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EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

VOLUME III

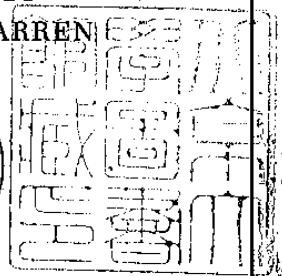
EARLY IONIAN THINKERS

PART 2

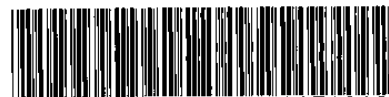
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HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2016



北大图书 21101003970912

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First published 2016

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Library of Congress Control Number 2015957358
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-0-674-99691-5

*Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed on acid-free paper and bound by
The Maple-Vail Book Manufacturing Group*

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EARLY IONIAN THINKERS
PART 2

8. XENOPHANES [XEN.]

Xenophanes was born in Colophon, a Greek city of Ionia, between 570 and 560 BC, according to the most plausible chronology; he himself states that he lived until a very advanced age (**P1, D61**). A rhapsode by profession, he employs various poetic forms (dactylic hexameter, elegiac couplet, perhaps iambic trimeter), and he discusses a variety of subjects (customs, morality, theology, natural phenomena, human understanding), often in a free and polemical tone. This makes him difficult to classify as an author (his fragments also form part of the corpus of Greek elegiac poets). Aristotle's negative judgment of him (**R12**) certainly had lasting repercussions upon the reception of his thought: if it is true that he was legitimated philosophically by a construction that turned him into Parmenides' teacher and the ancestor of the Eleatic line of descent (**R1-R3**), the presentation of his doctrine also suffered from a massive Eleatization, which, even if it was prompted by Xenophanes' view of divinity as one, nonetheless greatly distorted it (**R5-R11**). His spirit was an enlightened one, and his lasting influence can be perceived for example in the critique of traditional theology in Book 2 of Plato's *Republic*.

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XENOPHANES [21 DK]

P

Family, City, Chronology (P1–P7)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.18–20

[18] Ξενοφάνης Δεξίου ἧ, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος [FGrHist 244 F68a], Ὀρθομένους, Κολοφώνιος [. . .]. οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας¹ διέτριβε² καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ. [. . .] καί, ὡς Σωπίων φησί [Frag. 28 Wehrli], κατ' Ἀναξίμανδρον³ ἦν. [. . .] μακροβιώτατός τε γέγονεν, ὡς πού καὶ αὐτός φησιν [19] [. . . = D66]. [. . .] [20] καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξήκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα.

¹ post Σικελίας lac. ind. Diels <διέτριβε καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἑλέαν ἀποικίας κοινωνήσας ἐδίδασκειν ἐκεῖ> ² δὲ post διέτριβε habent BP¹: om. F, del. P⁴ ³ Ἀναξιμένην Croenert

P2 (< A6) Ps.-Luc. Long. 20

Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Δεξίου μὲν υἱὸς [. . .] ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ἐν καὶ ἐνενηκόντα.

XENOPHANES

P

Family, City, Chronology (P1–P7)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[18] Xenophanes, from Colophon, son of Dexius or, as Apollodorus says, of Orthomenes [. . .]. After he had been exiled from his fatherland, he spent time in Zancle in Sicily and in Catania.¹ [. . .] And, as Sotion says, he lived at the time of Anaximander. [. . .] and he lived to a very great age, as he himself says somewhere: [19] [. . . = D66]. [. . .] [20] and he reached full maturity in the 60th Olympiad [540/36].

¹ Diels completes this possibly lacunose sentence as follows: “After he had been exiled from his fatherland, he spent time in Zancle in Sicily, <and having participated in the colony sent to Elea, he taught there;> and he spent time in Catania too.”

P2 (< A6) Ps.-Lucian, *Long-lived Men*

Xenophanes, the son of Dexinus [. . .] lived for ninety-one years.

P3 (A7) Cens. *Die nat.* 15.3

[. . .] Xenophanes Colophonius maior annorum centum fuit.

P4 (< A8) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.64.2

[. . . = **R3**] Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος [. . .], ὃν φησι Τίμαιος [FGrHist 566 F92] κατὰ Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι, Ἀπολλόδωρος [FGrHist 244 F68c] δὲ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστῆν¹ Ὀλυμπιάδα γενόμενον παρατετακέναι ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε καὶ Κύρου χρόνων.

¹ πεντηκοστῆν Ritter, cf. Diog. Laert. 9.20, sed τεσσ. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 1.257

P5 (cf. A9) Eus. *Chron.* (Hier., Cyr.)

a Hier. *Chron.* 103b2

[ad Ol. 56]¹ Xenofanes Colofonius clarus habetur.

¹ Ol. 56 *OM*: Ol. 56.2 *AL*: Ol. 57.2 *B*

b Hier. *Chron.* 103b23

[ad Ol. 60]¹ Simonides lyricus et Phocylides clari habentur et Xenophanes physicus [. . .].

¹ Ol. 59.4 *Mac. PM*: Ol. 60.1 *N*: Ol. 60.2 *OL*: Ol. 61.3 *B*

P3 (A7) Censorinus, *The Birthday*

Xenophanes of Colophon lived more than one hundred years.

P4 (< A8) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[. . .] Xenophanes of Colophon [. . .], who, Timaeus says, lived at the time of Hieron, the ruler of Sicily, and of Epicharmus the poet; but Apollodorus [scil. says] that he was born during the 40th Olympiad (620/16) and that his life lasted until the times of Darius and Cyrus.

P5 (cf. A9) Eusebius, *Chronicle*

a

(Jerome) 56th Olympiad [= 556/52]: Xenophanes of Colophon is considered well known.

b

(Jerome) 60th Olympiad [= 540/36]: Simonides the lyric poet and Phocylides are considered well known and Xenophanes the natural philosopher [. . .].

c Cyril. Alex. *Jul.* 1.15

πεινηκοστῇ ἐνάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Ἴβυκὸς ὁ μελοποιὸς
καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ ἱστοριογράφος καὶ Φωκλίδης καὶ
Ξενοφάνης [. . .] γεγόνασι.

P6 (A10, 14.8) Ps.-Iamb. *Theol.*, p. 52.18–22

φ' γὰρ καὶ ἰδ' ἔτη ἔγγιστα ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἱστο-
ρεῖται μέχρι Ξενοφάνους τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀνα-
κρέοντός τε καὶ Πολυκράτους χρόνων καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ
Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου Ἴώνων πολιορκίας καὶ ἀναστά-
σεως, ἣν Φωκεῖς φυγόντες Μασσαλίαν ᾤκησαν [. . .
cf. PΥTH. a P5].

P7 (< A33) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.14.1

Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος Ὀρθομένους υἱός. οὗτος
ἕως Κύρου διέμεινεν [. . . = R20].

Teachers (P8–P9)

P8 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.18

διήκουσε δὲ κατ' ἐπίους μὲν οὐδενός, κατ' ἐπίους δὲ
Βότωνα Ἀθηναίου ἢ, ὡς τινες, Ἀρχελάου.

c

(Cyril) 59th Olympiad [= 544/40]: Ibycus the lyric poet,
Pherecydes the historian, Phocylides, Xenophanes [. . .]
were alive.

P6 (A10, 14.8) Ps.-Iamblichus, *The Theology of Arith-
metic*

For nearly 514 years are recorded from the Trojan War
until Xenophanes the natural philosopher, the times of
Anacreon and Polycrates, and the siege and removal of the
Ionians by Harpagus the Mede; the Phocians who fled this
founded Marseille [. . .].¹

¹ A very rough synchronism that refers globally to the first half
of the sixth century BC and seems to be based on a date for the
fall of Troy that differs from Eratosthenes' (1184 BC).

P7 (< A33) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

Xenophanes of Colophon, son of Orthomenes. He lived
until the time of Cyrus [. . .].

Teachers (P8–P9)

P8 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

According to several authors he did not study with anyone,
according to several ones with Boton of Athens or, accord-
ing to some, with Archelaus.¹

¹ Boton is otherwise unknown, and Archelaus is chronologi-
cally impossible.

P9 (< A2) Diog. Laert. 9.21

[. . . = **P11**] τούτον Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτομῇ [Frag. 227D FHS&G] Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν ἀκούσαι.

Xenophanes in Western Greece (P10–P14)

Xenophanes and Parmenides (P10–P11)

P10 (< A30) Arist. *Metaph.* A5 986b22

[. . . = **R2**] ὁ γὰρ Παρμενίδης τούτου λέγεται μαθητής [. . .].

P11 (< A2) Diog. Laert. 9.21

Ξενοφάνους δὲ διήκουσε Παρμενίδης Πύρητος Ἐλεάτης [. . . = **P9**].

Xenophanes and Empedocles (P12)

P12 (A5) Diog. Laert. 8.56

Ἑρμιππος δὲ [Frag. 26 Wehrli] οὐ Παρμενίδου, Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτήν, ᾧ καὶ συνδιατρῆσαι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἐποποιίαν.

P9 (< A2) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Theophrastus says of him in his *Epitome* that he studied with Anaximander [cf. **PARM. P6a**].

Xenophanes in Western Greece (P10–P14)

Xenophanes and Parmenides (P10–P11)

P10 (< A30) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] for Parmenides is said to have been his pupil [. . .].

P11 (< A2) Diogenes Laertius

Parmenides, son of Pyres, from Elea, studied with Xenophanes [. . .].

Xenophanes and Empedocles (P12)

P12 (A5) Diogenes Laertius

Hermippus [scil. says] that he [i.e. Empedocles] was a follower not of Parmenides but of Xenophanes, with whom he also spent some time¹ and whose epic verse he imitated [. . .] [cf. **EMP. P14**].

¹ If we suppose that Xenophanes died ca. 460 BC at about one hundred years of age and that Empedocles was born ca. 484, this claim is not completely impossible chronologically, but it does remain very unlikely.

*Xenophanes and Hieron (P13)***P13** (A11) Plut. *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 4 175C

πρὸς δὲ Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπόντα μόλις οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν “ἀλλ’ Ὀμηρος,” εἶπεν, “ὄν σὺ διασύρεις, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τεθνηκώς.”

*Sold as a Slave? (P14)***P14** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.20

δοκεῖ δὲ πεπρᾶσθαι ὑπὸ < . . . καὶ λελύσθαι ὑπὸ >¹ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ὀρεστάδου, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτῳ [Frag. 46 Amato].

¹ < . . . καὶ λελύσθαι ὑπὸ > Diels, alii aliter.

*Character (P15)***P15** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.20

φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρωσ [Frag. 83 Wehrli] καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας [Frag. 45 van Straaten] ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτῶν, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν.

*Xenophanes and Hieron (P13)***P13** (A11) Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*

To Xenophanes of Colophon, who said he could scarcely maintain two household slaves, he [i.e. Hieron] said, “But Homer, on whom you heap scorn, maintains more than ten thousand, dead though he is.”

*Sold as a Slave? (P14)***P14** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He is thought to have been sold into slavery by < . . . and ransomed by > the Pythagoreans Parmeniscus and Orestades, according to what Favorinus says in Book 1 of his *Memoirs*.¹

¹ A similar story is reported of Plato (cf. Diogenes Laertius 3.19–20).

See also **P1, P17, P22, R2–R4***Character (P15)***P15** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Demetrius of Phalerum in his *On Old Age*, and Panaetius the Stoic in his *On Cheerfulness*, say that he buried his sons with his own hands, just like Anaxagoras [cf. **ANAXAG. P38–P40**].

*Apothegms (P16–P22)***P16** (< A12) Arist. *Rhet.* 2.23 1399b6–8

[. . .] Ξενοφάνης ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦσιν οἱ γενέσθαι φάσκοντες τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν· ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ συμβαίνει μὴ εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ποτε.

P17 (< A13) Arist. *Rhet.* 2.23 1400b5–8

[. . .] Ξενοφάνης Ἐλεάταις ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ θύωσι τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ θρηνώσιν ἢ μή, συνεβούλευεν, εἰ μὲν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπον, μὴ θύειν.

P18 (A14) Arist. *Rhet.* 1.15 1377a19–21

καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ξενοφάνους ἀρμόττει, ὅτι οὐκ ἴση πρόκλησις αὐτῇ ἀσεβεῖ πρὸς εὖσεβῆ, ἀλλ' ὁμοία καὶ εἰ ἰσχυρὸς ἀσθενῆ πατάξει ἢ πληγῆναι προκαλέσαιοτο.

P19 (A16) Plut. *Vit. pud.* 5 530E–F

μὴ δυσωπηθῆς μηδὲ δέισης σκωπτόμενος· ἀλλ'

*Apothegms (P16–P22)***P16** (< A12) Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

[. . .] Xenophanes used to say that those who say the gods are born are just as impious as those who say they die,¹ for in both cases the result is that there is a certain time when the gods do not exist.

¹ The apothegm is inspired by Xenophanes' theology, especially his criticism of the Homeric gods; cf. **D7–D14**.

P17 (< A13) Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

[. . .] when the Eleans asked Xenophanes whether they should sacrifice to Leucothea and mourn her or not, he advised them that if they thought she was a goddess they should not mourn her, and if they thought she was human they should not sacrifice to her.¹

¹ Plutarch records a version of this saying three times, each time substituting the Egyptians for the Eleans and Egyptian divinities for Leucothea: *Amat.* 18.12 763D; *Is. et Os.* 70 379B; *Superstit.* 13 171E; see also Ps.-Plutarch *Apophth. Lac.* 26 228E.

P18 (A14) Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

And the saying of Xenophanes is fitting, that it is unfair for an impious man to challenge a pious man to an oath, for it is just like a strong man challenging a weak one to hit him or be hit.

P19 (A16) Plutarch, *On Being Ashamed*

Do not be discountenanced or frightened when you are

ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμοονέως μὴ βουλό-
μενον αὐτῷ συγκυβεῖν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος ὁμολό-
γει¹ καὶ πάνν δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἄτολ-
μος.

¹ ὁμολόγει mss., corr. Matthaei

P20 (A17) Plut. *Comm. not.* 46 1084E

ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφάνης διηγουμένου τινὸς ἐγγέλεις ἐω-
ρακέναι ἐν ὕδατι θερμῷ ζώσας “οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ἐν
ψυχρῷ αὐτὰς ἐψήσομεν.”

P21 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.19

ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἦσσω νοῦ εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς τυράν-
νοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἢ ὡς ἤκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα.

P22 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.20

Ἐμπεδοκλέους δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀνεύρετός ἐστιν
ὁ σοφός, “εἰκότως,” ἔφη. “σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τὸν
ἐπιγνωσόμενον τὸν σοφόν.”

mocked, but [scil. do] just like Xenophanes when Lasus of
Hermione called him a coward when he refused to play
dice with him: agree that you really are very cowardly and
pusillanimous—with regard to shameful things.

P20 (A17) Plutarch, *On Common Conceptions*

When someone said that he had seen eels living in hot
water, Xenophanes said, “Well then, we shall boil them in
cold water.”

P21 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He said that most things are inferior to mind; and that he
met with tyrants as rarely (*hēkista*) or as agreeably (*hēdistā*)
as possible.

P22 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

When Empedocles said to him that the sage had not been
discovered, he said, “That is just as one would expect: for
the man who will be able to recognize the sage has to be
a sage.”¹

¹ In certain gnomologies, this apothegm is attributed to Em-
pedocles himself.

See also **P13**

XENOPHANES [21 DK]

D

Writings (D1–D6)
Meters and Subjects (D1)

D1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9. 18, 20

[18] γέγραφε δὲ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐπικόπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρραψῶδει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. [. . .] [20] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμὸν ἔπη δισχίλια.

His Satires, Known Under the Title Mockeries
(Silloi) (D2–D5)

D2 (> A20) Strab. 14.1.28

[. . .] καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ φυσικός, ὁ τοὺς Σίλλους ποιήσας διὰ ποιημάτων.

D3 (> A22) Procl. *In Hes. Op.* 286

καὶ τί δεῖ τούτους λέγειν, ὅπου γε καὶ Ξενοφάνης¹ διὰ

¹ Ξενοφάνην Pertusi

XENOPHANES

D

Writings (D1–D6)
Meters and Subjects (D1)

D1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[18] He wrote in dactylic hexameters, elegiac couplets, and iambs against Hesiod and Homer, deriding what they said about the gods. But he himself also performed as a rhapsode his own compositions. [. . .] [20] He also composed poetry on the foundation of Colophon and on the colonization of Elea in Italy, two thousand verses.

His Satires, Known Under the Title Mockeries
(Silloi) (D2–D5)

D2 (A20) Strabo, *Geography*

[. . .] and Xenophanes the natural philosopher, who composed *Mockeries* in verses.

D3 (> A22) Proclus, *Commentary on Hesiod's Works and Days*

And why do we need to speak of these [scil. celebrated polemicists: Archilochus, Hipponax, Timocrates, and Me-

δή τινα πρὸς τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν φιλοσόφους καὶ ποιη-
τὰς μικροψυχίαν Σίλλους ἀτόπους συνθεῖναι² <λέγε-
ται>³ κατὰ πάντων φιλοσόφων καὶ ποιητῶν.

² συνθεῖναι AQR: ἐκθεῖναι ZB ³ <λέγεται> Gaisford

D4 (A23) Schol. ABT ad *Il.* 2.212b

ἤδη δὲ οὐ Ξενοφάνει, ἀλλ' Ὀμήρῳ πρώτῳ Σίλλοι πε-
ποιήνται, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν¹ τε τὸν Θερσίτην σιλλαίνει καὶ
ὁ Θερσίτης τοὺς ἀρίστους.

¹ αὐτός Diels

D5 (A24) Ar. Did. in Stob. 2.1.17

Ξενοφάνους πρώτου λόγος ἦλθεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἄξιος γραφῆς, ἅμα παιδιᾷ τὰς τε τῶν ἄλλων τόλμας
ἐπιπλήττοντος καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ παριστάντος εὐλάβειαν
ὡς ἄρα θεὸς μὲν οἶδε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τέτυκται [D49.4b].

Xenophanes, an Admirer of Thales

See **THAL. R1**

A Traditional Title: On Nature (D6)

D6

a (cf. ad B30) Schol. Genav. ad *Il.* 21.196

Ξενοφάνης ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως [. . . = D46].

trodorus], when Xenophanes <is said> to have composed
absurd *Mockeries* against all the philosophers and poets
because of a certain mean-spiritedness he felt toward con-
temporary philosophers and poets?

D4 (A23) Scholia on Homer's *Iliad*

Mockeries were composed already first of all not by Xeno-
phanes but by Homer; in them he mocks (*sillainet*) Ther-
sites himself and Thersites mocks the best men [cf. *Il.*
2.211–42].

D5 (A24) Arius Didymus in Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Xenophanes was the first author of a discourse worthy of
mention that came to the Greeks playfully rebuking the
audacities of other people and at the same time demon-
strating his own piety, on the idea that god knows the
truth, “**but opinion extends over all men.**”¹

¹ The translation here reflects what seems to be Arius Didy-
mus' understanding of this phrase, which differs from the one we
provide at **D49**.

Xenophanes, an Admirer of Thales

See **THAL. R1**

A Traditional Title: On Nature (D6)

D6

a (cf. ad B30) Geneva Scholia on Homer's *Iliad*

Xenophanes in his *On Nature*: [. . .].

b (< B39) Pollux *Onom.* 6.46

[. . . = **D57**] ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως Ξενοφάνους [. . .].

c (< A36) Stob. 1.10.12

γράφει γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως [. . . = **D27**].

*From Xenophanes' Poem(s) in Dactylic
Hexameters (D7–D59)
The Gods (D7–D21)
Mistaken Beliefs about the Gods. . . (D7–D15)
. . . Propagated by the Ancient Greek Poets
(D7–D11)*

D7 (< A19) Diog. Laert. 2.46

[. . .] ἀποθανόντι δὲ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος [sc.
Ὀμήρω ἐφιλονεῖκει] [. . .].

D8 (B11) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.193

πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὀμηρός θ' Ἡσίοδος τε
ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνειδέα καὶ ψόγος
ἐστίν,
κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.

b (< B39) Pollux, *Onomasticon*

[. . .] in Xenophanes' *On Nature* [. . .].

c (< A36) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

For he writes in his *On Nature*: [. . .].

*From Xenophanes' Poem(s) in Dactylic
Hexameters (D7–D59)¹
The Gods (D7–D21)
Mistaken Beliefs about the Gods. . . (D7–D15)
. . . Propagated by the Ancient Greek Poets
(D7–D11)*

¹ Some of the fragments in this section are only one verse long or take the form of paraphrases; in principle they could come from elegiac poems instead, but they have been placed here because of the affinity of their subject matter.

D7 (< A19) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] and Xenophanes of Colophon [scil. rivaled with Homer] after his death [. . .].

D8 (B11) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Natural Philosophers*

**Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods
all things
That among men are sources of blame and
censure:
Thieving, committing adultery, and deceiving
each other.**

D9 (B12) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 1.289

Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος κατὰ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ξενοφάνη

ὡς πλείστ' ἐφθέγγαντο θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα,
κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.

1 ὅς πλείστα ἐφθέγγετο mss., corr. Fabricius

D10 (B10) Hdn. π. διχρ., p. 16.20

ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ἐπεὶ μεμαθήκασι πάντες

D11 (B13) Aul. Gell. *Noct.* 3.11.2

alii Homerum quam Hesiodum maiorem natu fuisse scripserunt, in quis Philochorus et Xenophanes, alii minorem [. . .].

. . . or Deriving from Self-Projections (D12–D14)

D12 (B14) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.109.1 (et al.)

ἀλλ' οἱ βροτοὶ δοκοῦσι γεννᾶσθαι θεοῦς,
τὴν σφετέρην δ' ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν φωνὴν τε δέμας
τε.

1 incertum utrum v. 1 trimeter iambicus sit an potius hexameter dactylicus mancus: ita Eus. *PE* 13.13.36 (ex Clem.), Theod. *Cur.* 3.72: ἀλλὰ βροτοὶ δοκέουσι θεοῦς γεννᾶσθαι Clem.: ἀλλὰ βρότοι δοκέουσι θεοῦς γεννᾶσθαι <ομοίως> Bergk

D9 (B12) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors*

According to Xenophanes of Colophon, Homer and Hesiod

**Sang of many lawless deeds committed by the gods:
Thieving, committing adultery, and deceiving each other.¹**

¹ The second line is identical with the third line of the preceding fragment and is not mentioned in Sextus' explanation after his quotation here; its presence here may be due to scribal error or an inopportune authorial reminiscence, but it cannot be excluded that the verse was deliberately repeated by Xenophanes.

D10 (B10) Herodian, *On Syllables with Double Value*

Since from the beginning all have learned according to Homer

D11 (B13) Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*

Some have written that Homer was older than Hesiod, among them Philochorus and Xenophanes, others that he was younger [. . .].

. . . or Deriving from Self-Projections (D12–D14)

D12 (B14) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

**But mortals think that gods are born
And have clothing, voice, and bodily frame just like theirs.¹**

¹ The first line is transmitted as an iambic trimeter.

D13 (B16) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.22.1

Αἰθιοπέες τε <θεοὺς σφετέρους> σιμοὺς μέλανάς
 τε
 Θρηῆκές τε γλαυκοὺς καὶ πυρροὺς <φασὶ
 πέλεσθαι>.

1 <θεοὺς σφετέρους> Diels σιμοὺς μέλανας τε Diels:
 μέλανας σιμοὺς τε mss. 2 Θρηῆκές Diels: Θρηῆκες mss.
 γλαυκοὺς καὶ πυρροὺς Diels: πυρροὺς καὶ γλαυκοὺς mss.
 <φασὶ πέλεσθαι> Diels

D14 (B15) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.109.1 (et al.)

ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες <ἵπποι τ' > ἢ ἐλέοντες,
 ἢ γράψαι χεῖρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ
 ἄνδρες,
 ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας
 καὶ <κε> θεῶν ιδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ'
 ἐποίουν
 5 τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ τοὶ δέμας εἶχον ἕκαστοι.

1 εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον Eus. PE 13.13.36 (ex Clem.): εἴ τοι χεῖρας
 εἶχον mss. <ἵπποι τ' > Diels ἢ ἐλέοντες Clem. et
 Theod. Cur. 3.72 KBL: ἢ ἐλέφαντες Theod. MSCV 2 ἢ
 Clem. Eus. Theod.: ὡς Heise 3 ὁμοίας Theod.: ὁμοιοι
 Clem. Eus. 4 <κε> Sylburg 5 ἕκαστοι Herwerden:
 ὁμοίον Clem. Theod.: ὁμοιον Eus.

D13 (B16) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

The Ethiopians <say that their gods are> **snub-**
nosed and dark-skinned,
And the Thracians that they have blue eyes and
red hair.

D14 (B15) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

But if oxen, <horses> or lions had hands
Or could draw with their hands and create
works like men,
Then horses would draw the shapes of gods like
horses, and oxen like oxen,
And they would make the same kinds of bodies
As each one possessed its own bodily frame.

*Belief in Divination Is Mistaken (D15)***D15**

a (A52) Aët. 5.1.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ μαντικῆς]

Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀναιροῦσι τὴν μαντικὴν.

b (< A52) Cic. *Div.* 1.5

[. . .] Colophonius Xenophanes unus, qui deos esse diceret, divinationem funditus sustulit; reliqui vero omnes praeter Epicurum [. . .] divinationem probaverunt.

Correct Beliefs about the Gods (D16–D20)

*God Is Unlike Humans in Shape and
Action (D16–D19)*

D16 (B23) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.109.1

εὖ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος, διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ θεός, ἐπιφέρει

εἷς θεός, ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,
οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίος οὔτε νόημα.

2 οὔτε prius Sylburg: οὔ τι ms. οὔτε alt. Diels: οὐδὲ ms.

D17 (B24) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.144

οὐλος ὄρη, οὐλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὐλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει.

*Belief in Divination Is Mistaken (D15)***D15**

a (A52) Aëtius

Xenophanes and Epicurus abolish divination.

b (< A52) Cicero, *On Divination*

[. . .] Xenophanes of Colophon is the only one [scil. among the most ancient philosophers] to have said that the gods exist, but to have abolished divination completely; all the others approved of divination, except for Epicurus [. . .].

Correct Beliefs about the Gods (D16–D20)

*God Is Unlike Humans in Shape and
Action (D16–D19)*

D16 (B23) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Xenophanes of Colophon, who teaches that god is one and bodiless, does well when he asserts,

**One god, among both gods and humans the
greatest,
Neither in bodily frame similar to mortals nor in
thought.**

D17 (B24) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Natural Philosophers*

**As a whole he sees, as a whole he thinks, and as
a whole he hears.¹**

¹ Sextus cites this line without naming its author; the attribution to Xenophanes is based essentially upon doxographical notices (cf. in particular **D20** and **R6[6]**).

D18 (B25) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 23.20

ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε πόνοιο νόου φρενὶ πάντα
κραδαίνει.

D19 (B26) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 23.11–12

αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μέμνει κινούμενος οὐδέν,
οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαί μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλη.

1 αἰεὶ mss., corr. Karsten κινούμενος E^aF: κινούμενον
DE

*A Doxographical Summary of
Xenophanes' Theology (D20)*

D20 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.19

[. . . = **D24, R8a**] ὄλον δὲ ὄραν καὶ ὄλον ἀκούειν, μὴ
μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν σύμπαντά τε εἶναι νοῦν καὶ φρόνη-
σιν καὶ αἰδίων [. . .].

*An Anonymous Fragment Sometimes
Attributed to Xenophanes (D21)*

D21 (Frag. dub. 47 Gentili-Prato) Philop. *Aetern.*,
p. 582.21–23 Rabe (et al.)

πάντα θεοῦ πλήρη, πάντη δὲ οἱ εἰσιν ἀκουαί

1 θεοῦ Philop. *Aetern.*, Olymp. *In Alc.*, p. 30 Westerink: θεῶν
Philop. *In An.*, p. 188.26 πάντη Philop.: πάντα Olymp.

D18 (B25) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Phys-
ics*

**But without any toil, by the organ of his mind
(*noou phrēni*)¹ he makes all things tremble.**

¹ Xenophanes uses *noou* as a qualifying, explanatory genitive in order to make clear that in the case of his god the cognitive organ (*phrēn*) is not the usual one, which is connected with human psychic states such as emotions and passions.

D19 (B26) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Phys-
ics*

**He always stays in the same place, not moving
at all,
And it is not fitting that he travel now to one
place, now to another.**

*A Doxographical Summary of
Xenophanes' Theology (D20)*

D20 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] as a whole he sees and as a whole he hears, but he does not breathe; he is completely mind and thought and is eternal [. . .].

*An Anonymous Fragment Sometimes
Attributed to Xenophanes (D21)*

D21 (≠ DK) Philoponus, *Commentary on Aristotle's On
the Soul*

All things are full of god, his ears are everywhere

καὶ διὰ πετράων καὶ ἀνὰ χθόνα καὶ τε δι' αὐτοῦ
ἀνέρος ὅτι κέκευθεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόημα.

Natural Phenomena (D22–D48)
Three Doxographical Summaries Deriving
Probably from Theophrastus (D22–D24)

D22 (< A33) (Ps.-?) Hippol. Ref. 1.14.3–6

[3] τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἐκ μικρῶν πυριδίων ἀθροισζομένον
γίνεσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· τὴν δὲ γῆν ἀπειρον
εἶναι καὶ μήτε ὑπ' ἀέρος μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περι-
έχεσθαι, καὶ ἀπείρους ἡλίους εἶναι καὶ σελήνας, τὰ
δὲ πάντα εἶναι ἐκ γῆς. [4] οὗτος τὴν θάλασσαν ἀλμυ-
ρὰν ἔφη διὰ τὸ πολλὰ μίγματα συρρέειν ἐν αὐτῇ
[. . .] [5] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφάνης μῖξιν τῆς γῆς πρὸς τὴν
θάλασσαν γίνεσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ
ὕγρου λύεσθαι, φάσκων τοιαύτας ἔχειν ἀποδείξεις,
ὅτι ἐν μέσῃ γῆ καὶ ὄρεσιν εὐρίσκονται κόγχαι· καὶ ἐν
Συρακούσiais δὲ ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις λέγει εὐρηῆσθαι τύ-
πον ἰχθύος καὶ φωκῶν,¹ ἐν δὲ Πάρῳ τύπον δάφνης² ἐν
τῷ βάθει τοῦ λίθου, ἐν δὲ Μελίτῃ³ πλάκας συμπάντων
τῶν θαλασσιῶν.⁴ [6] ταῦτα δὲ φησι γενέσθαι ὅτε

¹ καὶ φωκῶν mss.: καὶ φυκῶν Th. Gomperz: secl. Marcovich
(cf. ad 4) ² ἀφύης Gronovius ³ Μελίτη Karsten:
μελίτω LB: μηλίτω O ⁴ πλάκας <φωκῶν καὶ> Marcovich

*And through stones, along the whole earth, and in
man*

*Himself, whatever be the thought that he [i.e. man]
hides in his chest.¹*

¹ The attribution to Xenophanes, proposed by Lebedev in
F. Capasso et al., *Studi di filosofia preplatonica* (Naples, 1985),
pp. 13–15, remains very uncertain. For the phrase “all things are
full of gods” (which is also transmitted instead of “all things are
full of god”), cf. **THAL. D10.**

Natural Phenomena (D22–D48)
Three Doxographical Summaries Deriving
Probably from Theophrastus (D22–D24)

D22 (< A33) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[3] [scil. he says] that the sun comes about every day out
of small fires that are collected together, that the earth is
unlimited and is surrounded neither by air nor by the
heavens; and that there in an unlimited number of suns
and moons, and that all things come from earth. [4] He
said that the sea is salty because of the many mixtures that
flow together in it. [. . .] [5] Xenophanes thinks that the
land is mixed with the sea and that with time it is dissolved
by moisture, saying that he has the following proofs: that
shells are found inland and on mountains, and he says that
in Syracuse the outlines of fishes and seals are found in
quarries, in Paros the outline of coral in the depths of
the stone, and on Malta marble slabs [scil. containing] all
kinds of sea creatures. [6] He says that all this came about

πάντα ἐπηλώθησαν πάλαι, τὸν δὲ τύπον ἐν τῷ πηλῷ
ξηρανθῆναι. ἀναιρεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας,
ὅταν ἡ γῆ κατενεχθεῖσα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πηλὸς
γένηται· εἶτα πάλιν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς γενέσεως, καὶ ταύ-
την⁵ πᾶσι τοῖς κόσμοις γίνεσθαι μεταβολήν.⁶

⁵ ταύτην Diels: τοῦτο mss.: οὕτω Karsten ⁶ μεταβο-
λήν Diels: καταβάλλειν mss.: καταβολήν Roeper

D23 (cf. A32) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 4 (Eus. *PE* 1.8.4)

[. . . = **R9**] ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καταφερομέ-
νην συνεχῶς καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν θάλασ-
σαν χωρεῖν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ
πλειόνων πυριδίων¹ ἀθροίζεσθαι. [. . .] ἀποφαίνεται δὲ
καὶ τὴν γῆν ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ κατὰ πᾶν μέρος μὴ
περιέχεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀέρος· γίνεσθαι δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ γῆς,
τὸν δὲ ἥλιόν φησι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν
γίνεσθαι.

¹ πυριδίων Toupnius: πυρίων mss.: πυρίων prop. Mourelatos
(per litt.)

D24 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.19

τὰ νέφη συνίστασθαι τῆς ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀτμίδος ἀναφε-
ρομένης καὶ αἰρούσης αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ περιέχον. [. . . =
R8a, D20] πρῶτός τε ἀπεφήνατο ὅτι πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον
φθαρτόν ἐστι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πνεῦμα.

when everything was covered by mud long ago and the
outline in the mud dried out. And that all human beings
are destroyed when the earth deposited in the sea be-
comes mud; and that then generation begins again, and
that this change happens in all the worlds.

D23 (cf. A32) Ps.-Plutarch, *Stromata*

[. . .] He asserts that earth is deposited continually and
little by little, and with time it goes into the sea. And he
says that the sun is produced by the collecting together of
many small fires. [. . .] And he asserts that the earth is
unlimited and is not surrounded by the air in every part;
and that everything comes about from earth; but he says
that the sun and the other heavenly bodies come to be
from clouds.

D24 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

The clouds are formed when the vapor caused by the sun
lifts them up and raises them up to what surrounds [scil.
the earth]. [. . .] He was the first to assert that everything
that comes about is perishable and that the soul is breath.

Earth and Water as Origins (D25–D27)

D25 (< A29, B29) Philop. *In Phys.*, p. 125.30; Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 189.1

γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ πάντ' ἔσθ' ὅσα γίνοντ' ἠδὲ
φύονται.

πάντ' ἔσθ' ὅσα Philop.: πᾶν ἔστ' ὅσα Simpl. E: πάντα θ'
ὅσσα Simpl. F: πᾶν ὅσα τε Simpl. D: πάνθ' ὅσσα Simpl. ed.
Ald. γίνοντ' (γίνονται mss.) ἠδὲ φύονται Simpl.: φύοντ'
ἠδὲ γίνονται Philop.

D26 (B33) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.361, 10.314 (et al.)

πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα.

γὰρ om. (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 10.7

D27 (A36, B27) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 10.313

ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα, καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα
τελευτᾷ.

Clouds as Cosmological Principles (D28–D40)

The Sun and Moon Are Clouds (D28–D35)

The Nature of the Sun and Moon (D28–D29)

D28 (A40) Aët. 2.20.3 (Stob. 1.25.1a–b, cf. Ps.–Plut.,
Theod. 4.21, Eus. *PE* 15.23) [περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου]

a

Ξενοφάνης ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.¹

Earth and Water as Origins (D25–D27)

D25 (< A29, B29) Philoponus and Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Earth and water are everything that comes into being and grows.¹

¹ In the manuscripts of Simplicius, the line is erroneously attributed to Anaximenes.

D26 (B33) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Natural Philosophers*

For all of us came about from earth and water.

D27 (A36, B27) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Natural Philosophers*

For from earth come all these [or: all] things, and into earth all end up.

Clouds as Cosmological Principles (D28–D40)

The Sun and Moon Are Clouds (D28–D35)

The Nature of the Sun and Moon (D28–D29)

D28 (A40) Aëtius

a

Xenophanes: the sun is made out of clouds that have been ignited.

¹ Ξενοφάνης . . . τὸν ἥλιον habet Stob. 1a, om. Plut., sed cf. Theod.

b

Ξενοφάνης¹ ἐκ πυριδίων μὲν τῶν συναθροισμένων²
ἐκ³ τῆς ὑγρᾶς ἀναθυμιάσεως, συναθροιζόντων δὲ τὸν
ἥλιον.⁴

¹ Ξενοφάνης Plut.: Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς γέγρα-
φεν Stob. 1b: Ξενοφάνης <ὡς> Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς
γέγραφεν Mansfeld et Runia ² μὲν τῶν συναθροισ-
μένων Stob.: τῶν συναθροισμένων μὲν Plut. ³ ἐκ Plut.:
om. Stob. ⁴ post ἥλιον hab. ἢ νέφος πεπυρωμένον Plut.,
ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων Eus. (cf. Stob. 1a)

D29 (A43) Aët. 2.25.4 (Ps.-Plut. 2. 28. 1; Stob. 2.29.5)

a [περὶ οὐσίας σελήνης]

Ξενοφάνης νέφος εἶναι πεπιλημένον.¹

¹ πεπιλημένον Π: πεπυρωμένον m: πεπυρωλημένον M: πε-
πυρωμένον πεπιλημένον Mansfeld et Runia

b [περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης]

[. . .] Ξενοφάνης [. . .] ἴδιον αὐτὴν ἔχει φῶς.

c [περὶ ἐκλείψεως σελήνης]

Ξενοφάνης καὶ τὴν μηνιαίαν ἀπόκρυψιν κατὰ σβέσιν.

b

Xenophanes: [scil. the sun is made] out of little fires that
are collected together out of the moist exhalation, and
these form the sun by being collected together.¹

¹ The version in Stobaeus attributes this explanation to Theo-
phrastus. J. Mansfeld and D. T. Runia, *Aëtiana*, vol. 2 (Leiden,
2009), p. 530, suggest that the source said, "Xenophanes, as Theo-
phrastus says in his *Physics*, . . ."

D29 (A43) Aëtius

a

Xenophanes: [scil. the moon is] a compressed cloud.

b

[. . .] Xenophanes, [. . .]: it [i.e. the moon] possesses its own
light.

c

Xenophanes: the monthly disappearance too [scil. of the
moon comes about] by extinguishing.

*The Course and Effects of the Sun (D30–D33)***D30** (B31) Heracl. *Alleg.* 44.5

ἡελιός θ' ὑπεριέμενος γαίαν τ' ἐπιθάλλων

D31 (< A41a) Aët. 2.24.9 (Stob.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου][. . . = **D35**] ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ἡλιον εἰς ἄπειρον μὲν προίειναι, δοκεῖν δὲ κυκλείσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν.**D32** (A46) Aët. 3.4.4 (Stob.) [περὶ νεφῶν ὀμίχλης ὑετῶν δρόσου χιόνος πάχνης χαλάζης]Ξενοφάνης· ἀπὸ¹ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θερμότητος ὡς ἀρκτικῆς αἰτίας τὰν² τοῖς μεταρσίοις συμβαίνειν· ἀνελκόμενου γὰρ ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῦ ὑγροῦ τὸ γλυκὸν διὰ τὴν λεπτομέρειαν διακρινόμενον νέφη τε² συνιστάνειν ὀμιχλούμενον καὶ καταστάζειν ὄμβρους ὑπὸ πιλλήσεως καὶ διατμίζειν τὰ πνεύματα· γράφει γὰρ διαρρήδην “πηγὴ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσο³ ὕδατος” [**D46.1a**].¹ καὶ ms., corr. Karsten ² τὸ ms., corr. Karsten**D33** (A42) Aët. 2.30.8 (Stob.) [περὶ ἐμφάσεως αὐτῆς (scil. τῆς σελήνης)]

Ξενοφάνης τὸν μὲν ἡλιον χρήσιμον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ζώων γένεσιν τε καὶ διοίκησιν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην παρέλκειν.

*The Course and Effects of the Sun (D30–D33)***D30** (B31) Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories***The sun, rushing over the earth and warming it****D31** (< A41a) Aëtius

[. . .] The same man [i.e. Xenophanes]: the sun proceeds onward infinitely but it seems to move in a circle because of the distance.

D32 (A46) AëtiusXenophanes: what happens in the upper regions [i.e. in the atmosphere] has as efficient cause the warmth of the sun. For when the moisture is drawn up from the sea, the sweet part is separated out because of its fineness, condenses to form clouds, drips down as rain because of compression, and exhales the winds. For he writes explicitly, “**the sea is the source of water.**”**D33** (A42) Aëtius

Xenophanes: the sun is useful for the generation and organization of the world and of the living beings in it, but the moon is irrelevant.

*Disappearances of the Sun (D34–D35)***D34** (A41) Aët. 2.24.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Ξενοφάνης κατὰ σβέσιν ἕτερον δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς γίνεσθαι παριστόρηκε δὲ καὶ ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου ἐφ' ὅλον μῆνα καὶ πάλιν ἔκλειψιν ἐντελῆ, ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα φανῆναι.

D35 (< A41a) Aët. 2.24.9 (Stob.; cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Ξενοφάνης: πολλοὺς εἶναι ἡλίους καὶ σελήνας κατὰ τὰ κλίματα τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀποτομὰς καὶ ζώνας. κατὰ δὲ τινα καιρὸν ἐκπίπτει² τὸν δίσκον εἰς τινα ἀποτομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ οἰκουμένην³ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ οὕτως ὥσπερὶ κενεμβατοῦντα ἔκλειψιν ὑποφαίνειν⁴ [. . . = **D31**].

¹ τὰ om. Plut. ² ἐμπίπτει Plut. ³ οἰκουμένης Stob. ⁴ ὑποφαίνειν Stob. Plut. M: ὑπομένειν Plut. mΠ

*The Heavenly Bodies and Other Luminous
Celestial Phenomena Are Clouds (D36–D38)*

D36 (A38) Aët. 2.13.14 (Theod., Ach. Tat.) [τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἄστρον, πλανητῶν καὶ ἀπλανῶν]a Theod. *Cur.* 4.19

Ξενοφάνης δὲ ἐκ νεφῶν μὲν λέγει πεπυρωμένων ξυνοῖσθαι, σβεννυμένους δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν νύκτωρ πάλιν ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι, καθάπερ τοὺς ἀνθρακας.

*Disappearances of the Sun (D34–D35)***D34** (A41) Aëtius

Xenophanes: [scil. the eclipses of the sun come about] by extinguishing,¹ and a different one comes about in turn in the east. He has also reported in passing an eclipse of the sun that lasted a whole month and again a total eclipse, of which the effect was that the day appeared to be night.

¹ This chapter of Aëtius is about eclipses, but this explanation bears rather on sunset. The important point for Xenophanes seems to have been disappearance in general.

D35 (< A41a) Aëtius

Xenophanes: there are many suns and moons according to the latitudes, sections, and zones of the earth, and sometimes the disk falls down onto some section of the earth uninhabited by us, and in this way, as though its fall left behind an empty space, it makes an eclipse appear [. . .].

*The Heavenly Bodies and Other Luminous
Celestial Phenomena Are Clouds (D36–D38)*

D36 (A38) Aëtius

a

Xenophanes says that [scil. the heavenly bodies] come about out of clouds that have been ignited; they are extinguished by day and are kindled again at night like coals.

b Ach. Tat. *Introd. Arat.* 11

Ξενοφάνης δὲ λέγει τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ νεφῶν συνεστάναι ἐμπύρων καὶ σβέννυσθαι καὶ ἀνάπτεσθαι ὡσανεὶ ἄνθρακας, καί, ὅτε μὲν ἄπτονται, φαντασίαν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἀνατολῆς, ὅτε δὲ σβέννυνται, δύσεως.

D37 (A44) Aët. 3.2.11 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ κομητῶν καὶ διαπτόντων καὶ δοκίδων]

Ξενοφάνης· πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων συστήματα ἢ κινήματα.

D38 (A39) Aët. 2.18.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων τῶν καλουμένων Διοσκούρων]

Ξενοφάνης· τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένους οἶον ἀστέρας νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα.

The Rainbow Too Is a Cloud (D39)

D39 (B32) Schol. BLT Eust. ad *Il.* 11.27b

ἦν τ' Ἴριον καλέουσι, νέφος καὶ τοῦτο πέφυκε, πορφύρεον καὶ φοινίκεον καὶ χλωρὸν ιδέσθαι.

b

Xenophanes says that the heavenly bodies have come about out of clouds that have been ignited, and that they are extinguished and are kindled again like coals, and that, when they are kindled, we have the impression of a rising, and when they are extinguished, that of a setting.

D37 (A44) Aëtius

Xenophanes: all things of this sort [i.e. comets, shooting stars, and other luminous phenomena] are groups or motions of clouds that have been ignited.

D38 (A39) Aëtius

Xenophanes: the phenomena similar to stars that appear on boats [i.e. St. Elmo's fire] are small clouds that gleam because of their particular kind of motion.

The Rainbow Too Is a Cloud (D39)

D39 (B32) Scholia on Homer's *Iliad*

**And what they call Iris, this too by nature is a cloud,
Purple, red and greenish yellow to look on.**

Lightning (D40)

D40 (A45) Aët. 3.3.6 (Stob.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν πρηστήρων τυφῶνων]

Ξενοφάνης· ἀστραπὰς γίνεσθαι λαμπρνομένων τῶν νεφῶν κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν.

The Earth (D41–D45)

D41 (B28) Ach. Tat. *Intr. Arat.* 4

γαίης μὲν τόδε πείραρ· ἄνω παρὰ ποσσὶν ὀρᾶται
ἡέρι προσπλάζον, τὸ κάτω δ' ἐς ἄπειρον
ἱκνέται.

1 πείραρ Maass: πείραν V: πείρας M 2 ἡέρι Diels: καὶ ῥεῖ mss.: αἰθέρι Karsten

D42 (< A47) Aët. 3.9.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ γῆς καὶ τίς ἡ ταύτης οὐσία καὶ πόσαι]

Ξενοφάνης· ἐκ τοῦ κατωτέρω μέρους εἰς ἄπειρον βάθος¹ ἐρριζῶσθαι, ἐξ ἀέρος δὲ καὶ πυρὸς συμπαγῆναι.

¹ βάθος AE: μέρος Mm: del. Diels

D43 (< A47) Aët. 3.11.2 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Eus. *PE* 15.57.2) [περὶ θέσεως γῆς]

[. . . = **THAL. R24**] Ξενοφάνης πρώτην· εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ¹ ἐρριζῶσθαι.

¹ γὰρ Eus.: om. Plut.

Lightning (D40)

D40 (A45) Aëtius

Xenophanes: lightning flashes come about because of the illumination of clouds in motion.

The Earth (D41–D45)

D41 (B28) Achilles Tatius, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena*

This is the limit of the earth: above, one sees it at our feet

Pressing against the air; but below, it stretches down to the unlimited.

D42 (< A47) Aëtius

Xenophanes: [scil. the earth] is rooted from its lower part down to an unlimited depth and is made out of solidified air and fire.

D43 (< A47) Aëtius

[. . .] Xenophanes: [scil. the earth] is first, for it is rooted in the unlimited.¹

¹ This statement has led to an error in the doxographic tradition; see Stobaeus 1.22.3b (2) (**DOX. T17**).

D44 (B37) Hdn. *Mon. Lex.* 2, p. 936.19

καὶ μὲν ἐνὶ σπεάτεσσὶ τοῖσι καταλείβεται ὕδωρ.

μὲν Diels: μὴν ms.

D45 (A48) Ps.-Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 37 833a15–17τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ Λιπάρᾳ ποτὲ καὶ ἐκλιπεῖν Ξενοφάνης φη-
σιν ἐπ' ἔτη ἐκκαίδεκα, τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἐπανελθεῖν.*The Sea (D46)*D46 (B30) Crates in Schol. Genav. in *Il.* 21.196

Ξενοφάνης ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως·

πηγὴ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσοῦ ὕδατος, πηγὴ δ' ἀνέμοιο·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν <γίνονται κε ἴσ' ἀνέμοιο
ἐκπνεύοντος> ἔσθθεν ἀνευ πόντου μεγάλοιο
οὔτε ῥοαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰθ'έρος> ὄμβριον
ὑδωρ,5 ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν υ υ υ | - υ υ υ | - υ υ υ | - υ υ υ | -1 θάλασσοῦ Nicole: θάλασση ms. 2–3 suppl. Diels:
<πνοιαὶ κ' ἀνέμοιο φύονται ἐκπνεύοντος> Diels olim [=1891],
alii aliter 3 ἄνα πόντοιο ms., corr. Nicole 4 αἰθ'έρος
Nicole: αἰθ'### cum ras. ms. 5 νεφέων NicoleD44 (B37) Herodian, *On Particular Usages*

And in some caves, water drips down.

D45 (A48) Ps.-Aristotle, *On Marvelous Things Heard*Xenophanes says that the [scil. fire] in Lipari once ceased
for sixteen years and resumed in the seventeenth.*The Sea (D46)*D46 (B30) Geneva Scholia on Homer's *Iliad* (derived
from Crates of Mallos)Xenophanes in his *On Nature*:**The sea is the source of water and the source of
the wind.****For neither would in the clouds** <the force of the
wind come about,
That blows out> **from within, without the great
sea,****Nor the streams of rivers, nor the rainy water of
the air:****But the great sea is the begetter of clouds,
winds,****And rivers . . .**

The Soul (D47–D48)

D47 (A50) Macr. *In Somm.* 1.14.20

[. . .] Xenophanes ex terra et aqua [. . .].

D48 (A51) Tert. *An.* 43.2

[. . .] Anaxagoras cum Xenophane defetiscentiam [. . .].

Epistemological Considerations (D49–D53)

D49 (B34) Sext. *Emp. Adv. Math.* 7.49, 7.110 (cf. 7.51), 8.326 (et al.)

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὖτις ἀνὴρ γένητ' οὐδέ
 τις ἔσται
 εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων·
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον
 εἰπῶν,
 αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι
 τέτυκται.

1 γένητ' Plut. *Aud. poet.* 2 17D: ἴδεν Sext. *Emp.* (οἶδεν Sext. *Emp.* 7.49 NA, Diog. Laert. 9.72 BF, εἶδεν Diog. Laert. P)

The Soul (D47–D48)

D47 (A50) Macrobius, *Commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio*

[. . .] Xenophanes: [scil. the soul is composed] out of earth and water [. . .].¹

¹ This is doubtless an illegitimate inference based on **D26** (cf. **D25**).

D48 (A51) Tertullian, *On the Soul*

[. . .] Anaxagoras together with Xenophanes [scil. say that sleep is] exhaustion [. . .].

Epistemological Considerations (D49–D53)

D49 (B34) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

And thus there has never been any man, nor will there ever be one,

Who knows what is clear about the gods and whatever I say about all things.

For even if he happened most to say something perfect,

He himself nonetheless does not know: opinion is set upon all things.

D50 (B35) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 9.14 746B

ταῦτα δεδοξάσθω μὲν εἰκότα τοῖς ἐτύμοισι

δεδοξάσθω Wilamowitz: δεδοξάσθαι mss.: δεδόξασται
Karsten

D51 (B36) Hdn. π. διχρ., p. 16.22

ὅπποσα δὴ θνητοῖσι πεφήμασιν εἰσοράασθαι

D52 (B38) Hdn. *Mon. Lex.* 2, p. 946.23εἰ μὴ χλωρὸν ἔφυσε θεὸς μέλι, πολλὸν
ἔφασκον

γλύσσονα σῦκα πέλεσθαι. υ | - υ υ | - υ υ | - -

1 πολλὸν Lehrs: πολλῶν mss. ἔφασκον mss.: ἔφασκ'
ἄν conl. Diels

D53 (B18) Stob. 1.8.2; 3.29.41

οὔτοι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖσ' ὑπέδειξαν,
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἄμεινον.2 ἐφευρίσκουσιν 3.29.41: ἐφεύρεσκον 1.8.2 F: ἐφεύρισκον
1.8.2 PD50 (B35) Plutarch, *Table Talk*Then let this be accepted as opinions similar to
real thingsD51 (B36) Herodian, *On Syllables with Double Value*All the things that appear¹ to mortals to look
upon¹ Or "all the things that they [scil. the gods] reveal."D52 (B38) Herodian, *On Particular Usages*If god had not created the yellow honey, they
would say that
Figs are much sweeter.D53 (B18) Stobaeus, *Anthology*The gods have not indicated all things to
mortals from the beginning,
But in time, by searching, they find something
more that is better.

Other Fragments from Poems in Dactylic
Hexameters (D54–D58)

D54 (B22) Athen. *Deipn.* 2.44 54E

Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν παρωδίαις¹

πὰρ πυρὶ χρῆ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ἄρῃ
ἐν κλίνῃ μαλακῇ κατακέιμενον, ἔμπλεον ὄντα,
πίνοντα γλυκὸν οἶνον, ὑποτρῶγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους·
τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν, πόσα τοι ἔτε' ἐστί,
φέρειστε;

5 πηλίκος ἦσθ' ὄθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο; | - υ υ | - -

1 παρώδαις mss., corr. Menagius 4 ἔτη mss., corr. Diels

D55 (B17) Schol. in Aristoph. *Equit.* 408b

βάκχους [. . .] καὶ τοὺς κλάδους οὓς οἱ μύσται φέρουσι.
μέμνηται δὲ Ξενοφάνης ἐν Σίλλοις οὕτως·

ἐστᾶσιν δ' ἐλάτης <βάκχοι> πυκινὸν περὶ δῶμα.

ἐλάτης ΓΘ: ἐλάτη VE: ἐλάται Musurus <βάκχοι>
Wachsmuth

D56 (B21a) Schol. in *Il.* 7 (P.Oxy. 1087 Col. 2.40–41)

τὸ Ἐρυϊκος παρὰ Ξενοφάνει ἐν ἑ Σίλλων [. . .].

Other Fragments from Poems in Dactylic
Hexameters (D54–D58)

D54 (B22) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

Xenophanes of Colophon in his parodies [i.e. doubtless
the *Mockeries*]:

**Beside the fire, during the winter, one should
say these sorts of thing,**

**Reclining on a soft couch, having eaten one's
fill,**

**Drinking sweet wine and nibbling chickpeas:
"Who are you among men and from where?"**

How old are you, my good man?

How old were you when the Mede came?"

D55 (B17) Scholia on Aristophanes' *Knights*

bakkhoi [. . .] and the branches that mystic initiates carry.
Xenophanes mentions them in his *Mockeries*:

Around the sturdy house stand <bakkhoi> of fir.

D56 (B21a), Scholia on Homer's *Iliad*

The word *Erukos* [scil. to designate Mt. Eryx in Sicily] is
found in Xenophanes in Book 5 of his *Mockeries*.

D57 (B39) Pollux *Onom.* 6.46

[. . .] κέρασον τὸ δένδρον ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως Ξενοφάνους εὐράν.

D58 (B41) Tzetz. *In Dion. Perieg.* 940 et Comm. ad Tzetz.

σιλλογράφος δέ τις τὸ σι μακρὸν γράφει,
τῷ ῥῶ, δοκεῖ μοι, τοῦτο μηκύνας τάχα.

σιλλογράφος νῦν ὁ Ξενοφάνης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Τίμων καὶ ἔτεροι [Testim. 15 Di Marco].

*From Xenophanes' Poem(s) in
Elegiac Couplets (D59–D69)
Social Norms (D59–D63)*

D59 (B1) Athen. *Deipn.* 11.7 462C

νῦν γὰρ δὴ ζάπεδον καθαρὸν καὶ χεῖρες
ἀπάντων

καὶ κύλικες· πλεκτοὺς δ' ἀμφιτιθεῖ
στεφάνους,

ἄλλος δ' εὐώδες μύρον ἐν φιάλῃ παρατείνει·
κρατῆρ δ' ἔστηκεν μεστὸς ἐνφροσύνης·

5 ἄλλος δ' οἶνος ἐτοῖμος, ὃς οὐποτε φησι
προδώσειν,

2 ἀμφιτιθεῖ Dindorf: ἀμφιτιθεῖς mss. 5 οἶνος ἔτοιμος
corr. Musurus: οἶνος ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος mss.

D57 (B39) Pollux, *Onomasticon*

[. . .] having found *kerason* (i.e. “cherry tree”) for the tree in Xenophanes’ *On Nature*.

D58 (B41) Tzetzes, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* (and a commentary on Tzetzes)

A certain writer of *Mockeries* writes the *si-* (scil. of *siros*, i.e. “storage pit”) long,

Lengthening it perhaps, I suppose, because of the *r*.

Xenophanes is a writer of *Mockeries*, and also Timon, and others.

*From Xenophanes' Poem(s) in
Elegiac Couplets (D59–D69)
Social Norms (D59–D63)*

D59 (B1) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

For now the floor is truly purified, and the
hands of all,

And the wine cups. One person puts plaited
garlands on us,

Another proffers fragrant ointment in a saucer.

The mixing bowl stands full of good cheer,
And other wine, which promises never to betray, 5
is ready,

μείλιχος ἐν κεράμοισ' ἄνθεος ὀσδόμενος·
 ἐν δὲ μέσοισ' ἀγνὴν ὀδμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἴησι
 ψυχρὸν δ' ἐστὶν ὕδωρ καὶ γλυκὴ καὶ
 καθαρὸν.

- 10 πάρκεινται δ' ἄρτοι ξανθοὶ γεραρῆ τε τράπεζα
 τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος πίονος ἀχθομένη·
 βωμὸς δ' ἄνθεσιν ἂν τὸ μέσον πάντη
 πεπύκασται,
 μολπῆ δ' ἀμφὶς ἔχει δώματα καὶ θαλίη.
 χρῆ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας
 εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις·
 15 σπέισαντας δὲ καὶ εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια
 δύνασθαι
 πρήσσειν (ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν ἐστὶ προχειρότε-
 ρον),
 οὐχ ὕβρις πίνειν ὀπόσον κεν ἔχων ἀφίκοιο
 οἴκαδ' ἄνευ προπόλου, μὴ πάνυ γηραλέος.
 ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πίων
 ἀναφαίνη,
 20 ὥς οἱ μνημοσύνη, καὶ τὸν ὃς ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς.
 οὔτι μάχας διέπειν Τιτῆνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
 οὐδέ <τι> Κενταύρων, πλάσματα τῶν
 προτέρων,

15 δὲ Bergk: τε mss. 17 ὕβρις Musurus: ὕβρεις
 mss. δ' post πίνειν habent mss., del. Bergk 19 ἀνα-
 φαίνη Hermann: ἀναφαίνει mss. 20 ὥς οἱ Korais: ὡση A:
 ὡς ἢ E τὸν ὃς mss.: τόνος Diels 21 διέπειν A: διέ-
 πει E: διέπων Fränkel

Honey-sweet in the clay jars, scented of
 flowers.

In the middle, incense sends up a sacred aroma.
 The water is cold, sweet, and pure.

Blond loaves of bread lie nearby and a majestic
 table

Laden with cheese and rich honey.

An altar is in the middle, decorated everywhere
 with flowers;

On all sides song and festive joy fill the
 house.

First, cheerful [or: sensible] men should sing
 hymns to the god

With words of good omen and pure speech.

Then, after having made libation and prayed to
 be able to act

Justly—for this is more appropriate (?)—

It is not presumptuous to drink so much that
 one can still go home

Without a servant as guide, unless one is too
 old.

Praise that man who after drinking reveals
 noble thoughts,

According to his memory, and him who [scil.
 speaks] about excellence;

And do not recount the battles of Titans or of
 Giants

Or of Centaurs, inventions of earlier men,

22 <τι> Meineke: αὐ Bergk: τὰ Hermann: τε Ludwig πλά-
 σματα τῶν προτέρων Schweighatser: πλασμαμάτων προτέρων
 mss.

ἢ στάσιος σφεδανάς, τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
 ἔνεστι,
 θεῶν <δὲ> προμηθείην αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθήν.

23 σφεδανάς Osann: φενδόνας mss. 24 <δὲ> Scaliger
 ἀγαθὸν Hermann

D60 (B5) Athen. *Deipn.* 11.18 782A

οὐδέ κεν ἐν κύλικι πρότερον κεράσειέ τις οἶνον
 ἐγγέας, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ καὶ καθύπερθε μέθν.

2 ἐγγείας mss., corr. Casaubon

D61 (B2) Athen. *Deipn.* 10.6 413F

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταχυτήτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
 ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
 παρ Πίσασο ῥοῆσ' ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, εἴτε παλαιῶν
 ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων,
 5 εἴτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον ὃ παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
 ἀστοῖσιν κ' εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν
 καὶ κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο
 καὶ κεν σίτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων

5 εἴτε τὸ Wakefield: εἰτέτι ms. 6 προσορᾶν Iacobs:
 προσεραν ms. 8 σίτ' εἴη Diels: σιτειη ms.: σίτησιν
 Kaibel

Or fierce civil strife, in which there is no profit
 at all:
 But always have good forethought about the
 gods.

D60 (B5) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

Nor when mixing in the wine cup would one
 first pour in
 Wine, but instead water and then on top of it
 pure wine.

D61 (B2) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

But if someone were to carry off victory by
 swiftness of foot
 Or in the pentathlon, where the precinct of
 Zeus lies
 Beside the streams of the Pisa in Olympia, or by
 wrestling,
 Or because he knows the art of painful
 boxing
 Or the frightful discipline that they call the
 pankration:
 Then he would be more glorious to look
 upon for his fellow citizens,
 And he would get a conspicuous seat of honor in
 the competitions,
 And his food would come out of the people's
 expense

10 ἐκ πόλεως καὶ δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἶη
 εἶτε καὶ ἵπποισιν, ταῦτά κε πάντα λάχοι,
 οὐκ ἔων ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ. ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἢδ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη.
 ἀλλ' εἰκῆ μάλα τοῦτο νομίζεται, οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης.
 15 οὔτε γὰρ εἰ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς λαοῖσι μετείη
 οὔτ' εἰ πενταθλεῖν οὔτε παλαισμοσύνην,
 οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ταχυτήτι ποδῶν, τόπερ ἐστὶ
 πρότιμον
 ῥώμης ὅσσ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει,
 τοῦνεκεν ἂν δὴ μάλλον ἐν εὐνομίῃ πόλις εἶη.
 20 σμικρὸν δ' ἂν τι πόλει χάρμα γένοιτ' ἐπὶ
 τῷ,
 εἴ τις ἀεθλεύων νικῶ Πίσαο παρ' ὄχθας·
 οὐ γὰρ παιαίνει ταῦτα μυχοὺς πόλεως.

10 κε πάντα Schweighaüser: κ' εἰπάντα ms. 15 λαοῖσι
 μετείη Stephanus: λαοῖσιν ἔτ' εἶη ms.

D62 (B3) Athen. *Deipn.* 12.31 526A

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελείας παρὰ
 Λυδῶν,

From the city, and he would receive a gift that
 would be an heirloom for him,
 Or else if with horses, he would get all these 10
 things—
 But he would not be worthy as I am. For better
 than strength
 Of men or horses is our wisdom.
 But this custom is quite haphazard, and it is not
 just
 To prefer strength to good wisdom.
 For neither if there were a good boxer among 15
 the people,
 Nor someone good at the pentathlon or at
 wrestling
 Nor if in swiftness of foot (which is most
 honored
 Of all the competitions for strength in the
 games of men),
 Would the city because of him [or: this] be in a
 better state of lawfulness.
 The city would derive little pleasure from 20
 him,
 If someone wins in the competitions besides the
 banks of the Pisa,
 For this does not fatten the city's store
 chambers.

D62 (B3) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

After they [scil. the Colophonians] had learned
 about useless luxuries from the Lydians,

ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στνγεργῆς,
 ἦεσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίπαν,
 5 αὐχάλεοι, χαίτησιν †ἀγάλλομεν† εὐπρεπέεσσιν
 ἀσκητοῖσ' ὀδμῆν χρίμασι δυνόμενοι.

1 ἀφροσύνας ms., corr. Schneider 2 ἦσσα | νευ ms.,
 corr. Dindorf 5 χαίτησιν ἀγάλλομεν' Casaubon: χαίτης
 ἐν ἀγάλμασιν Hermann: χαίτησιν ἀγάλμενοι Wilamowitz: alii
 alia

D63 (< B4) Pollux *Onom.* 9.83

[. . .] Λυδοί, καθά φησι Ξενοφάνης [scil. πρώτοι ἔκο-
 ψαν νόμισμα].

*From a Poem about Old Age and
 Death? (D64–D67)*

D64 (B7) Diog. Laert. 8.36

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλοτε ἄλλον αὐτὸν [scil. Πυθαγόρας] γε-
 γενῆσθαι Ξενοφάνης ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ προσμαρτυρεῖ, ἧς
 ἀρχή·

νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ
 κέλευθον.

ὁ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως ἔχει·

As long as they were free from hateful
 tyranny,
 They would go forth to the agora wearing
 mantles all purple,
 Not less than a thousand all in all,
 Boastful, †we pride ourselves† on their well-
 ordered locks,
 5 Drenched with perfume from refined
 ointments.

D63 (< B4) Pollux, *Vocabulary*

[. . .] the Lydians, according to what Xenophanes says,
 [scil. were the first to mint coins].

*From a Poem about Old Age and
 Death? (D64–D67)*

D64 (B7) Diogenes Laertius

About the fact that he [i.e. Pythagoras] became a different
 person at different times, Xenophanes provides testimony
 in his elegiac poem that begins,

**Now I will pass over to another story, and I shall
 show the path.**

What he says about him is as follows:

καί ποτέ μιν στυφελιζομένου σκύλακος
 παριόντα
 φασὶν ἐποικτῖραι καὶ τόδε φάσθαι ἔπος·
 “παῦσαι μὴδὲ ράπιζ’, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος ἐστὶ
 ψυχῆ, τὴν ἔγνων φθεγξαμένης αἰών.”

2 φασὶν B: φασί γ’ PΦ: φασὶ γοῦν F

D65 (B20) Diog. Laert. 1.111

βιούς [. . . scil. Ἐπιμενίδης], ὡς [. . .] Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἀκηκοέναι φησί, τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

D66 (B8) Diog. Laert. 9.19

ἤδη δ’ ἐπτά τ’ ἔασι καὶ ἐξήκοντ’ ἐνιαυτοί
 βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ’ ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα
 γῆν·
 ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότε ἦσαν ἑείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς
 τοῖς,
 εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ’ οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.

D67 (B9) *Etym. Gen.* ad γῆρας 42 Calame

ἀνδρὸς γηρέντος πολλὸν ἀφαιρότερος

And they say that when he was once passing by
 a puppy that was being mistreated,
 He took pity and said these words:
 “Stop beating it, since this is truly the soul
 Of a dear friend whom I recognized on
 hearing him cry out.”

D65 (B20) Diogenes Laertius

As Xenophanes of Colophon says he heard [scil. Epimenides] lived for 154 [scil. years].

D66 (B8) Diogenes Laertius

Already seven and sixty years have been tossing
 about
 My thought throughout the land of Greece;
 And at that time there had already been twenty-
 five more since my birth,
 If I myself know how to speak truly about
 these things.

D67 (B9) *Etymologicum Genuinum*

Much more feeble than an old man

*References to Other Poets (D68–D69)***D68** (< B21) Schol. in Aristoph. *Pac.* 697

ὁ Σιμωνίδης διεβέβλητο ἐπὶ φιλαργυρία [. . .] ὅθεν
Ξενοφάνης κίμβικα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει.

D69 (B6) Athen. *Deipn.* 9.6, 368F

πέμψας γὰρ κωλῆν ἐρίφου σκέλος ἤραο πῖον
ταύρου λαρινού, τίμιον ἀνδρὶ λαχεῖν,
τοῦ κλέος Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφίξεται οὐδ'
ἀπολήξει,
ἔστ' ἂν ἀοιδάων ἦ γένος Ἑλλαδικῶν.

3 ἀφίξεται mss., corr. Karsten

*An Isolated Word in Uncertain Meter (D70)***D70** (< B40) *Etym. Gen.* B.338

βρόταχος, τὸν βάτραχον Ἴωνες, [. . .] καὶ παρὰ Ξενο-
φάνει.¹

¹ Ξενοφά(νει) A: Ξενοφ(ῶν)τ(ι) B*References to Other Poets (D68–D69)***D68** (< B21) Scholia on Aristophanes' *Peace*

Simonides was accused of being avaricious [. . .] for this
reason Xenophanes calls him a "skinflint."

D69 (B6) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

**You sent the thighbone of a kid goat, but you
received the rich leg
Of a fatted bull, an honored piece to obtain
for a man
Whose fame will reach through all of Greece
and will not cease
As long as the race of Greek songs will live.¹**

¹ The absence of context makes the point unclear, but it has
often been thought that this is an ironic swipe at a fellow poet
(perhaps Simonides, cf. **D68**).

*An Isolated Word in Uncertain Meter (D70)***D70** (< B40) *Etymologicum Genuinum*

brotakhos: *botrakhros* [i.e. "frog"] in Ionic [. . .] and in
Xenophanes.

XENOPHANES [21 DK]

R

*First Mentions and Allusions
In Heraclitus*

See **HER. D20**

Parodies and Allusions in Epicharmus

See **DRAM. T2–T3**

Imitations in Euripides

See **DRAM. T72–T73**

*Xenophanes as the Initiator of the Eleatic Line of
Descent of Greek Philosophy (R1–R3)*

R1 (< A29) Plat. *Soph.* 242d

[ΞΕ.] τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν¹ Ἐλεατικὸν ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις.

¹ ἡμῶν Paris. 1808 (et Theod. *Cur.* 2.17): ἡμῶν BTW

XENOPHANES

R

*First Mentions and Allusions
In Heraclitus*

See **HER. D20**

Parodies and Allusions in Epicharmus

See **DRAM. T2–T3**

Imitations in Euripides

See **DRAM. T72–T73**

*Xenophanes as the Initiator of the Eleatic Line of
Descent of Greek Philosophy (R1–R3)*

R1 (< A29) Plato, *Sophist*

[The stranger from Elea:] Our Eleatic tribe, which begins with Xenophanes and even earlier, explain in their stories that what are called 'all things' is one [cf. **DOX. T4**].

R2 (< A30) Arist. *Metaph.* A5 986b21–22

Ξενοφάνης δὲ πρῶτος τούτων ἐνίστας [. . . = **P10**, **R12**].

R3 (< A8) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.64.2

τῆς δὲ Ἑλεατικῆς ἀγωγῆς Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος κατάρχει [. . . = **D4**].

The Eleatization of Xenophanes (R4–R11)

R4 (< A31) Simplicius. *In Phys.*, p. 22.26–23.14 (= Theophr. [Frag. 224 FHS&G])

μίαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦτοι ἐν τῷ ὄν καὶ πᾶν καὶ οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἀπειρον οὔτε κινούμενον οὔτε ἡρεμοῦν Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον τὸν Παρμενίδου διδάσκαλον ὑποτίθεσθαι φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος ὁμολογῶν ἑτέρας εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίας τὴν μνήμην τῆς τούτου δόξης.

τὸ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ πᾶν τὸν θεὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ Ξενοφάνης· ὄν ἓνα μὲν δείκνυσιν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων κράτιστον εἶναι. πλείονων γάρ, φησίν, ὄντων ὁμοίως ὑπάρχειν ἀνάγκη πᾶσι τὸ κρατεῖν· τὸ δὲ πάντων κράτιστον καὶ ἀριστον θεός.

ἀγένητον δὲ ἐδείκνυν ἐκ τοῦ δεῖν τὸ γινόμενον ἢ ἐξ ὁμοίου ἢ ἐξ ἀνομοίου γίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὁμοιον

¹ It has often been doubted that Theophrastus could have been the author of a doxography that, probably combining the

R2 (< A30) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Xenophanes, the first of those [scil. together with Parmenides and Melissus] to have taught the One [. . .].

R3 (< A8) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Xenophanes of Colophon is the founder of the Eleatic school [. . .].

The Eleatization of Xenophanes (R4–R11)

R4 (< A31) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Theophrastus says that Xenophanes of Colophon, the teacher of Parmenides, supposes that the principle is one, or that what is and the whole are one, and that it is neither limited nor unlimited, nor moving nor at rest; and he [i.e. Theophrastus] agrees that recording this man's opinion belongs to a different field of research rather than to the one concerning nature.¹

For Xenophanes said of this one and whole that it is god. He demonstrated that he is one on the basis of the fact that he is the strongest of all: for, he says, if there were more than one, ruling would necessarily belong to all of them in a similar way; but god is the strongest and best of all.

He demonstrated that he is ungenerated on the basis of the fact that what comes about must come about either

Platonic tradition of Xenophanes' Eleatic filiation (cf. **R1**) with the naiveté noted by Aristotle (in **R12**), attributes theses to Xenophanes that he certainly never maintained.

ἀπαθές φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμοίου· οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον γεν-
νᾶν ἢ γεννᾶσθαι προσήκει τὸ ὁμοιον ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου·
εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἀνομοίου γίνοιτο, ἔσται τὸ ὄν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄν-
τος· καὶ οὕτως ἀγένητον καὶ αἰδίον ἐδείκνυ.

οὔτε δὲ ἄπειρον οὔτε πεπερασμένον εἶναι, διότι
ἄπειρον μὲν τὸ μὴ ὄν ὡς οὔτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον οὔτε μέσον
οὔτε τέλος, περαίνειν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ πλείω.

παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ τὴν
ἡρεμίαν· ἀκίνητον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν· οὔτε γὰρ
ἂν εἰς αὐτὸ ἕτερον οὔτε αὐτὸ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐλθεῖν· κινεῖ-
σθαι δὲ τὰ πλείω τοῦ ἑνός· ἕτερον γὰρ εἰς ἕτερον
μεταβάλλειν,¹ ὥστε καὶ ὅταν ἐν ταυτῷ μέναι λέγη καὶ
μὴ κινεῖσθαι [. . . = D19], οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡρεμίαν τὴν
ἀντικειμένην τῇ κινήσει μέναι αὐτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ κινήσεως καὶ ἡρεμίας ἐξηρημένην μο-
νήν [. . . = R5].

¹ μεταβάλλειν Usener post Karsten: μεταβάλλει mss.

R5 (< A31) Simpl. In *Phys.*, p. 23.14–20

[. . . = R4] Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ὡς ἄπειρον καὶ
ἀκίνητον λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ Περὶ θεῶν
[Frag. 1 Drossaart Lulofs] ἀπομνημονεύει, Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ὡς πεπερασμένον αὐτὸ καὶ σφαιροειδές· ἀλλ' ὅτι

¹ The attribution, found frequently in the doxography, of
sphericity to Xenophanes' god goes back perhaps to Aristotle, if

from what is similar or from what is dissimilar. But he says
that what is similar cannot be affected by what is similar,
for it is not more appropriate for the similar to generate
than to be generated out of what is similar. And if it came
about from the dissimilar, then being would come from
not-being. And in this way he demonstrated that he is
ungenerated and eternal.

And that he is neither unlimited nor limited, since on
the one hand unlimited is what does not exist, as it has
neither a beginning nor a middle nor an end, and on the
other hand what makes a limit with regard to one another
is a plurality of things.

In the same way he abolishes both motion and rest. For
immobile is what does not exist, for neither could some-
thing else go toward it nor could it go toward something
else; and what moves is a plurality of things more than one,
for one thing exchanges its place with another. So that
when he says that he stays in the same place and does not
move [. . . = D19], he says that it stays at rest not in the
sense of that rest which is opposed to motion, but in the
sense of motionlessness deprived of motion and rest [. . .].

R5 (< A31) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Phys-
ics*

[. . .] Nicolaus of Damascus asserts in his *On Gods* that
he [i.e. Xenophanes] says that the principle is unlimited
and motionless, while Alexander says that it is limited and
spherical.¹ But it is clear from what has been said earlier

it is admitted that Xenophanes conceived his god by referring to
the totality of the world (cf. R12) and that the world is spherical
(what is not the case for Xenophanes, cf. D22 [3] and D31).

μὲν οὔτε ἄπειρον οὔτε πεπερασμένον αὐτὸ δείκνυσιν,
ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων δῆλον· πεπερασμένον δὲ καὶ
σφαιροειδὲς αὐτὸ διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν ὁμοιον λέγειν.
καὶ πάντα νοεῖν δέ φησιν αὐτὸ λέγων [. . . = D18].

R6 (< A28) Ps.-Arist. *MXG* 3.1–11 977a13–b19

[1] ἀδύνατόν φησιν εἶναι, εἴ τι ἔστι, γενέσθαι, τοῦτο
λέγων [977a14] ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦτοι ἐξ
ὁμοίου ἢ ἐξ ἀνομοίου [a15] γενέσθαι τὸ γενόμενον·
δυνατὸν δὲ οὐδέτερον· οὔτε γὰρ ὁμοιον ὑφ' ὁμοίου
προσῆκειν τεκναθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τεκνώσαι (ταῦτά
γὰρ ἅπαντα τοῖς γε ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχειν πρὸς
ἄλληλα) οὔτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνομοίου τάνομοιον γενέσθαι. [2]
εἰ γὰρ γίνουτο ἐξ ἀσθενεστέρου τὸ ἰσχυρότερον ἢ ἐξ
ἐλάττονος τὸ [a20] μείζον ἢ ἐκ χείρονος τὸ κρείττον,
ἢ τοῦναντίον τὰ χείρω ἐκ τῶν κρειπτόνων, τὸ οὐκ ὄν
ἐξ ὄντος¹ ἂν γενέσθαι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. αἰδίων μὲν οὖν
διὰ ταῦτα εἶναι τὸν θεόν.

[3] εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς [a23] ἀπάντων κράτιστον, ἕνα
φησὶν αὐτὸν προσῆκειν εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ δύο ἢ πλείους
εἴεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι κράτιστον καὶ βέλτιστον αὐτὸν [a25]
εἶναι πάντων. ἕκαστος γὰρ ὢν θεὸς τῶν πολλῶν
ὁμοίως ἂν τοιοῦτος εἴη. τοῦτο γὰρ θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ δύ-
ναμιν εἶναι, κρατεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντων

multa mēda quae praesertim in ms. R exhibentur omit-
timus ¹ ὄντος <ἢ τὸ ὄν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος> Brandis: τὸ ὄν ἐξ
οὐκ ὄντος Gomperz

that he demonstrates that it is neither unlimited nor lim-
ited, but that he says that it is limited and spherical since
it is similar in every direction. And he says that it thinks
all things, saying [. . . = D18].

R6 (< A28) Ps.-Aristotle, *On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias*

[1] He says that it is impossible, if something exists, for it
to come about, saying this with regard to god. For it is
necessary that what comes about come about either from
what is similar or from what is dissimilar. But neither of
these is possible. For it is suitable neither that what is
similar be engendered by what is similar any more than
that it engender it (for, at least for things that are equal,
all things are the same, and with regard to one another
they are in a similar way) nor could the dissimilar come
about out of what is dissimilar. [2] For if the stronger came
about from the weaker or the larger from the smaller or
the better (*kraitton*) from the worse, or if inversely worse
things came about from better ones, then what is not
would come about from what is—which is impossible. For
these reasons god is eternal.

[3] But if god is the strongest (*kratiston*) of all things,
he says that it is suitable that he be one. For if there were
two or more, he would no longer be the strongest and best
of them all. For each of the many ones, being a god, would
be like this in the same way. For this is what a god and the
power of a god is, to dominate (*kratein*) and not to be
dominated, and to be the strongest of all. So that to the

κράτιστον² εἶναι. ὥστε καθὸ μὴ κρείττων, κατὰ τοσοῦτον μὴ εἶναι θεόν. [4] πλείονων οὖν ὄντων, εἰ μὲν εἶεν τὰ μὲν ἀλλήλων κρείττους τὰ δὲ [a30] ἤττους, οὐκ ἂν εἶναι θεούς· πεφυκέναι γὰρ τὸ θεῖον μὴ κρατεῖσθαι. [5] ἴσων δὲ ὄντων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν θεοῦ³ φύσιν, <ὄν>⁴ δεῖν εἶναι⁵ κράτιστον· τὸ δὲ ἴσον οὔτε βέλτιον οὔτε χείρον εἶναι τοῦ ἴσου· ὥστ' εἴπερ εἴη τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἴη θεός, ἓνα μόνον εἶναι τὸν θεόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ πάντα δύνασθαι ἂν ἃ βούλοιο. οὐ [a35] γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πλείονων ὄντων· ἓνα ἄρα εἶναι μόνον.

[6] ἓνα δ' [a36] ὄντα ὅμοιον εἶναι πάντη, ὁρῶντα καὶ ἀκούοντα⁶ τὰς τε ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις ἔχοντα πάντη· εἰ γὰρ μὴ, κρατεῖν ἂν καὶ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ μέρη θεοῦ ὄντα,⁷ ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

[7] πάντη δ' ὅμοιον ὄντα σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τῇ μὲν τῇ [977b1] δ' οὐ τοιοῦτον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντη.

[8] αἰδίων δὲ ὄντα καὶ ἓνα [b2] καὶ⁸ σφαιροειδῆ οὔτε ἄπειρον οὔτε πεπεράνθαι. ἄπειρον μὲν ὃ μὴ ὄν εἶναι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε μέσον οὔτε ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν μέρος ἔχειν, τοιοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· οἶον [b5] δὲ τὸ μὴ ὄν, οὐκ ἂν εἶναι τὸ ὄν· περαίνειν δὲ πρὸς ἄλλα, εἰ πλείω εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἐν οὔτε τῷ οὐκ ὄντι οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὠμοῖσθαι· ἐν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχειν,⁹ πρὸς ὅτι περανεῖ.

² πάντα κρατεῖσθαι mss., corr. Karsten ³ θεὸν mss., corr. Bonitz
⁴ <ὄν> Diels ⁵ θεοῦ φύσιν <οὐδένα· τὸν μὲν γὰρ θεὸν τὴν φύσιν> δεῖν εἶναι Apelt

degree that he is not stronger, he is not god either. [4] So on the hypothesis that they are a plurality, if they were stronger in some regards but less so in others, they would not be gods; for what is divine has the nature of not being dominated. [5] And if they were equal, they would not have the nature of god, who must be the strongest; but what is equal is neither better nor worse than what is equal. So that if god really exists and if he is like this, god is only one. For [scil. otherwise] he would not be able to do all the things he wanted to do; for he would not be able to, if they were a plurality. So he is only one.

[6] Being one, he is similar everywhere, and he sees and hears and possesses the other senses everywhere. For otherwise, his parts, being [scil. parts] of a god, would dominate and be dominated by each other—which is impossible.

[7] Being similar everywhere, he is spherical in shape: for he is not this here but not there, but everywhere.

[8] Being eternal, one, and spherical in shape, he is not any more unlimited than he is limited. For unlimited is what does not exist; for this possesses neither a middle nor a beginning nor an end nor any other part, and the unlimited is like this. But what exists could not be what does not exist. And things would not limit one another unless they were a plurality. But the one is similar neither to what does not exist nor to what is a plurality. For the one does not possess anything against which it is limited.

⁶ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ἀκουεῖν mss., corr. Wendland ⁷ ὄντα del.
 Diels ⁸ καὶ <ὅμοιον καὶ> Wendland ⁹ ἔχει mss., corr. Bonitz

[9] τὸ δὴ τοιοῦτον [b8] ἔν, ὃν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι λέγει, οὔτε κινεῖσθαι οὔτε ἀκίνητον εἶναι ἀκίνητον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν οὔτε γὰρ ἂν [b10] εἰς αὐτὸ ἕτερον οὔτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἄλλο ἐλθεῖν. κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πλείω ὄντα ἐνός· ἕτερον γὰρ εἰς ἕτερον δεῖν κινεῖσθαι. εἰς μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ ὄν οὐδὲν ἂν κινήθηται [10] τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὄν [b13] οὐδαμῆ εἶναι. εἰ δὲ εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβάλλοι, πλείω ἂν τὸ ὄν¹⁰ εἶναι ἐνός. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ κινεῖσθαι μὲν ἂν τὰ δύο ἢ πλείω [b15] ἐνός, ἡρεμεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὸ οὐδέν. [11] τὸ δὲ ἔν οὔτε ἀτρεμεῖν οὔτε κινεῖσθαι οὔτε γὰρ τῷ μὴ ὄντι οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιον εἶναι.

κατὰ πάντα δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντα¹¹ τὸν θεόν, αἰδιόν τε καὶ ἕνα, ὁμοῖόν τε καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ὄντα, οὔτε ἄπειρον οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἡρεμοῦντα¹² οὔτε κινήτων¹³ εἶναι. [. . . = R14]

¹⁰ ἂν τὸ ὄν (vel ἐν) Karsten: αὐτὸν mss. ¹¹ ἔχεις vel ἔχους mss., corr. Diels post Apelt ¹² ἡρεμεῖν mss., corr. Diels ¹³ ἀκίνητον mss., corr. Fülleborn

R7 (A37) Aët. 2.4.11 (Stob.) [εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος]

Ξενοφάνης Παρμενίδης Μέλισσος ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδιον καὶ ἄφθαρτον τὸν κόσμον.

R8

a (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.19

[. . . = D24] οὐσίαν θεοῦ σφαιροειδῆ, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσαν ἀνθρώπῳ [= D20].

[9] But a one like this, which he says is god, neither moves nor is immobile. For immobile is what does not exist; for neither could something else go toward it nor could it go toward something else. And what moves are things that are more than one; for it is necessary that one thing move toward another. So nothing could move toward what does not exist; [10] for what does not exist exists nowhere. But if things exchange places with one another, then what exists would be more than one. For these reasons two things or more than one could move, while what could rest and be immobile is nothing. [11] But the one does not rest any more than it moves; for it is similar neither to what does not exist nor to what are many.

And god being in this way in all these regards, he is eternal and one, similar and spherical, is neither unlimited nor limited, neither resting nor in motion. [. . .]

R7 (A37) Aëtius

Xenophanes, Parmenides, Melissus: the world is ungenerated, eternal, and indestructible.

R8

a (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] the substance of god is spherical, and it possesses nothing similar to a human [. . .].

b (> A4) Cic. *Acad.* 2.118

Xenophanes paulo etiam antiquior unum esse omnia, neque id esse mutabile, et id esse deum neque natum umquam et sempiternum, conglobata figura.

R9 (cf. A32) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 4 (Eus. *PE* 1.8.4)

Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος, ἰδίαν τινὰ ὁδὸν πεπορευμένος καὶ παρηλλαχῆϊαν πάντας τοὺς προειρημένους, οὔτε γένεσιν οὔτε φθορὰν ἀπολείπει, ἀλλ' εἶναι λέγει τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὁμοιον. εἰ γὰρ γίγνοιτο τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τοῦτου μὴ εἶναι τὸ μὴ ὄν δὲ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο οὐδ' ἂν τὸ μὴ ὄν ποιῆσαι τι οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γένοιτ' ἂν τι. ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ψευδεῖς καὶ καθόλου σὺν αὐταῖς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει. [. . . = **D23**] ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἡγεμονίας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔσης· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον δεσπόζεσθαί τινα τῶν θεῶν· ἐπιδείσθαί τε μηδενὸς αὐτῶν μηδένα μηδ' ὅλως· ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ ὄραν καθόλου καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος [. . .].

R10 (< A49) Aristocle. *Philos.* 7 (Eus. *PE* 14.17.1)

οἴονται γὰρ δεῖν τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς φαντασίας καταβάλλειν, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ πιστεῦν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ τινα πρότερον μὲν Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρ-

b (> A4) Cicero, *Prior Academics*

Xenophanes, who is even a little earlier [scil. than Anaxagoras, said] that all things are one, and that this does not change, and that it is a god who is never born and is eternal, of a spherical shape.

R9 (cf. A32) Ps.-Plutarch, *Stromata*

Xenophanes of Colophon went his own way, one that differed from all of those we mentioned earlier [i.e. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes]: he accepts neither generation nor destruction, but says that the whole is always similar. For, he says, if it were generated, then necessarily it would not have existed earlier; but what does not exist could not come about, nor could what does not exist make anything nor could anything come about from the action of what does not exist. And he asserts that the senses are deceptive, and in general he also slanders, together with them, reason itself.¹ [. . .] And he asserts about the gods that there is no supremacy among them, for it would not be in conformity with piety for one of the gods to be subject to a master; and that none stands in need of any of them or of anything at all; and that he hears and sees as a whole and not in some part [. . .].

¹ This last phrase goes in the direction of the Skeptical interpretation (cf. **R15–R23**); contrast **R10**.

R10 (< A49) Aristocles, *On Philosophy*

For they [i.e. the philosophers Aristocles is about to mention] think that perceptions and representations (*phantasiai*) must be rejected and that trust must be placed in reason alone. For Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and

μενίδης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Μέλισσος ἔλεγον [. . .]. ὅθεν ἠξίουσι οὗτοί γε τὸ ὄν ἐν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἕτερον μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ γεννᾶσθαι τι μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι μηδὲ κινεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

R11 (< A36) Theod. *Cur.* 4.5

Ξενοφάνης [. . .], ὁ τῆς Ἐλεατικῆς αἰρέσεως ἡγησάμενος, ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ἔφησε, σφαιροειδὲς καὶ πεπερασμένον, οὐ γενητόν, ἀλλ' αἰδιον καὶ πάμπαν ἀκίνητον. πάλιν δ' αὖ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἐκ τῆς γῆς φύσαι ἅπαντα εἴρηκεν. αὐτοῦ γὰρ δὴ τότε τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν· [. . . = **D27**].

Peripatetic Criticisms (R12–R14)

R12 (< A30) Arist. *Metaph.* A5 986b18–27

Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε τοῦ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐνὸς ἄπτεσθαι, Μέλισσος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην (διὸ καὶ ὁ μὲν πεπερασμένον ὁ δ' ἀπειρόν φησιν εἶναι αὐτό). Ξενοφάνης δὲ [. . . cf. **P10**, **R2**] οὐθὲν διεσαφήμισεν, οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως τούτων οὐδετέρας ἔοικε θιγεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἐν εἶναι φησι τὸν θεόν.¹ οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, καθάπερ εἵπομεν, ἀφετέοι πρὸς τὴν νῦν ζήτησιν, οἱ μὲν δύο καὶ πάμπαν ὡς ὄντες μικρὸν ἀγροικότεροι, Ξενοφάνης καὶ Μέλισσος [. . . cf. **PARM.** **R12**].

¹ τὸν θεόν E: om. A^b

Melissus were the first to say things of this sort [. . .]. That is why these thought that what exists is one and that what is other does not exist, and that nothing comes about or perishes or moves at all.

R11 (< A36) Theodoret, *Cure of the Greek Maladies*

Xenophanes [. . .], who was the originator of the Eleatic sect, said that the whole is one, spherical, and limited, not generated, but eternal and entirely motionless. Then, forgetting these statements, he said that all things are generated out of earth; for this verse is his: [. . . = **D27**].

Peripatetic Criticisms (R12–R14)

R12 (< A30) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Parmenides seems to have treated of the one according to definition, and Melissus according to matter; that is why the former says that it is limited, the latter that it is unlimited [cf. **PARM.** **D8.47**; **MEL.** **D3–D5**]. But Xenophanes [. . .] said nothing that was clear, nor does he seem to have touched upon the nature of either of these [scil. the definition of the form and matter], but with reference to the whole world (*ouranos*) he says that the one is god.¹ So, as we have said, for the purposes of the present investigation [scil. the investigation of the first causes], these men [i.e. Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus] should be disregarded—and two of them, Xenophanes and Melissus, completely, since they are a bit too unsophisticated [. . .].

¹ Or “god is the one.” Cf. **D16**.

R13 (< A47)a Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294a21–24

οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ ταῦτα ἄπειρον τὸ κάτω τῆς γῆς εἶναι φασιν, ἐπ' ἄπειρον αὐτὴν ἐρριζώσθαι λέγοντες,¹ ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος, ἵνα μὴ πράγματ' ἔχωσι ζητοῦντες τὴν αἰτίαν.

¹ ἐπ' . . . λέγοντες H et recc.: om. EJ

b Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 522.7–11

ἀγνοῶ δὲ ἐγὼ τοῖς Ξενοφάνους ἔπεισι τοῖς περὶ τούτου μὴ ἐντυχῶν, πότερον τὸ κάτω μέρος τῆς γῆς ἄπειρον εἶναι λέγων διὰ τοῦτο μένει αὐτὴν φησιν ἢ τὸν ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς τόπον καὶ αἰθέρα ἄπειρον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἄπειρον καταφερομένην τὴν γῆν δοκεῖν ἡρεμεῖν οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης διεσάφησεν [. . .].

R14 (< A28) Ps.-Arist. *MXG* 4 977b21–979a9

[. . . = **R6**] [1] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ οὗτος ἐξ ὄντος γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ ὁ Μέλισσος. καίτοι τί κωλύει μήτ' ἐξ ὁμοίου <μητ' ἐξ ἀνομοίου>¹ τὸ γιγνόμενον γίνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐκ μὴ ὄντος; ἔτι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ θεὸς ἀγένητος ἢ καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, εἶπερ ἅπαντα ἐξ ὁμοίου ἢ ἐξ² ἀνομοίου γέγονεν (ὅπερ ἀδύ-

multa menda quae praesertim in ms. R exhibentur omitimus
¹ add. Brandis ² ἢ ἐξ Apelt ut vid.: ἢ καὶ ἐξ
 L: ἢ R

R13 (< A47)a Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

It is for this reason that some people state that the lower part of the earth is unlimited, saying that its roots go to the unlimited, like Xenophanes of Colophon: the reason is so that they don't have the trouble of searching for the cause.

b Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Since I could not find the verses of Xenophanes on this subject, I do not know whether he says that it is because the lower part of the earth is unlimited that the earth is at rest, or because the space below the earth and the aether are unlimited that the earth, which goes down to the unlimited, seems to be at rest. For neither has Aristotle made this clear [. . .].

R14 (< A28) Ps.-Aristotle, *On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias*

[. . .] [1] First then, he too, like Melissus, assumes that what comes about comes about from what is. And yet what prevents what comes about from coming about neither from the similar <nor from the dissimilar>, but from what is not? Furthermore, if indeed all things come about from the similar or from the dissimilar, god would no more be ungenerated than all other things—but this is impossible.

νατον) ὥστε ἢ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἢ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰδία πάντα.

[2] ἔτι κράτιστον τὸν θεὸν λαμβάνει, τοῦτο δυνατώτατον καὶ βέλτιστον λέγων· οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κρείττους εἶναι ἀλλήλων οἱ θεοί. οὐκ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἴληφε ταύτην κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὁμολογίαν.

[3] τό τε κράτιστον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπολαμβάνειν³ λέγεται,⁴ ὡς πρὸς ἄλλο τι τοιαύτη ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν, ἐπεὶ τοί γε πρὸς ἕτερον οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύει μὴ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεία⁵ καὶ ῥώμῃ ὑπερέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀσθένειαν. θέλοι δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς οὕτω τὸν θεὸν φάναι κράτιστον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔχει ὡς οἷόν τε ἄριστα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει καὶ εἶ καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ· ἅμα⁶ γὰρ ἴσως <οὕτως>⁷ ἔχοντι κάκεινο ἂν συμβαίνοι. [. . .]

[6] ἔτι τοιοῦτος ἂν διὰ τί σφαιροειδῆς ἂν εἴη, ἀλλ' οὐχ⁸ ἑτέραν τινα μᾶλλον ἔχων ἰδέαν, ὅτι πάντῃ ἀκούει καὶ πάντῃ κρατεῖ; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὅταν λέγωμεν τὸ ψιμύθιον ὅτι πάντῃ ἐστὶ λευκόν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνομεν ἢ ὅτι ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐγκέχρωσται ἢ λευκότης· τί δὴ κωλύει οὕτως κάκει τὸ πάντῃ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ κρατεῖν λέγεσθαι, ὅτι ἅπαν ὃ ἂν τις

³ ὑπολαμβάνων mss., corr. Vahlen

⁴ ἐνδέχεται Vahlen

⁵ ἐπικρατεία Diels; ἐπιεκειία mss.
Wendland

⁶ ἄλλα Bergk; ἄριστα
⁷ <οὕτως> Wilson

mss.: del. Karsten

⁸ ὅτι post οὐχ habent

So that either there is nothing else besides god, or else all the other things are eternal.

[2] Furthermore, he assumes that god is the most powerful (*kratiston*), meaning by this the one that has the most power (*dunatotaton*) and is the best. But this does not seem to be in accordance with usage, but rather the gods are thought to be superior (*kreittous*) to one another in many ways. So it is not from customary opinion that he took this point as established.

[3] He is said to assume that god is the most powerful not in the sense that the nature of god would be this with regard to something else, but rather with regard to its own condition, since in that case nothing would prevent his being superior not by his own supremacy and force, but by the weakness of the others. But no one would wish to say that it is in this sense that he has stated that god is most powerful, but because he exists in the best possible condition, and lacks nothing for existing perfectly well; for if he is in a condition <like this one>, then doubtless this [i.e. being the most powerful] will accrue to him too. [. . .]

[6] Furthermore, if he is like this, for what reason would he be spherical and not possess instead some other shape, because he hears in every part and dominates in every part? For when we say of white lead that it is white in every part, we only mean that whiteness is its color in all of its parts. If so, then what prevents it from being the case there too that he sees, hears, and dominates in every part in the sense that, whatever part of him one might take, it

αὐτοῦ λαμβάνη μέρος, τοῦτ' ἔσται πεπονθός; ὡσπερ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ψιμύθιον, οὐδὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγκη εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο σφαιροειδῆ.

[7] ἔτι μήτε ἄπειρον <εἶναι>⁹ μήτε πεπεράνθαι σῶμά γε ὄν¹⁰ καὶ ἔχον¹¹ μέγεθος πῶς οἶόν τε, εἶπερ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄπειρον ὃ ἂν μὴ ἔχη πέρας δεκτικὸν ὃν πέρας, πέρας δ' ἐν μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει ἐγγίγνεται καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ ποσῷ, ὥστε εἰ μὴ ἔχει πέρας μέγεθος ὃν ἄπειρόν ἐστω;

[8] ἔτι δὲ σφαιροειδῆ ὄντα ἀνάγκη πέρας ἔχειν. ἔσχατα γὰρ ἔχει, εἶπερ μέσον ἔχει αὐτοῦ, οὐ πλείστον ἀπέχει. μέσον δὲ ἔχει σφαιροειδὲς ὄν.¹² τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι σφαιροειδὲς ὃ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ὁμοίως πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα. σῶμα δ' ἔσχατα ἢ πέρατα ἔχειν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει.¹³ [. . .]

[13] ἔτι τί κωλύει πεπεράνθαι καὶ ἔχειν πέρατα ἐν ὄντα τὸν θεόν; ὡς καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης λέγει ἐν ὃν εἶναι αὐτὸν

πάντοθεν εὐκύκλου σφαίρας ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκω,
μεσσοῦθεν ἰσοπαλές [. . . = PARM. D8.48–49].

τὸ γὰρ πέρας τινὸς μὲν ἀνάγκη¹⁴ εἶναι, οὐ μέντοι πρὸς τί γε, οὐδὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἔχον πέρας πρὸς τι ἔχειν πέρας, ὡς πεπερασμένον πρὸς τὸ ἐφεξῆς¹⁵ ἄπειρον,¹⁶ ἀλλ'

⁹ εἶναι Karsten: εἶ L, μήτε corr. L¹ ¹⁰ ὄν Bekker: ὄν L: om. R ¹¹ ἔχον R: ἔχων L ¹² σφαιροειδῆς ὄν Diels ¹³ οὐδὲν διαφέρει Bergk: οἶον διαφέρει L: οἶος διαφέρει R ¹⁴ ἀνάγκη ἴσως R: ἀνάγκην L

will have these properties? But just as little as for the white lead, it is not necessary that god have for this reason a spherical shape.

[7] Further, how is it possible that, being a body and having a magnitude, he be neither unlimited nor limited, since that is unlimited which does have a limit but is capable of receiving a limit, and a limit comes about in a magnitude and a plurality and in everything that is quantitative? So that if he does not have a limit, although he is a magnitude, he is unlimited?

[8] Furthermore, if he is spherical, he must necessarily have a limit: for he has extremities, if indeed he has his own center from which they are most distant. But he has a center, since he is spherical: for what has the same distance from its center to its extremities is spherical; and for a body, to have extremities or limits does not differ at all [. . .].

[13] Furthermore, what prevents god, if he is one, from being limited and having limits, as Parmenides says that, being one, he is

On every side, similar to the volume of a well-
rounded ball,

Everywhere balanced equally starting from its center
[. . . = PARM. D8.48–49]?

For it is necessary that the limit be of something, but not necessarily with regard to something, and it is not necessary that what has a limit have a limit with regard to something, like what is limited with regard to the unlimited that is contiguous, but to be limited is to possess extremities,

¹⁵ μὴ ante ἐφεξῆς habent mss.: del. Mullach

¹⁶ ἄπειρον

Mullach: ἀπείρον mss.: ὡς . . . ἀπείρου del. Wilson

ἔστι τὸ πεπεράνθαι ἔσχατα ἔχειν, ἔσχατα δ' ἔχον οὐκ ἀνάγκη πρὸς τι ἔχειν. [. . .]

[15] πάλιν περὶ τοῦ ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὸ ὄν [. . .]. ἄρα γε οὐ ταῦτὸ ἄν τις ὑπολάβοι τὸ μὴ κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀκίνητον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ¹⁷ κινεῖσθαι [. . .], τὸ δὲ ἀκίνητον τῷ ἔχειν πως ἤδη λέγεσθαι [. . .].

[18] ἔτι εἰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ κινεῖται ὁ θεός τε καὶ τὸ ἔν, ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ κινεῖται τῷ εἰς ἄλληλα ἰέναι, τί κωλύει καὶ τὸν θεὸν κινεῖσθαι εἰς ἄλλο; οὐδαμῶς γὰρ λέγει¹⁸ ὅτι <ἐν ἐστι> μόνον,¹⁹ ἀλλ' ὅτι εἰς μόνος θεός.

[19] εἰ δὲ καὶ οὕτως,²⁰ τί κωλύει εἰς ἄλληλα κινουμένων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ <θεοῦ>²¹ κύκλῳ φέρεσθαι τὸν >²² θεόν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ζήνων, πολλὰ εἶναι φήσκει. αὐτὸς γὰρ σῶμα λέγει εἶναι τὸν θεόν, εἴτε τόδε τὸ πᾶν εἴτε ὃ τι δήποτε αὐτὸ λέγων ἄσώματος γὰρ ἂν πῶς ἂν σφαιροειδῆς εἴη;

¹⁷ τοῦ Bekker: τῷ L: om. R ¹⁸ et ¹⁹ suppl. Kern: οὐδα (lac. X litt. L, V litt. R) ὅτι (τι R) (lac. VII litt. L, V litt. R) μόνον (μονR) mss. ²⁰ οὕτως Apelt: οὗτος L: αὐτὸς R ²¹ θεοῦ Bergk post Apelt: lac. V litt. mss. ²² add. Bergk: φε (lac. VII litt.) L: om. R

The Skeptical Tradition (R15–R23)

Xenophanes' Special Role in Timon of Phlius'

Mockeries (Silloi) (R15–R16)

R15 (≠ DK) Diog. Laert. 9.111 (= Timo Frag. 1 Di Marco)

τῶν δὲ Σίλλων τρία ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς ὡς ἂν Σκεπτικὸς ὦν

but what possesses extremities does not necessarily possess them with regard to something. [. . .]

[15] Once again, on the question of the motionlessness of what is [. . .]: would one not assume that not to move and to be immobile are not identical, but rather that the one is the negation of moving [. . .], while one speaks of “being immobile” if the thing possesses this in a certain way [. . .]? [. . .]

[18] Further, even if the reason why god and the one do not move is because it is a plurality of things that move by going toward one another, what prevents god too from moving toward something else? For <he nowhere says> that he <is> only <one>, but only that he is the only god.

[19] But even if this is so, what prevents <god's> parts from <moving> toward one another while god moves in a circle? For he certainly will not say, like Zeno, that a one like this is multiple. For he himself says that god is a body, whether he means by that this totality or something else; for if he were bodiless, how could he be spherical?

The Skeptical Tradition (R15–R23)

Xenophanes' Special Role in Timon of Phlius'

Mockeries (Silloi) (R15–R16)

R15 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

Of the *Mockeries* [*Silloi*] there are three [scil. books] in which, being a Skeptic, he [i.e. Timon] reviles and mocks

πάντας λουδορεῖ καὶ σιλλαίνει τοὺς δογματικούς ἐν παρωδίας εἶδει. ὦν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοδιήγητον ἔχει τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι. φαίνεται γοῦν ἀνακρίνων Ξενοφάνη τὸν Κολοφώνιον περὶ ἐκάστων, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ διηγουμένους ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν ὑστέρων.

R16 (< A35) Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.224

ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας,¹ ὡς καὶ τοὺς Σίλλους αὐτῷ ἀναθεῖναι, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ὀδυρόμενον καὶ λέγοντα [Frag. 59 Di Marco]

ὡς καὶ ἐγὼν ὄφελον πυκινού νόου ἀντιβολήσαι
ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος² δολίη δ' ὀδῶ ἐξαπατήθην
πρεσβυγενῆς ἔτ' ἐὼν καὶ ἀμενθήριστος³ ἀπάσης
σκεπτοσύνης. ὄππη⁴ γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον εἰρύσαιμι,
εἰς ἐν ταῦτό τε πᾶν ἀνελύετο· πᾶν δ' ἐὼν αἰεὶ
πάντη ἀνελλόμενον μίαν εἰς φύσιν ἴσταθ' ὁμοίην.

διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ὑπάτυφον αὐτὸν λέγει, καὶ οὐ τέλειον ἄτυφον, δι' ὧν φησι [Frag. 60 Di Marco]

Ξενοφάνης ὑπάτυφος, Ὀμηραπάτης ἐπικόπτης,⁵

¹ τὸν Ξενοφάνην post ἐπαινέσας mss., del. Kayser ² ἀμφοτερόβλεπτος LM: ἀμφοτερόβλεπτα EAB: ἀμφοτεροβλέπτου dubit. Bekker ³ ἀμενθήριστος Bergk: ἀπενθήριστος mss. ⁴ ὄππη Fabricius (ut vid.): ὄπη ML: ὄπου EAB

all the dogmatic philosophers in the form of a parody. In the first one he speaks in the first person, the second and third ones are in the form of dialogue. For he introduces himself questioning Xenophanes of Colophon about each of them, and the latter describes them for him, in the second book the more ancient ones, in the third the more recent ones.

R16 (< A35) Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*

For after he [i.e. Timon] had praised him [i.e. Xenophanes] in many passages, to the point of dedicating his *Mockeries* [*Silloi*] to him, he represented him lamenting and saying,

If only I too had gotten a share of a solid intelligence
And looked at both sides. But I was fooled by a
deceitful method,
Since I was born long ago and did not bother about
any kind of
Examination. For in whatever direction I directed my
mind,
Everything dissolved into one and the same thing: all
that exists,
Drawn in every direction, always became immobile
in a single, similar nature.

This is why he calls him “not too arrogant” and not entirely “without arrogance,” when he says,

Xenophanes, not too arrogant, censor of Homer's
deceit,

⁵ ἐπικόπτης edd.: ἐπικόπτην Diog. Laert. 9.18: ἐπισκόπτην mss.

ἐκτὸς⁶ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸν ἐπλάσασα' ἴσον ἀπάντη,
 <ἀτρεμῆ>⁷ ἀσκηθῆ νοερώτερον⁸ ἢ ἐ νόημα.

ὑπάτυφον μὲν γὰρ εἶπε τὸν κατὰ τι ἄτυφον, ὀμηρα-
 πάτης δὲ ἐπισκώπτην, ἐπεὶ τὴν παρ' Ὀμήρω ἀπάτην
 διέσυρεν [. . . = **R21a**].

⁶ ἐκτὸς Fabricius: ἐκτὸν N: ἐκ τὸν Par. suppl. 133: ἕα τὸν
 cett.: εἰ τὸν Diels: ὄς τὸν Roepers ⁷ <ἀτρεμῆ> Diels

⁸ νοερώτερον Diels: νοερωτὸν mss.

*Was Xenophanes Skeptical or
 Dogmatic?* (R17–R22)

R17 (< A25) Cic. Acad. 2.74

Parmenides Xenophanes [. . . = **R27**] increpant eorum
 adrogantiam quasi irati, qui cum sciri nihil possit audeant
 se scire dicere.

R18 (< A49) Aët. 4.9.1 (Stob.) [εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἰ αἰσθήσεις
 καὶ φαντασίαι]

[. . .] Ξενοφάνης [. . .] ψευδεῖς εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.

R19 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.20

φησὶ δὲ Σωτίων [Frag. 29 Wehrli] πρῶτον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν
 ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι τὰ πάντα, πλανώμενος.

Fashioned a god far from humans, everywhere equal,
 <Untrembling,> unscathed, more thoughtful than
 thought.

For he called him “not too arrogant” inasmuch as he was
 free of arrogance in a certain regard, and an insulter of
 Homer’s deceit since he despised the deceit found in Ho-
 mer.

*Was Xenophanes Skeptical or
 Dogmatic?* (R17–R22)

R17 (< A25) Cicero, *Prior Academics*

Parmenides and Xenophanes [. . .] attack, almost in anger,
 the arrogance of those who dare to say that they know,
 when nothing can be known.

R18 (< A49) Aëtius

[. . .] Xenophanes [. . .]: sense perceptions are deceptive.

R19 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Sotion says, mistakenly, that he was the first to say that all
 things are inapprehensible.

R20 (< A33) (Ps.-P) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.14.1

[. . . = **P7**] οὗτος ἔφη πρῶτος ἀκαταληψίαν εἶναι πάντων, εἰπὼν οὕτως [. . . = **D49.3–4** with a textual variant].

R21 Sext. Emp.

a (cf. A35) *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.225

[. . . = **R16**] ἐδογματίζεε δὲ ὁ Ξενοφάνης παρὰ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων προλήψεις ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν συμφυῆ τοῖς πᾶσιν, εἶναι δὲ σφαιροειδῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ λογικόν· ὅθεν καὶ ῥᾶδιον τὴν Ξενοφάνους πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαφορὰν ἐπιδεικνύναι.

b (≠ DK) *Adv. Math.* 7.48–50

Ξενοφάνης μὲν κατὰ τινὰς εἰπὼν πάντα ἀκατάληπτα ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔστη τῆς φορᾶς, ἐν οἷς γράφει [. . . = **D49**]. διὰ τούτων γὰρ σαφὲς μὲν ἔοικε λέγειν τᾶληθῆς καὶ τὸ γνώριμον [. . .] ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τῷ εἰδικῶ καταχρώμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ γένους [. . .].

c (≠ DK) *Adv. Math.* 7.110

Ξενοφάνης δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὡς ἐτέρως αὐτὸν ἐξηγουμένους, ὅταν λέγῃ [. . . = **D49**] φαίνεται μὴ πᾶσαν κατὰ

R20 (< A33) (Ps.-P) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[. . .] He was the first to assert the inapprehensibility of all things, when he said the following: [. . . = **D49.3–4** with a textual variant].

R21 Sextus Empiricus

a (cf. A35) *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*

[. . .] Xenophanes affirmed dogmatically, against the conceptions of all other humans, that the whole is one, that god is [scil. consubstantially] mixed with the nature of all things, and that he is spherical, impassive, unchangeable, and rational; from this it follows that it is easy to indicate the difference between Xenophanes and us [i.e. Pyrrhonian Skeptics].

b (≠ DK) *Against the Logicians*

[. . .] Xenophanes, according to some people, adopts this position [scil. the one that abolishes the criterion] when he says that all things are inapprehensible, in the verses where he writes, [. . . = **D49**]. For in these verses he seems to mean by “clear” what is true and known [. . .] and by “man” the human being, using the specific term instead of the general one [. . .].

c (≠ DK) *Against the Logicians*

According to those who interpret Xenophanes differently [scil. from **R21b**], when he says, [. . . = **D49**] he does not

ληψιν ἀναιρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν καὶ ἀδιάπτω-
τον, ἀπολείπειν δὲ τὴν δοξαστὴν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμφαίνει
τὸ “δόκος δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται” [= D49.4] ὥστε κρι-
τήριον γίνεσθαι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν δοξαστὸν λόγον,
τουτέστι τὸν τοῦ εἰκότος ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν τοῦ παγίου
ἐχόμενον.

R22 (A35) Ps.-Gal. *Hist. phil.* 7

[. . .] Ξενοφάνην μὲν περὶ πάντων ἡπορηκότα, δογμα-
τίσαντα δὲ μόνον τὸ εἶναι πάντα ἐν καὶ τοῦτο ὑπάρ-
χειν θεὸν πεπερασμένον λογικὸν ἀμετάβλητον [. . .].

*An Epicurean Criticism of Xenophanes’
Theology (R23)*

R23 (A34) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.28

tum Xenophanes, qui mente adiuncta omne praeterea,
quod esset infinitum, deum voluit esse, de ipsa mente item
reprehenditur¹ ut ceteri, de infinitate autem vehementius,
in qua nihil neque sentiens neque coniunctum potest esse.

¹ reprehenditur NOB² FM: reprehendetur dett.: reprehenderet
B¹: reprehenderetur AC

seem to abolish all apprehension whatsoever but only that
which is scientific and infallible, and to accept that which
is probable; for this is what is shown by the phrase “**opin-
ion is set upon all things**” [= D49.4], so that according
to him what the criterion is is reason belonging to opinion,
i.e. the reason of what is probable, and not the one that
possesses solidity.

R22 (A35) Ps.-Galen, *Philosophical History*

[. . .] Xenophanes was in aporia about all things, and held
as his only dogmatic view that all things are one and that
this is god, who is limited, rational, and changeless [. . .].

See also **R10**

*An Epicurean Criticism of Xenophanes’
Theology (R23)*

R23 (A34) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

[Velleius, an Epicurean:] Next, Xenophanes, who claimed
that god, once the mind has been added, is everything
else, which is unlimited, is refuted in the same way as all
the others concerning the mind itself, but more severely
concerning the unlimited, for in this there can be nothing
that either perceives or is connected.

*A Problem of Interpretation: Does Everything
Come from Earth According to
Xenophanes? (R24–R26)
Aristotle's Report (R24)*

R24 (cf. ad A36) Arist. *Metaph.* A8 989a3–10

τοιούτων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ὁμολογεῖ τὸ στοι-
χείον εἶναι τὸ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐθεὶς γοῦν ἠξίωσε τῶν
ὑστερον καὶ ἐν λεγόντων γῆν εἶναι στοιχείον, δηλο-
νότι διὰ τὴν μεγαλομέρειαν, τῶν δὲ τριῶν ἕκαστον
στοιχείων εἴληφέ κριτήν τινα, οἱ μὲν γὰρ πῦρ οἱ δ'
ὔδωρ οἱ δ' ἀέρα τοῦτ' εἶναι φασιν· καίτοι διὰ τί ποτ'
οὐ καὶ τὴν γῆν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων [. . .];

The Disagreement of the Traditions (R25–R26)

R25 (< A36)

a Theod. *Cur.* 4.5

[. . . cf. **R11**] ἐκ τῆς γῆς φῦναι ἅπαντα εἶρηκεν. αὐτοῦ
γὰρ δὴ τότε τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν· [. . . = **D27**].

b Ps.-Olymp. *Ars sacra* 24

τῆν [. . .] γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐδόξασεν εἶναι ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ
Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος.

*A Problem of Interpretation: Does Everything
Come from Earth According to
Xenophanes? (R24–R26)
Aristotle's Report (R24)*

R24 (cf. ad A36) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Each of the others [scil. besides those who take the fire as the primary material element, i.e. essentially Heraclitus] recognizes that the element of bodies is like this [i.e. very fine]; at least none of those who are later and who say that there is only one¹ has judged that earth is the element, evidently because of the thickness of its texture, while each of the three elements has found a judge in its favor, for some people say that it is fire, others water, and others air. But then why do they not also mention earth, like most people? [. . .].²

¹ On the basis of these indications one can maintain that Aristotle is deliberately setting aside Xenophanes. ² Aristotle goes on to attribute to Hesiod the idea that the Earth is born first of all; this is not strictly true, cf. **COSM.** T11.1–2.

The Disagreement of the Traditions (R25–R26)

R25 (< A36)

a Theodoret, *Cure of the Greek Maladies*

[. . .] he said that all things are born out of earth; for this verse is his: [. . . = **D27**].

b Ps.-Olympiodorus, *On the Sacred Art*

No one has held the view that earth is a principle except Xenophanes of Colophon.

R26 (A36) Gal. *In Hipp. Nat. hom.* 1.2

κακῶς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔνιοι κατεφύσαντο Ξενοφάνους, ὥσπερ καὶ Σαβίνος, ὡδί πως γράμας αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι. “οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πάμπαν ἀέρα λέγω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμενης, οὔτε ὕδωρ ὡς Θαλῆς, οὔτε γῆν ὡς ἔν τινι Ξενοφάνης.” οὐδαμῶθι γὰρ εὐρίσκειται Ξενοφάνης ἀποφηνάμενος οὕτως. [. . .] καὶ Θεόφραστος δ’ ἂν ἐν ταῖς τῶν Φυσικῶν δοξῶν ἐπιτομαῖς τὴν Ξενοφάνους δόξαν, εἶπερ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐγγράφει [Frag. 231 FSH&G].

Judgments on Xenophanes' Poetry (R27–R29)

R27 (< A25) Cic. *Acad.* 2.74

Parmenides Xenophanes minus bonis quamquam versibus sed tamen illi versibus [. . .] = **R17**.

R28 (cf. A26) Phil. *Prov.*, ed. Aucher

a 2.39, pp. 74.31–44, 75.1–2

Այլ եւ ոչ Քսենոփանէս, եւ կամ Պարմենիդէս, եւ կամ Եմպեդոկլէս, կամ որք միանգամ այք աստուածաբանք, ըմբռնեցան ի քերթողականութենէ աստուածաբեայք. այլ սակայն տեսութիւն զբնութեանս խնդութեամբ ընկալեայք, եւ առ հասարակ զամենայն իւրեանց կեանսն ի բարեպաշտութիւն եւ ի գովութիւն աստուածոցն նուիրեայք՝ բարի արք եղեն, բայց

R26 (A36) Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On the Nature of Man*

And some of the interpreters have lied badly about Xenophanes, like Sabinus, who writes in his own words, “For neither do I say that a human being is entirely air, like Anaximenes, or water, like Thales, or earth, like Xenophanes somewhere.” For nowhere is Xenophanes found to be asserting this. [. . .] And Theophrastus would have included Xenophanes’ opinion in his summaries of physical opinions, if this had been the case.

Judgments on Xenophanes' Poetry (R27–R29)

R27 (< A25) Cicero, *Prior Academics*

Parmenides and Xenophanes, although in less good verses [scil than Empedocles’], but nonetheless in verses [. . .].

R28 (cf. A26) Philo of Alexandria, *On Providence*

a

But neither Xenophanes, nor Parmenides, nor Empedocles, nor any other theologian was possessed by poetry as if he had been divinely inspired; nevertheless, embracing the observation of this nature with joy, and dedicating their whole lives entirely to piety and the glory of the gods, they turned out to be good men, but not gifted poets. They

բերթողը ոչ բախտաւորը: գորս պարտ էր ի վերուստ
շունչ ընկալեալ շնորհ ի յերկնէ, չափս, նուագս,
մատունս երկնաւոր եւ աստուածային, իբր ճշմարիտ
բերթուածս թողալ իբր սկզբնատիպ գրոյն կատարեալ,
եւ զեղեցիկ ցոյց ալոյցն եղեալ:

b 2.42, p. 76.26–29

Արդ ընդէ՞ր Եմպեդոկլէս, եւ Պարմենիդէս, եւ
Քսենոփանէս, եւ հոմանախանձորըր սոցա պարք, ոչ
ընկալան հոգի Երածշտաց աստուածաբանելով:

R29 (A27) Athen. *Deipn.* 14.32 632C

ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν οἰκειότατα¹ διέκειντο οἱ ἀρ-
χαῖοι δῆλον καὶ ἔξ Ὀμήρου ὃς διὰ τὸ μεμελοποιηκέ-
ναι πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἀφροντιστὶ πολλοὺς²
ἀκεφάλους ποιεῖ στίχους καὶ λαγαρούς, ἔτι δὲ μει-
ούρους. Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θεόγγυς καὶ
Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ Περιάνδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγείο-
ποῖος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ
ποιήματα μελωδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι τοὺς στίχους τοῖς
ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων³ καὶ σκοποῦσιν
ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεῖς <μήτε>⁴ ἀκέφαλος ἔσται μήτε λα-
γαρὸς μήτε μείουρος.

¹ οἰκειότατα A, corr. Musurus ² τοὺς ante πολλοὺς
del. Meineke ³ post μέτρων suppl. e.g. τελείους Kaibel

⁴ <μήτε> Meineke

would have had to receive inspiration from above, grace
from Heaven, meters, harmonies, divine and heavenly
dactyls, if they were to leave behind real poems, as a per-
fect prototype of writing that would also be a good model
for others.

b

So why did Empedocles, Parmenides and Xenophanes
and the crowd of their emulators not receive the inspira-
tion of the Muses when discussing theology?¹

¹ Both texts translated by Irene Tinti.

R29 (A27) Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*

It is clear from the case of Homer too that the very ancient
[scil. poets] were naturally disposed toward music: for
since he composed all his poetry to be sung, he thought-
lessly makes many verses that have a short syllable instead
of a long one at the beginning of the first foot, or that
display the same feature in a middle foot or at the end of
the verse. By contrast, Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, Pho-
cylides, and also Periander of Corinth, the elegiac poet,
and all those who do not add a melody to their poems,
polish off their verses in conformity with the numbers and
order of the metrical feet and take care that none of them
is irregularly shortened at either the beginning, the mid-
dle, or the end.

*Xenophanes in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R30)*

R30 (≠ DK) *Turba Phil.* Sermo IX, p. 82.1–8 Plessner
ait Eximenus: quod Deus suo verbo omnia creavit, quibus
dixit: estote, et facta sunt cum aliis quatuor elementis,
terra, aqua, aere et igne, quae invicem copulavit, et com-
mixta sunt inimica. videmus enim ignem aquae inimicum
esse et aquam igni, et utrumque terrae et aeri. Deus
tamen ea pace copulavit, quousque ad invicem dilecta
sunt. ex his igitur quatuor elementis omnia creata sunt,
coelum, thronus, angeli, sol, luna, stellae, terra et mare ac
omnia, quae in mari sunt, quae varia sunt et non similia,
quorum naturas Deus diversas fecit, sicut et creationes.

*Xenophanes in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R30)***R30** (≠ DK) *The Assembly of Philosophers*

Eximenus [i.e. probably Xenophanes¹] said: "God created
all things through His Word: He said to them, 'Be!' and
they came to be, together with the other four elements,
earth, water, air, and fire, which He conjoined reciprocally,
and the things that were hostile were mixed together. For
we see that fire is hostile to water and water to fire, and
both of them to earth and air. Nonetheless, God conjoined
them together in peace, so that they are reciprocally ami-
cable. Thus out of these four elements all things were
created: heaven, the throne, the angels, the sun, the moon,
the stars, the earth, and the sea, and everything that is in
the sea. All these things are different and not similar, as
God made their natures diverse, just like the creatures
too."

¹ Identified as Xenophanes by Plessner, as Anaximenes by
Ruska.

9. HERACLITUS [HER.]

Heraclitus' activity can be situated toward the end of the sixth century BC. The general form of his book is controversial: was it made up of a series of relatively independent reflections and maxims, as is rather suggested by the sentences or groups of sentences that are transmitted, and as is most often thought, or of a more unified text, indeed of a continuous argument, as is sometimes suggested? In any case, no proposed arrangement can seriously claim to reflect the original sequence of Heraclitus' book—notoriously, Diels, in despair at the many incompatible proposals that had already been put forward at his time, placed the fragments as far as possible in the alphabetical sequence of the authors who cited them. Our own order (like other, different ones before ours) aspires only to suggest possible associations and to gather together, for convenience of consultation, fragments that seem to form thematic groupings.

Heraclitus' work with the Greek language is remarkable and distinctive. Paradox, antithesis, etymology, semantic and syntactic ambiguity—all the features that led antiquity to speak of Heraclitus "the Obscure"—are put into the service of a mode of thought that undoes commonplace identifications and classifications. Whether this approach, which often takes on the appearance of a de-

HERACLITUS

nunciation, is subordinated to a critique of identity in general or is, on the contrary, in the service of a higher identity—called god or *logos*—is a question that already divided the ancient interpreters (Aristotle vs. the Stoics). In any case, Heraclitus is the early Greek philosopher who in antiquity became the object of the largest number of divergent interpretations—of which the most celebrated one remains that of Plato, who attributes to him a conception of becoming in perpetual "flux"—and even today he continues to fascinate and divide his readers.

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HERACLITUS [22 DK]

P

Father, City, Chronology (P1–P2)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.1, 3

[1] Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἢ, ὡς τινες, Ἡράκωντος,¹ Ἐφέσιος. οὗτος ἤκμαζε μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. [. . .] [3] ἐτελεύτα βιοὺς ἔτη ἐξήκοντα.

¹ Ἡρακίωντος vel -ίωντος mss., corr. Keil

P2 (< A1a) *Suda* H.472

Ἡράκλειτος Βλόσωνος ἢ Βαύτωρος, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακίνος,¹ Ἐφέσιος, [. . .] ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἑστιάσπου [. . .].

¹ Ἡρακίνος mss.: Ἡρακῶντος Keil; Ἡρακίωνος con. Adler

HERACLITUS

P

Father, City, Chronology (P1–P2)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[1] Heraclitus, son of Blosson or, as some say, of Heracon, from Ephesus. He reached his full maturity during the 69th Olympiad [504/500 BC]. [. . .] [3] he died at the age of sixty [cf. **P16**[3]].

P2 (< A1a) *Suda*

Heraclitus, son of Blosson or of Bautor, others say of Heracis, from Ephesus. [. . .] He lived during the 69th Olympiad [504/500] during the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes [. . .].

*Royal Family (P3)***P3** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.6[. . . cf. **P9**[6]] ἐκχωρήσαι [. . .] τὰ δελφῶ τῆς βασιλείας.*Teachers (P4–P5)***P4** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.5

ἤκουσέ τε οὐδενός, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔφη διζήσασθαι¹ καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Σωτίων δέ φησιν [Frag. 30 Wehrli] εἰρηκέναι τινὰς Ξενοφάνους αὐτὸν ἀκκηκόεναι [. . . = **P16**[5]].

¹ διζήσασθαι Casaubon: διζήσεσθαι PF: διαζήσεσθαι B² (ια in ras.): διζήσθαι Φη

P5 (< A1a) *Suda* H.472

οὗτος ἐμαθήτευσεν οὐδενὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, φύσει δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἤσκηθη. [. . . = **P17**] τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν διακοῦσαι Ξενοφάνους καὶ Ἰππάσου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου.

*Political Activity (P6–P8)***P6** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.2–3

ἀξιούμενος δὲ καὶ νόμους θεῖναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερέϊδε διὰ τὸ ἤδη κεκρατῆσθαι τῇ πονηρᾷ πολιτείᾳ τὴν πόλιν. [3] ἀναχωρήσας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος

*Royal Family (P3)¹***P3** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He renounced the title of king in favor of his brother.

¹ According to the historian Pherecydes, cited by Strabo (*Geogr.* 14.3), the descendants of Androclus, the founder of Ephesus, were called by the title of kings and enjoyed certain distinctive honors.

*Teachers (P4–P5)***P4** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He studied with no one, but he said that he searched for himself [cf. **D36**] and that he learned everything from himself. But Sotion says that some people said that he studied with Xenophanes [. . .].

P5 (< A1a) *Suda*

[. . .] He was not the disciple of any of the philosophers, but was educated by his [or: by] nature and diligence. [. . .] Some people said that he studied with Xenophanes and Hippasus the Pythagorean.

*Political Activity (P6–P8)***P6** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

When he was asked by them [i.e. the Ephesians] to give them laws, he scorned to do so, since the city was already dominated by its bad constitution. [3] And he withdrew

μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἤστραγάλιζε· περιστάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐφεσίων, “τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε;” εἶπεν· “ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι;”

P7 (< A3b) Plut. *Garr.* 17 511B

[. . .] ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν γνώμην τι' εἰπεῖν περὶ ὁμοιοῦς, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ λαβὼν ψυχροῦ κύλικα καὶ τῶν ἀλφίτων ἐπιπάσας καὶ τῷ γλήχωνι κινήσας ἐκπιῶν ἀπήλθεν, ἐνδειξάμενος αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὸ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀρκεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ δέισθαι τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοιοῦς διατηρεῖ τὰς πόλεις.

P8 (< A3) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.65.4

Ἡράκλειτος γὰρ ὁ Βλύσωνος Μελαγκόμαν τὸν τύραννον ἔπεισεν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος βασιλέα Δαρεῖον παρακαλοῦντα ἤκειν εἰς Πέρσας ὑπερείδεν.

Character (P9–P12)

Arrogance (P9–P10)

P9 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.1, 5, 6, 15

[1] μεγαλόφρων δὲ γέγονε παρ' ὄντιναοῦν καὶ ὑπερόπτης, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δηλόν, ἐν ᾧ φησι [. . . = D20]. εἶναι γὰρ “ἐν τὸ σοφόν” [. . . = D44].

[5] γέγονε δὲ θαυμάσιος ἐκ παίδων, ὅτε καὶ νέος ὢν ἔφασκε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντα

into the temple of Artemis, where he spent his time playing dice with the children [cf. **D76**]; when the Ephesians gathered around him he asked, “Why are you surprised, you wretches? Is it not better to do this than to engage in politics with you?”

P7 (< A3b) Plutarch, *On Garrulity*

[. . .] when his fellow citizens asked him to give his opinion about concord, he went up to the rostrum, took a goblet of cold water, sprinkled some barley groats into it and stirred it with mint [cf. **D59**]; then he drank it out and went away—he had shown them that to be satisfied with one's circumstances and to feel no need for luxuries preserves cities in peace and concord.

P8 (< A3) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

For Heraclitus, the son of Blosson, persuaded the tyrant Melancomas to relinquish his rule. He looked down upon King Darius, who invited him to come to Persia [cf. **R117**].

Character (P9–P12)

Arrogance (P9–P10)

P9 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[1] He was surpassingly haughty and contemptuous, as is clear from his book, in which he says, [. . . = **D20**]. For “**What is wise is one**” [. . . = **D44**]. [. . .] [5] He was astonishing from childhood, for when he was young, he said that he knew nothing, but, when he had grown up, he said

ἐγνωκέαι. [. . .] [6] σημείον δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μεγαλοφρο-
 σύνης Ἀντισθένης φησὶν ἐν Διαδοχαῖς [FCrHist 508
 F10 = Frag. 10 Giannattasio Andria]: ἐκχωρήσαι γὰρ
 τὰδελφῷ τῆς βασιλείας. [. . .] [15] Δημήτριος δέ φη-
 σιν ἐν τοῖς Ὁμωνύμοις [Frag. 27 Mejer] καὶ Ἀθηναίων
 αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονῆσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα παμπλείστην, κα-
 ταφρονούμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον
 τὰ οἰκεία.

P10

a (< T143 Mouraviev) Arist. *EN* 7.5 1146b29–30

ἔμοι γὰρ πιστεύουσιν οὐδὲν ἦττον οἷς δοξάζουσιν ἢ
 ἕτεροι οἷς ἐπίστανται· δηλοῖ δ' Ἡράκλειτος.

b (< T144 Mouraviev) Ps.-Arist. *MM* 2.6 1201b5–9

εἰ γὰρ ἔσται ἡ δόξα σφοδρὰ τῷ βέβαιον εἶναι καὶ
 ἀμετάπειστον, οὐθὲν διοίσει τῆς ἐπιστήμης [. . .], οἶον
 Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος τοιαύτην ἔχει δόξαν ὑπὲρ ὧν
 αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

Melancholy (P11–P12)

P11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.6 (= Theophr. Frag. 233
 FHS&C)

Θεόφραστος δέ φησιν ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας [. . . cf. **R5c**].

that he knew everything. [. . .] [6] Antisthenes gives evi-
 dence in his *Successions* for his haughtiness: for he re-
 nounced the title of king in favor of his brother. [. . .] [15]
 Demetrius says in his *Homonyms* that he also looked down
 on the Athenians, so great was his renown, and that, being
 scorned by the Ephesians, he preferred his personal mat-
 ters.

P10

a (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

For certain people are not less convinced about their opin-
 ions than others are about their knowledge—[scil. the case
 of] Heraclitus shows this.

b (≠ DK) Ps.-Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*

For if an opinion is strong because it is firm and unshake-
 able, it will not at all differ from knowledge [. . .]. For
 example, Heraclitus of Ephesus has this kind of opinion
 about the things about which he held an opinion.

Melancholy (P11–P12)

P11 (< A1) Theophrastus in Diogenes Laertius

Theophrastus says that it was because of his melancholy
 [. . .].

P12 (68 A21) Sotion Περὶ ὀργῆς in Stob. 3.20.53

τοῖς δὲ σοφοῖς ἀντὶ ὀργῆς Ἡρακλείτῳ μὲν δάκρυα,
Δημοκρίτῳ δὲ γέλωσ ἐπήγει.

Book (P13)

P13 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.6

ἀνέθηκε δ' αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν [. . . cf.
R5c].

Sayings (P14–P15)

P14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.12

φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί σιωπῶ, φάναι “ὦ
ὑμεῖς λαλήτε.”

P15 (< A9) Arist. *PA* 1.4 645a17–21

καὶ καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς ξένους
εἰπεῖν τοὺς βουλομένους ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, οἳ ἐπειδὴ
προσιόντες εἶδον αὐτὸν θερόμενον πρὸς τῷ ἰπνῷ,
ἔστησαν (ἐκέλευε γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσιέναι θαρροῦντας·
εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα θεούς), οὕτω καὶ [. . .].

P12 (68 A21) Sotion, *On Anger*, in Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Instead of becoming angry, Heraclitus, among the sages,
was overcome by tears, and Democritus by laughter [cf.
ATOM. P46–P48].

Book (P13)

P13 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He deposited it [scil. his book] in the temple of Artemis
[. . .].

Sayings (P14–P15)

P14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

They say that when he was asked why he kept silent, he
said, “So that you can chatter.”

P15 (< A9) Aristotle, *Parts of Animals*

Just as what Heraclitus is reported to have said to stran-
gers who wanted to meet him—they were approaching him,
but they stopped when they saw that he was warming
himself by the oven; but he told them not to hesitate but
to enter, saying to them, “For there are gods here too”—so
too [. . .].

Death (P16–P17)

P16 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.3, 4, 5

[3] καὶ τέλος μισανθρωπήσας καὶ ἐκπατήσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διητᾶτο, πόας σιτούμενος καὶ βοτάνας. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιτραπεῖς εἰς ὕδρον κατήλθεν εἰς ἄστν καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν αἰνγματωδῶς ἐπυθάνετο εἰ δύναιτο ἐξ ἐπομβρίας ἀνχμὸν ποιῆσαι· τῶν δὲ μὴ συνιέντων, αὐτὸν εἰς βούστασιν κατορύξας τῇ τῶν βολβίτων ἀλέᾳ ἤλπισεν ξηρατισθῆσθαι. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων οὐδ' οὕτως, ἐτελεύτα βιοῦς ἔτη ἐξήκοντα. [. . .] [4] Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησι [Frag. 29 Wehrli] λέγειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰατροῖς εἰ τις δύναται ἔντερα¹ ταπεινώσας² ὕγρον τ³ ἐξερᾶσαι ἀπειπόντων δέ, θείναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ κελεύει τοὺς παῖδας βολβίτοις καταπλάττειν οὕτω δὴ κατατεινόμενον δευτεραῖον τελευτῆσαι καὶ θαφθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνός φησι [FCrHist 84 F25] μὴ δυναθέντα αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσαι τὰ βόλβιτα μέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀγνοηθέντα κινόβρωτον γενέσθαι. [. . .] [5] Σωτίων δὲ φησιν [Frag. 30 Wehrli] [. . . = P4] λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ τὸν ὕδρον αὐτὸν θεραπευθῆναι, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ἄλλῃ νόσῳ, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἰππόβοτος φησι [Frag. 20 Gigante].

¹ <τὰ> ἔντερα Cobet ² ταπεινώσας mss.: πείσας
Cobet: κεινώσας Diels ³ ὕγρον τ' Φh: ὕγρον BPF: <τὸ>
ὕγρον Cobet

Death (P16–P17)

P16 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[3] In the end he became a misanthrope and withdrew, passing his time in the mountains and eating herbs and plants. But when he came down with dropsy because of this, he returned to the city and asked the doctors, with a riddle, whether they were capable of changing a rainstorm into a drought; they did not understand, so he buried himself in an ox stall, hoping that he would be dried out by the warmth of the manure. But he did not achieve anything in this way either, and he died at the age of sixty [cf. P1]. [. . .] [4] Hermippus says that he asked the doctors whether it was possible to reduce his intestines and their moisture by drying them out; when they said it was not, he placed himself in the sunlight and told his slaves to smear him with cow dung. Stretched out in this way, he died the next day and was buried in the agora. Neanthes of Cyzicus says that he stayed there because he could not tear off the cow dung himself and that, since he was unrecognizable because of his transformation, he was eaten by dogs. [. . .] [5] But Sotion says [. . .] that Ariston says in his *On Heraclitus* that he was cured of his dropsy too but died of a different disease; and Hippobotus says the same thing.

P17 (< A1a) *Suda* H.472

οὗτος ὑδρωπιάσας οὐκ ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο θεραπεύειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς βολβίτῳ χρίσας ὅλον ἑαυτὸν εἶασε ξηρανθῆναι τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ κείμενον αὐτὸν κύνες προελθοῦσαι διέσπασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄμμω χωσθέντα φασὶν ἀποθανεῖν.

P17 (< A1a) *Suda*

When he came down with dropsy, he did not allow the doctors to cure him in the way they wished, but he himself smeared his whole body with cow dung and let this be dried out by the sun; as he was lying there, dogs came upon him and tore him to pieces. Others say that he died covered in sand.

See also **R78**

Iconography (P18)

P18 (p. 144.25–30 and II, p. 3 DK) Richter I, pp. 80–81 and Figures 306–13; Richter-Smith pp. 127–29 and Figures 88–90; Koch, “Ikographie,” in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 223, 224.

HERACLITUS [22 DK]

D

From Near the Beginning of Heraclitus'
Book (D1–D2)

D1 (B1) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 7.132 (et al.)

ἐναρχόμενος γοῦν τῶν Περὶ φύσεως ὁ προειρημένος
ἀνὴρ [. . . cf. **R59**[132]] φησί·

τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἕντος αἰεὶ² ἀξύνετοι γίνον-
ται ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ
ἀκούσαντες³ τὸ πρῶτον γινομένων γὰρ πάν-
των⁴ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τότε ἀπείροισιν εἰκάσι,
πειρώμενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιούτων,
ὁκοίων ἐγὼ⁵ διηγέμαι κατὰ φύσιν διαιρέων

¹ τοῦ δὲ Ps.-Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.3: τοῦ Clem. Alex. *Strom.*
5.111.7, Arist. *Rhet.* 1407b16–17: non hab. Sext.

² αἰεὶ (αἰεί) Clem., Ps.-Hipp.: om. Sext.

³ ἀκούσαντας Ps.-Hipp.

⁴ πάντων non hab. Sext.

⁵ ὅποια ἐγὼ Ps.-Hipp.

HERACLITUS

D

From Near the Beginning of Heraclitus'
*Book (D1–D2)*¹

¹ Although Sextus Empiricus and Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 3.5
1407b14) both indicate that **D1** comes from the beginning of
Heraclitus' book, it was most likely not the very first sentence but
was preceded by something along the lines of "This is the account
(*logos*) of Heraclitus of Ephesus."

D1 (B1) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

For this is what the abovementioned man [i.e. Heraclitus]
[. . .] says at the beginning of his book *On Nature* [or: of
his remarks about nature]:

**And of this account (*logos*) that is—always—hu-
mans are uncomprehending, both before they
hear it and once they have first heard it. For,
although all things come about according to
this account (*logos*), they resemble people
without experience of them, when they have
experience both of words and of things of the
sort that I explain when I analyze each [scil. of
them] in conformity with its nature and indi-**

ἕκαστον καὶ φράζων ὅκως ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλοιους ἀνθρώπους λαυθάνει ὀκόσα ἐγερθέντες ποιοῦσιν, ὅκωσπερ ὀκόσα εὐδοντες ἐπιλαυθάνονται.

D2 (< B2) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 7.133

[. . . cf. **R59**] ὀλίγα προδιελθὼν ἐπιφέρει· διὸ δεῖ ἐπεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ· ξυνὸς γὰρ ὁ κοινός.

τοῦ λόγου δ' ἕντος ξυνοῦ ζῶουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν.

Axiological Considerations (D3–D28)
Most People Do Not Understand (D3–D9)

D3 (B17) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2.8

οὐ γὰρ φρονέουσι τοιαῦτα πολλοί, ὀκόσοι ἐγκυρεῦσιν,¹ οὐδὲ μαθόντες γινώσκουσιν, ἕνωτοῖσι δὲ δοκέουσι.

¹ ἐγκυρεῦσω Diels: ἐγκυρσεύουσιν ms.

D4 (B34) Eus. *PE* 13.42 (et al.)

ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν εἰκόασιν· φάτις αὐτοῖσιν μαρτυρεῖ παρόντας ἀπείναι.

cate how it is. But other men are unaware of all they do when they are awake, just as they forget all they do while they are asleep.

D2 (< B2) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

[. . .] a little later he adds that therefore we ought to follow what is in common (for *xunos* [i.e. the Ionic term] means "in common"):

But although the account (*logos*) is in common (*xunos*), most people live as though they had their own thought (*phronêsis*).

Axiological Considerations (D3–D28)
Most People Do Not Understand (D3–D9)

D3 (B17) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Many people, as many as encounter things, do not think (*phronein*) that they are such [scil. as they are], and even after they have learned about them they do not understand them, but they think [scil. that they do].

D4 (B34) Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

Being uncomprehending, when they have heard they resemble deaf people—the saying bears witness about them: "being present, they are absent."

D5 (B19) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2.24.5

ἀπίστους εἶναι τινὰς ἐπιστύφων Ἡράκλειτός φησιν
“ἀκούσαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδ’ εἰπεῖν.”

D6 (< B70) Iambl. *An. in Stob.* 2.1.16

[. . .] Ἡράκλειτος παίδων ἀθύρματα νενόμικεν εἶναι
τὰ ἀνθρώπινα δοξάσματα.

D7 (< B74) M. Aur. 4.46

[. . .] οὐ δεῖ <ὡς>¹ παῖδας τοκεῶνων² [scil. ποιεῖν καὶ
λέγειν] [. . . = R54].

¹ <ὡς> Korais ² τοκεῶνων Headlam: τοκέων ὦν mss.

D8 (B87) Plut. *Aud.* 7 41A; *Aud. poet.* 28D

βλαξ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ παντὶ λόγῳ ἐπτοῆσθαι φιλεῖ.

D9 (B97) Plut. *An seni res. publ. ger. sit* 7 787C

κύνες γὰρ καταβαύζουσι ὦν ἂν μὴ γινώσκωσι.

The Best Are Few (D10–D14)

D10 (B104) Procl. *In Alc.* I, p. 117

ὀρθῶς οὖν καὶ ὁ γενναῖος Ἡράκλειτος ἀποσκορακίζει
τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἄνου καὶ ἀλόγιστον. “τίς,” γὰρ, “αὐ-
τῶν,” φησί, “νόος ἢ φρήν; δῆμων αἰδοῖσι πείθον-

D5 (B19) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Criticizing some people as unbelieving, Heraclitus says:
“**not knowing how to hear or speak**” [or: they do not
know how to speak either].

D6 (< B70) Iamblichus, *On the Soul*

[. . .] Heraclitus thought that human opinions are **child-
ren’s toys**.

D7 (< B74) Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*

[. . .] we should not [scil. act and speak] <like> **the child-
ren of our parents** [. . .].

D8 (B87) Plutarch, *How to Listen; How the Young Man
Should Read Poetry*

A **dull-witted** [or: fainthearted] **man tends to be
alarmed by every account** (*logos*).

D9 (B97) Plutarch, *Whether the State should be Gov-
erned by an Old Man*

Dogs bark at whomever they do not know.

The Best Are Few (D10–D14)

D10 (B104) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s First Al-
cibiades*

Rightly then the noble Heraclitus curses the mass of men
as being mindless and irrational. For he says, “**What is
their intelligence or understanding? They believe**

ται¹ καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρείωνται ὀμίλῳ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ κακοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀγαθοί.”

¹ δῆμων αἰδοῦσι πείθονται Diels: δῆμων αἰδούσ ἠπίων τε ms.

D11 (B39) Diog. Laert. 1.88

ἐν Πριήνῃ Βίας ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, οὗ πλείων λόγος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων.

D12 (B49) Theod. Prodr. *Epist.* 1, p. 1239 (et al.)

εἷς ἐμοὶ μύριοι, ἐὰν ἄριστος ᾖ.²

¹ ἐμοὶ Gal. *De dignosc. puls.*, 8, p. 773 Kühn: om. Theod.
² ἐὰν ἄριστος ᾖ om. Gal.

D13 (B29) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.59.5, cf. 4.50.2

αἰρεῦνται ἐν ἀντὶ ἀπάντων οἱ ἄριστοι, κλέος ἀέναον θνητῶν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κεκόρηται ὄκωσπερ¹ κτήνεα.

¹ ὄκωσπερ Bernays: οὐχ ὥσπερ Clem. 4: ὅπως Clem. 5

D14 (B121) Strab. 14.2 (et al.)

ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἠβηδὸν ἀπάγξασθαι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν,¹ οἷτινες Ἐρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἐωυτῶν ὀνήστον ἐξέβαλον φάντες· “ἡμέων μηδὲ εἷς² ὀνήστος ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μή,³ ἄλλη τε καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων.”

the people’s bards and take the crowd as their teacher, for they do not know that ‘most men are bad’ [cf. Bias, MOR. T35.6.1] and that the good are few.”

D11 (B39) Diogenes Laertius

In Priene was born Bias, the son of Teutames, who is held in greater account (*logos*) than the others.

D12 (B49) Theodore Prodromus, *Letters*

One man, for me, is ten thousand, if he is the best.

D13 (B29) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

The best men choose one thing instead of all others, the ever-flowing fame of mortals; but most men are sated like cattle.

D14 (B121) Strabo, *Geography*

All the adult Ephesians ought to hang themselves and to leave the city to beardless boys: for they exiled Hermodorus, the one man of them who was most beneficial, saying, “Let there not be one man among us who is the most beneficial—otherwise, may he be elsewhere and among others.”

¹ πᾶσι . . . καταλιπεῖν Diog. Laert. 9.2: non hab. Strab.

² μηδὲ εἷς Diog. Laert: μηδεὶς Strab.

³ εἰ δὲ μή Strab.: εἰ δὲ τις τοιοῦτος Diog. Laert.

Against Accepted Views and Practices (D15–D28)
Against Conventional Religion (D15–D18)

D15 (B5) Aristocr. *Theos.* 2.68 (et al.)

καθαίρονται δ' ἄλλως¹ αἵματι μαινόμενοι οἷον εἴ τις εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβὰς πηλῷ ἀπονίξοιτο. μαίνεσθαι δ' ἂν δοκοῖη εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιφράσαιτο οὕτω ποιέοντα. καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι δὲ τουτέοισιν εὐχονται,² ὅκοῖον εἴ τις δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο,³ οὐ τι γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας οἵτινές εἰσι.

¹ ἄλλω H. Fränkel ² εὐχονται Buresch: ἔχονται ms.

³ post λεσχηνεύοιτο hab. θύειν ms., secl. Neumann

D16 (B15) Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.34.5

εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιούντο καὶ ὕμνεον ἄσμα αἰδοίοισιν, ἀναιδέστατα εἴργαστ' ἄν¹ ὦντος δὲ Ἄιδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτεφ μαίνονται καὶ ληναίζουσιν.

¹ εἴργαστ' ἄν Schleiermacher: εἴργασται ms.

D17 (< B68) Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.11

[. . .] ἄκεα Ἡράκλειτος προσεῖπεν [. . .].

D18 (B14) Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.22.2 (cf. Eus. *PE* 2.3.37)

τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος; νυκτι-

Against Accepted Views and Practices (D15–D28)
Against Conventional Religion (D15–D18)

D15 (B5) Aristocritus, *Theosophy*

They are purified in vain, because they are polluted (*mainomenoi*) by blood, just as if someone who had stepped into mud cleaned himself with mud; if any [scil. other] human noticed him doing this, he would think that he was mad (*mainesthai*). And they pray to these statues, just as if someone were to converse with houses, not knowing who the gods and heroes are.

D16 (B15) Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic*

If it were not for Dionysus that they performed the procession and sang the hymn to the shameful parts (*aidoia*), most shamefully (*anaidestata*) would they be acting; but Hades is the same as Dionysus, for whom they go mad (*mainesthai*) and celebrate maenadic rites.

D17 (< B68) Iamblichus, *On the Mysteries*

Heraclitus calls them [i.e. obscene rituals and hymns] cures.

D18 (B14) Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic*

To whom does Heraclitus of Ephesus address his proph-

πόλοις, μάγοις, βάρκοις, λήναις, μύσταις· τοῦτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τοῦτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ· τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνερωστὶ μνεῦνται.

Against Various Men (D19–D28)
Against Men Accepted as Wise (D19–D20)

D19 (< B28) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.9.3

δοκέοντων γὰρ ὁ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει.

app. vid. ad R83

D20 (B40) Diog. Laert. 9.1 (et al.)

πολυμαθὴν νόον¹ οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην αὐτὶς τε Χενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖον.

¹ ἔχειν post νόον hab. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.93.2; Athen. *Deipn.* 13.91

On Homer (and Archilochus) (D21–D24)

D21 (B42) Diog. Laert. 9.1

τόν τε Ὅμηρον ἔφασκεν ἄξιον ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκβάλλεσθαι καὶ ραπίζεσθαι καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ὁμοίως.

esies? To **night-wanderers, Magi, Bacchants, Maenads, and initiates** (*mustai*). It is to these that he threatens what comes after death, to these that he prophesies **the fire** [cf. D84]. For **they are initiated** (*mueisthai*) **impiously into the mysteries** (*mustêria*) **that are recognized among men.**

Against Various Men (D19–D28)
Against Men Accepted as Wise (D19–D20)

D19 (< B28) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Of those who have opinions (*dokeontes*), **it is the man who enjoys the highest opinion** (*dokimôtatos*) **who knows.**¹

¹ Text uncertain; we suppose that the word that follows in Clement's text ("maintains") is a gloss by him, but it is sometimes corrected to "to preserve" and attributed to Heraclitus (cf. R83).

D20 (B40) Diogenes Laertius

Much learning does not teach intelligence: for otherwise it would have taught it to Hesiod and Pythagoras, and again to Xenophanes and Hecataeus.

On Homer (and Archilochus) (D21–D24)

D21 (B42) Diogenes Laertius

He said that Homer deserved to be driven out of the competitions and thrashed,¹ and Archilochus likewise.

¹ *Rapizesthai* may be intended to recall *rapsōidesthai* ("to be recited by a rhapsode").

D22 (B56) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.6

ἐξηπάτηνται, φησίν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν φανερῶν παραπλησίως Ὅμηρον, ὃς ἐγένετο τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτερος πάντων· ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ παῖδες φθειρας κατακτείνοντες ἐξηπάτησαν εἰπόντες· ὅσα εἶδομεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν,¹ ταῦτα ἀπολείπομεν, ὅσα δὲ οὔτε εἶδομεν οὔτ' ἐλάβομεν, ταῦτα φέρομεν.

¹ ἐλάβομεν Bernays: κατελάβομεν ms.

D23 (A22) Arist. *EE* 7.1 1235a25–28

καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι “ὡς ἔρις ἕκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι ἁρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος ἐναντίων ὄντων.

D24 (B105) Schol. AT in *Il.* 18.251

Ἐκτορι δ' ἦεν ἑταῖρος, ἢ δ' ἐν νυκτὶ γέγοντο] Ἡράκλειτος ἐντεῦθεν ἀστρολόγον φησὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον καὶ ἐν οἷς φησι “μοῖραν δ' οὐ τινὰ φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν.”

D22 (B56) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

Regarding the knowledge of things that are evident, humans are fooled in the same way as Homer, who was wiser than all the other Greeks. For boys who were killing lice fooled him by saying, “The ones we see and grasp, we leave behind; the ones we do not see or grasp, we take away.”

D23 (A22) Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics*

Heraclitus criticizes the poet [i.e. Homer] who wrote, “If only strife would vanish from gods and men!” (*Il.* 18.107): for there would not be any harmony (*harmonia*) if there were not high-pitched and low-pitched, nor would there be any animals without female and male, which are opposites.

D24 (B105) Scholia on Homer's *Iliad*

“He [i.e. Polydamas] was Hector's comrade, and they were born the same night” [*Il.* 18.107]: It is on the basis of this verse that Heraclitus calls Homer an astronomer, and also of the one in which he says, “I say that there exists no man who has ever escaped his fate” [*Il.* 6.488].

*On Hesiod (D25)***D25**

a (B57) (Ps.-?)-Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10

διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσίοδος· τοῦτον ἐπίστανται πλείστα εἰδέναι, ὅστις ἡμέρην καὶ εὐφρόνην¹ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν· ἔστι γὰρ ἓν.

¹ εὐφρόνην Miller: εὐφροσύνην ms.

b (< B106) Plut. *Cam.* 19

[. . .] Ἡράκλειτος ἐπέπληξεν Ἡσιόδῳ τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ποιουμένῳ, τὰς δὲ φαύλας, ὡς ἀγνοοῦντι φύσιν ἡμέρας ἀπάσης μίαν οὔσαν [. . .]

On Thales

See **THAL. R1**

On Pythagoras (D26)

D26 (B129) Diog. Laert. 8.6

Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ἱστορίην ἤσκησεν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποίησατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίην.

*On Hesiod (D25)***D25**

a (B57) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

The teacher of the most people is Hesiod; they are certain (*epistasthai*) that it is he who knows (*eidenai*) the most things—he who did not understand (*gignōsketein*) day and night, for they are one.

b (< B106) Plutarch, *Camillus*

[. . .] Heraclitus disparaged Hesiod for thinking that some [i.e. days] are good, others bad, saying that he did not know that the nature of every day is one [. . .]

See also **R12**

On Thales

See **THAL. R1**

On Pythagoras (D26)

D26 (B129) Diogenes Laertius

Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, devoted himself to investigation more than all other men, and after he had made a selection of these writings [scil. probably: the writings of other people] he devised his own wisdom: much learning, evil artifice.

On Someone Else? (D27)

D27 (< B81) Philod. *Rhet.* 1, Col. 57.12–13; cf. Col. 62.8–9, p. 351 (cf. p. 354 Sudhaus)

[. . .] κοπίδων ἐστὶν¹ ἀρχη[γός] [. . .].

¹ ἐστὶν om. Col. 62.8

A Global Condemnation (D28)

D28 (< B28) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.9.3

Δίκη καταλήψεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας.

Epistemological Considerations (D29–D45)*All Humans Think* (D29–D30)

D29 (B113) Stob. 3.1.179

ξυνόν ἐστι πᾶσι τὸ φρονεῖν.

D30 (B116) Stob. 3.5.6

ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσι μέτεστι γινώσκειν ἑωυτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν.

On Someone Else? (D27)

D27 (< B81) Philodemus, *Rhetoric*

[. . .] he is **the chief of glib speakers** [. . .].¹

¹ This phrase is sometimes referred to Pythagoras, to whom Diogenes Laertius 8.8 attributes a text entitled *Kopides* (according to a plausible emendation of Diels).

A Global Condemnation (D28)

D28 (< B28) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Justice will seize hold of those who fabricate lies and of those who bear witness to them.

Epistemological Considerations (D29–D45)*All Humans Think* (D29–D30)

D29 (B113) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Thinking (*phronesein*) **is in common for all.**

D30 (B116) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

All humans have a share in knowing themselves and in thinking with moderation (*sôphronein*).

The Senses as Sources of Knowledge (D31–D34)

D31 (B55) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.5

ὄσων¹ ὄψις ἀκοὴ μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ προτιμέω.

¹ ὄσων Miller: ὄσον ms.

D32 (< B101a) Polyb. 12.27

ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες.

D33 (B107) Sext. *Emp. Adv. Math.* 7.126

κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισιν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἐχόντων.

D34 (B7) Arist. *Sens.* 5 443a23

εἰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γένοιτο, ῥίνας ἂν διαγνοίεν.

Acquiring Knowledge (D35–D40)

D35 (B123) Them. *Orat.* 5, p. 69b; cf. 12, p. 159b

φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.

Cf. app. ad **R100**

D36 (B101) Plut. *Adv. Col.* 20 1118C

ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωντόν.

The Senses as Sources of Knowledge (D31–D34)

D31 (B55) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

All the things of which sight and hearing are knowledge (*mathêsis*)¹ I honor most.

¹ Many interpreters understand: "all the things of which there is sight, hearing, knowledge . . ."

D32 (< B101a) Polybius, *Histories*

The eyes are more accurate witnesses than the ears.

D33 (B107) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

Bad witnesses for humans are the eyes and ears of those who possess barbarian souls.

D34 (B7) Aristotle, *On Sensation*

If all the things that exist became smoke, the nostrils would be able to identify them.

Acquiring Knowledge (D35–D40)

D35 (B123) Themistius, *Oration*

A nature tends to hide.¹

¹ The phrase is transmitted in different forms by numerous authors (cf. **R100**).

D36 (B101) Plutarch, *Against Colotes*

I searched for myself.

D37 (B18) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2.17.4

ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ ἐξευρήσει, ἀνεξε-
ρεύνητον ἐὸν καὶ ἄπορον.

D38 (B86) Plut. *Cor.* 38 (et al.)

ἀπιστίη¹ διαφυγγάνει μὴ γινώσκεσθαι.

¹ ἀπιστίη Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.88.5

D39 (B22) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.4.2

χρυσὸν γὰρ οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσουσι
καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν ὀλίγον.

D40 (B35) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.140.6

χρῆ γὰρ εἶ μάλα πολλῶν ἱστορίας φιλοσόφους ἄν-
δρας εἶναι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.

*The Enigmatic Expression of
Knowledge (D41–D42)*

D41 (B93) Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 21 404D

ὁ ἀναξ οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὔτε λέγει
οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.

D37 (B18) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

**If one does not expect the unexpected one will not
find it** (*exeurein*), **for it cannot be searched out** (*anex-
ereunēton*) **nor arrived at** (*aporon*).

D38 (B86) Plutarch, *Coriolanus*

Because of disbelief, it escapes being known.

D39 (B22) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

**Those who search for gold dig up much earth and
find little.**

D40 (B35) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

For according to Heraclitus, men who love wisdom must
be **investigators** into very many things.¹

¹ It is uncertain whether the whole sentence is to be attrib-
uted to Heraclitus or only some parts of it, and whether in par-
ticular the term *philosophoi* ("men who love wisdom") belongs to
him and what exactly it means here.

*The Enigmatic Expression of
Knowledge (D41–D42)*

D41 (B93) Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

**The lord whose oracle is the one in Delphi neither
speaks nor hides, but gives signs.**

D42 (< B92) Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 6 397A

Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον
[. . .].

What Is Wisdom? (D43–D45)

D43 (B108) Stob. 3.1.174

ὁκόσων λόγους ἤκουσα, οὐδεὶς ἀφικνέεται ἐς τοῦτο
ὥστε γινώσκειν ὅτι σοφόν ἐστὶ πάντων κεχωρισμέ-
νον.

D44 (B41) Diog. Laert. 9.1

ἐν τῷ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὅτ' ἐκυβέρνησε¹
πάντα διὰ πάντων.

¹ ὅτ' ἐκυβέρνησε Diels: ὅτε ἡ κυβερνήσαι B¹ (ἦ B²): ὅτ' ἐ-
κ- P¹ (Q)

D45 (B32) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.115.1

ἐν τῷ σοφόν, μόνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει
Ζηνὸς ὄνομα.

Fundamental Principles (D46–D88)

All Things Are One (D46)

D46 (< B50) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.1

οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου¹ ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογεῖν
σοφόν ἐστὶν ἐν πάντα εἶναι.²

D42 (< B92) Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

The Sibyl with her raving mouth, according to Hera-
clitus [. . .].

What Is Wisdom? (D43–D45)

D43 (B108) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Of all those whose accounts (*logoi*) **I have heard, no
one has arrived at the point of knowing that what is
wise is separated from all.**

D44 (B41) Diogenes Laertius

One thing, what is wise: to know the thought (*gnômê*)
that steers all things through all things.

D45 (B32) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

**One thing, what is wise: it does not want and does
want to be called only by the name of Zeus.**

Fundamental Principles (D46–D88)

All Things Are One (D46)

D46 (< B50) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

After you have listened not to me (*emos*) **but to the
account** (*logos*), **it is wise to recognize** (*homologeîn*)
that all things are one.

¹ λόγου Bernays: δόγματος ms.

² εἶναι Miller: εἰδέναι
ms.

The Opposites (D47–D81)
The Unity of Opposites (D47–D62)

D47 (< B10) Ps.-Arist. *Mund.* 5 396b20–22 (et al.)

συνάψεις¹ ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα, συμφερόμενον καὶ² δια-
 φερόμενον, συνᾶδον διᾶδον, καὶ³ ἐκ πάντων ἐν καὶ
 ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα.

¹ συνάψεις A²CEGT: συλλάψεις (superscriptum ν) Lp: συλ-
 λήψεις P: συλλάψει ἐς Stob. 1.40.5 ² καὶ del. Zeller
³ καὶ om. F F1 2

D48 (B67) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.8

ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη,¹ χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰ-
 ρήνη, κόρος λιμός· ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ ὄκωσπερ <πῦρ>,²
 ὀκόταν³ συμμιγῆ θνώμασιν, ὀνομάζεται καθ' ἡδο-
 νὴν ἐκάστου.

¹ εὐφρόνη Miller: εὐφράνθη ms. ² <πῦρ> Diels
³ <δ> ὀκόταν Marcovich

D49 (< B51) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.2 (et al.)

οὐ ξυνιᾶσιν ὄκως διαφερόμενον ἐωντῶ ὀμολογέει¹
 παλίντροπος² ἄρμονίη ὄκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

¹ ὀμολογέειν ms., corr. Miller ² παλίντροπος Plut. *Is. et*
Os. 369B, *Tranquil. an.* ms. D, Porph. *Antr.* 29

The Opposites (D47–D81)
The Unity of Opposites (D47–D62)

D47 (< B10) Ps.-Aristotle, *On the World*

**Conjoinings: wholes and not wholes, converging and
 diverging, harmonious dissonant; and out of all
 things one, and out of one all things.**

D48 (B67) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

**God: day night, winter summer, war peace, satiety
 hunger. He changes just as <fire>, when it is mixed
 together with incense, is named according to the
 scent of each one.**

D49 (< B51) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

**They do not comprehend how, diverging, it accords
 with itself:¹ a backward-turning fitting-together
 (harmonîê), as of a bow and a lyre.²**

¹ Or, following Plato's paraphrase (*Symposium* 187A, cf.
R32), "it converges with itself." ² The bow and the lyre are
 the two fundamental attributes of Apollo.

D50 (B54) Plut. *An. proc.* 27 1026C

ἁρμονίη ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείττων.

D51 (B60) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.4

ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὄντη.

D52 (< B59) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.4

γνάφων¹ ὁδὸς εὐθεία καὶ σκολιή.

¹ γνάφων Marcovich: γραφέων ms.: γναφείω Bernays

D53 (B48) *Etym. Mag.* s.v. βίος, p. 198.26

τῷ οὖν τόξῳ ὄνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.

D54 (B103) Porph. *Quaest. Hom.* ad *Il.* 14.200

ξυλὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας,
κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.

D55 (B23) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.10.1

Δίκης ὄνομα οὐκ ἂν ᾔδεισαν,¹ εἰ ταῦτα μὴ ᾔν.

¹ ᾔδεισαν Sylburg: ἔδεισαν ms.: ἔδεισαν Höschel

D50 (B54) Plutarch, *On the Generation of the Soul in Plato's Timaeus*

Invisible fitting-together (*harmonîê*), **stronger than a visible one.**

D51 (B60) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

The way upward and downward: one and the same.

D52 (< B59) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

The way of carding-combs: straight and crooked.¹

¹ (Ps.-?) Hippolytus' paraphrase (**R86[4]**) helps explain this difficult and corrupt sentence.

D53 (B48) *Etymologicum Magnum*

The name of the bow (cf. *biôs*) **is life** (*bîos*), **but its work is death.**

D54 (B103) Porphyry, *Homeric Questions on the Iliad*

For on the circumference of a circle, the beginning and the end are **in common**, according to Heraclitus.¹

¹ It is uncertain how much of this sentence is to be attributed to Heraclitus besides the Ionic term "in common."

D55 (B23) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

They would not know the name of Justice if these things [i.e. unjust actions?] **did not exist.**

D56 (B111) Stob. 3.1.177

νοῦσος ὑγιείην ἐποίησεν ἥδὺ καὶ ἀγαθόν, λιμὸς κόρον, κάματος ἀνάπαυσιν.

D57 (< B58) (Ps.-?) Hippol. Ref. 9.10.3

οἱ γοῦν ἰατροί, φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, τέμνοντες, καίοντες, πάντη βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς ἀρρωστούοντας, ἐπαιτιῶνται μηδέν' ἄξιον μισθόν¹ λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀρρωστούντων, ταῦτ' ἐργαζόμενοι, †τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς νόσους†.²

¹ μισθῶν ms., corr. Wordsworth ² τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς νόσους ms.: τὰ καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι Wilamowitz, alii alia

D58 (B84a) Plot. 4.8.1

μεταβάλλον ἀναπαύεται.

D59 (B125) Theoph. Vert. 9 (et al.)

[. . .] καὶ ὁ κυκεῶν δίσταται¹ κινούμενος.

¹ δίσταται <μῆ> Bernays, cf. Ps.-Alex. Probl. 3.42 (p. 11.16–17 Usener) ὁ δὲ κυκεῶν [. . .] ἐὰν μὴ τις ταράττη, δίσταται.

D56 (B111) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Illness makes health sweet and good, hunger does so for satiety, toil for repose.

D57 (< B58) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

Doctors, Heraclitus says, **cutting, cauterizing**, badly mistreating their patients in every way, **complain that they do not receive an adequate payment from their patients—and are producing the same effects**, †benefits and diseases†.¹

¹ The passage is very uncertain, regarding not only its text but also what is to be assigned to Heraclitus and what to (Ps.-?) Hippolytus. It seems to illustrate the unity of opposites, good and bad, by the example of doctors.

D58 (B84a) Plotinus, *Enneads*

Changing, it remains at rest.

D59 (B125) Theophrastus, *On Dizziness*

A kukeōn too separates out if it is stirred.¹

¹ Or, with a different text, “A kukeōn too separates out if it is not stirred.” *Kukeōn* is a drink made out of a suspended mixture of barley, cheese, and water or wine.

D60 (< B124) Theophr. *Metaph.* 7a14

ὥσπερ †σαρξ†¹ εἰκῆ κεχυμένων² ὁ³ κάλλιστος ὁ⁴ κόσμος.

¹ σαρξ mss.: σάρων Bernays: σωρός Usener, alii alia: an σωρῶν?
² κεχυμένων mss.: -η Bergk: -ον Usener
³ ὁ del. Bergk
⁴ ὁ del. Usener

D61 (B122) *Suda* A.398 et A.1762 (ad ἀμφισβαστεῖν)

[. . .] ἀγχιβασίην Ἡράκλειτος.

D62 (B8) Arist. *EN* 9.2 1155b4–6

[. . .] Ἡράκλειτος τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστην ἁρμονίαν καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι.

War (D63–D64)

D63 (B80) Orig. *Cels.* 6.42

εἰδέναι¹ χρῆ τὸν πόλεμον ἐόντα ξυνόν, καὶ δίκην ἔριν,² καὶ γίνομενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ χρεῶν.³

¹ εἰδέναι Schleiermacher: εἰ δὲ mss. ² ἔριν Schleiermacher: ἐρεῖν mss. ³ χρεῶν Diels: χρεώμενα mss.

D60 (< B124) Theophrastus, *Metaphysics*

Like †flesh† of things spread out at random, the most beautiful order (*kosmos*).

D61 (B122) *Suda*

an approach: Heraclitus.¹

¹ This isolated word may belong to the theme of the fitting-together of opposites.

D62 (B8) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

[. . .] Heraclitus [scil. says] that what is opposed converges [cf. **D47**], and that the most beautiful harmony (*harmonia*) comes out of what diverges [cf. **D49**], and that all things come about by strife [cf. **D63**].

War (D63–D64)

D63 (B80) Origen, *Against Celsus*

One must know that war is in common, that justice is strife, and that all things come about by strife and constraint.

D64 (B53) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.4

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

Flux (D65–D66)

D65

a (B49a) Heracl. *Alleg.* 24.4

ποταμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμβαίνομέν τε καὶ οὐκ ἐμβαίνομεν, εἶμέν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶμεν [cf. R9].

b (< B12) Cleanthes apud Ar. *Did.* in Eus. *PE* 15.20.2

ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνοσιν ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ.

c (< A6) Plat. *Crat.* 402a

[ΣΩ.] λέγει πού Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῆ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει ὡς δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης.

d (< T353 Mouraviev) Sen. *Epist.* 58.23

hoc est, quod ait Heraclitus: "in idem flumen bis descendimus et non descendimus." manet enim idem fluminis nomen, aqua transmissa est.

D64 (B53) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

War is the father of all and the king of all, and has revealed that the ones are gods and the others humans, and has made the ones slaves and the others free.

Flux (D65–D66)

D65

a (B49a) Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories*

We step and we do not step into the same rivers, we are and we are not [cf. R9].

b (< B12) Cleanthes in Arius Didymus in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

It is always different waters that flow toward those who step into the same rivers.

c (< 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.

d (≠ DK) Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*

This is what Heraclitus says: "Into the same river we do and do not step twice." For the name 'river' remains the same, but the water passes by.

D66 (< T156 Mouraviev) Arist. *Metaph.* A6 987a32

[. . .] ταῖς Ἡρακλειτείαις δόξαις, ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἰεὶ ρέοντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὔσης [. . .].

Cyclical Alternation of Opposites (D67–D72)

D67 (B126) Schol. in Tzetz. *In Il.*, p. 126

τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται, ὑγρὸν αὐαίνεται, καρφαλέον νοτίζεται.

D68 (B88) Ps.-Plut. *Cons. Ap.* 10 106E

ταυτό γ' ἐνὶ ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὸς καὶ τὸ¹ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ καθεύδον καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκείνά ἐστι, κάκεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα.

¹ τὸ del. Reiske

D69 (A19) Plut. *Def. orac.* 11 415E

οἱ μὲν ἠβώντων' [Hes. *Frag.* 304.2 Merkelbach-West] ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ἔτη τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεὰν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας.

D66 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] the Heraclitean doctrines according to which all perceptible things are constantly flowing and there is no knowledge about them [. . .].

Cyclical Alternation of Opposites (D67–D72)

D67 (B126) Tzetzes, *Scholia on Commentary on Homer's Iliad*

Cold things become warm, warm becomes cold, wet becomes dry, parched becomes moist.

D68 (B88) Ps.-Plutarch, *Consolation to Apollonius*

There is the same within, what is living and what is dead, what is awake and what is sleeping, and what is young and what is old; for these, changing, are those, and those, changing in turn, are these.¹

¹ The last phrase probably belongs not to Heraclitus but to Ps.-Plutarch.

D69 (A19) Plutarch, *The Obsolescence of Oracles*

Those who read "of men who have reached puberty" [i.e. in a fragment of Hesiod] define a generation as lasting thirty years, according to Heraclitus, for it is in this period of time that a parent produces an offspring from himself that produces offspring.

D70 (B62) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.6

ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοί ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες.

D71 (B26) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.143

ἄνθρωπος ἐν εὐφρόνῃ¹ φάος ἄπτεται ἐαντῷ ἀποθανῶν,² ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις.³ ζῶν δὲ ἄπτεται τεθνεώτος εὐδων.⁴ ἐγρηγορῶς ἄπτεται εὐδοντος.

¹ εὐφρόνῃ Sylburg: εὐφροσύνη ms. ² ἀποθανῶν secl. Wilamowitz ³ ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις secl. Stählin ⁴ post εὐδων hab. ms. ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις, del. Wilamowitz

D72 (< B21) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3.21.1 (cf. 5.105.2)

θάνατός ἐστιν ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν, ὁκόσα δὲ εὐδοντες ὕπνος.

*Divine Perspective, Human
Perspective (D73–D77)*

D73 (B102) Porph. *Quaest Hom. ad Il.* 4.4

τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἅ μὲν ἄδικα ὑπειλήφασιν ἅ δὲ δίκαια.

D70 (B62) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*
Immortals mortals, mortals immortals, living the death of these, dying the life of those.

D71 (B26) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

A human being, in the night, lights [haptesthai] a lamp for himself, dead,¹ his eyes extinguished; living, he touches on [haptesthai] a dead man when sleeping; when awake, he touches on [haptesthai] a sleeping man.

¹ This word seems to be a gloss by Clement.

D72 (< B21) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Death is whatever we see when awakened; whatever we see when sleeping is slumber.

*Divine Perspective, Human
Perspective (D73–D77)*

D73 (B102) Porphyry, *Homeric Questions on the Iliad*

For god, all things are beautiful, good, and just, but humans have assumed that some things are unjust, others just.

D74 (B78) Orig. *Cels.* 6.12

ἦθος γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γνώμας, θεῶν δὲ ἔχει.

D75 (B79) Orig. *Cels.* 6.12

ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος ὄκωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός.

D76 (B52) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.9.4

αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληίῃ.

D77 (B83) Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 289b

ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεὸν πίθηκος φανείται καὶ σοφία καὶ κάλλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν.

*Animal Perspectives, Human
Perspective (D78–D81)*

D78 (B61) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.5

θάλασσα, ὕδωρ καθαρῶτατον καὶ μιαρῶτατον, ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον καὶ ὀλέθριον.

D74 (B78) Origen, *Against Celsus*

The human character does not possess judgments (*gnōmai*), but the divine one possesses them.

D75 (B79) Origen, *Against Celsus*

A grown man is called puerile by a divinity, just as a child is by a grown man.

D76 (B52) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

A lifetime (*aiōn*)¹ is a child playing, playing checkers: the kingship belongs to a child.

¹ *aiōn* designates the vital force or the duration of a life.

D77 (B83) Plato, *Greater Hippias*

The wisest human being will seem to be a monkey compared to a god in wisdom, beauty, and everything else.

*Animal Perspectives, Human
Perspective (D78–D81)*

D78 (B61) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

The sea, the purest water and the foulest: for fish it is drinkable and life-giving, but for humans undrinkable and deadly.

D79 (< B9) Arist. *EN* 10.5 1176a7

[. . .] ὄνους σύρματ' ἂν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν.

D80

a (B13) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.2.2

ῥες βορβόρω ἡδονται μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρῶ ὕδατι.

b (B37) Colum. *Agric.* 8.4

[. . .] si modo credimus Ephesio Heracleto qui ait sues caeno, cohortales aves pulvere vel cinere lavari.

D81 (B82) Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 289a

πιθήκων ὁ κάλλιστος αἰσχρὸς ἀνθρώπων¹ γένει συμβάλλειν.

¹ ἀνθρώπων Bekker: ἄλλω mss.

Cosmic Fire (D82–D88)

D82 (< B64) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.7

τάδε¹ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός.

¹ τὰ δὲ ms., corr. Sauppe

D83 (< B16) Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2.99.5

τὸ μὴ δύνόν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθῃ;

D79 (< B9) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

Asses would choose sweepings rather than gold.

D80

a (B13) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Pigs take greater pleasure in mire than in pure water.

b (B37) Columella, *On Agriculture*

[. . .] at least if we believe Heraclitus of Ephesus, who says that pigs bathe in filth, barnyard poultry in dust or ashes.

D81 (B82) Plato, *Greater Hippias*

The most beautiful monkey is ugly compared with the human race.

Cosmic Fire (D82–D88)

D82 (< B64) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

All these things the thunderbolt steers.

D83 (< B16) Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue*

How could one possibly escape the notice of what never sets?

D84 (B66) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.6

πάντα τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὸν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται.

D85 (B30) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.105.2 (et al.)

κόσμον τόνδε,¹ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων,² οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται, πῦρ αἰεζῶον, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.

¹ τόνδε Plut. *An. proc.* 1014a; *Simpl. In Cael.* 294.15–16 (et 294.6); om. Clem. ² τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων om. Plut. *Simpl.*

D86 (< B31) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.105.3, 5 (et al.)

πυρὸς τροπαί, πρῶτον θάλασσα, θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ πρηστήρ. [. . .] θάλασσα διαχέεται, καὶ μετρέεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ὁκοῖος πρόσθεν¹ ἦν ἢ γενέσθαι γῆ.

¹ πρόσθεν Eus. *PE* 13.13.31; πρῶτον Clem.

D87 (B90) Plut. *E ap. Delph.* 8 388E

πυρὸς τε¹ ἀνταμοιβῆ τὰ² πάντα [. . .] καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων ὄκωσπερ³ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός.

¹ τε X³gB: om. cett. ² ἀνταμοιβῆ τὰ Diels: ἀνταμοίβηται X¹F¹D: ἀνταμείβεται cett.: ἀνταμοιβῆν τὰ Bernardakis ³ ὄκωσπερ Bernardakis: ἐκ ὄσπερ Γ: ὄσπερ cett.

D84 (B66) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

When the fire has come upon all things, it will judge them and seize hold of them.

D85 (B30) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

This world order (*kosmos*), the same for all, none of the gods or humans made it, but it always was and is and will be: fire ever-living, kindled in measures and extinguished in measures.

D86 (< B31) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Turnings of fire: first sea; then half of the sea, earth; and the other half, lightning storm (*prēstēr*).¹ [. . .] It spreads out as sea and its measure reaches the same account (*logos*) as it was before it became earth.

¹ There is no exact equivalent for this term in English. Cf. **D96.**

D87 (B90) Plutarch, *On the Letter E in Delphi*

All things are in exchange for fire, and fire for all things, just like goods for gold and gold for goods.

D88 (< B65) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10.7

[. . .] χρησιμοσύνην καὶ κόρον.

*Parts of the World and Physical
Phenomena (D89–D97)
The Sun (D89–D91)*

D89

a (F 3–94 Mouraviev) P. Derv. Col. IV.5–9 [= **DERV. Col. IV.5–9**].

[. . .] Ἡράκλειτος [. . .] [ἔφη·] “ἥλιο[s]” . . .] μου κατὰ φύσιν “ἀνθρω[πη]τοῦ εὖρος ποδός [ἔστι·] τὸ μ[έγε-θο]s οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων. εἰ γάρ τι οὔ]ρους ἐ[ωντοῦ ὑπερβαλε]ῖ, “Ἐρινύε[s] νιν ἐξευρήσου[σι].”

b (B3) Aët. 2.21.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ μεγέθους ἡλίου]

Ἡράκλειτος εὖρος ποδός ἀνθρωπέου.

c (B94) Plut. *Exil.* 11 604A

ἥλιος γὰρ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα, φησὶν δὲ Ἡράκλειτος· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπικούροι ἐξευρήσουσιν.

D88 (< B65) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[Scil. fire is] **shortage and satiety.**

*Parts of the World and Physical
Phenomena (D89–D97)
The Sun (D89–D91)*

D89

a (≠ DK) Derveni Papyrus

[. . .] Heraclitus [. . .] said, “**The sun**” in accordance with the nature of the world (?) “**is of the breadth of a human foot,**” not exceeding that size. For if it exceeds at all its own limits, “**the Erinyes will find it out.**”

b (B3) Aëtius

Heraclitus: [scil. the size of the sun is] **the breadth of a human foot.**

c (B94) Plutarch, *On Exile*

“**The sun will not overstep measures,**” says Heraclitus; “**otherwise, the Erinyes, Justice’s helpers, will find it out.**”

D90 (< B100) Plut. *Quaest. Plat.* 8.4 1007D–E

[. . .] ὦν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστάτης ὦν καὶ σκοπὸς¹ ὀρίζειν καὶ βραβεύειν καὶ ἀναδεικνύειν καὶ ἀναφαίνειν μεταβολὰς καὶ ὥρας αἰ πάντα φέρουσι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ πρώτῳ θεῷ γίνεται συνεργός.

¹ <ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐπί>σκοπος Reinhardt

D91

a (< B6) Arist. *Meteor.* 2.2 355a13–14

ὁ ἥλιος [. . .] νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρη ἐστίν.

b (< T 135 Mouraviev) Schol. in Plat. *Rep.* 498a

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος, φυσικὸς ὦν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ δυτικῇ θαλάσσει ἐλθὼν καὶ καταδὺς ἐν αὐτῇ σβέννυται, εἶτα διελθὼν τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ εἰς ἀνατολὴν φθάσας ἐξάπτεται¹ πάλιν, καὶ τοῦτο αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι.

¹ ἐξάπτεται edd.: ἐξάπτει mss.

D90 (< B100) Plutarch, *Platonic Questions*

[. . .] the sun, which is the overseer and observer of these things [i.e. limits and periods], becomes the collaborator of the god who leads and is first, by limiting, judging, revealing, and illuminating the changes and seasons that bring all things, according to Heraclitus.¹

¹ It is uncertain how much of this sentence belongs to Heraclitus.

D91

a (< B6) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

The sun [. . .] is **new every day**.

b (≠ DK) Scholia on Plato's *Republic*

Heraclitus of Ephesus, a natural philosopher, said that when the sun arrives at the western sea, it sets in it and is extinguished; then, passing under the earth and arriving in the east, it is kindled once again; and this is repeated incessantly.

See also **R46** [7, 10, 11]

The Moon (D92)

D92 (< T 212 Mouraviev) Aristarch. Samius in Comm. in *Od.* 20.156 (P.Oxy. 3710; vol. 53 [1986] 96–99, ed. Haslam)

a (> F 80A^a Mouraviev) Col. 2.36–37, 43–47

ὅτι ἐν νομμηρία αἱ ἐκλείψεις δηλο[εῖ] | Ἀριστάρχος ὁ Σάμ[ι]ος γράφων· [. . .] Ἡράκλειτος· συνιόντων | τῶν μηνῶν ἡμέρας ἐξ [ἑ] του φαίνεται προτέρην νομμην[εῖ] | ην δευτέρην ἄλλοτ' ἐλάσσονας μεταβάλλεται ἄλλοτε πλεῦνας.

b (F 80A^c Mouraviev) Col. 3.7–11

μεῖς τριταῖος]¹ φαινόμενος ἐκκαιδ[ε]κάτη πασσέλη-
νος φαίνεται ἐν ἡμέραις τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα· ἀπολιμ-
πάνει τὸ[ν]² ὑπομετρον | ἐν ἡμέρησι γ'.

¹ τριταῖος] Haslam

² τὸ[ν] Haslam

The Stars (D93–D95)

D93 (< B120) Strab. I.6

a

ἡοῦς καὶ ἐσπέρας τέρματα ἢ ἄρκτος.

The Moon (D92)

D92 (≠ DK) Aristarchus of Samos in an anonymous commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*¹

a

The fact that eclipses [scil. occur] on the day of the new moon is made clear by Aristarchus of Samos, who writes, “[. . .] Heraclitus [scil. says]: ‘When the months meet, it [i.e. the moon] changes during the days following its appearance—the first day on the new moon, the second—sometimes during fewer ones [scil. days], sometimes during more.’”

b

The moon that appears on the third day appears on the sixteenth day as a full moon, fourteen days later; it decreases with regard to what remains during thirteen days.

¹ Although both of these texts, whose expression and meaning are obscure, are doubtless based upon some statement made by Heraclitus, it is difficult to derive from them anything more than an indication that Heraclitus must have spoken about the phases of the moon. For another text mentioning the moon in relation to Heraclitus, see also **R49**.

The Stars (D93–D95)

D93 (< B120) Strabo, *Geography*

a

The limits of East and West: the Bear.

b

ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου οὐρος αἰθρίου Διός.

D94 (B99) Ps.-Plut. *Aqu. et ign. comp.* 7.957A (et al.)

[. . .] εἰ μὴ ἥλιος ἦν, ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων¹ εὐφρόνη ἂν ἦν.

¹ ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων add. Diels ex Plut. *Fort.* 98D et Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1.113.3

D95 (< T 564 Mouraviev) Theon Al. *In Ptol. Almag.* 1.3, p. 340.5

τὸ ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ σβέννυσθαι τὰ ἄστρα καθ' Ἡράκλειτον [. . .].

Meteorological Phenomena (D96–D97)

D96 (A14) Aët. 3.3.9 (Stob.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν πρηστῆρων τυφάνων]

Ἡράκλειτος βροντὴν μὲν κατὰ συστροφὰς ἀνέμων καὶ νεφῶν καὶ ἐμπτώσεις πνευμάτων εἰς τὰ νέφη, ἀστραπὰς δὲ κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων¹ ἐξάψεις, πρηστῆρας δὲ κατὰ νεφῶν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ σβέσεις.

¹ θυμιωμένων mss., corr. Schuster

b

Opposite to the Bear [Arktou]: the watcher [ouros] of bright Zeus [i.e. Arcturus].¹

¹ Strabo seems to be citing two brief sentences from Heraclitus in order to illustrate the meaning of the term *arktos* and is connecting them himself with his own conjunction 'and'; other scholars have taken the quotation to involve one single, longer sentence. The translation 'watcher' is uncertain (other possible renderings are 'wind' or 'boundary'), and the interpretation of the passage is controversial.

D94 (B99) Ps.-Plutarch, *Whether Water or Fire is More Useful*

If there were no sun, on account of the other stars it would be night.

D95 (≠ DK) Theon of Alexandria, *Commentary on Ptolemy's Almagest*

The fact that the stars are kindled and extinguished, according to Heraclitus [. . .].

Meteorological Phenomena (D96–D97)

D96 (A14) Aëtius

Heraclitus: thunder [scil. is caused] by the gathering of winds and clouds and the crashing of winds into the clouds, lightning by the kindling of evaporations, lightning storms (*prêstêres*)¹ by the burning and extinguishing of the clouds.

¹ See note on **D86**.

D97 (ad A14, Nachtrag I, p. 492.6) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 2.56

Heraclitus existimat fulgurationem esse velut apud nos incipientium ignium conatum et primam flammam incertam, modo intereuntem, modo resurgentem.

*A Doxographical Presentation of
Heraclitus' Physics*

See **R46**

*Human Beings (D98–D123)
The Soul (D98–D104)*

D98 (B45) Diog. Laert. 9.7

ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν¹ οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροι ὁ² πᾶσαν ἐπιπο-
ρευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθὺν³ λόγον ἔχει.

¹ πείρατα (iam Hermann) ἰὼν Diels: πειρατέ*ον B² (έ* in ras.); πειρατέ ον P¹(Q); πειραταιον B¹; πειράται δν FP⁴
² ἐξεύροι ὁ B²P²: εὔροι ὁ F: ἐξεύροιο B¹P¹ ³ βαθὺν F:
βαθὺς BP¹(Q)

D99 (B115) Stob. 3.1.180a (Σωκράτους¹)

ψυχῆς² ἐστι λόγος ἑαυτὸν αὐξῶν.

¹ Heraclito trib. Schenkl

² an ψυχῆ?

D97 (ad A14 = Nachtrag I, p. 492.6) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

Heraclitus thinks that sheet lightning is like, among us, the attempt and the first uncertain flame of beginning fires, which die down at one moment and come to life again at another.

*A Doxographical Presentation of
Heraclitus' Physics*

See **R46**¹

¹ We consider that the doxography transmitted by Diogenes Laertius belongs more to the reception of Heraclitus, in the sense of providing a cosmological interpretation of various statements by him, than to simple doctrinal information.

*Human Beings (D98–D123)
The Soul (D98–D104)*

D98 (B45) Diogenes Laertius

He who travels on every road would not find out the limits of the soul in the course of walking: so deep is its account (logos).

D99 (B115) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

An account (logos) that increases itself is that of the soul.¹

¹ Perhaps: "Soul is an account that increases itself." Stobaeus cites this sentence under the name of Socrates, but comparison with **D98** makes its attribution to Heraclitus plausible.

D100 (B36) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.17.2 (et al.)

ψυχῆσι¹ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι² δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι, ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ.

¹ ψυχῆσι Clem., Phil. *Aeter. mund.* 108 UHP: ψυχῆς εἰ Ps.-Hippol. *Ref.* 5.16.4: ψυχῆς Phil. M ² ὕδατος Phil.

D101 (B77) Porph. *Antr.* 10

[. . .] ὄθεν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον ψυχῆσι φάναι τέρψιν μὴ¹ θάνατον ὑγρῆσι γενέσθαι [cf. **R90a**].

¹ ἢ Diels, καὶ Kranz

D102 (< B12) Cleanth. apud Ar. Did. in Eus. *PE* 15.20.2

ψυχαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται.

D103 (B118) Mus. Ruf. in Stob. 3.5.8 (et al.)

αῦτη ψυχῆ, σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

app. cf. ad **R101**

D104 (B117) Stob. 3.5.7

ἀνὴρ ὀκόταν μεθυσθῆ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαῖων ὀκη βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.

D100 (B36) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

For souls it is death to become water, for water it is death to become earth; but out of earth, water comes to be, and out of water, soul.

D101 (B77) Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*

[. . .] that is why [scil. probably according to Numenius] Heraclitus also says that for souls it is a pleasure, and not death, to become moist.

D102 (< B12) Cleanthes in Arius Didymus in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

Souls evaporate from moist things.

D103 (B118) Musonius Rufus in Stobaeus, *Anthology*

A dry soul: wisest and best.¹

¹ The phrase is transmitted in different forms by numerous authors (cf. **R101**), and the exact text is uncertain.

D104 (B117) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

When a man has become drunk, he is led stumbling by a slave, a mere boy; he does not know where he is going, his soul is wet.

*Human Laws (D105–D110)***D105** (B114) Stob. 3.1.179

ξὺν νόφ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρῆ τῷ ξυνῶ πάντων, ὄκωσπερ νόμφ πόλις καὶ πολὺ¹ ἰσχυροτέρως. τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὀκόσον ἐθέλει καὶ ἐξαρκεῖ πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται.

¹ πολὺ Schleiermacher: πόλις ed. Trincavelliana: πόλιος Preller

D106 (B44) Diog. Laert. 9.2

μάχεσθαι χρῆ τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου¹ ὄκωσπερ² τείχεος.

¹ post νόμου hab. ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωμένου BP¹, del. P² (om. Q)
² ὄκωσπερ rec. (et conl. Meineke): ὄκωσ ὑπὲρ BPF

D107 (B47) Diog. Laert. 9.73

μὴ εἰκῆ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβαλλόμεθα.

D108 (B33) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.115.2 (et al.)

νόμος καὶ βουλῆ¹ πείθεσθαι ἐνός.

¹ βουλῆ (= βουλή) Eus. PE 13.13.42 I²: βουλή Clem., Eus. cett.

*Human Laws (D105–D110)***D105** (B114) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Those who speak with their mind (*xun noði*) **must rely** (*iskhurizesthai*) **on what is in common** (*xunōi*) **for all, just as a city does on its law, and much more strongly** (*iskhuroterós*) [scil. than a city]. **For all human laws are nourished by one law, the divine one: for it dominates as much as it wants to, and it suffices for all, and there is some left over.**

D106 (B44) Diogenes Laertius

The people must fight for their law just as for their city wall.

D107 (B47) Diogenes Laertius

Let us not agree in a haphazard way about the most important things.¹

¹ We presume that “the most important things” refers to politics.

D108 (B33) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

It is also a law to obey the plan of just one man.

D109 (B84b) Plot. 4.8.1

κάματός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μοχθεῖν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.

D110 (< B11) Ps.-Arist. *Mund.* 6 401a10 (et al.)

πάν γὰρ ἐρπετὸν πληγῆ¹ νέμεται.

¹ πληγῆ Stob. 1.1.36; τῆν γῆν Ps.-Arist.

Human Behavior (D111–D117)

D111 (B119) Stob. 4.40.23 (et al.)

ἡθὸς ἀνθρώπου¹ δαίμων.

¹ ἀνθρώπου Stob.: -ον Plut. *Quaest. Plat.* 999E: -ον Alex. *Fat.* p. 170.16

D112 (B43) Diog. Laert. 9.2

ὑβριν χρῆ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊήν.

D113 (< B95) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 3.1 644F

ἀμαθίην γὰρ ἄμεινον, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, κρύπτειν [. . .].

D114 (B112) Stob. 3.1.178

a

σωφρονεῖν ἀρετῇ μεγίστη.

D109 (B84b) Plotinus, *Enneads*

It is wearisome to work hard for the same ones and to be ruled by them.¹

¹ The words “and to be ruled by them” may be a gloss by Plotinus.

D110 (< B11) Ps.-Aristotle, *On the World*

Every beast is driven to pasture by blows.

Human Behavior (D111–D117)

D111 (B119) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Character, for a human, is his personal deity.

D112 (B43) Diogenes Laertius

One must extinguish arrogant violence (*hubris*) more than a conflagration.

D113 (< B95) Plutarch, *Table Talk*

It is better to hide one's ignorance, as Heraclitus says [. . .].¹

¹ The phrase is transmitted in different forms by numerous authors (cf. **R102**).

D114 (B112) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

a

To be moderate: the greatest virtue.

b

σοφίη ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ¹ φύσιν ἐπαΐ-
οντας.

¹ καλὰ Valckenaer

D115 (< A21) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2.130. 2

[. . . = ANAXAG. P36] Ἡράκλειτον [. . .] τὸν Ἐφέσιον
τὴν εὐαρέστησιν.

D116. (B85) Plut. *Cor.* 22 (et al.)

θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν ὃ γὰρ ἂν θέλη, ψυχῆς
ὠνεΐται.

D117 (B110) Stob. 3.1.176

ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι ὁκόσα θέλουσιν οὐκ ἄμεινον.

Eschatological Considerations (D118–D123)

D118 (< B20) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3.14.1

γενόμενοι ζῶειν ἐθέλουσι μόρους τ' ἔχειν, μᾶλλον δὲ
ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ παῖδας καταλείπουσι μόρους γε-
νέσθαι.

¹ This is probably Clement's paraphrase. ² Or perhaps:
"to be born as allotted deaths for those who leave children be-
hind."

b

**Wisdom: to speak the truth and to act in conformity
with the nature** [scil. of each thing], **understanding it.**¹

¹ These two quotations are linked in Stobaeus by an "and" that seems to derive from Stobaeus, not Heraclitus. The grammar and meaning of the second sentence are uncertain.

D115 (< A21) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[. . .] Heraclitus of Ephesus [scil. said that the goal of life
is] contentment.

D116 (B85) Plutarch, *Coriolanus*

To fight against an ardor (*thumos*) **is hard: for what-
ever it wants, it purchases it at the price of the soul**
[i.e. of life].¹

¹ Aristotle quotes this aphorism with approval several times
(*EN* 2.2 1105a7–8; *EE* 2.7 1223b22–24) but interprets *thumos*
(ardor, passion) restrictively as referring only to anger.

D117 (B110) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

**For humans, that whatever they wish happens is not
better.**

Eschatological Considerations (D118–D123)

D118 (< B20) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

**When they have been born they want to live and to
have their allotted deaths** (*morot*), or rather to have
their repose,¹ **and they leave children behind to be
born as allotted deaths.**²

D119 (B96) Strab. 16.4.26

νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι.

D120 (B27) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.146

ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἄσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν.

D121 (B98) Plut. *Fac. orb. lun.* 28 943E

αἱ ψυχαὶ ὀσμῶνται καθ' Ἄιδην.

D122 Theod. *Cur.* 8.39 (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.16.1, 4.49.3)

a (B24)

ἀρηιφάτους θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἄνθρωποι.

b (B25)

μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι.

D123 (< B63) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 9.10

ἐνθα δ' ἐόντι ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερετὶ ζώντων¹ καὶ νεκρῶν.

¹ ἐγερετίζόντων ms., corr. Bernays

D119 (B96) Strabo, *Geography*

Corpses are more to be thrown out than manure.

D120 (B27) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

What awaits humans after they have died is everything that they do not expect nor suppose.

D121 (B98) Plutarch, *On the Face in the Moon*

Souls perceive smells in Hades.

D122 Theodoret, *Cure of the Greek Maladies*

a (B24)

Gods and humans honor those men whom Ares has slain.

b (B25)

Greater deaths (*moroi*) obtain greater portions (*moirai*).

D123 (< B63) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

For the one who is there they rise up and become wakeful guardians of the living and of the dead.

HERACLITUS [22 DK]

R

Heraclitus' Book: Commentaries, Form, Contents
(R1–R14)

Attested Ancient Commentaries (R1–R2)

R1 Diog. Laert.

a (< A1) 9.15

πλείστοί τε εἰσι ὅσοι ἐξηγῆνται αὐτοῦ τὸ σύγγραμμα· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντισθένης [cf. 66 DK] καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός [Frag. 39 Wehrli, cf. **R1b**] Κλεάνθης [cf. **R1d**] τε¹ καὶ Σφαῖρος ὁ Στωικός [cf. **R1e**], πρὸς δὲ Παυσανίας ὁ κληθεὶς Ἡρακλειτιστής, Νικομήδης τε καὶ Διούσιος· τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν Διόδωτος [. . . = **R3b**].

¹ ὁ ποντικός post τε hab. mss., del. Bake

b (≠ DK) 5.86, 88

[. . . = **R1a**] φέρεται δ' αὐτοῦ [scil. Heraclides] συγγράμματα [. . .] Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις δ' [. . .] [Frag. 22 Wehrli].

HERACLITUS

R

Heraclitus' Book: Commentaries, Form, Contents
(R1–R14)

Attested Ancient Commentaries (R1–R2)

R1 Diogenes Laertius

a (< A1)

There are many people who have explained his treatise: among them, Antisthenes, Heraclides of Pontus, Cleanthes, Sphaerus the Stoic, and also Pausanias called 'the Heraclitist,' Nicomedes, and Dionysius;¹ and among grammarians, Diodotus [. . .].

¹ None of these authors is known or datable; the Antisthenes mentioned is certainly identical with the 'Heraclitist' mentioned at 6.19.

b (≠ DK)

Treatises by him [i.e. Heraclides of Pontus] are in circulation: [. . .] *Interpretations of Heraclitus*, in four books [. . .].

c (< A1) 9.5

λέγειν τε Ἀρίστωνα [Frag. 28 Wehrli] ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου [. . .].

d (≠ DK) 7.174

βιβλία δὲ κάλλιστα καταλέουπεν, ἃ ἔστι τάδε [. . .]
Τῶν Ἡρακλείτου ἐξηγήσεις τέσσαρα [. . .] [SVF 1.481].

e (≠ DK) 7.178

βιβλία δὲ γέγραφε τάδε [. . .] Περὶ Ἡρακλείτου πέντε
[. . .] [SVF 1.620].

R2 (T 469 Mouraviev) Lampr. *Libr. Plut.* n. 205 Treu
περὶ τοῦ τί ἔδοξεν Ἡρακλείτῳ.

*Characterizations of the Contents of
Heraclitus' Book (R3–R4)*

R3 (< A1) Diog. Laert.

a 9.5

τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον ἔστι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συν-
έχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διήρηται δ' εἰς τρεῖς λόγους,
εἰς τε τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολο-
γικόν.

c (< A1)

Ariston says in his book *On Heraclitus* [. . .].

d (≠ DK)

He [i.e. Cleanthes] has left behind the following books:
[. . .] *Interpretations of the Doctrines of Heraclitus*, in four
books [. . .].

e (≠ DK)

He [i.e. Sphaerus] wrote the following books: [. . .] *On
Heraclitus*, in five books [. . .].

R2 (≠ DK) Lamprias, *Index of Plutarch's Works
On Heraclitus' Opinions*.

*Characterizations of the Contents of
Heraclitus' Book (R3–R4)*

R3 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

The book of his that is in circulation is entitled *On Nature*
[or: is about nature] as a whole, but it is divided into three
accounts (*logoi*), about the universe, on politics, and on
theology.

b 9.15

[. . . = **R1a**] Διόδοτος, ὃς οὐ φησι περὶ φύσεως εἶναι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολιτείας, τὰ δὲ περὶ φύσεως ἐν παραδείγματος εἶδει κείσθαι.

c 9.12

ἐπιγράφουσι δ' αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν "Μούσας," οἱ δὲ "Περὶ φύσεως," Διόδοτος δὲ "ἀκριβὲς οἰάκισμα πρὸς στάθμην βίου," ἄλλοι ἰγνώμην ἡθῶν τρόπου κόσμον ἐνὸς τῶν ξυμπάντων¹.

¹ τρόπον κόσμον mss.: κόσμον τρόπων Suda locus desperatus, alii alia tempt.: γνώμης Patillon, γνώμην ἦτοι Bernays, γνώμον' . . . ἔνα Kuster, τροπὰς κόσμου Deichgräber

R4 (< T 687 Mouraviev) Sext. *Adv. Math.* 7.7

ἐζητεῖτο δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἡρακλείτου, εἰ μὴ μόνον φυσικός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠθικός φιλόσοφος.

Heraclitus the Obscure (R5–R14)
Characterizations of His Style (R5–R11)

R5 Diog. Laert.

a (A4) 2.22 (cf. 9.11)

φασὶ δ' [Ariston Frag. 29 Wehrli] Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι, "τί δοκεῖ;" τὸν

b

[. . .] Diodotus, who says that the treatise is not about nature but about the constitution, and that the remarks about nature serve as examples.

c

Some people entitle it [i.e. his book] *The Muses*, others *On Nature*; Diodotus calls it "an accurate rudder for setting life straight," others †"thought of characters way world one of all things."†¹

¹ The text is hopelessly corrupt; we translate its words without reproducing fully its syntax.

R4 (≠ DK) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

The question has also been studied regarding Heraclitus whether he is not only a natural philosopher but also a moral philosopher.

Heraclitus the Obscure (R5–R14)
Characterizations of His Style (R5–R11)

R5 Diogenes Laertius

a (A4)

They say that Euripides, after he had given Heraclitus' treatise to him [i.e. Socrates], asked, "What do you think

δὲ φάσαι, “ἂ μὲν συνήκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἂ μὴ συνήκα· πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινος δέεται κολυμβητοῦ.”

b (< A1) 9.12

Σέλευκος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ γραμματικὸς Κρότωνά τινα ιστορεῖν ἐν τῷ Κατακολυμβητῇ Κράτητά¹ τινα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσει τὸ βιβλίον· δυν² καὶ εἰπεῖν Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγῆσεται ἐν αὐτῷ.

¹ κράτητα F: κράτη BP¹

² δυν P: om. BF

c (< A1) 9. 6–7

[. . . = P13] ὡς μὲν τινες, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὅπως οἱ δυνάμενοι <μόνοι>¹ προσίοιεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημόδους εὐκαταφρόνητον ἦ. [. . .] Θεόφραστος δὲ φησιν [Frag. 233 FHS&G] ὑπὸ μελαγχολίας τὰ μὲν ἡμιτελῆ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχοντα γράψαι. [. . .] [7] [. . .] λαμπρῶς τε ἐνίοτε ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ σαφῶς ἐκβάλλει, ὥστε² καὶ τὸν νοθέστατον ῥαδίως γινῶναι καὶ διάγραμμα ψυχῆς λαβεῖν ἢ τε βραχύτης καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀσύγκριτον.

¹ <μόνοι> Rohde ² ἐκβάλλει, ὥστε rec.: ἐκβόλως τε BPF: ἐκβοᾷ ὥστε Bywater

of it?” The other answered, “What I understand is splendid; I think that what I did not understand, is too; but it needs a Delian diver [i.e. a real expert].”

b (< A1)

The grammarian Seleucus says that a certain Croton reports in his *Diver* that it was a certain Crates who was the first person to bring the book to Greece and that it was he who said that it needed a Delian diver who would not drown in it.

c (< A1)

[. . .] Some people say that he took care to write it [i.e. his book] quite obscurely, in order that <only> those would have access to it who were capable of doing so and that it not be despised because of its having a popular character. [. . .] Theophrastus says that it was because of his melancholy [cf. P11] that he left some things unfinished and rewrote others in different ways. [. . .] [7] [. . .] Sometimes he lets fall a brilliant and clear utterance in his treatise, so that even the dullest man can easily understand it and acquire elevation of the soul; the brevity and the gravity of his style are incomparable.

R6 (< A4) Arist. *Rhet.* 3.5 1407b11–18

ὅλως δὲ δεῖ εὐανάγνωστον εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ εὐφραστον [. . .] ὅπερ [. . .] οὐκ ἔχουσιν [. . .] ἃ μὴ ῥάδιον διαστίξαι, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου. τὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείτου διαστίξαι ἔργον διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον εἶναι ποτέρω πρόσκειται, τῷ ὕστερον ἢ τῷ πρότερον, οἷον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγράμματος· φησὶ γὰρ “τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ’ ἐόντος¹ αἰεὶ ἀξύνεται ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται” [cf. **D1**]. ἄδηλον γὰρ τὸ αἰεὶ, πρὸς ποτέρω² διαστίξαι.³

¹ τοῦδ’ ἐόντος Victorius: τοῦ δέοντος A: τοῦ ὄντος β
² ποτέρω Susemihl: προτέρω A: ὑποτέρω β ³ διαστίξαι
 secl. Kassel

R7 (< A4) Demetr. *Eloc.* 191–92

τὸ δὲ σαφές [. . .] ἐν τοῖς συνδεδεμένοις· τὸ δὲ ἀσύνδετον καὶ διαλελυμένον ὅλον ἀσαφές πάν· ἄδηλος γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστου κώλου ἀρχῇ διὰ τὴν λύσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα σκοτεινὰ ποιεῖ τὸ πλείστον ἢ λύσις.

R8 (< T 301 Mouraviev) Cic. *Fin.* 2.5.15

[. . .] quod duobus modis sine reprehensione fit: si aut de industria facias ut Heraclitus, “cognomento qui Σκοτεινός perhibetur, quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit,” aut cum rerum obscuritas, non verborum, facit [. . .].

R6 (< A4) Aristotle, *Rhetoric*

In general, what is written should be easy to read and easy to pronounce [. . .]. This is a feature lacking in [. . .] writings that are difficult to punctuate, like Heraclitus’. For it is hard work to punctuate Heraclitus’ statements because it is unclear with what [scil. a given term] is connected, with what follows or what precedes, as in the beginning of his book: for he says, “**And of this account that is always humans are uncomprehending**” [cf. **D1**], and it is unclear if “always” is to be punctuated so as to go with the one or the other.

R7 (< A4) Demetrius, *On Style*

Clarity depends [. . .] on connecting particles. For a whole that is asyndetic and unconnected is completely devoid of clarity, for in the absence of connection it is unclear where each phrase begins, as in Heraclitus’ writings; and in fact it is usually the absence of connection that makes these obscure.

R8 (≠ DK) Cicero, *On Ends*

[. . .] which [i.e. not being understood] can come about in two ways without being blameworthy: either if you produce this intentionally, like Heraclitus, “who is called ‘Obscure’ because he wrote very obscurely on nature”;¹ or when it is caused by the obscurity of the subject matter, not of the language [. . .].

¹ This phrase is generally considered to be a quotation from an unknown poet.

R9 (> B49a, cf. B62) Heracl. *Alleg.* 24.3–5

ὁ γοῦν σκοτεινὸς Ἡράκλειτος ἀσαφῆ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων εἰκάζεσθαι δυνάμενα θεολογεῖ τὰ φυσικὰ δι' ὧν φησί [. . . = **D70** with textual variants]· καὶ πάλιν [. . . = **D65a**]· ὅλον τε τὸ περὶ φύσεως αἰνιγματώδεις ἀλληγορεῖ.

R10 (< T 609 Mouraviev) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.8.50.2

καὶ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις εὔροιμεν ἂν ὑπὸ τε φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ τε ποιητῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς εἰρημένα, ὅπου γε καὶ ὅλα βιβλία ἐπικεκρυμμένην τὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως βούλησιν ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡς καὶ τὸ Ἡρακλείτου Περὶ φύσεως, ὃς καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Σκοτεινὸς προσηγόρευται.

R11 (< A1a) *Suda* H.472

[. . .] καὶ ἔγραψε πολλὰ ποιητικῶς.

*Two Examples of Divergent Interpretations of
an Aphorism (R12–R13)*

R12 (> B106) Sen. *Epist.* 12.7

ideo Heraclitus, cui cognomen fecit orationis obscuritas “unus,” inquit, “dies par omni est” [cf. **D25**]. hoc alius aliter excepit. dixit enim parem esse horis, nec mentitur. nam si dies est tempus viginti et quattuor horarum,

R9 (> B49a, cf. B62) Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories*

Surely it is theologically that the obscure Heraclitus speaks of natural phenomena as being subjects that are unclear but that can be represented figuratively by means of symbols, when he says, [. . . = **D70**], and again, [. . . = **D65a**]. And he allegorizes enigmatically everything that concerns nature.¹

¹ Or: in his work *On Nature*.

R10 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

And we would find thousands upon thousands of things expressed enigmatically by philosophers and poets, and sometimes whole books show us their author's meaning in a concealed way, like the *On Nature* of Heraclitus, who is called ‘the Obscure’ for this very reason.

R11 (< A1a) *Suda*

[. . .] and he wrote many things poetically.

*Two Examples of Divergent Interpretations of
an Aphorism (R12–R13)*

R12 (> B106) Seneca, *Letters to Lucilius*

Heraclitus, who owes his epithet [i.e. ‘the Obscure’] to the obscurity of his style, said, “One day is the same as every day” [cf. **D25**]. Different people have interpreted this in different ways. For one said that it is equal in the number of hours, and he spoke truly: for if “day” means twenty-

necesse est omnes inter se dies pares esse, quia nox habet quod dies perdidit. alius ait parem esse unum diem omnibus similitudine: nihil enim habet longissimi temporis spatium, quod non et in uno die invenias, lucem et noctem [. . .].

R13 (cf. B30) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 294.4–23

καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκπυροῦσθαι λέγει τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς συνίστασθαι πάλιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τινὰς χρόνων περιόδους, ἐν οἷς φησι. “μέτρα ἀπτόμενος καὶ μέτρα σβεννύμενος” [cf. **D85**]. [. . .] καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ δι’ αἰνιγμάτων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐκφέρων οὐ ταῦτα, ἅπερ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, σημαίνει. ὁ γοῦν ἐκεῖνα εἰπὼν περὶ γενέσεως, ὡς δοκεῖ, τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τάδε γέγραφε. “κόσμον τόνδε οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν αἰεὶ” [cf. **D85**]. πλὴν ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος βουλόμενος τὸν Ἡράκλειτον γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν λέγειν τὸν κόσμον ἄλλως ἀκούει τοῦ κόσμου νῦν. “οὐ γὰρ μαχόμενα,” φησί, “λέγει ὡς ἂν τῷ δόξαι. κόσμον γάρ,” φησί, “ἐνταῦθα οὐ τήνδε λέγει τὴν διακόσμησιν, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὴν τούτων διάταξιν, καθ’ ἣν εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐν μέρει ἡ μεταβολὴ τοῦ παντός, ποτὲ μὲν εἰς πῦρ, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς τὸν τοιόνδε κόσμον· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη τούτων ἐν μέρει μεταβολὴ καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος κόσμος οὐκ ἤρξατό ποτε, ἀλλ’ ἦν αἰεὶ.”

four hours, then all days must necessarily be equal, inasmuch as the night contains what the day loses. But another one said that one day is equal to all the others from the point of view of resemblance, because the extent of the very longest time contains nothing which you could not find in a single day—that is, light and night [. . .].

R13 (cf. B30) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Heraclitus says that the world sometimes undergoes a conflagration and sometimes is reconstituted again out of the fire, following certain periods of time, when he says, “**kindled in measures and extinguished in measures**” [cf. **D85**]. [. . .] And Heraclitus, who expresses his wisdom by means of enigmas, is not signifying either [i.e. besides Empedocles] what most people think he means. For in any case having said this about the generation of the world, as it seems, he has also written the following: “**this world order, none of the gods or humans made it, but it always was**” [cf. **D85**]. Except that Alexander, who wants Heraclitus to say that the world is generated and perishable, now understands “world” differently. He says, “He does not say anything contradictory, as someone might suppose; for he does not mean by ‘world’ here the organization of this world, but in general the things that exist and their arrangement, in virtue of which the change of the whole takes place alternately in both directions, sometimes into fire, sometimes into this world. For this sort of alternation in the changes of these things and this sort of world did not ever begin, but always existed.”

A Facetious Falsification (R14)

R14 (T 574A, T 565 Mouraviev) Gal. *In Hipp. Epid.* 2 (CMG 5/10/1, p. 402.27)

[1] والأمر فيها عندي أنه إنما الحق تلك الأقاويل في كتب أبقراط بعض أهل الخبث، وهو يريد أن يفضح بها أولئك السوفسطائيين الأشقياء¹ ويهتكهم ويبتين جهلهم، كما فعل رجل من أهل دهرنا يقال له لوقيانوس. [2] فإنه افتعل كتاباً ألف فيه كلاماً غامضاً ليس تحته² معنى أصلاً، ونسبه إلى إراقليطوس³. ودفعه إلى قوم واتوا به رجلاً فيلسوفاً مقبول القول مصدقاً موثقاً به عند الناس. فسألوه تفسيره وشرحه لهم. فلم يفتن ذلك البائس أنهم إنما قصدوا السخرية به. فجعل يأتي بتأويلات في ذلك الكلام، وهو عند نفسه في غاية الحق⁴ فافتضح بذلك.

mss. A1 = Istanbul, Aya Sofia MS 3592, fol. 146b, line 16–fol. 147a, line 10; E1 = Madrid, Escorial MS Árabe 804, fol. 122a, lines 3–10; M = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS B 135 Sup., fol. 82a

1 والأشقياء E1, A1: الأشقياء M
 2 تحته E1, A1: *fort.* بوجهه M
 3 إراقليطوس M: إراقليطوس³ A1
 4 الحق E1, M: الجد A1

Reception of Heraclitus' Doctrine (R15–R92)
Parody and Allusion in (Ps.-?) Epicharmus

See **DRAM. T5–T8**

A Facetious Falsification (R14)

R14 (≠ DK) Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics II*

[1] My view about them [scil. interpolated texts in works by Hippocrates] is that an ill-intentioned person appended these texts to the writings of Hippocrates, seeking to shame and disgrace those miserable sophists, so that their ignorance would be revealed, just as one of our contemporaries named Lucian¹ has done. [2] For he forged a book in which he collected obscure words that have no meaning at all, and then attributed it to Heraclitus. He then gave it to some people who presented it to a philosopher whose utterances were well regarded and whom people found to be truthful and trustworthy. They asked him to explain it and comment on it for them. But this poor man did not realize that they only wanted to mock him. So, thinking himself to be extremely clever, he began to deliver expositions on the book, but brought disgrace upon himself as a result.²

¹ This Lucian may or may not be identical with Galen's celebrated contemporary, Lucian of Samosata. ² Translated by Peter E. Pormann, based on an earlier version produced by Bink Hallum, and revised by Kamran Karimullah and Peter E. Pormann.

Reception of Heraclitus' Doctrine (R15–R92)
Parody and Allusion in (Ps.-?) Epicharmus

See **DRAM. T5–T8**

A Polemic in Parmenides? (R15)

R15 (28 B6.4–9) Simpl. In *Phys.*, p. 117.8–13, 78.3–4 (v. 8–9)

[. . . = **PARM. D7.1–4**] ἦν δὲ βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδέν
πλάττονται δίκρανοι ἀμηχανίη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῶν
στήθεσιν ἰθύνει πλαγκτὸν νόον. οἱ δὲ φοροῦνται
κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοὶ τε, τεθηπότες, ἄκριτα φύλα,
οἷς τὸ πέλειν τε καὶ οὐκ εἶναι ταῦτὸν νενόμισται
κοῦ ταῦτόν, πάντων δὲ παλίντροπὸς ἔστι
κέλευθος.

app. cf. **PARM. D7**

*Hippocratic Adaptations of Heraclitean
Ideas and Language*

See **MED. T9, T12**

*The Heracliteans (R16–R26)
Heraclitus' Reputation (R16)*

R16 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.6

τοσαύτην δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὡς καὶ αἰρε-
τιστὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς κληθέντας Ἡρακλει-
τείους.

A Polemic in Parmenides? (R15)

R15 (28 B6.4–9) Parmenides **D7**

[. . . scil that road], which mortals who know
nothing
Invent, two-headed [scil. creatures]! For the
helplessness in their
Breast directs their wandering mind; and they are
borne along,
Deaf and likewise blind, stupefied, tribes undecided
[or: without judgment],
Who suppose that “this is and is not” [or: that to be
and not to be] is the same
And not the same, and that of all things [or: for all]
the path is backward-turning.

*Hippocratic Adaptations of Heraclitean
Ideas and Language*

See **MED. T9, T12**

*The Heracliteans (R16–R26)
Heraclitus' Reputation (R16)*

R16 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

His treatise acquired such fame that followers of his
even arose because of it, the people who are called the
Heracliteans.

R17 (> 66.3) Plat. *Theaet.* 179d–180c

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] προσυτέον οὖν ἐγγυτέρω [. . .], καὶ σκεπτέον τὴν φερομένην ταύτην οὐσίαν διακρούοντα εἶτε ὑγιές εἶτε σαθρὸν φθέγγεται μάχη δ' οὖν περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ φαύλη οὐδ' ὀλίγοις γέγονεν.

[ΘΕ.] πολλοῦ καὶ δεῖ φαύλη εἶναι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὴν Ἴωνίαν καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι πάμπολυ. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου ἐταῖροι χορηγοῦσι τούτου τοῦ λόγου μάλα ἐρρωμένως.

[ΣΩ.] τῷ τοι, ὦ φίλε Θεόδωρε, μᾶλλον σκεπτέον καὶ ἐξ [179e] ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὑποτείνονται.

[ΘΕ.] παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. καὶ γάρ, ὦ Σώκратες, περὶ τούτων τῶν Ἡρακλειτείων ἦ, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, Ὀμηρείων καὶ ἔτι παλαιότερων, αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ὅσοι προσποιοῦνται ἔμπειροι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδον τε διαλεχθῆναι ἢ τοῖς οἰστρώσι. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται, τὸ δ' ἐπιμένει ἐπὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐρωτῆματι καὶ ἡσυχίῳ ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι ἤττον [180a] αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡ τὸ μηδέ μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερβάλλει τὸ οὐδ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ σμικρὸν ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡσυχίας. ἀλλ' ἂν τινά τι ἔρη, ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας ῥηματίσκια αἰνιγματῶδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι, κἂν τούτου ζητῆς λόγον λαβεῖν τί εἴρηκεν, ἐτέρῳ πεπλήξῃ καινῶς μετωνομασμένῳ. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν πρὸς οὐδένα αὐτῶν. οὐδέ γε ἐκείνοι αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' εἶ

R17 (> 66.3) Plato, *Theaetetus*

[Socrates:] [. . .] So we must go closer [. . .] to examine this being in motion and give it a tap to find out whether it rings true or is defective. For the battle that has taken place concerning this is no minor one and has not involved only a few people.

[Theodorus:] Indeed, it is far from minor, and it is even spreading very much across Ionia. For it is with great vigor that Heraclitus' companions lead the chorus that proclaims this account.

[Socrates:] That, my dear Theodorus, is just why we must examine it all the more, and from [179e] the beginning, just as they themselves present it.

[Theodorus:] Absolutely. For, about these Heraclitisms or, as you say, these Homerisms and other ideas that are even more ancient [cf. **DOX. T2**], it is just as impossible to converse with those Ephesians who profess to be experts in them, as it is with lunatics. For, honestly, their behavior is entirely in accordance with their writings, and they are not at all capable of sticking with the argument and the question, or of calmly answering and asking in turn; [180a] indeed, the absence of even the smallest bit of calmness in them exceeds this 'not at all.' But if you ask one of them something, they draw enigmatic little phrases as though from a quiver and shoot them; and if you try to get an explanation of what he has said, you will be hit by another unheard-of phrase. You will never get anywhere with any of them—nor, for that matter, do they with one another,

πάνν φυλάττονσι τὸ [b] μηδὲν βέβαιον ἔαν εἶναι μήτ' ἐν λόγῳ μήτ' ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς, ἡγούμενοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸ στάσιμον εἶναι· τούτῳ δὲ πάνν πολεμοῦσιν, καὶ καθ' ὅσον δύνανται πανταχόθεν ἐκβάλλουσι.

[ΣΩ.] ἴσως, ᾧ Θεόδωρε, τοὺς ἀνδρας μαχομένους ἐώρακας, εἰρηνέουσι δὲ οὐ συγγέγονας· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ ἐταίροί εἰσι. ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ σχολῆς φράζουσι, οὓς ἂν βούλωνται ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι.

[ΘΕ.] ποίοις μαθηταῖς, ᾧ δαιμόνιε; οὐδὲ γίγνεται τῶν [c] τοιούτων ἕτερος ἐτέρου μαθητής, ἀλλ' αὐτόματι ἀναφύονται ὁπόθεν ἂν τύχῃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐνθουσιάζας, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὁ ἕτερος οὐδὲν ἡγείται εἰδέναι.

R18 (< T 112 Mouraviev) Plat. *Crat.* 411b–c

[ΣΩ.] καὶ μὴν, νῆ τὸν κύνα, δοκῶ γέ μοι οὐ κακῶς μαντεύεσθαι, ὃ καὶ νυνδὴ ἐνεόησα, ὅτι οἱ πάνν παλαιοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ οἱ τιθέμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα παντὸς μάλλον, ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ πυκνὰ περιστρέφεσθαι ζητοῦντες ὅπῃ ἔχει τὰ ὄντα εἰλιγγῶσι, κάπειτα αὐτοῖς φαίνεται περιφέρεσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ πάντως φέρεσθαι. αἰτιῶνται δὴ οὐ τὸ ἔνδον τὸ παρὰ σφίσι πάθος αἴτιον εἶναι ταύτης τῆς δόξης, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα οὕτω πεφυκέναι, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν μόνιμον εἶναι οὐδὲ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ ρεῖν καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ μεστὰ εἶναι πάσης φορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως αἰεί.

but they take great care to [b] allow nothing firm to be established, either in argument or in their souls, supposing, I guess, that this would be something stable. And it is this that they wage total war against and that they banish everywhere as far as they can.

[Socrates:] But maybe, Theodorus, you have only seen those men when they were battling and have not been present when they are at peace: for they are not your comrades. But I suppose they say these kinds of things at school [or: at leisure] to their disciples, whom they wish to make similar to themselves.

[Theodorus:] What disciples, my good man? None of these [c] people ever becomes the disciple of another, but they grow up on their own, from whatever place each of them happens to have been inspired, and one man thinks that the other knows nothing at all [. . .].

R18 (≠ DK) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] By the dog, I think that it was a pretty good inspiration that occurred to me just now: that the very ancient men who established names, like many of the present-day philosophers, more than anything got dizzy because of the intense whirling they were subjected to when they attempted to investigate the condition of the things that are, and that because of this they suppose that things are whirling around and moving in all ways possible. But they say that the cause for this opinion is not the internal affection that they feel but the fact that the nature of things is such that none of them is at rest or stable, but that they are flowing, are being borne along, and are always full of every kind of motion and generation.

*A Report by Aristotle on the Heracliteans (R19)***R19** (< 65.4) Arist. *Metaph.* Γ5 1010a7–12

ἔτι δὲ πᾶσαν ὀρώντες ταύτην κινουμένην τὴν φύσιν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος οὐθὲν ἀληθενόμενον, περί γε τὸ πάντῃ πάντως μεταβάλλον οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἀληθεύειν. ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπολήψεως ἐξήνηθησεν ἡ ἀκροτάτη δόξα τῶν εἰρημένων, ἢ τῶν φασκόντων ἡρακλειτίζειν καὶ οἷαν Κρατύλος εἶχεν [. . . = R23].

*Reports by a Peripatetic on the Heracliteans (R20–R21)***R20** (< Nachtrag II, pp. 421–22) Ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 13.6 908a28–34

διὰ τί, εἴαν τις σκόροδα φάγη, τὸ οὔρον ὄζει, ἄλλων δὲ ἐχόντων ἰσχυρὰν ὀσμὴν οὐκ ὄζει ἐδεσθέντων; πότερον, ὥσπερ τινὲς τῶν ἡρακλειτιζόντων φασί, ὅτι ἀναθυμιάται, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ σώματι, εἶτα πάλιν ψυχθὲν συνίσταται ἐκεῖ μὲν ὑγρόν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὔρον; [. . .]

R21 (> 66.2) Ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 23.30 934b23–24, 32–36

[. . .] διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ θερμότερα τὰ ἄνω τὸ γὰρ ἀλμυρὸν θερμότερον τοῦ ποτίμου. διὸ καὶ φασί τινες τῶν ἡρακλειτιζόντων ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ποτίμου ξηρανομένου καὶ πηγνυμένου λίθους γίνεσθαι καὶ γῆν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης τὸν ἥλιον ἀναθυμιάσθαι.

*A Report by Aristotle on the Heracliteans (R19)***R19** (< 65.4) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Furthermore, observing that all this [i.e. perceptible and indeterminate] nature is in motion, and that “true” cannot be said about anything that is changing, [scil. they thought] that it is evidently not possible to say something true about what is changing completely in every way. It was on the basis of this idea that the most extreme doctrine blossomed forth among those we have mentioned, that of those who claim that they are Heraclitizing and the one held by Cratylus [. . .].

*Reports by a Peripatetic on the Heracliteans (R20–R21)***R20** (< Nachtrag II, pp. 421–22) Ps.-Aristotle, *Problems*

Why, if one eats garlic, does the urine smell, whereas when other things that have a strong odor are eaten, it does not smell? Is it, as some of the Heraclitizers say, that an evaporation takes place, just as in the universe, so too in the body, and that, when it has cooled off again, moisture forms there and urine here? [. . .]

R21 (> 66.2) Ps.-Aristotle, *Problems*

This [scil. because the sun attracts the lighter elements of a liquid] is why the upper parts [scil. of the sea] are also warmer [scil. besides being salty]; for salty [scil. water] is warmer than potable. And that is why some of the Heraclitizers say that stones and earth are produced from the drying out and solidifying of potable water and that the sun is an evaporation coming from the sea.

Cratylus (R22–R26)**R22** (< T 78 Mouraviev) Plat. *Crat.* 436e–437a

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] ὡς τοῦ παντός ἰόντος τε καὶ φερομένου καὶ
 ῥεόντος φαμεν σημαίνειν ἡμῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τὰ ὀνό-
 ματα. ἄλλο τι οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ δηλοῦν;

[ΚΡ.] πάνν σφόδρα, καὶ ὀρθῶς γε σημαίνει.

R23 (< 65.4) Arist. *Metaph.* Γ5 1010a12–15

Κρατύλος [. . .] ὃς τὸ τελευταῖον οὐθὲν ᾤετο δεῖν λέ-
 γειν ἀλλὰ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκίνει μόνον, καὶ Ἡρακλείτω
 ἐπετίμα εἰπόντι ὅτι δις τῷ αὐτῷ ποταμῷ οὐκ ἔστιν
 ἐμβῆναι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ᾤετο οὐδ' ἅπαξ.

R24 Plat. *Crat.***a** (65.5) 383a–b

[ΕΡ.] Κρατύλος φησὶν ὅδε, ὃ ΣώκρATES, ὀνόματος ὀρ-
 θότητα εἶναι ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων φύσει πεφυκῆναι, καὶ
 οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι ὄνομα ὃ ἂν τινες συνθέμενοι καλεῖν
 καλῶσι, τῆς αὐτῶν φωνῆς μόριον ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι,
 ἀλλὰ ὀρθότητά τινα τῶν ὀνομάτων πεφυκῆναι καὶ
 Ἑλλῆσι καὶ βαρβάρους τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπασιν.

b (T 57 Mouraviev) 390d–e

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] καὶ Κρατύλος ἀληθῆ λέγει λέγων φύσει
 τὰ ὀνόματα εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐ πάντα δημι-

Cratylus (R22–R26)**R22** (≠ DK) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] [. . .] we say that names signify being for us, on
 the idea that everything is going, moving, and flowing. Do
 you think that they indicate something else?

[Cratylus:] This is absolutely how it is, and they signify
 correctly.

R23 (< 65.4) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] Cratylus, who in the end thought that it was necessary
 not to say anything but merely moved his finger, and who
 reproached Heraclitus for saying that it is not possible to
 step twice into the same river [cf. D65]—for he himself
 thought that this was not possible even once.

R24 Plato, *Cratylus***a** (65.5)

[Hermogenes:] Cratylus here says, Socrates, that there
 exists by nature a correct name for each of the things that
 are, and that a name is not whatever some people say who
 have agreed to use it, uttering some part of their own
 language, but that there exists naturally a certainly cor-
 rectness of names that is identical for all, both Greeks and
 non-Greeks (*barbaroi*).

b (≠ DK)

[Socrates:] And Cratylus says the truth when he says that
 names belong by nature to things, and that not just anyone

ουργὸν ὀνομάτων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκείνον τὸν ἀπο-
βλέποντα εἰς τὸ τῆ φύσει ὄνομα ὃν ἐκάστω καὶ δυνά-
μενον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος τιθέναι εἰς τε τὰ γράμματα καὶ
τὰς συλλαβάς.

R25 (< 65.1) Plat. *Crat.* 429d–e

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] ὅμως μέντοι εἶπέ μοι τοσόνδε· πότερον λέ-
γειν μὲν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ψευδῆ, φάναι δέ;
[ΚΡ.] οὐ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδὲ φάναι.

R26 (< 65.2) Aeschin. Socr. in Arist. *Rhet.* 3.16 1417b1–2
καὶ ὡς περὶ Κρατύλου Αἰσχίνης [VI A92 C²], ὅτι δια-
σίζων, τοῖν χερσὶν διασεύων.

Heraclitus in the Derveni Papyrus

See **DERV. Col. IV** (cf. **D89a**)

Plato (R27–R34)

*Plato's Debt to Heraclitus and the
Heracliteans (R27–R28)*

R27 Arist. *Metaph.*

a (< 65.3) A6 987a32–b1

ἐκ νέου τε γὰρ συγγενόμενος¹ πρῶτον Κρατύλῳ καὶ
ταῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις δόξαις, ὡς ἀπάντων τῶν αἰσθη-

is a craftsman of names, but only that man who looks to
the name that exists by nature for each thing and is capable
of putting its form into letters and syllables.

R25 (< 65.1) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] But all the same, tell me this much: do you
think that it is not possible to speak anything false, but that
it is possible to say it?²

[Cratylus:] On my view it is not possible to say it either.

R26 (< 65.2) Aeschines the Socratic in Aristotle, *Rhetoric*
And as Aeschines [scil. said] about Cratylus, he was hissing
violently, shaking his fists.

Heraclitus in the Derveni Papyrus

See **DERV. Col. IV** (cf. **D89a**)

Plato (R27–R34)

*Plato's Debt to Heraclitus and the
Heracliteans (R27–R28)*

R27 Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

a (< 65.3)

In his youth, he [i.e. Plato] first became familiar with Cra-
tylus and the Heraclitean doctrines, according to which all

¹ συγγενόμενος E: συνήθης γενόμενος A^b

τῶν ἀεὶ ρέοντων καὶ ἐπιστήμης περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ οὔσης, τὰτα μὲν καὶ ὕστερον οὕτως² ὑπέλαβεν [. . .].

² οὕτως A^b: οὔτος E

b (T 99 Mouraviev) M4 1078b12–17

συνέβη δ' ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν δόξα τοῖς εἰποῦσι διὰ τὸ πεισθῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις λόγοις ὡς πάντων τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀεὶ ρέοντων, ὥστ' εἴπερ ἐπιστήμη τινὸς ἔσται καὶ φρόνησις, ἑτέρας δὲν τινας φύσεις εἶναι παρὰ τὰς αἰσθητὰς μενούσας· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ρέοντων ἐπιστήμην.

R28 Diog. Laert.

a (65.3) 3.6

τοῦντεῦθεν δὴ γεγονώς, φασίν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη διήκουσε Σωκράτους· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος προσείχε Κρατύλῳ τε τῷ Ἡρακλειτεῖω καὶ Ἑρμογένει τῷ τὰ Παρμενίδου φιλοσοφοῦντι.

b (T 712 Mouraviev) 3.8

μίξιν τε ἐποίησατο τῶν τε Ἡρακλειτείων λόγων καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ Σωκρατικῶν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὰ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, τὰ δὲ νοητὰ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν, τὰ δὲ πολιτικὰ κατὰ Σωκράτην ἐφιλοσόφει.

perceptible things are constantly flowing and there is no knowledge about them, and he maintained these views later as well [. . .].

b (≠ DK)

The theory of Forms occurred to its partisans because they had been convinced, concerning the truth, by the Heraclitean statements according to which all perceptible things are constantly flowing, so that if there is going to be knowledge about something and thought, there must be certain other natures that remain, besides the perceptible ones: for there is no knowledge about what flows.

R28 Diogenes Laertius

a (65.3)

And, they say, afterward [i.e. after he had burned the tragedies he had written], having reached the age of twenty, he [scil. Plato] studied with Socrates. Once that man had died, he attached himself to Cratylus the Heraclitean and to Hermogenes, whose philosophy followed Parmenides' doctrines.¹

¹ This is an inference based on the position defended by Hermogenes in Plato's *Cratylus* on the arbitrary nature of language.

b (≠ DK)

He [scil. Plato] made a mixture of the Heraclitean, Pythagorean, and Socratic doctrines: for his philosophy followed Heraclitus regarding the perceptibles, Pythagoras regarding the intelligibles, and Socrates regarding politics.

Discussions and Utilizations of Heraclitus'
Doctrines in Plato (R29–R34)
On the Doctrine of Flux (R29–R30)

R29 (> A6) Plat. *Crat.* 401d–402c

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] ὅσοι δ' αὖ "ὄσιαν," σχεδόν τι αὖ οὔτοι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀν ἡγοῦντο τὰ ὄντα ἰέναι τε πάντα καὶ μένειν οὐδέν· τὸ οὖν αἴτιον καὶ τὸ ἀρχηγὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ὄθουν, ὅθεν δὴ καλῶς ἔχεν αὐτὸ "ὄσιαν" ὠνομάσθαι. [. . .] μετὰ δ' Ἐστίαν δίκαιον ῥέαν καὶ Κρόνον ἐπισκέψασθαι. [. . .] ὦγαθέ, ἐννευόηκά τι σμη- νος σοφίας.

[ΕΡ.] ποῖον δὴ τοῦτο;

[ΣΩ.] γελοῖον μὲν πάνν εἰπεῖν, οἶμαι μέντοι τινὰ πι- θανότητα ἔχον.

[ΕΡ.] τίνα ταύτην;

[ΣΩ.] τὸν Ἡράκλειτόν μοι δοκῶ καθορᾶν παλαιὰ ἄττα σοφὰ λέγοντα, ἀτεχνῶς τὰ ἐπὶ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας, ἃ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔλεγεν.

[ΕΡ.] πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις;

[ΣΩ.] λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι "πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐ- δέν μένει," καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει ὡς "δις ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἀν ἐμβαίης" [= **D65c**].

[ΕΡ.] ἔστι ταῦτα.

[ΣΩ.] τί οὖν; δοκεῖ σοι ἀλλοιότερον Ἡρακλείτου νοεῖν ὁ τιθέμενος τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν προγόνους "Ῥέαν" τε

Discussions and Utilizations of Heraclitus'
Doctrines in Plato (R29–R34)
On the Doctrine of Flux (R29–R30)

R29 (> A6) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] [. . .] As for those people who [i.e. explaining the name of Hestia, call the essence of things] "Ὄσια,"¹ they seem to think, like Heraclitus, that all of the things that exist are in motion and that none rests in its place: for according to them the cause and originator is what "pushes" (*ōthoun*), and that is why it is quite appropriate that it is called "Ὄσια." [. . .] After Hestia it is right to consider Rhea and Cronus [. . .] Dear friend, a swarm of wisdom has just come to my mind.

[Hermogenes:] What kind?

[Socrates:] It is quite ludicrous to say it, but I think there is something plausible about it.

[Hermogenes:] How so?

[Socrates:] I seem to see Heraclitus proclaiming some ancient wise sayings, ones really dating from the time of Cronus and Rhea, and ones that Homer too uttered.

[Hermogenes:] What do you mean?

[Socrates:] Heraclitus says something like this: that all things flow and nothing remains; and comparing the things that are to the flowing (*rhōē*) of a river, he says that you could not step twice into the same river [cf. **D65c**].

[Hermogenes:] That is true.

[Socrates:] Well then, do you think that the man who gave the names 'Rhea' and 'Cronus' to the ancestors of the

¹ The term is phonetically very close to *ousia* (being, essence).

καὶ 'Κρόνον'; ἄρα οἶει ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ρευμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι; ὥσπερ αὖ "Ὀμηρος

Ἦκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσίν," φησιν, "καὶ μητέρα
Τηθύν [COSM. T10a].

οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος [cf. *Th.* 776–77 and COSM. T7, v. 789, 905–6]. λέγει δὲ πού καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι

Ἦκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλιρροὸς ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθύν ὄπιεν.
[COSM. T15]

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

R30 (> 23 A6) Plat. *Theaet.* 152d–e

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] ἐκ δὲ δὴ φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως καὶ κρᾶσεως πρὸς ἄλληλα γίγνεται πάντα ἃ δὴ φαμεν εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοντες. [e] ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ' οὐδέν, αἰεὶ δὲ γίγνεται. καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφερέσθων, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς [. . .].

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*)?² So too, Homer says,

Ocean, the origin of the gods, and their mother
Tethys (*Il.* 14.201, 302);

and, I think, Hesiod too. And Orpheus too says somewhere,

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to make a beginning
of marriage,
He who wedded his sister Tethys, his mother's
daughter.

Just look how all these statements agree with one another and tend toward Heraclitus' doctrines [cf. DOX. T3].

² The sound of the Greek term can allude to both *Rhea* and *Kronos* (cf. *krênê*, *krounos*).

R30 (> 23 A6) Plato, *Theaetetus*

[Socrates:] [. . .] It is from motion, change, and mixture with each other that all the things come about that we say exist, speaking incorrectly: for nothing ever exists, but it is always becoming. And on this point let us admit that all the sages except Parmenides in sequence were in agreement—Protagoras, Heraclitus, and Empedocles [. . .] [cf. DOX. T2].

*On Unity and Multiplicity (R31)***R31** (< A10, cf. B10) Plat. *Soph.* 242d–e

[ΣΩ.] Ἰάδες δὲ [. . .] Μοῦσαι συνενόησαν ὅτι συμπλέκειν ἀσφαλέστατον ἀμφοτέρα καὶ λέγειν ὡς τὸ ὄν πολλά τε καὶ ἓν ἔστιν, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ φιλία συνέχεται· “διαφερόμενον” γὰρ ἀεὶ συμφέρεται” [cf. **D47**], φασὶν αἰ συντονώτεραι τῶν Μουσῶν [. . .].

*A Criticism of the Doctrine of
Fitting-Together (R32)*

R32 (cf. ad B51) Plat. *Symp.* 186e–187b

[EP.] ἡ τε οὖν ἰατρική, ὥσπερ λέγω, πᾶσα διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ [187a] τούτου κυβερνᾶται, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ γυμναστική καὶ γεωργία· μουσική δὲ καὶ παντὶ κατάδηλος τῷ καὶ μικρὸν προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ὅτι κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχει τούτοις, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ Ἡράκλειτος βούλεται λέγειν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ῥήμασιν οὐ καλῶς λέγει. “τὸ ἓν” γὰρ φησι “διαφερόμενον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ συμφέρεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἀρμονίαν τόξου τε καὶ λύρας” [cf. **D49**]. ἔστι δὲ πολλὴ ἀλογία ἀρμονίαν φάναι διαφέρεσθαι ἢ ἐκ διαφερομένων ἔτι εἶναι. ἀλλὰ ἴσως τῷδε ἐβούλετο λέγειν, ὅτι ἐκ διαφερομένων πρότερον τοῦ [b] ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, ἔπειτα ὑστερον ὁμολογησάντων γέγονεν ὑπὸ τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης. οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἐκ διαφερομένων γε ἔτι τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος ἀρμονία ἂν εἴη. ἡ

*On Unity and Multiplicity (R31)***R31** (< A10, cf. B10) Plato, *Sophist*

[The stranger from Elea:] Ionian Muses [i.e. Heraclitus] [. . .] 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 always comes together [cf. **D47**], as the more tense of these Muses say [. . .] [cf. **DOX. T4**].

*A Criticism of the Doctrine of
Fitting-Together (R32)*

R32 (cf. ad B51) Plato, *Symposium*

[Eryximachus:] All of medicine, I claim, is governed by this god [i.e. Eros], [187a] and the same applies to gymnastics and agriculture. As for music, it is obvious to anyone who pays even a little bit of attention that the same is true for it as for these others—as it is possible that Heraclitus too means to say, since he does not express it clearly with his words. For he says, “the one, diverging, converges with itself, like the fitting-together (*harmonié*) of a bow and lyre” [cf. **D49**]. It is quite absurd to say that a harmony (*harmonia*) “diverges,” or is made up of elements that still diverge. But perhaps what he meant was that it comes about out of [b] a sharp and a flat that at first diverge but then are accorded by the art of music. For obviously a harmony (*harmonia*) cannot be made up out of sharp and

γὰρ ἄρμονία συμφωνία ἐστίν, συμφωνία δὲ ὁμολογία
τις· ὁμολογίαν δὲ ἐκ διαφερομένων, ἕως ἂν διαφέρω-
νται, ἀδύνατον εἶναι· διαφερόμενον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ μὴ ὁμο-
λογοῦν ἀδύνατον ἀρμόσαι [. . .].

On the Doctrine of Multiple Perspectives (R33)

R33 (> B82, B83) Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 289a–b

[ΣΩ.] [. . .] μανθάνω, ὦ Ἴππια, ὡς ἄρα χρὴ ἀντιλέγειν
πρὸς τὸν ταῦτα ἐρωτῶντα τάδε· ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἀγνοεῖς
ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου εἶ ἔχει, ὡς ἄρα “πιθήκων ὁ
κάλλιστος αἰσχροὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει συμβάλλειν” [= **D81**],
καὶ χυτῶν ἢ καλλίστη αἰσχροὺς παρθένων γέ-
νει συμβάλλειν, ὡς φησιν Ἴππίας ὁ σοφός; οὐχ οὐ-
τως, ὦ Ἴππια;

[III.] πάνν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίνω.
[ΣΩ.] ἄκουε δὴ. μετὰ τοῦτο γὰρ εἶ οἶδ’ ὅτι φήσῃ· τί
δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες; τὸ τῶν παρθένων γένος θεῶν γένει ἂν
τις [b] συμβάλλῃ, οὐ ταῦτ’ οὐκ εἴσεται ὅπερ τὸ τῶν
χυτῶν τῷ τῶν παρθένων συμβαλλόμενον; οὐχ ἢ
καλλίστη παρθένος αἰσχροὺς φανεύται; ἢ οὐ καὶ Ἡρά-
κλειτος αὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγει, ὅν σὺ ἐπάγῃ, ὅτι “ἀνθρώ-
πων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεὸν πίθηκος φανεύται καὶ
σοφία καὶ κάλλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάσιν” [D77];

flat that still diverge. For a harmony (*harmonia*) is an ac-
cord, and an accord is a kind of agreement. And it is impos-
sible for an agreement to result from things that diverge,
as long as they are diverging. And inversely, what diverges
and does not agree cannot fit together (*harmosai*) [. . .].”

On the Doctrine of Multiple Perspectives (R33)

R33 (> B82, B83) Plato, *Greater Hippias*

[Socrates:] [. . .] I know, Hippias, how we ought to respond
to the man who asks us this question [scil. whether a beau-
tiful pot is beautiful]: “My man, don’t you know that Hera-
clitus is right to say, ‘**the most beautiful monkey is
ugly compared with the human race**’ [= **D81**], and the
most beautiful pot is ugly compared with the race of girls,
as Hippias the wise says?” Is that not right, Hippias?
[Hippias:] Absolutely, Socrates, you have answered per-
fectly.

[Socrates:] Then listen. For I know what he will say after
this: “What, Socrates? If someone compares the race of
girls to that of gods [b], will he not find the same thing as
when comparing the race of pots to that of girls? Will not
the most beautiful girl seem ugly? And does not Heracli-
tus, whom you adduce, say the same thing, that ‘**the wis-
est human will seem to be a monkey compared to a
god in wisdom, beauty, and everything else**?’” [D77].

*An Application to Old Age (R34)***R34** (< T 134 Mouraviev) Plat. *Rep.* 6 498a–b

πρὸς δὲ τὸ γήρας ἐκτὸς δὴ τῶν ὀλίγων ἀποσβέν-
νεται πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου ἡλίου, ὅσον
αὔθις οὐκ ἐξάπτονται.

*Summaries and Criticisms in Aristotle (R35–R43)**On Cosmic Fire (R35)***R35** (> A10) Arist. *Phys.* 3.5 205a1–7

ὅλως γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ἄπειρον εἶναι τι αὐτῶν, ἀδύ-
νατον τὸ πᾶν, κἂν ἢ πεπερασμένον, ἢ εἶναι ἢ γίγνε-
σθαι ἐν τι αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησιν ἅπαντα
γίγνεσθαι ποτε πῦρ [. . .]. πάντα γὰρ μεταβάλλει ἐξ
ἐναντίου εἰς ἐναντίου, οἶον ἐκ θερμοῦ εἰς ψυχρόν.

*On the Doctrine of Flux (R36)***R36** (T172 Mouraviev) Arist. *Cael.* 3.1 298b29–33

οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γίνεσθαι φασὶ καὶ ρεῖν, εἶ-
ναι δὲ παγίως οὐθέν, ἐν δὲ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ οὗ
ταῦτα πάντα μετασχηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν ὅπερ εἰ-
κασὶ βούλεσθαι λέγειν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἡράκλει-
τος ὁ Ἐφέσιος.

*An Application to Old Age (R34)***R34** (≠ DK) Plato, *Republic*

When they [i.e. those who have studied dialectic] reach
old age, except for a few of them they are extinguished,
much more than the Heraclitean sun, insofar as they are
not rekindled [cf. **D91**].

*Summaries and Criticisms in Aristotle (R35–R43)**On Cosmic Fire (R35)***R35** (> A10) Aristotle, *Physics*

In general, independently of the question of knowing
whether one of them [i.e. the elements] is unlimited, it is
impossible that the whole, even if it is limited, either be
or become one of them, as Heraclitus says that all things
become fire at one time [. . .]; for all things are trans-
formed from one contrary into the other, as for example
from warm into cold.

See also **EMP. D79a***On the Doctrine of Flux (R36)***R36** (≠ DK) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

Others say that all things come about and flow, and that
nothing exists stably, except for one thing alone that sub-
sists, out of which all these other things are produced
naturally by changing their form. This is what many peo-
ple seem to have meant, and especially Heraclitus of
Ephesus.

*On the Coexistence of Opposites (R37–R39)***R37** (> A7) Arist. *Metaph.* Γ3 1005b23–26

ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὄντινούν ταῦτόν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι
καὶ μὴ εἶναι, καθάπερ τινὲς οἴονται λέγειν Ἡράκλει-
τον. οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, ἃ τις λέγει, ταῦτα καὶ
ὑπολαμβάνειν.

R38 (< T 148 Mouraviev) Arist. *Metaph.* Γ

a 7 1012a24–26

ἔοικε δ' ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλείτου λόγος, λέγων πάντα εἶναι
καὶ μὴ εἶναι, ἅπαντα ἀληθῆ ποιεῖν [. . .].

b 8 1012a33–b2

σχεδὸν γὰρ οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ αὐτοὶ τῷ Ἡρακλείτου.
ὁ γὰρ λέγων ὅτι πάντ' ἀληθῆ καὶ πάντα ψευδῆ, καὶ
χωρὶς λέγει τῶν λόγων ἑκάτερον τούτων, ὥστ' εἶπερ
ἀδύνατα ἐκεῖνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδύνατον εἶναι.

R39 (< T 149 Mouraviev) Arist. *Metaph.* K5 1062a30–
b11

ἀπόδειξις μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς, πρὸς
μέντοι τὸν ταῦτα τιθέμενον ἀπόδειξις. ταχέως δ' ἂν
τις καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡράκλειτον τοῦτον ἐρωτῶν¹ τὸν
τρόπον ἠνάγκασεν ὁμολογεῖν μηδέποτε τὰς ἀντικει-
μένας φάσεις δυνατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀληθεύε-

*On the Coexistence of Opposites (R37–R39)***R37** (> A7) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

It is impossible for anyone to think that the same thing
both is and is not, as some people believe that Heraclitus
said—for it is not necessary that what one says one also
think.

R38 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

a

The doctrine of Heraclitus, who says that all things are and
are not [cf. **D65**, **R9**, **R15**], seems to make everything
true [. . .].

b

These theses [scil. that nothing is true and that everything
is true] are virtually identical with those of Heraclitus: for
he who affirms that everything is true and everything is
false also affirms each of these propositions separately, so
that if they are impossible, it is also impossible that the
first one [scil. be true].

R39 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

There is no simple demonstration regarding this question
[i.e. whether something can be and not be at the same
time], but there is a demonstration against the person who
poses it. And perhaps if someone asked Heraclitus himself
in this way, he would oblige him to recognize that it is

¹ ἐρωτῶν A^b: ἐρωτήσας E]

σθαι. νῦν δ' οὐ συνειὲς² ἑαυτοῦ τί ποτε λέγει, ταύτην ἔλαβε τὴν δόξαν. ὅλως δ' εἰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶη ἀληθές, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐνδέχασθαι τὸ αὐτὸ καθ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον εἶναι τε καὶ μὴ εἶναι. καθάπερ γὰρ καὶ διηρημένων αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ κατάφασις ἢ ἀπόφασις ἀληθεύεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου καὶ τοῦ συμπεπλεγμένου καθάπερ μιᾶς τινὸς καταφάσεως οὐσης οὐθὲν μᾶλλον ἢ³ ἢ ἀπόφασις τὸ ὅλον ὡς ἐν καταφάσει τιθέμενον ἀληθεύεται.⁴ ἔτι δ' εἰ μὴθὲν ἔστιν ἀληθῶς καταφῆσαι, κἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ψεύδος εἶη τὸ φάναι μηδεμίαν ἀληθῆ κατάφασιν ὑπάρχειν. εἰ δ' ἔστι τι, λύοιτ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνισταμένων καὶ παντελῶς ἀναιρούντων τὸ διαλέγεσθαι.

² συνειὲς A^b γρ. E: συνειὲς EJ ³ ἢ post ἀπόφασις in mss. huc transp. Ross (qui conī. in app. οὐθὲν ἦττον ἢ ἀπόφασις ἢ)
⁴ ἀληθεύεται A^b: ἀληθὲς ἔσται EJ

On the Identity of Opposites (R40–R41)

R40 (< T 152 Mouraviev) Arist. *Phys.* 1.2 185b19–25

ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τὰ ὄντα πάντα ὡς λώπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον, τὸν Ἡρακλείτου λόγον συμβαίνει λέγειν αὐτοῖς· ταῦτὸν γὰρ ἔσται ἀγαθῷ καὶ κακῷ εἶναι, καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ μὴ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι—ὥστε ταῦτὸν ἔσται ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἵππος, καὶ οὐ

never possible for contradictory statements to be true about the same matters; but as it is, it was because he himself did not understand what he was saying that he adopted this view. And in general, if what he states is true, then this statement itself (I mean that the same thing can be and not be at one and the same time) would not be true. For just as if they are taken separately, the affirmation is no more true than the negation, in the same way if there is a single affirmation of their conjunction and combination, the negation will not be more true than the whole statement taken as an affirmation. And furthermore, if one cannot affirm anything truly, then this affirmation itself, according to which there is no such thing as a true affirmation, would be false. And if anything can be, then what those people say who raise this kind of objection and completely destroy discussion would be refuted.

On the Identity of Opposites (R40–R41)

R40 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Physics*

If all things are one in their definition, as are clothing and dress, then it turns out that they [i.e. Parmenides and Melissus] are embracing Heraclitus' account: for the essence of the good and of the evil will be identical, as well as that of the good and the not good, so that good and not good will be identical, as well as human and horse, and

περὶ τοῦ ἓν εἶναι τὰ ὄντα ὁ λόγος ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μηδέν—καὶ τὸ τοιῶδὶ εἶναι καὶ τοσῶδὶ ταῦτόν.

R41 (< T 151 Mouraviev) Arist. *Top.* 8.5 159b30–33

διὸ καὶ οἱ κομίζοντες ἀλλοτρίας δόξας, οἷον ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν εἶναι ταῦτόν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησιν, οὐ διδῶσι μὴ παρέναι ἅμα τῷ αὐτῷ τὰναντία, οὐχ ὡς οὐ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον οὕτω λεκτέον.

On Belief and Knowledge (R42)

R42 (< T 143 Mouraviev) Arist. *EN* 7.3 1146b26–30

ἔνιοι γὰρ τῶν δοξαζόντων οὐ διστάζουσιν, ἀλλ' οἴονται ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναί. [. . .] ἔνιοι γὰρ πιστεύουσιν οὐδὲν ἦττον οἷς δοξάζουσιν ἢ ἕτεροι οἷς ἐπίστασθαι· δηλοῖ δ' Ἡράκλειτος.

On the Soul (R43)

R43 (< A15) Arist. *An.* 1.2 405a25–26

καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φησι ψυχὴν, εἴπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἐξ ἧς τὰλλα συνίστησιν.

their statements will no longer bear on the fact that all things are one, but on nothing, and the same for being of such a kind and being in such a quantity.

R41 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Topics*

That is why too those who cite others' opinions, for example that the good and the evil are the same thing, as Heraclitus said, do not concede that the contraries are not present at the same time in the same thing, not because this is not their own opinion, but because this is what one must say according to Heraclitus.

On Belief and Knowledge (R42)

R42 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

For some of those who have a certain opinion have no doubt, but think that they know exactly. [. . .] For certain people are not less convinced about their opinions than others are about their knowledge—[scil. the case of] Heraclitus shows this [cf. **P10a**].

On the Soul (R43)

R43 (< A15) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

Heraclitus too [scil. like Diogenes of Apollonia] says that the principle is the soul, since it is an evaporation, and out of this evaporation he composes everything else.

Doxographies of Platonic-Peripatetic Inspiration
(R44–R46)*A Systematization in Terms of Contraries (R44)***R44** (< 28 A46, 31 A86) Theophr. *Sens.* 1

περὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ καὶ καθόλου δόξαι
δύ' εἰσὶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ
ἐναντίῳ. Παρμενίδης μὲν καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πλά-
των τῷ ὁμοίῳ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Ἡράκλει-
τον¹ τῷ ἐναντίῳ.

¹ καὶ Δημόκριτον malit Philippson

Two Systematizations in Terms of
*Physics (R45–R46)***R45** (> 22 A5, cf. 18.7) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 23.33–24.11 (< Theophr. *Frag.* 225 FHS&G)

Ἴππασος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέ-
σιος ἐν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ κινούμενοι καὶ πεπερασμένοι,
ἀλλὰ [24] πῦρ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς
ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα πυκνῶσει καὶ μαρῶσει καὶ διαλύουσι
πάλιν εἰς πῦρ, ὡς ταύτης μᾶς οὔσης φύσεως τῆς
ὑποκειμένης· πυρὸς γὰρ ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι φησιν Ἡρά-
κλειτος πάντα. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τάξιν τινὰ καὶ χρόνον
ὀρισμένον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς κατὰ τινα εἰ-
μαρμένην ἀνάγκην.² καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ζῶο-

Doxographies of Platonic-Peripatetic Inspiration
(R44–R46)*A Systematization in Terms of Contraries (R44)***R44** (< 28 A46, 31 A86) Theophrastus, *On Sensations*

With regard to perception, most general opinions are of two kinds: some people explain it by what is similar, others by what is contrary: Parmenides, Empedocles, and Plato by what is similar, those who follow Anaxagoras and Heraclitus by what is contrary.

Two Systematizations in Terms of
*Physics (R45–R46)***R45** (> 22 A5, cf. 18.7) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Hippasus of Metapontum [cf. **HIPPAS. D4**] and Heraclitus of Ephesus [scil. said like the other philosophers who admit a principle that is one and in motion, cf. **DOX. T14**] 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**]. And it is clear that these too arrived at this opinion from having observed the genera-

¹ καὶ Εἰς F: περὶ D: παρὰ E ² ἀνάγκην gloss. iud.
Usener

γόνον καὶ δημιουργικὸν καὶ πεπτικὸν καὶ διὰ πάντων
 χωροῦν καὶ πάντων ἀλλοιωτικὸν τῆς θερμότητος θε-
 ασάμενοι ταύτην ἔσχον τὴν δόξαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὡς
 ἄπειρον τιθεμένων αὐτῶν. ἔτι δὲ εἰ στοιχεῖον μὲν τὸ
 ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἐξ οὗ γίνεται τὰ ἄλλα καὶ εἰς ὃ
 ἀναλύεται, λεπτομερέστατον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πῦρ,
 τοῦτο ἂν εἴη μάλιστα στοιχεῖον.³

³ ἔτι δὲ . . . μάλιστα στοιχεῖον transp. ed. Ald: post λέγον-
 τες τὸ στοιχεῖον (p. 24.12) hab. mss.

R46 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9. 7–11

a

[7] ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτῷ καθολικῶς μὲν τάδε· ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ
 πάντα συνεστάναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι πάντα
 δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐναντιοτρο-
 πῆς¹ ἡρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα· καὶ πάντα ψυχῶν εἶναι καὶ
 δαιμόνων πλήρη. εἶρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ
 συνισταμένων πάντων παθῶν, ὅτι τε ὁ ἥλιός ἐστι τὸ
 μέγεθος οἷος φαίνεται [. . .].

¹ ἐναντιοτροπῆς mss.: ἐναντιοτροπίας Dindorf: ἐναντιοδρο-
 μίας Diels

b

[8] καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους δὲ αὐτῷ ὧδε ἔχει τῶν δογμάτων·
 πῦρ εἶναι στοιχεῖον καὶ πυρὸς ἀμοιβῆν τὰ πάντα,
 ἀραιώσει καὶ πυκνώσει γινόμενα.¹ σαφῶς δὲ οὐδὲν

tive, technical, and digestive properties of heat, its ability
 to pass through all things and to transform them all; for
 we have no information that they made it unlimited.
 Moreover, if an element is the smallest thing from which
 the others derive and into which they are dissolved, and if
 fire is the finest one of all, then it would be this one more
 than any other that would be the element.

R46 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

[7] His opinions, speaking generally, are the following. All
 things are constituted out of fire and are dissolved into it
 [cf. **D85–D87**]. All things come about according to des-
 tiny [cf. **D63**], and the things that exist are fitted together
 thanks to the contrariety of their character [cf. **D47–**
D62]. And everything is full of souls and divinities. He
 also spoke about everything that happens in the world, and
 that the sun is the size that it appears to be [cf. **D89**] [. . .].

b

[8] With regard to his detailed opinions, they are as fol-
 lows. Fire is the element and all things are an exchange of
 fire [cf. **D87**], and they come about by rarefaction and
 condensation. But he does not explain anything clearly. All

¹ γινόμενα FP⁴: τὰ γιν- BP¹ Φh

ἐκτίθεται. γίνεσθαι τε πάντα κατ' ἐναντιότητα καὶ
 ῥεῖν τὰ ὅλα ποταμοῦ δίκην, πεπεράνθαι² τε τὸ πᾶν καὶ
 ἓνα εἶναι κόσμον· γεννᾶσθαι τε αὐτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ
 πάλιν ἐκπυροῦσθαι κατὰ τινὰς περιόδους ἐναλλάξ τὸν
 σύμπαντα αἰῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην.
 τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἄγον καλεῖ-
 σθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἔριον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὁμο-
 λογίαν καὶ εἰρήνην. καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω
 κάτω, τὸν τε κόσμον γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτήν. [9] πυκνού-
 μενον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἐξυγραίνεσθαι συνιστάμενόν τε
 γίνεσθαι ὕδωρ, πηγνύμενον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς γῆν τρέ-
 πεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω εἶναι. πάλιν τε
 αὐτὴν³ γῆν χεῖσθαι, ἐξ ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ
 τούτου τὰ λοιπά, σχεδὸν πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναθυμῖασιν
 ἀνάγων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἢ ἐπὶ
 τὸ ἄνω ὁδός. γίνεσθαι δὲ ἀναθυμῖασεις ἀπὸ τε γῆς
 καὶ θαλάττης, ἃς μὲν λαμπρὰς καὶ καθαρὰς, ἃς δὲ
 σκοτεινὰς. αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν,
 τὸ δὲ ὑγρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων. τὸ δὲ περιέχον ὁποῖόν
 ἐστιν οὐ δηλοῦ· εἶναι μέντοι ἐν αὐτῷ σκάφας ἐπε-
 στραμμένους κατὰ κοῖλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐν αἷς ἀθροίζο-
 μένας τὰς λαμπρὰς ἀναθυμῖασεις ἀποτελεῖν φλόγας,
 ἃς εἶναι τὰ ἄστρα. [10] λαμπροτάτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ
 ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ θερμοτάτην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ἄστρα
 πλείον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἥττον λάμπειν
 καὶ θάλπειν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην προσγειοτέραν οὔσαν
 μῆ διὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ φέρεσθαι τόπου. τὸν μέντοι ἥλιον

things come about by contrariety and the totality of things
 flows like a river [cf. **D65–D66**]. The whole is limited and
 there is only one world [cf. **D85**]. It is generated out of
 fire and it burns up again [i.e. it becomes fire] according
 to certain periods [cf. **D85**], alternating, for the whole
 duration of time. And this comes about according to des-
 tiny. Of the contraries, the one that leads to generation is
 called war and strife [cf. **D63, D64**], the one that leads to
 the conflagration (*ekpurōsis*), agreement and peace [cf.
D48, D49], and the changing is a way upward and down-
 ward [cf. **D51**], and it is according to this that the world
 comes about. [9] For as the fire becomes dense, it be-
 comes moist, and when it collects together it becomes
 water, and when the water becomes solid it turns into
 earth [cf. **D86**]. And this is the downward way. But then
 in turn the earth spreads out and from it comes water [cf.
D86], and from this comes everything else, since he de-
 rives almost everything from the evaporation from the sea;
 and this is the upward way. But there are evaporations that
 come from the earth and sea, some of them bright and
 pure, others dark. The fire increases because of the bright
 ones, the moisture because of the others. He does not
 explain what surrounds. But there are in it bowls turned
 over with their concave part facing us, in which bright
 evaporations that are pressed together produce flames,
 which are the heavenly bodies. [10] The brightest and
 hottest flame is that of the sun. For the other heavenly
 bodies are farther away from the earth and that is why they
 produce less light and heat; the moon is closer to the earth
 but does not move through the pure region. But the sun

² πεπεράνθαι Ph: πεπεράσθαι BP: -ἄσθαι F
 mss., corr. Reiske

³ αὐτὴν

ἐν διαυγεί καὶ ἀμιγεί κείσθαι⁴ καὶ σύμμετρον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔχειν διάστημα· τοιγάρτοι μᾶλλον θερμαίνειν τε καὶ φωτίζειν, ἐκλείπειν τε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ἄνω στρεφόμενων τῶν σκαφῶν· τοὺς τε κατὰ μῆνα τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμοὺς γίνεσθαι στρεφόμενης ἐν αὐτῇ⁵ κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς σκάφης. ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα γίνεσθαι καὶ μῆνας καὶ ὥρας ἐτείους καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ὑετούς τε καὶ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια κατὰ τὰς διαφόρους ἀναθυμιάσεις. [11] τὴν μὲν γὰρ λαμπρὰν ἀναθυμίασιν φλογωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἐναντίαν ἐπικρατήσασαν νύκτα ἀποτελεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λαμπροῦ τὸ θερμὸν αὐξόμενον θέρος ποιεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ τὸ ὑγρὸν πλεονάζον χειμῶνα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. ἀκολουθῶν δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιολογεῖ, περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἀποφαίνεται ποία τίς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν σκαφῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ δοκοῦντα.

⁴ κείσθαι mss.: κινεῖσθαι Reiske ⁵ ἐν αὐτῇ Mouraviev:
ἐν αὐτῇ BPF² Ph: ἐν αὐτοῖς F¹: αὐτῆς Marcovich

*Reports Reflecting a Platonic-Aristotelian
Appropriation (R47–R49)
Motion (R47)*

R47 (A6) Aët. I.23.7 (Ps.-Plut., cf. Stob.) [περὶ κινήσεως]

Ἡράκλειτος ἡρεμίαν μὲν καὶ στάσιν ἐκ τῶν ὄλων

lies in a diaphanous and unmixed [scil. region], and is at a proportionate distance from us; for that is why it gives more heat and light. Eclipses of the sun and moon occur when the bowls are turned upward; the monthly phases of the moon come about when the bowl turns around on itself little by little. Day, night, months, the seasons of the year, rainy years, winds, and similar phenomena come about because of different evaporations. [11] For the bright evaporation makes day when it is kindled in the circle of the sun, but when the contrary one prevails it produces night. And heat, increased by the bright one, makes summer, while moisture, made preponderant by the dark one, generates winter. He supplies the causes for other phenomena as well, along the same lines. But as for the earth, he does not explain what it is, nor about the bowls either. And these were his opinions.

*Reports Reflecting a Platonic-Aristotelian
Appropriation (R47–R49)
Motion (R47)*

R47 (A6) Aëtius

Heraclitus abolishes immobility and rest from the uni-

ἀνήρει· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν νεκρῶν κίνησις δ' αἰδίου
 μὲν τοῖς αἰδίους, φθαρτὴν δὲ τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.¹

¹ ἔστι . . . φθαρτοῖς Plut.: κίνησις δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπεδίδου
 Stob.

The Soul (R48)

R48

a (A15) Aët. 4.3.12 (Ps.-Plut.) [εἰ σῶμα ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τίς
 ἢ οὐσία αὐτῆς]

Ἡράκλειτος τὴν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν ἀναθυμιάσιν
 ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑγρῶν, τὴν δ' ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἐκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὁμογενῆ.

b (cf. ad A17) Aët. 4.7.2 (Theod. 5.23) [περὶ ἀφθαρσίας
 ψυχῆς]

ὁ δὲ Ἡράκλειτος τὰς ἀπαλλαττομένας τοῦ σώματος
 εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀναχωρεῖν ψυχὴν ἔφησεν, οἷα δὴ
 ὁμογενῆ τε οὖσαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον.

c (T 782 Mouraviev) Macr. *In Somn.* 1.14.19

Heraclitus physicus scintillam stellaris essentiae.

verse, for these belong to corpses; and [scil. he attributes]
 an eternal motion to eternal things, and a perishable mo-
 tion to perishable ones.

The Soul (R48)

R48

a (A15) Aëtius

Heraclitus: the soul of the world is an evaporation of the
 moisture it contains, and the one that is in animals, which
 derives from the external evaporation and from the one
 that is in them, is of the same kind.

b (cf. ad A17) Aëtius

Heraclitus said that the souls that leave the body return to
 the soul of the whole, since their genus and substance are
 of the same nature.

c (≠ DK) Macrobius, *Commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio*

Heraclitus, the natural philosopher, [scil. calls the soul] a
 spark of the stars' substance.

*The Heavens (D49)***R49** (31 A62) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.4.3

καὶ ὡς περ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πάντα τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπον
ἔφη κακῶν μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ μέχρι μὲν σελήνης τὰ
κακὰ φθάνειν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ γῆν τόπου ταθέντα, περαι-
τέρω δὲ μὴ χωρεῖν, ἅτε καθαρωτέρου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν
σελήνην παντὸς ὄντος τόπου, οὕτω καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ
ἔδοξεν.

*Stoics (R50–R66)**Stoic Appropriations (R50–R56)**Zeno (R50–R51)***R50** (< T 256 Mouraviev) Numen. in Eus. *PE* 14.5.11–12
(Frag. 25 Des Places)

[. . .] νυνὶ δὲ αὐτῷ λελογίσθω ὅτι καὶ Στίλπωνός τε
μετέσχε καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν Ἡρακλειτείων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
συμφοιτῶντες παρὰ Πολέμωνι ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ἀλ-
λήλοις, συμπαρέλαβον εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχην
ὁ μὲν Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Στίλπωνα ἅμα καὶ Κράτητα,
ὧν ὑπὸ μὲν Στίλπωνος ἐγένετο μαχητής, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡρα-
κλείτου αὐστηρός, κυνικός δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτητος, ὁ δὲ
Ἀρκεσίλαος [. . .] [cf. *SVF* 1.11].

*The Heavens (D49)***R49** (31 A62) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

And as Empedocles said that the whole region near us is full of evils, and that evils spread as far as the moon, extending outward from the region around the earth, but do not go any farther, since the whole region beyond the moon is purer; this too was the view of Heraclitus [= **EMP. D142**].

*Stoics (R50–R66)**Stoic Appropriations (R50–R56)**Zeno (R50–R51)***R50** (≠ DK) Numenius, *On the Infidelity of the Academy toward Plato*, in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

[. . .] Consider now that he [i.e. Zeno the Stoic] also had his share in Stilpo and the Heraclitean doctrines. For when they [i.e. Arcesilaus and Zeno] were fellow students of Polemon and became rivals, the one [i.e. Zeno] took as his allies in their struggle Heraclitus and Stilpo together with Crates: Stilpo made him a fighter, Heraclitus austere, and Crates a Cynic. As for Arcesilaus [. . .].

R51 (> B12) Ar. Did. in Eus. *PE* 15.20.2–3 (Frag. 39 Diels)

περὶ δὲ ψυχῆς Κλεάνθης μὲν, τὰ Ζήνωνος δόγματα παρατιθέμενος πρὸς σύγκρισιν τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους φυσικούς, φησιν [SVF 1.141 et 519] ὅτι Ζήνων τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἰσθητικὴν¹ ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος· βουλόμενος γὰρ ἐμφανίσει, ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀναθυμῶμεναι νοεραὶ αἰεὶ γίνονται, εἴκασεν αὐτὰς τοῖς ποταμοῖς λέγων οὕτως [. . . = **D65a**]· ἀναθυμίασιν μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποφαίνει Ζήνων, αἰσθητικὴν δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι [. . .] λέγει [. . .].

¹ αἰσθησιν ἢ mss., corr. Wellmann

Cleanthes (R52)

R52 (C4) Cleanth. in Stob. 1.1.12 [SVF 1. 537]

σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὄδε κόσμος, ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαίαν,
πέιθεται, ἢ κεν ἄγης, καὶ ἐκὼν ὑπὸ σείῳ
κρατεῖται
τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικῆτοῖς ἐνὶ χερσίν
ἀμφήκη, πυρόεντ', αἰεζώοντα κεραυνόν·
5 τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆς φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίγασιν·
ᾧ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων
φοιτᾷ, μινύμενος μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε φάεσσι.

1 δὲ ms., corr. Scaliger

2 σοῖο ms., corr. Ursinus

3 ἔχοις ms., corr. Ursinus

ἐνὶ Brunck: ὑπὸ ms.

4 πυρόεντα αἰεζώοντα ms., corr. Wachsmuth

R51 (> B12) Arius Didymus in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

Concerning the soul, Cleanthes, citing the doctrines of Zeno in order to establish a comparison with the other philosophers of nature, says that Zeno defines the soul as an evaporation endowed with sensation, like Heraclitus; for, wanting to show that the souls that come from an evaporation are always intelligent, he has compared them to rivers, when he says, [. . . = **D65a**]. Thus Zeno affirms, like Heraclitus, that the soul is an evaporation, and he says that it is endowed with sensation [. . .].

Cleanthes (R52)

R52 (C4) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

It is to you [i.e. Zeus] that this whole world order,
whirling around the earth,

Is obedient, wherever you lead it, and it is willingly
ruled by you—

Such is the servant you hold in your invincible hands,

The two-edged fiery ever-living lightning bolt:¹

For under its blow² all things in nature shudder;

With it you make straight the account in common,
which through all things

Proceeds,³ mixing them with great lights and with
small ones.

¹ Cf. **D82**.

² Cf. **D110**.

³ Cf. **D2, D82**.

5 πληγῆς ms., corr. Brunck ἐρρίγασιν Ursinus: ἔρηγα
spat. 10 litt. ms. 6 λόγον κοινόν ms., corr. Ursinus

7 μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε Brunck: μεγάλων μικροῖσι ms.

Chrysippus (R53)

R53 (< T 262 Mouraviev) Philod. *Piet.* Col. 14 (p. 18 Henrichs)

[13] τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ κἀν | τοῖς περὶ Φύσεως | γράφει [Chrysipp., SVF 2.636], μεθ' ὧν εἴπαμεν καὶ τοῖς Ἡρακλείτου συνοικειῶν. | [. . .] [21] ἐν δὲ | τῷ τρίτῳ [. . .] καὶ | τὸν πόλεμο[ν] καὶ | τὸν Δ[ί]α τὸν αὐτὸν | εἶν[αι, κα]θάπερ καὶ | τὸν [Ἡ]ράκλειτον λέγειν.

Marcus Aurelius (R54–R55)

R54 (> B71–74, B76) M. Aur. 4.46

ἀεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου μνησθῆναι, ὅτι γῆς θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι καὶ ὕδατος θάνατος ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀέρος πῦρ καὶ ἔμπαλιν. μνησθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου ἢ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει καὶ ὅτι, ᾧ μάλιστα διηνεκῶς ὀμιλοῦσι, λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι, τούτῳ διαφέρονται, καὶ οἷς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα φαίνεται καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὥσπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε δοκοῦμεν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ <ὡς> παιδῶν τοκεῶν¹ [= **D7**], τουτέστι κατὰ ψιλόν "καθότι παρειλήφαμεν."

¹ cf. app. ad **D7**

Chrysippus (R53)

R53 (≠ DK) Philodemus, *On Piety*

[13] He [i.e. Chrysippus] writes much the same things in his books *On Nature*, proceeding, after those we have discussed [i.e. Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer, Euripides, Cleanthes] to an assimilation with the doctrines of Heraclitus. [. . .] [21] In the third [scil. book, he says] that war and Zeus are the same thing, and that this is what Heraclitus says too [cf. **D64**].

Marcus Aurelius (R54–R55)

R54 (> B71–74, B76) Marcus Aurelius

To always remember what Heraclitus says, that death for the earth is to become water, death for water is to become air, and for air, to become fire; and inversely [cf. **D100**]. And to remember the man who has forgotten where the road leads [cf. **D104**]. And this too: that from what they most incessantly associate with, the reason that administers the universe, they are at variance, and what they encounter every day seems foreign to them [cf. **D3**]. And that we should not act and speak like people who are sleeping [cf. **D1**] (for then too we think we are acting and speaking); and that we should not [scil. act and speak] <like> the children of our parents [= **D7**], that is, in ordinary language, in conformity with what we have received from tradition.

R55 (B75) M. Aur. 6.42

τοὺς καθεύδοντας, οἶμαι, ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι
λέγει καὶ συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων.

An Anonymous Paraphrase (R56)

R56 (B89) Ps.-Plut. *Superst.* 166C

ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι τοῖς ἐγγηγορόσιν ἓνα καὶ κοινὸν
κόσμον εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοιμωμένων ἕκαστον εἰς ἴδιον
ἀποστρέφεισθαι.¹

¹ ἀναστρέφεισθαι D

*Some Characteristic Stoic Doctrines Linked
with Heraclitus (R57–R66)
Various Subjects (R57)*

R57 (T 270 Mouraviev) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.105.1

[. . . = **R82**] παραπλήσια τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι
τῶν Στωικῶν δογματίζουσι περὶ τε ἐκπυρώσεως δια-
λαμβάνοντες καὶ κόσμον διοικήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἰδῶς
ποιοῦ κόσμου τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων
ψυχῶν ἐπιδιαμονῆς [SVF 2.590].

R55 (B75) Marcus Aurelius

I think that Heraclitus says that those who sleep are con-
structors and collaborators in what happens in the world.

An Anonymous Paraphrase (R56)

R56 (B89) Ps.-Plutarch, *On Superstition*

Heraclitus says that those who are awake have a world that
is one and in common, but that each of those who are
asleep turns aside into his own particular world [cf. **D2**].

*Some Characteristic Stoic Doctrines Linked
with Heraclitus (R57–R66)
Various Subjects (R57)*

R57 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[. . .] What the most illustrious Stoics profess concerning
the conflagration (*ekpurōsis*), the administration of the
world, the individuality of the world and of the human
being, and the persistence of our souls, is very similar to
this [i.e. Heraclitus' doctrine].

*Human Reason, Divine Reason (R58–R60)***R58** (A20) Calcid. *In Tim.* 251

Heraclitus vero consentientibus Stoicis [SVF 2.1.198] rationem nostram cum divina ratione conectit regente ac moderante mundana: propter inseparabilem comitatum consciam decreti rationabilis factam, quiescentibus animis opere sensuum futura denuntiari; ex quo fieri ut appareant imagines ignotorum locorum simulacraque hominum tam viventium quam mortuorum. idemque asserit divinationis usum et praemoneri meritos instruentibus divinis potestibus.

R59 (cf. A16) Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 7.127–34

[127] [. . .] ἀρέσκει γὰρ τῷ φυσικῷ τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς λογικόν τε ὄν καὶ φρενήρες. [. . .] [129] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν θεῖον λόγον καθ' Ἡράκλειτον δι' ἀναπνοῆς σπᾶσαντες νοεροὶ γινόμεθα, καὶ ἐν μὲν ὕπνοις ληθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ ἔγερσιν πάλιν ἐμφρόνες. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὕπνοις μυσάντων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων χωρίζεται τῆς πρὸς τὸ περιέχον συμφύσιος ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς, μόνης τῆς κατὰ ἀναπνοῆν προσφύσεως σφλομένης οἰονεῖ τινος ῥίζης, χωρισθείς τε ἀποβάλλει ἢν πρότερον εἶχε μνημονικὴν δύναμιν [130] ἐν δὲ ἔγρηγόρσει πάλιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων ὥσπερ διὰ τινων θυρίδων προσκύψας καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι συμβαλὼν λογικὴν ἐνδύεται δύναμιν. ὄνπερ οὖν τρόπον οἱ ἄνθρακες πλησιάζαντες τῷ πυρὶ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν διάπυροι γίνονται, χωρι-

*Human Reason, Divine Reason (R58–R60)***R58** (A20) Calcidius, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

Heraclitus, with the approval of the Stoics, connects our reason with the divine reason that rules and governs the affairs of the world: being made conscious of the law of reason because of this inseparable connection, when our souls are resting it announces the future with the help of the senses. This is how it comes about that the images of unknown places and the likenesses of both living and dead men appear. And the same man defends the practice of divination and [scil. claims] that those who are deserving are forewarned by divine powers that instruct them.

R59 (cf. A16) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

[127] [. . .] this natural philosopher [i.e. Heraclitus] holds the view that the substance that surrounds us is rational and mindful. [. . .] [129] So according to Heraclitus, it is by inhaling this divine reason when we breathe that we become intelligent, and whereas we forget it when we sleep, we become mindful again when we are awake. For when we sleep, the channels of perception are closed and the mind within us is separated from its natural connection with what surrounds, and only the point of attachment, respiration, subsists like a kind of root, and when it is separated it loses the faculty of memory that it had before; [130] but then when it awakens, leaning toward the channels of perception as though toward windows and encountering what surrounds, it takes on the faculty of reason once again. In the same way as pieces of charcoal brought near to a fire are kindled according to a transformation but are extinguished when they are removed from

σθέντες δὲ σβέννυνται, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐπιξενωθεῖσα τοῖς ἡμετέροις σώμασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος μοῖρα κατὰ μὲν τὸν χωρισμὸν σχεδὸν ἄλογος γίνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν πλείστων πόρων σύμφυσιν ὁμοιοειδῆς τῷ ὅλῳ καθίσταται. [131] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ θεῖον, καὶ οὗ κατὰ μετοχὴν γινόμεθα λογικοί, κριτήριον ἀληθείας φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος. ὅθεν τὸ μὲν κοινῇ πᾶσι φαινόμενον, τοῦτ' εἶναι πιστόν (τῷ κοινῷ γὰρ καὶ θεῷ λόγῳ λαμβάνεται), τὸ δὲ τιμὴ μόνῳ προσπίπτον ἄπιστον ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰτίαν. [132] ἐναρχόμενος γοῦν¹ τῶν Περὶ φύσεως ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ, καὶ τρόπον τινα δεικνύς τὸ περιέχον, φησὶ: “λόγου τοῦδε ἐόντος [. . .] ὅκωσπερ ὁκόσα εὐδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται” [= D1]. [133] διὰ τούτων γὰρ ῥητῶς παραστήσας, ὅτι κατὰ μετοχὴν τοῦ θείου λόγου πάντα πράττομέν τε καὶ νοοῦμεν, ὀλίγα προδιελθὼν ἐπιφέρει διὸ δεῖ ἔπεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ (ξυνοὺς γὰρ ὁ κοινός), “τοῦ λόγου δ' ἐόντος ξυνοὺ ζῶουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν” [= D2]. ἢ δ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἄλλ' ἐξήγησις τοῦ τρόπου τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διοικήσεως [. . . = R73].

¹ οὖν mss., corr. Kayser

R60 (A16) Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 8.286

καὶ μὴν ῥητῶς ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι τὸ μὴ εἶναι λογικὸν τὸν ἀνθρώπου, μόνον δ' ὑπάρχειν φρενήρησ τὸ περιέχον.

it, so too the portion coming from what surrounds, which resides with our bodies, in the state of separation becomes almost irrational, but in the state of union by most of the channels it is restored to its affinity with the whole. [131] Heraclitus says that this reason, which is in common and divine, and by participation in which we become rational, is the criterion of the truth; this is why what appears to all in common is reliable (for it is apprehended by the reason that is common and divine), while what is evident to one man alone is unreliable, for the opposite reason. [132] For this is what the abovementioned man says at the beginning of his book *On Nature* [or: of his remarks about nature], when in a certain way he is indicating what surrounds: “**Of this account that is [. . .] just as they forget all they do while they are asleep**” [= D1]. [133] After he has indicated explicitly in these words that it is by participation in divine reason that we do and think everything, a little later he adds that therefore we ought to follow what is in common (for *xunos* [i.e. the Ionic term] means “in common”): “**But although the account is in common, most people live as though they had their own thought**” [= D2]. This is nothing other than an explanation of the way in which the whole is organized [. . .].

R60 (A16) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

And yet Heraclitus says explicitly that the human being is not rational, and that only what surrounds is endowed with intelligence.

*Cosmic Fire (R61–R63)***R61** (T 303 Mouraviev) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3.14.35

sed omnia vestri, Balbe, solent ad igneam vim referre Heraclitum, ut opinor, sequentes, quem ipsum non omnes interpretantur uno modo, qui quoniam quid diceret intellegi noluit, omittamus [SVF 2.421].

R62 (T 260, T 940 Mouraviev) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 480.27–30

ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἡράκλειτος ἐκ πυρὸς πεπερασμένου πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα ἀναλύεσθαι. εἶεν δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ ταύτης τῆς δόξης. ἢ γὰρ ἐκπύρωσις τοιοῦτόν τι αἰνίττεται, καὶ πᾶν σῶμα πεπερασμένον εἶναι λέγουσιν [SVF 2.603].

R63 (cf. ad B30) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 294.4–7

καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκπυροῦσθαι λέγει τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς συνίστασθαι πάλιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τινὰς χρόνων περιόδους, ἐν οἷς φησι “μέτρα ἀπτόμενος καὶ μέτρα σβεννύμενος” [cf. D85]. ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης ὕστερον ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ [SVF 2.617].

*Cosmic Fire (R61–R63)***R61** (≠ DK) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

But those [scil. Stoics] of yours, Balbus, have the habit of referring everything to the force of fire, following, I suppose, Heraclitus, whom they do not all interpret in the same way. But since he did not wish what he said to be understood, let us leave him aside.

R62 (≠ DK) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

For Heraclitus said that all things come from a limited fire and that all things are resolved back into it. The Stoics too would be of this opinion. For the conflagration (*ekpurōsis*) makes an enigmatic allusion to something of this sort, and they say that every body is limited.¹

¹ For a Latin poetic version of this interpretation of Heraclitus, see *Aetna* 537–40.

R63 (cf. ad B30), Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Heraclitus says that the world sometimes undergoes a conflagration and sometimes reconstitutes itself again out of the fire, following certain periods of time, when he says, “**kindled in measures and extinguished in measures**” [cf. D85]. Later, the Stoics too came to share this opinion.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY III

The Great Year (R64)

R64 (> A13) Aët. 2.32.3-4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πόσος ἐκάστου τῶν πλανητῶν χρόνος καὶ τίς ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτός]

[3] Ἡράκλειτος ἐκ μυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων ἡλιακῶν.
 [4] Διογένης ὁ Στωικός ἐκ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐνιαυτῶν τοσούτων, ὧσων ὁ κατὰ Ἡράκλειτον ἐνιαυτός [SVF 2.603].

Evaporations (R65)

R65 (> A11) Aët. 2.17.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [πόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες]

Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ τρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀναθυμιάσεως [SVF 2.690].

¹ τρέφονται Mansfeld et Runia

Human Development (R66)

R66 (A18) Aët. 5.23 (Ps.-Plut.) [πότε ἄρχεται ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς τελειότητος]

Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς τελειότητος περὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἑβδομάδα, περὶ ἣν ὁ σπερματικὸς κινεῖται ὁρρός [SVF 2.764].

HERACLITUS

The Great Year (R64)

R64 (> A13) Aëtius

[3] Heraclitus: [scil. the great year consists] of 10,800 solar years.

[4] Diogenes the Stoic: [scil. the great year consists] of 365 times the number of years of one [scil. great year] according to Heraclitus.

Evaporations (R65)

R65 (> A11) Aëtius

Heraclitus and the Stoics: the stars are nourished by the evaporation coming from the earth.

See also **R46b**[9]

Human Development (R66)

R66 (A18) Aëtius

Heraclitus and the Stoics: humans reach maturity in the second period of seven years, when the seminal fluid is set in motion.

*Epicurean Polemics (R67–R69)***R67** (T 279 Mouraviev) Diog. Laert. 10.6–8

καὶ μὴν καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Εὐ-
φραντοῖς¹ [. . .] φησὶ [. . .] Ἡράκλειόν τε κυκητῆν
[. . .].

¹ εὐφραντοῖς FP⁴: εὐφάντοις BP¹

R68 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.37) Lucr. 1.635–44

635 quapropter qui materiem rerum esse putarunt
 ignem atque ex igni summam consistere solo,
 magno opere a vera lapsi ratione videntur.
 Heraclitus inquit quorum dux proelia primus,
 clarus ob obscuram linguam magis inter inanis
640 quamde gravis inter Graios qui vera requirunt.
 omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque
 inversis quae sub verbis latitantia cernunt,
 veraque constituunt quae belle tangere possunt
 auris et lepido quae sunt fucata sonore.

*Epicurean Polemics (R67–R69)***R67** (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

Timocrates in his book entitled *Pleasantries* [. . .] says [. . .]
[scil. that Epicurus called] Heraclitus “*Kukêtês*” [i.e.,
“*Kukeôn*-drinker” or “Agitator”] [cf. **D59**].

R68 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.37) Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*

That is why those people who have thought that the matter of things 635
Is fire and that everything comes from fire alone
Seem to have fallen very far from true reason.
Among these, Heraclitus enters the fray as the first leader,
Famous for his obscure language, more among the empty-headed
Than among those serious Greeks who seek the truth; 640
For foolish people admire and love everything
That they perceive to lie hidden under words that conceal their meaning,
And they consider true what can pleasantly touch
Their ears and is adorned with a charming sound.¹

¹ Lucretius goes on to provide criticisms of the idea that fire is the sole material principle for all things (1.645–711).

R69 (T 376 Mouraviev) Diog. Oen. Frag. 6, Col. 3 1–3,
7–14 Smith

[. . .] νυνεὶ δὲ [τοῖς] | εἰρημένους ἀνδρά[σιν ἐν]||καλέ-
σομεν [. . .] | [7] καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ πρῶ[τον] | ἐπεὶ καὶ
πρώτος ἡμ[εῖν τέ]||τακται. κακῶς, Ἡρά[κλει]||τε, πῦρ
εἶναι στοιχεῖ[ον λέ]||γεις· οὔτε γὰρ ἄφθα[ρτόν] | ἐστίν,
ἐπεὶ φθειρόμ[ενον] | [13] ὀρώμεν αὐτό, οὔτε δύ[α]||ται
γεννᾶν τὰ πράγμ[ατα] | . . .

1–4 suppl. Usener 7–13 suppl. Cousin 14 πρά-
γμ[ατα] Heberdey-Kalinka

Heraclitus Among the Sceptics (R70–R73)
Aenesidemus: Scepticism Leads to
Heraclitus (R70–R71)

R70 (< T 694 Mouraviev) Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.210

[. . . cf. **R72**] οἱ περὶ Αἰνησιδήμον ἔλεγον ὁδὸν εἶναι
τὴν σκεπτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείτειον φιλοσο-
φίαν, διότι προηγείται τοῦ τάναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
ὑπάρχειν τὸ τάναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φαίνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ
μὲν σκεπτικοὶ φαίνεσθαι λέγουσι τὰ ἐναντία περὶ τὸ
αὐτὸ, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλείτριοι ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπάρ-
χειν αὐτὰ μετέρχονται.

R69 (≠ DK) Diogenes of Oenoanda

Now we shall criticize the men that we have mentioned
[. . .] and first of all Heraclitus, since he was put first by
us. [. . .] You are wrong, Heraclitus, to say that fire is an
element; for it is neither indestructible, since we see that
it is destroyed, nor capable of generating things . . .

Heraclitus Among the Sceptics (R70–R73)
Aenesidemus: Scepticism Leads to
Heraclitus (R70–R71)

R70 (≠ DK) Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*

[. . .] Aenesidemus and his followers said that the Sceptical
school was a path leading to Heraclitus' philosophy, be-
cause the thesis according to which, concerning the same
thing, the opposites appear, precedes logically the thesis
according to which, concerning the same thing, the op-
posites exist, and the Sceptics say that the opposites ap-
pear, concerning the same thing, and that the Heracliteans
passed from this to their also existing.

R71 Tert. An.

a (< T 651 Mouraviev) 9.5

non, ut aer sit ipsa substantia eius, etsi hoc Aenesidemo visum est et Anaximeni, puto secundum quosdam et Heraclito [. . .].

b (cf. ad B67a) 14.5

non longe hoc exemplum est a Stratone et Aenesidemo et Heraclito; nam et ipsi unitatem animae tuentur, quae in totum corpus diffusa et ubique ipsa, velut flatus in calamo per cavernas [. . .].

Sextus Empiricus: Heraclitus Was Not a Skeptic (R72–R73)

R72 (< T 694 Mouraviev) Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.210, 212 [ὅτι διαφέρει ἡ σκεπτικὴ ἀγωγή τῆς Ἡρακλείτου φιλοσοφίας]

[210] ὅτι μὲν οὖν αὕτη διαφέρει τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀγωγῆς, πρόδηλον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡράκλειτος περὶ πολλῶν ἀδηλῶν ἀποφαίνεται δογματικῶς, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχί. [. . .] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ Διησιδίημον ἔλεγον ὁδὸν εἶναι τὴν σκεπτικὴν ἀγωγήν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείτειον φιλοσοφίαν [. . . = **R70**], φαμέν πρὸς τούτους,¹ ὅτι τὸ τὰ ἐναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φαίνεσθαι οὐ δόγμα ἐστὶ τῶν σκεπτικῶν ἀλλὰ πρῶγμα οὐ μόνον τοῖς σκεπτικοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-

R71 (≠ DK) Tertullian, *On the Soul*

a (≠ DK)

Not that air itself is the substance of it [i.e. the soul], even if this was the view of Aenesidemus and Anaximenes, and I think also of Heraclitus, according to some people [. . .].

b (cf. ad B67a)

This example [i.e. of a water organ] is not very remote from Strato, Aenesidemus, and Heraclitus: for these too preserve the unity of the soul, which is diffused throughout the whole body and yet everywhere is itself, like the breath in a reed instrument throughout its cavities [. . .].

Sextus Empiricus: Heraclitus Was Not a Skeptic (R72–R73)

R72 (≠ DK) Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* [That the Skeptical school differs from Heraclitus' philosophy.]

[210] The fact that it differs from our school is obvious. For Heraclitus makes dogmatic assertions about many unclear matters, while we do not. [. . .] But since Aenesidemus and his followers said that the Skeptical school was a path leading to Heraclitus' philosophy [. . .], we reply to them that the thesis according to which, concerning the same thing, the opposites appear, is not a doctrine of the Skeptics but a datum of experience, not only for the Skep-

¹ τούτους ML: αὐτοὺς EAB

λοις φιλοσόφοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποπίπτον· [. . .] [212] μήποτε δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς Ἡρακλειτείου φιλοσοφίας ἢ σκεπτικῆ ἀγωγή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποσυνεργεῖ, εἶγε ὁ σκεπτικὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου δογματιζόμενα ὡς προπετῶς λεγόμενα διαβάλλει, ἐναντιούμενος μὲν τῇ ἐκπυρώσει, ἐναντιούμενος δὲ τῷ τὰ ἐναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δόγματος τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου τὴν μὲν δογματικὴν προπέθειαν διασύρων, τὸ δὲ “οὐ καταλαμβάνω”² καὶ τὸ “οὐδὲν ὀρίζω” ἐπιφθεγγόμενος, ὡς ἔφην ἔμπροσθεν ὅπερ μάχεται τοῖς Ἡρακλειτείοις. ἄτοπον δέ ἐστι τὸ τὴν μαχομένην ἀγωγήν ὁδὸν εἶναι λέγειν τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐκείνης ἢ μάχεται ἄτοπον ἄρα τὸ τὴν σκεπτικὴν ἀγωγήν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλειτείου φιλοσοφίαν ὁδὸν εἶναι λέγειν.

² οὐ καταλαμβάνω Stephanus: οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω mss.

R73 (< A16) Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 7.126–27, 133–34

[126] ὁ δὲ Ἡράκλειτος, ἐπεὶ πάλιν ἐδόκει δυσὶν ὀργανῶσθαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας γνῶσιν, αἰσθήσει τε καὶ λόγῳ, τούτων τὴν <μὲν>¹ αἰσθησὶν παραπλησίως τοῖς προειρημένοις φυσικοῖς ἄπιστον εἶναι νενόμικεν, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὑποτίθεται κριτήριον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν αἰσθησὶν ἐλέγχει λέγων κατὰ λέξιν, [. . . = D33], ὅπερ ἴσον ἦν τῷ² βαρβάρων ἐστὶ ψυχῶν ταῖς ἀλόγοις αἰσθήσεσι πιστεύειν. [127] τὸν δὲ λόγον κριτὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποφαίνεται οὐ τὸν ὅποι-

tics but also for all other philosophers and for all human beings [. . .]. [212] But perhaps the Skeptical school not only does not make a contribution to the knowledge of Heraclitus' philosophy, but it even leads away from it, since the Skeptic rejects all of Heraclitus' dogmatic affirmations as rash and opposes the conflagration (*ekpurōsis*), opposes the thesis that, concerning the same thing, the contraries exist, disparages the dogmatic rashness of all of Heraclitus' doctrines, and asserts “I do not apprehend” and “I define nothing,” as I said earlier. All of this is opposed to the Heracliteans. And it is absurd to say that an opposing school is a path leading to the very doctrine that it opposes; so that it is absurd to say that the Skeptical school is a path leading to Heraclitus' philosophy.

R73 (< A16) Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Logicians*

[126] Since Heraclitus for his part thought that the human being is equipped with two instruments with a view toward knowledge of the truth, perception and reason (*logos*), he held the view, much like the natural philosophers I discussed earlier, that of these two perception is untrustworthy, and he establishes reason as the criterion. But he refutes perception, saying in his own words, [. . . = D33], which doubtless means the same thing as, “It belongs to barbarian souls to trust irrational perceptions.” [127] But the reason that he indicates as judge of the truth is not just

¹ <μὲν> Bekker

² τῷ Bekker: τὸν mss.

ονδήποτε, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν καὶ θεῖον. τίς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος, συντόμως ὑποδεικτέον. [. . . = cf. R59] [133] [. . .] διὸ καθ' ὃ τι ἂν αὐτοῦ τῆς μνήμης κοινωνήσωμεν, ἀληθεύομεν, ἃ δὲ ἂν ιδιάσωμεν, ψευδόμεθα. [134] νῦν γὰρ ῥητότατα καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸν κοινὸν λόγον κριτήριον ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τὰ μὲν κοινῇ φησι³ φαινόμενα πιστὰ ὡς ἂν τῷ κοινῷ κρινόμενα λόγῳ, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστῳ ψευδῆ.

³ φησι Bekker: φασι mss.: πᾶσι Natorp

Philo: Heraclitus' Doctrines Derive from the Hebrew Bible (R74–R76)

R74 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.42) Phil. *Quaest. Gen.* 3.5, p. 178.11–25 Aucher

Բայց պարս է գիտել, զի եւ մասունքն աշխարհիս ընդ երկու հաստեալն եւ, եւ <ընդ>դիմ ընդդիմ հաստատեալ եւ: Երկիր՝ ի լեռնային եւ ի դաշտային վայրս: Եւ ջուր ի քաղցր եւ յաղտաղտուկ. քաղցր ըմպելիս է՝ գոր մասուցանեն աղբերք եւ գետք. եւ աղտաղտուկ՝ ծովային: Եւ աւղ ի ձմեռն եւ յամառն, եւ դարձեալ ի գարունն եւ յաշունն: Եւ աստուստ Հերակլիտոսս ղիմեալ՝ զյաղագս բնութեանն զիրս գրեաց. գոր իմացեալ յաստուածաբանէն զյաղագս ընդդիմակացն վարկս, եւ յաւելեալ անբաւութիւն աշխատելի ձեռնարկութեանցն ի նմա:

any one, but the one that is in common and divine. What this is must be indicated briefly [. . .]. [133] [. . .] That is why, to the extent that we have in common the memory of this [scil. of divine reason] we are in the truth, while wherever we are in particularity we are in error. [134] For here too it is explicitly asserted that reason in common is the criterion, and he says that the things that appear in common are reliable, since they are discerned by reason in common, while the things that are particular to each individual are erroneous.

Philo: Heraclitus' Doctrines Derive from the Hebrew Bible (R74–R76)

R74 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.42) Philo, *Questions on Genesis*

But one must know that the parts of this world are divided into two as well, and established as opposites. The earth [scil. is divided] into mountainous areas and flat ones. And water into sweet and salt; the sweet is the potable one, which springs and rivers bring forth; and the salt is seawater. And the weather into winter and summer, and again into spring and autumn. And starting from this, Heraclitus wrote the book on nature; which [scil. he wrote] having learned from the theologian [i.e. Moses] the ideas about the opposites, and having added to it an infinity of laborious arguments.¹

¹ Translated by Irene Tinti.

R75

a (T 339 Mouraviev) Phil. *Quaest. Gen.* 4.152, pp. 359.34–360.6 Aucher

Ճառոյ եւ ոչ վի ինչ ունի խնայիր. բայց բնականագոյն ի վէջ ասնի է, եւ հաստատեանել պատասխանի գայն, զի մարմնոյս մահ կեանք ոգոյ է, իւր իսկ ոգոյն զանմարմին կեանս կեցեալ: Ջորսէ եւ Հերակլիտէս գողարար ի բաց գերծեալ ի Սոլսիսէ գաւրէսս եւ զկարծիս ասէ, եթէ կեանք զնոցայն մահն, եւ մտաք զնոցայն կեանս. ասակերով, զի մարմնովս կեանք մահ ոգոց է. իսկ որ մահ ասի, կեանք բարեկիստագոյն ասաջին ոգոյն:

b (T 338 Mouraviev) Phil. *Leg. alleg.* 1.33.107–8

[107] ὅπου δ' ἂν λέγῃ “θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖν,” παρατήρει ὅτι θάνατον τὸν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραλαμβάνει, οὐ τὸν φύσει γινόμενον· φύσει μὲν οὖν ἔστι, καθ' ὃν χωρίζεται ψυχὴ ἀπὸ σώματος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ συνίσταται, ὅταν ἢ ψυχὴ τὸν ἀρετῆς βίον θνήσκῃ, τὸν δὲ κακίας ζῆ μόνον. [108] εὖ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τοῦτο Μωυσέως ἀκολουθήσας τῷ δόγματι, φησὶ γάρ· “ζῶμεν τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τεθνήκαμεν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων βίον” [cf. D70], ὡς νῦν μὲν, ὅτε ζῶμεν, τεθνηκίας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐν σήματι τῷ σώματι ἐντετυμβευμένης, εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοιμεν, τῆς ψυχῆς ζώσης τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένης κακοῦ καὶ νεκροῦ συνδέτου τοῦ σώματος.

R75

a (≠ DK) Philo, *Questions on Genesis*

The literal meaning [scil. of this verse, Gen. 25:8] does not cause any difficulty; but it is necessary to consider it in a more natural sense and give the following answer, namely that the death of this body is the life of the soul, since the soul lives its own incorporeal life. On this topic Heraclitus too, stealing the law and the opinion from Moses, like a thief, says, “We live their death and die their life” [cf. D70], thus suggesting that the life in this body is the death of the souls, while what is called ‘death’ is the most glorious and primary life, that of the soul.¹

¹ Translated by Irene Tinti.

b (≠ DK) Philo, *Allegories of the Sacred Laws*

[107] When he [i.e. Moses] says, “to die by death” [cf. Gen. 2:17], notice that he is taking death as a punishment, not as the one that happens by nature; the one that happens by nature is the one by which the soul is separated from the body, whereas the one that is a punishment happens when the soul dies for the life of virtue and lives only for the life of vice. [108] And Heraclitus did well to follow the doctrine of Moses on this point, for he says, “we live their death and we die their life” [cf. D70], on the idea that now, while we are alive, our soul has died and is buried in the body as though in a tomb, but that if we die, then the soul lives its own life and is freed from the evil, dead body to which it was attached.

R76 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.39) *Phil. Her.* 213–14

[213] παγκάλως οὖν ὁ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐρμηνεύς¹ πραγμάτων,² τῆς ἀργίας καὶ ἀμελετησίας ἡμῶν λαμβάνων οἰκτον ἐκάστοτ'³ ἀφθόνως⁴ ἀναδιδάσκει, καθὰ καὶ νῦν, τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐκάστων θέσιν οὐχ ὀλοκλήρων, ἀλλὰ τμημάτων ὑπαρχόντων ἐν γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν ἐναντίων, οὗ τμηθέντος γνώριμα τὰ ἐναντία. [214] οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὃ φασι "Ἕλληνες τὸν μέγαν καὶ ἀοίδιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἡράκλειτον κεφάλαιον τῆς αὐτοῦ προστησάμενον φιλοσοφίας ἀρχεῖν ὡς ἐφ' εὐρέσει καινῇ; παλαιὸν γὰρ εὖρεμα Μωυσέως ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐναντία τμημάτων λόγον ἔχοντα ἀποτελεῖσθαι [. . .].

¹ ἐρμηνεύς pap.: ἐρμηνευτήν mss. ² πραγμάτων pap. (Mangey): γραμμάτων mss. ³ ἐκάστοτ' Wendland: ἐκάστον mss. ⁴ ἀφθόνως Wendland: ἀφονως pap.: ἀφανώς mss.: ἐμφανώς con. Mangey

Christian Appropriations and Polemics (R77–R87)
Justin Martyr (R77)

R77 (T 601 Mouraviev) *Just. M. Apol.* 1.46.2–3

τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν καὶ προεμηνύσαμεν Λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε. καὶ οἱ μετὰ Λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ ἦσαν,¹ καὶ ἀθεοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν "Ἑλληνισμῷ μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάροις δὲ Ἀβραὰμ [. . .].

R76 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 491.39) *Philo, Who is the Heir of Divine Things?*^p

[213] Magnificently, then, the interpreter of the things of nature, feeling pity for our sloth and carelessness, teaches us generously every time, as he does now, the antithetical position of each of the things that are deprived of wholeness and result from divisions: for what is one is formed out of one and the other of contraries, and it is by its division that the contraries are known. [214] Is this not what the Greeks say that the great Heraclitus, much besung among them, put forward as the chief point of his philosophy and boasted as though it were a new discovery? Yet in fact it is a very ancient discovery by Moses that the contraries have come from the same thing and have the status of things divided [. . .].

Christian Appropriations and Polemics (R77–R87)
Justin Martyr (R77)

R77 (≠ DK) *Justin Martyr, Apology*

We have been taught that Christ is the firstborn son of God, and we indicated earlier that he is the Word, of which the whole human race has received a share. And those people who have lived with the Word were Christians, even if they were considered to be atheists, as for example, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and those men similar to them, and, among the barbarians, Abraham [. . .].

¹ ἦσαν Ashton: εἶσι A

Tatian (R78)

R78 (T 604 Mouraviev) Tat. Or. 3

τὸν γὰρ Ἡράκλειτον οὐκ ἂν ἀποδεξαίμην, “ἐμαντὸν ἐδίδαξάμην”¹ [cf. D36] εἰπόντα, διὰ τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον εἶναι καὶ ὑπερήφανον. οὐτ’ ἂν ἐπαινέσαιμι κατακρύψαντα τὴν ποιήσιν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναῶ μυστηριωδῶς ὅπως ὕστερον ἢ ταύτης ἔκδοσις γένηται καὶ γὰρ οἷς μέλον ἐστὶ περὶ τούτων φασὶν Εὐριπίδην τὸν τραγωδοποιόν, κατιόντα καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα, διὰ μνήμης κατ’ ὀλίγον τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σκότος σπουδαίως παραδεδωκέναι. τούτου μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀμαθίαν ὁ θάνατος διήλεγε· ὕδρωπι γὰρ συσχεθείς, καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ὡς φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδεύσας, βολβίτοις τε περιπλάσας ἑαυτὸν, τῆς κόπρου κρατυνθείσης, συνολκάς τε τοῦ παντὸς ἀπεργασαμένης σώματος, σπασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε.

¹ ἐδιδίξασάμην Heraclitus

Clement of Alexandria (R79–R85)

R79 (> B22) Clem. Alex. Strom. 4.4.1–2

ἔστω δὲ ἡμῖν¹ τὰ ὑπομνήματα, ὡς πολλάκις εἶπομεν διὰ τοὺς ἀνέδην ἀπείρως ἐντυγχάνοντας ποικίλως,² ὡς αὐτὸ που τοῦνομά φησι, διεστρωμένα, ἀπ’ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο συνεχῆς μετιόντα, καὶ ἕτερον μὲν τι κατὰ τὸν εἶρμόν τῶν λόγων μηνύοντα, ἐνδεικνύμενα δὲ ἄλλο τι.

Tatian (R78)

R78 (≠ DK) Tatian, *Oration to the Greeks*

I would not accept Heraclitus, who says, “I have taught myself” [cf. D36], because he is self-taught and arrogant; and I would not praise him either for having mysteriously hidden his poem in the temple of Artemis so that it would be published only later [cf. P13]. For those people who study these matters say that the tragedian Euripides went there and read it, and, having memorized it little by little, eagerly transmitted Heraclitus’ obscurity [cf. R5a]. Death confuted this man’s ignorance: for when he came down with a dropsy, he practiced medicine like philosophy and smeared himself with cow dung; and when the dung hardened and caused contractions in his whole body, he died in convulsions [cf. P16–P17].

Clement of Alexandria (R79–R85)

R79 (> B22) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

These notices of ours, as we have often said for the sake of those who, without experience, read them freely, may well be a variegated patchwork, as their very title [scil. *Stromata*] indicates, one that passes constantly from one topic to another, revealing one thing in virtue of its series of the arguments, but signifying something else. [2] For

¹ ἡμῖν Hervet: ὑμῖν ms.
ms.: ποικίλα <καὶ> Hiller

² ποικίλως Mayor: ποικίλα

[2] “χρυσὸν γὰρ οἱ διζήμενοι,” φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, “γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσουσι καὶ εὕρισκουσιν ὀλίγον” [= D39], οἱ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὄντως γένους τὸ συγγενὲς μεταλλεύοντες εὕρησουσι τὸ πολὺ ἐν ὀλίγῳ.

R80 (T 643b Mouraviev) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.27.1

σιωπῶ δὲ Ἡράκλειτον τὸν Ἐφέσιον, ὃς παρ’ Ὀρφέως τὰ πλείστα εἴληφεν.

R81 (> B18) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2.17.3–4

εἰ τοίνυν ἡ πίστις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πρόληψις ἐστὶ διανοίας περὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακοή τε εἴρηται σύνεσις τε καὶ πειθῶ, οὐ μὴ¹ μαθήσεται τις ἄνευ πίστεως, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄνευ προλήψεως. [4] ἀληθὲς δ’ οὖν ὃν παντὸς² μᾶλλον ἀποδείκνυται τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένον· “ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνήτε.” τοῦτο καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος τὸ λόγιον παραφράσας εἴρηκεν· “ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται ἀνέλπιστον, οὐκ ἐξευρήσει, ἀνεξερεύνητον ἐὼν καὶ ἄπορον” [= D37].

¹ μὴ Mayor: μὴν ms.

² παντὸς Dindorf: πάντως ms.

R82 (> B30, B31) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.104.1–105.1 (et al.)

[104.1] σαφέστατα <δ’>¹ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ταύ-

¹ <δ’> Stählin ex Eus. *PE* 13.13.31

Heraclitus says, “Those who search for gold dig up much earth and find little” [= D39], but those who, really belonging to the golden race, quarry what is akin to them, will find much in little.¹

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex, *Strom.* 5.14.140.4.

R80 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

I pass over in silence Heraclitus of Ephesus, who took over most [scil. of his doctrines] from Orpheus.

R81 (> B18) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

If faith is nothing other than the apprehension by thought of what is said, and if this is called obedience, understanding, and persuasion, then no one will ever learn without faith, since it is not possible either without apprehension. [4] So that what has been said by the prophet—“if you do not have faith, neither will you ever understand” (Isa. 7:9)—is revealed to be absolutely true. And this is also what Heraclitus of Ephesus, paraphrasing this verse, said: “If one does not expect the unexpected one will not find it (*exeurein*), for it cannot be searched out (*anexeureinêton*) nor arrived at (*aporon*)” [= D37].

R82 (> B30, B31) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[104.1] But it is Heraclitus of Ephesus [scil. rather than Empedocles] who is most clearly of this opinion [scil. that

της ἐστὶ τῆς δόξης, τὸν μὲν τινα κόσμον αἰδίου εἶναι δοκιμάσας, τὸν δὲ τινα φθειρόμενον, τὸν κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν εἰδῶς οὐχ ἕτερον ὄντα ἐκείνου πως ἔχοντος. [2] ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν αἰδίου τὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἰδίως² ποιὸν κόσμον ἤδει, φανερόν ποιεῖ λέγων οὕτως: "κόσμον τὸν³ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων [. . .] ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα"⁴ [= D85]. [3] ὅτι δὲ καὶ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐδογματίζεν, μηνύει τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα: "πυρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα, [. . .] τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν πρηστήρ"⁵ [= D86]. [4] δυνάμει γὰρ λέγει, ὅτι πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικούντος λόγου καὶ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα δι' αἴρος τρέπεται εἰς ὑγρὸν τὸ ὡς σπέρμα τῆς διακοσμήσεως, ὃ καλεῖ θάλασσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου αἰθῆς γίνεται γῆ καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα. [5] ὅπως δὲ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ ἐκπυροῦται, σαφῶς διὰ τούτων δηλοῖ: "θάλασσα διαχέεται [. . .] γενέσθαι γῆ"⁵ [cf. D86], ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων τὰ αὐτά [. . . = R57].

² ἰδίως Bernays: αἰδίως ms.
Heraclitus ⁴ app. cf. ad D85

³ κόσμον τόνδε τὸν
⁵ app. cf. ad D86

R83 (> B28) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5.9.2-4

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος παρακαλεῖ, "ἵνα ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων" τῶν πείθειν ἐπαγγελιομένων, "ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ," τῇ μόνῃ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἀποδείξεων διὰ ψιλῆς τῆς πίστεως σῶζεν δυναμένη. [3] "δοκεόντων γὰρ ὃ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει"

there will someday be a transformation of all things into fire]; he believes that there exists one world that is eternal and another one that is perishable, even though he knows that the one that results from the organization of the world (*diakosmêsis*) is not different from the other one, which is in a particular condition. [2] But he makes it clear that he knew that the world that is constituted from the totality of substance and endowed with a particular quality is eternal, for he says, "**The world order, the same for all, [. . .] kindled in measures and extinguished in measures**" [= D85]. [3] And the fact that this one is generated and perishable is indicated by the following words: "**Turnings of fire: first sea [. . .] and the other half, lightning storm**" [= D86]. [4] For he is saying potentially that fire, under the effect of Reason and God who directs the totality of things, turns, passing through air, into moisture which is like the seed of the organization of the world, which he calls the sea; and out of this then comes the earth, the heavens, and everything that it encompasses. [5] But the fact that it is regenerated and undergoes conflagration he shows clearly in the following words: "**It spreads out as sea [. . .] it became earth**" [= cf. D86]. The same applies in a similar way to the other elements.

R83 (> B28) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

It is for this reason that the apostle calls upon us "so that our faith not be in the wisdom of men," who proclaim that they use persuasion, "but in the power of God," the only one that is capable of saving by faith alone, even without proofs [1 Cor. 2:5]. [3] For "**of those who have opinions,**

[= D19], φυλάσσει.¹ καὶ μέντοι καὶ “δίκη καταλήφεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας” [= D28], ὁ Ἐφεσῖος φησιν. [4] οἶδεν γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας μαθὼν τὴν διὰ πυρὸς κάθαρσιν τῶν κακῶς βεβιωκότων, ἣν ὕστερον ἐκπύρωσιν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ Στωικοί [SVF 2.630].

¹ φυλάσσει Schleiermacher: φυλάσσειν mss.: Heraclito saepe trib. edd.

R84 (cf. B62) Clem. Alex. *Raed.* 3.1.5–2.1

ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος, ᾧ σύνοικος ὁ λόγος, οὐ ποικίλλεται, οὐ πλάττεται, μορφὴν ἔχει τὴν τοῦ λόγου, ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ θεῷ, καλὸς ἐστίν, οὐ καλλωπίζεται κάλλος ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθινόν, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐστίν· θεὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, ὅτι βούλεται δὲ θεός· ὀρθῶς ἄρα εἶπεν Ἡράκλειτος: “ἄνθρωποι θεοί, θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι” [cf. D70], λόγος γὰρ αὐτός.² μυστήριον ἐμφανές· θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεός, καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ μεσίτης ἐκτελεῖ· μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ λόγος ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν, θεοῦ μὲν υἱός, σωτὴρ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοῦ μὲν διάκονος, ἡμῶν δὲ παιδαγωγός.

¹ ὁ ms., corr. Bernays

² αὐτός ms.: ὁ αὐτός Bernays

R85 (cf. B26) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.139.4–141.4

[139.4] διὰ τοῦτό τοι καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐγγηγορέναι παραγ-

it is the man who enjoys the highest opinion who knows” [= D19], preserves; and indeed “Justice will seize hold of those who fabricate lies and of those who bear witness to them” [= D28], says the Ephesian. [4] For he too knew, from having learned about it from the barbarian philosophy, of the purification by fire of those who have lived in evil—what the Stoics later called “conflagration” (*ekpurōsis*).

R84 (cf. B62) Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue*

That man in whom the *Logos* is indwelling does not transform himself, he does not put on appearances, he possesses the form of the *Logos*, he is assimilated to God, he is beautiful, he is not beautified by cosmetics: he is beautiful in truth, for God is too. That man becomes God because he wants what God wants. So Heraclitus was right to say, “Immortals mortals, mortals immortals” [cf. D70]: for the *Logos* is the same.¹ A manifest mystery: God in a man, and the man God, and the mediator accomplishes the will of the Father. For the mediator is the *Logos* which is in common for both, the Son of God, but also the Savior of mankind, a servant of the former and a pedagogue for us.

¹ This last phrase is doubtless a commentary by Clement.

R85 (cf. B26) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[139.4] For this reason the Lord too calls upon us to stay

γέλλει, ὥστε μηδὲ ὄναρ ἡμῶν παθαίνεσθαι ποτε τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐνεργουμένην καθαρὰν καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον διαφυλάττειν προστάττει [. . .]. [140.2] “ἄρ’ οὖν μὴ καθεύδωμεν ὡς οἱ λοιποί, ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν. οἱ γὰρ καθεύδοντες νυκτὸς καθεύδουσι καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι νυκτὸς μεθύουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέρας ὄντες νήφωμεν, ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίου.” [141.1] ὅσα δ’ αὖ περὶ ὕπνου λέγουσι, τὰ αὐτὰ χρῆ καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἐξακούειν. ἐκάτερος γὰρ δηλοῖ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ μὲν μᾶλλον, ὃ δὲ ἥττον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ Ἡρακλείτου λαβεῖν: [2] “ἄνθρωπος ἐν εὐφρόνῃ [. . .] ἐγρηγορῶς ἄπτεται εὐδοντος”¹ [= D71]. [3] μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ “εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν,”² κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, “ὅτι ὥρα ὑμᾶς ἦδη ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι· νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἢ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν. ἢ νῦξ προέκοψεν, ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν. ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτοῦς, ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός.” [4] ἡμέραν δὲ τὸν νῆον ἀλληγορεῖ καὶ φῶς, τὰς τε αὖ παραγγελίας ὄπλα φωτὸς μεταφορικῶς.

¹ cf. app. ad D71

² καιρὸν Rom. 13:11: κύριον ms.

(Ps.-P) Hippolytus (R86)

R86 (cf. B1, B50–67) (Ps.-P) Hippol. Ref. 9.7–8, 9.9–10 [7.1] γεγένηται τις ὀνόματι Νοητός, τῷ γένει Συμρ-

awake [cf. Matt. 24:42], so that our soul not be disturbed by passion even in a dream, but he ordains that we keep our constitution at night in an activity pure and immaculate as during the day [. . .]. [140.2] “So let us not sleep like the others but let us stay awake and sober. For those who sleep sleep at night, and those who get drunk get drunk at night. But we, who belong to the day, let us stay sober, having donned the corselet of faith and love and as a helmet the hope of salvation” [1 Thess. 5:6–8]. [141.1] And the same things as they say about sleep must also be understood about death. For both indicate the departure of the soul, the latter more, the former less—which can also be seen in Heraclitus. [2] “**A human being, in the night, [. . .] awake he touches on a sleeping man**” [= D71]. [3] For “blessed are those who know the right moment,” according to the Apostle, “for it is time for you to awaken from your sleep; for our salvation is now closer than it was when we acquired our faith. The night is far gone, the day is near. So let us put aside the works of darkness, and let us don the weapons of light” [Rom. 13:11–12]. [4] By “day” and “light” he is allegorically indicating the Son, and by “the weapons of light” he is metaphorically indicating the precepts.

(Ps.-P) Hippolytus (R86)

R86 (cf. B1, B50–67) (Ps.-P) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[7.1] There was a man named Noetus, originally from

ναίος. οὗτος εἰσηγήσατο αἵρεσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείτου δογμάτων' [. . .].

[8.1] [. . .] δοκεῖ λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν δογμάτων τὴν κακοδιδασκαλίαν ἐκθέσθαι, πρότερον <μὲν>¹ τὰ Ἡρακλείτῳ τῷ σκοτεινῷ δόξαντα παραθεμένους, ἔπειτα δὲ² καὶ τὰ τούτων μέρη Ἡρακλείτεια ὄντα φανερώσαντας,³ ἃ τυχόντες⁴ οἱ νῦν προστάται τῆς αἱρέσεως οὐκ ἴσασι ὄντα τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ, νομίζοντες εἶναι Χριστοῦ. [2] οἷς εἰ ἐνέτυχον, καὶ οὕτω δυσωπηθέντες παύσαιντ' ἂν⁵ τῆς ἀθέου δυσφημίας. [. . .]

¹ <μὲν> Marcovich ² ἔπειτα Miller, δὲ add. Marcovich: ἐπεὶ ms.

³ φανερώσαντας Marcovich: φανερώσαι ms.

⁴ ἃ τυχόν Cruice: <οἷς οὐκ> ἐντυχόντες Marcovich ⁵ παύσαιντ' ἂν Diels: παύσονται ms.

[9.1] Ἡράκλειτος μὲν οὖν φησιν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαιρέτῳ ἀδιαίρετον, γενητῳ ἀγένητον, θνητῳ ἀθάνατον, λόγον αἰῶνα, πατέρα υἱόν, θεὸν δίκαιον. "οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογεῖν σοφόν ἐστίν, ἐν πάντα εἶναι"¹ [cf. D46], ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι [2] καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσασι πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἐπιμέμφεται ὡδὲ πως: "οὐ ξυνιασιν ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἐνωτῷ ὁμολογεῖν παλίντροπος ἀρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης"² [= D49]. [3] ὅτι δὲ λόγος ἐστίν ἀεὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὢν, οὕτως λέγει: "τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος [. . .] φράζων ὅπως ἔχει"³ [cf. D1]. [4] ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶ παῖς τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αἰῶνος αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τῶν ὄλων, οὕτως λέγει: "αἰὼν παῖς

Smyrna. He introduced a heresy based on the doctrines of Heraclitus. [. . .]

[8.1] [. . .] it seems that it remains for us to set out the evil teaching of his doctrines, first citing the opinions of Heraclitus the Obscure, and then demonstrating the Heraclitean character of those parts which the current leaders of the heresy know without knowing that they belong to the Obscure, but thinking that they belong to Christ; [2] but if they encountered them [i.e. Heraclitus' doctrines], they would be so ashamed that they would stop their atheist blasphemy. [. . .]

[9.1] Well then, Heraclitus says that the whole is divisible indivisible, generated ungenerated, mortal immortal, *logos* eternity, father son, a just god: "After you have listened not to me but to the doctrine,¹ it is wise to agree that all things are one" [cf. D46], says Heraclitus. [2] And the fact that not all people know this or agree about it, he criticizes as follows: "They do not comprehend how, diverging, it accords with itself: a backward-turning fitting-together, as of a bow and a lyre" [= D49]. [3] The fact that the *Logos* is always, being the whole and for all of time, he says in the following way: "And of this account that is [. . .] indicate how it is" [cf. D1]. [4] The fact that the whole is a child and is the eternal king of the universe throughout eternity, he says

¹ (Ps.-?) Hippolytus probably substitutes 'doctrine' (*dogma*) for 'account' (*logos*).

¹ app. cf. ad D46

² app. cf. ad D49

³ app. cf. ad

ἔστι παίζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληῆς”⁴
 [= D76]. ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεγυότων
 γενητὸς⁵ ἀγένητος, κτίσις δημιουργός, ἐκείνου λέγο-
 ντος ἀκούομεν· “πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατὴρ ἐστι
 [. . .] τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους” [= D64]. [5] ὅτι δέ ἐστιν
 <. . .>⁶ “ἁρμονίη ὄκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης” [cf.
 D49]. ὅτι δέ ἐστιν⁷ ἀφανῆς⁸ ἀόρατος ἀγνωστος ἀν-
 θρώποις, ἐν τούτοις λέγει· “ἁρμονίη ἀφανῆς φανερῆς
 κρείττων” [= D50]· ἐπαινεῖ <γὰρ>⁹ καὶ προθανμάζει
 πρὸ τοῦ γνωσκομένου τὸ ἀγνωστον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀόρα-
 τον τῆς δυνάμεως. ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ὁρατὸς ἀνθρώποις καὶ
 οὐκ ἀνεξέυρετος ἐν τούτοις λέγει· “ὄσων ὄψις ἀκοή
 μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ προτιμέω”¹⁰ [= D31], φησί, του-
 τέστι τὰ ὁρατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων. <ταὐτὸ δὲ καὶ>¹¹ ἀπὸ
 τῶν τοιούτων αὐτοῦ λόγων κατανοεῖν ῥᾶδιον· [6] “ἐξη-
 πάτηνται, φησίν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν
 φανερῶν [. . .] ὅσα δὲ οὔτε εἶδομεν οὔτ’ ἐλάβομεν,
 ταῦτα φέρομεν”¹² [= D22].

⁴ app. cf. ad D76

⁵ γενητῶν ms., corr. Bernays

⁶ lac. sign. Miller

⁷ ἔ(στιν) ms., ut videtur: ὁ θεὸς Wendland

⁸ ὁ post ἀφανῆς del. Wendland

⁹ <γὰρ> Marcovich: <ἐν
 οἷς> ἐπαινεῖ Diels

¹⁰ app. cf. ad D31

¹¹ add. Wendland

¹² app. cf. ad D22

[10.1] οὕτως Ἡράκλειτος ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ τίθεται καὶ
 τιμᾷ τὰ ἐμφανῆ τοῖς ἀφανέσιν, ὡς ἐν τι τὸ ἐμφανὲς
 καὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς ὁμολογουμένως ὑπάρχον. <ἔσ>τι¹
 γὰρ, φησίν, “ἁρμονίη ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείττων”²

in this way: “**Eternity is a child playing, playing check-
 ers: the kingship belongs to a child**” [= D76].² And
 the fact that the father of everything that has come about
 is generated ungenerated, creation creator, we hear him
 say it: “**War is the father of all [. . .] and the others
 free**” [= D64]. [5] But the fact that <. . .> “**fitting-
 together, as of a bow and a lyre**” [cf. D49].³ The fact
 that he is invisible, unseen, unknown to humans, he says
 in these words: “**Invisible fitting-together, stronger
 than a visible one**” [= D50]. For he praises and admires,
 more than what is known, the unknown and unseen char-
 acter of his power. But the fact that he is seen by humans
 and is not impossible to find, he says in these words: “**All
 the things of which there is sight, hearing, and
 knowledge I honor most**” [= D31],⁴ he says, that is,
 what is visible more than what is invisible. It is easy to
 know <the same thing also> from statements of his of this
 sort: [6] he says, “**Regarding the knowledge of things
 that are evident, humans are fooled [. . .] the ones
 we do not see or grasp, we take away**” [= D22].

² We translate what seems to be (Ps.-?) Hippolytus’ under-
 standing of the original sentence.

³ The sentence has a
 lacuna.

⁴ We translate what seems to be (Ps.-?) Hippolytus’
 understanding of the original sentence.

[10.1] This is how Heraclitus, in a coherent way, considers
 and values as being equal what is visible and what is invis-
 ible, on the idea that the visible and the invisible, accord-
 ing together, are only one thing: for he says that “**Invisible
 fitting-together is stronger than a visible one**”

¹ <ἔσ>τι Miller: τίς ms.: τί Bernays

² app. cf. ad D50

[= D50], καὶ “ὄσων ὄψις ἀκοή μάθησις”—τουτέστι τὰ ὄργανα—, “ταῦτα,” φησίν, “ἐγὼ προτιμέω”³ [= D31], οὐ τὰ ἀφανῆ προτιμήσας. [2] τοιγαροῦν οὐδὲ σκότος οὐδὲ φῶς, οὐδὲ πονηρὸν οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ἕτερόν φησιν εἶναι ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, ἀλλὰ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. ἐπιτιμᾷ γοῦν Ἡσιόδω, ὅτι ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα <οὐκ>⁴ οἶδεν ἡμέρα γάρ, φησί, καὶ νύξ ἐστὶν ἐν, λέγων ὡδέ πως· “διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσιόδος [. . .] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν”⁵ [= D25a].

³ app. cf. ad D31 ⁴ <οὐκ> Schneidewin-Duncker
⁵ app. cf. ad D25a

[3] καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν· “οἱ γοῦν ἰατροί,” φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, “τέμνοντες, καίοντες,”—πάντη βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς ἀρρωστούντας—“ἐπαιτιῶνται μηδέν’ ἀξίον μισθὸν λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀρρωστούντων, ταῦτ’ ἐργαζόμενοι, †τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς νόσους†”¹ [= D57]. [4] καὶ εὐθὺ δέ, φησίν, καὶ στρεβλὸν τὸ αὐτό ἐστὶ. “γνάφω, φησίν, ὁδὸς εὐθεία καὶ σκολιή”² [= D52]—ἢ τοῦ ὄργανου τοῦ καλουμένου κοχλίου ἐν τῷ γναφείῳ³ περιστροφή εὐθεία καὶ σκολιή· ἄνω γὰρ ὁμοῦ καὶ κύκλω περιέρχεται⁴—“μία ἐστὶ,” φησί, “καὶ ἡ αὐτή” [cf. D51]. καὶ τὸ ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω ἐν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ αὐτό· “ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ἄντη” [= D51]. [5] καὶ τὸ μιαρὸν φησιν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν

¹ app. cf. ad D57 ² app. cf. ad D52 ³ γραφείω
ms., corr. Bernays ⁴ περιέρχεται Roepert: περιέχεται ms.

[= D50], and again he says, “**All the things of which sight and hearing are knowledge**”—that is, the organs of perception—“**I honor most**” [= D31],¹ not honoring more the invisible ones. [2] That is why Heraclitus says that neither darkness nor light, neither bad nor good are different from one another, but that they are one and the same thing. In any case he criticizes Hesiod, for he did <not> know day and night: for, he says, day and night are one—this is what he says: “**The teacher of the most people is Hesiod [. . .] for they are one**” [= D25a].

¹ Perhaps this repetition of two of Heraclitus’ sentences that have already been cited derives from a marginal note.

[3] and good and bad: “**Doctors,**” Heraclitus says, “**cutting, cauterizing,** badly mistreating their patients in every way, **complain that they do not receive an adequate payment from their patients—and are producing the same effects,** †benefits and diseases†” [= D57]; [4] and, he says, the straight and the twisted are the same thing: he says, “**The way of carding-combs: straight and crooked**” [= D52]—the rotation of the instrument called the screw in the carding-comb is straight and crooked, for while it turns in a circle, at the same time it moves up—he says it is “**one and the same**” [cf. D51].¹ And up and down are one and the same: “**The road upward and downward: one and the same**” [= D51]. [5] And he says that the polluted and the pure are one and the

¹ Perhaps this is an anticipation of the following sentence, or a marginal note.

εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πότιμον καὶ τὸ ἄποτον ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι “θάλασσα,” φησίν, “ὔδωρ καθαρώτατον καὶ μιαρώτατον, ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον καὶ ὀλέθριον” [= D78].

[6] λέγει δὲ ὁμολογουμένως τὸ ἀθάνατον εἶναι θνητὸν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀθάνατον διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων· “ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι· ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες” [= D70]. λέγει δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ταύτης <τῆς>¹ φανεράς, ἐν ἧ γεγενήμεθα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν οἶδε ταύτης τῆς ἀναστάσεως αἴτιον οὕτως λέγων· “ἐνθα δ’ ἐόντι ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν”² [= D123]. [7] λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου κρίσιν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ πυρὸς γίνεσθαι· “πάντα γάρ, φησί, τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὼν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται”³ [= D84]. λέγει δὲ καὶ φρόνιμον τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ὄλων αἴτιον, λέγων οὕτως· “τάδε πάντα οἰακίξει”—τουτέστι κατευθύνει— “κεραυνός”⁴ [= D82], κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον.⁵ καλεῖ⁶ δὲ αὐτὸ “χρησιμοσύνην καὶ κόρον” [= D88]. χρησιμοσύνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διακόσμησις κατ’ αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ ἐκπύρωσις κόρος. [8] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐξέθετο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Νοητοῦ αἰρέσεως, <δν>⁷

¹ <τῆς> Diels ² app. cf. ad D123

³ πάντα . . . καταλήψεται post ἐκπύρωσις κόρος ms., transp. Marcovich post Fränkel

⁴ κεραυνός, τουτέστι κατευθύνει ms., transp. Marcovich

same thing, and the drinkable and the undrinkable are one and the same thing: he says, “**The sea, the purest water and the foulest: for fish it is drinkable and life-giving, but for humans undrinkable and deadly**” [= D78].

[6] He says, in a coherent way, that the immortal is mortal and the mortal immortal, in statements like the following: “**Immortals mortals, mortals immortals, living the death of these, dying the life of those**” [= D70]. He also speaks of the resurrection of this visible flesh, in which we have been born, and he knew that God is the cause of this resurrection, when he speaks as follows: “**For the one who is there they rise up and become wakeful guardians of the living and of the dead**” [= D123].

[7] He also says that the judgment of the world and of everything in it takes place by fire: for he says, “**When the fire has come upon all things, it will judge them and seize hold of them**” [= D84]. He also says that this fire is intelligent and the cause for the organization of the universe, when he speaks as follows: “**All these things the thunderbolt steers**” [= D82]—that is, directs, calling the eternal fire “thunderbolt.” And he calls this “**shortage and satiety**” [= D88]: for according to him the organization of the world is shortage and the conflagration (*ekpurōsis*) is satiety. [8] In this chapter he has expounded all together his own thought and at the same time that of Noetus’ heresy, about whom I demonstrated briefly that

⁵ λέγων οὕτως (ante D82) . . . τὸ αἰώνιον post διὰ πυρὸς γίνεσθαι [7 line 2] ms., transp. Marcovich post Fränkel

⁶ καλεῖς ms., corr. Miller

⁷ <δν> Schneidewin-Duncker

δι' ὀλίγων ἐπέδειξα⁸ οὐκ ὄντα Χριστοῦ ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλείτου μαθητῆν. τὸν γὰρ ποιητὸν⁹ κόσμον αὐτὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ ποιητῆν ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενον οὕτω λέγει: “ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κόρος λιμός”—πάναντία ἅπαντα: οὗτος ὁ νοῦς—“ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ ὅκωσπερ <πῦρ>, ὁκόταν συμμιγῆ θυσάμασιν, ὀνομάζεται καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκάστου”¹⁰ [= D48].

⁸ ἐπεδείξω Mouraviev
10 app. cf. ad D48

⁹ π(ρ)ῶτον ms., corr. Bernays

[9] φανερόν δὲ πᾶσι τοὺς <ἀ>νοήτους¹ Νοητοῦ διαδόχους καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως προστάτας, εἰ καὶ Ἡρακλείτου λέγοις ἂν αὐτούς² μὴ γεγονέναι ἀκροατάς, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ³ Νοητῶ δόξαντα αἰρουμένους ἀναφανδὸν ταῦτὰ ὁμολογεῖν. λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτως: ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάντων δημιουργὸν καὶ πατέρα, εὐδοκῆσαντα δὲ πεφηνέναι⁴ τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν δικαίοις ὄντα ἀόρατον. [10] ὅτε μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁράται, ἦν⁵ ἀόρατος, <ὅτε δὲ ὁράται, ὁρατός: καὶ>⁶ ἀχώρητος δὲ ὅτε μὴ χωρεῖσθαι θέλει, χωρητὸς δὲ ὅτε χωρεῖται: οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀκράτητος καὶ κρατητός,⁷ ἀγέν<κ>νητος⁸ <καὶ γεννητός>,⁹ ἀθάνατος καὶ θνητός. πῶς <οὖν>¹⁰ οὐχ Ἡρακλείτου οἱ τοιοῦτοι δειχθήσονται μαθηταί, μὴ <αὐ>τῇ δὴ τῇ λέξει¹¹ <ἰ>δίᾳ <δὲ> φθάσας¹² ἐφιλοσόφησεν ὁ σκοτεινός;

¹ νοητὸς ms., corr. Bernays ² λέγοισαν ἑαυτοὺς ms., corr. Bernays
³ τῶ ms., corr. Miller

he was a disciple not of Christ but of Heraclitus. For this is how he says that the created world is the craftsman and creator of itself: “**God: day night, winter summer, war peace, satiety hunger.**” (all the contraries, this is the meaning) “**He changes just as <fire>, when it is mixed together with incense, is named according to the scent of each one**” [= D48].

[9] It is clear to all that even if you were to say that Noetus' thoughtless (*anoëtous*) successors and the heads of his heresy were not pupils of Heraclitus themselves, nonetheless by embracing Noetus' doctrines they were evidently subscribing to these same theses. For this is what they say: that one and the same god is the craftsman and the father of all things, and that, although invisible, he consented in the beginning to reveal himself to the just. [10] For when he is not seen, he is invisible; <when he is seen, he is visible;> immobile when he does not wish to move, but mobile when he moves; thus in the same way invincible and vanquished, ungenerated <and generated>, immortal and mortal. How <then> will men of this sort not reveal themselves to be disciples of Heraclitus, even if the Obscure, the first man to have adopted this philosophy, did not express himself in this way, but in his own words?

⁴ πεφηνέαι ms., corr. Miller

⁵ ἦν ms.: ἐστίν Cruice

⁶ add. Marcovich post Schneidewin-Duncker

⁷ ἀκράτητος ms., corr. Bernays

⁸ ἀγέννητος ms., corr. Schneidewin-Duncker

⁹ add. Schneidewin-Duncker

¹⁰ <οὖν> Wendland

¹¹ μὴ <αὐ>τῇ τῇ λέξει Miller et

¹² <ἰ>δίᾳ <δὲ> φθάσας

δὴ Marcovich: μὴ δὲ (τῇ suprasc.) λέξει (τῇ suprasc.) ms.: <εἰ καὶ> μὴ τῇδε τῇ λέξει Wendland

Wendland: διαφθάσας ms.

Theodoret (R87)

R87 (cf. B24, B25, B27) Theod. *Cur.* 8.39–41

ὁ δέ γε Ἡράκλειτος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀναίρεθéntας πάσης ἀξίους ὑπολαμβάνει τιμῆς. “ἀρηιφάτους” γάρ φησιν, “οἱ θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἀνθρώποι” [= D122a], καὶ πάλιν. “μόνοι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονος μοίρας λαγχάνουσιν” [= D122b]. [40] ἀλλὰ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἔγωγε οὐ προσίεμαι. πλείστοι γὰρ δὴ παμπόνηρον ἀσπασάμενοι βίον τὸν βίαιον ὑπέμειναν θάνατον. [. . .] [41] [. . .] οὐκ οὖν πάντας ‘ἀρηιφάτους’ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον τιμητέον, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους, οἱ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσπασίως κατεδέξαντο θάνατον. ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἀληθῶς, κατὰ γε τοῦτον αὐτόν, μόνοι μείζονες. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ μείζονος ἀπολαύουσι μοίρας, καὶ νῦν τὸ παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κομιζόμενοι γέρας καὶ τοὺς αἰώνιους στεφάνους προσμένοντες. ἐκείνο δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου μάλα θαυμάζω, ὅτι “μένει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποθνήσκοντας, ὅσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν” [= D120].

Neoplatonic Appropriations (R88–R92)

Plotinus (R88–R89)

R88 (cf. B84a–b) Plot. 4.8.1.11–17

ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡράκλειτος, ὃς ἡμῖν παρακελεύεται ζητεῖν τοῦτο, ἀμοιβὰς τε ἀναγκαίως τιθέμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐναν-

Theodoret (R87)

R87 (cf. ad B24, B25, B27) Theodoret, *Cure of the Greek Maladies*

Heraclitus maintains that those who have been killed in war are worthy of being fully honored: for he says, “**Gods and humans honor those men whom Ares has slain**” [= D122a]; and again: “**Greater deaths [moroi] obtain greater portions [moirai]**” [= D122b]. [40] But I myself do not accept this idea: for very many people have lived a depraved life and then suffered a violent death. [. . .] [41] [. . .] So it is not all those “whom Ares has slain” who ought to be honored according to Heraclitus, but only those who have joyously accepted death in the service of piety; for in truth it is only they, according to him, who are the “greater” ones. And because of this they enjoy “greater portions,” those who not only receive honors from all human beings in this life but also await eternal garlands. And I admire greatly this other saying of Heraclitus: “**What awaits humans after they have died is everything that they do not expect nor suppose**” [= D120].

Neoplatonic Appropriations (R88–R92)

Plotinus (R88–R89)

R88 (cf. B84a–b) Plotinus, *Ennead*

For Heraclitus, who bids us investigate this question [scil. that of the descent of the soul into the body], when he established the necessary exchanges between the oppo-

τίων, “ὄδὸν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω” εἰπὼν [cf. D51] καὶ “μεταβάλλον ἀναπαύεται” [= D58] καὶ “κάματός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μοχθεῖν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι” [= D109] εἰκάξειν ἔδωκεν ἀμελήσας σαφῆ ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι τὸν λόγον, ὡς δέον ἴσως παρ’ αὐτῷ ζητεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ζητήσας εἶπεν.

R89 (cf. B96) Plot. 5.1.2.38–42

καὶ πολλὸς ἂν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἔν ἐστι τῇ ταύτης δυνάμει καὶ θεὸς ἐστι διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος ὅδε. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἥλιος θεός, ὅτι ἔμψυχος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρον, καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἴπερ τι, διὰ τοῦτο· νέκυες γὰρ κοπρίων ἐβλητότεροι [= D119].

Porphyry (R90)

R90 Porph. Antr.

a (B77) 10

ὄθεν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον ψυχῆσι φάναι τέρψιν μὴ¹ θάνατον ὑγρῆσι γενέσθαι, τέρψιν δὲ εἶναι αὐταῖς τὴν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν πτώσιν, καὶ ἀλλαχού δὲ φάναι ζῆν ἡμᾶς τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον καὶ ζῆν ἐκείνας τὸν ἡμέτερον θάνατον.

¹ ἢ Diels, καὶ Kranz

sites and asserted, “**The road upward and downward**” [cf. D51] and “**Changing, it remains at rest**” [= D58] and “**It is wearisome to work hard for the same ones and to be ruled by them**” [= D109], seems to proceed by images and neglects to make his account (*logos*) clear, perhaps thinking that we have to seek within ourselves, just as he himself had sought and then found [cf. D36].

R89 (cf. B96) Plotinus, *Ennead*

And although the heavens are multiple and different in different places, they are also one by the power of this [scil. the soul], and this world here is a god by virtue of this. The sun too is a god, for it has a soul, as well as the other heavenly bodies, and above all we too for the following reason: “**Corpses are more to be thrown out than manure**” [= D119].

Porphyry (R90)

R90 Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*
a (B77)

[. . .] that is why [scil. probably according to Numenius] Heraclitus also says that for souls it is a pleasure, and not death, to become moist [cf. D101] and that the fall into becoming is a pleasure for them, and he says elsewhere that we live their death and they live our death [cf. D70].

b (cf. ad B51) 29

ἀρξαιμένης γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἀπὸ ἑτερότητας πανταχοῦ τὸ δίθυρον αὐτῆς πεποιήνται σύμβολον. ἢ γὰρ διὰ νοητοῦ ἢ πορεία ἢ δι' αἰσθητοῦ· καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ἢ διὰ τῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων, καὶ πάλιν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου ἢ διὰ τῆς θνητῆς πορείας. καὶ κέντρον τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆν, τὸ δ' ὑπόγειον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνατολικόν, τὸ δὲ δυτικόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀριστερά, τὰ δὲ δεξιά, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν-τονος ἢ ἄρμονία καὶ τοξεύει¹ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων.

¹ παλίντροπος ἄρμονίη ὄκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης Heraclitus D49

Iamblichus (R91)

R91 (cf. Nachtrag I, p. 494.15) Iamblichus, *In Stob.* I.49.39 (I, p. 378.19–25 Wachsmuth)

ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτων καὶ οὕτω διαφερόντων μερῶν γίγνεσθαι διαφερούσας τὰς τῆδε καθόδους, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τρόπους δίστασθαι πολυειδῶς. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν γὰρ ἀμοιβὰς ἀναγκαίας τίθεται ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων [cf. D87], ὁδὸν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω διαπορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπέιληφε [cf. D51] καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν κάματον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μεταβάλλειν φέρειν ἀνάπαυσιν [cf. D58].

b (cf. ad B51)

Since nature begins everywhere from difference, they [scil. the ancients] have given everywhere as a symbol for it the two-gated entrance. For the way passes either by the intelligible or by the perceptible; and regarding the intelligible, either through the sphere of fixed stars or through that of the planets, and again either through the immortal passage or through the mortal one. And there is one center above the earth, another below it, and one to the east, and another to the west; and some things are to the left, others to the right, and there is night and day. And that is why **the fitting-together is backward-stretching** and it [scil. the bow?] shoots arrows through the opposites [cf. D49].

Iamblichus (R91)

R91 (< Nachtrag I, p. 494.15) Iamblichus, *On the Soul*

The descents [scil. of the souls] derive their difference from the great number of the parts [scil. of the world], which are different themselves, from which they come, and the modes [scil. of the descents] also differ from one another in many ways. For Heraclitus posits necessary exchanges between the opposites [cf. D87], he thought that the souls travel along the road upward and downward [cf. D51], and that to remain in the same place is toil, whereas to be transformed brings repose [cf. D58].

Proclus (R92)

R92 (T 901 Mouraviev) Procl. *In Tim.* 1 ad 20d (1.76.17–21 Diehl)

οὐ δὲ γεγόνεαι μὲν ταῦτα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἀπογνωσκούσι, παραλαμβάνεσθαι δὲ νῦν ὡς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐν τῷ παντὶ προουσῶν ἐναντιώσεων· πόλεμον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν πάντων πατέρα καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον [cf. **D64**].

Invective, Praise, and Variations on Heraclitean Themes in Greek Poetry and Literature (R93–R99)
Scythinus of Teos (R93)

R93

a (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.16

Ἱερώνυμος δὲ φησι [Frag. 46 Wehrli] καὶ Σκυθῖνον τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητὴν ἐπιβαλέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον διὰ μέτρον ἐκβάλλειν.

b (< C3.1) Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 16 402A

ἣν ἀρμόζεται

Ζηνὸς εὐειδῆς Ἀπόλλων πάσαν, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος
συλλαβῶν, ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλήκτρον ἡλίου
φάος.

Proclus (R92)

R92 (≠ DK) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

Other people do not reject the idea that these events [scil. the story of Atlantis] happened in this way, but [scil. they think] that they are to be understood now as images of the oppositions existing previously in the universe, for “**War is the father of all,**” according to Heraclitus too [cf. **D64**].

Invective, Praise, and Variations on Heraclitean Themes in Greek Poetry and Literature (R93–R99)
Scythinus of Teos (R93)

R93

a (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Hieronimus says that Scythinus too, the iambic poet, undertook to put his [i.e. Heraclitus'] account into verse.

b (< C3.1) Scythinus in Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

which well-shaped Apollo,

Zeus' son, fits together as a whole [scil. the lyre, cf. **D49**], taking together
Beginning and end [cf. **D54**]; and he holds the sun's
light as a gleaming plectrum.

*Timon of Phlius (R94)***R94** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.6

τούτον δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λέγων· [Frag. 43 Di Marco]

τοῖς δ' ἐν κοκκυστῆς, ὀχλολοῖδορος Ἡράκλειτος,
αἰνικτῆς ἀνόρουσε.

*Epigrams (R95–R98)**Theodoridas (R95)***R95** (T 294 Mouraviev) *Anth. Gr.* 7.479 (Theodoridas)

πέτρος ἐγὼ τὸ πάλαι γυρῆ καὶ ἄτριπτος ἐπιβλήης
τὴν Ἡρακλείτου ἐνδον ἔχω κεφαλὴν
αἰὼν μ' ἔτριψεν κροκάλαις ἴσον· ἐν γὰρ ἀμάξει
παμφόρω αἰζήων εἰνοδίη τέταμαι.
ἀγγέλλω δὲ βροτοῖσι, καὶ ἄστηλός περ εὐῶσα,
θεῖον ὑλακτητῆν δήμου ἔχουσα κύνα.

R96 (cf. ad B74) *Anth. Gr.* 7.79 (Meleager?)

ἄνθρωφ', Ἡράκλειτος ἐγώ, σοφὰ μόνος ἀνευρεῖν
φαμί.—“τὰ δ' ἐς πάτραν κρέσσονα καὶ
σοφίας.”

¹ ἀνευρών ms., corr. Headlam

*Timon of Phlius (R94)***R94** (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

This man [i.e. Heraclitus] Timon too sketches when he says,

Among these the crower, the mob-reviler, Heraclitus
The enigmatic, arose.

*Epigrams (R95–R98)**Theodoridas (R95)***R95** (≠ DK) *Greek Anthology* (Theodoridas)

I, a stone—once a round and unworn cover—
I now contain Heraclitus' head within myself.
But time has worn me down like the seashore; for I
lie
In a public wayfare, on the path of vigorous men.
I announce to mortals, even though I am without my
stele,
That I possess the divine dog that barked at the
common people.

R96 (cf. ad B74) *Greek Anthology* (Meleager?)¹

“Oh you, human being, I say that I, Heraclitus, am
the only man to have discovered wisdom.”

¹ The text of this poem and the distribution of the utterances between the two speakers are uncertain; the manuscript's attribution of it to Meleager has often been doubted.

—λάξ γὰρ καὶ τοκεῶνας, ἰὼ ξένε, δύσφρονας
ἄνδρας

ὕλάκτευν.—“λαμπρὰ θρεψαμένοισι χάρις.”

5 —οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ;—“μὴ τρηχὺς, ἐπεὶ τάχα καὶ σὺ
τι πεύσῃ
τρηχύτερον.”—πάτρας χαίρει σὺ δ’ ἐξ Ἐφέσου.

3 λάξ] δὰξ Jacobs τοκέων ἀσίωι ms., corr. Headlam
5–6 interp. Gullo

Anonymous Epigrams (R97–R98)

R97 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.16

Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ τί μ’ ἄνω κάτω ἔλκετ’, ἄμουσοι;
οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐπόνουν, τοῖς δέ μ’ ἐπισταμένοις.
εἷς ἐμοὶ ἄνθρωπος τρισμῦριοι, οἱ δ’ ἀνάριθμοι
οὐδεῖς. ταῦτ’ αὐδῶ καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνη.

1 τί μ’ ἄνω Meineke: τιμαίω vel τί με ὦ vel τί με ὦν vel τί
με mss.

R98 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 9.16

μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτου ἐπ’ ὀμφαλὸν εἶλεε βύβλον
τοῦφροσίου μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπιτός.
ὄρφνη καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἀλάμπητον ἦν δέ σε
μύστης
εἰσαγάγη, φανεροῦ λαμπρότερ’ ἡελίου.

“But what is done for one’s fatherland is even
greater than wisdom.”

“Yes, I barked savagely at my own parents, oh
stranger, those evil-minded people.”

“Illustrious gratitude toward those who raised
you!”

“Won’t you go away?” “Enough of your rudeness, for
soon you too will hear

Something even ruder.” “Farewell, you, from my
fatherland Ephesus!”

Anonymous Epigrams (R97–R98)

R97 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

I am Heraclitus. Why do you drag me upward and
downward, you boors? [cf. **D59**]

I labored not for you but for those who
understand me.

For me one man is thirty thousand [cf. **D12**], the
countless multitude

Are no one. This I declare even in Persephone’s
domain.

R98 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Do not hasten to reach the end of the book of
Heraclitus

Of Ephesus: the path is not easy to traverse.

There is gloom and lightless obscurity: but if a mystic
initiate

Leads you in, it is brighter than the shining sun.

A Parody (R99)

R99 (> C5) Luc. Vit. auct. 14

[AG.] σὺ δὲ τί κλάεις, ᾧ βέλτιστε; πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι κάλλιον σοι προσλαλεῖν.

[HP.] ἡγέομαι γάρ, ᾧ ξεῖνε, τὰ ἀνθρωπῆμα πρήγματα οἰζυρὰ καὶ δακρυώδεα καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτέων ὅ τι μὴ ἐπικήριον· τὸ δὴ οἰκτείρω τε σφέας καὶ ὀδύρομαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρεόντα οὐ δοκέω μεγάλα, τὰ δ' ἐν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐσόμενα πάμπαν ἀνηρά, λέγω δὴ τὰς ἐκπυρώσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄλου συμφορὴν· ταῦτα δὲ ὀδύρομαι καὶ ὅτι ἔμπεδον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κως ἐς κυκεῶνα τὰ πάντα συνειλέονται καὶ ἐστί τῶντῶν τέρψις ἀτερψίη, γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη, μέγα μικρόν, ἄνω κάτω, περιχωρέοντα καὶ ἀμειβόμενα ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος παιδιῇ.

[AG.] τί γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν ἐστίν;

[HP.] παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, <συμφερόμενος,¹ διαφερόμενος.

[AG.] τί δὲ ἀνθρωποί;

[HP.] θεοὶ θνητοί.

[AG.] τί δὲ θεοί;

[HP.] ἀνθρωποὶ ἀθάνατοι.

[AG.] αἰνίγματα λέγεις, ᾧ οὗτος, ἢ γρίφους συντίθεις; ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖς.

[HP.] οὐδὲν γὰρ μοι μέλει ὑμέων.

[AG.] τουγαροῦν οὐδὲ ὠνήσεται σέ τις εὖ φρονῶν.

¹ add. Diels

A Parody (R99)

R99 (> C5) Lucian, *Philosophies for Sale*

[A buyer:] But you there [i.e. Heraclitus], poor fellow, why are you weeping? For I think it is much better to speak with you [scil. than with Democritus].

[Heraclitus:] It is because I think, stranger, that human affairs deserve only pity and tears and that there is not one of them that is not perishable; that is why I pity them and feel grief [cf. P12], and I think that the present is of no importance, but that what will happen in the future is completely upsetting—I am talking about the conflagrations and the destruction of the whole. I grieve over these things and because nothing is stable but all things are pressed together as in a *kukeōn* [cf. D59], and that pleasure and displeasure, knowledge and ignorance, big and little, up and down, are the same thing, moving around and changing places in the game of eternity.

[A buyer:] And what is eternity?

[Heraclitus:] A child playing, playing checkers [cf. D76], <converging,> diverging [cf. D49].

[A buyer:] What are human beings?

[Heraclitus:] Mortal gods [cf. D70].

[A buyer:] What are gods?

[Heraclitus:] Immortal human beings [cf. D70].

[A buyer:] Are you telling riddles, fellow, or constructing enigmas? Quite frankly, you do not say anything clearly, just like Apollo [cf. D41].

[Heraclitus:] That is because I care nothing at all about you.

[A buyer:] Then no one who has any sense will buy you.

[HP.] ἐγὼ δὲ κέλομαι πᾶσιν ἡβηδὸν οἰμῶζειν, τοῖσιν ἄνεομένοισι καὶ τοῖσιν οὐκ ἄνεομένοισι.

[AG.] τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐ πόρρω μελαγχολίας ἔστω. οὐδέτερον δὲ ὅμως αὐτῶν ἔγωγε ὠνήσομαι.

The Text of Heraclitus: Some Examples of Multiple Versions of the Same Phrase (R100–R102)

R100 “*φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.*” (= **D35**)

a (< T 326 Mouraviev) Phil. *Quaest. Gen.* 4.1, p. 237.4–6 Aucher

Ὅσον ἄσπετον ἡμετέροισιν ἐστὶν οὐρανὸν ἀφανὲς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν φύσιν κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.

b (< T 328 Mouraviev) Phil. *Somn.* 1.6

ἐμοὶ τοίνυν δοκεῖ σύμβολον εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ ἐπιστήμης· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπιπόλαιος αὐτῆς ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πάννυθα βαθύα· οὐδ' ἐν φανερώ πρόκειται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀφανεί που κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.

c (T 327 Mouraviev) Phil. *Spec. leg.* 4.51

χρόνῳ δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγῳ διακαλύπτεται τὰ τοιαῦτα στρατηγήματα, τῆς φύσεως οὐκ αἰεὶ κρύπτεσθαι φιλοῦσης, ἀλλ' ὅπου καιρὸς ἢ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαινούσης ἀηττήτοις δυνάμεσιν.

[Heraclitus:] I tell everyone to lament, young and old, those who are buying and those who are not buying.

[A buyer:] This man's trouble is not very far from melancholia [cf. P11]. I am not going to buy either of the two of them.

The Text of Heraclitus: Some Examples of Multiple Versions of the Same Phrase (R100–R102)

R100 “*A nature tends to hide.*” (= **D35**)

a (≠ DK) Philo, *Questions on Genesis*

The tree [i.e. the great tree of Mambre mentioned in Gen. 18:1] according to Heraclitus is our nature: it likes to hide itself.¹

¹ Based on an unidentified glossary quoted by Aucher (1826: 237, note 2), the similarity asserted between the tree and our nature might refer to the roots, which are hidden underground. Note and translation by Irene Tinti.

b (≠ DK) Philo, *On Dreams*

The well seems to me a symbol of knowledge. For its nature is not on the surface, but very deep: and it does not lie in front of us in a manifest way, but it likes in some way to hide in invisibility.

c (≠ DK) Philo, *The Special Laws*

But in a very short time these kinds of stratagems are discovered, for nature, which does not like to hide forever, at the right moment reveals its own beauty by its undefeated powers.

d (T 330 Mouraviev) Phil. *Fuga et inv.* 179

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀλληγορίας καὶ φύσεως τῆς κρύπτεσθαι
φιλούσης ἀμύητοι τὴν εἰρημήνην εἰκάζουσι πηγῆν τῷ
Αἴγυπτίῳ ποταμῷ [. . .].

e (T 329 Mouraviev) Phil. *Mut. nom.* 6

[. . .] πάνθ' ὅσα μὴ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐν λόγῳ διασφύζειν
δοκεῖ σύμβολα φύσεως τῆς ἀεὶ κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης
ὑπάρχοντα [. . .].

f (> B123) Them. *Orat.* 5

φύσις δὲ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ καὶ πρὸ
τῆς φύσεως ὁ τῆς φύσεως δημιουργός [. . .].

g (cf. ad B123, < T 736 Mouraviev) Procl. *In Remp.* 2,
p. 107.5

[. . .] καὶ ὅτι τὸ πλασματώδες τοῦτο κατὰ φύσιν πῶς
ἔστιν, διότι καὶ ἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ καθ' Ἡρά-
κλειτον [. . .].

h (< T 772 Mouraviev) Jul. *Or.* 7 216C

φιλεῖ γὰρ ἡ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμέ-
νον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς
ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν.

d (≠ DK) Philo, *On Flight and Finding*

Those who are uninitiated in allegory and in nature, which
tends to hide, liken the source we have mentioned to the
river of Egypt [. . .].

e (≠ DK) Philo, *On the Change of Names*

[. . .] all the expressions that seem not to preserve decorum
in language but are symbols of nature, which always tends
to hide [. . .].

f (> B123) Themistius, *Oration*

Nature, according to Heraclitus, tends to hide, and, more
even than nature, the craftsman of nature [. . .].

g (cf. ad B123) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic*
[. . .] and that this fiction is in a certain way in accordance
with nature, since nature too tends to hide, according to
Heraclitus [. . .].

h (≠ DK) Julian, *Oration*

For nature tends to hide, and what of the substance of the
gods is hidden does not tolerate being cast with naked
words to unpurified listeners.

R101 “αὕη ψυχῆ, σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.” (= **D103**)

a (< T 358 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Mus. Ruf. in Stob. 3.17.42

[. . .] οὕτω δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν καθ-
αράν τε καὶ ξηράν, ὅποια οὖσα ἀρίστη καὶ σοφωτάτη
εἶη ἂν, καθάπερ Ἡρακλείτῳ δοκεῖ λέγοντι οὕτως.
“αὐγῆ¹ ξηρῆ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.”

¹ αὐγῆ (sic) S M(d) A¹: αὕη A²

b (< T 818 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Stob. 3.5.6–8

Ἡρακλείτου. [. . .] αὐγῆ ξηρῆ¹ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ
ἀρίστη.

¹ αὕη scripsit et ξηρῆ lineola induxit A²

c (< T 342 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Phil. Prov. 2.67 Colson
ap. Eus. PE 8.14.67

[. . .] Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ φησιν· αὐγῆ ξηρῆ
ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

d (< T 510 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Plut. *Esu carn.* 995E

“αὐγῆ ξηρῆ ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη” κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.

e (< T 509 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Plut. *Def. orac.* 432F

“αὕτη” γὰρ “ξηρὰ ψυχῆ,” καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.

R101 “A dry soul: wisest and best.” (= **D103**)

a (cf. B118) Musonius Rufus in Stobaeus, *Anthology*

[. . .] and thus our soul too would be pure and dry, and
being like this it would be best and wisest, in conformity
with the opinion of Heraclitus, who says, “dry light-beam,
the wisest and best soul.”

b (cf. B118) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Of Heraclitus: “Dry light-beam, the wisest and best soul.”

c (cf. B118) Philo of Alexandria, *On Providence*

Heraclitus does not miss the mark when he says, “Dry
light-beam, the wisest and best soul.”

d (cf. B118) Plutarch, *On the Eating of Flesh*

“Dry light-beam, the wisest soul,” according to Heraclitus.

e (cf. B118) Plutarch, *The Obsolescence of Oracles*

For “this is a dry soul,” according to Heraclitus.

f (< T 511 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Plut. *Rom.* 28.7

“αὐτή” γὰρ “ψυχὴ ξηρὴ καὶ ἀρίστη” καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον
[. . .].

g (< T 623 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2.29.3

οὕτω δ’ ἂν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὑπάρξαι καθαρὰ καὶ
ξηρὰ καὶ φωτεινὴς, “αὐγὴ δὲ ψυχὴ ξηρὰ σοφωτάτη
καὶ ἀρίστη.”

h (< T 578 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Gal. *Quod animi mores,*
p. 786

[. . .] ἀλλ’ οὐ¹ καὶ ξηρότητα συγχωρήσομεν αἰτίαν
εἶναι συνέσεως <ὡσπερ> οἷ γ’ ἀμφ’² Ἡρακλείτον; καὶ
γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εἶπεν, “αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη”
[. . .].

¹ οὐ Müller: εἰ mss. ² <ὡσπερ> οἷ γ’ ἀμφ’ Müller: οἷ
γε μὴν ἀμφ’ mss.

i (< T 290 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Herm. *In Phaedr.*
(p. 29.27–29 Lucarini-Moreschini).

ἐπιτήδειον δὲ καὶ τὸ θέρος καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία πρὸς
ἀναγωγὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον, ὅς φησιν “αὐγὴ
ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη.”

f (cf. B118) Plutarch, *Romulus*

For “this soul is dry and best” according to Heraclitus
[. . .].

g (cf. B118) Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue*

And thus our soul would be pure and dry and luminous:
“dry light-beam, the wisest and best soul.”

h (cf. B118) Galen, *That the Faculties of the Soul Follow
the Mixtures of the Body*

[. . .] but we will not concede that dryness is the cause of
intelligence, as those who follow Heraclitus say; for he
said, “dry light-beam, the wisest soul” [. . .].

i (cf. B118) Hermias, *Commentary on Plato’s Phaedrus*

Both summer and noon are appropriate for the elevation
of the soul according to Heraclitus too, who says, “dry
light-beam, the wisest soul.”

j (< T 591 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Arist. Quint. *Mus.* 2.17
λέγει [. . .] Ἡράκλειτος [. . .] “ψυχὴ αὐγὴ ξηρὴ σοφω-
τάτη” [. . .].

k (< T 735 Mouraviev) Porph. *Sent.* 29.40
ὅταν δὲ μελετήσῃ ἀφίστασθαι φύσεως, αὐγὴ ξηρὰ
γίνεται, ἄσκιος καὶ ἀνέφελος.

l (< T 734 Mouraviev, cf. B118) Porph. *Antr.* 11
αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος “ξηρὰ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη.”

R102 “ἀμαθίην ἄμεινον κρύπτειν.” (= **D113**)

a (< T 479 Mouraviev) Plut. *An virt.* 439D
“ἀμαθίην” γὰρ, Ἡράκλειτός φησι, “κρύπτειν ἄμει-
νον.”

b (< T 478 Mouraviev) Plut. *De aud.* 43D
τάχα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ “ἀμαθίην κρύπτειν ἄμεινον,” ὡς
φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ἀλλ’ εἰς μέσον τιθέναι καὶ θερα-
πεύειν.

c (> B95) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 3.1 644F
“ἀμαθίην” γὰρ “ἄμεινον,” ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος,
“κρύπτειν,” ἔργον δ’ ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ παρ’ οἴνον.

j (cf. B118) Aristides Quintilian, *On Music*
Heraclitus [. . .] says, “soul, dry light-beam, the wisest”
[. . .].

k (≠ DK) Porphyry, *Sentences*
Whenever it [scil. the soul] trains itself in removing itself
from nature, it becomes a dry light-beam, without shadow
or cloud.

l (cf. B118) Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the*
Odyssey
Heraclitus himself says, “dry soul, the wisest.”

R102 “It is better to hide one’s ignorance.” (= **D113**)

a (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Can Virtue Be Taught?*
For Heraclitus says, “it is better to hide one’s ignorance.”

b (≠ DK) Plutarch, *How to Listen*
But perhaps it is not “better to hide one’s ignorance,” as
Heraclitus says, but to make it public and cure it.

c (> B95) Plutarch, *Table Talk*
For, as Heraclitus says, “it is better to hide one’s igno-
rance”; but this is hard to do when one is relaxing and
drinking wine.

d (< T 481 Mouraviev) Plut. in Stob. 3.18.31

ἀμαθίην, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ ἄλλως κρύπτειν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἐν οἴνῳ δὲ χαλεπώτερον.

e (< B95) Stob. 3.1.174–75

Ἡρακλείτου. [. . .] κρύπτειν ἀμαθίην κρέσσον ἢ ἐς τὸ μέσον φέρειν.

Doubtful and Pseudepigraphic Texts (R103–R117)
Variations of Heraclitean Aphorisms Attributed to
Democrates or Democritus (R103–R107)

R103 (68 B64) Stob. 3.4.81 (= Democrates 29)

πολλοὶ πολυμαθεῖς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

R104 (68 B65) Democrates 30

πολυνοίην, οὐ πολυμαθίην ἀσκέειν χρή.

R105 (68 B98) Democrates 64

ἐνὸς φιλήη ξυνετοῦ κρέσσων ἀξυνέτων πάντων.

R106 (68 B236) Stob. 3.20.56

θυμῷ μάχεσθαι μὲν χαλεπὸν ἀνδρὸς δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν εὐλογίστου.

d (≠ DK) Plutarch in Stobaeus

To hide one's ignorance, as Heraclitus says, is hard work under any circumstances, but it is even more difficult when one is drinking wine.

e (< B95) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

Of Heraclitus: To hide one's ignorance is better than to make it public.

Doubtful and Pseudepigraphic Texts (R103–R117)
Variations of Heraclitean Aphorisms Attributed to
Democrates or Democritus (R103–R107)

R103 (68 B64) Democrates

Many people who possess much learning do not have intelligence [= **ATOM. D307**] [cf. **D20**].

R104 (68 B65) Democrates

One should practice having much intelligence, not much learning [cf. **D20**].

R105 (68 B98) Democrates

The friendship of one intelligent man is better than that of all the unintelligent ones [cf. **D12**].

R106 (68 B236) Stobaeus, *Anthology*

To fight against an ardor is hard; but it is the mark of a rational man to dominate over it [= **ATOM. D296**] [cf. **D116**].

R107 (68 B147) Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 10.92.4 (et al.)

“ὕες” γάρ, φησίν, “ἡδονται βορβόρω μᾶλλον ἢ καθαροῦ ὕδατι” καὶ “ἐπὶ φορτυῶ μαργαίνουσιν” κατὰ Δημόκριτον.

Other Doubtful Aphorisms (R108–R116)

R108 (B46) Diog. Laert. 9.7

τὴν τ' οἴησιν ἱερὰν νόσον ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ὄρασιν ψεύδεσθαι.

R109 (B131) *Gnomol. Par.* 209

ὁ δέ γε Ἡράκλειτος ἔλεγε τὴν οἴησιν προκοπῆς ἐγκοπὴν.

R110 (B132) *Gnomol. Vat.* 743 n. 312

τιμαὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καταδουλοῦνται.

R111 (B133) *Gnomol. Vat.* 743 n. 313

ἄνθρωποι κακοὶ ἀληθινῶν ἀντίδικοι.

R112 (B134) *Gnomol. Vat.* 743 n. 314

Ἡράκλειτος τὴν παιδείαν ἕτερον ἥλιον εἶναι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἔλεγεν.

R107 (68 B147) Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptic*

For he [scil. probably Heraclitus] says, “pigs take greater pleasure in mire than in pure water” [cf. **D80**] and “they go mad for rubbish” according to Democritus [= **ATOM. D250**].

Other Doubtful Aphorisms (R108–R116)

R108 (B46) Diogenes Laertius

He said that opinion is the holy disease [i.e. epilepsy] and that vision is deceptive.

R109 (B131) Paris Gnomology

He said that opinion is an obstacle to progress.

R110 (B132) Vatican Gnomology

Honors enslave gods and men.

R111 (B133) Vatican Gnomology

Wicked men are the adversaries of genuine ones.

R112 (B134) Vatican Gnomology

Heraclitus said that education is a second sun for people who have been educated.

R113 (B135) *Gnomol. Vat.* 743 n. 315

ὁ αὐτὸς συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν ἔλεγεν εἰς εὐδοξίαν τὸ γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν.

R114 (< B125a) Tzetz. *In Aristoph. Plut.* 88

“μὴ ἐπιλίποι ὑμᾶς πλοῦτος,” ἔφη, “Ἐφέσιοι, ἴν’ ἐξέλεγχοισθε πονηρευόμενοι.”

R115 (T 1044 Mouraviev) *Ps.-Max. Conf. Loc. comm.* 8.65

Ἡρακλείτου φυσικοῦ. ἡ εὐκαιρος χάρις, λιμῶ καθάπερ τροφή ἀρμόττουσα, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔνδειαν ἰάται.

R116 (B130) *Gnomol. Mon. Lat.* 1.19

non convenit ridiculum esse ita, ut ridendus ipse videaris.
Heraclitus dixit.

*Selections from an Apocryphal
Correspondence (R117)*

R117 (T 705 Mouraviev) *Diog. Laert.*

a 9.13–14

Βασιλεὺς Δαρείος πατὴρ Ἰστιάσπεω Ἡράκλειτον Ἐφέσιον σοφὸν ἄνδρα προσαγορεύει χαίρειν.

[13] καταβέβλησαι λόγον Περὶ φύσεως δυσνόητόν τε καὶ δυσεξήγητον. ἔν τισι μὲν οὖν ἔρμηνευόμενος

R113 (B135) Vatican Gnomology

He said that the shortest path to attaining fame is to be a good man.

R114 (< B125a) Tzetzes, *Commentary on Aristophanes' Wealth*

“May your wealth never abandon you,” he said, “men of Ephesus, so that your wickedness can be proven.”

R115 (≠ DK) *Ps.-Maximus the Confessor, Florilegium*

Of Heraclitus, the natural philosopher: “Gratitude at the right moment, like appropriate food for hunger, heals the neediness of the soul.”

R116 (B130) Munich Gnomology

“It is unseemly to be so funny that you yourself become ridiculous.” Heraclitus said it.

*Selections from an Apocryphal
Correspondence (R117)¹*

¹ There are several other apocryphal letters.

R117 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

a

King Darius, the son of Hystaspes, sends greetings to Heraclitus of Ephesus, the wise man.

[13] “You have written down an account *On Nature*, hard to understand and hard to explain. In some passages, when it is interpreted literally, it seems to me to exhibit a

κατὰ λέξιν σὴν δοκεῖ δύναμιν τινα περιέχειν θεωρίας
κόσμου τε τοῦ σύμπαντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γινο-
μένων, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν θειοτάτῃ κείμενα κινήσει τῶν
δὲ πλείστων ἐποχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεί-
στον μετεσχηκότας συγγραμμάτων διαπορεύσθαι τῆς
ὀρθῆς δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρὰ σοὶ διηγήσεως.¹
Βασιλεὺς οὖν Δαρείος Ἰστιάσπου βούλεται τῆς σῆς
ἀκροάσεως μετασχεῖν καὶ παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς. ἔρχου
δὴ συντόμως πρὸς ἐμὴν ὄψιν καὶ βασιλείου οἶκον.
[14] Ἕλληνες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον ἀνεπισήμαντοι
σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι ὄντες παρορώσι τὰ καλῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ἐνδεικνύμενα πρὸς σπουδαίαν ἀκοὴν καὶ μάθησιν.
παρ' ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπάρχει σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν προεδρία, καθ'
ἡμέραν δὲ καλὴ καὶ σπουδαία προσαγόρευσις καὶ
βίος εὐδόκιμος σαῖς παραιέσεσιν.

¹ διηγήσεως mss.: ἐξηγήσεως Cobet

b 9.14

Ἡράκλειτος Ἐφέσιος βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ πατρὸς Ἰστιά-
σπεω χαίρειν.

ὁκόσοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς μὲν ἀλη-
θείης καὶ δικαιοπραγμοσύνης ἀπέχονται, ἀπληστίη
δὲ καὶ δοξοκοπῆ προσέχουσι κακῆς ἕνεκα ἀνοίας.
ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμνηστὴν ἔχων πάσης πονηρίας καὶ κόρον
φεύγων παντὸς¹ οἰκειούμενον φθόνῳ² καὶ διὰ τὸ περι-
ίστασθαι ὑπερηφανίην³ οὐκ ἂν ἀφικοίμην εἰς Περσῶν
χώρην, ὀλίγοις ἀρκεόμενος κατ' ἐμὴν γνώμην.

certain capacity for knowing the whole universe and the
phenomena that occur in it and that remain in a perfectly
divine motion. But most of it seems to suspend judgment,
with the result that even those who are most familiar with
your writings are at a loss regarding the correct explana-
tion of what you have written. That is why King Darius,
son of Hystaspes, wishes to participate in your teaching
and in Greek education. Come at once to my presence and
to the royal palace. [14] For the Greeks, who most often
do not know how to distinguish wise men, neglect every-
thing that they indicate so well with a view toward serious
study and learning. But at my court you will benefit from
every form of privileged treatment, and every day you will
receive a fine and serious greeting and your life will be-
come celebrated by virtue of your exhortations."

b

Heraclitus of Ephesus sends greetings to King Darius son
of Hystaspes.

"All men who live on this earth are remote from truth
and justice, and they devote themselves to greediness and
desire for popularity because of their evil stupidity. But
because I myself do not recollect ever having committed
any kind of wickedness, and shun the surfeit that dwells
with every man's envy, and also because I avoid arrogance,
I do not wish to come to the land of the Persians, for I am
satisfied with little, in accordance with my thought."

¹ πάντως Cobet

² φθόνῳ rec.: φθόνου BPF

³ ὑπερηφανίην Cobet: ὑπερηφανίας mss.