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EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

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EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

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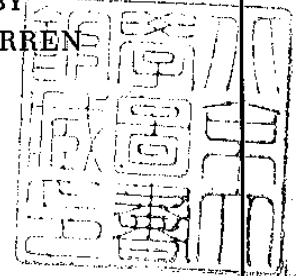
BEGINNINGS AND EARLY
IONIAN THINKERS

PART 1

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PRELIMINARIES

1. ANCIENT WAYS OF ORGANIZING AND PRESENTING EARLY GREEK THOUGHT: DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESIONS [DOX.]

In this preliminary chapter, we present a series of texts intended to clarify the way in which the summaries of doctrine and the doxographic manuals, to which we owe a large part of our information on the doctrines of the archaic philosophers, were produced during the course of the history of Greek philosophy and how some of them have been reconstructed by modern philologists. Although doxographical literature goes back to pre-Aristotelian sources, notably the sophist Hippias and Plato, the systematic investigation of the 'opinions' (*doxai*) of predecessors arises with Aristotle and Theophrastus, who are the ultimate source—beyond the compressions, transformations, and additions that accumulated in the course of time—of a handbook of which the most ancient version probably dates to the third century BC and which scholars customarily refer to as the manual of Aëtius. **T17** illustrates how a version of that manual is hypothetically reconstructed on the basis of the various ancient authors who made use of it, **T18** the way in which the summaries scattered through-

out the different chapters of our anthology may have originally been presented in it. In this chapter, the critical apparatus is reduced to a very small number of indications, and references to parallels with texts that appear in other chapters are given only exceptionally.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

- By Topics ("Doxography") (T1–T19)*
Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)
Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)
 Aristotle (T8–T12)
 Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)
 Some Examples (T11–T13)
 Theophrastus (T14–T16)
Aëtius' Doxographic Manual (T17–T19)
 An Example Showing the Sources for Its Reconstitution (T17)
 Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)
 An Example Showing the Effects of Abridgment (T19)
By Schools and Successions (T20–T22)
 Two Lines of Descent (T20)
 Three Lines of Descent (T21)
 A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

By Topics ("Doxography") (T1–T19)
Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)

T1 (86 B6) Hippias in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.15.2 [= **HIPPIAS D22**]

τούτων ἴσως εἴρηται τὰ μὲν Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Μουσαίῳ, κατὰ βραχὺ ἄλλῃ ἀλλαχοῦ, τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ, τὰ δὲ Ὀμήρῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐν συγγραφαῖς τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκ πάντων τούτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁμόφυλα συνθεῖς τοῦτον καινὸν καὶ πολυειδῆ τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι.

T2 (> 23 A6) Plat. *Theaet.* 152e

[ΣΩ.] καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφερέσθων, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκρο τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγωδίας δὲ Ὀμηρος, ὃς εἰπῶν,

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

By Topics ("Doxography") (T1–T19)
Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)

T1 (86 B6) Hippias in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* [= **HIPPIAS D22**]

Of these [scil. probably: ancient opinions] some have doubtless been expressed by Orpheus, others by Musaeus, to put it briefly, by each one in a different place, others by Hesiod, others by Homer, others by the other poets; others in treatises; some by Greeks, others by non-Greeks. But I myself have put together from out of all these the ones that are most important and are akin to one another, and on their basis I shall compose the following new and variegated discourse.

T2 (> 23 A6) Plato, *Theaetetus*

[Socrates:] And on this point [i.e. that nothing exists but everything is always changing] let us admit that all the sages except Parmenides in sequence were in agreement—Protagoras, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, and among the poets the greatest representatives of both kinds of poetry, Epicharmus for comedy and Homer for tragedy, who when he says

ἼΩκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
πάντα εἴρηκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως.

T3 (> 22 A6) Plat. *Crat.* 402a–c

[ΣΩ.] λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι “πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει,” καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῆ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει ὡς “δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης.” [. . .] τί οὖν; δοκεῖ σοι ἀλλοιότερον Ἡρακλείτου νοεῖν ὁ τιθέμενος τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν προγόνοις “Ῥέα” τε καὶ “Κρόνον”; ἄρα οἶε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι; ὡσπερ αὖ Ὁμηρος

ἼΩκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, φησιν, καὶ μητέρα
Τηθύν·

οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος. λέγει δέ που καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι

ἼΩκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλίρροος ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθύν ὄπυιεν.

ταῦτ’ οὖν σκόπει ὅτι καὶ ἀλλήλοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς
τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου πάντα τείνει.

Ocean, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys
[= **COSM. T10a**],

is stating that all things are born from flux and movement.

T3 (> 22 A6) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] Heraclitus says something like this: that all things flow and nothing remains; and comparing the things that are to the flowing of a river, he says that you could not step twice into the same river [cf. **HER. D65c**]. [. . .] Well then, do you think that the man who gave the names ‘Rhea’ and ‘Cronus’ to the ancestors of the other gods had something different in mind from Heraclitus? Do you suppose that it is by chance that he gave to both of them the names of flowing things (*rheumata*)?¹ So too, Homer says,

Ocean, the origin of the gods, and their mother
Tethys, [= **COSM. T10a**]

and I think Hesiod too [cf. *Th.* 776–77; **COSM. T7**, lines 789, 805–6]. And Orpheus too says somewhere that

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to make a beginning
of marriage,

He who wedded his sister Tethys, born of the same
mother. [= **COSM. T15**]

Just look how these all agree with one another and tend toward Heraclitus’ doctrines.

¹ The sound of the Greek term can be taken to refer both to *Rhea* and to *Kronos* (cf. *krênê*, *krounos*).

T4 (cf. 21 A29, 22 A10, 31 A29) Plat. *Soph.* 242c–243a

[ΞΕ.] μῦθόν τινα ἕκαστος φαίνεται μοι διηγείσθαι παισὶν ὡς οὖσιν ἡμῖν, ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία ὄντα, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε αὐτῶν ἅττα πη, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα γιγνόμενα γάμους τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων παρέχεται. δύο δὲ ἕτερος εἰπών, ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν ἢ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν, συνουκίζει τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκδίδωσι. τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐλεατικὸν ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἐπιπρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις. Ἰάδες δὲ καὶ Σικελαὶ τινες ὕστερον Μοῦσαι συνενόησαν ὅτι συμπλέκειν ἀσφαλέστατον ἀμφότερα καὶ λέγειν ὡς τὸ ὄν πολλά τε καὶ ἓν ἐστίν, ἐχθρὰ δὲ καὶ φιλία συνέχεται. διαφερόμενον γὰρ ἀεὶ συμφέρεται, φασὶν αἱ συντονώτεραι τῶν Μουσῶν αἱ δὲ μαλακώτεραι τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐχάλασαν, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἓν εἶναι φασὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ φίλον ὑπ' Ἀφροδίτης, τοτὲ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ διὰ νεϊκός τι.

T4 (cf. 21 A29, 22 A10, 31 A29) Plato, *Sophist*

[The stranger from Elea:] Every one of them [scil. the early philosophers] seems to me to tell some kind of story to us as though we were children. One says that there are three beings, that at one time some of them wage war against each other, and that at another they become friends, get married, give birth, and raise their offspring [= **PHER. R2**]; another, speaking of two [scil. beings], the moist and the dry or the hot and the cold, makes them live together and gives them to each other in marriage;¹ our Eleatic tribe, which begins with Xenophanes and even earlier, explain in their stories that what are called “all things” is one [= **XEN. R1**]. Certain Ionian Muses [i.e. Heraclitus], and later some Sicilian ones [i.e. Empedocles],² recognized that it would be safest to weave together both positions [i.e. monist and pluralist] and to say that being is at the same time many and one, and that it is held together by discord and friendship. For what is separated is always brought together, as the more tense of these Muses say [cf. **HER. R31**]. The other ones, more relaxed, have softened the idea that this is always how things are, and say that it is in alternation that at one time the whole is one and friendly under the dominion of Aphrodite, at another time many and hostile to itself because of a certain strife [= **EMP. D78**].

¹ The opposites function as principles for various natural philosophers, but no precise identification is required here.

² Plato is presumably referring to the title of Heraclitus' book [**HER. R3c**] and is extending it to Empedocles' poem.

T5 (≠ DK) Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.13–14

[. . .] τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνῶντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἓν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε κινήθῃναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐτ' ἄν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.

T6 (> 24 A3, > 36 A6, > 82 B1) Isocr. *Ant.* 268–69

διατρῦψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας χρόνον τινα συμβουλευσάμ' ἄν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι περιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκευετευθείσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις μηδ' ἐξοκέλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τέτταρα καὶ νείκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμέων δὲ δύο μόνα, Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἐν, Γοργίας δὲ παντελῶς οὐδέν. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας τερατολογίας ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυματοποιαῖς ταῖς οὐδὲν μὲν ὠφελούσαις, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων περιστάτοις γιγνομένας.

T7 (≠ DK) Isocr. *Hel.* 3

πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ὑπερβάλοιτο Γοργίαν τὸν τολμήσαντα λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν ἢ Ζήνωνα τὸν ταῦτα δυνατὰ καὶ πάλιν ἀδύνατα πειρώμενον ἀποφαίνειν ἢ

T5 (≠ DK) Xenophon, *Memorabilia*

[. . .] [Scil. Socrates was astonished that] among those who are preoccupied with the nature of all things, some think that what is is only one, others that it is infinite in number; the ones that all things are always in motion, the others that nothing could ever be in motion; and the ones that all things come into being and are destroyed, the others that nothing could ever either come into being or be destroyed.

T6 (> 24 A3, > 36 A6, > 82 B1) Isocrates, *Antidosis*

I would advise young men to spend some time on these kinds of study [i.e. philosophy] but not to allow their nature to become desiccated by them nor to run aground on the arguments of the ancient wise men (*sophistai*), of whom one said that the number of the things that are is unlimited [cf. **ATOM. D45–D47**]; Empedocles that there are four, and strife and love among them [cf. **EMP. D56**]; Ion that there are not more than three; Alcmaeon only two [cf. **ALCM. D3**]; Parmenides and Melissus that it is one [cf. **PARM. D8.11, R22; MEL. D6–D7**]; and Gorgias that it is none at all [cf. **GORG. D26a[1]**]. For I think that these kinds of marvelous tales are similar to magicians' tricks, which are of no use whatsoever but are admired by mindless people.

T7 (≠ DK) Isocrates, *Encomium of Helen*

For how could one surpass Gorgias, who dared to say that nothing exists of the things that exist [cf. **GORG. D26a[1], D26b[65]**], or Zeno, who tries to demonstrate that the same things are possible and then again impossible [cf.

Μέλισσον ὃς ἀπείρων τὸ πλήθος πεφυκότων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παντός ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποδείξει εὐρίσκειν;

Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)

Aristotle (T8–T12)

Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)

T8 (≠ DK) Arist. *Top.* 1.14 105a34–b18

τὰς μὲν οὖν προτάσεις ἐκλεκτέον ὡσαυχὼς διωρίσθη περὶ προτάσεως, ἢ τὰς πάντων δόξας προχειριζόμενον ἢ τὰς τῶν πλείστων ἢ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τούτων ἢ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων ἢ τῶν γνωριμωτάτων, μὴ¹ ἐναντίας ταῖς φαινομέναις, καὶ ὅσαι δόξαι κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν [. . .]. ἐκλέγειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων λόγων, τὰς δὲ διαγραφὰς ποιέεισθαι περὶ ἐκάστου γένους ὑποτιθέντας χωρὶς, οἷον περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ περὶ ζώου, καὶ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ παντός, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ τί ἐστίν. παρασημαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκάστων δόξας, οἷον ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τέτταρα ἔφησε τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα εἶναι: θείη γὰρ ἂν τις τὸ ὑπό τινος εἰρημένον ἐνδόξον.

¹ μὴ Brunshwrig (post Waitz): ἢ τὰς vel ἢ καὶ τὰς mss.

T9 (≠ DK) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983a33–b6

τεθεώρηται μὲν οὖν ἰκανῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς

ZEN. D4–D11], or Melissus, who, although things are by nature infinite in number, tried to find proofs that the whole is one [cf. **MEL. D6–D7, R24c**]?

Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)

Aristotle (T8–T12)

Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)

T8 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Topics*

The premises should be chosen in just as many ways as the distinction we made regarding a premise [cf. 104a8–16], either selecting the opinions of all or those of the majority or those of the experts (*sophoi*), and of these latter either those of all or of the majority or of the most celebrated, when they are <not> opposite to the manifest ones [. . .]. One should also collect them [i.e. the premises] from written books, and make lists about every subject, setting them out under separate headings, for example “about the good” or “about the animal,” (and “on every [scil. type] of good”), beginning with the essence.¹ And one should also mark in the margins the opinions of each author, for example that Empedocles said that the elements of bodies are four [cf. **EMP. D56**]; for what is said by someone reputable (*endoxos*) is likely to be accepted.

¹ For a list deriving ultimately from this program, see **T17**.

T9 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Although we have examined them [i.e. the four causes]

περὶ φύσεως, ὁμῶς δὲ παραλάβωμεν καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἡμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ὄντων ἐλθόντας καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντας περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι κἀκεῖνοι λέγουσιν ἀρχάς τινας καὶ αἰτίας· ἐπελθούσιν οὖν ἔσται τι προὔργου τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ νῦν· ἢ γὰρ ἕτερόν τι γένος εὐρήσομεν αἰτίας ἢ ταῖς νῦν λεγομέναις μᾶλλον πιστεύσομεν.

T10 (≠ DK) Arist. *An.* 1.2 403b20–25

ἐπισκοποῦντας δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαῖον, ἅμα διαποροῦντας περὶ ὧν εὐπορεῖν δεῖ προελθόντας, τὰς τῶν προτέρων δόξας συμπαραλαμβάνειν ὅσοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεφήναντο, ὅπως τὰ μὲν καλῶς εἰρημένα λάβωμεν, εἰ δὲ τι μὴ καλῶς, τοῦτ' εὐλαβηθῶμεν [. . . cf. **T12**].

Some Examples (T11–T13)

T11 (> 68 A135) Arist. *Phys.* 1.2 184b14–24

ἀνάγκη δ' ἦτοι μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ πλείους, καὶ εἰ μίαν, ἦτοι ἀκίνητον, ὡς φησι Παρμενίδης καὶ Μελισσος, ἢ κινουμένην, ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοί, οἱ μὲν ἀέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι οἱ δ' ὕδωρ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν· εἰ δὲ πλείους, ἢ πεπερασμένας ἢ ἀπείρους, καὶ εἰ πεπερασμένας πλείους δὲ μιᾶς, ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀριθμόν, καὶ εἰ ἀπείρους, ἢ οὔτως ὥσπερ Δημόκριτος, τὸ γένος ἓν, σχήματι δὲ <διαφερούσας>.¹

¹ add. Torstrick

sufficiently in our *Physics* [cf. *Phys.* 2.3], all the same let us also call upon those who, before us, proceeded to study beings and philosophized about the truth. For it is clear that they too speak of certain principles and causes; so it will be useful for the present investigation [scil. to consider them], for either we shall discover some different kind of cause, or else we shall have more confidence about the ones that we are speaking about now.

T10 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

It is necessary, when we investigate about the soul, at the same time to consider the difficulties for which a solution is found as further progress is made, and to call upon the opinions of all of our predecessors who stated something about it, so that we can accept what has been said well, while if something has not been said well we can be wary of it [. . .].

Some Examples (T11–T13)

T11 (> 68 A135) Aristotle, *Physics*

It is necessary that the principle be either one or several, and if it is one, then either motionless, as Parmenides and Melissus say, or in motion, as the natural philosophers [scil. say], some saying that the first principle is air, others water; if it is more than one, then either limited [scil. in number] or unlimited, and if limited but more than one, either two or three, or four or some other number, and if unlimited then either as Democritus [scil. says], one in kind, but <differing> in shape [cf. e.g. **ATOM. D31–D32**], or else different in kind or even contrary. Those too

ἢ εἶδει διαφερούσας ἢ καὶ ἐναντίας. ὁμοίως δὲ ζητοῦσι καὶ οἱ τὰ ὄντα ζητοῦντες πόσα· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἐστὶ πρώτων, ζητοῦσι ταῦτα πότερον ἐν ἢ πολλά, καὶ εἰ πολλά, πεπερασμένα ἢ ἄπειρα, ὥστε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ στοιχείον ζητοῦσι πότερον ἐν ἢ πολλά.

T12 (cf. ad 31 B109) Arist. *An.* 1.2 403b27–31, 404b8–11

παρειλήφαμεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγενεστέρων σχεδὸν δύο ταῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς· φασι γὰρ ἔνιοι καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρώτως ψυχὴν εἶναι τὸ κινεῖν. οἰηθέντες δὲ τὸ μὴ κινούμενον αὐτὸ μὴ ἐνδέχεται κινεῖν ἕτερον, τῶν κινουμένων τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι [. . .] ὅσοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὗτοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ μὲν πλείους ποιοῦντες, ταύτας, οἱ δὲ μίαν, ταύτην [. . .].

T13 (cf. 42.5) Arist. *Meteor.* 1.6 342b25–343a4

περὶ δὲ τῶν κομητῶν καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου γάλακτος λέγωμεν, διαπορήσαντες πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰρημένα πρῶτον. Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν οὖν καὶ Δημόκριτος φασι εἶναι τοὺς κομήτας σύμφασιν τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων, ὅταν διὰ τὸ πλησίον ἐλθεῖν δόξωσι θιγγάνειν ἀλλήλων· τῶν δ' Ἰταλικῶν τινες καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων ἓνα λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τε χρόνου τὴν φαντασίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ μικρόν,

who inquire into how many beings there are inquire in a similar way: for they inquire whether the first things out of which beings derive are one or many, and if they are many, whether they are limited or unlimited, so that they inquire whether the principle and the element is one or many.

T12 (cf. ad 31 B109) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

We have received from our predecessors roughly speaking the following two [scil. opinions] regarding soul. For some say that what imparts motion is especially and first of all soul. Believing that what is not itself moved is not capable of moving something else, they assumed that the soul is one of the things that are moved [. . .] But all those who [scil. considered] the fact of knowing and perceiving the things that are say that the soul is [scil. constituted out of] principles, those who posit several, those principles, those who posit only one, that principle, [. . .].

T13 (cf. 42.5) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

Let us speak about comets and what is called the “milk” [i.e. the “Milky Way”] after we have first examined the difficulties regarding what others have said. Anaxagoras and Democritus say that comets are a simultaneous flashing of the planets, when by reason of coming closer they seem to touch each other [ANAXAG. D50; ATOM. D99], while some of the Italians called Pythagoreans say that it [i.e. a comet] is one of the wandering heavenly bodies [i.e. a planet] but that it only becomes visible at great intervals and that it only rises a little [scil. above the hori-

ὅπερ συμβαίνει καὶ περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστέρα· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μικρὸν ἐπαναβαίνειν πολλὰς ἐκλείπει φάσεις, ὥστε διὰ χρόνου φαίνεσθαι πολλοῦ. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἴπποκράτην τὸν Χίου καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ Αἰσχύλον ἀπεφήναντο [42 A5 DK], πλὴν τὴν γε κόμην οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φασιν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πλανώμενον διὰ τὸν τόπον ἐνίοτε λαμβάνειν ἀνακλωμένης τῆς ἡμετέρας ὕψεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλκομένης ὑγρότητος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

Theophrastus (T14–T16)

T14 (11 A13, 38 A4, 11 B1, 18.7, 22 A5, 12 A9) *Simpl. In Phys.*, p. 23.21–24.6 (< *Theophr. Frag.* 225 FHS&G)

τῶν δὲ μίαν καὶ κινουμένην λεγόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὗς καὶ φυσικοὺς ἰδίως καλεῖ, οἱ μὲν πεπερασμένην αὐτὴν φασιν, ὡς περὶ Θαλῆς μὲν Ἐξαμύους Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἴππων, ὃς δοκεῖ καὶ ἄθεος γεγονέναι, ὕδωρ ἔλεγεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν εἰς τοῦτο προαχθέντες. καὶ γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ ζῆ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα ξηραίνεται καὶ τὰ σπέρματα πάντων ὑγρὰ καὶ ἡ τροφή πᾶσα χυλώδης· ἐξ οὗ δὲ ἐστὶν ἕκαστα, τούτῳ καὶ τρέφεσθαι πέφυκεν· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως ἐστὶ καὶ συνεκτικὸν πάντων. διὸ πάντων ἀρχὴν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήναντο κείσθαι. Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἑλλη-

zon]—this happens also with Mercury [PYTHS. ANON. D43], which because it only rises a little often is not seen, so that it becomes visible at great intervals. Hippocrates of Chios and his pupil Aeschylus¹ express a view very similar to these, except that they say that the tail is not an intrinsic part of it but that it sometimes becomes attached to it while it is wandering through that area, when our sight is reflected toward the sun by the moisture that is attracted by it.

¹ Not the tragedian.

Theophrastus (T14–T16)

T14 (11 A13, 38 A4, 11 B1, 18.7, 22 A5, 12 A9) *Theophrastus in Simplicius, Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Among those who say that the principle is one and in motion, whom he [i.e. Aristotle] calls natural philosophers in the proper sense, some say that it is limited—as Thales of Miletus, son of Examyas, and Hippo, who is considered to have been an atheist, said that the principle is water, an opinion to which they were led by perceptible appearances. For what is warm lives by what is moist, and corpses dry out, and the seeds of all things are moist, and all nourishment is juicy; and that from which each thing comes is also that by which it is nourished by nature. And water is the principle of moist nature and is what holds all things together. And this is why they supposed that water is the principle of all things and declared that the earth rests upon water [cf. THAL. D7; HIPPO D20]. Thales is reported to have been the first to reveal the study of nature

σιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τῷ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ πολὺ διενεγκῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς ἀποκρίναι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ. λέγεται δὲ ἐν γραφαῖς μηδὲν καταλιπεῖν πλὴν τῆς καλουμένης Ναυτικῆς ἀστρολογίας.

Ἴππασος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ κινούμενον καὶ πεπερασμένον, ἀλλὰ [24] πῦρ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα πυκνώσει καὶ μανώσει καὶ διαλύουσι πάλιν εἰς πῦρ, ὡς ταύτης μῖα οὕσης φύσεως τῆς ὑποκειμένης· πυρὸς γὰρ ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι φησιν Ἡράκλειτος πάντα. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τάξιν τινὰ καὶ χρόνον ὠρισμένον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς κατὰ τινα εἰμαρμένην ἀνάγκην.

T15 (cf. 31 A86, 24 B1a, 59 A92, 62.2, 64 A19, 68 A135)
Theophr. *Sens.* 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 25, 27, 38, 39, 49

[1] περὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ καὶ καθόλου δόξαι δὴ εἰσὶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἐναντίῳ. Παρμενίδης μὲν καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πλάτων τῷ ὁμοίῳ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον τῷ ἐναντίῳ [. . .].

[2] [. . .] καθόλου μὲν οὖν περὶ αἰσθήσεως αἰσθῆται παραδέδονται δόξαι. περὶ ἐκάστης δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἀπολείπουσιν, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ πειράται καὶ ταύτας ἀνάγειν εἰς τὴν ὁμοιότητα.

to the Greeks. Many others had preceded him, as is the view of Theophrastus too, but he was far superior to them so that he eclipsed all his predecessors [cf. **THAL.** R10]. He is said to have left behind nothing in writing except for the so-called *Nautical Astronomy* [cf. **THAL.** R6–R8].

Hippasus of Metapontum [cf. **HIPPAS.** D4] and Heraclitus of Ephesus too [scil. said] that it is one, in motion, and limited, but [24] they established fire as the principle and make beings come to be out of fire by condensation and rarefaction and dissolve them again into fire, on the idea that this is the one nature that is a substrate. For Heraclitus says that all things are an exchange of fire [cf. **D87**]; and he establishes a certain order and a determinate period for the transformation of the world in conformity with a certain necessity that is fixed by destiny [cf. **D85**].

T15 (cf. 31 A86, 24 B1a, 59 A92, 62.2, 64 A19, 68 A135)
Theophrastus, *On Sensations*

[1] Concerning sensation, most of the general opinions are of two kinds: for some explain it by the similar, others by the contrary: Parmenides, Empedocles, and Plato by the similar, the followers of Anaxagoras and Heraclitus by the contrary. [. . .]

[2] [. . .] These are in general the opinions concerning sensation that have been transmitted. Concerning each of the particular sensations, the others almost entirely neglect them, but Empedocles tries to reduce them too to similarity.

- [3] Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἀφώρικεν ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅτι [. . .].
- [5] Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ πλεόν μὲν ἦπται τῶν κατὰ μέρος [. . .].
- [7] Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ περὶ ἀπασῶν ὁμοίως λέγει [. . .].
- [25] τῶν δὲ μὴ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιούντων τὴν αἴσθησιν Ἀλκμαίων μὲν πρῶτον [. . .].
- [27] Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ γίνεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις [. . .].
- [38] Κλειδήμος δὲ μόνος ἰδίως εἴρηκε περὶ τῆς ὄψεως [. . .].
- [39] Διογένης δ' [. . .] τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀνάπτει διὸ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιεῖν [. . .].
- [49] Δημόκριτος δὲ περὶ μὲν αἰσθήσεως οὐ διορίζει, πότερα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἢ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐστίν.

T16 (cf. 59 A117, 62.3, 64 A32) Theophr. *HP* 3.1.4

[. . .] καὶ ἔτι τὰς αὐτομάτους, ἃς καὶ οἱ φυσιολόγοι λέγουσιν· Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν τὸν ἀέρα πάντων φάσκων ἔχειν σπέρματα καὶ ταῦτα συγκαταφερόμενα τῷ ὕδατι γεννᾶν τὰ φυτά· Διογένης δὲ σηπομένου τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μίξιν τινὰ λαμβάνοντος πρὸς τὴν γῆν· Κλειδήμος δὲ συννεστάναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ζῴοις, ὅσῳ δὲ θολερωτέρων καὶ ψυχροτέρων τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν τοῦ ζῴου εἶναι. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῆς γενέσεως.

- [3] Parmenides has not defined absolutely anything, but only that [. . .].
- [5] Plato has approached the particular [scil. sensations] to a greater extent [. . .].
- [7] Empedocles speaks about all the sensations in the same way [. . .].
- [25] Among those who do not explain sensation by the similar, Alcmaeon begins by [. . .].
- [27] Anaxagoras: sensation comes about by the contraries [. . .].
- [38] Cleidemus is the only one to have spoken differently from the others about vision [. . .].
- [39] Diogenes [. . .] connects sensations too to air. And that is why one might think that he explains them by the similar [. . .].
- [49] Democritus does not define, concerning sensation, whether it is produced by the contraries or by the similar.

T16 (cf. 59 A117, 62.3, 64 A32) Theophrastus, *History of Plants*

[. . .] and also the spontaneous [scil. modes of generation of trees], about which the natural philosophers speak too: Anaxagoras, when he says that air contains the seeds of all things and that these descend together with rainwater and generate plants; Diogenes, when water decomposes and takes on some kind of mixture with earth; Cleidemus, that they [i.e. plants] are composed of the same things as animals are, but that they are more removed from being animals, the murkier and colder they are [62.3 DK]; and some others too speak about their generation.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Aëtius' Doxographic Manual (T17–T19)
An Example Showing the Sources for Its
Reconstitution (T17)

T17 (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 327–29) Aët. 2.1 [περὶ κόσμου]

Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
1	2.1.1: Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὄλων περιοχὴν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως.	1.21.6c: Πυθαγόρας φησὶ γενητὸν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τὸν κόσμον, οὐ κατὰ χρόνον.—ὁς καὶ πρῶτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὄλων περιοχὴν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως.—ἀρξασθαι δὲ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου ἀπὸ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου στοιχείου.—πέντε δὲ σχημάτων ὄντων στερεῶν, ἅπερ καλεῖται καὶ μαθηματικά, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κύβου φησὶ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν γῆν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πυραμίδος τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀκταέδρου τὸν αἶρα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ εἰκοσαέδρου <τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου> τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σφαῖραν.

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

Aëtius' Doxographic Manual (T17–T19)
An Example Showing the Sources for Its
Reconstitution (T17)

T17 (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter "On the World"¹

Theodoret, Cure of the Greek Maladies	Ps.-Plutarch, Opinions of the Philosophers	Stobaeus, Anthology
1	2.1.1: Pythagoras was the first to name what surrounds everything "world" (<i>kosmos</i>) because of the order in it.	1.21.6c: Pythagoras says that the <i>cosmos</i> is created in concept, not in time.—He was also the first to call what surrounds everything the "world" (<i>kosmos</i>) because of the order in it.— <i>The creation of the cosmos began out of fire and the fifth element.—There being five solid figures, which are also called mathematical, he says that out of the cube comes earth, out of the pyramid fire, out of the octahedron air, out of the icosahedron <water, out of the dodecahedron> the sphere of the whole.</i>

¹ The portions of the translations in italics correspond to additions in Stobaeus regarding Pythagoras that derive from the pseudepigraphic tradition, to rearrangements of the notices about the Stoics in Stobaeus that are due to Stobaeus himself, and to an introductory phrase that has been added by Theodoret.

Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
2 4.15: οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτοις διαφανία γε πλείστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸν κόσμον Θαλῆς μὲν καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Μέλισσος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ζήνων ἓνα εἶναι ξυνομολόγησαν.	2.1.2: Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.	1.22.3b (1): Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἐκφάντος, Παρμενίδης, Μέλισσος, Ἡράκλειτος, Ἀναξαγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ζήνων ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.
3 4.15: Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ καὶ Ἀναξίμενης καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Διογένης καὶ Λεύκιππος καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος πολλοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀπείρους ἐδόξασαν.	2.1.3: Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητῆς Μητροδώρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.	1.22.3b (2): Ἀναξίμανδρος, Ἀναξίμενης, Ἀρχέλαος, Ξενοφάνης, Διογένης, Λεύκιππος, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιαγωγήν.
4	2.1.4: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου περιδρομον εἶναι περιγραφὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πέρατος αὐτοῦ.	1.21.3a (1): Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου περιδρομον εἶναι περιγραφὴν τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ κόσμου.
5	2.1.5: Σέλευκος ἄπειρον τὸν κόσμον.	1.21.3a (2): Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἄπειρον τὸν κόσμον.
6	2.1.6: Διογένης τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρον, τὸν δὲ κόσμον πεπεράνθαι.	1.21.3a (3): Διογένης καὶ Μέλισσος τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρον, τὸν δὲ κόσμον πεπεράνθαι.

Theodoret, Cure of the Greek Maladies	Ps.-Plutarch, Opinions of the Philosophers	Stobaeus, Anthology
2 4.15: Not only in these matters was there the greatest difference of opinion among them, but also in others. For in fact Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno agreed that the world is one. [see 3]	2.1.2: Thales and his followers: the world [scil. is] one.	1.22.3b (1): Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ecphantus, Parmenides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno: the world [scil. is] one.
3 4.15: Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus had the opinion that they are many and infinite.	2.1.3: Democritus, Epicurus, and his teacher Metrodorus: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area (<i>peristasis</i>).	1.22.3b (2): Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire circumference (<i>periagōgē</i>).
4	2.1.4: Empedocles: the circular course of the sun is the outline of the world and of its limit.	1.21.3a (1): Empedocles: the circular course of the sun is the outline of the limit of the world.
5	2.1.5: Seleucus: the world [scil. is] unlimited.	1.21.3a (2): Seleucus of Erythrae and Heraclides of Pontus: the world [scil. is] unlimited.
6	2.1.6: Diogenes: the universe [scil. is] unlimited, but the world is limited.	1.21.3a (3): Diogenes and Melissus: the universe is unlimited, but the world is limited.

Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
7	2.1.7: οἱ Στωικοὶ διαφέρουν τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὄλον· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ σὺν κενῷ ἄπειρον, ὄλον δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κενοῦ τὸν κόσμον· ὥστε [οὐ] τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ ὄλον καὶ τὸν κόσμον.	1.21.3b: οἱ Στωικοὶ διαφέρουν τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὄλον· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι σὺν τῷ κενῷ τῷ ἀπείρῳ, ὄλον δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κενοῦ τὸν κόσμον.—μήτε αὔξασθαι δὲ μήτε μειοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον, τοῖς δὲ μέρυσιν ὅτε μὲν παρεκτείνεσθαι πρὸς πλείονα τόπον, ὅτε δὲ συστέλ- λεσθαι.—ἀπὸ γῆς δὲ ἀρξασθαι τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κέντρου, ἀρχὴ δὲ σφαιράς τὸ κέντρον. 1.22.3c: τῶν ἀπείρουσ ἀποφηνάμενον τοὺς κόσμους. Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῦσ ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων, Ἐπίκουρος ἀνισον εἶναι τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν κόσμων διάστημα.
8		

Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)

T18

a (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 364–66) Aët. 3.1 (Ps.-Plut., Stob., cf. Gal.) [περὶ τοῦ γαλαξίου κύκλου]

1. κύκλος ἐστὶ νεφελοειδῆς ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀέρι διὰ παντὸς φαινόμενος, διὰ δὲ τὴν λευκόχροιαν ὀνομαζόμενος γαλαξίας.

Theodoret, <i>Cure of the Greek Maladies</i>	Ps.-Plutarch, <i>Opinions of the Philosophers</i>	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i>
7	2.1.7: The Stoics: the universe and the whole differ; for the universe is the unlimited together with the void, while the whole is the world without the void. So that the whole and the world are [not] the same.	1.21.3b: The Stoics: the universe and the whole differ; for the universe is the unlimited void, while the whole is the world without the void.— <i>The world neither increases nor decreases, but sometimes it extends in its parts farther in a greater space, and at other times it contracts.</i> — <i>The generation of the world started from the earth, as from a center, and the starting point of a sphere is the center.</i>
8		1.22.3c: Among those who assert that the worlds are infinite, Anaximander: they are equally distant from one another. Epicurus: the distance between the worlds is unequal.

Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)

T18

a (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the Milky Way”

1. It is a cloud-like circle which is visible everywhere in the air and is called “galaxy” (i.e. milky) because of its white color.

1 ὀνομαζόμενος γαλαξίας Stob. Gal.: γαλ- ὄν- Plut.

2. τῶν Πυθαγορείων οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀστέρος εἶναι διά-
 καυσιν, ἐκπεσόντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἔδρας, δι' οὗ δὲ
 περιέδραμε χωρίου κυκλοτερώς αὐτὸ περιφλέξαντος
 ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα ἐμπρησμοῦ· οἱ δὲ τὸν ἡλιακὸν
 ταύτη φασὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι δρόμον. τινὲς δὲ
 κατοπρικὴν εἶναι φαντασίαν τοῦ ἡλίου τὰς αὐγὰς
 πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλώντος, ὅπερ κατὰ τῆς ἱριδος
 ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν συμβαίνει.

3. Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου, τοῦτον
 γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον.

4. Παρμενίδης τὸ τοῦ πυκνοῦ καὶ ἀραιοῦ μίγμα γαλα-
 κτοειδὲς ἀποτελέσαι χρῶμα.

5. Ἀναξαγόρας τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς κατὰ τόδε τὸ μέρος
 ἕστασθαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅταν ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ὁ ἥλιος γε-
 νόμενος μὴ πάντα περιφωτίζει.

6. Δημόκριτος πολλῶν καὶ μικρῶν καὶ συνεχῶν ἀστέ-
 ρων συμφωτιζομένων ἀλλήλοις συναναγασμὸν διὰ τὴν
 πύκνωσιν.

7. Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναθυμιάσεως ξηρᾶς ἕξαιψιν πολλῆς
 τε καὶ συνεχοῦς· καὶ οὕτω κόμην πυρὸς ὑπὸ τὸν
 αἰθέρα κατωτέρω τῶν πλανητῶν.

8. Ποσειδώνιος πυρὸς σύστασιν ἄστρου μὲν μανο-
 τέραν αὐγῆς δὲ πυκνοτέραν.

2 περιέδραμε Stob. Gal.: ἐπέδραμε Plut. 4 καὶ τὸ τοῦ
 ἀραιοῦ Stob. 5 κατὰ τόδε Stob. Gal.: κατὰ τοῦτο Plut.
 περιφωτίζει Stob. Gal.: φωτίζει 7 καὶ οὕτω κτλ. non hab.
 Stob. 8 ἄστρου κτλ. om. Gal., sed ante Ποσειδώνιος hab.
 οἱ Στωικοὶ τοῦ αἰθερίου πυρὸς ἀραιότητα ἀνώτερον τῶν πλα-
 νητῶν.

2. Among the Pythagoreans, some said that it is the
 burned-up remains of a heavenly body that fell from its
 proper place and burned up the area that it moved around
 in a circle, at the time of the conflagration caused by
 Phaethon; others say that the course of the sun went there
 at the beginning. Some too [scil. say] that it is the mirror
 image of the sun reflecting its rays against the heavens,
 which also happens with the rainbow on the clouds.

3. Metrodorus: because of the passage of the sun, for this
 is the solar orbit.

4. Parmenides: the mixture of dense and rarefied makes a
 milk-like color.

5. Anaxagoras: the shadow of the earth is projected onto
 this part of the heavens when the sun passes under the
 earth and does not illuminate everything all around it.

6. Democritus: the combined illumination of many small
 adjacent stars illuminating one another simultaneously
 because of their crowding together.

7. Aristotle: the igniting of a dry exhalation that is both
 abundant and continuous; and in this way a tail of fire
 under the region of the aether below the planets.

8. Posidonius: an accumulation of fire more rarefied than
 a heavenly body but denser than a sunbeam.

b (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 381–82) Aët. 3.16 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θαλάσσης πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ πικρά]

1. Ἀναξίμανδρος τὴν θάλασσαν φησὶ εἶναι τῆς πρώτης ὑγρασίας λείψανον, ἧς τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δ' ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἕκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.
2. Ἀναξαγόρας τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν λιμνάζοντος ὑγροῦ περικαέντος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς περιφορᾶς καὶ τοῦ λιπαροῦ ἐξατμισθέντος εἰς ἀλκυίδα καὶ πικρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποστῆναι.
3. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἰδρῶτα τῆς γῆς ἐκκαίωμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον πίλησιν.
4. Ἀντιφῶν ἰδρῶτα θερμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὸ περιληφθὲν ὑγρὸν ἀπεκρίθη, τῷ καθεψηθῆναι παραλυκίσαντα ὅπερ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἰδρῶτος συμβαίνει.
5. Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὸ διηθείσθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς μετεληφέναι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάχους, καθάπερ τὰ διὰ τῆς τέφρας ὑλιζόμενα.
6. οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὕδατος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀέρος κατὰ περιήψιν συνιστάμενον γλυκὺ γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ γῆς κατὰ περίκασιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναθυμιάμενον ἀλμυρόν.

b (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter "On the sea, how it was formed and why it is salty"

1. Anaximander says that the sea is a residue of the original moisture, of which the fire dried up the greater part, while what remained was transformed by the heat.
2. Anaxagoras: the moisture that formed stagnant pools at the beginning was heated by the sun's revolution, and when the fatty part evaporated the rest turned toward saltiness and bitterness.
3. Empedocles: it is the sweat of the earth that has been completely burned up by the sun because of an ever greater compression.
4. Antiphon: it is the sweat of heat, from which the residue of humidity has separated out, becoming salty by being boiled down—which happens with every kind of sweat.
5. Metrodorus: by being strained through the earth it takes on a portion of the latter's density, like what is filtered through ash.
6. The followers of Plato: one part of the elementary water, condensing from air by being cooled, becomes sweet, while the other part rising up from the earth by combustion and burning [scil. becomes] salty.¹

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 2.3 357b24–358a27.

c (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 406–7) Aët. 4.16 (Ps.-Plut., Stob. = Johan. Damas.)¹ [περὶ ἀκοῆς]

1. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀκοὴν γίνεσθαι κατὰ πρόσπτωσιν πνεύματος τῷ χονδρώδει, ὅπερ φησὶν ἐξηρητῆσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ ὠτὸς κώδωνος δίκην αἰωρούμενον καὶ τυπτόμενον.
2. Ἀλκμαίων ἀκούειν ἡμᾶς τῷ κενῷ τῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ ὠτὸς· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τὸ διηχοῦν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐμβολήν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ κενὰ ἤχει.
3. Διογένης τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τυπτομένου καὶ κινουμένου.
4. Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλήττεσθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀέρα· τοῦτον δ' ἀνακλᾶσθαι εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ καὶ γίνεσθαι τῆς ἀκοῆς τὴν αἴσθησιν.

¹ Stobaeus 1.53 (p. 491 Wachsmuth) supplies only the final *doxa* (with a slight variant), which is completed by a citation of Plato, *Timaeus* 67a–c. His text is restituted on the basis of the florilegium attributed to John of Damascus.

*An Example Showing the Effects of
Abridgement (T19)*

T19 (*Dox. Gr.*, p. 327) Aët. 2.1.2–3 [περὶ κόσμου]

a (Stob., Theod.)

2. Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἐκφαντος, Παρ-

c (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On hearing”

1. Empedocles: hearing comes about when air strikes cartilage, which, he says, hanging suspended inside the ear, oscillates and is struck like a bell.
2. Alcmaeon: we hear by means of the void inside the ear; for this is what resounds when air strikes it. For all empty things resound.
3. Diogenes: when the air located in the head is struck and set in motion by a sound.
4. Plato and his followers: the air located in the head is struck; this rebounds toward the governing parts and the sensation of hearing is produced.

*An Example Showing the Effects of
Abridgment (T19)*

T19 (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the world”

a (Stobaeus, Theodoret)

2. Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ecphantus, Par-

μενίδης, Μέλισσος, Ἡράκλειτος, Ἀναξαγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ζήνων ἕνα τὸν κόσμον.

3. Ἀναξίμανδρος, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἀρχέλαος, Ξενοφάνης, Διογένης, Δεύκιππος, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιαγωγῆν.

b (Ps.-Plut.)

2. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἕνα τὸν κόσμον.

3. Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητῆς Μητρόδωρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.

By Schools and Successions (T20–T22)

Two Lines of Descent (T20)

T20 (≠ DK) Diog. Laert. 1.13–15

[13] φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγόνασιν ἀρχαί, ἧ τε ἀπὸ Ἀναξιμάνδρου καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου· τοῦ μὲν Θαλοῦ διακηκούτος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης καθηγήσατο. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μὲν Ἴωνική, ὅτι Θαλῆς Ἴων ὢν, Μιλήσιος γάρ, καθηγήσατο Ἀναξιμάνδρου· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ὅτι τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν. [14] καταλήγει δὲ ἡ μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Θεόφραστον· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ εἰς Ἐπίκουρον. Θαλοῦ μὲν γάρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξιμένης, οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγών· οὗ οἱ τε ἄλλοι

menides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno: the world is one.

3. Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus: worlds unlimited in the unlimited throughout the entire circumference.

b (Ps.-Plutarch)

2. Thales and his followers: the world is one.

3. Democritus, Epicurus, and his teacher Metrodorus: worlds unlimited in the unlimited throughout the entire surrounding area.

By Schools and Successions (T20–T22)

Two Lines of Descent (T20)

T20 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

[13] There were two starting points of philosophy, one from Anaximander and the other from Pythagoras. The former had studied with Thales, while Pherecydes taught Pythagoras. And the one [scil. line of descent] is called Ionian, because Thales was an Ionian (for he was from Miletus) and taught Anaximander; the Italian one is [scil. named] from Pythagoras, for he did most of his philosophizing in Italy. [14] And the one [i.e. the Ionian one] comes to an end with Cleitomachus, Chrysippus, and Theophrastus, and the Italian one with Epicurus. For of Thales [scil. the disciple was] Anaximander; of him, Anaximenes; of him, Anaxagoras; of him, Archelaus; of him, Socrates, who introduced ethics; of him, the other Socrat-

Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημίαν συστησάμενος· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντων καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἄρκεσίλαος ὁ τὴν μέσσην Ἀκαδημίαν εἰσηγησάμενος· οὗ Λακύνδης ὁ τὴν νέαν Ἀκαδημίαν φιλοσοφήσας· οὗ Καρνεάδης, οὗ Κλειτόμαχος. καὶ ὧδε μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον. [15] εἰς δὲ Χρύσιππον οὕτω καταλήγει Σωκράτους Ἀντισθένης, οὗ Διογένης ὁ κύων, οὗ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, οὗ Κλεάνθης, οὗ Χρύσιππος. εἰς δὲ Θεόφραστον οὕτως· Πλάτωνος Ἀριστοτέλης, οὗ Θεόφραστος. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἴωνικὴ τοῦτον καταλήγει τὸν τρόπον.

ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ οὕτω Φερεκίδου Πυθαγόρας, οὗ Τηλαύγης ὁ υἱός, οὗ Ξενοφάνης, οὗ Παρμενίδης, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ Ναυκύδης, ὧν Ἐπίκουρος.

Three Lines of Descent (T21)

T21 (≠ DK) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.62.1–64.5

[62.1] φιλοσοφίας τοῖνυν μετὰ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄνδρας τρεῖς γεγόνασι διαδοχαὶ ἐπώνυμοι τῶν τόπων

ics, and Plato, who founded the Old Academy; of him, Speusippus and Xenocrates; of him, Polemon; of him, Crantor and Crates; of him, Arcesilaus, who introduced the Middle Academy; of him, Lacydes who [scil. introduced] the New Academy; of him, Carneades; of him, Cleitomachus. And in this way [scil. it came to an end] with Cleitomachus. [15] It came to an end with Chrysippus in the following way: of Socrates [scil. the disciple was] Antisthenes; of him, Diogenes the Cynic; of him, Crates of Thebes; of him, Zeno of Citium; of him, Cleanthes; of him, Chrysippus. [Scil. It came to an end] with Theophrastus in the following way: of Plato [scil. the disciple was] Aristotle; of him, Theophrastus. And the Ionian one [scil. line of descent] comes to an end in this way.

The Italian one [scil. line of descent] in the following way: of Pherecydes [scil. the disciple was] Pythagoras; of him, his son Telauges; of him, Xenophanes; of him, Parmenides; of him, Zeno of Elea; of him, Leucippus; of him, Democritus; of him, many, but by name Nausiphanes and Naucydes; of them, Epicurus.

Three Lines of Descent (T21)¹

T21 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[62.1] After the men about whom I have just spoken [scil. the Seven Sages], there were three successions of philoso-

¹ Plato at *Sophist* 242c [= T4] derives the Eleatic School from Xenophanes. Aristotle identifies the Italian philosophers with the Pythagoreans (cf. **PYTHS ANON. D2, D36**). Combining these two indications produces, for the Ionian line of descent, three successions.

περὶ οὓς διέτριψαν, Ἴταλικὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, Ἴωνικὴ δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ, Ἐλεατικὴ δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους. [2] Πυθαγόρας μὲν οὖν Μνησάρχου Σάμιος, ὡς φησὶν Ἰππόβοτος, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρου βίῳ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης¹ καὶ Θεόπομπος Τυρρηνὸς ἦν, ὡς δὲ Νεάνθης, Σύριος ἢ Τύριος, ὥστε εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τὸν Πυθαγόραν βάρβαρον τὸ γένος. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ Θαλῆς, ὡς Λέανδρος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστοροῦσι, Φοῖνιξ ἦν, ὡς δὲ τινες ὑπειλίφασιν, Μιλήσιος. [4] μόνος οὗτος δοκεῖ τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι, διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀναγράφεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Φερεκίδου τοῦ Συρίου, ᾧ Πυθαγόρας ἐμαθήτευσεν. [63.1] ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἢ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφία ἢ Ἴταλικὴ κατεγήρασεν. [2] Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος Θαλῆν διαδέχεται, τοῦτον δὲ Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος, μεθ' ὃν Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησιβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήναζε τὴν διατριβήν. [3] τοῦτον διαδέχεται Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης διήκουσεν.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα τῶν ἀπέκλινεν <ὁ> λαξόος,²
 ἐνομολόσχης,
 Ἑλλήνων ἐπαοιδός.

ὁ Τίμων φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις [Frag. 25.1-2a Di

¹ Ἀριστοτέλης Preller: Ἀρίσταρχος mss.

phy, named after the places in which they were active: the Italian one from Pythagoras, the Ionian one from Thales, and the Eleatic one from Xenophanes. [2] Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, was from Samos, as Hippobotus says, but as Aristoxenus [scil. says] in his *Life of Pythagoras*, Aristotle and Theopompus, from Tyrrhenia, or as Neanthes [scil. says], Syrian or Tyrian, so that Pythagoras was, according to most people, a barbarian by descent. [3] But Thales, as Leander and Herodotus report, was a Phoenician, although some people suppose that he was from Miletus. [4] He is thought to have been the only one to have met with the priests of the Egyptians, but no teacher of his is recorded, just as little as for Pherecydes of Syros too, with whom Pythagoras studied. [63.1] But the Italian philosophy of Pythagoras grew old in Metapontium in Italy. [2] Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades, followed in succession after Thales, and he was followed by Anaximenes of Miletus, son of Eurystratus, after whom [scil. came] Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, son of Hegesiboulus. He transferred the discipline from Ionia to Athens. [3] He was followed in succession by Archelaus, with whom Socrates studied.

From them then the sculptor turned aside, the law-chatterer, Enchanter of the Greeks,

says Timon in his *Mockeries*, because he turned aside from

² <ὁ> λαξόος Meineke: λαξόος Diog. Laert. 2.19: λαοξόος Clem.

Μαργο] διὰ τὸ ἀποκεκλικέναι ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἠθικά. [4] Σωκράτους δὲ ἀκούσας Ἀντισθένης μὲν ἐκύνισε, Πλάτων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν ἀνεχώρησε. [5] παρὰ Πλάτωνι Ἀριστοτέλης φιλοσοφήσας μετελθὼν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον κτίζει τὴν Περιπατητικὴν αἵρεσιν. τούτου δὲ διαδέχεται Θεόφραστος, ὃν Στράτων, ὃν Λύκων, εἶτα Κριτόλαος, εἶτα Διόδωρος. [6] Σπεύσιππος δὲ Πλάτωνα διαδέχεται, τούτου δὲ Ξενοκράτης, ὃν Πολέμων. Πολέμωνος δὲ ἀκουσταὶ Κράτης τε καὶ Κράντωρ, εἰς οὓς ἡ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος κατέληξεν ἀρχαία Ἀκαδημία.

Κράντορος δὲ μετέσχευ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι Ἥγησίνου ἤνθησεν Ἀκαδημία ἡ μέση. [64.1] εἶτα Καρνεάδης διαδέχεται Ἥγησίνου καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς· Κράτητος δὲ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς ὁ τῆς Στωικῆς ἄρξας αἵρέσεως γίνεται μαθητῆς. τούτου δὲ διαδέχεται Κλεάνθης, ὃν Χρύσιππος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτόν.

[2] τῆς δὲ Ἐλεατικῆς ἀγωγῆς Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος κατάρχει, ὃν φησι Τίμαιος κατὰ Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ποιητὴν γενόμενον, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα γενόμενον παρατετακέναι ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε καὶ Κύρου χρόνων. [3] Παρμενίδης τοῖνυν Ξενοφάνους ἀκουστῆς γίνεται, τούτου δὲ Ζήνων, εἶτα Δεύκιππος, εἶτα Δημόκριτος. [4] Δημοκρίτου δὲ ἀκουσταὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος, οὗ Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος, οὗ Ἀνάξαρχος, τού-

natural philosophy to ethics. [4] After they had studied with Socrates, Antisthenes became a Cynic and Plato withdrew to the Academy. [5] After Aristotle philosophized with Plato he moves to the Lyceum and founds the Peripatetic school. Theophrastus follows him in succession, Strato him, Lycon him, then Critolaus, then Diodorus. [6] Speusippus follows Plato in succession, Xenocrates him, Polemon him. Polemon's pupils [scil. were] Crates and Crantor, with whom the Old Academy, which had begun with Plato, came to an end.

Arcesilaus participated [scil. in the teaching of] Crantor; from him [i.e. Arcesilaus], the Middle Academy flourished until Hegesinus. [64.1] Then Carneades and those in sequence after him follow in succession Hegesinus. Zeno of Citium, the initiator of the Stoic school, was the pupil of Crates. Cleanthes followed him in succession, Chrysippus and those after him, him.

[2] Xenophanes of Colophon is the initiator of the Eleatic school; according to Timaeus he lived at the time of Hieron, the ruler of Sicily, and of the poet Epicharmus, while Apollodorus says he was born in the 40th Olympiad and lived until the times of Darius and Cyrus. [3] Parmenides then becomes Xenophanes' student; Zeno, his; then Leucippus, then Democritus. [4] Democritus' pupils [scil. were] Protagoras of Abdera and Metrodorus of Chios; Diogenes of Smyrna, his; Anaxagoras, his; Pyrrho,

του δὲ Πύρρων, οὗ Ναυσιφάνης· τούτου φασὶν ἔνιο μαθητὴν Ἐπίκουρον γενέσθαι.

[5] καὶ ἡ μὲν διαδοχὴ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἦδε, οἱ χρόνοι δὲ τῶν προκαταρξάντων τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτῶν ἐπομένως λεκτέοι, ἵνα δὴ ἐν συγκρίσει ἀποδείξωμεν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν τὴν κατὰ Ἑβραίους φιλοσοφίαν.

A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)

T22 (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 589–90) Epiph. 3.2.9

1. αὐτὸς γὰρ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος εἰς ὧν τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀρχέγονον πάντων ἀπεφήνατο τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐξ ὕδατος γὰρ φησι τὰ πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι.
2. Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ τοῦ Πραξιάδου καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸ ἄπειρον ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων ἔφησεν εἶναι· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὰ πάντα ἀναλύεσθαι.
3. Ἀναξίμενης ὁ τοῦ Εὐρυστράτου καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν εἶναι λέγει καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ πάντα.
4. Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ τοῦ Ἡγησιβούλου ὁ Κλαζομένιος ἀρχὰς τῶν πάντων τὰς ὁμοιομερείας ἔφησεν εἶναι.
5. Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρου, κατὰ δέ τινες Μίλτωνος, Ἀθηναῖος δὲ ἦν, φυσικός, ἐκ γῆς τὰ πάντα λέγει γεγενῆσθαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄλων ἐστίν, ὡς φησι.

this man's; Nausiphanes, his; some say that Epicurus became the pupil of this last.

[5] And this is, in summary form, the succession of the philosophers among the Greeks; next we must state the dates of those among them who made a beginning of philosophy, so that we can demonstrate by comparison that philosophy among the Hebrews was older by many generations.

A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)

T22 (≠ DK) Epiphanius, *Panarion* (*Against Heresies*)

1. For Thales of Miletus himself, who was one of the Seven Sages, declared that water is the origin of all things; for he says that all things come from water and in turn are dissolved into water.
2. Anaximander—from Miletus too, son of Praxiades,—said that the unlimited is the principle of all things; for out of this all things come to be and into it all things are dissolved.
3. Anaximenes—from Miletus too, son of Eurystratus—said that air is the principle of the whole and that all things come from it.
4. Anaxagoras—from Clazomenae, son of Hegesiboulus—said that the homoiomerics are the principles of all things.
5. Archelaus—son of Apollodorus (but according to some people, son of Milton), and he was an Athenian natural philosopher—says that all things have come to be out of earth. For this is the principle of all things, as he says.

6. Σωκράτης ὁ ἔρμογλύφου Σωφρονίσκου καὶ Φαιναρέτης τῆς μαίας ὁ ἠθικός τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε μόνου δεῖν περιεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πλείονα δὲ μὴ.

7. Φερεκύδης καὶ αὐτὸς γῆν φησι πρὸ πάντων γεγενῆσθαι.

8. Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος Μνησάρχου υἱὸς θεὸν ἔφη εἶναι τὴν μονάδα καὶ δίχα ταύτης μηδὲν γεγενῆσθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ μὴ δεῖν θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ζῶα μηδὲ μὴν ἐσθίειν τι τῶν ἐμφύχων μηδὲ κνάμους μηδὲ οἶνον πίνειν τοὺς σοφοὺς. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ σελήνης κάτω παθητὰ εἶναι πάντα, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράνω τῆς σελήνης ἀπαθῆ εἶναι. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ μεταβαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς πολλὰ ζῶα. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ πενταετῆ χρόνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμασε.

9. Ξενοφάνης ὁ τοῦ Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐκ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἔφη τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. εἶναι δὲ τὰ πάντα ὡς ἔφη οὐδὲν ἀληθές. οὕτως τὸ ἀπρεκές ἄδηλον, δόκησις δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται μάλιστα τῶν ἀφανέων.

10. Παρμενίδης ὁ τοῦ Πύρητος τὸ γένος Ἐλεάτης καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἄπειρον ἔλεγεν ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων.

11. Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ὁ ἐριστικός ἴσα τῷ ἐτέρῳ Ζήνωνι καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκίνητον λέγει καὶ μηδένα τόπον κενὸν εἶναι. καὶ λέγει οὕτως· τὸ κινούμενον ἦτοι ἐν ᾧ

6. Socrates—son of the sculptor Sophroniscus and the midwife Phaenarete—philosopher of ethics, said that a human being should only concern himself with himself, and with nothing more.

7. Pherecydes too says that earth came to be before all things [cf. **PHER. D5**].

8. Pythagoras—from Samos, son of Mnesarchus—said that the monad is god and that nothing has come to be without this. He said that wise men must not sacrifice animals to the gods, nor eat anything animate or beans, nor drink wine. He said that all the things below the moon are subject to affections while those above the moon are impassible. He also said that the soul passes into many animals. He also ordered his pupils to remain silent for a period of five years and in the end he proclaimed himself a god.

9. Xenophanes—son of Orthomenes, from Colophon—said that all things come from earth and water. And he said that the totality of things is not at all true; so what is certain is unclear, and opinion extends over all things, especially invisible ones.

10. Parmenides too—the son of Pyres, from Elea by family—said that the unlimited is the principle of all things.¹

11. Zeno of Elea, the eristic philosopher, says like the other Zeno [scil. of Citium] both that the earth is immobile and that no place is empty. And he says the following: what is in motion is in motion either in the place in which it is

¹ This is an error, perhaps indirectly caused by a confusion with Melissus.

ἔστι τόπω κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ οὔτε ἐν ᾧ ἔστι τόπω κινεῖται οὔτε ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστι· οὐκ ἄρα τι κινεῖται.

12. Μέλισσος ὁ τοῦ Ἰθαγένους Σάμιος τὸ γένος ἐν τὸ πᾶν ἔφη εἶναι, μηδὲν δὲ βέβαιον ὑπάρχειν τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἶναι φθαρτὰ ἐν δυνάμει.

13. Λεύκιππος ὁ Μιλήσιος, κατὰ δὲ τινος Ἑλεάτης, καὶ οὗτος ἐριστικός· ἐν ἀπείρῳ καὶ οὗτος τὸ πᾶν ἔφη εἶναι, κατὰ φαντασίαν δὲ καὶ δόκησιν τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' οὕτω φαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κώπην.

14. Δημόκριτος ὁ τοῦ Δαμασίππου Ἀβδηρίτης τὸν κόσμον ἀπειρον ἔφη καὶ ὑπὲρ κενοῦ κείσθαι. ἔφη δὲ καὶ ἐν τέλος εἶναι τῶν πάντων καὶ εὐθυμίαν τὸ κράτιστον εἶναι, τὰς δὲ λύπας ὄρους κακίας, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν δίκαιον οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον, ἀδικον δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς φύσεως. ἐπίνοιαν γὰρ κακὴν τοὺς νόμους ἔλεγε καὶ οὐ χρῆ νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθερίως ζῆν.

15. Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος ἔφη μηδένα μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἃ δοκοῦμεν γινώσκειν, ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι δεῖ προσέχειν· δοκῆσει γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάντα.

16. Πρωταγόρας ὁ τοῦ Μενάνδρου Ἀβδηρίτης ἔφη μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι μηδὲ ὅλως θεὸν ὑπάρχειν.

17. Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος, κατὰ δὲ τινος Κυρηναῖος, τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ ἐδόξασε.

or in the one in which it is not. And neither is it in motion in the one in which it is nor in the one in which it is not. Therefore nothing is in motion.

12. Melissus—son of Ithagenes, from Samos by family—said that the whole is one, and that nothing stable comes about in nature, but that all things are potentially destructible.

13. Leucippus too—from Miletus (but according to some from Elea)—an eristic philosopher too, said too that the whole is in the unlimited, and that it is in appearance and opinion that all things come to be and that this is not true at all, but that it appears in the same way as an oar in water.

14. Democritus—son of Damasippus, from Abdera—said that the world is unlimited and rests upon the void. He also said that the end of all things is one and that contentment (*euthumia*) is the best thing, while sufferings are the limits of evil. And what is thought to be just is not just, while what is contrary to nature is unjust. For he said that the laws are a bad invention, and that the wise man should not obey the laws but live freely.

15. Metrodorus—from Chios—said that no one knows anything, but that what we think we know, we do not know exactly, nor should we pay attention to sense perception. For all things are by opinion.

16. Protagoras—son of Menander, from Abdera—said that the gods do not exist and that on the whole there is no god.

17. Diogenes—from Smyrna (but according to some from Cyrene)—had the same opinions as Protagoras.

18. Πύρρων ἀπὸ Ἡλίδος τῶν ἄλλων σοφῶν τὰ δόγματα συναγαγὼν πάντα ἀντιθέσεις αὐτοῖς ἔγραψεν ἀνατρέπων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδενὶ δόγματι ἠρέσκειτο.

19. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μέτωνος Ἀκραγαντίνος πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα τέτταρα πρωτόγονα εἰσέφερε στοιχεῖα καὶ ἔλεγεν ἔχθραν ὑπάρχειν πρώτον τῶν στοιχείων. κεχώριστο γάρ, φησί, τὸ πρότερον, νῦν δὲ συνήνωται, ὡς λέγει, φιλωθέντα ἀλλήλοις. δύο οὖν εἰσι κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχθρα καὶ φιλία, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐνωτικὴ ἡ δὲ διαχωριστικὴ.

20. Ἡράκλειτος ὁ τοῦ Βλέσωνος Ἐφέσιος ἐκ πυρὸς ἔλεγε τὰ πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς πῦρ πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι.

21. Πρόδικος τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα θεοὺς καλεῖ εἴτα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσι τὸ ζωτικὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπάρχειν.

18. Pyrrho—from Elis—after having collected all the opinions of the other wise men, wrote antitheses to them, reversing their opinions; and he did not accept any opinion.

19. Empedocles—son of Meton, from Acragas—introduced fire, earth, water, and air as four firstborn elements and said that hatred exists before the elements. For, he said, earlier they had been separated, but now they are united, as he says, having become friends of one another. Thus there are two principles and powers according to him, hatred and love, of which the one unifies and the other separates.

20. Heraclitus—son of Bleson, from Ephesus—said that all things come from fire and in turn are dissolved into fire.

21. Prodicus calls the four elements gods, then the sun and moon. For he said that it is out of these that life comes for all things.²

² The list continues with the Socratic schools (Plato, the Cyrenaics, the Cynics) and their descendants (New Academy, Aristotle, and the Peripatetics), the Stoics, and concludes with Epicurus.

BACKGROUND

2. COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS [COSM.]

The thinkers traditionally identified as the first philosophers were not the first people in ancient Greece to have speculated about the origin and structure of the world: various traces of cosmological reflection are preserved in the earliest surviving Greek poetry. Aristotle distinguished terminologically between *theologoi*, the archaic poets who wrote about gods (cf. *Metaphysics* B4, 1000a9), and *phusiologoi*, the early philosophers who wrote about nature (cf. A6, 1071b27; A10, 1075b26); but he was also careful to indicate the continuities, indeed the similarities between the two groups (cf. N4, 1091a34; cf. also **THAL. R32**). Indeed, a number of 'philosophical' cosmologies only become fully comprehensible against the background of traditional representations, which they presuppose even on the level of specific expressions.

The present chapter brings together a number of cosmological passages drawn from archaic Greek poets and thereby presents one kind of background that is useful for contextualizing the thought of the early Greek philosophers. Some of these texts are of interest as surviving vestiges of kinds of speculation that must have been widespread in early Greek oral culture but have otherwise been lost; others are presupposed, in content or expression, by

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

various texts that are classified as philosophical and that are found in the following chapters.

In this chapter, as in those dedicated to ancient doxography (chap. 1), to the most ancient reflections on gods and men (chap. 3), and to the echoes of philosophical doctrines found among the Greek dramatists (chap. 43), the critical apparatus for the Greek texts is reduced to a minimum, indicating solely our divergences, if any, from the editions of reference listed in volume 1. We have also refrained from providing bibliographical indications, which would not have made much sense here.

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

The Structure of the World (T1–T9)

Earth and Heavens (T1)

Ocean (T2–T3)

Tartarus (T4–T5)

Styx (T6–T7)

Night and Day (T8–T9)

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22)

Homeric Traces (T10)

Hesiod (T11)

Orphic Texts (T12–T20)

In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)

*In Orphic Theogonies Reported by Later Authors
(T13–T20)*

Various Starting Points (T13–T18)

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

*Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic
Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)*

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

The Structure of the World (T1–T9) *Earth and Heavens (T1)*

T1 (> 7 B2) Hom. *Il.* 18.483–89

485 ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ
θάλασσαν,
ἠέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσαν,
ἐν δὲ τὰ τεύρεα πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς
ἔστεφάνωνται,
Πληϊάδας θ' Ἰάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὀρίωνος
Ἄρκτόν θ', ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπικλήσιω καλέουσιν,
ἣ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει,
οὔτ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.

Ocean (T2–T3)

T2 Hom. *Il.*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24) 14.200–201
≈ 14.301–2

εἴμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

The Structure of the World (T1–T9) *Earth and Heavens (T1)*

T1 (> 7 B2) Homer, *Iliad*

He [i.e. Hephaestus] made the earth on it [i.e. Achilles' shield], and the heavens, and the sea,
And the tireless sun and the full moon,
And all the constellations with which the heavens are crowned, 485
The Pleiades and the Hyades and Orion's strength
And the Bear, which they also call the Wagon by name,
Which turns around in place and watches Orion,
And is the only one to have no share of Ocean's baths.

Ocean (T2–T3)

T2 Homer, *Iliad*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24)

For I [i.e. Hera] am going to see the limits of the all-nourishing earth,

Ἦκεανόν τε [. . . = T10a].

b (> 7 B2) 18.607–8

ἐν δὲ τίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ἦκεανοῖο
ἄντυγα πὰρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

T3 (≠ DK) Hes. *Th.* 274–75

Γοργούς θ', αἰ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ἦκεανοῖο
ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἔν' Ἐσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι
[. . .].

Tartarus (T4–T5)

T4 (> 28 A44) Hom. *Il.* 8.13–16

ἧ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα
τῆλε μάλ', ἧχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι
βέρεθρον,
15 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
τόσσον ἐνερθ' Ἄϊδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ
γαίης.

T5 (> ad 31 B39) Hes. *Th.* 717–45

[. . .] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονός εὐρυδοείης
πέμψαν καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλείοισιν ἔδησαν,
νικήσαντες χερσὶν ὑπερθύμους περ ἑόντας,

And Ocean [. . .].

b (> 7 B2) [Description of the shield of Achilles]

And he [i.e. Hephaestus] put on it [i.e. Achilles' shield] the great strength of river Ocean, Along the outer rim of the very well made shield.

T3 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

And the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean At the edge toward the night, where the clear-voiced Hesperides are [. . .].

Tartarus (T4–T5)

T4 (> 28 A44) Homer, *Iliad*

Or I [i.e. Zeus] will seize him¹ and throw him into murky Tartarus, Very far away, where there is the deepest gulf beneath the earth, Where iron gates and a bronze threshold are, As far below Hades as the sky is from the earth.

¹ Any god who defies Zeus' orders not to help the Greeks or Trojans.

T5 (> ad 31 B39) Hesiod, *Theogony*

They [i.e. the Olympian gods] sent them [i.e. the Titans] down under the broad-pathed earth And bound them in distressful bonds

- 720 τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ
γαίης
τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα.
ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέατα χάλκεος ἄκμων
οὐρανόθεν κατιῶν, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαίαν ἵκοιτο·
723a [ἴσον δ' αὐτ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα]
ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέατα χάλκεος ἄκμων
725 ἐκ γαίης κατιῶν, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι.
τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν
νύξ
τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
γῆς ρίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτιοι θαλάσσης.

ἐνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι
730 κεκρύφαται βουλήσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,
χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.
τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστι, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων
χαλκείας, τείχος δ' ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
ἐνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ Ὀβριάρεως μεγάθυμος
735 ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
ἐνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος
734-45 secl. West

- After they had gained victory over them with their
hands, high-spirited though they were,
As far down beneath the earth as the sky is above the 720
earth:
For it is just as far from the earth to murky Tartarus.
For a bronze anvil, falling down from the sky for nine
nights and days,
On the tenth day would arrive at the earth;
[And in turn it is the same distance from the earth to 723a
murky Tartarus;]¹
And again, a bronze anvil, falling down from the
earth for nine nights and days,
On the tenth would arrive at Tartarus. 725
Around this a bronze barricade is extended, and on
both sides of it night
Is poured out threefold around its neck; and above it
Grow the roots of the earth and of the barren sea.
That is where the Titan gods are hidden
under murky gloom
By the plans of the cloud-gatherer Zeus, 730
In a dank place, at the farthest part of huge earth.
They cannot get out, for Poseidon has set bronze
gates upon it,
And a wall is extended on both sides.
That is where Gyges, Cottus, and great-
spirited Obriareus²
Dwell, the trusted guards of aegis-holding Zeus. 735
That is where the sources and limits of the dark earth
are, and of murky Tartarus,

¹ This line is rejected as an interpolation by many editors.

² The Hundred-Handers.

740 πόντου τ' ἀπρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 ἐξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἕασιν,
 ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τὰ τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ
 χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς
 ἐνιαυτόν
 οὐδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο,
 ἀλλὰ κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα
 θυέλλης
 ἀργαλέῃ· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
 τοῦτο τέρας· καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινὰ
 745 ἔστηκεν νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέησιν.

*Styx (T6–T7)***T6** (> 11 A12) Hom. *Il.* 15.37–38

καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὃς τε μέγιστος
 ὄρκος δεινότητός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι [. . .]

T7 (ad 31 B115) Hes. *Th.* 782–95, 805–6

ὁππότ' ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρηται,
 καὶ ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδεται Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,
 Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἴριω ἔπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ἐνεΐκαι

Of the barren sea, and of the starry sky,
 Of everything, one after another,
 Distressful, dank, things which even the gods abhor:
 A great chasm, whose bottom one would not reach in 740
 a whole long year,
 Once one was inside the gates,
 But one would be borne hither and thither by one
 distressful blast after another—
 It is terrible for the immortal gods as well,
 This monstrosity; and the terrible houses of dark
 Night
 Stand here, shrouded in black clouds. 745

*Styx (T6–T7)***T6** (> 11 A12) Homer, *Iliad*

[. . .] the downward-flowing water of the Styx, which
 is the greatest
 and most dreadful oath for the blessed gods [. . .]¹

¹ For other Homeric references to the Styx as the gods' oath,
 see *Il.* 2.755, 14.271 (= *Od.* 5.184–86, *Hymn to Apollo* 84–86);
Hymn to Demeter 259; *Hymn to Hermes* 518–19.

T7 (ad 31 B115) Hesiod, *Theogony*

Whenever strife and quarrel arise among the
 immortals
 And one of those who have their mansions on
 Olympus tells a lie,
 Zeus sends Iris to bring the great oath of the gods

- 785 τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσῆῃ προχόῳ πολυώνυμον ὕδωρ,
ψυχρόν, ὃ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἠλιβάτιοι
ὑψηλῆς· πολλὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυδοείης
ἐξ ἱεροῦ ποταμοῦ ῥέει διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν·
ἽΩκεανοῖο κέρασ, δεκάτῃ δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται·
790 ἐννέα μὲν περὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
δίωγς ἀργυρῆς εἰλιγμένους εἰς ἄλλα πίπτει,
ἣ δὲ μί' ἐκ πέτρης προρέει, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν.
ὅς κεν τὴν ἐπίορκον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσση
ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
795 κείται νήγυμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.
[. . .]
805 τοῖον ἄρ' ὄρκον ἔθεντο θεοὶ Στυγὸς ἀφθιτον
ὑδωρ,
ὠγύγιον· τὸ δ' ἔησι καταστυφέλου διὰ χάρον.

*Night and Day (T8–T9)*T8 (≠ DK) Hes. *Th.* 746–57

[. . . = T5] τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῖο πάϊς ἔχει
οὐρανὸν εὐρύν
ἐστηῶς κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσι
ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἄσπον ἰούσαι

- From afar in a golden jug, the much-renowned water, 785
Icy, which pours down from a great, lofty crag.
It flows abundantly from under the broad-pathed
earth,
From the holy river through the black night—
A branch of Ocean, and a tenth portion has been
assigned to her.
For nine-fold around the earth and the broad back of 790
the sea
He whirls in silver eddies and falls into the sea,
And she as one portion flows forth from the crag, a
great woe for the gods.
For whoever of the immortals, who possess the peak
of snowy Olympus,
Swears a false oath after having poured a libation
from her,
He lies breathless for one full year [. . .] 795
It is this sort of oath that the gods have established
805 the imperishable water of Styx,
Primeval; and it pours out through a rugged place.¹

¹ For another Hesiodic reference to the Styx as the gods' oath, see *Theogony* 400.

*Night and Day (T8–T9)*T8 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

In front of these [i.e. the gates of Tartarus], Iapetus'
son [scil. Atlas] holds the broad sky
With his head and tireless hands, standing
Immovable, where Night and Day passing near

750 ἀλλήλας προσείπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
 χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
 ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος ἐντὸς ἔέρχει,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἐούσα
 γαίαν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμου ἐντὸς ἐούσα
 μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὄρην ὁδοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν ἴκηται·
 755 ἡ μὲν ἐπιχθονίοισι φάος πολυδερκὲς ἔχουσα,
 ἡ δ' Ἴπνον μετὰ χερσὶ, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο,
 Νυξ ὀλοή, νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένη ἠεροειδέι.

T9 (≠ DK) Stesich. Frag. S17 = 185 PMGF

τᾶμος δ' Ἵπεριονίδα ἴς
 δέπας ἔσκατέβα <πα>χρῦσεον ὄ-
 φρα δι' Ὀκεανοῖο περάσαις
 ἀφίκουθ' ἱερᾶς ποτὶ βένθεα νυ-
 κτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς
 ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδιάν τ' ἄλοχον
 παῖδας τε φίλους [. .]

textus valde incertus

1 τᾶμος Barrett: ἄλιος mss.
 -δας mss.

Ἵπεριονίδα ἴς West:

Greet one another as they cross the great bronze
 Threshold. The one is about to go in and the other 750
 Is going out the door, and never does the house hold
 them both inside,
 But always the one, being outside of the house,
 Passes over the earth, while the other in turn
 remaining inside the house
 Waits for the time of her own departure, until it
 comes.¹
 The one holds much-seeing light for those on the 755
 earth,
 But the other holds Sleep in her hands, the brother
 of Death—
 Deadly Night, shrouded in murky cloud.

¹ Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10.82–86.

T9 (≠ DK) Stesichorus, Fragment of *Geryoneis*

Then the strength of Hyperion's son [i.e. Helios]
 Went down into a cup of solid gold so
 That he could travel across Ocean
 And arrive at the depths
 Of holy, gloomy night,
 To see his mother, his wedded wife,
 And his dear children [. .].

2 ἔσκατέβαινε χρῦσεον mss., corr. West apud Führer

3 περάσας mss., corr. Page

4 ἀφίκουθ', corr. Blomfield

ιερᾶς mss., corr. Page

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22)
Homeric Traces (T10)

T10 *Il.*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24) 14.201 = 14.302

[. . . = **T2a**] Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα
Τηθύν [. . .].

b (< 38 B1) 21.194–97

τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρέϊται μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρέιατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.

c (≠ DK) 14.245–46

[. . .] ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα
Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

Hesiod (T11)

T11 (> 7 B1a, 9 B2, 30 A5, 31 B27) *Th.* 116–38

ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22)
Homeric Traces (T10)

T10 *Iliad*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24)

[. . .] Ocean, the origin of the gods, and mother
Tethys [. . .]

b (< 38 B1)

Not even does mighty Achelous equal him [i.e. Zeus],
Nor even the great strength of deep-flowing Ocean,
From whom all the rivers and all the sea
And all springs and deep wells flow.

c (≠ DK)

[. . .] the streams of the river
Ocean, who is the origin of all [. . .]

Hesiod (T11)

T11 (> 7 B1a, 9 B2, 30 A5, 31 B27) *Theogony*

In truth, first of all Chaos [i.e. Chasm] came to be,
and then
Broad-breasted Earth, the ever immovable seat of all
The immortals who possess snowy Olympus' peak

120 Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυδοείης,
 ἢδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
 λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
 δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα
 βουλήν.

ἐκ Χάεος δ' Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νύξ ἐγένοντο·
 Νυκτὸς δ' αὐτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,
 125 οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῃ μιγείσα.

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένιατο ἴσον ἐωυτῇ
 Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα
 καλύπτοι,
 ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,
 γείνατο δ' οὖρα μακρά, θεῶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους
 130 Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἄν' οὖρα βησσηέητα,
 ἢδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἴδματι θύϊον,
 Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότῃτος ἐφίμερον αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθείσα τέκ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
 Κοῖόν τε Κρείόν θ' Ἐπεριόνα τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
 135 Θεΐαν τε Ῥεΐαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
 Φοῖβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἔρατεινήν.
 τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ὀπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος
 ἀγκυλομήτης,
 δεινότατος παίδων, θαλερὸν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα.

And murky Tartarus in the depths of the broad-
 pathed earth,
 And Eros, who is the most beautiful among the 120
 immortal gods,
 The limb-melter—he overpowers the mind and the
 thoughtful counsel
 Of all the gods and of all human beings in their
 breasts.
 From Chaos, Erebus and black Night came to be;
 And then Aether and Day came forth from Night,
 Who conceived and bore them after mingling in love 125
 with Erebus.

Earth first of all bore starry Ouranus [i.e. Sky]
 Equal to herself, to cover her on every side,
 So that there would be an ever immovable seat for
 the blessed gods;
 And she bore the high mountains, the graceful haunts
 of the goddesses,
 Nymphs who dwell on the wooded mountains. 130
 And she also bore the barren sea seething with its
 swell,
 Pontus, without delightful love; and then,
 Having bedded with Ouranus, she bore deep-eddying
 Ocean
 And Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus
 And Theia and Rhea and Themis and Mnemosyne 135
 And golden-crowned Phoebe and lovely Tethys.
 After these, Cronus was born, the youngest of all,
 crooked-counseled,
 The most terrible of her children; and he hated his
 vigorous father.

Orphic Texts (T12–T20)
In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)

T12 (≠ DK)

a (10F Bernabé = DERV. Col. XIV.5–6 + XV.6)

ὄς μέγ' ἔρεξεν . . .
 Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρῶτιστος βασιλευσεν,
 ἐκ τοῦ δὴ Κρόνος αὐτίς, ἔπειτα δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

b (12F Bernabé = DERV. Col. XVI.3–6)

πρωτογόνου βασιλέως αἰδοίου· τῶι δ' ἄρα πάντες
 ἀθάνατοι προσέφυν μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θέαιαι
 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρήναι ἐπήρατοι ἄλλα τε πάντα,
 ἄσσα τότε ἦν γεγαῶτ', αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα μῦνος
 ἔγεντο.

c (14F Bernabé) (1 = 31.1F Bernabé + DERV. Col. XVII.6; 2 = DERV. Col. XVII.12; 3 = 31.5F Bernabé + DERV. Col. XVIII.1; 4 = DERV. Col. XIX.10)

Ζεὺς πρῶτος <γένετο, Ζεὺς> ὕστατος
 <ἀργικέρανος>
 Ζεὺς κεφα<λή, Ζεὺς μέσ>σα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ <π>άντα
 τέ<υκται,>
 <Ζεὺς πνοιῆ πάντων, Ζεὺς πάντων ἔπλετο> μοῖρα
 Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς δ' ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων
 ἀργικέρανος.

Orphic Texts (T12–T20)
In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)

T12 (≠ DK)

a

. . . he who did a great deed . . .
 Ouranos, son of Euphronê [i.e. Night], who was the
 first of all to rule,
 From him in turn came Cronus and then prudent
 Zeus.

b

Of the firstborn king, the reverend one. And upon
 him all
 The immortals grew, blessed gods and goddesses
 And rivers and lovely springs and everything else
 That was born then; and he himself was alone.

c

Zeus <was born> first, <Zeus with bright lightning>
 last
 Zeus is the head, Zeus the middle, and by Zeus all
 things <are made>
 <Zeus is the breath of all things, Zeus> the fate <of all
 things>,
 Zeus the king, Zeus the ruler of all, god of the bright
 bolt.¹

¹ The sequence of verses and the supplements are due to the editor A. Bernabé and are reproduced here *exempli gratia*. For the way in which these verses are transmitted in the Derveni Papyrus, see the corresponding columns in the chapter DERV.

d (16F Bernabé, cf. **DERV. Col. XXIII.4–6, 11**)

⟨μήσατο δ' αὖ⟩ Γαῖάν <τε καὶ⟩ Οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
 <ὑπερθεν, >
 μήσατο δ' Ὠκεανοῖο μέγα σθένος εὐρὺν ῥέοντος,
 ἴνας δ' ἐγκατέλεξ' Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνεω
 ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα θάλασ<σα>

e (17F Bernabé = **DERV. Col. XXIV.2–3**)

. . . ἰσομελῆς . . .
 ἢ πολλοῖς φαίνει μερόπεσσι ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν.

*In Orphic Theogonies Reported by
 Later Authors (T13–T20)
 Various Starting Points (T13–T18)*

T13 (< 1 B12) Dam. *Princ.* 124 (3.162.19–23 Westerink)

ἢ δὲ παρὰ τῷ περιπατητικῷ Εὐδήμῳ [Frag. 150 Wehrli]
 ἀναγεγραμμένη ὡς τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐσα θεολογία [. . .]
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν [. . .].

T14 (20F, V Bernabé) Io. Lyd. *Mens.* 2.8 (26.1 Wünsch)

[. . .] τρεῖς πρῶται κατ' Ὀρφέα ἐξεβλάστησαν ἀρχαὶ
 τῆς γενέσεως, Νύξ καὶ Γῆ καὶ Οὐρανός [. . .].

d

<And he [i.e. Zeus] devised> Earth <and> broad
 Ouranos <up above, >
 And he devised the great strength of broadly flowing
 Ocean,
 He placed in it the sinews of silver-eddying Achelous.
 From which the whole sea . . .¹

¹ The same applies here as in the preceding note.

e

. . . equal-limbed . . .
 She [i.e. the moon] who shines for many mortals
 upon the boundless earth.

*In Orphic Theogonies Reported by
 Later Authors (T13–T20)
 Various Starting Points (T13–T18)*

T13 (< 1 B12) Damascius, *On the Principles*

The theogony recorded by the Peripatetic Eudemus as
 being by Orpheus [. . .] it took Night as the starting point
 [. . .].

T14 (≠ DK) John Lydus, *On the Months*

[. . .] according to Orpheus, three starting points of gen-
 eration blossomed: Night, Earth, and Sky [. . .].

T15 (< 1 B2) Plat. *Crat.* 402b

Ἦκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλιρροὸς ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθὺν ὄπνιεν.

T16 (< 1 B13) Dam. *Princ.* 123 bis (3.160.17–20 Westerink)

ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον
[. . .] οὕτως ἔχει. ὕδωρ ἦν, φησί, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕλη
ἐξ ἧς ἐπάγη ἡ γῆ, δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος
πρώτας [. . .].

T17 (109F, I Bernabé) Procl. *In Crat.* 59.17 Pasquali

[. . .] Ὀρφεὺς τὴν πρώτην πάντων αἰτίαν Χρόνον κα-
λεῖ ὁμωνύμως σχεδὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ [. . .].

T18 (111F Bernabé) Procl. *In Remp.* 2.138.8 Kroll (v. 1–2), Simpl. *In Phys.* 528.14 (v. 3)

Αἰθέρα μὲν Χρόνος οὗτος ἀγήραος, ἀφθιτόμητις
γείνατο καὶ μέγα Χάσμα πελώριον ἔνθα καὶ
ἔνθα,
οὐδέ τι πείραρ ὑπῆν, οὐ πυθμῆν, οὐδέ τις ἔδρα.

T15 (< 1 B2) Plato, *Cratylus*

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to make a beginning
of marriage,
He who wedded his sister Tethys, born of the same
mother.¹

¹ Cf. the testimonia collected as 23F Bernabé.

T16 (< 1 B13 DK) Damascius, *On the Principles*

The [scil. theogony] reported by Hieronymus and Hel-
lanicus [. . .] goes as follows: there was from the beginning
water and the matter out of which the earth was solidified,
[scil. Orpheus?] establishing first of all these two princi-
ples [. . .].

T17 (≠ DK) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus*

Orpheus calls the first cause of all things Time [*Khronos*],
almost identical in sound with Cronus [*Kronos*].

T18 (≠ DK) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic*
(v. 1–2); Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*
(v. 3)

This Time, unaging, eternal-counseled, begot Aether
And great Chasm, immense here and immense there,
And there was no limit, no bottom, nor any abode.

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

T19 (103F, V; 104F, I; 115F; 117F Bernabé) Appio ap. Ps.-Clem. Rom. *Homil.*, 6.3.4–4.3

[. . .] ὅπερ Ὀρφεὺς ᾧδὸν λέγει γενητόν, ἐξ ἀπείρου τῆς ὕλης προβεβλημένον, γεγονὸς δὲ οὕτω τῆς τετραγενοῦς ὕλης ἐμφύχου οὕσης, καὶ ὄλου ἀπείρου τινὸς βυθοῦ αἰεὶ ρέοντος, καὶ ἀκρίτως φερομένου, καὶ μυρίας ἀτελεῖς κράσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπαναχέοντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὰς ἀναλύοντος τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ κεκηνότος ὡς εἰς γένεσιν ζῶου δεθῆναι μὴ δυναμένου, συνέβη ποτέ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπείρου πελάγους ὑπὸ ἰδίας φύσεως περιωθουμένου, κινήσει φυσικῇ εὐτάκτως ῥυθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὥσπερ ἴλιγγα καὶ μίξαι τὰς οὐσίας καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν πάντων τὸ νοστιμώτατον, ὅπερ πρὸς γένεσιν ζῶου ἐπιτηδειότατον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώνῃ κατὰ μέσον ῥυθῆναι τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πάντα φερούσης ἴλιγγος χωρηῆσαι εἰς βάθος καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πνεῦμα ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ ὡς εἰς γονιμώτατον συλληφθὲν ποιεῖν κριτικὴν σύστασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὑγρῷ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι πομφόλυξ, οὕτως σφαιροειδὲς πανταχόθεν συνελήφθη κύτος. ἔπειτα αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κηθῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ περιελληφότος θειώδους πνεύματος ἀναφερόμενον προέκυσεν εἰς φῶς μέγιστόν τι τοῦτο ἀποκύημα, ὡς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ ἀπείρου βυθοῦ ἀποκεκνημένον ἐμφυχὸν δημιουργημα, καὶ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῷ ὧφ προσεικὸς καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς πτήσεως.

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

T19 (≠ DK) Appian in Ps.-Clement, *Homilies*

[. . .] the egg that Orpheus says was generated, sent forth from the infinity of matter, and born in the following way: the four-fold matter is animate and a whole infinite abyss is always flowing, which moves in a confused way, inundating each time differently innumerable imperfect mixtures, and for this reason, by reason of its disorder, it dissolves them, and it gapes open as though for the birth of an animal since it cannot be bound; in these circumstances, it happened once that, the infinite sea being impelled by its own nature, it flowed in an orderly manner with a natural motion from itself into itself like a whirlpool and mixed together the substances; and in this way, out of every thing in the universe, the element that was most nutritious and most suitable for the generation of an animal flowed toward the center of the universe, as in a funnel, and proceeded into the depths by the effect of the whirlpool that carries all things; and the surrounding wind was attracted by it and, when it had been assembled in the direction of the most perfect generative element, it produced an organism endowed with discernment. For just as a bubble tends to come about in a liquid, in the same way a spherical container was assembled from all sides. Then, when it had been procreated within itself and was lifted up by the surrounding divine wind, this greatest procreation emerged into the light, like an animate contrivance that emerged from the whole infinite abyss, similar to an egg in its round form and in the speed of its flight.

T20 (114F Bernabé) Dam. *Princ.* 55 (2.40.14 Westerink)

– ὡς ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος Αἰθέρι δίω
ᾧεον ἀργύφειον.

*Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic
Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)*

T21 (< 2 B14, 9 B1) Philod. *Piet.* 137.3–5, pp. 61–62
Gomperz

ἐν μὲν | [τισι]ν ἐκ Νυκτὸς καὶ | [Ταρ]τάρου λέγεται |
[τὰ π]άντα, ἐν δὲ τι[σιν] ἐξ Ἄιδου καὶ Αἰ[θέρ]ος· ὁ
δὲ τὴν Τι[τανο]μαχίαν γράβ[ψας] ἐξ Ἀιθέρος φη[σί]ν],
Ἄκουσίλαος | [δ' ἐκ] Χάους πρώτου | [τᾶλ]λα· ἐν δὲ
τοῖς | [ἀνα]φερομένοις εἰς | [Μο]υσαῖον γέγραπται |
[Τάρτ]αρον πρώτον | [καὶ Ν]ύκτα.¹

¹ [καὶ Ν]ύκτα Zeller, cett. Gomperz

T22 (< 9 B1) Dam. *Princ.* 124 (3.163.19–164.8 Westerink)

Ἄκουσίλαος δὲ Χάος μὲν ὑποτίθεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ τὴν
πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὡς πάντη ἀγνωστον, τὰς δὲ δύο μετὰ
τὴν μίαν, Ἐρεβος μὲν τὴν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν
Νύκτα [. . .] ἐκ δὲ τούτων φησὶ μυχθέντων Αἰθέρα
γενέσθαι καὶ Ἐρωτα καὶ Μῆτιν [. . .]. παράγει δὲ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν πολὺν ἀριθμὸν
κατὰ τὴν Εὐδήμου ἱστορίαν [< Frag. 150 Wehrli].

T20 (≠ DK) Damascius, *On the Principles*

then great Time produced for divine Aether
An egg shining like silver.

*Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic
Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)*

T21 (< 2 B14, 9 B1) Philodemus, *On Piety*

Among some it is said that all things come from Night and Tartarus, among some from Hades and Aether. The author of the *War of the Titans* [i.e. perhaps Eumelus of Corinth] says [scil. that they came from] Aether, Acusilaus [scil. says that] all other things [scil. came] first from Chaos. In the writings attributed to Musaeus it is written that Tartarus and Night were the first.

T22 (< 9 B1) Damascius, *On the Principles*

Acusilaus seems to me to establish Chaos as the first beginning, supposing that it is entirely unknown, and then the two after the one: Erebus the male, and the female Night [. . .]. He says that from these, when they were united, were born Aether, Eros, and Metis [. . .]. And he adds, besides these, also a large number of other gods that came from the same ones, according to the history of Eudemus.

3. REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN [MOR.]

Reflection on the similarities and, especially, the differences between the lives of gods and of human beings dominates Greek thought from the beginning. If the assertions of the early Greek philosophers about the gods and about men are to be understood fully, they need to be seen in relation with their predecessors', of whom (as, too, in the case of cosmological reflection) they take up some themes and formulas but also do not hesitate to distance themselves from other ones, criticizing and polemicizing, sometimes explicitly, against ideas endowed with a very strong cultural authority—just as their precursors themselves had often done.

The present chapter puts together a number of passages on the nature of human and divine life drawn from archaic and Classical Greek poets and traditional prose wisdom literature. It thereby presents one background to the thought of the early Greek philosophers. Some of these texts are of interest as surviving vestiges of kinds of popular thought that must have been widespread in early Greek oral culture but have otherwise been lost; others are presupposed specifically, in content or expression, by a number of the texts classified as belonging to early Greek philosophy and presented in the following chapters. The

presence of theological and political patterns is evident everywhere, but it must be emphasized that wisdom literature is echoed interestingly not only among philosophers even before the fifth century BC but also in the ways in which the later tradition depicts philosophers' character and behavior.

In this chapter, as in the ones dedicated to ancient doxography (chap. 1), to the most ancient reflections on the world (chap. 2), and to the echoes of philosophical doctrines found among the Greek dramatists (chap. 43), the critical apparatus for the Greek texts is reduced to a minimum, indicating solely our divergences, if any, from the editions of reference indicated in volume 1. In the case of the Orphic bone tablet and gold leaf (T33–T34), we have not reproduced the diacritical signs that appeared in the original edition. We have limited the bibliographical indications to the Seven Sages.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

- The Condition of the Gods* (T1–T6)
Zeus (T1–T3)
Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)
The Human Condition (T7–T39)
Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)
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Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21)
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REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

The Condition of the Gods (T1–T6)
Zeus (T1–T3)

T1 (≠ DK) Aesch. Ag. 160–83

[XO.] Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ-
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
165 πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρῆ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,
παμμαχῶ θράσει βρύων,
170 οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὄν-
ὄς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν, τρια-
κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχῶν.

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων
175 τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν,

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

The Condition of the Gods (T1–T6)
Zeus (T1–T3)

T1 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Zeus, whoever he is, if this is what
pleases him to be called,
I call upon him as this.
For I am not able to compare,
pondering everything,
Except for Zeus, if I am to cast truthfully 165
The futile weight from my thought.

Neither whoever earlier was great,
bursting with all-battling force,
Will be even spoken of as having existed formerly; 170
And as for him who was born later, he is gone,
having encountered a victor.
That man will hit completely upon wisdom
(*phrenes*)

Who eagerly proclaims Zeus victorious— 175

Zeus, who sets men on the path to wisdom (*phro-
nein*),

Who has established the law that learning

θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
 στάζει δ' ἀνθ' ὕπνου πρὸ καρδίας
 μνησιπήμων πόνος· καὶ παρ' ἄ-
 κοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος
 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμέων.

182 δέ που TF, δέ ποῦ cett. βίαιος Turnebus: βιαίως
 mss.

T2 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Heliod.* Frag. 70 R

Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός,
 Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

T3 (≠ DK) Soph. *Trach.* 1276–78

[TA.] [. . .] μεγάλους μὲν ἰδοῦσα νέους θανάτους,
 πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα καὶ καινοπαθῆ,
 κοῦδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεὺς.

Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)

T4 (ad 59 A112) Aesch. *Danaid.* Frag. 44 R

[AF.] ἐρᾶ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρώσαι χθόνα,
 ἔρωσ δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν

Comes through suffering.
 There drips down instead of sleep before the heart
 Anguish, mindful of misery; wisdom
 Arrives to the unwilling too.
 From the deities throned on lofty seat
 Comes somehow a grace, violent.

T2 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, Fragment from *Daughters of the Sun*

Zeus is the aether, Zeus the earth, Zeus the sky:
 Indeed, Zeus is everything, and whatever is beyond
 that.

T3 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Trachinian Women*

[HYLLUS TO THE CHORUS:] [. . .] seeing terrible recent
 deaths,
 And sufferings, many and unprecedented—
 And of these things, nothing that is not Zeus.

Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)

T4 (ad 59 A112) Aeschylus, Fragment from *The Danaids*

[APHRODITE:] The pure sky desires to penetrate the
 earth,
 And desire seizes the earth to experience wedlock.

ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
 ἔκυσσε γαίαν· ἣ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
 μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον
 δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν· ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
 τελεῖθ' ὅσ' ἔστι τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος

3 verbi εὐνάεντος forma et significatio valde incertae

T5 (≠ DK) Soph. Frag. 941 R

ὦ παῖδες, ἣ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,
 ἀλλ' ἔστι πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.
 ἔστιν μὲν Ἄιδης, ἔστι δ' ἀφθιτος βίος,
 ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανιάς, ἔστι δ' ἵμερος
 5 ἄκρατος, ἔστ' οἰμωγμός. ἐν κείνῃ τὸ πᾶν
 σπουδαῖον, ἡσυχάλιον, ἐς βίαν ἄγον.
 ἐντήκεται γὰρ πλευμόνων ὄσοις ἐνι
 ψυχῇ· τίς οὐχὶ τῆσδε τῆς θεοῦ πόρος;
 εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτῶ γένει,
 10 ἔνεστι δ' ἐν χέρσον τετρασκελεῖ γονῆ,
 νομᾶ δ' ἐν οἰανόοις τοῦκείνης πτερόν.
 < . . . >
 ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω.
 τίν' οὐ παλαίουσ' ἐς τρὶς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν;
 εἰ μοι θέμις—θέμις δὲ τᾶληθῆ λέγειν—
 15 Διὸς τυραννέει πλευμόνων, ἄνευ δορός,
 ἄνευ σιδήρου πάντα τοι συντέμνεται
 Κύπρις τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλευμάτα

Rain, falling from the well-flowing (?) sky,
 Impregnates the earth; and she gives birth for mortals
 To pastures for sheep, and Demeter's sustenance
 for life [i.e. grain],
 And the fruit of trees: from moistening wedlock
 Is fulfilled all that exists. Of these things I am part
 cause.

T5 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified play

Children, Cypris [i.e. Aphrodite] is not only Cypris,
 But her name is equivalent to many names:
 She is Hades, she is imperishable life,
 She is insane frenzy, she is unmixed
 5 Desire, is lamentation. In her resides all that is
 Noble, calm, leading to violence.
 For she melts into the lungs of all that are
 Animate—what resource does not belong to this
 goddess?
 She enters into the fishes' swimming tribe,
 She is located within the land's four-legged offspring,
 10 Her wing plies among birds.
 < . . . >
 Among animals, among mortals, among gods above.
 Which of the gods does she not wrestle and
 overthrow three times?
 If it is lawful for me—and it is lawful to say the
 truth—
 She is tyrant over Zeus' lungs, without a spear,
 15 Without iron. Cypris cuts short
 All the plans of mortals and of gods.

T6 (≠ DK) Eur. Frag. 898 K

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὄρας ὄση θεός;
 ἦν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἂν
 ὄση πέφυκε κάφ' ὅσον διέρχεται.
 αὐτὴ τρέφει σὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς.
 5 τεκμήριον δέ, μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθης·
 ἐργᾶ μὲν ὄμβρου γαί', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον
 ἄκαρπον ἀνχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχη,
 ἐργᾶ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
 10 ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαίαν Ἀφροδίτης ἕπο·
 ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῆτον ἐς ταῦτόν δύο,
 φύουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα
 δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

5 post hunc versum hab. mss. ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ
 τῆς θεοῦ, del. Gomperz

The Human Condition (T7–T39)
Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)

T7 (≠ DK) Hom. *Il.* 24.525–33

525 ὧς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
 ζῶειν ἀχνυμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσίν.
 δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
 δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.
 φῶ μὲν κ' ἀμμείξας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέρανος,

T6 (≠ DK) Euripides, Fragment from an unidentified play

Do you not see how great a goddess Aphrodite is?
 You could neither say nor measure
 How great she is by nature, and how far she reaches.
 She nurtures you and me and all mortals.
 Here is evidence, so that you can learn it not only 5
 through words.
 The earth desires rain when the dry soil, 7
 Infertile because of drought, is in need of moisture,
 And the majestic sky, when it is filled
 With rain, desires to fall upon the earth—because of 10
 Aphrodite:
 And when these two are commingled into one and
 the same,
 They generate and nurture for us all the things
 Through which the mortal race lives and flourishes.

The Human Condition (T7–T39)
Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)

T7 (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Achilles to Priam:]

For this is how the gods have spun matters for 525
 wretched mortals,
 To live in grief, while they themselves are free of
 care.
 For two urns are set on Zeus' floor,
 Of gifts of the sort he gives, [scil. the one] of evils,
 the other of benefits.
 To whomever thunder-delighting Zeus gives a
 mixture of these,

530 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ'
 ἐσθλῶ.
 φῶ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δάη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκεν,
 καί ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,
 φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τιμημένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.

T8 (≠ DK) Hom. *Od.*

a 1.31–34

τοῦ ὃ γ' ἐπιμνησθεῖς ἔπε' ἀθανάτοισι μετρίδα·
 “ὦ πόποι, οἶον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται.
 ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κακ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγ' ἔχουσιν
 [. . .].”

b 18.130–37

130 οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιον
 πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.
 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,
 ὄφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχωσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη
 135 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέωσι,
 καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῶ.
 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
 οἶον ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἄγησι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

That man sometimes meets with evil, and sometimes 530
 with good;
 But to whomever he gives only of the evils, he treats
 that man outrageously,
 And evil hunger drives him over the sacred earth,
 And he wanders honored neither by gods nor by
 mortals.

T8 (≠ DK) Homer, *Odyssey*

a [Zeus to the gods:]

Thinking of him [i.e. Aegisthus] he [i.e. Zeus] spoke
 to the immortals:
 “Oh for shame, how mortals blame the gods!
 For they say that evils come from us, but it is they
 themselves too
 Who by their own follies get sorrows beyond what is
 fated [. . .].”

b [Odysseus to Amphinomeus:]

Earth nourishes nothing weaker than man, 130
 Of all the things that breathe and move on the earth;
 For he says that he will never suffer evil in the future
 So long as the gods give him manliness and his knees
 move.
 But when the blessed gods fulfill misfortunes too for
 him,
 These too he bears, sorrowing with an enduring 135
 spirit.
 For the mind of men upon the earth is such
 As the day that the father of gods and men brings
 upon them.

T9 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Choe.* 585–602

585 [XO.] πολλὰ μὲν γὰ τρέφει
 δεινὰ δειμάτων ἄχῃ,
 πόντῃαι τ' ἀγκάλαι
 κνωδάλων ἀνταίων
 βρύουσι· βλαστοῦσι καὶ πεδαίχμοι
 590 λαμπάδες πεδάοροι·
 πτανὰ δὲ καὶ πεδοβάμονα κἀνεμόεντ' ἄν
 αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον·
 ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀν-
 595 δρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
 καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσίν
 τλαμόνων παντόλμους
 ἔρωτας, ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;
 ξυζύγους δ' ὀμαυλίας
 600 θηλυκρατῆς ἀπέρωπος ἔρωσ παρανικᾶ
 κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν.

589 βλαστοῦσι ΣΜ: βλάπτουσι Butler 591 πτανὰ δὲ
 Hermann: πτανά τε mss.

*Human Time (T10–T13)*T10 (≠ DK) Soph. *OC* 607–13, 617–18

[OI.] [. . .] μόνους οὐ γίγνεται
 θεοῖσι γῆρας οὐδὲ καθθανεῖν ποτε,

T9 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*

[CHORUS:] Many are the terrible sufferings of dread 585
 that the earth nurtures,
 And the sea's arms brim
 With hostile beasts;
 And lights blossom, suspended high up
 Between earth and sky; 590
 And winged things and ones that tread the ground
 could also tell of
 The whirlwinds' tempestuous rage.
 But man's over-daring
 thought—who could tell of this, 595
 And of the all-daring lusts of women
 Audacious in their hearts,
 Dwelling together with disasters for mortals?
 Female-ruling implacable passion conquers the 600
 marriages
 Of beasts and of mortals.

*Human Time (T10–T13)*T10 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*

[OEDIPUS:] [. . .] it is only for the gods
 That there is no old age nor ever death.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατῆς χρό-
νος.

610

φθίνει μὲν ἰσχύς γῆς, φθίνει δὲ σώματος,
θνήσκει δὲ πίστις, βλαστάνει δ' ἀπιστία,
καὶ πνεῦμα ταῦτ' οὐ ποτ' οὐτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν
φίλοις βέβηκεν οὔτε πρὸς πόλιν πόλει.

[. . .] μυρίας ὁ μυρίος

χρόνος τεκνοῦται νύκτας ἡμέρας τ' ἰών [. . .].

T11 (≠ DK) Soph. *Aj.* 646–49

[AI.] ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναριθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται
κοῦκ ἔστ' ἄελπτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀλίσκεται
χῶ δεινὸς ὄρκος καὶ περισκελεῖς φρένες.

T12 (≠ DK) Soph. *Frag.* 918 R

πάντ' ἐκκαλύπτων ὁ χρόνος εἰς τὸ φῶς ἄγει

T13 (≠ DK) Soph. *Hipponeus Frag.* 301 R

[. . .] ὡς ὁ πάνθ' ὀρῶν

καὶ πάντ' ἀκούων πάντ' ἀναπτύσσει χρόνος

All others things all-mastering Time overwhelms.
The earth's strength withers, the body's withers, 610
Trust dies, distrust blossoms,
And the spirit never continues the same, neither
among men
Who are friends nor for one city to another one.
[. . .] countless time
Fathers countless nights and days as it proceeds
[. . .].

T11 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Ajax*

[AJAX:] Lengthy and unnumbered time makes
All unseen things grow and conceals them once re-
vealed;
And there is nothing so unexpected, but they are
caught fast,
Fearsome oath and rigid resolutions.

T12 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified
play

Time, uncovering all things, brings them to light.

T13 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from *Hipponeus*

[. . .] for time, which sees all
and hears all, unfolds all things.

*Kinds of Human Excellence and
Fallibility (T14–T39)**The Varieties of Human Excellence (T14–T16)***T14** (≠ DK) Hom. *Il.* 11.784

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων
[. . .].

T15 (≠ DK) Hom. *Od.***a** 8.167–71, 174–75

οὕτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν
ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φυὴν οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτ'
ἀγορητῦν.
ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ τ' εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ,
170 ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεισι στέφει· οἱ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν
τερπόμενοι λεύσσοισιν [. . .].
ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
175 ἀλλ' οὗ οἱ χάρις ἀμφὶ περιστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν
[. . .].

b 9.5–11

5 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
ἢ ὅτ' εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχη κάτα δῆμον ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνά δώματ' ἀκονάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ
ἤμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι

*Kinds of Human Excellence and
Fallibility (T14–T39)**The Varieties of Human Excellence (T14–T16)***T14** (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Peleus to his son Achilles:]

Always to be the best and to be superior to the others
[. . .].

T15 (≠ DK) Homer, *Odyssey***a** [Odysseus to Euryalus:]

The gods do not give delightful things to all men in
the same way,
Neither bodily shape nor intelligence nor eloquence.
For one man is weak in his appearance,
But the god garlands his words with beauty, and upon 170
him
Men look with delight [. . .]
And then another is similar to the gods in his
appearance,
But no delight is set as a garland upon his words 175
[. . .].

b [Odysseus to Alcinous:]

I think that no fulfillment (*telos*) is more delightful 5
Than when festivity holds sway over all the people,
And banqueters throughout the rooms listen to a
bard
While they sit next to one another, and beside them
the tables are full

10 σίτον καὶ κρειῶν, μέθην δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
οἴνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι.

c 11.489–91

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίωτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσι νεκρέεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

T16 (≠ DK) Sapph. Frag. 16.1–4

οἳ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἳ δὲ πέσδων,
οἳ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ί] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
εἴμμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται.

Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21)
Poetry and Truth (T17–T19)

T17 (> ad 3 B1) Hes. *Th.* 26–28

ποιμένες ἀγραυλοὶ, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,
ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

Of bread and meats, and drawing wine from the
mixing bowl
The cup-bearer carries it about and pours it into their 10
cups.
This seems in my mind to be the loveliest thing.

c [The shade of dead Achilles to Odysseus:]

I would prefer to work the earth laboring for another
man,
Some man without his own land, who did not have a
lot to live on,
Then to lord it over all the perished dead.

T16 (≠ DK) Sappho, Fragment

Some say that a host of horsemen, others one of
footsoldiers,
Others one of ships, is the most beautiful thing
On the black earth: but I say it is that thing, whatever
it is,
That one loves.

Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21)
Poetry and Truth (T17–T19)

T17 (> ad 3 B1) Hesiod, *Theogony* [The Muses to the
shepherd Hesiod:]

Field-dwelling shepherds, ignoble disgraces, mere
bellies:
We know how to say many false things (*pseudea*)
similar to genuine ones (*etuma*),
But we know, when we wish, how to proclaim true
things (*alêthea*).

T18 (≠ DK) Solon Frag. 29

πολλὰ ψεύδονται αἰοιοί

T19 (≠ DK) Pind. *Nem.* 7.20–24

ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι
 λόγον Ὀδυσσεύος ἢ πάθαν
 διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπή γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον·
 ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσ' οἱ ποτανῆ τε μαχανῆ
 σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι σοφία
 δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
 ἦτορ ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος.

*The Power of Persuasion (T20–T21)*T20 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Ag.* 385–86

[χο.] βιάται δ' ἄ τάλαινα Πειθῶ,
 προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος Ἄτας.

T21 (≠ DK) Soph. Frag. 865 R

δεινὸν τὸ τᾶς Πειθοῦς πρόσωπον

T18 (≠ DK) Solon, Fragment from a poem probably in elegiac couplets

Poets tell many lies.

T19 (≠ DK) Pindar, *Nemean*s

I myself believe
 That Odysseus' story is greater than his suffering
 Because of sweet-sunged Homer,
 For on his lies (*pseudesi*) and winged craft (*mākhanā*)
 There resides a sort of majesty; and skill (*sophia*)
 Deceives, misleading with stories. And the great
 swarm
 Of men possess a blind heart [. . .].

*The Power of Persuasion (T20–T21)*T20 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Wretched Persuasion commits violence,
 The unendurable child of counseling Madness.

T21 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified play

Awe-inspiring is Persuasion's face.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

*Nature and Consequences of Justice
and Injustice (T22–T34)*

Justice and Injustice in This World (T22–T31)

T22 (≠ DK) Hom. *Il.* 18.497–508

λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
ὠρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινηῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένον. ὃ μὲν ἠὔχετο πάντ'
ἀποδοῦναι

500 δῆμῳ πιφάουσκων, ὃ δ' ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι
ἄμφω δ' ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἱστορίῳ πείραρ ἐλέσθαι.

λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπουν ἀμφὶς ἀρωγοί·
κῆρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον. οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἶατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ,

505 σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ' ἔχον ἠεροφάνων
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἦῖσσαν, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἐδίκαζον.
κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῷ δόμεν, ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶποι.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

*Nature and Consequences of Justice
and Injustice (T22–T34)*

Justice and Injustice in This World (T22–T31)

T22 (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Description of a scene on the shield Hephaestus makes for Achilles:]

The people were gathered in the marketplace; there
a quarrel

Had arisen, and two men were quarreling over the
blood price

For a man who had been killed. The one man swore
he had paid back everything,

Speaking to the people, but the other refused to
accept [or: denied that he had received] anything

500

at all;
And both were going for an arbitrator, to win the
decision.

People were cheering both men, to help each of
them.

But heralds held the people back, and the elders
Were sitting on polished stones in a sacred circle,
Holding in their hands the staves of the loud-voiced

505

heralds.
They sprang up with these, and gave judgment in
turns.

And amidst them there lay on the ground two talents
of gold,

To be given to the one among them who spoke the
straightest judgment.

T23 (≠ DK) Hes. *Th.*

a 881–85

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα πόνον μάκαρες θεοὶ ἐξετέλεσαν,
 Τιτῆνεςσι δὲ τιμῶν κρίναντο βίηφι,
 δὴ ῥα τότε ἄτρυνον βασιλεύμεν ἠδὲ ἀνάσσειν
 Γαίης φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλύμπιον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν
 ἀθανάτων· ὁ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐὺ διεδάσσατο τιμᾶς.

b 901–3

δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὠρας,
 Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
 αἵ τ' ἔργ' ὠρεύουσι καταθητοῖσι βροτοῖσι [. . .].

T24 (≠ DK) Hes. *Op.* 225–31, 238–55

225 οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
 ἰθείας καὶ μὴ τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίον,
 τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθέουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ·
 Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῖς
 ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς·
 230 οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ
 οὐδ' ἄτη, θαλίης δὲ μεμηλότα ἔργα νέμονται.
 [. . .]

T23 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

a

But when the blessed gods had completed their toil,
 And by force had reached a settlement with the
 Titans regarding honors,
 Then by the counsels of Earth they urged Olympian
 far-seeing Zeus
 To become king and to rule over the immortals;
 And he divided their honors well for them.

b

Second [scil. after Intelligence (*Mêtis*)], he [i.e. Zeus]
 married bright Ordinance (*Themis*), who gave
 birth to the Seasons (*Hôrai*),
 Lawfulness (*Eunomia*) and Justice (*Dikê*) and
 blooming Peace (*Eirênê*),
 Who care for the works of mortal human beings [. . .].

T24 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Works and Days*

But those who give straight judgments to foreigners 225
 and fellow citizens
 And do not turn aside from justice at all,
 Their city blooms and the people in it flower.
 For them, Peace, the nurse of the young, is on the
 earth,
 And far-seeing Zeus never marks out painful war;
 Nor does famine attend straight-judging men, 230
 Nor calamity, but they share out in festivities the
 fruits of the labors they care for.
 [. . .]

- οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακῆ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύσπα
Ζεὺς.
240 πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἀπήνρα,
ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάσται.
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·
οὐδὲ γυναῖκες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι
245 Ζητὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλυμπίου· ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
ἢ τῶν γε στρατῶν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τεῖχος
ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ Κρονίδης ἀποτείνεται αὐτῶν.
ὦ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοῖ
τήνδε δίκην· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔοντες
250 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολιῆσι δίκησιν
ἀλλήλους τρίβουσι θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.
τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἀθάνατοι Ζητὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
255 ἠέρα ἐσάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.

T25 (≠ DK) Solon

a Frag. 4.1–8, 30–39

ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐποτ' ὀλείται

- But to those who care only for evil outrageousness
and cruel deeds,
Far-seeing Zeus, Cronus' son, marks out justice.
Often even a whole city suffers because of an evil
240 man
Who sins and devises wicked deeds.
Upon them, Cronus' son brings forth woe from the
sky,
Famine together with pestilence, and the people die
away;
The women do not give birth, and the household are
diminished
By the cunning of Olympian Zeus. And at another
245 time
Cronus' son destroys their broad army or their wall,
Or he takes vengeance upon their ships on the sea.
As for you kings, too, ponder this justice yourselves.
For among human beings there are immortals nearby,
Who take notice of all those who with crooked
250 judgments
Grind one another down and have no care for the
gods' retribution.
Thrice ten thousand are Zeus' immortal guardians
Of mortal human beings upon the bounteous earth,
And they watch over judgments and cruel deeds,
Clad in invisibility, walking everywhere upon the
255 earth.

T25 (≠ DK) Solon, Elegiac poems

a

Our city will never be destroyed through the fate of
Zeus

αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων
 τοίη γὰρ μεγάρθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει
 5 αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίησιν
 ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμον θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεια πολλὰ παθεῖν
 [. . .]

30 ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
 ὡς κακὰ πλείστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει.
 Εὐνομίη δ' εὐκοσμία καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
 καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκους ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
 35 τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῦ,
 αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φυόμενα,
 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα.
 πραῦνει παύει δ' ἔργα διχαστασίης,
 παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἐριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ'
 αὐτῆς
 πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

b Frag. 13.16–17, 25–32

οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει,
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πάντων ἐφορᾷ τέλος [. . .].

Or the intentions of the blessed immortal gods;
 For such a great-hearted guardian, Pallas Athena,
 Born of a mighty father, holds her hands over it.
 But the citizens themselves are willing, by their 5
 follies
 And obedience to money, to destroy this great city,
 And unjust is the mind of the people's leaders, for
 whom it is made ready
 That they will suffer many pains because of their
 great arrogance (*hybris*).

[. . .]
 This my heart bids me teach the Athenians: 30
 That Lawlessness (*Dysnomia*) gives the city
 countless evils,
 But Lawfulness (*Eunomia*) makes all things ordered
 and well-fitting,
 And often puts fetters on the unjust.
 She smoothes the rough, stops excess, weakens
 arrogance,
 Withers the blooming flowers of disaster, 35
 Straightens crooked judgments, softens arrogant
 deeds,
 And stops acts of civil strife,
 And stops the anger of evil contention. Under her
 All things among men are well-fitting and wise.

b

For the works of arrogance do not last long for
 mortals.
 No, Zeus looks upon the outcome of all things [. . .].

25 τοιαύτη Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις· οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστω
 ὥσπερ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ γίγνεται ὀξύχολος,
 αἰεὶ δ' οὐ ἐλέγηθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρόν
 θυμὸν ἔχει, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτεισεν, ὁ δ' ὕστερον· οἱ δὲ
 φύγωσιν

30 αὐτοὶ, μηδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιούσα κίχη,
 ἤλυθε πάντως αὐτίς· ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν
 ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω.

c Frag. 9.1-4

ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἠδὲ χαλάζης,
 βροντῆ δ' ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὀλλυται, ἐς δὲ
 μονάρχου
 δῆμος αἰδρίη δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

d Frag. 12

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται ἣν δέ τις
 αὐτήν
 μὴ κινή, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

T26 (≠ DK) Theogn.

a 197-208

χρῆμα δ' ὁ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ
 γένηται

Such is the vengeance of Zeus: he is not quick to 25
 anger,

Like a mortal man, at everything,
 But whoever has a wicked heart does not ever escape
 his notice

And in the end certainly he is exposed.
 But one man pays immediately, another later, and
 those who themselves escape 30
 And the gods' pursuing destiny does not catch
 them,

It certainly comes at some other time; the innocent
 pay for their deeds,
 Either their children or their descendants later.

c

From a cloud comes the force of the snow and hail,
 And thunder is born from brilliant lightning;
 From great men comes a city's destruction, and in its
 foolishness
 The people fall under the slavery of a monarch.

d

From winds comes the sea's agitation; but if
 It is not stirred up, it is the most just of all things.

T26 (≠ DK) Theognis, Elegiac poems

a

A possession that comes to a man from Zeus, and
 with justice

καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει·
 εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ
 200 κτήσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών,
 αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτῆν
 αὐθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.
 ἀλλὰ τὰδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾷ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ
 τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας,
 205 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτεισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ
 φίλοισιν
 ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν·
 ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ
 ἀναιδῆς
 πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἔζετο κῆρα φέρων.

b 731–36, 741–52

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν
 ἀλιτροῖς
 ὕβριν ἀδεῖν, καὶ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
 θυμῷ, σχέτλια ἔργα· μετὰ φρεσὶ δ' ὅστις
 †ἀθήνης
 ἐργάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος,
 735 αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τέλσαι κακά, μηδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσσω
 πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίας παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν·
 [. . .]
 741 ταῦτ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν
 ἔρδων
 ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.

And purely, lasts forever;
 But if a man acquires it unjustly, unduly, with a
 greedy spirit,
 Or seizes it by an oath against what is just, 200
 At first he thinks he is getting a profit, but in the end
 It turns out badly, and the mind (*noos*) of the gods
 overcomes him.
 But these things deceive the minds of men, for it is
 not at the very moment
 That the blessed gods punish an act of sinfulness,
 But one man pays his evil debt himself, and does not 205
 hang destruction
 Over his own children later;
 While another one is not overtaken by justice, since
 ruthless death
 Settles first on his eyelids, bringing him doom.

b

Father Zeus, if only it pleased the gods that
 outrageous arrogance (*hybris*)
 Delighted sinners and that this pleased them
 In their hearts: wicked deeds; but that whoever acted
 in their minds †. . . †,
 Without any regard for the gods,
 Would then pay an evil penalty himself, and that evil 735
 later
 Would not come about for children by their
 father's sins. [. . .]
 If only this pleased the blessed gods! But as it is, the 741
 perpetrator
 Gets away, and then another man gets misery.

745 καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἔστι δίκαιον,
 ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἔκτος ἑὼν ἀδίκων,
 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μῆθ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρον,
 ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἑὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;
 τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος ὁρῶν πρὸς τοῦτον
 ἔπειτα
 ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τίνα θυμὸν ἔχων,
 ὅπποτ' ἀνὴρ ἄδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτε τευ
 ἀνδρός
 750 οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος,
 ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
 τρύχονται χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;

T27 (≠ DK) Pind.

a Frag. 169a.1–5

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ. τεκμαίρομαι
 ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος [. . .].

b Frag. 213

πότερον δίκῃ τείχος ὕψιον
 ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει
 ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνδρῶν,
 δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἶπεῖν.

And this, king of the immortals: how is it just
 That a man who keeps away from unjust deeds
 And does not commit away from transgression or a wicked 745
 oath,
 But is just, suffers unjustly?
 What other mortal, looking upon him, would then
 Revere the immortals? What spirit would he have,
 Whenever an unjust and wicked man, who does not
 avoid the wrath
 Of any man or of any of the deathless gods, 750
 Commits an outrage, sated in wealth, while the just
 Are worn out and wasted away by harsh poverty?

T27 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragments

a

Law (*nomos*), king of all,
 Of mortals and of immortals,
 Leads them, rendering the greatest violence just
 By his supreme hand. I cite as witness
 Heracles' deeds [. . .].

b

Whether the race of men on the earth
 Ascends the loftier wall by means of justice
 or by crooked deceits—
 my mind is divided in saying this precisely.

T28 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Ag.* 250

[XO.] Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει
[. . .].

T29 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Eum.*

a 517–37

[XO.] ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εἶ,
καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον
δέιμ' ἄνω καθήμενον
520 ξυμφέρει
σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.
τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν †φάει†
καρδίας δέος τρέφων—
ἢ πόλις, βροτός θ' ὁμοί-
525 ως—ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι Δίκαν;

μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον
μήτε δεσποτούμενον
αἰνέσσης.
530 παντὶ μέσφ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὥπασεν,
ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει.
ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω
δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως,
535 ἐκ δ' ὑγείας
φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος
καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

T28 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Justice weighs out learning to those
who suffer [. . .].

T29 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Eumenides*

a

[CHORUS:] Sometimes terror is good,
And, a sentinel for minds,
Dread, seated on high (?):
There is a benefit 520
In wisdom coming with duress.
For he who does not at all nourish
His heart's dread in †light†—
Either a city, or a mortal in the same
Way—would still revere justice? 525

Neither the life without a ruler
Nor the one under a despot
Should you praise.
To all in the middle a god 530
Has granted strength, though he oversees
Differently in different places.
I speak an appropriate word:
In truth, arrogant violence
Is impiety's child;
But from health 535
Of the mind comes all-loving
And all-invoked prosperity.

b 696-702

[AΘ.] τὸ μήτ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον
 ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευώ σέβειν,
 καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἕξω βαλεῖν
 τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;
 τοιόνδε τοι ταρβούντες ἐνδίκως σέβας
 ἔρυμα τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον
 ἔχουτ' ἄν, οἷον οὔτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει [. . .].

T30 (31 B135) Soph. Ant. 450-60

[AN.] οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,
 οὐδ' ἡ ξύνουκος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη
 τοιούσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὤρισε νόμους,
 οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥόμην τὰ σὰ
 κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἀγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν
 455 νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητά γ' ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.
 οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ποτε
 ζῆ ταῦτα, κούδεῖς οἶδεν ἐξ ὄτου φάνη.
 τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς
 φρόνημα δείσασ', ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
 δώσειν.

b

[ATHENA:] Neither absence of a ruling power nor submission to an absolute master—
 This is what I advise the citizens to defend and to revere,
 And not to cast fear altogether from the city.
 For what mortal who fears nothing is just?
 If you fear justly the object of such a veneration
 You will have protection for your country and salvation for your city
 Such as no one among men possesses [. . .].

T30 (31 B135) Sophocles, *Antigone*

[ANTIGONE:] For me, it was not Zeus who made that [i.e. Creon's] proclamation,
 Nor did Justice, who dwells with the gods below,
 Stipulate such laws to be valid among humans;
 Nor did I suppose that your proclamations were so strong
 That they, being mortal, could outrun
 The unwritten and immovable ordinances of the 455 gods.
 For they are not of now and of yesterday, but for all eternity
 Do they live, and no one knows when they appeared.
 So I was not, out of fear of any man's spirit,
 Going to make myself liable to the gods because of them.

T31 (≠ DK) Soph. OT 863–96

[XO.] εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν
 εὔσεπτον ἀγνείαν λόγων
 865 ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται
 ὑψίποδες, οὐρανία ἔν
 αἰθέρι τεκνωθέντες, ὧν Ὀλυμπος
 πατὴρ μόνος, οὐδέ νιν
 θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων
 870 ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ μήποτε λά-
 θα κατακοιμάσῃ·
 μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.
 ὕβρις φυτεύει τύραννον ὕβρις, εἰ
 πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῆ μάτα
 875 ἂ μὴ ἴκικαιρα μηδὲ συμφέροντα,
 ἀκρότατα γείσ' ἀναβᾶσ'
 ἀπότομον ὤρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν,
 ἔνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ
 880 χρήται. τὸ καλῶς δ' ἔχον
 πόλει πάλαισμα μήποτε λυ-
 σαι θεὸν αἰτοῦμαι·
 θεὸν οὐ λήξω ποτὲ προστάταν ἴσχων.
 εἰ δέ τις ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν
 ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται,
 885 Δίκας ἀφόβητος, οὐδὲ
 δαιμόνων ἔδη σέβων,
 κακά νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα,

T31 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Oedipus the Tyrant*

[CHORUS:] May my destiny help me
 To practice reverent purity in words
 And in all deeds for which the laws are fixed 865
 Standing on high, sired in
 The heavenly aether, those of which Olympus
 Alone is father, nor did
 Men's mortal nature
 Father them, nor will oblivion ever put them to 870
 sleep:
 For in them god is great and never does he grow
 old.
 Arrogance (*hubris*) makes a tyrant grow—
 Arrogance, if it is overfull of many things in vain,
 Inopportune, unprofitable, 875
 Climbing up to the roof-top it plunges into sheer
 necessity,
 Where it finds no useful footing. But the contention
 That is good for the city—I pray that god never 880
 destroy that.
 For never will I cease to hold a god as our protector.
 If someone proceeds overweening in hands or
 word,
 Unintimidated by Justice nor revering the deities' 885
 shrines—
 May an evil destiny catch him
 Because of his ill-fortuned luxury,

890 δυσπότημον χάριν χλιδᾶς,
 εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως
 καὶ τῶν ἀσέπτων ἔρξεται,
 ἢ τῶν ἀθίκτων θίξεται ματᾶζων.
 τίς ἔτι ποτ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ θυμοῦ βέλη
 εὔξεται ψυχᾶς ἀμύνειν;
 895 εἰ γὰρ αἰ τοιαῖδε πράξεις τίμιαι,
 τί δεῖ με χορεύειν;

894 εὔξεται Musgrave; ἔρξεται mss.; τεύξεται Hölscher

The Afterlife (T32–T34)

T32 Pind.

a (> ad 31 B146) *Ol.* 2.53–54, 56–77

ὁ μᾶν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος
 φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν
 καιρὸν βαθείαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν
 [. . .].
 εἰ δέ νιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον,
 ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐν-
 θάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
 πωινὰς ἔτεισαν—τὰ δ' ἐν τᾶδε Διὸς ἀρχῆ
 60 ἀλιτρά κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθρῶ
 λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκη·
 ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεῖ,
 ἴσαις δ' ἀμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον

If he does not acquire profit justly
 Nor refrains from irreverence 890
 Or in his folly lays hand on things untouchable.
 Among such people, what man will boast
 That he wards off the gods' shafts from his breast?
 For if these are the kinds of practices that are held 895
 in honor,
 Why need I dance [scil. at the festivals of the gods]?

The Afterlife (T32–T34)

T32 Pindar

a (> ad 31 B146) *Olympians*

Wealth ornamented by virtues
 brings the occasion for some things and for others,
 Repressing down deep fierce anxiety [. . .].
 If someone who possesses it knows what is to
 come,
 That of those who have died here
 the helpless spirits (*phrenes*) immediately
 Pay the penalty—and for the sins in this realm of
 Zeus
 Someone passes judgment below the earth,
 Speaking with hateful necessity; 60
 But always possessing the sunlight in equal nights
 And in equal days, good men receive

- ἐσλοὶ δέκονται βίοντα, οὐ χθόνα τα-
 ράσσοντες ἐν χερσὶ ἀκμῆ
 οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ
 65 κειὰν παρὰ δίαταιν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίους
 θεῶν οἴτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίας
 ἄδακρυν νέμονται
 αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.
 ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐστρίς·
 ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
 70 ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρό-
 νου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
 νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
 αὔραι περιπνέουσιν· ἀνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
 τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων,
 ὕδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει,
 ὄρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους
 75 βουλαῖς ἐν ὄρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθους,
 ὃν πατὴρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοῖμον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον,
 πόσις ὁ πάντων Ῥέας
 ὑπέρτατον ἐχοίσας θρόνον.

b (≠ DK) Frag. 131a

ὄλβιοι δ' ἅπαντες αἴσα λυσιπόνων τελετᾶν.

- A life free of toil, not worrying
 the earth nor the sea's water with the might of
 their hands
 For a meager living; but instead, beside those 65
 honored
 By the gods, those who rejoiced in good oaths
 pass a tearless
 Existence, while the others endure pain impossible to
 look upon.
 But all those who have managed, staying three times
 In both places, to keep their soul away from all
 injustices,
 They travel the road of Zeus to Cronus'
 tower; there around the Island 70
 Of the Blessed blow the ocean winds, and flowers of
 gold blaze,
 Some on the ground from gleaming trees,
 while water nourishes others,
 They weave garlands for their hands and crowns
 In the straight decrees of Rhadamanthys, 75
 Whom the great father keeps seated ready beside
 him,
 The husband of Rhea, who possesses the loftiest
 throne of all.

b (≠ DK) Fragment

Blessed [scil. are] all those who have a share in the rites
 that release from toil.

c (≠ DK) Frag. 131b

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἶδω-
λον· τὸ γὰρ ἔστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν· εὐδαι δὲ πρασσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ εὐ-
δόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνείροις
δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφέρποισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν.

d (ad 31 B146) Frag. 133

οἴσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποιῶν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτι
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγαοὶ
καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφίᾳ τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὔξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἀ-
γνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

e (≠ DK) Frag. 137

ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόν'·
οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν,
οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν.

c (≠ DK) Fragment

The body of all men obeys overwhelming death,
But a living image of the vital force (*aíōn*) still
remains:
for that alone
Comes from the gods. It sleeps while the limbs are
acting,
but to men as they sleep, in many dreams
It reveals the approaching choice of delights or of
pains.

d (> 31 B146) Fragment

For those from whom Persephone accepts requital
For her ancient grief [scil. the murder of her son
Dionysus by the Titans], in the ninth year she
sends
Their souls back up to the upper sun; from them rise
up noble kings
And men quick in strength and those who are
greatest in wisdom,
And for the rest of time they are called
Sacred heroes by men.

e (≠ DK) Fragment

Blessed is he who sees them [i.e. the Eleusinian
mysteries] and then goes beneath the earth;
he knows the end of life
And knows too its god-given beginning.

T33 (≠ DK) Lamellae osseae saec. V a. Chr. Olbiae repertae

a Frag. 463 T Bernabé

βίος, θάνατος, βίος
ἀλήθεια
Διό(νυσος) Ὀρφικοί

b Frag. 464 T Bernabé

εἰρήνη πόλεμος
ἀλήθεια ψεύδος
Διόν(υσος)

c Frag. 465 T Bernabé

Διόν(υσος)
<ψεύδος> ἀλήθεια
σῶμα ψυχή
<ψεύδος> Vinogradov

T34 (cf. 1 B17–20) Lamella aurea ca. 400 a. C. n. Hipponii reperta (Frag. 474 F Bernabé)

Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἔργον. ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι
θανεῖσθαι
εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους εὐήρεας, ἔστ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κρήνα,
παρ δ' αὐτὰν ἔστακῦα λευκὰ κυπάρισσος·

T33 (≠ DK) Bone tablets from Olbia, 5th century BC

a

life death life
truth
Dion(ysus) Orphic men

b

peace war
truth falsehood [or: lie]
Dion(ysus)

c

Dion(ysus)
<falsehood [or: lie]> truth
body soul

T34 (cf. 1 B17–20) Orphic gold leaf from Hipponion, ca. 400 BC

This is the work of Mnemosyne [i.e. the goddess of memory]: when you [i.e. the initiate] are about to die
Into the well-constructed houses of Hades, there is
on the right a spring,
And beside it standing a white cypress;

5 ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχὰι νεκῶν ψύχονται.
ταύτας τὰς κράνας μὴδὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθης.
πρόσθεν δὲ εὐρήσεις τὰς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ
λίμνας
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δὲ ἐπύπερθεν
ἔασι.
οἱ δὲ σε εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ φρασὶ πενκαλίμαισι
10 ὅττι δὴ ἐξερέεις Ἄιδος σκοτός ὀρφνήεντος.
εἶπον· “Τῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
δίψαι δ’ εἰμ’ ἀδος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ’ ὦκα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πίνειαι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ
λίμνης.”
καὶ δὴ τοὶ ἐρέουσιν ὑποχθονίῳ βασιλείῳ·
καὶ δώσουσι πιεῖν τὰς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
15 καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πίων ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
μύσται καὶ βᾶκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλεινοῖ.

Varieties of Human Wisdom (T35–T39)
The Wisdom of the Seven Sages (T35–T38)

T35 (10.3) Demetr. Phal. in Stob. 3.1.172 (= Frag. 114 Wehrli)

[1] Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος ἔφη·

1. μέτρον ἄριστον. 2. πατέρα δεῖ αἰδεῖσθαι. 3. εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. 4. φιλήκοον εἶναι

Going down there, the souls (*psukhai*) of the dead
cool off (*psukhontai*).
Do not go anywhere even near these springs. 5
Further on you will find cold water that flows forth
From the pool of Mnemosyne. There are guards set
over it.
They will ask you, in their wise minds,
Why you are exploring the shadow of gloomy Hades.
Say: “I am a son of Earth and of starry Sky. 10
I am parched with thirst and am being destroyed.
Come, give quickly
Cold water to drink from the pool of Mnemosyne.”
And they will announce you to the queen under the
earth,
And they will give you to drink from the pool of
Mnemosyne;
And then you too, after you have drunk, will go on 15
the holy road where the others,
Initiates and Bacchants, walk in glory.

Varieties of Human Wisdom (T35–T39)
The Wisdom of the Seven Sages (T35–T38)

T35 (10.3) Demetrius of Phalerum, *Apophthegms of the Seven Sages*, in Stobaeus

[1] Cleobulus of Lindus, son of Euagoras, said:

1. Measure is best. 2. Revere your father. 3. Be well in body and in soul. 4. Enjoy listening and don't talk

καὶ μὴ πολύλαλον. 5. πολυμαθῆ¹ ἢ ἀμαθῆ. 6. γλῶσσαν εὐφήμον κεκτηῖσθαι. 7. ἀρετῆς οἰκείου,² κακίας ἀλλότριον. 8. ἀδικίαν μισεῖν. 9. εὐσέβειαν φυλάσσειν. 10. πολίταις τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. 11. ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν. 12. βία μηδὲν πράττειν. 13. τέκνα παιδεύειν. 14. τύχῃ εὐχεσθαι. 15. ἐχθρας διαλύειν. 16. τὸν τοῦ δήμου ἐχθρὸν πολέμιον νομίζειν. 17. γυναικὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ ἄγαν φρονεῖν ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μαυίαν δύναται παρέχειν. 18. οἰκέτας μεθύοντας μὴ κολάζειν· εἰ δὲ μή, δόξεις παρουεῖν. 19. γαμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων, δεσπότης, οὐ συγγενεὶς κτήσῃ. 20. μὴ ἐπιγέλα τῷ σκώπτοντι ἀπεχθῆς γὰρ ἔσῃ τοῖς σκωπτομένοις. 21. εὐποροῦντα μὴ ὑπερήφανον εἶναι, ἀποροῦντα μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι.

¹ πολυμαθῆ μᾶλλον Diog. Laert. 1.92 ² οἰκεῖον <εἰ-
ναι> Hense

[2] Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἀθηναῖος ἔφη·

1. μηδὲν ἄγαν. 2. κριτῆς μὴ κάθησο· εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ ληφθέντι ἐχθρὸς ἔσῃ. 3. ἡδονὴν φεύγε, ἥτις λύπην τίκτει. 4. φύλασσε τρόπου καλοκαγαθίαν ὄρκου πιστοτέραν. 5. σφραγίζου τοὺς μὲν λόγους σιγῇ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ. 6. μὴ ψεῖδον, ἀλλ' ἀλήθευε. 7. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. 8. τῶν γονέων μὴ λέγε δικαιότερα. 9. φίλους μὴ ταχῶς

too much. 5. [Scil. It is better] to know a lot than to know nothing. 6. Possess a tongue that speaks auspiciously. 7. A kinsman of virtue, a stranger to evil. 8. Hate injustice. 9. Preserve piety. 10. Counsel your fellow-citizens what is best. 11. Dominate over pleasure. 12. Do nothing with violence. 13. Educate your children. 14. Pray to fortune. 15. Settle enmities. 16. Consider the people's adversary to be your enemy. 17. Do not fight with your wife, or be arrogant when others are present: the one can make you seem foolish, the other insane. 18. Do not punish your slaves when they are inebriated: otherwise it is you who will seem to be drunken. 19. Marry from your own social class; for if you marry superiors, you will acquire masters, not relatives. 20. Do not laugh with a mocker; for you will be hated by those he mocks. 21. If you are affluent do not be arrogant, if you are poor do not abase yourself.

[2] Solon of Athens, son of Execestides, said:

1. Nothing in excess. 2. Do not sit as a judge: otherwise you will be hated by the accused. 3. Flee pleasure that begets pain. 4. Preserve nobility of character, more credible than an oath. 5. Seal your discourses with silence, and silence with the right moment. 6. Do not lie, but tell the truth. 7. Devote yourself to serious matters. 8. Do not speak more justly than your parents. 9. Do not acquire friends

κτῶ, οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ταχῶ ἀποδοκίμαζε. 10. ἄρχεσθαι μαθὼν, ἄρχειν ἐπιστήσῃ. 11. εὐθύνας ἐτέρους ἀξιῶν διδόναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπεχε. 12. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα. 13. τοῖς πολίταις μὴ θρασύνου. 14. μὴ κακοῖς ὀμίλει. 15. χρῶ τοῖς θεοῖς. 16. φίλους εὐσέβει. 17. ὁ ἂν ἴδῃς μὴ λέγε. 18. εἰδὼς σίγα. 19. τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτος ἴσθι. 20. τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου.

1 ὁ ἂν <μῆ> Walz

[3] Χείλων Δαμαγήτου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἔφη·

1. γνῶθι σαυτὸν. 2. πίνων, μὴ πολλὰ λάλει· ἀμαρτήσῃ γάρ. 3. μὴ ἀπειλεῖ τοῖς ἐλευθέρους· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. 4. μὴ κακολόγει τοὺς πλησίον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀκούσῃ ἐφ' οἷς λυπηθήσῃ. 5. ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν φίλων βραδέως πορεύου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἀτυχίας ταχέως. 6. γάμους εὐτελεῖς ποιοῦ. 7. τὸν τετελευτηκότα μακάριζε. 8. πρεσβύτερον σέβου. 9. τὸν τὰ ἀλλότρια περιεργαζόμενον μίσει. 10. ζημίαν αἰροῦ μάλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχρόν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ λυπήσει, τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ. 11. τῷ δυστυχούντι μὴ ἐπιγέλα. 12. τραχὺς ὢν, ἤσυχον σεαυτὸν παρέχε, ὅπως σε αἰσχύνωνται μάλλον, ἢ φοβῶνται. 13. τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας προστάτει. 14. ἢ γλῶσσά σου μὴ προτρεχέτω τοῦ νοῦ. 15. θυμοῦ

quickly, but those that you do acquire do not reject quickly. 10. If you have learned how to be ruled you will know how to rule. 11. If you demand that others be examined, then submit to examination yourself too. 12. Do not counsel what is most pleasant, but what is best. 13. Do not be arrogant with regard to your fellow-citizens. 14. Do not associate with wicked people. 15. Consult the oracles of the gods. 16. Respect your friends. 17. Do not say what you see. 18. If you know, remain silent. 19. Be gentle to your own people. 20. Estimate what is invisible by what is visible.

[3] Chilon of Lacedaemon, son of Damagetus, said:

1. Know yourself. 2. When you drink do not speak too much; for you will commit a wrong. 3. Do not threaten free men; for that is not just. 4. Do not speak ill of those nearby; otherwise you will hear things that will cause you pain. 5. Go slowly to your friends' dinners, but quickly to their misfortunes. 6. Arrange inexpensive weddings. 7. Bless the deceased. 8. Respect an older man. 9. Hate the man who meddles in other people's affairs. 10. Prefer loss rather than shameful gain: for the one will cause you pain one time, the other forever. 11. Do not laugh at the unfortunate. 12. If you are harsh, show yourself to be gentle, so that people will feel respect for you rather than fear. 13. Lord it over your own household. 14. Your tongue should not run faster than your mind. 15. Dominate over anger.

κράτει. 16. μὴ ἐπιθύμει ἀδύνατα. 17a. ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεύδε προάγειν, 17b. μηδὲ τὴν χεῖρα κινεῖν μαυικὸν γάρ. 18. νόμοις πείθου. 19. ἀδικούμενος διαλλάσσου· ὑβριζόμενος τιμωροῦ.

[4] Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος ἔφη·

1. ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα. 2. φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μέμνησο. 3. μὴ τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζου, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἴσθι καλός. 4. μὴ πλούτει κακῶς. 5. μὴ σε διαβαλλέτω λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας. 6. κολακεύειν γονεῖς μὴ ὀκνεῖ. 7. μὴ προσδέχου τὸ φαῦλον. 8. οἴους ἂν ἐράνοὺς ἐνέγκῃς τοῖς γονεῦσι, τούτους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γῆρα παρὰ τῶν τέκνων προσδέχου. 9. χαλεπὸν τὸ εἶ γινῶναι. 10. ἤδιστον τὸ ἐπιθυμίας τυχεῖν. 11. ἀνιαρὸν ἀργία. 12. βλαβερὸν ἀκρασία. 13. βαρὺ ἀπαιδευσία. 14. δίδασκε καὶ μάθανε τὸ ἄμεινον. 15. ἀργὸς μὴ ἴσθι, μηδ' ἂν πλουτήῃς. 16. κακὰ ἐν οἴκῳ κρύπτει. 17. φθόνου χάριν μὴ οἰκτείρου. 18. μέτρῳ χρῶ. 19. μὴ πᾶσι πίστευε. 20. ἀρχῶν κόσμει σεαυτόν.

[5] Πιττακὸς Ἵρραδίου Λέσβιος ἔφη·

1. καιρὸν γινῶθι. 2. ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν μὴ λέγε·

16. Do not desire what is impossible. 17a. On the road do not hasten to be first, 17b. and do not gesture with your hand, for that is typical of the insane. 18. Obey the laws. 19. If you suffer injustice, be reconciled; if you suffer outrageous mistreatment, avenge yourself.

[4] Thales of Miletus [cf. **THAL. P16-P17**], son of Examyas, said:

1. Give a pledge, and disaster is near. 2. Be mindful of your friends when they are present and also when they are absent. 3. Do not beautify your appearance, but be beautiful in your way of life. 4. Do not become rich by wickedness. 5. Let no word bring discredit for you upon those who share your trust. 6. Do not hesitate to flatter your parents. 7. Do not accept what is substandard. 8. The kinds of benefits you give to your parents, accept these yourself in old age from your children. 9. It is difficult to know the good. 10. The most pleasant thing is to obtain what one desires. 11. Laziness is vexatious. 12. Lack of self-control (*akrasia*) is harmful. 13. Lack of education is burdensome. 14. Teach and learn what is better. 15. Do not be inactive, even if you are wealthy. 16. Conceal evils within the house. 17. Because of envy, do not show pity. 18. Use measure. 19. Do not trust all. 20. If you are performing a magistracy, keep yourself orderly in appearance.

[5] Pittacus of Lesbos, son of Hyrras, said:

1. Know the right moment. 2. Do not say what you

ἀποτυχῶν γὰρ καταγελασθήσῃ. 3. τοῖς ἐπιτη-
 δείοις χρῶ. 4. ὅσα νεμεσῆς τῷ πλησίον, αὐτὸς
 μὴ ποίει. 5. ἀπραγοῦντα μὴ ὀνειδίξει· ἐπὶ γὰρ
 τούτοις νέμεσις θεῶν κáθηται. 6. παρακαταθή-
 κας ἀπόδος. 7. ἀνέχου ὑπὸ τῶν πλησίον μικρὰ
 ἐλαττούμενος. 8. τὸν φίλον κακῶς μὴ λέγε, μηδ'
 εἰ τὸν ἐχθρόν· ἀσυλλόγιστον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον.
 9. δευδὸν συνιδεῖν τὸ μέλλον, ἀσφαλὲς τὸ γενό-
 μενον. 10. πιστὸν γῆ, ἀπιστον θάλασσα. 11.
 ἀπληστον κέρδος. 12. κτῆσαι αἰδία· θεραπείαν,
 εὐσέβειαν, παιδείαν, σωφροσύνην, φρόνησιν,
 ἀλήθειαν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἐται-
 ρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν, οἰκονομίαν, τέχνην.

[6] Βίας Τευταμίδου Πριηνεὺς ἔφη·

1. οἱ πλείστοι ἄνθρωποι κακοί. 2. ἐς τὸ ἔσοπτρον
 ἐμβλέψαντα δεῖ, εἰ μὲν καλὸς φαίνη, καλὰ ποι-
 εῖν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχυρὸς, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἑλλιπές διορ-
 θοῦσθαι τῇ καλοκαγαθίᾳ. 3. βραδέως ἐγχείρει
 ὁ δ' ἂν ἄρξῃ, διαβεβαιοῦ. 4. μίσει τὸ ταχὺ λα-
 λεῖν, μὴ ἀμάρτησ· μετάνοια γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖ. 5.
 μήτ' εὐήθης ἴσθι, μήτε κακοήθης. 6. ἀφροσύνην
 μὴ προσδέχου. 7. φρόνησιν ἀγάπα. 8. περὶ θεῶν
 λέγε, ὡς εἰσὶ θεοί. 9. νόει τὸ πραττόμενον. 10.
 ἄκουε πολλά. 11. λάλει καίρια. 12. πένης ὦν
 πλουσίοις μὴ ἐπιτίμα, ἢν μὴ μέγα ὠφελῆς. 13.
 ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. 14. πεί-
 σασ λαβέ, μὴ βιασάμενος. 15. ὁ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν

are going to do; for if you do not succeed you will
 be laughed at. 3. Use what is suitable. 4. Whatever
 you rebuke your neighbor for, do not do it yourself.
 5. Do not speak ill of the man who fares badly; for
 the vengeance of the gods is set upon these things.
 6. Repay sureties. 7. Accept to be a little bit less than
 your neighbors. 8. Do not speak ill of a friend nor
 well of an enemy, for such a thing is illogical. 9. It
 is terrible to see the future, safe to see the past.
 10. The earth is reliable, the sea is unreliable.
 11. Gain is insatiable. 12. Acquire what is eternal:
 service, piety, education, moderation, prudence,
 truth, credibility, experience, cleverness, comradeship,
 diligence, housekeeping, skill.

[6] Bias of Priene, son of Teutamides, said:

1. Most humans are bad. 2. You should look into a
 mirror: if you look fine, then do fine things; if you
 look ugly, correct by nobility the defect of your na-
 ture. 3. Set to work slowly; but where you begin,
 persist. 4. Hate fast talking, do not commit a wrong;
 for regret follows after. 5. Be neither simple-minded
 nor evil-minded. 6. Do not accept folly. 7. Cherish
 prudence. 8. Say about the gods that they exist. 9.
 Think about what you are doing. 10. Listen a lot. 11.
 Speak opportunely. 12. If you are poor, do not re-
 buke the wealthy, unless you are benefiting them
 greatly thereby. 13. Do not praise an unworthy man
 because of his wealth. 14. Take by persuasion, not
 by force. 15. Whatever good you do, ascribe to the

πράσσης, θεούς, μὴ σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ. 16. κτῆσαι ἐν μὲν νεότητι εὐπραξίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρῳ σοφίαν. 17. ἕξεις ἔργῳ μνήμην, καιρῷ εὐλάβειαν, τρόπῳ γενναιότητα, πόνῳ ἐγκράτειαν, φόβῳ εὐσέβειαν, πλούτῳ φιλίαν, λόγῳ πειθῶ, σιγῇ κόσμον, γνώμῃ δικαιοσύνην, τόλμῃ ἀνδρείαν, πράξει δυναστείαν, δόξῃ ἡγεμονίαν.

[7] Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἔφη·

1. μελέτα τὸ πᾶν. 2a. καλὸν ἡσυχία· 2b. ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια. 3. κέρδος αἰσχρὸν φύσεως κατηγορία. 4. δημοκρατία κρείττον τυραννίδος. 5. αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ θνηταί, αἱ δ' ἀρεταὶ ἀθάνατοι. 6. εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, ἀτυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος. 7. φειδόμενον κρείττον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῶντα ἐνδεῖσθαι. 8. σεαυτὸν ἄξιον παρασκευάζε τῶν γονέων. 9. ζῶν μὲν ἐπαινοῦ, ἀποθανὼν δὲ μακαρίζου. 10. φίλοις εὐτυχούσι καὶ ἀτυχούσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι. 11. ὃν ἂν ἐκὼν ὁμολογήσης πονηρόν, παράβαινε. 12. λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν μὴ ποιού. 13. λουδοροῦ ὡς ταχὺ φίλος ἐσόμενος. 14. τοῖς μὲν νόμοις παλαιοῖς χρῶ, τοῖς δ' ὄψοις προσφάτοις. 15. μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας κόλαζε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας κώλυε. 16. δυστυχῶν κρύπτε, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐφράνης.

gods, not yourself. 16. Acquire proper conduct in youth, wisdom in old age. 17. You will acquire reputation by your deed, discretion by [scil. choosing] the right moment, nobility by your character, self-control by your effort, piety by your fear, friendship by your wealth, obedience by your speech, orderliness by your silence, justice by your judgment, manliness by your courage, dominion by your action, supremacy by your fame.

[7] Periander of Corinth, son of Cypselus, said:

1. Practice is all. 2a. Calmness is fine; 2b. rashness is dangerous. 3. Shameful gain is an accusation against your nature. 4. Democracy is better than tyranny. 5. Pleasures are mortal, but virtues immortal. 6. If you are fortunate, be moderate; if unfortunate, prudent. 7. It is better to die being frugal than to live not having enough. 8. Make yourself worthy of your parents. 9. Be praised while you are alive, be blessed when you have died. 10. Be the same to your friends both when they are fortunate and when they are unfortunate. 11. Avoid the man that you yourself recognize to be wicked. 12. Do not reveal secret words. 13. Blame like someone who wants to quickly become a friend. 14. Use laws that are ancient but food that is fresh. 15. You should not only punish those who commit wrong, but also prevent those who are intending to do so. 16. If you are unfortunate, conceal it, so that you will not make your enemies happy.

T36 (≠ DK) Pind. Frag. 35b

σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἶνη-
σαν περισσῶς.

T37 (cf. 80 A25) Simon. Frag. 542

- 1 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι
χαλεπὸν χερσίν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ
τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον
...
11 οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιττάκειον
νέμεται, καίτοι σοφοῦ παρὰ φωτὸς εἰ-
ρημένον χαλεπὸν φάτ' ἔσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.
θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ
15 ἔστι μὴ οὐ κακὸν ἔμμεναι,
ὄν ἀμήχανος συμφορὰ καθέλη·
πράξας γὰρ εὖ πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός,
κακὸς δ' εἰ κακῶς [
[ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ καὶ ἄριστοὶ εἰσιν
20 [οὗς ἂν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν.]
τοῦνεκεν οὐ ποτ' ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι
δυνατὸν διζήμενος κενεὰν ἐς ἄ-
πρακτον ἐλπίδα μοῖραν αἰῶνος βαλέω,
πανάμωμον ἀνθρώπων, εὐρυνεδέος ὅσοι
25 καρπὸν αἰνύμεθα χθονός·
ἐπὶ δ' ὑμῖν εὐρῶν ἀπαγγελέω.
πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω,

19–20 paraphrasis Platonica sententiae Simonideae

T36 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragment

The wise have also praised surpassingly
The saying, "nothing in excess."

T37 (cf. 80 A25) Simonides, Fragments of an encomium
for Scopas (cf. **PROT. D42**)

- For a man to be truly good (*agathos*) 1
Is difficult, four-square in his hands, feet, and mind,
Constructed without any blemish.
...
Nor does Pittacus' saying seem well-said to me, 11
Although it was spoken by a wise man:
He said that it is difficult to be good (*esthlos*).
Only a god could have that honor: a man
Cannot help being bad, 15
When irresistible disaster seizes hold of him.
When he is doing well, every man is good;
But when badly, he is bad.
[And for the most part those are the best ones
Whom the gods love.]¹ 20
And for that reason I myself shall never
Throw away my portion of life onto an empty, futile
hope
Looking for what cannot come about, the
completely blameless man
Among all of us who enjoy the fruit of the broad 25
earth.
I shall tell you when I have found one.
I praise and love all men,

¹ The words in brackets are a paraphrase by Plato of the contents of these lines of Simonides.

30 ἐκὼν ὅστις ἔρδη
μηδὲν αἰσχροῦν· ἀνάγκα
δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται.

T38 (< 58C.4) Iambl. VP 83

ἔστι δ' αὐτῆ ἢ αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν λεγομένη σοφία. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ἐζήτουν οὐ τί ἐστι τἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τί μάλιστα; οὐδὲ τί τὸ χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ χαλεπώτατον; ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸν γνῶναί ἐστιν οὐδὲ τί τὸ ῥάδιον, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ ῥᾶστον; ὅτι τὸ ἔθει χρῆσθαι. τῇ τοιαύτῃ γὰρ σοφία μετηκολουθηκέναι ἔοικε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούσματα· πρότεροι γὰρ οὗτοι Πυθαγόρου ἐγένοντο.

Human Wisdom and the Study of Nature (T39)

T39 (≠ DK) Pind.

a Frag. 61

τί ἔλπει σοφίαν ἔμμεν, ἂν ὀλίγον τοι
ἀνήρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἴσχει;
οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν
βουλευμάτων ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί·
θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἔφν.

b Frag. 209

τοὺς φυσιολογούντας ἔφη Πίνδαρος
ἀτελῆ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν.

Whoever does nothing shameful willingly: but against
necessity
Not even do the gods fight.

T38 (< 58C.4) Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*

This [i.e. the wisdom of the Pythagorean *akousmata*, cf. **PYTH. c D15**] is the same as the so-called wisdom of the Seven Sages. For they too investigated not what the good is, but what it is most of all; nor what is difficult, but what is the most difficult (that is, to know oneself); nor what is easy, but what is the easiest (that is, to follow habit). For the *akousmata* of this sort seem to be later than this kind of wisdom: for these [i.e. the Seven Sages] lived before Pythagoras.

Human Wisdom and the Study of Nature (T39)

T39 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragments

a

What do you expect wisdom to be, if it is only by a
little
That one man possesses it more than another?
For it is impossible for him
To discover the gods' plans with a human mind
(*phreni*):
He was born of a mortal mother.

b

Pindar said that the philosophers of nature
"pluck the fruit of wisdom before it is ripe."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

EARLY IONIAN THINKERS
PART 1

4. PHERECYDES [PHER.]

The ancient sources date Pherecydes' maturity toward the middle of the sixth century BC (544/40), making him younger than Anaximander. But the chronological data are not certain enough to allow us to say which man is the likelier candidate for the title of the most ancient author of philosophy in prose—if indeed the term “philosophy” is meaningful in the case of Pherecydes. But what is certain is that he represents an interesting transitional figure between two types of discourse, theogony and cosmogony, which were becoming differentiated from one another at that time. Already Aristotle described Pherecydes' thought as “mixed.”

Scholastic reconstructions, distorting somewhat the chronology, attribute to Pherecydes the same kind of function within the Italic line of descent as Thales' within the Ionian one; he is said to have been Pythagoras' teacher, as Thales was Anaximander's. This line of descent gave rise to stories often repeated in antiquity [cf. **PYTH. a P12-P15**] but is most probably fictitious.

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PHERECYDES [7 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.121

γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα.

P2 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

Φερεκύδης, Βάβυος, Σύριος [. . .] γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλεία Ἀλυάττην, ὡς συγχρονεῖν τοῖς ζ' σοφοῖς καὶ τετέχθαι περὶ τὴν μὲ¹ Ὀλυμπιάδα [. . . = **P6**].

¹ μὲ'] νέ' G: μθ' Rohde

P3 (< A5) Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.38

[. . . = **R14**] antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili [. . .].

PHERECYDES

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He lived during the 59th Olympiad [= 544/40].

P2 (< A2) *Suda*

Pherecydes, son of Babys, of Syros [. . .]; he lived at the time of Alyattes, king of the Lydians [i.e. 605/560], so that he was contemporary with the Seven Sages and was born around the 45th Olympiad [= 600/596].¹

¹ This is often corrected to the 49th Olympiad (584/80) on the supposition that the indication given in **P1** refers to Pherecydes' *floruit* (forty years old).

P3 (< A5) Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*

[. . . scil. he was] quite ancient, for he lived during the reign of my ancestor and namesake [i.e. Servius Tullius, 578/35].

P4 (8 Schibli) Ps.-Luc. *Long.* 22

[. . .] Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος [. . .] ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

His Teachers (P5–P7)

Did He Have a Greek Teacher? (P5)

P5 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.116

Φερεκύδης Βάβυος Σύριος, καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς [FGrHist 273 F85], Πιπτακοῦ διακήκοε.

Or Did He Learn from Oriental Sources? (P6–P8)

P6 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = **P2**] αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐσχηκέναι καθηγητήν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῆσαι, κτησάμενον τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία [. . . = **R5a**].

P7 (< B4) Eus. *PE* 1.10.50 (= Ph. Bybl., *FHG* III Frag. 9)

παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε περὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὀφίονος θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὀφιονιδῶν [. . .].

P8 (38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion.* 1.14

ἀλλὰ μὴν [. . . = **D4**] Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ

P4 (≠ DK) Ps.-Lucian, *Long-lived Men*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros [. . . scil. lived] eighty-five years.

His Teachers (P5–P7)

Did He Have a Greek Teacher? (P5)

P5 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Pherecydes, son of Babys, of Syros, studied with Pittacus,¹ as Alexander says in his *Successions*.

¹ One of the Seven Sages, cf. **MOR. T35[5]**.

Or Did He Learn from Oriental Sources? (P6–P8)

P6 (< A2) *Suda*

[. . .] he did not have a teacher himself, but he trained himself after he had acquired the secret books of the Phoenicians.

P7 (< B4) Philon of Byblos in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

Pherecydes, taking his starting point from the Phoenicians, expressed theological doctrines about the god that he calls Ophion and the Ophionids [cf. **D11–D12**] [. . .].

P8 (≠ DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

But as for [. . .] Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and

Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς [. . . = R7].

His Student Pythagoras (P9)

P9 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = **P2**] διδαχθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόραν λόγος [. . . = **P6**].

Predictions (P10)

P10 (< A1) *Diog. Laert.* 1.116–17

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσια λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα καὶ ναῦν οὐριοδομοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἶπεν ὡς μετ' οὐ πολὺ¹ καταδύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδῦναι· καὶ ἀνιμηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πίνοντα προειπεῖν ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γενέσθαι· ἀνιόντα τε εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν² ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ³ τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλευσαι ἐξοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων· καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσηνίην δὲ ἐαλωκέναι. [117] καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους εἶπεν μήτε χρυσὸν τιμᾶν μήτε ἄργυρον, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν Θωμασιόις [FGrHist 115 F71].

¹ μετ' οὐ πολὺ rec.: οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ BPF: οὐ μετὰ πολὺ Diels ² εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν BPF: ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίας Casaubon

Thales, everyone agrees that they were students of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans [. . .].

His Student Pythagoras (P9)

P9 (< A2) *Suda*

There is a report that Pythagoras was taught by him [cf. **PYTH. a P12–P15**].

Predictions (P10)

P10 (< A1) *Diogenes Laertius*

Many marvels are reported about him. While he was walking on the beach of Samos, he saw a boat sailing with a fair wind and said that soon it would sink—and it sank before his eyes. When he drank water drawn from a well, he predicted that there would be an earthquake two days later—and it happened. When he traveled to Olympia, he advised his host Perilaus in Messene to leave his home together with his household—but he was not persuaded, and Messene was captured. [117] He told the Lacedaemonians to hold neither gold nor silver in honor, as Theopompus says in his *Marvels*; he had received this order in a

³ ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ von der Mühl: ἐς Μεσσηνίην (Μεσσηνίᾳ) BPF: ἐκ Μεσσηνίης Richards

προστάξει δὲ αὐτῷ ὄναρ τοῦτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κελεύσαι Φερεκίδην πείθεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ Πυθαγόρα περιάπτουσι ταῦτα [. . . = P14].

Pherecydes at Sparta (P11–P12)

P11 (23 Schibli) Plut. *Agis* 10. 6

ἐπεὶ Τέρπανδρὸν γε¹ καὶ Θάλητα καὶ Φερεκίδην ξένους ὄντας, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ διετέλουν ἄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμηθῆναι διαφέροντως.

¹ τε mss., corr. Reiske

P12 (25 Schibli) Plut. *Pelop.* 21.3

[. . .] Φερεκίδην τε τὸν σοφὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν δорὰν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τι λόγιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φρουρουμένην [. . .].

Death: The Role of Pythagoras (P13–P16)

P13 (32 Schibli) Arist. *HA* 5.30 556b30–557a3

ἐνίοις δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόσημα, ὅταν ὑγρασία πολλὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι ᾗ· καὶ διεφθάρησαν τινες ἤδη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ Ἀλκμάνά τε φασὶ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Φερεκίδην τὸν Σύριον.

dream from Heracles, who that same night ordered the kings to obey Pherecydes. But some people attach this story to Pythagoras [cf. R13].

Pherecydes at Sparta (P11–P12)

P11 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Agis*

Although Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes were foreigners, they are particularly honored in Sparta because they constantly sang and proclaimed philosophically the same things as Lycurgus.

P12 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Pelopidas*

[. . .] Pherecydes the sage was killed by the Lacedaemonians and, in conformity with an oracle, his skin was preserved by the kings [. . .].¹

¹ Presumably this is the trace of a story of ritual sacrifice, of which the details are obscure.

Death: the Role of Pythagoras (P13–P16)

P13 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *History of Animals*

This disease [i.e. phthiriasis] affects certain humans when there is an abundance of moisture in the body; and some people have already died in this way, like, they say, Alcman the poet, and Pherecydes of Syros.

P14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.117–18

[. . . = **P10**] φησὶ δ' Ἑρμιππος [FGrHist 1026 F20] πολέμου συνεστῶτος Ἐφεσίοις καὶ Μάγνησι βουλόμενον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους νικῆσαι πυθέσθαι τινὸς παριόντος πόθεν εἴη τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος “ἐξ Ἐφέσου,” “ἔλκυσόν με τοῖνυν,” ἔφη, “τῶν σκελῶν καὶ θῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν Μαγνητῶν χώραν, καὶ ἀπάγγειλόν σου τοῖς πολίταις μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι αὐτόθι με θάψαι ἐπεσκηφέναι τε ταῦτα Φερεκύδην.” [118] ὁ μὲν <οὖν>¹ ἀπήγγειλεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες κρατοῦσι τῶν Μαγνητῶν, καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην μεταλλάξαντα θάπτουσιν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυκίου ὄρους αὐτὸν δισκῆσαι. Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι [Frag. 14 Wehrli] νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ. οἱ δὲ φθειριάσαντα τὸν βίον τελευτῆσαι ὅτε καὶ Πυθαγόρου παραγενομένου καὶ πνιθανομένου πῶς διακέοιτο, διαβαλόντα τῆς θύρας τὸν δάκτυλον εἰπεῖν, “χροὶ δῆλα.”

¹ <οὖν> Cobet**P15** (< A4) Diod. Sic. 10.3.4

ὅτι Πυθαγόρας πυθόμενος Φερεκύδην τὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον ἐν Δήλῳ νοσεῖν καὶ τελῶς¹ ἐσχάτως ἔχειν, ἔπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Δήλον.

¹ τελῶς del. Cobet**P14** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Hermippus says that during a war between the Ephesians and the Magnesians, he [i.e. Pherecydes] wanted the Ephesians to win and so asked someone who was passing by where he was from. When that man answered, “From Ephesus,” he said, “Then drag me by the legs and put me down in the territory of the Magnesians, and proclaim to your fellow citizens that after their victory they must bury me right there; and that it is Pherecydes who has commanded these things.” [118] So the man made this proclamation, and they attacked the next day and gained victory over the Magnesians; and they buried Pherecydes, who had died, right there and honored him magnificently. But some say that he went to Delphi and threw himself from Mount Corycius. Aristoxenus says in his book *On Pythagoras and His Disciples* that at the end of his illness he was buried by Pythagoras at Delos. Others say that he died of phthiriasis; and when Pythagoras, who was there, asked how he was doing, he stuck his finger through the door and said, “It is clear from my skin.”

P15 (< A4) Diodorus Siculus

When Pythagoras found out that Pherecydes, who had become his tutor, was sick in Delos and finally was near death, he sailed from Italy to Delos. There he took care of

ἐκεῖ δὲ χρόνον ἰκανὸν τὸν ἄνδρα γηροτροφήσας, πάσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ὥστε τὸν πρεσβύτην ἐκ τῆς νόσου διασῶσαι. κατισχυθέντος² δὲ τοῦ Φερεκύδου διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς νόσου, περιέστειλεν αὐτὸν κηδεμονικῶς, καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀξιώσας ὡσανεὶ τις υἱὸς πατέρα πάλιν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

² κατισχύσαντος mss., corr. Reiske

P16 (28 Schibli) Heracl. Lemb. in Diog. Laert. 8.40

Ἡρακλείδης δὲ φησιν [FHC III Frag. 6] ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίων ἐπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν [. . .].

the old man for a considerable time and applied all his efforts to save him from his illness. But when Pherecydes has been defeated by old age and the seriousness of his illness, he wrapped up his body carefully and after he had honored him with the traditional rites, like a son for his father, he returned once again to Italy.

P16 (≠ DK) Heraclides Lembos in Diogenes Laertius

Heraclides says in his *Epitome of Satyrus' Lives* that he [i.e. Pythagoras] returned to Italy after he had buried Pherecydes in Delos.

See also **PYTH. a P12, P15**

PHERECYDES [7 DK]

D

Title and Contents of Pherecydes' Book (D1–D4)

D1 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

ἔστι δὲ ἅπαντα ἃ συνέγραψε, ταῦτα· Ἐπτάμυχος ἦτοι
Θεοκρασία ἢ Θεογονία. ἔστι δὲ θεολογία¹ ἔχουσα
θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ διαδοχάς.²

¹ ἐν βιβλίοις ἰ post θεολογία habent mss, del. Jacoby ut ad
Pherecydum Atheniensem spectantia ² διαδόχους mss.,
corr. Preller

D2 (< A1) *Diog. Laert.* 1.116

τοῦτόν φησι Θεόπομπος [FCrHist 115 F71] πρῶτον
περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν Ἑλλησι² γράψαι.

¹ καὶ <γενέσεως> Comperz ² Ἑλλησι del. Diels: <ἐν
τοῖς> Ἑλλησι Marcovich

D3 (A11) *Max. Tyr. Diss.* 4.4.5

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποίησιν σκόπει, τὸν Ζῆνα

PHERECYDES

D

Title and Contents of Pherecydes' Book (D1–D4)

D1 (< A2) *Suda*

These are all of his writings: *The Seven Nooks*¹ or *Mixture of the Gods* or *Theogony*. It is a theology comprising the birth and successions of the gods.

¹ **D6** speaks of *Five Nooks*.

D2 (< A1) *Diogenes Laertius*

Theopompus says that he was the first to write for the Greeks about nature and the gods.

D3 (A11) *Maximus of Tyre, Philosophical Orations*

Consider also the poetry of the man from Syros: Zeus,

καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν Ὀφιονέως γένεσιν καὶ τὴν θεῶν μάχην καὶ τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸν πέπλον.

D4 (38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion*. 1.14

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον [. . . = **P8**].

The Principles (D5–D7)

D5 (< B1) Diog. Laert. 1.119

[. . .] τό τε βιβλίον [. . .] οὗ ἡ ἀρχή: Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν¹ ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη ἦν.² Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς γῆν³ γέρας διδοί.

¹ ἦσαν Diels: ἦς B: εἰς P¹(Q): εἰς P* ² χθόνην B, χθῶν ἦν P: corr. Casaubon ³ γην B: γῆ P¹(Q): eras. P*

D6 (< A8) Dam. *Princ.* 124b (= Eudem. Frag. 117 Wehrli)

Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος [. . .] τὸν δὲ Χρόνον ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ γόνου ἑαυτοῦ πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ [. . .] ἐξ ὧν ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένων πολλὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην [. . .] [cf. **R23**].

Chthonië, Eros who is among them, the birth of Ophioneus,¹ the battle of the gods, the tree, and the robe [cf. **D5, D8, D9, D10–D12**].

¹ A monster, whose name suggests a snake, cf. **R27**.

D4 (≠ DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

But as for those who were the first among the Greeks to philosophize about celestial phenomena and divine matters, like Pherecydes of Syros [. . .].

The Principles (D5–D7)

D5 (< B1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] the book [. . .] its beginning is: **Zas** [i.e. Zeus] and **Chronos** were always, and **Chthonie** was. But the name of **Chthonie** became **Earth** when **Zas** gave her the earth as a present [cf. **R4**].

D6 (< A8) Eudemus in Damascius, *On the Principles*

Pherecydes of Syros [scil. says] [. . .] that Chronos made out of his own seed fire, breath, and water [. . .] out of which, when they had been distributed in five nooks, was created another numerous generation of gods, called “**the five-nook**” one [. . .].

D7 (< B1a) Ach. Tat. *Introd. Arat.* 3

Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄλων τὸ ὕδωρ ὑφίστανται, ὃ δὴ καὶ χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκύδης [. . . = R22].

Zas' Cosmogonic Marriage (D8–D10)

D8 (< B3) Procl. *In Tim.* 3 ad 32c (vol. 2, p. 54.28–30 Diehl)

[. . .] ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν [. . . cf. R24].

D9 (B2) P. Grenf. 2.11 ed. Schibli (et al.)

[Col. 1] [αὐ|τῶι ποιούσιν τὰ ο[ἰ]κία | πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα· | ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέτε|5]λεσαν πάντα καὶ χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας | καὶ θεραπαίνας καὶ | τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ πάντα, | ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐτοῦ|[10]μα γίνεται, τὸν γάμον ποιούσιν. κάπειδὴ τρίτη ἡμέρη γίνεται τῶι γάμωι, τό | τε [Zàs ποιεῖ φάρος μέ|[15]γα τε καὶ καλόν, καὶ | ἐν αὐτῶ[ι] ποικ[ί]λλει Γῆν | καὶ Ὠγη[γόν] καὶ τὰ Ὠγηγού[δ]ώματα] . . .

[Col. 2] [βουλόμενος] | γάρ σεο τοὺς γάμου[ς] | εἶναι, τούτῳ σε τιμ[έ]ω. | σὺ δέ μοι χαῖρε καὶ σῦ[ν]ι [5]ι

Col. 1 1 αὐ|τῶι suppl. Diels, 16–18 Γῆν . . . δώματα suppl. edd. ex Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.9.4, cett. suppl. Grenfell-Hunt

Col. 2 1 βουλόμενος suppl. Weil, 4–5 σῦ[ν]ισθι Blass

D7 (< B1a) Achilles Tattius, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena*

Thales of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syros posit as the principle of all things water, which Pherecydes also calls **Chaos** [. . .].

Zas' Cosmogonic Marriage (D8–D10)

D8 (< B3) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros said that when Zeus was about to begin his work of creation, he transformed himself into **Eros** [. . .].

D9 (B2) Grenfell Papyrus

[Col. 1] . . . **for him** [i.e. Zas] **they make buildings, many and great; and when they had finished them all, the objects, male servants, female servants, and everything else that is necessary, when then everything is ready, they perform the wedding. And when the third day of the wedding comes, then Zas makes a robe, great and beautiful, and on it he embroiders Earth, Ogenos** [i.e. Ocean], **and the houses of Ogenos** . . .

[Col. 2] [Zeus speaks to Chthoniê:] . . . “since I want this marriage to be yours, it is you that I honor with this. **But you, receive my greeting and be my wife.**” They

σθι. ταῦτά φασι ἀ[α]καλυπτήρια πρῶτον | γενέ-
σθαι, ἐκ τούτου θ[ε] | ὁ νόμος ἐγένε[το] καὶ | θεοῖσι
καὶ ἀνθρ[ώπ]ω[ι]σιν. ἡ δὲ μι[ν] ἀμείβεται δεξα-
μ[έν]η εὐ τὸ | φᾶ[ρος] . . .

10–12 suppl. Diels, cett. Grenfell-Hunt 3 s (600) in marg.

D10 (< B2) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.53.5

[. . .] ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρῦς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον
φᾶρος [. . .] [cf. **R28**].

War Against Ophioneus (D11–D12)

D11 (< B4) Orig. *Cels.* 6.42

Φερεκίδην δὲ πολλῶ ἀρχαιότερον γενόμενον Ἡρα-
κλείτου μυθοποιεῖν¹ στρατείαν στρατεία παραταττο-
μένην, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον διδόναι τῆς ἐτέ-
ρας δὲ Ὀφιονέα, προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀμίλλας αὐτῶν
ιστορεῖν,² συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὀπότεροι
αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὀγγινὸν ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι
νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας τού-
τους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν.

¹ μυθοποιίαν ms., corr. Bouhérieau ² ιστορεῖ ms., corr.
Bouhérieau

D12 (< B4) Tert. *Cor.* 7.4

Saturnum Pherecydes ante omnes refert coronatum [. . .].

say that these were the first *anakalypteria*¹ that were
performed, and from this time this custom has ex-
isted, for both gods and men. And she answers him,
receiving the robe from him . . .

¹ A nuptial ceremony in ancient Greece, during which the
groom unveiled the bride and gave her gifts.

D10 (< B2) Isidore in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*
[. . .] the **winged oak** and the **embroidered robe** on it
[. . .].

War Against Ophioneus (D11–D12)

D11 (< B4) Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus*

Pherecydes, who is much more ancient than Heraclitus,
invented the myth of one army set in order against another
army, gave the command of the one to Cronus and of the
other to Ophioneus, and recounted their challenges and
combats, and that they made an accord according to which
whichever ones of them fell into Ogenos would be de-
feated, while those who expelled them and defeated them
would possess the heavens.

D12 (< B4) Tertullian, *On the Soldier's Garland*

Pherecydes reports that Saturn [i.e. Cronus, Khronos] was
crowned before everyone [. . .].¹

¹ This doubtless refers to the victory of Cronus over Ophi-
oneus.

Cosmology (D13–D15)

D13 (< B5) Orig. *Cels.* 6.42

κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρας ἐνερθέν ἐστιν ἡ ταρταρὴ
μοίρα· φυλάσσουνσι δ' αὐτὴν θυγατέρες Βορέου Ἄρ-
πυιαί τε καὶ Θύελλα, ἔνθα Ζεὺς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν ὅταν
τις ἐξυβρίσῃ.

D14 (< B6) Porph. *Antr.* 31

[. . .] καὶ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχούς καὶ βόθρους
καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος [. . .] [cf.
R26].

D15 (< B7) Porph. *Gaur.* 2.2

[. . .] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ τὴν ἐκροτὴν [. . .] [cf. **R18**].

Other References to the Gods (D16–D18)

D16 Hdn. *Mon. Lex.*

a (< B9) 7.5 (911.23–34 Lentz)

[. . .] καὶ ἡ Ῥέα Ῥῆ κέκληται ὑπὸ τοῦ Συρίου [. . .].

b (< B1) 6.14–16 (911.7–9 Lentz)

καὶ γὰρ Δῖς καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Δῆν καὶ Ζὰς καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ
Φερεκύδει κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν.

Cosmology (D13–D15)

D13 (< B5) Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus*

Below that portion is the portion of Tartarus. The daughters of Boreas, the Harpies and Thyella [i.e. Storm], **guard it. It is to there that Zeus banishes any of the gods when he commits an outrage.**

D14 (< B6) Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs*

[. . .] and Pherecydes of Syros, who speaks of **nooks, of hollows, of caves, of doors, of gates** [. . .].

D15 (< B7) Porphyry, *To Gaurus on the Animation of the Embryo*

[. . .] the **outflow** in Pherecydes [. . .].

Other References to the Gods (D16–D18)

D16 Herodian, *On Particular Usages*

a (< B9)

[. . .] Rhea is called **Rê** by the man from Syros [. . .].

b (< B1)

For one finds **Dis, Zên, Dên, Zas, and Zês** in Pherecydes, according to the appropriate declension.

D17 (B12) Diog. Laert. 1.119

ἔλεγέ τε ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν.

D18 (< B13a) Plut. *Fac. orb. lun.* 938B

εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία φήσομεν [. . .] τὴν σελήνην [. . .], τρέφειν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀμβροσίαν ἀνείσαν¹ αὐτοῖς ἐφημέριον, ὡς Φερεκύδης ὁ παλαιὸς οἶεται σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς² θεούς.

¹ ἀνείσαν mss., corr. Emperius ² αὐτοὺς mss.,
corr. Wytttenbach

A Reference to the Hyades (D19)

D19 (B13) Schol. in Arat. *Phaen.* 172, p. 369.27

Ἰππίας [cf. **D36**] δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης ἑπτὰ.

D17 (B12) Diogenes Laertius

And he also said that the gods call the [scil. banquet] table a **table for offerings**.

D18 (< B13a) Plutarch, *On the Face in the Moon*

Unless we say [. . .] that the moon [. . .] nourishes the men [scil. who live on it] by sending up ambrosia to them every day, as the ancient Pherecydes thinks that the gods themselves are fed.

A Reference to the Hyades (D19)

D19 (B13) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Hippias [cf. **D35**] and Pherecydes say [scil. that the Hyades] are seven in number.

PHERECYDES [7 DK]

R

The Earliest References and Allusions (R1–R3)

R1 (< 36 B4) Ion Chius in Diog. Laert. 1.120

Ἴων δ' ὁ Χίος φησιν περὶ αὐτοῦ·

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἠγορέη τε κεκασμένος ἠδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοντον,
εἶπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν.

R2 (p. 88 Schibli) Plat. *Soph.* 242c–d

ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε
αὐτῶν ἅττα πη, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα γιγνόμενα γάμους
τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων παρέχεται.

¹ It is possible, but not certain, that Plato is implicitly alluding to Pherecydes.

PHERECYDES

R

The Earliest References and Allusions (R1–R3)

R1 (< 36 B4) Ion of Chios in Diogenes Laertius

Ion of Chios says about him [i.e. Pherecydes¹]:

Thus adorned with prowess and reverence,
He has a pleasant life for his soul even though he
is dead,
If indeed Pythagoras, truly wise beyond all [or: about
all things],
Made acquaintance with men's thoughts and knew
them thoroughly.

[cf. **PYTH. a P29**].

¹ The pronoun could also refer to Pythagoras, whose name appears in an epigram that Diogenes Laertius has just cited.

R2 (≠ DK) Plato, *Sophist*

[. . .] the one¹ says that there are three beings, that at one time some of them wage war against each other, and that at another they become friends, get married, have children, and raise their offspring [cf. **D5, D8–D12**].

R3 (< A7) Arist. *Metaph.* N4 1091b8–10

[. . .] ἐπεὶ οἱ γε μεμιγμένοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ μὴ μυθικῶς πάντα λέγειν, οἷον Φερεκύδης καὶ ἕτεροὶ τινες, τὸ γενεὴν ἠΐσαν πρῶτον ἄριστον τιθέασιν [. . .].

Pherecydes' Book (R4–R9)
The First Prose Author (R4–R7)

R4 (9 Schibli) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 7.205

[. . .] prosam orationem condere Pherecydes Syrius instituit Cyri regis aetate, historiam Cadmus Milesius [. . .].

R5 (< A2) *Suda*

a Φ.214

[. . . = **P6**] πρῶτον δὲ συγγραφὴν ἐξευεγκεῖν πεζῷ λόγῳ τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν, ἑτέρων τοῦτο εἰς Κάδμον τὸν Μιλήσιον φερόντων [. . . = **R15**].

b Φ.216

Πορφύριος [. . .] ἐκείνον μόνον ἡγέται ἀρχηγὸν συγγραφῆς.

R6 (13 Schibli) Strab. 1.2.6

εἶτα ἐκείνην [sc. τὴν ποιητικὴν κατασκευήν] μιμούμενοι λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τᾶλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἑκαταίων.

R3 (A7) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] those among them [i.e. the ancient poets] whose position is mixed, also because they do not say everything in a mythic way posit as the best that which engendered first, like Pherecydes and certain others [. . .].

Pherecydes' Book (R4–R9)
The First Prose Author (R4–R7)

R4 (≠ DK) Pliny, *Natural History*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros founded the composition of discourse in prose under the reign of Cyrus [= 559/29], Cadmus of Miletus did the same for history [. . .].

R5 (< A2) *Suda*

a

Some people report that he was the first to publish a treatise in prose, while others attribute this to Cadmos of Miletus [. . .].

b

Porphyrius [. . .] thinks that he alone [i.e. and not Pherecydes of Athens] was the originator of the [scil. prose] treatise.

R6 (≠ DK) Strabo, *Geography*

Then Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus wrote treatises that imitated this [i.e. poetic presentation]: they abandoned meter but preserved all the other poetic features.

R7 (< 38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion*. 1.14

[. . . = **P8**] ὀλίγα συγγράψαι.

In Ionic Dialect (R8)

R8 Apoll. Dysc. *Pronom.*

a (B13) p. 65.15 Schneider

καὶ Φερεκῦδης ἐν τῇ θεολογίᾳ καὶ ἔτι [. . . cf. **ATOM**.
R3a] χρώνται τῇ ἐμεῦ καὶ ἔτι τῇ ἐμέο.

b (B11) p. 92.20–93.2 Schneider

αἱ πληθυντικαὶ κοινολεκτοῦνται κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς τε
Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀττικῶν, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς, ἔστι <δὲ>¹
πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς εὐθείας παρ' Ἰω-
σιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Δημόκριτον [**ATOM**. **R3b**], Φερεκῦδην
[. . .].

¹ <δὲ> Wilamowitz

The Survival of His Book (R9)

R9 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.119

σφίζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν,
οὗ ἡ ἀρχή [. . . = **D5**].

R7 (≠ DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

[. . .] they [i.e. Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Thales] wrote
only very little.

In Ionic Dialect (R8)

R8 Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Pronouns*

a (B13)

Pherecydes in his *Theology*, as well as [i.e. Democritus]
[. . .] often use “*emeu*” and also “*emeo*” [i.e. both the
contracted and the uncontracted form of “my”].

b (B11)

In the nominative, the plural forms *hēmeis*, *humets*, *sphets*
 (“we,” “you,” “they”) are used by both Ionian and Attic
writers, but the uncontracted forms of the nominative are
also attested in Ionic writers in the writings of Democritus
[cf. **ATOM**. **R3b**], Pherecydes, [. . .].

The Survival of His Book (R9)

R9 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Of the one from Syros [scil. not Pherecydes of Athens] the
book he wrote is extant,¹ its beginning is [. . .].

¹ This might refer to the time of Diogenes Laertius, or to that
of his (unknown) source.

*One of the Seven Sages (R10)***R10** (cf. A2a) Diog. Laert. 1.42

Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἑπτακαίδεκά φη-
σιν [Frag. 6 Wehrli], ὧν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄλλους ἄλλως αἰρεῖ-
σθαι· εἶναι δὲ [. . .] Φερεκύδην [. . .].

Pherecydes as a Pythagorean (R11–R18)
The Initiator of the Pythagorean Line of Descent
of Greek Philosophy (R11–R12)

R11 (58 Schibli) Arist. in Diog. Laert. 2.46 (= Frag. 65 Rose)

[. . .] ἐφιλονεῖκει [. . .] Θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης [. . .].

R12 (46b Schibli) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.62.4

διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀναγράφεται, ὥσπερ
οὐδὲ Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου, ᾧ Πυθαγόρας ἐμαθήτευ-
σεν.

A Substitution (R13)

R13 (< A6) Porph. apud Eus. *PE* 10.3.7–9 (< Frag. 408 Smith, p. 480.30–46)

[7] ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος περὶ Πυθαγόρου ἱστορη-
κότος πάντα ὑφέλετο Θεόπομπος· [. . .] νῦν δὲ τῆν
κλοπὴν δῆλην πεποιήκεν ἢ τοῦ ὀνόματος μετάθεσις·

*One of the Seven Sages (R10)***R10** (cf. A2a) Diogenes Laertius

Hermippus in his book *On the Sages* says [scil. that the
Sages were] seventeen, out of whom different people
made different selections of seven; and that they were
[. . .] Pherecydes [. . .].

Pherecydes as a Pythagorean (R11–R18)
The Initiator of the Pythagorean Line of Descent
of Greek Philosophy (R11–R12)

R11 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *On the Poets*, in Diogenes Laer-
tius

[. . .] Pherecydes was the rival of Thales [. . .].

R12 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

No teacher is recorded for him [i.e. Thales], just as there
is none for Pherecydes of Syros either, with whom Py-
thagoras studied [cf. **P9**].

A Substitution (R13)

R13 (< A6) Porphyry in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

[7] All these stories that Andron has told about Pythago-
ras, Theopompus has purloined [. . .]. But as it is, the
change of name renders the theft obvious. For he uses the

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕτερον δ' ὄνομα μετενήνοχε· Φερεκύδην γὰρ τὸν Σύριον πεποίηκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα. [8] οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπον μεταθέσει. τό τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς προρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀνδρωνος ῥηθὲν ἐν Σύρῳ¹ εἰρησθαί φησιν ὁ Θεόπομπος τό τε περὶ τὸ πλοῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῆς Σικελίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου φησὶ θεωρηθῆναι· καὶ τὴν Συβάρως ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν μετέθηκεν. [9] ἵνα δέ τι δοκῆ λέγειν περιττόν, καὶ τοῦ ξένου προστέθεικε τοῦνομα, Περίλαον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέγων.

¹ Σύριῳ mss., corr. Müller

Doctrinal Rapprochements (R14–R18)
Metempsychosis (R14–R16)

R14 (< A5) Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.38

[. . .] sed quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes Syrius primus¹ dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos [. . . = P3]. hanc opinionem discipulus eius Pythagoras maxime confirmavit [. . .].

¹ primum mss., corr. Bentley

R15 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = R5] καὶ πρῶτον τὸν περὶ τῆς μετεμψυχώσεως λόγον εἰσηγήσασθαι.

same events but substituted one name for the other. For he has made Pherecydes of Syros the one who made this prediction [cf. P10]. [8] And it is not only by this name that he conceals his theft, but also by a change of location. For while Andron located the story about the prediction of an earthquake at Metapontum, Theopompus says that it was made in Syros; and also the incident concerning the ship was seen not from Megara in Sicily but from Samos; and he has substituted the capture of Messene for that of Sybaris. [9] And finally, in order to create the impression that he was saying something extraordinary, he has also added the name of the host, saying that he was called Perilaus.

Doctrinal Rapprochements (R14–R18)
Metempsychosis (R14–R16)

R14 (< A5) Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*

[. . .] to judge from written records, Pherecydes of Syros was the first to say that the souls of humans are eternal [. . .]. His disciple Pythagoras strongly supported this view [cf. PYTH. c D4–D5].

R15 (< A2) *Suda*

[. . .] [Scil. Some report that] he was the first to introduce the idea of metempsychosis.

R16 (< A5) Appon. 5.23 (ad *Cn.* 3:5)

[. . . = **THAL. R43**] Ferecides autem vocabulo animam hominis prior omnibus immortalem auditoribus suis tradidisse docetur, et eam esse vitam corporis, et unum nobis de caelo spiratum,¹ alterum credidit terrenis seminibus comparatum.

¹ spiritum RMpcb

The One (R17)

R17 (< A7a) Plot. 5.1.9.28–30

[. . .] ὥστε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἱ μάλιστα συντασσόμενοι τοῖς¹ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ Φερεκύδου δὲ περὶ ταύτην μὲν ἔσχον τὴν φύσιν.

¹ αὐτοῖς mss., corr. Creuzer

Seed (R18)

R18 (B7) Porph. *Gaur.* 2 (p. 34.26–35.3 Kalbfleisch)

[. . .] πολὺς ὁ Νομημίος καὶ οἱ τὰς Πυθαγόρου ὑπονοίας ἐξηγούμενοι, καὶ τὸν παρὰ μὲν τῷ Πλάτῳ ποταμὸν Ἀμέλητα [*Rep.* 621a], παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ [cf. **COSM. T7**] καὶ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς [*Frag.* 344 F Bernabé] τὴν Στύγα, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ τὴν ἐκροὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐκδεχόμενοι [. . .].

R16 (< A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*

[. . .] They say that a certain Pherecydes, before all others, taught his students the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal and that it is the life of the body, and he believed on the one hand that it is breathed into us from heaven and on the other that it is supplied by earthly seeds [cf. **PHER. R29; THAL. R43**].

The One (R17)

R17 (< A7a) Plotinus, *Enneads*

[. . .] so that among the ancients, those who most align themselves with the doctrines of Pythagoras and his successors as well as with those of Pherecydes were concerned with this nature [i.e. the One] [. . .].

Seed (R18)

R18 (B7) Porphyry, *To Gaurus on the Animation of the Embryo*

[. . .] the great Numenius and the interpreters of Pythagoras' hidden thought [cf. **PYTHS. R69**] understand as seed the river Ameles in Plato, the Styx in Hesiod and the Orphics, and the **outflow** in Pherecydes [. . .] [cf. **D15**].

Other Allegories and Interpretations (R19–R26)
The Form of the Narrative (R19)

R19 (A12) Procl. *In Tim.* 1 ad 22b–c (vol. 1, p. 129.15–16 Diehl)

[. . .] ἡ Πλάτωνος παράδοσις οὐκ ἔστι τοιαύτη ἀινυγματώδης, οἷα ἡ Φερεκίδου [. . .].

The Principles and Elements (R20–R26)

R20 (cf. A9) Herm. *Irris.* 12

[. . . = **R30**] Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθὴρ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα.

R21 (A10) Sext. *Emp. Pyr. Hyp.* 3.30

Φερεκίδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Σύριος γῆν εἶπε τὴν πάντων εἶναι ἀρχὴν [. . .].

R22 (> B1a) Ach. *Tat. Introd. Arat.* 3

[. . . = **D7**] τὸ ὕδωρ [. . .], ὃ δὲ καὶ χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκίδης, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦτο ἐκλεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου οὕτω λέγοντος·

ἦτοι μὲν πρότιστα χάος γένητο.

παρὰ γὰρ τὸ χεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει τὸ ὕδωρ χάος ὠνόμασθαι.

Other Allegories and Interpretations (R19–R26)
The Form of the Narrative (R19)

R19 (A12) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

[. . .] Plato's teaching [scil. on the war of ancient Athens against Atlantis] is not enigmatic in the same way as Pherecydes' is [. . .].

The Principles and Elements (R20–R26)

R20 (cf. A9) Hermias, *Satire on the Pagan Philosophers*

[. . .] Zeus the aether, Chthoniê the earth, and Cronus time (*khronos*): the aether is the agent, the earth the patient, the time that in which the things that come about exist.

R21 (A10) Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*

Pherecydes of Syros said that the principle of all things is the earth [. . .].

R22 (> B1a) Achilles Tatius, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena*

[. . .] water, which Pherecydes also calls “**Chaos**,” having probably derived this name from Hesiod, who says, “In truth, first of all Chaos came to be” [**COSM. T11**]. For he thinks that water was called “Chaos” from the fact that it pours out (*kheisthai*).

R23 (> A8) Dam. *Princ.* 124b (= Eudem. Frag. 117 Wehrli)

Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος Ζᾶντα μὲν εἶναι¹ αἰεὶ καὶ Χρόνον καὶ Χθονίαν τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ἀρχάς, τὴν μίαν φημὶ πρὸ τῶν δυνεῖν καὶ τὰς δύο μετὰ τὴν μίαν, τὸν δὲ Χρόνον ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ γόνου ἑαυτοῦ πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ, τὴν τριπλῆν, οἶμαι, φύσιν τοῦ νοητοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένων πολλὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην, ταῦτόν δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν, πεντέκοσμον.

¹ μένεται mss., corr. Kopp

R24 (> B3) Procl. *In Tim.* 3 ad 32c (vol. 2, p. 54.28–55.2 Diehl)

καὶ ἴσως πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπων καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἐρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἔνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.

R25 (A9) Lyd. *Mens.* 4.3

ἥλιος αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκύδην.

R26 (B6) Porph. *Antr.* 31

[. . .] καὶ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχοῦς καὶ βόθρους

R23 (> A8) Eudemus in Damascius, *On the Principles*

Pherecydes of Syros [scil. says] on the one hand that Zas always exists as well as Chronos and Chthonie, the three first principles—the first of these, I mean, before the other two, and these two after the first one—and on the other hand that Chronos made out of his seed fire, breath, and water—the triple nature, I suppose, of the intelligible—out of which, when they had been distributed in five nooks, arose another numerous generation of gods, called “the five-nook” one [cf. D6]—what is surely the same thing as “the five-cosmos” one.

R24 (> B3) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

And it is perhaps with a view toward this [scil. that love is the cause of the harmony in these products] that Pherecydes of Syros said that when Zeus was about to begin his work of creation, he transformed himself into **Eros**, because, since he was putting the world together out of the contraries, he led them to agreement and friendship and sowed in all things identity and the unity that pervades the universe [cf. D8].

R25 (A9) John Lydus, *On the Months*

He [i.e. Zeus] is the sun according to Pherecydes.

R26 (B6) Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs*

[. . .] and Pherecydes of Syros, who speaks of **nooks**, of

καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος καὶ διὰ
τούτων αἰνιττομένου τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν γενέσεις καὶ ἀπο-
γενέσεις.¹

¹ καὶ ἀπογενέσεις V: om. M

Pherecydes Among the Christians (R27–R30)
Does Pherecydes Derive His Inspiration from
Homer or the Bible? (R27)

R27 Origen, *Cels.*

a (< B5) 6.42

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη οὕτω νοήσαντα¹ τὸν Φερεκύ-
δην φησὶν εἰρηκέναι τό· “κείνης δὲ τῆς μόρας [. . .]
ἐξυβρίση” [D13].

¹ νοηθέντα ms., corr. Guet

b (79 Schibli) 6.43

[. . .] μὴ κατανοήσας ὅτι τὰ πολλῶ οὐ μόνον Ἡρα-
κλείτου καὶ Φερεκύδου ἀρχαιότερα ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀμήρου
Μαῦσείως γράμματα εἰσήγαγε τὸν περὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ
τούτου καὶ ἐκπεσόντος τῶν οὐρανίων λόγον. ὁ γὰρ
ὄφεις, παρ’ οὗ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ γέγονεν Ὀφιονεὺς
[. . .] τοιαυτὰ τινα αἰνίσσεται [. . .].

hollows, of caves, of doors, of gates, and means by these
terms allegorically the births and departures of the souls
[cf. D14].

Pherecydes Among the Christians (R27–R30)
Does Pherecydes Derive His Inspiration from
Homer or the Bible? (R27)

R27 Origen, *Against Celsus*

a (< B5)

He [i.e. Celsus] says that it is because he understood these
verses of Homer [*Iliad* 1.590–91 and 15.18–24]¹ in this
way that he [i.e. Pherecydes] said, “**Below that portion**
[. . .] **he commits an outrage**” [= D13].

¹ The gods, including Hephaestus, who have come to the help
of Hera (whom Zeus had suspended in the air), are expelled from
Olympus.

b (≠ DK)

[. . .] he [i.e. Celsus] does not understand that Moses’
writings, which are far more ancient not only than Hera-
clitus’ and Pherecydes’ but also than Homer’s, introduced
the story about this evil being [i.e. Satan], that he fell from
the heavens. For the snake (*ophis*), from which Ophioneus
is derived in Pherecydes, [. . .] allegorically signifies things
of this sort [. . .] [cf. D11].

*Other Testimonia on Pherecydes' Dependence upon the Scriptures (R28–R29)***R28** (< B2) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.53.5

[. . .] καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς προσποιουμένους φιλοσοφεῖν ἵνα μάθωσι τί ἐστὶν ἢ ὑπόπτερος δρυὶς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον φᾶρος, πάντα ὅσα Φερεκύδης ἀλληγορήσας ἐθεολόγησεν, λαβὼν² ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χάμ προφητείας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

¹ δοκεῖ <διδάσκειν> vel <ἐλέγχειν> Früchtel ² λαβεῖν Heyse

R29 (< A5) Appon. 5.22 (ad *Cn.* 3:5)

in priore enim 'filiarum adiuratione,' in 'caprearum et cervorum' personas thalesianae et ferecidensis philosophiae intellegi diximus [. . .].

*Hermias' Fatigue (R30)***R30** (cf. A9) Herm. *Irris.* 12

νευροκοποῦσι¹ γάρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρχαιότεροι τούτων γέροντες, Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον [. . . = **R20**].

¹ νευροκοποιοῦσι mss., corr. Hanson: νευροσπαστοῦσι Usener

*Other Testimonia on Pherecydes' Dependence upon the Scriptures (R28–R29)***R28** (< B2) Isidore in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[. . .] it seems to me that the pretenders are philosophizing in order to learn what are the **winged oak** and the **embroidered robe** on it [= **D10**], everything that Pherecydes has said allegorically in a theological form, taking his starting point from the prophecy of Cham [cf. Genesis 9:20–27].

R29 (< A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*

For we said about the earlier 'adjuration of the daughters' that 'the roes and stags' are to be understood as the representatives of the philosophy of Thales and Pherecydes¹ [cf. **PHER. R16**; **THAL. R43**].

¹ The reference seems to be to his commentary (4:1) on *Cn.* 2.7 (where in fact he does not name Thales or Pherecydes, but the Platonists and the Stoics).

*Hermias' Fatigue (R30)***R30** (cf. A9) Hermias, *Satire on the Pagan Philosophers*

Ancient philosophers earlier than those [scil. probably: Plato and Aristotle] exhaust my spirit—Pherecydes, when he says that the principles are Zeus, Chthoniê, and Cronus [. . .].

*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Pherecydes and Thales (R31)*

R31 Diog. Laert.

a (Hercher 740) 1.43–44

Θαλῆς Φερεκῦδει—πυνθάνομαί σε πρῶτον Ἴωνων μέλλειν λόγους ἀμφὶ τῶν θεῶν χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας φαίνειν. καὶ τάχα μὲν ἢ γνώμη τοι δικαίη ἐς τὸ ξυνὸν καταθέσθαι γραφήν, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ὁποιοσοῦν ἐπιτρέπειν χρήμα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος. εἰ δὲ τοι ἥδιον, ἐθέλω γενέσθαι λεσχηνώτης περὶ ὁτέων γράφεις· καὶ ἦν κελεύς, παρὰ σέ ἀφίξομαι ἐς Σύρον. [. . .] ἤξει γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σόλων, ἦν ἐπιτρέπης. [44] σὺ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτεῖς ἐς Ἰωνίην, οὐδέ σε ποθὴ ἴσχει ἀνδρῶν ξείνων ἀλλά, ὡς ἔλπομαι, ἐνὶ μούμφῃ χρήματι πρόσκειαι τῇ γραφῇ. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ μηδὲν γράφοντες περιχωρόμεν τὴν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἀσίην.

b (test. 238 Wöhrle) 1.122

Φερεκῦδης Θαλῆ—εὖ θνήσκεις ὅταν τοι τὸ χρεῶν ἦκη. νοῦσός με καταλελάβηκε δεδεγμένον τὰ παρὰ σέο γράμματα. φθειρῶν ἔβρυν¹ πᾶς καί με εἶχεν ἠπίαλος. ἐπέσκηψα δ' ὦν τοῖσι οἰκίητησιν, ἐπὴν με καταθάψωσιν, ἐς σέ τὴν γραφήν ἐνέγκαι. σὺ δὲ ἦν

¹ ἔβρυνον Frobenius: ἔθνον mss.

*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Pherecydes and Thales (R31)*

R31 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

a

[Thales to Pherecydes:] I hear that you are going to be the first Ionian to set forth discourses on divine matters for the Greeks. And perhaps your decision is wise, to make your text public instead of entrusting it to any individuals, something that has no advantage. If you wish, I am willing to become your interlocutor for whatever you write; and if you ask me, I will come to you in Syros. [. . .] Solon will come too, if you permit. [44] You are attached to your country and so you come only rarely to Ionia, and the desire to meet foreigners does not possess you; but, as I suppose, you dedicate yourself to only one activity, writing—whereas we who write nothing travel throughout Greece and Asia.

b

[Pherecydes to Thales:] May you die well when your time comes. An illness has befallen me since I received your letter. I am completely full of lice and an ague has taken hold of me. So I have ordered my servants to carry my text to you after they have buried me. If you, together with the

δοκιμώσης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς, οὕτω μιν φῆνον·
 ἦν δὲ οὐ δοκιμώσητε, μὴ φήνῃς. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔ
 ἤνδανεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεκείη πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ὑπί-
 σχνέομαι <κ>ου τῶληθές² εἰδέναι, ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἐπι-
 λέγω³ θεολογέων· τὰ ἄλλα χρή νοεῖν· ἅπαντα γὰρ
 αἰνίσσομαι. [. . .]

² <κ>ου τῶληθές Diels post Reiske : οὕτω ληθές B: οὐ τα-
 ληθές P¹ (ut vid.: οὕτω ἀληθές Q): οὐ τ' ἀληθές P⁴ ³ ἐπι-
 λέγω Menagius: ἐπιλέγη BP: ἐπιλέγη Dorandi

other sages, approve of it, publish it as it is; if you do not
 approve, do not publish it. As for myself, I am not yet sat-
 isfied with it. There is a lack of precision about the subject
 matter nor do I promise in any case that I know the truth,
 but only what I say when I speak about the gods. All other
 things one has to think about, for I hint at them all alle-
 gorically [. . .].

5. THALES [THAL.]

Thales' activity is situated at Miletus between the second half of the seventh century and the first decades of the sixth century BC. He is included in the canonical list of the seven "Sages," which goes back to an early date (P1b, cf. R2–R4). Histories of philosophy often present him as "the first philosopher," largely because of the way in which Aristotle introduces him in the *Metaphysics*, as the first to have practiced a philosophy of "nature" (R9). But the most ancient testimonia, notably those of Aristophanes and Herodotus, rather suggest a multifaceted figure engaged above all in politics and (especially hydraulic) engineering. It is most likely that he left no writings behind, as is suggested by the fact that already Aristotle seems to have no direct knowledge of his ideas. A large number of mathematical and scientific discoveries are attributed to him by later authors, but it is usually difficult or impossible to say whether, and if so to what extent, they really do go back to him; in any case, we have put all these reports into the section on Thales' reception (R13–R31). In general, the distinction, maintained here as in the other chapters, between doctrine and reception is more hypothetical in the case of Thales than in most other ones.

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THALES [11 DK]

P

Chronology (P1)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert.

a 1.37–38

φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς [FGrHist 244 F28] γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς πέμπτῃς¹ Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, ἧ, ὡς Σωσικράτης φησὶν [Frag. 1 Giannattasio Andria], ἐνενήκοντα· τελευτῆσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονότα κατὰ Κροῖσον [. . .].

¹ πέμπτῃς] ἐνάτης prop. Diels

b 1.22

καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὧς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ [Frag. 149 Wehrli].

THALES

P

Chronology (P1)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

Apollodorus in his *Chronicles* says that he was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad [= 640/39].¹ He died at the age of seventy-eight; or, as Sosicrates says, at ninety; for he died during the 58th Olympiad [= 548/44], having lived at the time of Croesus [. . .].²

¹ Diels suggested correcting “35th” to “39th” (= 624/23).

² A competing ancient chronology (A2, A8 DK) dated Thales to the mid-eighth century BC.

b

And he was first called a “sage” when Damasion was archon in Athens [= 582/81]; it was during this time that the Seven Sages were named, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *Catalog of the Archons* [cf. **R2–R4**].

Origins and Family (P2)

P2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.22

ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος [cf. 1.170] καὶ Δούρις [FGrHist 76 F74] καὶ Δημόκριτος [cf. **ATOM. P23–P26**] φασι, πατὴρ μὲν Ἐξαμύου, μητὴρ δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης, ἐκ τῶν Θεληιδῶν,¹ οἳ εἰσι Φοίνικες, εὐγενέστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀγήνορος. [. . .] ἐπολιτογραφῆθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείεω² ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης· ὡς δ' οἳ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενῆς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.

¹ Νηλειδῶν Bywater

² varia mss., corr. Diels

Alleged Education in Egypt (P3–P5)

P3 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο, πλὴν ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερέσιν συνδιέτριψεν.

P4 (A11) Aët. 1.3.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν τί εἰσιν]

φιλοσοφῆσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἦλθεν εἰς Μίλητον πρεσβύτερος.

P5 (A11) Iambl. VP 12

[. . .] προτρέψατο εἰς Αἴγυπτον διαπλεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Μέμφιδι καὶ Διοσπόλει μάλιστα συμβαλεῖν ἱερέσιν.

Origins and Family (P2)

P2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Thales, as Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus [cf. **R1**] report, had as father Examuas and as mother Cleobuline, of the family of the Thelides, who are Phoenicians, the most noble of the descendants of Cadmus and Agenor. [. . .] He became a citizen of Miletus when he went there with Neileus, who had been exiled from Phoenicia. But according to what most authors report, he was of genuine Milesian lineage and belonged to an illustrious family.

Alleged Education in Egypt (P3–P5)

P3 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

No one showed him the way, except that he went to Egypt and spent time with the priests.

P4 (A11) Aëtius

After he had practiced philosophy in Egypt, he came to Miletus as an old man.

P5 (A11) Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*

[. . .] he exhorted him [i.e. Pythagoras] to sail to Egypt and to spend time above all with the priests of Memphis and

παρὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐφωδιάσθαι ταῦτα, δι'
ἃ σοφὸς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς νομίζεται.

Disciple of Pherecydes, Like Pythagoras?

See **PYTH. P13**

The Engineer (P6)

P6 (> A6) Hdt. 1.75

ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ
ἐνθεύτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας
διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλ-
λήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος
γὰρ Κροίσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ
στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς
γεφύρας ταύτας), λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς
χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν, ποιῆ-
σαι δὲ ᾧδε. ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον δι-
ώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νότον λάβοι, ταύτη
κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥε-
έθρων, καὶ αὐτίς, παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς
τὰ ἀρχαία ἐσβάλλοι, ὥστε, ἐπεῖτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχι-
στα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο.

of Diospolis [i.e. Thebes]. For it was from them that he
himself had obtained what made most people regard him
as a sage.

See also **PHER. P7**

Disciple of Pherecydes, Like Pythagoras?

See **PYTH. P13**

The Engineer (P6)

P6 (> A6) Herodotus, *Histories*

When Croesus arrived at the river Halys, he got his army
across it, as I say for my part, on bridges that existed at the
time; but according to a report widespread among the
Greeks, it was Thales of Miletus who got them across for
him. For when Croesus could not figure out how to get his
army across the river (for they say that these bridges did
not yet exist at that time), they say that Thales, who was
present in the camp, made the river, which was flowing on
the left side of the army, flow on its right side too. And he
did this in the following way: he dug a deep canal in the
shape of a crescent beginning above the camp so that the
water, diverted in this way along the canal from its original
course, would flow around to the rear and then, once it
had passed the camp, would flow into its original bed. So
that as soon as the river had been split into two it became
fordable on both sides.

*The Political Advisor (P7–P8)***P7** (A4) Hdt. 1.170

χρηστέη δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἴωνίην Θαλέω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὰ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτίθασθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἴωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν.

P8 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.25

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄριστα βεβουλευῆσθαι. Κροίσου γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίου ἐπὶ συμμαχία ἐκώλυσε¹ ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν [. . . = **P11**].

*Prediction of a Solar Eclipse (P9–P10)***P9** (A5) Hdt. 1.74

διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἕκτω ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε, τῆς μάχης συνεστρώσης, τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλησίου τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσσεσθαι, οὐρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή.

¹ This solar eclipse occurred on May 28, 585 BC. It is uncertain whether Thales possessed the means to predict it.

*The Political Advisor (P7–P8)***P7** (A4) Herodotus, *Histories*

Useful too [scil. like that of Bias of Priene], before the destruction of Ionia, was that [i.e. advice] of Thales of Miletus (who was Phoenician by descent). He urged that the Ionians establish a single council, which should be located in Teos (for Teos is in the middle of Ionia), and that the other inhabited cities should be considered as being nothing less than demes.

P8 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And he seems to have given excellent advice in political matters too. Indeed, when Croesus sent an embassy to the Milesians to propose an alliance, he prevented it; and this saved the city after Cyrus' victory.¹

¹ Cyrus conquered Croesus and Lydia in the middle of the sixth century BC.

*Prediction of a Solar Eclipse (P9–P10)***P9** (A5) Herodotus, *Histories*

After they [i.e. Alyattes and Cyaxares] had been waging war inconclusively, it came to pass at an encounter in the sixth year that just when they had engaged a battle, the day was suddenly transformed into night. Thales of Miletus had predicted to the Ionians that this transformation of the day would take place, and he had determined beforehand as the exact time the very year in which the change actually took place.¹

P10 (A5) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.65

Θαλῆν δὲ Εὐδήμος ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογικαῖς ἱστορίαις [Frag. 143 Wehrli] τὴν γενομένην ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου προειπεῖν φησι, καθ' οὓς χρόνους συνήψαν μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μῆδοί τε καὶ Λυδοὶ βασιλεύοντος Κυαξάρους μὲν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου πατρὸς Μῆδων, Ἀλυάττου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου Λυδῶν [. . .] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ἀμφὶ τὴν ν' Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Married?^p (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.25–26

[. . . = **P8**] καὶ αὐτὸς¹ δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ [Frag. 45 Wehrli], μονήρη αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδιαστήν. ἔνοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μείναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι [. . . = **P17a**].

¹ καὶ αὐτὸς] Κλύτος Menagius

Attitude to Life (P12–P15)

Indifference to Human Affairs (P12–P13)

P12 (A9) Plat. *Theaet.* 174a

[ΣΩ.] ὥσπερ καὶ Θαλῆν ἀστρονομούντα [. . .] καὶ ἄνω βλέποντα, πεσόντα εἰς φρέαρ, Θράττά τις ἐμμελής

P10 (A5) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Eudemus says in his *History of Astronomy* that Thales had predicted the solar eclipse which took place at the time when the Medes and the Lydians—Cyaxares, father of Astyages, was reigning over the Medes, and Alyattes, son of Croesus, over the Lydians—were joining battle with one another [. . .] This happened around the 50th Olympiad [= 580/76].

See also **R15–R18**

Married?^p (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And yet he himself says, as Heraclides [scil. of Pontus] reports, that he lived in solitude and as a private person. Some say that he married and had a son named Cybisthus, others that he remained a bachelor but adopted his sister's son [. . .].

Attitude to Life (P12–P15)

Indifference to Human Affairs (P12–P13)

P12 (A9) Plato, *Theaetetus*

It is said [. . .] that Thales, while doing astronomy and looking upward, fell into a well, and that a witty and charming

καὶ χαρίεσσα θεραπευτῆς ἀποσκῶψαι λέγεται ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ προθυμοῖτο εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ πόδας λαμβάνοι αὐτόν.

P13 (59 A30) Arist. *EN* 6.7 1141b2–8

διὸ [. . . cf. **ANAXAG.** P29] καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους σοφοὺς μὲν φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασι εἶναι, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέροντα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ περιττὰ μὲν καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ δαιμόνια εἰδέναι αὐτούς φασι, ἄχρηστα δ', ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ ζητοῦσιν.

Practicality (P14–P15)

P14 (Th 22 Wöhrle) Plat. *Rep.* 10 600a

[ΣΩ.] ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ εἰς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ ἐπίνοια καὶ εὐμήχανοι εἰς τέχνας ἢ τινὰς ἄλλας πράξεις λέγονται, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς Θάλεώ τε περὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος τοῦ Σκύθου;

P15 (< A10) Arist. *Pol.* 1.11 1259a9–18

ὀνειδιζόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασι αὐτόν

Thracian handmaiden made fun of him, saying that he was eager to know what was in the sky but did not see what was in front of him and at his feet.¹

¹ This anecdote, which may derive from Aesop (Fab. 40 Hausrath, 65 Chambry) and was destined to enjoy an enormous success, is repeated and varied in a large number of texts (including e.g. **ANAXIMEN.** R11a; Diogenes Laertius 1.34; (Ps.?)-Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 1.1; etc.).

P13 (59 A30) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

That [scil. because wisdom is knowing what is most honorable by nature] is why people say that [. . .] Thales and men like that are wise but not prudent, when they see that they do not know what is advantageous for themselves; and they say that what they know is extraordinary and marvelous and difficult and divine—but useless, since they do not try to find what is good for humans.

Practicality (P14–P15)

P14 (≠ DK) Plato, *Republic*

[Socrates:] Or, as would be appropriate for the accomplishments of a wise man, are many ingenious inventions for the arts or any other practical activities reported [scil. for Homer] as they are for Thales of Miletus and Anacharsis the Scythian?

P15 (< A10) Aristotle, *Politics*

As people reproached him on account of his poverty, saying that philosophy is useless, he is reported to have ascer-

ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἄρραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα ὄν τρόπον ἠβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι ῥάδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπουδάζουσιν.

Apothegms and Other Sayings (P16–P18)

P16 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.35

τῶν τε ἄδομένων αὐτοῦ τάδε εἶναι·

οὐ τι τὰ πολλὰ ἔπη φρονίμην ἀπεφήνατο δόξαν·
 ἐν τι μάτευε σοφόν,
 ἐν τι κεδνὸν αἰροῦ·
 λύσεις¹ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν κωτίλων
 γλώσσας ἀπεραντολόγους. [SH 521]

¹ δήσεις Diels

P17 (< A1) Diog. Laert.

a 1.26

[. . . = **P11**] ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ, διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς

tained on the basis of astronomy, while the winter was still in its course, that there was going to be a large crop of olives; with the little money he possessed, he paid deposits on all the olive-presses in Miletus and Chios, renting them cheaply since no one was competing with him. When the moment came, as all at once many people needed them suddenly, he rented them out at as high a price as he pleased and made a lot of money—thereby demonstrating that it is easy for philosophers to become rich if they wish, but that this is not what they are eager to do.

*Apothegms and Other Sayings (P16–P18)*¹

¹ Some of these sayings are also attributed to the Seven Sages (cf. **MOR. T35**).

P16 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Among his songs there are the following:

Many words do not manifest a sensible opinion.
 Search for one thing: what is wise.
 Choose one thing: what is good.
 For you will undo the endlessly talking tongues
 Of chattering men.

P17 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

[. . .] When he was asked why he did not have children, he replied, “because of my love for children.” And they say

ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, ἔλεγεν, οὐδέπω καιρός. εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι καιρός.

b 1.33

Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις [Frag. 11 Wehrli] εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φασί, τριῶν τούτων ἕνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

c 1.35-37

φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε· πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγέννητον γάρ· κάλλιστον κόσμος· πούημα γὰρ θεοῦ· μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ· τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει· ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων· σοφώτατον χρόνος· ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα.

οὐδὲν ἔφη τὸν θάνατον διαφέρειν τοῦ ζῆν. σὺ οὖν, ἔφη τις, διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις; ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

[36] πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί πρότερον γεγόνου, νύξ ἢ ἡμέρα, ἢ νύξ, ἔφη, μῦθ' ἡμέρα πρότερον.

ἠρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθου θεοὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀδικῶν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διανοούμενος, ἔφη. πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν

that when his mother tried to compel him to marry he would say, "It is not yet the right time," and then, as she insisted when he was no longer young, "It is no longer the right time."

b

Hermippus in his *Lives* attributes to him what certain people say about Socrates. For they say that he used to say that he was grateful to fortune for three things: first, that he was born a human being and not an animal; second, that he was born a man and not a woman; and third, that he was born a Greek and not a barbarian.

c

The following sayings of his are also reported: "The oldest of beings is god; for he is unborn." "The most beautiful thing is the world; for it was made by god." "The biggest thing is place; for it contains everything." "The fastest thing is mind; for it races through everything." "The strongest thing is necessity; for it rules over everything." "The wisest thing is time; for it discovers everything."

He said that death is not at all different from life. Someone said, "Then why don't you die?" He answered, "Because there is no difference."

[36] To the man who wanted to know which came about earlier, night or day, he replied, "Night, earlier by a day."

Someone asked him whether a man escapes the notice of the gods if he commits injustice; he answered, "not even

ἐρόμενον εἰ ὁμόση¹ μὴ μεμοιχευκέναι, οὐ χεῖρον, ἔφη, μοιχείας ἐπιωρκία;²

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι τί δὲ εὐκόλον, τὸ ἄλλω ὑποθέσθαι τί ἥδιστον, τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνειν τί τὸ θεῖον, τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τελευτήν. τί δὲ καινὸν εἶη τεθραμμένος ἔφη γέροντα τύραννον.

πῶς ἂν τις ἀτυχίαν βῆστα φέροι, εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χεῖρον πράσσοντας βλέποι πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα βιώσασαιμεν, ἐὰν ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν. [37] τίς εὐδαίμων, ὃ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν³ εὐπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν⁴ εὐπαιδευτος.

φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνήσθαι φησι μὴ τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν εἶναι καλόν.

μὴ πλούτει, φησί, κακῶς, μηδὲ διαβαλλέτω σε λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας.

οὓς ἂν ἐράνουσ εἰσενέγκης, φησί, τοῖς γονεῦσιν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων.

¹ ὁμόσηι mss., corr. Roeper

² ita interpunxit Sternbach

³ ψυχὴν BP¹ (Q): τύχην FP⁵

⁴ φύσιν BP¹ (Q): ψυχὴν FP³

d 1.40

τούτου ἐστὶν τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόγης εἶναι φησιν [FGrHist 508 F3], ἐξειδιωποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Χίλωνά.

if he intends to." And to the adulterer who asked whether he should swear that he had not committed adultery, he answered, "Is not perjury worse than adultery?"

Asked what is difficult, he answered, "to know oneself"; what is easy, "to give advice to someone else"; what is most pleasant, "to have success"; what is divine, "that which has neither beginning nor end"; what was the most unheard of thing he had seen, he said, "an old tyrant."

How one could most easily endure misfortune? "If one sees one's enemies doing worse." How we could live best and most justly? "If we do not do ourselves what we blame others for doing." [37] Who is happy? "He who is healthy in body, resourceful in spirit, well trained in nature."

He says that we should remember our friends, be they present or absent; not to beautify our appearance, but to be beautiful in what we do.

He says, "Do not enrich yourself dishonestly, nor let any utterance set you against those who share your trust."

He says, "The very same favors that you did for your parents, expect them from your children too."

d

To him belongs the saying "Know yourself," which Antisthenes in his *Successions* attributes to Phemonoê, saying that Chilon appropriated it for himself.

P18 (< A19) Apul. Flor. 18

"[. . .] satis [. . .] mihi fuerit mercedis [. . .] si id quod a me didicisti cum proferre ad quosdam coeperis, sibi non adsciveris, sed eius inventi me potius quam alium repertorem praedicaris."

Death (P19)

P19 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.39

ὁ δ' οὖν σοφὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος γυμνικὸν ὑπὸ τε καύματος καὶ δίψους καὶ ἀσθενείας, ἥδη γηραιός.

Statue (P20)

P20 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34 (< Lobon Frag. 1 Garulli)

[. . . = **R8**] ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνας τόδε:

τόνδε Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἴας θρέψασ' ἀνέδειξεν
ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον σοφίῃ.

P18 (< A19) Apuleius, *Florida*

[to Mandrolytus of Priene, who offered to pay him whatever he wished for teaching him the calculation of the sun's orbit, cf. **R13**:] "It would be an adequate recompense for me [. . .] if, when you begin to tell people what you have learned from me, you do not attribute it to yourself but declare that I am the author of this discovery rather than anyone else."

Death (P19)

P19 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

This sage died while he was observing an athletic competition, because of the heat, thirst, and his weakness, when he was already old.

Statue (P20)

P20 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] [Scil. Lobon says that] his statue bears the following inscription:

Ionian Miletus nursed this man, Thales, and revealed him
As the most venerable of all astronomers in wisdom.

Iconography (P21)

P21 (≠ DK) Richter I, pp. 82–83 and Figures 321–25; Richter-Smith, pp. 209–10 and Figures 171–72; Koch, "Iconographie," in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 217–19.

THALES [11 DK]

D

Thales (Probably) Left Behind
No Writings (D1–D2)

D1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

καὶ κατὰ τινας μὲν σύγγραμμα κατέλιπεν οὐδέν [. . .
= **R6**].

D2 (< Th 184 Wöhrle) Gal. *In Hipp. Nat. hom.* 1.27 (= p. 37.9–11 Mewaldt)

[. . .] ὅτι Θαλῆς ἀπεφήνατο στοιχείον μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δεικνύναι οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἅπασι καὶ τοῦτο πεπίστευται.

Water as the Principle (D3–D4)

D3 (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b18–22

τὸ μέντοι πλήθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς οὐ

THALES

D

Thales (Probably) Left Behind
No Writings (D1–D2)

D1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

According to some, he did not leave behind a written treatise [. . .].

D2 (≠ DK) Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On the Nature of Man*

[. . .] we are not able to demonstrate on the basis of a treatise by Thales that he declared that water was the only element, even if this is what everyone believes.

Water as the Principle (D3–D4)

D3 (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

However, not all [scil. of those earliest philosophers who assert that things comes from a substrate] say the same

τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν [. . . = **R9**]
 ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι (διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφῆ-
 νατο εἶναι) [. . . = **R32a**].

D4 (< Th 210 Wöhrlé) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

[. . . = **R12**] οὗτος ἔφη ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ
 τέλος τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα συνίστασθαι
 πηγνυμένον καὶ πάλιν διανεμένον ἐπιφέρεσθαι τε
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ σεισμοὺς καὶ πνευμάτων
 συστροφὰς καὶ ἀστρων κινήσεις γίνεσθαι [. . . = **R39**].

The World (D5)

D5 (A13b) Aët. 2.1.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [*περὶ κόσμου*]

Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

The Heavenly Bodies (D6)

D6 (A17a) Aët.

a 2.13.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [*τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἀστρων πλανητῶν
 καὶ ἀπλανῶν*]

Θαλῆς γεώδη μὲν ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα.

b 2.20.9 (Stob.) [*περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου*]

Θαλῆς γεοειδῆ τὸν ἥλιον.

thing regarding the number and the kind of a principle of
 this sort. But Thales [. . .] says it is water (and it is for this
 reason that he declared that the earth rests upon water)
 [. . .].

D4 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[. . .] He said that the beginning of everything and its end
 is water. For it is out of this that all things are formed,
 when it solidifies and liquefies in turn,¹ and all things rest
 upon it, and it is also from this that earthquakes, concen-
 trations of winds, and the motions of the stars come [. . .].

¹ This explanation seems more like reconstruction (of Aristo-
 telian origin) than information.

The World (D5)

D5 (A13b) Aëtius

Thales and those who follow him: there is [scil. only] one
 world.

The Heavenly Bodies (D6)

D6 (A17a) Aëtius

a

Thales: the stars are made of earth, but they are on fire.

b

Thales: the sun is made of earth.

*The Earth (D7–D8)***D7** (< A14) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294a28–32

οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὕδατος κείσθαι. τοῦτον γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον
 παρειλήφαμεν τὸν λόγον, ὃν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν
 Μιλήσιον, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλωτὴν εἶναι μένουσαν ὥσπερ
 ξύλον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον (καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος
 μὲν οὐθὲν πέφυκε μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος) [. . . =
R33a].

D8 (< A15) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 3.14

ait enim terrarum orbem aqua sustineri et vehi more
 navigii mobilitateque eius fluctuare, tum quum dicitur
 tremere. non est ergo mirum si abundat humor ad flumina
 fundenda, quum mundus in humore sit totus.

*The Flooding of the Nile (D9)***D9** (A16) Aët. 4.1.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ Νείλου ἀναβάσεως]

Θαλῆς τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους οἶεται πνέοντας τῇ Αἰ-
 γύπτῳ ἀντιπροσώπους ἐπαίρειν τοῦ Νείλου τὸν ὄγκον
 διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐκροὰς αὐτοῦ τῇ παροιδήσει τοῦ ἀντι-
 παρήκοντος πελάγους ἀνακόπτεσθαι.

*The Earth (D7–D8)***D7** (< A14) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

The others say that it [i.e. the earth] rests on water. For
 the most ancient explanation that has come down to us,
 which they say that Thales of Miletus stated, is that it stays
 put because it floats like wood or something else of this
 sort (for by nature none of these things stays put in the air,
 but rather on water) [. . .].

D8 (< A15) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

For he says that the terrestrial globe rests upon water and
 moves like a boat and fluctuates by reason of its mobility
 when there is what is called an earthquake. So it is not
 surprising if there is an abundant quantity of fluid that
 pours forth as streams, since the whole world is located in
 a fluid.

*The Flooding of the Nile (D9)***D9** (A16) Aëtius

Thales thinks that the Etesian winds that blow upon Egypt
 in the opposite direction raise the Nile's bulk because its
 outflow is driven back by the swelling of the sea which
 comes to meet it.¹

¹ Herodotus 2.20 mentions this theory without attributing it
 to anyone.

*Souls and Divinities (D10–D11)***D10** (< A22) Arist. *An.* 1.5 411a7–8

[. . .] Θαλῆς ᾠήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι.

D11**a** (A22) Arist. *An.* 1.2 405a19–21

ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς ἐξ ὧν ἀπομνημονεύουσι κινητικόν
τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἶπερ τὸν λίθον ψυχὴν ἔχειν
ὅτι τὸν σίδηρον κινεῖ.

b (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

[. . . = **R37**] Ἀριστοτέλης [**D11a**] δὲ καὶ Ἱππίας [**HIP-PIAS D23**] φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀψύχοις μεταδιδόναι
ψυχῆς, τεκμαιρόμενον ἐκ τῆς λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος
καὶ τοῦ ἠλέκτρου.

*Souls and Divinities (D10–D11)***D10** (< A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*[. . .] Thales thought that all things are full of gods.¹¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws* 899b.See also **R34a****D11****a** (A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

Thales too seems, from what is reported, to have thought
that the soul is something that moves, for he says that the
stone [i.e. the magnet] has a soul, given that it moves iron.

b (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Aristotle and Hippias say that he attributed a soul to
inanimate beings too, judging from the evidence of the
magnet and of amber.

THALES

R

*Earliest Testimonies to His Fame
Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Herodotus,
and Democritus (R1)*

R1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

[. . . = **R15**] ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
θαυμάζει. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δη-
μόκριτος.

Hippias

See **THAL. D11b**

Aristophanes

See **DRAM. T13-T14**

THALES

R

*Earliest Testimonies to His Fame
Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Herodotus,
and Democritus (R1)*

R1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] That is why Xenophanes and Herodotus [cf. **P2, P6, P7, P9**] admire him. Heraclitus [cf. **HER. D26**] and Democritus [cf. **THAL. P2**] also bear witness to him.

Hippias

See **THAL. D11b**

Aristophanes

See **DRAM. T13-T14**

*From the Sage to the Theoretician (R2–R4)***R2** (< Th 20 Wöhrle) Plat. *Prot.* 343a

[ΠΡ.] τούτων ἦν καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιπτακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεὺς, καὶ ἔβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων.

R3 (Th 110 Wöhrle) Plut. *Sol.* 3.8.1–3 80B–C

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἢ Θάλευ μόνου σοφία τότε περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπήρξε.

R4 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34

οἶδε δ' αὐτὸν ἀστρονομούμενον καὶ Τίμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἐπαινεῖ αὐτὸν λέγων [Frag. 23 Di Marco].

οἶόν θ' ἑπτὰ Θάλητα σοφῶν σοφὸν
 <ἀστρονομῆσαι>¹ [. . . = **R8**]

¹ <ἀστρονομῆσαι> Magnelli

*Alleged Writings (R5–R8)***R5** (< A11) Flav. Jos. *Apion.* 1.2

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων

*From the Sage to the Theoretician (R2–R4)***R2** (≠ DK) Plato, *Protagoras*

[Protagoras:] To such men [scil. those capable of making laconic pronouncements] belonged Thales of Miletus, Pittacus of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, our own Solon, Cleobulus of Lindos, Myson of Chenae, and people say that the seventh among them was Chilon of Sparta [cf. **MOR. T35**].

R3 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Solon*

And in general it seems that at that time only Thales' wisdom, by reason of its theoretical aspect, went beyond practical necessity: the others [scil. of the Seven Sages] possess the name of wisdom from their excellence in politics.

R4 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Timon too knows of him as an astronomer, and he praises him in his *Mockeries (Silloi)*, saying,

As, among the Seven Sages, Thales the sage
 <practiced astronomy> [. . .].

See also **P1b**

*Alleged Writings (R5–R8)***R5** (< A11) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

Everyone agrees unanimously that the first Greeks who

πρώτους παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον [. . . = **PHER. P8**] Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν [. . .] ὀλίγα συγγράψαι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γεγραφῆναι.

R6 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

[. . . = **D1**] ἡ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένη Ναυτικὴ ἀστρολογία Φώκου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ Σαμίου. [. . .] κατὰ τινος δὲ μόνα δύο συνέγραψε, Περὶ τροπῆς καὶ Ἰσημερίας, τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι δοκιμάσας.

R7 (< B1) Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 18 403A

[. . .] εἰ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν <τὴν> εἰς αὐτὸν¹ ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογίαν.

¹ <τὴν> εἰς αὐτὸν Turnebus; εἰς αὐτὴν mss.

R8 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34

[. . . = **R4**] ἀστρονομήματα¹ δὲ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος [Frag. 1 Garulli] εἰς ἑπὶ τεῖνευ διακόσια [. . .].

¹ ἀστρονομήματα BP¹(Q) F²: ἀστρονόμημα. τὰ F¹P⁴

philosophized about celestial phenomena and divine matters, like [. . .] Thales, [. . .] wrote only very little; these writings seem to the Greeks to be the most ancient ones of all, and they can scarcely believe that they were written by them.

R6 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] for the *Nautical Astronomy* attributed to him is said to be by Phocus of Samos. [. . .] But according to other people he wrote only two works, *On the Solstice* and *On the Equinox*, for he was of the opinion that everything else was impossible to know.

R7 (< B1) Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

[. . .] if Thales really did write the *Astronomy* that is attributed to him.

R8 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Lobon of Argos says that what was written by him about astronomy amounts to two hundred lines [. . .].

See also **R44**

The Science of Nature (R9–R12)

R9 (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b20–21

[. . . = **D3**] Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας [. . . = **R32a**].

R10 (< B1) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 23.29–32

Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τῷ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ [*Frag.* 225 FHS&G], αὐτὸς δὲ πολὺ διενεγκῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς ἀποκρῦψαι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

R11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23, 24

μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας. [. . .] πρῶτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διελέχθη, ὡς τινες.

R12 (< Th 210 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

λέγεται Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ἓνα τῶν ἐπὶ σοφῶν πρῶτων ἐπικειρηκέναι φιλοσοφίαν φυσικὴν. [. . . = **D4**]

*The Initiator of the Ionian Line of
Descent of Greek Philosophy*

See **DOX. T20, T21**

The Science of Nature (R9–R12)

R9 (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] Thales, the founder of this sort of philosophy [i.e. the one that asserts that things derive from one or more principles that serve as their substrate] [. . .].

R10 (< B1) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Thales is reported to have been the first to reveal the study of nature to the Greeks; many others had preceded him, as is the view of Theophrastus too, but he was far superior to them so that he eclipsed all his predecessors.

R11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

After having engaged in politics, he devoted himself to the observation of nature. [. . .] And he was the first to speak about nature as well, according to some people.

R12 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

They say that Thales of Miletus, one of the Seven Sages, was the first to make an attempt at natural philosophy.

*The Initiator of the Ionian Line of
Descent of Greek Philosophy*

See **DOX. T20, T21**

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

*Scientific Discoveries Attributed to
Thales (R13–R31)
A General Catalog (R13)*

R13 (< A19) Apul. *Flor.* 18

Thales Milesius ex septem illis sapientiae memoratis viris facile praecipuus (enim geometricae penes Graios primus repertor et naturae certissimus explorator et astrorum peritissimus contemplator) maximas res parvis lineis reperit: temporum ambitus, ventorum flatus, stellarum meatus, tonitruum sonora miracula, siderum obliqua curricula, solis annua reverticula: itidem lunae vel nascentis incrementa, vel senescentis dispendia, vel delinquentis obstiticula. idem sane iam proclivi senectute divinam rationem de sole commentus est; quam equidem non didici modo, verum etiam experiundo comprobavi: quoties sol magnitudine sua circulum, quem permeat, metiatur.

THALES

*Scientific Discoveries Attributed to
Thales (R13–R31)¹
A General Catalog (R13)*

¹ Among the many other discoveries attributed to Thales are the armillary sphere (Cicero, *On the Republic* 1.22), the solstices (Heron, *Definitions* 138.11 = Eudemus, *Frag.* 145 Wehrli), and the phases of the moon and the equinoxes (Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation* 10.14.10).

R13 (< A19) Apuleius, *Florida*

Thales of Miletus, the most preeminent by far of those Seven famous for their wisdom—indeed, he was the first among the Greeks to discover geometry, and was an unerring investigator of nature and a most experienced observer of the stars—discovered the greatest things by means of small lines: the procession of the seasons, the blowing of the winds, the course of the stars, the prodigious sounds of thunderclaps, the slanting trajectory of the stars, the yearly reversion of the sun; and so too the increases of the moon when it waxes, its decreases when it wanes, the obstacles when it is eclipsed. The same man, though already in advanced old age, invented a divine calculation with regard to the sun, which I not only learned but have also confirmed by experiment: it measures the orbit that the sun follows as a multiple of the sun's magnitude.

Astronomical Discoveries (R14–R25)
Trajectory and Size of the Sun (R14)

R14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

πρώτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῆς ἐπὶ τροπὴν πάροδον εἶρε, καὶ πρώτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος <τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος>¹ τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφήνατο κατὰ τινάς.

¹ suppl. Diels

The Solar Eclipse (R15–R18)

R15 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τινάς πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὡς φησιν Εὐδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ [Frag. 144 Wehrli] [. . . = R1].

R16 (< A17) Theon Sm. *Exp.*, p. 198.14–18

Εὐδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις [Frag. 145 Wehrli] [. . .] Θαλῆς δὲ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ περίοδον, ὡς οὐκ ἴση ἀεὶ συμβαίνει.

Astronomical Discoveries (R14–R25)
Trajectory and Size of the Sun (R14)

R14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He was the first to discover the trajectory from one tropic to the other, and according to some people the first to declare that the size of the sun <is the 720th part of the solar circle, and the size of the moon> is the 720th part of the lunar one.

The Solar Eclipse (R15–R18)

R15 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Some people are of the view that he was the first to do astronomy and to predict solar eclipses and solstices, as Eudemus says in his *History of Astronomy*.

R16 (< A17) Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato* (extract from Dercyllides)

Eudemus reports in his *Astronomy* [. . .] that Thales [scil. was the first to discover] the eclipse of the sun and the fact that the periodicity of its revolutions is not always equal.

R17 (Th 91 Wöhrle) Aristarch. Samius in Comm. in *Od.* 20.156 (P.Oxy. 3710 Col. 2.36–43; vol. 53 [1986], 96–97, ed. Haslam)

ὄτι ἐν νομηνίαι αἱ ἐκλείψει δηλο[ί] | Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ Σάμ[ι]ος γράφων· ἔφη τε | ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς ὅτι ἐκλείπει τὸν ἡλ[ι]ον σελήνης ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτῷ γενιομένης, σημειουμένης c. 6] . . . τῆς | ἡμέρας, ἐν ἧι ποιεῖται τὴν ἔγλειψιν, | ἧ[ν] οἱ μὲν τριακάδα καλοῦσιν ο[ί] δὲ νομηνίαν.

R18 (< A17a) Aët. 2.24.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἐκλείπει τὸν ἡλίον τῆς σελήνης αὐτὸν ὑπερχομένης κατὰ κάθετον, οὔσης φύσει γεώδους· βλέπεσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατοπτρικῶς¹ ὑποτιθεμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ.

¹ verbum obscurum et fortasse corruptum

The Light of the Moon (R19)

R19 (A17b) Aët. 2.28.5 (Stob.) [περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης]

Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι τὴν σελήνην.

R17 (≠ DK) Aristarchus of Samos in an anonymous commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*

The fact that eclipses take place at the new moon is explained by Aristarchus of Samos, who writes, "Thales said that the sun is eclipsed when the moon comes to be located in front of it, the day on which it produces the eclipse (some people call this day 'the thirtieth' and others 'the new moon') being marked [. . .]."

R18 (< A17a) Aëtius

Thales was the first to say that an eclipse of the sun occurs when the moon, which by nature is made of earth, passes perpendicularly beneath it; this is seen in the manner of a mirror (?), when the disk comes to be placed under it.

The Light of the Moon (R19)

R19 (A17b) Aëtius

Thales was the first to say that the moon is illuminated by the sun.¹

¹ This is a typical case of honorific attribution. In fact, the discovery belongs to Parmenides (**PARM. D28**).

*Other Heavenly Bodies (R20–R22)***R20** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

Καλλίμαχος δ' αὐτὸν οἶδεν εὐρετὴν τῆς ἄρκτου τῆς
μικρᾶς λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι
τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ἧ̄ πλέουσι Φοῖνικες
[Frag. 191.54–55 Pfeiffer]

R21 (A18) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 18

occasum matutinum Vergiliarum Hesiodus (nam huius
quoque nomine exstat Astrologia) tradidit fieri, quum
aequinoctium autumni conficeretur [Frag. 290 Merkel-
bach-West], Thales vigesimo quinto die ab aequinoctio
[. . .].

R22 (B2) Schol. in Arat. 172, p. 369.24

Θαλῆς [. . .] δύο αὐτὰς εἶπεν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν βόρειον
τὴν δὲ νότιον.

*Zones of the Heavens (R23)***R23** (A13c) Aët. 2.12.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ διαιρέσεως οὐ-
ρανοῦ]

Θαλῆς [. . .] μεμερίσθαι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ
σφαῖραν εἰς κύκλους πέντε, οὕστινας προσαγορεύουσι
ζώνας [. . .].

*Other Heavenly Bodies (R20–R22)***R20** (< A1) Callimachus in Diogenes Laertius

Callimachus knows of him as the discoverer of the Great
Bear, for he speaks in his *Iambos* as follows:

And he was said to have numbered the little stars
Of the Great Bear, by means of which the
Phoenicians navigate.

R21 (A18) Pliny, *Natural History*

Hesiod (for an *Astronomy* is also extant under his name)
reports that the morning setting of the Pleiades takes place
at the autumnal equinox, Thales twenty-five days after the
equinox [. . .].

R22 (B2) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Thales [. . .] said that there are two of them [i.e. the Hyades],
the northern one and the southern one.

*Zones of the Heavens (R23)***R23** (< A13c) Aëtius

Thales [. . .]: the sphere of the whole of heaven is divided
into five circles, which they [i.e. besides Thales, Pythagoras
and his disciples] call zones.

Position of the Earth (R24)

R24 (A15) Aët. 3.11.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θέσεως γῆς]
οἱ ἀπὸ Θαλέω τὴν γῆν μέσην [. . . = **XEN. D43**].

Division of the Year (R25)

R25 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

τάς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φασιναὺς αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ εἰς
τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν.

Geometrical Discoveries (R26–R31)
Theorems and Demonstrations (R26–R30)

R26 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl.* Prop. 15, theor. 8 (299.1–5
Friedlein)

τοῦτο τοῖνυν τὸ θεώρημα δείκνυσιν, ὅτι δύο εὐθειῶν
ἀλλήλας τεμνουσῶν αἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν γωνίαι ἴσαι εἰ-
σίν, εὐρημένον μὲν, ὡς φησὶν Εὐδημος [Frag. 135
Wehrli], ὑπὸ Θαλοῦ πρώτου [. . .].

R27 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24–25

παρὰ τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετρῆων μαθόντα φησὶ Πам-
φίλη [Frag. 1 Cagnazzi] πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλον τὸ
τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον, καὶ θύσαι βούν. οἱ δὲ Πυθα-
γόραν φασίν, ὧν ἔστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός.

Position of the Earth (R24)

R24 (A15) Aëtius

The followers of Thales: the earth is in the center [. . .].

Division of the Year (R25)

R25 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

They say that he was the one who discovered the seasons
of the year and divided it into 365 days.

Geometrical Discoveries (R26–R31)
Theorems and Demonstrations (R26–R30)

R26 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of
Euclid's Elements*

Thus this theorem demonstrates that when two straight
lines intersect one another, the corresponding angles are
equal, a discovery, as Eudemus says, first made by Thales
[. . .].

R27 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Pamphilê says that after he learned geometry from the
Egyptians, he was the first to inscribe a right triangle in a
circle, and that he sacrificed a bull [scil. in celebration].
Others, including Apollodorus the arithmetician, say that
it was Pythagoras [cf. **PYTH. c D7a**].

R28 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl. Prop. 6, theor. 2* (250.20–251.2 Friedlein)

τῷ μὲν οὖν Θαλῆ τῷ παλαιῷ πολλῶν τε ἄλλων εὐρέσεως ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεωρήματος χάρις. λέγεται γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἐπιστῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἄρα παντὸς ἰσοσκελοῦς αἱ πρὸς τῇ βάσει γωνίαι ἴσαι εἰσὶν, ἀρχαικώτερον δὲ τὰς ἴσας ὁμοίας προσειρηκέσαι.

R29 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl. Prop. 26, theor. 17* (352.14–18 Friedlein)

Εὐδῆμος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γεωμετρικαῖς ἱστορίαις [Frag. 134 Wehrli] εἰς Θαλῆν τοῦτο ἀνάγει τὸ θεώρημα. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ πλοίων ἀπόστασιν δι' οὗ τρόπου φασὶν αὐτὸν δεικνύσαι τούτῳ προσχρησθῆναι φησὶ ἀναγκαῖον.

R30 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl. Def. 17* (157.10–11 Friedlein)

τὸ μὲν οὖν διχοτομείσθαι τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ τῆς διαμέτρου πρῶτον Θαλῆν ἐκεῖνον ἀποδείξαι φασιν [. . .].

R28 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

We are indebted to ancient Thales for the discovery, among many other ones, in particular of the following theorem. For they say that he was the first to understand and to state that the angles at the base of every isosceles triangle are equal, even though he used the archaic expression "similar" for "equal."¹

¹ Diels infers from this passage that Proclus or Eudemus was making use of a mathematical text that was attributed to Thales.

R29 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

Eudemus in his *History of Geometry* assigns this theorem [i.e. the equality of two triangles of which one side and the two neighboring angles are equal] to Thales. For he says that the method by which they say that he demonstrated the distance of ships on the sea requires that one make use of it.

R30 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

They say that the celebrated Thales was the first to demonstrate that a circle is divided into two by its diameter [. . .].

*The Measurement of the Pyramids (R31)***R31**

a (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος [Frag. 40 Wehrli] καὶ ἐκμετρήσασί φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς, παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῶν ἰσομεγέθης ἐστίν.

b (A21) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 36.82

mensuram altitudinis earum deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius umbram metiendo qua hora par esse corpori solet.

c (A21) Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 2 147A

τὴν βακτηρίαν στήσας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς σκιᾶς ἢ ἡ πυραμῖς ἐποίει, γενομένων τῇ ἐπαφῇ τῆς ἀκτίνος δυνεῖν τριγώνων ἕδειξας, ὃν ἡ σκιά πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν λόγον εἶχε, τὴν πυραμίδα πρὸς τὴν βακτηρίαν ἔχουσαν.

*Aristotle's Reconstructions and Criticisms of
Thales' Arguments (R32–R34)*

R32

a (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b25–984a3

[. . . = **D3**] λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ὑπόληψιν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ

*The Measurement of the Pyramids (R31)***R31**

a (< A1) Hieronymus in Diogenes Laertius

Hieronymus says that he also measured [scil. the height of] the pyramids exactly on the basis of their shadow, by waiting for the moment when it [i.e. our shadow] has the same size as we do.

b (A21) Pliny, *Natural History*

Thales of Miletus discovered how to take their [i.e. the pyramids'] measure by measuring their shadow at the hour when it is equal to [scil. the height of] the body.

c (A21) Plutarch, *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*

You [i.e. Thales] placed a stick at the edge of the shadow which the pyramid made, and as two triangles were formed by contact with the sunbeam, you demonstrated that the pyramid is in the same ratio to the stick as the shadow of the one was to the shadow of the other.

*Aristotle's Reconstructions and Criticisms of
Thales' Arguments (R32–R34)*

R32

a (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] Perhaps he had derived this assumption [cf. **D3**]

πάντων ὄραν τὴν τροφήν ὑγρὰν οὔσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν (τὸ δ' ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων)—διὰ τε δὴ τούτο τὴν ὑπόληψιν λαβὼν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντων τὰ σπέρματα τὴν φύσιν ὑγρὰν ἔχειν· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῖς ὑγροῖς. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπάλαιους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἴονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν. Ὀκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθύν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν Στύγα τῶν ποιητῶν¹ τιμώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον, ὄρκος δὲ τὸ τιμώτατόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία τις αὐτῆ καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὔσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως δόξα, τάχ' ἂν ἄδηλον εἴη, Θαλῆς μέντοι λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφῆναισθαι περὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας.

¹ τῶν ποιητῶν secl. Christ

b (< Th 191 Wöhrle) Alex. In *Metaph.* A3, p. 26.16–18

εἰκότως τὸ “λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφῆναισθαι”. οὐδὲν γὰρ προφέρεται αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ἐξ οὗ τις τὸ βέβαιον ἔξει τοῦ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι τούτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

from seeing that what nourishes all things is moist and that what is warm itself comes from this [i.e. water] and lives because of it (and what things come about from is the principle of all things)—it is for this reason then that he had this idea, and also from the fact that the seed of all things has a moist nature; and for things that are moist, water is the principle of their nature. But there are some people who think that those who spoke about the gods in ancient times, long before the present generation, and indeed were the first to do so, had formed the same conception about nature: for they made Ocean and Tethys the parents of becoming and the oath of the gods water, what they, being poets, called Styx [cf. **COSM. T6, T7**]; for what is most ancient is most honorable, and an oath is what is most honorable. Well, whether this really is a primeval and ancient view about nature, might well be unclear; however, at least as far as Thales is concerned, people say that he expressed himself in this way about the first cause.

b (≠ DK) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*

The phrase “people say that he expressed himself in this way” is appropriate; for no treatise by him is cited on the basis of which one could be certain that this was said by him in this way.

R33

a (< A14) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294a32–33

[. . . = D7] ὥσπερ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὄντα περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὀχοῦντος τὴν γῆν.

b (< A14) Simpl. *In Cael.* 522.16–18

[. . .] πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἴσως ἐπικρατοῦσαν διὰ τὸ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους οὕτως ἐν μύθου σχήματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν ἴσως ἐκείθεν τὸν λόγον κεκομικέναι.

R34

a (A22) Arist. *An.* 1.5 411a7–8

καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄλφ δέ τινες αὐτὴν μεμείχθαι φασιν, ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ Θαλῆς ᾤθηθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι [D10].

b (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

[. . .] τὸν κόσμον ἔμφυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη.

Assimilations to Later Doctrines (R35–R39)

R35 (A23) Aët. 1.7.11 (Stob.) [περὶ θεοῦ]

Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεόν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔμφυχον

R33

a (< A14) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

[. . .] as though the explanation given for the earth [cf. D7] did not apply as well to the water that bears the earth.

b (< A14) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Aristotle contradicts this opinion, which perhaps is more prevalent because it is also stated among the Egyptians in the form of a myth and because Thales perhaps brought back this explanation from there.

R34

a (A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

Some people say that it [i.e. the soul] is mixed in with the whole, which is perhaps also the reason why Thales thought that all things are full of gods [cf. D10].

b (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . . he thought] that the universe is animate and full of divinities.

Assimilations to Later Doctrines (R35–R39)

R35 (A23) Aëtius

Thales: god is the intelligence of the world, the universe

ἄμα καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρες· διήκειν δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὑγροῦ δύναμιν θεῖαν κινήτικὴν αὐτοῦ.

R36 (A22a) Aët. 4.2.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ψυχῆς]

Θαλῆς ἀπεφήνατο πρῶτος τὴν ψυχὴν φύσιν ἀεικίνητον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον.

R37 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασιν ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχὰς· ὧν ἔστι Χοιρίλος ὁ ποιητής [SH 331] [. . . = **D11b**].

R38 (A23) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.25

Thales enim Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quae-sivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum: deum autem, eam mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret.

R39 (< Th 210 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

[. . . = **D4**] καὶ τὰ πάντα φέρεσθαι τε καὶ ρεῖν τῇ τοῦ πρῶτου ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν φύσει συμ-φερόμενα. θεὸν δὲ τοῦτ' εἶναι, τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε τελευτὴν ἔχον.

is animated and at the same time full of divinities; and the divine power passes through the elementary moisture and moves it.

R36 (A22a) Aëtius

Thales was the first to state that the soul is a nature which is always in motion or which moves itself.¹

¹ The disjunction is connected with a celebrated textual problem in Plato, *Phaedrus* 245c.

R37 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Some people also say that he was the first to say that souls are immortal; one of them is Choerilus the poet [. . .].

R38 (A23) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

For Thales of Miletus, who was the first to investigate these matters, said that water is the beginning of things, but that god is the intelligence capable of making all things out of water.

R39 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[. . .] And all things are borne along and flow, carried along by the nature of the first principle (*arkhēgos*) of their becoming. This, having neither beginning nor ending, is god.

*Gnostic and Christian Interpretations (R40–R43)***R40** (< Th 145 Wöhrle) Iren. *Adv. haer.* 2.14.2

Thales quidem Milesius universorum generationem et initium aquam dixit esse: idem autem est dicere aquam et Bythum.

R41 (Th 213 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 5.9.13

εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ὄντων ὄλως, ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν, ἐμψύχων¹ ἢ ἀψύχων, συν-εστηκέναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ.

¹ τῶν ante ἐμψύχων del. Cruice

R42 (< Th 229 Wöhrle) Min. Fel. *Octav.* 19.4

sit Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui primus omnium de caelestibus disputavit. idem Milesius Thales rerum initium aquam dixit, deum autem eam mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta formaverit. esto¹ altior et sublimior aquae et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit inveniri, a Deo traditum; vides philosophi principalis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare.

¹ eo ms., corr. Vahlen

R43 (< 7 A5) Appon. 5.22–23 (ad Cn. 3:5)

in priore enim ‘filiarum adiuratione,’ in ‘caprearum et

*Gnostic and Christian Interpretations (R40–R43)***R40** (≠ DK) Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*

Thales of Miletus said that water is the source and beginning of all things; but it is the same thing to say “water” and “Abyss” (*Buthos*).¹

¹ According to some Gnostics, Bythos is the abyss out of which all things come.

R41 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

These people [i.e. some Gnostics] say that the serpent is the moist substance, just like the Milesian [i.e. Thales], and that nothing at all of the things that are, immortal or mortal ones, animate or inanimate ones, is capable of being formed without it.

R42 (≠ DK) Minucius Felix, *Octavius*

Let Thales of Miletus be first of all, he who was the first of all to discuss celestial phenomena. This same Thales of Miletus said that water is the beginning of things, but that god is the mind (*mens*) that formed all things out of water. This theory of water and spirit (*spiritus*), too lofty and sublime to have been invented by a human being, may well have been transmitted by God. You see that the opinion of the founder of philosophy entirely agrees with ours.

R43 (< 7 A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*

For we said about the earlier ‘adjuration of the daughters’

cervorum' personas thalesianae et ferecidensis philosophiae intellegi diximus [= **PHER. R29**]. [. . .] [23] de quibus Thales nomine initium omnium rerum aquam in suo esse dogmate pronuntiavit, et inde omnia facta subsistere ab invisio et magno; causam vero motus aquae spiritum insidentem confirmat, simulque geometricam artem perspicaci sensu prior invenit, per quam suspicatus est unum rerum omnium creatorem [. . . = **PHER. R16**].

A Pseudepigraphic Text (R44)

R44 (B3) Ps.-Gal. *In Hipp. Hum.* 1.1

Θαλῆς μὲν εἶπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος φησι συνεστάναι πάντα, ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ τοῦτο βούλεται. ἄμεινον δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥῆσιν προσθεῖναι ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἔχουσαν ὡδὲ πως· τὰ μὲν οὖν πολυθρύλητα τέτταρα, ὧν τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι ὕδωρ φαμὲν καὶ ὡσανεὶ μόνον στοιχείον τίθεμεν, πρὸς σύγκρισίν τε καὶ πηγνυσι καὶ σύστασιν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων πρὸς ἀλληλα συγκεράννυται. πῶς δέ, ἤδη λέλεκται ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ.

that 'the roes and stags' are to be understood as the representatives of the philosophy of Thales and Pherecydes.¹ [. . .] [23] Among these philosophers [i.e. the pure ones who can be compared to roes and stags], the one named Thales declared in his doctrine that water is the origin of all things, and that everything that has been made from this subsists because of a great invisible being, and he states that the cause of the movement of the water is the spirit that dwells within it. At the same time, it was he who by his intelligence was the first to discover the science of geometry, and this permitted him to surmise that there is only one creator of all things [cf. **PHER. R16, R29**].

¹ The reference seems to be to his commentary (4.1) on *Cn.* 2:7 (where in fact he does not name Thales or Pherecydes, but the Platonists and the Stoics).

A Pseudepigraphic Text (R44)

R44 (B3) Ps.-Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On Humors*

Although Thales says that all things are constituted out of water, nonetheless he also wants this [i.e. that the elements are transformed into one another]. It is better to cite his own words from Book 2 of *On the Principles*, which are as follows: "Therefore the celebrated four, of which we say that the first is water and posit it as being as it were the only element, mix with one another for the combination, solidification, and composition of the things of this world. How this happens we have already said in Book 1."

6. ANAXIMANDER [ANAXIMAND.]

The ancient sources situate the maturity of Anaximander of Miletus a little before the middle of the sixth century BC. Like Thales, of whom he is said to have been the disciple, he is credited by the biographical tradition with political activity, connected to the colonial expansion of Miletus. Again like Thales, various inventions are attributed to him, notably the *gnômôn*, the construction of a "sphere" (i.e. a tridimensional model of the universe), and a geographical map. His doctrine, unlike Thales', has outlines we can grasp. Only a single sentence of his has been transmitted in its original wording. But the fairly numerous testimonia indicate that Anaximander recounted the generation of the world and of its constitutive parts all the way to living beings, explained its present function, and envisaged its disappearance. Thus he stands at the origin of a new kind of investigation bearing upon the totality of the world. One tradition calls Anaximander the first Greek to have written a treatise on nature. Theophrastus called the style of the phrase he transmits "poetic"; nevertheless, this must have been a text in prose. The 'unlimited,' from which everything that exists derives and to which everything returns, and 'separation' are the two concepts that

have secured for Anaximander a place of honor in the history of philosophy.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

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D

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R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6)
As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)
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ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P3)

P1 (< A11) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.6.7

οὗτος ἐγένετο κατὰ ἔτος τρίτον τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος.

P2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

[. . .] ὃς καί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς [FCrHist 244 F29] τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἐξήκοντα τετάρων καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτήσαι ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτη τὸν Σάμου τύραννον.¹

¹ ἀκμάσαντά πη [. . .] τύραννον secl. Diels ut ab Anaximandro aliena

P3 (< A5) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 2.31

[. . .] Anaximander Milesius [. . .] Olympiade quinquagesima octava [. . . cf. R16].

ANAXIMANDER

P

Chronology (P1–P3)

P1 (< A11) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Hereses*

He was born in the third year of the 42nd Olympiad [= 610/9 BC].

P2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] He [i.e. Apollodorus of Athens] also says in his *Chronology* that he was sixty-four years old in the second year of the 58th Olympiad [= 547/6 BC] and that he died a little later, having reached his maturity approximately at the time of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.¹

¹ This last indication causes some difficulty: since Polycrates reigned from 538 to 522 BC, Anaximander cannot have reached his full maturity (forty years) at this time if he was sixty-four years old in 547/6.

P3 (< A5) Pliny, *Natural History*

[. . .] Anaximander of Miletus [. . .], at the time of the 58th Olympiad [= 548/44] [. . .].

Origin and Intellectual Line of Descent (P4–P7)

P4 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος [. . . = **D11**].

P5 (< A9) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.13–14 (< Theoph. Frag. 226A FHS&C)

[. . . cf. **D6**] Ἀναξίμανδρος μὲν Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος
Θαλοῦ γενόμενος διάδοχος καὶ μαθητῆς [. . .].

P6 (< A6) Strab. 1.1.11

[. . . cf. **D4**] Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γνώρι-
μον καὶ πολίτην [. . .].

P7 (Ar 23 Wöhrle) *IG XIV 1464 Frag. V.1–3*

Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος vacat | ἐγέ[ν]ετο
μὲν Θ[αλ]έω . . .

Political Activity (P8)

P8 (A3) Ael. *Var. hist.* 3.17

καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἠγήσατο τῆς ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ
Μιλήτου ἀποικίας.

Origin and Intellectual Line of Descent (P4–P7)

P4 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades [. . .].

P5 (< A9) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

[. . .] Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades, who was
the successor and disciple of Thales [. . .].

P6 (< A6) Strabo, *Geography*

[. . .] Anaximander, who had been Thales' friend and fel-
low citizen [. . .].

P7 (≠ DK) Inscription in the gymnasium of Taormina
Anaximander son of Praxiades, of Miletus. He was [scil.
probably: the disciple] of Thales . . .¹

¹ The inscription, dated by the editor to the second century
BC, may have been part of a list of writings available in this gym-
nasium.

Political Activity (P8)

P8 (A3) Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*

Anaximander headed the foundation at Apollonia¹ of a
colony from Miletus.

¹ On the Black Sea.

*Prediction (P9)***P9** (A5a) Cic. *Div.* 1.50.112

ab Anaximandro physico moniti Lacedaemonii sunt ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent, quod terrae motus instaret, tum cum et urbs tota corruiet et monte Taygeto extrema montis quasi puppis avolsa est.

*Character (P10)***P10** (A8) Diog. Laert. 8.70

Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρον¹ γράφων [FGrHist 1102 F1] φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐξηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκήων τύφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβῶν ἐσθήτα.

¹ Ἀναξαγόρου Gigante ex 8.56

*Apothegm (P11)***P11** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

τούτου φασὶν ἄδοντος καταγελάσαι τὰ παιδάρια, τὸν δὲ μαθόντα φάναι. “βέλτιον οὖν ἡμῖν ἄστέον διὰ τὰ παιδάρια.”

*Prediction (P9)***P9** (A5a) Cicero, *On Divination*

The Lacedaemonians were warned by the natural philosopher Anaximander to leave their city and houses and to sleep fully armed in the fields because an earthquake was imminent, at the time when the whole city was destroyed and the peak was torn away from Mount Taygetus like the stern of a ship.

*Character (P10)***P10** (A8) Diogenes Laertius

Diodorus of Ephesus, writing about Anaximander, says that he [i.e. Empedocles, cf. **EMP. P15**] imitated him in cultivating a theatrical pomp and wearing pretentious clothes.

*Apothegm (P11)***P11** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

They say that while he was singing, children made fun of him; and when he found out, he said, “So I must sing better for the sake of the children.”

*Iconography (P12)***P12** (cf. vol. 1, p. 90 App., and Nachtrag p. 487.3–4)

Richter I, pp. 78–79 and Figures 299–301; Richter-Smith, p. 86 and Figure 50; Koch, “Ikongraphie,” in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 219, 220.

ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

D

Anaximander's Book (D1–D3)

D1 (A7) Them. *Orat.* 26 317c

[. . .] ἐθάρρησε πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἐξ-
ενεγκῆν περὶ φύσεως ξυγγεγραμμένον.

D2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

τῶν δὲ ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πεποιήται κεφαλαιώδη τὴν
ἐκθεσιν, ἧ¹ που περιέτυχεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδαμος ὁ Ἀθη-
ναῖος [*FCr Hist.* 244 F29].

¹ ἧ Cobet: ὡς mss.

D3 (< A2) *Suda* A.1986

ἔγραψε Περὶ φύσεως, Γῆς περίοδον καὶ Περὶ τῶν
ἀπλανῶν καὶ Σφαῖραν καὶ ἄλλα τινά.

ANAXIMANDER

D

Anaximander's Book (D1–D3)

D1 (A7) Themistius, *Orations*

[. . .] he was the first Greek we know of to have ventured
to publish a written discourse about nature.

D2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He made a summary exposition of his opinions, which
Apolodorus of Athens seems to have come across.

D3 (< A2) *Suda*

He wrote *On Nature*, *Map of the Earth*, *On the Fixed
Stars*, *The Sphere*, and some other works.¹

¹ The first three titles at least might refer to different parts of
Anaximander's book, but cf. **D5**.

*Terrestrial Map and Celestial Globe (D4–D5)***D4** (< A6) Strab. 1.1.11

ὦν τοὺς πρῶτους μεθ' Ὅμηρον δύο φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης [Frag. IB5 Berger], Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε [. . . = P6] καὶ Ἐκαταίου τὸν Μιλήσιον· τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα [. . .].

D5 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

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

*Three Summaries Ultimately Deriving from
Theophrastus (D6–D8)*

D6 (< A9, B1) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.13–25 (< Theoph. Frag. 226A FHS&G)

τῶν δὲ ἐν καὶ κινούμενον καὶ ἀπειρον λεγόντων Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . . = P5] ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχείου εἶρηκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἀπειρον, πρῶτος τοῦτο¹ τοῦνομα κομίσας τῆς ἀρχῆς. λέγει δ' αὐτὴν μήτε ὕδωρ μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν καλουμένων εἶναι στοιχείων, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν τινα φύσιν ἀπειρον, ἐξ ἧς ἀπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους· ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις

¹ αὐτὸ coni. Usener

*Terrestrial Map and Celestial Globe (D4–D5)***D4** (< A6) Strabo, *Geography*

Eratosthenes says that the first two [scil. geographers] after Homer were Anaximander [. . .] and Hecataeus of Miletus; and that the former was the first to publish a map of the earth [. . .].

D5 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And he was the first to draw the outline of the earth and sea; and he also constructed a [scil. celestial] sphere.

*Three Summaries Ultimately Deriving from
Theophrastus (D6–D8)*

D6 (< A9, B1) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Among those who say that it [i.e. the principle] is one, in movement, and unlimited, Anaximander [. . .] said that the principle (*arkhē*) and element of beings is the **unlimited** (*to apeiron*); he was the first to call the principle by this term.¹ He says that it is neither water nor any other of what are called elements, but a certain other unlimited nature from which come about all the heavens and the worlds in them. And the things out of which birth comes about for

¹ It is also possible that what Simplicius means is that the term Anaximander was the first to use was not 'unlimited' (*apeiron*) but rather 'principle' (*arkhē*).

ἔστι τοῖς οὔσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεῶν. διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις² τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν, ποιητικωτέροις οὕτως³ ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ λέγων.

² ἀλλήλοις om. A

³ οὕτως om. F

D7 (< A11, B2) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.6.1–7

[1] [. . .] οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τινὰ τοῦ ἀπείρου, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμον.¹ ταύτην δὲ αἰδιον εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους. λέγει δὲ χρόνον, ὡς ὠρισμένης τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας² καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς. [2] οὗτος μὲν οὖν³ ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχείου εἰρηκεν τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἀπειρον, πρῶτος τοῦνομα⁴ καλέσας τῆς ἀρχῆς. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κίνησιν αἰδιον εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ συμβαίνειν⁵ γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. [3] τὴν δὲ γῆν εἶναι μετέωρον, ὑπὸ μηδεὸς κρατουμένην, μένουσαν <δὲ>⁶ διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν πάντων ἀπόστασιν. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα αὐτῆς ὑγρὸν†,⁷ στρογγύλον, κίονι⁸ λίθῳ παραπλήσιον τῶν δὲ ἐπιπέδων ᾧ⁹ μὲν ἐπιβεβήκαμεν, ὃ δὲ ἀντίθετον ὑπάρχει. [4] τὰ δὲ ἄστρα γίνεσθαι κύκλον πυρός, ἀποκριθέντα τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πυρός,

¹ τοὺς . . . κόσμους Ritter ² καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῖς οὔσι Marcovich ³ οὖν T: om. LOB ⁴ πρῶτος <τοῦτο> τοῦνομα Kirk ⁵ συμβαίνει mss., corr. Roeper ⁶ <δὲ> Diels ⁷ ὑγρὸν mss.: γυρὸν Roeper ⁸ κίονι mss., corr. Gronovius: κίονος Teichmüller ⁹ ὃ mss., corr. Gronovius

beings, into these too their destruction happens, **according to obligation: for they pay the penalty (*dikê*) and retribution (*tists*) to each other for their injustice (*adikia*)** according to the order of time²—this is how he says these things, with rather poetic words.

² Precisely where Simplicius' verbatim citation of Anaximander's sentence ends and his paraphrase or interpretation of it begins is uncertain and controversial.

D7 (< A11, B2) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[1] [. . .] He said that the principle of beings is a certain nature, that of the **unlimited**, from which the heavens come about and the world that is in them. It is eternal and **unaging** and it surrounds all the worlds. He speaks of time, on the idea that generation, subsistence, and destruction are limited. [2] He said that the principle and element of beings is the **unlimited**; he was the first to use this term for the principle.¹ Besides this, there is an eternal motion, in which the birth of the heavens comes about. [3] The earth is suspended; it is not controlled by anything, but remains where it is because it is at the same distance from all things. Its form is †moist†,² round, similar to a **stone column**; of its surfaces, one is that upon which we walk, the other is opposite to it. [4] The stars are a **wheel** of fire; they have been separated from the fire in the world and are surrounded by air. There are certain

¹ See note 1 in **D6**, above.

² Most editors correct to

"curved."

περιληφθέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος. ἐκπνοὰς δ' ὑπάρξαι, πόρους¹⁰ τινὰς αὐλώδεις,¹¹ καθ' οὓς φαίνεσθαι¹² τὰ ἄστρον διὸ καὶ ἐπιφρασσομένων τῶν ἐκπνοῶν τὰς ἐκλείψεις γίνεσθαι. [5] τὴν δὲ σελήνην ποτὲ μὲν πληρουμένην φαίνεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ μειουμένην κατὰ τὴν τῶν πόρων ἐπίφραξιν ἢ ἀνοιξιν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπτακαίκοσαπλασίονα¹³ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ ἀνωτάτω μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον,¹⁴ κατωτάτω δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων κύκλους. [6] τὰ δὲ ζῶα γίνεσθαι ἐξαμιζόμενα¹⁵ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐτέρῳ ζῳῷ γεγενῆσθαι—τούτεστιν ἰχθύι—παραπλήσιον κατ' ἀρχάς. [7] ἀνέμους δὲ γίνεσθαι τῶν λεπτοτάτων ἀτμῶν τοῦ ἀέρος¹⁶ ἀποκρνομένων καὶ ὅταν ἀθροισθῶσι κινουμένων ὑετοῦς¹⁷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀτμίδος¹⁸ τῆς ἐκ γῆς ὑφ' ἡλίου ἀναδιδομένης¹⁹ ἀστραπᾶς δέ, ὅταν ἄνεμος ἐμπίπτων διωστῆ τὰς νεφέλας.

¹⁰ πόρους Diels (ex Cedrenus 276.15–277.14 Bekker): τόπους mss. ¹¹ αὐλώδεις Diels: ἀερώδεις mss. ¹² φαίνεται mss., corr. Usener ¹³ <τῆς γῆς, ἐννεακαίδεκαπλασίονα (ὀκτωκαίδεκαπλασίονα post Tannery maluerunt Frank et Becker) δὲ τὸν> τῆς σελήνης Diels ¹⁴ τὸν ἥλιον <μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν σελήνην> prop. Diels ¹⁵ ἐξαμιζόμενα mss.: <ἐξ ὑγροῦ>, ἐξαμιζομένου Diels ¹⁶ <ἐκ> τοῦ ἀέρος Marcovich ¹⁷ ὑετοῦς Cedrenus: ὑετὸν mss. ¹⁸ ἐκ τῆς ἀτμίδος Cedrenus: om. mss. ¹⁹ τῆς ἐκ γῆς ὑφ' ἡλίου ἀναδιδομένης Diels: τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίου (ἡλίου Par.) ἀναδιδομένης Cedrenus: ἐκ γῆς (τῆς T) ἀναδιδομένης ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίου mss.

passages serving as orifices as in an *aulos*, through which the stars appear; this is why eclipses happen, when these orifices are obstructed. [5] The moon appears sometimes to increase, sometimes to decrease, because of the obstruction or opening of these passages. The **wheel** of the sun is twenty-seven times that of the moon; and the sun occupies the highest position, the circles of the fixed stars the lowest one.³ [6] The animals are born by evaporation from the effect of the sun. Human beings were at first similar to a different animal, i.e. to a fish. [7] Winds come about when the finest vapors of the air are detached and when, set into movement, they are agglomerated; and rains from the vapor coming from the earth by the effect of the sun is released; and lightning when the wind falls upon clouds and bursts them.

³ Diels suggests that this sentence is lacunose and supplemented, "The wheel of the sun is twenty-seven times that of <the earth, nineteen times that of > the moon; and the sun occupies the highest position, <and after it the moon,> and the circles of the fixed stars <and of the planets> the lowest one" (cf. D22, D24).

D8 (< A10) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 (= Eus. *PE* 1.8.2)

μεθ' ὃν Ἀναξίμανδρον [. . .] τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν
 πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ
 φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ φησι τοὺς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρί-
 σθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κό-
 σμους. ἀπεφήνατο δὲ τὴν φθορὰν γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολὺ
 πρότερον τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ ἀπείρου αἰῶνος ἀνακυκλου-
 μένων πάντων αὐτῶν. ὑπάρχειν δὲ φησι τῷ μὲν σχή-
 ματι τὴν γῆν κυλινδροειδῆ, ἔχειν δὲ τοσοῦτον βάθος
 ὅσον ἂν εἴη τρίτον πρὸς τὸ πλάτος. φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ
 αἰδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένε-
 σιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τινα ἐκ τούτου
 φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυῆναι τῷ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι ὡς
 τῷ δένδρῳ φλοιοῦν ἥστινος ἀπορραγείσης καὶ εἷς τι-
 νας ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστήναι τὸν ἥλιον
 καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. ἔτι φησὶν ὅτι κατ'
 ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἄλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη, ἐκ
 τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἑαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυχροῖου δεῖσθαι τιτηνῆσεως· διὸ
 καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα διασωθῆ-
 ναι.

*The Unlimited (D9–D12)*D9 (< A15, B3) Arist. *Phys.* 3.4 203b7–15

ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὡς ἀρχή τις οὖσα·
 τό τε γὰρ γενόμενον ἀνάγκη τέλος λαβεῖν, καὶ τε-

D8 (A10) Pseudo-Plutarch, *Stromata*

After him [i.e. Thales], Anaximander [. . .] said that the
unlimited is responsible for the birth and destruction of
 the whole, and from this he says that the heavens are
 separated out and in general all the worlds, which are
 unlimited. He declared that destruction, and much earlier
 birth, come about after an unlimited eternity, as all of
 these revolve. He says that the earth is cylindrical in form,
 and that its depth is one third of its breadth. He says that
 the seed¹ of the warm and the cold, coming from the eter-
 nal, was detached at the birth of this world and that a
 certain sphere of fire coming from this grew around the
 air surrounding the earth like the **bark** around a tree.
 When this was torn away and enclosed within certain
 circles, the sun, the moon, and the stars were formed. He
 also says that at the beginning human beings were born
 from animals of different species, because of the fact that
 the other animals nourish themselves quickly by them-
 selves, while only human beings are in need of a long pe-
 riod of nursing; that is why, being of this sort, they could
 not have survived at the beginning.

¹ The term may go back to Anaximander.

*The Unlimited (D9–D12)*D9 (< A15, B3) Aristotle, *Physics*

Moreover, it [i.e. the unlimited] is ungenerated and inde-
 structible, inasmuch as it is a principle. For what is gener-

λευτή πάσης ἔστιν φθορᾶς. διό, καθάπερ λέγομεν, οὐ ταύτης ἀρχή, ἀλλ' αὕτη τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιούσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας, [. . .] καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ θείον ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, ὥσπερ φησὶν Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων.

D10 (< A14) Aët. 1.3.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] φησι τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνονται.¹ λέγει γοῦν διότι ἄπειρόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλείπη ἢ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη [. . . = R13].

¹ γίνονται m: γίνεται MII: γίνεσθαι Diels

D11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1–2

[. . . = P4] οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχείον τὸ ἄπειρον, οὐ διορίζων ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἄλλο τι. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέρη μεταβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἀμετάβλητον εἶναι.

D12 (A16, > A9) Arist. *Phys.* 1.4. 187a12–16, 20–21

ὡς δ' οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι, δύο τρόποι εἰσίν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ποιήσαντες τὸ ὄν¹ σῶμα τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἢ τῶν

¹ ὄν secl. Ross

ated must necessarily have an end, and there is an ending to every destruction. That is why, as we say, there does not seem to be a principle of this, but it itself is [scil. a principle] for everything else and **surrounds** all things and **steers** all, as is said by all those who do not consider other causes besides the unlimited [. . .] And the divine is this: for it is **deathless** and **imperishable**, as Anaximander says and most of the natural philosophers.

D10 (< A14) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .] says that the principle of beings is the **unlimited**. For it is from this that all things come about, and into this that all things are destroyed. And that is why worlds unlimited [scil. in number] are generated and are destroyed in turn into what they come from. In any case he says why it is unlimited, so that the existing becoming be lacking in nothing [. . .].

D11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] He said that the principle and element is the **unlimited**, without defining whether it is air, water, or something else. And the parts change, while the whole is changeless.

D12 (A16, > A9) Aristotle, *Physics*

There are two ways in which the natural philosophers speak. For the ones, who posit the existing body, the sub-

τριῶν τι ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἐστὶ πυρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον ἀέρος
δὲ λεπτότερον, τᾶλλα γεννώσι πυκνότητι καὶ μανότητι
πολλὰ ποιοῦντες [. . .] οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς
ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι,² ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός
φησι [. . .].

² ἐκκρίνουσιν P et fecit J

The Unlimited Number of Worlds (D13–D14)

D13 (< A17) Aët. 2.1.3 (Stob.; cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ κόσμους]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ
κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.¹

¹ περίστασιν Plut.: περιαγωγὴν Stob.

D14 (A17) Aët. 2.1.8 (Stob.) [περὶ κόσμους]

τῶν ἀπείρους ἀποφηναμένων τοὺς κόσμους Ἀναξί-
μανδρος τὸ ἴσον αὐτοὺς ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων [. . .].

The Destructibility of the Worlds (D15–D16)

D15 (< A17) Aët. 2.4.6 (Stob.) [εἰ ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] φθαρτὸν τὸν κόσμον.

strate, as [scil. only] one, whether it is one of the three
[scil. elements] or something else, denser than fire but
finer than air, make it multiple by generating all other
things by condensation and rarefaction. [. . .] The others
say that the opposites are present in the one and are sepa-
rated out from it, as Anaximander says [. . .]. [cf. **R1–R4**]

The Unlimited Number of Worlds (D13–D14)

D13 (< A17) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in
the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area
(*peristasis*).¹

¹ This statement is probably due to an erroneous extrapolation
from the fact that the principle of Anaximander is the 'unlimited.'
For similar cases, see Stobaeus 1.22.3b (2) (**DOX. T17**) and
ANAXIMEN. D11.

D14 (A17) Aëtius

Among those who assert that the worlds are unlimited,
Anaximander: they are at an equal distance from one an-
other [. . .].

The Destructibility of the Worlds (D15–D16)

D15 (< A17) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: the world is destructible.

D16 (A17) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 1121.5–9

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπείρους τῷ πλήθει τοὺς κόσμους ὑποθέ-
μενοι, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀναξίμανδρον [. . .], γινομένους αὐ-
τοὺς καὶ φθειρομένους ὑπέθεντο ἐπ' ἀπειρον, ἄλλων
μὲν αἰεὶ γινομένων ἄλλων δὲ φθειρομένων καὶ τὴν
κίνησιν αἰδίου ἔλεγον· ἄνευ γὰρ κινήσεως οὐκ ἔστι
γένεσις ἢ φθορά.

The Heavens and Worlds (D17–D19)

D17 (A17) Aët. 1.7.12 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Stob.) [τίς ἐστὶν ὁ
θεός]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς¹ θεούς.

¹ ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς Stob.: ἀστέρας οὐρανοῦς Plut.

D18 (< A17) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.25–26

Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis
intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabilis
esse mundos.

D19 (A17a) Aët. 2.11.5 (Stob.) [περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ οὐ-
σίας]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ μίγματος.

D16 (A17) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Phys-
ics*

Those who posit that the worlds are unlimited in number,
like Anaximander [. . .], posited that they come about and
are destroyed in an unlimited way, some always coming to
be while others are perishing, and they said that the mo-
tion is eternal. For without movement there is not coming
to be nor destruction.

The Heavens and Worlds (D17–D19)

D17 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximander declared that the unlimited heavens are
gods.

D18 (< A17) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

The opinion of Anaximander is that the gods are born, that
they appear and disappear at long intervals, and that they
are innumerable worlds.

D19 (A17a) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the heaven are constituted] out of a
mixture of warm and cold.

The Heavenly Bodies (D20–D22)

D20 (A18) Aët. 2.13.7 (Stob.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἀστρῶν]

Ἄναξίμανδρος πηλῆματα ἀέρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρρὸς ἔμπλεα, κατὰ τι μέρος ἀπὸ στομίων ἐκπνέοντα φλόγας.

D21 (< A20) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 18.213

occasum matutinum Vergiliarum [. . .] tradidit fieri [. . .]
Anaximander XXXI.¹

¹ XXXI *Schol. Germ.*: XIX F¹E: XXIX d v.: XXX F² D.

D22 (< A18) Aët. 2.15.6 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ τάξεως ἀστέρων]

Ἄναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀνωτάτω μὲν πάντων τὸν ἥλιον τεπάχθαι, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ὑπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπλανῆ τῶν ἀστρῶν καὶ τοὺς πλανήτας.

Sun and Moon: Their Nature and Eclipses
(D23–D28)

D23 (A21, B4) Aët. 2.20.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου]

Ἄναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ὀκτωκαίκοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματίῳ τροχῷ¹ παραπλήσιον,² τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρρὸς, κατὰ³ τι μέρος ἐκφαίνουσαν⁴ διὰ στομίον τὸ πῦρ ὡς περ διὰ πρηστῆρος αὐλοῦ. καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.

The Heavenly Bodies (D20–D22)

D20 (A18) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the heavenly bodies are] wheel-shaped compressions of air, full of fire, exhaling flames in a certain part via orifices.

D21 (< A20) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximander [. . .] reports that the morning setting of the Pleiades takes place [. . .] thirty-one days [scil. after the autumnal equinox].

D22 (< A18) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: the sun is placed highest of all [scil. the heavenly bodies], after it comes the moon, and under them the fixed stars and the planets.

Sun and Moon: Their Nature and Eclipses
(D23–D28)

D23 (A21, B4) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the sun] is a circle twenty-eight times the size of the earth, similar to the **wheel** of a chariot; it has a hollow rim filled with fire, and in a certain place it reveals the fire through an orifice as though through **the nozzle (aulos) of a bellows (prêstêr)**. And this is the sun.

¹ ἀρματίον τροχῷ Mm: ἀρματίου τροχοῦ Π ² παραπλήσιον post τὴν ἀψίδα mss., transp. Diels ³ ἥς ante κατὰ hab. mss., del. Diels ⁴ ἐκφαίνουσης Plut., corr. Diels

D24 (A21) Aët. 2.21.1 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Eus., Stob.) [περὶ μεγέθους ἡλίου]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἴσον εἶναι τῇ γῆ, τὸν δὲ κύκλον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐκπνοὴν ἔχει καὶ ὑφ'¹ οὗ περιφέρεται,² ἑπτακαίκοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς.

¹ ὑφ' Stob. Eus. (PE 15.24.1): ἐφ' Plut. ² περιφέρεται Stob.: φέρεται Plut. Eus.

D25 (A21) Aët. 2.24.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς διεκπνοῆς ἀποκλειομένου.

D26 (A22) Aët. 2.25.1 (Stob., cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σελήνης οὐσίας]

Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ἔννεακαίδεκαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ὅμοιον ἄρματίῳ τροχῷ¹ κοίλην ἔχοντι τὴν ἀψίδα καὶ πυρὸς πλήρη καθάπερ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου, κείμενον λοξόν, ὡς κἀκείνον, ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἶον πρηστήρος αὐλόν. ἐκλείπειν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς² τοῦ τροχοῦ.

¹ τροχῷ Plut., om. Stob. ² ἐπιστροφὰς Plut: τροπὰς vel στροφὰς Stob.

D24 (A21) Aëtius

Anaximander: the sun is equal to the earth, but the circle from which it produces its exhalation and by which it is carried in a circle is twenty-seven times the size of the earth.

D25 (A21) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. a solar eclipse happens] when the orifice of the exhalation of the fire becomes closed.

D26 (A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the moon] is a circle nineteen times the size of the earth, similar to the **wheel** of a chariot; it has a hollow rim filled with fire, like that of the sun; it lies aslant, as does that one, and it has a single place of exhalation like **the nozzle (aulos) of a bellows (prêstêr)**. Eclipses happen as a result of the turnings of the wheel.

D27 (> A22) Aët. 2.28.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης]

Ἄναξιμανδρος ἴδιον αὐτὴν ἔχειν φῶς, ἀραιότερον δέ πως.

D28 (A22) Aët. 2.29.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως σελήνης]

Ἄναξιμανδρος¹ τοῦ στομίου τοῦ περὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπιφραττομένου.

¹ Ἄναξιμανδρος m: Ἄναξιμένης MΠ

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D29–D32)

D29 (A25) Aët. 3.10.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος γῆς]

Ἄναξιμανδρος λίθω κίονι τὴν γῆν¹ προσφερῆ τῶν ἐπιπέδων < . . . >²

¹ τὴν γῆν Π: τῆ γῆ Mm ² lac. ind. Diels

D30 (A26) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 295b11–16

εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητά φασι αὐτὴν μένειν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἄναξιμανδρος· μᾶλλον μὲν γὰρ οὐθὲν ἄνω ἢ κάτω ἢ εἰς τὰ πλάγια φέρεσθαι προσήκει τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου ἰδρυμένον καὶ ὁμοίως πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχον· ἅμα δ' ἀδύνατον εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον¹ ποιῆσθαι τὴν κίνησιν ὥστ' ἔξ ἀνάγκης μένειν.

D27 (> A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: it [i.e. the moon] possesses its own light, but it is somewhat weaker.

D28 (A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. a lunar eclipse happens] when the orifice on the **wheel** is obstructed.

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D29–D32)

D29 (A25) Aëtius

Anaximander: the earth resembles a **stone column**. Of its surfaces . . . ¹

¹ What follows, presumably a reference to the antipodes (cf. **D7** [3]), is lost.

D30 (A26) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

There are some who say that it is because of equality (*homoiotês*) that it [i.e. the earth] stays in place, as among the ancients Anaximander. For it is appropriate that what is located in the middle and maintains an equal relation to the extremities should not move at all more up than down or to the sides; and it is impossible to move in opposite directions at the same time. So of necessity it remains in place.

¹ τὸ ἐναντίον E: τὰναντία JHE⁴

D31 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

μέσῃν τε τὴν γῆν κείσθαι, κέντρον τάξιν ἐπέχουσιν,
οὐσαν σφαιροειδῆ·

D32 (A26) Theon Sm. *Exp.*, p. 198.18–19 (= Eudem.
Frag. 145 Wehrli)

[. . .] Ἀναξίμανδρος δέ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ μετέωρος καὶ
κεῖται¹ περὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου μέσον.

¹ κινεῖται mss., corr. Montucla

*Meteorological Phenomena (D33–D34)***D33** (A23)

a Aët. 3.3.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κε-
ραννῶν πρηστήρων τε καὶ τυφῶνων]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ταυτὶ πάντα συμβαί-
νειν· ὅταν γὰρ περιληφθὲν νέφει παχεῖ βιασάμενον
ἐκπέσῃ τῇ λεπτομερείᾳ καὶ κουφότητι, τόθ' ἡ μὲν ῥῆ-
ξις τὸν ψόφον, ἡ δὲ διαστολὴ παρὰ τὴν μελανίαν τοῦ
νέφους τὸν διαγασμὸν ἀποτελεῖ.

b Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 2.18

Anaximandrus omnia¹ ad spiritum retulit. tonitrua, inquit,
sunt nubis ictae sonus. quare inaequalia sunt? quia et ipse

¹ omnia <ista> Hine

D31 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

The earth is in the middle, occupying the position of the
center, and it is spherical.¹

¹ This last indication, which contradicts **D20** (cf. **D7**[3]), is
doubtless influenced by Plato, *Phaedo* 108e–109a.

D32 (A26) Eudemus in Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics
Useful for Understanding Plato*

Anaximander [scil. discovered] that the earth is suspended
and that it rests at the center of the world.

*Meteorological Phenomena (D33–D34)***D33** (A23)

a Aëtius

Anaximander: all of these phenomena [scil. thunder, light-
ning, thunderbolts, whirlwinds, and typhoons] come about
from wind. For when this has been caught in a thick cloud
but then breaks out violently by reason of its fineness and
lightness, the tearing causes the noise, and the crack,
against the blackness of the cloud, causes the flash.

b Seneca, *Natural Questions*

Anaximander relates all these phenomena [scil. those con-
nected with thunder] to wind. Thunder, he says, is the
noise produced by a cloud when it is struck. Why are they
unequal [scil. in intensity]? Because <the wind> itself [scil.

<spiritus>.² quare et sereno tonat? quia tunc quoque per crassum et scissum aëra spiritus prosilat. at quare aliquando non fulgurat, et tonat? quia spiritus infirmior non valuit in flammam, in sonum valuit. quid est ergo ipsa fulguratio? aëris diducentis se corruentisque iactatio, languidum ignem nec exiturum aperiens. quid est fulmen? acrioris densiorisque spiritus cursus.

² <spiritus> Hine: ictus inaequalis est δ (om. ζθπ): <spiritus inaequalis est> Diels

D34 (A24) Aët. 3.7.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀνέμων]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἀνεμον εἶναι ῥύσιν ἀέρος τῶν λεπτοτάτων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑγροτάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κινουμένων ἢ τηκομένων.

The Formation and History of the Sea (D35–D36)

D35 (A27)

a Arist. *Meteor.* 2.1 353b6–11

εἶναι γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὑγρὸν ἅπαντα τὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν τόπον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηραίνοντο τὸ μὲν διατμίσαν πνεύματα καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης φασι ποιεῖν, τὸ δὲ λειφθὲν θάλατταν εἶναι διὸ καὶ ἐλάττω γίνεσθαι ξηραίνουμένην οἴονται καὶ τέλος ἔσεσθαι ποτε πᾶσαν ξηράν.

is unequal]. Why is there thunder even in a cloudless sky? Because at this moment too the wind rushes through the crack in thick air. And why is there sometimes no lightning but there is thunder? Because the air is too weak to produce a flame, but not too weak [scil. to produce] a sound. Then what is lightning? The agitation of air which, extending and retracting itself, reveals fire that is weak and cannot escape. What is the lightning bolt? The passage of air that is sharper and denser.

D34 (A24) Aëtius

Anaximander: wind is a current of air, when the most fine and moist parts in it are set in motion or melted by the sun.

The Formation and History of the Sea (D38–D39)

D35 (A27)

a Aristotle, *Meteorology*

For they [i.e. the thinkers whose wisdom is human, by contrast with the theologians] say that the terrestrial region was at first entirely moist, but that, while it was being dried out by the sun, the part that evaporated produced the winds and the returns of the sun [i.e. the solstices] and moon, and what remained formed the sea; and this is why they think that it diminishes while it dries out and that one day it will be completely dry.

b Alex. In *Meteor.*, p. 67.1–12

οὔτοι δὲ γένεσιν ποιούσιν τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγένητον αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἰδίας πηγὰς ἔχουσιν, ὡς οἱ θεολόγοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπόλειμμα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς πρώτης ὑγρότητος. ὑγροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν τόπου κᾶπειτα τὸ μὲν τι¹ τῆς ὑγρότητος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου εξατμίζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι πνεύματά τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, ὡς διὰ τὰς ἀτμίδας ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις κἀκείνων τὰς τροπὰς ποιουμένων, ἔνθα² ἢ ταύτης αὐτοῖς χορηγία γίνεται, περὶ ταῦτα τρεπομένων· τὸ δὲ τι αὐτῆς ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τῆς γῆς³ τόποις θάλασσαν εἶναι. διὸ καὶ ἐλάττω γίνεσθαι ξηρανομένην ἐκάστοτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τέλος ἔσεσθαι ποτε ξηρὰν. ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἐγένετο, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος [Fr. 221 FHS&G], Ἀναξίμανδρός τε καὶ Διογένης [. . . = **DIOG. D24**].

¹ κᾶπειτα τὸ μὲν τι] τὰ πρῶτα Awa ² ἔνθεν
Usener ³ τῆς γῆς om. AWA

D36 (A27) Aët. 3.16.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θαλάσσης πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ πικρά]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τὴν θάλασσαν φησὶν εἶναι τῆς πρώτης ὑγρασίας λείψανον, ἧς τὸ μὲν πλείον¹ μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἔκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.

b Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology*

These authors [scil. the ones Aristotle is discussing] attribute a birth to the sea, instead of saying, as the theologians do, that it is ungenerated and provided with its own sources [cf. **COSM. T10**].¹ For some of them say that the sea is a residue of the original moisture. For at first the region around the earth was moist, but then part of the moisture evaporated by the effect of the sun, and this is why the winds and the turnings of the sun [i.e. the solstices] and moon came about, for these [scil. heavenly bodies] too make their turnings as a result of these vapors and exhalations, returning to the place where they find an abundant supply of these. But the part of it [i.e. the original moisture] that remained in the hollows of the earth forms the sea; and that is why it is diminishing, since it is being constantly dried out by the sun, and will end up one day becoming dry. As Theophrastus reports, Anaximander and Diogenes [scil. of Apollonia] were of this opinion [. . .].

¹ Alexander, who is referring to the theologians (i.e. Homer and Hesiod), interprets Ocean as the sea.

D36 (A27) Aëtius

Anaximander says that the sea is a residue of the original moisture, of which the fire dried up the greater part, while what remained was transformed by the heat.

¹ πλείον MII: πλείστον m

The Nature of the Soul (D37)

D37 (< A29) Aët. 4.3.2 (Theod. Cur. 5.18) [εἰ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία αὐτῆς]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀερώδη τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φύσιν εἰρήκασιν.

The Origin of Animals (D38–D40)

D38 (A30) Aët. 5.19.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ζώων γενέσεως, πῶς ἐγένοντο ζῶα καὶ εἰ φθαρτά]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα φλοιοῖς περιεχόμενα ἀκανθώδεσι, προβαίνουσιν δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον καὶ περιρρηγνυμένου τοῦ φλοιοῦ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιῶναι.

D39 (A30) Cens. *Die nat.* 4.7

Anaximander Milesius videri sibi ex aqua terraque calefactis¹ exortos esse sive pisces seu piscibus simillima animalia; in his homines concrevisse fetusque² ad pubertatem intus retentos, tunc demum ruptis illis³ viros mulieresque, qui iam se alere possent, processisse.

¹ coalefactis *coni. Meursius*
³ illis *coni. Meursius*

² et usque *coni. Meursius*

The Nature of the Soul (D37)

D37 (< A29) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximander [. . .] said that the nature of the soul is air-like.

The Origin of Animals (D38–D40)

D38 (A30) Aëtius

Anaximander: the first animals were born in moisture, surrounded by thorny bark, but as they increased in age they moved to where it was drier, and when the bark burst open they changed their way of life in a short time.

D39 (A30) Censorinus, *The Birthday*

Anaximander of Miletus thought that when the water and earth were heated, there arose from them either fish or animals very similar to fish; human beings developed in these and remained inside as embryos until they reached puberty; then finally they [i.e. these animals] burst open, and men and women came forth who were already capable of nourishing themselves.

D40 (< A30) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.8.4 730E–F

[. . . cf. **R18**] οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος ἰχθύς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἀποφαίνεται καὶ τραφέντας ὥσπερ οἱ γαλεοὶ¹ καὶ γενομένους ἱκανοὺς ἑαυτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἐκβῆναι τημικαῦτα καὶ γῆς λαβέσθαι [. . .].

¹ γαλεοὶ Doehner, Emperius: παλαιοὶ mss.

D40 (< A30) Plutarch, *Table Talk*

[. . .] For he does not think that fish and humans [scil. developed] in the same circumstances, but he declares that at first humans developed and were nourished inside fishes, like sharks, and that they went out and reached land when they had become capable of protecting themselves [. . .].

ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6)
As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)

R1 (≠ DK) Arist. *Phys.* 3.4 203a16–18

οἱ δὲ περὶ φύσεως πάντες¹ ὑποτιθέασιν ἑτέραν τινα
 φύσιν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῶν λεγομένων στοιχείων, οἷον
 ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων.

¹ πάντες Philop. In *Phys.*, p. 395.8, Simpl. In *Phys.*, p. 458.17:
 ἅπαντες ἀεὶ FHIJ: ἀεὶ πάντες E

R2 (< A9) Simpl. In *Phys.*, p. 24.21–22

δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὴν τῶν τεττάρων
 στοιχείων οὗτος θεασάμενος οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἕν τι τούτων
 ὑποκείμενον ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο παρὰ ταῦτα [. . .
 = R9].

ANAXIMANDER

R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6)
As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)

R1 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Physics*

All those who study nature assign to the unlimited a certain other nature belonging to what are called the elements, like water, air, or what is intermediary between these.¹

¹ For other passages in which Aristotle mentions a doctrine of the intermediary element and seems to be alluding to Anaximander (without ever naming him), cf. *Physics* 1.6 189b1–8, 205a25–29; *Generation and Corruption* 2.1 328b35, 2.5 332a19–25; *Metaphysics* A7 988a29–32, 989a14. The identification derives from the commentators on Aristotle (cf. e.g. **R2**, **R4**). In **D12**, Aristotle explicitly distinguishes Anaximander from those who posited an intermediary.

R2 (< A9) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

It is clear that, having observed the transformation of the four elements into one another, he thought that he should not make one of these the substrate, but some other thing besides them [. . .].

R3 (A16) Arist. *Cael.* 3.5 303b10–13

ἔνιοι γὰρ ἐν μόνον ὑποτίθενται, καὶ τοῦτο¹ οἱ μὲν ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἀέρα, οἱ δὲ πῦρ, οἱ δ' ὕδατος μὲν λεπτότερον, ἀέρος δὲ πυκνότερον, ὃ περιέχειν φασὶ πάντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀπειρον ὄν.

¹ τοῦτο EH: τούτων J

R4 (A16) Alex. *In Metaph.*, p. 60.8–10

προσέθηκε δὲ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τὴν Ἀναξιμάνδρου δόξαν, ὃς ἀρχὴν ἔθετο τὴν μεταξὺ φύσιν ἀέρος τε καὶ πυρός, ἢ ἀέρος τε καὶ ὕδατος· λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφότερος.

R5 (≠ DK) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 615.13–15

Ἀναξιμανδρος [. . .] ἀόριστόν τι ὕδατος μὲν λεπτότερον ἀέρος δὲ πυκνότερον, διότι τὸ ὑποκείμενον εὐφυνὲς ἐχρῆν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μετάβασιν [. . . = **R6**].

As Reservoir (R6)

R6 (< A17) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 615.15–18

ἀπειρον δὲ πρῶτος¹ ὑπέθετο, ἵνα ἔχη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις ἀφθόνως· καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους οὕτως καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπείρου τοῦ τοιοῦτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο, ὡς δοκεῖ.

¹ πρῶτος A: πρώτως DEF

R3 (A16) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

For some people posit only one [scil. element], and the ones [scil. posit] that this is water, others air, others fire, others something finer than water and denser than air; and they say that this, being **unlimited**, surrounds all the heavens.

R4 (A16) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*

He [i.e. Aristotle] has added to his historical presentation the opinion of Anaximander, who posited as principle a nature intermediary between air and fire, or between air and water—for it is reported in both ways.

R5 (≠ DK) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Anaximander [. . .] [scil. posed as element] something undefined (*aoristos*), finer than water but denser than air, since the substrate had to be well suited for transformation into both of these [. . .].

As Reservoir (R6)

R6 (< A17) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

He was the first to posit an **unlimited**, so that he would have something he could make use of unstintingly for generating; and he said that the worlds are unlimited [scil. in number] and that each one of the worlds comes from this sort of unlimited element, as it seems.

A Comparison with Empedocles
and Anaxagoras (R7–R9)

R7 (A9) Arist. *Phys.* 1.4 187a20–23

οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ πολλὰ φασιν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας· ἐκ τοῦ μείγματος γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκκρίνουσι τᾶλλα.

R8 (A9a, 59 A41) Simplicius in *Phys.*, p. 154.14–23 (= Theophr. Frag. 228B FHS&G)

καὶ Θεόφραστος δὲ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν εἰς τὸν Ἀναξίμανδρον συνωθῶν καὶ οὕτως ἐκλαμβάνει τὰ ὑπὸ Ἀναξαγόρου λεγόμενα, ὡς δύνασθαι μίαν αὐτὸν φύσιν λέγειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον. γράφει δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Φυσικῇ ἱστορίᾳ. “οὕτω μὲν οἷον λαμβανόντων δόξειεν ἂν ποιεῖν τὰς μὲν ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπείρους, ὥσπερ εἶρηται, τὴν δὲ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν μίαν. εἰ δέ τις τὴν μίξιν τῶν ἀπάντων ὑπολάβοι μίαν εἶναι φύσιν ἀόριστον καὶ κατ' εἶδος καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος, ὅπερ ἂν δόξειε βούλεσθαι λέγειν, συμβαίνει δύο τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ λέγειν τὴν τε τοῦ ἀπείρου φύσιν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε πάντως φαίνεται τὰ σωματικὰ στοιχεῖα παραπλησίως ποιῶν Ἀναξίμανδρον.”

A Comparison with Empedocles
and Anaxagoras (R7–R9)

R7 (A9) Aristotle, *Physics*

The other ones [scil. than those who posit a single substrate] say that the contraries are present in the One and are separated out from it, as Anaximander says and all those who assert the existence of both the one and the many, like Empedocles and Anaxagoras; for these too think that all other things separate out from the mixture [cf. **EMP. D81**; **ANAXAG. D20**].

R8 (A9a, 59 A41) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

And Theophrastus, pushing Anaxagoras toward Anaximander, understands in this way too what Anaxagoras says, i.e. that it is possible that he is saying that the substrate is a single nature. He writes as follows in his *Natural History*: “If we take things in this way, he would seem to posit material principles that are unlimited [scil. in number], as we have said, and a single cause of motion and of generation. But if one supposed that the mixture of all things is a single nature, undefined both in form and in size, which is what he would seem to have meant, then the result is that he is saying that there are two principles, the nature of the unlimited and mind, so that he seems absolutely to conceive corporeal elements in the same way as Anaximander” [= **ANAXAG. R19**].

R9 (< A9) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.23–25

[. . . = **R2**] οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενου τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεί, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινόμενων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως· διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν.

Four Peripatetic Criticisms (R10–R13)

R10 (Ar 12 Wöhrlé) Arist. *GC* 2.5 332a19–25

[. . .] οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τούτων ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλο τί γε παρὰ ταῦτα, οἷον μέσον τι ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος ἢ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἀέρος μὲν παχύτερον ἢ πυρός, τῶν δὲ λεπτότερον· ἔσται γὰρ ἀῆρ καὶ πῦρ ἐκείνο μετ' ἐναντιότητος· ἀλλὰ στέρησις τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἐναντίων ὥστ' οὐκ ἐνδέχεται μονοῦσθαι ἐκείνο οὐδέποτε, ὥσπερ φασί τινες τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ περιέχον.

R11 (A16) Arist. *Phys.* 3.5 204b22–29

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν καὶ ἀπλοῦν εἶναι σῶμα ἄπειρον ἐνδέχεται, οὔτε ὡς λέγουσί τινες τὸ παρὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα γεννώσιν, οὔθ' ἀπλῶς. εἰσὶν γάρ τινες οἱ τοῦτο ποιούσι τὸ ἄπειρον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ, ὅπως μὴ τὰλλα φθείρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου αὐτῶν· ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς ἀλληλα ἐναντίωσιν, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἀῆρ ψυχρός, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ θερμόν· ὦν εἰ ἦν

R9 (< A9) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

[. . .] He does not explain birth by the alteration of the element but by the separation of the contraries because of the eternal motion. And that is why Aristotle has placed him together with Anaxagoras and his followers [cf. **ANAXAG. D2**].

Four Peripatetic Criticisms (R10–R13)

R10 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption*

[. . .] not one of these things [i.e. fire, air, earth, water] is something from which all things could derive. But certainly neither is anything else besides these, such as something intermediary between air and water or between air and fire, denser than air or fire, and finer than the others. For that air or that fire will include a contrariety; but one of the contraries is a privation, so that it is not possible that that [scil. intermediary] ever exist alone, as some say is the case of the unlimited and of what surrounds.

R11 (A16) Aristotle, *Physics*

But neither is it possible for an unlimited body to be one and simple, whether it is, as some say, something beside the elements from which they generate these, or absolutely speaking. For there are some who identify the unlimited with this, and not with air or water, so that the other things are not destroyed by their being unlimited. For they stand in contrariety to one another, for example air is cold, water moist, fire hot; and if one of them were

ἐν ἄπειρον, ἐφθαρτο ἂν ἦδη τᾶλλα· νῦν δ' ἕτερον εἶναι φασιν ἕξ οὐ ταῦτα.

R12 (< A14) Arist. *Phys.* 3.7 208a 2–4

φαίνονται δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ὕλη χρώμενοι τῷ ἀπέριφ· διὸ καὶ ἄτοπον τὸ περιέχον ποιεῖν αὐτὸ ἄλλα μὴ περιεχόμενον.

R13 (< A14) Aët. 1.3.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

[. . . = **D10**] ἀμαρτάνει δὲ οὗτος μὴ λέγων τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἄπειρον, πότερον ἀήρ ἐστὶν ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ ἢ ἄλλα τινα σώματα. ἀμαρτάνει οὖν τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινώμενος, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὕλη ἐστίν· οὐ δύναται δὲ ἢ ὕλη εἶναι ἐνεργεία, εἰ μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑποκείται.

*Astronomical Discoveries and Inventions
Attributed to Anaximander (R14–R17)*

R14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

εὗρε δὲ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ [Frag. 65 Amato], τροπὰς τε καὶ ἰσημερίας σημαίνοντα· καὶ ὠροσκοπία κατεσκεύασε.

unlimited, then the others would already have been destroyed. But as it is, they say that what these latter come from is different.

R12 (< A14) Aristotle, *Physics*

It is evident that all the others make use of the unlimited as matter. And for this reason it is absurd to say that it **surrounds** and not that it is surrounded.

R13 (< A14) Aëtius

[. . .] He errs in not saying what the unlimited is, whether it is air or water, or earth or some other bodies. Thus he errs in declaring the matter but in suppressing the efficient cause. For the unlimited is nothing else than matter. But matter cannot be in activity if one does not posit the efficient [scil. cause].

*Astronomical Discoveries and Inventions
Attributed to Anaximander (R14–R17)*

R14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He was also the first to discover the *gnomon* and he placed it on the sundials in Sparta, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, to indicate the solstices and the equinoxes, and he constructed clocks.

R15 (< A4) Eus. *PE* 10.14.11

οὗτος πρῶτος γνόμονας κατεσκεύασε πρὸς διάγνω-
σιν τροπῶν τε ἡλίου καὶ χρόνων καὶ ὥρων καὶ ἰση-
μερίας.

R16 (< A5) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 2.31

obliquitatem eius intellexisse, hoc est rerum fores¹ aper-
uisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus [. . . = P3].

¹ fortissimi vel -mas ante fores hab. FEaz., del. R

R17 (< A19) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 471.4–9

[. . .] Ἀναξιμάνδρου πρῶτου τὸν περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ
ἀποστημάτων λόγον εὐρηκότος, ὡς Εὐδήμος ἱστορεῖ
[Frag. 146 Wehrli] [. . . = PYTHS. ANON. D39]. τὰ δὲ
μεγέθη καὶ τὰ ἀποστήματα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης [. . .]
εἰκὸς ἦν ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀναξίμανδρον εὐρηκέναι [. . .].

An Ironic Allusion to a Notorious Doctrine (R18)

R18 (< A30) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.8.4 730D–E

οἱ δ' ἀφ' Ἑλληνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ πατρογενεῖω Πο-
σειδῶνι θύουσιν, ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐσίας
φῦναι δόξαντες¹ ὡς καὶ Σύροι· διὸ καὶ σέβονται τὸν
ἰχθυῖν, ὡς ὁμογενῆ καὶ σύντροφον, ἐπιεικέστερον

¹ δοξαζόντες Turnebus

R15 (< A4) Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

He was the first to construct *gnomons* to distinguish the
solstices of the sun, the periods of time, the seasons, and
the equinox.

R16 (< A5) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximander of Miletus is reported to have been the first
person [. . .] to have understood its [i.e. the zodiac's] incli-
nation, that is to have opened up the gates of these matters
[. . .].

R17 (< A19) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On
the Heavens*

[. . .] Anaximander was the first to discover the explanation
for the sizes and distances [scil. of the planets], as is re-
ported by Eudemus [. . .]. As for the sizes and distances of
the sun and moon [. . .], it is probable that Anaximander
discovered them too [. . .].

An Ironic Allusion to a Notorious Doctrine (R18)

R18 (< A30) Plutarch, *Table Talk*

The descendants of ancient Hellen sacrifice to their ances-
tor Poseidon too, since they believe, as the Syrians do, that
human beings were born from the moist substance. And

Ἀναξίμανδρον φιλοσοφούντες [. . . = D40] καθάπερ οὖν τὸ πῦρ τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ἧς ἀνήφθη, μητέρα καὶ πατέρα οὖσαν ἦσθιεν [. . .] οὕτως ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κοινὸν ἀποφήνας τὸν ἰχθὺν διέβαλεν πρὸς τὴν βρώσιν.

A Christian Polemic (R19)

R19 (Ar 52 Wöhrle) Iren. *Adv. haer.* 2.14.2

Anaximander autem hoc quod immensum est omnium initium subiecit, seminaliter habens in semetipso omnium genesim, ex quo immensos mundos constare ait: et hoc autem in Bythum et in Aeonas ipsorum transfiguraverunt.

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R20)

R20 (Ar 216 Wöhrle) Ps.-Olymp. *Ars sacra* 25

Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ ἔλεγεν ἀρχὴν εἶναι μεταξὺ δὲ λέγω τῶν ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν καπνῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀτμὸς μεταξὺ ἐστὶν πυρὸς καὶ γῆς, καὶ καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, πᾶν το μεταξὺ θερμῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν ἀτμὸς ἐστὶν· τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ θερμῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καπνός.

that is why they revere the fish as belonging to the same line of descent as they do and as having been raised together with them—philosophizing thereby more plausibly than Anaximander [. . .]. So just as fire devours the wood from which it was kindled and which is its father and mother [. . .], so too Anaximander, having declared that fish is the common father and mother of all human beings, criticized its use for eating.¹

¹ The discussion bears upon the Pythagoreans' prohibitions (cf. **PYTH.** c **D20**[83]).

A Christian Polemic (R19)

R19 (≠ DK) Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*

Anaximander posited as the origin of all things the unlimited, which contains within itself in the form of seeds the generation of all things, and from which, he said, the infinite worlds come. And this is what they [i.e. the Valentinian Gnostics] transformed into their own Bythus and Eons.

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R20)

R20 (≠ DK) Ps.-Olympiodorus, *On the Sacred Art*

Anaximander said that the intermediary is the principle; I say that the intermediary belongs to vapor or smoke. For vapor is intermediary between fire and earth, and to speak generally everything that is intermediary between what is hot and what is moist is vapor; and what is intermediary between what is hot and what is dry is smoke.

*Anaximander in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R21)***R21** (≠ DK) *Turba Phil. Sermo I***a** p. 109.15–16 Ruska; 38.1–6 Plessner

iuscit autem, ut Eximèdrus prius loqueretur, qui optimi erat consilii.

incipiens ait omnium initium esse naturam quandam et eam esse perpetuam ac omnia coquentem et quidem videtur naturas eorumque nativitates et corruptiones esse tempora, quibus termini, ad quos pervenire videntur et noscuntur. doceo autem vos stellas esse igneas et aera ipsas continere et quod si aeris humiditas et spissitudo non esset, quae solis flammam separaret a creaturis, omnia subsistentia sol combureret. Deus autem aerem separantem constituit ne combureret quod in terra creavit.

b (Ar 242 Wöhrle) Muḥammad ibn Umayl al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-mā' al-waraqī wa al-arḍ al-naḡmiyya* (cf. p. 39.15–40.24 Plessner)

قال أكسميدوس الجرعاتي [. . .] فالماء والنار عدوان ليست بينهما قرابة واشجة لأن النار حارة يابسة والماء بارد رطب فأما الهواء فحارّ رطب فأصلح ما بينهما برطوبته مع حرارته فصار الهواء مصلحا بين الماء والنار. والأرواح كلهم من لطيف بخار الهواء تكون لأنه إذا اجتمعت السخونة مع الرطوبة فليس لهما بد من أن يخرج من بينهما لطيف يصير بخارا أو ريحا لأن حرارة الشمس تُخرج

*Anaximander in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R21)***R21** (≠ DK) *The Assembly of Philosophers***a** in Latin translation

He [i.e. Pythagoras] ordered that Eximèdrus [i.e. Anaximander] speak first, since he was the best in counsel.

Beginning, he said that the beginning of all things is a certain nature and that this is eternal and concocts all things, and indeed it seems that their natures, generations, and destructions are times that have limits that they reach, as is seen and known. But I teach you that the stars are fiery and that air surrounds these and that, if there did not exist the moisture and density of the air, which keeps the sun's flame separate from the creatures, the sun would burn up everything that exists. But God created the air as a separation, so that it would not burn up what He had created on the earth.

b in Arabic translation in Muḥammad ibn Umayl al-Tamīmī, *Book of the Silvery Water and the Starry Earth* Aksimīdūs al-Ġur'ānī [i.e. Anaximander] said, “[. . .] Water and Fire are two enemies and there is between them no affinity and close connection, because Fire is hot and dry while Water is cold and moist; as for Air, it is hot and moist, and it has been established between the two due to its humidity accompanied by heat; thus Air became the reconciler between Water and Fire. All the spiritual realities that derive from the refined exhalation of Air come to be because, when warmth mixes with humidity, it is inevita-

من الهواء لطيفا بصير روحا وحيوة لكل مخلوق وكل هذا إنما هو من تقدير الله تعالى. والهواء إنما يستمد الرطوبة من الماء ولولا أنه يستمد من رطوبة الماء ما يقوى به على حرارة الشمس لقهرت الشمس الهواء بحرّها ولو لا تنفس الهواء حينئذ بالأرواح التي تتولد منها الخلائق لأهلكت الشمس ما من تحتها من الخلائق بحرّها وإنما قوى عليها الهواء لانتلاف حرارته بحرارتها وانتلاف رطوبته برطوبة الماء.

ble for them to have something refined proceeding from them both, which becomes an exhalation or a breath, because the sun's heat extracts from air something refined, which becomes breath and life for all the creatures, and all this depends upon the design of God Almighty. Air, in its turn, acquires humidity from water; if it did not acquire something of the water's humidity, by means of which it can counter the sun's heat, the sun would dry the air by its heat; and if air did not blow through the spiritual realities out of which all the creatures come, then the sun would annihilate all the creatures below it, because of its heat; but air overcomes the latter by means of the connection it establishes between its own heat and that heat, and between its own humidity and the humidity of water."¹

¹ Translated by Germana Chemi.

7. ANAXIMENES [ANAXIMEN.]

The data provided by the ancient sources for the dates of Anaximenes' birth and death are confused, but his activity can be situated toward the middle of the sixth century BC, a little after Anaximander's. Of his original writings only a few isolated terms survive. Diogenes Laertius reports that his mode of expression was "simple and plain" (R2): this is surely to be understood by contrast with the poetically charged style of Anaximander, to whose thought he is certainly responding. The evanescent character of his person—despite the fact that his name seems to have remained famous for a long time (cf. R10, P5)—contrasts with the importance to be assigned philosophically to his monism, which is founded on the properties of air.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

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R

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ANAXIMENES [13 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.3

Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου, Μιλήσιος, ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμάνδρου. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν¹ [. . .] καὶ γεγένηται μὲν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος [FGrHist 244 F66], < . . . >² περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ ἐξήκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι.³

¹ Παρμενίδην . . . αὐτοῦ Volkman: ἔνιοι . . . αὐτοῦ secl. Marcovich ²< . . . > lac. posuimus ³τῇ ἐξήκοστῇ τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ περὶ τὴν σάρδεων ἄλωσιν mss., transp. Simson

P2 (< A7) (Ps.- ?) Hippol. Ref. 1.7.8

οὗτος ἠκμασεν περὶ ἔτος πρώτων τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος.

ANAXIMENES

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Anaximenes, son of Eurystratus, of Miletus, studied with Anaximander; some people say that he also studied with Parmenides [. . .].¹ And as Apollodorus says, he was < . . . >² around the time of the capture of Sardis [= 546/5 BC], and he died during the 63rd Olympiad [= 528/4].

¹ Editors usually correct in order to reestablish the only possible chronology: “Some people say that Parmenides studied with him.” But perhaps the fiction is meaningful, emphasizing that Anaximenes is a ‘monist.’ ² The transmitted text says that Anaximenes was born at the time of the capture of Sardis, but this is incompatible with the date given for his death. We suggest that an adjective indicating a particular age or meaning “famous” [cf. **P3**] or “mature” [cf. **P2**] has dropped out of the text.

P2 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

He reached full maturity around the first year of the 58th Olympiad [= 548/7].

P3 (A3) Eus. *Chron.* (Hier.), p. 102b

[ad Ol. 55] Anaximenes physicus agnoscitur.

P4 (< A2) *Suda* A.1988

γέγονεν ἐν τῇ νέῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐν τῇ Σάρδεων ἀλώσει,
ὅτε Κύρος ὁ Πέρσης Κροῦσον καθέειλεν.

Statue (P5)

P5 (As 176 Wöhrle) Christod. *Ecphr.* 50–51

ἦν μὲν Ἀναξιμένης νοερὸς σοφός, ἐν δὲ μενοινῇ
δαιμονίης ἐλέλιξε νοήματα ποικίλα βουλήσ.

P3 (A3) Eusebius, *Chronicle*

55th Olympiad [= 560/56]: The natural philosopher Anaximenes is well known.

P4 (< A2) *Suda*

He was born in the 55th Olympiad [= 560/56] during the capture of Sardis, when Cyrus the Persian destroyed Croesus [= 546/5].¹

¹ The indication is erroneous or the text corrupt (cf. the uncertainties involved in **P1**).

Statue (P5)

P5 (≠ DK) Christodorus, *Description of the Statues in the Gymnasium of Zeuxippus at Constantinople*

Anaximenes was there, the intellectual sage; in his enthusiasm

He brandished multifarious thoughts of a divine intention.

Iconography (P6)

P6 (≠ DK) Richter I, p. 79; Koch, "Ikonographie," in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 219–20.

ANAXIMENES [13 DK]

D

*Three Summaries Deriving Ultimately from
Theophrastus (D1–D3)*

D1 (< A5) Simplicius, *In Phys.*, p. 24.26–25.1 (= Theophr. Frag. 226A FHS&G)

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ [. . .] μίαν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς¹ τὴν ὑποκειμένην φύσιν καὶ ἀπειρόν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνος,² οὐκ ἀόριστον δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, ἀλλὰ³ ὀρισμένην, ἀέρα λέγων αὐτήν· διαφέρειν δὲ μανότητι καὶ πυκνότητι κατὰ τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ ἀραιούμενον⁴ μὲν πῦρ γίνεσθαι, πυκνούμενον δὲ ἄνεμον, εἶτα νέφος, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὕδωρ, εἶτα γῆν, εἶτα λίθους, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ τούτων· κίνησιν δὲ καὶ οὗτος αἰδίον ποιεῖ, δι' ἣν καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν γίνεσθαι.

¹ καὶ αὐτὸς om. A ² ὥσπερ ἐκείνος del. Usener
³ ἀλλὰ καὶ F ⁴ διαρούμενον mss., corr. Diels

D2 (A6) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 3 (= Eus. *PE* 1.8.3)

Ἀναξιμένην δὲ φασι τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν τὸν ἀέρα

ANAXIMENES

D

*Three Summaries Deriving Ultimately from
Theophrastus (D1–D3)*

D1 (< A5) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*
Anaximenes [. . .] says too, as he [i.e. Anaximander] does, that the underlying nature is [scil. only] one and unlimited, but not that it is indeterminate, as he [i.e. Anaximander] does, but rather that it is determinate, for he says that it is air. It differs by its rarefaction or density according to the substances: rarefied, it becomes fire; condensed, wind, then cloud; even more, water, then earth, then stones; and everything else comes from these last. As for motion, he too considers it to be eternal; and it is because of it that change too comes about.

D2 (A6) Ps.-Plutarch, *Stromata*

They say that Anaximenes affirms that the principle of all things is air and that this is unlimited in kind but limited

εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τῷ μὲν γένει ἄπειρον, ταῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ποιότησιν ὠρισμένον· γεννᾶσθαι τε πάντα κατὰ τινα πύκνωσιν τούτου καὶ πάλιν ἀραιώσιν. τὴν γε μὴν κίνησιν ἐξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρχειν· πιλουμένου¹ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν, πλατεῖαν μάλα.² διὸ καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτὴν ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι· καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔχειν ἐκ γῆς. ἀποφαίνεται γοῦν τὸν ἥλιον γῆν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀξείαν κίνησιν καὶ μάλ' ἱκανῶς θερμότητα³ λαβεῖν.⁴

¹ πιλουμένου BODV: -μένην N: ἀπλουμένου A ² μάλα ANDV: μάλλον BON (in marg.) ³ θερμότητα D (os superscr. prima manus): θερμότητος Usener: θερμότητην ABONV ⁴ κίνησιν λαβεῖν ABOND (in marg., prima manus) V: κίνησιν om. D

D3 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippol. Ref. 1.7.1-8

[1] Ἀναξιμένης δὲ [. . .] ἀέρα ἄπειρον ἔφη τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ² θεοὺς καὶ θεία γίνεσθαι,³ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῶν τούτου ἀπογόνων. [2] τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ ἀέρος τοιοῦτον· ὅταν μὲν ὀμαλώτατος ᾖ, ὄψει ἄδηλον, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ ψυχρῷ καὶ τῷ θερμῷ καὶ τῷ νοτερῷ καὶ τῷ κινουμένῳ. κινεῖσθαι δὲ αἶε' οὐ γὰρ <ἂν>⁴ μεταβάλλειν ὅσα μεταβάλλει, εἰ μὴ κινουῖτο. [3] πυκνούμενον γὰρ καὶ ἀραιούμενον διάφορον φαίνεσθαι· ὅταν γὰρ⁵ εἰς τὸ ἀραιότερον διαχυθῆ, πῦρ γίνεσθαι· ἀνέμους⁶ δὲ πάλιν εἶναι⁷ ἀέρα πυκνούμενον·

by the qualities it possesses; and that all things are generated according to a certain condensation and, in turn, rarefaction on its part; but that motion is present from eternity. He says that when the air is compressed the first thing to come about is the earth, which is extremely flat. That is why it is appropriate that it **rides** upon the air. And the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies have the principle of their generation from the earth. In any case he states that the sun is of earth, but that it is strongly heated by reason of the swiftness of its motion.

D3 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[1] Anaximenes [. . .] said that the principle is unlimited air, from which comes about what is, what has been, and what will be, the gods and divine things, while everything else comes from its descendants. [2] The form of air is the following: when it is perfectly homogeneous, it is invisible to the eye, but it becomes visible by cold, heat, moisture, and motion. It is moved incessantly; for whatever is transformed would not be transformed if there were no motion. [3] For its appearance is different when it is condensed or rarefied. For whenever it expands and becomes more rarefied, it becomes fire, and in turn winds are air that has become condensed; and from the air, a cloud is created by

¹ καὶ Cedrenus (cf. p. 277.15-24 Bekker), om. mss.
² τὰ γινόμενα . . . τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ secl. Marcovich ³ ἐξ οὗ . . . γίνεσθαι damn. Heidel ⁴ <ἂν> Th. Gomperz
⁵ γὰρ Roeper: δὲ mss. ⁶ ἀνέμους Zeller: μέσως mss.
⁷ πάλιν Roeper, εἶναι Diels: ἐπὶ εἰς mss.

ἐξ ἀέρος <δὲ>⁸ νέφος ἀποτελεῖσθαι⁹ κατὰ τὴν πίλησιν·
 ἔτι δὲ μάλλον ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ πλείον <δὲ>¹⁰ πυκνωθέντα γῆν
 καὶ εἰς τὸ μάλιστα πυκνότατον¹¹ λίθους. ὥστε τὰ
 κυριώτατα τῆς γενέσεως ἐναντία εἶναι, θερμόν τε καὶ
 ψυχρόν.

[4] τὴν δὲ γῆν πλατεῖαν εἶναι ἐπ' ἀέρος ὀχουμένην·
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα
 πάντα¹² πύρινα ὄντα ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι διὰ πλάτος.
 [5] γεγονένα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα ἐκ γῆς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἰκμάδα ἐκ
 ταύτης ἀνίστασθαι ἧς ἀραιουμένης τὸ πῦρ γίνεσθαι,
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς μετεωριζομένου τοὺς ἀστέρας συν-
 ἰστασθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ γεώδεις φύσεις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῶν
 ἀστέρων συμπεριφερομένας¹³ ἐκείνους. [6] οὐ κι-
 νεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τὰ ἄστρα λέγει, καθὼς ἕτεροι ὑπει-
 λήφασιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν, ὡσπερὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 κεφαλὴν στρέφεται τὸ πιλίον.¹⁴ κρύπτεσθαι δὲ¹⁵ τὸν
 ἥλιον οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν γεόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γῆς
 ὑψηλοτέρων μερῶν σκεπόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὴν πλείονα
 ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένην ἀπόστασιν. τὰ δὲ ἄστρα μὴ
 θερμαίνειν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

[7] ἀνέμους δὲ γεννᾶσθαι, ὅταν ἐκπεπυκνωμένους¹⁶ ὁ
 ἀῆρ ἀραιωθείς¹⁷ φέρηται συνελθόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον
 παχυνθέντα¹⁸ νέφῃ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ὕδωρ

⁸ <δὲ> Diels ⁹ ἀποτελεσθῆ mss., corr. Roeper

¹⁰ <δὲ> Diels ¹¹ πυκνότατον secl. Diels

¹² γὰρ post πάντα hab. LOB: om. Cedrenus, del. Diels

¹³ συμπερομένας mss., corr. Diels ex Cedrenus

compression, water when this increases, earth when it is
 condensed even more, and stones when it has reached the
 maximum condensation. So that the principal factors re-
 sponsible for generation are contraries, heat and cold.

[4] The earth is flat, borne upon the air; similarly, the
 sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies, which are
 all fiery, **ride** upon the air because of their flatness. [5] The
 heavenly bodies have come about from the earth because
 moisture rises up and leaves it; from its rarefaction, fire
 comes about; and from fire that rises aloft, the stars are
 composed. There are also earthy natures in the region of
 the heavenly bodies that accompany them in their revolu-
 tion. [6] He says that the heavenly bodies do not move
 below the earth, as the others supposed, but around the
 earth, just as a **felt cap** turns around our head. And the
 sun is hidden not because it comes to be located below
 the earth, but because it is covered by the higher parts of
 the earth and because of the greater distance between it
 and us. The heavenly bodies do not cause heat because of
 the size of their distance.

[7] The winds are created when air that has become
 very condensed becomes rarefied and is set in motion.
 When it collects together and is condensed even more,
 clouds are created and in this way are transformed into
 water. Hail comes about when water coming from the

¹⁴ πιλίον mss., corr. Menagius ¹⁵ δὲ L in marg.: τε

LOT: om. B ¹⁶ ἐκπεπυκνωμένους LOB, -μένης T: εἰς πεπυ-
 κνωμένον Usener: ἢ πεπυκνωμένος Diels

¹⁷ ἀραιωθείς
 mss.: ἀρθείς Zeller: καὶ ὡσθείς Diels ¹⁸ παχύθεντα mss.,
 corr. Salvin: συνελθόντος . . . παχυνθέντος Zeller

μεταβάλλειν. χάλαζαν δὲ γίνεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν νεφῶν τὸ ὕδωρ καταφερόμενον παγῆ· χιόνα δέ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐνυγρότερα ὄντα πῆξι λάβη. [8] ἀστραπὴν δ', ὅταν τὰ νέφη διωστήται βία πνευμάτων· τούτων γὰρ διωσταμένων λαμπρὰν καὶ πυρώδη γίνεσθαι τὴν αὐγὴν. Ἴριον δὲ γεννᾶσθαι τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐγῶν εἰς ἀέρα συνεστῶτα πιπτουσῶν· σεισμὸν δὲ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ πλείον ἀλλοιουμένης ὑπὸ θερμασίας καὶ ψύξεως.

Air as Principle (D4)

D4 (A4) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 984a5–6

Ἄναξιμένης δὲ ἀέρα καὶ Διογένης πρότερον ὕδατος καὶ μάλιστα ἄρχην τιθέασι τῶν ἀπλῶν σωμάτων [...].

Air as God (D5–D6)

D5 (< A10) Aët. 1.7.13 (Stob.) [περὶ θεοῦ]

Ἄναξιμένης τὸν ἀέρα [... = **R6**].

D6 (< A10) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.26

[...] Anaximenes aera deum statuit eumque gigni esseque immensum et infinitum et semper in motu [... = **R7**].

clouds freezes while it descends; snow, when these same [scil. drops] possess more moisture and become frozen; [8] lightning, when the clouds burst by the violence of the winds—for when these burst, the bright and fiery flash is produced. The rainbow is born when the rays of the sun fall upon an accumulation of air; the earthquake, when the earth is transformed more by the effect of heat and cold.

Air as Principle (D4)

D4 (A4) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Anaximenes as well as Diogenes [cf. **DIOG. D7**] posit air as being anterior to water and as most of all principle among the simple bodies [...].

Air as God (D5–D6)

D5 (< A10) Aëtius

Anaximenes: air [scil. is god] [...].

D6 (< A10) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

[...] Anaximenes declared that air is god, that it is born, and that it is immense and unlimited and always in motion [...].

The Transformations of Air (D7–D8)

D7 (< A5) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 149.32–150.2 (= Theophr. Frag. 226B FHS&G)

ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου μόνου Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ τὴν μάνωσιν εἶρηκε καὶ πύκνωσιν.

D8 (< B1) Plut. *Prim. frig.* 7 947F

[. . . cf. **R4**] τὸ γὰρ συστυλλόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ πυκνούμενον ψυχρὸν εἶναι φησι, τὸ δ' ἀραιὸν καὶ τὸ χαλαρὸν (οὕτω πως ὀνομάσας καὶ τῷ ῥήματι) θερμόν. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπεικόντως λέγεσθαι τὸ καὶ θερμὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τοῦ στόματος καὶ ψυχρὰ μεθίεναι ψύχεται γὰρ ἢ πνοὴ πιεσθεῖσα καὶ πυκνωθεῖσα τοῖς χείλεσιν, ἀνειμένον δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπίπτουσα γίνεται θερμὸν ὑπὸ μανότητος [. . .].

Is There Only One World or an Unlimited Number of Worlds? (D9–D11)

D9 (< 59 A65) Aët. 2.4.6 (Stob.) [εἰ ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος] [. . .] Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] φθαρτὸν τὸν κόσμον.

D10 (< A11) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 1121.12–15

γενητὸν δὲ καὶ φθαρτὸν τὸν ἕνα κόσμον ποιούσιν, ὅσοι αἰεὶ μὲν φασιν εἶναι κόσμον, οὐ μὴν τὸν αὐτὸν

The Transformations of Air (D7–D8)

D7 (< A5) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

It is only about him [i.e. Anaximenes] that Theophrastus in his *History* has spoken of **rarefaction** and **condensation**.

D8 (< B1) Plutarch, *On the Principle of Cold*

[. . .] For he [i.e. “ancient Anaximenes,” cf. **R4**] says that the contraction and concentration of this [i.e. matter] is cold, while what is loose in texture and **slack** (calling it this very way in his own words) is hot. And that is why it is said, not implausibly, that a man emits both heat and cold from his mouth: for the breath is cooled when it is pressed together and condensed by the lips, whereas when the mouth is distended it comes out of it heated by the effect of its rarefaction [. . .].

Is There Only One World or an Unlimited Number of Worlds? (D9–D11)

D9 (< 59 A65) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximenes [. . .]: the world is perishable.

D10 (< A11) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

All those who state that the world is eternal, but that it is not eternally the same but is generated successively in different forms according to certain periods of time, like

ἀεί, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε ἄλλον γινόμενον κατὰ τινὰς χρόνων
περιόδους, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης [. . .].

D11 (< 12 A17) Aët. 2.1.3 (Stob.; cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ
κόσμου]

[. . .] Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ
κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.¹

¹ περίστασιν Plut.: περιαγωγὴν Stob.

Astronomy (D12–D20)
Heavens and Heavenly Bodies (D12–D14)

D12 (< A13) Aët. 2.11.1 (Stob.) [περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ
οὐσίας]

Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω τῆς γῆς
εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν.

D13 (A14) Aët. 2.13.10 (Stob.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἄστρον]

Ἀναξιμένης πυρίνην μὲν τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἄστρον,
περιέχειν¹ δέ τινα καὶ γεώδη σώματα συμπεριφερό-
μενα τούτοις ἀόρατα.

¹ περιέχειν F: παρέχειν C

Anaximenes, posit that the one world is subject to genera-
tion and destruction and that it is generated successively
in different forms according to certain periods of time,
like Anaximenes [. . .].

D11 (< 12 A17) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximenes [. . .]: worlds unlimited [scil. in number]
in the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area
(*peristasis*).

Astronomy (D12–D20)
Heavens and Heavenly Bodies (D12–D14)

D12 (< A13) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .]: the revolution farthest from the earth
is the heavens.

D13 (A14) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the nature of the heavenly bodies is fiery, but
they also comprise certain invisible earthy bodies that ac-
company them in their revolution.

D14 (A14) Aët. 2.14.3–4 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Stob.) [περὶ σχημάτων ἀστέρων]

[3] Ἀναξιμένης ἤλων δίκην καταπεπηγέναι¹ τῷ κρυσταλλοειδεῖ.

[4] ἔνιοι δὲ² πέταλα³ εἶναι πύρινα ὥσπερ ζωγραφήματα.

¹ καταπεπηγέναι MΠ: -πληγέναι m ² ἔνιοι δὲ MΠ: om. m: ἐνίους δὲ Heath ³ καθάπερ ante πέταλα add. m

The Sun (D15–D18)

D15 (A15) Aët. 2.22.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος ἡλίου]

Ἀναξιμένης πλατὺν ὡς πέταλον τὸν ἥλιον.

D16 (A14) Arist. *Meteor.* 2.1 354a28–32

[. . .] πολλοὺς πεισθῆναι τῶν ἀρχαίων μετεωρολόγων τὸν ἥλιον μὴ φέρεσθαι ὑπὸ γῆν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀφανίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ ποιεῖν νύκτα διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὴν εἶναι πρὸς ἄρκτον τὴν γῆν.

D17 (A14) Aët. 2.19.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐπισημασίας ἀστέρων καὶ πῶς γίνεται χειμῶν καὶ θέρος]

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ διὰ μὲν ταῦτα¹ μηδὲν τούτων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον μόνου.

¹ ταῦτα m: ταύτην MΠ

D14 (A14) Aëtius

[3] Anaximenes: the stars are stuck into the crystalline [scil. sphere] like **nails**.

[4] Some people say that they are fiery **leaves** like paintings.¹

¹ “Some people” might refer to sources that present Anaximenes’ doctrine in a different way, rather than to other philosophers (cf. the term “leaf” in **D15**).

The Sun (D15–D18)

D15 (A15) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the sun is flat like a **leaf**.

D16 (A14) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

[. . .] many of the ancients who spoke about heavenly phenomena (*meteōrologoi*) were convinced that the sun goes not below the earth but around the earth and this region, and that it disappears and causes night because the earth is elevated in the north [cf. **D3[6]**].

D17 (A14) Aëtius

Anaximenes: none of these phenomena [scil. the signs of the change from summer to winter and from winter to summer] occurs because of this [scil. the risings and settings of the various heavenly bodies], but because of the sun alone.

D18 (A15) Aët. 2.23.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ τροπῶν ἡλίου]

Ἄναξιμένης ὑπὸ πεπυκνωμένου ἀέρος καὶ ἀντιτύπου ἐξωθεῖσθαι τὰ ἄστρα.

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D19–D20)

D19 (< A20) Arist. Cael. 2.13 294b13–23

Ἄναξιμένης δὲ καὶ [. . . ANAXAG. D58; ATOM. D110] τὸ πλάτος αἴτιον εἶναι φασι τοῦ μένειν αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ τέμνειν ἀλλ' ἐπιπωμάζειν τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κάτωθεν, ὅπερ φαίνεται τὰ πλάτος ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων ποιεῖν ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους ἔχει δυσκινήτως διὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν. ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν τῷ πλάτει φασι τὴν γῆν πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἀέρα (τὸν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντα¹ μεταστῆναι τόπον ἰκανὸν² ἀθρόως³ κάτωθεν ἡρεμεῖν), ὥσπερ τὸ ἐν ταῖς κλεψύδρας ὕδωρ. ὅτι δὲ δύναται πολὺ βάρος φέρειν ἀπολαμβάνομενος καὶ μένων ὁ ἀήρ, τεκμήρια πολλὰ λέγουσιν.

¹ ἔχοντα <τοῦ> Diels ² an τόπον ἰκανὸν μεταστῆναι?
³ τῷ post ἀθρόως utrum delendum an ante ἀθρόως ponendum dub. Moraux

D20 (A20) Aët.

a 3.10.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος γῆς]

Ἄναξιμένης τραπεζοειδῆ.

D18 (A15) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the heavenly bodies [scil. retrograde] because they are pushed back by the condensed air that opposes them.

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D19–D20)

D19 (A20) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

Anaximenes and [. . .] say that [scil. the earth's] flatness is the cause for its stationary position. For it does not cut the air beneath it but covers it like a lid, which is what bodies possessing flatness are seen to do; for winds too have difficulty moving these bodies, because of their resistance. And [scil. they say] that the earth acts in the same way with regard to the air underlying it because of its flatness, and that since it [i.e. the air] does not have sufficient room to move, it remains motionless below [scil. the earth] in a dense mass, just like the water in clepsydras. And for the fact that air that is enclosed and stationary can bear a great weight, they provide many proofs.

D20 (A20) Aëtius

a

Anaximenes: it [i.e. the earth] is table-shaped.

b 3.15.8 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σεισμῶν γῆς]

Ἄναξιμένης διὰ τὸ πλάτος ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι.

Meteorological Phenomena (D21–D26)
Clouds, Thunder, Lightning (D21–D23)

D21 (A17) Aët. 3.4.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ νεφῶν ὑετῶν
 χιόνων χαλαζῶν]

Ἄναξιμένης νέφη μὲν γίνεσθαι παχυνθέντος ἐπὶ πλεί-
 στον τοῦ ἀέρος, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπισυναχθέντος ἐκθλίβε-
 σθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, χιόνα δέ, ἐπειδὴν τὸ καταφερό-
 μενον ὕδωρ παγῆ, χάλαζαν¹ δ' ὅταν συμπεριληφθῆ
 τῷ ὑγρῷ πνεύματι.²

¹χιόνα . . . χάλαζαν mss. (-ζα M): χάλαζαν . . .
 χιόνα Diels ²τῷ ὑγρῷ πνεύματι m: τι ὑγρῷ πνεύματι
 MΠ

D22 (As 24 Wöhrle) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 2.17

quidam existimant igneum¹ spiritum per frigida atque
 umida meantem² sonum reddere, nam ne ferrum quidem
 ardens silentio tingitur³ sed, si in aquam fervens massa
 descendit, cum multo murmure extinguitur. ita, ut Anaxi-
 menes ait, spiritus incidens nubibus tonitrua edit et, dum
 luctatur per obstantia atque interscissa⁴ vadere, ipsa ignem
 fuga accendit.

b

Anaximenes: because of its [i.e. the earth's] flatness it
 rides upon the air.

Meteorological Phenomena (D21–D26)
Clouds, Thunder, Lightning (D21–D23)

D21 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximenes: clouds are formed when the air becomes
 extremely condensed, and if it becomes even more con-
 centrated rains are squeezed out; snow when the water
 freezes while it descends; and hail when some air is en-
 closed together with the moisture.

D22 (≠ DK) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

Some people think that a current of fiery air passing
 through what is cold and moist produces a sound, for nei-
 ther is a blazing piece of iron dipped in silence, but if a
 burning lump of metal is plunged into water its quenching
 is accompanied by a great noise. So too, as Anaximenes
 says, a current of air that falls upon clouds produces
 a thunderclap and, while it struggles to find a passage
 through obstacles and fissures, it ignites a fire by its very
 escape.

¹ igneum Z: in eum Φ: eum ET: ipsum Δ: istum B ² ineun-
 tem ΔP ³ tingitur δγ¹KZ: tingitur Φ: extinguitur A²ε
⁴ interscissa HTZ²: intercissa LOPZ¹: intercisa ΔE (-cisam) JK

D23 (A17) Aët. 3.3.2 (Stob.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν πρηστήρων τε καὶ τυφῶνων]

Ἄναξιμένης ταῦτα τούτω¹ προστιθείς τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἣτις σχιζομένη ταῖς κώπαις παραστίλβει.

¹ ταῦτα τούτο ms., corr. Heeren

Rainbow (D24–D25)

D24 (A18) Aët. 3.5.10 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἱριδος]

Ἄναξιμένης ἱριν γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐγασμὸν ἡλίου πρὸς νέφει πυκνῷ καὶ παχεῖ καὶ μέλανι παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς τὸ πέραν διακόπτειν ἐπισυνοσταμένας αὐτῷ.

D25 (A18) Schol. in Arat., p. 515.27

τὴν ἱριν Ἄναξιμένης φησὶ γίνεσθαι, ἠνίκα ἂν ἐπιπέσωσιν αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαὶ εἰς παχὺν καὶ πυκνὸν τὸν ἀέρα. ὅθεν τὸ μὲν πρότερον αὐτοῦ¹ τοῦ ἡλίου φοινικοῦν φαίνεται, διακαιόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων, τὸ δὲ μέλαν, κατακρατούμενον² ὑπὸ τῆς ὑγρότητος. καὶ νυκτὸς δὲ φησὶ γίνεσθαι τὴν ἱριν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλάκις διὰ τὸ μὴ πανσέληνον εἶναι διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὴν φῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἡλίου.

¹ αὐτῆς M

² κρατούμενον A

D23 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the same as he [i.e. Anaximander about thunder, lightning, and other related phenomena, cf. **ANAXIMAND. D33a**], adding what happens on the sea, which flashes when it is broken by oars.

Rainbow (D24–D25)

D24 (A18) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the rainbow is produced because of the shining of the sun upon a dense, thick, and dark cloud, since the rays cannot penetrate through it and therefore accumulate against it.

D25 (A18) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Anaximenes says that the rainbow is produced when the rays of the sun fall upon thick and dense air. That is why the part of it that is closest to the sun appears purple, since it is completely burned by the rays, while the other part appears dark, since it is dominated by the moisture. And he says that at night too the rainbow is produced because of the moon, but that this does not happen often, because there is not always a full moon and its light is weaker than the sun's.

Winds (D26)

D26 (A19) Ps.-Gal. *In Hipp. Hum.* 3

Ἄναξιμένης δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνέμους βούλεται καὶ¹ ῥύμη τινὶ ἀγνώστῳ βιαίως φέρεσθαι καὶ τάχιστα ὡς τὰ πτηνὰ πέτεσθαι.²

¹ τῆ post καὶ mss., secl. Kaibel ² πέτασθαι mss., corr. Kaibel

Earthquakes (D27–D29)

D27 (A21) Arist. *Meteor.* 2.7 365b6–12

Ἄναξιμένης δὲ φησι βρεχομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ ξηρανομένην ῥήγνυσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀπορρηγνυμένων κολωνῶν ἐμπίπτόντων σείεσθαι διὰ καὶ γίγνεσθαι τοὺς σεισμοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς ἀύχοις καὶ πάλιν ἔν ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις.¹ ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀύχοις, ὡς περ εἴρηται, ξηρανομένην ῥήγνυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων ὑπερυγραινομένην διαπίπτειν.

¹ ὑπερομβρίαις duo mss.

D28 (> A21) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 6.10.1–2

[1] Anaximenes ait terram ipsam sibi causam esse motus, nec extrinsecus incurrere quod illam impellat, sed intra ipsam¹ et ex ipsa: quasdam enim partes eius decidere, quas aut umor resolverit aut ignis exederit aut spiritus violentia

Winds (D26)

D26 (A19) Ps.-Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On Humors*

Anaximenes supposes that the winds are produced out of water and air, and move violently with an unknown rush, and fly with great speed like birds.

Earthquakes (D27–D29)

D27 (A21) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

Anaximenes says that when the earth is moistened and dries out, it breaks apart and is shaken by the collapse of its supports by the effect of this breaking. And that is why earthquakes occur both when there is a drought and also in periods of rainstorms. For when there is a drought, as has been said, it is dried out and breaks apart, and when it is moistened too much by the rains it collapses.

D28 (> A21) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

[1] Anaximenes says that the earth itself is the cause of earthquakes and that nothing happens to it from outside that would shake it, but rather [scil. the cause] is located in itself and comes from itself: for some of its parts, which either water has dissolved, or fire has consumed, or a strong wind has shaken, collapse. But when these factors

¹ sibi . . . ipsam om. Δ

excusserit. sed his quoque cessantibus non deesse, propter quod aliquid abscedat² aut³ revellatur;⁴ nam primum omnia vetustate labuntur nec quicquam tutum a senectute est; haec solida quoque et magni roboris⁵ carpit: [2] itaque quemadmodum in aedificiis veteribus quaedam non percussa tamen decidunt, cum plus ponderis habuere quam virium, ita in hoc universo terrae corpore evenit ut partes eius vetustate solvantur, solutae cadant et tremorem superioribus afferant, primum, dum abscedunt (nihil enim utique magnum sine motu eius, cui haesit, absceditur⁶); deinde, cum deciderunt, solido exceptae resiliunt pilae more (quae cum cecidit, exultat ac saepius pellitur, totiens a solo in novum impetum missa); si vero in stagnantibus aquis delatae⁷ sunt, hic ipse casus vicina concutit fluctu, quem subitum vastumque illis ex alto pondus eiecit.

² accedat δ ³ ac ρΖ ⁴ relevetur δ ⁵ corporis δ

⁶ absconditur BT: abscond. O: absorb. P ⁷ delatae
Gertz: delata AΦ; demissa g²ρ: delapsa B

D29 (< 12 A28) Amm. Marc. 17.7.12

Anaximenes¹ ait arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus² aer violentus et nimius, ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam cieri propriis sedibus. qua de

¹ Anaximenes *ed. Accursii*: Anaximander *mss.* ² supernus
EAG: supernos V: super nos B

too are lacking, there is always some reason for something to be detached or torn away. For first of all, all things decay as they age and nothing is free from old age; this weakens even solid things and ones of considerable sturdiness. [2] And so, just as in old buildings some things fall down even without having been struck hard, since they have more weight than strength, so too in the whole body of the earth it happens that parts of it are dissolved by age, and when they are dissolved they fall down and shake what is above them—first, at the moment they are detached (for nothing, whatever its size, is detached without causing a jolt to what it is attached to); then, at the moment they fall, for when they hit something solid they rebound like a ball (which, when it falls, bounces up and springs many times, as many as it rebounds from the ground at every bounce): but if they fall into stagnant waters, this fall itself shakes the nearby areas by causing a sudden, huge wave, which is produced by the weight crashing down into them from above.¹

¹ It is difficult to distinguish Seneca's elaboration from what belongs to Anaximenes.

D29 (< 12 A28) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Histories*

Anaximenes says that when the earth is dried out by an excessive drought caused by heat or after it has been drenched by rainstorms, very large cracks open up, which a violent and excessive current of air penetrates from above, and that when it is shaken by the forceful wind passing through these it quakes in its very foundations.

causa tremores³ huiusmodi vaporatis temporibus aut
nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione contingunt.

³ tremores *Lind. in adn. Btl.*: terrores *mss.*

The Soul (D30–D31)

D30 (cf. A23) Aët. 4.3.2 (Stob.) [περὶ ψυχῆς]

Ἀναξίμενης [. . .] ἀερώδη.

D31 (< B2) Aët. 1.3.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

Ἀναξίμενης [. . .] ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀέρα ἀπεφήνατο.
ἐκ γὰρ τούτου τὰ¹ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν
πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι, “οἷον ἢ ψυχῆ,” φησὶν, “ἢ ἡμετέρα
ἀἴρ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον
πνεῦμα καὶ ἀἴρ περιέχει.” λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀἴρ
καὶ πνεῦμα [. . . = R5].

¹ τὰ del. Diels

This is why tremors of this sort happen in warm seasons
or when there is excessive precipitation of water falling
from the sky.

The Soul (D30–D31)

D30 (cf. A23) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .]: [scil. the soul is] of air.

D31 (< B2) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .] asserted that the principle of beings is
air. For it is out of this that all things come about and it is
into this that they are dissolved in turn. He says, “Just as
our soul, which is air, dominates us, so too breath and air
surround the whole world.”¹ (‘Air’ and ‘breath’ are being
used synonymously) [. . .].

¹ Diels considers this sentence to be a direct quotation from
Anaximenes, but it is more likely to be a paraphrase reflecting
later terminology.

ANAXIMENES [13 DK]

R

Ancient Treatises on Anaximenes (R1)

R1 Diog. Laert.

a (As 7 Wöhrlé) 5.42 (Theophr.)

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξιμένους α'

b (As 14 Wöhrlé) 10.28 (Epicur.)

Ἀναξιμένης

Style (R2)

R2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.3

κέχρηταί τε λέξει¹ Ἰάδι ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀπερίττω.

¹ λέξει B et P¹ in marg.: γλώσση P¹ in textu

ANAXIMENES

R

Ancient Treatises on Anaximenes (R1)

R1 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

a From the catalog of books written by Theophrastus
On the Doctrines of Anaximenes, one book

b From the catalog of books written by Epicurus
Anaximenes

Style (R2)

R2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He makes use of an Ionic style that is simple and plain.

*A Probable Criticism in Plato (R3)***R3** (As 1 Wöhrl) Plat. *Tim.* 49b-d

πρώτον μὲν, ὃ δὴ νῦν ὕδωρ ὠνομάκαμεν, πηγνύμενον ὡς δοκοῦμεν λίθους καὶ γῆν γιγνόμενον ὁρώμεν, τηκόμενον δὲ καὶ διακρινόμενον αὐτὸ ταῦτόν τοῦτο πνεῦμα καὶ ἀέρα, συγκαυθέντα δὲ ἀέρα πῦρ, ἀνάπαλιν δὲ συγκριθέν καὶ κατασβεσθέν εἰς ἰδέαν τε ἀπὸν αὐθις ἀέρος πῦρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀέρα συνιόντα καὶ πυκνούμενον νέφος καὶ ὁμίχλην, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐτι μᾶλλον συμπιλουμένων ῥέον ὕδωρ, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ γῆν καὶ λίθους αὐθις, κύκλον τε οὕτω διαδιδόντα εἰς ἄλληλα, ὡς φαίνεται, τὴν γένεσιν. οὕτω δὴ τούτων οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστων φανταζομένων, ποῖον αὐτῶν ὡς ὄν ὅτι οὖν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο παγίως δισχυριζόμενος οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖται τις ἑαυτόν;

*Two Peripatetic Criticisms (R4–R5)***R4** (< B1) Plut. *Prim. frig.* 7 948A

[. . .] ἢ, καθάπερ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ παλαιὸς ᾤετο, μήτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐν οὐσίᾳ μήτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπολείπουμεν, ἀλλὰ πάθη κοινὰ τῆς ὕλης ἐπιγινόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς. [. . . = D8] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀγνόημα ποιεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀνευμένου γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπνέσθαι τὸ θερμὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δὲ συστρέψαντες τὰ χεῖλη φυσῆσωμεν, οὐ τὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν

*A Probable Criticism in Plato (R3)***R3** (≠ DK) Plato, *Timaeus*

First, we see that what we now call water, when it solidifies, becomes, as we think, stones and earth, but then again the same thing, when it liquefies and becomes dissolved, [scil. becomes] wind and air, and when air is strongly heated [scil. it becomes] fire, and conversely when fire is brought together and extinguished it returns once again into the form of air, and again air, coming together and condensing, [scil. becomes] cloud and mist, and that out of these, when they are compressed together even more, water flows, and out of water earth and stones once again, and that in a circle they pass on generation to one another in this way, as it appears [cf. D1, D3[3]]. But since none of these things ever manifests itself as being the same, which of them is there about which one could claim with confidence and without embarrassment that it really is this and not something else?

*Two Peripatetic Criticisms (R4–R5)***R4** (< B1) Plutarch, *On the Principle of Cold*

[. . .] or else, as ancient Anaximenes thought, let us accept neither cold nor heat as substance, but consider them to be common affections of matter supervening during its transformations. Aristotle attributes this [cf. D8] to ignorance on the part of that man. For when the mouth is distended, we breathe out the heat that comes from ourselves, but when we draw our lips together and blow out,

ἀέρα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ὠθείσθαι ψυχρὸν ὄντα
καὶ προσπίπτειν.¹

¹ προσπίπτειν gX (et BE teste Wytttenbach): προσεμπίπτειν
O

R5 (< B2) Aët. 1.3.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

[. . . = **D31**] ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐξ ἀπλοῦ καὶ
μονοειδοῦς ἀέρος καὶ πνεύματος δοκῶν συνεστάναι τὰ
ζῶα ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀρχὴν μίαν τὴν ὕλην τῶν ὄντων
ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα ὑποστῆναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον
χρὴ ὑποτιθέναι· οἶον ἄργυρος οὐκ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔκ-
πωμα γενέσθαι, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸ ποιῶν ᾗ, τουτέστιν ὁ
ἀργυροκόπος· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοῦ
ξύλου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὕλης.

A Stoicizing Scholastic Interpretation (R6)

R6 (< A10) Aët. 1.7.13 (Stob.) [τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός]

[. . . = **D5**] δεῖ δ' ὑπακούειν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτως λεγομένων
τὰς ἐνδικούσας¹ τοῖς στοιχείοις ἢ τοῖς σώμασι δυ-
νάμεις.

¹ ἐνδικούσας P; ἐνδιοικούσας F

then it is not the air that comes from us but cold air in
front of the mouth that is pushed and ejected.

R5 (< B2) Aëtius

[. . .] he too [scil. like Anaximander, **ANAXIMAND. R13**]
is mistaken in thinking that animals are composed out of
simple and uniform air and breath. For it is impossible to
posit the matter of the beings from which all things come
as the sole principle: it is also necessary to posit the effi-
cient cause—for example, the silver is not enough for the
cup to come about, if there is not what makes it, that is the
silversmith; and so too for bronze, wood, and all other
kinds of matter.

A Stoicizing Scholastic Interpretation (R6)

R6 (< A10) Aëtius

[. . .] With regard to what is said in this way [scil. that air
is god], one must understand the powers that traverse the
elements or the bodies.

*An Epicurean Criticism (R7)***R7** (< A10) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.26

[. . . = **D6**] quasi aut aer sine ulla forma deus esse possit, cum praesertim deum non modo aliqua, sed pulcherrima specie deceat esse, aut non omne quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur.

*Discoveries Attributed to Anaximenes (R8–R9)***R8** (< A14a) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 2.187

umbrarum hanc rationem et quam vocant gnomonicen invenit Anaximenes Milesius [. . .] primusque horologium quod appellant sciothericon Lacedaemone ostendit.

R9 (< A16) Theon Sm. *Exp.* 3.10, pp. 198.19–99.2

Εὐδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις [Frag. 145 Wehrli] [. . .] Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὅτι ἡ σελήνη ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς καὶ τίνα ἐκλείπει τρόπον.

*An Epicurean Criticism (R7)***R7** (< A10) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

[. . .] as though air without any form could be a god—whereas it is fitting especially for a god to have not just some appearance, but the most beautiful appearance possible; or as though everything that comes into being were not subject to mortality.

*Discoveries Attributed to Anaximenes (R8–R9)***R8** (< A14a) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximenes of Miletus [. . .] discovered this calculation of shadows, which they call “gnomic,” and he was the first to exhibit in Sparta the clock they call *skiotherikon*.¹

¹ Probable confusion with Anaximander, cf. **ANAXIMAND.** **R14.** The *skiotherikon* is a kind of sundial.

R9 (< A16) Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato*

Eudemus reports in his *Astronomy* [. . .]: Anaximenes [scil. was the first to discover] that the moon gets its light from the sun and in what way it is eclipsed.¹

¹ Probable confusion with Parmenides, cf. **PARM.** **D27–D29.**

A Fictional Scene from a Fragmentary
Greek Novel: The Philosopher at the
Court of Polycrates (R10)

R10 (As 18 Wöhrle) P. Berol. 7927, 9588, 21179 Col. 1.24–33; Col. 2.34–36, 53–57, 62–68 (Stephens-Winkler, pp. 82–89)

[1.24] . . . πάντων δὲ τῶ[ν] ε[.] | θαν[υ]μασάντων τὸ
εὐθαρσῆς καὶ | τῶν] λόγων ὁ Πολυκράτης ὑπερ |]ν,”
ἔφη, “τέκνον, πότου καιρὸς |]χειν χρῆ | τὰ λυποῦντα
μεθῆ |]ντωνομεια σχολάζομεν | [30] [] . ων εἰς τὸν
Ἀναξιμένην οἱ |] . . . σ ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “σήμερον αἱ]τ[ο]υ
παιδὸς ἤκοντος ενω]μαντεύομαι μουσαν, προτι[2.34]
[θεῖς τ]ῆν φ[ιλ]οσόφου ζήτησιν κατὰ τύχην τ[. . .].”¹
[35] [καὶ ἑταράχθ]ησαν οἱ δύο τὰς ψυχὰς λα-
β[όν]||τες.]ου πάθους ἀνάμνησιν ἔφο[. . .]
|. . .]

[2.53] [εἴη] δ' ἂν κάκεινο παντελῶς ἀπίθαρο[ν, εἰ] |
[βρέφ]ος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἔρως, περιουστειν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ἕ[λη]ν
τῆν | [55] [οἴκου]μένην, τοξεύει μὲν τῶν ὑπαντώντων,
οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλη, καὶ πυρρο[λ]εῖν | [ᾧστ' ἔ]ν μὲν
ταῖς τῶν ἐρώτων ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνε[σθαι]]ερὸν πνεῦμά
τι οἶον θε[ο]φρο. . .

[2.62] ἔβου-|. . .]ν λόγον περαίνειν καὶ ὁ [Ἄ]ν[α]-
ξιμένης δι[ε]λέγ[ε]το πρὸς τὴν Παρθενόπην ἀντιλαβέ-
σθαι | [65] [τῆς] ζήτησεως κάκεινη | δι[ὲ]ρ γῆς
ἔχουσα τὸν Μητίοχον διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογήσαι μήπω
οὐδὲμᾶς ἐρασιθῆναι (καὶ εὖξατο μηδὲ μέλλειν)
“” ἔφη, [. . .]

A Fictional Scene from a Fragmentary
Greek Novel: The Philosopher at the
Court of Polycrates (R10)

R10 (≠ DK) *Metiochus and Parthenope*¹

While all of the . . . marveled at the courage and . . . of the words, Polycrates . . . said, “Child, it is time to drink . . . inebriation must . . . what causes grief . . . we are at leisure . . .” . . . [scil. looking?] at Anaximenes . . . for us,” he said, “today . . . since the boy has arrived . . . I predict a . . . Muse, as I have proposed . . . the philosopher’s inquiry by chance . . .” [And] the two [scil. were thrown into a turmoil?] in their souls when they heard . . . the recollection of suffering.

[scil. Metiochus said.] “[. . .] And that too would be entirely implausible, if Eros is a child, that he wanders about the whole inhabited world, shoots arrows at whom-ever he wishes among the people he encounters, and sets them ablaze, so that in the lovers’ souls some kind of holy breath (*hieron pneuma ti*) is produced, as it is in people who are inspired (?). [. . .]”

. . . He wanted to finish his speech, but Anaximenes told Parthenope to take part in her turn in the inquiry. And she, being angry with Metiochus because he refused to admit that he had ever loved any woman (and he prayed that he never would), said . . .

¹ This anonymous novel, which may date to the first century BC, illustrates the cultural role of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. Metiochus is the son of Polycrates and Hegesipyle. The poet Ibycus is present too.

*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Anaximenes and Pythagoras (R11)***R11** Diog. Laert.**a** (As 73 Wöhrle) 2.4

Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου¹ ἐπὶ γῆρας οὐκ εὐποτμος οἴχεται εὐφρόνης, ὥσπερ ἑώθει,² ἅμα τῇ ἀμφιπόλῳ προΐαν ἐκ τοῦ αὐλίου τὰ ἄστρα ἐθηεῖτο· καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐς μνήμην ἔθετο) θηεόμενος ἐς τὸ κρημνώδες ἐκβὰς καταπίπτει. Μιλησίοισι μὲν νυν³ ὁ αἰθερολόγος ἐν τοιῷδε κείται τέλει. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ λεοχηνώται αὐτοὶ τε μεμνώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἳ τε ἡμέων παῖδες τε καὶ λεοχηνώται, ἐπιδεξιόμεθα⁴ δ' ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις. ἀρχὴ μέντοι παντὸς τοῦ λόγου Θαλῆ ἀνακείσθω.

¹ ἐκ καλοῦ mss., corr. M. Gudius ap. Menagium² ἔωθεν mss., corr. Cobet ³ νύν mss., corr. Casaubon⁴ ἐπιδεξιόμεθα prop. dub. Von der Mühl**b** (As 74 Wöhrle) 2.5

εὐβουλότατος ἦς ἡμέων, μεταναστὰς ἐκ Σάμου ἐς Κρότωνα, ἐνθάδε εἰρηνέεις. οἳ δὲ Αἰακέος παῖδες ἄλαστα¹ κακὰ ἔρδουσι καὶ Μιλησίοις οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσι αἰσυμνήται. δεινὸς δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἦν γε ἐθέλωμεν δασμοφορέειν· ἀλλὰ μέλλουσι δὴ ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπάντων Ἴωνες Μήδοις κατ-

¹ ἄλαστα Porson: ἄλλοις τὰ mss.*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Anaximenes and Pythagoras (R11)***R11** (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius**a** [Anaximenes to Pythagoras:]

Thales, the son of Examyas, in his old age was not fortunate in his passing. At night, as was his custom, he went forth from the courtyard with his serving-maid to observe the stars. And forgetting where he was, he came to a cliff while he was observing and fell over. This is how the Milesians lost their student of the heavens [cf. **THAL. P12**]. But let us, his pupils, cherish this man's memory, and so too our children and our pupils; and let us continue to enjoy (?) his discourses. May the starting point of our every discourse be dedicated to Thales.

b [Anaximenes to Pythagoras:]

You were the best advised of us all: for now that you have moved away from Samos to Croton, you live in peace there. Aeaces' sons [i.e. the tyrant Polycrates and his brothers] commit dreadful evils, and tyrants continue to rule the Milesians. The king of the Medes too is terrifying for us, unless indeed we are willing to pay him tribute. But the Ionians are about to start a war against the Medes for

ίστασθαι ἐς πόλεμον· καταστάσι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐλπὶς ἡμῖν σωτηρίας. κὼς ἂν οὖν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν θυμῷ ἔτι ἔχοι αἰθερολογεῖν, ἐν δείματι ἐὼν ὀλέθρου ἢ δουλοσύνης; σὺ δὲ εἰ καταθύμιος μὲν Κροτωνιῆτησι, καταθύμιος δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰταλιώτησι· φοιτέουσι δὲ τοι λεσχηνώται καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης.

c (As 77 Wöhrlé) 8.49–50

καὶ σύ, ὦ λῶστέ, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἦς Πυθαγόρῳ γενεῆν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστὰς ἂν οἶχεο ἐκ Μιλήτου· νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σε ἡ πατρόθεν εὐκλεία, καὶ ἐμέ γε¹ ἂν κατείρκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἐοικότα. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ ὀνήστοι τὰς πόλιας ἐκλείμετε, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτέων ὁ κόσμος αἰρεθήσεται, ἐπὶ δὲ κινδυνότερα αὐτῆσι τὰ ἐκ Μήδων. [50] οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερολογίη² μελεδωνόν τε εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα περὶ τοὺς ἔμεωντοῦ μύθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὓς διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιώται.

¹ τε mss., corr. Von der Mühl ² αἰθερολογίη PF: -γεῖν
B

Anaximenes Among the Christians (R12–R13)

R12 (As 59 Wöhrlé) Min. Fel. Octav. 19.5

Anaximenes deinceps et post Apolloniatas Diogenes aera deum statuunt infinitum et immensum; horum quoque similis de divinitate consensio est.

the sake of everyone's freedom.¹ But if this happens, we shall lose any hope of being saved. How then could Anaximenes still think to study the heavens, living as he does in fear of death or slavery? But you find favor with the Crotonians and also the other Greeks in southern Italy [cf. **PYTH. a P24–P26**]; and pupils come to you even from Sicily.

¹ An allusion to the Ionian revolt against Cyrus.

c [Pythagoras to Anaximenes:]

You too, worthy friend, if you had not been superior to Pythagoras in family and fame, would have moved away and left Miletus. But as it is your ancestral renown detains you, as mine would have detained me had I been the equal of Anaximenes. But if you, the best of men, abandon the cities, then their fine order will be destroyed and the Medes' schemes will become more dangerous for them. [50] To study the heavens is not always a fine thing; it is finer to be concerned for your fatherland. I too am not completely occupied by my discourses, but I am also engaged in the wars that the Greeks in Italy fight against one another.

Anaximenes Among the Christians (R12–R13)

R12 (≠ DK) Minucius Felix, *Octavius*

Then Anaximenes and later Diogenes of Apollonia declare that air is an infinite and immense god; the view they too share regarding divinity is similar [scil. to ours].

R13 August.

a (< A10) *Civ. Dei* 8.2

[. . .] non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos creditit.

b (< As 101 Wöhrl) *Conf.* 10.6

et quid est hoc? interrogavi terram, et dixit: "non sum"; et quaecumque in eadem sunt, idem confessa sunt. interrogavi mare et abyssos et reptilia animarum vivarum, et responderunt: "non sumus deus tuus; quaere super nos." interrogavi auras flabiles, et inquit universus aer cum incolis suis: "fallitur Anaximenes: non sum deus."

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R14)

R14 (B3) Ps.-Olymp. *Ars sacra* 25

μίαν δὲ κινουμένην ἄπειρον ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ὄντων δοξάζει Ἀναξίμενης τὸν ἀέρα. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως: "ἐγγύς ἐστιν ὁ ἀήρ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου· καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἔκροισιν τούτου γινόμεθα, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν καὶ ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ πλούσιον διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκλείπειν."

R13 Augustine

a (< A10) *City of God*

[. . .] however he believed not that air was made by them [i.e. the gods] but that they came to be out of air.

b (≠ DK) *Confessions*

And what is this [i.e. God]? I asked the earth, and it said, "I am not He"; and all the things that are in it admitted the same thing. I asked the sea and the abysses and, among the animate creatures, the ones that walk the earth; and they replied, "We are not your God; seek above us." I asked the blowing winds, and the whole air together with its inhabitants said, "Anaximenes is mistaken: I am not God."

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R14)

R14 (B3) Ps.-Olympiodorus, *On the Sacred Art*

Anaximenes is of the opinion that air is the one principle, moved and unlimited, of all beings. For he speaks as follows: "Air is near to the incorporeal. And since we are born from an outflow of this, it is necessary that it be infinite and rich, because it never fails."¹

¹ This citation is inauthentic.

*Anaximenes in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R15)*

R15 (As 232 Wöhrle) *Turba Phil.* Sermo II, p. 45.1–9
Plessner

ait Exumdrus: magnifico aera et honorifico—ut Eximedri
roborem sermonem¹—eo quod per ipsum opus emenda-
tur; et spissatur et rarescit et calefit et frigescit. eius autem
spissitudo fit, quando disiungitur propter solis elongati-
onem; eius vero raritas fit, quando in coelo² exaltato sole
calescit aer et rarescit. similiter vero fit in veris complex-
ione,³ in temporis nec calidi nec frigidi distinctione. nam
secundum alterationem dispositionis constitutae ad dis-
tinctiones anni alterandas hyems alteratur. aer igitur
spissatur, cum ab eo sol elongatur, et tunc hominibus
frigus pervenit; aere vero rarescente prope fit sol, quo
propinquo et aere rarescente calor pervenit hominibus.

¹ ut . . . sermonem secl. *Ruska* ² in coelo *solus M, om.*
cett. ³ complexione *BM: compilatione E: copulatione N*

*Anaximenes in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R15)*

R15 (≠ DK) *The Assembly of Philosophers*

Exumdrus [i.e. Anaximenes¹] said: "I exalt the air and honor it—so that I might corroborate Eximedrus' [i.e. Anaximander's] discourse—because by its means the work [scil. of alchemy] is rectified, and it becomes dense and rarefied, and hot and cold. Its condensation comes about when it is separated [scil. from the sun] because of the increase in the distance of the sun; but its rarefaction comes about when because of the height of the sun in the sky the air becomes warm and rarefied. But it becomes homogeneous in the mixture of the spring, in the season of the year that is neither hot nor cold. For according to the alteration of the arrangement that is constituted for altering the seasons of the year, the winter is altered. Thus the air becomes condensed when the distance of the sun from it is increased, and at that time coldness reaches humans; but when the air becomes rarefied the sun comes near, and when it is near and the air becomes rarefied warmth reaches humans."

¹ Identified as Anaximenes by Plessner, as Anaximander by *Ruska*.