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ON THE UNIVERSE  
HIPPOCRATES

VI VOL

ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE  
W. H. S. JONES, LIT.D.  
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

HIPPOCRATES

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

XXII. Πυρὸς ἀνταμείβεται πάντα καὶ πῦρ  
ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων  
3 χρυσοῦς.

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

XXIV. Χρησμοσύνη . . . κόρος.

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

XXVI. Πάντα τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὸν κρινέει καὶ  
2 καταλήψεται.

XXVII. Τὸ μὴ δύνόν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι ;

XXVIII. Τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXIV. Want . . . surfeit.

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

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

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

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

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

XXVIII. The thunderbolt steers all things.

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

See the notes to XX and XXIII.

CXXXVII. For if it were not to Dionysus that they made procession and sang the phallic hymn, it would be a most disgraceful action. But Hades is the same as Dionysus, in whose honour they rave and keep the feast of the vat. CXXXVIII. I distinguish, therefore, two kinds of sacrifices. First, that of men wholly cleansed, such as would rarely take place in the case of a single individual, as Heraclitus says, or in the case of very few men. Second, material and corporeal sacrifices, arising from change, such as befit those who are still fettered by the body. CXXXIX. Cures (atonements). When deified they purify themselves with blood, just as if one who had stepped in mud were to wash himself in mud.

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F. M. B.  
TO

## ON THE UNIVERSE

### ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

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

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

XXXII. Νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἥλιος.

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

XXXIV. Οὕτως οὖν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχων συμπλοκὴν καὶ συναρμογὴν ὁ χρόνος οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστὶ κίνησις ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κίνησις ἐν τάξει μέτρον ἐχούση καὶ πέρατα καὶ περιόδους. ὧν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστάτης ὢν καὶ σκοπός, ὀρίζει καὶ βραβεύειν καὶ ἀναδεικνύναι καὶ ἀναφαίνειν μεταβολὰς καὶ ὥρας αἰ πάντα φέρουσι, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ φάυλων οὐδὲ μικρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ κυριωτάτων τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ πρώτῳ θεῷ γίνεται συνεργός.<sup>2</sup>

XXX. Strabo i. 6, p. 3.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laert. i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch *Qu. Plat.* viii. 4, p. 1007.

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

οὐ τοὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα θεοὶ θνητοῖς παρέδειξαν,  
ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ ζήτοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν ἀμεινον.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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HIPPOCRATES

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- XVII. Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου ιστορίην ἤσκησε ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων. καὶ ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποίησατο ἑωυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυμαθίην, κακοτεχνίην.
- XVIII. Ὀκόσων λόγους ἤκουσα οὐδεὶς ἀφικνέεται ἐς τοῦτο, ὥστε γινώσκειν ὅτι σοφόν ἐστι πάντων κεχωρισμένον.
- XIX. Ἐν τῷ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ἢ κυβερνᾶται πάντα διὰ πάντων.
- XX. Κόσμον τόνδε τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰείζων, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.
- XXI. Πυρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα· θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἤμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἤμισυ πρηστήρ.

XVII. Diogenes Laertius viii. 6. One MS. has ἐποίησεν and one ἐποίησατο. Bywater reads ἐποίησε and Burnet ἐποίησατο.  
 XVIII. Stobaeus *Flor.* iii. 81.  
 XIX. Diogenes Laertius ix. 1.  
 XX. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 711; cf. Simplicius in Aristotle *de Caelo*, p. 132; Plutarch *de Anim. Procreatione* 5, p. 1014.  
 XXI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 712.

<sup>1</sup> Iamblichus *de Myst.* v. 15.  
 D. S. Robertson inserts *αἴμα* before *αἵματι*.  
 Elias Cretenensis *in loc.* See Apollonius *lyr.* 27. Professor XXXX. Gregorius Naz. *Or.* xxxv. (xxiii.) 15, p. 466 with CXXXIX. Iamblichus *de Myst.* i. 11.  
*Protrpt.* 2, p. 30.  
 CXXXVII. Pintarch *de Iside* 28, p. 362; Clem. Alex.

<sup>3</sup> ὡσπερ αὐ ἐῖ τις ἐς πῦρ ἐμβὰς πηλὸν ἀπο-  
 XXXX. Καθαίρονται δὲ αἵματα μαινομένοι  
 CXXXIX. Ἄκεα.  
<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀρμόζει.  
 μεταβολῆς συνστρέφεται, οἷα τοῖς ἐπι κατεχομένοις  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ δ' εὐνὰ καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ διὰ  
 ὡς φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, ἢ τινῶν ὀλίγων εὐαριθμη-  
 ἰθρῶπων, οἷα ἐφ' ἑνὸς αὐ ποτε γένοιτο σπανίως,  
 τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀποκεκαθαρμένων παντράσων  
 CXXXVIII. Θυσίων τολύμ τήρησι δὲ τὰ εἶδη.  
 καὶ ληναίζουσι.  
<sup>4</sup> αὐ ὧντος δὲ Αἰδῆς καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτε γ' καινούνται  
 καὶ ἔμμεν ἄσμα αἰόλοισι, ἀναδέσματα ἐργαστ'  
 CXXXVII. Ἐἰ μὴ γὰρ Διόνυσος πομπὴν ἐποιεῖντο

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- XXX. The limits of the East and West are the Bear, and opposite the Bear is the boundary of bright Zeus.  
 The "boundary of bright Zeus" is, according to Diels, the South Pole. Burnet takes it to be the horizon, and the whole passage a protest against the Pythagorean view of a southern hemisphere.  
 XXXI. If there were no sun, there would be night, in spite of the other stars.  
 XXXII. The sun is new every day.  
 This is because of the perpetual flux. One sun is extinguished at sunset; another is kindled at sunrise.  
 XXXIII. Thales is supposed by some to have been the first astronomer and the first to foretell the eclipses and turnings of the sun, as Eudemus declares in his account of astronomical discoveries. For this reason both Xenophanes and Herodotus pay him respectful honour, and both Heraclitus and Democritus bear witness to him.  
 XXXIV. So time, having a necessary connection and union with the firmament, is not motion merely, but, as I have said, motion in an order having measure, limits and periods. Of which the sun, being overseer and warder, to determine, judge, appoint and declare the changes and seasons, which, according to Heraclitus, bring all things, is a helper of the leader and first God, not in trivial or small things, but in the greatest and most important.

GXXIV. Clem. Alex. *Trotopr.* 2, p. 18 = Eusebius *P. H.* 3, p. 66.  
 GXXV. Clem. Alex. *Trotopr.* 2, p. 19 = Eusebius *P. H.* 3, p. 67.  
 GXXVI. Clem. Alex. *Trotopr.* 4, p. 44; Origen *contra Cel.* 1, 5, p. 6, and vii. 62, p. 384.

likewise.  
 CXIX. He said that Homer deserved to be expelled from the lists and beaten, and Archilochus what is reputed. And yet justice will overtake the makers of lies and the false witnesses.  
 Of all the emendations of the corrupt *φανάσσειν* I prefer Bergk's *φανάσσειν*, but I follow Burnet in deleting the word.  
 CXVIII. The one most in repute knows only what is reputed. And yet justice will overtake the makers of lies and the false witnesses.  
 CXX. One day is like any other.  
 CXXI. A man's character is his fate.  
 CXXII. There await men after death such things as they neither expect nor look for.  
 CXXIII. To rise up and become wakeful guards of the living and of the dead.  
 CXXIV. Night - walkers, Magians, priests of Bacchus and priestesses of the vat, the initiated.  
 CXXV. The mysteries that are celebrated among men it is unholy to take part in.  
 CXXVI. And to these images they pray, as if one were to talk to one's house, knowing not the nature of gods and heroes.

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

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

XXXVII. Εἰ πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γένοιτο,  
 2 ῥίνας ἂν διαγοίεν.

XXXVIII. Αἱ ψυχὰι ὀσμῶνται καθ' ἄδην.

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

XL. Σκίδνησι καὶ συνάγει, πρόσσεισι καὶ  
 2 ἄπεισι.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XV. Eyes are more accurate witnesses than ears.

First-hand information is better than hearsay.

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

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





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

else. All things are for ever passing into something or pause in change; it is as much a *continuum* as its seconds together is a thing ever the same. There is that change is constant and perpetual. For no two His contribution to the problem was to point out of change was the primary interest of his researches. the period in which he lived, that the phenomenon It seems reasonable to suppose, when we consider some cases never be elucidated.

the details are still obscure, and may, in fact, in doctrine of Heraclitus in its main outlines, although gradually sharpening itself a more stable view of the But in spite of all this diversity of opinion there is and intelligent men from exactly the same evidence. inconsistent conclusions can be drawn by learned Philosophers, and to see how the most opposite and read the treatises of Lassalle, Teichmüller and darker still. It is both confusing and depressing to moderns, who possess only isolated sentences, he is ancients, who had all his work before them; to the Heraclitus was called "the dark" by the preserved.

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

INTRODUCTION

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

- III. Ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσι εἰόκασιν φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρεῖ παρεόντας ἀπέιναι.
- IV. Κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισι ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα, βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἔχόντων.
- V. Οὐ φρονέουσι τοιαῦτα πολλοὶ ὀκόσοισι ἐγκυρεύουσι οὐδὲ μαθόντες γινώσκουσι, ἑωυτοῖσι δὲ δοκέουσι.
- VI. Ἀκούσαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδ' εἰπέειν.
- VII. Ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται, ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ ἐξευρήσει, ἀνεξερευνητον ἔδον καὶ ἄπορον.
- VIII. Χρυσὸν οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσουσι καὶ εὐρίσκουσι ὀλίγον.
- IX. Ἀγχιβασίην.
- X. Φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.
- XI. Ὁ ἀναξ οὐ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.

III. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718; Euseb. *P.E.* xiii. 13, p. 681.  
 IV. Sextus Emp. *adv. Math.* vii. 126; Stobaeus *Florilegium* iv. 56. Βορβόρου ψυχὰς ἔχοντος Bernays.  
 V. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 2, p. 432; Marcus Antoninus iv. 46.  
 VI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 5, p. 442.  
 VII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 4, p. 437. Theodoretus *Therap.* i. p. 15, 51. The sources have ἔλπηται and ἐλπίζητε. ἔλπηται Schuster and Bywater. Some would put the comma after ἀνέλπιστον instead of before it.  
 VIII. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 2, p. 565; Theodoretus *Therap.* i. p. 15, 52.  
 IX. Suidas s.v.  
 X. Themistius *Or.* v. p. 69.  
 XI. Plutarch *de Pyth. Orac.* 21, p. 404; Iamblichus *de Myst.* iii. 15; Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 72 and lxxxii. 17.

CXV. Plutarch *an Sena sit ver. Resp.* vii. p. 787.  
 Iamblichus *de Vit. Pyth.* 30, p. 154 Arceer.  
 Musonius *ap. Stob.* *Rhet.* xi. 9; Dio. Laert. ix. 2;  
 CXIV. Strabo xiv. 25, p. 642; Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* v. 105;  
 Prodomus in *Lazarii Miscell.* i. p. 20; Seneca *Epip.* 7.  
 CXIII. Galen *περι διαγνώσεως σφυγμῶν* i. 1; Theodoros  
 CXII. Diogenes Laertius i. 88.  
 Proclus in *Alcibi.* p. 255, Creuzer.  
 CXI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 9, p. 682 and iv. 7, p. 586;  
 CX. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718.  
 CIX. Stobaeus *Rhet.* iii. 82.

- 2 ἐπιτορσθα φιλῆει.
- CXVII. Βαλῆξ ἀνθρώπος ἐπι παντι λογῶ.
- CXVI. Ἀπιστήν διαφύλαξει μη γινώσκεισθα.
- 2 σκαοί.
- CXV. Κύνες καὶ βαυλοῦσι ὄν ἄν μη γινώ-
- 5 εἰ δὲ μη, ἀλλή τε καὶ μετ' ἀλλῶν.
- ἐξέβαλον, φάυτες ἡμέων μηδὲ εἰς ὀνηιστος ἔστω,
- οἵτινες Ἐρημόδορον ἄνδρα ἑωυτων ὀνηιστων
- πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν πόλιν καταλίπειν,
- CXIV. Ἀξίον Ἐφέσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀπαγῆσθαι
- CXIII. Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι, ἐὰν ἄριστος ἦ.
- 2 πᾶλον λόγος ἦ τῶν ἀλλῶν.
- CXII. Ἐν Περὶν Βίαις ἐγένετο ὁ Τευτάμεω, ὅ
- 6 κτηνα.
- ἄνευρον θνητῶν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κερκόρηται ὀκασπερ
- αἰβρῆνται γὰρ ἐν ἀντία πάντων οἱ ἄριστοι, κλέος
- οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι πολλοὶ κακοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀγαθοί.
- ἰδιοῖοι ἐπονται καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρέωνται ὀλίγῳ,
- CXI. Τὸ γὰρ αὐτῶν νόος ἦ φρήν; [δημιῶν]
- CX. Νόμος καὶ βουλή πείθεσθαι ἐνός.
- 2 μέσον φέρειν.†
- CIX. †Κρύπτειν ἀμαθίην κρέσσον ἢ ἐς τὸ

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ON THE UNIVERSE

- XLIII. And Heraclitus rebukes the poet who says, "would that strife might perish from among gods and men." For there could be (he said) no attunement without the opposites high and low, and no animals without the opposites male and female.
- XLIV. War is the father of all and the king of all; some he has marked out to be gods and some to be men, some he has made slaves and some free.
- XLV. They understand not how that which is at variance with itself agrees with itself. There is attunement of opposite tensions, like that of the bow and of the harp.
- With the reading *παλίντροπος* the meaning is: "a harmony from opposite shapes."
- XLVI. In reference to these very things they look for deeper and more natural principles. Euripides says that "the parched earth is in love with rain," and that "high heaven, with rain fulfilled, loves to fall to earth." And Heraclitus says that "the opposite is beneficial," and that "from things that differ comes the fairest attunement," and that "all things are born through strife."
- Burnet thinks that there is a reference to the medical theory of "like is cured by unlike" in the first of these quotations from Heraclitus (τὸ ἀντίζουον συμφέρον). See also Stewart ou Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1104, b16.

1 Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* vii. 1, p. 1235a, 26.  
 2 Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 2, p. 1151b14.

<sup>1</sup> *Regimen I*, ch. iii. In this treatise *dyvatis* often means essence, and the sentence referred to virtually identifies change and fire.

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

## INTRODUCTION

HERACLEITUS  
ON THE UNIVERSE

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

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

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

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

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

hard to do this when we relax over wine. C VIII. It is better to hide ignorance, but it is quasi-negative form. These two fragments (both are of doubtful authenticity) express positively what is stated in Fragment CV in a listening to the voice of nature.

C VII. To be sober-minded is the greatest virtue, and wisdom is to speak the truth and to act it, selves and to be sober-minded.

C VI. It is the concern of all men to know themselves and to know the nature of soul.

II. 2, 1107 a 8. "To gratify *θυρὰς* is to allow one's soul to become moist." Aristotle understood *θυρὰς* to mean anger (*θυμὸς*). include under "instinct," "urge," "passionate craving." than any English equivalent, but includes much of what we Burnet so translates *θυρὰς*; the word covers a wider area the cost of soul.

C V. It is hard to contend against one's heart's desire; for whatever it wishes to have it buys at toil, rest, pleasant thing; evil, good; hunger, surfeit; and better thing. It is disease that makes health a

C IV. For men to get all they wish is not the than a fire.

C III. You should put out insolence even more in battle.

C II. Gods and men honour those who are killed

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

C I. For greater dooms win insolence even more of the great *ζῆλον* is, in fact, but a reflection

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

## ON THE UNIVERSE

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

XLVII. Ἀρμονίη ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείσσων.

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

XLIX. Χρὴ εὖ μάλα πολλῶν ἱστορίας φιλο-  
2 σόφους ἀνδρας εἶναι.

L. Γραφῆων ὁδὸς εὐθελία καὶ σκολιή μία ἐστὶ  
2 καὶ ἡ αὐτή.

LI. "Ονοι σύρματ' ἂν ἔλοιτο μάλλον ἢ χρυσόν.

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

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

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

LIV. Βορβόρω χαίρειν.

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

XLVIII. Diog. Laert. ix. 73.

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

L. Hipp. *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10. γραφῆων MSS.; γραφῆων  
Bywater; γραφείω Bernays.

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

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

LIV. Athenaeus v. p. 178 f. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.*  
10, p. 75.

<sup>1</sup> Albertus Magnus *de Veget.* vi. 401, p. 545 Meyer.

<sup>2</sup> Columella *de R. R.* viii. 4.

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

<sup>1</sup> See in particular Philo, *Her. Div. Her.* 43: ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῷ εἶναι τῶν ἐναντίων, ὅτι πᾶσι τὰ ἐναντία, ὅτι ἅπαντα ἐστὶν ὁ φασὶν Ἐρακλείδης τὸν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀσπίον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνέσει καὶ νύκτι; Ἡρακλείτου κερφαλαίων τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ προστηθέντος φιλοσοφίας

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

INTRODUCTION

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ.

The order of the fragments is that of Bywater.

- I. Οὐκ ἐμεῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαντας  
2 ὁμολογέειν σοφὸν ἐστὶ, ἐν πάντα εἶναι.
- II. Τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι  
γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ  
ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον. γινομένων γὰρ πάντων  
κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ἀπίροισι εἰκόασι πειρώ-  
μενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιούτων ὁκοίων ἐγὼ  
διηγέυμαι, διαιρέων ἕκαστον κατὰ φύσιν καὶ  
φράζων ὅπως ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους  
λανθάνει ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ποιέουσι, ὅκωσπερ  
9 ὁκόσα εὔδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται.

I. Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* ix. 9: Ἡράκλειτος μὲν οὖν <ἐν> φῆσιν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον, γενητὸν ἀγένητον, θνητὸν ἀθάνατον, λόγον αἰῶνα, πατέρα νόον, θεὸν δίκαιον. Οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογέειν σοφὸν ἐστίν, ἐν πάντα εἰδέναί, ὃ Ἡράκλειτός φησι καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἴσασιν πάντες οὐδὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἐπιμέμφεται ὧδὲ πως· Οὐ ξυνίασιν ὅπως διαφερόμεν-ν ἐνυτῶ ὁμολογέει παλιντροπος ἀρμονίῃ ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης  
λόγος is a conjecture of Bernays, εἶναι a conjecture of Miller. Bergk would reconstruct thus: δίκαιον οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δόγματος ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογέειν ὅτι ἐν τὸ σοφὸν ἐστίν, ἐν πάντα εἰδέναί. The conjectures in the text do not arouse any strong confidence, though δόγματος might well be a gloss on λόγου. But if εἶναι be correct, why should it have been corrupted to εἰδέναί? I am on the whole inclined to think that Bergk's restoration is nearer to the actual words of Heraclitus.

C. Mάχεσθαι Χρητὸν δὴμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου  
2 ὅκως ὑπὲρ πείχους.  
C. Μόροι γὰρ μέζοντες πόρνας λαχού-  
2 νοσι.  
CII. Ἀριφάτους θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἀνθρώποι.  
CIII. "Τεβριαν Χρητὸν σβεννεῖν μάχων ἢ πυρ-  
2 καίη.  
CIV. Ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι ὁκόσα, θελοῦσι  
οὐκ ἄμεινον. νόσος ὕλεια ἐπόησε ἡδύ, κακὸν  
3 ἀγαθόν, λιτὸς κόρον, κάρματος ἀναπαυσαν.  
CV. Θυμὸν πᾶρχεσθαι χαλεπόν. ὁ τι ἄρ ἂν  
2 Χρητὸν γίνεσθαι, ψυχὴν ὠρεῖται.  
CVI. Ἀνθρώποισι πασι μέτεσσι γινώσκων  
2 εἰντοσ καὶ σφροσῖν.  
CVII. Ἐσφροσῖν ἀρετὴ μέλιση. καὶ σοφίη  
2 ἀληθεῖα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιόντας.  
CVIII. Ἀμᾶθιν ἄμεινον κρυπτεῖν. ἔργον δὲ ἐν  
2 ἀνέσει καὶ παρ' ὄνον.  
C. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.  
C. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 7, p. 586.  
CII. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 4, p. 571; Theodoretus  
Theop. viii. p. 117, 33.  
CIII. Diogenes Laertius ix. 2.  
CIV. Stobaeus Flor. iii. 83. Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 21,  
p. 497. I accept (with some hesitation) κακὸν for the MS.  
reading καὶ (Heitz, Diels, Burnet).  
CV. Iamblichus Protrpt. p. 140; Aristotle Eth. Nic.  
1105 a 8, Eth. Eud. 1223 b 22, and Pol. 1315 a 29; Plutarch  
de coincidentia Tra 9, p. 457 and Coriol. 22.  
CVI. Stobaeus Flor. v. 119.  
CVII. Stobaeus Flor. iii. 84.  
CVIII. Plutarch Qu. convic. iii. proom. p. 644; de  
Audendo 12, p. 43 and Tric. doc. posse 2, p. 439; Stob  
Flor. xviii. 32.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ON THE UNIVERSE

- XLVII. The invisible attainment is superior to the visible.  
This apparently means that the attainment of opposites in the natural world is a superior "harmony" to that which we hear from musical instruments. ἀρμονία means "tune" rather than "harmony."
- XLVIII. Let us not make random guesses about the greatest things.
- XLIX. Men who love wisdom must have knowledge of very many things.  
This is not inconsistent with πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει. Though πολυμαθίη is not enough, yet the true philosopher will have it.
- L. The straight and the crooked way of the cloth-carders is one and the same.  
This is a reference to the motion of the fuller's comb, which both revolved and also moved in a straight line.
- LI. Asses would prefer straw to gold.  
LIa. Heraclitus said that if happiness consisted in bodily delights we should call oxen happy when they find bitter vetches to eat.
- LIH. Sea-water is both very pure and very foul; to fishes it is drinkable and healthful, to men it is undrinkable and deadly.  
Here we have the "unity of opposites" in a slightly different form.
- LIII. Dry dust also and ashes must be placed near the walls wherever the porch or roof protects the chicken-run, that the birds may have a place to sprinkle themselves; for with these things they improve their plumage and wings, if only we believe Heraclitus the Ephesian, who says: "pigs wash in mud and barnyard fowls in dust (or ash)."
- LIV. To delight in mud.

of the healthful study of nature. We may be sure, self-inspection, absence of trust in our instincts and self-consciousness, too much inwardness and painful as we have seen, stood in vital opposition to "3 over native. "The philosophy and ethics of Heraclitus, the cletus stood for the instinctive, the unconscious, the men more than discussing virtue and justice. Hera- Communion with the fields and trees could teach through obedience to the law of "the common." holds that Heraclitus pleaded for unity with nature" explanation hitherto given is that of Patrick.<sup>2</sup> He case of the individual. The most attractive ex- conjecture what meaning he attached to it in the the case of the State, the law, but it is harder to great stress on "the common." By this he meant, in dependent on the physical theory. Heraclitus lays definite ethical standpoint, but this was certainly and politics, and it is difficult to extract from them a We have only a few fragments dealing with ethics heads, his sections being Nos. 1-90, 91-97, 98-130. success to arrange the fragments under these three with the theology.<sup>1</sup> Bywater has attempted with fair dealing with the universe, one with politics and one of Heraclitus was divided into three parts, one We are told by Digenes Laertius that the book and now as its opposite.

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

## INTRODUCTION

## ON THE UNIVERSE

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

LV. Πᾶν ἐρπετὸν πληγῆ νέμεται.

LVI. Παλίντονος ἀρμονίη κόσμου ὄκωσπερ 2 λύρης καὶ τόξου.

LVII. Ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ταῦτόν.

LVIII. Καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν (scil. ἐν ἐστί). οἱ γοῦν ἰατροί, φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, τέμνοντες καίοντες πάντα βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς ἀρρωστούντας ἐπαιτῖονται μηδέν' ἄξιον μισθὸν λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀρρωστούντων, ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ †τὰς νόσους†.<sup>1</sup>

LIX. Συνάψεις οὐλα καὶ οὐχὶ οὐλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον διᾶδον· ἐκ πάντων 3 ἐν καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς πάντα.

LX. Δίκης οὔνομα οὐκ ἂν ᾗδεσαν, εἰ ταῦτα 2 μὴ ᾗν.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus *Ref. Haer.* ix. 10.

child is by a man.

XCVII. Man is called a baby by the deity as a "This fragment expresses in another way the thought that τὸ εὐρὸν is good, τὸ τίσιον evil.

that of God has.

XCVI. Human nature has no understanding, but "the ever-living fire" of the universe.

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

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

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

XCVI. They are at variance with that with which

## ON RELIGION

XCVIII. And does not Heraclitus too, whom you bring forward, say this very same thing, that the wisest of men compared with God will appear as an ape in wisdom, in beauty and in everything else?<sup>2</sup>

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

Hippias the wise.



That thinks that τὸν λόγον ὁ εἰρηστικός does not belong to Heraclitus, appealing to the MSS. reading ἡ βίος in support of his contention. He is chiefly influenced by his conviction that λόγος can mean only the message or gospel of Heraclitus. But at this early stage in the history of thought there could be no distinction made between (a) the message and (b) the truth which the message tries to express. It is the latter meaning that I think λόγος has in this passage.

But though the Word is common, the many live as though they had a wisdom of their own.

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

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

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

ON POLITICS AND ETHICS

ON THE UNIVERSE

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

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

LXII. Εἰδέναί χρεῖ τὸν πόλεμον ἔοντα ξυνόν, καὶ δίκην ἔριν· καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ χρεώμενα†.

LXIII. Ἔστι γὰρ εἰμαρμένα πάντως \* \* \* \*.

LXIV. Θάνατός ἐστι ὀκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν, ὀκόσα δὲ εὐδοντες ὑπνος.

LXV. Ἐν τὸ σοφὸν μόνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζητὸς οὖνομα.

LXVI. Τοῦ βιοῦ οὖνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.

LXII. Origen *contra Celsum* vi. 42, p. 312.  
 LXIII. Stobaeus *Ecl.* i. 5, p. 178.  
 LXIV. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 3, p. 520.  
 LXV. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, p. 718.  
 LXVI. Eustathius *in Iliad.* i. 49; *Etymol. magnum* s.v. βίος; Schol. *in Iliad.* i. 49 ap. Cramer *A. P.* iii. p. 122.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. B. *in Il.* iv. 4, p. 120 Bekk.

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

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

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INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF HERACLITUS

I, being forgetful of all wickedness, shunning the general satiety which is closely joined with envy, and because I have a horror of splendour, could not come to Persia, being content with little, when that little is to my mind.<sup>1</sup>

So independent was he even when dealing with a king.

Demetrius, in his book on *Men of the Same Name*, says that he despised even the Athenians, although held by them in the highest estimation; and, notwithstanding that the Ephesians thought little of him, he preferred his own home the more. Demetrius of Phalerum, too, mentions him in his *Defence of Socrates*<sup>1</sup>; and the commentators on his work are very numerous, including as they do Antisthenes and Heraclides of Pontus, Cleanthes and Sphaerus the Stoic, and again Pausanias who was called the imitator of Heraclitus, Nicomedes, Dionysius, and among the grammarians, Diodotus. The latter affirms that it is not a treatise upon nature, but upon government, the physical part serving merely for illustration.<sup>2</sup>

Hieronymus tells us that Scythinus, the satirical poet, undertook to put the discourse of Heraclitus into verse. He is the subject of many epigrams, and amongst them of this one<sup>3</sup>:

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 128.

XCI. *Stobaeus Flor.* iii. 84. *Cl. Hymn of Cleanthes* 24, *ὄντ' ἐπορεύσιν θεῶν κοῖραν νόμον ὅτε κἀθανάτων, ᾧ κεν περιβήσονται* *ἀντ' ἑβ' ἰσθ' ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἔχουσι.*  
 XCI. *Sox. Emp. ad. Math.* vii. 133. *Bywater* does not regard *Διὸ . . . ἔννῳ* as *Heraclitean* and *Bywater* rejects *τοῦ*

3 φέρωνται.

ἔ' ἐόντος ἔννῳ, ἕωσι οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδὲν ἔχουσι  
 XCII. *Διὸ δὲ ἐπεσθαι τῷ ἔννῳ. τοῦ λόγου*

6 ἐθέλει καὶ ἐξαρκεῖ πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται.

ἑνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὄκονον  
 τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι νομοὶ ὑπὸ  
 ὀκωσπερ νόμῳ πάλιν καὶ πολλὸν ἰσχυροτέρως.

λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ἔννῳ πᾶν  
 XCI. *Ἐννὸν ἐστὶ πᾶσι τὸ φρονεῖν. ἔννῳ νόμῳ*

5 σφραγιστῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινόμενων.<sup>1</sup>

οἴμαι, ὁ Ἡρακλείτης ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ  
 ἀνεπιστάτους ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς,  
 οἱ μὲν εἰδότες καὶ παρακαλοῦντες, οἱ δὲ  
 XC. *Πάντες εἰς ἐν ἀποτέλεσμα σφραγισμένοι,*

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world, for one and all alike." We are told that, when asked why he kept silence, he replied, "Why, to let you chatter." Darius, too, was eager to make his acquaintance, and wrote to him as follows<sup>1</sup>:

"King Darius, son of Hystaspes, to Heraclitus the wise man of Ephesus, greeting.

"You are the author of a treatise *On Nature* which is hard to understand and hard to interpret. In certain parts, if it be interpreted word for word, it seems to contain a power of speculation on the whole universe and all that goes on within it, which depends upon motion most divine; but for the most part judgement is suspended, so that even those who are the most conversant with literature are at a loss to know what is the right interpretation of your work. Accordingly King Darius, son of Hystaspes, wishes to enjoy your instruction and Greek culture. Come then with all speed to see me at my palace. For the Greeks as a rule are not prone to mark their wise men; nay, they neglect their excellent precepts which make for good hearing and learning. But at my court there is secured for you every privilege and daily conversation of a good and worthy kind, and a life in keeping with your counsels."

"Heraclitus of Ephesus to King Darius, son of Hystaspes, greeting.

"All men upon earth hold aloof from truth and justice, while, by reason of wicked folly, they devote themselves to avarice and thirst for popularity. But

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

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

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

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

LXIII. For there are things foreordained wholly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Apud Hesiod *fr.* 163 Goettling.  
<sup>2</sup> Plutarch *de Orac. Def.* 11, p. 115.  
<sup>3</sup> Io. Lydus *de Mensuris*, iii. 10, p. 37 ed. Bonn.

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

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

He called the month (or moon) a generation. Therefore Heraclitus hit the mark when numbers. 1, 4, 9, 16, which are the squares of the first four numbers of the cycle of the moon is composed of the numbers relation to tens as three does to units. Then again mately bound up with nature, as it bears the same

LXXXVIII. The number thirty is one most intimate to have a son who is himself a father.

Heraclitus has it, this being the time it takes a generation to consist of thirty years, as children after them to become dooms.

LXXXVII. Some reading ἡβωτος in this passage have dooms—or rather to rest, and they leave to live and to

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

An example of change and motion giving existence and stirred.

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

Lc. change is restful. Cf. the next fragment. and to be ruled by them.

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

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### ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

LXVII. Ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον <sup>3</sup> τεθνεώτες.

LXVIII. Ψυχῆσι γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι. ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ <sup>3</sup> γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ.

LXIX. Ὅδος ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὤντη.

LXX. Ξυδὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας.

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

LXXII. Ψυχῆσι τέρψις ὑγρῆσι γενέσθαι.

LXXIII. Ἀνὴρ ὀκότη ἂν μεθυσθῆ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαίωv ὄκη <sup>3</sup> βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.

LXXIV. Αὕη ψυχῆ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

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

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

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

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

LXXI. Diog. Laert. ix. 7.

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

LXXIII. Stobaeus *Flor.* v. 120.

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

<sup>1</sup> Taken from R. D. Hicks' translation of Diogenes Laertius in the Loeb Classical Library. The spelling "Heraclitus" is retained. "D." = Diels and "B." = Bywater.  
<sup>2</sup> 504-500 B.C.  
<sup>3</sup> The biographers used by our author laid evident stress on this characteristic of the Ephesian, for §§ 1-3 (excepting to two fragments cited in § 2) dwell on this single theme. As to the criticism of Pythagoras cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 129 s. f., who, dealing with chronology, says that Heraclitus was later than Pythagoras, for Pythagoras is mentioned by him.  
<sup>4</sup> Fr. 40 D., 16 B.  
<sup>5</sup> Fr. 41 D., 19 B.  
<sup>6</sup> Fr. 43 D., 103 B.

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

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

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upwards; the monthly phases of the moon are due to the bowl turning round in its place little by little. Day and night, months, seasons and years, rains and winds and other similar phenomena are accounted for by the various exhalations. Thus the bright exhalation, set aflame in the hollow orb of the sun, produces day, the opposite exhalation when it has got the mastery causes night; the increase of warmth due to the bright exhalation produces summer, whereas the preponderance of moisture due to the dark exhalation brings about winter. His explanations of other phenomena are in harmony with this. He gives no account of the nature of the earth, nor even of the bowls. These, then, were his opinions.

The story told by Ariston of Socrates, and his remarks when he came upon the book of Heraclitus, which Euripides brought him, I have mentioned in my *Life of Socrates*.<sup>1</sup> However, Seleucus the grammarian says that a certain Croton relates in his book called *The Diver* that the said work of Heraclitus was first brought into Greece by one Crates, who further said it required a Delian diver not to be drowned in it. The title given to it by some is *The Muses*,<sup>2</sup> by others *Concerning Nature*; but Diodotus calls it<sup>3</sup>

A helm unerring for the rule of life;

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

<sup>1</sup> ii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, alluding to Heraclitus, speaks of "Ionian Muses" (*Soph.* 242 E). He is followed by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 9, 682 P. αὶ γούv Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι διαρρηθῆναι λέγονται), and possibly, as M. Ernout thinks, by Lucretius, i. 657, where "Musae" is the ms. reading. But cf. Lachmann, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> Nauck, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup>, *Adesp.* 287.

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

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 44 D., 100 B.  
<sup>2</sup> Fr. 121 D., 114 B.  
<sup>3</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, vii, 127.

There is a piece of my own about him as follows:<sup>3</sup> of no avail, he died at the age of sixty. But, as even this was noxious damp humour would be drawn out of him he buried himself in a cowshed, expecting that the rain. They could make nothing of this, whereupon they were competent to create a drought after heavy city and put this riddle to the physicians, whether this gave him dropsy, he made his way back to the making his diet of grass and herbs. However, when on the mountains, and there he continued to live, Finally, he became a hater of his kind and wandered this than to take part in your civil life?"

said, "are you astonished? Is it not better to do round him and looked on, "Why, you rascals," he with the boys; and when the Ephesians stood to the temple of Artemis and play at knuckle-bones in the grip of a bad constitution. He would retire he scorned the request because the state was already And when he was requested by them to make laws, let him go elsewhere and consort with others."<sup>2</sup> who is worthiest among us; or if there be any such man among them, saying, "We will have none that they have driven out Hermodorus, the worthiest of them, and leave the city to beardless boys, for would do well to end their lives, every grown man ing his friend Hermodorus: he says: "The Ephesians walls."<sup>1</sup> He attacks the Ephesians, too, for banish-

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And it is alternately born from fire and again resolved into fire in fixed cycles to all eternity, and this is determined by destiny. Of the opposites that which tends to birth or creation is called war and strife, and that which tends to destruction by fire is called concord and peace.<sup>1</sup> Change he called a pathway up and down, and this determines the birth of the world.

For fire by contracting turns into moisture, and this condensing turns into water; water again when congealed turns into earth. This process he calls the downward path. Then again earth is liquefied, and thus gives rise to water, and from water the rest of the series is derived. He reduces nearly everything to exhalation from the sea. This process is the upward path. Exhalations arise from earth as well as from sea; those from sea are bright and pure, those from earth dark. Fire is fed by the bright exhalations, the moist element by the others. He does not make clear the nature of the surrounding element. He says, however, that there are in it bowls with their concavities turned towards us, in which the bright exhalations collect and produce flames. These are the stars. The flame of the sun is the brightest and the hottest; the other stars are further from the earth and for that reason give it less light and heat. The moon, which is nearer to the earth, traverses a region which is not pure. The sun, however, moves in a clear and untroubled region, and keeps a proportionate distance from us. That is why it gives us more heat and light. Eclipses of the sun and moon occur when the bowls are turned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fr. 80 D., 62 B.

LXXXII. Κάματος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μοχθεῖν  
 LXXXIII. Μεταβῆλαιον ἀναπαύεται.  
 LXXXIV. Καὶ ὁ κκεῶν διίσταται μὴ κινεῖ-  
 2 μένος.  
 LXXXV. Νέκρες κοπιῶν ἐκβλήτωτοροί.  
 LXXXVI. Ἐνὸς μέρους ἕθελουσι μέρος τ'  
 ἕχεν ἡλόχον δὲ ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ παύσας κατα-  
 3 λείπουσι μέρος μέρους.  
 LXXXVII. Οἱ μὲν "ἡβόντος" ἀναγνώσκοντες  
 ἐν τριῶντα πλοῦσι τὴν γενεάν καθ' Ἡρακλεί-  
 4 τος ἐν ᾧ χρὸνὸν γενέσθαι παρεχέει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 γενεὴν μέρους ὁ γενεῶνας.  
 LXXXVIII. Ο, τριῶντα ἀριθμὸς φασικῶ-  
 τας ἐστὶν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν μόνῳ τριῶν, τὸτο ἐν  
 δεκάσι τριακοντάς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ μῆδος κῆλδος  
 σνεστρικεν ἐκ τερσάρων τῶν ἀπὸ μόνδος ἐξῆς  
 τερσάρων α, δ, θ, ις, ὄθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ  
 Ἡρακλείτος γενεῶν τῶν μῆνα καλεῖ.  
 LXXXIX. Ἐκ ὁμίῃν ἐν τριεμίῳ ποτὲσ ἀνῶ  
 2 ἡβηρί.  
 LXXXII. Plotinus *Enn.* iv, 8, p. 468; Iamblichus *ap.*  
 Stob. *Ecl.* i, 41, p. 906.  
 LXXXIII. Same as for LXXXII.  
 LXXXIV. Theophrastus *περὶ ἀίθρας* 9, p. 138.  
 LXXXV. Strabo xvi, 26, p. 784; Pintarch *Qu. convi.*  
 v, 4, p. 669; Pollux *Onom.* v, 163; Origen *contra Cel.* v,  
 iv, 4, p. 247; Julianus *Or.* vi, p. 226c. The scholiast V on  
*Ilud* xxiv, 54, p. 630 Bekk. assigns the fragment to  
 LXXXVI. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii, 3, p. 516.  
 LXXXVII. Cf. Censorinus *de D.* v, 17.  
 LXXXIX. Philo Qu. in Gen. ii, 5, p. 82, Aucher.

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

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

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

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

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

LXX. The beginning and end are common.

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

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

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

LXXII. It is delight to souls to become moist.

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

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

LXXIV. A dry soul is wisest and best.

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

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

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

LXXIX. Time is a child playing draughts; the changes of time are like the changes of the child's game. The changes of time are like the changes of the child's game. ἀφ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐκτρέφεται καὶ χερσὶν ἀδύναται. ὅς τ' ἐστὶ πῶς οὐκ ἐκτρέφεται καὶ χερσὶν ἀδύναται.

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

LXXVII. Man, like a light in the night, is kindled and put out. Burnet takes the metaphor in μεταφορῶν to be the moving of pieces from one γωνίᾳ of the draught-board to another.

LXXVI. Where earth is dry, the soul is wisest and best. For LXXV and LXXVI see notes on the text.

LXXV. Dry light is the wisest and best soul. For LXXV and LXXVI see notes on the text.

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LXXV. Ἄν γὰρ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.†

LXXVI. Ὁὐ γὰρ ξηρὴ, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.†

LXXVII. Ἄνθρωπος, ὅπως ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος, ἀπτεται ἀποσβέννυται.

LXXVIII. Πότε γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος; καὶ ἢ φῆσιν Ἡράκλειτος, ταῦτ' εἶναι ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐγγρηγορός καὶ τὸ καθέδρον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκείναι ἐστὶ κακέϊνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα.<sup>1</sup>

LXXIX. Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληΐᾳ.

LXXX. Ἐδιζήσημιν ἐμεωυτόν.

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

LXXVII. Clem Alex. Strom. iv. 22, p. 628. LXXIX. Clem. Alex. Paedag. i. 5 p. 111; Hipp. Ref. Haer. ix. 9; Proclus in Tim. 101 F. LXXX. Plutarch adv. Colot. 20, p. 1118; Dio Chrysost. Or. 55, p. 282; Suidas s.v. Ποσειδῶνος. LXXXI. Heraclitus Alleg. Hom. 24 and Seneca Epist. 58.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Consol. ad Apoll. 10, p. 106.

In their midst uprose shrill, cuckoo-like, a mob-reviler, riddling Heraclitus. Cf. M. i. 247, 248. Fr. 101 D., 80 B. Fr. 43 D.

Hippobolus has the same story. As to the work which passes as his, it is a continuous treatise *On Nature*, but is divided into three discourses, one on the universe, another on politics, and a third on theology. This book he deposited in the temple of Artemis and, according to some, he deliberately made it the more obscure in order that none but adepts should approach it, and lest familiarity should breed contempt. Of our philosopher Timon<sup>2</sup> gives a sketch in these words: "3

Hermippus, too, says that he asked the doctors whether anyone could by emptying the intestines draw off the moisture; and when they said it was impossible, he put himself in the sun and bade his servants plaster him over with cow-dung. Being thus stretched and prone, he died the next day and was buried in the market-place. Neanthos of Cyzicus states that, being unable to tear off the dung, he remained as he was and, being unrecognized when so transformed, he was devoured by dogs. He was exceptional from his boyhood; for when a youth he used to say that he knew nothing, although when he was grown up he claimed that he knew everything. He was nobody's pupil, but he declared that he "inquired of himself,"<sup>1</sup> and learned everything from himself. Some, however, had said that he had been a pupil of Xenophanes, as we learn from Sotion, who also tells us that Ariston in his book *On Heraclitus* declares that he was cured of the dropsy and died of another disease. And

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Theophrastus puts it down to melancholy that some parts of his work are half-finished, while other parts make a strange medley. As a proof of his magnanimity Antisthenes in his *Successions of Philosophers* cites the fact that he renounced his claim to the kingship in favour of his brother. So great fame did his book win that a sect was founded and called the Heracliteans, after him.

Here is a general summary of his doctrines. All things are composed of fire, and into fire they are again resolved; further, all things come about by destiny, and existent things are brought into harmony by the clash of opposing currents; again, all things are filled with souls and divinities. He has also given an account of all the orderly happenings in the universe, and declares the sun to be no larger than it appears. Another of his sayings is: "Of soul thou shalt never find boundaries, not if thou trackest it on every path; so deep is its cause."<sup>1</sup> Self-conceit he used to call a falling sickness (epilepsy) and eyesight a lying sense.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes, however, his utterances are clear and distinct, so that even the dullest can easily understand and derive therefrom elevation of soul. For brevity and weightiness his exposition is incomparable.

Coming now to his particular tenets, we may state them as follows: fire is the element, all things are exchange for fire and come into being by rarefaction and condensation<sup>3</sup>; but of this he gives no clear explanation. All things come into being by conflict of opposites, and the sum of things flows like a stream. Further, all that is is limited and forms one world.

<sup>1</sup> Fr. 45 D., 71 B.

<sup>2</sup> F. 46 D., 132 B.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fr. 90 D., 22 B.