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ON THE UNIVERSE HEBYCLELLOS

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ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE M' H' S' 10MES' LITT.D. WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

HIPPOCRATES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΧΧΙΙ. Πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ άπάντων, ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων 3 χρυσός.

ΧΧΙΙΙ. Θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρέεται ές 2 τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὁκοῖος πρόσθεν ἢν ἢ γενέσθαι.

ΧΧΙΥ. Χρησμοσύνη . . . κόρος.

ΧΧΥ. Ζη πῦρ τὸν ἀέρος θάνατον, καὶ ἀὴρ ζη τὸν πυρὸς θάνατον ὕδωρ ζη τὸν γης θάνατον, γη 3 τὸν ὕδατος.

ΧΧΥΙ. Πάντα τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὸν κρινέει καὶ 2 καταλήψεται.

ΧΧΥΗ. Τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε πῶς ἄν τις λάθοι; ΧΧΥΙΙΙ. Τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός.

ΧΧΙΧ. "Ηλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα εἰ δὲ 2 μή, 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 γη after γενέσθαι, whence rne MSS. of Clement read γη atter γενέσθαι, whence Schuster reads γην. In any case earth is referred to, and γη is probably the subject of διαχέσται. 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 ἀέροs and γης 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.

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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 $\gamma \hat{\eta}$, 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

XXIV. Want . . . surfeit.

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

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 $\pi\epsilon\rho i$ dialogs I, Chap. III. Such statements as the one above led the Stoics to develop their theory of εκπύρωσις, 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

XXVIII. The thunderbolt steers all things.

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

See the notes to XX and XXIII.

to wash himself in mud,

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

CXXIX. Cures (atonements).

who are still fettered by the body.

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

the feast of the vat.

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

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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

XXX. Ἡοῦς καὶ ἐσπέρης τέρματα ἡ ἄρκτος, 2 καὶ ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου οὖρος αἰθρίου Διός.

XXXI. Εἰ μὴ ἥλιος ἦν, ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων 2 ἄστρων εὐφρόνη ἂν ἦν.

ΧΧΧΙΙ. Νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρη ήλιος.

ΧΧΧΙΙΙ. Δοκεί δε (scil. Θαλης) κατά τινας πρώτος ἀστρολογησαι καὶ ήλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὔδημος ἐν τῆ περὶ τῶν ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει· μαρτυρεῖ δ' 5 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.1

ΧΧΧΙV. Οὕτως οὖν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχων συμπλοκὴν καὶ συναρμογὴν ὁ χρόνος οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστι κίνησις ἀλλ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κίνησις ἐν τάξει μέτρον ἐχούση καὶ πέρατα καὶ περιόδους. ὧν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστάτης ὧν καὶ σκοπός, ὁρίζειν καὶ βραβεύειν καὶ ἀναδεικνύναι καὶ ἀναφαίνειν μεταβολὰς καὶ ὥρας αὶ πάντα φέρουσι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ φαύλων οὐδὲ μικρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ 10 κυριωτάτων τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ πρώτω θεῷ γίνεται συνεργός.²

XXX. Strabo i. 6, p 3.

XXXI. Plutarch Aquae et Ignis Comp. 7, p. 957, and dc Fortuna 3, p. 98. Cf. Clem. Alex. Protrept. ii. p. 87. Bywater does not include the words ἕνεκα . . . ἄστρων in

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

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

¹ Diogenes Laert. i. 23.

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

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

ου τοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς παρέδειξαν, ἀλλὰ χρόνω 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 ἐποιήσατο for ἐποίησεν 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,

HERACLEITUS

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HIPPOCRATES

CONLENLE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

XVII. Πυθαγόρης Μυησάρχου ίστορίην ήσκησε ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων. καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἐωυτοῦ 4 σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίην.

ΧΥΙΙΙ. 'Οκόσων λόγους ήκουσα οὐδεὶς ἀφικνέεται ές τοῦτο, ὥστε γινώσκειν ὅτι σοφόν ἐστι 3 πάντων κεχωρισμένον.

ΧΙΧ. "Εν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ή 2 κυβερνάται πάντα διὰ πάντων.

ΧΧ. Κόσμον τόνδε τὸν αὐτὸν άπάντων οὔτε τις θεών οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε, ἀλλ' ἢν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται πῦρ ἀείζωον, άπτόμενον μέτρα 4 καὶ ἀποσβενιύμενον μέτρα.

ΧΧΙ. Πυρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα· θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ 3 πρηστήρ.

XVII. Diogenes Laertius viii. 6. One MS. has $\epsilon \pi o i \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ and one $\epsilon \pi o i \eta \sigma \alpha \tau \sigma$. Bywater reads $\epsilon \pi o i \eta \sigma \epsilon$ and Burnet έποιήσατο.

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.

I Lamblichus de Myst. v. 15.

D. S. Robertson inserts alma before almari. Protrept. 2, p. 30.

CXXIX. Isimblichus de Myst. i. II.

CXXX. Gregorius Naz. Or. xxv. (xxiii.) 15, p. 466 with

Elias Cretensis in loc. See Apollonius Epp. 27. Professor

CXXVII. Plutarch de Iside 28, p. 362; Clem. Alex.

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-οπρ φλητη εράμε τος τες ες πηλον έμβας πηλώ φποώ καθαίρονται δέ αίματι μιαινόμενοι CXXIX, "Akea.

κεταβολής συνιστάμενα, οία τοίς έτι κατέχομένοις των ανδρών. τα δ ένυλα και σωματοειδή και δια ως φησιν Ηρακλείτος, η τινων ολίγων εύαριθμήινθρώπων, οία έφ ένος αν ποτε γένοιτο σπανίως, μέν των άποκεκαθαρμένων παντάπασιν ΟΧΧΥΙΙΙ. Θυσιών τοίνυν τίθημι διττά είδη.

τ και γιλαίζουσι.

ζε, φητός δέ λίδης και Διόνυσος, ότεφ μαινονται και ύμνεον ήσμα αιδοίοισι, αναιδέστατα είργαστ ΟΧΧΛΙΙ. Εί μη γλρ Διουύσφ πομπήν έποιεύντο

HELL TOY HANTOE

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.

Ji Diogenos Laert, ix. I.

Cels. i. 5, p. 6, and vii. 62, p. 384. ii. 3, p. 67. CXXVI. Genn, Alex, Probreph, 4, p. 44; Origen contra ii. 3, p. 66. CXXV. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, p. 19 = Eusebius P. E. CXXIV. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 2, p. 18 = Eusebius P. E.

nature of gods and heroes. one were to talk to one's house, knowing not the CXXVI. And to these images they pray, as if men it is unholy to take part in.

CXXV. The mysteries that are celebrated among Bacchus and priestesses of the vat, the initiated. CXXIV. Vight - walkers, Magians, priests of of the living and of the dead.

CXXIII. To rise up and become wakeful guards as they neither expect nor look for.

CXXII. There await men after death such things CXXI. A man's character is his fate. CXX. One day is like any other.

pelled from the lists and beaten, and Archilochus CXIX. He said that Homer deserved to be ex-Bergk's placew, but I follow Burnet in deleting the word. Of all the emendations of the corrupt pundages I prefer

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

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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΧΧΧΥ. Διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσίοδος. τοῦτον ἐπίστανται πλεῖστα εἰδέναι, ὅστις ἡμέρην 3 καὶ εὐφρόνην οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε· ἔστι γὰρ ἕν.

ΧΧΧΥΙ. 'Ο θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κόρος λιμός ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ δκωσπερ πῦρ, ὁκόταν συμμιγῆ θυώμασι, ὀνομάζε-4 ται καθ' ήδον ην έκάστου.

ΧΧΧΥΙΙ. Εί πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γένοιτο, 2 ρίνες αν διαγνοίεν.

ΧΧΧΥΙΙΙ. Αί ψυχαὶ ὀσμῶνται καθ' ἄδην.

ΧΧΧΙΧ. Τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται, 2 ύγρον αὐαίνεται, καρφαλέον νοτίζεται.

ΧΙ. Σκίδνησι καὶ συνάγει, πρόσεισι καὶ

ΧΙΙ. Ποταμοίσι δὶς τοίσι αὐτοίσι οὐκ ἂν 2 έμβαίης· έτερα γὰρ <καὶ έτερα> ἐπιρρέει ὕδατα.

XXXV. Hipp. Ref. Haer. ix. 10. XXXVI. Hipp. Ref. Haer. ix. 10. Diels reads δκωσπερ

 $\langle \pi \hat{v} \rho \rangle$:
Bywater adds θύωμα after συμμιγη, with Bernays, and Zeller adds åne 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 Exeg. in Iliada, p. 126.

XL. Plutarch de El 18, p. 392.

XLI. Plutarch Quaest, nat. 2, p. 912; de sera Num. Vind. 15, p. 559; de El 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. 482

M' H' S' 10MES

MILH VN ENCIURH LEVNSTYLION BA

ON THE UNIVERSE HERVOLEITUS

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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 interspectation interspectation of 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 early philosophera.

3 Heracleitus seems freer from this fault than many other high state of development.

2 Deductive science preceded inductive, probably because of the influence of mathematics, the first science to reach a 1 Called later on ύπόθεσις.

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

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

INTRODUCTION

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΧΙΙ. Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένφ στόματι ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ετέων εξικνέεται τη φωνή διά 4 $\tau \grave{o} \nu \ \theta \epsilon \acute{o} \nu$.

ΧΙΙΙ. "Οσων όψις ἀκοὴ μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ 2 προτιμέω.

ΧΙΥ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιόν ἐστι τῶν νῦν καιρῶν, ἐν οίς πάντων πλωτών καὶ πορευτών γεγονότων οὐκ ἂν έτι πρέπον εἴη ποιηταῖς καὶ μυθογράφοις χρῆσθαι μάρτυσι περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, ὅπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν πλείστων, ἀπίστους ἀμφισβητουμένων 6 παρεχόμενοι βεβαιωτάς κατά τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.1

ΧΥ. 'Οφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἄτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρ-2 τυρες.

ΧVΙ. Πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει· 'Ησίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην· αὖτίς τε 3 Ξενοφάνεα καὶ Έκαταῖον.

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.

Sauppe; eveldse eart Petersen So the course. So the MS, also has eyepti-(Bernaya and Bywater), OXX. Seneca Hpp. 12; Plutareh Camillus 19.

OXXI. Seneca Hpp. 12; Plutareh Camillus 19.

CXXII. Plutareh Qu. Plat. i. 2, p. 999; Alex. Aphrod. de fato 6, p. 16; Stob. Flow. civ. 23.

CXXII. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 22, p. 630; Theodoretus CXXIII. Hipp. Ref. Hoer. ix. 10. The MS. pas before cXXIII. Hipp. Ref. Hoer. ix. 10. The MS. has before carefulational the words from Sebrut. Various emandations have been suggested: \$\text{e}\text{plat} \text{\$\text{\$\empty\$}

(Bernays and Bywater)

to φυλάσσει (Schleiernincher), φλυάσσειν (Bergk), πλάσσειν CXVIII. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 1, p. 649. The MS. reading is sokeovray; Schleiermacher suggested sokeovra and Diels sokeovr &v. The MS. pvlagaety has been emended to anylatery (Schleiermacher) plugaety (Bergis, The Alexander)

3 γινώσκων θεούς ούδ ήρωας, οίτινές είσι. οκοίον εί τις τοίς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, ού τι ΟΧΧΥΙ. Και τοις άγάλμασι τουτέοισι εύχουται, ο μυστήρια άνιερωστί μυεύνται.

CXXV. Tà gàp volitionera kat àvérwis ιωτούη ς

ΟΧΧΙΥ. Νυκτιπόλοι, μάγοι, βάκχοι, λήναι, ς ελευτί ζωντων και νεκρών.

ΟΧΧΙΙΙ. Έπανίστασθαι και φύλακας γίνεσθαι ς ούκ έλπονται ούδε δοκέουσι.

ΟΧΧΙΙ. Ανθρώπους μένει τελευτήσωντας ασσα

ΟΧΧΙ. Ήθος ἀνθρώπω δαίμων. Unus dies par omni est.

XXŽ γ νογοπο ποχον ε

άγωνων έκβάλλεσθαι και ραπίζεσθαι, και Αρχί-3 ψευδέων τέκτονας και μάρτυρας. ΟΧΙΧ. Τόν θ "Ομηρον έφασκεν άξιον έκ τών

φηγασσειν. Εκαι μεντοι και δίκη καταληψεται ΟΧΥΙΙΙ. Δοκεόντα ο δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει

HEPI TOY HANTOZ

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

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

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 $\dot{\eta} \delta o \nu \dot{\eta}$ "savour," and I have followed him, though with some hesitation, especially as the reading of the second sentence is dubious. καθ' ήδονην έκάστου 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. Pfleiderer suggested δσιφένται, "are made holy," a thought foreign to Hera-

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.

.82 .q CXVII. Plutarch de Audiende 7, p. 41 and de aud. Poct. 9, .689 .q CXVI. Plutareli Coriolanus 38; Clein, Alex, Strom. v. 13,

CXVII, A fool is wont to be in a flutter at every ". A prophet is not without honour save in his own city." .15ilədru

CXVI. He escapes being known because of men's

one, let him be so elsewhere among other people." CXV. Dogs also bark at him they know not. the best man of them, saying, "We would have none among us who is best; if there be such an city to the boys. For they banished Hermodorus, would do well to hang themselves and leave their CXIV. All the Ephesians from the youths up

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. nothing to do with " common-sense" or with general opinions. the mind of Heracleitus. His "common," of course, Fragments CXI-CXIII show the aristocratic tendencies of pe the best.

CXIII. One man to me is as ten thousand, if he is of more account than the others.

CXII. In Priene lived Bias, son of Teutamas, who many are glutted like beasts.

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

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

CIX. To hide ignorance is preferable to bringing

ON THE UNIVERSE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΧΕΙΙΙ. Καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι ώς έρις έκ τε θεών καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι άρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, οὐδὲ τὰ ζῷα ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος, 5 ἐναντίων ὄντων.¹

ΧLΙΥ. Πόλεμος πάντων μεν πατήρ εστι πάντων δε βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μεν θεοὺς έδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε 4 τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

ΧLV. Οὐ ξυνίασι ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἐωυτῷ όμολογέει παλίντονος άρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου 3 καὶ λύρης.

ΧLVI. Καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀνώτερον έπιζητοῦσι καὶ φυσικώτερον. Εὐριπίδης μὲν φάσκων έραν μεν όμβρου γαίαν ξηρανθείσαν, έραν δε σεμνον ούρανον πληρούμενον ὄμβρου πεσείν ές γαίαν καὶ Ἡράκλειτος τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρου, καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστην 7 άρμονίαν, καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι.2

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

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

XLV. Plato Symposium 187 A, Sophist 242 D; Plutareh de Anim. Procreatione 27, p. 1026, de Iside 45, p. 369, π.λίντονος γὰρ άρμονίη κόσμου δκωσπερ λύρης και τύξου καθ' Ήράκλειτον. 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. By water reads παλίντροπος (as in Plut, de An. Pr. and Hipp. Ref. Haer. ix. 9).

square)(oblong. good)(bad, light)(darkness, traight)(hent, rest)(motion.

male)(female, right)(left, one)(multitude, odd)(even, ,bə**əim**ilan)(əimil

number of pairs:-

even)(odd. See Aristotle, Metuphysics, A 986a. Other (perhaps later) members of the brotherhood increased the change.

• The Pythagoreans apparently began with the pair

• The Pythagoreans apparently began with the pair even)(odd.

phraseology.

³ Also of Miletus. Pre-Socratic philosophy bears many traces of its Eastern birth, notably the religious tinge in its Pre-Socratic philosophy bears many there were no almanacs, no clocks, and no compass.

Also of Miletus. His "Boundless" (78 & merpov) may have been a kind of mist or cloud.

Also et Miletus Pro Source of Miletus as the man and the miletus of the milet

Observation of the sky was more common in days when

The lonian school of material monists had their lay stress upon the dualities apparent in the world.5 began under the influence of mathematical studies to founded in the latter part of the sixth century, In Western Greece the Pythagorean brotherhood, itself in two directions by thickening and thinning.4 directions; Anaximenes 3 (546 B.C.) as air modifying as "the Boundless" modifying itself in two opposite as water modifying itself; Anaximander 2 (560 B.C.) of Miletus (flormi 585 B.C.) looked upon the world sky; cosmologies succeeded cosmogonies. unnaturally, I from a contemplation of the earth and The first impulse to philosophic thought came, not

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

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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

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.

X1. The Lord whose is the oracle in Delphi neither declares nor hides, but sets forth by signs.

Я

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

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

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

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

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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΙΙΙ. 'Αξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσι ἐοίκασι· 2 φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρέει παρεόντας ἀπείναι.

ΙΝ. Κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισι ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ 2 ὧτα, βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἐχόντων.

V. Οὐ φρονέουσι τοιαθτα πολλοὶ ὁκόσοισι έγκυρέουσι οὐδὲ μαθόντες γινώσκουσι, ξωυτοῖσι 3 δὲ δοκέουσι.

VI. 'Ακοῦσαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδ' εἰπεῖν.

VII. 'Εὰν μὴ ἔλπηαι, ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ έξευρή-2 σει, άνεξερεύνητον έδν καὶ ἄπορον.

VIII. Χρυσὸν οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσ-2 σουσι καὶ ευρίσκουσι ολίγον.

ΙΧ. 'Αγχιβασίην.

 ${
m X.}$ Φύσις κρύπτεσhetaαι φιλε $ilde{\imath}$.

ΧΙ. Ὁ ἄναξ οὖ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν ούτε λέγει ούτε κρύπτει, $\Delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o i \varsigma$, 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

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 $\xi \lambda \pi \eta \tau \alpha \iota$ and $\xi \lambda \pi l \zeta \eta \tau \epsilon$. $\xi \lambda \pi \eta \alpha \iota$ 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.

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X. Themistius Or. v. p. 69. XI. Plutarch de Pyth. Orac. 21, p. 404; Iamblichus de Myst. iii. 15; Stobaeus Flor. v. 72 and lxxxi. 17.

CXV. Plutarch an Seni su ger. Resp. vii. p. 787. CXIII. Diogenest facelly is in the decorated of the coloring of the coloring applications of the coloring applications of the coloring of the color of the coloring of the color of the col CIX. Stobacus Flor. iii. 82.

CX. Clein. Alex. Strom. v. 14, p. 718.

CXI. Clein. Alex. Strom. v. 9, p. 682 and iv. 7, p. 586;

Proclus in Alcib, p. 255, Creuzer.

CXII. Diogenes Lacrtius i. 88.

CXIII. Diogenes Lacrtius i. 88.

CXIII. Galen zen Alexerius gavanges gavange i. 1: Theodorus

ς επτοήσθαι φιλέει. ΟΧΥΙΙ. Βλλξ ἄνθρωπος έπλ παντί λόγφ ΟΧΛΙ. Άπιστίη διαφυγγάνει μη γινώσκεσθαι.

ΟΧΥ. Κύνες και βαύζουσι δυ αν μη γινωεξεβανοι, φαντες. ήμεων μηδε είς ονήιστος εστω, δ εί δε μη, άλλη τε και μετ' άλλων. οτοιριό νωτυως αρδιά τος κουτών ονηιστον πάσι και τοίς ἀνήβοις την πόλιν καταλιπείν, ΟΧΙΥ. Αξιον Έφεσίοις ήβηδον άπάγξασθαι CXIII. Eis shot pupper, sar apiatos if ς πλέων λόγος ή των άλλων.

ΟΧΙΙ., Έν Πριήνη, Βίας έγένετο ό Τευτάμεω, ού α KIllied.

άεναον θυητών, οί δε πολλοί κεκόρηνται δκωσπερ αίρεθνται γάρ εν άντία πάντων οι άριστοι, κλέος ούκ είδοπες όπι πολλοί κακοί όλίγοι δε άγαθοί. ιοιδοίσι έπονται καί διδασκάλω χρέωνται όμιλω, [ΧΙ]. Τίς γάρ αύτων νόος ή φρήν; [δήμων] ΟΧ. Νόμος και βουλή πείθεσθαι ένός.

z nea or depetu. ΟΙΧ. †Κρύπτειν άμαθίην κρέσσον ή ές το

TEPI TOY HANTOE

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XLIII. And Heracleitus 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 $\pi \alpha \lambda i \nu \tau \rho \sigma \pi \sigma s$ 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 Heracleitus 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 Heracleitus (τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον). See also Stewart ou Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1104, b16.

S

Aristotle, Eth. Eud. vii. 1, p. 1235a, 26.
 Atistotle, Eth. Nic. viii. 2, p. 1151b1.

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

quasi-negative form.

express positively what is stated in Fragment CV in a These two fragments (both are of doubtful authenticity)

istening to the voice of nature. and wisdom is to speak the truth and to act it,

CVII. To be sober-minded is the greatest virtue, selves and to be sober-minded.

CVI, It is the concern of all men to know them-

Burnet so translates bunds; the word covers a wider area than any Unglish equivalent, but includes much of what we include under "instinct," "urge," "passionate craving." Aristotle understood bunds to mean anger (Ethic Aicom. Aristotle understood bunds to mean anger (Ethic Aicom. Decome moist."

the cost of soul.

desire; for whatever it wishes to have it buys at CV. It is hard to contend against one's heart's toil, rest.

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

CIII. You should put out insolence even more in battle.

CII. Gods and men honour those who are killed Introduction, p. 457, and also the following fragment. This refers to the "fiery deaths" of heroic men.

Cl. For greater dooms win greater destinies.

of the great tuvby of the natural world.

This is decause the law is kundy, is, in fact, but a reflection

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

ON THE UNIVERSE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΧLVII. 'Αρμονίη ἀφανὴς φανερῆς κρείσσων. ΧΕΥΙΙΙ. Μη εἰκη περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβα-2 λώμεθα.

ΧLΙΧ. Χρὴ εὖ μάλα πολλῶν ἴστορας φιλο-2 σόφους ἄνδρας είναι.

Γναφέων όδὸς εὐθεῖα καὶ σκολιὴ μία ἐστὶ

2 καὶ ή αὐτή.

LI. 'Όνοι σύρματ' αν έλοιντο μαλλον η χρυσόν. LIa. Heraclitus dixit quod si felicitas esset in delectationibus corporis boves felices diceremus, 3 cum inveniant orobum ad comedendum.¹

LII. Θάλασσα ΰδωρ καθαρώτατον καὶ μιαρώτατον, 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. Βορβόρφ 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.; γναφέων

Bywater; γναφείω Bernays. LI. Aristotle Eth. Nic. x. 5, p. 1176 α 6. LI.α is Bywater's discovery. See Journal of Philology, ix (1880),

LII. Hipp, Ref. Haer, ix. 10.

LIV. Athenaeus v. p. 178 F. Cf. Clem. Alex. Pretrept. 10, p. 75.

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

Columella de R. R. viii. 4.

change and fire.

esaence, and the sentence referred to virtually identifies 1 Regimen I, ch. iii. In this treatise Suvams often means

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

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HERACLEITUS

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

For λόγοs 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 alet should be taken with λόντος or with ἀξύνετοι γίνονται. See Rhetoric, 111. 5, 1407, b

14. ἐόντος means "true" in Ionic with words like λόγος.
See Burnet, E. G. Ph. note on Fragment II. I have tried in my translation to have a contract the above the second seco in my translation to bring out the play on words in ἀπείροισι ξοίκασι 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; Eusebins Praep. Ev. xiii. 13, p. 680. The MSS. (except those of Sextus) read τοῦ δεόντος.

third thing, as male and female produce the offspring, but there is no third thing produced by (say) night and day.

Ήράκλειτον κεφάλαιον τής αύτου προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας αυχείν ώς έφ' εύρέσει καινή; Σ. Strictly agenging, the two opposites should produce a trial thing as upper and found opposites about thing the produce of the control of the c αυφοίν των έναντίων, οδ τιηθέντος γνώριμα τα έναντία. οδ γάρ τουτ έστιν ο φασιν Έλληνες τον μέγαν και αυίδιμον παρ αυτοίς 1 See in particular Philo, Rev. Div. Her. 43: Ev yap 70 EE

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

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

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ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ.

The order of the fragments is that of Bywater.

Ι. Οὐκ ἐμεῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαντας

2 όμολογέειν σοφόν έστι, εν πάντα είναι.

ΙΙ. Τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἡ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ άκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον. γινομένων γὰρ πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ἀπείροισι ἐοίκασι πειρώμενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιουτέων ὁκοίων ἐγὼ διηγεθμαι, διαιρέων έκαστον κατά φύσιν καὶ φράζων ὅκως ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους λανθάνει δκόσα έγερθέντες ποιέουσι, ὅκωσπερ 9 δκόσα εΰδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται.

I. Hippolytus Ref. Haer. ix. 9: Ἡράκλειτος μέν οὖν ζέν φησιν είναι τὸ πᾶν, διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον, γενητὸν ἀγένητον, θνητὸν ἀθάνατον, λόγον αὶῶνα, πατέρα υίον, θεὸν δίκαιον. Οὐκ έμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δύγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογεῖν σεφόν ἐστιν, εν πάντα εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσασι πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἐπιμέμφεται ὧδέ πως. Οὐ ξυνίασιν ὅκως διαφερόμεν ν έωυτῷ όμολογέει παλίντροπος άρμονίη ὅκωσπερ

λόγου is a conjecture of Bernays, εἶναι a conjecture of Miller. Bergk would reconstruct thus: δίκαιον οὐκ ἐμοῦ άλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας όμολογέειν ὕτι ἐν τὸ σοφόν ἐστιν, ἐν πάντα εἰδέναι. The conjectures in the text do not arouse any strong confidence, though $\delta \delta \gamma \mu \alpha \tau \sigma s$ might well be a gloss on $\lambda \delta \gamma \sigma \sigma$. But if $\epsilon l \nu \alpha \iota$ be correct, why should it have been corrupted to eldérai? I am on the whole inclined to think that Bergk's restoration is nearer to the actual words

of Heracleitus.

CVII. Stobaens Ffor. iii. 84.

CVIII. Plutarch Qu. conrie. iii. procem. p. 644; de Audiendo 12, p. 43 and Virt. doc. posse 2, p. 439; Stob

C. Diogenes Laertins ix. 2.

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

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

CIII. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.

CIII. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.

CIV. Stobaens Flor. iii. 83. Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 21, p. 497. I accept (with some hesitation) kandy for the MS. CV. Ismblichus Protrept. p. 140; Aristotle Eth. Vic. Col. Ismblichus Protrept. p. 140; Aristotle Eth. Vic. CV. Ismblichus Protrept. p. 140; Aristotle Eth. Vic. CVI. Stobaens Flor. iii. 83.

CVI. Stobaens Flor. v. 119.

CVII. Stobaens Flor. iii. 84.

ε άνέσει και παρ' οίνον.

ΟΥΙΙΙ. ' Αμαθίην άμεινον κρύπτειν' Εργον δέ εν ς αχηθέα λέγειν και ποιείν κατά φύσιν έπαίοντας.† ΟΛΙΙ. †Σωφρονείν άρετη μεγίστη και σοφίη

ε έαυτούς και σωφρονείν.†

ΟΛΙ. Τ΄ Ανθρώποισι πάσι μέτεστι γιγνωσκειν ε Χρηίζη γίνεσθαι, ψυχής ωνέεται.

 $_{\rm C}\Lambda^{\bullet}$ Θημό μάχεσθαι χαλεπόν $^{\circ}$ σ τι γάρ άν

3 άγαθόν, λιμός κόρον, κάματος άνάπαυσιν. ορκ απεινον. νούσος ύγιειαν εποίησε ήδυ, κακόν ΟΙΛ. Ανθρώποισι γίνεσθαι οκόσα θέλουσι

ΟΙΙΙ. "Τβριν χρή σβεννύειν μάλλον ή πυρ-ΟΙΙ. 'Αρηιφάτους θεοί τιμώσι και άνθρωποι.

 CI . Mopor yap mékoves mékovas morpas kay χ áς οκως ηπέρ τείχεος.

Ο. Μάχεσθαι χρή τον δήμον ύπερ του νόμου

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ON THE UNIVERSE

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. ἀρχονία 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 έχειν 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. Heraeleitus said that if happiness consisted in bodily delights we should eall 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 Heracleitus the Ephesian, who says: "pigs wash in mud and barnyard fowls in dust (or ash).'

LIV. To delight in mud.

9St

s Plate Hipp, mai. 289 A. 2 Plate Hipp, mai, 289 B.

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

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

ON BELIGION

child is by a man.

XCVII. Man is called a baby by the deity as a This fragment expresses in another way the thought that to two is good, to those evil.

that of God has.

XCVI, Human nature has no understanding, but

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

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

XCIV. We ought not to act and to speak as they have most continuous intercourse.

XCIII. They are at variance with that with which

ON THE UNIVERSE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

LV. Παν έρπετον πληγή νέμεται.

ΙΝΙ. Παλίντονος άρμονίη κόσμου ὅκωσπερ 2 λύρης καὶ τόξου.

LVII. 'Αγαθον καὶ κακον ταὐτόν.

LVIII. Καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν (seil. ἕν ἐστι): οί γοῦν ἰατροί, φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, τέμνοντες καίοντες πάντη βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς άρρωστοῦντας ἐπαιτιέονται μηδέν' ἄξιον μισθὸν λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀρρωστοῦντων, ταῦτα ἐργα-

6 ζόμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ †τὰς νόσους †.1

LIX. Συνάψιες οδλα καὶ οὐχὶ οδλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον, συνάδον διάδον έκ πάντων 3 εν καὶ έξ ένος πάντα.

ΙΧ. Δίκης οὔνομα οὖκ ἂν ἤδεσαν, εἰ ταῦτα $2 \mu \dot{\eta} \dot{\eta} \nu$.

LV. Aristotle de Mundo 6, p. 401 a 8 (with the reading $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$); Stobaeus Ecl. i. 2, p. 86 (with the reading $\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \hat{\eta}$). Zeller retains $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$.

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 παλίντοτος 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 ιόσους and καὶ βασάνους. See Bywater's note. ἐπαιτέονται Bernays for the MS. reading ἐπαιτιῶνται.

LIX. Aristotle de Mundo 5, p. 396 b 12; Stobacus Ecl. i. 34. p. 690. συνάψιες Diels: συνάψειας MSS. LX. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 3, p. 568.

¹ Diogenes Laertins, 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.
³ Op. cit. p. 77.

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

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

and now as its opposite.

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

INTRODUCTION

¹ Hippolytus Ref. Haer. ix. 10.

1 Plutarch de Supersé. 3, p. 166.

Patrick lays stress, and rightly, upon the stern, prophetic character of many of the fragments. Heracleitus is like a Hebrew seer. He despised all his contemporaries, both the common people and their would-be teachers. Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes and Hècataeus, 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 Heracleitus and grossness. "Thus the content of Heracleitus and grossness. "Thus the content of Heracleitus' to men everywhere to make up, to purity their to men everywhere to make up, to purity their to men everywhere to make up, to purity their to men everywhere in all probability, that he lives at the mass to this message, in all probability, that he is was to this message, in all probability, that he

The religious teaching of Heracleitus 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 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 net through excess of the through excess of water (i.e. guardians of the living and of the dead. So gods sind men are in a sense one. "They live each and men are in a sense one. "They live each others' life and die each others' death."

too, that Herscleitus 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.

INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF HERACLITUS

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 1:

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.

5 φησιν Ίππίας ὁ σοφός. 3 XCIII and XCIV. M. Antoninus iv. 46. Diels adds λόγφ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι, which Burnet rejects as belonging to M. Anrelius (Stoic idea). XCVI and XCVII. Origen contra Cels. vi. 12, p. 291.

4 και τοις άλλοις πάσιν; ² ΧΟΙΧ. ³Ω άνθρωπε, άγνοείς ότι το του Ήρακλείτου εὐ έχει, ώς άρα πιθηκων ο κάλλιστος αἰσχρός άλλφ γένει συμβάλλειν, και χυτρῶν ἡ καλλίστη αἰσχρά παρθένων γένει συμβάλλειν, ὡς

ΧCVIII. "Η οὐ καὶ 'Ηράκλειτος ταὐτον τούτο λέγει, ου συ ἐπάγει, ότι ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεον πίθηκος φανείται καὶ σοφία και κάλλει

2 όκωσπερ παίς πρός αυδρός.

2 γνώμας, θείου δε έχει. ΧΟΥΗ. Άνηρ νηπιος ήκουσε πρός δαίμουος

 $\frac{3}{2}$ έκαστον είς ίδιον άποστρέφεσθαι. $\frac{1}{2}$ Ηθος γάρ άνθρώπειον μέν ούκ έχει

και και κοιπόν κοσμον είναι, των δε κοιμωμένων ΧΟΥ. 'Ο 'Ηράκλειτός φησι, τοίς έγρηγορόσιν

2 διαφέρονται. ΧΟΙΥ. Οὐ δεῖ ὤσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ

ΧΟΙΙΙ. 'Ωι μάλιστα διηνεκέως όμιλέουσι, τούτφ

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LV. Every creature is driven to pasture with blows.

The reading την γτν, preferred by Zeller and Pfleiderer, will refer to the "crawling creatures" (worms) which feed on earth. But cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon 358 and Plato, Crivias 109 B, καθάπερ ποιμένες κτήνη πληγη 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 eruelly 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 συνάψειας could be taken as a potential optative without αν. Burnet renders συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον "what is drawn together and what is drawn asunder," and takes all three pairs to be explanatory of συνάψιες.

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

That is, justice is known only through injustice.

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.

the latter meaning that I think Asyos has in this passage. Direct thinks that 700 keyous? \$60.70s \$vvo0 does not belong to Heracleitus, appealing to the MISS, reading \$8 \$vvvo to Heracleitus, appealing to the MISS, reading \$8 \$vvvo is support of his contention. He is chiefly influenced by his conviction that keyos can mean only the message or gospel of theoreticing. 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 and (b) the truth which the message tries to explain. It is the latter meaning that I think keyos has in this passage.

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

upon this thought, and developed the Asyos doctrine of St. John and the early Eathers. became mature and complete in Stoicism. Christianity seized Adyos, which is really the will of God, and to try to associate himself with it. What is crude and imperfect in Heracleitus held, was for a man consciously and lovingly to follow this great kowos Adyos animating the universe. True virtue, they 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 upon by the Stoics when they represent any series a few animating the properties of the contract which is the contract of the contract which is the contract of So men who have anderstanding man, 'keep their souls dry' and refuse to cut themselves off from the great principle "The common " will be fire, which is the one true wisdom.

co sbure. far as it wills, suffices for all, and there is something nourished by the one divine law. For it prevails as much more strongly still. For all human laws are common to all, as a city holds fast to its law, and si daidw tadt of test blod bas gaibustersban diw XCI. Thought is common to all. Men must speak

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

ON POLITICS AND ETHICS

ON THE UNIVERSE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

LΧΙ. Άπρεπές φασιν, εἰ τέρπει τοὺς θεοὺς άλλ' οὐκ ἀπρεπές τὰ γὰρ πολέμων θέα. γενναΐα ἔργα τέρπει. ἄλλως τε πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι ήμιν μεν δεινά δοκεί, τῷ δὲ θεῷ οὐδὲ ταθτα δεινά. συντελεί γὰρ ἄπαντα ὁ θεὸς πρὸς άρμονίαν τῶν ὅλων, οἰκονομῶν τὰ συμφέροντα, όπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος λέγει, ώς τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἃ μὲν 9 άδικα ύπειλήφασιν, α δε δίκαια.1

LXII. Είδέναι χρη τον πόλεμον ἐόντα ξυνόν, καὶ δίκην ἔριν· καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ 3 †χρεώμενα†.

LXIII. "Εστι γὰρ είμαρμένα πάντως * * * *.

LXIV. Θάνατός έστι όκόσα έγερθέντες όρέομεν, 2 όκόσα δὲ εὕδοντες ὕπνος.

LXV. "Εν τὸ σοφὸν μοῦνον 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. \$165; Schol. in Iliad. i. 49 ap. Cramer A. P. iii. p. 122.

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

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

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

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

INLEODUCTION

LIFE OF HERACLITUS

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 Pausanius 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 one 3:

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.

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

² Anth. Pal. vii. 128.

·acan\$ · · · \mathfrak{dor} stoojer termid bar areleitere
H er \mathfrak{qout} . . . \mathfrak{dod} barger XCII, Sext. Emp. adv. Math. vii. 133. Bywater does not פתח הל שניחת בחקצים בצמובה. ούτ επορώσι θεού κοιν ον νόμον ούτε κλύουσιν, φ κεν πειθόμενοι XCL Stobacus Flor III, 84. Cf. Hynnn of Cleanthes 24,

3 pporularn.

ες είντος ξυνού, ξώουσι οι πολλοί ως ίδιην έχοντες ΧΟΙΙ. Διο δεί έπεσθαι τῷ ξυνῷ. του λόγου ο έθέλει και έξαρκέει πάσι και περιγίνεται.

ξ*ι*ιος μείου κρατέει γάρ τοσούτου οκόσου οπύ ιομόν ισιεπώσθνώ ίο γετνώπ αργ ιωτνοφέατ οκωσπερ νόμφ πόλις και πολύ ίσχυροτέρως. γελοπτας το Χηρίζεσθαι χρή το ξυνώς πάντων, ΧΟΙ. Ξυνόν έστι πάσι τὸ φρονέειν. ξύν νόφ ο συνεργούς τών έν τῷ κόσμφ γινομένων.

οίμαι, ο Ηράκλειτος έργάτας είναι λέγει καί ανεπιστατως ώσπερ και τούς καθευδοντας, οι μέν είδοπως και παρακολουθητικώς, οι δε ΧΟ. Πάντες είς εν άποτέλεσμα συνεργοϋμεν,

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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 Heraeleitus 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 καταχρεώμενο, to φθειρόμετα 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. Zevs, $\Delta i \kappa \eta$, $\sigma o \phi \delta v$, $\lambda \delta \gamma \sigma s$: varia nomina, res non diversa. Idem significat illud . . . $\pi \hat{v} \rho$ $\alpha i \epsilon i \zeta \omega \nu$, unde manat omnis motus, onnis vita, omnis intellectus." Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phi.os. Gr. § 40. note a. This is admirably said, and puts a great deal of Heracleitus' teaching into three sentences three sentences.

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

A pun on $\beta_i \delta_s$ (bow) and $\beta_i \delta_s$ (life).

chen, Bd. I, and John Burnet, Early Greek Philosophy. See also Eduard Zeller, Die Philosophie der Grie-

> Diels (H.), Herakleitos von Ephesos. .606I Work of Heraclitus of Ephesus.

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LIFE OF HERACLITUS

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 1:

"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 ούτος βασιλέα Δαρείον παρακαλούντα ήκειν εἰς Πέρσας ὑπερείδεν. The story is not made more plausible by the two forged letters to which it must have given rise.

4 EF 43 D' 103 B' EF 41 D' 10 B'

him.
4 Fr. 40 D., 16 B.
6 Fr. 42 D., 119 B.

2 Plutarch de Orac. Def. 11, p. 415. 8 Io. Lydus de Mensibus, iii. 10, p. 37 ed. Bonn. Apped Hesiod fr. 163 Goettling.

becomes a father. The Fragments LXXXVI-LXXXIX refer to the "cycle life." The circle is complete when the son himself

grandfather.

LXXXIX. In thirty years a man may become a he called the month (or moon) a generation.

Wherefore Heracleitus hit the mark when I, 4, 9, 16, which are the squares of the first four the cycle of the moon is composed of the numbers relation to tens as three does to units. Then again mately bound up with nature, as it bears the same LXXXVIII. The number thirty is one most inti-

father to have a son who is himself a father. Heracleitus has it, this being the time it takes a make a generation to consist of thirty years, as

LXXXVII. Some reading houros in this passage children after them to become dooms. have dooms-or rather to rest, and they leave

than is dung. LXXXVI. When born they wish to live and to

LXXXV. Corpses are more fit to be thrown out reality.

An example of change and motion giving existence and stirred.

LXXXIV. The posset too separates if it be not LXXXIII. By changing it rests.

Le. change is restful. Of. the next fragment.

and to be ruled by them.

LXXXII. It is toil to labour for the same masters

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LXVII. 'Αθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζώντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον $3 \tau \epsilon \theta \nu \epsilon \hat{\omega} \tau \epsilon \varsigma$.

LXVIII. Ψυχῆσι γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ύδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ 3 γίνεται, έξ ΰδατος δὲ ψυχή. LXIX. Όδος ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ώυτή.

LXX. Ξυνον ἀρχη καὶ πέρας.

LXXI. Ψυχης πείρατα οὐκ ἂν έξεύροιο πᾶσαν 2 ἐπιπορευόμενος όδόν ούτω βαθὺν λόγον ἔχει.

LXXII. Ψυχῆσι τέρψις ύγρῆσι γενέσθαι. LXXIII. 'Ανὴρ ὁκότ' ἂν μεθυσθῆ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαίων ὅκη 3 βαίνει, ύγρην την ψυχην έχων.

LXXIV. Αὔη ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

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

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. Porphyr. de Antro Nymph. 10.

LXXIII. Stobaeus Flor. v. 120. LXXIV. Plutarch Romulus 28; Stobaeus Flor. v. 120 (in the form αὖη ξηρή ψυχή σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη, where ξηρή is a gloss). In several cases (e.g. Plutarch de Cain. Ε u i. 6, p. 995; de Defectu Orac. 41, p. 432; Hermeias in Plato Phaear. p. 73, Ast) the fragment occurs in the form αὐγή ξηρή ψυχή σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη. Another very old form, going back at least to Philo, is οὖ γῆ ξηρή, ψυχή σοφωτάτη is referred. "D." = Drets and "B." = bywater. 2 504-500 B.C.

³ 504-500 B.C.

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

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

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

beaten with rods, and Archilochus likewise." 6 ". Homer deserved to be chased out of the lists and understand thought, as that which guides all the world everywhere." And he used to say that Hesiod and Pythagoras, or, again, Xenophanes and Hecataeus." 4 For "this one thing is wisdom, to not teach understanding; else would it have taught his book in which he says: "Much learning does all other men,3 and over-weening, as is clear from the 69th Olympiad.2 He was lofty-minded beyond Heracon, was a native of Ephesus. He flourished in HERACLITUS, son of Bloson or, according to some, of

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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 phenomema 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 it 3

A helm unerring for the rule of life;

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

² Plato, alluding to Heraclitus, speaks of "Ionian Muses" (Coph. 242 E). He is followed by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v. 9, 682 P. ai γοῦν Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι διαρρήδην 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.

light in his eyes and brought on darkness. For a fell disease flooded his body with water, quenched the endured to live in this miserable fashion and then to die. Often have I wondered how it came about that Heraclitus

s Er. 121 D., 114 B.

1 Fr. 44 D., 100 B.

There is a piece of my own about him as follows 2: of no avail, he died at the age of sixty.

by the warmth of the manure. But, as even this was mind to tuo mwerb be drawn out of him he buried himself in a cowshed, expecting that the rain. They could make nothing of this, whereupon they were competent to create a drought after heavy city and put this riddle to the physicians, whether this gave him dropsy, he made his way back to the making his diet of grass and herbs. However, when on the mountains, and there he continued to live, Finally, he became a hater of his kind and wandered

this than to take part in your civil life?" said, "are you astonished? Is it not better to do round him and looked on, "Why, you rascals," he with the boys; and when the Ephesians stood to the temple of Artemis and play at knuckle-bones in the grip of a bad constitution. He would retire he scorned the request because the state was already And when he was requested by them to make laws, let him go elsewhere and consort with others."2 who is worthiest among us; or if there be any such man among them, saying, 'We will have none that they have driven out Hermodorus, the worthiest of them, and leave the city to beardless boys, for would do well to end their lives, every grown man ing his friend Hermodorus: he says: "The Ephesians walls," I He attacks the Ephesians, too, for banish-

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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 ealls 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

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

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

LXXXVII. Cft. Censorinus de D. N. 17.

T. S. A.

Stob. Ed. i.4!, p. 906.

LXXXIII. Same as for LXXXII.

LXXXIII. Same as for LXXXII.

LXXXIV. Theophrastus \$\pi\$ pi \text{183}.

LXXXV. Strabo xvi. 26, p. 784; Plutarch \$\Quedus \text{conviv.}\$ iv. 4, p. 669; Pollax Onom. v. 163; Origen conviv. Conviv. 14, p. 247; Julianus Or. vii. p. 226 c. The scholiast V on Wind xxiv. 54, p. 630 Belck, assigns the fragment to Figure 199.

LXXXII. Plotinus Enn. iv. 8, p. 468; Iamblichus ap.

2 haberi.

The park lead of the properties of the park expects of the park e

τετραγώνων α', β', θ', εν τετραγώνων α', β', μο σκοπού απλεατηικεν εκ τεσσάρων των άπο μονάδος έξης τατός έστιν. δ γάρ εν μονάσι τριάς, τουτό εν δεκάσι τριακοντάς. ΙΧΧΧΥΙΙΙ. Ό τριάκουτα άριθμός φυσικω-4 yeverypherov o yervilags.2

ποιν εν φ χρονφ γεννώντα παρέχει τον εξ αυτού έτη τριάκοντα ποιούσι την γενέαν καθ' Πράκλει-ΙΧΧΧΧΙΙ. Οί μεν "ηβωντος" ἀναγινώσκοντες 3 yeimonal hopons heneabai.

έχειν΄ μάλλον δε άναπαύεσθαι, και παίδας κατα-LXXXVI. Tevopevol Sweiv edenoal popous 7 ΙΧΧΧΥ. Λέκνες κοπρίων εκβλητότεροι. sonon z

ΙΧΧΧΙΥ. Καί ο κυκεών διίσταται μη κινεο-ΙΧΧΧΙΙΙ. Μεταβάλλον άναπαύεται. τ και αρχεσθαι.

ΙΧΧΧΙΙ. Κάματός έστι τοίς αὐτοίς μοχθείν

TEPI TOY HANTOE

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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 $\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \epsilon \hat{\omega} \tau \epsilon s$ 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, $405\,a$, 25: καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναί φησι ψυχήν, είπερ την ἀναθυμίασιν, έξ ης τάλλα 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

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 αἔη-αἔη ξηρη-αὲγὴ ξηρη-οἑ γῆ ξηρή. See Bywater's notes on LXXV and LXXVI.

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

the relos in introspection, is a strangely distorted view. See Ritter and Preller, § 48. Possibly it means: ''I inquired of myself, and did not trust others.'' See Fragaments XV-XVIII. Some see a reference to yvælt accords, and it is possible that Heracleius gave a new meaning to this old saying. But Pfleidere's theory, that H. sought for this old saying. But Pfleider's theory, that H. sought for this old saying.

LXXX. I searched my self.

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

φή αύτις συνέχευε ποσίν και χεραίν άθύρων. δε τ' έπελ οδυ ποιήση άθύρματα νηπιεησιν, ώς επε τις φάυαθον πάις άγχι θαλάσσης,

Cf. Homer, Midd XV. 362;

kingship is a child's.

LXXIX, Time is a child playing dranghts; the

moving of pieces from one ypaning of the draught-board to Burnet takes the metaphor in heranegoora to be the

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

LXXVII. Man, like a light in the night, is kindled For LXXV and LXXVI see notes on the text.

and best.

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

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

LXXVI. †Οὖ γη ξηρή, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ 2 ἀρίστη.†

LXXVII. 'Ανθρωπος, ὅκως ἐν εὐφρόνη φάος, 2 ἄπτεται ἀποσβέννυται.

LXXVIII. Πότε γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ό θάνατος ; καὶ ἡ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ταὔτ' εἶναι ζων καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεύδον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα εκείνα έστι κακείνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα 6 ταθτα.¹

LXXIX. Αίων παίς έστι παίζων πεσσεύων 2 παιδός ή βασιληίη.

LXXX. 'Εδιζησάμην έμεωυτόν.

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

LXXVII. Clem Alex. Strom. iv. 22, p. 628. LXXIX. Clem. Alex. Pardag. i. 5 p. 111; Hipp. Ref. Hace, ix. 9; Proclus in Tim. 101 s.

LXXX. Plutarch adv. Colot. 20, p. 1118; Dio Chrysost. Or. 55, p. 282; Suidas s.v. Ποστοῦμος.
LXXXI. Heraclitus Alley. Hom. 24 and Seneca Epp. 58.

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

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

s Fr. 43 D.

1 Et. 101 D., 80 B.

philosopher Timon 2 gives a sketch in these words:3 lest familiarity should breed contempt. no 10 that none but adepts should approach it, and deliberately made it the more obscure in order the temple of Artemis and, according to some, he and a third on theology. This book he deposited in discourses, one on the universe, another on politics, tinuous treatise On Nature, but is divided into three As to the work which passes as his, it is a con-

Hippobotus has the same story. the dropsy and died of another disease, book On Heraclitus declares that he was cured of from Sotion, who also tells us that Ariston in his he had been a pupil of Xenophanes, as we learn that he "inquired of himself," I and learned everything from himself. Some, however, had said that everything. He was nobody's pupil, but he declared when he was grown up he claimed that he knew a youth he used to say that he knew nothing, although He was exceptional from his boyhood; for when able when so transformed, he was devoured by dogs. dung, he remained as he was and, being unrecognis-Cyzicus states that, being unable to tear off the and was buried in the market-place. Reanthes of thus stretched and prone, he died the next day servants plaster him over with cow-dung. Being impossible, he put himself in the sun and bade his draw off the moisture; and when they said it was whether anyone could by emptying the intestines Hermippus, too, says that he asked the doctors

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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 sonls 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. ⁸ Cf. Fr. 90 D., 22 B. ² F. 46 D., 132 B.