pupil of Anaximander). Parmenides, however, though he was instructed by Xenophanes, was no follower of his. According to Sotion he also associated with Ameinias the Pythagorean, who was the son of Diochaetas and a worthy gentleman though poor. This Ameinias he was more inclined to follow,

and on his death he built a shrine to him, being himself of illustrious birth and possessed of great wealth; moreover it was Ameinias and not Xenophanes who led him to adopt the peaceful life of a student.

He was the first to declare that the earth is spherical and is situated in the centre of the universe. He held that there were two elements, fire and earth, and that the former discharged the function of a craftsman, the latter of his material.

The generation of man proceeded from the sun as first cause; heat and cold, of which all things consist, surpass the sun itself. Again he held that soul and mind are one and the same, as Theophrastus mentions in his Physics, where he is setting forth the tenets of almost all the schools. He divided his philosophy into two parts dealing the one with truth, the other with opinion. Hence he somewhere says:
Thou must needs learn all things, as well the unshakeable heart of well-rounded truth as the opinions of mortals in which there is no sure trust.

Our philosopher too commits his doctrines to verse just as did Hesiod, Xenophanes and Empedocles. He made reason the standard and pronounced sensations to be inexact. At all events his words are:
And let not long-practised wont force thee to tread this path, to be governed by an aimless eye, an echoing ear and a tongue, but do thou with understanding bring the muchcontested issue to decision.

Hence Timon says of him:
And the strength of high-souled Parmenides, of no diverse opinions, who introduced thought instead of imagination’s deceit.
It was about him that Plato wrote a dialogue with the title Parmenides or Concerning Ideas.

He flourished in the 69th Olympiad. He is believed to have been the first to detect the identity of Hesperus, the evening-star, and Phosphorus, the morning-star; so Favorinus in the fifth book of his Memorabilia; but others attribute this to Pythagoras, whereas Callimachus holds that the poem in question was not the work of Pythagoras. Parmenides is said to have served his native city as a legislator: so we learn from Speusippus in his book On Philosophers. Also to have been the first to use the argument known as Achilles [and the tortoise]: so Favorinus tells us in his Miscellaneous History.

There was also another Parmenides, a rhetorician who wrote a treatise on his art.

Chapter 4. MELISSUS

Melissus, the son of Ithaegenes, was a native of Samos. He was a pupil of Parmenides. Moreover he came into relations with Heraclitus, on which occasion the latter was introduced by him to the Ephesians, who did not know him, as Democritus was to the citizens of Abdera by

Hippocrates. He took part also in politics and won the approval of his countrymen, and for this reason he was elected admiral and won more admiration than ever through his own merit.

In his view the universe was unlimited, unchangeable and immovable, and was one, uniform and full of matter. There was no real, but only apparent, motion. Moreover he said that we ought not to make any statements about the gods, for it was impossible to have knowledge of them.

According to Apollodorus, he flourished in the 84th Olympiad.

Chapter 5. ZENO OF ELEA

Zeno was a citizen of Elea. Apollodorus in his Chronology says that he was the son of Teleutagoras by birth, but of Parmenides by adoption, while Parmenides was the son of Pyres. Of Zeno and Melissus Timon speaks thus:
Great Zeno's strength which, never known to fail,

On each side urged, on each side could prevail.

In marshalling arguments Melissus too,

More skilled than many a one, and matched by few.

Zeno, then, was all through a pupil of Parmenides and his bosom friend. He was tall in stature, as Plato says in his Parmenides. The same philosopher [mentions him] in his Sophist, [and Phaedrus,] and calls him the Eleatic Palamedes. Aristotle says that Zeno was the inventor of dialectic, as Empedocles was of rhetoric.

He was a truly noble character both as philosopher and as politician; at all events, his extant books are brimful of intellect. Again, he plotted to overthrow Nearchus the tyrant (or, according to others, Diomedon) but was arrested: so Heraclides in his epitome of Satyrus. On that occasion he was crossexamined as to his accomplices and about the arms which he was conveying to Lipara; he denounced all the tyrant's own friends, wishing to make him destitute of supporters. Then, saying that he had something to tell him about certain people in his private ear, he laid hold of it with his teeth and did not let go until stabbed to death, meeting the same fate as Aristogiton the tyrannicide.

Demetrius in his work on Men of the Same Name says that he bit off, not the ear, but the nose. According to Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers, after informing against the tyrant's friends, he was asked by the tyrant whether there was anyone else in the plot; whereupon he replied, Yes, you, the curse of the city!; and to the bystanders he said, I marvel at your cowardice, that, for fear of any of those things which I am now enduring, you should be the tyrant's slaves. And at last he bit off his tongue and spat it at him; and his fellow-citizens were so worked upon that they forthwith stoned the tyrant to death. In this version of the story most authors nearly agree, but Hermippus says he was cast into a mortar and beaten to death.

Of him also I have written as follows:
You wished, Zeno, and noble was your wish, to slay the tyrant and set Elea free from bondage. But you were crushed; for, as all know, the tyrant caught you and beat you in a mortar. But what is this that I say? It was your body that he beat, and not you.

In all other respects Zeno was a gallant man; and in particular he despised the great no less than Heraclitus. For example, his native place, the Phocaean colony, once known as Hyele and

afterwards as Elea, a city of moderate size, skilled in nothing but to rear brave men, he preferred before all the splendour of Athens, hardly paying the Athenians a visit, but living all his life at home.

He was the first to propound the argument of the Achilles, which Favorinus attributes to Parmenides, and many other arguments. His views are as follows. There are worlds, but there is no empty space. The substance of all things came from hot and cold, and dry and moist, which change into one another. The generation of man proceeds from earth, and the soul is formed by a union of all the foregoing, so blended that no one element predominates.

We are told that once when he was reviled he lost his temper, and, in reply to some one who blamed him for this, he said, If when I am abused I pretend that I am not, then neither shall I be aware of it if I am praised.

The fact that there were eight men of the name of Zeno we have already mentioned under Zeno of Citium. Our philosopher flourished in the 79th Olympiad.

Chapter 6. LEUCIPPUSWith the account of Leucippus and Democritus Diels (op. cit. p. 142) compares Hippolytus, Ref. Haeres. i. 12. 1-2 and i. 13. 1; Aëtius i. 3. 15, i. 18. 3, ii. 1. 4, ii. 2. 2, ii. 7. 2, i. 3. 16; ultimately from Theophrastus, Phys. Opin. Fr. 8.

Leucippus was born at Elea, but some say at Abdera and others at Miletus. He was a pupil of Zeno. His views were these. The sum of things is unlimited, and they all change into one another. The All includes the empty as well as the full. The worlds are formed when atoms fall into the void and are entangled with one another; and from their motion as they increase in bulk arises the substance of the stars. The sun revolves in a larger circle round the moon. The earth rides steadily, being whirled about the centre; its shape is like that of a drum. Leucippus was the first to set up atoms as first principles. Such is a general summary of his views; on particular points they are as follows.

He declares the All to be unlimited, as already stated; but of the All part is full and part empty, and these he calls elements. Out of them arise the worlds unlimited in number and into them they are dissolved. This is how the worlds are formed. In a given section many atoms of all manner of shapes are carried from the unlimited into the vast empty space. These collect together and form a single vortex, in which they jostle against each other and, circling round in every possible way, separate off, by like atoms joining like. And, the atoms being so numerous that they can no longer revolve in equilibrium, the light ones pass into the empty space outside, as if they were being winnowed; the remainder keep together and, becoming entangled, go on their circuit together, and form a primary spherical system.

This parts off like a shell, enclosing within it atoms of all kinds; and, as these are whirled round by virtue of the resistance of the centre, the enclosing shell becomes thinner, the adjacent atoms continually combining when they touch the vortex.

In this way the earth is formed by portions brought to the centre coalescing. And again, even the outer shell grows larger by the influx of atoms from outside, and, as it is carried round in the vortex, adds to itself whatever atoms it touches. And of these some portions are locked together and form a mass, at first damp and miry, but, when they have dried and revolve with the

universal vortex, they afterwards take fire and form the substance of the stars.

The orbit of the sun is the outermost, that of the moon nearest to the earth; the orbits of the other heavenly bodies lie between these two. All the stars are set on fire by the speed of their motion; the burning of the sun is also helped by the stars; the moon is only slightly kindled. The sun and the moon are eclipsed [when ..., but the obliquity of the zodiacal circle is due] to the inclination of the earth to the south; the regions of the north are always shrouded in mist, and are extremely cold and frozen. Eclipses of the sun are rare; eclipses of the moon constantly occur, and this because their orbits are unequal. As the world is born, so, too, it grows, decays and perishes, in virtue of some necessity, the nature of which he does [not] specify.

Chapter 7. DEMOCRITUS(? 460-357 B.C.)

Democritus was the son of Hegesistratus, though some say of Athenocritus, and others again of Damasippus. He was a native of Abdera or, according to some, of Miletus. He was a pupil of certain Magians and Chaldaeans. For when King Xerxes was entertained by the father of Democritus he left men in charge, as, in fact, is stated by Herodotus; and from these men, while still a boy, he learned theology and astronomy. Afterwards he met Leucippus and, according to some, Anaxagoras, being forty years younger than the latter. But Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History tells us that Democritus, speaking of Anaxagoras, declared that his views on the sun and the moon were not original but of great antiquity, and that he had simply stolen them.

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Democritus also pulled to pieces the views of Anaxagoras on cosmogony and on mind, having a spite against him, because Anbaxagoras did not take to him. If this be so, how could he have been his pupil, as some suggest?

According to Demetrius in his book on Men of the Same Name and Antisthenes in his Successions of Philosophers, he travelled into Egypt to learn geometry from the priests, and he also went into Persia to visit the Chaldaeans as well as to the Red Sea. Some say that he associated with the Gymnosophists in India and went to Aethiopia. Also that, being the third son, he divided the family property. Most authorities will have it that he chose the smaller portion, which was in money, because he had need of this to pay the cost of travel; besides, his brothers were crafty enough to foresee that this would be his choice.

Demetrius estimates his share at over 100 talents, the whole of which he spent. His industry, says the same author, was so great that he cut off a little room in the garden round the house and shut himself up there. One day his father brought an ox to sacrifice and tied it there, and he was not aware of it for a considerable time, until his father roused him to attend the sacrifice and told him about the ox. Demetrius goes on: It would seem that he also went to Athens and was not anxious to be recognized, because he despised fame, and that while he knew of Socrates, he was not known to Socrates, his words being, I came to Athens and no one knew me.

If the Rivals be the work of Plato, says Thrasylus, Democritus will be the unnamed character, different from Oenopides and Anaxagoras, who makes his appearance when conversation is going on with Socrates about philosophy, and to whom Socrates says that the philosopher is like the all-round athlete. And truly Democritus was versed in every department of philosophy, for he had trained himself both in physics and in ethics, nay more, in mathematics and the routine subjects of education, and he was quite an expert in the arts. From him we have the saying,

Speech is the shadow of action. Demetrius of Phalerum in his Defence of Socrates affirms that he did not even visit Athens. This is to make the larger claim, namely, that he thought that great city beneath his notice, because he did not care to win fame from a place, but preferred himself to make a place famous.

His character can also be seen from his writings. He would seem, says Thrasylus, to have been an admirer of the Pythagoreans. Moreover, he mentions Pythagoras himself, praising him in a work of his own entitled Pythagoras. He seems to have taken all his ideas from him and, if chronology did not stand in the way, he might have been thought his pupil. Glaucus of Rhegium certainly says that he was taught by one of the Pythagoreans, and Glaucus was his contemporary. Apollodorus of Cyzicus, again, will have it that he lived with Philolaus.

He would train himself, says Antisthenes, by a variety of means to test his sense-impressions by going at times into solitude and frequenting tombs.

The same authority states that, when he returned from his travels, he was reduced to a humble mode of life because he had exhausted his means; and, because of his poverty, he was supported by his brother Damasus. But his reputation rose owing to his having foretold certain future events; and after that the public deemed him worthy of the honour paid to a god. There was a law, says Antisthenes, that no one who had squandered his patrimony should be buried in his native city. Democritus, understanding this, and fearing lest he should be at the mercy of any envious or unscrupulous prosecutors, read aloud to the people his treatise, the Great Diacosmos, the best of all his works; and then he was rewarded with 500 talents; and, more than that, with bronze statues as well; and when he died, he received a public funeral after a lifetime of more than a century.

Demetrius, however, says that it was not Democritus himself but his relatives who read the Great Diacosmos, and that the sum awarded was 100 talents only; with this account Hippobotus agrees.

Aristoxenus in his Historical Notes affirms that Plato wished to burn all the writings of Democritus that he could collect, but that Amyclas and Clinias the Pythagoreans prevented him, saying that there was no advantage in doing so, for already the books were widely circulated. And there is clear evidence for this in the fact that Plato, who mentions almost all the early philosophers, never once alludes to Democritus, not even where it would be necessary to controvert him, obviously because he knew that he would have to match himself against the prince of philosophers, for whom, to be sure, Timon has this meed of praise:
Such is the wise Democritus, the guardian of discourse, keen-witted disputant, among the best I ever read.

As regards chronology, he was, as he says himself in the Lesser Diacosmos, a young man when Anaxagoras was old, being forty years his junior. He says that the Lesser Diacosmos was compiled 730 years after the capture of Troy. According to Apollodorus in his Chronology he would thus have been born in the 80th Olympiad, but according to Thrasylus in his pamphlet entitled Prolegomena to the Reading of the works of Democritus, in the third year of the 77th Olympiad, which makes him, adds Thrasylus, one year older than Socrates. He would then be a contemporary of Archelaus, the pupil of Anaxagoras, and of the school of Oenopides; indeed he mentions Oenopides.

Again, he alludes to the doctrine of the One held by Parmenides and Zeno, they being evidently

the persons most talked about in his day; he also mentions Protagoras of Abdera, who, it is admitted, was a contemporary of Socrates.

Athenodorus in the eighth book of his Walks relates that, when Hippocrates came to see him, he ordered milk to be brought, and, having inspected it, pronounced it to be the milk of a black she-goat which had produced her first kid; which made Hippocrates marvel at the accuracy of his observation. Moreover, Hippocrates being accompanied by a maidservant, on the first day Democritus greeted her with Good morning, maiden, but the next day with Good morning, woman, As a matter of fact the girl had been seduced in the night.

Of the death of Democritus the account given by Hermippus is as follows. When he was now very old and near his end, his sister was vexed that he seemed likely to die during the festival of Thesmophoria and she would be prevented from paying the fitting worship to the goddess. He bade her be of good cheer and ordered hot loaves to be brought to him every day. By applying these to his nostrils he contrived to outlive the festival; and as soon as the three festival days were passed he let his life go from him without pain, having then, according to Hipparchus, attained his one hundred and ninth year.

In my Pammetros I have a piece on him as follows:
Pray who was so wise, who wrought so vast a work as the omniscient Democritus achieved? When Death was near, for three days he kept him in his house and regaled him with the steam of hot loaves.
Such was the life of our philosopher.

His opinions are these. The first principles of the universe are atoms and empty space; everything else is merely thought to exist. The worlds are unlimited; they come into being and perish. Nothing can come into being from that which is not nor pass away into that which is not. Further, the atoms are unlimited in size and number, and they are borne along in the whole universe in a vortex, and therby generate all composite things—fire, water, air, earth; for even these are conglomerations of given atoms. And it is because of their solidity that these atoms are impassive and unalterable. The sun and the moon have been composed of such smooth and spherical masses [i.e. atoms], and so also the soul, which is identical with reason. We see by virtue of the impact of images upon our eyes.

All things happen by virtue of necessity, the vortex being the cause of the creation of all things, and this he calls necessity. The end of action is tranquillity, which is not identical with pleasure, as some by a false interpretation have understood, but a state in which the soul continues calm and strong, undisturbed by any fear or superstition or any other emotion. This he calls well-being and many other names. The qualities of things exist merely by convention; in nature there is nothing but atoms and void space. These, then, are his opinions.

Of his works Thrasylus has made an ordered catalogue, arranging them in fours, as he also arranged Plato’s works.

The ethical works are the following:

I. Pythagoras.

Of the Disposition of the Wise Man.

Of those in Hades.

Tritogeneia (so called because three things, on which all mortal life depends, come from her).

II. Of Manly Excellence, or Of Virtue. Amalthea's Horn (the Horn of Plenty).

Of Tranquillity.

Ethical Commentaries: the work on Wellbeing is not to be found.

So much for the ethical works.

The physical works are these:

III. The Great Diacosmos (which the school of Theophrastus attribute to Leucippus).

The Lesser Diacosmos.

Description of the World.

On the Planets.

IV. Of Nature, one book.

Of the Nature of Man, or Of Flesh, a second book on Nature.

Of Reason.

Of the Senses (some editors combine these two under the title Of the Soul).

V. Of Flavours.

Of Colours.

Of the Different Shapes (of Atoms).

Of Changes of Shape.

VI. Confirmations (summaries of the aforesaid works).

On Images, or On Foreknowledge of the Future.

On Logic, or Criterion of Thought, three books.

Problems.

So much for the physical works.

The following fall under no head:

Causes of Celestial Phenomena.

Causes of Phenomena in the Air.

Causes on the Earth's Surface.

Causes concerned with Fire and Things in Fire.

Causes concerned with Sounds.

Causes concerned with Seeds, Plants and Fruits.

Causes concerned with Animals, three books.

Miscellaneous Causes.

Concerning the Magnet.

These works have not been arranged.

The mathematical works are these:

VII. On a Difference in an Angle, or On Contact with the Circle or the Sphere.

On Geometry.

Geometrica.

Numbers.

VIII. On Irrational Lines and Solids, two books.

Extensions (Projections).

The Great Year, or Astronomy, Calendar.

Contention of the Water-clock [and the Heaven].

IX. Description of the Heaven.

Geography.

Description of the Pole.

Description of Rays of Light.

These are the mathematical works.

The literary and musical works are these:

X. On Rhythms and Harmony.

On Poetry.

On Beauty of Verses.

On Euphonious and Cacophonous Letters.

XI. Concerning Homer, or On Correct Epic Diction, and On Glosses.

Of Song.

On Words.

A Vocabulary.

So much for the works on literature and music.

The works on the arts are these:

XII. Prognostication.

Of Diet, or Diaetetics.

Medical Regimen.

Causes concerned with Things Seasonable and Unseasonable.

XIII. Of Agriculture, or Concerning Land Measurements.

Of Painting.

Treatise on Tactics, and

On Fighting in Armour.

So much for these works.

Some include as separate items in the list the following works taken from his notes:

Of the Sacred Writings in Babylon.

Of those in Meroë.

A Voyage round the Ocean.

Of [the Right Use of] History.

A Chaldaean Treatise.

A Phrygian Treatise.

Concerning Fever and those whose Malady makes them Cough.

Legal Causes and Effects.

Problems wrought by Hand.

The other works which some attribute to Democritus are either compilations from his writings or admittedly not genuine. So much for the books that he wrote and their number.

The name of Democritus has been borne by six persons: (1) our philosopher; (2) a contemporary of his, a musician of Chios; (3) a sculptor, mentioned by Antigonus; (4) an author who wrote on the temple at Ephesus and the state of Samothrace; (5) an epigrammatist whose style is lucid and ornate; (6) a native of Pergamum who made his mark by rhetorical speeches.

Chapter 8. PROTAGORAS (481-411 b.c.)

Protagoras, son of Artemon or, according to Apollodorus and Dinon in the fifth book of his History of Persia, of Maeandrius, was born at Abdera (so says Heraclides of Pontus in his treatise On Laws, and also that he made laws for Thurii) or, according to Eupolis in his Flatterers, at Teos; for the latter says:
Inside we've got Protagoras of Teos.
He and Prodicus of Ceos gave public readings for which fees were charged, and Plato in the Protagoras calls Prodicus deep-voiced. Protagoras studied under Democritus. The latter was nicknamed Wisdom, according to Favorinus in his Miscellaneous History.

Protagoras was the first to maintain that there are two sides to every question, opposed to each other, and he even argued in this fashion, being the first to do so. Furthermore he began a work thus: Man is the measure of all things, of things that are that they are, and of things that are not that they are not. He used to say that soul was nothing apart from the senses, as we learn from Plato in the Theaetetus, and that everything is true. In another work he began thus: As to the gods, I have no means of knowing either that they exist or that they do not exist. For many are the obstacles that impede knowledge, both the obscurity of the question and the shortness of human life.

For this introduction to his book the Athenians expelled him; and they burnt his works in the market-place, after sending round a herald to collect them from all who had copies in their possession.

He was the first to exact a fee of a hundred minae and the first to distinguish the tenses of verbs, to emphasize the importance of seizing the right moment, to institute contests in debating, and to teach rival pleaders the tricks of their trade. Furthermore, in his dialectic he

neglected the meaning in favour of verbal quibbling, and he was the father of the whole tribe of eristical disputants now so much in evidence; insomuch that Timon too speaks of him as
Protagoras, all mankind's epitome,

Cunning, I trow, to war with words.

He too first introduced the method of discussion which is called Socratic. Again, as we learn from Plato in the Euthydemus, he was the first to use in discussion the argument of Antisthenes which strives to prove that contradiction is impossible, and the first to point out how to attack and refute any proposition laid down: so Artemidorus the dialectician in his treatise In Reply to Chrysippus. He too invented the shoulder-pad on which porters carry their burdens, so we are told by Aristotle in his treatise On Education; for he himself had been a porter, says Epicurus somewhere. This was how he was taken up by Democritus, who saw how skilfully his bundles of wood were tied. He was the first to mark off the parts of discourse into four, namely, wish, question, answer, command;

others divide into seven parts, narration, question, answer, command, rehearsal, wish, summoning; these he called the basic forms of speech. Alcidamas made discourse fourfold, affirmation, negation, question, address.

The first of his books he read in public was that On the Gods, the introduction to which we quoted above; he read it at Athens in Euripides' house, or, as some say, in Megaclides'; others again make the place the Lyceum and the reader his disciple Archagoras, Theodotus's son, who gave him the benefit of his voice. His accuser was Pythodorus, son of Polyzelus, one of the four hundred; Aristotle, however, says it was Euathlus.

The works of his which survive are these:

* * The Art of Controversy.

Of Wrestling.

On Mathematics.

Of the State.

Of Ambition.

Of Virtues.

Of the Ancient Order of Things.

On the Dwellers in Hades.

Of the Misdeeds of Mankind.

A Book of Precepts.

Of Forensic Speech for a Fee, two books of opposing arguments.

This is the list of his works. Moreover there is a dialogue which Plato wrote upon him.

Philochorus says that, when he was on a voyage to Sicily, his ship went down, and that Euripides hints at this in his Ixion.

According to some his death occurred, when he was on a journey, at nearly ninety years of age, though Apollodorus makes his age seventy, assigns forty years for his career as a sophist, and puts his floruit in the 84th Olympiad.

There is an epigram of my own on him as follows:
Protagoras, I hear it told of thee

Thou died’st in eld when Athens thou didst flee;

Cecrops’ town chose to banish thee; but though

Thou ’scap’dst Athene, not so Hell below.

The story is told that once, when he asked Euathlus his disciple for his fee, the latter replied, But I have not won a case yet. Nay, said Protagoras, if I win this case against you I must have the fee, for winning it; if you win, I must have it, because you win it.

There was another Protagoras, an astronomer, for whom Euphorion wrote a dirge; and a third who was a Stoic philosopher.

Chapter 9. DIOGENES OF APOLLONIA We naturally feel surprise when this early philosopher is interpolated between Protagoras and Anaxarchus, both assumed to be pupils of Democritus. The only explanation suggested is a severe reflection on our author’s acquaintance with his subject. There was a certain Diogenes of Smyrna, an obscure adherent of the school of Abdera. D. L., or more probably one of his authorities, has confused this Democritean with the earlier and better-known Diogenes of Apollonia. It is also strange that there is no Life of Metrodorus of Chios or of Nausiphanes.

Diogenes of Apollonia, son of Apollothemis, was a natural philosopher and a most famous man. Antisthenes calls him a pupil of Anaximenes; but he lived in Anaxagoras’s time. This man, so great was his unpopularity at Athens, almost lost his life, as Demetrius of Phalerum states in his Defence of Socrates.

The doctrines of Diogenes were as follows. Air is the universal element. There are worlds unlimited in number, and unlimited empty space. Air by condensation and rarefaction generates the worlds. Nothing comes into being from what is not or passes away into what is not. The earth is spherical, firmly supported in the centre, having its construction determined by the revolution which comes from heat and by the congealment caused by cold.

The words with which his treatise begins are these: At the beginning of every discourse I consider that one ought to make the starting-point unmistakably clear and the exposition simple and dignified.

Chapter 10. ANAXARCHUS

Anaxarchus, a native of Abdera, studied under Diogenes of Smyrna, and the latter under Metrodorus of Chios, who used to declare that he knew nothing, not even the fact that he knew nothing; while Metrodorus was a pupil of Nessas of Chios, though some say that he was taught by Democritus. Now Anaxarchus accompanied Alexander and flourished in the 110th Olympiad. He made an enemy of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus. Once at a banquet, when asked by Alexander how he liked the feast, he is said to have answered, Everything, O king, is magnificent; there is only one thing lacking, that the head of some satrap should be served up at table.

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This was a hit at Nicocreon, who never forgot it, and when after the king's death Anaxarchus was forced against his will to land in Cyprus, he seized him and, putting him in a mortar, ordered him to be pounded to death with iron pestles. But he, making light of the punishment, made that well-known speech, Pound, pound the pouch containing Anaxarchus; ye pound not Anaxarchus. And when Nicocreon commanded his tongue to be cut out, they say he bit it off and spat it at him. This is what I have written upon him:
Pound, Nicocreon, as hard as you like: it is but a pouch. Pound on; Anaxarchus's self long since is housed with Zeus. And after she has drawn you upon her carding-combs a little while, Persephone will utter words like these: Out upon thee, villainous miller !

For his fortitude and contentment in life he was called the Happy Man. He had, too, the capacity of bringing anyone to reason in the easiest possible way. At all events he succeeded in diverting Alexander when he had begun to think himself a god; for, seeing blood running from a wound he had sustained, he pointed to him with his finger and said, See, there is blood and not
Ichor which courses in the veins of the blessed gods.
Plutarch reports this as spoken by Alexander to his friends. Moreover, on another occasion, when Anaxarchus was drinking Alexander's health, he held up his goblet and said:
One of the gods shall fall by the stroke of mortal man.

Chapter 11. PYRRHO (c. 360-270 b.c.)

Pyrrho of Elis was the son of Pleistarchus, as Diocles relates. According to Apollodorus in his Chronology, he was first a painter; then he studied under Stilpo's son Bryson: thus Alexander in his Successions of Philosophers. Afterwards he joined Anaxarchus, whom he accompanied on his travels everywhere so that he even forgathered with the Indian Gymnosophists and with the Magi. This led him to adopt a most noble philosophy, to quote Ascanius of Abdera, taking the form of agnosticism and suspension of judgement. He denied that anything was honourable or dishonourable, just or unjust. And so, universally, he held that there is nothing really existent, but custom and convention govern human action; for no single thing is in itself any more this than that.

He led a life consistent with this doctrine, going out of his way for nothing, taking no precaution, but facing all risks as they came, whether carts, precipices, dogs or what not, and, generally, leaving nothing to the arbitrament of the senses; but he was kept out of harm's way by his friends who, as Antigonus of Carystus tells us, used to follow close after him. But Aenesidemus says that it was only his philosophy that was based upon suspension of judgement, and that he did not lack foresight in his everyday acts. He lived to be nearly ninety.

This is what Antigonus of Carystus says of Pyrrho in his book upon him. At first he was a poor and unknown painter, and there are still some indifferent torch-racers of his in the gymnasium at Elis.

He would withdraw from the world and live in solitude, rarely showing himself to his relatives; this he did because he had heard an Indian reproach Anaxarchus, telling him that he would never be able to teach others what is good while he himself danced attendance on kings in their courts. He would maintain the same composure at all times, so that, even if you left him when he was in the middle of a speech, he would finish what he had to say with no audience but himself, although in his youth he had been hasty. Often, our informant adds, he would leave his home and, telling no one, would go roaming about with whomsoever he chanced to meet. And

once, when Anaxarchus fell into a slough, he passed by without giving him any help, and, while others blamed him, Anaxarchus himself praised his indifference and sang-froid.

On being discovered once talking to himself, he answered, when asked the reason, that he was training to be good. In debate he was looked down upon by no one, for he could both discourse at length and also sustain a cross-examination, so that even Nausiphanes when a young man was captivated by him: at all events he used to say that we should follow Pyrrho in disposition but himself in doctrine; and he would often remark that Epicurus, greatly admiring Pyrrho's way of life, regularly asked him for information about Pyrrho; and that he was so respected by his native city that they made him high priest, and on his account they voted that all philosophers should be exempt from taxation.

Moreover, there were many who emulated his abstention from affairs, so that Timon in his Pytho and in his Silli says:

O Pyrrho, O aged Pyrrho, whence and how

Found'st thou escape from servitude to sophists,

Their dreams and vanities; how didst thou loose

The bonds of trickery and specious craft?

Nor reck'st thou to inquire such things as these,

What breezes circle Hellas, to what end,

And from what quarter each may chance to blow.

And again in the Conceits:

This, Pyrrho, this my heart is fain to know,

Whence peace of mind to thee doth freely flow,

Why among men thou like a god dost show?

Athens honoured him with her citizenship, says Diocles, for having slain the Thracian Cotys.

He lived in fraternal piety with his sister, a midwife, so says Eratosthenes in his essay On Wealth and Poverty, now and then even taking things for sale to market, poultry perchance or pigs, and he would dust the things in the house, quite indifferent as to what he did. They say he showed his indifference by washing a porker. Once he got enraged in his sister's cause (her name was Philista), and he told the man who blamed him that it was not over a weak woman that one should display indifference. When a cur rushed at him and terrified him, he answered his critic that it was not easy entirely to strip oneself of human weakness; but one should strive with all one's might against facts, by deeds if possible, and if not, in word.

They say that, when septic salves and surgical and caustic remedies were applied to a wound he had sustained, he did not so much as frown. Timon also portrays his disposition in the full account which he gives of him to Pytho. Philo of Athens, a friend of his, used to say that he was most fond of Democritus, and then of Homer, admiring him and continually repeating the line

As leaves on trees, such is the life of man.

He also admired Homer because he likened men to wasps, flies, and birds, and would quote these verses as well:

Ay, friend, die thou; why thus thy fate deplore?

Patroclus too, thy better, is no more,
and all the passages which dwell on the unstable purpose, vain pursuits, and childish folly of man.

Posidonius, too, relates of him a story of this sort. When his fellow-passengers on board a ship were all unnerved by a storm, he kept calm and confident, pointing to a little pig in the ship that went on eating, and telling them that such was the unperturbed state in which the wise man should keep himself. Numenius alone attributes to him positive tenets. He had pupils of repute, in particular one Eurylochus, who fell short of his professions; for they say that he was once so angry that he seized the spit with the meat on it and chased his cook right into the market-place.

Once in Elis he was so hard pressed by his pupils' questions that he stripped and swam across the Alpheus. Now he was, as Timon too says, most hostile to Sophists.

Philo, again, who had a habit of very often talking to himself, is also referred to in the lines:
Yea, him that is far away from men, at leisure to himself,

Philo, who recks not of opinion or of wrangling.

Besides these, Pyrrho's pupils included Hecataeus of Abdera, Timon of Phlius, author of the Silli, of whom more anon, and also Nausiphanes of Teos, said by some to have been a teacher of Epicurus. All these were called Pyrrhoneans after the name of their master, but Aporetics, Sceptics, Ephectics, and even Zetetics, from their principles, if we may call them such—

Zetetics or seekers because they were ever seeking truth, Sceptics or inquirers because they were always looking for a solution and never finding one, Ephectics or doubters because of the state of mind which followed their inquiry, I mean, suspense of judgement, and finally Aporetics or those in perplexity, for not only they but even the dogmatic philosophers themselves in their turn were often perplexed. Pyrrhoneans, of course, they were called from Pyrrho. Theodosius in his Sceptic Chapters denies that Scepticism should be called Pyrrhonism; for if the movement of the mind in either direction is unattainable by us, we shall never know for certain what Pyrrho really intended, and without knowing that, we cannot be called Pyrrhoneans. Besides this (he says), there is the fact that Pyrrho was not the founder of Scepticism; nor had he any positive tenet; but a Pyrrhonean is one who in manners and life resembles Pyrrho.

Some call Homer the founder of this school, for to the same questions he more than anyone else is always giving different answers at different times, and is never definite or dogmatic about the answer. The maxims of the Seven Wise Men, too, they call sceptical; for instance, Observe the Golden Mean, and A pledge is a curse at one's elbow, meaning that whoever plights his troth steadfastly and trustfully brings a curse on his own head. Sceptically minded, again, were Archilochus and Euripides, for Archilochus says:
Man's soul, O Glaucus, son of Leptines,

Is but as one short day that Zeus sends down.
And Euripides:
Great God ! how can they say poor mortal men

Have minds and think? Hang we not on thy will?

Do we not what it pleaseth thee to wish?

Furthermore, they find Xenophanes, Zeno of Elea, and Democritus to be sceptics: Xenophanes

because he says,
Clear truth hath no man seen nor e’er shall know;
and Zeno because he would destroy motion, saying, A moving body moves neither where it is nor where it is not; Democritus because he rejects qualities, saying, Opinion says hot or cold, but the reality is atoms and empty space, and again, Of a truth we know nothing, for truth is in a well. Plato, too, leaves the truth to gods and sons of gods, and seeks after the probable explanation. Euripides says:

Who knoweth if to die be but to live,

And that called life by mortals be but death?
So too Empedocles:
So to these mortal may not list nor look

Nor yet conceive them in his mind;
and before that:
Each believes naught but his experience.
And even Heraclitus: Let us not conjecture on deepest questions what is likely. Then again Hippocrates showed himself two-sided and but human. And before them all Homer:
Pliant is the tongue of mortals; numberless the tales within it;
and
Ample is of words the pasture, hither thither widely ranging;
and
And the saying which thou sayest, back it cometh later on thee,
here he is speaking of the equal value of contradictory sayings.

The Sceptics, then, were constantly engaged in overthrowing the dogmas of all schools, but enuntiated none themselves; and though they would go so far as to bring forward and expound the dogmas of the others, they themselves laid down nothing definitely, not even the laying down of nothing. So much so that they even refuted their laying down of nothing, saying, for instance, We determine nothing, since otherwise they would have been betrayed into determining; but we put forward, say they, all the theories for the purpose of indicating our unprecipitate attitude, precisely as we might have done if we had actually assented to them. Thus by the expression We determine nothing is indicated their state of even balance; which is similarly indicated by the other expressions, Not more (one thing than another), Every saying has its corresponding opposite, and the like.

But Not more (one thing than another) can also be taken positively, indicating that two things are alike; for example, The pirate is no more wicked than the liar. But the Sceptics meant it not positively but negatively, as when, in refuting an argument, one says, Neither had more existence, Scylla or the Chimaera. And More so itself is sometimes comparative, as when we say that Honey is more sweet than grapes; sometimes both positive and negative, as when we say, Virtue profits more than it harms, for in this phrase we indicate that virtue profits and does not harm.

But the Sceptics even refute the statement Not more (one thing than another). For, as forethought is no more existent than non-existent, so Not more (one thing than another) is no more existent than not. Thus, as Timon says in the Pytho, the statement means just absence of all determination and withholding of assent. The other statement, Every saying, etc., equally

compels suspension of judgement; when facts disagree, but the contradictory statements have exactly the same weight, ignorance of the truth is the necessary consequence. But even this statement has its corresponding antithesis, so that after destroying others it turns round and destroys itself, like a purge which drives the substance out and then in its turn is itself eliminated and destroyed.

This the dogmatists answer by saying that they do [not merely] not deny the statement, but even plainly assert it. So they were merely using the words as servants, as it was not possible not to refute one statement by another; just as we are accustomed to say there is no such thing as space, and yet we have no alternative but to speak of space for the purpose of argument, though not of positive doctrine, and just as we say nothing comes about by necessity and yet have to speak of necessity. This was the sort of interpretation they used to give; though things appear to be such and such, they are not such in reality but only appear such. And they would say that they sought, not thoughts, since thoughts are evidently thought, but the things in which sensation plays a part.

Thus the Pyrrhonean principle, as Aenesidemus says in the introduction to his Pyrrhonics, is but a report on phenomena or on any kind of judgement, a report in which all things are brought to bear on one another, and in the comparison are found to present much anomaly and confusion. As to the contradictions in their doubts, they would first show the ways in which things gain credence, and then by the same methods they would destroy belief in them; for they say those things gain credence which either the senses are agreed upon or which never or at least rarely change, as well as things which become habitual or are determined by law and those which please or excite wonder.

They showed, then, on the basis of that which is contrary to what induces belief, that the probabilities on both sides are equal.

Perplexities arise from the agreements between appearances or judgements, and these perplexities they distinguished under ten different modes in which the subjects in question appeared to vary. The following are the ten modes laid down.

The first mode relates to the differences between living creatures in respect of those things which give them pleasure or pain, or are useful or harmful to them. By this it is inferred that they do not receive the same impressions from the same things, with the result that such a conflict necessarily leads to suspension of judgement. For some creatures multiply without intercourse, for example, creatures that live in fire, the Arabian phoenix and worms; others by union, such as man and the rest.

Some are distinguished in one way, some in another, and for this reason they differ in their senses also, hawks for instance being most keen-sighted, and dogs having a most acute sense of smell. It is natural that if the senses, e.g. eyes, of animals differ, so also will the impressions produced upon them; so to the goat vine-shoots are good to eat, to man they are bitter; the quail thrives on hemlock, which is fatal to man; the pig will eat ordure, the horse will not.

The second mode has reference to the natures and idiosyncrasies of men; for instance, Demophon, Alexander’s butler, used to get warm in the shade and shiver in the sun.

Andron of Argos is reported by Aristotle to have travelled across the waterless deserts of Libya without drinking. Moreover, one man fancies the profession of medicine, another farming, and another commerce; and the same ways of life are injurious to one man but beneficial to another;

from which it follows that judgement must be suspended.

The third mode depends on the differences between the sense-channels in different cases, for an apple gives the impression of being pale yellow in colour to the sight, sweet in taste and fragrant in smell. An object of the same shape is made to appear different by differences in the mirrors reflecting it. Thus it follows that what appears is no more such and such a thing than something different.

The fourth mode is that due to differences of condition and to changes in general; for instance, health, illness, sleep, waking, joy, sorrow, youth, old age, courage, fear, want, fullness, hate, love, heat, cold, to say nothing of breathing freely and having the passages obstructed. The impressions received thus appear to vary according to the nature of the conditions. Nay, even the state of madmen is not contrary to nature; for why should their state be so more than ours? Even to our view the sun has the appearance of standing still. And Theon of Tithorea used to go to bed and walk in his sleep, while Pericles' slave did the same on the housetop.

The fifth mode is derived from customs, laws, belief in myths, compacts between nations and dogmatic assumptions. This class includes considerations with regard to things beautiful and ugly, true and false, good and bad, with regard to the gods, and with regard to the coming into being and the passing away of the world of phenomena. Obviously the same thing is regarded by some as just and by others as unjust, or as good by some and bad by others. Persians think it not unnatural for a man to marry his daughter; to Greeks it is unlawful. The Massagetae, acording to Eudoxus in the first book of his Voyage round the World, have their wives in common; the Greeks have not. The Cilicians used to delight in piracy; not so the Greeks.

Different people believe in different gods; some in providence, others not. In burying their dead, the Egyptians embalm them; the Romans burn them; the Paeonians throw them into lakes. As to what is true, then, let suspension of judgement be our practice.

The sixth mode relates to mixtures and participations, by virtue of which nothing appears pure in and by itself, but only in combination with air, light, moisture, solidity, heat, cold, movement, exhalations and other forces. For purple shows different tints in sunlight, moonlight, and lamplight; and our own complexion does not appear the same at noon and when the sun is low.

Again, a rock which in air takes two men to lift is easily moved about in water, either because, being in reality heavy, it is lifted by the water or because, being light, it is made heavy by the air. Of its own inherent property we know nothing, any more than of the constituent oils in an ointment.

The seventh mode has reference to distances, positions, places and the occupants of the places. In this mode things which are thought to be large appear small, square things round; flat things appear to have projections, straight things to be bent, and colourless coloured. So the sun, on account of its distance, appears small, mountains when far away appear misty and smooth, but when near at hand rugged.

Furthermore, the sun at its rising has a certain appearance, but has a dissimilar appearance when in mid-heaven, and the same body one appearance in a wood and another in open country. The image again varies according to the position of the object, and a dove's neck according to the way it is turned. Since, then, it is not possible to observe these things apart from places and positions, their real nature is unknowable.

The eighth mode is concerned with quantities and qualities of things, say heat or cold, swiftness or slowness, colourlessness or variety of colours. Thus wine taken in moderation strengthens the body, but too much of it is weakening; and so with food and other things.

The ninth mode has to do with perpetuity, strangeness, or rarity. Thus earthquakes are no surprise to those among whom they constantly take place; nor is the sun, for it is seen every day. This ninth mode is put eighth by Favorinus and tenth by Sextus and Aenesidemus; moreover the tenth is put eighth by Sextus and ninth by Favorinus.

The tenth mode rests on inter-relation, e.g. between light and heavy, strong and weak, greater and less, up and down. Thus that which is on the right is not so by nature, but is so understood in virtue of its position with respect to something else; for, if that change its position, the thing is no longer on the right.

Similarly father and brother are relative terms, day is relative to the sun, and all things relative to our mind. Thus relative terms are in and by themselves unknowable. These, then, are the ten modes of perplexity.

But Agrippa and his school add to them five other modes, resulting respectively from disagreement, extension ad infinitum, relativity, hypothesis and reciprocal inference. The mode arising from disagreement proves, with regard to any inquiry whether in philosophy or in everyday life, that it is full of the utmost contentiousness and confusion. The mode which involves extension ad infinitum refuses to admit that what is sought to be proved is firmly established, because one thing furnishes the ground for belief in another, and so on ad infinitum.

The mode derived from relativity declares that a thing can never be apprehended in and by itself, but only in connexion with something else. Hence all things are unknowable. The mode resulting from hypothesis arises when people suppose that you must take the most elementary of things as of themselves entitled to credence, instead of postulating them: which is useless, because some one else will adopt the contrary hypothesis. The mode arising from reciprocal inference is found whenever that which should be confirmatory of the thing requiring to be proved itself has to borrow credit from the latter, as, for example, if anyone seeking to establish the existence of pores on the ground that emanations take place should take this (the existence of pores) as proof that there are emanations.

They would deny all demonstration, criterion, sign, cause, motion, the process of learning, coming into being, or that there is anything good or bad by nature. For all demonstration, say they, is constructed out of things either already proved or indemonstrable. If out of things already proved, those things too will require some demonstration, and so on ad infinitum; if out of things indemonstrable, then, whether all or some or only a single one of the steps are the subject of doubt, the whole is indemonstrable. If you think, they add, that there are some things which need no demonstration, yours must be a rare intellect, not to see that you must first have demonstration of the very fact that the things you refer to carry conviction in themselves.

Nor must we prove that the elements are four from the fact that the elements are four. Besides, if we discredit particular demonstrations, we cannot accept the generalization from them. And in order that we may know that an argument constitutes a demonstration, we require a criterion; but again, in order that we may know that it is a criterion we require a demonstration; hence both the one and the other are incomprehensible, since each is referred to the other.

How then are we to grasp the things which are uncertain, seeing that we know no demonstration? For what we wish to ascertain is not whether things appear to be such and such, but whether they are so in their essence.

They declared the dogmatic philosophers to be fools, observing that what is concluded ex hypothesi is properly described not as inquiry but assumption, and by reasoning of this kind one may even argue for impossibilities.

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As for those who think that we should not judge of truth from surrounding circumstances or legislate on the basis of what is found in nature, these men, they used to say, made themselves the measure of all things, and did not see that every phenomenon appears in a certain disposition and in a certain reciprocal relation to surrounding circumstances. Therefore we must affirm either that all things are true or that all things are false. For if certain things only are true [and others are false], how are we to distinguish them? Not by the senses, where things in the field of sense are in question, since all these things appear to sense to be on an equal footing; nor by the mind, for the same reason. Yet apart from these faculties there is no other, so far as we can see, to help us to a judgement. Whoever therefore, they say, would be firmly assured about anything sensible or intelligible must first establish the received opinions about it; for some have refuted one doctrine, others another. But things must be judged either by the sensible or by the intelligible, and both are disputed.

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Therefore it is impossible to pronounce judgement on opinions about sensibles or intelligibles; and if the conflict in our thoughts compels us to disbelieve every one, the standard or measure, by which it is held that all things are exactly determined, will be destroyed, and we must deem every statement of equal value. Further, say they, our partner in an inquiry into a phenomenon is either to be trusted or not. If he is, he will have nothing to reply to the man to whom it appears to be the opposite; for just as our friend who describes what appears to him is to be trusted, so is his opponent. If he is not to be trusted, he will actually be disbelieved when he describes what appears to him.

We must not assume that what convinces us is actually true. For the same thing does not convince every one, nor even the same people always. Persuasiveness sometimes depends on external circumstances, on the reputation of the speaker,

on his ability as a thinker or his artfulness, on the familiarity or the pleasantness of the topic.

Again, they would destroy the criterion by reasoning of this kind. Even the criterion has either been critically determined or not. If it has not, it is definitely untrustworthy, and in its purpose of distinguishing is no more true than false. If it has, it will belong to the class of particular judgements, so that one and the same thing determines and is determined, and the criterion which has determined will have to be determined by another, that other by another, and so on ad infinitum.

In addition to this there is disagreement as to the criterion, some holding that man is the criterion, while for some it is the senses, for others reason, for others the apprehensive presentation. Now man disagrees with man and with himself, as is shown by differences of laws and customs. The senses deceive, and reason says different things. Finally, the apprehensive

presentation is judged by the mind, and the mind itself changes in various ways. Hence the criterion is unknowable, and consequently truth also.

They deny, too, that there is such a thing as a sign. If there is, they say, it must either be sensible or intelligible. Now it is not sensible, because what is sensible is a common attribute, whereas a sign is a particular thing. Again, the sensible is one of the things which exist by way of difference, while the sign belongs to the category of relative. Nor is a sign an object of thought, for objects of thought are of four kinds, apparent judgements on things apparent, non-apparent judgements on things nonapparent, non-apparent on apparent, or apparent on non-apparent; and a sign is none of these, so that there is no such thing as a sign. A sign is not apparent on apparent, for what is apparent needs no sign; nor is it non-apparent on non-apparent, for what is revealed by something must needs appear; nor is it non-apparent on apparent, for that which is to afford the means of apprehending something else must itself be apparent;

nor, lastly, is it apparent on non-apparent, because the sign, being relative, must be apprehended along with that of which it is the sign, which is not here the case. It follows that nothing uncertain can be apprehended; for it is through signs that uncertain things are said to be apprehended..

Causes, too, they destroy in this way. A cause is something relative; for it is relative to what can be caused, namely, the effect. But things which are relative are merely objects of thought and have no substantial existence.

Therefore a cause can only be an object of thought; inasmuch as, if it be a cause, it must bring with it that of which it is said to be the cause, otherwise it will not be a cause. Just as a father, in the absence of that in relation to which he is called father, will not be a father, so too with a cause. But that in relation to which the cause is thought of, namely the effect, is not present; for there is no coming into being or passing away or any other process: therefore there is no such thing as cause. Furthermore, if there is a cause, either bodies are the cause of bodies, or things incorporeal of things incorporeal; but neither is the case; therefore there is no such thing as cause. Body in fact could not be the cause of body, inasmuch as both have the same nature. And if either is called a cause in so far as it is a body, the other, being a body, will become a cause.

But if both be alike causes, there will be nothing to be acted upon Nor can an incorporeal thing be the cause of an incorporeal thing, for the same reason. And a thing incorporeal cannot be the cause of a body, since nothing incorporeal creates anything corporeal. And, lastly, a body cannot be the cause of anything incorporeal, because what is produced must be of the material operated upon; but if it is not operated upon because it is incorporeal, it cannot be produced by anything whatever. Therefore there is no such thing as a cause. A corollary to this is their statement that the first principles of the universe have no real existence; for in that case something must have been there to create and act.

Furthermore there is no motion; for that which moves moves either in the place where it is or in a place where it is not. But it cannot move in the place where it is, still less in any place where it is not. Therefore there is no such thing as motion.

They used also to deny the possibility of learning. If anything is taught, they say, either the existent is taught through its existence or the non-existent through its non-existence. But the existent is not taught through its existence, for the nature of existing things is apparent to and recognized by all; nor is the non-existent taught through the nonexistent, for with the

non-existent nothing is ever done, so that it cannot be taught to anyone.

Nor, say they, is there any coming into being. For that which is does not come into being, since it is; nor yet that which is not, for it has no substantial existence, and that which is neither substantial nor existent cannot have had the chance of coming into being either.

There is nothing good or bad by nature, for if there is anything good or bad by nature, it must be good or bad for all persons alike, just as snow is cold to all. But there is no good or bad which is such to all persons in common; therefore there is no such thing as good or bad by nature. For either all that is thought good by anyone whatever must be called good, or not all. Certainly all cannot be so called; since one and the same thing is thought good by one person and bad by another; for instance, Epicurus thought pleasure good and Antisthenes thought it bad; thus on our supposition it will follow that the same thing is both good and bad. But if we say that not all that anyone thinks good is good, we shall have to judge the different opinions; and this is impossible because of the equal validity of opposing arguments. Therefore the good by nature is unknowable.

The whole of their mode of inference can be gathered from their extant treatises. Pyrrho himself, indeed, left no writings, but his associates Timon, Aenesidemus, Numenius and Nausiphanes did; and others as well.

The dogmatists answer them by declaring that the Sceptics themselves do apprehend and dogmatize; for when they are thought to be refuting their hardest they do apprehend, for at the very same time they are asseverating and dogmatizing. Thus even when they declare that they determine nothing, and that to every argument there is an opposite argument, they are actually determining these very points and dogmatizing.

The others reply, We confess to human weaknesses; for we recognize that it is day and that we are alive, and many other apparent facts in life; but with regard to the things about which our opponents argue so positively, claiming to have definitely apprehended them, we suspend our judgement because they are not certain, and confine knowledge to our impressions. For we admit that we see, and we recognize that we think this or that, but how we see or how we think we know not. And we say in conversation that a certain thing appears white, but we are not positive that it really is white. As to our We determine nothing and the like, we use the expressions in an undogmatic sense,

for they are not like the assertion that the world is spherical. Indeed the latter statement is not certain, but the others are mere admissions. Thus in saying We determine nothing, we are not determining even that.

Again, the dogmatic philosophers maintain that the Sceptics do away with life itself, in that they reject all that life consists in. The others say this is false, for they do not deny that we see; they only say that they do not know how we see. We admit the apparent fact, say they, without admitting that it really is what it appears to be. We also perceive that fire burns; as to whether it is its nature to burn, we suspend our judgement.

We see that a man moves, and that he perishes; how it happens we do not know. We merely object to accepting the unknown substance behind phenomena. When we say a picture has projections, we are describing what is apparent; but if we say that it has no projections, we are then speaking, not of what is apparent, but of something else. This is what makes Timon say in his Python that he has not gone outside what is customary. And again in the Conceits he says:

But the apparent is omnipotent wherever it goes;
and in his work On the Senses, I do not lay it down that honey is sweet, but I admit that it appears to be so.

Aenesidemus too in the first book of his Pyrrhonean Discourses says that Pyrrho determines nothing dogmatically, because of the possibility of contradiction, but guides himself by apparent facts. Aenesidemus says the same in his works Against Wisdom and On Inquiry. Furthermore Zeuxis, the friend of Aenesidemus, in his work On Two-sided Arguments, Antiochus of Laodicea, and Apellas in his Agrippa all hold to phenomena alone. Therefore the apparent is the Sceptic's criterion, as indeed Aenesidemus says; and so does Epicurus. Democritus, however, denied that any apparent fact could be a criterion, indeed he denied the very existence of the apparent.

Against this criterion of appearances the dogmatic philosophers urge that, when the same appearances produce in us different impressions, e.g. a round or square tower, the Sceptic, unless he gives the preference to one or other, will be unable to take any course; if on the other hand, say they, he follows either view, he is then no longer allowing equal value to all apparent facts. The Sceptics reply that, when different impressions are produced, they must both be said to appear; for things which are apparent are so called because they appear. The end to be realized they hold to be suspension of judgement, which brings with it tranquillity like its shadow: so Timon and Aenesidemus declare.

For in matters which are for us to decide we shall neither choose this nor shrink from that; and things which are not for us to decide but happen of necessity, such as hunger, thirst and pain, we cannot escape, for they are not to be removed by force of reason. And when the dogmatists argue that he may thus live in such a frame of mind that he would not shrink from killing and eating his own father if ordered to do so, the Sceptic replies that he will be able so to live as to suspend his judgement in cases where it is a question of arriving at the truth, but not in matters of life and the taking of precautions. Accordingly we may choose a thing or shrink from a thing by habit and may observe rules and customs. According to some authorities the end proposed by the Sceptics is insensibility; according to others, gentleness.

Chapter 12. TIMON (c. 320-2 30 B.C.)

Timon, says our Apollonides of Nicaea in the first book of his commentaries On the Silli, which he dedicated to Tiberius Caesar, was the son of Timarchus and a native of Phlius. Losing his parents when young, he became a stage-dancer, but later took a dislike to that pursuit and went abroad to Megara to stay with Stilpo; then after some time he returned home and married. After that he went to Pyrrho at Elis with his wife, and lived there until his children were born; the elder of these he called Xanthus, taught him medicine, and made him his heir.

This son was a man of high repute, as we learn from Sotion in his eleventh book. Timon, however, found himself without means of support and sailed to the Hellespont and Propontis. Living now at Chalcedon as a sophist, he increased his reputation still further and, having made his fortune, went to Athens, where he lived until his death, except for a short period which he spent at Thebes. He was known to King Antigonus and to Ptolemy Philadelphus, as his own iambics testify.

He was, according to Antigonus, fond of wine, and in the time that he could spare from philosophy he used to write poems. These included epics, tragedies, satyric dramas, thirty

comedies and sixty tragedies, besides silli (lampoons) and obscene poems.

There are also reputed works of his extending to twenty thousand verses which are mentioned by Antigonus of Carystus, who also wrote his life. There are three silli in which, from his point of view as a Sceptic, he abuses every one and lampoons the dogmatic philosophers, using the form of parody. In the first he speaks in the first person throughout, the second and third are in the form of dialogues; for he represents himself as questioning Xenophanes of Colophon about each philosopher in turn, while Xenophanes answers him; in the second he speaks of the more ancient philosophers, in the third of the later, which is why some have entitled it the Epilogue.

The first deals with the same subjects, except that the poem is a monologue. It begins as follows:
Ye sophists, ye inquisitives, come ! follow !

He died at the age of nearly ninety, so we learn from Antigonus and from Sotion in his eleventh book. I have heard that he had only one eye; indeed he used to call himself a Cyclops. There was another Timon, the misanthrope.

Now this philosopher, according to Antigonus, was very fond of gardens and preferred to mind his own affairs. At all events there is a story that Hieronymus the Peripatetic said of him, Just as with the Scythians those who are in flight shoot as well as those who pursue, so, among philosophers, some catch their disciples by pursuing them, some by fleeing from them, as for instance Timon.

He was quick to perceive anything and to turn up his nose in scorn; he was fond of writing and at all times good at sketching plots for poets and collaborating in dramas. He used to give the dramatists Alexander and Homer materials for their tragedies. When disturbed by maidservants and dogs, he would stop writing, his earnest desire being to maintain tranquillity. Aratus is said to have asked him how he could obtain a trustworthy text of Homer, to which he replied, You can, if you get hold of the ancient copies, and not the corrected copies of our day. He used to let his own poems lie about, sometimes half eaten away.

Hence, when he came to read parts of them to Zopyrus the orator, he would turn over the pages and recite whatever came handy; then, when he was half through, he would discover the piece which he had been looking for in vain, so careless was he. Furthermore, he was so easy-going that he would readily go without his dinner. They say that once, when he saw Arcesilaus passing through the knaves-market, he said, What business have you to come here, where we are all free men? He was constantly in the habit of quoting, to those who would admit the evidence of the senses when confirmed by the judgement of the mind, the line—
Birds of a feather flock together.
Jesting in this fashion was habitual with him. When a man marvelled at everything, he said, Why do you not marvel that we three have but four eyes between us? for in fact he himself had only one eye, as also had his disciple Dioscurides, while the man whom he addressed was normal.

Asked once by Arcesilaus why he had come there from Thebes, he replied, Why, to laugh when I have you all in full view ! Yet, while attacking Arcesilaus in his Silli, he has praised him in his work entitled the Funeral Banquet of Arcesilaus.

According to Menodotus he left no successor, but his school lapsed until Ptolemy of Cyrene re-established it. Hippobotus and Sotion, however, say that he had as pupils Dioscurides of Cyprus, Nicolochus of Rhodes, Euphranor of Seleucia, and Praÿlus of the Troad. The latter, as we

learn from the history of Phylarchus, was a man of such unflinching courage that, although unjustly accused, he patiently suffered a traitor's death, without so much as deigning to speak one word to his fellow-citizens.

Euphranor had as pupil Eubulus of Alexandria; Eubulus taught Ptolemy, and he again Sarpedon and Heraclides; Heraclides again taught Aenesidemus of Cnossus, the compiler of eight books of Pyrrhonean discourses; the latter was the instructor of Zeuxippus his fellow-citizen, he of Zeuxis of the angular foot (γωνιόπους, Cruickshank), he again of Antiochus of Laodicea on the Lycus, who had as pupils Menodotus of Nicomedia, an empiric physician, and Theiodas of Laodicea; Menodotus was the instructor of Herodotus of Tarsus, son of Arieus, and Herodotus taught Sextus Empiricus, who wrote ten books on Scepticism, and other fine works. Sextus taught Saturninus called Cythenas, another empiricist.

BOOK X

EPICURUS (341-271 B.C.)

Epicurus, son of Neocles and Chaerestrate, was as citizen of Athens of the deme Gargettus, and, as Metrodorus says in his book On Noble Birth, of the family of the Philaidae. He is said by Heraclides in his Epitome of Sotion, as well as by other authorities, to have been brought up at Samos after the Athenians had sent settlers there and to have come to Athens at the age of eighteen, at the time when Xenocrates was lecturing at the Academy and Aristotle in Chalcis. Upon the death of Alexander of Macedon and the expulsion of the Athenian settlers from Samos by Perdiccas, Epicurus left Athens to join his father in Colophon.

For some time he stayed there and gathered disciples, but returned to Athens in the archonship of Anaxicrates. And for a while, it is said, he prosecuted his studies in common with the other philosophers, but afterwards put forward independent views by the foundation of the school called after him. He says himself that he first came into contact with philosophy at the age of fourteen. Apollodorus the Epicurean, in the first book of his Life of Epicurus, says that he turned to philosophy in disgust at the schoolmasters who could not tell him the meaning of chaos in Hesiod. According to Hermippus, however, he started as a schoolmaster, but on coming across the works of Democritus turned eagerly to philosophy.

Hence the point of Timon's allusion in the lines:
Again there is the latest and most shameless of the physicists, the schoolmaster's son from Samos, himself the most uneducated of mortals.

At his instigation his three brothers, Neocles, Chaeredemus, and Aristobulus, joined in his studies, according to Philodemus the Epicurean in the tenth book of his comprehensive work On Philosophers; furthermore his slave named Mys, as stated by Myronianus in his Historical Parallels. Diotimus the Stoic, who is hostile to him, has assailed him with bitter slanders, adducing fifty scandalous letters as written by Epicurus; and so too did the author who ascribed to Epicurus the epistles commonly attributed to Chrysippus.

They are followed by Posidonius the Stoic and his school, and Nicolaus and Sotion in the twelfth book of his work entitled Dioclean Refutations, consisting of twenty-four books; also by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. They allege that he used to go round with his mother to cottages and read charms, and assist his father in his school for a pitiful fee; further, that one of his brothers was a pander and lived with Leontion the courtesan; that he put forward as his own the

doctrines of Democritus about atoms and of Aristippus about pleasure; that he was not a genuine Athenian citizen, a charge brought by Timocrates and by Herodotus in a book On the Training of Epicurus as a Cadet; that he basely flattered Mithras, the minister of Lysimachus, bestowing on him in his letters Apollo's titles of Healer and Lord.

Furthermore that he extolled Idomeneus, Herodotus, and Timocrates, who had published his esoteric doctrines, and flattered them for that very reason. Also that in his letters he wrote to Leontion, O Lord Apollo, my dear little Leontion, with what tumultuous applause we were inspired as we read your letter. Then again to Themista, the wife of Leonteus: I am quite ready, if you do not come to see me, to spin thrice on my own axis and be propelled to any place that you, including Themista, agree upon; and to the beautiful Pythocles he writes: I will sit down and await thy divine advent, my heart's desire. And, as Theodorus says in the fourth book of his work, Against Epicurus, in another letter to Themista he thinks he preaches to her.

It is added that he corresponded with many courtesans, and especially with Leontion, of whom Metrodorus also was enamoured. It is observed too that in his treatise On the Ethical End he writes in these terms: I know not how to conceive the good, apart from the pleasures of taste, sexual pleasures, the pleasures of sound and the pleasures of beautiful form. And in his letter to Pythocles: Hoist all sail, my dear boy, and steer clear of all culture. Epictetus calls him preacher of effeminacy and showers abuse on him.

Again there was Timocrates, the brother of Metrodorus, who was his disciple and then left the school. He in the book entitled Merriment asserts that Epicurus vomited twice a day from over-indulgence, and goes on to say that he himself had much ado to escape from those notorious midnight philosophizings and the confraternity with all its secrets;

further, that Epicurus's acquaintance with philosophy was small and his acquaintance with life even smaller; that his bodily health was pitiful, so much so that for many years he was unable to rise from his chair; and that he spent a whole mina daily on his table, as he himself says in his letter to Leontion and in that to the philosophers at Mitylene. Also that among other courtesans who consorted with him and Metrodorus were Mammarion and Hedia and Erotion and Nikidion. He alleges too that in his thirtyseven books On Nature Epicurus uses much repetition and writes largely in sheer opposition to others, especially to Nausiphanes, and here are his own words: Nay, let them go hang: for, when labouring with an idea, he too had the sophist's off-hand boast-fulness like many another servile soul; besides, he himself in his letters says of Nausiphanes: This so maddened him that he abused me and called me pedagogue.

Epicurus used to call this Nausiphanes jelly-fish, an illiterate, a fraud, and a trollop; Plato's school he called the toadies of Dionysius, their master himself the golden Plato, and Aristotle a profligate, who after devouring his patrimony took to soldiering and selling drugs; Protagoras a pack-carrier and the scribe of Democritus and village schoolmaster; Heraclitus a muddler; Democritus Lerocritus (the nonsense-monger); and Antidorus Sannidorus (fawning gift-bearer); the Cynics foes of Greece; the Dialecticians despoilers; and Pyrrho an ignorant boor.

But these people are stark mad. For our philosopher has abundance of witnesses to attest his unsurpassed goodwill to all men—his native land, which honoured him with statues in bronze; his friends, so many in number that they could hardly be counted by whole cities, and indeed all who knew him, held fast as they were by the siren-charms of his doctrine, save Metrodorus of Stratonicea, who

went over to Carneades, being perhaps burdened by his master's excessive goodness; the School itself which, while nearly all the others have died out, continues for ever without interruption through numberless reigns of one scholarch after another;

his gratitude to his parents, his generosity to his brothers, his gentleness to his servants, as evidenced by the terms of his will and by the fact that they were members of the School, the most eminent of them being the aforesaid Mys; and in general, his benevolence to all mankind. His piety towards the gods and his affection for his country no words can describe. He carried deference to others to such excess that he did not even enter public life. He spent all his life in Greece, notwithstanding the calamities which had befallen her in that age; when he did once or twice take a trip to Ionia, it was to visit his friends there. Friends indeed came to him from all parts and lived with him in his garden. This is stated by Apollodorus, who also says that he purchased the garden for eighty minae;

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and to the same effect Diocles in the third book of his Epitome speaks of them as living a very simple and frugal life; at all events they were content with half a pint of thin wine and were, for the rest, thoroughgoing water-drinkers. He further says that Epicurus did not think it right that their property should be held in common, as required by the maxim of Pythagoras about the goods of friends; such a practice in his opinion implied mistrust, and without confidence there is no friendship. In his correspondence he himself mentions that he was content with plain bread and water. And again: Send me a little pot of cheese, that, when I like, I may fare sumptuously. Such was the man who laid down that pleasure was the end of life. And here is the epigram in which Athenaeus eulogizes him:

Ye toil, O men, for paltry things and incessantly begin strife and war for gain; but nature's wealth extends to a moderate bound, whereas vain judgements have a limitless range. This message Neocles' wise son heard from the Muses or from the sacred tripod at Delphi.
And, as we go on, we shall know this better from his doctrines and his sayings.

Among the early philosophers, says Diocles, his favourite was Anaxagoras, although he occasionally disagreed with him, and Archelaus the teacher of Socrates. Diocles adds that he used to train his friends in committing his treatises to memory.

Apollodorus in his Chronology tells us that our philosopher was a pupil of Nausiphanes and Praxiphanes; but in his letter to Eurylochus, Epicurus himself denies it and says that he was self-taught. Both Epicurus and Hermarchus deny the very existence of Leucippus the philosopher, though by some and by Apollodorus the Epicurean he is said to have been the teacher of Democritus. Demetrius the Magnesian affirms that Epicurus also attended the lectures of Xenocrates.

The terms he used for things were the ordinary terms, and Aristophanes the grammarian credits him with a very characteristic style. He was so lucid a writer that in the work On Rhetoric he makes clearness the sole requisite.

And in his correspondence he replaces the usual greeting, I wish you joy, by wishes for welfare and right living, May you do well, and Live well.

Ariston says in his Life of Epicurus that he derived his work entitled The Canon from the Tripod of Nausiphanes, adding that Epicurus had been a pupil of this man as well as of the Platonist

Pamphilus in Samos. Further, that he began to study philosophy when he was twelve years old, and started his own school at thirty-two.

He was born, according to Apollodorus in his Chronology, in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, in the archonship of Sosigenes, on the seventh day of the month Gamelion, in the seventh year after the death of Plato.

When he was thirty-two he founded a school of philosophy, first in Mitylene and Lampsacus, and then five years later removed to Athens, where he died in the second year of the 127th Olympiad, in the archonship of Pytharatus, at the age of seventy-two; and Hermarchus the son of Agemortus, a Mitylenaean, took over the School. Epicurus died of renal calculus after an illness which lasted a fortnight: so Hermarchus tells us in his letters. Hermippus relates that he entered a bronze bath of lukewarm water and asked for unmixed wine, which he swallowed,

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and then, having bidden his friends remember his doctrines, breathed his last.

Here is something of my own about him:
Farewell, my friends; the truths I taught hold fast:

Thus Epicurus spake, and breathed his last.

He sat in a warm bath and neat wine quaff'd,

And straightway found chill death in that same draught.
Such was the life of the sage and such his end.

His last will was as follows: On this wise I give and bequeath all my property to Amynomachus, son of Philocrates of Bate and Timocrates, son of Demetrius of Potamus, to each severally according to the items of the deed of gift laid up in the Metroön,

on condition that they shall place the garden and all that pertains to it at the disposal of Hermarchus, son of Agemortus, of Mitylene, and the members of his society, and those whom Hermarchus may leave as his successors, to live and study in. And I entrust to my School in perpetuity the task of aiding Amynomachus and Timocrates and their heirs to preserve to the best of their power the common life in the garden in whatever way is best, and that these also (the heirs of the trustees) may help to maintain the garden in the same way as those to whom our successors in the School may bequeath it. And let Amynomachus and Timocrates permit Hermarchus and his fellow-members to live in the house in Melite for the lifetime of Hermarchus.

And from the revenues made over by me to Amynomachus and Timocrates let them to the best of their power in consultation with Hermarchus make separate provision (1) for the funeral offerings to my father, mother, and brothers, and (2) for the customary celebration of my birthday on the tenth day of Gamelion in each year, and for the meeting of all my School held every month on the twentieth day to commemorate Metrodorus and myself according to the rules now in force. Let them also join in celebrating the day in Poseideon which commemorates my brothers, and likewise the day in Metageitnion which commemorates Polyaenus, as I have done hitherto.

And let Amynomachus and Timocrates take care of Epicurus, the son of Metrodorus, and of the son of Polyaenus, so long as they study and live with Hermarchus. Let them likewise provide for

the maintenance of Metrodorus's daughter, so long as she is well-ordered and obedient to Hermarchus; and, when she comes of age, give her in marriage to a husband selected by Hermarchus from among the members of the School; and out of the revenues accruing to me let Amynomachus and Timocrates in consultation with Hermarchus give to them as much as they think proper for their maintenance year by year.

Let them make Hermarchus trustee of the funds along with themselves, in order that everything may be done in concert with him, who has grown old with me in philosophy and is left at the head of the School. And when the girl comes of age, let Amynomachus and Timocrates pay her dowry, taking from the property as much as circumstances allow, subject to the approval of Hermarchus. Let them provide for Nicanor as I have hitherto done, so that none of those members of the school who have rendered service to me in private life and have shown me kindness in every way and have chosen to grow old with me in the School should, so far as my means go, lack the necessaries of life.

All my books to be given to Hermarchus.

And if anything should happen to Hermarchus before the children of Metrodorus grow up, Amynomachus and Timocrates shall give from the funds bequeathed by me, so far as possible, enough for their several needs, as long as they are well ordered. And let them provide for the rest according to my arrangements; that everything may be carried out, so far as it lies in their power. Of my slaves I manumit Mys, Nicias, Lycon, and I also give Phaedrium her liberty.

And when near his end he wrote the following letter to Idomeneus:

On this blissful day, which is also the last of my life, I write this to you. My continual sufferings from strangury and dysentery are so great that nothing could augment them; but over against them all I set gladness of mind at the remembrance of our past conversations. But I would have you, as becomes your life-long attitude to me and to philosophy, watch over the children of Metrodorus.

Such were the terms of his will.

Among his disciples, of whom there were many, the following were eminent: Metrodorus, the son of Athenaeus (or of Timocrates) and of Sande, a citizen of Lampsacus, who from his first acquaintance with Epicurus never left him except once for six months spent on a visit to his native place, from which he returned to him again.

His goodness was proved in all ways, as Epicurus testifies in the introductions to his works and in the third book of the Timocrates. Such he was: he gave his sister Batis to Idomeneus to wife, and himself took Leontion the Athenian courtesan as his concubine. He showed dauntless courage in meeting troubles and death, as Epicurus declares in the first book of his memoir. He died, we learn, seven years before Epicurus in his fiftythird year, and Epicurus himself in his will already cited clearly speaks of him as departed, and enjoins upon his executors to make provision for Metrodorus's children. The above-mentioned Timocratesalso, the brother of Metrodorus and a giddy fellow, was another of his pupils.

Metrodorus wrote the following works:

Against the Physicians, in three books.

Of Sensations.

Against Timocrates.

Of Magnanimity.

Of Epicurus’s Weak Health.

Against the Dialecticians.

Against the Sophists, in nine books.

The Way to Wisdom.

Of Change.

Of Wealth.

In Criticism of Democritus.

Of Noble Birth.

Next came Polyaenus, son of Athenodorus, a citizen of Lampsacus, a just and kindly man, as Philodemus and his pupils affirm. Next came Epicurus’s successor Hermarchus, son of Agemortus, a citizen of Mitylene, the son of a poor man and at the outset a student of rhetoric.

There are in circulation the following excellent works by him:

Correspondence concerning Empedocles, in twenty-two books.

Of Mathematics.

Against Plato.

Against Aristotle.

He died of paralysis, but not till he had given full proof of his ability.

And then there is Leonteus of Lampsacus and his wife Themista, to whom Epicurus wrote letters; further, Colotes and Idomeneus, who were also natives of Lampsacus. All these were distinguished, and with them Polystratus, the successor of Hermarchus; he was succeeded by Dionysius, and he by Basilides. Apollodorus, known as the tyrant of the garden, who wrote over four hundred books, is also famous; and the two Ptolemaei of Alexandria, the one black and the other white; and Zeno of Sidon, the pupil of Apollodorus, a voluminous author;

and Demetrius, who was called the Laconian; and Diogenes of Tarsus, who compiled the select lectures; and Orion, and others whom the genuine Epicureans call Sophists.

There were three other men who bore the name of Epicurus: one the son of Leonteus and Themista; another a Magnesian by birth; and a third, a drillsergeant.

Epicurus was a most prolific author and eclipsed all before him in the number of his writings: for they amount to about three hundred rolls, and contain not a single citation from other authors; it is Epicurus himself who speaks throughout. Chrysippus tried to outdo him in authorship according to Carneades, who therefore calls him the literary parasite of Epicurus. For every subject treated by Epicurus, Chrysippus in his contentiousness must treat at equal length;

hence he has frequently repeated himself and set down the first thought that occurred to him, and in his haste has left things unrevised, and he has so many citations that they alone fill his books: nor is this unexampled in Zeno and Aristotle. Such, then, in number and character are the writings of Epicurus, the best of which are the following:

Of Nature, thirty-seven books.

Of Atoms and Void.

Of Love.

Epitome of Objections to the Physicists.

Against the Megarians.

Problems.

Sovran Maxims.

Of Choice and Avoidance.

Of the End.

Of the Standard, a work entitled Canon.

Chaeredemus.

Of the Gods.

Of Piety.

Hegesianax.

Of Human Life, four books.

Of Just Dealing.

Neocles: dedicated to Themista.

Symposium.

Eurylochus: dedicated to Metrodorus.

Of Vision.

Of the Angle in the Atom.

Of Touch.

Of Fate.

Theories of the Feelings—against Timocrates.

Discovery of the Future.

Introduction to Philosophy.

Of Images.

Of Presentation.

Aristobulus.

Of Music.

Of Justice and the other Virtues.

Of Benefits and Gratitude.

Polymedes.

Timocrates, three books.

Metrodorus, five books.

Antidorus, two books.

Theories about Diseases (and Death)—to Mithras.

Callistolas.

Of Kingship.

Anaximenes.

Correspondence.

The views expressed in these works I will try to set forth by quoting three of his epistles, in which he has given an epitome of his whole system.

I will also set down his Sovran Maxims and any other utterance of his that seems worth citing, that you may be in a position to study the philosopher on all sides and know how to judge him.

The first epistle is addressed to Herodotus and deals with physics; the second to Pythocles and deals with astronomy or meteorology; the third is addressed to Menoeceus and its subject is human life. We must begin with the first after some few preliminary remarks upon his division of philosophy.

It is divided into three parts—Canonic, Physics, Ethics.

Canonic forms the introduction to the system and is contained in a single work entitled The Canon. The physical part includes the entire theory of Nature: it is contained in the thirty-seven books Of Nature and, in a summary form, in the letters. The ethical part deals with the facts of choice and aversion: this may be found in the books On Human Life, in the letters, and in his treatise Of the End. The usual arrangement, however, is to conjoin canonic with physics, and the former they call the science which deals with the standard and the first principle, or the elementary part of philosophy, while physics proper, they say, deals with becoming and perishing and with nature; ethics, on the other hand, deals with things to be sought and avoided, with human life and with the end-in-chief.

They reject dialectic as superfluous; holding that in their inquiries the physicists should be content to employ the ordinary terms for things.Now in The Canon Epicurus affirms that our sensations and preconceptions and our feelings are the standards of truth; the Epicureans generally make perceptions of mental presentations to be also standards. His own statements are also to be found in the Summary addressed to Herodotus and in the Sovran Maxims. Every sensation, he says, is devoid of reason and incapable of memory; for neither is it self-caused nor, regarded as having an external cause, can it add anything thereto or take anything therefrom. Nor is there anything which can refute sensations or convict them of error:

one sensation cannot convict another and kindred sensation, for they are equally valid; nor can one sensation refute another which is not kindred but heterogeneous, for the objects which the two senses judge are not the same; nor again can reason refute them, for reason is wholly dependent on sensation; nor can one sense refute another, since we pay equal heed to all. And the reality of separate perceptions guarantees the truth of our senses. But seeing and hearing are just as real as feeling pain. Hence it is from plain facts that we must start when we draw inferences about the unknown. For all our notions are derived from perceptions, either by actual contact or by analogy, or resemblance, or composition, with some slight aid from reasoning.

And the objects presented to madmen and to people in dreams are true, for they produce effects—i.e. movements in the mind—which that which is unreal never does.

By preconception they mean a sort of apprehension or a right opinion or notion, or universal idea stored in the mind; that is, a recollection of an external object often presented, e.g. Such and such a thing is a man: for no sooner is the word man uttered than we think of his shape by an act of preconception, in which the senses take the lead. Thus the object primarily denoted by every term is then plain and clear. And we should never have started an investigation, unless we had known what it was that we were in search of. For example: The object standing yonder is a horse or a cow. Before making this judgement, we must at some time or other have known by preconception the shape of a horse or a cow. We should not have given anything a name, if we had not first learnt its form by way of preconception. It follows, then, that preconceptions are clear. The object of a judgement is derived from something previously clear, by reference to which we frame the proposition, e.g. How do we know that this is a man?

Opinion they also call conception or assumption, and declare it to be true and false; for it is true if it is subsequently confirmed or if it is not contradicted by evidence, and false if it is not subsequently confirmed or is contradicted by evidence. Hence the introduction of the phrase, that which awaits confirmation, e.g. to wait and

get close to the tower and then learn what it looks like at close quarters.

They affirm that there are two states of feeling, pleasure and pain, which arise in every animate being, and that the one is favourable and the other hostile to that being, and by their means choice and avoidance are determined; and that there are two kinds of inquiry, the one concerned with things, the other with nothing but words.So much, then, for his division and criterion in their main outline.

But we must return to the letter.

Epicurus to Herodotus, greeting.

For those who are unable to study carefully all my physical writings or to go into the longer treatises at all, I have myself prepared an epitome of the whole system, Herodotus, to preserve in the memory enough of the principal doctrines, to the end that on every occasion they may be able to aid themselves on the most important points, so far as they take up the study of Physics. Those who have made some advance in the survey of the entire system ought to fix in their minds under the principal headings an elementary outline of the whole treatment of the subject. For a comprehensive view is often required, the details but seldom.

To the former, then—the main heads—we must continually return, and must memorize them so far as to get a valid conception of the facts, as well as the means of discovering all the details exactly when once the general outlines are rightly understood and remembered; since it is the privilege of the mature student to make a ready use of his conceptions by referring every one of them to elementary facts and simple terms. For it is impossible to gather up the results of continuous diligent study of the entirety of things, unless we can embrace in short formulas and hold in mind all that might have been accurately expressed even to the minutest detail.

Hence, since such a course is of service to all who take up natural science, I, who devote to the subject my continuous energy and reap the calm enjoyment of a life like this, have prepared for you just such an epitome and manual of the doctrines as a whole.

In the first place, Herodotus, you must understand what it is that words denote, in order that by reference to this we may be in a position to test opinions, inquiries, or problems, so that our proofs may not run on untested ad infinitum, nor the terms we use be empty of meaning.

For the primary signification of every term employed must be clearly seen, and ought to need no proving; this being necessary, if we are to have something to which the point at issue or the problem or the opinion before us can be referred.

Next, we must by all means stick to our sensations, that is, simply to the present impressions whether of the mind or of any criterion whatever, and similarly to our actual feelings, in order that we may have the means of determining that which needs confirmation and that which is obscure.

When this is clearly understood, it is time to consider generally things which are obscure. To begin with, nothing comes into being out of what is non-existent. For in that case anything would have arisen out of anything, standing as it would in no need of its proper germs.

And if that which disappears had been destroyed and become non-existent, everything would have perished, that into which the things were dissolved being non-existent. Moreover, the sum total of things was always such as it is now, and such it will ever remain. For there is nothing into which it can change. For outside the sum of things there is nothing which could enter into it and bring about the change.

Further [this he says also in the Larger Epitome near the beginning and in his First Book On Nature], the whole of being consists of bodies and space. For the existence of bodies is everywhere attested by sense itself, and it is upon sensation that reason must rely when it attempts to infer the unknown from the known.

And if there were no space (which we call also void and place and intangible nature), bodies would have nothing in which to be and through which to move, as they are plainly seen to move. Beyond bodies and space there is nothing which by mental apprehension or on its analogy we can conceive to exist. When we speak of bodies and space, both are regarded as wholes or separate things, not as the properties or accidents of separate things.

Again [he repeats this in the First Book and in Books XIV. and XV. of the work On Nature and in the Larger Epitome], of bodies some are composite, others the elements of which these composite bodies are made.

These elements are indivisible and unchangeable, and necessarily so, if things are not all to be destroyed and pass into non-existence, but are to be strong enough to endure when the composite bodies are broken up, because they possess a solid nature and are incapable of being anywhere or anyhow dissolved. It follows that the first beginnings must be indivisible, corporeal entities.

Again, the sum of things is infinite. For what is finite has an extremity, and the extremity of anything is discerned only by comparison with something else. (Now the sum of things is not discerned by comparison with anything else:) hence, since it has no extremity, it has no limit; and, since it has no limit, it must be unlimited or infinite.

Moreover, the sum of things is unlimited both by reason of the multitude of the atoms and the extent of the void.

For if the void were infinite and bodies finite, the bodies would not have stayed anywhere but would have been dispersed in their course through the infinite void, not having any supports or counter-checks to send them back on their upward rebound. Again, if the void were finite, the infinity of bodies would not have anywhere to be.

Furthermore, the atoms, which have no void in them—out of which composite bodies arise and into which they are dissolved—vary indefinitely in their shapes; for so many varieties of things as we see could never have arisen out of a recurrence of a definite number of the same shapes. The like atoms of each shape are absolutely infinite; but the variety of shapes, though indefinitely large, is not absolutely infinite.

[For neither does the divisibility go on ad infinitum, he says below; but he adds, since the qualities change, unless one is prepared to keep enlarging their magnitudes also simply ad infinitum.]

The atoms are in continual motion through all eternity. [Further, he says below, that the atoms move with equal speed, since the void makes way for the lightest and heaviest alike.] Some of them rebound to a considerable distance from each other, while others merely oscillate in one place when they chance to have got entangled or to be enclosed by a mass of other atoms shaped for entangling.

This is because each atom is separated from the rest by void, which is incapable of offering any resistance to the rebound; while it is the solidity of the atom which makes it rebound after a collision, however short the distance to which it rebounds, when it finds itself imprisoned in a mass of entangling atoms. Of all this there is no beginning, since both atoms and void exist from everlasting. [He says below that atoms have no quality at all except shape, size, and weight. But that colour varies with the arrangement of the atoms he states in his Twelve Rudiments; further, that they are not of any and every size; at any rate no atom has ever been seen by our sense.]

The repetition at such length of all that we are now recalling to mind furnishes an adequate outline for our conception of the nature of things.

Moreover, there is an infinite number of worlds, some like this world, others unlike it. For the atoms being infinite in number, as has just been proved, are borne ever further in their course. For the atoms out of which a world might arise, or by which a world might be formed, have not all been expended on one world or a finite number of worlds, whether like or unlike this one. Hence there will be nothing to hinder an infinity of worlds.

Again, there are outlines or films, which are of the same shape as solid bodies, but of a thinness far exceeding that of any object that we see. For it is not impossible that there should be found in the surrounding air combinations of this kind, materials adapted for expressing the hollowness and thinness of surfaces, and effluxes preserving the same relative position and motion which they had in the solid objects from which they come. To these films we give the name of images or idols. Furthermore, so long as nothing comes in the way to offer resistance, motion through the void accomplishes any imaginable distance in an inconceivably short time. For resistance encountered is the equivalent of slowness, its absence the equivalent of speed.

Not that, if we consider the minute times perceptible by reason alone, the moving body itself arrives at more than one place simultaneously (for this too is inconceivable), although in time perceptible to sense it does arrive simultaneously, however different the point of departure

from that conceived by us. For if it changed its direction, that would be equivalent to its meeting with resistance, even if up to that point we allow nothing to impede the rate of its flight. This is an elementary fact which in itself is well worth bearing in mind. In the next place the exceeding thinness of the images is contradicted by none of the facts under our observation. Hence also their velocities are enormous, since they always find a void passage to fit them. Besides, their incessant effluence meets with no resistance, or very little, although many atoms, not to say an unlimited number, do at once encounter resistance.

Besides this, remember that the production of the images is as quick as thought. For particles are continually streaming off from the surface of bodies, though no diminution of the bodies is observed, because other particles take their place. And those given off for a long time retain the position and arrangement which their atoms had when they formed part of the solid bodies, although occasionally they are thrown into confusion. Sometimes such films are formed very rapidly in the air, because they need not have any solid content; and there are other modes in which they may be formed. For there is nothing in all this which is contradicted by sensation, if we in some sort look at the clear evidence of sense, to which we should also refer the continuity of particles in the objects external to ourselves.

We must also consider that it is by the entrance of something coming from external objects that we see their shapes and think of them. For external things would not stamp on us their own nature of colour and form through the medium of the air which is between them and us, or by means of rays of light or currents of any sort going from us to them, so well as by the entrance into our eyes or minds, to whichever their size is suitable, of certain films coming from the things themselves, these films or outlines being of the same colour and shape as the external things themselves.

They move with rapid motion; and this again explains why they present the appearance of the single continuous object, and retain the mutual interconnexion which they had in the object, when they impinge upon the sense, such impact being due to the oscillation of the atoms in the interior of the solid object from which they come. And whatever presentation we derive by direct contact, whether it be with the mind or with the sense-organs, be it shape that is presented or other properties, this shape as presented is the shape of the solid thing, and it is due either to a close coherence of the image as a whole or to a mere remnant of its parts. Falsehood and error always depend upon the intrusion of opinion (when a fact awaits) confirmation or the absence of contradiction, which fact is afterwards frequently not confirmed (or even contradicted) [following a certain movement in ourselves connected with, but distinct from, the mental picture presented—which is the cause of error.]

For the presentations which, e.g., are received in a picture or arise in dreams, or from any other form of apprehension by the mind or by the other criteria of truth, would never have resembled what we call the real and true things, had it not been for certain actual things of the kind with which we come in contact. Error would not have occurred, if we had not experienced some other movement in ourselves, conjoined with, but distinct from, the perception of what is presented. And from this movement, if it be not confirmed or be contradicted, falsehood results; while, if it be confirmed or not contradicted, truth results.

And to this view we must closely adhere, if we are not to repudiate the criteria founded on the clear evidence of sense, nor again to throw all these things into confusion by maintaining falsehood as if it were truth.

Again, hearing takes place when a current passes from the object, whether person or thing, which emits voice or sound or noise, or produces the sensation of hearing in any way whatever. This current is broken up into homogeneous particles, which at the same time preserve a certain mutual connexion and a distinctive unity extending to the object which emitted them, and thus, for the most part, cause the perception in that case or, if not, merely indicate the presence of the external object.

For without the transmission from the object of a certain interconnexion of the parts no such sensation could arise. Therefore we must not suppose that the air itself is moulded into shape by the voice emitted or something similar; for it is very far from being the case that the air is acted upon by it in this way. The blow which is struck in us when we utter a sound causes such a displacement of the particles as serves to produce a current resembling breath, and this displacement gives rise to the sensation of hearing.

Again, we must believe that smelling, like hearing, would produce no sensation, were there not particles conveyed from the object which are of the proper sort for exciting the organ of smelling, some of one sort, some of another, some exciting it confusedly and strangely, others quietly and agreeably.

Moreover, we must hold that the atoms in fact possess none of the qualities belonging to things which come under our observation, except shape, weight, and size, and the properties necessarily conjoined with shape. For every quality changes, but the atoms do not change, since, when the composite bodies are dissolved, there must needs be a permanent something, solid and indissoluble, left behind, which makes change possible: not changes into or from the non-existent, but often through differences of arrangement, and sometimes through additions and subtractions of the atoms. Hence these somethings capable of being diversely arranged must be indestructible, exempt from change, but possessed each of its own distinctive mass and configuration. This must remain.

For in the case of changes of configuration within our experience the figure is supposed to be inherent when other qualities are stripped off, but the qualities are not supposed, like the shape which is left behind, to inhere in the subject of change, but to vanish altogether from the body. Thus, then, what is left behind is sufficient to account for the differences in composite bodies, since something at least must necessarily be left remaining and be immune from annihilation.

Again, you should not suppose that the atoms have any and every size, lest you be contradicted by facts; but differences of size must be admitted; for this addition renders the facts of feeling and sensation easier of explanation.

But to attribute any and every magnitude to the atoms does not help to explain the differences of quality in things; moreover, in that case atoms large enough to be seen ought to have reached us, which is never observed to occur; nor can we conceive how its occurrence should be possible, i.e. that an atom should become visible.

Besides, you must not suppose that there are parts unlimited in number, be they ever so small, in any finite body. Hence not only must we reject as impossible subdivision ad infinitum into smaller and smaller parts, lest we make all things too weak and, in our conceptions of the aggregates, be driven to pulverize the things that exist, i.e. the atoms, and annihilate them; but in dealing with finite things we must also reject as impossible the progression ad infinitum by less and less increments.

For when once we have said that an infinite number of particles, however small, are contained in anything, it is not possible to conceive how it could any longer be limited or finite in size. For clearly our infinite number of particles must have some size; and then, of whatever size they were, the aggregate they made would be infinite. And, in the next place, since what is finite has an extremity which is distinguishable, even if it is not by itself observable, it is not possible to avoid thinking of another such extremity next to this. Nor can we help thinking that in this way, by proceeding forward from one to the next in order, it is possible by such a progression to arrive in thought at infinity.

We must consider the minimum perceptible by sense as not corresponding to that which is capable of being traversed, i.e. is extended, nor again as utterly unlike it, but as having something in common with the things capable of being traversed, though it is without distinction of parts. But when from the illusion created by this common property we think we shall distinguish something in the minimum, one part on one side and another part on the other side, it must be another minimum equal to the first which catches our eye. In fact, we see these minima one after another, beginning with the first, and not as occupying the same space; nor do we see them touch one another's parts with their parts, but we see that by virtue of their own peculiar character (i.e. as being unit indivisibles) they afford a means of measuring magnitudes: there are more of them, if the magnitude measured is greater; fewer of them, if the magnitude measured is less.

We must recognize that this analogy also holds of the minimum in the atom; it is only in minuteness that it differs from that which is observed by sense, but it follows the same analogy. On the analogy of things within our experience we have declared that the atom has magnitude; and this, small as it is, we have merely reproduced on a larger scale. And further, the least and simplest things must be regarded as extremities of lengths, furnishing from themselves as units the means of measuring lengths, whether greater or less, the mental vision being employed, since direct observation is impossible. For the community which exists between them and the unchangeable parts (i.e. the minimal parts of area or surface) is sufficient to justify the conclusion so far as this goes. But it is not possible that these minima of the atom should group themselves together through the possession of motion.

Further, we must not assert up or down of that which is unlimited, as if there were a zenith or nadir. As to the space overhead, however, if it be possible to draw a line to infinity from the point where we stand, we know that never will this space —or, for that matter, the space below the supposed standpoint if produced to infinity—appear to us to be at the same time up and down with reference to the same point; for this is inconceivable. Hence it is possible to assume one direction of motion, which we conceive as extending upwards ad infinitum, and another downwards, even if it should happen ten thousand times that what moves from us to the spaces above our heads reaches the feet of those above us, or that which moves downwards from us the heads of those below us. None the less is it true that the whole of the motion in the respective cases is conceived as extending in opposite directions ad infinitum.

When they are travelling through the void and meet with no resistance, the atoms must move with equal speed. Neither will heavy atoms travel more quickly than small and light ones, so long as nothing meets them, nor will small atoms travel more quickly than large ones, provided they always find a passage suitable to their size, and provided also that they meet with no obstruction. Nor will their upward or their lateral motion, which is due to collisions, nor again

their downward motion, due to weight, affect their velocity. As long as either motion obtains, it must continue, quick as the speed of thought, provided there is no obstruction, whether due to external collision or to the atoms' own weight counteracting the force of the blow.

Moreover, when we come to deal with composite bodies, one of them will travel faster than another, although their atoms have equal speed. This is because the atoms in the aggregates are travelling in one direction during the shortest continuous time, albeit they move in different directions in times so short as to be appreciable only by the reason, but frequently collide until the continuity of their motion is appreciated by sense. For the assumption that beyond the range of direct observation even the minute times conceivable by reason will present continuity of motion is not true in the case before us. Our canon is that direct observation by sense and direct apprehension by the mind are alone invariably true.

Next, keeping in view our perceptions and feelings (for so shall we have the surest grounds for belief), we must recognize generally that the soul is a corporeal thing, composed of fine particles, dispersed all over the frame, most nearly resembling wind with an admixture of heat, in some respects like wind, in others like heat. But, again, there is the third part which exceeds the other two in the fineness of its particles and thereby keeps in closer touch with the rest of the frame. And this is shown by the mental faculties and feelings, by the ease with which the mind moves, and by thoughts, and by all those things the loss of which causes death. Further, we must keep in mind that soul has the greatest share in causing sensation.

Still, it would not have had sensation, had it not been somehow confined within the rest of the frame. But the rest of the frame, though it provides this indispensable condition for the soul, itself also has a share, derived from the soul, of the said quality; and yet does not possess all the qualities of soul. Hence on the departure of the soul it loses sentience. For it had not this power in itself; but something else, congenital with the body, supplied it to body: which other thing, through the potentiality actualized in it by means of motion, at once acquired for itself a quality of sentience, and, in virtue of the neighbourhood and interconnexion between them, imparted it (as I said) to the body also.

Hence, so long as the soul is in the body, it never loses sentience through the removal of some other part. The containing sheath may be dislocated in whole or in part, and portions of the soul may thereby be lost; yet in spite of this the soul, if it manage to survive, will have sentience. But the rest of the frame, whether the whole of it survives or only a part, no longer has sensation, when once those atoms have departed, which, however few in number, are required to constitute the nature of soul. Moreover, when the whole frame is broken up, the soul is scattered and has no longer the same powers as before, nor the same motions; hence it does not possess sentience either.

For we cannot think of it as sentient, except it be in this composite whole and moving with these movements; nor can we so think of it when the sheaths which enclose and surround it are not the same as those in which the soul is now located and in which it performs these movements. [He says elsewhere that the soul is composed of the smoothest and roundest of atoms, far superior in both respects to those of fire; that part of it is irrational, this being scattered over the rest of the frame, while the rational part resides in the chest, as is manifest from our fears and our joy; that sleep occurs when the parts of the soul which have been scattered all over the composite organism are held fast in it or dispersed, and afterwards collide with one another by their impacts. The semen is derived from the whole of the body.]

There is the further point to be considered, what the incorporeal can be, if, I mean, according to current usage the term is applied to what can be conceived as self-existent. But it is impossible to conceive anything that is incorporeal as self-existent except empty space. And empty space cannot itself either act or be acted upon, but simply allows body to move through it. Hence those who call soul incorporeal

speak foolishly. For if it were so, it could neither act nor be acted upon. But, as it is, both these properties, you see, plainly belong to soul.

If, then, we bring all these arguments concerning soul to the criterion of our feelings and perceptions, and if we keep in mind the proposition stated at the outset, we shall see that the subject has been adequately comprehended in outline: which will enable us to determine the details with accuracy and confidence.

Moreover, shapes and colours, magnitudes and weights, and in short all those qualities which are predicated of body, in so far as they are perpetual properties either of all bodies or of visible bodies, are knowable by sensation of these very properties: these, I say, must not be supposed to exist independently by themselves (for that is inconceivable),

nor yet to be non-existent, nor to be some other and incorporeal entities cleaving to body, nor again to be parts of body. We must consider the whole body in a general way to derive its permanent nature from all of them, though it is not, as it were, formed by grouping them together in the same way as when from the particles themselves a larger aggregate is made up, whether these particles be primary or any magnitudes whatsoever less than the particular whole. All these qualities, I repeat, merely give the body its own permanent nature. They all have their own characteristic modes of being perceived and distinguished, but always along with the whole body in which they inhere and never in separation from it; and it is in virtue of this complete conception of the body as a whole that it is so designated.

Again, qualities often attach to bodies without being permanent concomitants. They are not to be classed among invisible entities nor are they incorporeal. Hence, using the term accidents in the commonest sense, we say plainly that accidents have not the nature of the whole thing to which they belong, and to which, conceiving it as a whole, we give the name of body, nor that of the permanent properties without which body cannot be thought of. And in virtue of certain peculiar modes of apprehension into which the complete body always enters, each of them can be called an accident.

But only as often as they are seen actually to belong to it, since such accidents are not perpetual concomitants. There is no need to banish from reality this clear evidence that the accident has not the nature of that whole—by us called body—to which it belongs, nor of the permanent properties which accompany the whole. Nor, on the other hand, must we suppose the accident to have independent existence (for this is just as inconceivable in the case of accidents as in that of the permanent properties); but, as is manifest, they should all be regarded as accidents, not as permanent concomitants, of bodies, nor yet as having the rank of independent existence. Rather they are seen to be exactly as and what sensation itself makes them individually claim to be.

There is another thing which we must consider carefully. We must not investigate time as we do the other accidents which we investigate in a subject, namely, by referring them to the preconceptions envisaged in our minds; but we must take into account the plain fact itself, in

virtue of which we speak of time as long or short, linking to it in intimate connexion this attribute of duration.We need not adopt any fresh terms as preferable, but should employ the usual expressions about it. Nor need we predicate anything else of time, as if this something else contained the same essence as is contained in the proper meaning of the word time (for this also is done by some). We must chiefly reflect upon that to which we attach this peculiar character of time, and by which we measure it.

No further proof is required: we have only to reflect that we attach the attribute of time to days and nights and their parts, and likewise to feelings of pleasure and pain and to neutral states, to states of movement and states of rest, conceiving a peculiar accident of these to be this very characteristic which we express by the word time. [He says this both in the second book On Nature and in the Larger Epitome.]

After the foregoing we have next to consider that the worlds and every finite aggregate which bears a strong resemblance to things we commonly see have arisen out of the infinite. For all these, whether small or great, have been separated off from special conglomerations of atoms; and all things are again dissolved, some faster, some slower, some through the action of one set of causes, others through the action of another. [It is clear, then, that he also makes the worlds perishable, as their parts are subject to change. Elsewhere he says the earth is supported on the air.]

And further, we must not suppose that the worlds have necessarily one and the same shape. [On the contrary, in the twelfth book On Nature he himself says that the shapes of the worlds differ, some being spherical, some oval, others again of shapes different from these. They do not, however, admit of every shape. Nor are they living beings which have been separated from the infinite.] For nobody can prove that in one sort of world there might not be contained, whereas in another sort of world there could not possibly be, the seeds out of which animals and plants arise and all the rest of the things we see. [And the same holds good for their nurture in a world after they have arisen. And so too we must think it happens upon the earth also.]

Again, we must suppose that nature too has been taught and forced to learn many various lessons by the facts themselves, that reason subsequently develops what it has thus received and makes fresh discoveries, among some tribes more quickly, among others more slowly, the progress thus made being at certain times and seasons greater, at others less.

Hence even the names of things were not originally due to convention, but in the several tribes under the impulse of special feelings and special presentations of sense primitive man uttered special cries. The air thus emitted was moulded by their individual feelings or sense-presentations, and differently according to the difference of the regions which the tribes inhabited.

Subsequently whole tribes adopted their own special names, in order that their communications might be less ambiguous to each other and more briefly expressed. And as for things not visible, so far as those who were conscious of them tried to introduce any such notion, they put in circulation certain names for them, either sounds which they were instinctively compelled to utter or which they selected by reason on analogy according to the most general cause there can be for expressing oneself in such a way.

Nay more: we are bound to believe that in the sky revolutions, solstices, eclipses, risings and settings, and the like, take place without the ministration or command, either now or in the

future, of any being who at the same time enjoys perfect bliss along with immortality.

For troubles and anxieties and feelings of anger and partiality do not accord with bliss, but always imply weakness and fear and dependence upon one's neighbours. Nor, again, must we hold that things which are no more than globular masses of fire, being at the same time endowed with bliss, assume these motions at will. Nay, in every term we use we must hold fast to all the majesty which attaches to such notions as bliss and immortality, lest the terms should generate opinions inconsistent with this majesty. Otherwise such inconsistency will of itself suffice to produce the worst disturbance in our minds. Hence, where we find phenomena invariably recurring, the invariableness of the recurrence must be ascribed to the original interception and conglomeration of atoms whereby the world was formed.

Further, we must hold that to arrive at accurate knowledge of the cause of things of most moment is the business of natural science, and that happiness depends on this (viz. on the knowledge of celestial and atmospheric phenomena), and upon knowing what the heavenly bodies really are, and any kindred facts contributing to exact knowledge in this respect.

Further, we must recognize on such points as this no plurality of causes or contingency, but must hold that nothing suggestive of conflict or disquiet is compatible with an immortal and blessed nature. And the mind can grasp the absolute truth of this.

But when we come to subjects for special inquiry, there is nothing in the knowledge of risings and settings and solstices and eclipses and all kindred subjects that contributes to our happiness; but those who are well-informed about such matters and yet are ignorant what the heavenly bodies really are, and what are the most important causes of phenomena, feel quite as much fear as those who have no such special information—nay, perhaps even greater fear, when the curiosity excited by this additional knowledge cannot find a solution or understand the subordination of these phenomena to the highest causes.

Hence, if we discover more than one cause that may account for solstices, settings and risings, eclipses and the like, as we did also in particular matters of detail,

we must not suppose that our treatment of these matters fails of accuracy, so far as it is needful to ensure our tranquillity and happiness. When, therefore, we investigate the causes of celestial and atmospheric phenomena, as of all that is unknown, we must take into account the variety of ways in which analogous occurrences happen within our experience; while as for those who do not recognize the difference between what is or comes about from a single cause and that which may be the effect of any one of several causes, overlooking the fact that the objects are only seen at a distance, and are moreover ignorant of the conditions that render, or do not render, peace of mind impossible —all such persons we must treat with contempt. If then we think that an event could happen in one or other particular way out of several, we shall be as tranquil when we recognize that it actually comes about in more ways than one as if we knew that it happens in this particular way.

There is yet one more point to seize, namely, that the greatest anxiety of the human mind arises through the belief that the heavenly bodies are blessed and indestructible, and that at the same time they have volitions and actions and causality inconsistent with this belief; and through expecting or apprehending some everlasting evil, either because of the myths, or because we are in dread of the mere insensibility of death, as if it had to do with us; and through being reduced to this state not by conviction but by a certain irrational perversity, so that, if men do

not set bounds to their terror, they endure as much or even more intense anxiety than the man whose views on these matters are quite vague.

But mental tranquillity means being released from all these troubles and cherishing a continual remembrance of the highest and most important truths.

Hence we must attend to present feelings and sense perceptions, whether those of mankind in general or those peculiar to the individual, and also attend to all the clear evidence available, as given by each of the standards of truth. For by studying them we shall rightly trace to its cause and banish the source of disturbance and dread, accounting for celestial phenomena and for all other things which from time to time befall us and cause the utmost alarm to the rest of mankind.

Here then, Herodotus, you have the chief doctrines of Physics in the form of a summary.

So that, if this statement be accurately retained and take effect, a man will, I make no doubt, be incomparably better equipped than his fellows, even if he should never go into all the exact details. For he will clear up for himself many of the points which I have worked out in detail in my complete exposition; and the summary itself, if borne in mind, will be of constant service to him.

It is of such a sort that those who are already tolerably, or even perfectly, well acquainted with the details can, by analysis of what they know into such elementary perceptions as these, best prosecute their researches in physical science as a whole; while those, on the other hand, who are not altogether entitled to rank as mature students can in silent fashion and as quick as thought run over the doctrines most important for their peace of mind.

Such is his epistle on Physics. Next comes the epistle on Celestial Phenomena.

Epicurus to Pythocles, greeting.

In your letter to me, of which Cleon was the bearer, you continue to show me affection which I have merited by my devotion to you, and you try, not without success, to recall the considerations which make for a happy life. To aid your memory you ask me for a clear and concise statement respecting celestial phenomena; for what we have written on this subject elsewhere is, you tell me, hard to remember, although you have my books constantly with you. I was glad to receive your request and am full of pleasant expectations.

We will then complete our writing and grant all you ask. Many others besides you will find these reasonings useful, and especially those who have but recently made acquaintance with the true story of nature and those who are attached to pursuits which go deeper than any part of ordinary education. So you will do well to take and learn them and get them up quickly along with the short epitome in my letter to Herodotus.

In the first place, remember that, like everything else, knowledge of celestial phenomena, whether taken along with other things or in isolation, has no other end in view than peace of mind and firm conviction.

We do not seek to wrest by force what is impossible, nor to understand all matters equally well, nor make our treatment always as clear as when we discuss human life or explain the principles of physics in general—for instance, that the whole of being consists of bodies and intangible nature, or that the ultimate elements of things are indivisible, or any other proposition which

admits only one explanation of the phenomena to be possible. But this is not the case with celestial phenomena: these at any rate admit of manifold causes for their occurrence and manifold accounts, none of them contradictory of sensation, of their nature.

For in the study of nature we must not conform to empty assumptions and arbitrary laws, but follow the promptings of the facts; for our life has no need now of unreason and false opinion; our one need is untroubled existence. All things go on uninterruptedly, if all be explained by the method of plurality of causes in conformity with the facts, so soon as we duly understand what may be plausibly alleged respecting them. But when we pick and choose among them, rejecting one equally consistent with the phenomena, we clearly fall away from the study of nature altogether and tumble into myth. Some phenomena within our experience afford evidence by which we may interpret what goes on in the heavens. We see how the former really take place, but not how the celestial phenomena take place, for their occurrence may possibly be due to a variety of causes.

However, we must observe each fact as presented, and further separate from it all the facts presented along with it, the occurrence of which from various causes is not contradicted by facts within our experience.

A world is a circumscribed portion of the universe, which contains stars and earth and all other visible things, cut off from the infinite, and terminating [and terminating in a boundary which may be either thick or thin, a boundary whose dissolution will bring about the wreck of all within it] in an exterior which may either revolve or be at rest, and be round or triangular or of any other shape whatever. All these alternatives are possible: they are contradicted by none of the facts in this world, in which an extremity can nowhere be discerned.

That there is an infinite number of such worlds can be perceived, and that such a world may arise in a world or in one of the intermundia (by which term we mean the spaces between worlds) in a tolerably empty space and not, as some maintain, in a vast space perfectly clear and void. It arises when certain suitable seeds rush in from a single world or intermundium, or from several, and undergo gradual additions or articulations or changes of place, it may be, and waterings from appropriate sources, until they are matured and firmly settled in so far as the foundations laid can receive them.

For it is not enough that there should be an aggregation or a vortex in the empty space in which a world may arise, as the necessitarians hold, and may grow until it collide with another, as one of the so-called physicists says. For this is in conflict with facts.

The sun and moon and the stars generally were not of independent origin and later absorbed within our world, [such parts of it at least as serve at all for its defence]; but they at once began to take form and grow [and so too did earth and sea] by the accretions and whirling motions of certain substances of finest texture, of the nature either of wind or fire, or of both; for thus sense itself suggests.

The size of the sun and the remaining stars relatively to us is just as great as it appears. [This he states in the eleventh book On Nature. For, says he, if it had diminished in size on account of the distance, it would much more have diminished its brightness; for indeed there is no distance more proportionate to this diminution of size than is the distance at which the brightness begins to diminish.] But in itself and actually it may be a little larger or a little smaller, or precisely as great as it is seen to be. For so too fires of which we have experience are seen by sense when we

see them at a distance. And every objection brought against this part of the theory will easily be met by anyone who attends to plain facts, as I show in my work On Nature.

And the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars may be due to kindling and quenching, provided that the circumstances are such as to produce this result in each of the two regions, east and west: for no fact testifies against this. Or the result might be produced by their coming forward above the earth and again by its intervention to hide them: for no fact testifies against this either. And their motions may be due to the rotation of the whole heaven, or the heaven may be at rest and they alone rotate according to some necessary impulse to rise, implanted at first when the world was made …

and this through excessive heat, due to a certain extension of the fire which always encroaches upon that which is near it.

The turnings of the sun and moon in their course may be due to the obliquity of the heaven, whereby it is forced back at these times. Again, they may equally be due to the contrary pressure of the air or, it may be, to the fact that either the fuel from time to time necessary has been consumed in the vicinity or there is a dearth of it. Or even because such a whirling motion was from the first inherent in these stars so that they move in a sort of spiral. For all such explanations and the like do not conflict with any clear evidence, if only in such details we hold fast to what is possible, and can bring each of these explanations into accord with the facts, unmoved by the servile artifices of the astronomers.

The waning of the moon and again her waxing might be due to the rotation of the moon's body, and equally well to configurations which the air assumes; further, it may be due to the interposition of certain bodies. In short, it may happen in any of the ways in which the facts within our experience suggest such an appearance to be explicable. But one must not be so much in love with the explanation by a single way as wrongly to reject all the others from ignorance of what can, and what cannot, be within human knowledge, and consequent longing to discover the indiscoverable. Further, the moon may possibly shine by her own light, just as possibly she may derive her light from the sun;

for in our own experience we see many things which shine by their own light and many also which shine by borrowed light. And none of the celestial phenomena stand in the way, if only we always keep in mind the method of plural explanation and the several consistent assumptions and causes, instead of dwelling on what is inconsistent and giving it a false importance so as always to fall back in one way or another upon the single explanation. The appearance of the face in the moon may equally well arise from interchange of parts, or from interposition of something, or in any other of the ways which might be seen to accord with the facts.

For in all the celestial phenomena such a line of research is not to be abandoned; for, if you fight against clear evidence, you never can enjoy genuine peace of mind.

An eclipse of the sun or moon may be due to the extinction of their light, just as within our own experience this is observed to happen; and again by interposition of something else—whether it be the earth or some other invisible body like it. And thus we must take in conjunction the explanations which agree with one another, and remember that the concurrence of more than one at the same time may not impossibly happen. [He says the same in Book XII. of his De Natura, and further that the sun is eclipsed when the moon throws her shadow over him, and the moon is eclipsed by the shadow of the earth; or again, eclipse may be due to the moon's

withdrawal, and this is cited by Diogenes the Epicurean in the first book of his Epilecta.]

And further, let the regularity of their orbits be explained in the same way as certain ordinary incidents within our own experience; the divine nature must not on any account be adduced to explain this, but must be kept free from the task and in perfect bliss. Unless this be done, the whole study of celestial phenomena will be in vain, as indeed it has proved to be with some who did not lay hold of a possible method, but fell into the folly of supposing that these events happen in one single way only and of rejecting all the others which are possible, suffering themselves to be carried into the realm of the unintelligible, and being unable to take a comprehensive view of the facts which must be taken as clues to the rest.

The variations in the length of nights and days may be due to the swiftness and again to the slowness of the sun's motion in the sky, owing to the variations in the length of spaces traversed and to his accomplishing some distances more swiftly or more slowly, as happens sometimes within our own experience; and with these facts our explanation of celestial phenomena must agree; whereas those who adopt only one explanation are in conflict with the facts and are utterly mistaken as to the way in which man can attain knowledge.

The signs in the sky which betoken the weather may be due to mere coincidence of the seasons, as is the case with signs from animals seen on earth, or they may be caused by changes and alterations in the air. For neither the one explanation nor the other is in conflict with facts,

and it is not easy to see in which cases the effect is due to one cause or to the other.

Clouds may form and gather either because the air is condensed under the pressure of winds, or because atoms which hold together and are suitable to produce this result become mutually entangled, or because currents collect from the earth and the waters; and there are several other ways in which it is not impossible for the aggregations of such bodies into clouds to be brought about. And that being so, rain may be produced from them sometimes by their compression, sometimes by their transformation;

or again may be caused by exhalations of moisture rising from suitable places through the air, while a more violent inundation is due to certain accumulations suitable for such discharge. Thunder may be due to the rolling of wind in the hollow parts of the clouds, as it is sometimes imprisoned in vessels which we use; or to the roaring of fire in them when blown by a wind, or to the rending and disruption of clouds, or to the friction and splitting up of clouds when they have become as firm as ice.

As in the whole survey, so in this particular point, the facts invite us to give a plurality of explanations. Lightnings too happen in a variety of ways. For when the clouds rub against each other and collide, that collocation of atoms which is the cause of fire generates lightning; or it may be due to the flashing forth from the clouds, by reason of winds, of particles capable of producing this brightness; or else it is squeezed out of the clouds when they have been condensed either by their own action or by that of the winds; or again, the light diffused from the stars may be enclosed in the clouds, then driven about by their motion and by that of the winds, and finally make its escape from the clouds; or light of the finest texture may be filtered through the clouds (whereby the clouds may be set on fire and thunder produced), and the motion of this light may make lightning; or it may arise from the combustion of wind brought about by the violence of its motion and the intensity of its compression;

or, when the clouds are rent asunder by winds, and the atoms which generate fire are expelled,

these likewise cause lightning to appear. And it may easily be seen that its occurrence is possible in many other ways, so long as we hold fast to facts and take a general view of what is analogous to them. Lightning precedes thunder, when the clouds are constituted as mentioned above and the configuration which produces lightning is expelled at the moment when the wind falls upon the cloud, and the wind being rolled up afterwards produces the roar of thunder; or, if both are simultaneous, the lightning moves with a greater velocity towards us and the thunder lags behind,

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exactly as when persons who are striking blows are observed from a distance. A thunderbolt is caused when winds are repeatedly collected, imprisoned, and violently ignited; or when a part is torn asunder and is more violently expelled downwards, the rending being due to the fact that the compression of the clouds has made the neighbouring parts more dense; or again it may be due like thunder merely to the expulsion of the imprisoned fire, when this has accumulated and been more violently inflated with wind and has torn the cloud, being unable to withdraw to the adjacent parts because it is continually more and more closely compressed—[generally by some high mountain where thunderbolts mostly fall].

And there are several other ways in which thunderbolts may possibly be produced. Exclusion of myth is the sole condition necessary; and it will be excluded, if one properly attends to the facts and hence draws inferences to interpret what is obscure.

Fiery whirlwinds are due to the descent of a cloud forced downwards like a pillar by the wind in full force and carried by a gale round and round, while at the same time the outside wind gives the cloud a lateral thrust; or it may be due to a change of the wind which veers to all points of the compass as a current of air from above helps to force it to move; or it may be that a strong eddy of winds has been started and is unable to burst through laterally because the air around is closely condensed.

And when they descend upon land, they cause what are called tornadoes, in accordance with the various ways in which they are produced through the force of the wind; and when let down upon the sea, they cause waterspouts.

Earthquakes may be due to the imprisonment of wind underground, and to its being interspersed with small masses of earth and then set in continuous motion, thus causing the earth to tremble. And the earth either takes in this wind from without or from the falling in of foundations, when undermined, into subterranean caverns, thus raising a wind in the imprisoned air. Or they may be due to the propagation of movement arising from the fall of many foundations and to its being again checked when it encounters the more solid resistance of earth.

And there are many other causes to which these oscillations of the earth may be due.

Winds arise from time to time when foreign matter continually and gradually finds its way into the air; also through the gathering of great store of water. The rest of the winds arise when a few of them fall into the many hollows and they are thus divided and multiplied.

Hail is caused by the firmer congelation and complete transformation, and subsequent distribution into drops, of certain particles resembling wind: also by the slighter congelation of certain particles of moisture and the vicinity of certain particles of wind which at one and the

same time forces them together and makes them burst, so that they become frozen in parts and in the whole mass.

The round shape of hailstones is not impossibly due to the extremities on all sides being melted and to the fact that, as explained, particles either of moisture or of wind surround them evenly on all sides and in every quarter, when they freeze.

Snow may be formed when a fine rain issues from the clouds because the pores are symmetrical and because of the continuous and violent pressure of the winds upon clouds which are suitable; and then this rain has been frozen on its way because of some violent change to coldness in the regions below the clouds. Or again, by congelation in clouds which have uniform density a fall of snow might occur through the clouds which contain moisture being densely packed in close proximity to each other; and these clouds produce a sort of compression and cause hail, and this happens mostly in spring.

And when frozen clouds rub against each other, this accumulation of snow might be thrown off. And there are other ways in which snow might be formed.

Dew is formed when such particles as are capable of producing this sort of moisture meet each other from the air: again by their rising from moist and damp places, the sort of place where dew is chiefly formed, and their subsequent coalescence, so as to create moisture and fall downwards, just as in several cases something similar is observed to take place under our eyes.

And the formation of hoar-frost is not different from that of dew, certain particles of such a nature becoming in some such way congealed owing to a certain condition of cold air.

Ice is formed by the expulsion from the water of the circular, and the compression of the scalene and acute-angled atoms contained in it; further by the accretion of such atoms from without, which being driven together cause the water to solidify after the expulsion of a certain number of round atoms.

The rainbow arises when the sun shines upon humid air; or again by a certain peculiar blending of light with air, which will cause either all the distinctive qualities of these colours or else some of them belonging to a single kind, and from the reflection of this light the air all around will be coloured as we see it to be, as the sun shines upon its parts.

The circular shape which it assumes is due to the fact that the distance of every point is perceived by our sight to be equal; or it may be because, the atoms in the air or in the clouds and deriving from the sun having been thus united, the aggregate of them presents a sort of roundness.

A halo round the moon arises because the air on all sides extends to the moon; or because it equably raises upwards the currents from the moon so high as to impress a circle upon the cloudy mass and not to separate it altogether; or because it raises the air which immediately surrounds the moon symmetrically from all sides up to a circumference round her and there forms a thick ring.

And this happens at certain parts either because a current has forced its way in from without or because the heat has gained possession of certain passages in order to effect this.

Comets arise either because fire is nourished in certain places at certain intervals in the heavens, if circumstances are favourable; or because at times the heaven has a particular

motion above us so that such stars appear; or because the stars themselves are set in motion under certain conditions and come to our neighbourhood and show themselves. And their disappearance is due to the causes which are the opposite of these.

Certain stars may revolve without setting not only for the reason alleged by some, because this is the part of the world round which, itself unmoved, the rest revolves, but it may also be because a circular eddy of air surrounds this part, which prevents them from travelling out of sight like other stars; or because there is a dearth of necessary fuel farther on, while there is abundance in that part where they are seen to be. Moreover there are several other ways in which this might be brought about, as may be seen by anyone capable of reasoning in accordance with the facts. The wanderings of certain stars, if such wandering is their actual motion, and the regular movement of certain other stars,

may be accounted for by saying that they originally moved in a circle and were constrained, some of them to be whirled round with the same uniform rotation and others with a whirling motion which varied; but it may also be that according to the diversity of the regions traversed in some places there are uniform tracts of air, forcing them forward in one direction and burning uniformly, in others these tracts present such irregularities as cause the motions observed. To assign a single cause for these effects when the facts suggest several causes is madness and a strange inconsistency; yet it is done by adherents of rash astronomy, who assign meaningless causes for the stars whenever they persist in saddling the divinity with burdensome tasks.

That certain stars are seen to be left behind by others may be because they travel more slowly, though they go the same round as the others; or it may be that they are drawn back by the same whirling motion and move in the opposite direction; or again it may be that some travel over a larger and others over a smaller space in making the same revolution. But to lay down as assured a single explanation of these phenomena is worthy of those who seek to dazzle the multitude with marvels.

Falling stars, as they are called, may in some cases be due to the mutual friction of the stars themselves, in other cases to the expulsion of certain parts when that mixture of fire and air takes place which was mentioned when we were discussing lightning;

or it may be due to the meeting of atoms capable of generating fire, which accord so well as to produce this result, and their subsequent motion wherever the impulse which brought them together at first leads them; or it may be that wind collects in certain dense mist-like masses and, since it is imprisoned, ignites and then bursts forth upon whatever is round about it, and is carried to that place to which its motion impels it. And there are other ways in which this can be brought about without recourse to myths.

The fact that the weather is sometimes foretold from the behaviour of certain animals is a mere coincidence in time. For the animals offer no necessary reason why a storm should be produced; and no divine being sits observing when these animals go out and afterwards fulfilling the signs which they have given.

For such folly as this would not possess the most ordinary being if ever so little enlightened, much less one who enjoys perfect felicity.

All this, Pythocles, you should keep in mind; for then you will escape a long way from myth, and you will be able to view in their connexion the instances which are similar to these. But above all

give yourself up to the study of first principles and of infinity and of kindred subjects, and further of the standards and of the feelings and of the end for which we choose between them. For to study these subjects together will easily enable you to understand the causes of the particular phenomena. And those who have not fully accepted this, in proportion as they have not done so, will be ill acquainted with these very subjects, nor have they secured the end for which they ought to be studied.

Such are his views on celestial phenomena.

But as to the conduct of life, what we ought to avoid and what to choose, he writes as follows. Before quoting his words, however, let me go into the views of Epicurus himself and his school concerning the wise man.

There are three motives to injurious acts among men—hatred, envy, and contempt; and these the wise man overcomes by reason. Moreover, he who has once become wise never more assumes the opposite habit, not even in semblance, if he can help it. He will be more susceptible of emotion than other men: that will be no hindrance to his wisdom. However, not every bodily constitution nor every nationality would permit a man to become wise.

Even on the rack the wise man is happy. He alone will feel gratitude towards friends, present and absent alike, and show it by word and deed. When on the rack, however, he will give vent to cries and groans. As regards women he will submit to the restrictions imposed by the law, as Diogenes says in his epitome of Epicurus' ethical doctrines. Nor will he punish his servants; rather he will pity them and make allowance on occasion for those who are of good character. The Epicureans do not suffer the wise man to fall in love; nor will he trouble himself about funeral rites; according to them love does not come by divine inspiration: so Diogenes in his twelfth book. The wise man will not make fine speeches. No one was ever the better for sexual indulgence, and it is well if he be not the worse.

Nor, again, will the wise man marry and rear a family: so Epicurus says in the Problems and in the De Natura. Occasionally he may marry owing to special circumstances in his life. Some too will turn aside from their purpose. Nor will he drivel, when drunken: so Epicurus says in the Symposium. Nor will he take part in politics, as is stated in the first book On Life; nor will he make himself a tyrant; nor will he turn Cynic (so the second book On Life tells us); nor will he be a mendicant. But even when he has lost his sight, he will not withdraw himself from life: this is stated in the same book. The wise man will also feel grief, according to Diogenes in the fifth book of his Epilecta. And he will take a suit into court.

He will leave written words behind him, but will not compose panegyric. He will have regard to his property and to the future. He will be fond of the country. He will be armed against fortune and will never give up a friend. He will pay just so much regard to his reputation as not to be looked down upon. He will take more delight than other men in state festivals.

The wise man will set up votive images. Whether he is well off or not will be matter of indifference to him. Only the wise man will be able to converse correctly about music and poetry, without however actually writing poems himself. One wise man does not move more wisely than another. And he will make money, but only by his wisdom, if he should be in poverty, and he will pay court to a king, if need be. He will be grateful to anyone when he is corrected. He will found a school, but not in such a manner as to draw the crowd after him; and will give readings in public, but only by request. He will be a dogmatist but not a mere sceptic; and he will

be like himself even when asleep. And he will on occasion die for a friend.

The school holds that sins are not all equal; that health is in some cases a good, in others a thing indifferent; that courage is not a natural gift but comes from calculation of expediency; and that friendship is prompted by our needs. One of the friends, however, must make the first advances (just as we have to cast seed into the earth), but it is maintained by a partnership in the enjoyment of life's pleasures.

Two sorts of happiness can be conceived, the one the highest possible, such as the gods enjoy, which cannot be augmented, the other admitting addition and subtraction of pleasures.

We must now proceed to his letter.

Epicurus to Menoeceus, greeting.

Let no one be slow to seek wisdom when he is young nor weary in the search thereof when he is grown old. For no age is too early or too late for the health of the soul. And to say that the season for studying philosophy has not yet come, or that it is past and gone, is like saying that the season for happiness is not yet or that it is now no more. Therefore, both old and young ought to seek wisdom, the former in order that, as age comes over him, he may be young in good things because of the grace of what has been, and the latter in order that, while he is young, he may at the same time be old, because he has no fear of the things which are to come. So we must exercise ourselves in the things which bring happiness, since, if that be present, we have everything, and, if that be absent, all our actions are directed toward attaining it.

Those things which without ceasing I have declared unto thee, those do, and exercise thyself therein, holding them to be the elements of right life. First believe that God is a living being immortal and blessed, according to the notion of a god indicated by the common sense of mankind; and so believing, thou shalt not affirm of him aught that is foreign to his immortality or that agrees not with blessedness, but shalt believe about him whatever may uphold both his blessedness and his immortality. For verily there are gods, and the knowledge of them is manifest; but they are not such as the multitude believe, seeing that men do not steadfastly maintain the notions they form respecting them. Not the man who denies the gods worshipped by the multitude, but he who affirms of the gods what the multitude believes about them is truly impious.

For the utterances of the multitude about the gods are not true preconceptions but false assumptions; hence it is that the greatest evils happen to the wicked and the greatest blessings happen to the good from the hand of the gods, seeing that they are always favourable to their own good qualities and take pleasure in men like unto themselves, but reject as alien whatever is not of their kind.

Accustom thyself to believe that death is nothing to us, for good and evil imply sentience, and death is the privation of all sentience; therefore a right understanding that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding to life an illimitable time, but by taking away the yearning after immortality.

For life has no terrors for him who has thoroughly apprehended that there are no terrors for him in ceasing to live. Foolish, therefore, is the man who says that he fears death, not because it will pain when it comes, but because it pains in the prospect. Whatsoever causes no annoyance when it is present, causes only a groundless pain in the expectation. Death, therefore, the most

awful of evils, is nothing to us, seeing that, when we are, death is not come, and, when death is come, we are not. It is nothing, then, either to the living or to the dead, for with the living it is not and the dead exist no longer. But in the world, at one time men shun death as the greatest of all evils, and at another time choose it as a respite from the evils in life.

The wise man does not deprecate life nor does he fear the cessation of life. The thought of life is no offence to him, nor is the cessation of life regarded as an evil. And even as men choose of food not merely and simply the larger portion, but the more pleasant, so the wise seek to enjoy the time which is most pleasant and not merely that which is longest. And he who admonishes the young to live well and the old to make a good end speaks foolishly, not merely because of the desirableness of life, but because the same exercise at once teaches to live well and to die well. Much worse is he who says that it were good not to be born, but when once one is born to pass with all speed through the gates of Hades.

For if he truly believes this, why does he not depart from life? It were easy for him to do so, if once he were firmly convinced. If he speaks only in mockery, his words are foolishness, for those who hear believe him not.

We must remember that the future is neither wholly ours nor wholly not ours, so that neither must we count upon it as quite certain to come nor despair of it as quite certain not to come.

We must also reflect that of desires some are natural, others are groundless; and that of the natural some are necessary as well as natural, and some natural only. And of the necessary desires some are necessary if we are to be happy, some if the body is to be rid of uneasiness, some if we are even to live.

He who has a clear and certain understanding of these things will direct every preference and aversion toward securing health of body and tranquillity of mind, seeing that this is the sum and end of a blessed life. For the end of all our actions is to be free from pain and fear, and, when once we have attained all this, the tempest of the soul is laid; seeing that the living creature has no need to go in search of something that is lacking, nor to look for anything else by which the good of the soul and of the body will be fulfilled. When we are pained because of the absence of pleasure, then, and then only, do we feel the need of pleasure. Wherefore we call pleasure the alpha and omega of a blessed life.

Pleasure is our first and kindred good. It is the starting-point of every choice and of every aversion, and to it we come back, inasmuch as we make feeling the rule by which to judge of every good thing. And since pleasure is our first and native good, for that reason we do not choose every pleasure whatsoever, but ofttimes pass over many pleasures when a greater annoyance ensues from them. And ofttimes we consider pains superior to pleasures when submission to the pains for a long time brings us as a consequence a greater pleasure. While therefore all pleasure because it is naturally akin to us is good, not all pleasure is choiceworthy, just as all pain is an evil and yet not all pain is to be shunned.

It is, however, by measuring one against another, and by looking at the conveniences and inconveniences, that all these matters must be judged. Sometimes we treat the good as an evil, and the evil, on the contrary, as a good. Again, we regard independence of outward things as a great good, not so as in all cases to use little, but so as to be contented with little if we have not much, being honestly persuaded that they have the sweetest enjoyment of luxury who stand least in need of it, and that whatever is natural is easily procured and only the vain and

worthless hard to win. Plain fare gives as much pleasure as a costly diet, when once the pain of want has been removed,

while bread and water confer the highest possible pleasure when they are brought to hungry lips. To habituate one's self, therefore, to simple and inexpensive diet supplies all that is needful for health, and enables a man to meet the necessary requirements of life without shrinking, and it places us in a better condition when we approach at intervals a costly fare and renders us fearless of fortune.

When we say, then, that pleasure is the end and aim, we do not mean the pleasures of the prodigal or the pleasures of sensuality, as we are understood to do by some through ignorance, prejudice, or wilful misrepresentation. By pleasure we mean the absence of pain in the body and of trouble in the soul.

It is not an unbroken succession of drinking-bouts and of revelry, not sexual love, not the enjoyment of the fish and other delicacies of a luxurious table, which produce a pleasant life; it is sober reasoning, searching out the grounds of every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul. Of all this the beginning and the greatest good is prudence. Wherefore prudence is a more precious thing even than philosophy; from it spring all the other virtues, for it teaches that we cannot lead a life of pleasure which is not also a life of prudence, honour, and justice; nor lead a life of prudence, honour, and justice, which is not also a life of pleasure. For the virtues have grown into one with a pleasant life, and a pleasant life is inseparable from them.

Who, then, is superior in thy judgement to such a man? He holds a holy belief concerning the gods, and is altogether free from the fear of death. He has diligently considered the end fixed by nature, and understands how easily the limit of good things can be reached and attained, and how either the duration or the intensity of evils is but slight. Destiny, which some introduce as sovereign over all things, he laughs to scorn, affirming rather that some things happen of necessity, others by chance, others through our own agency. For he sees that necessity destroys responsibility and that chance or fortune is inconstant; whereas our own actions are free, and it is to them that praise and blame naturally attach.

It were better, indeed, to accept the legends of the gods than to bow beneath that yoke of destiny which the natural philosophers have imposed. The one holds out some faint hope that we may escape if we honour the gods, while the necessity of the naturalists is deaf to all entreaties. Nor does he hold chance to be a god, as the world in general does, for in the acts of a god there is no disorder; nor to be a cause, though an uncertain one, for he believes that no good or evil is dispensed by chance to men so as to make life blessed, though it supplies the starting-point of great good and great evil. He believes that the misfortune of the wise is better than the prosperity of the fool.

It is better, in short, that what is well judged in action should not owe its successful issue to the aid of chance.

Exercise thyself in these and kindred precepts day and night, both by thyself and with him who is like unto thee; then never, either in waking or in dream, wilt thou be disturbed, but wilt live as a god among men. For man loses all semblance of mortality by living in the midst of immortal blessings.

Elsewhere he rejects the whole of divination, as in the short epitome, and says, No means of

predicting the future really exists, and if it did, we must regard what happens according to it as nothing to us.

Such are his views on life and conduct; and he has discoursed upon them at greater length elsewhere.

He differs from the Cyrenaics with regard to pleasure. They do not include under the term the pleasure which is a state of rest, but only that which consists in motion. Epicurus admits both; also pleasure of mind as well as of body, as he states in his work On Choice and Avoidance and in that On the Ethical End, and in the first book of his work On Human Life and in the epistle to his philosopher friends in Mytilene. So also Diogenes in the seventeenth book of his Epilecta, and Metrodorus in his Timocrates, whose actual words are: Thus pleasure being conceived both as that species which consists in motion and that which is a state of rest. The words of Epicurus in his work On Choice are: Peace of mind and freedom from pain are pleasures which imply a state of rest; joy and delight are seen to consist in motion and activity.

He further disagrees with the Cyrenaics in that they hold that pains of body are worse than mental pains; at all events evil-doers are made to suffer bodily punishment; whereas Epicurus holds the pains of the mind to be the worse; at any rate the flesh endures the storms of the present alone, the mind those of the past and future as well as the present. In this way also he holds mental pleasures to be greater than those of the body. And as proof that pleasure is the end he adduces the fact that living things, so soon as they are born, are well content with pleasure and are at enmity with pain, by the prompting of nature and apart from reason. Left to our own feelings, then, we shun pain; as when even Heracles, devoured by the poisoned robe, cries aloud,

And bites and yells, and rock to rock resounds,

Headlands of Locris and Euboean cliffs.

And we choose the virtues too on account of pleasure and not for their own sake, as we take medicine for the sake of health. So too in the twentieth book of his Epilecta says Diogenes, who also calls education (ἀγωγή) recreation (διαγωγή). Epicurus describes virtue as the sine qua non of pleasure, i.e. the one thing without which pleasure cannot be, everything else, food, for instance, being separable, i.e. not indispensable to pleasure.

Come, then, let me set the seal, so to say, on my entire work as well as on this philosopher’s life by citing his Sovran Maxims, therewith bringing the whole work to a close and making the end of it to coincide with the beginning of happiness.

1. A blessed and eternal being has no trouble himself and brings no trouble upon any other being; hence he is exempt from movements of anger and partiality, for every such movement implies weakness [Elsewhere he says that the gods are discernible by reason alone, some being numerically distinct, while others result uniformly from the continuous influx of similar images directed to the same spot and in human form.]

2. Death is nothing to us; for the body, when it has been resolved into its elements, has no feeling, and that which has no feeling is nothing to us.

3. The magnitude of pleasure reaches its limit in the removal of all pain. When pleasure is present, so long as it is uninterrupted, there is no pain either of body or of mind or of both together.

4. Continuous pain does not last long in the flesh; on the contrary, pain, if extreme, is present a very short time, and even that degree of pain which barely outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last for many days together. Illnesses of long duration even permit of an excess of pleasure over pain in the flesh.

5. It is impossible to live a pleasant life without living wisely and well and justly, and it is impossible to live wisely and well and justly without living pleasantly. Whenever any one of these is lacking, when, for instance, the man is not able to live wisely, though he lives well and justly, it is impossible for him to live a pleasant life.

6. In order to obtain security from other men any means whatsoever of procuring this was a natural good.

7. Some men have sought to become famous and renowned, thinking that thus they would make themselves secure against their fellow-men. If, then, the life of such persons really was secure, they attained natural good; if, however, it was insecure, they have not attained the end which by nature's own prompting they originally sought.

8. No pleasure is in itself evil, but the things which produce certain pleasures entail annoyances many times greater than the pleasures themselves.

9. If all pleasure had been capable of accumulation,—if this had gone on not only by recurrence in time, but all over the frame or, at any rate, over the principal parts of man's nature, there would never have been any difference between one pleasure and another, as in fact there is.

10. If the objects which are productive of pleasures to profligate persons really freed them from fears of the mind,—the fears, I mean, inspired by celestial and atmospheric phenomena, the fear of death, the fear of pain; if, further, they taught them to limit their desires, we should never have any fault to find with such persons, for they would then be filled with pleasures to overflowing on all sides and would be exempt from all pain, whether of body or mind, that is, from all evil.

11. If we had never been molested by alarms at celestial and atmospheric phenomena, nor by the misgiving that death somehow affects us, nor by neglect of the proper limits of pains and desires, we should have had no need to study natural science.

12. It would be impossible to banish fear on matters of the highest importance, if a man did not know the nature of the whole universe, but lived in dread of what the legends tell us. Hence without the study of nature there was no enjoyment of unmixed pleasures.

13. There would be no advantage in providing security against our fellow-men, so long as we were alarmed by occurrences over our heads or beneath the earth or in general by whatever happens in the boundless universe.

14. When tolerable security against our fellow-men is attained, then on a basis of power sufficient to afford supportand of material prosperity arises in most genuine form the security of a quiet private life withdrawn from the multitude.

15. Nature's wealth at once has its bounds and is easy to procure; but the wealth of vain fancies recedes to an infinite distance.

16. Fortune but seldom interferes with the wise man; his greatest and highest interests have been, are, and will be, directed by reason throughout the course of his life.

17. The just man enjoys the greatest peace of mind, while the unjust is full of the utmost disquietude.

18. Pleasure in the flesh admits no increase when once the pain of want has been removed; after that it only admits of variation. The limit of pleasure in the mind, however, is reached when we reflect on the things themselves and their congeners which cause the mind the greatest alarms.

19. Unlimited time and limited time afford an equal amount of pleasure, if we measure the limits of that pleasure by reason.

20. The flesh receives as unlimited the limits of pleasure; and to provide it requires unlimited time. But the mind, grasping in thought what the end and limit of the flesh is, and banishing the terrors of futurity, procures a complete and perfect life, and has no longer any need of unlimited time. Nevertheless it does not shun pleasure, and even in the hour of death, when ushered out of existence by circumstances, the mind does not lack enjoyment of the best life.

21. He who understands the limits of life knows how easy it is to procure enough to remove the pain of want and make the whole of life complete and perfect. Hence he has no longer any need of things which are not to be won save by labour and conflict.

22. We must take into account as the end all that really exists and all clear evidence of sense to which we refer our opinions; for otherwise everything will be full of uncertainty and confusion.

23. If you fight against all your sensations, you will have no standard to which to refer, and thus no means of judging even those judgements which you pronounce false.

24. If you reject absolutely any single sensation without stopping to discriminate with respect to that which awaits confirmation between matter of opinion and that which is already present, whether in sensation or in feelings or in any presentative perception of the mind, you will throw into confusion even the rest of your sensations by your groundless belief and so you will be rejecting the standard of truth altogether. If in your ideas based upon opinion you hastily affirm as true all that awaits confirmation as well as that which does not, you will not escape error, as you will be maintaining complete ambiguity whenever it is a case of judging between right and wrong opinion.

25. If you do not on every separate occasion refer each of your actions to the end prescribed by nature, but instead of this in the act of choice or avoidance swerve aside to some other end, your acts will not be consistent with your theories.

26. All such desires as lead to no pain when they remain ungratified are unnecessary, and the longing is easily got rid of, when the thing desired is difficult to procure or when the desires seem likely to produce harm.

27. Of all the means which are procured by wisdom to ensure happiness throughout the whole of life, by far the most important is the acquisition of friends.

28. The same conviction which inspires confidence that nothing we have to fear is eternal or even of long duration, also enables us to see that even in our limited conditions of life nothing enhances our security so much as friendship.

29. Of our desires some are natural and necessary; others are natural, but not necessary; others, again, are neither natural nor necessary, but are due to illusory opinion. [Epicurus regards as

natural and necessary desires which bring relief from pain, as e.g. drink when we are thirsty; while by natural and not necessary he means those which merely diversify the pleasure without removing the pain, as e.g. costly viands; by the neither natural nor necessary he means desires for crowns and the erection of statues in one's honour.—Schol.]

30. Those natural desires which entail no pain when not gratified, though their objects are vehemently pursued, are also due to illusory opinion; and when they are not got rid of, it is not because of their own nature, but because of the man's illusory opinion.

31. Natural justice is a symbol or expression of expediency, to prevent one man from harming or being harmed by another.

32. Those animals which are incapable of making covenants with one another, to the end that they may neither inflict nor suffer harm, are without either justice or injustice. And those tribes which either could not or would not form mutual covenants to the same end are in like case.

33. There never was an absolute justice, but only an agreement made in reciprocal intercourse in whatever localities now and again from time to time, providing against the infliction or suffering of harm.

34. Injustice is not in itself an evil, but only in its consequence, viz. the terror which is excited by apprehension that those appointed to punish such offences will discover the injustice.

35. It is impossible for the man who secretly violates any article of the social compact to feel confident that he will remain undiscovered, even if he has already escaped ten thousand times; for right on to the end of his life he is never sure he will not be detected.

36. Taken generally, justice is the same for all, to wit, something found expedient in mutual intercourse; but in its application to particular cases of locality or conditions of whatever kind, it varies under different circumstances.

37. Among the things accounted just by conventional law, whatever in the needs of mutual intercourse is attested to be expedient, is thereby stamped as just, whether or not it be the same for all; and in case any law is made and does not prove suitable to the expediencies of mutual intercourse, then this is no longer just. And should the expediency which is expressed by the law vary and only for a time correspond with the prior conception, nevertheless for the time being it was just, so long as we do not trouble ourselves about empty words, but look simply at the facts.

38. Where without any change in circumstances the conventional laws, when judged by their consequences, were seen not to correspond with the notion of justice, such laws were not really just; but wherever the laws have ceased to be expedient in consequence of a change in circumstances, in that case the laws were for the time being just when they were expedient for the mutual intercourse of the citizens, and subsequently ceased to be just when they ceased to be expedient.

39. He who best knew how to meet fear of external foes made into one family all the creatures he could; and those he could not, he at any rate did not treat as aliens; and where he found even this impossible, he avoided all intercourse, and, so far as was expedient, kept them at a distance.

40. Those who were best able to provide themselves with the means of security against their

neighbours, being thus in possession of the surest guarantee, passed the most agreeable life in each other’s society; and their enjoyment of the fullest intimacy was such that, if one of them died before his time, the survivors did not lament his death as if it called for commiseration.