

HIPPOCRATES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

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HERACLEITUS

ON THE UNIVERSE



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INTRODUCTION

GREEK philosophy began in wonder at the repeated miracle of motion and change, and first manifested itself in an effort to discover the material (*φύσις*) out of which the universe is made, phenomena being regarded as the transient modifications of this permanent reality. It differed from earlier thought in that it discarded the myth, or fairy story, as an explanation, and substituted rational causation; it differed from later science in that it proceeded from an unproved postulate,¹ upon which it built deductively,² attaching little importance to observation of phenomena, and still less to experiment.

In considering the history of early philosophy we must remember that the age of mythology did not pass away suddenly and completely. Mythological figures, indeed, disappear, but the artistic spirit of the romancer, which demands a complete picture, led the Greek philosopher to indulge his imagination in supplying details for which he had no warrant from experience and observation.³ Another fact to be borne in mind is that the conception of im-

¹ Called later on *ὑπόθεσις*.

² Deductive science preceded inductive, probably because of the influence of mathematics, the first science to reach a high state of development.

³ Heraclitus seems freer from this fault than many other early philosophers.

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material existence was as yet unformed ; soul and mind were looked upon as matter. The sciences, too, of logic and grammar were still to be born, and consequently men were often deceived by false analogies and verbal fallacies.

The first impulse to philosophic thought came, not unnaturally,¹ from a contemplation of the earth and sky ; cosmologies succeeded cosmogonies. Thales of Miletus (*floruit* 585 B.C.) looked upon the world as water modifying itself ; Anaximander² (560 B.C.) as "the Boundless" modifying itself in two opposite directions ; Anaximenes³ (546 B.C.) as air modifying itself in two directions by thickening and thinning.⁴ In Western Greece the Pythagorean brotherhood, founded in the latter part of the sixth century, began under the influence of mathematical studies to lay stress upon the dualities apparent in the world.⁵

The Ionian school of material monists had their

¹ Observation of the sky was more common in days when there were no almanacs, no clocks, and no compass.

² Also of Miletus. His "Boundless" (*τὸ ἀπειρον*) may have been a kind of mist or cloud.

³ Also of Miletus. Pre-Socratic philosophy bears many traces of its Eastern birth, notably the religious tinge in its phraseology.

⁴ In other words, Anaximenes took a quantitative view of change.

⁵ The Pythagoreans apparently began with the pair even)(odd. See Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A 986a. Other (perhaps later) members of the brotherhood increased the number of pairs :—

limit)(unlimited,
odd)(even,
one)(multitude,
right)(left,
male)(female,

rest)(motion.
straight)(bent,
light)(darkness,
good)(bad,
square)(oblong.

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last representative in Heraclitus of Ephesus. He is said to have flourished in the sixty-ninth Olympiad (504-500 B.C.). We know practically nothing about his life, and the title of his writings, which have come down to us only in fragments, has not been preserved.

Heraclitus was called "the dark" by the ancients, who had all his work before them; to the moderns, who possess only isolated sentences, he is darker still. It is both confusing and depressing to read the treatises of Lassalle, Teichmüller and Pfeiderer, and to see how the most opposite and inconsistent conclusions can be drawn by learned and intelligent men from exactly the same evidence. But in spite of all this diversity of opinion there is gradually shaping itself a more stable view of the doctrine of Heraclitus in its main outlines, although the details are still obscure, and may, in fact, in some cases never be elucidated.

It seems reasonable to suppose, when we consider the period in which he lived, that the phenomenon of change was the primary interest of his researches. His contribution to the problem was to point out that change is constant and perpetual. For no two seconds together is a thing ever the same. There is no pause in change; it is as much a *continuum* as is time. All things are for ever passing into something else.

In this eternal flux the only really constant thing is the principle of change itself, yet in some way or other fire, according to Heraclitus, has an individuality of its own which gives it precedence over all other things. The world "was ever, is now, and ever shall be an ever-living Fire, in measures being

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kindled and in measures going out." Nothing could be plainer than this declaration of the eternal nature of fire, and nothing could be more logically inconsistent with the doctrine of perpetual flux. Hence several scholars have held that the fire of Heraclitus is not the fire which burns and crackles, but warm vital force or something even more abstract still. Such a conception seems alien from the thought of the period, and the most recent research regards the Heraclitean fire as the ordinary fire of the every-day world. It is perhaps rash to hazard a guess when so many scholars have been baffled, but it may be that Heraclitus consciously or unconsciously identified fire and change. If so, there is less inconsistency in regarding fire as an eternal reality, though it is bad interpretation to twist facts in order to make a Greek philosopher self-consistent; we are not warranted in assuming that all early philosophy *was* consistent. Perhaps the fragments of Heraclitus do not support my guess, but the Heraclitean treatise *Regimen I* expressly states that the *δύναμις* of fire is to cause motion.¹ In any case, symbolically or actually, fire is a good example of physical transformation. Fuel is supplied from below, the flames quickly alter its nature, and finally it rises as smoke and fumes. The most obvious and the most rapid changes with which we are familiar are all connected with fire; it destroys, it cleanses and it renews. The sun seems to be a great mass of the very best fire, and it is the sun that transforms, by its alternate advance and retreat, the face of the earth from

¹ *Regimen I*, ch. iii. In this treatise *δύναμις* often means essence, and the sentence referred to virtually identifies change and fire.

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season to season and from day to day. The world is an ever-living fire; it is always becoming all things, and all things are always returning into it.

There is thus a twofold way in nature, to fire and from fire, and this leads us to the most fundamental thought of Heracleitus, the "attunement" or harmonious unity resulting from the strife of opposites.¹ There is a "road up" to fire and a "road down" from fire, and these two roads are "one and the same." If they are one and the same, there must be a perpetual strain resulting from two, as it were, opposite forces. The way up fights with the way down. It is like the tension in a bow-string or in the cord of a harp. The flight of the arrow, the note of the string, are due solely to opposite tension (*παλίντονος ἁρμονίη*). This conception of universal strife dominated the theory of Heracleitus to such an extent that it is sometimes pushed to illogical extremes.² Each opposite is tending to turn into its opposite, and so in a sense each is the same as the other. "God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, surfeit and hunger." What Heracleitus really meant, and should have said, is that day and night, with all other opposites, are two sides of the same process, inseparably conjoined like concavity and convexity. Neither is possible without the other. Any ex-

¹ See in particular Philo, *Rer. Div. Her.* 43: ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν ἐναντίων, οὗ τμηθέντος γνώριμα τὰ ἐναντία. οὐ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ φασιν "Ἕλληνες τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀοίδιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡράκλειτον κεφάλαιον τῆς αὐτοῦ προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας ἀρχεῖν ὡς ἐφ' εὐρέσει καινῇ;

² Strictly speaking, the two opposites should produce a third thing, as male and female produce the offspring, but there is no third thing produced by (say) night and day.

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planation of one will be the explanation of the other. It is "the common" that we should seek to know, that which manifests itself now as one thing and now as its opposite.

We are told by Diogenes Laertius that the book of Heraclitus was divided into three parts, one dealing with the universe, one with politics and one with theology.¹ Bywater has attempted with fair success to arrange the fragments under these three heads, his sections being Nos. 1-90, 91-97, 98-130.

We have only a few fragments dealing with ethics and politics, and it is difficult to extract from them a definite ethical standpoint, but this was certainly dependent on the physical theory. Heraclitus lays great stress on "the common." By this he meant, in the case of the State, the law, but it is harder to conjecture what meaning he attached to it in the case of the individual. The most attractive explanation hitherto given is that of Patrick.² He holds that Heraclitus pleaded for unity with nature through obedience to the law of "the common." Communion with the fields and trees could teach men more than discussing virtue and justice. Heraclitus stood for the instinctive, the unconscious, the naïve. "The philosophy and ethics of Heraclitus, as we have seen, stood in vital opposition to"³ over self-consciousness, too much inwardness and painful self-inspection, absence of trust in our instincts and of the healthful study of nature. We may be sure,

¹ Diogenes Laertius, IX. 5.

² *The Fragments of the Work of Heraclitus of Ephesus on Nature*, by G. T. W. Patrick, Baltimore, 1889. See especially pp. 73-83.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 77.

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too, that Heraclitus warned his readers not to expect too much. Perfect bliss is unattainable, for satisfaction is impossible without want, health implies disease, and rest implies painful effort.

The religious teaching of Heraclitus appears to have been directed against customs and ritual rather than against the immoral legends of Homer and Hesiod. He attacks idolatry, mystery-mongers and purification through blood. There is thus no evidence that he was a prophet of Orphism and the mysteries connected with that way of belief. His God must have been the "ever-living Fire," but he appears to have believed that heroic men, who died through excess of fire (*i.e.* in battle or other brave struggle), and not through excess of water (*i.e.* through sottish habits or decay), became the guardians of the living and of the dead. So gods and men are in a sense one. "They live each others' life and die each others' death."

Patrick lays stress, and rightly, upon the stern, prophetic character of many of the fragments. Heraclitus is like a Hebrew seer. He despised all his contemporaries, both the common people and their would-be teachers. Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes and Hécataeus, all are attacked and condemned. As for the vulgar many, they are spoken of with contempt for their blindness, stupidity and grossness. "Thus the content of Heraclitus' message to his countrymen was *ethical*. It was a call to men everywhere to *wake up*, to purify their *βαρβάρους ψυχάς*, and to see things in their reality."¹

It was to this message, in all probability, that he

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

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refers in the word *λόγος*. Many commentators think that *λόγος* means "reason" or "law." This was certainly the meaning attached to the word in the ethical system of the Stoics, but although this school borrowed largely from Heracleitus, they developed and indeed transformed his thought, adapting it to the more advanced conceptions of their own day. We are, in fact, tempted to look at Heracleitus through Stoic eyes, and so it is necessary to guard against this danger whenever we are dealing with an ancient statement about Heracleitus that comes from or through a Stoic source.

Our evidence for the doctrines of Heracleitus falls into two classes. We have first the fragments quoted by later writers, with their comments thereon. Then we have the so-called doxographies, or summaries of the views of philosophers. Several of these exist, but they are all derived, directly or indirectly, from a lost work of Theophrastus called *Φυσικαὶ δόξαι*. In the case of Heracleitus our chief doxographical evidence is contained in the ninth book of the scrappy series of lives of philosophers that goes by the name of Diogenes Laertius. The compiler, whoever he was, probably lived in the third century A.D.

I have followed Bywater in numbering the fragments, though occasionally I do not adopt his readings. Sincere thanks are due to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for allowing me to use Bywater's numbering and references.

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See also Eduard Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, Bd. I, and John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*.

LIFE OF HERACLITUS¹

HERACLITUS, son of Bloson or, according to some, of Heracon, was a native of Ephesus. He flourished in the 69th Olympiad.² He was lofty-minded beyond all other men,³ 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."⁴ For "this one thing is wisdom, to understand thought, as that which guides all the world everywhere."⁵ And he used to say that "Homer deserved to be chased out of the lists and beaten with rods, and Archilochus likewise."⁶

Again he would say: "There is more need to extinguish insolence than an outbreak of fire,"⁷ and "The people must fight for the law as for city-

¹ Taken from R. D. Hicks' translation of Diogenes Laertius in the Loeb Classical Library. The spelling "Heraclitus" is retained. "D." = Diels and "B." = Bywater.

² 504-500 B.C.

³ The biographers used by our author laid evident stress on this characteristic of the Ephesian, for §§ 1-3 (excepting two fragments cited in § 2) dwell on this single theme. As to the criticism of Pythagoras *cf.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 129 *s. f.*, who, dealing with chronology, says that Heraclitus was later than Pythagoras, for Pythagoras is mentioned by him.

⁴ Fr. 40 D., 16 B.

⁵ Fr. 41 D., 19 B.

⁶ Fr. 42 D., 119 B.

⁷ Fr. 43 D., 103 B.

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walls.”¹ 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.’”² 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 follows³:

¹ Fr. 44 D., 100 B.

² Fr. 121 D., 114 B.

³ *Anth. Pal.* vii. 127.

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.

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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 unrecognisable 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,"¹ 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 Timon² gives a sketch in these words:³

¹ Fr. 101 D., 80 B.

² Fr. 43 D.

³ Cf. *Il.* i. 247, 248.

In their midst uprose shrill, cuckoo-like, a mob-reviler,
riddling Heraclitus.

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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."¹ Self-conceit he used to call a falling sickness (epilepsy) and eyesight a lying sense.² 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 condensation³; 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.

¹ Fr. 45 D., 71 B.

² F. 46 D., 132 B.

³ Cf. Fr. 90 D., 22 B.

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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.¹ 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

¹ Cf. Fr. 80 D., 62 B.

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*.¹ 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*,² by others *Concerning Nature*; but Diodotus calls it³

A helm unerring for the rule of life;

others "a guide of conduct, the keel of the whole

¹ ii. 22.

² Plato, alluding to Heraclitus, speaks of "Ionian Muses" (*Soph.* 242 E). He is followed by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 9, 682 P. αἱ γούνη Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι διαπρήδην λέγουσι), and possibly, as M. Ernout thinks, by Lucretius, i. 657, where "Musae" is the MS. reading. But cf. Lachmann, *ad loc.*

³ Nauck, *T.G.F.*², *Adesp.* 287.

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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 follows¹:

"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

¹ The request of Darius is mentioned by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 65 οὗτος βασιλέα Δαρείον παρακαλοῦντα ἤκειν εἰς Πέρσας ὑπερεῖδεν. The story is not made more plausible by the two forged letters to which it must have given rise.

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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*¹; and the commentators on his work are very numerous, including as they do Antisthenes 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.²

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 one³:

Heraclitus am I. Why do ye drag me up and down, ye illiterate? It was not for you I toiled, but for such as

¹ This work is again quoted in ix. 37 and ix. 57, and is perhaps the source of the first sentence of § 52 also.

² Apparently D. L. is using through another of his sources, the very same citation from Diodotus which he has given verbatim in § 12.

³ *Anth. Pal.* vii. 128.

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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 follows¹:

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 epitaph²:

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;³

(4) a Lesbian who wrote a history of Macedonia;
(5) a jester who adopted this profession after having
been a musician.

¹ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 540.

² *Anth. Pal.* vii. 80.

³ From Cory's *Ionica*, p. 7. In bare prose: "One told me of thy death, Heraclitus, and moved me to tears, when I remembered how often we two watched the sun go down upon our talk. But though thou, I ween, my Halicarnassian friend, art dust long, long ago, yet do thy 'Nightingales' live on, and Death, that insatiate ravisher, shall lay no hand on them." Perhaps "Nightingales" was the title of a work. Laertius deserves our gratitude for inserting this little poem, especially on so slight a pretext.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ.

The order of the fragments is that of Bywater.

I. Οὐκ ἐμεῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαντας
2 ὁμολογέειν σοφόν ἐστι, ἐν πάντα εἶναι.

II. Τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἔοντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι
γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκούσαι καὶ
ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον. γινομένων γὰρ πάντων
κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ἀπείροισι εἰκόσασιν πειρώ-
μενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιουτέων ὁκοίων ἐγὼ
διηγεῦμαι, διαιρέων ἕκαστον κατὰ φύσιν καὶ
φράζων ὅπως ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους
λανθάνει ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ποιέουσι, ὅκωσπερ
9 ὁκόσα εὐδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται.

I. Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9: 'Ηράκλειτος μὲν οὖν (έν) φησιν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον, γενητὸν ἀγένητον, θνητὸν ἀθάνατον, λόγον αἰῶνα, πατέρα υἱόν, θεὸν δίκαιον. Οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογεῖν σοφόν ἐστιν, ἐν πάντα εἰδέναί, ὃ Ἡράκλειτός φησιν καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσασιν πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἐπιμέμφεται ᾧδέ πως· Οὐ ξυνίασιν ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἐνωτῆ ὁμολογέει· παλίντροπος ἀρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης

λόγου is a conjecture of Bernays, εἶναι a conjecture of Miller. Bergk would reconstruct thus: δίκαιον οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογέειν ὅτι ἐν τὸ σοφόν ἐστιν, ἐν πάντα εἰδέναί. The conjectures in the text do not arouse any strong confidence, though δόγματος might well be a gloss on λόγου. But if εἶναι be correct, why should it have been corrupted to εἰδέναί? I am on the whole inclined to think that Bergk's restoration is nearer to the actual words of Heraclitus.

HERACLEITUS

ON THE UNIVERSE

I. IT is wise to listen, not to me but to the Word, and to confess that all things are one.

For λόγος see Heinze, *Lehre vom Logos*, 1873 ; Zeller, i. 630 ; Aall, *Gesch. d. Logosidee* 1896. "All things are one" because they are all resolved into fire and come from fire.

II. This Word, which is ever true, men prove as incapable of understanding when they hear it for the first time as before they have heard it at all. For although all things happen in accordance with this Word, men seem as though they had no experience thereof, when they make experiment with such words and works as I relate, dividing each thing according to its nature and setting forth how it really is. The rest of men know not what they do when awake, just as they forget what they do when asleep.

Aristotle was in doubt whether αἰεὶ should be taken with ἔόντος or with ἀξύνετοι γίνονται. See *Rhetoric*, III. 5, 1407, b 14. ἔόντος means "true" in Ionic with words like λόγος. See Burnet, *E. G. Ph.* note on Fragment II. I have tried in my translation to bring out the play on words in ἀπείροισι εὐίκασι πειρώμενοι.

II Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9 ; Aristotle *Rhetoric* iii. 5 ; Sextus Empiricus *adversus Mathematicos* vii. 132 ; Clement of Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 716 ; Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* xiii. 13, p. 680. The MSS. (except those of Sextus) read τοῦ δέοντος.

III. Ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσι εἰκόασιν
2 φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρέει παρεόντας ἀπέιναι.

IV. Κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισι ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ
2 ὄτα, βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἔχόντων.

V. Οὐ φρονέουσι τοιαῦτα πολλοὶ ὀκόσοισι
ἐγκυρέουσι οὐδὲ μαθόντες γινώσκουσι, ἐωυτοῖσι
3 δὲ δοκέουσι.

VI. Ἀκούσαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδ' εἰπεῖν.

VII. Ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται, ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ ἐξευρή-
2 σει, ἀνεξερεύνητον ἐὼν καὶ ἄπορον.

VIII. Χρυσὸν οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσ-
2 σουσι καὶ εὐρίσκουσι ὀλίγον.

IX. Ἀγχιβασίην.

X. Φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.

XI. Ὁ ἄναξ οὐ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν
Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ
3 σημαίνει.

III. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718 ; Euseb. *P.E.* xiii. 13, p. 681.

IV. Sextus Emp. *adv. Math.* vii. 126 ; Stobaeus *Florilegium* iv. 56. βορβόρου ψυχὰς ἔχοντος Bernays.

V. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 2, p. 432 ; Marcus Antoninus iv. 46.

VI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 5, p. 442.

VII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 4, p. 437. Theodoretus *Therap.* i. p. 15, 51. The sources have ἔλπηται and ἐλπίζητε. ἔλπηται Schuster and Bywater. Some would put the comma after ἀνέλπιστον instead of before it.

VIII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 2, p. 565 ; Theodoretus *Therap.* i. p. 15, 52.

IX. Suidas s.v.

X. Themistius *Or.* v. p. 69.

XI. Plutarch *de Pyth. Orac.* 21, p. 404 ; Iamblichus *de Myst.* iii. 15 ; Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 72 and lxxxii. 17.

ON THE UNIVERSE

III. The stupid when they have heard are like the deaf; of them does the proverb bear witness that when present they are absent.

IV. Bad witnesses are eyes and ears to men, if they have souls that understand not their language.

This passage is not a general attack on the senses; it merely lays stress on the need of an intelligent soul to interpret the sense-impressions. The clever emendation of Bernays would mean: "when mud holds the soul," *i.e.* when the soul is moist, and therefore (on Heracleitean principles) dull and stupid.

V. Many do not interpret aright such things as they encounter, nor do they have knowledge of them when they have learned, though they seem to themselves so to do.

H. seems to be referring to (a) the correct apprehension of phenomena and (b) the difference between unintelligent learning and understanding.

VI. Knowing neither how to listen nor how to speak.

VII. If you do not expect it, you will not find out the unexpected, as it is hard to be sought out and difficult.

Heracleitus is laying stress upon the importance of the constructive imagination in scientific enquiry—what the early Christians might have called "faith."

VIII. Gold-seekers dig much earth to find a little gold.

IX. Critical discussion.

X. Nature is wont to hide herself.

φύσις is not necessarily an abstraction here, but merely the truth about the Universe. It is easy, however, to see why the Stoics could maintain that their pantheism was founded on Heracleitus. See Fragments XIX, XCI, XCII.

XI. The Lord whose is the oracle in Delphi neither declares nor hides, but sets forth by signs.

XII. Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι ἀγέ-
 λαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθει-
 γομένη χιλίων ἐτέων ἐξικνέεται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ
 4 τὸν θεόν.

XIII. Ὅσων ὄψις ἀκοὴ μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ
 2 προτιμέω.

XIV. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῶν νῦν καιρῶν, ἐν
 οἷς πάντων πλωτῶν καὶ πορευτῶν γεγονότων οὐκ ἂν
 ἔτι πρέπον εἶη ποιηταῖς καὶ μυθογράφοις χρῆσθαι
 μάρτυσι περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, ὅπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν
 περὶ τῶν πλείστων, ἀπίστους ἀμφισβητουμένων
 6 παρεχόμενοι βεβαιωτὰς κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.¹

XV. Ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὠτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρ-
 2 τυρες.

XVI. Πολυμαθίῃ νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει·
 Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην· αὐτὶς τε
 3 Ξενοφάνεα καὶ Ἐκαταῖον.

XII. Plutarch *de Pyth. Orac.* 6, p. 397.

XIII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9.

Bywater prints this fragment with a question mark at the end.

XV. Polybius xii. 27.

XVI. Diogenes Laertius ix. 1; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 19, p. 373; Athenaeus xiii. p. 610 B; Aulus Gellius *praef.* 12.

¹ Polybius iv. 40.

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XII. The Sibyl with raving mouth utters things mirthless, unadorned and unperfumed, but with her voice she extends over a thousand years because of the God.

In this and the preceding H. seems to be calling attention to his oracular style, which was in part due to the strong religious emotion of his age. There is much that is oracular in Aeschylus and Pindar.

XIII. The things that can be seen, heard and learnt, these I honour especially.

This and the following two fragments emphasise the importance of personal research, as contrasted with learning from authority. Bywater's punctuation would make the meaning to be: "Am I to value highly those things that are learnt by sight or hearing?"—an attack upon the accuracy and value of the senses. But H. does not distrust the senses, but only sense-impressions interpreted in a stupid way.

XIV. Particularly at the present time, when all places can be reached by water or by land, it would not be right to use as evidence for the unknown the works of poets and mythologists, as in most things our predecessors did, proving themselves, as Heracleitus has it, unreliable supporters of disputed points.

XV. Eyes are more accurate witnesses than ears.

First-hand information is better than hearsay.

XVI. Much learning does not teach understanding, or it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, as well as Xenophanes and Hecataeus.

As is plain from the following fragment, this is an attack on confusing second-hand information with true understanding and education. It is unfair to the mathematical achievements of Pythagoras and scarcely does justice to the theological acumen of Xenophanes, to say nothing of his wonderful

XVII. Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησε ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων. καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποίησατο ἑωυτοῦ
4 σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίην.

XVIII. Ὁκόσων λόγους ἤκουσα οὐδεὶς ἀφικνέεται ἐς τοῦτο, ὥστε γινώσκειν ὅτι σοφόν ἐστι
3 πάντων κεχωρισμένον.

XIX. Ἐν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ἢ
2 κυβερνᾶται πάντα διὰ πάντων.

XX. Κόσμον τόνδε τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰείζωνον, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα
4 καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.

XXI. Πυρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα· θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ
3 πρηστήρ.

XVII. Diogenes Laertius viii. 6. One MS. has ἐποίησεν and one ἐποίησατο. Bywater reads ἐποίησε and Burnet ἐποίησατο.

XVIII. Stobaeus Flor. iii. 81.

XIX. Diogenes Laertius ix. 1.

XX. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 14, p. 711; cf. Simplicius in Aristotle de Caelo, p. 132; Plutarch de Anim. Procreatione 5, p. 1014.

XXI. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 14, p. 712.

ON THE UNIVERSE

anticipation of the modern doctrine of scientific progress. See Fragment XVI. (In Stob. *Flor.* 29, 41) :

οὐ τοὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς παρέδειξαν,
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον.

XVII. Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, practised research more than any other man, and choosing out these writings claimed as his own a wisdom that was only much learning, a mischievous art.

An attack on book-learning that is merely the acquisition of second-hand information. Diels rejects the fragment as spurious, chiefly because it makes Pythagoras a writer of books. But the reading *ἐποίησατο* for *ἐπόησεν* does away with this objection.

XVIII. Of all those whose discourses I have heard, not one attains to this, to realise that wisdom is a thing apart from all.

This has been interpreted to mean that true wisdom is attained by none, or that general opinions do not contain real wisdom.

XIX. Wisdom is one thing—to know the thought whereby all things are steered through all things.

That is, to understand the doctrine of opposites and of perpetual change.

XX. This world, which is the same for all, was made neither by a god nor by man, but it ever was, and is, and shall be, ever-living Fire, in measures being kindled and in measures going out.

The use of *κόσμος* to mean "world" is Pythagorean. *μέτρα* refers to the approximate correspondence between the things that are becoming fire and the things that are coming out of fire. The balance of nature is not disturbed by perpetual flux.

XXI. The transformations of Fire are, first, sea; of sea half is earth and half fiery storm-cloud.

This is the famous "road up and down" (or at any rate the best illustration of it) with its three stages—earth, water,

XXII. Πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ
ἀπάντων, ὡσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων
3 χρυσός.

XXIII. Θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρέεται ἐς
2 τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὁκοῖος πρόσθεν ἢν ἢ γενέσθαι.

XXIV. Χρησιμοσύνη . . . κόρος.

XXV. Ζῆ πῦρ τὸν ἀέρος θάνατον, καὶ ἀῆρ ζῆ
τὸν πυρὸς θάνατον· ὕδωρ ζῆ τὸν γῆς θάνατον, γῆ
3 τὸν ὕδατος.

XXVI. Πάντα τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὸν κρινέει καὶ
2 καταλήψεται.

XXVII. Τὸ μὴ δύνόν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι ;

XXVIII. Τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός.

XXIX. Ἡλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ
2 μὴ, Ἐρινύες μιν δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσι.

XXII. Plutarch *de EI* 8, p. 388 ; Diog. Laert. ix. 8 ; Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* xiv. 3, p. 720.

XXIII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 712 ; Euseb. *P. E.* xiii. 13, p. 676.

The MSS. of Clement read γῆ after γενέσθαι, whence Schuster reads γῆν. In any case earth is referred to, and γῆ is probably the subject of διαχέεται. See Burnet.

XXIV. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10 ; Philo *de Victim.* 6, p. 242 ; Plutarch *de EI* 9, p. 389.

XXV. Maximus Tyr. xli. 4, p. 489. See also Plutarch *de EI* 18, p. 392, and M. Anton. iv. 46.

In the texts ἀέρος and γῆς are transposed. Diels reads as above ; Bywater retains the old order.

XXVI. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

XXVII. Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* ii. 10, p. 229.

XXVIII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

XXIX. Plutarch *de Exil.* 11, p. 604.

ON THE UNIVERSE

fire. On the earth is the sea, above the sea is the sun. Sea is half composed of earth transforming itself to water and half of fiery cloud, the latter representing water on its way to become fire. This explanation of *πρηστήρ* I owe to Burnet.

XXII. All things are exchanged for Fire and Fire for all things, even as goods for gold and gold for goods.

XXIII. It is melted into sea, and is measured to the same proportion as before it became earth.

The subject is *γῆ*, and the whole fragment means that along the "road up" the proportion of the "measures" remains constant. The amount of earth in the universe remains approximately the same, because the "measures" of water turning to earth equal the "measures" of earth turning to water.

XXIV. Want . . . surfeit.

E.g. the "want" of earth for water to increase it equals the "surfeit" of earth which makes some of it turn to water.

XXV. Fire lives the death of air, and air lives the death of Fire; water lives the death of earth, earth that of water.

XXVI. Fire when it has advanced will judge and convict all things.

For the "advances" of fire see *περὶ διαίτης* I, Chap. III. Such statements as the one above led the Stoics to develop their theory of *ἐκπύρωσις*, the destruction of all things periodically by fire, to be followed by a re-birth and restoration of all things.

XXVII. How can you hide from that which never sets?

XXVIII. The thunderbolt steers all things.

XXIX. The sun will not overstep his measures; otherwise the Erinyes, helpers of Justice, will find him out.

See the notes to XX and XXIII.

XXX. Ἡοῦς καὶ ἐσπέρης τέρματα ἢ ἄρκτος,
2 καὶ ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου οὐρος αἰθρίου Διός.

XXXI. Εἰ μὴ ἥλιος ἦν, ἔνεκα τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἄστρον εὐφρόνη ἂν ἦν.

XXXII. Νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρη ἥλιος.

XXXIII. Δοκεῖ δὲ (scil. Θαλλῆς) κατὰ τινὰς
πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ
τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὡς φησιν Εὐδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ
τῶν ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ
Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει· μαρτυρεῖ δ'
5 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.¹

XXXIV. Οὕτως οὖν ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἔχων συμπλοκὴν καὶ συναρμογὴν ὁ
χρόνος οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστὶ κίνησις ἀλλ', ὥσπερ
εἴρηται, κίνησις ἐν τάξει μέτρον ἐχούση καὶ
πέρατα καὶ περιόδους. ὧν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστάτης
ὢν καὶ σκοπός, ὀρίζει καὶ βραβεύειν καὶ
ἀναδεικνύει καὶ ἀναφαίνειν μεταβολὰς καὶ ὥρας
αἰ' πάντα φέρουσι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ φαύ-
λων οὐδὲ μικρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ
10 κυριωτάτων τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ πρῶτῳ θεῷ γίνεται
συνεργός.²

XXX. Strabo i. 6, p. 3.

XXXI. Plutarch *Aquae et Ignis Comp.* 7, p. 957, and
de Fortuna 3, p. 98. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. p. 87.

Bywater does not include the words ἔνεκα . . . ἄστρον in
the text, but considers them to be a part of the narrator's
explanation.

XXXII. Aristotle *Meteor.* ii. 2, p. 355, a 9. See the
comments of Alex. *Aphrod.* and of Olympiodorus. Also
Proclus in *Timaeum*, p. 334 B.

¹ Diogenes Laert. i. 23.

² Plutarch *Qu. Plat.* viii. 4, p. 1007.

ON THE UNIVERSE

XXX. The limits of the East and West are the Bear, and opposite the Bear is the boundary of bright Zeus.

The "boundary of bright Zeus" is, according to Diels, the South Pole. Burnet takes it to be the horizon, and the whole passage a protest against the Pythagorean view of a southern hemisphere.

XXXI. If there were no sun, there would be night, in spite of the other stars.

XXXII. The sun is new every day.

This is because of the perpetual flux. One sun is extinguished at sunset; another is kindled at sunrise.

XXXIII. Thales is supposed by some to have been the first astronomer and the first to foretell the eclipses and turnings of the sun, as Eudemus declares in his account of astronomical discoveries. For this reason both Xenophanes and Herodotus pay him respectful honour, and both Heracleitus and Democritus bear witness to him.

XXXIV. So time, having a necessary connection and union with the firmament, is not motion merely, but, as I have said, motion in an order having measure, limits and periods. Of which the sun, being overseer and warder, to determine, judge, appoint and declare the changes and seasons, which, according to Heracleitus, bring all things, is a helper of the leader and first God, not in trivial or small things, but in the greatest and most important.

XXXV. Διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσίοδος·
 τοῦτον ἐπίστανται πλείστα εἰδέναι, ὅστις ἡμέρην
 3 καὶ εὐφρόνην οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε· ἔστι γὰρ ἔν.

XXXVI. Ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρην εὐφρόνην, χειμῶν θέρος,
 πόλεμος εἰρήνην, κόρος λιμός· ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ
 ὄκωσπερ πῦρ, ὀκόταν συμμιγῆ θύωμασι, ὀνομάζε-
 4 ται καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκάστου.

XXXVII. Εἰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γένοιτο,
 2 ῥῖνες ἂν διαγνοίεν.

XXXVIII. Αἱ ψυχαὶ ὀσμῶνται καθ' ἄδην.

XXXIX. Τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται,
 2 ὑγρὸν ἀναίνεται, καρφαλέον νοτίζεται.

XL. Σκίδνησι καὶ συνάγει, πρόσσεισι καὶ
 2 ἄπεισι.

XLI. Ποταμοῖσι δις τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι οὐκ ἂν
 2 ἐμβαίης· ἕτερα γὰρ <καὶ ἕτερα> ἐπιρρέει ὕδατα.

XXXV. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

XXXVI. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10. Diels reads ὄκωσπερ
 (<πῦρ>):

Bywater adds θύωμα after συμμιγῆ, with Bernays, and
 Zeller adds ἀήρ in the same place.

XXXVII. Aristotle *de Sensu* 5, p. 443, a 21.

XXXVIII. Plutarch *de Fac. in Orbe Lunae* 28, p. 943.

XXXIX. Scholiast, Tzetzes *ad Exeget. in Iliada*, p. 126.

XL. Plutarch *de EI* 18, p. 392.

XLI. Plutarch *Quaest. nat.* 2, p. 912; *de sera Num. Vind.*
 15, p. 559; *de EI* 18, p. 392. See Plato *Cratylus* 402 A, and
 Aristotle *Meta.* iv. 5, p. 1010 a 13.

XLII. I omit this, as being obviously a corrupt form
 of XLI.

ON THE UNIVERSE

XXXV. The teacher of most men is Hesiod. They think that he knew very many things, though he did not understand day and night. For they are one.

In *Theogony* 124 Hesiod calls day the daughter of night. According to Heraclitus day and night, two opposites, are really one, or, as we should say, two aspects of the same thing.

XXXVI. God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, surfeit and hunger. But he undergoes transformations, just as fire, when it is mixed with spices, is named after the savour of each.

“Unity of opposites” again. Burnet renders ἡδονή “savour,” and I have followed him, though with some hesitation, especially as the reading of the second sentence is dubious. καθ’ ἡδονὴν ἐκάστου could mean: “according to individual caprice,” and I am not certain that this is not the meaning here.

XXXVII. If all existing things were to become smoke, the nostrils would distinguish them.

XXXVIII. Souls smell in Hades.

It is difficult to see what sense can be given to this fragment except that in Hades souls are a smoky exhalation, and so come under the sense of smell. Pfeleiderer suggested ὁσιοῦνται, “are made holy,” a thought foreign to Heraclitus.

XXXIX. Cold things become warm, warmth cools, moisture dries, the parched gets wet.

XL. It scatters and gathers, it comes and goes.

XLI. You could not step twice into the same rivers; for other waters are ever flowing on to you.

XLIII. Καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι ἁρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος,
 5 ἐναντίων ὄντων.¹

XLIV. Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε
 4 τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

XLV. Οὐ ξυνίασι ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἐωτῷ ὁμολογέει· παλίντονος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου
 3 καὶ λύρης.

XLVI. Καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀνώτερον ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ φυσικώτερον· Εὐριπίδης μὲν φάσκων ἐρᾶν μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖαν ξηρανθεῖσαν, ἐρᾶν δὲ σεμνὸν οὐρανὸν πληρούμενον ὄμβρου πεσεῖν ἐς γαῖαν· καὶ Ἡράκλειτος τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστην
 7 ἁρμονίαν, καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι.²

XLIII. See also Simplicius in Arist. *Categ.* p. 104 Δ. Eustathius on *Iliad* xviii. p. 107, and the Ven. A, Scholiast.

XLIV. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9; Plutarch *de Iside*, 48, p. 370.

XLV. Plato *Symposium* 187 A, *Sophist* 242 D; Plutarch *de Anim. Procreatione* 27, p. 1026, *de Iside* 45, p. 369, παλίντονος γὰρ ἁρμονίη κόσμου ὅκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. Burnet thinks (rightly) that Heraeleitus could not have said both παλίντροπος and παλίντονος; he prefers the latter and Diels the former. The one refers to the shape of the bow, the latter to the tension in the bow-string. Bywater reads παλίντροπος (as in Plut. *de An. Pr.* and Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9).

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XLIII. And Heraclitus rebukes the poet who says, "would that strife might perish from among gods and men." For there could be (he said) no attunement without the opposites high and low, and no animals without the opposites male and female.

XLIV. War is the father of all and the king of all; some he has marked out to be gods and some to be men, some he has made slaves and some free.

XLV. They understand not how that which is at variance with itself agrees with itself. There is attunement of opposite tensions, like that of the bow and of the harp.

With the reading *παλίντροπος* the meaning is: "a harmony from opposite shapes."

XLVI. In reference to these very things they look for deeper and more natural principles. Euripides says that "the parched earth is in love with rain," and that "high heaven, with rain fulfilled, loves to fall to earth." And Heraclitus says that "the opposite is beneficial," and that "from things that differ comes the fairest attunement," and that "all things are born through strife."

Burnet thinks that there is a reference to the medical theory of "like is cured by unlike" in the first of these quotations from Heraclitus (*τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον*). See also Stewart on Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1104, b16.

¹ Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* vii. 1, p. 1235a, 26.

² Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 2, p. 1151b4.

XLVII. Ἀρμονίη ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείσσων.

XLVIII. Μὴ εἰκῆ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβα-
2 λώμεθα.

XLIX. Χρῆ εὖ μάλα πολλῶν ἱστορας φιλο-
2 σόφους ἄνδρας εἶναι.

L. Γραφέων ὁδὸς εὐθεία καὶ σκολιῆ μία ἐστὶ
2 καὶ ἡ αὐτή.

LI. Ὅνοι σύρματ' ἂν ἔλοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν.

LIa. Heraclitus dixit quod si felicitas esset in
delectationibus corporis boves felices diceremus,
3 cum inveniant orobum ad comedendum.¹

LII. Θάλασσα ὕδωρ καθαρῶτατον καὶ μαρώ-
τατον, ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον,
3 ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον καὶ ὀλέθριον.

LIII. Siccus etiam pulvis et cinis, ubicunque
cohortem porticus vel tectum protegit, iuxta parietes
reponendus est, ut sit quo aves se perfundant: nam
his rebus plumam pinnasque emendant, si modo
credimus Ephesio Heraclito qui ait: sues coeno,
6 cohortales aves pulvere (vel cinere) lavari.²

LIV. Βορβόρω χαίρειν.

XLVII. Plutarch *de Anim. Procreatione* 27, p. 1026; Hipp.
Ref. Haer. ix. 9.

XLVIII. Diog. Laert. ix. 73.

XLIX. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 733.

L. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10. γραφέων MSS.; γραφέων
Bywater; γραφέω Bernays.

LI. Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* x. 5, p. 1176 a 6. LI.a is
Bywater's discovery. See *Journal of Philology*, ix (1880),
p. 230.

LII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

LIV. Athenæus v. p. 178 F. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.*
10, p. 75.

¹ Albertus Magnus *de Veget.* vi. 401, p. 545 Meyer.

² Columella *de R. R.* viii. 4.

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XLVII. The invisible attunement is superior to the visible.

This apparently means that the attunement of opposites in the natural world is a superior "harmony" to that which we hear from musical instruments. ἁρμονία means "tune" rather than "harmony."

XLVIII. Let us not make random guesses about the greatest things.

XLIX. Men who love wisdom must have knowledge of very many things.

This is not inconsistent with πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει. Though πολυμαθίη is not enough, yet the true philosopher will have it.

L. The straight and the crooked way of the cloth-carders is one and the same.

This is a reference to the motion of the fuller's comb, which both revolved and also moved in a straight line.

LI. Asses would prefer straw to gold.

LIa. Heraclitus said that if happiness consisted in bodily delights we should call oxen happy when they find bitter vetches to eat.

LII. Sea-water is both very pure and very foul; to fishes it is drinkable and healthful, to men it is undrinkable and deadly.

Here we have the "unity of opposites" in a slightly different form.

LIII. Dry dust also and ashes must be placed near the walls wherever the porch or roof protects the chicken-run, that the birds may have a place to sprinkle themselves; for with these things they improve their plumage and wings, if only we believe Heraclitus the Ephesian, who says: "pigs wash in mud and barnyard fowls in dust (or ash)."

LIV. To delight in mud.

LV. Πᾶν ἔρπετόν πληγῇ νέμεται.

LVI. Παλίντονος ἄρμονίη κόσμου ὄκωσπερ
2 λύρης καὶ τόξου.

LVII. Ἄγαθόν καὶ κακόν ταυτόν.

LVIII. Καὶ ἀγαθόν καὶ κακόν (scil. ἔν ἐστι).
οἱ γοῦν ἰατροί, φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, τέμνοντες
καίοντες πάντη βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς ἀρρω-
στοῦντας ἐπαιτιέονται μηδέν ἄξιον μισθὸν
λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀρρωστοῦντων, ταῦτα ἐργα-
6 ζόμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ †τὰς νόσους†.¹

LIX. Συνάψεις οὔλα καὶ οὐχὶ οὔλα, συμφερό-
μενον διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον διᾶδον ἐκ πάντων
3 ἐν καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα.

LX. Δίκης οὔνομα οὐκ ἂν ἤδεσαν, εἰ ταῦτα
2 μὴ ἦν.

LV. Aristotle *de Mundo* 6, p. 401 a 8 (with the reading τὴν γῆν); Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 2, p. 86 (with the reading πληγῇ). Zeller retains τὴν γῆν.

LVI. See Plutarch *de Tranquill.* 15, p. 473; *de Iside* 45, p. 369; Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph.* 29. It is unlikely that the aphorism occurred with both παλίντονος and παλίντροπος. See XLV.

LVII. Aristotle *Phys.* i. 2, p. 185 b 20, and Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

LVIII. Many readings have been suggested for the corrupt τὰς νόσους—καὶ <τὰ κακὰ> τὰς νόσους, κατὰ τὰς νόσους and καὶ βασάνους. See Bywater's note. ἐπαιτιέονται Bernays for the MS. reading ἐπαιτιῶνται.

LIX. Aristotle *de Mundo* 5, p. 396 b 12; Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 34, p. 690. συνάψεις Diels: συνάψεως MSS.

LX. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 3, p. 568.

¹ Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

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LV. Every creature is driven to pasture with blows.

The reading τὴν γῆν, preferred by Zeller and Pfeleiderer, will refer to the "crawling creatures" (worms) which feed on earth. But cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 358 and Plato, *Critias* 109 B, καθάπερ ποιμένες κτήνη πληγῇ νέμοντες. See Diels in *Berl. Sitzb.* 1901, p. 188. Men do not know what is good for them, and have to be forced to it.

LVI. The attunement of the world is of opposite tensions, as is that of the harp or bow.

See Fragment XLV.

LVII. Good and bad are the same.

This refers (a) to a thing being good for some and bad for others; (b) to goodness and badness being two aspects of the same thing.

LVIII. Goodness and badness are one. At any rate doctors, as Heracleitus says, cut, burn, and cruelly rack the sick, asking to get from the sick a fee that is not their deserts, in that they effect such benefits † in sickness. †

With ἐπαιτιῶνται the meaning is: "complain that the patients do not give them an adequate return." See Plato, *Republic* VI, 497 B.

LIX. Couples are wholes and not wholes, what agrees disagrees, the concordant is discordant. From all things one and from one all things.

The reading συνάψεως could be taken as a potential optative without ἄν. Burnet renders συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον "what is drawn together and what is drawn asunder," and takes all three pairs to be explanatory of συνάψεις.

LX. Men would not have known the name of Justice were it not for these things.

That is, justice is known only through injustice.

LXI. Ἀπρεπές φασιν, εἰ τέρπει τοὺς θεοὺς πολέμων θέα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπρεπές· τὰ γὰρ γενναῖα ἔργα τέρπει. ἄλλως τε πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι ἡμῖν μὲν δεινὰ δοκεῖ, τῷ δὲ θεῷ οὐδὲ ταῦτα δεινὰ. συντελεῖ γὰρ ἅπαντα ὁ θεὸς πρὸς ἀρμονίαν τῶν ὄλων, οἰκονομῶν τὰ συμφέροντα, ὅπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος λέγει, ὡς τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἅ μὲν
9 ἄδικα ὑπειλήφασιν, ἅ δὲ δίκαια.¹

LXII. Εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἔοντα ξυιόν, καὶ δίκην ἔριν· καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ
3 †χρεώμενα†.

LXIII. Ἔστι γὰρ εἰμαρμένα πάντως * * * *.

LXIV. Θάνατός ἐστι ὀκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν,
2 ὀκόσα δὲ εὔδοντες ὕπνος.

LXV. Ἐν τὸ σοφὸν μῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει
2 καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς οὔνομα.

LXVI. Τοῦ βιοῦ οὔνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ
2 θάνατος.

LXII. Origen *contra Celsum* vi. 42, p. 312.

LXIII. Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 5, p. 178.

LXIV. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 3, p. 520.

LXV. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718.

LXVI. Eustathius *in Iliad.* i. 49; *Etymol. magnum* s.v. βίος; Schol. *in Iliad.* i. 49 ap. Cramer *A. P.* iii. p. 122.

¹ Schol. B. *in Il.* iv. 4, p. 120 Bekk.

LXI. They say that it is unseemly that the sight of wars delights the gods. But it is not unseemly, for noble deeds delight them. Wars and fighting seem to our thoughtlessness (?) terrible, but in the sight of God even these things are not terrible. For God makes everything contribute to the attunement of wholes, as he dispenses the things that benefit, even as Heraclitus says that to God all things are fair and good and just, but men have supposed that some things are unjust, other things just.

LXII. We must know that war is common to all and that strife is justice, and that everything comes into being by strife and . . .

The corrupt *χρεώμενα* has been emended to *καταχρεώμενα*, to *φθειρόμενα* and *κρινόμενα*, but no reading commends itself as really probable.

LXIII. For there are things foreordained wholly.

LXIV. Whatsoever things we see when awake are death, just as those we see in sleep are slumber.

Diels thinks that the original went on to say that "what we see when dead is life." The road up and down has three stages, Fire, Water, Earth, or, Life, Sleep, Death.

LXV. The one and only wisdom is both unwilling and willing to be spoken of under the name of Zeus.

"Unum illud principium mundi est materia causa lex regimen. Ζεύς, Δίκη, σοφόν, λόγος: varia nomina, res non diversa. Idem significat illud . . . πῦρ αἰείζωον, unde manat omnis motus, omnis vita, omnis intellectus." Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Gr.* § 40, note *a*. This is admirably said, and puts a great deal of Heraclitus' teaching into three sentences.

LXVI. The name of the bow is life, but its work is death.

A pun on *βίος* (bow) and *βίος* (life).

LXVII. Ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι,
ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον
3 τεθνεῶτες.

LXVIII. Ψυχῆσι γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι,
ὑδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι· ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ
3 γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ.

LXIX. Ὅδος ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὡπτή.

LXX. Ξυλὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρασ.

LXXI. Ψυχῆς πείρατα οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο πᾶσαν
2 ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει.

LXXII. Ψυχῆσι τέρψις ὑγρῆσι γενέσθαι.

LXXIII. Ἄνῆρ ὀκότ' ἂν μεθυσθῆ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ
παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαίωv ὄκη
3 βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.

LXXIV. Αὕη ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

LXVII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10. The fragment (or parts of it) are quoted by many authors. See Bywater, Patrick or Diels.

LXVIII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* v. 16; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2, p. 746; Philo *de Incorr. Mundi* 21, p. 509; Proclus in *Tim.* 36 c.

LXIX. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10; Diog. Laert. ix. 8; Max. Tyr. xli. 4, p. 489; Cleomedes *περὶ μετεώρων* i. p. 75; Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 41.

LXX. Porphyry ap. Schol. B. *Il.* xiv. 200, p. 392 Bekk.

LXXI. Diog. Laert. ix. 7.

LXXII. Numenius ap. Porphyry. *de Antro Nymph.* 10.

LXXIII. Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 120.

LXXIV. Plutarch *Romulus* 28; Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 120 (in the form αὕη ξηρὴ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη, where ξηρὴ is a gloss). In several cases (e.g. Plutarch *de Carn. Ev* i. 6, p. 995; *de Defectu Orac.* 41, p. 432; Hermeias in Plato *Phaenar.* p. 73, Ast) the fragment occurs in the form αὕη ξηρὴ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη. Another very old form, going back at least to Philo, is οὗ γῆ ξηρῆ, ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη

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LXVII. Immortal mortals, mortal immortals, one living the others' death and dying the others' life.

For the sake of symmetry in English I have translated *τεθνεῶτες* rather inaccurately. Being perfect in tense it strictly means "being dead," *i.e.* their being dead is the others' life.

LXVIII. For it is death to souls to become water, and death to water to become earth. But from earth comes water, and from water, soul.

The best commentary on this is Aristotle, *de Anima* I. 2, 405a, 25: *καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φησι ψυχῆν, εἶπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἐξ ἧς τὰλλα συνίστησιν.*

LXIX. The road up and the road down is one and the same.

LXX. The beginning and end are common.

Heracleitus is referring to a point on the circumference of a circle.

LXXI. The limits of soul you could not discover though you journeyed the whole way, so deep a measure it has.

Burnet renders *λόγον* "measure," as in Fragment XXIII.

LXXII. It is delight to souls to become moist.

Perhaps because the change to moisture means death, and the rest of death is pleasant. Or, the way down to death is really a way to the joy of a new life. Or (finally), the passage cannot be altogether without a reference to the *τέρψις* of intoxication. See the next fragment.

LXXIII. A man when he has become drunk is led by a mere stripling, stumbling, not knowing where he walks, having his soul moist.

LXXIV. A dry soul is wisest and best.

καὶ ἀρίστη. The steps in the corruption seem to be *αὔη—αὔη ξηρῆ—αὔγῃ ξηρῆ—οὐ γῆ ξηρῆ*. See Bywater's notes on LXXV and LXXVI.

LXXV. †Αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ
2 ἀρίστη.†

LXXVI. †Οὐ γῆ ξηρὴ, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ
2 ἀρίστη.†

LXXVII. Ἄνθρωπος, ὅπως ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος,
2 ἄπτεται ἀποσβέννυται.

LXXVIII. Πότε γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν
ὁ θάνατος; καὶ ἦ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ταῦτ' εἶναι
ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ
καθεῦδον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μετα-
πесόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι κἀκεῖνα πάλιν μεταπесόντα
6 ταῦτα.¹

LXXIX. Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστι παίζων πεσσεύων·
2 παιδὸς ἢ βασιληίῃ.

LXXX. Ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωυτόν.

LXXXI. Ποταμοῖσι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐμβαίνομέν
2 τε καὶ οὐκ ἐμβαίνομεν, εἰμέν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶμεν.

LXXVII. Clem Alex. *Strom.* iv. 22, p. 628.

LXXIX. Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* i. 5 p. 111; Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9; Proclus *in Tim.* 101 F.

LXXX. Plutarch *adv. Colot.* 20, p. 1118; Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 55, p. 282; Suidas s.v. Ποστοῦμος.

LXXXI. Heraclitus *Alleg. Hom.* 24 and Seneca *Epip.* 58.

¹ Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 10, p. 106.

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LXXV. Dry light is the wisest and best soul.

LXXVI. Where earth is dry, the soul is wisest and best.

For LXXV and LXXVI see notes on the text.

LXXVII. Man, like a light in the night, is kindled and put out.

LXXVIII. For when is death not within our selves? And as Heraclitus says: "Living and dead are the same, and so are awake and asleep, young and old. The former when shifted are the latter, and again the latter when shifted are the former."

Burnet takes the metaphor in μεταπέσοιτα to be the moving of pieces from one γραμμῆ of the draught-board to another.

LXXIX. Time is a child playing draughts; the kingship is a child's.

Cf. Homer, *Iliad* XV. 362:

ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάϊς ἄγχι θαλάσσης,
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησιν,
ἄψ αὐτίς συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

The changes of time are like the changes of the child's game.

LXXX. I searched my self.

See Ritter and Preller, § 48. Possibly it means: "I inquired of myself, and did not trust others." See Fragments XV-XVIII. Some see a reference to γνώθι σεαυτόν, and it is possible that Heraclitus gave a new meaning to this old saying. But Pfeleiderer's theory, that H. sought for the τέλος in introspection, is a strangely distorted view.

LXXXI. Into the same rivers we step and do not step; we are and we are not.

LXXXII. Κάματός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μοχθεῖν
2 καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

LXXXIII. Μεταβάλλον ἀναπαύεται.

LXXXIV. Καὶ ὁ κυκεὼν δίσταται μὴ κινεό-
2 μενος.

LXXXV. Νέκνες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι.

LXXXVI. Γερόμενοι ζῶειν ἐθέλουσι μόρους τ'
ἔχειν μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ παιῖδας κατα-
3 λείπουσι μόρους γενέσθαι.

LXXXVII. Οἱ μὲν “ἠβῶντος” ἀναγινώσκοντες¹
ἔτη τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεάν καθ’ Ἡράκλει-
τον· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
4 γεγεννημένον ὁ γεινήσας.²

LXXXVIII. Ὁ τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸς φυσικώ-
τατός ἐστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἐν μονάσι τριάς, τοῦτο ἐν
δεκάσι τριακοντάς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ μηνὸς κύκλος
συνέστηκεν ἐκ τεσσάρων τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐξῆς
τετραγώνων α', δ', θ', ις'. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ
6 Ἡράκλειτος γενεὰν τὸν μῆνα καλεῖ.³

LXXXIX. Ex homine in tricennio potest avus
2 haberi.

LXXXII. Plotinus *Enn.* iv. 8, p. 468; Iamblichus *ap.*
Stob. Ecl. i. 41, p. 906.

LXXXIII. Same as for LXXXII.

LXXXIV. Theophrastus *περὶ ἀλίγγων* 9, p. 138.

LXXXV. Strabo xvi. 26, p. 784; Plutarch *Qu. conviv.*
iv. 4, p. 669; Pollux *Onom.* v. 163; Origen *contra Cels.* v.
14, p. 247; Julianus *Or.* vii. p. 226 c. The scholiast V on
Iliad xxiv. 54, p. 630 Bekk. assigns the fragment to
Empedocles.

LXXXVI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 3, p. 516.

LXXXVII. Cf. Censorinus *de D. N.* 17.

LXXXIX. Philo *Qu. in Gen.* ii. 5, p. 82, Aucher.

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LXXXII. It is toil to labour for the same masters and to be ruled by them.

I.e. change is restful. Cf. the next fragment.

LXXXIII. By changing it rests.

LXXXIV. The posset too separates if it be not stirred.

An example of change and motion giving existence and reality.

LXXXV. Corpses are more fit to be thrown out than is dung.

LXXXVI. When born they wish to live and to have dooms—or rather to rest, and they leave children after them to become dooms.

LXXXVII. Some reading ἡβωντος in this passage make a generation to consist of thirty years, as Heraclitus has it, this being the time it takes a father to have a son who is himself a father.

LXXXVIII. The number thirty is one most intimately bound up with nature, as it bears the same relation to tens as three does to units. Then again the cycle of the moon is composed of the numbers 1, 4, 9, 16, which are the squares of the first four numbers. Wherefore Heraclitus hit the mark when he called the month (or moon) a generation.

LXXXIX. In thirty years a man may become a grandfather.

The Fragments LXXXVI–LXXXIX refer to the “cycle of life.” The circle is complete when the son himself becomes a father.

¹ Apud Hesiod *fr.* 163 Goettling.

² Plutarch *de Orac. Def.* 11, p. 415.

³ Io. Lydus *de Mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 37 ed. Bonn.

XC. Πάντες εἰς ἓν ἀποτέλεσμα συνεργοῦμεν,
οἱ μὲν εἰδότηως καὶ παρακολουθητικῶς, οἱ δὲ
ἀνεπιστάτως· ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας,
οἶμαι, ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ
5 συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων.¹

XCI. Ξυνὸν ἐστὶ πᾶσι τὸ φρονέειν. ξὺν νόῳ
λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ξυνῷ πάντων,
ὅκωσπερ νόμῳ πόλις καὶ πολὺ ἰσχυροτέρως.
τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι ὑπὸ
ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου· κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὁκόσμον
6 ἐθέλει καὶ ἐξαρκέει πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται.

XCII. Διὸ δεῖ ἔπεσθαι τῷ ξυνῷ. τοῦ λόγου
δ' ἐόντος ξυνοῦ, ζῶουσι οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίην ἔχοντες
3 φρόνησιν.

XCI. Stobaeus *Flor.* iii, 84. Cf. *Hymn of Cleanthes* 24,
οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον οὔτε κλύουσιν, ᾧ κεν πειθόμενοι
σὺν νῷ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχουσι.

XCII. Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* vii, 133. Bywater does not
regard Διὸ . . . ξυνῷ as Heraclitean and Burnet rejects τοῦ
. . . ξυνοῦ.

¹ M. Antoninus vi, 42.

ON THE UNIVERSE

ON POLITICS AND ETHICS

XC. We all work together to one end, some wittingly and with understanding, others unconsciously. In this sense, I think, Heraclitus says that even sleepers are workers and co-operators in the things that take place in the world.

XCI. Thought is common to all. Men must speak with understanding and hold fast to that which is common to all, as a city holds fast to its law, and much more strongly still. For all human laws are nourished by the one divine law. For it prevails as far as it wills, suffices for all, and there is something to spare.

“The common” will be fire, which is the one true wisdom. So men who have understanding must “keep their souls dry” and refuse to cut themselves off from the great principle of the universe by letting their souls grow moist. See Introduction, p. 457. Passages like this were eagerly seized upon by the Stoics when they elaborated their theory of a great *κοινὸς λόγος* animating the universe. True virtue, they held, was for a man consciously and lovingly to follow this *λόγος*, which is really the will of God, and to try to associate himself with it. What is crude and imperfect in Heraclitus became mature and complete in Stoicism. Christianity seized upon this thought, and developed the *λόγος* doctrine of St. John and the early Fathers.

XCII. Therefore one must follow the common. But though the Word is common, the many live as though they had a wisdom of their own.

Barnet thinks that *τοῦ λόγου δ' ἐπίτοσ ξυνοῦ* does not belong to Heraclitus, appealing to the MSS. reading *δὲ ὄντος* in support of his contention. He is chiefly influenced by his conviction that *λόγος* can mean only the message or gospel of Heraclitus. But at this early stage in the history of thought there could be no distinction made between (a) the message and (b) the truth which the message tries to explain. It is the latter meaning that I think *λόγος* has in this passage.

XCIII. *Ωι μάλιστα διηνεκέως όμιλέουσι, τούτω
2 διαφέρονται.

XCIV. Ού δεῖ ὡσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ
2 λέγειν.

XCV. Ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι, τοῖς ἐγρηγορόσιν
ἕνα καὶ κοινόν κόσμον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοιμωμένων
3 ἕκαστον εἰς ἴδιον ἀποστρέφεται.¹

XCVI. *Ἡθος γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον μὲν οὐκ ἔχει
2 γνώμας, θεῖον δὲ ἔχει.

XCVII. Ἄνῆρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος
2 ὅκωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός.

XCVIII. *Ἡ οὐ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ταῦτὸν τοῦτο
λέγει, ὃν σὺ ἐπάγει, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος
πρὸς θεὸν πίθηκος φανεῖται καὶ σοφία καὶ κάλλει
4 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ;²

XCIX. *Ὡ ἀνθρωπε, ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλείτου εὖ ἔχει, ὡς ἄρα πιθήκων ὁ κάλλιστος
αἰσχροὺς ἄλλῳ γένει συμβάλλειν, καὶ χυτρῶν ἢ
καλλίστη αἰσχροὺς παρθένων γένει συμβάλλειν, ὡς
5 φησιν Ἰππίας ὁ σοφός.³

XCIII and XCIV. M. Antoninus iv. 46. Diels adds λόγῳ
τῷ τὰ ὄλα διοικουῦντι, which Burnet rejects as belonging to
M. Aurelius (Stoic idea).

XCVI and XCVII. Origen *contra Cels.* vi. 12, p. 291.

¹ Plutarch *de Superst.* 3, p. 166.

ON THE UNIVERSE

XCIII. They are at variance with that with which they have most continuous intercourse.

XCIV. We ought not to act and to speak as though we were asleep.

XCV. Heracleitus says that there is one world in common for those who are awake, but that when men are asleep each turns away into a world of his own.

Sleepiness to Heracleitus was the state of a man who allowed his soul to sink on the downward path into moisture or mud. See Fragments XCI and XCII. To be awake was to have one's soul dry, and to be in close connection with "the ever-living fire" of the universe.

XCVI. Human nature has no understanding, but that of God has.

This fragment expresses in another way the thought that τὸ ξυνὸν is good, τὸ ἴδιον evil.

XCVII. Man is called a baby by the deity as a child is by a man.

ON RELIGION

XCVIII. And does not Heracleitus too, whom you bring forward, say this very same thing, that the wisest of men compared with God will appear as an ape in wisdom, in beauty and in everything else?

XCIX. Sir, you do not know that the remark of Heracleitus is a sound one, to the effect that the most beautiful of apes is ugly in comparison with another species, and that the most beautiful of pots is ugly in comparison with maidenhood, as says Hippias the wise.

² Plato *Hipp. mai.* 289 B.

³ Plato *Hipp. mai.* 289 A.

C. Μάχεσθαι χρή τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου
2 ὅπως ὑπὲρ τείχεος.

CI. Μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχά-
2 νουσι.

CII. Ἀρηιφάτους θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἄνθρωποι.

CIII. Ὑβριν χρή σβεννύειν μᾶλλον ἢ πυρ-
2 καϊήν.

CIV. Ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι ὀκόσα θέλουσι
οὐκ ἄμεινον. νοῦσος ὑγίειαν ἐποίησε ἡδύ, κακὸν
3 ἀγαθόν, λιμὸς κόρον, κάματος ἀνάπαυσιν.

CV. Θυμῶ μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν
2 χρήζη γίνεσθαι, ψυχῆς ὠνέεται.

CVI. † Ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσι μέτεστι γιγνώσκειν
2 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν. †

CVII. † Σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μεγίστη· καὶ σοφίη
2 ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίοντας. †

CVIII. Ἀμαθίην ἄμεινον κρύπτειν· ἔργον δὲ ἐν
2 ἀνέσει καὶ παρ' οἶνον.

C. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.

CI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 7, p. 586.

CII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 4, p. 571; Theodoretus
Therap. viii. p. 117, 33.

CIII. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.

CIV. Stobaeus *Flor.* iii. 83. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 21,
p. 497. I accept (with some hesitation) κακὸν for the MS.
reading καί (Heitz, Diels, Burnet).

CV. Iamblichus *Protrept.* p. 140; Aristotle *Eth. Nic.*
1105 a 8, *Eth. Eud.* 1223 b 22, and *Pol.* 1315 a 29; Plutarch
de cohibenda Ira 9, p. 457 and *Coriol.* 22.

CVI. Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 119.

CVII. Stobaeus *Flor.* iii. 84.

CVIII. Plutarch *Qu. conviv.* iii. *prooem.* p. 644; *de*
Audiendo 12, p. 43 and *Virt. doc. posse* 2, p. 439; Stob
Flor. xviii. 32.

ON THE UNIVERSE

C. The people should fight for their law as for a wall.

This is because the law is *ξυ νόν*, is, in fact, but a reflection of the great *ξυ νόν* of the natural world.

CI. For greater dooms win greater destinies.

This refers to the "fiery deaths" of heroic men. See Introduction, p. 457, and also the following fragment.

CII. Gods and men honour those who are killed in battle.

CIII. You should put out insolence even more than a fire.

CIV. For men to get all they wish is not the better thing. It is disease that makes health a pleasant thing; evil, good; hunger, surfeit; and toil, rest.

CV. It is hard to contend against one's heart's desire; for whatever it wishes to have it buys at the cost of soul.

Burnet so translates *θυμός*; the word covers a wider area than any English equivalent, but includes much of what we include under "instinct," "urge," "passionate craving." Aristotle understood *θυμός* to mean anger (*Ethic. Nicom.* II. 2, 1105 a 8). To gratify *θυμός* is to allow one's soul "to become moist."

CVI. It is the concern of all men to know themselves and to be sober-minded.

CVII. To be sober-minded is the greatest virtue, and wisdom is to speak the truth and to act it, listening to the voice of nature.

These two fragments (both are of doubtful authenticity) express positively what is stated in Fragment CV in a quasi-negative form.

CVIII. It is better to hide ignorance, but it is hard to do this when we relax over wine.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

CIX. †Κρύπτειν ἀμαθίην κρέσσον ἢ ἐς τὸ
2 μέσον φέρειν. †

CX. Νόμος καὶ βουλῇ πείθεσθαι ἐνός.

CXI. Τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν νόος ἢ φρήν; [δήμων]
ἀοιδοῖσι ἔπονται καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρέωνται ὁμίλῳ,
οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πολλοὶ κακοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀγαθοί.
αἰρεῦνται γὰρ ἐν ἀντία πάντων οἱ ἄριστοι, κλέος
ἀέναον θνητῶν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κεκόρηνται ὄκωσπερ
6 κτήνεα.

CXII. Ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ
2 πλέων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων.

CXIII. Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι, ἐὰν ἄριστος ᾖ.

CXIV. Ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἠβηδὸν ἀπάγξασθαι
πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν,
οἵτινες Ἐρμούδωρον ἄνδρα ἐωυτῶν ὀνήιστον
ἐξέβαλον, φάντες· ἡμέων μηδὲ εἰς ὀνήιστος ἔστω,
5 εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλη τε καὶ μετ' ἄλλων.

CXV. Κύνες καὶ βαύζουσι ὄν ἂν μὴ γινώ-
2 σκωσι.

CXVI. Ἀπιστὴν διαφυγγάνει μὴ γινώσκεισθαι.

CXVII. Βλάξ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ παντὶ λόγῳ
2 ἐπτοῆσθαι φιλέει.

CIX. Stobaeus *Flor.* iii. 82.

CX. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718.

CXI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 9, p. 682 and iv. 7, p. 586;
Proclus *in Alcib.* p. 255, Creuzer.

CXII. Diogenes Laertius i. 88.

CXIII. Galen *περὶ διαγνώσεως σφυγμῶν* i. 1; Theodorus
Prodromus *in Lazerii Miscell.* i. p. 20; Seneca *Epp.* 7.

CXIV. Strabo xiv. 25, p. 642; Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* v. 105;
Musonius *ap. Stob. Flor.* xl. 9; Diog. Laert. ix. 2;
Iamblichus *de Vit. Pyth.* 30, p. 154 Arcer.

CXV. Plutarch *an Seni sit ger. Resp.* vii. p. 787.

ON THE UNIVERSE

CIX. To hide ignorance is preferable to bringing it to light.

CX. It is law too to obey the advice of one.

CXI. For what mind or sense have they? They follow the bards and use the multitude as their teacher, not realising that there are many bad but few good. For the best choose one thing over all others, immortal glory among mortals, while the many are gluttoned like beasts.

CXII. In Priene lived Bias, son of Teutamas, who is of more account than the others.

CXIII. One man to me is as ten thousand, if he be the best.

Fragments CXI-CXIII show the aristocratic tendencies of the mind of Heraclitus. His "common," of course, has nothing to do with "common-sense" or with general opinions. It refers to the law or principle of nature, which each man must apprehend for himself. He who can do so best is a natural leader and lawgiver.

CXIV. All the Ephesians from the youths up would do well to hang themselves and leave their city to the boys. For they banished Hermodorus, the best man of them, saying, "We would have none among us who is best; if there be such an one, let him be so elsewhere among other people."

CXV. Dogs also bark at him they know not.

CXVI. He escapes being known because of men's unbelief.

"A prophet is not without honour save in his own city."

CXVII. A fool is wont to be in a flutter at every word.

CXVI. Plutarch *Coriolanus* 38; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 13, p. 699.

CXVII. Plutarch *de Audiendo* 7, p. 41 and *de aud. Poet.* 9, p. 28.

CXVIII. Δοκέοντα ὁ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει
 †φυλάσσειν.† καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίκη καταλήψεται
 3 ψευδέων τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας.

CXIX. Τόν θ' Ὀμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν
 ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ραπίζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀρχί-
 3 λοχον ὁμοίως.¹

CXX. Unus dies par omni est.

CXXI. Ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων.

CXXII. Ἀνθρώπους μένει τελευτήσαντας ἄσσα
 2 οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσι.

CXXIII. Ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι
 2 ἐγερτὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.

CXXIV. Νυκτιπόλοι, μάγοι, βιάκχοι, λῆναι,
 2 μύσται.

CXXV. Τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους
 2 μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μυεῦνται.

CXXVI. Καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτέοισι εὔχονται,
 ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, οὔ τι
 3 γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας, οὔτινές εἰσι.

CXVIII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1, p. 649. The MS. reading is *δοκέοντων*; Schleiermacher suggested *δοκέοντα* and Diels *δοκέοντ' ὦν*. The MS. *φυλάσσειν* has been emended to *φυλάσσει* (Schleiermacher), *φλυάσσειν* (Bergk), *πλάσσειν* (Bernays and Bywater).

CXX. Seneca *Epist.* 12; Plutarch *Camillus* 19.

CXXI. Plutarch *Qu. Plat.* i. 2, p. 999; Alex. Aphrod. *de Fato* 6, p. 16; Stob. *Flor.* civ. 23.

CXXII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 22, p. 630; Theodoretus *Therap.* viii. p. 118, 1; Themistius in Stob. *Flor.* cxx. 28.

CXXIII. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10. The MS. has before *επανίστασθαι* the words *ἐνθα δεόντι*. Various emendations have been suggested: *ἐνθάδε ἐόντας* Bernays; *ἐνθα θεὸν δεῖ* Sauppe; *ἐνθάδε ἔστι* Petersen. So the MS. also has *ἐγερτιζόντων*. The text is that of Bernays.

ON THE UNIVERSE

CXVIII. The one most in repute knows only what is reputed. And yet justice will overtake the makers of lies and the false witnesses.

Of all the emendations of the corrupt *φυλάσσειν* I prefer Bergk's *φλυάσσειν*, but I follow Burnet in deleting the word.

CXIX. He said that Homer deserved to be expelled from the lists and beaten, and Archilochus likewise.

CXX. One day is like any other.

CXXI. A man's character is his fate.

CXXII. There await men after death such things as they neither expect nor look for.

CXXIII. To rise up and become wakeful guards of the living and of the dead.

CXXIV. Night-walkers, Magians, priests of Bacchus and priestesses of the vat, the initiated.

CXXV. The mysteries that are celebrated among men it is unholy to take part in.

CXXVI. And to these images they pray, as if one were to talk to one's house, knowing not the nature of gods and heroes.

CXXIV. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2, p. 18 = Eusebius *P. E.* ii. 3, p. 66.

CXXV. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2, p. 19 = Eusebius *P. E.* ii. 3, p. 67.

CXXVI. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 4, p. 44; Origen *contra Celts.* i. 5, p. 6, and vii. 62, p. 384.

¹ Diogenes Laert. ix. 1.

CXXVII. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διούσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιεῦντο καὶ ὕμνεον ᾄσμα αἰδοίοισι, ἀναιδέστατα εἴργαστ' ἄν' ὧντος δὲ Ἀΐδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτεω μαίνονται
4 καὶ ληναίζουσι.

CXXVIII. Θυσιῶν τοίνυν τίθημι διττὰ εἶδη· τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀποκεκαθαρμένων παντάπασιν ἀνθρώπων, οἷα ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἄν ποτε γένοιτο σπανίως, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ἢ τινῶν ὀλίγων εὐαριθμῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὰ δ' ἔνυλα καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ διὰ μεταβολῆς συνιστάμενα, οἷα τοῖς ἔτι κατεχομένοις
7 ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀρμόζει.¹

CXXIX. Ἄκεα.

CXXX. Καθαίρονται δὲ αἵματι μαινόμενοι ὥσπερ ἄν εἴ τις ἐς πηλὸν ἐμβὰς πηλῷ ἀπο-
3 ρίζοιτο.

CXXVII. Plutarch *de Iside* 28, p. 362; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2, p. 30.

CXXIX. Iamblichus *de Myst.* i. 11.

CXXX. Gregorius Naz. *Or.* xxv. (xxiii.) 15, p. 466 with Elias Cretensis *in loc.* See Apollonius *Epp.* 27. Professor D. S. Robertson inserts αἷμα before αἵματι.

¹ Iamblichus *de Myst.* v. 15.

ON THE UNIVERSE

CXXVII. For if it were not to Dionysus that they made procession and sang the phallic hymn, it would be a most disgraceful action. But Hades is the same as Dionysus, in whose honour they rave and keep the feast of the vat.

CXXVIII. I distinguish, therefore, two kinds of sacrifices. First, that of men wholly cleansed, such as would rarely take place in the case of a single individual, as Heracleitus says, or in the case of very few men. Second, material and corporeal sacrifices, arising from change, such as befit those who are still fettered by the body.

CXXIX. Cures (atonements).

CXXX. When defiled they purify themselves with blood, just as if one who had stepped in mud were to wash himself in mud.