ISIS AND OSIRIS
(DE ISIDE ET OSIRIDE)

1. Πάντα μέν, ὦ Κλέα, δεῖ τἀγαθὰ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμης ὅσον ἐφικτόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις μετιόντες εὐχόμεθα τυγχάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ λαβεῖν μεῖζον οὐδὲ[1] χαρίσασθαι
D θεῷ σεμνότερον ἀληθείας. τἆλλα μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὧν δέονται δίδωσιν, νοῦ δὲ καὶ φρονήσεως μεταδίδωσιν,[2] οἰκεῖα κεκτημένος ταῦτα καὶ χρώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ μακάριον τὸ θεῖον, οὐδὲ βρονταῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἰσχυρόν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ φρονήσει. καὶ τοῦτο κάλλιστα πάντων Ὅμηρος ὧν εἴρηκε περὶ θεῶν ἀναφθεγξάμενος

ἦ μὰν ἀμφοτέροισιν ὁμὸν γένος ἠδ' ἴα πάτρη,
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γεγόνει καὶ πλείονα ἤδει,

σεμνοτέραν ἀπέφηνε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἐπι-
E στήμῃ καὶ σοφίᾳ[3] πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ

[1] οὐδὲ Holwerda: οὐ.
[2] νοῦ . . . μεταδίδωσιν added by Wyttenbach from Eustratius, *Comment. ad Aristot. Ethic.* vi. 8.
[3] ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ σοφίᾳ Markland: ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας.

---

[a] The priestess for whom Plutarch composed his collection of stories about the *Bravery of Women* (*Moralia*, 242 E ff.).

ISIS AND OSIRIS

1. ALL good things, my dear Clea,[a] sensible men must ask from the gods; and especially do we pray that from those mighty gods we may, in our quest, gain a knowledge of themselves, so far as such a thing is attainable by men.[b] For we believe that there is nothing more important for man to receive, or more ennobling for God of His grace to grant, than the truth. God gives to men the other things for which they express a desire, but of sense and intelligence He grants them only a share, inasmuch as these are His especial possessions and His sphere of activity. For the Deity is not blessed by reason of his possession of gold and silver,[c] nor strong because of thunder and lightning, but through knowledge and intelligence. Of all the things that Homer said about the gods, he has expressed most beautifully this thought:[d]

Both, indeed, were in lineage one, and of the same country,
Yet was Zeus the earlier born and his knowledge was greater.

Thereby the poet plainly declares that the primacy of Zeus is nobler since it is elder in knowledge and in

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 780 F–781 A and 355 C, *infra*.
[c] *Cf.* Themistius, *Oration* xxxiii. p. 365 B-D.
[d] *Iliad*, xiii. 354; quoted also in *Moralia*, 32 A, and *Life and Writings of Homer*, ii. 114.

τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἣν ὁ θεὸς εἵληχεν, εὔδαιμον εἶναι τὸ τῇ γνώσει μὴ προαπολιπεῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα· τοῦ δὲ γιγνώσκειν τὰ ὄντα καὶ φρονεῖν ἀφαιρεθέντος, οὐ βίον ἀλλὰ χρόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀθανασίαν.

2. Διὸ θειότητος ὄρεξίς ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας μάλιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἔφεσις, ὥσπερ ἀνάληψιν ἱερῶν τὴν μάθησιν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἁγνείας τε πάσης καὶ νεωκορίας ἔργον ὁσιώτερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ κεχαρισμένον, ἣν σὺ θεραπεύεις ἐξαιρέτως σοφὴν καὶ φιλόσοφον οὖσαν,
F ὡς τοὔνομά γε[1] φράζειν ἔοικε, παντὸς μᾶλλον αὐτῇ τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην προσήκουσαν. Ἑλληνικὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἶσίς ἐστι καὶ ὁ Τυφών, ὧν[2] πολέμιος τῇ θεῷ καὶ δι' ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπάτην τετυφωμένος καὶ διασπῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἡ θεὸς συνάγει καὶ συντίθησι καὶ παραδίδωσι τοῖς τελουμένοις, ὡς ἱερώσεως[3] σώφρονι μὲν ἐνδελεχῶς διαίτῃ καὶ βρωμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀφροδισίων
352 ἀποχαῖς κολουούσης[4] τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ φιλήδονον, ἀθρύπτους δὲ καὶ στερρὰς ἐν ἱεροῖς λατρείας ἐθιζούσης ὑπομένειν, ὧν τέλος ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κυρίου καὶ νοητοῦ γνῶσις, ὃν ἡ θεὸς παρακαλεῖ ζητεῖν παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντα καὶ συνόντα. τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ τοὔνομα καὶ σαφῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ

[1] γε Reiske: τε.
[2] ὧν added by Reiske and placed by Bernardakis.
[3] ὡς ἱερώσεως F.C.B. (or perhaps ὁσίως καὶ σωφρονιζομένοις . . . κολουούσαις . . . ἐθιζούσαις): θειώσεως.
[4] κολουούσης] most MSS. have κολουούσαις.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 781 A.
[b] Plutarch is attempting to connect "Isis" with οἶδα, *know*, and "Typhon" with Τυφῶ, *puff up*. See, however, 375 C, *infra*.
[c] *Cf.* 355 E, *infra*.

wisdom. I think also that a source of happiness in the eternal life, which is the lot of God, is that events which come to pass do not escape His prescience. But if His knowledge and meditation on the nature of Existence should be taken away, then, to my mind, His immortality is not living, but a mere lapse of time.[a]

2. Therefore the effort to arrive at the Truth, and especially the truth about the gods, is a longing for the divine. For the search for truth requires for its study and investigation the consideration of sacred subjects, and it is a work more hallowed than any form of holy living or temple service ; and, not least of all, it is well-pleasing to that goddess whom you worship, a goddess exceptionally wise and a lover of wisdom, to whom, as her name at least seems to indicate, knowledge and understanding are in the highest degree appropriate. For Isis is a Greek word,[b] and so also is Typhon, her enemy, who is conceited, as his name implies,[b] because of his ignorance and self-deception. He tears to pieces and scatters to the winds the sacred writings, which the goddess collects and puts together and gives into the keeping of those that are initiated into the holy rites, since this consecration, by a strict regimen and by abstinence from many kinds of food and from the lusts of the flesh, curtails licentiousness and the love of pleasure, and induces a habit of patient submission to the stern and rigorous services in shrines, the end and aim of which is the knowledge of Him who is the First, the Lord of All, the Ideal One.[c] Him does the goddess urge us to seek, since He is near her and with her and in close communion. The name of her shrine also clearly promises knowledge and

(352) γνῶσιν καὶ εἴδησιν τοῦ ὄντος· ὀνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσεῖον ὡς εἰσομένων[1] τὸ ὄν, ἂν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τῆς θεοῦ.

3. Ἔτι πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ, πολλοὶ δὲ Προμηθέως ἱστορήκασιν αὐτὴν θυγατέρα, ὡς[2] τὸν[3] μὲν ἕτερον σοφίας καὶ προνοίας, Ἑρμῆν δὲ γραμ-
B ματικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εὑρετὴν νομίζοντες. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν[4] Ἑρμοῦ πόλει Μουσῶν τὴν προτέραν Ἶσιν ἅμα καὶ Δικαιοσύνην καλοῦσι, σοφὴν οὖσαν,[5] ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ δεικνύουσαν τὰ θεῖα τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεροστόλοις προσαγορευομένοις. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον περὶ θεῶν πάσης καθαρεύοντα δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ περιεργίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες ὥσπερ ἐν κίστῃ καὶ περι-
στέλλοντες, τὰ μὲν μέλανα καὶ σκιώδη τὰ δὲ φανερὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ τῆς περὶ θεῶν ὑποδηλοῦντες[6] οἰήσεως, οἷα καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἀποφαίνεται. διὸ καὶ τὸ κοσμεῖσθαι τούτοις τοὺς ἀποθανόντας Ἰσιακοὺς σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἶναι
C μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ἔχοντας, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν, ἐκεῖ βαδίζειν. οὔτε γὰρ φιλοσόφους πωγωνοτροφίαι, ὦ Κλέα, καὶ τριβωνοφορίαι ποιοῦσιν, οὔτ' Ἰσιακοὺς αἱ λινοστολίαι καὶ ξυρήσεις[7]· ἀλλ' Ἰσιακός

[1] εἰσομένων Baxter: εἰσόμενον.
[2] ὡς Reiske: ὧν ὃν. [3] τὸν Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.
[4] ἐν added by Baxter.
[5] σοφὴν οὖσαν Baxter: σοφίαν.
[6] ὑποδηλοῦντες one MS. and Meziriacus: ὑποδηλοῦντα.
[7] ξυρήσεις Reiske: ξύρησις.

---

[a] As if derived from οἶδα, *know*, and ὄν, *being*.
[b] *Cf.* 355 F, *infra*.
[c] *Cf.* 365 F, *infra*, and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, i. 106. 1, 21 (p. 382, Potter).

comprehension of reality; for it is named Iseion,[a] to indicate that we shall comprehend reality if in a reasonable and devout frame of mind we pass within the portals of her shrines.

3. Moreover, many writers have held her to be the daughter of Hermes,[b] and many others the daughter of Prometheus,[c] because of the belief that Prometheus is the discoverer of wisdom and forethought, and Hermes the inventor of grammar and music. For this reason they call the first of the Muses at Hermopolis Isis as well as Justice: for she is wise, as I have said,[d] and discloses the divine mysteries to those who truly and justly have the name of "bearers of the sacred vessels" and "wearers of the sacred robes." These are they who within their own soul, as though within a casket, bear the sacred writings about the gods clear of all superstition and pedantry; and they cloak them with secrecy, thus giving intimations, some dark and shadowy, some clear and bright, of their concepts about the gods, intimations of the same sort as are clearly evidenced in the wearing of the sacred garb.[e] For this reason, too, the fact that the deceased votaries of Isis are decked with these garments is a sign that these sacred writings accompany them, and that they pass to the other world possessed of these and of naught else. It is a fact, Clea, that having a beard and wearing a coarse cloak does not make philosophers, nor does dressing in linen and shaving the hair make votaries of Isis; but the true votary of Isis

[d] *Supra*, 351 F.

[e] *Cf.* Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 754 (not included in the third edition), or *Altertümer von Pergamon*, viii. 2, p. 248, no. 326; also *Moralia*, 382 C.

(352) ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ τὰ δεικνύμενα καὶ δρώμενα περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους, ὅταν[1] νόμῳ παραλάβῃ,[2] λόγῳ ζητῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας.

4. Ἐπεὶ τούς γε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸ κοινότατον τοῦτο καὶ σμικρότατον λέληθεν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὰς τρίχας οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀποτίθενται καὶ λινᾶς ἐσθῆτας φοροῦσιν· οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως φροντίζουσιν εἰδέναι
D περὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐρίων ὥσπερ τῶν κρεῶν σεβομένους τὸ πρόβατον ἀπέχεσθαι λέγουσι, ξυρεῖσθαι[3] δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τὸ πένθος, φορεῖν δὲ τὰ λινᾶ διὰ τὴν χρόαν, ἣν τὸ λίνον ἀνθοῦν ἀνίησι τῇ περιεχούσῃ τὸν κόσμον αἰθερίῳ χαροπότητι προσεοικυῖαν. ἡ δ' ἀληθὴς αἰτία μία πάντων ἐστί· "καθαροῦ γάρ," ᾗ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "οὐ θεμιτὸν ἅπτεσθαι μὴ καθαρῷ·" περίττωμα δὲ τροφῆς καὶ σκύβαλον οὐδὲν ἁγνὸν οὐδὲ καθαρόν ἐστιν· ἐκ δὲ περιττωμάτων ἔρια καὶ λάχναι καὶ τρίχες καὶ ὄνυχες ἀναφύονται καὶ βλαστάνουσι. γελοῖον οὖν
E ἦν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν τρίχας ἐν ταῖς ἁγνείαις ἀποτίθεσθαι ξυρουμένους[4] καὶ λειαινομένους πᾶν ὁμαλῶς τὸ σῶμα, τὰς δὲ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀμπέχεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡσίοδον οἴεσθαι δεῖ λέγοντα

[1] ὅταν] ἅττ' ἂν Bentley.
[2] παραλάβῃ Aldine: παραβάλῃ.
[3] ξυρεῖσθαι should probably be always read in Plutarch (*e.g.* 180 B) instead of ξύρειν or ξυρᾶν: ξύρεσθαι.
[4] ξυρουμένους] also ξυρωμένους.

is he who, when he has legitimately received what is set forth in the ceremonies connected with these gods, uses reason in investigating and in studying the truth contained therein.

4. It is true that most people are unaware of this very ordinary and minor matter : the reason why the priests remove their hair and wear linen garments.[a] Some persons do not care at all to have any knowledge about such things, while others say that the priests, because they revere the sheep,[b] abstain from using its wool, as well as its flesh ; and that they shave their heads as a sign of mourning, and that they wear their linen garments because of the colour which the flax displays when in bloom, and which is like to the heavenly azure which enfolds the universe. But for all this there is only one true reason, which is to be found in the words of Plato[c] : " for the Impure to touch the Pure is contrary to divine ordinance." No surplus left over from food and no excrementitious matter is pure and clean ; and it is from forms of surplus that wool, fur, hair, and nails originate and grow.[d] So it would be ridiculous that these persons in their holy living should remove their own hair by shaving and making their bodies smooth all over,[e] and then should put on and wear the hair of domestic animals. We should believe that when Hesiod[f] said,

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 37 and 81.

[b] In Saïs and Thebaïs according to Strabo, xvii. 40 (p. 812).

[c] *Phaedo*, 67 B ; *cf. Moralia*, 108 D.

[d] *Cf.* Apuleius, *Apology*, chap. 26.

[e] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 37.

[f] *Works and Days*, 742-743. The meaning of these somewhat cryptic lines is, of course, that one should not pare one's nails at table; *cf.* also *Moralia*, ed. Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 90.

μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόζοιο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
αὖον ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνειν αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ,

διδάσκειν ὅτι δεῖ καθαροὺς τῶν τοιούτων γενομένους ἑορτάζειν, οὐκ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἱερουργίαις χρῆσθαι καθάρσει καὶ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν περιττωμάτων. τὸ δὲ λίνον φύεται μὲν ἐξ ἀθανάτου τῆς γῆς
F καὶ καρπὸν ἐδώδιμον ἀναδίδωσι, λιτὴν δὲ παρέχει καὶ καθαρὰν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τῷ σκέποντι μὴ βαρύνουσαν, εὐάρμοστον δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὥραν, ἥκιστα δὲ φθειροποιόν, ὡς λέγουσι· περὶ ὧν ἕτερος λόγος.

5. Οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς οὕτω δυσχεραίνουσι τὴν τῶν περιττωμάτων φύσιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παραιτεῖσθαι τῶν ὀσπρίων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν κρεῶν τὰ μήλεια καὶ ὕεια, πολλὴν ποιοῦντα περίττωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλας τῶν σιτίων ἐν ταῖς ἁγνείαις ἀφαιρεῖν, ἄλλας τε πλείονας αἰτίας ἔχοντας καὶ τὸ[1] ποτικωτέρους καὶ βρωτικωτέρους ποιεῖν ἐπιθήγοντας τὴν ὄρεξιν. τὸ γάρ, ὡς Ἀρισταγόρας ἔλεγε, διὰ τὸ πηγνυμένοις πολλὰ τῶν μικρῶν ζῴων ἐναποθνῄσκειν ἁλισκόμενα μὴ καθαροὺς λογίζεσθαι τοὺς ἄλας εὔηθές ἐστι.

353 Λέγονται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἆπιν ἐκ φρέατος ἰδίου ποτίζειν, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου παντάπασιν ἀπείργειν, οὐ μιαρὸν ἡγούμενοι[2] τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τὸν κροκόδειλον, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τίμιον[3] Αἰγυπτίοις ὡς ὁ Νεῖλος· ἀλλὰ πιαίνειν δοκεῖ καὶ

[1] τὸ added by Wyttenbach.
[2] ἡγούμενοι Markland: ἡγουμένους.
[3] τίμιον Reiske: τιμὴ.

[a] Plutarch touches briefly on this subject in *Moralia*, 642 c.

Cut not the sere from the green when you honour the gods
with full feasting,
Paring with glittering steel the member that hath the five
branches,

he was teaching that men should be clean of such things when they keep high festival, and they should not amid the actual ceremonies engage in clearing away and removing any sort of surplus matter. But the flax springs from the earth which is immortal ; it yields edible seeds, and supplies a plain and cleanly clothing, which does not oppress by the weight required for warmth. It is suitable for every season and, as they say, is least apt to breed lice ; but this topic is treated elsewhere.[a]

5. The priests feel such repugnance for things that are of a superfluous nature that they not only eschew most legumes, as well as mutton and pork,[b] which leave a large residuum, but they also use no salt[c] with their food during their periods of holy living. For this they have various other reasons, but in particular the fact that salt, by sharpening the appetite, makes them more inclined to drinking and eating. To consider salt impure, because, as Aristagoras has said, when it is crystallizing many minute creatures are caught in it and die there, is certainly silly.

It is said also that they water the Apis from a well of his own, and keep him away from the Nile altogether, not that they think the water unclean because of the crocodile, as some believe ; for there is nothing which the Egyptians hold in such honour as the Nile. But the drinking of the Nile water is

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 37, and *Moralia*, 286 E.

[c] *Cf. infra*, 363 E ; *Moralia*, 684 F, 729 A ; and Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii. 4. 4.

(353) μάλιστα πολυσαρκίαν ποιεῖν τὸ Νειλῷον ὕδωρ πινόμενον. οὐ βούλονται δὲ τὸν Ἆπιν οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' εὐσταλῆ καὶ κοῦφα ταῖς ψυχαῖς περικεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα καὶ μὴ πιέζειν μηδὲ καταθλίβειν ἰσχύοντι τῷ θνητῷ καὶ βαρύνοντι τὸ θεῖον.

6. Οἶνον δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει θεραπεύοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐκ εἰσφέρουσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν,
B ὡς οὐ προσῆκον ἡμέρας[1] πίνειν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως ἐφορῶντος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι[2] χρῶνται μὲν ὀλίγῳ δέ. πολλὰς δ' ἀοίνους ἁγνείας ἔχουσιν, ἐν αἷς φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ μανθάνοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὰ θεῖα διατελοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ μετρητὸν ἔπινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ἱστόρηκεν, ἱερεῖς ὄντες· ἤρξαντο δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου, πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἔπινον οἶνον οὐδ'
C ἔσπενδον ὡς φίλιον θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς αἷμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτὲ τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐξ ὧν οἴονται πεσόντων καὶ τῇ γῇ συμμιγέντων ἀμπέλους γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τὸ μεθύειν ἔκφρονας ποιεῖν[3] καὶ παραπλήγας, ἅτε δὴ τῶν προγόνων τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπιπλαμένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γῆς[4] Περιόδου λέγεσθαί φησιν οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων.

[1] ἡμέρας] ἱερέας Moser; ὑπηρέτας Michael, but *cf.* Diogenes Laertius, viii. 19 οἴνου δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ γεύεσθαι.
[2] ἄλλοι] ἄλλοτε E. Capps.
[3] ποιεῖν Markland: ποιεῖ.
[4] Γῆς Pantazides: τῆς.

---

[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 10.
[b] *Cf.* Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 97 and 98, who says that the Pythagoreans would have nothing to do with

reputed to be fattening and to cause obesity.[a] They do not want Apis to be in this condition, nor themselves either ; but rather they desire that their bodies, the encasement of their souls, shall be well adjusted and light, and shall not oppress and straiten the divine element by the predominance and preponderance of the mortal.

6. As for wine, those who serve the god in Heliopolis bring none at all into the shrine, since they feel that it is not seemly to drink in the day-time while their Lord and King is looking upon them.[b] The others use wine, but in great moderation. They have many periods of holy living when wine is prohibited, and in these they spend their time exclusively in studying, learning, and teaching religious matters. Their kings also were wont to drink a limited quantity[c] prescribed by the sacred writings, as Hecataeus[d] has recorded ; and the kings are priests. The beginning of their drinking dates from the reign of Psammetichus ; before that they did not drink wine nor use it in libation as something dear to the gods, thinking it to be the blood of those who had once battled against the gods, and from whom, when they had fallen and had become commingled with the earth, they believed vines to have sprung. This is the reason why drunkenness drives men out of their senses and crazes them, inasmuch as they are then filled with the blood of their forbears. These tales Eudoxus says in the second book of his *World Travels* are thus related by the priests.

wine in the day-time. See also the critical note on the opposite page.

[c] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 70. 11.

[d] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ii. p. 153, Hecataeus no. B 11.

(353) 7. Ἰχθύων δὲ θαλαττίων πάντες μὲν οὐ πάντων ἀλλ' ἐνίων ἀπέχονται, καθάπερ Ὀξυρυγχῖται τῶν ἀπ' ἀγκίστρου· σεβόμενοι γὰρ τὸν ὀξύρυγχον ἰχθὺν δεδίασι μή ποτε τὸ ἄγκιστρον οὐ καθαρόν ἐστιν ὀξυρύγχου περιπεσόντος αὐτῷ. Συηνῖται δὲ φάγρου· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιόντι τῷ Νείλῳ συν-
D επιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἀσμένοις φράζειν αὐτάγγελος ὁρώμενος. οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς ἀπέχονται πάντων· πρώτου δὲ μηνὸς ἑνάτῃ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ἑκάστου πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας ὀπτὸν ἰχθὺν κατεσθίοντος, οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐ γεύονται μὲν κατακαίουσι δὲ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοὺς ἰχθῦς δύο λόγους ἔχοντες, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν καὶ περιττὸν αὖθις ἀναλήψομαι, συνάδοντα τοῖς περὶ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Τυφῶνος ὁσίως φιλοσοφουμένοις· ὁ δ' ἐμφανὴς καὶ πρόχειρος οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον οὐδ' ἀπερίεργον[1] ὄψον ἀποφαίνων[2] τὸν ἰχθύν, Ὁμήρῳ μαρτυρεῖ μήτε Φαίακας τοὺς ἁβροβίους μήτε τοὺς Ἰθακησίους
E ἀνθρώπους νησιώτας ἰχθύσι χρωμένους ποιοῦντι μήτε τοὺς Ὀδυσσέως ἑταίρους ἐν πλῷ τοσούτῳ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ πρὶν εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐλθεῖν ἀπορίαν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ πύους[3] ἡγοῦνται καὶ

[1] οὐδ' ἀπερίεργον Bentley : οὐδὲ περίεργον.
[2] ἀποφαίνων Baxter : ἀποφαίνειν. [3] πύους F.C.B. : πυρὸς.

---

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 37.

[b] *Cf.* Strabo, xvii. 1. 40 (p. 812); Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 46; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, ii. 39. 5 (p. 34 Potter); also 358 B and 380 B, *infra*.

[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 19.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 729 A.

[e] Plutarch does not explain this elsewhere (*cf.* 363 E, *infra*), but the reason may be that given by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, vii. 6. 34. 1 (p. 850 Potter), that fish do not breathe the same air as other living creatures.

7. As for sea-fish, all Egyptians do not abstain from all of them,[a] but from some kinds only ; as, for example, the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus abstain from those that are caught with a hook[b] ; for, inasmuch as they revere the fish called oxyrhynchus (the pike), they are afraid that the hook may be unclean, since an oxyrhynchus may have been caught with it. The people of Syenê abstain from the phagrus[c] (the sea-bream) ; for this fish is reputed to appear with the oncoming of the Nile, and to be a self-sent messenger, which, when it is seen, declares to a glad people the rise of the river. The priests, however, abstain from all fish ; and on the ninth day of the first month, when every one of the other Egyptians eats a broiled fish in front of the outer door of his house, the priests do not even taste the fish, but burn them up in front of their doors.[d] For this practice they have two reasons, one of which is religious and curious, and I shall discuss it at another time,[e] since it harmonizes with the sacred studies touching Osiris and Typhon ; the other is obvious and commonplace, in that it declares that fish is an unnecessary and superfluous food, and confirms the words of Homer, who, in his poetry, represents neither the Phaeacians, who lived amid a refined luxury, nor the Ithacans, who dwelt on an island, as making any use of fish, nor did even the companions of Odysseus, while on such a long voyage and in the midst of the sea, until they had come to the extremity of want.[f] In fine, these people hold the sea to be derived from purulent

[f] Homer, *Od.* iv. 369 and xii. 332. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 730 C, D. The facts are as stated, but the deduction that fishing was despised in Homeric times is not warranted.

παρωρισμένην οὐδὲ μέρος οὐδὲ στοιχεῖον ἀλλ' ἀλλοῖον[1] περίττωμα διεφθορὸς καὶ νοσῶδες.

8. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλογον οὐδὲ μυθῶδες οὐδ' ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἐγκατεστοιχειοῦτο ταῖς[2] ἱερουργίαις, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἠθικὰς ἔχοντα καὶ χρειώδεις αἰτίας, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἄμοιρα κομψότητος ἱστορικῆς ἢ φυσικῆς ἐστιν, οἷον τὸ
F περὶ κρομμύου. τὸ γὰρ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τρόφιμον Δίκτυν που[3] κρομμύων ἐπιδραττόμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὅτι τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθηλέναι πέφυκεν. ἔστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὔθ' ἁγνεύουσιν οὔθ' ἑορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψῆν, τοῖς δ' ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ὖν ἀνίερον ζῷον ἡγοῦνται· ὡς μάλιστα γὰρ ὀχεύεσθαι δοκεῖ τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης, καὶ τῶν τὸ γάλα πινόντων ἐξανθεῖ τὰ
354 σώματα λέπραν καὶ ψωρικὰς τραχύτητας. τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃν θύοντες ἅπαξ[4] ὖν ἐν πανσελήνῳ καὶ ἐσθίοντες[5] ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Τυφὼν ὖν διώκων πρὸς τὴν πανσέληνον εὗρε τὴν ξυλίνην σορόν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἔκειτο, καὶ διέρριψεν,

[1] ἀλλ' ἀλλοῖον] ἀλλ' οἷον Bases, but see 729 B where ἀλλότριον stands in the parallel passage.
[2] ταῖς added by Wyttenbach.
[3] που F.C.B.: οὐ.
[4] ἅπαξ] ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους Squire from Ael. *H.A.* x. 16.
[5] καὶ ἐσθίοντες Bentley: κατεσθίοντες.

matter, and to lie outside the confines of the world and not to be a part of it or an element, but a corrupt and pestilential residuum of a foreign nature.[a]

8. Nothing that is irrational or fabulous or prompted by superstition, as some believe, has ever been given a place in their rites, but in them are some things that have moral and practical values, and others that are not without their share in the refinements of history or natural science, as, for example, that which has to do with the onion. For the tale that Dictys, the nurseling of Isis, in reaching for a clump of onions, fell into the river and was drowned is extremely incredible. But the priests keep themselves clear of the onion[b] and detest it and are careful to avoid it, because it is the only plant that naturally thrives and flourishes in the waning of the moon. It is suitable for neither fasting nor festival, because in the one case it causes thirst and in the other tears for those who partake of it.

In like manner they hold the pig to be an unclean animal,[c] because it is reputed to be most inclined to mate in the waning of the moon, and because the bodies of those who drink its milk break out with leprosy and scabrous itching.[d] The story which they relate at their only sacrifice and eating of a pig at the time of the full moon, how Typhon, while he was pursuing a boar by the light of the full moon, found the wooden coffin in which lay the body of Osiris, which he rent to pieces and scattered,[e] they do not

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 729 B.
[b] *Cf.* Aulus Gellius, xx. 8.
[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 47.
[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 670 F; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 16; Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 4.
[e] *Cf.* 358 A, *infra*.

(354) οὐ πάντες ἀποδέχονται, παρακουσμάτιον[1] ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ νομίζοντες.

Ἀλλὰ τρυφήν τε καὶ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν οὕτω προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς λέγουσιν, ὥστε καὶ στήλην ἔφασαν[2] ἐν Θήβαις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κεῖσθαι κατάρας ἐγγεγραμμένας ἔχουσαν κατὰ Μείνιος τοῦ
B βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίους τῆς ἁπλούτου καὶ ἀχρημάτου καὶ λιτῆς ἀπήλλαξε διαίτης. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Τέχνακτις ὁ Βοκχόρεως πατὴρ στρατεύων ἐπ' Ἄραβας, τῆς ἀποσκευῆς βραδυνούσης, ἡδέως τῷ προστυχόντι σιτίῳ χρησάμενος, εἶτα κοιμηθεὶς βαθὺν ὕπνον ἐπὶ στιβάδος, ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν εὐτέλειαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταράσασθαι τῷ Μείνι,[3] καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπαινεσάντων στηλιτεῦσαι τὴν κατάραν.

9. Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ τῶν μαχίμων, τοῦ μὲν δι' ἀνδρείαν τοῦ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος. ὁ δ' ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεδειγμένος εὐθὺς ἐγίγνετο τῶν
C ἱερέων καὶ μετεῖχε τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἐπικεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις ἀμυδρὰς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παραδηλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς

[1] παρακουσμάτιον Xylander: παρακουσμάτων.
[2] ἔφασαν] ἔστησαν Sieveking, omitting κεῖσθαι.
[3] Μείνι Baxter: Μεινίῳ.

[a] Usually known as Menes. The name is variously written by Greek authors as Min, Minaeus, Meneus, Menas. According to tradition he was the first king of Egypt. His reign is put *circa* 3500 or 3400 B.C. *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 4. In Diodorus, i. 45, is found this same story.

[b] Tefnakhte (also spelled Tnephachthos or Tnephachtho by Greek writers), after much fighting, made himself king of Lower Egypt *circa* 725 B.C.

all accept, believing it to be a misrepresentation, even as many other things are.

Moreover, they relate that the ancient Egyptians put from them luxury, lavishness, and self-indulgence, to such a degree that they used to say that there was a pillar standing in the temple at Thebes which had inscribed upon it curses against Meinis,[a] their king, who was the first to lead the Egyptians to quit their frugal, thrifty, and simple manner of living. It is said also that Technactis,[b] the father of Bocchoris,[c] when he was leading his army against the Arabians, because his baggage was slow in arriving, found pleasure in eating such common food as was available, and afterwards slept soundly on a bedding of straw, and thus became fond of frugal living ; as the result, he invoked a curse on Meinis, and, with the approval of the priests, had a pillar set up with the curse inscribed upon it.

9. The kings were appointed from the priests or from the military class, since the military class had eminence and honour because of valour, and the priests because of wisdom. But he who was appointed from the military class was at once made one of the priests and a participant in their philosophy, which, for the most part, is veiled in myths and in words containing dim reflexions and adumbrations of the truth, as they themselves intimate beyond question by appropriately placing sphinxes[d] before their

[c] Bekneranef, king of Egypt *circa* 718–712 B.C., was, according to Greek tradition, a wise and just ruler. An apocryphal story about him may be found in Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 3.

[d] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 5. 31, chap. 5 (p. 664 Potter).

(354) σφίγγας ἐπιεικῶς ἱστάντες, ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης. τὸ δ' ἐν Σάει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν[1] καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν, ἔδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην "ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν."

Ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἀμοῦν (ὃ παράγοντες ἡμεῖς Ἄμμωνα λέγομεν), Μανεθὼς μὲν
D ὁ Σεβεννύτης[2] τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἴεται καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης δηλοῦσθαι τῆς φωνῆς· Ἑκαταῖος δ' ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷ ῥήματι χρῆσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τινὰ προσκαλῶνται· προσκλητικὴν γὰρ εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. διὸ τὸν πρῶτον θεόν, ὃν[3] τῷ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὄντα προσκαλούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, Ἀμοῦν λέγουσιν· ἡ μὲν οὖν εὐλάβεια τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίας Αἰγυπτίων τοσαύτη ἦν.

10. Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφώ-
E τατοι, Σόλων Θαλῆς Πλάτων Εὔδοξος Πυθαγόρας, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι, καὶ Λυκοῦργος, εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ συγγενόμενοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Εὔδοξον μὲν οὖν Χονούφεώς φασι Μεμφίτου διακοῦσαι, Σόλωνα δὲ Σόγχιτος Σαΐτου, Πυθαγόραν δ' Οἰνούφεως Ἡλιοπολίτου. μάλιστα δ' οὗτος,
F ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τοὺς ἄνδρας

[1] ἣν Aldine ed.: ὃ ἦν.
[2] Σεβεννύτης] often written σεβεννίτης.
[3] ὃν added by Bentley.

shrines to indicate that their religious teaching has in it an enigmatical sort of wisdom. In Saïs the statue of Athena, whom they believe to be Isis, bore the inscription : " I am all that has been, and is, and shall be, and my robe no mortal has yet uncovered."

Moreover, most people believe that Amoun is the name given to Zeus in the land of the Egyptians,[a] a name which we, with a slight alteration, pronounce Ammon. But Manetho of Sebennytus thinks that the meaning " concealed " or " concealment " lies in this word. Hecataeus [b] of Abdera, however, says that the Egyptians use this expression one to another whenever they call to anyone, for the word is a form of address. When they, therefore, address the supreme god, whom they believe to be the same as the Universe, as if he were invisible and concealed, and implore him to make himself visible and manifest to them, they use the word " Amoun " ; so great, then, was the circumspection of the Egyptians in their wisdom touching all that had to do with the gods.

10. Witness to this also are the wisest of the Greeks : Solon, Thales, Plato, Eudoxus, Pythagoras, who came to Egypt and consorted with the priests [c] ; and in this number some would include Lycurgus also. Eudoxus, they say, received instruction from Chonuphis of Memphis, Solon from Sonchis of Saïs, and Pythagoras from Oenuphis of Heliopolis. Pythagoras, as it seems, was greatly admired, and he also greatly admired the Egyptian priests, and, copying

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 42.

[b] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Hecataeus (60), No. B, 8.

[c] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 96 and 98 ; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, i. 69. 1, chap. 15 (p. 356 Potter) ; *Moralia*, 578 F, and *Life of Solon*, chap. xxvi. (92 E).

ἀπεμιμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριώδες, ἀναμείξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα· τῶν γὰρ καλουμένων ἱερογλυφικῶν γραμμάτων οὐδὲν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷόν ἐστι τό "μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρου" "μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικος καθῆσθαι" "μηδὲ φοίνικα φυτοτομεῖν"[1] "μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ[2] σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ."

Δοκῶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ τὴν μονάδα τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀνομάζειν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὴν δυάδα[3] Ἄρτεμιν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ἑβδομάδα, Ποσειδῶνα δὲ τὸν πρῶτον κύβον, ἐοικέναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἱδρυμένοις καὶ γλυφομένοις[4] νὴ Δία καὶ γραφομένοις. τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὄσιριν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ
355 γράφουσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα διερμηνεύουσι πολυόφθαλμον, ὡς τοῦ μὲν ος̄ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ δ' ιρῑ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν Αἰγυπτίᾳ γλώττῃ φράζοντος[5] τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ὡς ἀγήρων δι' ἀιδιότητα καρδίᾳ θυῶν[6] ἐσχάρας ὑποκειμένης. ἐν δὲ Θήβαις εἰκόνες ἦσαν ἀνακείμεναι δικαστῶν ἄχειρες, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ καταμύουσα τοῖς ὄμμασιν, ὡς ἄδωρον ἅμα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνέντευκτον οὖσαν.

Τοῖς δὲ μαχίμοις κάνθαρος ἦν γλυφὴ σφραγῖδος·

[1] φυτοτομεῖν F.C.B.: φυτεύειν.
[2] μαχαίρᾳ Bernardakis: μαχαίρῃ.
[3] τὴν δυάδα Squire: δυάδα τὴν.
[4] γλυφομένοις F.C.B.: δρωμένοις.
[5] φράζοντος Baxter: φράζοντες.
[6] θυῶν F.C.B.: θυμόν.

---

[a] For these precepts *cf.* *Moralia*, 12 E-F, and *Life of Numa*, chap. xiv. (69 C); Athenaeus, x. 77 (452 D); Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, chap. xxi. (pp. 131-160); Diogenes Laertius, viii. 17-18.

[b] *Cf.* 365 B, *infra*, and Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ii. 3. 16.

their symbolism and occult teachings, incorporated his doctrines in enigmas. As a matter of fact most of the Pythagorean precepts [a] do not at all fall short of the writings that are called hieroglyphs ; such, for example, as these : " Do not eat upon a stool " ; " Do not sit upon a peck measure " ; " Do not lop off the shoots of a palm-tree [b] " ; " Do not poke a fire with a sword within the house."

For my part, I think also that their naming unity Apollo, duality Artemis, the hebdomad Athena, and the first cube Poseidon,[c] bears a resemblance to the statues and even to the sculptures and paintings with which their shrines are embellished. For their King and Lord Osiris they portray by means of an eye and a sceptre [d]; there are even some who explain the meaning of the name as " many-eyed " [e] on the theory that *os* in the Egyptian language means " many " and *iri* " eye " ; and the heavens, since they are ageless because of their eternity, they portray by a heart with a censer beneath.[f] In Thebes there were set up statues of judges without hands, and the statue of the chief justice had its eyes closed, to indicate that justice is not influenced by gifts or by intercession.[g]

The military class had their seals engraved with the form of a beetle [h] ; for there is no such thing as a

[c] *Cf.*, for example, 381 F and 393 B, *infra*, and Iamblichus, *Comment. in Nichomachi Arithmetica*, 14.

[d] Occasionally found on the monuments; *cf.* 371 E, *infra*.

[e] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 11.

[f] *Cf.* Horapollo, *Hieroglyphics*, i. 22.

[g] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 48. 6.

[h] The Egyptian scarab, or sacred beetle. *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 13 (30).

FUDAN B01010905079887复旦图书馆

(355) οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κάνθαρος θῆλυς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄρσενες. τίκτουσι δὲ τὸν γόνον εἰς σφαιροποίησιν,[1] οὐ τροφῆς μᾶλλον ὕλην ἢ γενέσεως χώραν παρασκευάζοντες.

B 11. Ὅταν οὖν ἃ μυθολογοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀκούσῃς, πλάνας καὶ διαμελισμοὺς καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παθήματα,[2] δεῖ τῶν προειρημένων μνημονεύειν καὶ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι τούτων λέγεσθαι γεγονὸς οὕτω καὶ πεπραγμένον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν κύνα κυρίως Ἑρμῆν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ζῴου τὸ φυλακτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγρυπνον καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον, γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ ἐχθρὸν ὁρίζοντος, ᾗ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῷ λογιωτάτῳ τῶν θεῶν συνοικειοῦσιν.[3] οὐδὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ λωτοῦ νομίζουσι

C βρέφος ἀνίσχειν νεογιλόν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνατολὴν ἡλίου γράφουσι, τὴν ἐξ ὑγρῶν ἡλίου γιγνομένην ἄναψιν αἰνιττόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὠμότατον Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ φοβερώτατον Ὦχον ἀποκτείναντα πολλούς, τέλος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἆπιν ἀποσφάξαντα καὶ καταδειπνήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐκάλεσαν "μάχαιραν," καὶ καλοῦσι μέχρι νῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων, οὐ κυρίως δήπου τὴν οὐσίαν

[1] εἰς σφαιροποίησιν F.C.B.: ὡς σφαιροποιοῦσιν. (τ. γ. ἀφιέντες εἰς ὄνθον ὃν σφαιροποιοῦσιν Pohlenz.)

[2] παθήματα] μαθήματα most MSS.

[3] συνοικειοῦσιν Baxter: κυνικειοῦσιν.

---

[a] *Cf.* 381 A, *infra.* The idea that all beetles are male was very common in antiquity; *cf.*, for example, Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 15; Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv. 9.

[b] They are σκατοφάγοι.

[c] *Cf.* Plato's *Republic*, 375 E, and the note in Adam's edition (Cambridge, 1902).

[d] *Cf.* 368 F and 400 A, *infra.*

female beetle, but all beetles are male.[a] They eject their sperm into a round mass which they construct, since they are no less occupied in arranging for a supply of food [b] than in preparing a place to rear their young.

11. Therefore, Clea, whenever you hear the traditional tales which the Egyptians tell about the gods, their wanderings, dismemberments, and many experiences of this sort, you must remember what has been already said, and you must not think that any of these tales actually happened in the manner in which they are related. The facts are that they do not call the dog by the name Hermes as his proper name, but they bring into association with the most astute of their gods that animal's watchfulness and wakefulness and wisdom, since he distinguishes between what is friendly and what is hostile by his knowledge of the one and his ignorance of the other, as Plato [c] remarks. Nor, again, do they believe that the sun rises as a new-born babe from the lotus, but they portray the rising of the sun in this manner to indicate allegorically the enkindling of the sun from the waters.[d] So also Ochus, the most cruel and terrible of the Persian kings, who put many to death and finally slaughtered the Apis [e] and ate him for dinner in the company of his friends, the Egyptians called the " Sword " ; and they call him by that name even to this day in their list of kings.[f] But manifestly they

[e] The sacred bull.

[f] Both Cambyses and Ochus are said to have killed the sacred bull Apis; *cf.* 368 F, *infra*, and Herodotus, iii. 29, for Cambyses; for Ochus, 363 C, *infra*, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iv. 8. In *De Natura Animalium*, x. 28, Aelian says that both Cambyses and Ochus were guilty of this offence.

(355) αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρόπου τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ κακίαν ὀργάνῳ φονικῷ παρεικάζοντες. οὕτω δὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἀκούσασα καὶ δεχομένη παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὸν μῦθον ὁσίως καὶ φιλο-
D σόφως, καὶ δρῶσα μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ διαφυλάττουσα τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νενομισμένα, τοῦ δ' ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ θεῶν μηδὲν οἰομένη μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς μήτε θύσειν μήτε ποιήσειν[1] κεχαρισμένον, οὐδὲν ἂν[2] ἔλαττον ἀποφεύγοιο[3] κακὸν ἀθεότητος δεισιδαιμονίαν.

12. Λέξεται[4] δ' ὁ μῦθος οὗτος ἐν βραχυτάτοις ὡς ἔνεστι μάλιστα, τῶν ἀχρήστων σφόδρα καὶ περιττῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων.

Τῆς Ῥέας φασὶ κρύφα τῷ Κρόνῳ συγγενομένης αἰσθόμενον ἐπαράσασθαι τὸν Ἥλιον αὐτῇ μήτε μηνὶ μήτ' ἐνιαυτῷ τεκεῖν· ἐρῶντα δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τῆς θεοῦ συνελθεῖν, εἶτα παίξαντα πεττία[5] πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ ἀφελόντα τῶν φώτων ἑκάστου τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἐκ πάντων ἡμέρας πέντε συνελεῖν[6]
E καὶ ταῖς ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπαγαγεῖν,[7] ἃς νῦν ἐπαγομένας Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι καὶ τῶν θεῶν γενεθλίους ἄγουσι. τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τὸν Ὄσιριν

[1] ποιήσειν Dübner: ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς.
[2] ἂν added by F.C.B.
[3] ἀποφεύγοιο F.C.B.: ἀποφεύξοιο.
[4] λέξεται F.C.B.: λέγεται (λεγέσθω Paton; but the copyist evidently exchanged a letter with ἀποφεύγοιο).
[5] πεττία Hatzidakis: πέττια.
[6] συνελείν Xylander: συνελθεῖν.
[7] ἐπαγαγεῖν Reiske: ἐπάγειν.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 164 E, 165 C, 378 A, 379 E.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 429 F; Diodorus, i. 13. 4; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evang.* ii. 1. 1-32.
[c] Plutarch evidently does not reckon the ἕνη καὶ νέα (the

do not mean to apply this name to his actual being; they but liken the stubbornness and wickedness in his character to an instrument of murder. If, then, you listen to the stories about the gods in this way, accepting them from those who interpret the story reverently and philosophically, and if you always perform and observe the established rites of worship, and believe that no sacrifice that you can offer, no deed that you may do will be more likely to find favour with the gods than your belief in their true nature, you may avoid superstition which is no less an evil than atheism.[a]

12. Here follows the story related in the briefest possible words with the omission of everything that is merely unprofitable or superfluous:

They say that the Sun, when he became aware of Rhea's intercourse with Cronus,[b] invoked a curse upon her that she should not give birth to a child in any month or any year; but Hermes, being enamoured of the goddess, consorted with her. Later, playing at draughts with the moon, he won from her the seventieth part of each of her periods of illumination,[c] and from all the winnings he composed five days, and intercalated them as an addition to the three hundred and sixty days. The Egyptians even now call these five days intercalated[d] and celebrate them as the birthdays of the gods. They relate that on the first

day when the old moon changed to the new) as a period of illumination, since the light given by the moon at that time is practically negligible. An intimation of this is given in his *Life of Solon*, chap. xxv. (92 c). *Cf.* also Plato, *Cratylus*, 409 B, and the scholium on Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 1186. One seventieth of 12 lunar months of 29 days each (348 days) is very nearly five days.

[d] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 4.

γενέσθαι, καὶ φωνὴν αὐτῷ τεχθέντι συνεκπεσεῖν ὡς ὁ πάντων[1] κύριος εἰς φῶς πρόεισιν. ἔνιοι δὲ Παμύλην[2] τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρευόμενον[3] ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι διακελευομένην ἀνειπεῖν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μέγας βασιλεὺς εὐεργέτης Ὄσιρις γέγονε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θρέψαι τὸν Ὄσιριν, ἐγχειρίσαντος[4] αὐτῷ τοῦ Κρόνου, καὶ τὴν τῶν Παμυλίων[2] ἑορτὴν αὐτῷ τελεῖσθαι φαλληφορίοις ἐοι-
F κυῖαν. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀρούηριν, ὃν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον Ὧρον ἔνιοι καλοῦσι· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ Τυφῶνα μὴ καιρῷ μηδὲ κατὰ χώραν, ἀλλ' ἀναρρήξαντα πλευρᾷ διὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐξαλέσθαι[5]· τετάρτῃ[6] δὲ τὴν Ἶσιν ἐν πανύγροις γενέσθαι· τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ Νέφθυν, ἣν καὶ Τελευτὴν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Νίκην ὀνομάζουσιν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν ἐξ Ἡλίου καὶ τὸν Ἀρούηριν, ἐκ δ' Ἑρμοῦ τὴν
356 Ἶσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ τὴν Νέφθυν, διὸ καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῶν ἐπαγομένων ἀποφράδα νομίζοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζον οὐδ' ἐθεράπευον αὐτοὺς μέχρι νυκτός. γήμασθαι[7] δὲ τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν Νέφθυν, Ἶσιν δὲ καὶ Ὄσιριν ἐρῶντας ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὑπὸ

[1] ὁ πάντων Reiske: ἁπάντων.

[2] Παμύλην . . . Παμυλίων] Παμμύλην . . . Παμμυλίων L. Dindorf.

[3] ὑδρευόμενον Baxter: ὑδρευομένην (or else αὐτῷ in the fourth line *infra* must be changed to αὐτῇ).

[4] ἐγχειρίσαντος Salmasius: ἐγχειρήσαντος.

[5] ἐξαλέσθαι Reiske: ἐξάλλεσθαι.

[6] τετάρτῃ] τῇ τετάρτῃ to correspond with the other four?

[7] γήμασθαι Xylander: τιμᾶσθαι.

---

[a] What is known about Pamyles (or Paamyles or Pammyles), a Priapean god of the Egyptians, may be found in Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* ii. p. 289. *Cf.* also 365 B, *infra.*

of these days Osiris was born, and at the hour of his birth a voice issued forth saying, "The Lord of All advances to the light." But some relate that a certain Pamyles,[a] while he was drawing water in Thebes, heard a voice issuing from the shrine of Zeus, which bade him proclaim with a loud voice that a mighty and beneficent king, Osiris, had been born; and for this Cronus entrusted to him the child Osiris, which he brought up. It is in his honour that the festival of Pamylia is celebrated, a festival which resembles the phallic processions. On the second of these days Arueris was born whom they call Apollo, and some call him also the elder Horus. On the third day Typhon was born, but not in due season or manner, but with a blow he broke through his mother's side and leapt forth. On the fourth day Isis was born in the regions that are ever moist[b]; and on the fifth Nephthys, to whom they give the name of Finality[c] and the name of Aphroditê, and some also the name of Victory. There is also a tradition that Osiris and Arueris were sprung from the Sun, Isis from Hermes,[d] and Typhon and Nephthys from Cronus. For this reason the kings considered the third of the intercalated days as inauspicious, and transacted no business on that day, nor did they give any attention to their bodies until nightfall. They relate, moreover, that Nephthys became the wife of Typhon[e]; but Isis and Osiris were enamoured of each other[f] and consorted together in

[b] The meaning is doubtful, but Isis as the goddess of vegetation, of the Nile, and of the sea, might very naturally be associated with moisture.

[c] *Cf.* 366 B and 375 B, *infra.*

[d] *Cf.* 352 A, *supra.*

[e] *Cf.* 375 B, *infra.*

[f] *Cf.* 373 B, *infra.*

(356) σκότῳ συνεῖναι. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ τὸν Ἀρούηριν οὕτω γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι πρεσβύτερον Ὧρον ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀπόλλωνα δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων.

13. Βασιλεύοντα δ' Ὄσιριν Αἰγυπτίους μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπόρου βίου καὶ θηριώδους ἀπαλλάξαι καρπούς τε δείξαντα καὶ νόμους θέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ
B θεοὺς διδάξαντα[1] τιμᾶν· ὕστερον δὲ γῆν πᾶσαν ἡμερούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὅπλων δεηθέντα, πειθοῖ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ λόγῳ μετ' ᾠδῆς καὶ πάσης μουσικῆς θελγομένους προσαγόμενον· ὅθεν Ἕλλησι δόξαι Διονύσῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Τυφῶνα δ' ἀπόντος μὲν οὐδὲν νεωτερίζειν, διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἶσιν εὖ μάλα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχουσαν,[2] ἐπανελθόντι δὲ δόλον μηχανᾶσθαι, συνωμότας ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο πεποιημένον καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχοντα βασίλισσαν ἐξ
C Αἰθιοπίας παροῦσαν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀσώ· τοῦ δ' Ὀσίριδος ἐκμετρησάμενον λάθρα τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος λάρνακα καλὴν καὶ κεκοσμημένην περιττῶς εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῇ ὄψει καὶ θαυμασάντων, ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Τυφῶνα μετὰ παιδιᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἐγκατακλιθεὶς[3] ἐξισωθείη,[4] διδόναι δῶρον αὐτῷ τὴν λάρνακα. πειρωμένων δὲ πάντων καθ' ἕκαστον, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐνήρμοττεν, ἐμβάντα τὸν Ὄσιριν κατακλι-

[1] διδάξαντα Markland: δείξαντα.
[2] ἔχουσαν] ἄρχουσαν Markland from Diodorus, i. 17.
[3] ἐγκατακλιθεὶς Markland: ἐγκατακλεισθεὶς.
[4] ἐξισωθείη] ἐξισωθῇ Bernardakis, but the potential use of the optative with a relative is well established.

---

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 13-16.
[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 17. 1-3; 18. 5-6; 20. 3-4.

the darkness of the womb before their birth. Some say that Arueris came from this union and was called the elder Horus by the Egyptians, but Apollo by the Greeks.

13. One of the first acts related of Osiris in his reign was to deliver the Egyptians from their destitute and brutish manner of living.[a] This he did by showing them the fruits of cultivation, by giving them laws, and by teaching them to honour the gods. Later he travelled over the whole earth civilizing it[b] without the slightest need of arms, but most of the peoples he won over to his way by the charm of his persuasive discourse combined with song and all manner of music. Hence the Greeks came to identify him with Dionysus.[c]

During his absence the tradition is that Typhon attempted nothing revolutionary because Isis, who was in control, was vigilant and alert; but when he returned home Typhon contrived a treacherous plot against him and formed a group of conspirators seventy-two in number. He had also the co-operation of a queen from Ethiopia[d] who was there at the time and whose name they report as Aso. Typhon, having secretly measured Osiris's body and having made ready a beautiful chest of corresponding size artistically ornamented, caused it to be brought into the room where the festivity was in progress. The company was much pleased at the sight of it and admired it greatly, whereupon Typhon jestingly promised to present it to the man who should find the chest to be exactly his length when he lay down in it. They all tried it in turn, but no one fitted it; then Osiris got into it and

[a] *Cf.* 362 B, 364 D-F, *infra*, and Herodotus, ii. 42 and 144.
[d] *Cf.* 366 C, *infra*.

(356) θῆναι. τοὺς δὲ συνόντας[1] ἐπιδραμόντας ἐπιρράξαι[2] τὸ πῶμα καὶ τὰ μὲν γόμφοις καταλαβόντας ἔξωθεν τῶν δὲ θερμοῦ μολίβδου[3] καταχεαμένους[4] ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ μεθεῖναι διὰ τοῦ Ταν ιτικοῦ[5] στόματος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὃ διὰ τοῦτο μισητὸν ἔτι νῦν καὶ κατάπτυστον ὀνομάζειν[6] Αἰγυπτίους. ταῦτα δὲ πραχθῆναι λέγουσιν ἑβδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέκα μηνὸς Ἀθύρ, ἐν ᾧ τὸν σκορπίον ὁ ἥλιος διέξεισιν, D ὄγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐκεῖνο[7] βασιλεύοντος Ὀσίριδος. ἔνιοι δὲ βεβιωκέναι φασὶν αὐτόν, οὐ βεβασιλευκέναι χρόνον τοσοῦτον.

14. Πρώτων δὲ τῶν τὸν περὶ Χέμμιν[8] οἰκούντων τόπον Πανῶν καὶ Σατύρων τὸ πάθος αἰσθομένων καὶ λόγον ἐμβαλόντων περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος, τὰς μὲν αἰφνιδίους τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὰς καὶ πτοήσεις ἔτι νῦν διὰ τοῦτο πανικὰς προσαγορεύεσθαι· τὴν δ' Ἶσιν αἰσθομένην κείρασθαι[9] μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν πλοκάμων ἕνα καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὅπου τῇ πόλει[10] μέχρι νῦν ὄνομα Κοπτώ. ἕτεροι δὲ τοὔνομα σημαί- E νειν οἴονται στέρησιν· τὸ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖν "κόπτειν" λέγουσι. πλανωμένην δὲ πάντῃ καὶ ἀποροῦσαν οὐδένα προσελθεῖν[11] ἀπροσαύδητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδαρίοις συντυχοῦσαν ἐρωτᾶν περὶ τῆς λάρνακος· τὰ

[1] *συνόντας*] *συνωμότας* Meziriacus.
[2] *ἐπιρράξαι* Wyttenbach: *ἐπιρρῆξαι*.
[3] *θερμοῦ μολίβδου*] *θερμὸν μόλιβδον* Baxter.
[4] *καταχεαμένους* Bentley: *καταχεαμένων*.
[5] *Ταν ιτικοῦ* Xylander: *ταναϊτικοῦ*.
[6] *ὀνομάζειν*] *νομίζειν* Kontos.
[7] *ἐκεῖνο* Xylander: *ἐκείνου*.
[8] *Χέμμιν* Xylander: *χέννιν*.
[9] *κείρασθαι* van Herwerden: *κείρεσθαι*.
[10] *τῇ πόλει*] *πόλις ᾗ* Reiske.
[11] *προσελθεῖν*] *παρελθεῖν* Meziriacus.

lay down, and those who were in the plot ran to it and slammed down the lid, which they fastened by nails from the outside and also by using molten lead. Then they carried the chest to the river and sent it on its way to the sea through the Tanitic Mouth. Wherefore the Egyptians even to this day name this mouth the hateful and execrable. Such is the tradition. They say also that the date on which this deed was done was the seventeenth day of Athyr,[a] when the sun passes through Scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris ; but some say that these are the years of his life and not of his reign.[b]

14. The first to learn of the deed and to bring to men's knowledge an account of what had been done were the Pans and Satyrs who lived in the region around Chemmis,[c] and so, even to this day, the sudden confusion and consternation of a crowd is called a panic.[d] Isis, when the tidings reached her, at once cut off one of her tresses and put on a garment of mourning in a place where the city still bears the name of Kopto.[e] Others think that the name means deprivation, for they also express " deprive " by means of " koptein."[f] But Isis wandered everywhere at her wits' end ; no one whom she approached did she fail to address, and even when she met some little children she asked them about the chest. As it

[a] November 13. *Cf.* also 366 D and 367 E, *infra.*
[b] *Cf.* 367 F, *infra.*
[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 91 and 156, and Diodorus, i. 18. 2.
[d] *Cf.* E. Harrison, *Classical Review*, vol. xl. pp. 6 ff.
[e] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 23.
[f] The word *kopto*, " strike," " cut," is used in the middle voice in the derived meaning " mourn " (*i.e.* to beat oneself as a sign of mourning). Occasionally the active voice also means " cut off," and from this use Plutarch derives the meaning " deprive."

δὲ τυχεῖν[1] ἑωρακότα καὶ φράσαι τὸ στόμα δι' οὗ τὸ ἀγγεῖον οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Τυφῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἔωσαν. ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν οἴεσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τούτων ὀττεύεσθαι κληδόσι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσι.

Αἰσθομένην δὲ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐρῶντα συγγεγονέναι
F δι' ἄγνοιαν ὡς ἑαυτῇ τὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ τεκμήριον ἰδοῦσαν τὸν μελιλώτινον[2] στέφανον ὃν ἐκεῖνος παρὰ τῇ Νέφθυϊ[3] κατέλιπε, τὸ παιδίον ζητεῖν (ἐκθεῖναι[4] γὰρ εὐθὺς τεκοῦσαν διὰ φόβον τοῦ Τυφῶνος)· εὑρεθὲν δὲ[5] χαλεπῶς καὶ μόγις κυνῶν ἐπαγόντων τὴν Ἶσιν ἐκτραφῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι φύλακα καὶ ὀπαδὸν αὐτῆς Ἄνουβιν προσαγορευθέντα καὶ λεγόμενον τοὺς θεοὺς φρουρεῖν ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

15. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς λάρνακος,
357 ὡς πρὸς τὴν Βύβλου[6] χώραν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐκκυμανθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐρείκῃ τινὶ μαλθακῶς ὁ κλύδων προσέμειξεν· ἡ δ' ἐρείκη κάλλιστον ἔρνος ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδραμοῦσα περιέπτυξε καὶ περιέφυ καὶ ἀπέκρυψεν ἐντὸς ἑαυτῆς· θαυμάσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ φυτοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ περιτεμὼν τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν σορὸν οὐχ ὁρωμένην κόλπον[7] ἔρεισμα

[1] δὲ τυχεῖν Baxter: δ' ἔτυχεν.
[2] ἰδοῦσαν τὸν μελιλώτινον Xylander: ἰδοῦσα τὸν μὲν λάτινον.
[3] τῇ Νέφθυϊ Reiske: τὴν νέφθυν.
[4] ἐκθεῖναι Xylander: ἐκεῖνο.
[5] δὲ added by Squire.
[6] Βύβλου Bentley: Βύβλον.
[7] κόλπον] κορμὸν Salmasius.

---

[a] *Cf.* Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* xxxii. p. 364 D (660 Reiske), and Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 10, *ad fin.*

happened, they had seen it, and they told her the mouth of the river through which the friends of Typhon had launched the coffin into the sea. Wherefore the Egyptians think that little children possess the power of prophecy,[a] and they try to divine the future from the portents which they find in children's words, especially when children are playing about in holy places and crying out whatever chances to come into their minds.

They relate also that Isis, learning that Osiris in his love had consorted with her sister[b] through ignorance, in the belief that she was Isis, and seeing the proof of this in the garland of melilote which he had left with Nephthys, sought to find the child; for the mother, immediately after its birth, had exposed it because of her fear of Typhon. And when the child had been found, after great toil and trouble, with the help of dogs which led Isis to it, it was brought up and became her guardian and attendant, receiving the name of Anubis, and it is said to protect the gods just as dogs protect men.[c]

15. Thereafter Isis, as they relate, learned that the chest had been cast up by the sea near the land of Byblus[d] and that the waves had gently set it down in the midst of a clump of heather. The heather in a short time ran up into a very beautiful and massive stock, and enfolded and embraced the chest with its growth and concealed it within its trunk. The king of the country admired the great size of the plant, and cut off the portion that enfolded the chest (which was now hidden from sight), and used it as a pillar to

[b] Nephthys; *cf.* 366 B, 368 E, and 375 B, *infra.*
[c] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 87. 2.
[d] *Cf.* Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 1. 3.

(357) τῆς στέγης[1] ὑπέστησε. ταῦτά τε πνεύματί φασι δαιμονίῳ φήμης πυθομένην τὴν Ἶσιν εἰς Βύβλον ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ καθίσασαν ἐπὶ κρήνης ταπεινὴν καὶ δεδακρυμένην ἄλλῳ μὲν μηδενὶ προσδιαλέγεσθαι, τῆς δὲ βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπαινίδας ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τήν τε κόμην παραπλέκουσαν αὐτῶν
B καὶ τῷ χρωτὶ θαυμαστὴν εὐωδίαν ἐπιπνέουσαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς. ἰδούσης δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος τὰς θεραπαινίδας, ἵμερον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς ξένης τῶν τε τριχῶν τοῦ τε χρωτὸς ἀμβροσίαν πνέοντος[2]· οὕτω δὲ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν καὶ γενομένην συνήθη ποιήσασθαι τοῦ παιδίου τίτθην. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ Μάλκανδρον εἶναί φασιν, αὐτῇ[3] δ' οἱ μὲν Ἀστάρτην[4] οἱ δὲ Σάωσιν οἱ δὲ Νεμανοῦν, ὅπερ ἂν Ἕλληνες Ἀθηναΐδα προσείποιεν.[5]

16. Τρέφειν δὲ τὴν Ἶσιν ἀντὶ μαστοῦ τὸν δάκ-
C τυλον εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ παιδίου διδοῦσαν,[6] νύκτωρ δὲ περικαίειν τὰ θνητὰ τοῦ σώματος· αὐτὴν δὲ γενομένην χελιδόνα τῇ κίονι περιπέτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν βασίλισσαν παραφυλάξασαν καὶ ἐκκραγοῦσαν,[7] ὡς εἶδε περικαιόμενον τὸ βρέφος, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτοῦ. τὴν δὲ θεὰν φανερὰν γενομένην αἰτήσασθαι τὴν κίονα τῆς στέγης· ὑφελοῦσαν δὲ ῥᾳστα περικόψαι τὴν ἐρείκην, εἶτα ταύτην μὲν ὀθόνῃ περικαλύψασαν καὶ μύρον

[1] τῆς στέγης] τῇ στέγῃ Madvig.
[2] πνέοντος] ἀποπνέοντος Michael.
[3] αὐτῇ Markland: αὐτὴν.
[4] Ἀστάρτην Basel ed. of 1542: ἀσπάρτην.
[5] προσείποιεν Markland: προσειπεῖν.
[6] τοῦ παιδίου διδοῦσαν] "vel τῷ παιδίῳ vel τιθεῖσαν" Wyttenbach.

support the roof of his house. These facts, they say, Isis ascertained by the divine inspiration of Rumour, and came to Byblus and sat down by a spring, all dejection and tears[a]; she exchanged no word with anybody, save only that she welcomed the queen's maidservants and treated them with great amiability, plaiting their hair for them and imparting to their persons a wondrous fragrance from her own body. But when the queen observed her maidservants, a longing came upon her for the unknown woman and for such hairdressing and for a body fragrant with ambrosia. Thus it happened that Isis was sent for and became so intimate with the queen that the queen made her the nurse of her baby. They say that the king's name was Malcander; the queen's name some say was Astartê, others Saosis, and still others Nemanûs, which the Greeks would call Athenaïs.

16. They relate that Isis nursed the child by giving it her finger to suck instead of her breast, and in the night she would burn away the mortal portions of its body. She herself would turn into a swallow and flit about the pillar with a wailing lament, until the queen who had been watching, when she saw her babe on fire, gave forth a loud cry and thus deprived it of immortality. Then the goddess disclosed herself and asked for the pillar which served to support the roof. She removed it with the greatest ease and cut away the wood of the heather which surrounded the chest; then, when she had wrapped up the wood in a linen cloth and had poured perfume upon it, she

[a] *Cf.* the similar account of Demeter in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (ii.), 98 ff.

[7] ἐκκραγοῦσαν Bentley; ἐγκραγοῦσαν Stephanus: κεκραγοῦσαν.

(357) καταχεαμένην ἐγχειρίσαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σέβεσθαι Βυβλίους τὸ ξύλον ἐν ἱερῷ κείμενον
D Ἴσιδος. τῇ δὲ σορῷ περιπεσεῖν καὶ κωκῦσαι τηλικοῦτον, ὥστε τῶν παίδων τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νεώτερον ἐνθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσαν καὶ τὴν σορὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐνθεμένην ἀναχθῆναι. τοῦ δὲ Φαίδρου ποταμοῦ πνεῦμα τραχύτερον ἐκθρέψαντος ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω, θυμωθεῖσαν ἀναξηρᾶναι τὸ ῥεῖθρον.

17. Ὅπου δὲ πρῶτον ἐρημίας ἔτυχεν, αὐτὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν γενομένην ἀνοῖξαι τὴν λάρνακα, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιθεῖσαν ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δακρύειν· τοῦ δὲ παιδίου σιωπῇ προσελθόντος ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν καὶ καταμανθάνοντος αἰσθομένην μετα-
E στραφῆναι καὶ δεινὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐμβλέψαι. τὸ δὲ παιδίον οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τὸ τάρβος, ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν. οἱ δέ φασιν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' οὗ εἴρηται πλοίου[1] ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἔχει δὲ τιμὰς διὰ τὴν θεόν· ὃν γὰρ ᾄδουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια Μανέρωτα,[2] τοῦτον εἶναι. τινὲς δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα καλεῖσθαι Παλαιστινὸν ἢ Πηλούσιον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι κτισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ· τὸν δ' ᾄδόμενον Μανέρωτα[2] πρῶτον εὑρεῖν μουσικὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὄνομα μὲν οὐδενὸς εἶναι, διάλεκτον δὲ πίνουσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ θαλιάζουσι πρέπουσαν, "αἴσιμα τὰ τοιαῦτα[3]
F παρείη"· τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ Μανέρωτι[2] φραζόμενον ἀνα-

[1] οὗ . . . πλοίου F.C.B.: ὡς . . . τρόπον.

[2] Perhaps Μανερῶτα and Μανερῶτι are to be preferred to the MSS. accent, but the matter is very uncertain.

[3] τὰ τοιαῦτα] ταῦτα Wyttenbach.

[a] At the end of the preceding chapter.

entrusted it to the care of the kings; and even to this day the people of Byblus venerate this wood which is preserved in the shrine of Isis. Then the goddess threw herself down upon the coffin with such a dreadful wailing that the younger of the king's sons expired on the spot. The elder son she kept with her, and, having placed the coffin on board a boat, she put out from land. Since the Phaedrus river toward the early morning fostered a rather boisterous wind, the goddess grew angry and dried up its stream.

17. In the first place where she found seclusion, when she was quite by herself, they relate that she opened the chest and laid her face upon the face within and caressed it and wept. The child came quietly up behind her and saw what was there, and when the goddess became aware of his presence, she turned about and gave him one awful look of anger. The child could not endure the fright, and died. Others will not have it so, but assert that he fell overboard into the sea from the boat that was mentioned above.[a] He also is the recipient of honours because of the goddess; for they say that the Maneros of whom the Egyptians sing at their convivial gatherings is this very child.[b] Some say, however, that his name was Palaestinus or Pelusius, and that the city founded by the goddess was named in his honour. They also recount that this Maneros who is the theme of their songs was the first to invent music. But some say that the word is not the name of any person, but an expression belonging to the vocabulary of drinking and feasting: "Good luck be ours in things like this!", and that this is really the idea expressed

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 79; Pausanias, ix. 29. 3; Athenaeus, 620 A.

φωνεῖν ἑκάστοτε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον αὐτοῖς εἴδωλον ἀνθρώπου τεθνηκότος ἐν κιβωτίῳ περιφερόμενον οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπόμνημα τοῦ περὶ Ὀσίριδος πάθους, ἢ τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλ' θεωμένους[1] παρακαλοῦν[2] αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἀπολαύειν, ὡς πάντας αὐτίκα μάλα τοιούτους ἐσομένους, οὗ χάριν ἐπὶ κῶμον[3] ἐπεισάγουσι.

18. Τῆς δ' Ἴσιδος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Ὧρον ἐν Βούτῳ τρεφόμενον πορευθείσης, τὸ δ' ἀγγεῖον ἐκποδὼν ἀποθεμένης, Τυφῶνα κυνηγετοῦντα νύκτωρ πρὸς
358 τὴν σελήνην ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γνωρίσαντα διελεῖν εἰς τετταρεσκαίδεκα μέρη καὶ διαρρῖψαι· τὴν δ' Ἶσιν πυθομένην ἀναζητεῖν ἐν βάριδι παπυρίνῃ τὰ[4] ἕλη διεκπλέουσαν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν παπυρίνοις σκάφεσι πλέοντας ὑπὸ τῶν κροκοδείλων ἢ φοβουμένων ἢ σεβομένων ἰδίᾳ[5] τὴν θεόν.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς τάφους Ὀσίριδος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ προστυγχάνουσαν ἑκάστῳ μέρει ταφὰς ποιεῖν. οἱ δ' οὔ φασιν, ἀλλ' εἴδωλα ποιουμένην διδόναι[6] καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ὡς τὸ σῶμα
B διδοῦσαν ὅπως παρὰ πλείοσιν ἔχῃ τιμάς, κἂν ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπικρατήσῃ τοῦ Ὥρου, τὸν ἀληθινὸν τάφον

[1] θεωμένους F.C.B., *cf.* 148 A; οἰνωμένους Markland: οἰομένους.
[2] παρακαλοῦν F.C.B.: παρακαλεῖν.
[3] οὗ χάριν ἐπὶ κῶμον] ἄχαριν ἐπίκωμον Emperius.
[4] τὰ Basel ed. of 1542: τὰ δὲ.
[5] ἰδίᾳ F.C.B.: διὰ.
[6] διδόναι] διαδοῦναι Markland.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 148 A; Herodotus, ii. 78; Lucian, *De Luctu*, 21. [b] *Cf.* 366 A, *infra*.

by the exclamation "maneros" whenever the Egyptians use it. In the same way we may be sure that the likeness of a corpse which, as it is exhibited to them, is carried around in a chest, is not a reminder of what happened to Osiris, as some assume; but it is to urge them, as they contemplate it, to use and to enjoy the present, since all very soon must be what it is now and this is their purpose in introducing it into the midst of merry-making.[a]

18. As they relate, Isis proceeded to her son Horus, who was being reared in Buto,[b] and bestowed the chest in a place well out of the way; but Typhon, who was hunting by night in the light of the moon, happened upon it. Recognizing the body he divided it into fourteen parts[c] and scattered them, each in a different place. Isis learned of this and sought for them again, sailing through the swamps in a boat of papyrus.[d] This is the reason why people sailing in such boats are not harmed by the crocodiles, since these creatures in their own way show either their fear or their reverence for the goddess.

The traditional result of Osiris's dismemberment is that there are many so-called tombs of Osiris in Egypt[e]; for Isis held a funeral for each part when she had found it. Others deny this and assert that she caused effigies of him to be made and these she distributed among the several cities, pretending that she was giving them his body, in order that he might receive divine honours in a greater number of cities, and also that, if Typhon should succeed in overpowering Horus, he might despair of ever finding

[a] *Cf.* 368 A, *infra*. Diodorus, i. 21, says sixteen parts.
[b] *Cf.* Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* v. p. 198 B.
[c] *Cf.* 359 A, 365 A, *infra*, and Diodorus, i. 21.

(358) ζητῶν, πολλῶν λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων ἀπαγορεύσῃ.

Μόνον δὲ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ὀσίριδος τὴν Ἶσιν οὐχ εὑρεῖν τὸ αἰδοῖον· εὐθὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιφῆναι καὶ γεύσασθαι τόν τε λεπιδωτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φάγρον καὶ τὸν ὀξύρυγχον, ὅσους[1] μάλιστα τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι[2]· τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ἀντ' ἐκείνου μίμημα ποιησαμένην καθιερῶσαι τὸν φαλλόν, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἑορτάζειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

19. Ἔπειτα τῷ Ὥρῳ τὸν Ὄσιριν ἐξ Ἅιδου παραγενόμενον διαπονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀσκεῖν. εἶτα διερωτῆσαι τί κάλλιστον ἡγεῖται· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, "τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ τιμωρεῖν κακῶς
C παθοῦσιν," δεύτερον ἐρέσθαι τί χρησιμώτατον[3] οἴεται ζῷον εἰς μάχην ἐξιοῦσι· τοῦ δ' Ὥρου "ἵππον"[4] εἰπόντος, ἐπιθαυμάσαι καὶ διαπορῆσαι πῶς οὐ λέοντα μᾶλλον ἀλλ' ἵππον. εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ὧρον ὡς λέων μὲν ὠφέλιμον ἐπιδεομένῳ βοηθείας, ἵππος δὲ φεύγοντα διασπάσαι καὶ καταναλῶσαι τὸν πολέμιον. ἀκούσαντ' οὖν ἡσθῆναι τὸν Ὄσιριν, ὡς ἱκανῶς παρασκευασαμένου τοῦ Ὥρου. λέγεται δ' ὅτι πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὧρον καὶ ἡ παλλακὴ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἀφίκετο Θούηρις. ὄφις
D δέ τις ἐπιδιώκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὧρον κατεκόπη, καὶ νῦν διὰ τοῦτο σχοινίον τι προβάλλοντες εἰς μέσον κατακόπτουσι.

[1] ὅσους F.C.B. (or οὓς ὡς Meziriacus): ὡς οὓς.
[2] ἀφοσιοῦσθαι] ἀφοσιοῦνται Reiske.
[3] χρησιμώτατον Emperius: χρησιμώτερον.
[4] ἵππον] λύκον Benseler.

---

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 21.

[b] *Cf.* 365 c, *infra.*

the true tomb when so many were pointed out to him, all of them called the tomb of Osiris.[a]

Of the parts of Osiris's body the only one which Isis did not find was the male member,[b] for the reason that this had been at once tossed into the river, and the lepidotus, the sea-bream, and the pike had fed upon it[c]; and it is from these very fishes the Egyptians are most scrupulous in abstaining. But Isis made a replica of the member to take its place, and consecrated the phallus,[d] in honour of which the Egyptians even at the present day celebrate a festival.

19. Later, as they relate, Osiris came to Horus from the other world and exercised and trained him for the battle. After a time Osiris asked Horus what he held to be the most noble of all things. When Horus replied, "To avenge one's father and mother for evil done to them," Osiris then asked him what animal he considered the most useful for them who go forth to battle; and when Horus said, "A horse," Osiris was surprised and raised the question why it was that he had not rather said a lion than a horse. Horus answered that a lion was a useful thing for a man in need of assistance, but that a horse served best for cutting off the flight of an enemy and annihilating him. When Osiris heard this he was much pleased, since he felt that Horus had now an adequate preparation. It is said that, as many were continually transferring their allegiance to Horus, Typhon's concubine, Thueris, also came over to him; and a serpent which pursued her was cut to pieces by Horus's men, and now, in memory of this, the people throw down a rope in their midst and chop it up.

[a] *Cf.* Strabo, xvii. 1. 40 (p. 812).
[d] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 22. 6.

(358) Τὴν μὲν οὖν μάχην ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ὧρον· τὸν Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν Ἶσιν δεδεμένον παραλαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λῦσαι καὶ μεθεῖναι· τὸν δ' Ὧρον οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβαλόντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ βασίλειον· Ἑρμῆν δὲ περιθεῖναι βούκρανον αὐτῇ κράνος.

Τοῦ δὲ Τυφῶνος δίκην τῷ Ὥρῳ νοθείας λαχόντος, βοηθήσαντος δὲ[1] τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ[1] τὸν Ὧρον ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν γνήσιον κριθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα δυσὶν
E ἄλλαις μάχαις καταπολεμηθῆναι. τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ἐξ Ὀσιριδος μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν συγγενομένου τεκεῖν ἠλιτόμηνον καὶ ἀσθενῆ τοῖς κάτωθεν γυίοις τὸν Ἁρποκράτην.

20. Ταῦτα σχεδόν ἐστι τοῦ μύθου τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν δυσφημοτάτων ἐξαιρεθέντων, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὧρου διαμελισμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἴσιδος ἀποκεφαλισμόν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, καθ' ἣν μάλιστα νοεῖται τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἀληθῶς πραχθέντα καὶ συμπεσόντα δοξάζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν,

ἀποπτύσαι δεῖ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα[2]

κατ' Αἰσχύλον, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν πρὸς σέ. καὶ γὰρ
F αὐτὴ δυσκολαίνεις τοῖς οὕτω παρανόμους καὶ βαρβάρους δόξας περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔοικε ταῦτα κομιδῇ μυθεύμασιν ἀραιοῖς καὶ διακένοις πλάσμασιν, οἷα ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι καθάπερ οἱ

[1] δὲ and καὶ] Reiske would omit.
[2] στόμα Reiske: τὸ στόμα.

[a] *Cf.* 377 B, *infra.*
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 1026 C, and *De Anima*, i. 6 (in Bernardakis's ed. vol. vii. p. 7).

Now the battle, as they relate, lasted many days and Horus prevailed. Isis, however, to whom Typhon was delivered in chains, did not cause him to be put to death, but released him and let him go. Horus could not endure this with equanimity, but laid hands upon his mother and wrested the royal diadem from her head; but Hermes put upon her a helmet like unto the head of a cow.

Typhon formally accused Horus of being an illegitimate child, but with the help of Hermes to plead his cause it was decided by the gods that he also was legitimate. Typhon was then overcome in two other battles. Osiris consorted with Isis after his death, and she became the mother of Harpocrates, untimely born and weak in his lower limbs.[a]

20. These are nearly all the important points of the legend, with the omission of the most infamous of the tales, such as that about the dismemberment of Horus [b] and the decapitation of Isis. There is one thing that I have no need to mention to you: if they hold such opinions and relate such tales about the nature of the blessed and imperishable (in accordance with which our concept of the divine must be framed) as if such deeds and occurrences actually took place, then

> Much need there is to spit and cleanse the mouth,

as Aeschylus [c] has it. But the fact is that you yourself detest those persons who hold such abnormal and outlandish opinions about the gods. That these accounts do not, in the least, resemble the sort of loose fictions and frivolous fabrications which poets and writers of prose evolve from themselves, after

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, no. 354.

ἀράχναι γεννῶντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπαρχὰς ἀνυποθέτους ὑφαίνουσι καὶ ἀποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰς ἀποριῶν[1] καὶ παθῶν διηγήσεις, συνήσεις αὐτή.[2] καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τὴν ἶριν ἔμφασιν εἶναι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγουσι ποικιλλομένην τῇ πρὸς τὸ νέφος ἀνα-
359 χωρήσει[3] τῆς ὄψεως, οὕτως ὁ μῦθος ἐνταῦθα λόγου τινὸς ἔμφασίς ἐστιν ἀνακλῶντος ἐπ' ἄλλα τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ὑποδηλοῦσιν αἵ τε θυσίαι τὸ πένθιμον ἔχουσαι καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐμφαινόμενον, αἵ τε τῶν ναῶν διαθέσεις πῇ μὲν ἀνειμένων εἰς πτερὰ καὶ δρόμους ὑπαιθρίους καὶ καθαρούς, πῇ δὲ κρυπτὰ καὶ σκότια κατὰ γῆς ἐχόντων στολιστήρια οἰκιδίοις[4] ἐοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς· οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἡ[5] τῶν Ὀσιρείων δόξα, πολλαχοῦ κεῖσθαι λεγομένου τοῦ σώματος·
B τήν τε γὰρ Διοχίτην[6] ὀνομάζεσθαι πολίχνην λέγουσιν, ὡς μόνην τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔχουσαν, ἔν τ' Ἀβύδῳ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ δυνατοὺς μάλιστα θάπτεσθαι, φιλοτιμουμένους ὁμοτάφους εἶναι τοῦ σώματος Ὀσίριδος. ἐν δὲ Μέμφει τρέφεσθαι τὸν Ἆπιν, εἴδωλον ὄντα τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς, ὅπου καὶ τὸ σῶμα κεῖσθαι· καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἱ μὲν ὅρμον ἀγαθῶν ἑρμηνεύουσιν, οἱ δ' ἰδίως[7] τάφον

[1] ἀποριῶν Sieveking and F.C.B.: ἀπορίας.
[2] συνήσεις αὐτή (assuming haplography) or εἴσῃ F.C.B.; οἶσθ' αὐτή Bernardakis; γινώσκεις Sieveking: αὐτῇ.
[3] ἀναχωρήσει] ἀνακλάσει Reiske; ἀναχρώσει Wyttenbach.
[4] οἰκιδίοις F.C.B.; θηκαίοις Bouhier: Θηβαίοις.
[5] ἡ] ἡ περὶ ? E. Capps.
[6] Διοχίτην Holwerda from Steph. Byzantinus: ἐχειτῖνον.
[7] ἰδίως Wyttenbach: ὡς.

---

[a] *Cf.* Strabo, xvii. 1. 28 (p. 804).
[b] *Cf.* 358 A, *supra*, and 365 A, *infra*.

the manner of spiders, interweaving and extending their unestablished first thoughts, but that these contain narrations of certain puzzling events and experiences, you will of yourself understand. Just as the rainbow, according to the account of the mathematicians, is a reflection of the sun, and owes its many hues to the withdrawal of our gaze from the sun and our fixing it on the cloud, so the somewhat fanciful accounts here set down are but reflections of some true tale which turns back our thoughts to other matters; their sacrifices plainly suggest this, in that they have mourning and melancholy reflected in them; and so also does the structure of their temples,[a] which in one portion are expanded into wings and into uncovered and unobstructed corridors, and in another portion have secret vesting-rooms in the darkness under ground, like cells or chapels; and not the least important suggestion is the opinion held regarding the shrines of Osiris, whose body is said to have been laid in many different places.[b] For they say that Diochites [c] is the name given to a small town, on the ground that it alone contains the true tomb; and that the prosperous and influential men among the Egyptians are mostly buried in Abydos, since it is the object of their ambition to be buried in the same ground with the body of Osiris. In Memphis, however, they say, the Apis is kept, being the image of the soul of Osiris,[d] whose body also lies there. The name of this city some interpret as "the haven of the good" and others as meaning properly the "tomb

[c] The introduction of Diochites here is based upon an emendation of a reading found in one MS. only. The emendation is drawn from Stephanus Byzantinus, a late writer on geographical topics.

[d] *Cf.* 362 c and 368 c, *infra*.

(359) Ὀσίριδος. τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φίλαις[1] νησῖδ' ἀγνὴν[2] ἄλλως μὲν ἄβατον ἅπασι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον εἶναι καὶ μηδ' ὄρνιθας ἐπ' αὐτὴν καταίρειν[3] μηδ' ἰχθῦς προσπελάζειν, ἑνὶ δὲ καιρῷ τοὺς ἱερεῖς διαβαίνοντας ἐναγίζειν καὶ καταστέφειν τὸ σῆμα μηδικῆς[4] φυτῷ περισκιαζόμενον, ὑπεραίροντι πάσης ἐλαίας μέγεθος.

C 21. Εὔδοξος δέ, πολλῶν τάφων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λεγομένων, ἐν Βουσίριδι τὸ σῶμα κεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πατρίδα ταύτην γεγονέναι τοῦ Ὀσίριδος· οὐκέτι μέντοι λόγου δεῖσθαι τὴν Ταφόσιριν· αὐτὸ γὰρ φράζειν τοὔνομα ταφὴν Ὀσίριδος. ἐῶ[5] δὲ τομὴν ξύλου καὶ σχίσιν λίνου καὶ χοὰς χεομένας διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν μυστικῶν ἀναμεμεῖχθαι τούτοις. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων[6] οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγέννητοι μηδ' ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ θερα-
D πεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα, καὶ καλεῖσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν Ἶσιδος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σῶθιν, Ὡρίωνα δὲ τὴν Ὥρου,[7] τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον. εἰς δὲ τὰς ταφὰς[8] τῶν τιμωμένων ζῴων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συντεταγμένα

[1] Φίλαις Squire: πύλας or πύλαις.
[2] νησῖδ' ἀγνὴν (dubiously) F.C.B.: νιστιτάνην.
[3] καταίρειν Xylander: καρτερεῖν.
[4] μηδικῆς F.C.B., assuming it to be a variant for περσέας: μηδ' ἴθης or μηθίδης.
[5] ἐῶ Wyttenbach: αἰνῶ.
[6] τούτων] τούτου Baxter.
[7] τὴν Ὥρου Xylander: τὸν ὦρον.
[8] ταφὰς Salmasius: γραφὰς.

---

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 22, and Strabo, xvii. p. 803, which

of Osiris." They also say that the sacred island by Philae [a] at all other times is untrodden by man and quite unapproachable, and even birds do not alight on it nor fishes approach it; yet, at one special time, the priests cross over to it, and perform the sacrificial rites for the dead, and lay wreaths upon the tomb, which lies in the encompassing shade of a persea-[b] tree, which surpasses in height any olive.

21. Eudoxus says that, while many tombs of Osiris are spoken of in Egypt, his body lies in Busiris; for this was the place of his birth; moreover, Taphosiris [c] requires no comment, for the name itself means "the tomb of Osiris." I pass over the cutting of wood,[d] the rending of linen, and the libations that are offered, for the reason that many of their secret rites are involved therein. In regard not only to these gods, but in regard to the other gods, save only those whose existence had no beginning and shall have no end, the priests say that their bodies, after they have done with their labours, have been placed in the keeping of the priests and are cherished there, but that their souls shine as the stars in the firmament, and the soul of Isis is called by the Greeks the Dog-star, but by the Egyptians Sothis,[e] and the soul of Horus is called Orion, and the soul of Typhon the Bear. Also they say that all the other Egyptians pay the agreed assessment for the entombment of the

seem to support the emendation "Philae." Others think that the gates (the MS. reading) of Memphis are meant.

[b] The persea-tree was sacred to Osiris.

[c] *Cf.* Strabo, xvii. 1. 14 (pp. 799 and 800). Tradition varies between Taphosiris and Taposiris, and there may be no "tomb" in the word at all.

[d] *Cf.* 368 A, *infra.*

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 974 F.

(359) τελεῖν, μόνους δὲ μὴ διδόναι τοὺς Θηβαΐδα κατοικοῦντας, ὡς θνητὸν θεὸν οὐδένα νομίζοντας, ἀλλ' ὃν καλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ Κνήφ, ἀγέννητον ὄντα καὶ ἀθάνατον.

22. Πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων λεγομένων καὶ δεικνυμένων, οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι βασιλέων ταῦτα καὶ τυράννων, δι' ἀρετὴν ὑπερφέρουσαν ἢ δύναμιν ἀξίωμα τῆς δόξης[1] θεότητος ἐπιγραψαμένων εἶτα χρησαμένων
E τύχαις, ἔργα καὶ πάθη δεινὰ καὶ μεγάλα διαμνημονεύεσθαι, ῥᾴστῃ μὲν ἀποδράσει τοῦ λόγου χρῶνται καὶ τὸ δύσφημον οὐ φαύλως ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους μεταφέρουσι, καὶ ταύτας[2] ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστορουμένων βοηθείας. ἱστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν Ἑρμῆν τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι γαλεάγκωνα, τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα τῇ χρόᾳ πυρρόν, λευκὸν δὲ τὸν Ὧρον καὶ μελάγχρουν τὸν Ὄσιριν, ὡς τῇ φύσει γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους. ἔτι δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν ὀνομάζουσιν Ὄσιριν, καὶ κυβερνήτην Κάνωβον, οὗ φασιν ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι τὸν ἀστέρα· καὶ τὸ
F πλοῖον, ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες Ἀργώ, τῆς Ὀσίριδος νεὼς εἴδωλον ἐπὶ τιμῇ κατηστερισμένον, οὐ μακρὰν φέρεσθαι τοῦ Ὡρίωνος καὶ τοῦ Κυνός, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὧρου τὸν[3] δ' Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν.

23. Ὀκνῶ δέ, μὴ τοῦτ' ᾖ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν καὶ "πολεμεῖν" οὐ "τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ" (κατὰ Σιμω-

[1] τῆς δόξης F.C.B.: τῇ δόξῃ.
[2] ταύτας] τοιαύτας Michael.
[3] τὸν . . . τὸν Reiske (confirmed by one MS.): τὸ . . . τὸ.

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 84, *ad fin.*, for the great expense often involved.

[b] That is, to die, and thus to lose their claim to divinity; *cf.* 360 B, *infra*. This is common Euhemeristic doctrine.

[c] *Cf.* 363 A and 364 B, *infra*.

animals held in honour,[a] but that the inhabitants of the Theban territory only do not contribute because they believe in no mortal god, but only in the god whom they call Kneph, whose existence had no beginning and shall have no end.

22. Many things like these are narrated and pointed out, and if there be some who think that in these are commemorated the dire and momentous acts and experiences of kings and despots who, by reason of their pre-eminent virtue or might, laid claim to the glory of being styled gods, and later had to submit to the vagaries of fortune,[b] then these persons employ the easiest means of escape from the narrative, and not ineptly do they transfer the disrepute from the gods to men; and in this they have the support of the common traditions. The Egyptians, in fact, have a tradition that Hermes had thin arms and big elbows, that Typhon was red in complexion, Horus white, and Osiris dark,[c] as if they had been in their nature but mortal men. Moreover, they give to Osiris the title of general, and the title of pilot to Canopus, from whom they say that the star derives its name; also that the vessel which the Greeks call Argo, in form like the ship of Osiris, has been set among the constellations in his honour, and its course lies not far from that of Orion and the Dog-star; of these the Egyptians believe that one is sacred to Horus and the other to Isis.

23. I hesitate, lest this be the moving of things immovable[d] and not only "warring against the long years of time," as Simonides[e] has it, but warring, too,

[a] Proverbial: *cf. e.g.* Plato, *Laws*, 684 D.

[c] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii., Simonides, no. 193, and Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, ii. p. 340 in L.C.L.

νίδην) μόνον, " πολλοῖς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἔθνεσι " καὶ γένεσι κατόχοις ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ὁσιότητος, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπόντας[1] ἐξ[2] οὐρανοῦ μεταφέρειν ἐπὶ γῆν ὀνόματα τηλικαῦτα, καὶ τιμὴν καὶ
360 πίστιν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασιν ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως ἐνδεδυκυῖαν ἐξιστάναι καὶ ἀναλύειν, μεγάλας μὲν τῷ ἀθέῳ λεῳ[3] κλισιάδας ἀνοίγοντας καὶ ἐξανθρωπίζοντας[4] τὰ θεῖα, λαμπρὰν δὲ τοῖς Εὐημέρου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου φενακισμοῖς παρρησίαν διδόντας, ὃς αὐτὸς ἀντίγραφα συνθεὶς ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνυπάρκτου μυθολογίας πᾶσαν ἀθεότητα κατασκεδάννυσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς πάντας ὁμαλῶς διαγράφων εἰς ὀνόματα[5] στρατηγῶν καὶ ναυάρχων καὶ βασιλέων ὡς δὴ πάλαι γεγονότων, ἐν δὲ
B Πάγχοντι γράμμασι χρυσοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένων,[6] οἷς οὔτε βάρβαρος οὐδεὶς οὔθ' Ἕλλην, ἀλλὰ μόνος Εὐήμερος, ὡς ἔοικε, πλεύσας εἰς τοὺς μηδαμόθι γῆς γεγονότας μηδ' ὄντας Παγχώους καὶ Τριφύλλους ἐνετετυχήκει.[7]

24. Καίτοι μεγάλαι μὲν ὑμνοῦνται πράξεις ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις Σεμιράμιος, μεγάλαι δὲ[8] Σεσώστριος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· Φρύγες δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῶν ἔργων Μανικὰ καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ Μάνην[9] τινὰ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἔνιοι Μάσδην καλοῦσι· Κῦρος δὲ Πέρσας Μακεδόνας δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὀλίγου

[1] ἀπολιπόντας] ἀπολείποντας Sieveking.
[2] ἐξ] τοῦ ἐξ Baxter.
[3] λεῳ] Λέοντι Pohlenz, omitting καὶ below.
[4] ἐξανθρωπίζοντας Markland: ἐξανθρωπίζοντι or ἐξανθρωπίζοντες.
[5] ὀνόματα Baxter: ὄνομα.
[6] ἀναγεγραμμένων Salmasius: ἀναγεγραμμένοις.

against " many a nation and race of men " who are possessed by a feeling of piety towards these gods, and thus we should not stop short of transplanting such names from the heavens to the earth, and eliminating and dissipating the reverence and faith implanted in nearly all mankind at birth, opening wide the great doors to the godless throng, degrading things divine to the human level, and giving a splendid licence to the deceitful utterances of Euhemerus of Messenê, who of himself drew up copies of an incredible and non-existent mythology,[a] and spread atheism over the whole inhabited earth by obliterating the gods of our belief and converting them all alike into names of generals, admirals, and kings, who, forsooth, lived in very ancient times and are recorded in inscriptions written in golden letters at Panchon, which no foreigner and no Greek had ever happened to meet with, save only Euhemerus. He, it seems, made a voyage to the Panchoans and Triphyllians, who never existed anywhere on earth and do not exist !

24. However, mighty deeds of Semiramis are celebrated among the Assyrians, and mighty deeds of Sesostris in Egypt, and the Phrygians, even to this day, call brilliant and marvellous exploits " manic " because Manes,[b] one of their very early kings, proved himself a good man and exercised a vast influence among them. Some give his name as Masdes. Cyrus led the Persians, and Alexander the Mace-

[a] Doubtless ἡ ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή (*sacra scriptio*) ; see Diodorus, v. 41-46, and vi. 1.

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 94, iv. 45, and W. M. Ramsay, *Mitteilungen des deutsch. arch. Institutes in Athen*, viii. 71.

[7] ἐνετετυχήκει] ἐντετύχηκε Reiske. [8] δὲ Bases : δ' αἱ. [9] Μάνην Salmasius : μάνιν.

(360) δεῖν ἐπὶ πέρας τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας προήγαγον· ἀλλ'
C ὄνομα καὶ μνήμην βασιλέων ἀγαθῶν ἔχουσιν. "εἰ δέ τινες ἐξαρθέντες[1] ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας," ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, "ἅμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ[2] φλεγόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως" ἐδέξαντο θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας καὶ ναῶν ἱδρύσεις, βραχὺν ἤνθησεν ἡ δόξα χρόνον, εἶτα κενότητα καὶ ἀλαζονείαν μετ' ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας προσοφλόντες

ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν,

καὶ νῦν ὥσπερ ἀγώγιμοι δραπέται τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἀποσπασθέντες οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἔχουσιν. ὅθεν Ἀντίγονος
D ὁ γέρων, Ἑρμοδότου τινὸς ἐν ποιήμασιν αὐτὸν "ἡλίου παῖδα καὶ θεόν" ἀναγορεύοντος, "οὐ τοιαῦτά μοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ λασανοφόρος σύνοιδεν." εὖ δὲ καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης Ἀπελλῆν ἐμέμψατο τὸν ζωγράφον, ὅτι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου γράφων εἰκόνα κεραυνὸν ἐνεχείρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ λόγχην, ἧς τὴν δόξαν οὐδὲ εἷς ἀφαιρήσεται χρόνος ἀληθινὴν καὶ ἰδίαν οὖσαν.

25. Βέλτιον οὖν οἱ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Ὄσιριν καὶ Ἶσιν ἱστορούμενα μήτε θεῶν παθήματα μήτ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἶναι
E νομίζοντες, οὓς[3] καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ

[1] ἐξαρθέντες Xylander: ἐξαιρεθέντες.
[2] ἀνοίᾳ Plato: ἀγνοίᾳ.
[3] οὓς Xylander from Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* v. 5: ὡς.

[a] Adapted from Plato, *Laws*, 716 A.
[b] From Empedocles: *cf.* H. Diels, *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, p. 106, Empedocles, no. 2. 4.
[c] Plutarch tells the same story with slight variations in *Moralia*, 182 C

donians, in victory after victory, almost to the ends of the earth ; yet these have only the name and fame of noble kings. "But if some, elated by a great self-conceit," as Plato[a] says, "with souls enkindled with the fire of youth and folly accompanied by arrogance," have assumed to be called gods and to have temples dedicated in their honour, yet has their repute flourished but a brief time, and then, convicted of vain-glory and imposture,

> Swift in their fate, like to smoke in the air, rising upward they flitted,[b]

and now, like fugitive slaves without claim to protection, they have been dragged from their shrines and altars, and have nothing left to them save only their monuments and their tombs. Hence the elder Antigonus, when a certain Hermodotus in a poem proclaimed him to be "the Offspring of the Sun and a god," said, "the slave who attends to my chamber-pot is not conscious of any such thing!"[c] Moreover, Lysippus the sculptor was quite right in his disapproval of the painter Apelles, because Apelles in his portrait of Alexander had represented him with a thunderbolt in his hand, whereas he himself had represented Alexander holding a spear, the glory of which no length of years could ever dim, since it was truthful and was his by right.

25.[d] Better, therefore, is the judgement of those who hold that the stories about Typhon, Osiris, and Isis, are records of experiences of neither gods nor men, but of demigods, whom Plato[e] and Pythagoras[f]

[d] In connexion with chapters 25 and 26 one may well compare 418 D–419 A and 421 C-E, *infra*, and Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* iv. 21–v. 5.

[e] *Cf.* 361 C, *infra.*

[f] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, viii. 32.

Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἑπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις, ἐρρωμενεστέρους μὲν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι λέγουσι καὶ πολὺ[1] τῇ δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέροντας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγὲς οὐδ' ἄκρατον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει[2] καὶ σώματος αἰσθήσει[3] συνειληχός, ἡδονὴν δεχόμενον[4] καὶ πόνον, καὶ ὅσα ταύταις ἐγγενόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον τοὺς δ' ἧττον ἐπιταράττει. γίγνονται γὰρ, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κἀν[5] δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαF φοραὶ καὶ κακίας. τὰ γὰρ Γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικὰ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ᾀδόμενα καὶ Κρόνου[6] τινὲς ἄθεσμοι πράξεις καὶ Πύθωνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα, φυγαί[7] τε Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὀσιριακῶν καὶ Τυφωνικῶν ἄλλων θ' ὧν πᾶσιν[8] ἔξεστιν ἀνέδην μυθολογουμένων ἀκούειν· ὅσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς περικαλυπτόμενα[9] καὶ τελεταῖς ἄρρητα διασῴζεται καὶ ἀθέατα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς, ὅμοιον ἔχει λόγον.

26. Ἀκούομεν δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρου τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς διαφόρως[10] "θεοειδέας" ἑκάστοτε καλοῦντος[11] καὶ
361 "ἀντιθέους" καὶ "θεῶν ἄπο μήδε' ἔχοντας," τῷ

[1] πολὺ Eusebius: πολλῇ.
[2] φύσει . . . αἰσθήσει] φύσεως . . . αἰσθήσεως Baxter.
[3] αἰσθήσει Xylander from Eusebius: αἰσθήσει ἐν.
[4] δεχόμενον (or δεχομένῃ) Eusebius: δεχομένην.
[5] κἀν Hatzidakis: καὶ.
[6] Κρόνου] πολλαὶ Eusebius.
[7] φυγαί Xylander from Eusebius; φθόροι? F.C.B.: φθόγγοι.
[8] πᾶσιν] παρὰ πᾶσιν Eusebius.
[9] περικαλυπτόμενα] παρακαλυπτόμενα Eusebius.
[10] διαφόρως] διαφερόντως Hatzidakis.
[11] καλοῦντος added by Reiske.

and Xenocrates[a] and Chrysippus,[b] following the lead of early writers on sacred subjects, allege to have been stronger than men and, in their might, greatly surpassing our nature, yet not possessing the divine quality unmixed and uncontaminated, but with a share also in the nature of the soul and in the perceptive faculties of the body, and with a susceptibility to pleasure and pain and to whatsoever other experience is incident to these mutations, and is the source of much disquiet in some and of less in others. For in demigods, as in men, there are divers degrees of virtue and of vice. The exploits of the Giants and Titans celebrated among the Greeks, the lawless deeds of a Cronus,[c] the stubborn resistance of Python against Apollo, the flights of Dionysus,[d] and the wanderings of Demeter, do not fall at all short of the exploits of Osiris and Typhon and other exploits which anyone may hear freely repeated in traditional story. So, too, all the things which are kept always away from the ears and eyes of the multitude by being concealed behind mystic rites and ceremonies have a similar explanation.

26. As we read Homer, we notice that in many different places he distinctively calls the good "godlike"[e] and "peers of the gods"[f] and "having prudence

[a] *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Eclogae*, i. 2. 29.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 277 A, 419 A, and 1051 C-D; and von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 1103(p. 320).

[c] The vengeance which he wreaked on his father Uranus.

[d] Homer, *Il.* vi. 135 ff. If φθόροι is read ("destructions wrought by Dionysus") there would be also a reference to the death of Pentheus as portrayed in the *Bacchae* of Euripides. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 996 c.

[e] The word is found forty-four times in Homer.

[f] Homer employs this expression sixty-two times.

(361) δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων προσρήματι χρωμένου κοινῶς ἐπί τε χρηστῶν καὶ φαύλων,

δαιμόνιε σχεδὸν ἐλθέ· τίη δειδίσσεαι οὕτως
Ἀργείους;

καὶ πάλιν

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος·

καὶ

δαιμονίη, τί νύ σε Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες
τόσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν, ὅ τ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνεις
Ἰλίου ἐξαλαπάξαι ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον;

ὡς τῶν δαιμόνων μικτὴν καὶ ἀνώμαλον φύσιν ἐχόντων καὶ προαίρεσιν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν Πλάτων Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ περιττὰ τὰ δ' ἀντίφωνα
B τούτων δαίμοσιν ἀποδίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκράτης καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀποφράδας καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν ὅσαι πληγάς τινας ἢ κοπετοὺς ἢ νηστείας ἢ δυσφημίας ἢ αἰσχρολογίαν ἔχουσιν οὔτε θεῶν τιμαῖς οὔτε δαιμόνων οἴεται προσήκειν χρηστῶν, ἀλλ' εἶναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι μεγάλας μὲν καὶ ἰσχυράς, δυστρόπους δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπάς, αἳ χαίρουσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ τυγχάνουσαι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο χεῖρον τρέπονται·

Τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὅ θ'

gained from the gods,' [a] but that the epithet derived from the demigods (or daemons) he uses of the worthy and worthless alike [b]; for example:

Daemon-possessed, come on! Why seek you to frighten the Argives
Thus? [c]

and again

When for the fourth time onward he came with a rush, like a daemon [d];

and

Daemon-possessed, in what do Priam and children of Priam
Work you such ill that your soul is ever relentlessly eager
Ilium, fair-built city, to bring to complete desolation? [e]

The assumption, then, is that the demigods (or daemons) have a complex and inconsistent nature and purpose; wherefore Plato [f] assigns to the Olympian gods right-hand qualities and odd numbers, and to the demigods the opposite of these. Xenocrates also is of the opinion that such days as are days of ill omen, and such festivals as have associated with them either beatings or lamentations or fastings or scurrilous language or ribald jests have no relation to the honours paid to the gods or to worthy demigods, but he believes that there exist in the space about us certain great and powerful natures, obdurate, however, and morose, which take pleasure in such things as these, and, if they succeed in obtaining them, resort to nothing worse.

Then again, Hesiod calls the worthy and good

[a] See Homer, *Od.* vi. 12. [b] *Cf.* 415 A, *infra*.
[c] *Iliad*, xiii. 810. [d] *Ibid.* v. 438, xiv. 705, xx. 447.
[e] *Ibid.* iv. 31.
[f] Plato, *Laws*, 717 A, assigns the Even and the Left to the chthonic deities, and Plutarch quite correctly derives his statement from this.

(361) Ἡσίοδος "ἁγνοὺς[1] δαίμονας" καὶ "φύλακας ἀνθρώπων" προσαγορεύει,

πλουτοδότας καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον[2] ἔχοντας.

C ὅ τε Πλάτων ἑρμηνευτικὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνομάζει γένος καὶ διακονικὸν ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εὐχὰς μὲν ἐκεῖ καὶ δεήσεις ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμποντας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μαντεῖα δεῦρο καὶ δόσεις ἀγαθῶν φέροντας.

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ δίκας φησὶ διδόναι τοὺς δαίμονας ὧν ἂν[3] ἐξαμάρτωσι καὶ πλημμελήσωσιν,

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει,
πόντος δ' ἐς χθονὸς οὖδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαῖα δ' ἐς αὐγὰς[4]
ἠελίου ἀκάμαντος,[5] ὁ δ' αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις·
ἄλλος δ' ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες·

ἄχρι οὗ κολασθέντες οὕτω καὶ καθαρθέντες αὖθις τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἀπολάβωσι.

D 27. Τούτων δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδελφὰ λέγεσθαί φασι περὶ Τυφῶνος, ὡς δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πάντα πράγματα ταράξας ἐνέπλησε κακῶν γῆν ὁμοῦ τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλατταν, εἶτα δίκην ἔδωκεν. ἡ δὲ τιμωρὸς

[1] ἁγνοὺς] ἐσθλοὶ Hesiod, *O.D.* 123.
[2] βασιλήιον] probably βασιλῆον (βασίλειον?) should be read as the metre demands.
[3] ἂν added by Duebner from Eusebius.
[4] αὐγὰς in Hippolytus, *Refutatio*: αὖθις.
[5] ἀκάμαντος] φαέθοντος Hippolytus.

---

[a] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 123 and 253. *Cf. Moralia*, 431 E, *infra*.

demigods "holy deities" and "guardians of mortals" [a] and

Givers of wealth, and having therein a reward that is kingly.[b]

Plato [c] calls this class of beings an interpretative and ministering class, midway between gods and men, in that they convey thither the prayers and petitions of men, and thence they bring hither the oracles and the gifts of good things.

Empedocles [d] says also that the demigods must pay the penalty for the sins that they commit and the duties that they neglect:

Might of the Heavens chases them forth to the realm of the Ocean;
Ocean spews them out on the soil of the Earth, and Earth drives them
Straight to the rays of the tireless Sun, who consigns them to Heaven's
Whirlings; thus one from another receives them, but ever with loathing;

until, when they have thus been chastened and purified, they recover the place and position to which they belong in accord with Nature.

27. Stories akin to these and to others like them they say are related about Typhon; how that, prompted by jealousy and hostility, he wrought terrible deeds and, by bringing utter confusion upon all things, filled the whole Earth, and the ocean as well, with ills, and later paid the penalty therefor.

[b] *Works and Days*, 126, repeated in 417 B, *infra*.

[c] *Symposium*, 202 E. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 415 A and 416 C-F, *infra*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiq.* i. 77.

[d] Part of a longer passage from Empedocles; *cf.* H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 267, Empedocles, no. 115, 9-12. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 830 F.

(361) Ὀσίριδος ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ τὴν Τυφῶνος σβέσασα καὶ καταπαύσασα μανίαν καὶ λύτταν οὐ περιεῖδε τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, οὓς ἀνέτλη, καὶ πλάνας αὐτῆς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔργα σοφίας πολλὰ δ' ἀνδρείας, ἀμνηστίαν ὑπολαβοῦσα[1] καὶ σιωπήν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις ἀναμείξασα τελεταῖς εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μιμήματα[2] τῶν τότε παθημάτων, εὐσεβείας ὁμοῦ δίδαγμα καὶ παραμύθιον ἀνδράσι
E καὶ γυναιξὶν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ἐχομένοις ὁμοίων καθωσίωσεν. αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ Ὄσιρις ἐκ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν δι' ἀρετὴν[3] εἰς θεοὺς μεταβαλόντες, ὡς ὕστερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος, ἅμα καὶ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου μεμιγμένας τιμὰς ἔχουσι πανταχοῦ μέν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς[4] ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ[5] ὑπὸ γῆν δυνάμενοι μέγιστον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι, καὶ Ἶσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν, ὡς Ἀρχέμαχος εἴρηκεν ὁ Εὐβοεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποντικὸς
F Ἡρακλείδης[6] τὸ χρηστήριον ἐν Κανώβῳ Πλούτωνος ἡγούμενος εἶναι.

28. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ Σωτὴρ ὄναρ εἶδε[7] τὸν ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῦ Πλούτωνος κολοσσόν, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος οὐδ' ἑωρακὼς πρότερον οἷος τὴν μορφὴν ἦν,[8] κελεύοντα κομίσαι τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀγνοοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποροῦντι ποῦ καθίδρυται καὶ διηγουμένῳ τοῖς φίλοις τὴν ὄψιν εὑρέθη πολυπλανὴς ἄνθρωπος ὄνομα Σωσίβιος ἐν

[1] ὑπολαβοῦσα] ὑπολαβοῦσαν Meziriacus; ὑπολαβόντα Markland; but *cf.* 473 c.
[2] μιμήματα Baxter: μίμημα.
[3] ἀρετὴν Reiske: ἀρετῆς.
[4] τοῖς Xylander: τούτοις.
[5] ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ] Xylander would omit.
[6] Ἡρακλείδης Xylander: ἡράκλειτος.
[7] ὄναρ εἶδε Baxter: ἀνεῖλε.
[8] ἦν added by Meziriacus.

But the avenger, the sister and wife of Osiris, after she had quenched and suppressed the madness and fury of Typhon, was not indifferent to the contests and struggles which she had endured, nor to her own wanderings nor to her manifold deeds of wisdom and many feats of bravery, nor would she accept oblivion and silence for them, but she intermingled in the most holy rites portrayals and suggestions and representations of her experiences at that time, and sanctified them, both as a lesson in godliness and an encouragement for men and women who find themselves in the clutch of like calamities. She herself and Osiris, translated for their virtues from good demigods into gods,[a] as were Heracles and Dionysus later,[b] not incongruously enjoy double honours, both those of gods and those of demigods, and their powers extend everywhere, but are greatest in the regions above the earth and beneath the earth. In fact, men assert that Pluto is none other than Serapis and that Persephonê is Isis, even as Archemachus[c] of Euboea has said, and also Heracleides Ponticus[d] who holds the oracle in Canopus to be an oracle of Pluto.

28. Ptolemy Soter saw in a dream the colossal statue of Pluto in Sinopê, not knowing nor having ever seen how it looked, and in his dream the statue bade him convey it with all speed to Alexandria. He had no information and no means of knowing where the statue was situated, but as he related the vision to his friends there was discovered for him a much travelled man by the name of Sosibius, who said that

[a] *Cf.* 363 E, *infra.*
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 857 D.
[c] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv. p. 315, no. 7.
[d] *Ibid.* ii. 198 or Frag. 103, ed. Voss.

Σινώπῃ φάμενος ἑωρακέναι τοιοῦτον κολοσσὸν οἷον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξεν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Σωτέλη καὶ Διονύσιον,[1] οἳ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μόλις, οὐκ
362 ἄνευ μέντοι θείας προνοίας, ἤγαγον ἐκκλέψαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ κομισθεὶς ὤφθη, συμβαλόντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τὸν ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην Πλούτωνος ὂν ἄγαλμα, τῷ Κερβέρῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ δράκοντι, πείθουσι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὡς ἑτέρου θεῶν οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ Σαράπιδός ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως[2] ὀνομαζόμενος ἦκεν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐκτήσατο τὸν Σάραπιν. καὶ μέντοι[3] Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ φυσικοῦ λέγοντος, "Ἅιδης καὶ Διόνυσος ωὗτὸς[4] ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν,"[5] εἰς ταύτην ὑπάγουσι τὴν δόξαν. οἱ
B γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες Ἅιδην λέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς οἷον παραφρονούσης καὶ μεθυούσης ἐν αὐτῷ, γλίσχρως ἀλληγοροῦσι. βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ τ' Ὀσίριδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντι[6] τῆς προσηγορίας. διὸ πᾶσι κοινὸς ὁ Σάραπίς ἐστι, ὡς δὴ[7] τὸν Ὄσιριν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταλαβόντες ἴσασιν.

[1] Διονύσιον from 984 A : διόνυσον.
[2] οὕτως Salmasius : οὗτος.
[3] μέντοι] Schellens would add τὰ.
[4] ωὐτὸς Wyttenbach from Eusebius : οὗτος.
[5] ὅτεῳ . . . ληναΐζουσιν from Clement of Alexandra, *Protrepticus* 34 (p. 30 Potter) : ὅτε οὖν . . . ληραίνουσιν.
[6] τυχόντι Squire : τυχόντα.
[7] δὴ Bernardakis : δὲ.

---

[a] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 984 A ; Tacitus, *Histories*, iv. 83-84, who tells the story more dramatically and with more detail ;

he had seen in Sinopê just such a great statue as the king thought he saw. Ptolemy, therefore, sent Soteles and Dionysius, who, after a considerable time and with great difficulty, and not without the help of divine providence, succeeded in stealing the statue and bringing it away.[a] When it had been conveyed to Egypt and exposed to view, Timotheus, the expositor of sacred law, and Manetho of Sebennytus, and their associates, conjectured that it was the statue of Pluto, basing their conjecture on the Cerberus and the serpent with it, and they convinced Ptolemy that it was the statue of none other of the gods but Serapis. It certainly did not bear this name when it came from Sinope, but, after it had been conveyed to Alexandria, it took to itself the name which Pluto bears among the Egyptians, that of Serapis. Moreover, since Heracleitus[b] the physical philosopher says, "The same are Hades and Dionysus, to honour whom they rage and rave," people are inclined to come to this opinion. In fact, those who insist that the body is called Hades, since the soul is, as it were, deranged and inebriate when it is in the body, are too frivolous in their use of allegory. It is better to identify Osiris with Dionysus[c] and Serapis with Osiris,[d] who received this appellation at the time when he changed his nature. For this reason Serapis is a god of all peoples in common, even as Osiris is; and this they who have participated in the holy rites well know.

Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, iv. 48 (p. 42 Potter); Origen, *Against Celsus*, v. 38.

[b] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. 81, Heracleitus no. 14.

[c] *Cf.* 356 B, *supra*, and 364 D, *infra*.

[d] *Cf.* 376 A, *infra*, and Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Sarapis (vol. I. A, col. 2394).

(362) 29. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον προσέχειν τοῖς Φρυγίοις γράμμασιν, ἐν οἷς λέγεται Σάραπις υἱὸς[1] μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι θυγάτηρ τ'[2] Ἶσις, Ἀλκαίου[3] δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ Τυφών· οὐδὲ Φυλάρχου[4] μὴ καταφρονεῖν γράφοντος ὅτι πρῶτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον
C ἐξ Ἰνδῶν Διόνυσος ἦγαγε δύο βοῦς, ὧν ἦν τῷ μὲν Ἆπις ὄνομα τῷ δ' Ὄσιρις· Σάραπις δ' ὄνομα τοῦ τὸ πᾶν κοσμοῦντός ἐστι παρὰ τὸ "σαίρειν," ὃ καλλύνειν τινὲς καὶ κοσμεῖν λέγουσιν. ἄτοπα γὰρ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλάρχου, πολλῷ δ' ἀτοπώτερα τὰ[5] τῶν λεγόντων οὐκ εἶναι θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄπιδος σορὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ χαλκᾶς τινας ἐν Μέμφει πύλας λήθης καὶ κωκυτοῦ προσαγορευομένας, ὅταν θάπτωσι τὸν Ἆπιν, ἀνοίγεσθαι, βαρὺ καὶ σκληρὸν ψοφούσας· διὸ παντὸς ἠχοῦντος ἡμᾶς χαλκώματος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. μετριώτερον[6] δ' οἱ[7] παρὰ τὸ "σεύεσθαι" καὶ τὸ "σοῦσθαι" τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἅμα κίνησιν εἰρῆσθαι
D φάσκοντες. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ταὐτό φασι τὸν Ὄσιριν συμπεπλέχθαι καὶ τὸν Ἆπιν, ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔμμορφον[8] εἰκόνα χρὴ νομίζειν τῆς Ὀσιριδος ψυχῆς τὸν

[1] Σάραπις Reiske, *υἱὸς* F.C.B. (the context seems to require Σάραπις here): *χαροπῶς τοὺς.*
[2] *τ'* added by F.C.B.
[3] Ἶσις Emperius, Ἀλκαίου F.C.B.: *ἰσαιακοῦ.*
[4] Φυλάρχου Xylander: *φιλάρχου.*
[5] *τὰ* added by Squire.
[6] *μετριώτερον*] *μετριώτεροι* Baxter.
[7] *οἱ* added by Xylander.
[8] *ἔμμορφον*, as in 368 c, Wyttenbach: *εὔμορφον.*

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 16 (42).
[b] *Cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *l.c.*, col. 2396-2397, for other etymologies. The derivation from *sairein* (sweep) is wholly fanciful.

29. It is not worth while to pay any attention to the Phrygian writings,[a] in which it is said that Serapis was the son of Heracles, and Isis was his daughter, and Typhon was the son of Alcaeus, who also was a son of Heracles; nor must we fail to contemn Phylarchus, who writes that Dionysus was the first to bring from India into Egypt two bulls, and that the name of one was Apis and of the other Osiris. But Serapis is the name of him who sets the universe in order, and it is derived from "sweep" (*sairein*), which some say means "to beautify" and "to put in order."[b] As a matter of fact, these statements of Phylarchus are absurd, but even more absurd are those put forth by those who say that Serapis is no god at all, but the name of the coffin of Apis; and that there are in Memphis certain bronze gates called the Gates of Oblivion and Lamentation,[c] which are opened when the burial of Apis takes place, and they give out a deep and harsh sound; and it is because of this that we lay hand upon anything of bronze that gives out a sound.[d] More moderate is the statement of those who say that the derivation[e] is from "shoot" (*seuesthai*) or "scoot" (*sousthai*), meaning the general movement of the universe. Most of the priests say that Osiris and Apis are conjoined into one, thus explaining to us and informing us that we must regard Apis as the bodily image of the soul of Osiris.[f] But

[c] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 96, and Pausanias, i. 18. 4, with Frazer's note.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 995 E-F; Aristotle, Frag. 196 (ed. Rose); or Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras*, 41.

[e] This derivation (from *seuesthai* or *sousthai*) is also fanciful.

[f] *Cf.* 359 B, *supra*, and 368 C, *infra*, and Diodorus, i. 85. 4-5.

(362) Ἄπιν. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν Αἰγύπτιόν ἐστι τοὔνομα τοῦ Σαράπιδος, εὐφροσύνην αὐτὸ δηλοῦν οἶομαι καὶ χαρμοσύνην, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι τὴν ἑορτὴν Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ χαρμόσυνα "σαίρει" καλοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ Πλάτων τὸν Ἅιδην ὡς ὠφελήσιμον[1] τοῖς παρ' αὑτῷ[2] γενομένοις καὶ προσηνῆ θεὸν ὠνομάσθαι φησί· καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων λόγοι εἰσί,[3] καὶ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον, εἰς ὃν οἴονται τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεσθαι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, Ἀμένθην καλοῦσι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ
E ὀνόματος τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ διδόντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπελθόντων πάλαι καὶ μετακομισθέντων ὀνομάτων ἕν ἐστιν, ὕστερον ἐπισκεψόμεθα· νῦν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐν χερσὶ δόξης προσδιέλθωμεν.

30. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὄσιρις καὶ ἡ Ἶσις ἐκ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν εἰς θεοὺς μετήλλαξαν· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἠμαυρωμένην καὶ συντετριμμένην δύναμιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ψυχορραγοῦσαν καὶ σφαδάζουσαν, ἔστιν αἷς παρηγοροῦσι θυσίαις καὶ πραΰνουσιν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε
F πάλιν ἐκταπεινοῦσι καὶ καθυβρίζουσιν ἔν τισιν ἑορταῖς, τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς πυρροὺς καὶ προπηλακίζοντες, ὄνον δὲ καὶ κατακρημνίζοντες, ὡς Κοπτῖται, διὰ τὸ πυρρὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ ὀνώδη τὴν χρόαν· Βουσιρῖται δὲ καὶ Λυκοπολῖται σάλπιγξιν οὐ χρῶνται τὸ παράπαν ὡς ὄνῳ φθεγγομέναις ἐμφερές. καὶ ὅλως τὸν ὄνον οὐ

[1] ὠφελήσιμον F.C.B. (*cf.* Plato, *Cratyl.* 403 E μέγας εὐεργέτης τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ): αἰδοῦς υἱόν. [2] αὑτῷ Wyttenbach: αὑτοῦ.
[3] λόγοι εἰσί] λόγον ἔχει Pohlenz.

it is my opinion that, if the name Serapis is Egyptian, it denotes cheerfulness and rejoicing, and I base this opinion on the fact that the Egyptians call their festival of rejoicing *sairei*. In fact, Plato [a] says that Hades is so named because he is a beneficent and gentle god towards those who have come to abide with him. Moreover, among the Egyptians many others of the proper names are real words; for example, that place beneath the earth, to which they believe that souls depart after the end of this life, they call Amenthes, the name signifying "the one who receives and gives." Whether this is one of those words which came from Greece in very ancient times and were brought back again [b] we will consider later,[c] but for the present let us go on to discuss the remainder of the views now before us.

30. Now Osiris and Isis changed from good minor deities into gods.[d] But the power of Typhon, weakened and crushed, but still fighting and struggling against extinction, they try to console and mollify by certain sacrifices; but again there are times when, at certain festivals, they humiliate and insult him by assailing red-headed men with jeering, and by throwing an ass over the edge of a precipice, as the people of Kopto do, because Typhon had red hair and in colour resembled an ass.[e] The people of Busiris [f] and Lycopolis do not use trumpets at all, because these make a sound like an ass [g]; and altogether they

[a] Plato, *Cratylus*, 403 A–404 A, suggests various derivations of the name Hades.
[b] *Cf.* 375 E-F, *infra.*
[c] *Cf.* 375 D, *infra.*
[d] *Cf.* 361 E, *supra.*
[e] *Cf.* 359 E, *supra*, and 364 A, *infra*; for Kopto *cf.* 356 D.
[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 150 E-F.
[g] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, X. 28.

καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ δαιμονικὸν ἡγοῦνται ζῷον εἶναι διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοιότητα, καὶ πόπανα ποιοῦντες ἐν θυσίαις τοῦ τε Παϋνὶ καὶ τοῦ Φαωφὶ μηνὸς
363 ἐπιπλάττουσι παράσημον ὄνον δεδεμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου θυσίᾳ τοῖς σεβομένοις[1] τὸν θεὸν παρεγγυῶσι μὴ φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι χρυσία μηδ' ὄνῳ τροφὴν διδόναι. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τὸν Τυφῶνα δαιμονικὴν ἡγούμενοι δύναμιν. λέγουσι γὰρ ἐν ἀρτίῳ μέτρῳ ἕκτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ γεγονέναι Τυφῶνα· καὶ πάλιν τὴν μὲν τοῦ τριγώνου Ἄιδου καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἄρεος εἶναι· τὴν δὲ τοῦ τετραγώνου Ῥέας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἥρας[2]· τὴν δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαγώνου Διός· τὴν δ'[3] ἑκκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου[4] Τυφῶνος, ὡς Εὔδοξος ἱστόρηκεν.

B 31. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ πυρρόχρουν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα νομίζοντες καὶ τῶν βοῶν τοὺς πυρροὺς καθιερεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀκριβῆ ποιούμενοι τὴν παρατήρησιν, ὥστε, κἂν μίαν ἔχῃ τρίχα μέλαιναν ἢ λευκήν, ἄθυτον ἡγεῖσθαι. θύσιμον γὰρ οὐ φίλον εἶναι θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον, ὅσα ψυχὰς ἀνοσίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων εἰς ἕτερα μεταμορφουμένων σώματα συνείληφε. διὸ τῇ μὲν κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερείου καταρασάμενοι καὶ ἀποκόψαντες εἰς τὸν

[1] *σεβομένοις* Xylander: *ἑσομένοις*.
[2] *καὶ Ἥρας*] Emperius would omit.
[3] *τὴν δ'*] *τὴν δὲ τοῦ* Reiske; but, if we can trust the MSS., Plutarch is very inconstant in keeping to a uniform phraseology.
[4] *ἑκκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου* Xylander: *ὀκτωκαιπεντηκονταγωνίου*.

regard the ass as an unclean animal dominated by some higher power because of its resemblance to Typhon,[a] and when they make cakes at their sacrifices in the month of Paÿni and of Phaophi they imprint upon them the device of an ass tied by a rope.[b] Moreover, in the sacrifice to the Sun they enjoin upon the worshippers not to wear any golden ornaments nor to give fodder to an ass. It is plain that the adherents of Pythagoras hold Typhon to be a daemonic power; for they say that he was born in an even factor of fifty-six; and the dominion of the triangle belongs to Hades, Dionysus, and Ares, that of the quadrilateral to Rhea, Aphroditê, Demeter, Hestia, and Hera, that of the dodecagon to Zeus,[c] and that of a polygon of fifty-six sides to Typhon, as Eudoxus has recorded.

31. The Egyptians, because of their belief that Typhon was of a red complexion,[d] also dedicate to sacrifice such of their neat cattle as are of a red colour,[e] but they conduct the examination of these so scrupulously that, if an animal has but one hair black or white, they think it wrong to sacrifice it[f]; for they regard as suitable for sacrifice not what is dear to the gods but the reverse, namely, such animals as have incarnate in them souls of unholy and unrighteous men who have been transformed into other bodies. For this reason they invoke curses on the head of the victim and cut it off, and in earlier times they used to

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 150 F.
[b] *Cf.* 371 D, *infra.*
[c] As the chief of the twelve gods presumably; *cf.* Herodotus, ii. 4.
[d] *Cf.* 359 E, *supra*, and 364 A, *infra.*
[e] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 88.
[f] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 38, and Diodorus, i. 88.

(363) ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν πάλαι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀποδίδονται. τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα θύεσθαι βοῦν οἱ C σφραγισταὶ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων κατεσημαίνοντο, τῆς σφραγῖδος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ, γλυφὴν μὲν ἐχούσης ἄνθρωπον εἰς γόνυ καθεικότα ταῖς χερσὶν ὀπίσω περιηγμέναις, ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς ξίφος ἐγκείμενον· ἀπολαύειν δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄνον, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῆς ὁμοιότητος διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ διὰ τὴν χρόαν οἴονται. διὸ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων ἐχθραίνοντες μάλιστα τὸν Ὦχον ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ μιαρόν, ὄνον ἐπωνόμασαν. κἀκεῖνος εἰπών, "ὁ μέντοι ὄνος οὗτος ὑμῶν κατευωχήσεται τὸν βοῦν," ἔθυσε τὸν Ἆπιν, ὡς Δείνων ἱστόρηκεν. οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ἐκ D τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὄνου τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας[1] γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον, αὐτόθεν εἰσὶ κατάδηλοι τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ παρέλκοντες εἰς τὸν μῦθον.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ὑπονοίας δίδωσιν· ἀπ' ἄλλης δ' ἀρχῆς τῶν φιλοσοφώτερόν τι λέγειν δοκούντων[2] τοὺς ἁπλουστάτους σκεψώμεθα πρῶτον. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, Ἥραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, γένεσιν δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀέρος μεταβολήν, οὕτω παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν

[1] ἡμέρας Markland: ἡμέραις.
[2] δοκούντων Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* iii. 3: δυναμένων.

[a] "To Greeks," says Herodotus, ii. 39. *Cf.* Deuteronomy xiv. 21, "Thou shalt give it (*sc.* anything that dieth of itself) unto the stranger that is in thy gates . . . or thou mayest sell it unto an alien."

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 38, and Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv. 7.

throw it into the river, but now they sell it to aliens.[a] Upon the neat animal intended for sacrifice those of the priests who were called "Sealers"[b] used to put a mark; and their seal, as Castor records, bore an engraving of a man with his knee on the ground and his hands tied behind his back, and with a sword at his throat.[c] They think, as has been said,[d] that the ass reaps the consequences of his resemblance because of his stupidity and his lascivious behaviour no less than because of his colour. This is also the reason why, since they hated Ochus[e] most of all the Persian kings because he was a detested and abominable ruler, they nicknamed him "the Ass"; and he remarked, "But this Ass will feast upon your Bull," and slaughtered Apis, as Deinon has recorded. But those who relate that Typhon's flight from the battle was made on the back of an ass and lasted for seven days, and that after he had made his escape, he became the father of sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus, are manifestly, as the very names show, attempting to drag Jewish traditions[f] into the legend.

32. Such, then, are the possible interpretations which these facts suggest. But now let us begin over again, and consider first the most perspicuous of those who have a reputation for expounding matters more philosophically. These men are like the Greeks who say that Cronus is but a figurative name for Chronus[g] (Time), Hera for Air, and that the birth of Hephaestus symbolizes the change of Air into Fire.[h] And thus among the Egyptians such men say that Osiris is the

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 88. 4-5.
[b] 362 F, *supra.*
[c] *Cf.* 355 C, *supra*, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iv. 8.
[d] *Cf.* Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 2.
[e] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 25 (64).
[f] *Cf.* 392 C, *infra.*

(363) Ἴσιδι συνόντα τῇ γῇ, Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν θάλατταν, εἰς ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐμπίπτων ἀφανίζεται καὶ διαΕ σπᾶται, πλὴν ὅσον ἡ γῆ μέρος ἀναλαμβάνουσα καὶ δεχομένη γίγνεται γόνιμος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Καὶ θρῆνός ἐστιν ἱερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου[1] ᾀδόμενος[2]· θρηνεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς γιγνόμενον μέρεσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεξιοῖς φθειρόμενον· Αἰγύπτιοι γὰρ οἴονται τὰ μὲν ἑῷα τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά. φερόμενος οὖν ἐκ τῶν νοτίων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βορείοις ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καταναλισκόμενος, εἰκότως λέγεται τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ φθορὰν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς. διὸ τήν τε θάλατταν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ τὸν ἅλα Τυφῶνος ἀφρὸν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἀπαγορευομένων Ϝ ἕν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἅλα μὴ προτίθεσθαι. καὶ κυβερνήτας οὐ προσαγορεύουσιν, ὅτι χρῶνται θαλάττῃ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἔχουσιν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ ταύτης προβάλλονται τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ τὸ μισεῖν ἰχθύι γράφουσιν. ἐν Σάει[3] γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἦν γεγλυμμένον βρέφος, γέρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον[4] ἱέραξ, ἐφεξῆς δ' ἰχθύς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ἵππος ποτάμιος. ἐδήλου δὲ συμβολικῶς, " ὦ γιγνόμενοι καὶ ἀπο-

[1] Κρόνου] Νείλου Meziriacus.
[2] ᾀδόμενος F.C.B.: γενόμενος. ([ἐπὶ] τοῦ K. λεγόμενος, Hartman, avoids hiatus, but hiatus is not unknown in Plutarch.)
[3] Σάει Hatzidakis (confirmed by papyri): Σάι.
[4] τοῦτον Bernardakis: τοῦτο.

Nile consorting with the Earth, which is Isis, and that the sea is Typhon into which the Nile discharges its waters and is lost to view and dissipated, save for that part which the earth takes up and absorbs and thereby becomes fertilized.[a]

There is also a religious lament sung over Cronus.[b] The lament is for him that is born in the regions on the left, and suffers dissolution in the regions on the right; for the Egyptians believe that the eastern regions are the face of the world, the northern the right, and the southern the left.[c] The Nile, therefore, which runs from the south and is swallowed up by the sea in the north, is naturally said to have its birth on the left and its dissolution on the right. For this reason the priests religiously keep themselves aloof from the sea, and call salt the "spume of Typhon"; and one of the things forbidden them is to set salt upon a table[d]; also they do not speak to pilots,[e] because these men make use of the sea, and gain their livelihood from the sea. This is also not the least of the reasons why they eschew fish,[f] and they portray hatred by drawing the picture of a fish. At Saïs in the vestibule of the temple of Athena was carved a babe and an aged man, and after this a hawk, and next a fish, and finally an hippopotamus. The symbolic meaning of this was[g]: "O ye that are coming into the world

[a] *Cf.* 366 A, *infra.*

[b] For Cronus as representing rivers and water see Pauly-Wissowa, xi. 1987-1988.

[c] *Cf. Moralia,* 282 D-E and 729 B.

[d] *Ibid.* 685 A and 729 A.

[e] *Ibid.* 729 C.

[f] *Cf.* 353 C, *supra.*

[g] There is a lacuna in one MS. (E) at this point (God hateth . . . of departing from it). The supplement is from Clement of Alexandria; see the critical note.

γιγνόμενοι, θεὸς[1] ἀναίδειαν μισεῖ''· τὸ μὲν γὰρ βρέφος γενέσεως σύμβολον, φθορᾶς δ' ὁ γέρων. ἱέρακι δὲ τὸν θεὸν φράζουσιν, ἰχθύι δὲ μῖσος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἵππῳ ποταμίῳ
364 δ' ἀναίδειαν· λέγεται γὰρ ἀποκτείνας τὸν πατέρα τῇ μητρὶ βίᾳ μείγνυσθαι. δόξειε δὲ κἂν[2] τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἡ θάλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυόν ἐστιν, αἰνίττεσθαι τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν μηδὲ σύμφυλον αὐτῆς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔξωθεν εἰρήσθω κοινὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ἱστορίαν. (33.) οἱ δὲ σοφώτεροι τῶν ἱερέων οὐ μόνον τὸν Νεῖλον Ὄσιριν καλοῦσιν οὐδὲ Τυφῶνα τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλ' Ὄσιριν μὲν ἁπλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν ὑγροποιὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, αἰτίαν γενέσεως καὶ σπέρματος οὐσίαν νομίζοντες· Τυφῶνα δὲ πᾶν τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρῶδες καὶ ξηραντικὸν ὅλως καὶ
B πολέμιον τῇ ὑγρότητι. διὸ καὶ πυρρόχρουν[3] γεγονέναι τῷ σώματι καὶ πάρωχρον νομίζοντες οὐ πάνυ προθύμως ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδ' ἡδέως ὁμιλοῦσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ὄψιν ἀνθρώποις.

Τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν μελάγχρουν γεγονέναι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὅτι πᾶν ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ νέφη μελαίνει μειγνύμενον, καὶ τῶν νέων ὑγρότης ἐνοῦσα παρέχει τὰς τρίχας μελαίνας· ἡ δὲ πολίωσις οἷον ὠχρίασις ὑπὸ ξηρότητος ἐπι-

[1] *θεὸς . . . δ' ὁ γέρων* is supplied from Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 41. 4 (p. 670 Potter): *δεο . . . γέρων* or *δεογέρων*. If it were not for the lacuna in E, it would be possible to emend *ὦ γιγνόμενοι καὶ ἀπογιγνόμενοι ἐοίκαμεν*.

[2] *δόξειε* Baxter, *δὲ κἂν* F.C.B. (*ἂν δὲ καὶ* Baxter): *δόξει δὲ καὶ*.

[3] *πυρρόχρουν* (=*τῇ χρόᾳ πυρρὸν*, p. 359 E) Bernardakis: *πυρρόχρων*.

[a] *Cf.* 371 E, *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* 353 C, *supra*.

and departing from it, God hateth shamelessness." The babe is the symbol of coming into the world and the aged man the symbol of departing from it, and by a hawk they indicate God,[a] by the fish hatred, as has already been said,[b] because of the sea, and by the hippopotamus shamelessness; for it is said that he kills his sire[c] and forces his mother to mate with him. That saying of the adherents of Pythagoras, that the sea is a tear of Cronus,[d] may seem to hint at its impure and extraneous nature.

Let this, then, be stated incidentally, as a matter of record that is common knowledge. (33.) But the wiser of the priests call not only the Nile Osiris and the sea Typhon, but they simply give the name of Osiris to the whole source and faculty creative of moisture,[e] believing this to be the cause of generation and the substance of life-producing seed; and the name of Typhon they give to all that is dry, fiery, and arid,[f] in general, and antagonistic to moisture. Therefore, because they believe that he was personally of a reddish sallow colour,[g] they are not eager to meet men of such complexion, nor do they like to associate with them.

Osiris, on the other hand, according to their legendary tradition, was dark,[h] because water darkens everything, earth and clothes and clouds, when it comes into contact with them.[i] In young people the presence of moisture renders their hair black, while greyness, like a paleness as it were, is induced by

[a] *Cf.* Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iii. 23.
[b] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 50. 1 (p. 676 Potter), and Aristotle, Frag. 196 (ed. Rose).
[c] *Cf.* 365 B, *infra.*
[d] *Cf.* 359 E and 363 B, *supra.*
[e] *Cf.* 359 E, *supra.*
[f] *Cf.* 369 A and 376 F, *infra.*
[g] *Cf.* 359 E, *supra.*
[h] *Cf.* 359 E, *supra.*
[i] *Cf. Moralia*, 950 A.

(364) γίγνεται τοῖς παρακμάζουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔαρ θαλερὸν καὶ γόνιμον καὶ προσηνές· τὸ δὲ φθινόπωρον ὑγρότητος ἐνδείᾳ καὶ φυτοῖς πολέμιον καὶ
C ζῴοις νοσῶδες.

Ὁ δ' ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τρεφόμενος βοῦς, ὃν Μνεῦιν[1] καλοῦσιν (Ὀσίριδος δ' ἱερόν, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἄπιδος πατέρα νομίζουσι), μέλας ἐστὶ καὶ δευτέρας ἔχει τιμὰς μετὰ τὸν Ἆπιν. ἔτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὖσαν, ὥσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, Χημίαν καλοῦσι καὶ καρδίᾳ παρεικάζουσι· θερμὴ γάρ ἐστι καὶ ὑγρὰ καὶ τοῖς νοτίοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὥσπερ ἡ καρδία τοῖς εὐωνύμοις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μάλιστα ἐγκέκλειται καὶ προσκεχώρηκεν.

34. Ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην οὐχ ἅρμασιν ἀλλὰ πλοίοις ὀχήμασι χρωμένους περιπλεῖν φασιν[2]
D αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ἀφ' ὑγροῦ τροφὴν αὐτῶν καὶ γένεσιν. οἴονται δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ὥσπερ Θαλῆν μαθόντα παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ὕδωρ ἀρχὴν ἁπάντων καὶ γένεσιν τίθεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Ὠκεανὸν Ὄσιριν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Τηθὺν Ἶσιν, ὡς τιθηνουμένην πάντα καὶ συνεκτρέφουσαν. καὶ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὴν τοῦ σπέρματος πρόεσιν[3] ἀπουσίαν καλοῦσι καὶ συνουσίαν τὴν μεῖξιν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ὑσαι· καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον "ὕην" ὡς κύριον τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως, οὐχ ἕτερον ὄντα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος· καὶ

[1] Μνεῦιν Basel ed. of 1542: μνύειν.
[2] φασιν Badham; λέγουσιν Reiske: ἀεί.
[3] πρόεσιν Salmasius: πρόθεσιν.

---

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, v. 1 (780 b 6).
[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 21; Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* iii. 13. 1-3; Strabo, xvii. 1. 22; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 11

dryness in those who are passing their prime.[a] Also the spring-time is vigorous, prolific, and agreeable; but the autumn, since it lacks moisture, is inimical to plants and unhealthful for living creatures.

The bull kept at Heliopolis which they call Mneuis,[b] and which is sacred to Osiris (some hold it to be the sire of Apis), is black and has honours second only to Apis. Egypt, moreover, which has the blackest of soils,[c] they call by the same name as the black portion of the eye, "Chemia," and compare it to a heart[d]; for it is warm and moist and is enclosed by the southern portions of the inhabited world and adjoins them, like the heart in a man's left side.

34. They say that the sun and moon do not use chariots, but boats[e] in which to sail round in their courses; and by this they intimate that the nourishment and origin of these heavenly bodies is from moisture. They think also that Homer,[f] like Thales, had gained his knowledge from the Egyptians, when he postulated water as the source and origin of all things; for, according to them, Oceanus is Osiris, and Tethys is Isis, since she is the kindly nurse and provider for all things. In fact, the Greeks call emission *apousia*[g] and coition *synousia*, and the son (*hyios*) from water (*hydor*) and rain (*hysai*); Dionysus also they call Hyes[h] since he is lord of the nature of moisture; and he is no other than Osiris.[i] In fact, Hellanicus seems

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 12.
[d] Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, i. 22.
[e] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 41. 2 (p. 566 Potter); Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* iii. 11. 48.
[f] *Il.* xiv. 201.
[g] *Cf.* Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, i. 78.
[h] *Cf.* the name *Hyades* of the constellation.
[i] *Cf.* 356 B, 362 B, *supra*, and 365 A, *infra*.

(364) γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν Ἑλλάνικος Ὕσιριν ἔοικεν[1] ἀκηκοέναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων λεγόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζων διατελεῖ τὸν θεόν, εἰκότως ἀπὸ τῆς
E φύσεως[2] καὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως.[3]

35. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός ἐστι Διονύσῳ τίνα μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ γιγνώσκειν, ὦ Κλέα, δὴ προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀρχηίδα[4] μὲν οὖσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Θυιάδων, τοῖς δ' Ὀσιριακοῖς καθωσιωμένην ἱεροῖς ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρός; εἰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα δεῖ μαρτύρια παραθέσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀπόρρητα κατὰ χώραν ἐῶμεν, ἃ δ' ἐμφανῶς δρῶσι θάπτοντες τὸν Ἆπιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὅταν παρακομίζωσιν ἐπὶ σχεδίας τὸ σῶμα, βακχείας οὐδὲν ἀποδεῖ. καὶ γὰρ νε-
F βρίδας περικαθάπτονται καὶ θύρσους φοροῦσι, καὶ βοαῖς χρῶνται καὶ κινήσεσιν ὥσπερ οἱ κάτοχοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς. διὸ καὶ ταυρόμορφα[5] Διονύσου[6] ποιοῦσιν ἀγάλματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· αἱ δ' Ἠλείων γυναῖκες καὶ παρακαλοῦσιν εὐχόμεναι ποδὶ βοείῳ[7] τὸν θεὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτάς. Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενὴς Διόνυσος ἐπίκλην ἐστίν· ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἄρνα τῷ Πυλαόχῳ· τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσοις ἀποκρύπτουσιν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὁσίων εἴρηκεν.

[1] ἔοικεν Valckenaer: ἔθηκεν.
[2] φύσεως] ὕσεως Salmasius.
[3] εὑρέσεως] ὑγρεύσεως Reiske; αἱρέσεως Strijd.
[4] ἀρχηίδα Keramopoullos, based on inscriptions: ἀρχικλὰ.
[5] ταυρόμορφα Markland: ταυρόμορφον.
[6] Διονύσου Xylander: Διόνυσον.
[7] βοείῳ] βοέῳ p. 299 A.

---

[a] See 366 F, *infra*.
[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 11.

to have heard Osiris pronounced Hysiris by the priests, for he regularly spells the name in this way, deriving it, in all probability, from the nature of Osiris and the ceremony of finding him.[a]

35. That Osiris is identical with Dionysus who could more fittingly know than yourself, Clea? For you are at the head of the inspired maidens of Delphi, and have been consecrated by your father and mother in the holy rites of Osiris. If, however, for the benefit of others it is needful to adduce proofs of this identity, let us leave undisturbed what may not be told, but the public ceremonies which the priests perform in the burial of the Apis, when they convey his body on an improvised bier, do not in any way come short of a Bacchic procession; for they fasten skins of fawns about themselves, and carry Bacchic wands and indulge in shoutings and movements exactly as do those who are under the spell of the Dionysiac ecstasies.[b] For the same reason many of the Greeks make statues of Dionysus in the form of a bull[c]; and the women of Elis invoke him, praying that the god may come with the hoof of a bull[d]; and the epithet applied to Dionysus among the Argives is "Son of the Bull." They call him up out of the water by the sound of trumpets,[e] at the same time casting into the depths a lamb as an offering to the Keeper of the Gate. The trumpets they conceal in Bacchic wands, as Socrates[f] has stated in his treatise on *The Holy Ones*. Further-

[a] A partial list in Roscher, *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, i. 1149.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 299 A, where the invocation is given at greater length; also Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, iii. p. 510 (L.C.L.).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 671 E.

[f] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv. p. 498, Socrates, no. 5.

ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικὰ καὶ Νυκτέλια[1] τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὀσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀνα-
365 βιώσεσι καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς. Αἰγύπτιοί τε γὰρ Ὀσίριδος πολλαχοῦ θήκας, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, δεικνύουσι, καὶ Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι νομίζουσι· καὶ θύουσιν οἱ Ὅσιοι θυσίαν ἀπόρρητον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅταν αἱ Θυιάδες ἐγείρωσι τὸν Λικνίτην. ὅτι δ' οὐ μόνον τοῦ οἴνου Διόνυσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ὑγρᾶς φύσεως Ἕλληνες ἡγοῦνται κύριον καὶ ἀρχηγόν, ἀρκεῖ Πίνδαρος μάρτυς εἶναι λέγων

δενδρέων δὲ νομὸν[2] Διόνυσος πολυγαθὴς
αὐξάνοι, ἁγνὸν φέγγος ὀπώρας.

B διὸ καὶ τοῖς τὸν Ὅσιριν σεβομένοις ἀπαγορεύεται δένδρον ἥμερον ἀπολλύναι καὶ πηγὴν ὕδατος ἐμφράττειν.

36. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἁπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀεὶ προπομπεύει τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ θρύῳ[3] βασιλέα καὶ τὸ νότιον κλίμα τοῦ κόσμου γράφουσι, καὶ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ θρύον ποτισμὸς καὶ κύησις[4] πάντων, καὶ δοκεῖ γεννητικῷ μορίῳ

[1] Νυκτέλια Squire: *νὺξ τελεία.*
[2] *νομὸν* Heyne: *νόμον* (*τρόπον* in 757 F; *γόμον* Reiske; *γόνον* Wyttenbach).
[3] *θρύῳ* Wyttenbach: *θρύων* or *θρίω.*
[4] *κύησις* Xylander: *κίνησις.*

---

[a] 358 A and 359 A, *supra.*
[b] That is, the inspired maidens, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.
[c] Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* (vi.), 127; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 165; Virgil, *Georg.* i. 166.

more, the tales regarding the Titans and the rites celebrated by night agree with the accounts of the dismemberment of Osiris and his revivification and regenesis. Similar agreement is found too in the tales about their sepulchres. The Egyptians, as has already been stated,[a] point out tombs of Osiris in many places, and the people of Delphi believe that the remains of Dionysus rest with them close beside the oracle; and the Holy Ones offer a secret sacrifice in the shrine of Apollo whenever the devotees of Dionysus [b] wake the God of the Mystic Basket.[c] To show that the Greeks regard Dionysus as the lord and master not only of wine, but of the nature of every sort of moisture, it is enough that Pindar [d] be our witness, when he says

> May gladsome Dionysus swell the fruit upon the trees,
> The hallowed splendour of harvest-time.

For this reason all who reverence Osiris are prohibited from destroying a cultivated tree or blocking up a spring of water.

36. Not only the Nile, but every form of moisture [e] they call simply the effusion of Osiris; and in their holy rites the water jar in honour of the god heads the procession.[f] And by the picture of a rush they represent a king and the southern region of the world,[g] and the rush is interpreted to mean the watering and fructifying of all things, and in its nature it seems to bear some resemblance to the generative member.

[a] *Frag.* 153 (Christ). Plutarch quotes the line also in *Moralia*, 745 A and 757 F.

[b] *Cf.* 366 A, 371 B, *infra*, and 729 B.

[c] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, vi. 31. 1 (p. 758 Potter).

[d] Such a symbol exists on Egyptian monuments.

(365) τὴν φύσιν ἐοικέναι. τὴν δὲ τῶν Παμυλίων ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φαλλικὴν οὖσαν, ἄγαλμα προτίθενται καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὗ τὸ αἰδοῖον τριπλάσιόν ἐστιν· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὁ θεός, ἀρχὴ δὲ πᾶσα τῷ γονίμῳ πολλαπλασιάζει τὸ ἐξ αὑτῆς· τὸ δὲ πολ-
C λάκις εἰώθαμεν καὶ τρὶς λέγειν, ὡς τὸ "τρισμάκαρες" καὶ

δεσμοὶ μὲν τρὶς τόσσοι ἀπείρονες,

εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία κυρίως ἐμφαίνεται τὸ τριπλάσιον ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν· ἡ γὰρ ὑγρὰ φύσις ἀρχὴ καὶ γένεσις οὖσα πάντων ἐξ αὑτῆς[1] τὰ πρῶτα τρία σώματα, γῆν ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, ἐποίησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ προστιθέμενος τῷ μύθῳ λόγος, ὡς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ὁ Τυφὼν τὸ αἰδοῖον ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, ἡ δ' Ἶσις οὐχ εὗρεν, ἀλλ' ἐμφερὲς ἄγαλμα θεμένη καὶ κατασκευάσασα τιμᾶν καὶ φαλληφορεῖν ἔταξεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιχωρεῖ[2] διδάσκων ὅτι τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ σπερματικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτον[3] ἔσχεν ὕλην τὴν ὑγρότητα καὶ δι' ὑγρότητος ἐνεκράθη τοῖς πεφυκόσι μετέχειν γενέσεως.

D Ἄλλος δὲ λόγος ἔστιν Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς Ἄποπις Ἡλίου ὢν ἀδελφὸς ἐπολέμει τῷ Διί, τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν ὁ Ζεὺς συμμαχήσαντα καὶ συγκαταστρεψάμενον αὐτῷ τὸν πολέμιον παῖδα θέμενος Διόνυσον προσηγόρευσεν. καὶ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ μυθῶδες ἔστιν ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς περὶ[4] φύσιν ἀληθείας ἁπτό-

[1] αὑτῆς Michael: ἀρχῆς.
[2] δὴ περιχωρεῖ Madvig: δὲ παραχωρεῖ.
[3] πρῶτον] πρώτην Reiske. [4] περὶ Xylander: παρὰ.

[a] 355 E, *supra*.
[b] *Cf.* 371 F, *infra*, Herodotus, ii. 48, and Egyptian monuments.

Moreover, when they celebrate the festival of the Pamylia which, as has been said,[a] is of a phallic nature, they expose and carry about a statue of which the male member is triple [b]; for the god is the Source, and every source, by its fecundity, multiplies what proceeds from it; and for "many times" we have a habit of saying "thrice," as, for example, "thrice happy," [c] and

> Bonds, even thrice as many, unnumbered,[d]

unless, indeed, the word "triple" is used by the early writers in its strict meaning; for the nature of moisture, being the source and origin of all things, created out of itself three primal material substances, Earth, Air, and Fire. In fact, the tale that is annexed to the legend to the effect that Typhon cast the male member of Osiris into the river, and Isis could not find it, but constructed and shaped a replica of it, and ordained that it should be honoured and borne in processions,[e] plainly comes round to this doctrine, that the creative and germinal power of the god, at the very first, acquired moisture as its substance, and through moisture combined with whatever was by nature capable of participating in generation.

There is another tale current among the Egyptians that Apopis, brother of the Sun, made war upon Zeus, and that because Osiris espoused Zeus's cause and helped him to overthrow his enemy, Zeus adopted Osiris as his son and gave him the name of Dionysus. It may be demonstrated that the legend contained in this tale has some approximation to truth so far as

[c] Homer, *Od.* v. 306, and vi. 154. It is interesting that G. H. Palmer translates this "most happy."

[d] *Ibid.* viii. 340.

[e] *Cf.* 358 B, *supra.*

μενον. Δία μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ πνεῦμα καλοῦσιν, ᾧ πολέμιον τὸ αὐχμηρὸν καὶ πυρῶδες· τοῦτο δ' ἥλιος μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, πρὸς δ' ἥλιον ἔχει τινὰ συγγένειαν· ἡ δ' ὑγρότης σβεννύουσα τὴν ὑπερβολὴν
E τῆς ξηρότητος αὔξει καὶ ῥώννυσι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ πνεῦμα τρέφεται καὶ τέθηλεν.

37. Ἔτι δὲ[1] τὸν κιττὸν[2] Ἕλληνές τε καθιεροῦσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται "χενόσιρις" ὀνομάζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς φασι, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος. Ἀρίστων τοίνυν ὁ γεγραφὼς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκισιν[3] ἐπιστολῇ τινι Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς[4] ἱστορεῖται καὶ[5] Ἴσιδος υἱὸς ὢν ὁ Διόνυσος ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ Ὄσιρις ἀλλ' Ἀρσαφὴς (ἐν τῷ ἄλφα γράμματι)
F λέγεσθαι, δηλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμαῖος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ὄβριμον γάρ φησι μεθερμηνευόμενον εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν. ἐὼ δὲ Μνασέαν[6] τῷ Ἐπάφῳ προστιθέντα τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ὄσιριν καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν· ἐὼ καὶ Ἀντικλείδην λέγοντα τὴν Ἶσιν Προμηθέως οὖσαν θυγατέρα Διονύσῳ συνοικεῖν· αἱ γὰρ εἰρημέναι περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας οἰκειότητες ἐναργεστέραν τῶν μαρτύρων τὴν πίστιν ἔχουσι.

38. Τῶν τ' ἄστρων τὸν σείριον Ἴσιδος[7] νομί-
366 ζουσιν, ὑδραγωγὸν ὄντα. καὶ τὸν λέοντα τιμῶσι

[1] δὲ F.C.B.: τε.
[2] κιττὸν Squire (κιττὸν οἱ ?): κιττὸν ὃν.
[3] ἀποίκισιν F.C.B.: ἀποικίαν.
[4] περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς Valckenaer: περιπέσειε νηίδος.
[5] καὶ Valckenaer: δὲ καὶ.
[6] Μνασέαν Xylander: μνάσαν.
[7] Ἴσιδος] Ὀσίριδος Squire, but *cf.* 359 D as well as 372 D.

Nature is concerned; for the Egyptians apply the name "Zeus" to the wind,[a] and whatever is dry or fiery is antagonistic to this. This is not the Sun, but it has some kinship with the Sun; and the moisture, by doing away with the excess of dryness, increases and strengthens the exhalations by which the wind is fostered and made vigorous.

37. Moreover, the Greeks are wont to consecrate the ivy[b] to Dionysus, and it is said that among the Egyptians the name for ivy is *chenosiris*, the meaning of the name being, as they say, "the plant of Osiris." Now, Ariston,[c] the author of *Athenian Colonization*, happened upon a letter of Alexarchus, in which it is recorded that Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Isis, and is called not Osiris, but Arsaphes, spelled with an "a," the name denoting virility. Hermaeus, too, makes this statement in the first volume of his book *The Egyptians*; for he says that Osiris, properly interpreted, means "sturdy." I leave out of account Mnaseas's[e] annexation of Dionysus, Osiris, and Serapis to Epaphus, as well as Anticleides'[f] statement that Isis was the daughter of Prometheus[g] and was wedded to Dionysus.[h] The fact is that the peculiarities already mentioned regarding the festival and sacrifices carry a conviction more manifest than any testimony of authorities.

38. Of the stars the Egyptians think that the Dog-star is the star of Isis,[i] because it is the bringer of water.[k] They also hold the Lion in honour, and they

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 12. 2.
[b] Diodorus, i. 17. 4.
[c] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 324.
[d] *Ibid.* iv. p. 427.
[e] *Ibid.* iii. p. 155.
[f] *Cf.* Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.* 140, no. 13.
[g] *Cf.* 352 A, *supra*.
[h] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 156.
[i] *Cf.* 359 D, *supra*, and 376 A, *infra*.
[k] In the Nile.

(366) καὶ χάσμασι λεοντείοις τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν θυρώματα κοσμοῦσιν, ὅτι πλημμυρεῖ Νεῖλος

ἠελίου τὰ πρῶτα συνερχομένοιο λέοντι.

Ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἴσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι[1] καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μειγνύμενος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὧρον. ἔστι δ' Ὧρος ἡ πάντα σῴζουσα καὶ τρέφουσα τοῦ περιέχοντος ὥρα καὶ κρᾶσις ἀέρος, ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῖς περὶ Βοῦτον ὑπὸ Λητοῦς τραφῆναι λέγουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὑδατώδης καὶ διάβροχος γῆ μάλιστα τὰς
B σβεννούσας καὶ χαλώσας τὴν ξηρότητα καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἀναθυμιάσεις τιθηνεῖται.

Νέφθυν δὲ καλοῦσι τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παρόρεια[2] καὶ ψαύοντα τῆς θαλάττης· διὸ καὶ Τελευτὴν[3] ἐπονομάζουσι τὴν Νέφθυν καὶ Τυφῶνι δὲ συνοικεῖν λέγουσιν. ὅταν δ' ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ πλεονάσας ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπέκεινα πλησιάσῃ τοῖς ἐσχατεύουσι, τοῦτο μεῖξιν Ὀσίριδος πρὸς Νέφθυν καλοῦσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναβλαστανόντων φυτῶν ἐλεγχομένην· ὧν καὶ τὸ μελίλωτόν ἐστιν, οὗ φησι μῦθος ἀπορρυέντος καὶ ἀπολειφθέντος αἴσθησιν γενέσθαι Τυφῶνι τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἀδικίας. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν
C Ἶσις ἔτεκε γνησίως τὸν Ὧρον, ἡ δὲ Νέφθυς σκότιον τὸν Ἄνουβιν. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασι-

[1] ἔχουσι] λέγουσι Wyttenbach.
[2] παρόρεια Hatzidakis: παρόρια.
[3] Τελευτὴν Squire (*cf.* 355 F): τελευταίην.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 670 C; Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, i. 21.
[b] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 151. The Dog-star rises at about the same time.

adorn the doorways of their shrines with gaping lions' heads,[a] because the Nile overflows

When for the first time the Sun comes into conjunction with Leo.[b]

As they regard the Nile as the effusion of Osiris,[c] so they hold and believe the earth to be the body of Isis, not all of it, but so much of it as the Nile covers, fertilizing it and uniting with it.[d] From this union they make Horus to be born. The all-conserving and fostering Hora, that is the seasonable tempering of the surrounding air, is Horus, who they say was brought up by Leto in the marshes round about Buto[e]; for the watery and saturated land best nurtures those exhalations which quench and abate aridity and dryness.

The outmost parts of the land beside the mountains and bordering on the sea the Egyptians call Nephthys. This is why they give to Nephthys the name of "Finality,"[f] and say that she is the wife of Typhon. Whenever, then, the Nile overflows and with abounding waters spreads far away to those who dwell in the outermost regions, they call this the union of Osiris with Nephthys,[g] which is proved by the upspringing of the plants. Among these is the melilotus,[h] by the wilting and failing of which, as the story goes, Typhon gained knowledge of the wrong done to his bed. So Isis gave birth to Horus in lawful wedlock, but Nephthys bore Anubis clandestinely. However, in the chronological lists of the kings they record that

[c] *Cf.* the note on 365 B, *supra.*
[d] *Cf.* 363 D, *supra.*
[e] *Cf.* 357 F, *supra.*
[f] *Cf.* 355 F, *supra*, and 375 B, *infra.*
[g] *Cf.* the note on 356 E, *supra.*
[h] *Cf.* 356 F, *supra.*

(366) λέων ἀναγράφουσι τὴν Νέφθυν Τυφῶνι γημαμένην πρώτην γενέσθαι στεῖραν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ περὶ γυναικὸς ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς θεοῦ λέγουσιν, αἰνίττονται τὸ παντελῶς[1] τῆς γῆς ἄγονον καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ στερρότητος.

39. Ἡ δὲ Τυφῶνος ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ τυραννὶς αὐχμοῦ δύναμις ἦν ἐπικρατήσαντος καὶ διαφορήσαντος τήν τε γεννῶσαν ὑγρότητα τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ αὔξουσαν. ἡ δὲ συνεργὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλὶς Αἰθιόπων αἰνίττεται πνοὰς νοτίους ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας· ὅταν γὰρ αὗται τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπικρατήσωσι τὰ νέφη πρὸς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν
D ἐλαυνόντων, καὶ κωλύσωσι τοὺς τὸν Νεῖλον αὔξοντας ὄμβρους καταρραγῆναι, κατέχων ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπιφλέγει καὶ τότε κρατήσας παντάπασι τὸν Νεῖλον εἰς ἐναντίον[2] ὑπ' ἀσθενείας συσταλέντα καὶ ῥυέντα κοῖλον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐξέωσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ἡ γὰρ λεγομένη κάθειρξις εἰς τὴν σορὸν Ὀσίριδος οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ἀλλ' ἢ κρύψιν ὕδατος καὶ ἀφανισμὸν αἰνίττεσθαι· διὸ μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν Ὄσιριν λέγουσιν, ὅτε τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολειπόντων παντάπασιν ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος ὑπονοστεῖ, γυμνοῦται δ' ἡ χώρα, μηκυνομένης δὲ τῆς νυκτός, αὔξεται τὸ
E σκότος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς μαραίνεται καὶ κρατεῖται δύναμις, οἱ δ'[3] ἱερεῖς ἄλλα τε δρῶσι σκυθρωπὰ καὶ βοῦν διάχρυσον ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι (βοῦν γὰρ Ἶσιδος

[1] παντελῶς] παντελὲς in all MSS. but one.
[2] ἐναντίον] ἑαυτὸν Bentley.
[3] οἱ δ' Wyttenbach: οἱ.

---

[a] *Cf.* 356 B, *supra.*
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 898 A, and Diodorus, i. 39.

Nephthys, after her marriage to Typhon, was at first barren. If they say this, not about a woman, but about the goddess, they must mean by it the utter barrenness and unproductivity of the earth resulting from a hard-baked soil.

39. The insidious scheming and usurpation of Typhon, then, is the power of drought, which gains control and dissipates the moisture which is the source of the Nile and of its rising; and his coadjutor, the Queen of the Ethiopians,[a] signifies allegorically the south winds from Ethiopia; for whenever these gain the upper hand over the northerly or Etesian winds [b] which drive the clouds towards Ethiopia, and when they prevent the falling of the rains which cause the rising of the Nile, then Typhon, being in possession, blazes with scorching heat; and having gained complete mastery, he forces the Nile in retreat to draw back its waters for weakness, and, flowing at the bottom of its almost empty channel, to proceed to the sea. The story told of the shutting up of Osiris in the chest seems to mean nothing else than the vanishing and disappearance of water. Consequently they say that the disappearance of Osiris occurred in the month of Athyr,[c] at the time when, owing to the complete cessation of the Etesian winds, the Nile recedes to its low level and the land becomes denuded. As the nights grow longer, the darkness increases, and the potency of the light is abated and subdued. Then among the gloomy rites which the priests perform, they shroud the gilded image of a cow with a black linen vestment, and display her as a sign of mourning for the goddess, inasmuch as they regard both the cow and the earth [d]

[c] The month of November. *Cf.* 356 c, *supra.*

[d] *Cf.* 366 A *supra.*

εἰκόνα καὶ[1] γῆν νομίζουσιν) ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβδόμης ἐπὶ δέκα ἑξῆς. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πενθούμενα τέτταρα, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπολείπων καὶ ὑπονοστῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ βόρεια πνεύματα κατασβεννύμενα κομιδῇ τῶν νοτίων ἐπικρατούντων, τρίτον δὲ τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλάττονα γίγνεσθαι τῆς νυκτός, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ'[2] ἡ τῆς γῆς ἀπογύμνωσις ἅμα τῇ τῶν φυτῶν ψιλότητι τηνικαῦτα φυλλορροούντων.
F τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατίασι.[3] καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν κίστην οἱ στολισταὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκφέρουσι χρυσοῦν ἐντὸς ἔχουσαν κιβώτιον, εἰς ὃ ποτίμου λαβόντες ὕδατος ἐγχέουσι, καὶ γίγνεται κραυγὴ τῶν παρόντων ὡς εὑρημένου τοῦ Ὀσίριδος· εἶτα γῆν[4] κάρπιμον φυρῶσι τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ συμμείξαντες ἀρώματα καὶ θυμιάματα τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀναπλάττουσι μηνοειδὲς ἀγαλμάτιον· καὶ τοῦτο στολίζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσιν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι γῆς οὐσίαν καὶ ὕδατος τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους νομίζουσι.

40. Τῆς δ' Ἴσιδος πάλιν ἀναλαμβανούσης τὸν
367 Ὄσιριν καὶ αὐξανούσης τὸν Ὧρον, ἀναθυμιάσεσι καὶ ὁμίχλαις καὶ νέφεσι ῥωννύμενον, ἐκρατήθη μέν, οὐκ ἀνῃρέθη δ' ὁ Τυφών. οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ἡ κυρία τῆς γῆς θεὸς ἀναιρεθῆναι παντάπασι τὴν ἀντικειμένην τῇ ὑγρότητι φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐχάλασε καὶ ἀνῆκε βουλομένη διαμένειν τὴν κρᾶσιν[5]· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμον[6] εἶναι τέλειον ἐκλιπόντος[7] καὶ ἀφανισθέντος τοῦ πυρώδους. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ἐλέγετο[8] παρ' αὐτοῖς,

[1] καὶ] κατὰ H. Richards; but *cf.* " the earth " both before (ἡ χώρα) and after (τῆς γῆς)!
[2] πᾶσι δ' Bernardakis: πᾶσιν.
[3] κατίασι Baxter: κάτεισι.
[4] γῆν Xylander: τὴν.
[5] κρᾶσιν Xylander: κρίσιν.
[6] κόσμον] τὸν κόσμον Markland.
[7] ἐκλιπόντος Markland: ἐκλείποντος.

as the image of Isis; and this is kept up for four days consecutively, beginning with the seventeenth of the month. The things mourned for are four in number: first, the departure and recession of the Nile; second, the complete extinction of the north winds, as the south winds gain the upper hand; third, the day's growing shorter than the night; and, to crown all, the denudation of the earth together with the defoliation of the trees and shrubs at this time. On the nineteenth day they go down to the sea at night-time; and the keepers of the robes and the priests bring forth the sacred chest containing a small golden coffer, into which they pour some potable water which they have taken up, and a great shout arises from the company for joy that Osiris is found. Then they knead some fertile soil with the water and mix in spices and incense of a very costly sort, and fashion therefrom a crescent-shaped figure, which they clothe and adorn, thus indicating that they regard these gods as the substance of Earth and Water.

40. When Isis recovered Osiris and was watching Horus grow up [a] as he was being made strong by the exhalations and mists and clouds, Typhon was vanquished but not annihilated [b]; for the goddess who holds sway over the Earth would not permit the complete annihilation of the nature opposed to moisture, but relaxed and moderated it, being desirous that its tempering potency should persist, because it was not possible for a complete world to exist, if the fiery element left it and disappeared. Even if this story were not current among them, one would hardly

[a] *Cf.* 357 C-F, *supra.* [b] *Cf.* 358 D, *supra.*

[8] ἐλέγετο F.C.B. (for a similar form of condition *cf.* Soph. *Ajax*, 962): λέγεται.

(367) εἰκότως οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἄν τις ἀπορρίψειε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Τυφὼν μὲν ἐκράτει πάλαι τῆς Ὀσίριδος μοίρας· θάλαττα γὰρ ἦν ἡ Αἴγυπτος· διὸ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς
B μετάλλοις καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν εὑρίσκεται μέχρι νῦν κογχύλια ἔχειν· πᾶσαι δὲ πηγαὶ καὶ φρέατα πάντα πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἂν ὑπολείμματος[1] τῆς πάλαι θαλάττης ἑώλου[2] ἐνταυθοῖ συνερρυηκότος.

Ὁ δ' Ὧρος χρόνῳ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἐπεκράτησε, τουτέστιν εὐκαιρίας ὀμβρίων γενομένης, ὁ Νεῖλος ἐξώσας[3] τὴν θάλατταν ἀνέφηνε τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε ταῖς προσχώσεσιν· ὃ δὴ μαρτυροῦσαν ἔχει τὴν αἴσθησιν· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ἐπιφέροντι
C τῷ ποταμῷ νέαν ἰλὺν καὶ προάγοντι[4] τὴν γῆν κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποχωροῦν ὀπίσω τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὕψος τῶν ἐν βάθει λαμβανόντων διὰ τὰς προσχώσεις ἀπορρέουσαν· τὴν δὲ Φάρον, ἣν Ὅμηρος ἤδει δρόμον ἡμέρας ἀπέχουσαν Αἰγύπτου, νῦν μέρος οὖσαν αὐτῆς, οὐκ αὐτὴν ἀναδραμοῦσαν οὐδὲ προσαναβᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μεταξὺ θαλάττης ἀναπλάττοντι τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τρέφοντι τὴν ἤπειρον ἀνασταλείσης.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Στωικῶν θεολογουμένοις ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μὲν γόνιμον πνεῦμα καὶ τρόφιμον Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι, τὸ πληκτικὸν δὲ καὶ διαιρετικὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸ δὲ δεκτικὸν Ἄμμωνα, Δήμητρα[5] δὲ καὶ Κόρην τὸ διὰ

[1] ὑπολείμματος F.C.B.: ὑπόλειμμα.
[2] ἑώλου F.C.B.: ἕωλον.
[3] ἐξώσας Wyttenbach: ἐξεώσας.
[4] προάγοντι Bernardakis: προσαγαγόντι or προαγαγόντι.
[5] Δήμητρα Bernardakis: δήμητραν.

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 5; Diodorus, iii. 3, and i. 39. 11.

be justified in rejecting that other account, to the effect that Typhon, many ages ago, held sway over Osiris's domain; for Egypt used to be all a sea,[a] and, for that reason, even to-day it is found to have shells in its mines and mountains.[b] Moreover, all the springs and wells, of which there are many, have a saline and brackish water, as if some stale dregs of the ancient sea had collected there.

But, in time, Horus overpowered Typhon; that is to say, there came on a timely abundance of rain, and the Nile forced out the sea and revealed the fertile land, which it filled out with its alluvial deposits. This has support in the testimony of our own observation; for we see, even to-day, as the river brings down new silt and advances the land, that the deep waters gradually recede and, as the bottom gains in height by reason of the alluvial deposits, the water of the sea runs off from these. We also note that Pharos, which Homer[c] knew as distant a day's sail from Egypt, is now a part of it; not that the island has extended its area by rising, or has come nearer to the land, but the sea that separated them was obliged to retire before the river, as the river reshaped the land and made it to increase.

The fact is that all this is somewhat like the doctrines promulgated by the Stoics[d] about the gods; for they say that the creative and fostering spirit is Dionysus, the truculent and destructive is Heracles, the receptive is Ammon, that which pervades the Earth and its products is Demeter and the Daughter,

[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 12.

[c] *Od.* iv. 356. *Cf.* also Strabo, xii. 2. 4 (p. 536), and xvii. 1. 6 (p. 791).

[d] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 1093 (p. 319).

(367) τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διῆκον, Ποσειδῶνα δὲ τὸ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης. (41.) Οἱ δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀστρολογίας μαθηματικῶν[1] ἔνια μει-
D γνύντες Τυφῶνα μὲν οἴονται τὸν ἡλιακὸν κόσμον, Ὄσιριν δὲ τὸν σεληνιακὸν λέγεσθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ σελήνην γόνιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν ἔχουσαν εὐμενῆ καὶ γοναῖς ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν εἶναι βλαστήσεσι· τὸν δ' ἥλιον ἀκράτῳ πυρὶ καὶ σκληρῷ καταθάλπειν[2] τε καὶ καταυαίνειν τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τεθηλότα, καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς παντάπασιν ὑπὸ φλογμοῦ ποιεῖν ἀοίκητον καὶ κατακρατεῖν πολλαχοῦ καὶ τῆς σελήνης. διὸ τὸν Τυφῶνα Σὴθ ἀεὶ[3]
Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καταδυναστεῦον ἢ
E καταβιαζόμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἡλίῳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσιν ἐνιδρυμένον συμπεριπολεῖν, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν. λόγου γὰρ ἔργοις ἔοικε καὶ τελείας[4] σοφίας τὰ τῆς σελήνης, τὰ δ' ἡλίου πληγαῖς ὑπὸ βίας καὶ ῥώμης περαινομέναις.[5] οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαί φασι, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὰ κρηναῖα καὶ λιμναῖα νάματα γλυκεῖαν ἀναπέμπειν καὶ μαλακὴν ἀναθυμίασιν.

42. Ἑβδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τὴν Ὀσίριδος γενέσθαι τελευτὴν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα γίγνεται τελειουμένη[6] κατάδηλος ἡ πανσέληνος. διὸ

[1] μαθηματικῶν] μαθημάτων Markland.
[2] καὶ σκληρῷ καταθάλπειν Madvig: κεκληρωκότα θάλπειν.
[3] ἀεὶ del. Squire. [4] τελείας F.C.B.: περὶ.
[5] περαινομέναις Baxter: περαινομένης.
[6] τελειουμένη F.C.B.; μειουμένη Wyttenbach: πληρουμένη.

[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 15 (40), ii. 28 (71); and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 147.
[b] *Cf.* 658 B, *infra*. [c] *Cf.* 371 B and 376 A, *infra*.

and that which pervades the Sea is Poseidon.[a] (41.) But the Egyptians, by combining with these physical explanations some of the scientific results derived from astronomy, think that by Typhon is meant the solar world, and by Osiris the lunar world; they reason that the moon, because it has a light that is generative and productive of moisture,[b] is kindly towards the young of animals and the burgeoning plants, whereas the sun, by its untempered and pitiless heat, makes all growing and flourishing vegetation hot and parched, and, through its blazing light, renders a large part of the earth uninhabitable, and in many a region overpowers the moon. For this reason the Egyptians regularly call Typhon "Seth,"[c] which, being interpreted, means "overmastering and compelling." They have a legend that Heracles, making his dwelling in the sun, is a companion for it in its revolutions, as is the case also with Hermes and the moon. In fact, the actions of the moon are like actions of reason and perfect wisdom, whereas those of the sun are like beatings administered through violence and brute strength. The Stoics[d] assert that the sun is kindled and fed from the sea, but that for the moon the moving waters from the springs and lakes send up a sweet and mild exhalation.

42. The Egyptians have a legend that the end of Osiris's life came on the seventeenth of the month, on which day it is quite evident to the eye that the period of the full moon is over.[e] Because of this the

[a] Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 663. *Cf.* also Diogenes Laertius, vii. 145; and Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 11.

[e] Fourteen days, or one half of a lunar month, before the ἕνη καὶ νέα, if the lunar month could ever be made to square with any system of chronology!

F καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀντίφραξιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καλοῦσι, καὶ ὅλως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἀφοσιοῦνται. τοῦ γὰρ ἑκκαίδεκα τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἑτερομήκους, οἷς μόνοις ἀριθμῶν ἐπιπέδων συμβέβηκε τὰς περιμέτρους ἴσας ἔχειν τοῖς περιεχομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν χωρίοις, μέσος ὁ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα παρεμπίπτων ἀντιφράττει καὶ διαζεύγνυσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ διαιρεῖ[1] τὸν[2] ἐπόγδοον λόγον εἰς ἄνισα διαστήματα τεμνόμενος.

Ἐτῶν δ' ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν βιῶσαι τὸν Ὄσιριν οἱ δὲ
368 βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔστι φῶτα τῆς σελήνης καὶ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις τὸν αὐτῆς κύκλον ἐξελίττει. τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἐν ταῖς λεγομέναις Ὀσίριδος ταφαῖς τέμνοντες κατασκευάζουσι λάρνακα μηνοειδῆ διὰ τὸ τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν τῷ ἡλίῳ πλησιάζῃ, μηνοειδῆ γιγνομένην ἀποκρύπτεσθαι. τὸν δ' εἰς δεκατέτταρα μέρη τοῦ Ὀσίριδος διασπασμὸν αἰνίττονται πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς φθίνει μετὰ πανσέληνον ἄχρι νουμηνίας τὸ ἄστρον.
B ἡμέραν δὲ ἐν ᾗ φαίνεται πρῶτον ἐκφυγοῦσα τὰς αὐγὰς καὶ παρελθοῦσα τὸν ἥλιον "ἀτελὲς ἀγαθόν" προσαγορεύουσιν. ὁ γὰρ Ὄσιρις ἀγαθοποιός, καὶ τοὔνομα πολλὰ φράζει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κράτος ἐνεργοῦν καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸν ὃ λέγουσι. τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ὄμφιν[3] εὐεργέτην ὁ Ἑρμαῖός φησι δηλοῦν ἑρμηνευόμενον.

43. Οἴονται δὲ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀναβάσεις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ

[1] διαιρεῖ] διατηρεῖ Xylander.
[2] τὸν] κατὰ τὸν Wyttenbach.
[3] Ὄμφιν] Ὀνουφιν (?) Parthey.

Pythagoreans call this day "the Barrier," and utterly abominate this number. For the number seventeen, coming in between the square sixteen and the oblong rectangle eighteen, which, as it happens, are the only plane figures that have their perimeters equal to their areas,[a] bars them off from each other and disjoins them, and breaks up the ratio of eight to eight and an eighth [b] by its division into unequal intervals.

Some say that the years of Osiris's life, others that the years of his reign, were twenty-eight [c]; for that is the number of the moon's illuminations, and in that number of days does she complete her cycle. The wood which they cut on the occasions called the "burials of Osiris" they fashion into a crescent-shaped coffer because of the fact that the moon, when it comes near the sun, becomes crescent-shaped and disappears from our sight. The dismemberment of Osiris into fourteen parts they refer allegorically to the days of the waning of that satellite from the time of the full moon to the new moon. And the day on which she becomes visible after escaping the solar rays and passing by the sun they style "Incomplete Good"; for Osiris is beneficent, and his name means many things, but, not least of all, an active and beneficent power, as they put it. The other name of the god, Omphis, Hermaeus says means "benefactor" when interpreted.

43. They think that the risings of the Nile have some relation to the illuminations of the moon; for

[a] That is: $4 \times 4 = 16$ and $4+4+4+4=16$: so also $3 \times 6 = 18$ and $3+6+3+6=18$.

[b] That is, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a number added to itself: thus $16 + \frac{16}{8} = 18$. Eighteen, therefore, bears the epogdoon relation to sixteen, which is broken up by the intervention of seventeen, an odd number.

[c] *Cf.* 358 A, *supra.*

(368) μεγίστη περὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην ὀκτὼ γίγνεται καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεων, ὅσα φῶτα καὶ μέτρα τῶν ἐμμήνων περιόδων ἑκάστης ἔστιν· ἡ δὲ περὶ Μένδητα καὶ Ξόιν βραχυτάτη πήχεων ἓξ[1] πρὸς τὴν διχότομον· ἡ δὲ μέση περὶ Μέμφιν, ὅταν ᾖ δικαία, δεκατεσσάρων πήχεων πρὸς τὴν πανσέληνον.

Τὸν δ' Ἄπιν[2] εἰκόνα μὲν Ὀσίριδος ἔμψυχον εἶναι, γενέσθαι δὲ ὅταν φῶς ἐρείσῃ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψηται βοὸς ὀργώσης. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασιν ἔοικε πολλὰ τοῦ Ἄπιδος, περιμελαινομένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς. ἔτι δὲ[3] τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ Φαμενὼθ μηνὸς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν, ἔμβασιν Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζοντες, ἔαρος ἀρχὴν οὖσαν. οὕτω τὴν Ὀσίριδος δύναμιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τιθέντες[4] τὴν Ἶσιν αὐτῷ γένεσιν οὖσαν συνεῖναι λέγουσι. διὸ καὶ μητέρα τὴν σελήνην τοῦ κόσμου καλοῦσι καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρσενόθηλυν οἴονται πληρουμένην ὑφ' Ἡλίου καὶ κυϊσκομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ
D πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα προϊεμένην γεννητικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ κατασπείρουσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν φθορὰν ἐπικρατεῖν τὴν τυφώνειον, πολλάκις δὲ κρατουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ συνδεομένην αὖθις ἀναλύεσθαι[5] καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ὧρον. ἔστι δ' οὗτος ὁ περίγειος κόσμος οὔτε φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαττόμενος παντάπασιν οὔτε γενέσεως.

[1] ἓξ] ἑπτὰ Squire. [2] Ἄπιν] Baxter would add φασιν.
[3] ἔτι δὲ Baxter: ὅτι. [4] τιθέντες Petavius: τίθενται.
[5] ἀναλύεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἀναδύεσθαι.

---

[a] Besides the famous ancient Nilometer at Elephantinê, others have been found at Philae, Edfu, and Esna.

[b] *Cf.* 359 B and 362 C, *supra.*

[c] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 718 B, and Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 10.

the greatest rising,[a] in the neighbourhood of Elephantinê, is twenty-eight cubits, which is the number of its illuminations that form the measure of each of its monthly cycles; the rising in the neighbourhood of Mendes and Xoïs, which is the least, is six cubits, corresponding to the first quarter. The mean rising, in the neighbourhood of Memphis, when it is normal, is fourteen cubits, corresponding to the full moon.

The Apis, they say, is the animate image of Osiris,[b] and he comes into being when a fructifying light thrusts forth from the moon and falls upon a cow in her breeding-season.[c] Wherefore there are many things in the Apis that resemble features of the moon, his bright parts being darkened by the shadowy. Moreover, at the time of the new moon in the month of Phamenoth they celebrate a festival to which they give the name of "Osiris's coming to the Moon," and this marks the beginning of the spring. Thus they make the power of Osiris to be fixed in the Moon, and say that Isis, since she is generation, is associated with him. For this reason they also call the Moon the mother of the world, and they think that she has a nature both male and female, as she is receptive and made pregnant by the Sun, but she herself in turn emits and disseminates into the air generative principles. For, as they believe, the destructive activity of Typhon does not always prevail, but oftentimes is overpowered by such generation and put in bonds, and then at a later time is again released and contends against Horus,[d] who is the terrestrial universe; and this is never completely exempt either from dissolution or from generation.

[a] *Cf.* 358 D, *supra.*

(368) 44. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκλειπτικῶν αἴνιγμα ποιοῦνται τὸν μῦθον. ἐκλείπει μὲν γὰρ ἡ σελήνη πανσέληνος ἐναντίαν τοῦ ἡλίου στάσιν ἔχοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σκιὰν ἐμπίπτουσα τῆς γῆς, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ὄσιριν εἰς τὴν σορόν. αὐτὴ δὲ πάλιν
E ἀποκρύπτει καὶ ἀφανίζει ταῖς τριακάσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀναιρεῖται παντάπασι τὸν ἥλιον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸν Τυφῶνα ἡ Ἶσις.

Γεννώσης τῆς Νέφθυος τὸν Ἄνουβιν, Ἶσις ὑποβάλλεται. Νέφθυς γάρ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἀφανές, Ἶσις δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ φανερόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων[1] ὑποφαύων καὶ καλούμενος ὁρίζων κύκλος, ἐπίκοινος ὢν ἀμφοῖν, Ἄνουβις κέκληται καὶ κυνὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀπεικάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύων χρῆται τῇ ὄψει νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὁμοίως. καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἄνουβις, οἵαν ἡ Ἑκάτη παρ' Ἕλλησι, χθόνιος ὢν ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀλύμπιος.
F ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἄνουβις εἶναι· διὸ πάντα τίκτων ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κυῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχεν. ἔστι[2] δ' οὖν τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἄνουβιν ἀπόρρητόν τι· καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὰς μεγίστας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τιμὰς ὁ κύων ἔσχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Καμβύσου τὸν Ἆπιν ἀνελόντος καὶ ῥίψαντος οὐδὲν προσῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐγεύσατο τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος ὁ κύων, ἀπώλεσε τὸ πρῶτος εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἑτέρων ζῴων.

[1] τούτων Bentley: τούτῳ.
[2] ἔστι Reiske: ἔτι.

---

[a] *Cf.* 356 E, *supra.* [b] *Cf.* 375 E, *infra.*

[c] Plutarch would connect κύων, "dog," with the participle of κυῶ, "be pregnant." If the animal were a bear, we might say, "bears all things . . . the appellation of Bear," which would be a very close parallel.

44. There are some who would make the legend an allegorical reference to matters touching eclipses ; for the Moon suffers eclipse only when she is full, with the Sun directly opposite to her, and she falls into the shadow of the Earth, as they say Osiris fell into his coffin. Then again, the Moon herself obscures the Sun and causes solar eclipses, always on the thirtieth of the month ; however, she does not completely annihilate the Sun, and likewise Isis did not annihilate Typhon.

When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis, Isis treated the child as if it were her own[a] ; for Nephthys is that which is beneath the Earth and invisible, Isis that which is above the earth and visible ; and the circle which touches these, called the horizon, being common to both,[b] has received the name Anubis, and is represented in form like a dog ; for the dog can see with his eyes both by night and by day alike. And among the Egyptians Anubis is thought to possess this faculty, which is similar to that which Hecatê is thought to possess among the Greeks, for Anubis is a deity of the lower world as well as a god of Olympus. Some are of the opinion that Anubis is Cronus. For this reason, inasmuch as he generates all things out of himself and conceives all things within himself, he has gained the appellation of "Dog."[c] There is, therefore, a certain mystery observed by those who revere Anubis; in ancient times the dog obtained the highest honours in Egypt ; but, when Cambyses[d] had slain the Apis and cast him forth, nothing came near the body or ate of it save only the dog ; and thereby the dog lost his primacy and his place of honour above that of all the other animals.

[a] *Cf.* the note on 355 c, *supra.*

Εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς, εἰς ὃ τὴν σελήνην ὀλισθάνουσαν ἐκλείπειν νομίζουσι, Τυφῶνα
369 καλοῦντες. (45.) Ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπέοικεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἕκαστος, ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐχμὸν[1] οὐδ' ἄνεμον οὐδὲ θάλατταν οὐδὲ σκότος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὅσον ἡ φύσις βλαβερὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἔχει, μόριον τοῦ Τυφῶνός θετέον.[2] οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἀψύχοις σώμασι τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς θετέον, ὡς Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, οὔτ' ἀποίου[3] δημιουργὸν ὕλης ἕνα λόγον καὶ μίαν πρόνοιαν, ὡς οἱ Στωικοί, περιγιγνομένην ἁπάντων καὶ κρατοῦσαν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἢ φλαῦρον ὁτιοῦν, ὅπου πάν-
B των, ἢ χρηστόν, ὅπου[4] μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἐγγενέσθαι. "παλίντονος" γάρ "ἁρμονίη κόσμου, ὅκωσπερ[5] λύρης καὶ τόξου" καθ' Ἡράκλειτον· καὶ κατ' Εὐριπίδην

οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἐσθλὰ καὶ κακά,
ἀλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις ὥστ' ἔχειν καλῶς.

Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιος αὕτη κάτεισιν ἐκ θεολόγων καὶ νομοθετῶν εἴς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα, τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον οὐδ' ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τελεταῖς ἔν τε θυσίαις καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ Ἕλλησι πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένη,[6] ὡς

[1] αὐχμὸν] αὐχμὸν μόνον Sieveking.
[2] θετέον F.C.B. (ἔστιν εἰπεῖν Bernardakis; νομιστέον Strijd) · ἐστιν.
[3] ἀποίου Meziriacus: ἄποιον οὐ.
[4] ὅπου Meziriacus: ὁμοῦ.
[5] ὅκωσπερ Wyttenbach: ὅπωσπερ.
[6] περιφερομένη Holwerda: περιφερομένην.

[a] *Cf.* 373 E, *infra.*
[b] *Cf.* 364 A, *supra*, and 376 F, *infra.*

There are some who give the name of Typhon to the Earth's shadow, into which they believe the moon slips when it suffers eclipse.[a] (45.) Hence it is not unreasonable to say that the statement of each person individually is not right, but that the statement of all collectively is right ; for it is not drought nor wind nor sea nor darkness,[b] but everything harmful and destructive that Nature contains, which is to be set down as a part of Typhon. The origins of the universe are not to be placed in inanimate bodies, according to the doctrine of Democritus and Epicurus, nor yet is the Artificer of undifferentiated matter, according to the Stoic doctrine,[c] one Reason, and one Providence which gains the upper hand and prevails over all things. The fact is that it is impossible for anything bad whatsoever to be engendered where God is the Author of all, or anything good where God is the Author of nothing ; for the concord of the universe, like that of a lyre or bow, according to Heracleitus,[d] is resilient if disturbed ; and according to Euripides,[e]

> The good and bad cannot be kept apart,
> But there is some commingling, which is well.

Wherefore this very ancient opinion comes down from writers on religion and from lawgivers to poets and philosophers ; it can be traced to no source, but it carried a strong and almost indelible conviction, and is in circulation in many places among barbarians and Greeks alike, not only in story and tradition but also

[c] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. p. 1108, and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 134.

[d] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 87, no. B 51. Plutarch quotes this again in *Moralia*, 473 F and 1026 B.

[e] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, no. 21, from the *Aeolus* ; quoted again in *Moralia*, 25 C and 474 A.

C οὔτ' ἄνουν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται
(369) τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, οὔθ' εἷς ἐστιν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ κατευθύνων ὥσπερ οἴαξιν ἤ τισι πειθηνίοις χαλινοῖς λόγος, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεμειγμένα κακοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδέν, ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἄκρατον ἐνταῦθα τῆς φύσεως φερούσης, οὐ δυοῖν πίθων εἷς ταμίας ὥσπερ νάματα τὰ πράγματα καπηλικῶς διανέμων ἀνακεράννυσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ δυοῖν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν καὶ δυοῖν ἀντιπάλων δυνάμεων τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κατ' εὐθεῖαν ὑφηγουμένης, τῆς δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀναστρεφούσης καὶ ἀνακλώσης, ὅ τε βίος
D μικτὸς ὅ τε κόσμος, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ περίγειος οὗτος καὶ μετὰ σελήνης[1] ἀνώμαλος καὶ ποικίλος γέγονε καὶ μεταβολὰς πάσας δεχόμενος. εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀναιτίως πέφυκε γενέσθαι, αἰτίαν δὲ κακοῦ τἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι, δεῖ γένεσιν ἰδίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν.

46. Καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις· νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν[2] ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ'
E ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωροάστρης[3] ὁ

[1] σελήνης F.C.B.: σελήνην.
[2] μὲν Markland: μὲν γὰρ.
[3] Ζωροάστρης from *Life of Numa*, ch. iv.: ζωρόαστρις.

---

[a] The language is reminiscent of a fragment of Sophocles quoted by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 767 E, and *Life of Alexander*, chap. vii. (668 B). *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles,

in rites and sacrifices, to the effect that the Universe is not of itself suspended aloft without sense or reason or guidance, nor is there one Reason which rules and guides it by rudders, as it were, or by controlling reins,[a] but, inasmuch as Nature brings, in this life of ours, many experiences in which both evil and good are commingled, or better, to put it very simply, Nature brings nothing which is not combined with something else, we may assert that it is not one keeper of two great vases [b] who, after the manner of a barmaid, deals out to us our failures and successes in mixture, but it has come about, as the result of two opposed principles and two antagonistic forces, one of which guides us along a straight course to the right, while the other turns us aside and backward, that our life is complex, and so also is the universe ; and if this is not true of the whole of it, yet it is true that this terrestrial universe, including its moon as well, is irregular and variable and subject to all manner of changes. For if it is the law of Nature that nothing comes into being without a cause, and if the good cannot provide a cause for evil, then it follows that Nature must have in herself the source and origin of evil, just as she contains the source and origin of good.

46. The great majority and the wisest of men hold this opinion : they believe that there are two gods, rivals as it were, the one the Artificer of good and the other of evil. There are also those who call the better one a god and the other a daemon, as, for example,

no. 785. "A task for many reins and rudders too" (*πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἅμα*).

[b] The reference is to Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 527-528, as misquoted in Plato, *Republic*, 379 D. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 24 A (and the note), 105 C (and the note), and 473 B. *Moralia*, 600 C, is helpful in understanding the present passage.

μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ,[1] μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. ἐδίδαξε δὲ[2] τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες ὅμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ τὸν Ἅιδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μείξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος
F εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζῴων ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ δὲ φαύλου μῦς[3] ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν.

47. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ[4] κἀκεῖνοι πολλὰ μυθώδη περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγουσιν, οἷα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους,[5] ὁ δ' Ἀρειμάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου γεγονώς, πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις·
370 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἓξ θεοὺς ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου,

[1] ἀγνοίᾳ] ὀρφναίᾳ (?). [2] δὲ added by Meziriacus.
[3] μῦς Squire from 670 D: τοὺς.
[4] ἀλλὰ added by Reiske.
[5] φάους] φωτός Hatzidakis.

---

[a] The casual reader will gain a better understanding of chapters 46 and 47 if he will consult some brief book or article on Zoroaster (Zarathustra) and the Persian religion.

[b] That is, one of the Persian Magi or Wise Men.

Zoroaster[a] the sage,[b] who, they record, lived five thousand years before the time of the Trojan War. He called the one Oromazes and the other Areimanius[c]; and he further declared that among all the things perceptible to the senses, Oromazes may best be compared to light, and Areimanius, conversely, to darkness and ignorance, and midway between the two is Mithras; for this reason the Persians give to Mithras the name of "Mediator." Zoroaster has also taught that men should make votive offerings and thank-offerings to Oromazes, and averting and mourning offerings to Areimanius. They pound up in a mortar a certain plant called omomi, at the same time invoking Hades[d] and Darkness; then they mix it with the blood of a wolf that has been sacrificed, and carry it out and cast it into a place where the sun never shines. In fact, they believe that some of the plants belong to the good god and others to the evil daemon; so also of the animals they think that dogs, fowls, and hedgehogs, for example, belong to the good god, but that water-rats[e] belong to the evil one; therefore the man who has killed the most of these they hold to be fortunate.

47. However, they also tell many fabulous stories about their gods, such, for example, as the following: Oromazes, born from the purest light, and Areimanius, born from the darkness, are constantly at war with each other; and Oromazes created six gods, the first of Good Thought, the second of Truth, the third of Order, and, of the rest, one of Wisdom, one of Wealth,

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1026 B, and Diogenes Laertius, *Prologue*, 2.
[d] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, *Prologue*, 8.
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 537 A and 670 D.

(370) τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργόν· ὁ δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ ἀντιτέχνους ἴσους τὸν ἀριθμόν. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν· ἕνα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἷον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε, τὸν σείριον. ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ
B εἴκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ᾠὸν ἔθηκεν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι, διατρήσαντες τὸ ᾠὸν εἰσέδυσαν,[1] ὅθεν ἀναμέμεικται τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ἔπεισι δὲ χρόνος εἱμαρμένος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον λοιμὸν ἐπάγοντα καὶ λιμὸν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνάγκη φθαρῆναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐπιπέδου καὶ ὁμαλῆς γενομένης, ἕνα βίον καὶ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων καὶ ὁμογλώσσων ἁπάντων γενέσθαι. Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισ-
C χίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι[2] τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας· τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἠρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον, κἄλλως[3] μὲν οὐ πολὺν τῷ θεῷ ὅσονπερ[4] ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον.

[1] εἰσέδυσαν (suggested partly by Böttcher) F.C.B.: γανωθὲν.
[2] ἀπολείπεσθαι] ἀπολεῖσθαι Markland.
[3] κἄλλως F.C.B.: καλῶς.
[4] ὅσονπερ F.C.B.: ὥσπερ.

---

[a] It is plain that the two sets of gods became intermingled, but whether the bad gods got in or the good gods got out is not clear from the text.

and one the Artificer of Pleasure in what is Honourable. But Areimanius created rivals, as it were, equal to these in number. Then Oromazes enlarged himself to thrice his former size, and removed himself as far distant from the Sun as the Sun is distant from the Earth, and adorned the heavens with stars. One star he set there before all others as a guardian and watchman, the Dog-star. Twenty-four other gods he created and placed in an egg. But those created by Areimanius, who were equal in number to the others, pierced through the egg and made their way inside [a]; hence evils are now combined with good. But a destined time shall come when it is decreed that Areimanius, engaged in bringing on pestilence and famine, shall by these be utterly annihilated and shall disappear; and then shall the earth become a level plain, and there shall be one manner of life and one form of government for a blessed people who shall all speak one tongue. Theopompus [b] says that, according to the sages, one god is to overpower, and the other to be overpowered, each in turn for the space of three thousand years, and afterward for another three thousand years they shall fight and war, and the one shall undo the works of the other, and finally Hades shall pass away; then shall the people be happy, and neither shall they need to have food nor shall they cast any shadow. And the god, who has contrived to bring about all these things, shall then have quiet and shall repose for a time,[c] no long time indeed, but for the god as much as would be a moderate time for a man to sleep.

[b] Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, Theopompus, no. 65.

[c] The meaning of the text is clear enough, but the wording of it is uncertain.

(370) Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάγων μυθολογία τοιοῦτον ἔχει τρόπον. (48.) Χαλδαῖοι δὲ τῶν πλανήτων οὓς[1] θεοὺς γενεθλίους[2] καλοῦσι, δύο μὲν ἀγαθουργούς, δύο δὲ κακοποιούς, μέσους δὲ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ κοινούς. τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων πᾶσί που δῆλα, τὴν μὲν ἀγαθὴν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου μερίδα, τὴν δ' ἀποτρόπαιον[3] Ἅιδου ποιουμένων, ἐκ δ' Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος
D Ἁρμονίαν γεγονέναι μυθολογούντων[4]· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀπηνὴς καὶ φιλόνεικος, ἡ δὲ μειλίχιος καὶ γενέθλιος.

Σκόπει δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τούτοις συμφερομένους. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν γὰρ ἄντικρυς πόλεμον ὀνομάζει "πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον πάντων," καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον εὐχόμενον

ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔριν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσθαι

λανθάνειν, φησί, τῇ πάντων γενέσει καταρώμενον, ἐκ μάχης καὶ ἀντιπαθείας τὴν γένεσιν ἐχόντων, ἥλιον δὲ μὴ ὑπερβήσεσθαι τοὺς προσήκοντας ὅρους· εἰ δὲ μή, γοργῶπάς[5] μιν Δίκης ἐπικούρους ἐξευρήσειν.

E Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀγαθουργὸν ἀρχὴν "φιλότητα" καὶ "φιλίαν," πολλάκις δ' ἁρμονίαν

[1] οὓς Wyttenbach: τοὺς.
[2] γενεθλίους Wyttenbach: γενέσθαι οὓς.
[3] ἀποτρόπαιον Markland: ἀποτροπαίου.
[4] μυθολογούντων Bernardakis: μυθολογοῦνται.
[5] γοργῶπάς F.C.B. (= Ἐρινύες 604 A): γλώττας.

---

[a] The translation is based on an emendation of Wyttenbach's, which makes the words refer to Chaldean astrology

Such, then, is the character of the mythology of the sages. (48.) The Chaldeans declare that of the planets, which they call tutelary gods,[a] two are beneficent, two maleficent, and the other three are median and partake of both qualities. The beliefs of the Greeks are well known to all; they make the good part to belong to Olympian Zeus and the abominated part to Hades, and they rehearse a legend that Concord is sprung from Aphroditê and Ares,[b] the one of whom is harsh and contentious, and the other mild and tutelary.

Observe also that the philosophers are in agreement with these; for Heracleitus[c] without reservation styles War "the Father and King and Lord of All," and he says that when Homer[d] prays that

> Strife may vanish away from the ranks of the gods and of mortals,

he fails to note that he is invoking a curse on the origin of all things, since all things originate from strife and antagonism; also Heracleitus says that the Sun will not transgress his appropriate bounds, otherwise the stern-eyed maidens, ministers of Justice, will find him out.[e]

Empedocles[f] calls the beneficent principle "friendship" or "friendliness," and oftentimes he calls Con-

(*i.e.* the planet under which one is born). *Cf.* Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, v. 29.

[b] That is, from Love and War.

[c] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 88, no. B 53.

[d] *Il.* xviii. 107, but Plutarch modifies the line to suit his context.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 604 A; Origen, *Against Celsus*, vi. 42; Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 96, no. B 94.

[f] *Ibid.* p. 232, Empedocles, no. 18; p. 239, no. 17, l. 19; and p. 269, no. 122 (= *Moralia*, 474 B).

καλεῖ "θεμερῶπιν,"[1] τὴν δὲ χείρονα "νεῖκος οὐλόμενον" καὶ "δῆριν αἱματόεσσαν."

Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλειόνων ὀνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἓν τὸ πεπερασμένον τὸ μένον τὸ εὐθὺ τὸ περιττὸν τὸ τετράγωνον τὸ ἴσον[2] τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ λαμπρόν, τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ τὴν δυάδα τὸ ἄπειρον τὸ φερόμενον τὸ καμπύλον τὸ ἄρτιον τὸ ἑτερόμηκες τὸ ἄνισον τὸ ἀριστερὸν τὸ σκοτεινόν, ὡς ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας· Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἄπειρον, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ
F τὸ μὲν εἶδος τὸ δὲ στέρησιν, Πλάτων δὲ πολλαχοῦ μὲν οἷον ἐπηλυγαζόμενος[3] καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενος τῶν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν ταὐτὸν ὀνομάζει, τὴν δὲ θάτερον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Νόμοις ἤδηπ ρεσβύτερος ὢν οὐ δι' αἰνιγμῶν οὐδὲ συμβολικῶς, ἀλλὰ κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν οὐ μιᾷ ψυχῇ φησι κινεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ πλείοσιν ἴσως, δυοῖν δὲ πάντως οὐκ ἐλάττοσιν, ὧν[4] τὴν μὲν ἀγαθουργὸν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν ταύτῃ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημιουργόν· ἀπολείπει δὲ καὶ τρίτην τινὰ μεταξὺ φύσιν οὐκ ἄψυχον οὐδ' ἄλογον οὐδ' ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι
371 νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνακειμένην ἀμφοῖν ἐκείναις, ἐφιεμένην δὲ τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀεὶ καὶ ποθοῦσαν καὶ διώκουσαν, ὡς τὰ ἐπιόντα δηλώσει τοῦ

[1] καλεῖ θεμερῶπιν Bentley: καλεῖσθαι μέροπι.
[2] τὸ ἴσον added by Xylander.
[3] ἐπηλυγαζόμενος Baxter and one MS.: ἐπιλυγιζόμενος.
[4] ὧν Squire: ὅθεν.

cord "sedate of countenance"; the worse principle he calls "accursed quarrelling" and "blood-stained strife."

The adherents of Pythagoras [a] include a variety of terms under these categories: under the good they set Unity, the Determinate, the Permanent, the Straight, the Odd, the Square, the Equal, the Right-handed, the Bright; under the bad they set Duality, the Indeterminate, the Moving, the Curved, the Even, the Oblong, the Unequal, the Left-handed, the Dark, on the supposition that these are the underlying principles of creation. For these, however, Anaxagoras postulates Mind and Infinitude, Aristotle [b] Form and Privation, and Plato,[c] in many passages, as though obscuring and veiling his opinion, names the one of the opposing principles "Identity" and the other "Difference"; but in his *Laws*,[d] when he had grown considerably older, he asserts, not in circumlocution or symbolically, but in specific words, that the movement of the Universe is actuated not by one soul, but perhaps by several, and certainly by not less than two, and of these the one is beneficent, and the other is opposed to it and the artificer of things opposed. Between these he leaves a certain third nature, not inanimate nor irrational nor without the power to move of itself,[e] as some think, but with dependence on both those others, and desiring the better always and yearning after it and pursuing it, as the succeeding portion of the treatise will make clear, in the

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 881 E, and Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, i. 5 (986 a 22).

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, i. 9 (990 b).

[c] *Timaeus*, 35 A; *cf. Moralia*, 441 F.

[d] Plato, *Laws*, 896 D ff.

[e] *Cf.* 374 E, *infra*.

(371) λόγου τὴν Αἰγυπτίων θεολογίαν μάλιστα ταύτῃ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ συνοικειοῦντος.

49. Μεμειγμένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις καὶ σύστασις ἐξ ἐναντίων οὐ μὴν ἰσοσθενῶν δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τῆς βελτίονος τὸ κράτος ἐστίν· ἀπολέσθαι δὲ τὴν φαύλην παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον, πολλὴν μὲν ἐμπεφυκυῖαν τῷ σώματι, πολλὴν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ[1] πρὸς τὴν βελτίονα ἀεὶ[1] δυσμαχοῦσαν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ψυχῇ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ὁ τῶν ἀρίστων πάντων ἡγεμὼν καὶ κύριος Ὄσιρίς ἐστιν,
B ἐν δὲ γῇ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ὕδατι καὶ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἄστροις τὸ τεταγμένον καὶ καθεστηκὸς καὶ ὑγιαῖνον ὥραις καὶ κράσεσι καὶ περιόδοις Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴ καὶ εἰκὼν ἐμφαινομένη· Τυφὼν δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ τιτανικὸν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἔμπληκτον τοῦ δὲ σωματικοῦ τὸ ἐπίκηρον[2] καὶ νοσώδες καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἀωρίαις[3] καὶ δυσκρασίαις, καὶ κρύψεσιν ἡλίου καὶ ἀφανισμοῖς σελήνης, οἷον ἐκδρομαὶ καὶ ἀφηνιασμοὶ[4] Τυφῶνος· καὶ τοὔνομα κατηγορεῖ τὸ Σήθ, ᾧ[5] τὸν Τυφῶνα καλοῦσι· φράζει μὲν τὸ καταδυναστεῦον καὶ καταβιαζόμενον, φράζει δὲ τὸ[6] πολλάκις ἀναστροφὴν καὶ πάλιν ὑπερπήδησιν.[7] Βέ-
C βωνα δὲ τινὲς μὲν ἕνα τῶν τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἑταίρων γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, Μανεθὼς δ'[8] αὖ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ Βέβωνα καλεῖσθαι· σημαίνει δὲ τοὔνομα κάθεξιν

[1] καὶ . . . ἀεὶ Wyttenbach: ἀεὶ . . . καὶ.
[2] ἐπίκηρον Xylander (ἐπίληπτον?): ἐπίκλητον.
[3] ἀωρίαις Baxter: ἀθρίαις.
[4] ἀφηνιασμοὶ Markland: ἀφανισμοὶ.
[5] ᾧ Xylander: αὖ. [6] τὸ] τὴν Markland.
[7] ὑπερπήδησιν] ὑπεκπήδησιν Holwerda.
[8] Μανεθὼς δ' Markland: μάνεθος.

endeavour to reconcile the religious beliefs of the Egyptians with this philosophy.[a]

49. The fact is that the creation and constitution of this world is complex, resulting, as it does, from opposing influences, which, however, are not of equal strength, but the predominance rests with the better. Yet it is impossible for the bad to be completely eradicated, since it is innate, in large amount, in the body and likewise in the soul of the Universe, and is always fighting a hard fight against the better. So in the soul Intelligence and Reason, the Ruler and Lord of all that is good, is Osiris, and in earth and wind and water and the heavens and stars that which is ordered, established, and healthy, as evidenced by seasons, temperatures, and cycles of revolution, is the efflux of Osiris [b] and his reflected image. But Typhon is that part of the soul which is impressionable, impulsive, irrational and truculent, and of the bodily part the destructible, diseased and disorderly as evidenced by abnormal seasons and temperatures, and by obscurations of the sun and disappearances of the moon,[c] outbursts, as it were, and unruly actions on the part of Typhon. And the name "Seth," [d] by which they call Typhon, denotes this; it means "the overmastering" and "overpowering," [e] and it means in very many instances "turning back," [f] and again "overpassing." Some say that one of the companions of Typhon was Bebon,[g] but Manetho says that Bebon was still another name by which Typhon was called. The name signifies "restraint" or "hindrance," as much as

[a] *Cf.* 372 E and 377 A, *infra.*
[b] See the note on 365 B, *supra.*
[c] *Cf.* 368 F, *supra.*
[d] *Cf.* 367 D, *supra*, and 376 A, *infra.*
[e] So also in the Egyptian papyri.
[f] *Cf.* 376 B, *infra.*
[g] *Cf.* 376 A, *infra.*

(371) ἢ κώλυσιν, ὡς τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁδῷ βαδίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ὃ χρὴ φερομένοις ἐνισταμένης τῆς τοῦ Τυφῶνος δυνάμεως. (50.) διὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων ζῴων ἀπονέμουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμαθέστατον, ὄνον· τῶν δ' ἀγρίων τὰ θηριωδέστατα, κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ποτάμιον ἵππον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν[1] τοῦ ὄνου προδεδηλώκαμεν. ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει δὲ Τυφῶνος ἄγαλμα δεικνύουσιν ἵππον ποτάμιον· ἐφ' οὗ βέβηκεν ἱέραξ ὄφει μαχόμενος, τῷ
D μὲν ἵππῳ τὸν Τυφῶνα δεικνύντες, τῷ δ' ἱέρακι δύναμιν καὶ ἀρχήν, ἣν βίᾳ κτώμενος ὁ Τυφὼν πολλάκις οὐκ ἀνύεται[2] ταραττόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας καὶ ταράττων. διὸ καὶ θύοντες ἑβδόμῃ τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἄφιξιν Ἴσιδος ἐκ Φοινίκης, ἐπιπλάττουσι τοῖς ποπάνοις ἵππον ποτάμιον δεδεμένον. ἐν δ' Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει νενομισμένον ἐστὶ κροκοδείλου φαγεῖν πάντως ἕκαστον· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μιᾷ θηρεύσαντες ὅσους ἂν δύνωνται καὶ κτείναντες ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προβάλλουσι· καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Τυφὼν τὸν Ὧρον ἀπέδρα κροκόδειλος γενόμενος,
E πάντα καὶ ζῷα καὶ φυτὰ καὶ πάθη τὰ φαῦλα καὶ βλαβερὰ Τυφῶνος ἔργα καὶ μέρη καὶ[3] κινήματα ποιούμενοι.

51. Τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν αὖ πάλιν ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφουσιν, ὧν τὸ μὲν τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐμφαίνει,[4] τὸ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς Ὅμηρος τὸν ἄρχοντα

[1] μὲν οὖν Markland: μέν.
[2] ἀνύεται Strijd; ἀνίεται Markland: ἀνιᾶται.
[3] Not in the MSS. but in the Aldine ed.
[4] ἐμφαίνει F.C.B. et al.: ἐμφαίνειν.

[a] *Supra*, 362 F.
[b] The text and significance of this passage are none too clear.

to say that, when things are going along in a proper way and making rapid progress towards the right end, the power of Typhon obstructs them. (50.) For this reason they assign to him the most stupid of the domesticated animals, the ass, and of the wild animals, the most savage, the crocodile and the hippopotamus.

In regard to the ass we have already[a] offered some explanation. At Hermopolis they point out a statue of Typhon in the form of an hippopotamus, on whose back is poised a hawk fighting with a serpent. By the hippopotamus they mean to indicate Typhon, and by the hawk a power and rule, which Typhon strives to win by force, oftentimes without success, being confused by his wickedness and creating confusion.[b] For this reason, when they offer sacrifice on the seventh day of the month Tybi, which they call the "Coming of Isis from Phoenicia," they imprint on their sacred cakes the image of an hippopotamus tied fast. In the town of Apollonopolis it is an established custom for every person without exception to eat of a crocodile[c]; and on one day they hunt as many as they can and, after killing them, cast them down directly opposite the temple. And they relate that Typhon escaped Horus by turning into a crocodile, and they would make out that all animals and plants and incidents that are bad and harmful are the deeds and parts and movements of Typhon.

51. Then again, they depict Osiris by means of an eye and a sceptre,[d] the one of which indicates forethought and the other power, much as Homer[e] in

[c] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 69; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 21; Strabo, xvii. 1. 47 (p. 817).

[d] *Cf.* 354 F, *supra.*

[e] Homer, *Iliad*, viii. 22.

καὶ βασιλεύοντα πάντων "Ζῆν' ὕπατον καὶ μήστωρα" καλῶν, ἔοικε τῷ μὲν ὑπάτῳ τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ, τῷ δὲ μήστωρι τὴν εὐβουλίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν σημαίνειν. γράφουσι καὶ ἱέρακι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον πολλάκις· εὐτονίᾳ γὰρ ὄψεως ὑπερβάλλει καὶ πτήσεως ὀξύτητι, καὶ διοικεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλαχίστῃ[1]
F τροφῇ πέφυκε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων ὄμμασι[2] γῆν ὑπερπετόμενος ἐπιβάλλειν· ὅταν δὲ πιόμενος[3] ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καταίρῃ, τὸ πτερὸν ἵστησιν ὀρθόν· πιὼν δὲ κλίνει τοῦτο πάλιν· ᾧ δῆλός ἐστι σεσωσμένος καὶ διαπεφευγὼς τὸν κροκόδειλον· ἂν γὰρ ἁρπασθῇ, μένει τὸ πτερὸν ὥσπερ ἔστη πεπηγός.

Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφον Ὀσίριδος ἄγαλμα δεικνύουσιν, ἐξορθιάζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ διὰ τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ τρόφιμον. ἀμπεχόνῃ δὲ φλογοειδεῖ
372 στέλλουσιν[4] αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἥλιον σῶμα[5] τῆς τἀγαθοῦ δυνάμεως ὡς ὁρατὸν οὐσίας νοητῆς ἡγούμενοι. διὸ καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστι τῶν τὴν ἡλίου σφαῖραν Τυφῶνι προσνεμόντων, ᾧ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σωτήριον οὐδὲ τάξις οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδὲ κίνησις μέτρον ἔχουσα καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ τἀναντία προσήκει· καὶ αὐχμόν, ᾧ[6] φθείρει πολλὰ τῶν ζῴων καὶ βλαστανόντων, οὐχ ἡλίου θετέον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ καὶ ἀέρι μὴ καθ' ὥραν κεραννυμένων

[1] ἐλαχίστῃ Bernardakis: ἐλάχιστα τῇ.
[2] ὄμμασι] σώμασι Xylander.
[3] πιόμενος Bernardakis: πιούμενος.
[4] ἀμπεχόνῃ . . . στέλλουσιν Baxter: ἀμπεχόνη δὲ φλογοειδὴς στέλλουσα.
[5] σῶμα] ὄμμα Markland.
[6] ᾧ F.C.B.; ὃς Baxter: οἷς.

[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, ii. 42, and Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv. 9.
[b] *Ibid.* x. 24.

calling the Lord and King of all "Zeus supreme and counsellor" appears by "supreme" to signify his prowess and by "counsellor" his careful planning and thoughtfulness. They also often depict this god by means of a hawk; for this bird is surpassing in the keenness of its vision and the swiftness of its flight, and is wont to support itself with the minimum amount of food. It is said also in flying over the earth to cast dust upon the eyes of unburied dead [a]; and whenever it settles down beside the river to drink it raises its feather upright, and after it has drunk it lets this sink down again, by which it is plain that the bird is safe and has escaped the crocodile,[b] for if it be seized, the feather remains fixed upright as it was at the beginning.

Everywhere they point out statues of Osiris in human form of the ithyphallic type, on account of his creative and fostering power [c]; and they clothe his statues in a flame-coloured garment, since they regard the body of the Sun as a visible manifestation of the perceptible substance of the power for good.[d] Therefore it is only right and fair to contemn those who assign the orb of the Sun to Typhon,[e] to whom there attaches nothing bright or of a conserving nature, no order nor generation nor movement possessed of moderation or reason, but everything the reverse; moreover, the drought,[f] by which he destroys many of the living creatures and growing plants, is not to be set down as the work of the Sun, but rather as due to the fact that the winds and waters in the earth and the air are not seasonably tempered when

[c] *Cf.* 365 B, *supra.*
[d] *Cf.* 393 D and 477 C, *infra.*
[e] *Cf.* 372 E, *infra.* [f] *Cf.* 367 D, *supra.*

(372) πνευμάτων καὶ ὑδάτων, ὅταν ἡ τῆς ἀτάκτου καὶ ἀορίστου δυνάμεως ἀρχὴ πλημμελήσασα κατασβέσῃ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις.

B 52. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὕμνοις τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἀνακαλοῦνται τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις κρυπτόμενον τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ Ἐπιφὶ μηνὸς ἑορτάζουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν Ὥρου γενέθλιον, ὅτε σελήνη καὶ ἥλιος ἐπὶ μιᾶς εὐθείας γεγόνασιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον τὴν σελήνην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὄμμα τοῦ Ὥρου καὶ φῶς ἡγούμενοι.

Τῇ δὲ ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ Φαωφὶ βακτηρίας ἡλίου γενέθλιον[1] ἄγουσι μετὰ φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, ἐμφαίνοντες οἷον ὑπερείσματος δεῖσθαι καὶ ῥώσεως, τῷ τε θερμῷ γιγνόμενον καὶ[2] τῷ φωτὶ
C ἐνδεᾷ, κλινόμενον καὶ πλάγιον ἀφ' ἡμῶν φερόμενον.

Ἔτι δὲ τὴν βοῦν ὑπὸ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἑπτάκις περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιφέρουσι τοῦ Ἡλίου[3]· καὶ καλεῖται ζήτησις Ὀσίριδος ἡ περιδρομή, τὸ ὕδωρ χειμῶνος τῆς θεοῦ ποθούσης· τοσαυτάκις δὲ περιίασι,[4] ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῶν χειμερινῶν ἐπὶ τροπὰς θερινὰς πάροδον[5] ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ συμπεραίνει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ θῦσαι τῷ ἡλίῳ τετράδι μηνὸς ἱσταμένου πάντων πρῶτος Ὧρος ὁ Ἴσιδος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Γενεθλίοις Ὥρου γέγραπται.

Καὶ μὴν ἡμέρας ἑκάστης τριχῶς ἐπιθυμιῶσι τῷ
D ἡλίῳ, ῥητίνην μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνατολάς, σμύρναν δὲ μεσουρανοῦντι, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον κῦφι περὶ δυσμάς·

[1] γενέθλιον Bentley: γενέσθαι ὂν.
[2] καὶ Petavius: ἐνδεᾷ καὶ.
[3] In the MSS. τοῦ Ἡλίου follows περιδρομή and not περιφέρουσι; transposed by Pinder.
[4] περιίασι Wyttenbach: περίεισι.
[5] πάροδον] περίοδον Markland.

the principle of the disorderly and unlimited power gets out of hand and quenches the exhalations.[a]

52. In the sacred hymns of Osiris they call upon him who is hidden in the arms of the Sun ; and on the thirtieth of the month Epiphi they celebrate the birthday of the Eyes of Horus, at the time when the Moon and the Sun are in a perfectly straight line, since they regard not only the Moon but also the Sun as the eye and light of Horus.

On the 8th of the waning of the month Phaophi they conduct the birthday of the Staff of the Sun following upon the autumnal equinox, and by this they declare, as it were, that he is in need of support and strength, since he becomes lacking in warmth and light, and undergoes decline, and is carried away from us to one side.

Moreover, at the time of the winter solstice they lead the cow seven times around the temple of the Sun and this circumambulation is called the Seeking for Osiris, since the Goddess in the winter-time yearns for water ; so many times do they go around, because in the seventh month the Sun completes the transition from the winter solstice to the summer solstice. It is said also that Horus, the son of Isis, offered sacrifice to the Sun first of all on the fourth day of the month, as is written in the records entitled the Birthdays of Horus.

Every day they make a triple offering of incense to the Sun, an offering of resin at sunrise, of myrrh at midday, and of the so-called *cyphi* at sunset ; the

[a] *Cf.* 369 A, *supra.*

(372) ὧν ἕκαστον ὃν ἔχει λόγον, ὕστερον ἀφηγήσομαι. τὸν δ' ἥλιον πᾶσι τούτοις προστρέπεσθαι[1] καὶ θεραπεύειν οἴονται. καὶ τί δεῖ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγειν; εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τὸν Ὄσιριν ἄντικρυς ἥλιον εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι σείριον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων λέγοντες, εἰ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἡ πρόσθεσις[2] τοῦ ἄρθρου τοὔνομα πεποίηκεν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, τὴν δ' Ἶσιν οὐχ ἑτέραν τῆς σελήνης ἀποφαίνοντες· ὅθεν[3] καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν κερασφόρα τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς γεγονέναι μιμήματα, τοῖς δὲ μελανοστόλοις ἐμφαίνεσθαι[4] τὰς κρύψεις καὶ τοὺς περισκιασμοὺς ἐν οἷς διώκει ποθοῦσα τὸν ἥλιον. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ
E ἐρωτικὰ τὴν σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται, καὶ τὴν Ἶσιν Εὔδοξός φησι βραβεύειν τὰ ἐρωτικά. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἀμωσγέπως[5] τοῦ πιθανοῦ μέτεστι, τῶν δὲ Τυφῶνα ποιούντων τὸν ἥλιον οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον.

Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὖθις τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀναλάβωμεν λόγον. (53.) ἡ γὰρ Ἶσίς ἐστι μὲν τὸ τῆς φύσεως θῆλυ, καὶ δεκτικὸν ἁπάσης γενέσεως, καθὸ τιθήνη καὶ πανδεχὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυριώνυμος κέκληται, διὰ τὸ πάσας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τρεπομένη μορφὰς δέχεσθαι καὶ ἰδέας. ἔχει δὲ σύμφυτον ἔρωτα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κυριωτάτου πάντων, ὃ τἀγαθῷ ταὐτόν ἐστι κἀκεῖνο ποθεῖ καὶ
F διώκει· τὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ φεύγει καὶ διωθεῖται

[1] προστρέπεσθαι Madvig: προτρέπεσθαι.
[2] πρόσθεσις F.C.B.: πρόθεσις. [3] ὅθεν Markland: ἓν.
[4] ἐμφαίνεσθαι Markland: ἐμφαίνουσι.
[5] ἀμωσγέπως Markland: ἄλλως γέ πως.

---

[a] *Cf.* 383 A-end, *infra.*

[b] An attempt to connect Ὄσιρις and ὁ Σείριος? *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 11. 3-4.

reason which underlies each one of these offerings I will describe later.[a] They think that by means of all these they supplicate and serve the Sun. Yet, what need is there to collect many such things ? There are some who without reservation assert that Osiris is the Sun and is called the Dog-star (Sirius) by the Greeks[b] even if among the Egyptians the addition of the article has created some ambiguity in regard to the name ; and there are those who declare that Isis is none other than the Moon ; for this reason it is said that the statues of Isis that bear horns are imitations of the crescent moon, and in her dark garments are shown the concealments and the obscurations in which she in her yearning pursues the Sun. For this reason also they call upon the Moon in love affairs, and Eudoxus asserts that Isis is a deity who presides over love affairs. These people may lay claim to a certain plausibility, but no one should listen for a moment to those who make Typhon to be the Sun.

But let us now take up again the proper subject of our discussion. (53.) Isis is, in fact, the female principle of Nature, and is receptive of every form of generation, in accord with which she is called by Plato[c] the gentle nurse and the all-receptive, and by most people has been called by countless names, since, because of the force of Reason, she turns herself to this thing or that and is receptive of all manner of shapes and forms. She has an innate love for the first and most dominant of all things, which is identical with the good, and this she yearns for and pursues ; but the portion which comes from evil she tries to avoid and to reject, for she serves

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 49 A and 51 A ; also *Moralia*, 1014 D, 1015 D, and 1023 A.

μοῖραν, ἀμφοῖν μὲν οὖσα χώρα καὶ ὕλη, ῥέπουσα δ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐξ ἑαυτῆς καὶ παρέχουσα γεννᾶν ἐκείνῳ[1] καὶ κατασπείρειν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπορροὰς[2] καὶ ὁμοιότητας, αἷς χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε κυϊσκομένη καὶ ὑποπιμπλαμένη τῶν γενέσεων. εἰκὼν γάρ ἐστιν οὐσίας ἐν ὕλῃ γένεσις καὶ μίμημα τοῦ ὄντος τὸ γιγνόμενον.

373 54. Ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Ὀσίριδος ψυχὴν ἀίδιον εἶναι καὶ ἄφθαρτον, τὸ δὲ σῶμα πολλάκις διασπᾶν καὶ ἀφανίζειν τὸν Τυφῶνα, τὴν δ' Ἶσιν πλανωμένην καὶ ζητεῖν[3] καὶ συναρμόττειν πάλιν. τὸ γὰρ ὂν καὶ νοητὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν φθορᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν· ἃς[4] δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν εἰκόνας ἐκμάττεται, καὶ λόγους καὶ εἴδη καὶ ὁμοιότητας ἀναλαμβάνει, καθάπερ ἐν κηρῷ σφραγῖδες οὐκ ἀεὶ διαμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καταλαμβάνει τὸ ἄτακτον αὐτὸς

B καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀπεληλαμένον καὶ μαχόμενον πρὸς τὸν Ὧρον, ὃν ἡ Ἶσις εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητὸν ὄντα γεννᾷ. διὸ καὶ δίκην φεύγειν λέγεται νοθείας ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος, ὡς οὐκ ὢν καθαρὸς οὐδ' εἰλικρινὴς οἷος ὁ πατήρ, λόγος αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀμιγὴς καὶ ἀπαθής, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένος τῇ ὕλῃ διὰ τὸ σωματικόν. περιγίγνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾷ,[5] τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ λόγου, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ δεικνύοντος ὅτι πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἡ φύσις μετασχηματιζομένη τὸν κόσμον ἀποδίδω-

[1] ἐκείνῳ Baxter: ἐκεῖνο.
[2] ἀπορροὰς the more common form: ἀπορροίας.
[3] καὶ ζητεῖν] ἀναζητεῖν Markland.
[4] ἃς Wyttenbach: τινὰς.
[5] περιγίνεται δὲ καὶ νικᾷ Xylander: περιγίνονται δὲ καὶ νῖκαι.

them both as a place and means of growth, but inclines always towards the better and offers to it opportunity to create from her and to impregnate her with effluxes and likenesses in which she rejoices and is glad that she is made pregnant and teeming with these creations. For creation is the image of being in matter, and the thing created is a picture of reality.

54. It is not, therefore, out of keeping that they have a legend that the soul of Osiris is everlasting and imperishable, but that his body Typhon oftentimes dismembers and causes to disappear, and that Isis wanders hither and yon in her search for it, and fits it together again[a]; for that which really is and is perceptible and good is superior to destruction and change. The images from it with which the sensible and corporeal is impressed, and the relations, forms, and likenesses which this takes upon itself, like impressions of seals in wax, are not permanently lasting, but disorder and disturbance overtakes them, being driven hither from the upper reaches, and fighting against Horus,[b] whom Isis brings forth, beholden of all, as the image of the perceptible world. Therefore it is said that he is brought to trial by Typhon on the charge of illegitimacy, as not being pure nor uncontaminated like his father, reason unalloyed and unaffected of itself, but contaminated in his substance because of the corporeal element. He prevails, however, and wins the case when Hermes,[b] that is to say Reason, testifies and points out that Nature, by undergoing changes of form with reference to the perceptible, duly brings about the creation of the world.

[a] *Cf.* 358 A, *supra.* [b] *Cf.* 358 D, *supra.*

(373) σιν. ἡ μὲν γάρ, ἔτι τῶν θεῶν ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς Ῥέας
ὄντων, ἐξ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος γενομένη[1] γένεσις
C Ἀπόλλωνος αἰνίττεται τὸ πρὶν ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι
τόνδε τὸν κόσμον καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ[2] τὴν
ὕλην, φύσει ἐλεγχομένην ἀπ' αὐτῆς[3] ἀτελῆ τὴν
πρώτην γένεσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν. διὸ καί φασι τὸν θεὸν
ἐκεῖνον ἀνάπηρον ὑπὸ σκότῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ πρεσβύ-
τερον Ὧρον καλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμος, ἀλλ'
εἴδωλόν τι καὶ κόσμου φάντασμα μέλλοντος.

55. Ὁ δ' Ὧρος οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὡρισμένος καὶ
τέλειος, οὐκ ἀνῃρηκὼς τὸν Τυφῶνα παντάπασιν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ δραστήριον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοῦ παρῃρη-
μένος. ὅθεν ἐν Κοπτῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὧρου
λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα κατ-
έχειν· καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν μυθολογοῦσιν ἐξελόντα τοῦ
D Τυφῶνος τὰ νεῦρα χορδαῖς χρήσασθαι, διδάσκοντες
ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὁ λόγος διαρμοσάμενος σύμφωνον ἐξ
ἀσυμφώνων μερῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν οὐκ
ἀπώλεσεν ἀλλ' ἀνεπήρωσε[4] δύναμιν. ὅθεν ἐκείνη
μὲν ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀδρανὴς ἐνταῦθα φυρομένη καὶ
προσπλεκομένη τοῖς παθητικοῖς καὶ μεταβολικοῖς
μέρεσι,[5] σεισμῶν μὲν ἐν γῇ καὶ τρόμων, αὐχμῶν
δ' ἐν[6] ἀέρι καὶ πνευμάτων ἀτόπων, αὖθις δὲ πρη-
στήρων καὶ κεραυνῶν δημιουργός ἐστι. φαρμάττει
δὲ καὶ λοιμοῖς ὕδατα καὶ πνεύματα, καὶ μέχρι
σελήνης ἀνατρέχει καὶ ἀναχαιτίζει συγχέουσα[7] καὶ
μελαίνουσα πολλάκις τὸ λαμπρόν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι

[1] γενομένη] λεγομένη Hartman.
[2] τῷ λόγῳ Markland: τοῦ λόγου.
[3] ἀπ' αὐτῆς F.C.B.; ἐφ' αὐτῆς Markland: ἐπ' αὐτὴν.
[4] ἀνεπήρωσε Baxter: ἀνεπλήρωσε.
[5] μέρεσι Squire: μέλεσι.

The birth of Apollo from Isis and Osiris, while these gods were still in the womb of Rhea, has the allegorical meaning that before this world was made visible and its rough material was completely formed by Reason, it was put to the test by Nature and brought forth of itself the first creation imperfect. This is the reason why they say that this god was born in the darkness a cripple, and they call him the elder Horus [a]; for there was then no world, but only an image and outline of a world to be.

55. But this Horus is himself perfected and complete; but he has not done away completely with Typhon, but has taken away his activity and strength. Hence they say that at Kopto the statue of Horus holds in one hand the privy members of Typhon, and they relate a legend that Hermes cut out the sinews of Typhon, and used them as strings for his lyre, thereby instructing us that Reason adjusts the Universe and creates concord out of discordant elements, and that it does not destroy but only cripples the destructive force. Hence this is weak and inactive here, and combines with the susceptible and changeable elements and attaches itself to them, becoming the artificer of quakes and tremblings in the earth, and of droughts and tempestuous winds in the air, and of lightning-flashes and thunderbolts. Moreover, it taints waters and winds with pestilence, and it runs forth wanton even as far as the moon, oftentimes confounding and darkening the moon's brightness; according to the belief and account of

[a] *Cf.* 356 A, *supra.*

[6] δ' ἐν Xylander: καὶ ἐν.
[7] συγχέουσα Baxter: συνέχουσα.

E νομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τοῦ Ὥρου νῦν μὲν ἐπάταξε, νῦν δ' ἐξελὼν κατέπιεν ὁ Τυφὼν τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, εἶτα τῷ ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε· πληγὴν μὲν αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν κατὰ μῆνα μείωσιν τῆς σελήνης, πήρωσιν δὲ τὴν ἔκλειψιν, ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἰᾶται διαφυγούσῃ[1] τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς εὐθὺς ἀντιλάμπων.

56. Ἡ δὲ κρείττων καὶ θειοτέρα φύσις ἐκ τριῶν ἐστι, τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ ἐκ τούτων,
F ὃν κόσμον Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων τὸ μὲν νοητὸν καὶ ἰδέαν καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ πατέρα, τὴν δ' ὕλην καὶ μητέρα καὶ τιθήνην ἕδραν τε καὶ χώραν γενέσεως, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔκγονον[2] καὶ γένεσιν ὀνομάζειν εἴωθεν.

Αἰγυπτίους δ' ἄν τις εἰκάσειε τῶν τριγώνων τὸ κάλλιστον τιμᾶν[3] μάλιστα τούτῳ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὁμοιοῦντας, ὡς[4] καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ τούτῳ προσκεχρῆσθαι τὸ γαμήλιον διάγραμμα συντάττων. ἔχει δ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τρίγωνον τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθίαν καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν καὶ πέντε
374 τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἴσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην. εἰκαστέον οὖν τὴν μὲν πρὸς ὀρθὰς[5] ἄρρενι, τὴν δὲ βάσιν θηλείᾳ, τὴν δ' ὑποτείνουσαν ἀμφοῖν ἐγγόνῳ, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν ὡς ἀρχήν, τὴν δ' Ἶσιν ὡς ὑποδοχήν, τὸν δ' Ὧρον ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τρία πρῶτος περιττός ἐστι καὶ τέλειος· τὰ δὲ τέτταρα τετράγωνος ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς ἀρτίου τῆς δυάδος· τὰ δὲ πέντε πῇ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πῇ δὲ τῇ

[1] διαφυγούσῃ Bentley: διαφυγούσης.
[2] ἔκγονον Emperius: ἔγγονον.
[3] τιμᾶν added by Michael and F.C.B.
[4] ὡς Markland: ᾧ.
[5] ὀρθὰς] ὀρθίαν Reiske.

the Egyptians, Typhon at one time smites the eye of Horus, and at another time snatches it out and swallows it, and then later gives it back again to the Sun. By the smiting, they refer allegorically to the monthly waning of the moon, and by the crippling, to its eclipse,[a] which the Sun heals by shining straight upon it as soon as it has escaped the shadow of the earth.

56. The better and more divine nature consists of three parts: the conceptual, the material, and that which is formed from these, which the Greeks call the world. Plato[b] is wont to give to the conceptual the name of idea, example, or father, and to the material the name of mother or nurse, or seat and place of generation, and to that which results from both the name of offspring or generation.

One might conjecture that the Egyptians hold in high honour the most beautiful of the triangles,[c] since they liken the nature of the Universe most closely to it, as Plato in the *Republic*[d] seems to have made use of it in formulating his figure of marriage. This triangle has its upright of three units, its base of four, and its hypotenuse of five, whose power is equal to that of the other two sides.[e] The upright, therefore, may be likened to the male, the base to the female, and the hypotenuse to the child of both, and so Osiris may be regarded as the origin, Isis as the recipient, and Horus as perfected result. Three is the first perfect odd number: four is a square whose side is the even number two; but five is in some ways like to its father, and in some ways like to its mother, being

[a] *Cf.* 368 F, *supra.*
[b] Plato, *Timaeus*, 50 C-D.
[c] *Cf.* 393 D, *infra.*
[d] Plato, *Republic*, 546 B-C.
[e] *Cf.* 429 E, *infra.*

(374) μητρὶ προσέοικεν, ἐκ τριάδος συγκείμενα καὶ δυάδος. καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε γέγονε παρώνυμα, καὶ τὸ ἀριθμήσασθαι πεμπάσασθαι λέγουσιν. ποιεῖ δὲ τετράγωνον ἡ πεντὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅσον
B τῶν γραμμάτων παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ πλῆθός ἐστι, καὶ ὅσων ἐνιαυτῶν ἔζη χρόνον ὁ Ἆπις.

Τὸν[1] μὲν οὖν Ὧρον εἰώθασι καὶ Μὶν[2] προσαγορεύειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁρώμενον· αἰσθητὸν γὰρ καὶ ὁρατὸν ὁ κόσμος. ἡ δ' Ἶσις ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Μοὺθ καὶ πάλιν Ἄθυρι καὶ Μεθύερ προσαγορεύεται[3]· σημαίνουσι δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων μητέρα· τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ οἶκον Ὥρου κόσμιον, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων χώραν γενέσεως καὶ δεξαμενήν· τὸ δὲ τρίτον σύνθετόν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήρους καὶ τοῦ
C αἰτίου[4]· πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ὕλη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ σύνεστιν.

57. Δόξειε δ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ Ἡσίοδος τὰ πρῶτα πάντα[5] χάος καὶ γῆν καὶ τάρταρον καὶ ἔρωτα ποιῶν οὐχ ἑτέρας λαμβάνειν ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ ταύτας,[6] εἰ[7] δὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῇ μὲν Ἴσιδι τὸ τῆς γῆς, τῷ δ' Ὀσίριδι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, τῷ δὲ Τυφῶνι τὸ τοῦ ταρτάρου μεταλαμβάνοντές πως[8] ἀποδίδομεν· τὸ γὰρ χάος δοκεῖ χώραν τινὰ καὶ τόπον τοῦ παντὸς ὑποτίθεσθαι.

Προσκαλεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνος ἀμωσγέπως τὰ πράγματα μῦθον, ὃν Σωκράτης ἐν Συμποσίῳ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἔρωτος γενέσεως διῆλθε, τὴν Πενίαν λέγων τέκνων δεομένην τῷ Πόρῳ καθεύδοντι

[1] ὁ Ἆπις. τὸν Xylander, confirmed by one MS.: ὃ ἄπιστον most MSS.

[2] καὶ Μὶν Pinder and one MS.: Καίμιν.

[3] προσαγορεύεται Basel ed. of 1542: προσαγορεύουσι.

[4] αἰτίου] ἀγαθοῦ Markland; ἀρτίου Reiske (ἁγίου?).

made up of three and two.[a] And *panta* (all) is a derivative of *pente* (five), and they speak of counting as "numbering by fives."[b] Five makes a square of itself, as many as the letters of the Egyptian alphabet, and as many as the years of the life of the Apis.

Horus they are wont to call also Min, which means "seen"; for the world is something perceptible and visible, and Isis is sometimes called Muth, and again Athyri or Methyer. By the first of these names they signify "mother," by the second the mundane house of Horus, the place and receptacle of generation, as Plato[c] has it, and the third is compounded of "full" and "cause"; for the material of the world is full, and is associated with the good and pure and orderly.

57. It might appear that Hesiod,[d] in making the very first things of all to be Chaos and Earth and Tartarus and Love, did not accept any other origins but only these, if we transfer the names somewhat and assign to Isis the name of Earth and to Osiris the name of Love and to Typhon the name of Tartarus; for the poet seems to place Chaos at the bottom as a sort of region that serves as a resting-place for the Universe.

This subject seems in some wise to call up the myth of Plato, which Socrates in the *Symposium*[e] gives at some length in regard to the birth of Love, saying that Poverty, wishing for children, insinuated herself

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 264 A, and Rose, *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, p. 170.

[b] *Cf.* 387 E and 429 D-F, *infra.*

[c] Plato, *Timaeus*, 52 D–53 A. *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 882 C and 1023 A.

[d] *Theogony*, 116-122. [e] Plato, *Symposium*, 203 B.

[5] πάντα] πάντων Baxter. [6] ταύτας] τὰς αὐτὰς Halm.
[7] εἰ F.C.B.; εἴγε Xylander: γε. [8] πως Reiske: ὡς.

(374) παρακλιθῆναι, καὶ κυήσασαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκεῖν τὸν
D Ἔρωτα, φύσει μεικτὸν[1] ὄντα καὶ παντοδαπόν, ἅτε δὴ πατρὸς μὲν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκους, μητρὸς δ' ἀμηχάνου καὶ ἀπόρου καὶ δι' ἔνδειαν ἀεὶ γλιχομένης ἑτέρου καὶ περὶ ἕτερον λιπαρούσης γεγενημένον. ὁ γὰρ Πόρος οὐχ ἕτερός ἐστι τοῦ πρώτου ἐρατοῦ[2] καὶ ἐφετοῦ καὶ τελείου καὶ αὐτάρκους· Πενίαν δὲ τὴν ὕλην προσεῖπεν, ἐνδεᾶ μὲν οὖσαν αὐτὴν καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, πληρουμένην δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσαν. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐκ τούτων κόσμος καὶ Ὥρος οὐκ ἀίδιος οὐδ' ἀπαθὴς οὐδ' ἄφθαρτος, ἀλλ'
E ἀειγενὴς ὢν μηχανᾶται ταῖς τῶν παθῶν μεταβολαῖς καὶ περιόδοις ἀεὶ νέος καὶ μηδέποτε φθαρησόμενος διαμένειν.

58. Χρηστέον δὲ τοῖς μύθοις οὐχ ὡς λόγοις πάμπαν οὖσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσφορον ἑκάστου τὸ κατὰ[3] τὴν ὁμοιότητα λαμβάνοντας. ὅταν οὖν ὕλην λέγωμεν, οὐ δεῖ πρὸς ἐνίων φιλοσόφων δόξας ἀποφερομένους ἄψυχόν τι σῶμα καὶ ἄποιον ἀργόν τε καὶ ἄπρακτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ διανοεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔλαιον ὕλην μύρου καλοῦμεν, χρυσὸν ἀγάλματος, οὐκ ὄντα πάσης ἔρημα ποιότητος[4]· αὐτήν τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
F τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς ὕλην ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἀρετῆς τῷ λόγῳ κοσμεῖν καὶ ῥυθμίζειν παρέχομεν· τόν τε νοῦν ἔνιοι τόπον εἰδῶν[5] ἀπεφήναντο καὶ τῶν νοητῶν οἷον ἐκμαγεῖον.

[1] μεικτὸν Xylander : μακρὸν.
[2] ἐρατοῦ Markland : ἐραστοῦ.
[3] τὸ κατὰ] κατὰ Wyttenbach.
[4] ποιότητος Xylander : ὁμοιότητος.
[5] εἰδῶν] ἰδεῶν Squire.

beside Plenty while he was asleep, and having become pregnant by him, gave birth to Love, who is of a mixed and utterly variable nature, inasmuch as he is the son of a father who is good and wise and self-sufficient in all things, but of a mother who is helpless and without means and because of want always clinging close to another and always importunate over another. For Plenty is none other than the first beloved and desired, the perfect and self-sufficient; and Plato calls raw material Poverty, utterly lacking of herself in the Good, but being filled from him and always yearning for him and sharing with him. The World, or Horus,[a] which is born of these, is not eternal nor unaffected nor imperishable, but, being ever reborn, contrives to remain always young and never subject to destruction in the changes and cycles of events.

58. We must not treat legend as if it were history at all, but we should adopt that which is appropriate in each legend in accordance with its verisimilitude. Whenever, therefore, we speak of material we must not be swept away to the opinions of some philosophers,[b] and conceive of an inanimate and indifferentiated body, which is of itself inert and inactive. The fact is that we call oil the material of perfume and gold the material of a statue, and these are not destitute of all differentiation. We provide the very soul and thought of Man as the basic material of understanding and virtue for Reason to adorn and to harmonize, and some have declared the Mind to be a place for the assembling of forms and for the impression of concepts, as it were.[c]

[a] *Cf.* 373 D, *supra.*

[b] *Cf.* 370 F, *supra*, and Diogenes Laertius, vii. 134.

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Anima*, iii. 4 (429 a 27).

Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς γυναικὸς οὐ δύναμιν οὐδ' ἀρχήν, ὕλην δὲ καὶ τροφὴν γενέσεως εἶναι δοξάζουσιν. ὧν ἐχομένους χρὴ καὶ τὴν θεὸν ταύτην οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ μεταλαγχάνουσαν ἀεὶ καὶ συνοῦσαν ἔρωτι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον
375 ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν, οὐχ ὑπεναντίαν ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄνδρα νόμιμον καὶ δίκαιον ἐρᾶν ἂν δικαίως συνῇ[1] καὶ γυναῖκα χρηστὴν ἔχουσαν ἄνδρα καὶ συνοῦσαν ὅμως ποθεῖν λέγομεν, οὕτως ἀεὶ γλιχομένην ἐκείνου καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνον λιπαροῦσαν[2] καὶ ἀναπιμπλαμένην τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσιν καὶ καθαρωτάτοις· (59.) ὅπου δ' ὁ Τυφὼν παρεμπίπτει τῶν ἐσχάτων ἁπτόμενος, ἐνταῦθα δοκοῦσαν ἐπισκυθρωπάζειν καὶ πενθεῖν λεγομένην καὶ λείψαν' ἄττα καὶ σπαράγματα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἀναζητεῖν καὶ στολίζειν, ὑποδεχομένην τὰ φθειρόμενα καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσαν,
B ὥνπερ[3] ἀναφαίνει πάλιν τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀνίησιν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἄστροις λόγοι καὶ εἴδη καὶ ἀπορροαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μένουσι, τὰ δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς διεσπαρμένα, γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ζῴοις, διαλυόμενα[4] καὶ φθειρόμενα καὶ θαπτόμενα, πολλάκις[5] αὖθις ἐκλάμπει καὶ ἀναφαίνεται ταῖς γενέσεσι. διὸ τὸν Τυφῶνα τῇ Νέφθυϊ συνοικεῖν φησιν ὁ μῦθος, τὸν δ' Ὄσιριν κρύφα συγγενέσθαι. τὰ γὰρ ἔσχατα μέρη τῆς ὕλης, ἃ Νέφθυν καὶ Τελευτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἡ φθαρτικὴ μάλιστα κατέχει δύναμις·

[1] ἂν δικαίως συνῇ Bernardakis, *cf.* 448 E: ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.
[2] λιπαροῦσαν Markland: παροῦσαν.
[3] ὥνπερ F.C.B.; οἷσπερ Schwartz: ὥσπερ.
[4] διαλυόμενα Baxter: διαλεγόμενα.
[5] πολλάκις Markland: καπολλάκις.

Some think the seed of Woman is not a power or origin, but only material and nurture of generation.[a] To this thought we should cling fast and conceive that this Goddess also who participates always with the first God and is associated with him in the love[b] of the fair and lovely things about him is not opposed to him, but, just as we say that an honourable and just man is in love if his relations are just, and a good woman who has a husband and consorts with him we say yearns for him; thus we may conceive of her as always clinging close to him and being importunate over him and constantly filled with the most dominant and purest principles. (59.) But where Typhon forces his way in and seizes upon the outermost areas, there we may conceive of her as seeming sad, and spoken of as mourning, and that she seeks for the remains and scattered members of Osiris and arrays them, receiving and hiding away the things perishable, from which she brings to light again the things that are created and sends them forth from herself.

The relations and forms and effluxes of the God abide in the heavens and in the stars; but those things that are distributed in susceptible elements, earth and sea and plants and animals, suffer dissolution and destruction and burial, and oftentimes again shine forth and appear again in their generations. For this reason the fable has it that Typhon cohabits with Nephthys[c] and that Osiris has secret relations with her[d]; for the destructive power exercises special dominion over the outermost part of matter which they call Nephthys or Finality.[e] But the creating

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 651 c, and 905 c.
[b] *Cf.* 372 E, and 383 A, *infra.*
[c] *Cf.* 356 A, *supra.* [d] *Cf.* the note on 356 E, *supra.*
[e] *Cf.* 355 F and 366 B, *supra.*

(375) ἡ δὲ γόνιμος καὶ σωτήριος ἀσθενὲς σπέρμα καὶ
C ἀμαυρὸν εἰς ταῦτα διαδίδωσιν, ἀπολλύμενον[1] ὑπὸ
τοῦ Τυφῶνος, πλὴν ὅσον ἡ Ἶσις ὑπολαμβάνουσα
σῴζει καὶ τρέφει καὶ συνίστησι.

60. Καθόλου δ' ἀμείνων οὗτός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων ὑπονοεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. κινεῖται δὲ τῆς φύσεως τὸ μὲν γόνιμον καὶ σωτήριον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀναιρετικὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ἀπ'[2] αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι. διὸ τὸ μὲν Ἶσιν καλοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι μετ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ φέρεσθαι, κίνησιν οὖσαν ἔμψυχον καὶ φρόνιμον. οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοὔνομα βαρβαρικόν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπὸ δυοῖν ῥημάτων[3] τοῦ θεατοῦ καὶ τοῦ θέοντος
D ἔστιν ὄνομα κοινόν, οὕτω τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἅμα καὶ τῆς κινήσεως Ἶσιν μὲν ἡμεῖς, Ἶσιν δ' Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶ τὴν οὐσίαν[4] δηλοῦν τοὺς παλαιοὺς "ἰσίαν[5]" καλοῦντας· οὕτω καὶ τὴν νόησιν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, ὡς νοῦ φορὰν καὶ κίνησιν οὖσαν ἰεμένου καὶ φερομένου, καὶ τὸ[6] συνιέναι καὶ τἀγαθὸν ὅλως καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ ῥέουσι[7] καὶ θέουσι θέσθαι· καθάπερ αὖ πάλιν τοῖς ἀντιφωνοῦσιν ὀνόμασι λοιδορεῖσθαι τὸ κακόν,[8] τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἐμποδίζον καὶ συνδέον καὶ

[1] ἀπολλύμενον Bentley: ἀπολλυμένη or -μένους.
[2] ἀπ' Squire: ὑπ'.
[3] ῥημάτων Markland: γραμμάτων.
[4] οὐσίαν Baxter from Plato, *Cratylus*, 401 C: ὁσίαν.
[5] ἰσίαν] ἐσσίαν or ἐσίαν in Plato, *ibid.*
[6] τὸ Baxter: τοῦ.
[7] ἀεὶ ῥέουσι Goodwin from Plato, *Cratylus*, 415 D: εὑροῦσι.

and conserving power distributes to this only a weak and feeble seed, which is destroyed by Typhon, except so much as Isis takes up and preserves and fosters and makes firm and strong.[a]

60. In general this god is the better, as both Plato and Aristotle conceive. The creative and conserving element of Nature moves toward him and toward existence while the annihilating and destructive moves away from him towards non-existence. For this reason they call Isis by a name derived from "hastening" (*hiemai*) with understanding,[b] or being borne onward (*pheromai*), since she is an animate and intelligent movement; for the name is not a foreign name, but, just as all the gods have a name in common[c] derived from two words, "visible" (*theaton*) and "rushing" (*theon*), in the same way this goddess, from her understanding[b] and her movement, we call Isis and the Egyptians call her Isis. So also Plato[d] says that the men of ancient times made clear the meaning of "essence" (*ousia*) by calling it "sense" (*isia*). So also he speaks of the intelligence and understanding as being a carrying and movement of mind hasting and being carried onward; and also comprehension and good and virtue they attribute to those things which are ever flowing and in rapid motion, just as again, on the other hand, by means of antithetical names they vilified evil: for example, that which hinders and binds fast and holds and checks

[a] *Cf.* 356 F, *supra.*
[b] *Cf.* 351 F, *supra.*
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Cratylus*, 397 D.
[d] *Ibid.* 401 C.

[8] τὸ κακόν Wyttenbach from Plato, *Cratylus*, 415 C: τῶν κατὰ.

(375) ἴσχον καὶ κωλῦον ἴεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι κακίαν ἀπορίαν δειλίαν ἀνίαν προσαγορεύοντας.[1]

61. Ὁ δ' Ὄσιρις ἐκ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ[2] ἱεροῦ τοὔνομα μεμειγμένον ἔσχηκε· κοινὸς γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ
E καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου λόγος· ὧν τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ δ' ὅσια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθος[3] ἦν προσαγορεύειν. ὁ δ' ἀναφαίνων τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τῶν ἄνω φερομένων λόγος Ἄνουβις,[4] ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ Ἑρμάνουβις ὀνομάζεται, τὸ μὲν ὡς τοῖς ἄνω τὸ δ' ὡς τοῖς κάτω προσήκων. διὸ καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν λευκὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα, τὸ δὲ[5] κροκίαν, τὰ μὲν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ φανά, τὰ δὲ μεικτὰ καὶ ποικίλα νομίζοντες.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀνάπλασιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα μυρία τοῖς μεθισταμένοις ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος συνεκπεσόντα μέχρι
F νῦν παραμένει καὶ ξενιτεύει παρ' ἑτέροις, ὧν ἕνια τὴν ποιητικὴν ἀνακαλουμένην διαβάλλουσιν ὡς βαρβαρίζουσαν οἱ γλώττας τὰ τοιαῦτα[6] προσαγορεύοντες. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις ἱστοροῦσι γεγράφθαι περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν Ὧρον, Ἕλληνες δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οἱ μὲν Ὄσιριν, οἱ δὲ

[1] προσαγορεύοντας Reiske: προσαγορευόντων.
[2] καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
[3] ἔθος added by Markland.
[4] λόγος Ἄνουβις Reiske: ἄνουβις λόγος.
[5] τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ Reiske: τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δὲ.
[6] τὰ τοιαῦτα Xylander: τὰς τοιαύτας.

[a] *Cf.* 376 D, *infra*. It is impossible to reproduce these fanciful derivations in an English translation. Most of them may be found in Plato, *Cratylus*, 401 C–415 E. Note that Plutarch would connect the abstract suffix *-ία* with the shorter stem of εἶμι "go."

Nature from hasting and going they called baseness, or "ill-going" (*kak-ia*), and helplessness or "difficulty of going" (*apor-ia*), and cowardice or "fear of going" (*deil-ia*), and distress or "not going" (*an-ia*).[a]

61. Osiris has a name made up from "holy" (*hosion*) and "sacred" (*hieron*)[b]; for he is the combined relation of the things in the heavens and in the lower world, the former of which it was customary for people of olden time to call sacred and the latter to call holy. But the relation which discloses the things in the heavens and belongs to the things which tend upward is sometimes named Anubis and sometimes Hermanubis[c] as belonging in part to the things above and in part to the things below.[d] For this reason they sacrifice to him on the one hand a white cock and on the other hand one of saffron colour, regarding the former things as simple and clear, and the others as combined and variable.

There is no occasion to be surprised at the revamping of these words into Greek.[e] The fact is that countless other words went forth in company with those who migrated from Greece, and persist even to this day as strangers in strange lands; and, when the poetic art would recall some of these into use, those who speak of such words as strange or unusual falsely accuse it of using barbarisms. Moreover, they record that in the so-called books of Hermes it is written in regard to the sacred names that they call the power which is assigned to direct the revolution of the Sun Horus, but the Greeks call it Apollo; and the power assigned to the wind some call Osiris and others

[a] *Cf.* 382 E, *infra.*
[b] Porphyry in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* iii. 11. 2.
[c] *Cf.* 368 E, *supra.*
[d] *Cf.* 362 D-E, *supra.*

376 Σάραπιν. ἡ δὲ[1] Σῶθις[2] Αἰγυπτιστί σημαίνει κύησιν ἢ τὸ κυεῖν· διὸ καὶ παρατροπῆς γενομένης τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἑλληνιστὶ κύων κέκληται τὸ ἄστρον, ὅπερ ἴδιον τῆς Ἴσιδος νομίζουσιν. ἥκιστα μὲν οὖν δεῖ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑφείμην[3] ἂν[4] τοῦ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίοις ἢ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος, ἐκεῖνο μὲν[5] ξενικόν, τοῦτο δ' Ἑλληνικόν, ἄμφω δ' ἑνὸς θεοῦ καὶ μιᾶς δυνάμεως ἡγούμενος.

62. Ἔοικε δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἶσιν πολλάκις τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι φράζοντι τοιοῦτον λόγον "ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς,"
B ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτοκινήτου φορᾶς δηλωτικόν· ὁ δὲ Τυφών, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, Σὴθ καὶ Βέβων καὶ Σμὺ ὀνομάζεται, βίαιόν τινα καὶ κωλυτικὴν ἐπίσχεσιν ἢ[6] ὑπεναντίωσιν ἢ ἀναστροφὴν ἐμφαίνειν βουλομένων τῶν ὀνομάτων.

Ἔτι τὴν σιδηρῖτιν λίθον ὀστέον Ὥρου, Τυφῶνος δὲ τὸν σίδηρον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μανεθώς,[7] καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ σίδηρος πολλάκις μὲν ἑλκομένῳ καὶ ἑπομένῳ πρὸς τὴν λίθον ὅμοιός ἐστι, πολλάκις δ' ἀποστρέφεται καὶ ἀποκρούεται πρὸς τοὐναντίον, οὕτως ἡ σωτήριος καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ λόγον ἔχουσα τοῦ κόσμου κίνησις ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ[8] καὶ προσάγεται
C καὶ μαλακωτέραν[9] ποιεῖ, πείθουσα τὴν σκληρὰν[10]

[1] ἡ δὲ F.C.B.: οἱ δὲ.
[2] Σῶθις F.C.B.: σωθὶ.
[3] ὑφείμην Bentley: ὑφιεμένην.
[4] ἂν Emperius.
[5] μὲν Markland: μὲν οὖν.
[6] ἢ added by F.C.B. (ἤ τιν' Pohlenz).
[7] Μανεθώς Squire: μάνεθος.
[8] ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲ F.C.B.: ἐπιστρέφει τότε in one MS., ἐπιστρέφεταί τε in the rest.

Serapis; and Sothis in Egyptian signifies "pregnancy" (*cyesis*) or "to be pregnant" (*cyein*): therefore in Greek, with a change of accent,[a] the star is called the Dog-star (*Cyon*), which they regard as the special star of Isis.[b] Least of all is there any need of being very eager in learning about these names. However, I would rather make a concession to the Egyptians in regard to Serapis than in regard to Osiris; for I regard Serapis as foreign, but Osiris as Greek, and both as belonging to one god and one power.

62. Like these also are the Egyptian beliefs; for they oftentimes call Isis by the name of Athena, expressive of some such idea as this, "I came of myself," which is indicative of self-impelled motion. Typhon, as has been said,[c] is named Seth and Bebon and Smu, and these names would indicate some forcible and preventive check or opposition or reversal.[d]

Moreover, they call the loadstone the bone of Horus, and iron the bone of Typhon, as Manetho[e] records. For, as the iron oftentimes acts as if it were being attracted and drawn toward the stone, and oftentimes is rejected and repelled in the opposite direction, in the same way the salutary and good and rational movement of the world at one time, by persuasion, attracts and draws toward itself and renders more

[a] Plutarch attempts to connect κύων, "dog," with κυῶν, the present participle of κυῶ, "to be pregnant."
[b] *Cf.* 359 C-E and 365 F, *supra.*
[c] 367 D and 371 B, *supra.*
[d] *Cf.* 371 B, *supra.*
[e] Frag. 77.

[9] μαλακωτέραν Reiske: μαλακώτερον.
[10] σκληρὰν . . . τυφώνειον Markland: σκληρίαν . . . τυφώνιον.

(376) ἐκείνην καὶ τυφώνειον, εἶτ' αὖθις ἀνασχεθεῖσα εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνέστρεψε[1] καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

Ἔτι φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Εὔδοξος μυθολογεῖν Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τῶν σκελῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος βαδίζειν, ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἐν[2] ἐρημίᾳ διέτριβεν· ἡ δ' Ἶσις διατεμοῦσα καὶ διαστήσασα τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος ἀρτίποδα τὴν πορείαν παρέσχεν. αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὁ μῦθος ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεῖ βεβηκὼς εἰς γένεσιν[3] ὑπὸ κινήσεως προῆλθεν.

63. Ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ σεῖστρον, ὅτι σείεσθαι δεῖ τὰ ὄντα καὶ μηδέποτε παύεσθαι φορᾶς, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐξεγείρεσθαι καὶ κλονεῖσθαι καταδαρθάνοντα καὶ
D μαραινόμενα. τὸν γὰρ Τυφῶνά φασι τοῖς σείστροις ἀποτρέπειν καὶ ἀποκρούεσθαι δηλοῦντες ὅτι τῆς φθορᾶς συνδεούσης καὶ ἱστάσης, αὖθις ἀναλύει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀνίστησι διὰ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ γένεσις.

Τοῦ δὲ σείστρου περιφεροῦς ἄνωθεν ὄντος, ἡ ἀψὶς[4] περιέχει τὰ σειόμενα τέτταρα. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γεννωμένη καὶ φθειρομένη μοῖρα τοῦ κόσμου περιέχεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σεληνιακῆς σφαίρας, κινεῖται δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα καὶ μεταβάλλεται διὰ τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος. τῇ δ' ἀψῖδι τοῦ σείστρου κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐντορεύου-
E σιν αἴλουρον ἀνθρώπου πρόσωπον ἔχοντα, κάτω δ' ὑπὸ τὰ σειόμενα πῇ μὲν Ἴσιδος πῇ δὲ Νέφθυος πρόσωπον, αἰνιττόμενοι τοῖς μὲν προσώποις γένεσιν καὶ τελευτήν (αὗται γάρ εἰσι τῶν στοιχείων μετα-

[1] ἀνέστρεψε] ἀπέστρεψε Holwerda.
[2] ἐν added by Wyttenbach.
[3] γένεσιν] γέννησιν Hartman. [4] ἀψὶς Aldine ed.: ὄψις.

gentle that harsh and Typhonian movement, and then again it gathers itself together and reverses it and plunges it into difficulties.

Moreover, Eudoxus says that the Egyptians have a mythical tradition in regard to Zeus that, because his legs were grown together, he was not able to walk, and so, for shame, tarried in the wilderness; but Isis, by severing and separating those parts of his body, provided him with means of rapid progress. This fable teaches by its legend that the mind and reason of the god, fixed amid the unseen and invisible, advanced to generation by reason of motion.

63. The sistrum (rattle) also makes it clear that all things in existence need to be shaken, or rattled about, and never to cease from motion but, as it were, to be waked up and agitated when they grow drowsy and torpid. They say that they avert and repel Typhon by means of the sistrums, indicating thereby that when destruction constricts and checks Nature, generation releases and arouses it by means of motion.[a]

The upper part of the sistrum is circular and its circumference contains the four things that are shaken; for that part of the world which undergoes reproduction and destruction is contained underneath the orb of the moon, and all things in it are subjected to motion and to change through the four elements: fire, earth, water, and air. At the top of the circumference of the sistrum they construct the figure of a cat with a human face, and at the bottom, below the things that are shaken, the face of Isis on one side, and on the other the face of Nephthys. By these faces they symbolize birth and death, for these are the changes and movements of the elements; and by

[a] *Cf.* 375 B, *supra.*

βολαὶ καὶ κινήσεις), τῷ δ' αἰλούρῳ τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ποικίλον καὶ νυκτουργὸν καὶ γόνιμον τοῦ θηρίου. λέγεται γὰρ ἓν τίκτειν, εἶτα δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε· καὶ καθ' ἓν οὕτως ἄχρι τῶν ἑπτὰ προστίθησιν, ὥστ' ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τὰ πάντα τίκτειν, ὅσα καὶ τῆς σελήνης φῶτ' ἔστιν. τοῦτο μὲν
F οὖν ἴσως μυθωδέστερον· αἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτοῦ κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἄστρου. τῷ δ' ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τοῦ αἰλούρου τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἐμφαίνεται τῶν περὶ τὴν σελήνην μεταβολῶν.

64. Συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν οὔθ' ὕδωρ οὔθ' ἥλιον οὔτε γῆν οὔτ' οὐρανὸν Ὄσιριν ἢ Ἶσιν ὀρθῶς ἔχει νομίζειν, οὔτε πῦρ Τυφῶνα πάλιν οὔτ' αὐχμὸν οὐδὲ θάλατταν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις ἄ-
377 μετρον καὶ ἄτακτον ὑπερβολαῖς ἢ ἐνδείαις Τυφῶνι προσνέμοντες, τὸ δὲ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον ὡς Ἴσιδος μὲν ἔργον εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ μίμημα καὶ λόγον Ὀσίριδος σεβόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες, οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοιμεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Εὔδοξον ἀπιστοῦντα παύσομεν καὶ διαποροῦντα πῶς οὔτε Δήμητρι τῆς τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιμελείας μέτεστιν ἀλλ' Ἴσιδι, τό τε[1] Διόνυσον οὐ τὸν Νεῖλον αὔξειν οὔτε τῶν τεθνηκότων ἄρχειν δύνασθαι.[2] ἑνὶ γὰρ λόγῳ κοινῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους περὶ πᾶσαν ἀγαθοῦ μοῖραν ἡγούμεθα τετάχθαι, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἔνεστι

[1] τό τε E. Capps: τόν τε.
[2] δύνασθαι Helmbold: δυνάμενον.

---

[a] *Cf.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 242 (p. 343 a 5 ed. Bekker).
[b] *Cf.* 367 D, *supra*.

the cat they symbolize the moon because of the varied colouring, nocturnal activity, and fecundity of the animal. For the cat is said to bring forth first one, then two and three and four and five, thus increasing the number by one until she reaches seven,[a] so that she brings forth in all twenty-eight, the number also of the moon's illuminations. Perhaps, however, this may seem somewhat mythical. But the pupils in the eye of the cat appear to grow large and round at the time of full moon, and to become thin and narrow at the time of the wanings of that heavenly body. By the human features of the cat is indicated the intelligence and the reason that guides the changes of the moon.[b]

64. To put the matter briefly, it is not right to believe that water or the sun or the earth or the sky is Osiris or Isis [c]; or again that fire or drought or the sea is Typhon, but simply if we attribute to Typhon [d] whatever there is in these that is immoderate and disordered by reason of excesses or defects; and if we revere and honour what is orderly and good and beneficial as the work of Isis and as the image and reflection and reason of Osiris, we shall not be wrong. Moreover, we shall put a stop to the incredulity of Eudoxus[e] and his questionings how it is that Demeter has no share in the supervision of love affairs, but Isis has; and the fact that Dionysus cannot cause the Nile to rise, nor rule over the dead. For by one general process of reasoning do we come to the conclusion that these gods have been assigned to preside over every portion of what is good; and whatever there is in nature that is fair and

[c] *Cf.* 363 D and 364 D, *supra.*

[d] *Cf.* 364 A and 369 A, *supra.*

[e] Frag. 63.

(377) τῇ φύσει καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν διὰ τούτους ὑπάρχειν, τὸν μὲν διδόντα τὰς ἀρχάς, τὴν δ' ὑποδεχομένην
B καὶ διανέμουσαν.

65. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ φορτικοῖς ἐπιχειρήσομεν, εἴτε ταῖς καθ' ὥραν μεταβολαῖς τοῦ περιέχοντος εἴτε ταῖς καρπῶν γενέσεσι καὶ σποραῖς καὶ ἀρότοις χαίρουσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους[1] συνοικειοῦντες, καὶ λέγοντες θάπτεσθαι μὲν τὸν Ὄσιριν, ὅτε κρύπτεται τῇ γῇ[2] σπειρόμενος ὁ καρπός, αὖθις δ' ἀναβιοῦσθαι καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὅτε βλαστήσεως ἀρχή. διὸ καὶ λέγεται[3] τὴν Ἶσιν αἰσθομένην ὅτι κυεῖ περιάψασθαι φυλακτήριον ἕκτῃ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου Φαωφί· τίκτεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἁρπο-
C κράτην περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἀτελῆ καὶ νεαρὸν ἐν τοῖς προανθοῦσι καὶ προβλαστάνουσι. διὸ καὶ φακῶν αὐτῷ φυομένων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέρουσι, τὰς δὲ λοχείους ἡμέρας ἑορτάζειν μετὰ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἀγαπῶσι καὶ πιστεύουσιν, αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῶν προχείρων καὶ συνήθων τὸ πιθανὸν ἕλκοντες.

66. Καὶ δεινὸν οὐδέν, ἂν πρῶτον μὲν ἡμῖν τοὺς θεοὺς φυλάττωσι κοινοὺς καὶ μὴ ποιῶσιν Αἰγυπτίων ἰδίους, μηδὲ Νεῖλον ἧν τε Νεῖλος ἄρδει μόνην χώραν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις καταλαμβάνοντες, μηδ' ἕλη μηδὲ λωτοὺς μόνην[4] θεοποιίαν λέγοντες ἀποστερῶσι μεγάλων θεῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἷς
D Νεῖλος μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ Βοῦτος οὐδὲ Μέμφις· Ἶσιν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν θεοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ

[1] τούτους] τούτοις Madvig. [2] τῇ γῇ Bentley: τῆς γῆς.
[3] λέγεται Strijd and F.C.B.: λέγεσθαι.
[4] μόνην F.C.B.: μὴ.

[a] *Cf.* 378 B, *infra*. [b] *Cf.* 358 D, *supra*.

good exists entirely because of them, inasmuch as Osiris contributes the origins, and Isis receives them and distributes them.

65. In this way we shall undertake to deal with the numerous and tiresome people, whether they be such as take pleasure in associating theological problems with the seasonal changes in the surrounding atmosphere, or with the growth of the crops and seed-times and ploughing; and also those who say that Osiris is being buried at the time when the grain is sown and covered in the earth and that he comes to life and reappears when plants begin to sprout. For this reason also it is said that Isis, when she perceived that she was pregnant, put upon herself an amulet[a] on the sixth day of the month Phaophi; and about the time of the winter solstice she gave birth to Harpocrates, imperfect and premature,[b] amid the early flowers and shoots. For this reason they bring to him as an offering the first-fruits of growing lentils, and the days of his birth they celebrate after the spring equinox. When the people hear these things, they are satisfied with them and believe them, deducing the plausible explanation directly from what is obvious and familiar.

66. And there is nothing to fear if, in the first place, they preserve for us our gods that are common to both peoples and do not make them to belong to the Egyptians only, and do not include under these names the Nile alone and the land which the Nile waters, and do not assert that the marshes and the lotus are the only work of God's hand, and if they do not deny the great gods to the rest of mankind that possess no Nile nor Buto nor Memphis. But as for Isis, and the gods associated with her, all peoples own them and are

(377) γιγνώσκουσιν ἅπαντες, ἐνίους μὲν οὐ πάλαι τοῖς παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ὀνόμασι καλεῖν μεμαθηκότες, ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες.

Δεύτερον, ὃ μεῖζόν ἐστιν, ὅπως σφόδρα προσέξουσι καὶ φοβήσονται, μὴ λάθωσιν εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ῥεύματα καὶ σπόρους καὶ ἀρότους καὶ πάθη γῆς καὶ μεταβολὰς ὡρῶν διαγράφοντες τὰ θεῖα καὶ διαλύοντες· ὥσπερ οἱ Διόνυσον τὸν οἶνον, Ἥφαιστον δὲ τὴν φλόγα· Φερσεφόνην δέ φησί που Κλεάνθης τὸ διὰ τῶν καρπῶν φερόμενον καὶ φονευόμενον πνεῦμα. ποιητὴς δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν θεριζόντων

τῆμος ὅτ' αἰζηοὶ Δημήτερα κωλοτομεῦσιν.

E οὐδὲν γὰρ οὗτοι διαφέρουσι τῶν ἱστία καὶ κάλως[1] καὶ ἄγκυραν ἡγουμένων κυβερνήτην, καὶ νήματα καὶ κρόκας ὑφάντην, καὶ σπονδεῖον ἢ μελίκρατον ἢ πτισάνην ἰατρόν· ἀλλὰ[2] δεινὰς καὶ ἀθέους ἐμποιοῦσι δόξας, ἀναισθήτοις καὶ ἀψύχοις καὶ φθειρομέναις ἀναγκαίως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δεομένων καὶ χρωμένων φύσεσι καὶ πράγμασιν ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐπιφέροντες.

Ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῆσαι θεοὺς οὐκ ἔστιν.

F (67.) οὐ γὰρ ἄνουν[3] οὐδ' ἄψυχον οὐδ'[4] ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς ὑποχείριον· ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς δωρουμένους ἡμῖν καὶ παρέχοντας ἀέναα καὶ διαρκῆ θεοὺς ἐνομίσαμεν, οὐχ ἑτέρους παρ' ἑτέροις

[1] κάλως Xylander: κάλους.
[2] ἀλλὰ] ἅμα δὲ Bentley.
[3] ἄνουν Reiske: οὖν.
[4] οὐδ' added by Bentley.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 757 B-C.
[b] Frag. 547.
[c] *Cf. The Life and Poetry o Homer*, chap. xxiii. in Bernardakis, vol. vii.

familiar with them, although they have learned not so very long ago to call some of them by the names which come from the Egyptians ; yet they have from the beginning understood and honoured the power which belongs to each one of them.

In the second place, and this is a matter of greater importance, they should exercise especial heed and caution lest they unwittingly erase and dissipate things divine [a] into winds and streams and sowings and ploughings, developments of the earth and changes of the seasons, as do those who regard wine as Dionysus and flame as Hephaestus. And Cleanthes [b] says somewhere that the breath of air which is carried (*pheromenon*) through the crops and then suffers dissolution (*phoneuomenon*) is Persephonê ; and a certain poet has written with reference to the reapers,[c]

> Then when the sturdy youth come to sever the limbs of Demeter.

The fact is that these persons do not differ at all from those who regard sails and ropes and anchor as a pilot, warp and woof as a weaver, a cup or an honey mixture or barley gruel as a physician. But they create in men fearful atheistic opinions by conferring the names of gods upon natural objects which are senseless and inanimate, and are of necessity destroyed by men when they need to use them.

It is impossible to conceive of these things as being gods in themselves ; (67.) for God is not senseless nor inanimate nor subject to human control. As a result of this we have come to regard as gods those who make use of these things and present them to us and provide us with things everlasting and constant. Nor do we think of the gods as different gods among

οὐδὲ βαρβάρους καὶ Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ νοτίους καὶ βορείους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται δ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, οὕτως ἑνὸς λόγου τοῦ ταῦτα
378 κοσμοῦντος καὶ μιᾶς προνοίας ἐπιτροπευούσης καὶ δυνάμεων ὑπουργῶν ἐπὶ πάντα[1] τεταγμένων, ἔτεραι παρ' ἑτέροις κατὰ νόμους γεγόνασι τιμαὶ καὶ προσηγορίαι· καὶ συμβόλοις χρῶνται καθιερωμένοις οἱ μὲν[2] ἀμυδροῖς οἱ δὲ τρανοτέροις ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν νόησιν ὁδηγοῦντες οὐκ ἀκινδύνως. ἔνιοι γὰρ ἀποσφαλέντες παντάπασιν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ὤλισθον, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ὥσπερ ἕλος[3] τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἔλαθον αὖθις ὥσπερ εἰς κρημνὸν ἐμπεσόντες τὴν ἀθεότητα.

68. Διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα λόγον ἐκ φιλοσοφίας μυσταγωγὸν ἀναλαβόντας ὁσίως διαB νοεῖσθαι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἕκαστον, ἵνα μή, καθάπερ Θεόδωρος εἶπε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνοντος ἑνίους τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δέχεσθαι τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἃ καλῶς οἱ νόμοι περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἔταξαν ἑτέρως ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἀνοιστέον ἅπαντα, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἔστι λαβεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς ἑορτάζοντες τῷ Ἑρμῇ μέλι καὶ σῦκον ἐσθίουσιν ἐπιλέγοντες, "γλυκὺ ἡ ἀλήθεια." τὸ δὲ

[1] πάντα Markland: πάντας.
[2] καθιερωμένοις οἱ μὲν Salmasius: καθιερωμένοι μὲν.
[3] ἕλος Xylander: ἔδος or ἕδος.

---

[a] See the note at the end of chapter 11 (355 D, *supra*).
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 467 B.

different peoples, nor as barbarian gods and Greek gods, nor as southern and northern gods; but, just as the sun and the moon and the heavens and the earth and the sea are common to all, but are called by different names by different peoples, so for that one rationality which keeps all these things in order and the one Providence which watches over them and the ancillary powers that are set over all, there have arisen among different peoples, in accordance with their customs, different honours and appellations. Thus men make use of consecrated symbols, some employing symbols that are obscure, but others those that are clearer, in guiding the intelligence toward things divine, though not without a certain hazard. For some go completely astray and become engulfed in superstition; and others, while they fly from superstition [a] as from a quagmire, on the other hand unwittingly fall, as it were, over a precipice into atheism.

68. Wherefore in the study of these matters it is especially necessary that we adopt, as our guide in these mysteries, the reasoning that comes from philosophy, and consider reverently each one of the things that are said and done, so that, to quote Theodorus,[b] who said that while he offered the good word with his right hand some of his auditors received it in their left, we may not thus err by accepting in a different spirit the things that the laws have dictated admirably concerning the sacrifices and festivals. The fact that everything is to be referred to reason we may gather from the Egyptians themselves; for on the nineteenth day of the first month, when they are holding festival in honour of Hermes, they eat honey and a fig; and as they eat they say, "A sweet

(378) τῆς Ἴσιδος φυλακτήριον, ὃ περιάπτεσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτήν, ἐξερμηνεύεται "φωνὴ ἀληθής." C τὸν δ' Ἁρποκράτην οὔτε θεὸν ἀτελῆ καὶ νήπιον οὔτε χεδρόπων[1] τινὰ νομιστέον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις λόγου νεαροῦ καὶ ἀτελοῦς καὶ ἀδιαρθρώτου προστάτην καὶ σωφρονιστήν· διὸ τῷ στόματι τὸν δάκτυλον ἔχει προσκείμενον ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον· ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεσορὴ μηνὶ τῶν χεδρόπων ἐπιφέροντες λέγουσιν, "γλῶττα τύχη, γλῶττα δαίμων." τῶν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φυτῶν μάλιστα τῇ θεῷ καθιερῶσθαι λέγουσι τὴν περσέαν, ὅτι καρδίᾳ μὲν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῆς, γλώττῃ δὲ τὸ φύλλον ἔοικεν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἔχειν πέφυκε θειότερον λόγου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ περὶ θεῶν, D οὐδὲ μείζονα ῥοπὴν ἔχει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. διὸ τῷ μὲν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνταῦθα κατιόντι παρεγγυῶμεν ὅσια φρονεῖν, εὔφημα[2] λέγειν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ γελοῖα δρῶσιν ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς εὐφημίαν προκηρύττοντες, εἶτα περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν τὰ δυσφημότατα καὶ λέγοντες καὶ διανοούμενοι.

69. Πῶς οὖν χρηστέον ἐστὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς καὶ ἀγελάστοις καὶ πενθίμοις θυσίαις, εἰ μήτε παραλείπειν[3] τὰ νενομισμένα καλῶς ἔχει μήτε φύρειν τὰς περὶ θεῶν δόξας καὶ συνταράττειν ὑποψίαις ἀτόποις; καὶ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ὅμοια πολλὰ γίγνεται περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τι χρόνον, οἷς Αἰγύπτιοι δρῶ-

[1] χεδρόπων Emperius: χεδροπῶν.
[2] εὔφημα Meziriacus: εὔσχημα.
[3] παραλείπειν Bernardakis: παραλιπεῖν.

---

[a] *Cf.* 377 B, *supra.*

thing is Truth." The amulet[a] of Isis, which they traditionally assert that she hung about her neck, is interpreted " a true voice." And Harpocrates is not to be regarded as an imperfect and an infant god, nor some deity or other that protects legumes, but as the representative and corrector of unseasoned, imperfect, and inarticulate reasoning about the gods among mankind. For this reason he keeps his finger on his lips in token of restrained speech or silence. In the month of Mesorê they bring to him an offering of legumes and say, " The tongue is luck, the tongue is god." Of the plants in Egypt they say that the persea is especially consecrated to the goddess because its fruit resembles a heart and its leaf a tongue. The fact is that nothing of man's usual possessions is more divine than reasoning, especially reasoning about the gods ; and nothing has a greater influence toward happiness. For this reason we give instructions to anyone who comes down to the oracle here to think holy thoughts and to speak words of good omen. But the mass of mankind act ridiculously in their processions and festivals in that they proclaim at the outset the use of words of good omen,[b] but later they both say and think the most unhallowed thoughts about the very gods.

69. How, then, are we to deal with their gloomy, solemn, and mournful sacrifices, if it be not proper either to omit the customary ceremonials or to confound and confuse our opinions about the gods by unwarranted suspicions ? Among the Greeks also many things are done which are similar to the Egyptian ceremonies in the shrines of Isis, and they do them at

[b] The regular proclamation (εὐφημεῖτε) used by the Greeks at the beginning of any ceremony.

E σιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσείοις.[1] καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς μέγαρα κινοῦσιν[2] ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζοντες, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς Κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν οὗτος περὶ Πλειάδας[3] σπόριμος, ὃν Ἄθυρ Αἰγύπτιοι, Πυανεψιῶνα δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιῶτοὶ δὲ Δαμάτριον καλοῦσι. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην,
F τὸ δ' ἔαρ Περσεφόνην, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶσθαι πάντα. Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν, θέρους δ' ἐγρηγορέναι, τοτὲ μὲν κατευνασμούς, τοτὲ δ' ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι. Παφλαγόνες δὲ καταδεῖσθαι καὶ καθείργνυσθαι χειμῶνος, ἦρος δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναλύεσθαι φάσκουσι.

70. Καὶ δίδωσιν ὁ καιρὸς ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ τῶν καρπῶν τῇ ἀποκρύψει γενέσθαι τὸν σκυθρωπασμόν, οὓς οἱ παλαιοὶ θεοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δῶρα θεῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ μεγάλα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἀγρίως
379 καὶ θηριωδῶς. καθ' ἣν δ' ὥραν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ[4] δένδρων ἑώρων ἀφανιζομένους παντάπασιν καὶ ἀπολείποντας, τοὺς[5] δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέσπειρον[6] ἔτι γλίσχρως καὶ ἀπόρως, διαμώμενοι ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν

[1] Ἰσείοις] ὁσίοις in most mss.

[2] κινοῦσιν] various emendations have been proposed, κενοῦσιν, κονιῶσιν, κλείουσιν, and one ms. seems to have κονοῦσιν, but none makes the meaning clear.

[3] Πλειάδας Xylander: πλειάδα.

[4] ἀπὸ] ἀπὸ τῶν Reiske.

[5] τοὺς Wyttenbach: οὓς.

[6] κατέσπειρον Holwerda: κατὰ σπεῖραν or κατασπείραντες.

about the same time. At Athens the women fast at the Thesmophoria sitting upon the ground; and the Boeotians move the halls of the Goddess of Sorrow and name that festival the Festival of Sorrow,[a] since Demeter is in sorrow because of her Daughter's descent to Pluto's realm. This month, in the season of the Pleiades, is the month of seeding which the Egyptians call Athyr, the Athenians Pyanepsion, and the Boeotians Damatrius.[b] Theopompus[c] records that the people who live toward the west believe that the winter is Cronus, the summer Aphroditê, and the spring Persephonê, and that they call them by these names and believe that from Cronus and Aphroditê all things have their origin. The Phrygians, believing that the god is asleep in the winter and awake in the summer, sing lullabies for him in the winter and in the summer chants to arouse him, after the manner of bacchic worshippers. The Paphlagonians assert that in the winter he is bound fast and imprisoned, but that in the spring he bestirs himself and sets himself free again.

70. The season of the year also gives us a suspicion that this gloominess is brought about because of the disappearance from our sight of the crops and fruits that people in days of old did not regard as gods, but as necessary and important contributions of the gods toward the avoidance of a savage and a bestial life. At the time of year when they saw some of the fruits vanishing and disappearing completely from the trees, while they themselves were sowing others in a mean and poverty-stricken fashion still, scraping

[a] *Cf.* Pausanias, ix. 8. 1, and Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*[4], i. 752, note 3; but the matter is very uncertain.

[b] The month sacred to Demeter. [c] Frag. 335.

(379) γῆν καὶ περιστέλλοντες αὖθις, ἐπ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ πάλιν ἐκτελεῖσθαι καὶ συντέλειαν ἔξειν ἀποθέμενοι, πολλὰ θάπτουσι νόμοια καὶ πενθοῦσιν ἔπραττον. εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν ὠνούμενον βιβλία Πλάτωνος ὠνεῖσθαί φαμεν Πλάτωνα, καὶ Μένανδρον ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν[1] τὰ Μενάνδρου ποιήματα διατιθέμενον,[2] οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι τὰ τῶν θεῶν δῶρα
B καὶ ποιήματα καλεῖν οὐκ ἐφείδοντο, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ σεμνύνοντες. οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἀπαιδεύτως δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἀναστρέφοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ πάθη τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ τὰς παρουσίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀποκρύψεις θεῶν γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς οὐ προσαγορεύοντες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίζοντες, ἀτόπων καὶ παρανόμων καὶ τεταραγμένων δοξῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνέπλησαν, καίτοι τοῦ παραλόγου τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔχοντες. εὖ μὲν οὖν[3] Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἠξίωσε[4] τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, εἰ
C θεοὺς νομίζουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι, θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν. ἄλλο τι ἢ[5] γελοῖον ἅμα θρηνοῦντας εὔχεσθαι τοὺς καρποὺς πάλιν ἀναφαίνειν καὶ τελειοῦν ἑαυτοῖς, ὅπως πάλιν ἀναλίσκωνται καὶ θρηνῶνται; (71.) τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσι μὲν τοὺς καρπούς, εὔχονται δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις καὶ δοτῆρσι θεοῖς ἑτέρους πάλιν νέους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀναφύειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων. ὅθεν ἄριστα λέγεται

[1] ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸν in one MS.: τὸν ὑποκρίνεσθαι.
[2] διατιθέμενον Wyttenbach: ὑποτιθέμενον.
[3] εὖ μὲν οὖν Bernardakis: οὐ μόνον.
[4] ἠξίωσε Wyttenbach: ἢ ἐξῆς οἱ.
[5] ἄλλο τι ἢ F.C.B.: ἀλλ' ὅτι.

---

[a] *Cf.* Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. 44, Xenophanes, no. A 13; also *Moralia*, 171 D, 228 E, and 763 D; and Heracleitus, no. B 127 (Diels, i. 103).

away the earth with their hands and again replacing it, committing the seeds to the ground with uncertain expectation of their ever appearing again or coming to fruition, they did many things like persons at a funeral in mourning for their dead. Then again, even as we speak of the man who buys the books of Plato as " buying Plato," and of the man who represents the poems of Menander as " acting Menander," even so those men of old did not refrain from calling by the names of the gods the gifts and creations of the gods, honouring and venerating them because of the need which they had for them. The men of later times accepted this blindly, and in their ignorance referred to the gods the behaviour of the crops and the presence and disappearance of necessities, not only calling them the births and deaths of the gods, but even believing that they are so ; and thus they filled their minds with absurd, unwarranted, and confused opinions although they had before their eyes the absurdity of such illogical reasoning. Rightly did Xenophanes [a] of Colophon insist that the Egyptians, if they believed these to be gods, should not lament them ; but if they lamented them, they should not believe them to be gods. Is it anything but ridiculous amid their lamentations to pray that the powers may cause their crops to sprout again and bring them to perfection in order that they again be consumed and lamented ? (71.) This is not quite the case : but they do lament for their crops and they do pray to the gods, who are the authors and givers, that they produce and cause to grow afresh other new crops to take the place of those that are undergoing destruction. Hence it is an excellent saying current

(379) παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ τοὺς μὴ μανθάνοντας ὀρθῶς ἀκούειν ὀνομάτων κακῶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὥσπερ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ γραπτὰ καὶ λίθινα μὴ μαθόντες μηδ' ἐθισθέντες
D ἰγάλματα καὶ τιμὰς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς καλεῖν, εἶτα τολμῶντες λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Λαχάρης ἐξέδυσε, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσοῦς βοστρύχους ἔχοντα Διονύσιος ἀπέκειρεν, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ὁ Καπετώλιος περὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐνεπρήσθη καὶ διεφθάρη, λανθάνουσι[1] συνεφελκόμενοι[2] καὶ παραδεχόμενοι δόξας πονηρὰς ἑπομένας τοῖς ὀνόμασιν.

Τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα πεπόνθασιν Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τὰ τιμώμενα τῶν ζώων. Ἕλληνες μὲν γὰρ ἔν γε τούτοις λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίζουσιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ζῷον εἶναι τὴν περιστερὰν καὶ τὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸν κόρακα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸν κύνα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὡς Εὐριπίδης

E Ἑκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρου κύων ἔσῃ.[3]

Αἰγυπτίων δ' οἱ πολλοὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτὰ τὰ ζῷα καὶ περιέποντες ὡς θεοὺς οὐ γέλωτος μόνον οὐδὲ χλευασμοῦ καταπεπλήκασι τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι κακόν· δόξα δ' ἐμφύεται δεινή, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀκάκους εἰς ἄκρατον ὑπερείπουσα[4] τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν, τοῖς

[1] λανθάνουσι Baxter: μανθάνουσι.
[2] συνεφελκόμενοι Bernardakis: οὖν ἐφελκόμενοι.
[3] ἔσῃ Xylander: ἐσσίν.
[4] ὑπερείπουσα Reiske: ὑπερείδουσα.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 707 F.
[b] The gold was removed by him from the chryselephantine

among philosophers that they that have not learned to interpret rightly the sense of words are wont to bungle their actions.[a] For example, there are some among the Greeks who have not learned nor habituated themselves to speak of the bronze, the painted, and the stone effigies as statues of the gods and dedications in their honour, but they call them gods ; and then they have the effrontery to say that Lachares stripped Athena,[b] that Dionysius sheared Apollo of the golden locks, and that Jupiter Capitolinus was burned and destroyed in the Civil War,[c] and thus they unwittingly take over and accept the vicious opinions that are the concomitants of these names.

This has been to no small degree the experience of the Egyptians in regard to those animals that are held in honour. In these matters the Greeks are correct in saying and believing that the dove is the sacred bird of Aphroditê, that the serpent is sacred to Athena, the raven to Apollo, and the dog to Artemis—as Euripides[d] says,

> Dog you shall be, pet of bright Hecatê.

But the great majority of the Egyptians, in doing service to the animals themselves and in treating them as gods, have not only filled their sacred offices with ridicule and derision, but this is the least of the evils connected with their silly practices. There is engendered a dangerous belief, which plunges the weak and innocent into sheer superstition, and in the case of the

statue of Athena in the Parthenon ; *cf.* W. B. Dinsmoor, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* xxxviii. (1934) p. 97.

[c] July 6, 83 B.C., according to *Life of Sulla*, chap. xxvii. (469 B). The numerous references may be found in Roscher, *Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 714.

[d] Nauck, *Trag. Frag. Graec.*, Euripides, no. 968.

δὲ δριμυτέροις καὶ θρασυτέροις εἰς ἀθέους ἐμπίπτουσα καὶ θηριώδεις λογισμούς. ἦ[1] καὶ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰκότα διελθεῖν οὐκ ἀνάρμοστόν ἐστι.

72. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα τοὺς θεοὺς
F τὸν Τυφῶνα δείσαντας μεταβαλεῖν, οἷον ἀποκρύπτοντας ἑαυτοὺς σώμασιν ἴβεων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἱεράκων, πᾶσαν ὑπερπέπαικε τερατείαν καὶ μυθολογίαν· καὶ τὸ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν θανόντων ὅσαι διαμένουσιν εἰς ταῦτα μόνα γίγνεσθαι τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ὁμοίως ἄπιστον. τῶν δὲ βουλομένων πολιτικήν τινα λέγειν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν Ὄσιριν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ στρατιᾷ φασιν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ διανείμαντα τὴν δύναμιν ἃ[2] λόχους καὶ τάξεις Ἑλληνικῶς[3] καλοῦσιν, ἐπίσημα δοῦναι[4] ζῳόμορφα πᾶσιν, ὧν
380 ἕκαστον τῷ[5] γένει τῶν συννεμηθέντων ἱερὸν γενέσθαι καὶ τίμιον· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον βασιλεῖς ἐκπλήξεως ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφαίνεσθαι θηρίων χρυσᾶς προτομὰς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιτιθεμένους· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶνδε τῶν δεινῶν τινα καὶ πανούργων βασιλέων ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταμαθόντα τῇ μὲν φύσει κούφους καὶ πρὸς μετ.βολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας, ἄμαχον δὲ καὶ δυσκάθεκτον ὑπὸ πλήθους δύναμιν ἐν τῷ συμφρονεῖν[6] καὶ κοινοπραγεῖν ἔχοντας, ἀίδιον αὐτοῖς ἐγκατασπεῖραι[7] δείξαντα[8] δεισιδαιμονίαν, διαφορᾶς
B ἀπαύστου πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ θηρίων, ἃ προσ-

[1] ἦ Xylander: ἢ.
[2] ἃ added by Wyttenbach.
[3] Ἑλληνικῶς Xylander: ἑλληνικὰς.
[4] δοῦναι Markland: δοῦναι καὶ.
[5] ἕκαστον τῷ Salmasius: ἑκάστῳ.
[6] συμφρονεῖν Markland: σωφρονεῖν.
[7] ἐγκατασπεῖραι Meziriacus: ἐν κατασπορᾷ.
[8] δείξαντα] διδάξαντα H. Richards.

more cynical and bold, goes off into atheistic and brutish reasoning.[a] Wherefore it is not inappropriate to rehearse in some detail what seem to be the facts in these matters.

72. The notion that the gods, in fear of Typhon, changed themselves into these animals,[b] concealing themselves, as it were, in the bodies of ibises, dogs, and hawks, is a play of fancy surpassing all the wealth of monstrous fable. The further notion that as many of the souls of the dead as continue to exist are reborn into these animals only is likewise incredible. Of those who desire to assign to this some political reason some relate that Osiris, on his great expedition, divided his forces into many parts, which the Greeks call squads and companies, and to them all he gave standards in the form of animals, each of which came to be regarded as sacred and precious by the descendants of them who had shared in the assignment. Others relate that the later kings, to strike their enemies with terror, appeared in battle after putting on gold and silver masks of wild beasts' heads. Others record that one of these crafty and unscrupulous kings,[c] having observed that the Egyptians were by nature light-minded and readily inclined to change and novelty, but that, because of their numbers, they had a strength that was invincible and very difficult to check when they were in their sober senses and acted in concert, communicated to them and planted among them an everlasting superstition, a ground for unceasing quarrelling. For he enjoined

[a] See the note on 355 D, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 86. 3.

[c] *Ibid.* i. 89. 5 and 90.

(380) ἔταξεν ἄλλοις ἄλλα τιμᾶν καὶ σέβεσθαι, δυσμενῶς καὶ πολεμικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσφερομένων, καὶ τροφὴν ἑτέραν ἑτέρου[1] προσίεσθαι πεφυκότος,[2] ἀμύνοντες[3] ἀεὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕκαστοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀδικουμένων[4] φέροντες ἐλάνθανον ταῖς τῶν θηρίων ἐχθραις συνεφελκόμενοι[5] καὶ συνεκπολεμούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μόνοι γὰρ ἔτι νῦν Αἰγυπτίων Λυκοπολῖται πρόβατον ἐσθίουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ λύκος, ὃν θεὸν νομίζουσιν· οἱ δ' Ὀξυρυγχῖται καθ' ἡμᾶς, τῶν Κυνοπολιτῶν τὸν ὀξύρυγχον ἰχθὺν ἐσθιόντων, κύνα[6] συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες ὡς ἱερεῖον κατ-
C έφαγον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταστάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλήλους τε διέθηκαν κακῶς καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κολαζόμενοι διετέθησαν.

73. Πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων εἰς ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα τὴν τοῦ Τυφῶνος αὐτοῦ διάρασθαι ψυχήν, αἰνίττεσθαι δόξειεν ἂν ὁ μῦθος ὅτι πᾶσα φύσις ἄλογος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος γέγονε μοίρας, κἀκεῖνον ἐκμειλισσόμενοι καὶ παρηγοροῦντες περιέπουσι ταῦτα καὶ θεραπεύουσιν· ἂν δὲ πολὺς ἐμπίπτῃ καὶ χαλεπὸς αὐχμὸς ἐπάγων ὑπερβαλλόντως ἢ νόσους ὀλεθρίους ἢ συμφορὰς ἄλλας παραλόγους καὶ ἀλλοκότους, ἔνια τῶν τιμωμένων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀπάγοντες ὑπὸ σκότῳ μετὰ σιωπῆς καὶ
D ἡσυχίας ἀπειλοῦσι καὶ δεδίττονται τὸ πρῶτον, ἂν

[1] *ἑτέρου* Reiske: *ἑτέρους*.
[2] *πεφυκότος* Reiske (Wyttenbach prefers *ἑτέρων ἕτερα . . . πεφυκότων*: *πεφυκότας*).
[3] *ἀμύνοντες* Xylander: *ἀμύνοντας*.
[4] *ἀδικουμένων* Markland: *ἀδικούμενοι*.
[5] *συνεφελκόμενοι* Wyttenbach: *συνελκόμενοι*.
[6] *κύνα* Reiske: *κύνας*.

[a] *Cf.* 353 c and 358 B, *supra*; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xi. 27, and Juvenal, xv. 35.

on different peoples to honour and revere different animals; and inasmuch as these animals conducted themselves with enmity and hostility toward one another, one by its nature desiring one kind of food and another another, the several peoples were ever defending their own animals, and were much offended if these animals suffered injury, and thus they were drawn on unwittingly by the enmities of the animals until they were brought into open hostility with one another. Even to-day the inhabitants of Lycopolis are the only people among the Egyptians that eat a sheep; for the wolf, whom they hold to be a god, also eats it. And in my day the people of Oxyrhynchus caught a dog and sacrificed it and ate it up as if it had been sacrificial meat,[a] because the people of Cynopolis were eating the fish known as the oxyrhynchus or pike. As a result of this they became involved in war and inflicted much harm upon each other; and later they were both brought to order through chastisement by the Romans.

73. Many relate that the soul of Typhon himself was divided among these animals. The legend would seem to intimate that all irrational and brutish nature belongs to the portion of the evil deity, and in trying to soothe and appease him they lavish attention and care upon these animals. If there befall a great and severe drought that brings on in excess either fatal diseases or other unwonted and extraordinary calamities, the priests, under cover of darkness, in silence and stealth, lead away some of the animals that are held in honour; and at first they but threaten and terrify the animals,[b] but if the drought still per-

[b] *Cf.* Mitteis und Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, i. p. 125.

(380) δ' ἐπιμένῃ, καθιερεύουσι[1] καὶ σφάττουσιν, ὡς δή τινα κολασμὸν ὄντα τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦτον ἢ καθαρμὸν ἄλλως μέγαν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Εἰλειθυίας[2] πόλει ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους κατεπίμπρασαν ὡς Μανεθὼς ἱστόρηκε, Τυφωνείους[3] καλοῦντες, καὶ τὴν τέφραν αὐτῶν λικμῶντες ἠφάνιζον καὶ διέσπειρον. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδρᾶτο φανερῶς καὶ καθ' ἕνα καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς κυνάσιν ἡμέραις· αἱ δὲ τῶν τιμωμένων ζῴων καθιερεύσεις ἀπόρρητοι καὶ
E χρόνοις ἀτάκτοις πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα γιγνόμεναι τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνουσι, πλὴν ὅταν ταφὰς[4] ἔχωσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδεικνύντες ἕνια πάντων παρόντων συνεμβάλλωσιν[5] οἰόμενοι τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἀντιλυπεῖν καὶ κολούειν τὸ ἡδόμενον. ὁ γὰρ Ἆπις δοκεῖ μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων ἱερὸς εἶναι τοῦ Ὀσίριδος· ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα προσνέμουσι. κἂν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ᾖ, σημαίνειν ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ζητούμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων καὶ κοινὰς ἐχόντων τὰς τιμάς, οἷόν ἐστιν ἶβις καὶ ἱέραξ καὶ κυνοκέφαλος, αὐτός τ'[6] ὁ Ἆπις καὶ ὁ Μένδης[7]· οὕτω δὴ γὰρ τὸν ἐν Μένδητι τράγον καλοῦσι.

F 74. Λείπεται δὲ δὴ τὸ χρειῶδες καὶ τὸ συμβολικόν, ὧν ἕνια θατέρου, πολλὰ δ' ἀμφοῖν μετέσχηκε. βοῦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόβατον καὶ ἰχνεύμονα

[1] *καθιερεύουσι* Reiske: *καθιεροῦσι.*
[2] *Εἰλειθυίας* Parthey: *ἰδιθύας.*
[3] *Τυφωνείους* Squire: *τυφωνίους.*
[4] *ταφὰς*] *Ἄπιδος ταφὰς* Xylander.
[5] *συνεμβάλλωσιν* Wyttenbach and Bernardakis: *συνεμβάλωσιν.*
[6] *τ'* added by F.C.B.
[7] *καὶ ὁ Μένδης* added by Semler (*cf.* Herodotus, ii. 46). Alii alia.

sists, they consecrate and sacrifice them, as if, forsooth, this were a means of punishing the deity, or at least a mighty rite of purification in matters of the highest importance! The fact is that in the city of Eileithyia they used to burn men alive,[a] as Manetho has recorded; they called them Typhonians, and by means of winnowing fans they dissipated and scattered their ashes. But this was performed publicly and at a special time in the dog-days. The consecrations of the animals held in honour, however, were secret, and took place at indeterminate times with reference to the circumstances; and thus they are unknown to the multitude, except when they hold the animals' burials,[b] and then they display some of the other sacred animals and, in the presence of all, cast them into the grave together, thinking thus to hurt and to curtail Typhon's satisfaction. The Apis, together with a few other animals, seems to be sacred to Osiris[c]; but to Typhon they assign the largest number of animals. If this account is true, I think it indicates that the object of our inquiry concerns those which are commonly accepted and whose honours are universal: for example, the ibis, the hawk, the cynocephalus, and the Apis himself, as well as the Mendes, for thus they call the goat in Mendes.[d]

74. There remain, then, their usefulness and their symbolism; of these two, some of the animals share in the one, and many share in both. It is clear that the Egyptians have honoured the cow, the sheep, and

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 88. 5.

[b] *Cf.* 359 D, *supra*; Diodorus, i. 21. 5; 83. 1 and 5; 84. 7.

[c] *Cf.* 362 C-D, *supra.*

[d] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 46; Diodorus, i. 84. 4; Strabo, xvii. 1. 19.

δῆλον ὅτι χρείας ἕνεκα καὶ ὠφελείας ἐτίμησαν (ὡς Λήμνιοι κορύδους, τὰ τῶν ἀτταλάβων εὑρίσκοντας ᾠὰ καὶ κόπτοντας[1]· Θετταλοὶ δὲ πελαργούς, ὅτι πολλοὺς ὄφεις τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδούσης ἐπιφανέντες ἐξώλεσαν ἅπαντας· διὸ καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο φεύγειν ὅστις ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ πελαργόν), ἀσπίδα δὲ καὶ γαλῆν καὶ κάνθαρον, εἰκόνας τινὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς
381 ἀμαυρὰς ὥσπερ ἐν σταγόσιν ἡλίου τῆς τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γαλῆν ἔτι πολλοὶ νομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ οὖς ὀχευομένην, τῷ δὲ στόματι τίκτουσαν, εἴκασμα τῆς τοῦ λόγου γενέσεως εἶναι· τὸ δὲ κανθάρων γένος οὐκ ἔχειν θήλειαν, ἄρρενας δὲ πάντας ἀφιέναι τὸν γόνον εἰς τὴν σφαιροποιουμένην ὕλην, ἣν κυλινδοῦσιν ἀντιβάδην ὠθοῦντες, ὥσπερ δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ ἥλιος ἐς τοὐναντίον περιστρέφειν, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς φερόμενος. ἀσπίδα δ'
B ὡς ἀγήρων καὶ χρωμένην κινήσεσιν ἀνοργάνοις μετ' εὐπετείας καὶ ὑγρότητος ἀστραπῇ[2] προσείκασαν.

75. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιροῦσαν ἔσχηκε τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μίμημα[3] θεοῦ λέγεται γεγονέναι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσσος ὤν. φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι, καὶ

[1] κόπτοντες] κάπτοντες Hatzidakis.
[2] ἀστραπῇ Strijd: ἄστρῳ ἢ.
[3] μίμημα in one MS.: οὐ μίμημα.

---

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Mirabilibus Ausc.* 23 (832 a 14); Pliny, *Natural History*, x. 31. 62; Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Θεσσαλία.

the ichneumon because of their need for these animals and their usefulness. Even so the people of Lemnos hold larks in honour because they seek out the eggs of the locust and destroy them ; and so the people of Thessaly honour storks,[a] because, when their land produced many snakes,[b] the storks appeared and destroyed them all. For this reason they passed a law that whoever killed a stork should be banished from the country. The Egyptians also honoured the asp, the weasel, and the beetle, since they observed in them certain dim likenesses of the power of the gods, like images of the sun in drops of water. There are still many people who believe and declare that the weasel conceives through its ear and brings forth its young by way of the mouth, and that this is a parallel of the generation of speech. The race of beetles has no female,[c] but all the males eject their sperm into a round pellet of material which they roll up by pushing it from the opposite side, just as the sun seems to turn the heavens in the direction opposite to its own course, which is from west to east. They compare the asp to lightning, since it does not grow old and manages to move with ease and suppleness without the use of limbs.

75. The crocodile,[d] certainly, has acquired honour which is not devoid of a plausible reason, but he is declared to be a living representation of God, since he is the only creature without a tongue ; for the Divine Word has no need of a voice, and

[b] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, ii. 39. 6 ; Plutarch's source may have been Theophrastus, Frag. 174. 6 (Wimmer, vol. iii. p. 220).

[c] *Cf.* the note on 355 A, *supra.*

[d] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 69.

(381) δι' ἀψόφου
βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἄγει.[1]

μόνου δέ φασιν ἐν ὑγρῷ διαιτωμένου τὰς ὄψεις ὑμένα λεῖον καὶ διαφανῆ παρακαλύπτειν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κατερχόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπόμενον, ὃ[2] τῷ πρώτῳ θεῷ συμβέβηκεν. ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡ θήλεια τῆς χώρας ἀποτέκῃ, τοῦτο Νείλου πέρας ἐπίσταται τῆς αὐξήσεως γενόμενον. ἐν ὑγρῷ γὰρ οὐ δυνάμεναι,[3] πόρρω δὲ φοβούμεναι[3] τίκτειν,
C οὕτως ἀκριβῶς προαισθάνονται τὸ μέλλον, ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ προσελθόντι χρῆσθαι λοχευόμεναι καὶ θάλπουσαι, τὰ δ' ᾠὰ ξηρὰ καὶ ἄβρεκτα φυλάττειν. ἑξήκοντα δὲ τίκτουσιν, καὶ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις ἐκλέπουσι, καὶ τοσούτους ζῶσιν ἐνιαυτοὺς οἱ μακρότατον ζῶντες, ὃ τῶν μέτρων πρῶτόν ἐστι τοῖς περὶ τὰ οὐράνια πραγματευομένοις.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν δι' ἀμφότερα τιμωμένων περὶ μὲν τοῦ κυνὸς εἴρηται πρόσθεν· ἡ δ' ἶβις ἀποκτείνουσα μὲν τὰ θανατηφόρα τῶν ἑρπετῶν ἐδίδαξε πρώτη κενώματος ἰατρικοῦ χρείαν κατιδόντας αὐτὴν[4] κλυζομένην καὶ καθαιρομένην ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς·
D οἱ δὲ νομιμώτατοι τῶν ἱερέων καθάρσιον ὕδωρ ἁγνιζόμενοι λαμβάνουσιν ὅθεν ἶβις πέπωκεν· οὐ

[1] κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἄγει] καὶ δίκης τὰ θνητὰ ἄγει κατὰ δίκην all corrected by the MSS. of Euripides.
[2] ὃ Meziriacus: ᾧ.
[3] δυνάμεναι . . . φοβούμεναι Meziriacus: δυνάμενοι . . . φοβούμενοι.
[4] αὐτὴν Strijd: οὕτω.

---

[a] Euripides, *Troades*, 887-888; *cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1007 c.
[b] *Ibid.* 982 c; Aristotle, *Hist. Animalium*, v. 33 (558 a 17).
[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, ii. 33, v. 52.

through noiseless ways advancing, guides
By Justice all affairs of mortal men.[a]

They say that the crocodile is the only animal living in the water which has a thin and transparent membrane extending down from his forehead to cover up his eyes, so that he can see without being seen ; and this prerogative belongs also unto the First God. In whatever part of the land the female crocodile lays her eggs, well she knows that this is destined to mark the limit of the rise of the Nile[b] ; for the females, being unable to lay their eggs in the water and afraid to lay them far from it, have such an accurate perception of the future that they make use of the oncoming river as a guide in laying their eggs and in keeping them warm; and thus they preserve them dry and untouched by the water. They lay sixty eggs[c] and hatch them in the same number of days, and those crocodiles that live longest live that number of years : the number sixty is the first of measures for such persons as concern themselves with the heavenly bodies.

Of the animals that are held in honour for both reasons, mention has already been made of the dog.[d] The ibis,[e] which kills the deadly creeping things, was the first to teach men the use of medicinal purgations when they observed her employing clysters and being purged by herself.[f] The most strict of the priests take their lustral water for purification from a place where the ibis has drunk[g] : for she does not drink

[a] *Supra*, 355 B and 368 F.
[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 87. 6.
[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, ii. 35 ; Pliny, *Natural History*, x. 40 (75).
[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 974 C ; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, vii. 45.

(381) πίνει γὰρ εἰ[1] νοσῶδες ἢ πεφαρμαγμένον οὐδὲ πρόσεισι. τῇ δὲ τῶν ποδῶν διαστάσει[2] πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ ῥύγχος ἰσόπλευρον ποιεῖ τρίγωνον· ἔτι δ' ἡ τῶν μελάνων πτερῶν πρὸς[3] τὰ λευκὰ ποικιλία καὶ μεῖξις ἐμφαίνει σελήνην ἀμφίκυρτον.

Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ γλίσχρας ὁμοιότητας οὕτως ἠγάπησαν Αἰγύπτιοι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ[4] Ἕλληνες ἔν τε γραπτοῖς ἔν τε πλαστοῖς εἰκάσμασι
E θεῶν ἐχρήσαντο πολλοῖς τοιούτοις· οἷον ἐν Κρήτῃ Διὸς ἦν ἄγαλμα μὴ ἔχον ὦτα· τῷ γὰρ ἄρχοντι καὶ κυρίῳ πάντων οὐδενὸς ἀκούειν προσήκει. τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν δράκοντα Φειδίας παρέθηκε, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἤλιδι τὴν χελώνην, ὡς τὰς μὲν παρθένους φυλακῆς δεομένας, ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς
F οἰκουρίαν καὶ σιωπὴν πρέπουσαν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρίαινα σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς τρίτης χώρας, ἣν θάλαττα κατέχει μετὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα τεταγμένη. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην καὶ τοὺς Τρίτωνας οὕτως ὠνόμασαν.

Οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ἀριθμοὺς καὶ σχήματα θεῶν ἐκόσμησαν προσηγορίαις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰσόπλευρον τρίγωνον ἐκάλουν Ἀθηνᾶν κορυφαγενῆ[5] καὶ τριτογένειαν, ὅτι τρισὶ καθέτοις ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν γωνιῶν ἀγομέναις διαιρεῖται· τὸ δ' ἓν Ἀπόλλωνα πλήθους ἀποφάσει καὶ δι' ἁπλότητα τῆς[6] μονάδος·

[1] εἰ Michael (from *Moral.* 974 c): ἢ.
[2] διαστάσει Böttcher: διαβάσει.
[3] πρὸς Reiske: περὶ.
[4] καὶ γὰρ καὶ Xylander: καὶ.
[5] κορυφαγενῆ an obvious correction of early editors; κορυφαγεννῆ.
[6] πλήθους ἀποφάσει καὶ δι' ἁπλότητα τῆς Wyttenbach and Böttcher: πείθουσα προφάσει καὶ διπλοτάτης.

water if it is unwholesome or tainted, nor will she approach it. By the spreading of her feet, in their relation to each other and to her bill, she makes an equilateral triangle.[a] Moreover the variety and combination of her black feathers with her white picture the moon in its first quarter.

There is no occasion for surprise that the Egyptians were so taken with such slight resemblances ; for the Greeks in their painted and sculptured portrayals of the gods made use of many such. For example, in Crete there was a statue of Zeus having no ears ; for it is not fitting for the Ruler and Lord of all to listen to anyone. Beside the statue of Athena Pheidias placed the serpent and in Elis beside the statue of Aphroditê the tortoise,[b] to indicate that maidens need watching, and that for married women staying at home and silence is becoming. The trident of Poseidon is a symbol of the Third Region where the sea holds sway, for it has been assigned to a demesne of less importance than the heavens and the air. For this reason they thus named Amphitritê and the Tritons.[c]

The Pythagoreans embellished also numbers and figures with the appellations of the gods. The equilateral triangle they called Athena, born from the head and third-born, because it is divided by three perpendiculars drawn from its three angles. The number one they called Apollo[d] because of its rejection of plurality[e] and because of the singleness of

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 670 c.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 142 D ; Pausanias, vi. 25. 2.
[c] An effort to derive these names from τρίτος, " third."
[d] *Cf.* the note on 354 F, *supra*.
[e] *Cf.* 393 B, *infra*.

ἔριν δὲ τὴν δυάδα καὶ τόλμαν[1]· δίκην δὲ τὴν τριάδα, τοῦ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι κατ' ἔλλειψιν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ὄντος, ἰσότητι τὸ[2] δίκαιον ἐν μέσῳ γέγονεν· ἡ δὲ καλουμένη τετρακτύς, τὰ ἓξ καὶ
382 τριάκοντα, μέγιστος ἦν ὅρκος, ὡς τεθρύληται, καὶ κόσμος ὠνόμασται, τεττάρων μὲν ἀρτίων τῶν πρώτων, τεττάρων δὲ τῶν περιττῶν εἰς ταὐτὸ συντιθεμένων, ἀποτελούμενος.

76. Εἴπερ οὖν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων οὐδ' ἐν ἀψύχοις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις πράγμασιν αἴνιγμα[3] τοῦ θείου κατιδόντες ἠξίουν ἀμελεῖν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀτιμάζειν, ἔτι μᾶλλον οἶομαι τὰς ἐν αἰσθανομέναις καὶ ψυχὴν ἐχούσαις καὶ πάθος καὶ ἦθος φύσεσιν ἰδιότητας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς[4] ἀγαπητέον εἶναι[5], οὐ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἐναρ-
B γεστέρων ἐσόπτρων καὶ φύσει γεγονότων, ὥστ'[6] ὄργανον ἢ τέχνην δεῖ[7] τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦντος θεοῦ νομίζειν, καὶ ὅλως[8] ἀξιοῦν γε[9] μηδὲν ἄψυχον ἐμψύχου μηδ' ἀναίσθητον αἰσθανομένου κρεῖττον εἶναι, μηδ' ἂν τὸν σύμπαντά τις χρυσὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σμάραγδον εἰς ταὐτὸ συμφορήσῃ. οὐκ ἐν χρόαις[10] γὰρ οὐδ' ἐν σχήμασιν οὐδ' ἐν λειότησιν ἐγγίγνεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλ' ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχει νεκρῶν μοῖραν, ὅσα μὴ μετέσχε, μηδὲ μετέχειν τοῦ ζῆν πέφυκεν. ἡ δὲ ζῶσα καὶ βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὑτῆς ἔχουσα καὶ γνῶσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων φύσις

[1] τόλμαν] πόλεμον Reiske. [2] τὸ added by Michael.
[3] αἴνιγμα] μίμημα Meziriacus.
[4] εἰκὸς Markland: ἦθος. [5] εἶναι Bernardakis: οὖν.
[6] ὥστ' Michael and F.C.B.: ὡς.
[7] δεῖ Wyttenbach: ἀεί.
[8] καὶ ὅλως Bentley: καλῶς. [9] γε Reiske: τε.
[10] χρόαις the more usual form: χροιαῖς.

unity. The number two they called "Strife," and "Daring," and three they called "Justice," for, although the doing of injustice and suffering from injustice are caused by deficiency and excess, Justice, by reason of its equality, intervenes between the two. The so-called sacred quaternion, the number thirty-six, was, so it is famed, the mightiest of oaths, and it has been given the name of "World" since it is made up of the first four even numbers and the first four odd numbers added together.

76. If, then, the most noted of the philosophers, observing the riddle of the Divine in inanimate and incorporeal objects, have not thought it proper to treat anything with carelessness or disrespect, even more do I think that, in all likelihood, we should welcome those peculiar properties existent in natures which possess the power of perception and have a soul and feeling and character. It is not that we should honour these, but that through these we should honour the Divine, since they are the clearer mirrors of the Divine by their nature also, so that we should regard them as the instrument or device of the God who orders all things. And in general we must hold it true that nothing inanimate is superior to what is animate, and nothing without the power of perception is superior to that which has that power—no, not even if one should heap together all the gold and emeralds in the world. The Divine is not engendered in colours or in forms or in polished surfaces, but whatsoever things have no share in life, things whose nature does not allow them to share therein, have a portion of less honour than that of the dead. But the nature that lives and sees and has within itself the source of movement and a knowledge of what belongs to it and

(382) κάλλους τ'[1] ἔσπακεν ἀπορροὴν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τοῦ φρονοῦντος, "ὅτῳ[2] κυβερνᾶται τὸ[3] σύμπαν" καθ'
C Ἡράκλειτον. ὅθεν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν τούτοις εἰκάζεται τὸ θεῖον ἢ χαλκοῖς[4] καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν, ἃ φθορὰς μὲν ὁμοίως δέχεται καὶ ἐπιχρώσεις, αἰσθήσεως δὲ πάσης φύσει καὶ συνέσεως ἐστέρηται. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν τιμωμένων ζῴων ταῦτα δοκιμάζω μάλιστα τῶν λεγομένων.

77. Στολαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν Ἴσιδος ποικίλαι ταῖς βαφαῖς· περὶ γὰρ ὕλην ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς πάντα γιγνομένην καὶ δεχομένην, φῶς σκότος, ἡμέραν νύκτα, πῦρ ὕδωρ, ζωὴν θάνατον, ἀρχὴν τελευτήν· ἡ δ' Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔχει σκιὰν οὐδὲ ποικιλμόν, ἀλλ' ἓν ἁπλοῦν τὸ φωτοειδές· ἄκρατον γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀμιγὲς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νοητόν. ὅθεν ἅπαξ ταύτην[5]
D ἀναλαβόντες ἀποτίθενται καὶ φυλάττουσιν ἀόρατον καὶ ἄψαυστον. ταῖς δ' Ἰσιακαῖς[6] χρῶνται πολλάκις· ἐν χρήσει γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ πρόχειρα ὄντα πολλὰς ἀναπτύξεις καὶ θέας αὐτῶν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἀμειβομένων δίδωσιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς καὶ ἁπλοῦ[7] νόησις ὥσπερ ἀστραπὴ διαλάμψασα τῆς ψυχῆς[8] ἅπαξ ποτὲ θιγεῖν καὶ προσιδεῖν παρέσχε.[9] διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας

[1] *κάλλους τ'* Papabasileios from Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 251 B: *ἄλλως τε*.
[2] *ὅτῳ* Markland: *ὅπως*.
[3] *τὸ* Bentley: *τό τε*.
[4] *χαλκοῖς* Salmasius: *χαλκείοις*.
[5] *ταύτην* Markland: *ταῦτα*.
[6] *ταῖς δ' Ἰσιακαῖς* Markland: *τοῖς δ' ἰσιακοῖς*.
[7] *ἁπλοῦ* Emperius (*ἀγνοῦ* ? F.C.B.): *ἁγίου*.
[8] *τῇ ψυχῇ* Markland.
[9] *παρέσχε* Bentley: *προσέσχε*.

what belongs to others, has drawn to itself an efflux and portion of beauty from the Intelligence " by which the Universe is guided," as Heracleitus [a] has it. Wherefore the Divine is no worse represented in these animals than in works of bronze and stone which are alike subject to destruction and disfiguration, and by their nature are void of all perception and comprehension. This, then, is what I most approve in the accounts that are given regarding the animals held in honour.

77. As for the robes, those of Isis [b] are variegated in their colours ; for her power is concerned with matter which becomes everything and receives everything, light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end. But the robe of Osiris has no shading or variety in its colour, but only one single colour like to light. For the beginning is combined with nothing else, and that which is primary and conceptual is without admixture ; wherefore, when they have once taken off the robe of Osiris, they lay it away and guard it, unseen and untouched. But the robes of Isis they use many times over ; for in use those things that are perceptible and ready at hand afford many disclosures of themselves and opportunities to view them as they are changed about in various ways. But the apperception of the conceptual, the pure, and the simple, shining through the soul like a flash of lightning, affords an opportunity to touch and see it but once.[c] For this reason Plato [d] and Aristotle call this part of philosophy the epoptic [e] or

[a] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i. 86, Heracleitus, no. B 41.

[b] *Cf.* 352 B, *supra.*

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Letters*, vii. 344 B.

[d] Plato, *Symposium*, 210 A.

[e] *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. vii. (668 A).

καλοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μεικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἄυλον ἐξάλλονται,
E καὶ θιγόντες ἀμωσγέπως[1] τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας οἷον ἐντελῆ[2] τέλος ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν[3] νομίζουσι.

78. Καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπερ οἱ νῦν ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ παρακαλυπτόμενοι μετ' εὐλαβείας ὑποδηλοῦσιν ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἄρχει καὶ βασιλεύει τῶν τεθνηκότων οὐχ ἕτερος ὢν τοῦ καλουμένου παρ' Ἕλλησιν Ἅιδου καὶ Πλούτωνος, ἀγνοούμενον ὅπως ἀληθές ἐστι, διαταράττει[4] τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπονοοῦντας ἐν γῇ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ὅσιον ὡς ἀληθῶς
F Ὄσιριν οἰκεῖν, ὅπου τὰ σώματα κρύπτεται τῶν τέλος ἔχειν δοκούντων. ὁ δ' ἔστι μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπωτάτω τῆς γῆς ἄχραντος καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ καθαρὸς οὐσίας ἁπάσης φθορὰν δεχομένης καὶ θάνατον. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἐνταυθοῖ[5] μὲν ὑπὸ σωμάτων καὶ παθῶν περιεχομέναις οὐκ ἔστι μετουσία τοῦ θεοῦ, πλὴν ὅσον ὀνείρατος ἀμαυροῦ θιγεῖν νοήσει διὰ φιλοσοφίας· ὅταν δ' ἀπολυθεῖσαι μεταστῶσιν
383 εἰς τὸ ἀιδὲς[6] καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἁγνόν, οὗτος αὐταῖς ἡγεμών ἐστι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός, ἐξηρτημέναις ὡς ἂν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ θεωμέναις ἀπλήστως καὶ ποθούσαις τὸ μὴ φατὸν μηδὲ ῥητὸν[7] ἀνθρώποις κάλλος· οὗ τὴν Ἶσιν ὁ παλαιὸς ἀποφαίνει

[1] ἀμωσγέπως F.C.B.: ἄλλως.
[2] ἐντελῆ] ἐν τελετῇ Reiske. [3] φιλοσοφίας Reiske.
[4] διαταράττει Xylander: διαταράττειν.
[5] ἐνταυθοῖ] ἐνταυθὶ Holwerda.
[6] ἀιδὲς Parmentier: ἀειδές. [7] ῥητὸν] ὁρατὸν Wyttenbach.

---

[a] *Cf.* 375 D, *supra.* [b] *Cf.* 372 E and 374 F, *supra.*

mystic part, inasmuch as those who have passed beyond these conjectural and confused matters of all sorts by means of Reason proceed by leaps and bounds to that primary, simple, and immaterial principle; and when they have somehow attained contact with the pure truth abiding about it, they think that they have the whole of philosophy completely, as it were, within their grasp.

78. This idea at the present time the priests intimate with great circumspection in acquitting themselves of this religious secret and in trying to conceal it: that this god Osiris is the ruler and king of the dead, nor is he any other than the god that among the Greeks is called Hades and Pluto. But since it is not understood in what manner this is true, it greatly disturbs the majority of people who suspect that the holy and sacred Osiris truly dwells in the earth and beneath the earth,[a] where are hidden away the bodies of those that are believed to have reached their end. But he himself is far removed from the earth, uncontaminated and unpolluted and pure from all matter that is subject to destruction and death; but for the souls of men here, which are compassed about by bodies and emotions, there is no association with this god except in so far as they may attain to a dim vision of his presence by means of the apperception which philosophy affords. But when these souls are set free and migrate into the realm of the invisible and the unseen, the dispassionate and the pure, then this god becomes their leader and king, since it is on him that they are bound to be dependent in their insatiate contemplation and yearning for that beauty which is for men unutterable and indescribable. With this beauty Isis,[b] as the ancient story declares,

(383) λόγος ἐρῶσαν ἀεὶ καὶ διώκουσαν καὶ συνοῦσαν ἀναπιμπλάναι τὰ ἐνταῦθα πάντων[1] καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα γενέσεως μετέσχηκε.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει τὸν μάλιστα θεοῖς πρέποντα λόγον. (79.) εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν θυμιωμένων ἡμέρας ἑκάστης εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, ἐκεῖνο διανοηθείη τις ἂν[2] πρότερον ὡς ἀεὶ
B μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν σπουδῇ μεγίστῃ τίθενται τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιτηδεύματα, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἁγνείαις καὶ διαίταις οὐχ ἧττον ἔνεστι[3] τοῦ ὁσίου τὸ ὑγιεινόν. οὐ γὰρ ᾠόντο καλῶς ἔχειν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτε ψυχαῖς ὑπούλοις καὶ νοσώδεσι θεραπεύειν τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀβλαβὲς πάντῃ καὶ ἀμίαντον. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ ἀήρ, ᾧ πλεῖστα χρώμεθα καὶ σύνεσμεν, οὐκ ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει διάθεσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ πυκνοῦται καὶ πιέζει τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνάγει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ δύσθυμον καὶ
C πεφροντικὸς οἷον ἀχλυώδη γιγνομένην καὶ βαρεῖαν, ἀναστάντες εὐθὺς ἐπιθυμιῶσι ῥητίνην, θεραπεύοντες καὶ καθαίροντες τὸν ἀέρα τῇ διακρίσει καὶ τὸ σύμφυτον τῷ σώματι πνεῦμα μεμαρασμένον ἀναρριπίζοντες, ἐχούσης τι τῆς ὀσμῆς σφοδρὸν καὶ καταπληκτικόν.

Αὖθις δὲ μεσημβρίας αἰσθανόμενοι σφόδρα πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀπὸ γῆς ἕλκοντα βίᾳ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ καταμειγνύοντα[4] τῷ ἀέρι, τὴν σμύρναν ἐπιθυμιῶσι. διαλύει γὰρ ἡ θερμότης καὶ σκίδνησι τὸ συνιστάμενον ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι θολερὸν καὶ ἰλυῶδες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιμικὰ πάθη

[1] *πάντων*] *πάντα* Wyttenbach. [2] *ἄν* added by Bernardakis.
[3] *ἔνεστι* Wyttenbach: *ἐστι τουτὶ*.
[4] *καταμιγνύοντα* Xylander: *καταμιγνύοντες*.

is for ever enamoured and pursues it and consorts with it and fills our earth here with all things fair and good that partake of generation.

This which I have thus far set forth comprises that account which is most befitting the gods. (79.) If, as I have promised,[a] I must now speak of the offerings of incense which are made each day, one should first consider that this people always lays the very greatest stress upon those practices which are conducive to health. Especially in their sacred services and holy living and strict regimen the element of health is no less important than that of piety. For they did not deem it proper to serve that which is pure and in all ways unblemished and unpolluted with either bodies or souls that were unhealthy and diseased.[b] Since, then, the air, of which we make the greatest use and in which we exist, has not always the same consistency and composition, but in the night-time becomes dense and oppresses the body and brings the soul into depression and solicitude, as if it had become befogged and heavy, therefore, immediately upon arising, they burn resin on their altars, revivifying and purifying the air by its dissemination, and fanning into fresh life the languished spirit innate in the body, inasmuch as the odour of resin contains something forceful and stimulating.

Again at midday, when they perceive that the sun is forcibly attracting a copious and heavy exhalation from the earth and is combining this with the air, they burn myrrh on the altars; for the heat dissolves and scatters the murky and turgid concretions in the surrounding atmosphere. In fact, physicians seem to

[a] 372 c, *supra*.

[b] *Cf.* the Roman taboo in *Moralia*, 281 c.

(383) βοηθεῖν δοκοῦσι φλόγα πολλὴν ποιοῦντες ὡς λεπτύ-
D νουσαν τὸν ἀέρα· λεπτύνει δὲ βέλτιον, ἐὰν εὐώδη ξύλα καίωσιν, οἷα κυπαρίττου καὶ ἀρκεύθου καὶ πεύκης. Ἄκρωνα γοῦν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὑπὸ τὸν μέγαν λοιμὸν εὐδοκιμῆσαι λέγουσι, πῦρ κελεύοντα παρακαίειν τοῖς νοσοῦσιν· ὤνησε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους. Ἀριστοτέλης δέ φησι καὶ μύρων καὶ ἀνθέων καὶ λειμώνων εὐώδεις ἀποπνοίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχειν τοῦ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τὸ πρὸς ὑγίειαν, ψυχρὸν ὄντα φύσει καὶ παγετώδη τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἠρέμα τῇ θερμότητι καὶ λειότητι διαχεούσας. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν σμύρναν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις βὰλ[1] καλοῦσιν, ἐξερμηνευθὲν δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα φράζει τῆς πλη-
E ρώσεως[2] ἐκσκορπισμόν, ἔστιν ἣν καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυρίαν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰτίας δίδωσιν.

80. Τὸ δὲ κῦφι μεῖγμα μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα μερῶν[3] συντιθεμένων ἐστί, μέλιτος καὶ οἴνου καὶ σταφίδος καὶ κυπέρου, ῥητίνης τε καὶ σμύρνης καὶ ἀσπαλάθου καὶ σεσέλεως, ἔτι δὲ σχίνου τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου καὶ θρύου[4] καὶ λαπάθου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀρκευθίδων ἀμφοῖν, ὧν τὴν μὲν μείζονα τὴν δ' ἐλάττονα καλοῦσι, καὶ καρδαμώμου καὶ καλάμου. συντίθενται δ' οὐχ ὅπως ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ γραμμάτων ἱερῶν τοῖς μυρεψοῖς, ὅταν ταῦτα μειγνύωσιν, ἀναγιγνωσκομένων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμόν, εἰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ τετράγωνος ἀπὸ τετραγώνου καὶ μόνος ἔχων τῶν ἴσων ἰσάκις ἀριθμῶν[5] τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν περίμετρον

[1] βὰλ] σὰλ Iablonski.
[2] πληρώσεως F.C.B.: ληρήσεως.
[3] μερῶν Emperius: μνῶν.
[4] θρύου] θύου Strijd.
[5] τῶν ἴσων . . . ἀριθμῶν Wyttenbach: τὸν ἴσον . . . ἀριθμόν.

bring relief to pestilential affections by making a large blazing fire, for this rarefies the air. But the rarefication is more effective if they burn fragrant woods, such as that of the cypress, the juniper, and the pine. At any rate, they say that Acron, the physician in Athens at the time of the great plague, won great repute by prescribing the lighting of a fire beside the sick, and thereby he helped not a few. Aristotle[a] says that fragrant exhalations from perfumes and flowers and meadows are no less conducive to health than to pleasure, inasmuch as by their warmth and lightness they gently relax the brain, which is by nature cold and frigid. If it is true that among the Egyptians they call myrrh "bal," and that this being interpreted has the particular meaning "the dissipation of repletion," then this adds some testimony to our account of the reason for its use.

80. *Cyphi*[b] is a compound composed of sixteen ingredients: honey, wine, raisins, cyperus, resin, myrrh, aspalathus, seselis, mastich, bitumen, rush, sorrel, and in addition to these both the junipers, of which they call one the larger and one the smaller, cardamum, and calamus. These are compounded, not at random, but while the sacred writings are being read to the perfumers as they mix the ingredients. As for this number, even if it appears quite clear that it is the square of a square and is the only one of the numbers forming a square that has its perimeter equal

[a] *Cf.* Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, p. 233.

[b] *Cf.* Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 616 (Manetho, frag. 84). An interesting note in Parthey's edition (pp. 277-280) describes the different kinds of cyphi mentioned in ancient writers, and gives in modern terms recipes for three.

F ἴσην ἄγασθαι[1] προσηκόντως ἐλάχιστα ῥητέον εἴς γε τοῦτο συνεργεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ[2] πλεῖστα τῶν συλλαμβανομένων ἀρωματικὰς ἔχοντα δυνάμεις γλυκὺ πνεῦμα καὶ χρηστὴν μεθίησιν ἀναθυμίασιν, ὑφ' ἧς ὅ τ' ἀὴρ τρεπόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς πνοῆς κινούμενον λείως[3] καὶ προσηνῶς[4] ὕπνου τε[5] καὶ κρᾶσιν ἐπαγωγὸν ἴσχει καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ καὶ σύντονα τῶν μεθημερινῶν φροντίδων ἄνευ μέθης οἷον
384 ἄμματα χαλᾷ καὶ διαλύει· καὶ τὸ φανταστικὸν καὶ δεκτικὸν ὀνείρων μόριον ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀπολεαίνει καὶ ποιεῖ καθαρώτερον οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τὰ κρούματα τῆς λύρας, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξεπάδοντες οὕτω καὶ θεραπεύοντες. τὰ γὰρ ὀσφραντὰ πολλάκις μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀπολείπουσαν ἀνακαλεῖται, πολλάκις δὲ πάλιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ κατηρεμίζει διαχεομένων ἐν τῷ σώματι τῶν ἀναλομάτων ὑπὸ λειότητος· ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἰατρῶν τὸν ὕπνον ἐγγίγνεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὅταν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς ἀναθυμίασις οἷον ἕρπουσα λείως περὶ τὰ
B σπλάγχνα καὶ ψηλαφῶσα ποιῇ[6] τινα γαργαλισμόν.

Τῷ δὲ κῦφι χρῶνται καὶ πώματι καὶ χρίματι[7]· πινόμενον γὰρ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐντὸς καθαίρειν ὡς[8] χρὴ μαλακτικὸν ὄν.[9] ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ῥητίνη μέν ἐστιν ἔργον ἡλίου καὶ σμύρνα[10] πρὸς τὴν εἴλην[11] τ ν φυτῶν ἐκδακρυόντων. τῶν δὲ τὸ κῦφι συντιθέντων

[1] ἄγασθαι F.C.B.; ἀγαπᾶσθαι Wyttenbach: ἀγαγέσθαι.
[2] ἀλλὰ τὰ Markland: ἅμα. [3] λείως Reiske: δεῖ ὡς.
[4] προσηνῶς Meziriacus: πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
[5] ὕπνου τε Meziriacus: ὑπινοῦται.
[6] ποιῇ Markland: ποιεῖ. [7] χρίματι Paton: κράματι.
[8] ὡς added by F.C.B.
[9] ὄν added by Wyttenbach.

to its area,[a] and deserves to be admired for this reason, yet it must be said that its contribution to the topic under discussion is very slight. Most of the materials that are taken into this compound, inasmuch as they have aromatic properties, give forth a sweet emanation and a beneficent exhalation, by which the air is changed, and the body, being moved gently and softly[b] by the current, acquires a temperament conducive to sleep; and the distress and strain of our daily carking cares, as if they were knots, these exhalations relax and loosen without the aid of wine. The imaginative faculty that is susceptible to dreams it brightens like a mirror, and makes it clearer no less effectively than did the notes of the lyre which the Pythagoreans[c] used to employ before sleeping as a charm and a cure for the emotional and irrational in the soul. It is a fact that stimulating odours often recall the failing powers of sensation, and often again lull and quiet them when their emanations are diffused in the body by virtue of their ethereal qualities; even as some physicians state that sleep supervenes when the volatile portion of our food, gently permeating the digestive tract and coming into close contact with it, produces a species of titillation.

They use *cyphi* as both a potion and a salve; for taken internally it seems to cleanse properly the internal organs, since it is an emollient. Apart from this, resin and myrrh result from the action of the sun when the trees exude them in response to the heat. Of the ingredients which compose *cyphi*,

[a] *Cf.* 367 F, *supra.* [b] *Cf. Moralia*, 1087 E.
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 45 D, and Quintilian, ix. 4. 12.

[10] σμύρνα Squire and one MS.: σμύρναν.
[11] εἴλην Reiske: σελήνην.

(384) ἔστιν ἃ νυκτὶ χαίρει μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ὅσα πνεύμασι ψυχροῖς καὶ σκιαῖς καὶ δρόσοις καὶ ὑγρότησι τρέφεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας φῶς ἓν μέν ἐστι καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁ Πίνδαρος ὁρᾶσθαί φησιν "ἐρήμας[1] δι' αἰθέρος"· ὁ δὲ νυκτε-
C ρινὸς ἀὴρ κρᾶμα καὶ σύμμειγμα πολλῶν γέγονε φώτων καὶ δυνάμεων, οἷον σπερμάτων εἰς ἓν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἄστρου καταρρεόντων. εἰκότως οὖν ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἀφ' ἡλίου τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντα δι' ἡμέρας, ταῦτα δ' ὡς μεικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῖς ποιότησιν ἀρχομένης νυκτὸς ἐπιθυμιῶσι.

[1] ἐρήμας Pindar: ἐρήμης.

---

[a] Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, i. 6.

[b] Some think the essay ends too abruptly; others think it

there are some which delight more in the night, that is, those which are wont to thrive in cold winds and shadows and dews and dampness. For the light of day is single and simple, and Pindar [a] says that the sun is seen "through the deserted aether." But the air at night is a composite mixture made up of many lights and forces, even as though seeds from every star were showered down into one place. Very appropriately, therefore, they burn resin and myrrh in the daytime, for these are simple substances and have their origin from the sun; but the *cyphi*, since it is compounded of ingredients of all sorts of qualities, they offer at nightfall.[b]

is quite complete; each reader may properly have his own opinion.

THE E AT DELPHI
(DE E APUD DELPHOS)

(384) # ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ, ΘΕΩΝ, ΕΥΣΤΡΟΦΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ

D 1. Στιχιδίοις τισὶν οὐ φαύλως ἔχουσιν, ὦ φίλε Σαραπίων, ἐνέτυχον πρώην, ἃ Δικαίαρχος Εὐριπίδην οἴεται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον εἰπεῖν·

οὐ βούλομαι πλουτοῦντι δωρεῖσθαι πένης,
μή μ' ἄφρονα κρίνῃς ἢ διδοὺς αἰτεῖν δοκῶ.

χαρίζεται μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁ διδοὺς ἀπ' ὀλίγων μικρὰ τοῖς πολλὰ κεκτημένοις, ἀπιστούμενος δ' ἀντὶ μηδενὸς διδόναι κακοηθείας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας προσ-
E λαμβάνει δόξαν. ὅρα δὴ ὅσον ἐλευθεριότητι καὶ κάλλει τὰ χρηματικὰ δῶρα λείπεται τῶν ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ σοφίας, ἃ[1] καὶ διδόναι καλόν ἐστι καὶ διδόντας ἀνταιτεῖν ὅμοια παρὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων. ἐγὼ γοῦν πρὸς σὲ καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι φίλοις τῶν Πυθικῶν λόγων ἐνίους ὥσπερ ἀπαρχὰς ἀποστέλλων, ὁμολογῶ προσδοκᾶν ἑτέρους καὶ πλείονας καὶ βελτίονας παρ' ὑμῶν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ πόλει χρωμένων μεγάλῃ καὶ

[1] ἃ added by Madvig.

---

[a] A poet living at Athens in Plutarch's day; see *Moralia*, 396 D ff. and 628 A.

THE E AT DELPHI

(The persons who take part in the conversation are: Ammonius, Lamprias, Plutarch, Theon, Eustrophus, Nicander, and others whose names are not given.)

1. Not long ago, my dear Sarapion,[a] I came upon some lines, not badly done, which Dicaearchus thinks Euripides [b] addressed to Archelaüs :

> I will not give poor gifts to one so rich,
> Lest you should take me for a fool, or I
> Should seem by giving to invite a gift.

For he does no favour who gives small gifts from scanty means to wealthy men; and since it is not credible that his giving is for nothing, he acquires in addition a reputation for disingenuousness and servility. Observe also how, as far as independence and honour are concerned, material gifts fall far below those bestowed by literary discourse and wisdom; and these gifts it is both honourable to give and, at the same time, to ask a return of like gifts from the recipients. I, at any rate, as I send to you, and by means of you for our friends there, some of our Pythian discourses, an offering of our first-fruits, as it were, confess that I am expecting other discourses, both more numerous and of better quality, from you and your friends, inasmuch as you have not only all the advantages of a great

[b] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, no. 969.

σχολῆς μᾶλλον ἐν βιβλίοις πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διατριβαῖς εὐπορούντων.

Ὁ δ' οὖν φίλος[1] Ἀπόλλων ἔοικε τὰς μὲν περὶ τὸν
F βίον ἀπορίας ἰᾶσθαι καὶ διαλύειν θεμιστεύων τοῖς χρωμένοις, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸς ἐνιέναι καὶ προβάλλειν τῷ φύσει φιλοσόφῳ, τῇ ψυχῇ[2] ὄρεξιν ἐμποιῶν ἀγωγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς δῆλόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ περὶ[3] τοῦ εἶ καθιερώσει. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰκὸς οὐ κατὰ τύχην οὐδ' οἷον ἀπὸ κλήρου τῶν γραμμάτων μόνον ἐν προεδρίᾳ παρὰ
385 τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀναθήματος τάξιν ἱεροῦ καὶ θεάματος· ἀλλ' ἢ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ κατιδόντας ἰδίαν καὶ περιττὴν ἢ συμβόλῳ χρωμένους πρὸς ἕτερόν τι τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τὸν θεὸν φιλοσοφήσαντας, οὕτω προθέσθαι.[4]

Πολλάκις οὖν ἄλλοτε τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ σχολῇ προβαλλόμενον ἐκκλίνας ἀτρέμα καὶ παρελθών, ἔναγχος ὑπὸ τῶν υἱῶν ἐλήφθην ξένοις τισὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος, οὓς εὐθὺς ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπαίρειν μέλλοντας οὐκ ἦν εὐπρεπὲς παράγειν οὐδὲ παραιτεῖσθαι, πάντως ἀκοῦσαί τι προθυμουμένους. ὥστε[5]
B καθίσας περὶ τὸν νεὼν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἠρξάμην ζητεῖν, τὰ δ' ἐκείνους ἐρωτᾶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν ἀνεμνήσθην[6] ἃ πάλαι ποτὲ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπ-

[1] *φίλος*] *φιλόσοφος* E. Harrison.
[2] *τῇ ψυχῇ* seems to be required by *ἐμποιῶν*, although some construe it differently: *τῆς ψυχῆς*.
[3] Reiske would omit *περὶ*.
[4] *προθέσθαι*] most MSS. have *προσέσθαι*.
[5] *ὥστε* F.C.B.: *ὡς δὲ*.
[6] *ἀνεμνήσθην* added by Meziriacus.

---

* At this time Athens had been for several centuries a university city.

city,[a] but you have also more abundant leisure amid many books and all manner of discussions.

It seems that our beloved Apollo finds a remedy and a solution for the problems connected with our life by the oracular responses which he gives to those who consult him ; but the problems connected with our power to reason it seems that he himself launches and propounds to him who is by nature inclined to the love of knowledge, thus creating in the soul a craving[b] that leads onward to the truth, as is clear in many other ways, but particularly in the dedication of the E.[c] For the likelihood is that it was not by chance nor, as it were, by lot that this was the only letter that came to occupy first place with the god and attained the rank of a sacred offering and something worth seeing ; but it is likely that those who, in the beginning, sought after knowledge of the god either discovered some peculiar and unusual potency in it or else used it as a token with reference to some other of the matters of the highest concern, and thus adopted it.

On many other occasions when the subject had been brought up in the school I had quietly turned aside from it and passed it over, but recently I was unexpectedly discovered by my sons in an animated discussion with some strangers, whom, since they purposed to leave Delphi immediately, it was not seemly to try to divert from the subject, nor was it seemly for me to ask to be excused from the discussion, for they were altogether eager to hear something about it. I found them seats, therefore, near the temple, and I began to seek some answer myself and to put questions to them ; influenced as I was by the place and the conversation itself, I remembered

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 673 B.

[c] *Cf.* 426 E, *infra.*

(385) ἐδήμει Νέρων ἠκούσαμεν Ἀμμωνίου καί τινων ἄλλων διεξιόντων, ἐνταῦθα τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπορίας ὁμοίως ἐμπεσούσης.

2. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἧττον ὁ θεὸς φιλόσοφος ἢ μάντις ἐδόκει[1] πᾶσιν ὀρθῶς πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον Ἀμμώνιος τίθεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς Πύθιος μέν ἐστι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις μανθάνειν καὶ διαπυνθάνεσθαι· Δήλιος δὲ καὶ Φαναῖος οἷς ἤδη τι
C δηλοῦται καὶ ὑποφαίνεται τῆς ἀληθείας· Ἰσμήνιος δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Λεσχηνόριος[2] ὅταν ἐνεργῶσι καὶ ἀπολαύωσι χρώμενοι τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. "ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν," ἔφη, "τὸ ζητεῖν ἀρχή, τοῦ δὲ ζητεῖν[3] τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, εἰκότως τὰ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔοικεν αἰνίγμασι κατακεκρύφθαι, καὶ λόγον τινὰ ποθοῦντα διὰ τί καὶ διδασκαλίαν τῆς αἰτίας· οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ ἀθανάτου, τὸ καίεσθαι μόνον αὐτόθι τῶν ξύλων ἐλάτην, καὶ δάφνην ἐπιθυμιᾶσθαι, καὶ τὸ δύο Μοίρας ἱδρῦσθαι πανταχοῦ τριῶν νομιζομένων, καὶ τὸ μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ
D χρηστήριον εἶναι προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τρίποδος, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τοῖς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀλόγοις καὶ ἀψύχοις ὑφειμένα δελεάζει καὶ παρακαλεῖ πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

[1] ἐδόκει Turnebus: δοκεῖ.
[2] Λεσχηνόριος Xylander: λέσχην ὅριος.
[3] ἀρχή added by Cobet, τοῦ δὲ ζητεῖν by Paton; *cf.* Plato, *Theaetetus*, 155 D.

• *Cf.* 393 B, *infra*; Cornutus, chap. xxxii.; von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, i. 543 (p. 123); and "Apollo" in the Index thereto.

what, when Nero was here some years ago, I had heard Ammonius and others discussing, when the same question obtruded itself in a similar way.

2. That the god is no less a philosopher than a prophet Ammonius seemed to all to postulate and prove correctly, with reference to this or to that one of his several titles[a]; that he is the "Pythian" (*Inquirer*) for those that are beginning to learn and inquire; the "Delian" (*Clear*) and the 'Phanaean' (*Disclosing*) for those to whom some part of the truth is becoming clear and is being disclosed; the 'Ismenian'[b] (*Knowing*) for those who have knowledge; and the "Leschenorian" (*Conversationalist*) when people have active enjoyment of conversation and philosophic intercourse with one another. "Since," he went on to say, "inquiry is the beginning of philosophy, and wonder and uncertainty the beginning of inquiry,[c] it seems only natural that the greater part of what concerns the god should be concealed in riddles, and should call for some account of the wherefore and an explanation of its cause. For example, in the case of the undying fire, that pine is the only wood burned here, while laurel is used for offering incense; that two Fates have statues here,[d] whereas three is everywhere the customary number; that no woman[e] is allowed to approach the prophetic shrine; the matter of the tripod; and the other questions of this nature, when they are suggested to persons who are not altogether without mind and reason, act as a lure and an invitation to investigate, to read, and to

[b] Plutarch's attempt to connect Ismenian with ἰδ- (οἶδα) can hardly be right.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Theaetetus*, 155 D.

[d] *Cf.* Pausanias, x. 24. 4.

[e] *Cf.* Euripides, *Ion*, 222.

(385) ὅρα δὲ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ προγράμματα, τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν' καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν,' ὅσας ζητήσεις κεκίνηκε φιλοσόφους καὶ ὅσον λόγων πλῆθος ἀφ' ἑκάστου καθάπερ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀναπέφυκεν· ὧν οὐδενὸς ἧττον οἶμαι γόνιμον λόγων[1] εἶναι τὸ νῦν ζητούμενον."

3. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, Λαμπρίας ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἶπε " καὶ μὴν ὃν ἡμεῖς ἀκηκόαμεν λόγον ἁπλοῦς τίς ἐστι καὶ κομιδῇ βραχύς. λέγουσι γὰρ
E ἐκείνους τοὺς σοφοὺς ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ σοφιστὰς προσαγορευθέντας αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι πέντε, Χίλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Βίαντα καὶ Πιττακόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λινδίων τύραννος, εἶτα Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῆς μετὸν οὐδὲ σοφίας, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ φίλοις καὶ χάρισι καταβιαζόμενοι τὴν δόξαν, ἐνέβαλον εἰς τοὔνομα τῶν σοφῶν καί τινας γνώμας καὶ λόγους ἐξέπεμπον καὶ διέσπειρον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγομένοις ὁμοίους· δυσχεράναντας ἄρα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξελέγχειν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλειν τὴν ἀλαζονείαν οὐδὲ
F φανερῶς ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μέγα δυναμένους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνελθόντας αὐτοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ διαλεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις, ἀναθεῖναι τῶν γραμμάτων ὃ τῇ τε τάξει πέμπτον ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὰ πέντε δηλοῖ, μαρτυρομένους μὲν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅτι πέντ' εἰσί, τὸν δ' ἕβδομον καὶ τὸν ἕκτον[2] ἀποποιουμένους καὶ ἀποβάλλοντας ὡς οὐ προσήκοντας αὑτοῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ταῦτα λέγεται, γνοίη τις ἂν ἀκούσας τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν εἶ

[1] λόγων Madvig: λόγον.
[2] τὸν δὲ ἕκτον καὶ τὸν ἕβδομον Reiske.

talk about them. Note also these inscriptions[a] here, 'Know thyself' and 'Avoid extremes,' how many philosophic inquiries have they set on foot, and what a horde of discourses has sprung up from each, as from a seed! And no less productive of discourse than any one of them, as I think, is the present subject of inquiry."

3. When Ammonius had said this, Lamprias, my brother, said, "As a matter of fact, the account that we have heard is simple and quite brief. For they say that those wise men who by some are called the 'Sophists' were actually five in number: Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, and Pittacus. But when Cleobulus, the despot of the Lindians, and later Periander of Corinth, who had no part or portion in virtue or wisdom, but forcibly acquired their repute through power and friends and favours, invaded this name of the Wise Men, and sent out and circulated throughout Greece certain sentiments and sayings very similar to those famous utterances of the Wise Men, these, naturally, did not like this at all, but were loath to expose the imposture or to arouse open hatred over a question of repute, or to carry through a contest against such powerful men; they met here by themselves and, after conferring together, dedicated that one of the letters which is fifth in alphabetical order and which stands for the number five, thus testifying for themselves before the god that they were five, and renouncing and rejecting the seventh and the sixth as having no connexion with themselves. That this account is not beside the mark anyone may realize who has heard those connected with the shrine

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 164 B, 408 E, 511 A.

Λιβίας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ὀνομαζόντων, τὸ δὲ
386 χαλκοῦν Ἀθηναίων· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον καὶ παλαιότατον
τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ ξύλινον ἔτι νῦν τῶν σοφῶν καλοῦσιν,
ὡς οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ἀνάθημα πάντων γενό-
μενον."

4. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀμμώνιος ἡσυχῇ διεμειδίασεν,
ὑπονοήσας ἰδίᾳ τὸν Λαμπρίαν δόξῃ κεχρῆσθαι,
πλάττεσθαι δ' ἱστορίαν καὶ ἀκοὴν ἑτέρων πρὸς τὸ
ἀνυπεύθυνον. ἕτερος δέ τις ἔφη τῶν παρόντων ὡς
ὅμοια ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οἷς πρώην ὁ Χαλδαῖος ἐφλυάρει
ξένος, ἑπτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ φωνὴν ἰδίαν ἀφιέντα τῶν
γραμμάτων, ἑπτὰ δὲ τοὺς κίνησιν αὐτοτελῆ καὶ
ἀσύνδετον ἐν οὐρανῷ κινουμένους ἀστέρας· εἶναι
B δὲ τῇ τάξει δεύτερον τό τ' εἶ τῶν φωνηέντων ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀπὸ σελήνης τῶν πλανήτων·
ἡλίῳ δ' Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντας
Ἕλληνας νομίζειν. "ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ μέν," ἔφη, "παντά-
πασιν ἐκ πίνακος καὶ πυλαίας."

Ὁ δὲ Λαμπρίας ἔλαθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς ἀφ' ἱεροῦ
κινήσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὑτοῦ λόγον. ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
εἶπεν, οὐδεὶς ἐγίγνωσκε Δελφῶν· τὴν δὲ κοινὴν καὶ
περιηγητικὴν δόξαν εἰς τὸ μέσον προῆγον, οὔτε τὴν
ὄψιν ἀξιοῦντες οὔτε τὸν φθόγγον ἀλλὰ τοὔνομα
μόνον τοῦ γράμματος ἔχειν τι σύμβολον. (5.) "ἔστι
γάρ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσι Δελφοί," καὶ[1] τότε[2] προ-
C ηγορῶν ἔλεγε Νίκανδρος ὁ ἱερεύς, "σχῆμα[3] καὶ
μορφὴ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐντεύξεως, καὶ τάξιν

[1] καὶ del. Stegmann.
[2] καὶ τότε Wyttenbach: καί τε or γε.
[3] σχῆμα Meziriacus: ὄχημα.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1130 A or 381 F, *supra*, or 393 C, *infra*.

naming the golden E the E of Livia, Caesar's wife, and the bronze E the E of the Athenians, while the first and oldest one, made of wood, they still call to this day the E of the Wise Men, as though it were an offering, not of one man, but of all the Wise Men in common."

4. Ammonius smiled quietly, suspecting privately that Lamprias had been indulging in a mere opinion of his own and was fabricating history and tradition regarding a matter in which he could not be held to account. Someone else among those present said that all this was similar to the nonsense which the Chaldean visitor had uttered a short time before: that there are seven vowels in the alphabet and seven stars that have an independent and unconstrained motion; that E is the second in order of the vowels from the beginning, and the sun the second planet after the moon, and that practically all the Greeks identify Apollo with the Sun.[a] "But all this," said he, "has its source in slate and prate [b] and in nothing else."

Apparently Lamprias had unwittingly stirred up the persons connected with the temple against his remarks. For what he had said no one of the Delphians knew anything about; but they were used to bring forward the commonly accepted opinion which the guides give, holding it to be right that neither the appearance nor the sound of the letter has any cryptic meaning, but only its name. (5.) " For it is, as the Delphians assume,"—and on this occasion Nicander, the priest, spoke for them and said, " the figure and form of the consultation of the god, and it holds the

[b] An expression as obscure in the Greek as in the English. It means, apparently, " idle talk." *Cf.* S. A. Naber, *Mnemosyne*, xxviii. (1900) p. 134.

(386) ἡγεμονικὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν ἔχει τῶν χρωμένων ἑκάστοτε καὶ διαπυνθανομένων εἰ νικήσουσιν, εἰ γαμήσουσιν, εἰ συμφέρει πλεῖν, εἰ γεωργεῖν, εἰ ἀποδημεῖν. τοῖς δὲ διαλεκτικοῖς χαίρειν ἔλεγε σοφὸς ὢν ὁ θεός, οὐδὲν οἰομένοις[1] ἐκ τοῦ 'εἰ' μορίου καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος πρᾶγμα γίγνεσθαι, πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποτεταγμένας τούτῳ καὶ νοῶν ὡς πράγματα καὶ προσιέμενος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἴδιον τὸ ἐρωτᾶν ὡς μάντιν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ εὔχεσθαι κοινὸν ὡς πρὸς θεόν, οὐχ ἧττον οἴονται τῆς πευστικῆς τὴν
D εὐκτικὴν τὸ γράμμα περιέχειν δύναμιν· 'εἰ γὰρ ὤφελον,' φησὶν ἕκαστος τῶν εὐχομένων, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος

εἰ γὰρ ὡς[2] ἐμοὶ γένοιτο χεῖρα Νεοβούλης θιγεῖν.

καὶ τοῦ 'εἴθε' τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν[3] παρέλκεσθαί φασιν, οἷον τὸ Σώφρονος

ἅμα τέκνων θην δευομένα·

καὶ τὸ Ὁμηρικὸν

ὥς θην καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένος·

ἐν[4] δὲ τῷ 'εἰ' τὸ εὐκτικὸν καὶ ἀποχρώντως δηλοῦσθαι."

6. Ταῦτα τοῦ Νικάνδρου διελθόντος, οἶσθα γὰρ δὴ Θέωνα τὸν ἑταῖρον, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀμμώνιον εἰ

[1] οἰομένοις Xylander: οἰόμενος.
[2] ὡς Wyttenbach: ὡς.
[3] Bernardakis would add ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ θὴν after συλλαβὴν.
[4] ἐν] εὖ Michael.

---

[a] *Cf.* the long list of questions thus introduced in Hunt

first place in every question of those who consult the oracle and inquire IF they shall be victorious, IF they shall marry, IF it is to their advantage to sail the sea, IF to take to farming, IF to go abroad.[a] But the god in his wisdom bade a long farewell to the logicians who think that nothing real comes out of the particle 'if' combined with what the consultant thinks proper to undertake, for the god conceives of all the inquiries subjoined to this as real things and welcomes them as such. And since to inquire from him as from a prophet is our individual prerogative, but to pray to him as to a god is common to all, they think that the particle contains an optative force no less than an interrogative. 'If only I could,' is the regular expression of a wish, and Archilochus[b] says,

If to me it might be granted Neobulê's hand to touch.

And in using 'if only' they assert that the second word is added unnecessarily, like Sophron's[c] 'surely':

Surely in want of children as well.

This is found also in Homer[d]

Since I surely shall break your might

but, as they assert, the optative force is adequately indicated by the 'if.'"

6. When Nicander had expounded all this, my friend Theon, whom I presume you know, asked

and Edgar, *Select Papyri* (in the L.C.L.), i. pp. 436-438 (nos. 193-195).

[b] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 402, Archilochus, no. 71; or Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (L.C.L.), ii. p. 134.

[c] Kaibel, *Comic. Graec. Frag.* p. 160, Sophron, no. 36.

[d] *Il.* xvii. 29.

διαλεκτικῇ παρρησίας μέτεστιν οὕτω περιυβρισμέ-
E νως[1] ἀκηκουίᾳ· τοῦ δ' Ἀμμωνίου λέγειν παρα-
κελευομένου καὶ βοηθεῖν, "ἀλλ ὅτι μέν," ἔφη,
"διαλεκτικώτατος ὁ θεός ἐστιν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
χρησμῶν δηλοῦσιν· τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δήπουθέν ἐστι
καὶ λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀμφιβολίας. ἔτι δ', ὥσπερ
Πλάτων ἔλεγε, χρησμοῦ δοθέντος ὅπως τὸν ἐν
Δήλῳ βωμὸν διπλασιάσωσιν, ὃ τῆς ἄκρας ἕξεως
περὶ γεωμετρίαν ἔργον ἐστίν, οὐ τοῦτο προστάττειν
τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ γεωμετρεῖν[2] διακελεύεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλ-
λησιν· οὕτως ἄρα χρησμοὺς ἀμφιβόλους ἐκφέρων ὁ
F θεὸς αὔξει καὶ συνίστησι διαλεκτικὴν ὡς ἀναγκαίαν
τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὀρθῶς αὐτοῦ συνήσειν. ἐν δὲ δια-
λεκτικῇ δήπου μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν ὁ συναπτικὸς
οὑτοσὶ σύνδεσμος, ἅτε δὴ τὸ λογικώτατον σχη-
ματίζων ἀξίωμα· πῶς γὰρ οὐ τοιοῦτο τὸ συν-
ημμένον, εἴ γε τῆς μὲν ὑπάρξεως τῶν πραγμάτων
ἔχει καὶ τὰ θηρία γνῶσιν, ἀκολούθου δὲ θεωρίαν
καὶ κρίσιν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνῳ παραδέδωκεν ἡ φύσις;
ὅτι γὰρ 'ἡμέρα' καὶ 'φῶς ἔστιν' αἰσθάνονται
387 δήπου καὶ λύκοι καὶ κύνες καὶ ὄρνιθες· ὅτι δ' 'εἰ
ἡμέρα, φῶς ἔστιν' οὐδὲν ἄλλο συνίησι πλὴν ἄν-
θρωπος, ἡγουμένου καὶ λήγοντος ἐμφάσεώς τε καὶ
συναρτήσεως τούτων πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ σχέσεως καὶ
διαφορᾶς μόνος ἔχων ἔννοιαν, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀποδείξεις
τὴν κυριωτάτην ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν
φιλοσοφία μέν ἐστι περὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἀληθείας δὲ

[1] περιυβρισμένως F.C.B.: περιυβρισμένῃ (Blass would add καὶ κακῶς before ἀκηκουίᾳ). [2] καὶ γεωμετρεῖν in most MSS.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 579 B-D; and on the doubling of the cube, T. L. Heath, *A Manual of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 154-170.

Ammonius if Logical Reason had any rights in free speech, after being spoken of in such a very insulting manner. And when Ammonius urged him to speak and come to her assistance, he said, " That the god is a most logical reasoner the great majority of his oracles show clearly ; for surely it is the function of the same person both to solve and to invent ambiguities. Moreover, as Plato said, when an oracle was given that they should double the size of the altar at Delos [a] (a task requiring the highest skill in geometry), it was not this that the god was enjoining, but he was urging the Greeks to study geometry. And so, in the same way, when the god gives out ambiguous oracles, he is promoting and organizing logical reasoning as indispensable for those who are to apprehend his meaning aright. Certainly in logic this copulative conjunction has the greatest force, inasmuch as it clearly gives us our most logical form, the syllogism. Must not the character of the hypothetical syllogism be of this sort : granted that even wild animals have apperception of the existence of things, yet to man alone has Nature given the power to observe and judge the consequences ? That ' it is day ' and that ' it is light ' assuredly wolves and dogs and birds perceive by their senses ; but ' IF it is day, then it is light,' no creature other than man apprehends,[b] for he alone has a concept of antecedent and consequent, of apparent implication and connexion of these things one with another, and their relations and differences, from which our demonstrations derive their most authoritative inception. Since, then, philosophy is concerned with truth, and the illumina-

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 216 (p. 70) and 239 (p. 78).

(387) φῶς ἀπόδειξις, ἀποδείξεως δ' ἀρχὴ τὸ συνημμένον, εἰκότως ἡ τοῦτο συνέχουσα καὶ ποιοῦσα δύναμις ὑπὸ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγαπηκότι θεῷ καθιερώθη.

B "Καὶ μάντις μὲν ὁ θεὸς μαντικὴ δὲ τέχνη περὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἢ παρῳχημένων. οὐδενὸς γὰρ οὔτ' ἀναίτιος ἡ γένεσις οὔτ' ἄλογος ἡ πρόγνωσις· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάντα τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ γιγνόμενα τά τε γενησόμενα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἕπεται καὶ συνήρτηται κατὰ διέξοδον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος περαίνουσαν, ὁ τὰς αἰτίας εἰς ταὐτὸ συνδεῖν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ συμπλέκειν φυσικῶς ἐπιστάμενος οἶδε καὶ προλέγειν

τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα.

καὶ καλῶς Ὅμηρος πρῶτον ἔταξε τὰ παρόντα εἶτα τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρῳχημένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος ὁ συλλογισμὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συνημμένου δύναμιν, ὡς 'εἰ τόδ' ἐστί, τόδε προήγηται,[1]' καὶ πάλιν 'εἰ
C τόδ' ἐστί, τόδε γενήσεται.' τὸ γὰρ τεχνικὸν καὶ λογικὸν ὥσπερ εἴρηται γνῶσις ἀκολουθίας, τὴν δὲ πρόσληψιν ἡ αἴσθησις τῷ λόγῳ δίδωσιν. ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ γλίσχρον[2] εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἀποστρέψομαι τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας τρίποδα τὸν λόγον, ὃς τὴν τοῦ λήγοντος πρὸς τὸ προηγούμενον ἀκολουθίαν θέμενος εἶτα προσλαβὼν τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἐπάγει τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς ἀποδείξεως. τὸν οὖν Πύθιον, εἰ δὴ μουσικῇ θ'[3]

[1] προήγηται H. Richards: προηγεῖται.
[2] γλίσχρον Wyttenbach: αἰσχρόν.
[3] μουσικῇ θ'] μουσικῇ τερπόμενος P. Maas.

---

[a] Homer, *Il.* i. 70.

tion of truth is demonstration, and the inception of demonstration is the hypothetical syllogism, then with good reason the potent element that effects the connexion and produces this was consecrated by wise men to the god who is, above all, a lover of the truth.

"The god, moreover, is a prophet, and the prophetic art concerns the future that is to result from things present and past. For there is nothing of which either the origin is without cause or the foreknowledge thereof without reason; but since all present events follow in close conjunction with past events, and all future events follow in close conjunction with present events, in accordance with a regular procedure which brings them to fulfilment from beginning to end, he who understands, in consonance with Nature, how to fathom the connexions and interrelations of the causes one with another knows and can declare

> What now is, and in future shall be, and has been of aforetime.[a]

Very excellently did Homer place first in order the present, then the future and the past, for the syllogism based on hypothesis has its source in what is; for example, 'if this is, then that has preceded,' and again, 'if this is, then that shall be.' The technical and rational element here, as has been stated, is the knowledge of consequences; but the senses provide the argument with its premise. Therefore, even if it be a poor thing to say, I shall not be turned aside from saying it, that this is the tripod of truth, namely, argument, which lays down the consequent relation of the conclusion to the antecedent, and then, premising the existent condition, induces the completion of the demonstration. Therefore, if the Pythian god

(387) ἥδεται καὶ κύκνων φωναῖς καὶ κιθάρας ψόφοις, τί θαυμαστόν ἐστι διαλεκτικῆς φιλίᾳ τοῦτ' ἀσπάζε-
D σθαι τοῦ λόγου τὸ μέρος καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ πλείστῳ προσχρωμένους ὁρᾷ τοὺς φιλοσόφους;

"Ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς, οὔπω τὸν Προμηθέα λελυκὼς οὐδὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Χείρωνα καὶ Ἄτλαντα σοφισταῖς διειλεγμένος ἀλλὰ νέος ὢν καὶ κομιδῇ Βοιώτιος, ἀναιρῶν τὴν διαλεκτικὴν καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ 'εἰ τὸ πρῶτον τὸ δεύτερον,' ὑποσπᾶν ἔδοξε βίᾳ τὸν τρίποδα καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης, ἐπεὶ προϊών γε τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ οὗτος ἔοικε μαντικώτατος ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ διαλεκτικώτατος."

7. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θέωνος, Εὔστροφον Ἀθη-
ναῖον οἶμαι τὸν εἰπόντα εἶναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "ὁρᾷς,
E ὡς ἀμύνει τῇ διαλεκτικῇ Θέων προθύμως, μονονοὺ τὴν λεοντῆν ἐπενδυσάμενος; οὕτως[1] οὐδ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς πάντα συλλήβδην πράγματα καὶ φύσεις καὶ ἀρχὰς θείων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπείων ἐν ἀριθμῷ τιθεμένους, καὶ πολὺ μάλιστα τῶν καλῶν καὶ τιμίων τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένους καὶ κύριον, εἰκὸς[2] ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἀλλ' ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τῆς φίλης μαθηματικῆς, αὐτὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε δυνάμει μήτε μορφῇ μήτε τῷ ῥήματι τὸ εἶ τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων διαφέρειν ἡγουμένους, ὡς δὲ μεγάλου πρὸς τὰ ὅλα καὶ κυρίου σημεῖον ἀριθμοῦ τετιμῆσθαι τῆς

[1] οὕτως Wyttenbach: οὔπω.
[2] εἰκὸς Turnebus: εἰδὼς.

---

[a] The Greek equivalent of "Philistine."

[b] *Cf.* ***Moralia***, 413 A, 557 C, 560 D; Pausanias, x. 13. 4; Apollodorus, ***Bibliotheca***, ii. 6. 2 (with Frazer's note in L.C.L. edition); Roscher, ***Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie***,

plainly finds pleasure in music and the songs of swans and the sound of lyres, what wonder is it that, because of his fondness for logical reasoning, he should welcome and love that portion of discourse of which he observes philosophers making the most particular and the most constant use ?

" Heracles, before he had released Prometheus or had conversed with the sophists that were associated with Cheiron and Atlas, when he was young and a thorough Boeotian,[a] would do away with logical reasoning ; he ridiculed the ' if the first, then the second,' and resolved to carry off the tripod by force [b] and fight it out with the god over his art ; since, at any rate, as he advanced in years, he also appears to have become most skilled in prophecy and in logic."

7. When Theon ceased, Eustrophus the Athenian, I think it was, said to us in answer, " Do you see how zealously Theon defends logic, all but arraying himself in the lion's skin ? Under such conditions, we who repose in the Theory of Numbers all affairs together, natures and principles of things divine and human alike, and make this theory far above all else our guide and authority in all that is beautiful and valuable, should not be likely to hold our peace, but to offer to the god the first-fruits of our beloved mathematics, believing, as we do, that, taken by itself, E is not unlike the other letters either in power or in form or as a spoken word, but that it has come to be held in honour as the symbol of a great and sovereign number, the *pempad*, from which the wise

i. p. 2213 ; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alter-tums*, i. p. 463 ff. The attempt of Heracles to carry off the tripod is represented on the treasury of the Siphnians in the Museum at Delphi.

πεμπάδος, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ἀριθμεῖν οἱ σοφοὶ πεμπάζειν
F ὠνόμαζον."

Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλεγεν οὐ παίζων ὁ Εὔστροφος, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τηνικαῦτα προσεκείμην τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐμπαθῶς, τάχα δὴ[1] μέλλων εἰς πάντα τιμήσειν τὸ "μηδὲν ἄγαν" ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ γενόμενος.

8. Εἶπον οὖν κάλλιστα τὸν Εὔστροφον τῷ ἀριθμῷ λύειν τὴν ἀπορίαν. "ἐπεὶ γάρ," ἔφην, "εἰς τὸ ἄρτιον νενεμημένου παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὸ
388 περιττὸν ἡ μὲν μονὰς ἀμφοτέρων ἐπίκοινός ἐστι τῇ δυνάμει, διὸ καὶ προστιθεμένη τὸν μὲν περιττὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄρτιον ποιεῖ τὸν δ' ἄρτιον περιττόν· ἀρχὴν δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀρτίου τὰ δύο τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ τὰ τρία ποιοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πέντε γεννᾶται τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους μειγνυμένων, εἰκότως ἔσχηκε τιμὴν πρῶτος ἐκ πρώτων ἀποτελούμενος, καὶ 'γάμος' ἐπωνόμασται τῇ τοῦ ἀρτίου πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ περιττοῦ δ' αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἄρρεν ὁμοιότητι· ταῖς γὰρ εἰς ἴσα τομαῖς τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὁ μὲν ἄρτιος πάντῃ διιστάμενος ὑπολείπει τινὰ δεκτικὴν ἀρχὴν οἷον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ χώραν, ἐν
B δὲ τῷ περιττῷ τὸ αὐτὸ παθόντι μέσον ἀεὶ περίεστι τῆς νεμήσεως γόνιμον[2]· ᾗ γονιμώτερός ἐστι τοῦ ἑτέρου, καὶ μειγνύμενος ἀεὶ κρατεῖ, κρατεῖται δ' οὐδέποτε· γίγνεται γὰρ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κατ' οὐδεμίαν

[1] δὴ Wyttenbach: δὲ.
[2] γόνιμον] μόριον Emperius.

---

[a] That is, by counting on the fingers: *cf.* 374 A, *supra*, and 429 D, *infra*.
[b] *Cf.* 431 A, *infra*.
[c] *Cf.* 429 A, *infra*.
[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 263 F, 1012 E, 1018 C, and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. chap. xiv. 93. 4 (p. 702 Potter).

gave the name '*pempazein*' to counting which is done by fives." [a]

These words Eustrophus addressed to us not in jest, but for the reason that at this time I was devoting myself to mathematics with the greatest enthusiasm, although I was destined soon to pay all honour to the maxim 'Avoid extremes,' when I had once become a member of the Academy.[b]

8. I said, therefore, that Eustrophus solved the difficulty most excellently with his number. "For since," I continued, "every number may be classified as even or odd, and unity, by virtue of its potentiality, is common to both, for the reason that its addition makes the odd number even and the even number odd,[c] and since two makes the first of the even numbers and three the first of the odd, and five is produced by the union of these numbers, very naturally five has come to be honoured as being the first number created out of the first numbers; and it has received the name of 'marriage'[d] because of the resemblance of the even number to the female and of the odd number to the male.[e] For in the division of numbers into two equal factors, the even number separates completely and leaves a certain receptive opening and, as it were, a space within itself; but in the odd, when it undergoes this process, there is always left over from the division a generative middle part. Wherefore it is more generative than the other, and in combination it is always dominant and is never dominated.[f] For in no combination of these two numbers (even and odd) is there produced from the two an even number,

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 288 C-E.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life and Poetry of Homer*, 145 (Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 416).

(388) μεῖξιν ἄρτιος ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας περιττός. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἐπιβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ συντιθέμενος δείκνυσι τὴν διαφορὰν ἑκάτερος· ἄρτιος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀρτίῳ συνελθὼν περιττὸν παρέσχεν οὐδ' ἐξέβη τοῦ οἰκείου[1] ὑπ' ἀσθενείας ἄγονος[2] ὢν ἑτέρου καὶ ἀτελής· περιττοὶ δὲ μειγνύμενοι περιττοῖς ἀρτίους πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ πάντῃ γόνιμον ἀποτελοῦσι.
C τὰς δ' ἄλλας οὐκ ἄν τις ἐν καιρῷ νῦν ἐπεξίοι δυνάμεις καὶ διαφορὰς τῶν ἀριθμῶν. ὡς οὖν ἄρρενός τε τοῦ πρώτου καὶ θήλεος ὁμιλίᾳ[3] τὰ πέντε γιγνόμενα γάμον οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι προσεῖπον.

"Ἔστι δ' ᾗ καὶ φύσις λέλεκται τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν πολλαπλασιασμῷ πάλιν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περαίνων. ὡς γὰρ ἡ φύσις λαβοῦσα πυρὸν ἐν σπέρματι καὶ χρησαμένη[4] πολλὰ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ φύει σχήματα καὶ εἴδη, δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐξάγει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ πυρὸν ἀνέδειξεν ἀποδοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ παντός, οὕτω τῶν λοιπῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅταν αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασιάσωσιν, εἰς ἑτέρους τελευτώντων τῇ
D αὐξήσει, μόνος ὁ τῶν πέντε καὶ ἓξ γενόμενος τοσαυτάκις αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ἀνασῴζουσιν. ἑξάκις γὰρ τὰ ἓξ τριακονταέξ, καὶ πεντάκις τὰ πέντε εἰκοσιπέντε γίγνεται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ μὲν τῶν ἓξ ἅπαξ τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ μοναχῶς αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τετράγωνος γιγνόμενος· τῇ δὲ πεμπάδι[5] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν συμβέβηκε κατὰ πολλαπλασιασμόν, ἰδίως δὲ τὸ

[1] τοῦ οἰκείου F.C.B.: τὸ οἰκεῖον.
[2] ἄγονος Xylander: ἀπόγονος.
[3] ὁμιλίᾳ Wyttenbach: ὃ μὴ διὰ or ὁμοιότητι.
[4] χρησαμένη F.C.B.: χθαμένη or χεαμένη or χ||αμένη.
[5] πεμπάδι Bernardakis: πεντάδι.

but in all combinations an odd. Moreover, each when applied to itself and made composite with itself shows the difference. For no even number united with even gives an odd number, nor does it ever show any departure from its own distinctive nature, being impotent through its weakness to produce the other number, and having no power of accomplishment; but odd numbers combined with odd produce a numerous progeny of even numbers because of their omnipresent generative function. It would not be timely at this moment to enumerate the other potent properties and divergences of numbers; let it suffice to say that the Pythagoreans called Five a 'Marriage' on the ground that it was produced by the association of the first male number and the first female number.

"There is also a sense in which it has been called 'Nature,' since by being multiplied into itself it ends in itself again. For even as Nature receives wheat in the form of seed and puts it to its use, and creates in the interim many shapes and forms through which she carries out the process of growth to its end, but, to crown all, displays wheat again, and thus presents as her result the beginning at the end of the whole, so in like manner, while the other numbers when raised to a power end in different numbers as the result of the increase, only the numbers five and six, when multiplied by themselves, repeat themselves and preserve their identity. Thus six times six is thirty-six, and five times five is twenty-five; and furthermore, the number six does this but once, and the single instance is when it is squared; but with five this result is obtained in raising it to any power, and it has a unique characteristic, when added to

(388) κατὰ σύνθεσιν ἢ ἑαυτὴν[1] ἢ τὴν[2] δεκάδα ποιεῖν παρὰ μέρος ἐπιβάλλουσαν[3] ἑαυτῇ, καὶ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι μέχρι παντός, ἀπομιμουμένου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τὴν τὰ ὅλα διακοσμοῦσαν ἀρχήν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνην ἀλλάττουσαν[4] ἐκ μὲν ἑαυτῆς τὸν κόσμον ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου
E πάλιν αὖ ἑαυτὴν ἀποτελεῖν 'πυρός τ' ἀνταμείβεσθαι[5] πάντα,' φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, 'καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων, ὅκωσπερ[6] χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός,' οὕτως ἡ τῆς πεμπάδος[7] πρὸς ἑαυτὴν σύνοδος οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀτελὲς οὔτ' ἀλλότριον γεννᾶν πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένας ἔχει μεταβολάς· ἢ γὰρ αὑτὴν ἢ τὴν δεκάδα γεννᾷ, τουτέστιν ἢ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἢ τὸ τέλειον.

9. "Ἐὰν οὖν ἔρηταί τις, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, φήσομεν οὐχὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν. ἀκούομεν οὖν τῶν θεολόγων
F τὰ μὲν ἐν ποιήμασι τὰ δ' ἄνευ μέτρου λεγόντων καὶ ὑμνούντων ὡς ἄφθαρτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀίδιος πεφυκώς, ὑπὸ δή τινος εἱμαρμένης γνώμης καὶ λόγου μεταβολαῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρώμενος ἄλλοτε μὲν εἰς πῦρ ἀνῆψε τὴν φύσιν[8] πάνθ' ὁμοιώσας πᾶσιν, ἄλλοτε δὲ παντοδαπὸς ἔν τε μορφαῖς καὶ ἐν πάθεσι καὶ δυνάμεσι διαφόροις γιγνόμενος, ὡς γίγνεται νῦν

[1] ἢ ἑαυτὴν Stegmann: καθ' ἑαυτὴν.
[2] τὴν added by Bernardakis.
[3] ἐπιβάλλουσαν Emperius (ἐπιβαλλούσῃ Madvig): ἐπιβαλλούσης.
[4] ἀλλάττουσαν F.C.B. (πλάττουσαν Bernays): φυλάττουσαν.
[5] ἀνταμείβεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἀνταμείβεται or ἀνταμοίβηται (ἀνταμοιβὴν τὰ Bernardakis and Schwartz, ἀνταμοίβητα Paton).
[6] ὅκωσπερ Bernardakis: (ἐκ) ὥσπερ.

itself, of producing either itself or ten alternately[a] as the addition progresses, and of doing this to infinity, since this number takes its pattern from the primal principle which orders the whole. For as that principle by changes creates a complete universe out of itself, and then in turn out of the universe creates itself again, as Heracleitus[b] says, 'and exchanges fire for all and all for fire, as gold for goods and goods for gold,' so, in like manner, the conjunction of five with itself is determined by Nature's law to produce nothing incomplete or foreign, but it has strictly limited changes; it produces either itself or ten, that is to say, either its own characteristic or the perfect whole.

9. "If, then, anyone ask, 'What has this to do with Apollo?', we shall say that it concerns not only him, but also Dionysus, whose share in Delphi is no less than that of Apollo.[c] Now we hear the theologians affirming and reciting, sometimes in verse and sometimes in prose, that the god is deathless and eternal in his nature,[d] but, owing forsooth to some predestined design and reason, he undergoes transformations of his person, and at one time enkindles his nature into fire and makes it altogether like all else, and at another time he undergoes all sorts of changes in his form, his emotions and his powers, even as the

[a] That is, a number ending in 5 or 0. *Cf.* 429 D, *infra.*

[b] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 95, Heracleitus, no. B 90.

[c] *Cf.* 365 A, *supra*, and Lucan, v. 73-74; and for the proverb *cf. Moralia*, 280 D and the note.

[d] *Cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 14 (p. 711 Potter).

[7] πεμπάδος Bernardakis: πενταδος.

[8] τὴν φύσιν Reiske: τῇ φύσει.

ὁ[1] κόσμος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ τῷ γνωριμωτάτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων. κρυπτόμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ σοφώτεροι τὴν μὲν εἰς πῦρ μεταβολὴν Ἀπόλλωνά τε τῇ μονώσει Φοῖβόν τε τῷ καθαρῷ καὶ ἀμιάντῳ
389 καλοῦσι. τῆς δ' εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ φυτῶν ζῴων τε γενέσεις τροπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακοσμήσεως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν διασπασμόν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν αἰνίττονται· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς[2] εἶτα δ'[3] ἀναβιώσεις[4] καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεῖα ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι· καὶ ᾄδουσι τῷ μὲν διθυραμβικὰ μέλη παθῶν μεστὰ καὶ μεταβολῆς πλάνην τινὰ καὶ διαφόρησιν ἐχούσης·

B ‘μιξοβόαν,’ γὰρ Αἰσχύλος φησί, ‘πρέπει
διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν
σύγκωμον[5] Διονύσῳ.’

τῷ δὲ παιᾶνα, τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν.

“Ἀγήρων τε τοῦτον ἀεὶ καὶ νέον ἐκεῖνον δὲ πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ πλάσμασι δημιουργοῦσι· καὶ ὅλως τῷ μὲν ὁμαλότητα[6] καὶ τάξιν καὶ σπουδὴν ἄκρατον, τῷ δὲ μεμειγμένην

[1] ὁ added by F.C.B.
[2] ἀφανισμοὺς] ἐμφανισμοὺς van Herwerden, *cf.* 371 B.
[3] εἶτα δ' Stegmann: οἱ τὰς.
[4] ἀναβιώσεις Amyot from 364 F: ἀποβιώσεις.
[5] σύγκωμον Wyttenbach: σύγκοινον, σύγκονον, or σύγγονον.
[6] ὁμαλότητα Hubert, comp. 52 A: ὁμοιότητα.

universe does to-day ; but he is called by the best known of his names.[a] The more enlightened, however, concealing from the masses the transformation into fire, call him Apollo because of his solitary state,[b] and Phoebus because of his purity and stainlessness.[c] And as for his turning into winds and water, earth and stars, and into the generations of plants and animals, and his adoption of such guises, they speak in a deceptive way of what he undergoes in his transformation as a tearing apart, as it were, and a dismemberment. They give him the names of Dionysus, Zagreus, Nyctelius, and Isodaetes ; they construct destructions and disappearances, followed by returns to life and regenerations—riddles and fabulous tales quite in keeping with the aforesaid transformations. To this god they also sing the dithyrambic strains laden with emotion and with a transformation that includes a certain wandering and dispersion. Aeschylus,[d] in fact, says

> Fitting it is that the dithyramb
> With its fitful notes should attend
> Dionysus in revel rout.

But to Apollo they sing the paean, music regulated and chaste.

" Apollo the artists represent in paintings and sculpture as ever ageless and young, but Dionysus they depict in many guises and forms ; and they attribute to Apollo in general a uniformity, orderliness, and unadulterated seriousness, but to Dionysus a certain

[a] *Cf.* Stobaeus, *Eclogae Phys. et Ethic.* i. 21. 5 (i. p. 184. 11 ed. Wachsmuth).

[b] *Cf.* 354 B, 381 F, *supra*, and 393 B, *infra.*

[c] *Cf.* 393 C, *infra.*

[d] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aeschylus, no. 355.

(389) τινὰ παιδιᾷ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ μανίᾳ προσφέροντες ἀνωμαλίαν,

> ‘ εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα[1]
> μαινομέναις Διόνυσον
> ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς ’

ἀνακαλοῦσιν, οὐ φαύλως ἑκατέρας μεταβολῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον λαμβάνοντες.

C “ ’Επεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἴσος ὁ τῶν περιόδων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μείζων ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας ἣν ‘ κόρον ’ καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς ‘ χρησμοσύνης ’ ἐλάττων, τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παιᾶνι χρῶνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες τὸν διθύραμβον τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ’ ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ τρία πρὸς ἐννέα[2] τοῦτο τὴν διακόσμησιν οἰόμενοι χρόνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν εἶναι.

10. “ ’Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανοῦ καιροῦ μᾶλλον ἀπομεμήκυνται· δῆλον δ’ ὅτι συνοικειοῦσιν αὐτῷ[3] τὴν πεμπάδα,[4] νῦν μὲν αὐτὴν[5] ἑαυτὴν ὡς τὸ πῦρ
D αὖθις δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ποιοῦσαν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ὡς τὸν κόσμον. τῆς δὲ δὴ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένης τῷ θεῷ μουσικῆς οὐκ οἰόμεθα τούτῳ τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετεῖναι; τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον ὡς ἔνι[6] εἰπεῖν ἔργον ἁρμονικῆς περὶ τὰς συμφωνίας ἐστίν. αὗται δ’ ὅτι πέντε καὶ οὐ πλείους ὁ λόγος ἐξελέγχει τὸν ἐν χορδαῖς καὶ τρυ-

[1] εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα Reiske: ἐυινόρει γυναῖκα and other variants in the other quotations.
[2] ἐννέα Bases and Strijd: ἓν or ἓν οὖσα.
[3] αὐτῷ Meziriacus: αὐτὸν οἱ.
[4] πεμπάδα Bernardakis: πεντάδα.

variability combined with playfulness, wantonness, seriousness, and frenzy. They call upon him[a]:

> Euoe Bacchus who incites
> Womankind, Dionysus who delights
> 'Mid his honours fraught with frenzy,

not inappositely apprehending the peculiar character of each transformation.

"But since the time of the cycles in these transformations is not equal, but that of the one which they call 'Satiety,'[b] is longer, and that of 'Dearth' shorter, they observe the ratio, and use the paean at their sacrifices for a large part of the year; but at the beginning of winter they awake the dithyramb and, laying to rest the paean, they use the dithyramb instead of it in their invocations of the god; for they believe that, as three is to one, so is the relation of the creation to the conflagration.

10. "But these remarks have been extended somewhat beyond what the occasion requires. However, it is clear that men make Five an attribute of the god, which at one time of itself creates itself, like fire, and at another time out of itself creates ten, like the universe. And in music, which is especially pleasing to him, do we imagine that this number plays no part? For the main application of harmony, so far as it can be put into words, is concerned with chords. That these are five, and no more, reason convinces anyone who wishes, by perception alone without

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 730, Adespota, no. 131; quoted by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 607 c and 671 c also.

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 616 (p. 186); Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* i. 208.

---

[5] αὐτὴν] αὐτῇ in most MSS.

[6] ἕνι] ἕπος Camerarius.

(389) πήμασι ταῦτα θηρᾶν ἀλόγως τῇ αἰσθήσει βουλόμενον. πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐν λόγοις τὴν γένεσιν ἀριθμῶν λαμβάνουσιν· καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ τῆς μὲν διὰ τεττάρων ἐπίτριτος, τῆς δὲ διὰ πέντε ἡμιόλιος, διπλάσιος δὲ τῆς διὰ πασῶν, τῆς δὲ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε τριπλάσιος, τῆς δὲ δὶς διὰ πασῶν τετραπλάσιος. ἣν
E δὲ ταύταις ἐπεισάγουσιν οἱ ἁρμονικοὶ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεττάρων ὀνομάζοντες ἔξω μέτρου βαίνουσαν οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι δέχεσθαι τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ ἀλόγῳ παρὰ τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ νόμον χαριζομένους. ἵνα τοίνυν ἀφῶ πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσεις, καὶ πέντε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε τόνους ἢ τρόπους εἴθ' ἁρμονίας χρὴ καλεῖν, ὧν[1] ἐπιτάσει καὶ ὑφέσει τρεπομένων κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον αἱ λοιπαὶ βαρύτητές εἰσι καὶ ὀξύτητες, ἆρ' οὐχὶ πολλῶν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπείρων, διαστημάτων ὄντων τὰ μελῳδούμενα μόνα πέντ'
F ἐστί, δίεσις καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τόνος καὶ τριημιτόνιον καὶ δίτονον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε μικρότερον οὔτε μεῖζον ἐν φωναῖς χωρίον ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι περατούμενον μελῳδητόν ἐστι;

11. "Πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα," ἔφην ἐγώ, "παρελθὼν τὸν Πλάτωνα προσάξομαι λέγοντα κόσμον ἕνα, ὡς εἴπερ εἰσὶ παρὰ τοῦτον ἕτεροι καὶ μὴ μόνος οὗτος εἷς,[2] πέντε τοὺς πάντας ὄντας καὶ μὴ πλείονας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἂν εἷς οὗτος ᾖ μονογενής, ὡς οἴεται καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ πέντε

[1] ὧν Wyttenbach: ὡς. [2] εἷς Wyttenbach: εἰς.

---

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 530 D–531 C.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 1018 E. [c] *Cf.* 429 E, *infra*.
[d] *Cf.* 430 A, *infra*, and *Moralia*, 1021 E and 1029 A.
[e] *Cf.* 430 A, *infra*. [f] Plato, *Timaeus*, 31 A.

employing reason, to pursue these matters on the strings and stops[a]; for they all have their origin in numerical ratios. The ratio of the fourth is four to three,[b] that of the fifth is three to two, and that of the octave two to one; that of the octave plus the fifth is three to one,[c] and that of the double octave four to one. The extra chord which the writers on harmony introduce, naming it the octave and the fourth *extra metrum*, does not deserve acceptance, since we should be favouring the unreasoning element in our sense of hearing contrary to reason, which is as much as to say, contrary to law. Now if I may omit any discussion of the five stops of the tetrachord,[d] and the first five 'tones' or 'tropes' or 'harmonies,' whatever be their right name, from the changes in which, through a greater or a less tension, the remaining lower and higher notes are derived, I must ask whether, although the intervals are numerous, or rather of infinite number, yet the elements of melody are not five only,[e] quarter tone, half tone, tone, a tone plus a half tone, and double tone; and there is, in the range of notes, no additional space, either smaller or greater within the limits set by the high and the low, which can yield melody.

11. "There are many other examples of this sort of thing," said I, "which I shall pass over. I shall merely adduce Plato,[f] who, in speaking about a single world, says that if there are others besides ours, and ours is not the only one, then there are five altogether and no more.[g] Nevertheless, even if this world of ours is the only one ever created, as Aristotle[h] also thinks, even ours, he says, is in a way put together through

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 421 F, 422 F, 430 B, and 887 B.
[h] *De Caelo*, i. 8-9 (276 a 18).

390 συγκείμενον κόσμων καὶ συνηρμοσμένον εἶναι· ὧν ὁ μέν ἐστι γῆς ὁ δ' ὕδατος, τρίτος δὲ πυρὸς καὶ τέταρτος ἀέρος[1]· τὸν δὲ πέμπτον οὐρανὸν[2] οἱ δὲ φῶς οἱ δ' αἰθέρα καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πέμπτην οὐσίαν, ᾗ τὸ κύκλῳ περιφέρεσθαι μόνῃ τῶν σωμάτων κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὔτ' ἄλλως συμβεβηκός.[3] διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ τελεώτατα σχήματα τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει κατανοήσας, πυραμίδα καὶ κύβον καὶ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ εἰκοσάεδρον καὶ δωδεκάεδρον, ἕκαστον οἰκείως ἑκάστῳ προσένειμεν.

B 12. "Εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθήσεων δυνάμεις ἰσαρίθμους οὔσας τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις συνοικειοῦσι, τὴν μὲν ἁφὴν ὁρῶντες ἀντίτυπον οὖσαν καὶ γεώδη, τὴν δὲ γεῦσιν ὑγρότητι τῶν γευστῶν τὰς ποιότητας προσιεμένην. ἀὴρ δὲ πληγεὶς ἐν[4] ἀκοῇ γίγνεται φωνὴ καὶ ψόφος. δυοῖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀσμὴ μέν, ἣν ἡ ὄσφρησις εἵληχεν, ἀναθυμίασις οὖσα καὶ γεννωμένη θερμότητι πυρώδές ἐστιν· αἰθέρι δὲ καὶ φωτὶ διὰ συγγένειαν διαλαμπούσης τῆς ὄψεως γίγνεται κρᾶσις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοιοπαθὴς καὶ σύμπηξις. ἄλλην δ' οὔτε τὸ ζῷον αἴσθησιν οὔθ' ὁ κόσμος ἔχει φύσιν ἁπλῆν καὶ ἄμεικτον· ἀλλὰ θαυμαστή τις, ὡς ἔοικε, διανομὴ γέγονε τῶν πέντε πρὸς τὰ πέντε καὶ

C σύλληξις."

13. Ἅμα δέ πως ἐπιστήσας καὶ διαλιπών, "οἷον," εἶπον, "ὦ Εὔστροφε, πεπόνθαμεν, ὀλίγου παρελθόντες τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὡς οὐχὶ πρῶτον εἰς

[1] τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος Paton on slight MS. authority.

[2] οὐρανὸν] οἱ μὲν οὐρανὸν Wyttenbach.

[3] συμβεβηκός Meziriacus: συμβεβηκότος.

[4] ἐν] τῇ?

the union of five worlds, of which one is of earth, another of water, a third of fire, a fourth of air ; and the fifth, the heavens, others call light, and others aether, and others call this very thing a fifth substance (Quintessence), which alone of the bodies has by nature a circular motion that is not the result of any compelling power or any other incidental cause. Wherefore also Plato, apparently noting the five most beautiful and complete forms among those found in Nature, pyramid, cube, octahedron, icosahedron, and dodecahedron, appropriately assigned each to each.

12. " There are some who associate the senses also, since they are of the same number, with those primal elements, observing that touch functions against something resistant, and is earthly, and that taste, through moisture in the things tasted, absorbs their qualities. Air, when it is struck, becomes voice or sound in the hearing of it. Of the two remaining senses, odour, which the sense of smell has received as its portion, since it is an exhalation and is engendered by heat, bears a resemblance to fire ; and in sight, which flashes to its goal owing to its kinship with aether and light, there occurs a combination and coalescence of the two, which behaves as they do. The living being possesses no other sense, nor has the world any other nature single and uncombined ; but a marvellous distribution and apportionment each to each has, as it seems, been made of the five to the five."

13. Therewith I checked myself and, after waiting a moment, said, " What ails us, Eustrophus, that we all but passed over Homer [a] as if he were not the first

[a] *Il.* xv. 187.

(390) πέντε νείμαντα μερίδας τὸν κόσμον, ὃς τὰς μὲν ἐν μέσῳ τρεῖς ἀποδέδωκε τοῖς τρισὶ θεοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς ἄκρας Ὄλυμπον καὶ γῆν, ὧν ἡ μέν ἐστι τῶν κάτω πέρας ὁ δὲ τῶν ἄνω, κοινὰς καὶ ἀνεμήτους ἀφῆκεν.

"'Αλλ' ἀνοιστέος' ὁ 'λόγος,' ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν.[a] οἱ γὰρ τὴν τετράδα σεμνύναντες[1] οὐ φαύλως διδάσκουσιν, ὅτι τῷ ταύτης λόγῳ πᾶν σῶμα γένεσιν ἔσχηκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν μήκει καὶ πλάτει βάθος
D λαβόντι πᾶν τὸ στερεόν ἐστι, καὶ μήκους μὲν προϋφίσταται στιγμὴ κατὰ μονάδα ταττομένη, μῆκος δ' ἁπλατὲς ἡ γραμμὴ καλεῖται καὶ δυάς[2] ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ πλάτος γραμμῆς κίνησις ἐπιφανείας γένεσιν ἐν τριάδι παρέσχε, βάθους δὲ τούτοις προσγενομένου διὰ τεττάρων εἰς στερεὸν ἡ αὔξησις προβαίνει, παντὶ δῆλον ὅτι μέχρι δεῦρο τὴν φύσιν ἡ τετρὰς προαγαγοῦσα, μέχρι τοῦ σῶμα τελειῶσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἁπτὸν[3] ὄγκον καὶ ἀντίτυπον, εἶτ' ἀπολέλοιπεν
E ἐνδεᾶ τοῦ μεγίστου. τὸ γὰρ ἄψυχον ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὀρφανὸν καὶ ἀτελὲς καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν, μὴ χρωμένης ψυχῆς, ἐπιτήδειον· ἡ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμποιοῦσα κίνησις ἢ διάθεσις, μεταβολὴ διὰ πέντε γιγνομένη, τῇ φύσει τὸ τέλειον ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ τοσούτῳ κυριώτερον ἔχει τῆς τετράδος λόγον, ὅσῳ τιμῇ διαφέρει τοῦ ἀψύχου τὸ ζῷον.

"Ἔτι δ' ἰσχύσασα μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν πέντε συμμετρία καὶ δύναμις οὐκ εἴασεν εἰς ἄπειρα γένη προελθεῖν τὸ ἔμψυχον, ἀλλὰ πέντε τῶν ζώντων ἁπάντων ἰδέας

[1] σεμνύναντες] σεμνύοντες Wyttenbach.
[2] δυάς Reiske: μῆκος.
[3] ἁπτὸν Reiske: διττὸν.

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, no. 970; repeated in 431 A, *infra*.

to divide the world into five parts? For he duly assigned the three in the middle to the three gods, and the two extremes, the heaven and the earth, of which the one is the boundary of things below and the other of things above, he left to all in common, undistributed.

"'But the discussion must be carried further back,' as Euripides [a] remarks. For those who exalt Four teach us a lesson that is not without value, that by reason of this number all solids have come into being. For since every such solid body exists through the acquisition of depth by length and breadth, and for length must be presupposed a single point assigned to unity, and length without breadth, which is called a line, is also duality, and the movement of the line breadthwise generates a plane in the third instance, and when depth is added, through the four factors the increase progresses to a solid—it is clear to everyone that four, when it has carried Nature forward to the point of completing a solid body and producing a volume that may be felt and that is resistant, has then left Nature lacking in the most important thing of all. For the inanimate thing is, to put it simply, orphaned, incomplete, and good for nothing, unless there be an animating soul to make use of it. The impulse or dispensation that creates the soul therein, a transformation brought about through five factors in all, gives to Nature its due completeness, and is as much more potent than four as the living being differs in worth from the inanimate thing.

"Moreover, the symmetry and power of five, rather than that of any other number, has prevailed and has not permitted the animate to progress to unlimited classes of beings, but has produced five forms

παρέσχεν. εἰσὶ γὰρ θεοὶ δήπου καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἥρωες καὶ μετὰ τούτους τὸ τέταρτον ἄνθρωποι γένος, ἔσχατον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον τὸ ἄλογον καὶ
F θηριῶδες.

"Ἔτι δ' εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν κατὰ φύσιν διαιροῖς, πρῶτον αὐτῆς καὶ ἀμαυρότατόν ἐστι τὸ θρεπτικόν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ αἰσθητικόν, εἶτα τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ θυμοειδές· εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ λογιστικοῦ δύναμιν ἐξικομένη καὶ τελεώσασα τὴν φύσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ πέμπτῳ καταπέπαυται.

14. "Τοσαύτας δὲ καὶ τηλικαύτας ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δυνάμεις, καλὴ καὶ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστιν, οὐχ ἣν ἤδη διήλθομεν, ἐκ δυάδος οὖσαν[1] καὶ τριάδος, ἀλλ' ἣν ἡ ἀρχὴ[2] τῷ πρώτῳ συνελθοῦσα τετραγώνῳ
391 παρέσχεν. ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ παντὸς ἡ μονάς, τετράγωνος δὲ πρῶτος ἡ τετράς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὥσπερ ἰδέας καὶ ὕλης πέρας ἐχούσης, ἡ πεμπάς. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν μονάδα τετράγωνον ὀρθῶς ἔνιοι τίθενται, δύναμιν οὖσαν ἑαυτῆς καὶ περαίνουσαν εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐκ δυοῖν πεφυκυῖα τῶν πρώτων τετραγώνων ἡ πεμπὰς οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν ὑπερβολὴν εὐγενείας.

15. "Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον," ἔφην, "δέδια μὴ ῥηθὲν πιέζῃ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε πιέζεσθαι τῷ τῆς σελήνης ὀνόματι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, παμπάλαιον οὖσάν τινα τὴν περὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν ποιούμενον. ἢ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτ'
B εἴρηκεν ἐν Κρατύλῳ;"

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ὁ Εὔστροφος ἔφη, "τί δ' ὅμοιον πέφυκεν οὐ συνορῶ."

[1] οὖσαν] οὖσα in most MSS.
[2] ἡ ἀρχὴ] ἀρχὴ in all MSS. but one.

of all living things. For there are, as we know, gods, demigods, and heroes, and after these the fourth class, man [a]; and fifth and last the class of unreasoning animals.

"If you should, moreover, make divisions of the soul itself to accord with Nature, the first and least clear part of it is the nutritive, second the perceptive, then the appetitive, and, next after this, the spirited; but when it had reached the power to reason, and had completed its nature, it came to rest there at the fifth element as at the highest point. [b]

14. "Of this number, which has so many and such great powers, the origin also is fair and lovely; not that which we have expounded, that it is composed of two and three, but that which the beginning combined with the first square produces. For the beginning of all number is one, and the first square is four [c]; and from these, as though from perfected form and matter, comes five. And if certain authorities are right, who, as we know, posit one as the first square, since it is a power of itself and its product is itself, then five, the offspring of the first two squares, does not lack a surpassing nobility of lineage.

15. "But," said I, "the most important matter I fear may embarrass our Plato when it is stated, just as he said that Anaxagoras was embarrassed by the name of the Moon, since he tried to claim as his own some very ancient opinion in regard to its illumination. Has not Plato said this in the *Cratylus*?" [d]

"Certainly," said Eustrophus, "but what similarity there is I do not see."

[a] *Cf.* 415 B, *infra*.
[b] *Cf.* 429 E, *infra*.
[c] *Cf.* 429 E, *infra*.
[d] Plato, *Cratylus*, 409 A.

(391) "Καὶ μὴν οἶσθα δήπουθεν, ὅτι πέντε μὲν ἐν Σοφιστῇ τὰς κυριωτάτας ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχάς, τὸ ὂν τὸ ταὐτὸν τὸ ἕτερον, τέταρτον δὲ καὶ πέμπτον ἐπὶ τούτοις κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν. ἄλλῳ δ' αὖ τρόπῳ διαιρέσεως ἐν Φιλήβῳ χρώμενος, ἓν μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸ ἄπειρον ἕτερον δὲ τὸ[1] πέρας· τούτων δὲ μειγνυμένων πᾶσαν συνίστασθαι γένεσιν. αἰτίαν δ', ὑφ' ἧς μείγνυται, τέταρτον γένος τίθεται· καὶ πέμπτον
C ἡμῖν ὑπονοεῖν ἀπολέλοιπεν, ᾧ τὰ μειχθέντα πάλιν ἴσχει διάκρισιν καὶ διάστασιν. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων ὥσπερ εἰκόνας λέγεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος τὸ γιγνόμενον, κινήσεως δὲ τὸ ἄπειρον, τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς στάσεως, ταὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν μειγνύουσαν ἀρχήν, θατέρου δὲ τὴν διακρίνουσαν. εἰ δ' ἕτερα ταῦτ' ἐστί, κἀκείνως ἂν εἴη καὶ οὕτως ἐν πέντε γένεσι[2] καὶ διαφοραῖς τιθέμενος.[3]

"Ἔφθη[4] δή τις ταῦτα πρότερος συνιδὼν Πλάτωνος, διὸ[5] εἶ καθιέρωσε τῷ θεῷ, δήλωμα καὶ σύμβολον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πάντων.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τἀγαθὸν ἐν πέντε γένεσι φαντα-
D ζόμενον κατανοήσας, ὧν πρῶτόν ἐστι τὸ μέτριον, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σύμμετρον, καὶ τρίτον ὁ νοῦς καὶ τέταρτον αἱ περὶ ψυχὴν ἐπιστῆμαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς, πέμπτον δ'[6] εἴ τις ἡδονὴ καθαρὰ

[1] τὸ omitted in all MSS. but one.
[2] γένεσι] γενέσεσι in most MSS.
[3] τιθέμενος Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: πυθόμενος.
[4] ἔφθη F.C.B.: φησὶ or φήσει.
[5] διὸ F.C.B.: δύο.
[6] δ' added by Bernardakis.

" Well, you know, of course, that in the *Sophist* [a] he demonstrates that the supreme first principles are five : Being, Identity, Divergence, and fourth and fifth besides these, Motion and Rest.[b] But in the *Philebus* [c] he employs another method of division and affirms that the Infinite is one and the Definite a second, and from the combination of these all generation arises. The cause which makes them combine he posits as a fourth class ; the fifth he has left for us to surmise, by which the things combined attain once more dissociation and disengagement. I infer that these are intended to be figurative expressions corresponding to those just mentioned, generation corresponding to being, the infinite to motion, the definite to rest, the combining principle to identity, and the dissociating principle to divergence. But if these last are not the same as the others, even so, considered either in that way or in this, his division into five different classes would still hold good.

" Evidently someone anticipated Plato in comprehending this before he did, and for that reason dedicated to the god an E as a demonstration and symbol of the number of all the elements.

" Furthermore, observing that the Good displays itself under five categories,[d] of which the first is moderation, the second due proportion, the third the mind, the fourth the sciences and arts and the true opinions that have to do with the soul, and the fifth any pleasure that is pure and unalloyed with pain, at

[a] Plato, *Sophist*, 256 c.
[b] *Cf.* 428 c, *infra.*
[c] Plato, *Philebus*, 23 c.
[d] *Cf. ibid.* 66 A-c.

(391) καὶ πρὸς τὸ λυποῦν ἄκρατος, ἐνταῦθα λήγει τὸ Ὀρφικὸν ὑπειπών

ἕκτῃ δ' ἐν γενεῇ καταπαύσατε θεσμὸν[1] ἀοιδῆς.

16. "Ἐπὶ τούτοις," ἔφην, "εἰρημένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς 'ἓν βραχύ' τοῖς περὶ Νίκανδρον 'ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι.' τῇ γὰρ ἕκτῃ[2] τοῦ νέου μηνὸς ὅταν κατάγῃ τις[3] τὴν Πυθίαν εἰς τὸ[4] πρυτανεῖον, ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῖν γίγνεται τῶν τριῶν κλήρων εἰς τὰ πέντε, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκείνης τὰ τρία, σοῦ δὲ[5] τὰ δύο βάλλοντος.[6] ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει;"

E Καὶ ὁ Νίκανδρος, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ἡ δ' αἰτία πρὸς ἑτέρους ἄρρητός ἐστι."

"Οὐκοῦν," ἔφην ἐγὼ μειδιάσας, "ἄχρι οὗ τἀληθὲς ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἱεροῖς γενομένοις γνῶναι παράσχῃ, προσκείσεται καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πεμπάδος λεγομένοις."

Τοιοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ ὁ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἐγκωμίων τοῦ εἷ λόγος, ὡς ἐγὼ μέμνημαι, πέρας ἔσχεν.

17. Ὁ δ' Ἀμμώνιος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τὸ φαυλότατον ἐν μαθηματικῇ φιλοσοφίας[7] τιθέμενος, ἥσθη τε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἄξιον πρὸς ταῦτα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς νέοις, πλὴν ὅτι τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ ὀλίγα βου-

F λομένοις ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ὑμνεῖν παρέξει. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; ἡ γὰρ ἱερὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλ-

[1] θεσμὸν Badham; οἶμον Kroll: θυμὸν (κόσμον Plato).
[2] τῇ γὰρ ἕκτῃ Bernardakis: τῆς γὰρ ἕκτης.
[3] τις F.C.B.; εἰς.
[4] τὸ Wyttenbach: τι.
[5] σοῦ δὲ Paton: οὐδὲ.

this point he leaves off, thus suggesting the Orphic verse [a]

Bring to an end the current of song in the sixth generation.

16. "Following upon all this that has been said to you," I continued, "'I shall sing one short verse'[b] for Nicander and his friends, 'men of sagacity.' On the sixth day of the new month, namely, when the prophetic priestess is conducted down to the Prytaneum, the first of your three sortitions is for five, she casting three and you casting two, each with reference to the other.[c] Is not this actually so?"

"Yes," said Nicander, "but the reason must not be told to others."

"Then," said I, smiling, "until such time as we become holy men, and God grants us to know the truth, this also shall be added to what may be said on behalf of the Five."

Thus, as I remember, the tale of arithmetical and of mathematical laudations of E came to an end.

17. Ammonius, inasmuch as he plainly held that in mathematics was contained not the least important part of philosophy, was pleased with these remarks, and said, "It is not worth while to argue too precisely over these matters with the young, except to say that every one of the numbers will provide not a little for them that wish to sing its praises. What need to speak of the others? Why, the sacred Seven of

[a] Orphic Fragments, no. 14.

[b] *Ibid.* no. 334; quoted again by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 636 D.

[c] The Greek text is at this point somewhat uncertain.

---

[6] *βάλλοντος* Bernardakis: *βάλλοντες*.

[7] *φιλοσοφίας*] *φιλοσοφία* in most MSS.

λωνος ἑβδομὰς ἀναλώσει τὴν ἡμέραν πρότερον ἢ λόγῳ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῆς ἁπάσας ἐπεξελθεῖν. εἶτα τῷ κοινῷ νόμῳ 'πολεμοῦντας' ἅμα καὶ 'τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ' τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀποφανοῦμεν ἄνδρας, εἰ τὴν ἑβδομάδα τῆς προεδρίας παρώσαντες τῷ θεῷ τὴν πεμπάδα καθιερώσουσιν ὡς μᾶλλόν τι προσήκουσαν. οὔτ' οὖν ἀριθμὸν οὔτε τάξιν οὔτε σύνδεσμον οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν ἐλλιπῶν
392 μορίων οὐδὲν οἶμαι τὸ γράμμα σημαίνειν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοτελὴς τοῦ θεοῦ προσαγόρευσις καὶ προσφώνησις, ἅμα τῷ ῥήματι τὸν φθεγγόμενον εἰς ἔννοιαν καθιστᾶσα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα προσιόντα οἷον ἀσπαζόμενος προσαγορεύει τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν,' ὃ δὴ τοῦ 'χαῖρε' οὐδὲν μεῖόν ἐστιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεόν, 'εἶ,' φαμέν, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψευδῆ καὶ μόνην μόνῳ προσήκουσαν τὴν τοῦ εἶναι προσαγόρευσιν ἀποδιδόντες.

18. "'Ημῖν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ εἶναι μέτεστιν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένη φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν
B ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς· ἂν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπερείσῃς λαβέσθαι βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ ἡ σφοδρὰ περίδραξις ὕδατος τῷ πιέζειν καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγειν διαρρέον ἀπόλλυσι τὸ περιλαμβανόμενον, οὕτω

---

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* i. p. 522, Simonides, no. 193, and Edmonds in *Lyra Graeca*, ii. p. 340, in L.C.L.; Plutarch refers to this also in 359 F, *supra*, and in his *Life of Theseus*, chap. x. (p. 4 F).

Apollo will consume the whole day before the narration of all its powers is finished. Then again, we shall be branding the wise men as 'warring with' common custom, as well as with 'the long years of time,'[a] if they are to oust Seven from its place of honour and make Five sacred to the god, on the ground that it is in some way more closely related to him. I am therefore of the opinion that the significance of the letter is neither a numeral nor a place in a series nor a conjunction nor any of the subordinate parts of speech. No, it is an address and salutation to the god, complete in itself, which, by being spoken, brings him who utters it to thoughts of the god's power. For the god addresses each one of us as we approach him here with the words 'Know Thyself,'[b] as a form of welcome, which certainly is in no wise of less import than 'Hail'; and we in turn reply to him 'Thou art,' as rendering unto him a form of address which is truthful, free from deception, and the only one befitting him only, the assertion of Being.

18. "The fact is that we really have no part nor parcel in Being,[c] but everything of a mortal nature is at some stage between coming into existence and passing away,[d] and presents only a dim and uncertain semblance and appearance of itself; and if you apply the whole force of your mind in your desire to apprehend it, it is like unto the violent grasping of water, which, by squeezing and compression, loses the handful enclosed, as it spurts through the fingers[e];

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Charmides*, 164 D-E.
[c] *Cf.* Philo, *De Iosepho*, 125 (chap. xxii.).
[d] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. 15, Anaximander, no. 9; Plato, *Phaedo*, 95 E; von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 594 (p. 183).
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 1082 A.

(392) τῶν παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν[1] ἑκάστου τὴν ἄγαν ἐνάργειαν ὁ λόγος διώκων ἀποσφάλλεται τῇ μὲν εἰς τὸ γιγνόμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ δ' εἰς τὸ φθειρόμενον, οὐδενὸς λαβέσθαι μένοντος οὐδ' ὄντος ὄντως δυνάμενος.

"'Ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δὶς τῷ αὐτῷ' καθ' Ἡράκλειτον οὐδὲ θνητῆς οὐσίας δὶς ἅψασθαι κατὰ ἕξιν· ἀλλ' ὀξύτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς
C 'σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει,' μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἀλλ' ἅμα συνίσταται καὶ ἀπολείπει[2] καὶ 'πρόσεισι καὶ ἄπεισι.'

"Ὅθεν οὐδ' εἰς τὸ εἶναι περαίνει τὸ γιγνόμενον αὐτῆς τῷ μηδέποτε λήγειν μηδ' ἵστασθαι[3] τὴν γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀεὶ μεταβάλλουσαν ἔμβρυον ποιεῖν εἶτα βρέφος εἶτα παῖδα, μειράκιον ἐφεξῆς, νεανίσκον, εἶτ' ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτην, γέροντα, τὰς πρώτας φθείρουσαν γενέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας ταῖς ἐπιγιγνομέναις. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἕνα φοβούμεθα γελοίως θάνατον, ἤδη τοσούτους τεθνηκότες καὶ θνήσκοντες. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος ἔλεγε, 'πυρὸς θάνατος ἀέρι γένεσις, καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος ὕδατι
D γένεσις,' ἀλλ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν[4] ἴδοις ἄν· φθείρεται μὲν ὁ ἀκμάζων[5] γενομένου[6] γέροντος, ἐφθάρη δ' ὁ νέος εἰς τὸν ἀκμάζοντα, καὶ

[1] *παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν* Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* xi. 11: *παθημάτων καὶ μεταβάντων.*

[2] *μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ . . . ἀπολείπει* not in MSS.; added here from Eusebius.

[3] *ἵστασθαι* Eusebius: *ἡττᾶσθαι.*

[4] *ἡμῶν* Eusebius: *ᾗ δι' ὧν* or *ἴδοις ἄν*, the latter of which should probably be included in the text.

[5] *ὁ ἀκμάζων* Eusebius: *ἀκμάζων.*

[6] *γενομένου*] *γινομένου* some MSS.

even so Reason, pursuing the exceedingly clear appearance of every one of those things that are susceptible to modification and change, is baffled by the one aspect of its coming into being, and by the other of its passing away; and thus it is unable to apprehend a single thing that is abiding or really existent.

"'It is impossible to step twice in the same river' are the words of Heracleitus,[a] nor is it possible to lay hold twice of any mortal substance in a permanent state; by the suddenness and swiftness of the change in it there 'comes dispersion and, at another time, a gathering together'; or, rather, not at another time nor later, but at the same instant it both settles into its place and forsakes its place; 'it is coming and going.'

"Wherefore that which is born of it never attains unto being because of the unceasing and unstaying process of generation, which, ever bringing change, produces from the seed an embryo, then a babe, then a child, and in due course a boy, a young man, a mature man, an elderly man, an old man, causing the first generations and ages to pass away by those which succeed them. But we have a ridiculous fear of one death, we who have already died so many deaths, and still are dying! For not only is it true, as Heracleitus[b] used to say, that the death of heat is birth for steam, and the death of steam is birth for water, but the case is even more clearly to be seen in our own selves: the man in his prime passes away when the old man comes into existence, the young man passes away into the

[a] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 96, Heracleitus, no. 91. Plutarch refers to this dictum also in *Moralia*, 559 c.

[b] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 93, Heracleitus, no. 76.

(392) ὁ παῖς εἰς τὸν νέον, εἰς δὲ τὸν παῖδα τὸ νήπιον· ὅ τ' ἐχθὲς[1] εἰς τὸν σήμερον τέθνηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὔριον ἀποθνῄσκει· μένει δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔστιν εἷς, ἀλλὰ γιγνόμεθα πολλοί, περὶ ἕν τι[2] φάντασμα καὶ κοινὸν ἐκμαγεῖον ὕλης περιελαυνομένης καὶ ὀλισθανούσης. ἐπεὶ πῶς οἱ αὐτοὶ μένοντες ἑτέροις χαίρομεν νῦν, ἑτέροις πρότερον,[3] τἀναντία φιλοῦμεν ἢ[4] μισοῦμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ ψέγομεν, ἄλλοις
E δὲ[5] χρώμεθα λόγοις ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, οὐκ εἶδος οὐ μορφὴν οὐ διάνοιαν ἔτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες; οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ μεταβολῆς ἕτερα πάσχειν εἰκός, οὔτε μεταβάλλων ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν· εἰ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ[6] τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μεταβάλλει γιγνόμενος ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου. ψεύδεται δ' ἡ αἴσθησις ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον.

19. "Τί οὖν ὄντως ὄν ἐστι; τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, ᾧ χρόνος μεταβολὴν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐπάγει. κινητὸν γάρ τι καὶ κινουμένῃ συμφανταζόμενον ὕλῃ καὶ ῥέον ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ στέγον,[7] ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ὁ χρόνος, οὗ γε δὴ τὸ μὲν 'ἔπειτα' καὶ τὸ 'πρότερον' καὶ τὸ 'ἔσται' λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ 'γέγονεν,' αὐτόθεν
F ἐξομολόγησίς ἐστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὸ μηδέπω γεγονὸς ἢ πεπαυμένον ἤδη τοῦ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἔστιν, εὔηθες καὶ ἄτοπον. ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα

[1] ὅ τ' ἐχθὲς] ὁ τεχθεὶς one MS.: δὲ χθὲς Eusebius.
[2] τι added from Eusebius.
[3] πρότερον added from Eusebius. [4] ἢ] καὶ Eusebius.
[5] δὲ omitted by Eusebius and one MS.
[6] ἀλλὰ Eusebius: ἅμα.
[7] στέγον Eusebius: στερρὸν.

---

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 50 c.

man in his prime, the child into the young man, and the babe into the child. Dead is the man of yesterday, for he is passed into the man of to-day ; and the man of to-day is dying as he passes into the man of to-morrow. Nobody remains one person, nor is one person ; but we become many persons, even as matter is drawn about some one semblance and common mould [a] with imperceptible movement. Else how is it that, if we remain the same persons, we take delight in some things now, whereas earlier we took delight in different things ; that we love or hate opposite things, and so too with our admirations and our disapprovals, and that we use other words and feel other emotions and have no longer the same personal appearance, the same external form, or the same purposes in mind ? For without change it is not reasonable that a person should have different experiences and emotions ; and if he changes, he is not the same person ; and if he is not the same person, he has no permanent being, but changes his very nature as one personality in him succeeds to another. Our senses, through ignorance of reality, falsely tell us that what appears to be is.

19. "What, then, really is Being ? It is that which is eternal, without beginning and without end, to which no length of time brings change. For time is something that is in motion, appearing in connexion with moving matter, ever flowing, retaining nothing, a receptacle, as it were, of birth and decay, whose familiar 'afterwards' and 'before,' 'shall be' and 'has been,' when they are uttered, are of themselves a confession of Not Being. For to speak of that which has not yet occurred in terms of Being, or to say of what has already ceased to be, that it is, is silly and absurd. And as for that on which we most rely to

τὴν νόησιν ἐπερείδοντες[1] τοῦ χρόνου, τὸ 'ἐνέστηκε' καὶ τὸ 'πάρεστι' καὶ τὸ 'νῦν' φθεγγόμεθα, τοῦτ' αὖ πάλιν ἅπαν[2] εἰσδυόμενος[3] ὁ λόγος ἀπόλλυσιν. ἐκθλίβεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρῳχημένον ὥσπερ ἀκμὴν[4] βουλομένοις[5] ἰδεῖν, ἐξ
393 ἀνάγκης διιστάμενον. εἰ δὲ ταὐτὰ τῷ μετροῦντι πέπονθεν ἡ μετρουμένη[6] φύσις, οὐδὲν αὐτῆς μένον οὐδ' ὄν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα καὶ φθειρόμενα κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν χρόνον συννέμησιν.[7] ὅθεν οὐδ' ὅσιόν[8] ἐστιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ[9] τοῦ ὄντος λέγειν ὡς ἦν ἢ ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγκλίσεις τινές εἰσι καὶ μεταβάσεις καὶ παραλλάξεις τοῦ μένειν ἐν τῷ εἶναι μὴ πεφυκότος.

20. "'Αλλ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, εἰ[10] χρὴ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον καὶ οὗ πρότερον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ὕστερον οὐδὲ μέλλον οὐδὲ παρῳχημένον οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον[11] οὐδὲ νεώτερον· ἀλλ' εἷς ὢν ἑνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἀεὶ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ μόνον ἐστὶ
B τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον[12] ὄντως ὄν, οὐ γεγονὸς οὐδ' ἐσόμενον οὐδ' ἀρξάμενον οὐδὲ παυσόμενον. οὕτως οὖν[13] αὐτὸν[14] δεῖ σεβομένους ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν,[15] 'εἷ,'[16] καὶ νὴ Δία, ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν παλαιῶν, 'εἷ ἕν.'

[1] ἐπερείδοντες Eusebius: ὑπεριδόντες or ὑπερείδοντες.
[2] ἅπαν Reiske: ἄγαν (ἄγαν cod. D).
[3] εἰσδυόμενος F.C.B.; ἐνδυόμενος Hartman: ἐκδυόμενος MSS., ἐκλυόμενος Eusebius.
[4] ἀκμὴν F.C.B.: ἀκμὴ MSS.; Eusebius has αὐγὴ.
[5] βουλομένοις Eusebius: βουλόμενος.
[6] ἡ μετρουμένη Eusebius: ἢ μέτρον μὲν ἡ.
[7] συννέμησιν Eusebius: συνεμίγη.
[8] οὐδ' ὅσιον] οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον Eusebius.
[9] οὐδ' Bernardakis, ἐπὶ Eusebius: οὐδὲ or οὐδὲν (ἐπὶ only Eusebius).

support our conception of time, as we utter the words, 'it is here,' 'it is at hand,' and 'now'—all this again reason, entering in, demolishes utterly. For 'now' is crowded out into the future and the past, when we would look upon it as a culmination; for of necessity it suffers division. And if Nature, when it is measured, is subject to the same processes as is the agent that measures it, then there is nothing in Nature that has permanence or even existence, but all things are in the process of creation or destruction according to their relative distribution with respect to time. Wherefore it is irreverent in the case of that which is to say even that it was or shall be; for these are certain deviations, transitions, and alterations, belonging to that which by its nature has no permanence in Being.

20. "But God is (if there be need to say so), and He exists for no fixed time, but for the everlasting ages which are immovable, timeless, and undeviating, in which there is no earlier nor later, no future nor past, no older nor younger; but He, being One, has with only one 'Now' completely filled 'For ever'; and only when Being is after His pattern is it in reality Being, not having been nor about to be, nor has it had a beginning nor is it destined to come to an end. Under these conditions, therefore, we ought, as we pay Him reverence, to greet Him and to address Him with the words, 'Thou art'; or even, I vow, as did some of the men of old, 'Thou art One.'

---

[10] *εἰ* added from Eusebius and Cyrillus; not in MSS.

[11] *οὐδὲ μέλλον . . . πρεσβύτερον* not in the MSS.; added from Eusebius.

[12] *τοῦτον*] *τοῦτο, αὐτὸ, ταῦτα*, in different traditions.

[13] *οὖν* added from Eusebius and Cyrillus; not in MSS.

[14] *αὐτὸν*] *αὐτὸ* in most MSS.

[15] *προσαγορεύειν* Eusebius: *προσεθίζειν*. [16] *εἶ* Cyrillus: *ἢ*.

(393) "Οὐ γὰρ πολλὰ τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἕκαστος ἐκ μυρίων διαφορῶν ἐν πάθεσι γιγνομένων, ἄθροισμα παντοδαπὸν καὶ πανηγυρικῶς μεμειγμένον· ἀλλ' ἓν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ ὄν, ὥσπερ ὂν τὸ ἕν. ἡ δ' ἑτερότης διαφορᾷ[1] τοῦ ὄντος εἰς γένεσιν ἐξίσταται
C τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. ὅθεν εὖ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχει τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον. Ἀπόλλων μὲν γὰρ οἷον ἀρνούμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀποφάσκων ἐστίν, Ἰήιος[2] δ' ὡς εἷς καὶ μόνος· Φοῖβον δὲ δήπου τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἁγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὡς ἔτι Θετταλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, 'φοιβονομεῖσθαι' λέγουσιν.

"Τὸ δ' ἓν εἰλικρινὲς καὶ καθαρόν· ἑτέρου γὰρ μείξει πρὸς ἕτερον ὁ μιασμός, ὥς που καὶ Ὅμηρος 'ἐλέφαντα' τινὰ φοινισσόμενον βαφῇ 'μιαίνεσθαι' φησί· καὶ τὰ μειγνύμενα τῶν χρωμάτων οἱ βαφεῖς 'φθείρεσθαι' καὶ 'φθορὰν' τὴν μεῖξιν ὀνομά-
D ζουσιν. οὐκοῦν ἕν τ' εἶναι καὶ ἄκρατον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ καθαρῷ προσήκει.

21. "Τοὺς δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἥλιον ἡγουμένους τὸν αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι μὲν ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ φιλεῖν δι' εὐφυίαν, ὃ μάλιστα τιμῶσιν ὧν ἴσασι καὶ ποθοῦσιν, εἰς τοῦτο τιθέντας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν· ὡς δὲ

[1] διαφορᾷ] διαφορὰ in most MSS.
[2] Ἰήιος Xylander: ἴητος.

---

[a] *Cf.* 354 B, 381 F, and 388 F, *supra.*
[b] Ieius is doubtless derived from *ἰή*, a cry used in invoking Apollo, but Plutarch would derive it from *ἴα, ἴης*, an epic word meaning "one."
[c] *Cf.* 388 F and 421 C, *infra.*
[d] Homer, *Il.* iv. 141.

" In fact the Deity is not Many, like each of us who is compounded of hundreds of different factors which arise in the course of our experience, a heterogenous collection combined in a haphazard way. But Being must have Unity, even as Unity must have Being. Now divergence from Unity, because of its differing from Being, deviates into the creation of that which has no Being. Wherefore the first of the god's names is excellently adapted to him, and so are the second and third as well. He is Apollo, that is to say, denying the Many [a] and abjuring multiplicity ; he is Ieius, as being One and One alone [b] ; and Phoebus,[c] as is well known, is a name that the men of old used to give to everything pure and undefiled ; even as the Thessalians, to this day, I believe, when their priests, on the prohibited days, are spending their time alone by themselves outside the temples, say that the priests ' are keeping Phoebus.'

" Unity is simple and pure. For it is by the admixture of one thing with another that contamination arises, even as Homer [d] somewhere says that some ivory which is being dyed red is being ' contaminated,' and dyers speak of colours that are mixed as being ' spoiled ' [e] ; and they call the mixing ' spoiling.' [f] Therefore it is characteristic of the imperishable and pure to be one and uncombined.

21. " Those who hold that Apollo and the sun are the same,[g] it is right and proper that we welcome and love for their goodness of heart in placing their concept of the god in that thing which they honour most of all the things that they know and yearn for. But,

[a] *Cf.* 436 B, *infra*, and *Moralia* 270 F.
[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 725 C.
[g] *Ibid.* 1130 A, and 386 B, *supra*.

νῦν ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὸν θεὸν ὀνειροπολοῦντας[1] ἐγείρωμεν καὶ παρακαλῶμεν ἀνωτέρω προάγειν καὶ θεᾶσθαι[2] τὸ ὕπαρ[3] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, τιμᾶν δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τήνδε καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν γόνιμον, ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστιν αἰσθητῷ
E νοητοῦ καὶ φερομένῳ μένοντος, ἐμφάσεις τινὰς καὶ εἴδωλα διαλάμπουσαν ἀμωσγέπως τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον εὐμενείας καὶ μακαριότητος. ἐκστάσεις δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὰς πῦρ ἀφιέντος ἑαυτὸν ἅμα σπάσαν,[4] ὡς λέγουσιν, αὖθίς τε καταθλίβοντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ[5] κατατείνοντος εἰς γῆν[6] καὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ζῷα, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδ' ἀκούειν ὅσιον· ἢ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ παιδὸς ἔσται φαυλότερος, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἔν τινι ψαμάθῳ συντιθεμένῃ καὶ διαχεομένῃ πάλιν ὑφ' αὑτοῦ παίζει παιδιάν, ταύτῃ περὶ τὰ ὅλα χρώμενος ἀεί, καὶ τὸν
F κόσμον οὐκ ὄντα πλάττων εἶτ' ἀπολλύων γενόμενον. τοὐναντίον γὰρ ὅσον ἀμωσγέπως ἐγγέγονε τῷ κόσμῳ, τούτῳ[7] συνδεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς περὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ἀσθενείας ἐπὶ φθορὰν φερομένης. καί μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀντιταττόμενον τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον 'εἶ' φάναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐδέποτε γιγνομένης
394 περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ

[1] ὀνειροπολοῦντας Reiske: ὀνειροπολοῦντες.
[2] θεᾶσθαι] θεάσασθαι in nearly all MSS.
[3] ὕπαρ Wyttenbach: ὑπὲρ.
[4] σπάσαν F.C.B.: σπῶσιν.
[5] καὶ added by Reiske.
[6] εἰς γῆν] εἰσὶ in nearly all MSS.
[7] τούτῳ] τοῦτο in all MSS. but one.

---

[a] *Cf.* 389 c, *supra.*
[b] *Cf.* Homer, *Il.* xv. 362.

as though they were now having a sleepy vision of the god amid the loveliest of dreams, let us wake them and urge them to proceed to loftier heights and to contemplate the waking vision of him, and what he truly is, but to pay honour also to this imagery of him in the sun and to revere the creative power associated with it, in so far as it is possible by what is perceived through the senses to gain an image of what is conceived in the mind, and by that which is ever in motion an image of that which moves not, an image that in some way or other transmits some gleams reflecting and mirroring his kindliness and blessedness. And as for his vagaries and transformations when he sends forth fire that sweeps his own self along with it, as they say,[a] and again when he forces it down here and directs it upon the earth and sea and winds and living creatures, and, besides, the terrible things done both to living creatures and to growing vegetation—to such tales it is irreverent even to listen; else will the god be more futile than the Poet's fancied child [b] playing a game amid the sand that is heaped together and then scattered again by him, if the god indulges in this game with the universe constantly, fashioning the world that does not exist, and destroying it again when it has been created. For, on the contrary, so far as he is in some way present in the world, by this his presence does he bind together its substance and prevail over its corporeal weakness, which tends toward dissolution. And it seems to me right to address to the god the words 'Thou art,' which are most opposed to this account, and testify against it, believing that never does any vagary or transformation take place near him, but that such acts and experiences are related to some

(394) τινὶ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ δαίμονι τεταγμένῳ περὶ τὴν ἐν φθορᾷ καὶ γενέσει φύσιν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν προσῆκον,[1] ὡς δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐθὺς οἷον ἐναντίων ὄντων καὶ ἀντιφώνων. λέγεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὁ δὲ Πλούτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δήλιος ὁ δ' Ἀιδωνεύς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ Σκότιος· καὶ παρ' ᾧ μὲν αἱ Μοῦσαι καὶ ἡ Μνημοσύνη, παρ' ᾧ δ' ἡ Λήθη καὶ ἡ Σιωπή· καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεώριος καὶ Φαναῖος, ὁ δὲ

Νυκτὸς ἀιδνᾶς[2] ἀεργηλοῖό θ' Ὕπνου κοίρανος·

καὶ ὁ μὲν

βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἁπάντων,

B πρὸς ὃν δὲ Πίνδαρος εἴρηκεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς

κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς[3] ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν.

εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἶπε

λοιβαὶ νεκύων φθιμένων
ἀοιδαί θ' ἃς[4] χρυσοκόμας
Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται·

καὶ πρότερος ἔτι τούτου ὁ Στησίχορος,

[1] προσῆκον Reiske: προσῆκεν.
[2] ἀιδνᾶς from 1130 A: αἰδοίας.
[3] δὲ θνατοῖς Wyttenbach from 413 C, 1102 E.: δέον αὐτοῖς or δεονατοῖς.
[4] θ' ἃς Markland: ἃς ὁ (τὰς Euripides MSS.).

---

[a] *Cf.* the note on 385 B, *supra.*
[b] *Cf. Moralia,* 1130 A; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 719,

other god, or rather to some demigod, whose office is concerned with Nature in dissolution and generation ; and this is clear at once from the names which are, as it were, correspondingly antithetic. For the one is spoken of as Apollo (*not many*), the other as Pluto (*abounding*) ; the one Delian (*clear*), the other Aïdoneus (*unseen*) ; the one Phoebus (*bright*), the other Scotios (*dark*) [a] ; with the one are associated the Muses and Memory, with the other Oblivion and Silence ; the one is Theorian (*observing*) and Phanaean (*disclosing*), and the other

> Lord of the darkling Night and idling Sleep [b] ;

and he is also

> Of all the gods most hateful to mortals.[c]

Whereas concerning the other Pindar [d] has said not unpleasingly

> And towards mortal men he hath been judged the most gentle.

It was fitting therefore for Euripides [e] to say,

> Drink-offerings for the dead who are gone
> And the strains that the god of the golden hair,
> Apollo, will never accept as his own.

And even before him Stesichorus,[f]

Adespota, no. 92 ; or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), iii. p. 452.

[c] Homer, *Il.* ix. 159.

[d] Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ), quoted also in 413 c, *infra*, and in *Moralia*, 1102 E.

[e] *Suppliants*, 975.

[f] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 224, Stesichorus, no. 50 ; or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 58.

(394) *νάβλαν*[1] *τοι μάλιστα*
παιγμοσύνας τε[2] *φιλεῖ μολπάς τ' Ἀπόλλων,*
κάδεα δὲ[3] *στοναχάς τ' Ἀίδας ἔλαχε.*

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων ἑκατέρῳ προσνέμων ἑκάτερον δῆλός ἐστι διὰ τούτων,

οὐ νάβλα[4] *κωκυτοῖσιν οὐ λύρα φίλα.*

"Καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς[5] *ὀψὲ καὶ πρῴην ἐτόλμησε φωνὴν*
C *'ἐφ' ἱμερόεσιν*[6] *' ἀφιέναι· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον χρόνον εἴλκετο πρὸς τὰ πένθη, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα λειτουργίαν*[7] *οὐ μάλ' ἔντιμον οὐδὲ φαιδρὰν εἶχεν, εἶτ' ἐμείχθη πάντα πᾶσι.*[8] *μάλιστα δὲ τὰ θεῖα πρὸς τὰ δαιμόνια συγχέοντες εἰς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν.*

"'Αλλά γε τῷ εἶ τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν[9] *' ἔοικέ πως ἀντικεῖσθαι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάλιν συνᾴδειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπλήξει καὶ σεβασμῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς ὄντα διὰ παντὸς ἀναπεφώνηται, τὸ δ' ὑπόμνησίς ἐστι τῷ θνητῷ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν φύσεως καὶ ἀσθενείας."*

[1] *νάβλαν* F.C.B.: *μάλα.*
[2] *τε* added by Bergk.
[3] *κάδεα δὲ* Bergk: *κήδεά τε.*
[4] *οὐ νάβλα* Brunck: *ἐν αὐλᾷ* or *οὐ ναῦλα* or *οὖν ἄβλα.*
[5] *αὐλός*] *αὐτὸς* in most MSS.
[6] *ἐφ' ἱμερόεσιν* F.C.B.: *ἐφινερθίσιν.*
[7] *λειτουργίαν* Reiske: *αὐτουργίαν.*
[8] *πάντα πᾶσι* Emperius: *παντάπασι.*
[9] *σαυτόν* Bernardakis: *σεαυτόν.*

The harp and sport and song
Most doth Apollo love;
Sorrows and groans are Hades' share.

And it is evident that Sophocles [a] assigns each of the instruments to each god in these words :

No harp, no lyre is welcome for laments.

" As a matter of fact it was only after a long lapse of time and only recently that the flute ventured to utter a sound ' over things of delight,' but during all the early time it used to be fetched in for times of mourning, and it had the task of rendering service on these occasions, not a very honourable or cheerful one. Later it came to be generally associated with everything. Especially did those who confounded the attributes of the gods with the attributes of demigods get themselves into confusion.

" But this much may be said : it appears that as a sort of antithesis to ' Thou art ' stands the admonition ' Know thyself,' and then again it seems, in a manner, to be in accord therewith, for the one is an utterance addressed in awe and reverence to the god as existent through all eternity, the other is a reminder to mortal man of his own nature and the weaknesses that beset him."

[a] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, no. 765.

THE ORACLES AT DELPHI NO LONGER GIVEN IN VERSE

(DE PYTHIAE ORACULIS)

(394) D

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΧΡΑΝ ΕΜΜΕΤΡΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΥΘΙΑΝ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

Πρῶτα, ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ

Δεύτερα, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΑΝΟΣ, ΘΕΩΝ, ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ, ΒΟΗΘΟΣ, ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ[1]

E 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΟΚΛΗΣ. Ἑσπέραν ἐποιήσατε βαθεῖαν, ὦ Φιλῖνε, διὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων παραπέμποντες τὸν ξένον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀναμένων ἀπηγόρευσα.

ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ. Βραδέως γὰρ ὠδεύομεν, ὦ Βασιλόκλεις, σπείροντες λόγους καὶ θερίζοντες εὐθὺς μετὰ μάχης ὑπούλους[2] καὶ πολεμικούς, ὥσπερ οἱ Σπαρτοί, βλαστάνοντας ἡμῖν καὶ ὑποφυομένους κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν.

ΒΑΣ. Ἕτερον οὖν τινα δεήσει παρακαλεῖν τῶν παραγεγονότων, ἢ σὺ βούλει χαριζόμενος ἡμῖν διελθεῖν[3] τίνες ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι καὶ τίνες οἱ λέγοντες;

F ΦΙΛ. Ἐμόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ Βασιλόκλεις, τὸ ἔργον. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδενὶ ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐντύχοις κατὰ πόλιν· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἑώρων αὖθις εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον τῷ ξένῳ καὶ τὴν Λυκώρειαν[4] συναναβαίνοντας.

[1] ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ . . . ΕΞΗΓΗΤΑΙ] not in the MSS.
[2] ὑπούλους] ἐνόπλους or πολλοὺς E. Harrison.
[3] διελθεῖν Leonicus: διελεῖν.

THE ORACLES AT DELPHI NO LONGER GIVEN IN VERSE

(The persons who take part in the dialogue are Basilocles and Philinus, who serve to introduce the later speakers: Diogenianus, Theon, Sarapion, Boëthus, as well as Philinus himself and some professional guides.)

1. BASILOCLES. You people have kept it up till well into the evening, Philinus, escorting the foreign visitor around among the statues and votive offerings. For my part, I had almost given up waiting for you.

PHILINUS. The fact is, Basilocles, that we went slowly, sowing words, and reaping them straightway with strife, like the men sprung from the Dragon's teeth, words with meanings behind them of the contentious sort, which sprang up and flourished along our way.

BASILOCLES. Will it be necessary to call in someone else of those who were with you; or are you willing, as a favour, to relate in full what your conversation was and who took part in it?

PHILINUS. It looks, Basilocles, as if I shall have that to do. In fact, it would not be easy for you to find anyone of the others in the town, for I saw most of them once more on their way up to the Corycian cave and Lycoreia [a] with the foreign visitor.

[a] Pausanias, x. 6. 2-3.

---

[4] *Λυκώρειαν* the regular spelling: *Λυκουρίαν*.

ΒΑΣ. Ἢ φιλοθεάμων τις ἡμῖν καὶ περιττῶς φιλήκοός[1] ἐστιν ὁ ξένος.

ΦΙΛ. Φιλόλογος δὲ καὶ φιλομαθής ἐστι μᾶλλον. οὐ μὴν ταῦτα μάλιστα θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ
395 πραότης τε πολλὴν χάριν ἔχουσα, καὶ τὸ μάχιμον καὶ διαπορητικὸν ὑπὸ συνέσεως, οὔτε δύσκολον οὔτ' ἀντίτυπον πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις· ὥστε καὶ βραχὺ συγγενόμενον εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν, "τέκος ἀγαθοῦ πατρός." οἶσθα γὰρ Διογενιανὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄριστον.

ΒΑΣ. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, ὦ Φιλῖνε, πολλοῖς δ' ἐντετύχηκα καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ ἦθος τἀνδρὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἀποδεχομένοις, ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις ἕτερα περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου λέγουσιν. ἀλλὰ τίνα, ὦ ἑταῖρε,[2] ἀρχὴν ἔσχον οἱ λόγοι καὶ πρόφασιν;

2. ΦΙΛ. Ἐπέραινον οἱ περιηγηταὶ τὰ συντεταγμένα, μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμεῖν τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων. τὸν δὲ ξένον ἡ μὲν ἰδέα καὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν τῶν ἀν-
B δριάντων μετρίως προσήγετο, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων ὡς ἔοικε θεατὴν γεγενημένον· ἐθαύμαζε[3] δὲ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ ἀνθηρὸν ὡς οὐ πίνῳ προσεοικὸς οὐδ' ἰῷ, βαφῇ δὲ κυάνου στίλβοντος, ὥστε καὶ προσθεῖναί τι[4] πρὸς τοὺς ναυάρχους[5] (ἀπ' ἐκείνων γὰρ ἦρκτο[6] τῆς θέας) οἷον ἀτεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χρόᾳ καὶ βυθίους ἑστῶτας.

[1] φιλήκοος Meziriacus: φιλικός.
[2] ὦ ἑταῖρε Wyttenbach: ἑτέραν.
[3] ἐθαύμαζε Basel ed. of 1542: ἐθαύμαζον.
[4] προσθεῖναί τι F.C.B.; παῖξαί τι Doehner: πέμψαι τι.
[5] ναυάρχους Amyot: νεάρχους.
[6] ἦρκτο Kurtz: ἦρκται.

---

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 368 A.

[b] Presumably the thirty-seven statues of Lysander and

BASILOCLES. Our visitor is certainly eager to see the sights, and an unusually eager listener.

PHILINUS. But even more is he a scholar and a student. However, it is not this that most deserves our admiration, but a winning gentleness, and his willingness to argue and to raise questions, which comes from his intelligence, and shows no dissatisfaction nor contrariety with the answers. So, after being with him but a short time, one would say, "O child of a goodly father!"[a] You surely know Diogenianus, one of the best of men.

BASILOCLES. I never saw him myself, Philinus, but I have met many persons who expressed a strong approval of the man's words and character, and who had other compliments of the same nature to say of the young man. But, my friend, what was the beginning and occasion of your conversation?

2. PHILINUS. The guides were going through their prearranged programme, paying no heed to us who begged that they would cut short their harangues and their expounding of most of the inscriptions. The appearance and technique of the statues had only a moderate attraction for the foreign visitor, who, apparently, was a connoisseur in works of art. He did, however, admire the patina of the bronze, for it bore no resemblance to verdigris or rust, but the bronze was smooth and shining with a deep blue tinge, so that it gave an added touch to the sea-captains[b] (for he had begun his sight-seeing with them), as they stood there with the true complexion of the sea and its deepest depths.

his officers (erected after the battle of Aegospotami), which stood near the entrance inside the sacred precinct. *Cf.* *Life of Lysander*, chap. xviii. (443 A).

(395) "Ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "κρᾶσίς τις ἦν καὶ φάρμαξις τῶν πάλαι τεχνιτῶν περὶ τὸν χαλκόν, ὥσπερ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν ξιφῶν στόμωσις ἧς ἐκλειπούσης ἐκεχειρίαν ἔσχεν ἔργων πολεμικῶν ὁ χαλκός; τὸν[1] μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιον οὐ τέχνῃ φασὶν[2] ἀλλὰ συντυχίᾳ τῆς χρόας λαβεῖν τὸ κάλλος, ἐπινειμαμένου πυρὸς
C οἰκίαν ἔχουσάν τι χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, πλεῖστον δὲ χαλκὸν ἀποκείμενον, ὧν συγχυθέντων καὶ συντακέντων, ὄνομα τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῷ μείζονι[3] τὸ πλῆθος παρέσχεν."

Ὁ δὲ Θέων ὑπολαβών, "ἄλλον," ἔφη, "λόγον ἡμεῖς ἀκηκόαμεν πανουργέστερον, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ χαλκοτύπος ἐπιτυχὼν θήκῃ χρυσίον ἐχούσῃ πολὺ καὶ δεδοικὼς φανερὸς γενέσθαι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀποκόπτων καὶ ὑπομειγνὺς ἀτρέμα τῷ χαλκῷ θαυμαστὴν λαμβάνοντι κρᾶσιν ἐπίπρασκε πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν χρόαν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀγαπώμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κἀκεῖνα μῦθός ἐστιν· ἦν δέ τις ὡς ἔοικε μεῖξις καὶ ἄρτυσις, ὥς που καὶ νῦν ἀνακερα-
D νύντες ἀργύρῳ χρυσὸν ἰδίαν τινὰ καὶ περιττὴν ἐμοὶ δὲ φαινομένην νοσώδη χλωρότητα καὶ φθορὰν ἀκαλλῆ παρέχουσι."

3. "Τίν' οὖν αἰτίαν," ἔφη ὁ Διογενιανός, "οἴει τῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρόας[4] γεγονέναι;"

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ὅταν," ἔφη, "τῶν πρώτων καὶ

[1] τὸν Basel ed. of 1542: τὸ.
[2] φασὶν added by Bernardakis.
[3] τῷ μείζονι] μείγματι Blass, but *cf. Moralia*, 140 F.
[4] χρόας, the more usual form, Duebner: χροιᾶς.

[a] Tempering in the water of Peirene was held to be one important factor in the production of Corinthian bronze. *Cf. e.g.* Pausanias, ii. 3. 3. On the whole subject of

"Was there, then," said he, "some process of alloying and treating used by the artizans of early times for bronze, something like what is called the tempering of swords, on the disappearance of which bronze came to have a respite from employment in war? As a matter of fact," he continued, "it was not by art, as they say, but by accident that the Corinthian bronze[a] acquired its beauty of colour; a fire consumed a house containing some gold and silver and a great store of copper, and when these were melted and fused together, the great mass of copper furnished a name because of its preponderance."

Theon, taking up the conversation, said, "We have heard another more artful account, how a worker in bronze at Corinth, when he had come upon a hoard containing much gold, fearing detection, broke it off a little at a time and stealthily mixed it with his bronze, which thus acquired a wondrous composition. He sold it for a goodly price since it was very highly esteemed for its colour and beauty. However, both this story and that are fiction, but there was apparently some process of combination and preparation; for even now they alloy gold with silver[b] and produce a peculiar and extraordinary, and, to my eyes, a sickly paleness and an unlovely perversion."

3. "What do you think, then," said Diogenianus, "has been the cause of the colour of the bronze here?"

Theon replied, "When of the primal and simplest

Corinthian bronze, it is worth while to consult an article by T. Leslie Shear, "A Hoard of Coins found in Corinth in 1930," in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, xxv. (1931) pp. 139-151, which records the results of chemical analyses of samples of the bronze.

[b] Making the ancient electrum, which was often used for coinage, plate, and similar purposes.

(395) φυσικωτάτων καλουμένων[1] καὶ ὄντων, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος, μηδὲν[2] ἄλλο τῷ χαλκῷ πλησιάζῃ μηδ' ὁμιλῇ πλὴν μόνος ὁ ἀήρ, δῆλός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τούτου πεπονθὼς καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἐσχηκὼς ἣν ἔχει διαφορὰν ἀεὶ συνόντα καὶ προσκείμενον· ἢ[3]

τουτὶ[4] μὲν ἤδη[5] πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγονέναι

κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν· ἣν δ' ἔχων φύσιν ὁ ἀὴρ ᾗ τε
E χρώμενος δυνάμει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιψαύσεις ἐπικέχρωκε τὸν χαλκὸν ἐπιθυμεῖς μαθεῖν;"

Φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Διογενιανοῦ, "καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ· ζητῶμεν οὖν κοινῇ καὶ πρότερον, εἰ βούλει, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μάλιστα τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναπίμπλησιν ἰοῦ τοὔλαιον· οὐ γὰρ αὐτό γε δήπου τῷ[6] χαλκῷ προστρίβεται[7] τὸν ἰόν, ἅτε δὴ καθαρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμίαντον πλησιάζον.[8]"

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ νεανίας, "ἄλλο δ' αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ τούτου[9] τὸ αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν· λεπτῷ γὰρ ὄντι καὶ καθαρῷ καὶ διαυγεῖ προσπίπτων ὁ ἰὸς
F ἐκφανέστατός ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγροῖς ἀφανίζεται."

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "εὖγε," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, καὶ καλῶς[10]· σκόπει δ' εἰ βούλει καὶ τὴν ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους αἰτίαν λεγομένην."

"Ἀλλὰ βούλομαι," εἶπεν.[11]

[1] καλουμένων F.C.B. (*cf. Life of Cleomenes*, chap. xiii., 810 c): καὶ ἐσομένων.
[2] μηδὲν Basel ed. of 1542: καὶ μηδὲν. [3] ἢ F.C.B.: ἤ.
[4] τουτὶ Cobet (from 777 c): τοῦτο.
[5] ἤδη added by Kock (ἤδειν 777 c). [6] τῷ Leonicus: τὸ.
[7] προστρίβεται Wyttenbach: προστρίβεσθαι.
[8] πλησιάζον Amyot: πλησιάζοντα.
[9] τούτου Turnebus: τοῦτο.

elements in Nature, as they are called and actually are—fire, earth, air, and water—there is none other that comes near to the bronze or is in contact with it, save only air, it is clear that the bronze is affected by this, and that because of this it has acquired whatever distinctive quality it has, since the air is always about it and environs it closely.[a] Of a truth

All this I knew before Theognis' day,[b]

as the comic poet has it. But is it your desire to learn what property the air possesses and what power it exerts in its constant contact, so that it has imparted a colouring to the bronze ? "

As Diogenianus assented, Theon said, " And so also is it my desire, my young friend ; let us, therefore, investigate together, and before anything else, if you will, the reason why olive-oil most of all the liquids covers bronze with rust. For, obviously, the oil of itself does not deposit the rust, since it is pure and stainless when applied."

" Certainly not," said the young man. " My own opinion is that there must be something else that causes this, for the oil is thin, pure, and transparent, and the rust, when it encounters this, is most visible, but in the other liquids it becomes invisible."

" Well done, my young friend," said Theon, " and excellently said. But consider, if you will, the reason given by Aristotle." [c]

" Very well," said he, " I will."

[a] *Cf. Life of Coriolanus*, chap. xxxviii. (232 A).

[b] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 495, Adespota, no. 461. Plutarch quotes this again in *Moralia*, 777 c.

[c] Not to be found in Aristotle's extant works.

[10] καλῶς added by Reiske.

[11] εἶπεν Xylander : εἰπεῖν.

"Φησὶ τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑγρῶν πιόντα διέχειν ἀδήλως καὶ διασπείρεσθαι τὸν ἰὸν ἀνωμάλων[1] καὶ μανῶν ὄντων,[2] τοῦ δ' ἐλαίου τῇ πυκνότητι στέγεσθαι καὶ διαμένειν ἀθροιζόμενον. ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτοί τι τοιοῦτον ὑποθέσθαι δυνηθῶμεν, οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπορήσομεν ἐπῳδῆς καὶ παραμυθίας πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν."

396 4. Ὡς οὖν ἐκελεύομεν καὶ συνεχωροῦμεν, ἔφη τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πυκνὸν ὄντα καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ τόνον ἔχοντα διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνάκλασιν καὶ ἀντέρεισιν, ἔτι καὶ λεπτὸν εἶναι καὶ δηκτικόν, ὥς που μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πέψεις τῆς τροφῆς. ἐνδυόμενον οὖν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος καὶ τέμνοντα τὸν χαλκὸν ἀναχαράττειν πολὺν ἰὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ γεώδη, στέγειν δὲ τοῦτον αὖ πάλιν καὶ πιέζειν, τῆς πυκνότητος διάχυσιν[3] μὴ διδούσης, τὸν δ' ὑφιστάμενον αὐτοῦ[4] διὰ πλῆθος ἐξανθεῖν καὶ λαμβάνειν αὐγὴν καὶ γάνωμα περὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

B Ἀποδεξαμένων δ' ἡμῶν, ὁ ξένος ἔφη τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρκεῖν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν λόγον. "ἡ δὲ λεπτότης," ἔφη, "δόξει μὲν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην πυκνότητα τοῦ ἀέρος, λαμβάνεται δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαίως· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ παλαιούμενος ὁ χαλκὸς ἀποπνεῖ καὶ μεθίησι τὸν ἰόν, ὃν ἡ πυκνότης συνέχουσα καὶ παχνοῦσα ποιεῖ ἐκφανῆ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος."

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Θέων, "τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, κωλύει ταὐτὸν[5] εἶναι καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ πυκνόν, ὥσπερ

[1] ἀνωμάλων early editors (τῶν μορίων Strijd; alii alia): ἀνωμάλων τῶν.

[2] μανῶν ὄντων Vulcobius: μενόντων.

[3] διάχυσιν added by someone to fill a lacuna.

[4] αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτῷ Sieveking: αὐτ' or αὐτὸν.

" Now Aristotle says that when the rust absorbs any of the other liquids, it is imperceptibly disunited and dispersed, since these are unevenly and thinly constituted ; but by the density of the oil it is prevented from escaping and remains permanently as it is collected. If, then, we are able of ourselves to invent some such hypothesis, we shall not be altogether at a loss for some magic spell and some words of comfort to apply to this puzzling question."

4. Since, therefore, we urged him on and gave him his opportunity, Theon said that the air in Delphi is dense and compact, possessing a certain vigour because of the repulsion and resistance that it encounters from the lofty hills ; and it is also tenuous and keen, as the facts about the digestion of food bear witness. So the air, by reason of its tenuity, works its way into the bronze and cuts it, disengaging from it a great quantity of rust like dust, but this it retains and holds fast, inasmuch as its density does not allow a passage for this. The rust gathers and, because of its great abundance, it effloresces and acquires a brilliance and lustre on its surface.

When we had accepted this explanation, the foreign visitor said that the one hypothesis alone was sufficient for the argument. " The tenuity," said he, " will seem to be in contravention to the reputed density of the air, but there is no need to bring it in. As a matter of fact the bronze of itself, as it grows old, exudes and releases the rust which the density of the air confines and solidifies and thus makes it visible because of its great abundance."

Theon, taking this up, said, " My friend, what is there to prevent the same thing from being both

[5] *ταὐτὸν* Benseler : *ταὐτὸ*.

(396) τὰ σηρικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινα τῶν ὑφασμάτων, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ Ὅμηρος εἶπε

καιροσέων[1] δ' ὀθονῶν[2] ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον,

ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ λεπτότητα τοῦ
C ὕφους τῷ μὴ προσμένειν τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλλ' ἀπορρεῖν καὶ ἀπολισθάνειν, τῆς λεπτότητος καὶ πυκνότητος οὐ διιείσης[3]; καὶ μὴν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἀναχάραξιν τοῦ ἰοῦ χρήσαιτ' ἄν τις[4] τῇ λεπτότητι τοῦ ἀέρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χρόαν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν ἔοικεν ἡδίονα καὶ γλαυκοτέραν, ἀναμειγνύουσα τῷ κυάνῳ φῶς καὶ αὐγήν."

5. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης σιωπῆς, πάλιν οἱ περιηγηταὶ προεχειρίζοντο τὰς ῥήσεις. χρησμοῦ δέ τινος ἐμμέτρου λεχθέντος, οἶμαι, περὶ τῆς Αἰγωνος τοῦ Ἀργείου βασιλείας, πολλάκις ἔφη θαυμάσαι τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ Διογενιανός, ἐν οἷς οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγονται, τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν. "καίτοι μουσηγέτης ὁ θεός, καὶ τῆς λεγομένης λογιότητος οὐχ
D ἧττον αὐτῷ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τῆς περὶ μέλη καὶ ᾠδὰς εὐφωνίας[5] μετεῖναι, καὶ πολὺ τὸν Ἡσίοδον εὐεπείᾳ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπερφθέγγεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν χρησμῶν ὁρῶμεν καὶ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι πλημμελείας καὶ φαυλότητος ἀναπεπλησμένους."

Παρὼν οὖν Ἀθήνηθεν ὁ ποιητὴς Σαραπίων,[6] "εἶτ'," ἔφη, "ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη τοῦ θεοῦ πιστεύοντες

[1] καιροσέων from Homer: και ων.
[2] ὀθονέων Homer.
[3] διιείσης Reiske: διίησι.
[4] τις added by Bernardakis.
[5] εὐφωνίας Reiske: καὶ εὐφωνίας.
[6] Σαραπίων Bernardakis, as in 384 E, 628 A: σεραπίων.

tenuous and dense, like the silken and linen varieties of cloth, touching which Homer [a] has said

Streams of the liquid oil flow off from the close-woven linen,

showing the exactitude and fineness of the weaving by the statement that the oil does not remain on the cloth, but runs off over the surface, since the fineness and closeness of the texture does not let it through? In fact the tenuity of the air can be brought forward, not only as an argument regarding the disengaging of the rust, but, very likely, it also makes the colour itself more agreeable and brilliant by blending light and lustre with the blue."

5. Following this a silence ensued, and again the guides began to deliver their harangues. A certain oracle in verse was recited (I think it concerned the kingdom of Aegon the Argive [b]), whereupon Diogenianus said that he had often wondered at the barrenness and cheapness of the hexameter lines in which the oracles are pronounced. "Yet the god is Leader of the Muses, and it is right and fair that he should take no less interest in what is called elegance of diction than in the sweetness of sound that is concerned with tunes and songs, and that his utterances should surpass Hesiod and Homer in the excellence of their versification. Yet we observe that most of the oracles are full of metrical and verbal errors and barren diction."

Sarapion, the poet who was present from Athens, said, "Then do we believe these verses to be the

[a] *Od.* vii. 107. *Cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. xxxvi. (686 c); Athenaeus, 582 D.

[b] Plutarch recounts the story of this oracle in *Moralia*, 340 c.

(396) εἶναι τολμῶμεν[1] αὖ πάλιν ὡς λείπεται[2] κάλλει τῶν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, λέγειν; οὐ χρησόμεθα τούτοις ὡς ἄριστα καὶ κάλλιστα πεποιημένοις, ἐπανορθούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν[3] κρίσιν προκατειλημμένην ὑπὸ φαύλης συνηθείας;"

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν Βόηθος ὁ γεωμέτρης (οἶσθα γὰρ
E τὸν ἄνδρα μεταταττόμενον ἤδη πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον), "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸ τοῦ ζωγράφου Παύσωνος ἀκήκοας;"

"Οὐκ ἔγωγε," εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων.

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον. ἐκλαβὼν γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ἵππον ἀλινδούμενον γράψαι τρέχοντ' ἔγραψεν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τἀνθρώπου γελάσας ὁ Παύσων κατέστρεψε τὸν πίνακα, καὶ γενομένων ἄνω τῶν κάτω πάλιν ὁ ἵππος οὐ τρέχων ἀλλ' ἀλινδούμενος ἐφαίνετο. τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Βίων ἐνίους τῶν λόγων πάσχειν, ὅταν ἀναστραφῶσι.[4] διὸ καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἔνιοι φήσουσιν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ
F εἰσιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι, ὅτι φαύλως ἔχουσιν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀδήλῳ· τὸ δὲ παρημελημένως[5] πεπονῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ σοὶ κριτῇ δήπουθεν, ὦ φίλε Σαραπίων," εἶπεν, "ἐναργές ἐστι. ποιήματα γὰρ[6] γράφεις τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι φιλοσόφως καὶ αὐστηρῶς, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ κατασκευῇ περὶ λέξιν ἐοικότα τοῖς Ὁμήρου καὶ

[1] τολμῶμεν Meziriacus: τὸ ἄμωμον.
[2] λείπεται Meziriacus: λέγεται.
[3] αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.
[4] ἀναστραφῶσι Perizonius: ἀναστρέφωσι.
[5] παρημελημένως F.C.B., to fill a lacuna in the MSS.: οὐκ εὖ τὰ ἔπη πεποιῆσθαι Wyttenbach.
[6] γὰρ Reiske: μὲν γὰρ.

god's, and yet dare to say that in beauty they fall short of the verses of Homer and Hesiod? Shall we not treat them as if they were the best and fairest of poetic compositions, and correct our own judgement, prepossessed as it is as the result of unfortunate habituation?"

At this point Boëthus [a] the mathematician entered into the conversation. (You know that the man is already changing his allegiance in the direction of Epicureanism.) Said he, "Do you happen to have heard the story of Pauson the painter?" [b]

"No," said Sarapion, "I have not."

"Well, it is really worth hearing. It seems that he had received a commission to paint a horse rolling, and painted it galloping. His patron was indignant, whereupon Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down, and, when the lower part became the upper, the horse now appeared to be not galloping, but rolling. Bion says that this happens to some arguments when they are inverted. So some people will say of the oracles also, not that they are excellently made because they are the god's, but that they are not the god's because they are poorly made! The first of these is in the realm of the unknown; but that the verses conveying the oracles are carelessly wrought is, of course, perfectly clear to you, my dear Sarapion, for you are competent to judge. You write poems in a philosophic and restrained style, but in force and grace and diction they bear more resemblance to the poems of Homer and

[a] Called the Epicurean in *Moralia*, 673 c.

[b] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiv. 15. According to the scholium on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 602, the Pauson mentioned there is probably the same man.

Ἡσιόδου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκφερομένοις."

6. Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "νοσοῦμεν γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὦ[1] Βόηθε, καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὰ ὄμματα, συνειθισμένοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ μαλακίαν τὰ ἡδίω καλὰ νομίζειν
397 καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τάχα δὴ μεμψόμεθα τὴν Πυθίαν, ὅτι Γλαύκης οὐ φθέγγεται τῆς κιθαρῳδοῦ λιγυρώτερον, οὐδὲ χριομένη[2] μύροις οὐδ' ἁλουργίδας ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν[3] εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον,[4] οὐδ' ἐπιθυμιᾷ κασίαν[5] ἢ λήδανον ἢ λιβανωτὸν ἀλλὰ δάφνην καὶ κρίθινον ἄλευρον. οὐχ ὁρᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὅσην χάριν ἔχει τὰ Σαπφικὰ μέλη κηλοῦντα καὶ καταθέλγοντα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους; 'Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι' καθ' Ἡράκλειτον 'ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη, χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.' ὁ δὲ
B Πίνδαρος 'ἀκοῦσαι,[6]' φησί, 'τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Κάδμον ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικὰν[7] ὀρθάν,' οὐχ ἡδεῖαν οὐδὲ τρυφερὰν οὐδ' ἐπικεκλασμένην τοῖς μέλεσιν. Ἡδονὴν γὰρ οὐ προσίεται τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀγνόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς Ἄτης[8] ἐρρίφη καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῆς κακὸν[9] ὡς ἔοικεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνερρύηκεν."

7. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὁ Θέων

[1] εἶπεν, ὦ Basel ed. of 1542: ἔν τε νῷ.
[2] χριομένη Vulcobius: χριομένην.
[3] ἀμπεχομένη κάτεισιν Reiske: ἀμπεχομένην καί τισιν.
[4] μαντεῖον added by F.C.B. from 438 B; χρηστήριον Paton from 405 C; ἄδυτον Reiske.
[5] κασίαν Duebner: κασσίαν.
[6] ἀκοῦσαι Leonicus: ἀκούσας.
[7] ἐπιδεικνυμένου μουσικὰν Paton from 1030 A: οὐ μουσικὰν.
[8] Ἄτης Vulcobius (*cf.* Hom. T 126); λύπης H. Richards: αὐτῆς.

Hesiod than to the verses put forth by the prophetic priestess."

6. "The fact is, Boëthus," said Sarapion, "that we are ailing both in ears and eyes, accustomed as we are, through luxury and soft living, to believe and to declare that the pleasanter things are fair and lovely. Before long we shall be finding fault with the prophetic priestess because she does not speak in purer tones than Glaucê,[a] who sings to the lyre, and because she is not perfumed and clad in purple when she goes down into the inner shrine, and does not burn upon the altar cassia or ladanum or frankincense, but only laurel and barley meal. Do you not see," he continued, "what grace the songs of Sappho have, charming and bewitching all who listen to them? But the Sibyl 'with frenzied lips,' as Heracleitus[b] has it, 'uttering words mirthless, unembellished, unperfumed, yet reaches to a thousand years with her voice through the god.' And Pindar[c] says that 'Cadmus heard the god revealing music true,' not sweet nor voluptuous nor with suddenly changing melody. For the emotionless and pure does not welcome Pleasure, but she, as well as Mischief,[d] was thrown down here, and the greater part of the evil in her has, apparently, gathered together to flood the ears of men."[e]

7. When Sarapion had said this, Theon smiled and

[a] *Cf.* the scholium on Theocritus, iv. 31.
[b] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 96, Heracleitus, no. 92.
[c] Pindar, Frag. 32 (ed. Christ).
[d] *Cf.* H. Richards in the *Classical Review*, xxix. 233.
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 38 A-B.

---

[9] κακὸν F.C.B.: καὶ.

(397) μειδιάσας, " ὁ Σαραπίων μέν," εἶπε, " τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀποδέδωκε τῷ τρόπῳ, λόγου περὶ Ἄτης καὶ[1] Ἡδονῆς παραπεσόντος ἀπολαύσας· ἡμεῖς δ' ὦ Βόηθε, κἂν ᾖ φαυλότερα τῶν Ὁμήρου ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη, μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ πεποιηκέναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ'
C ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως ἐνδιδόντος, ὡς ἑκάστη πέφυκε κινεῖσθαι τῶν προφητίδων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ γράφειν ἔδει μὴ λέγειν τοὺς χρησμούς, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ γράμματα νομίζοντες ἐψέγομεν ὅτι λείπεται καλλιγραφίᾳ τῶν βασιλικῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι θεοῦ ἡ γῆρυς οὐδ' ὁ φθόγγος οὐδ' ἡ λέξις οὐδὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀλλὰ τῆς γυναικός· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μόνας τὰς φαντασίας παρίστησι καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον· ὁ γὰρ ἐνθουσιασμὸς τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν, ὑμᾶς τοὺς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου προ-
D φήτας (δῆλος γὰρ εἶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποφερόμενος) οὐκ ἔστι διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνας[2] αἰτιᾶσθε[3] τὰς πάλαι προφήτιδας ὡς φαύλοις ποιήμασι χρωμένας, καὶ τὰς νῦν καταλογάδην καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ὀνομάτων τοὺς χρησμοὺς λεγούσας, ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀκεφάλων καὶ λαγαρῶν μέτρων καὶ μειούρων εὐθύνας μὴ ὑπέχωσι."

Καὶ ὁ Διογενιανός, " μὴ παῖζ'," εἶπεν, " ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ διάλυσον ἡμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν κοινὴν οὖσαν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμῶν,[4] ὃς οὐκ αἰτίαν

[1] Ἄτης καὶ Duebner; λύπης καὶ H. Richards: αὐτῆς τῆς.
[2] κἀκείνας Wyttenbach: κακίας.
[3] αἰτιᾶσθε Leonicus: αἰτιᾶσθαι.
[4] ἡμῶν Harder; Ἑλλήνων Stegmann: ἄλλων or ἀλλήλων.

said, " Sarapion has yielded as usual to his propensity by taking advantage of the incidental mention of Mischief and Pleasure. But as for us, Boëthus, even if these verses be inferior to Homer's, let us not believe that the god has composed them, but that he supplies the origin of the incitement, and then the prophetic priestesses are moved each in accordance with her natural faculties. Certainly, if it were necessary to write the oracles, instead of delivering them orally, I do not think that we should believe the handwriting to be the god's, and find fault with it because in beauty it fell short of that of the royal scribes. As a matter of fact, the voice is not that of a god,[a] nor the utterance of it, nor the diction, nor the metre, but all these are the woman's ; he puts into her mind only the visions, and creates a light in her soul in regard to the future ; for inspiration is precisely this. And, speaking in general, it is impossible to escape you who speak for Epicurus [b] (in fact you yourself, Boëthus, are obviously being borne in that direction) ; but you charge the prophetic priestesses of old with using bad verse, and those of the present day with delivering their oracles in prose and using commonplace words, so that they may not be liable to render an account to you for their wrong use of a short syllable at the beginning, middle, or end of their lines ! [c] "

"In Heaven's name," said Diogenianus, " do not jest, but solve for us this problem, which is of universal interest. For there is not one of us that does not seek

[a] *Cf.* 404 B and 414 E, *infra.*
[b] Frag. 395.
[c] Instead of the long syllable demanded by the metre. *Cf.* Athenaeus, 632 D.

(397) ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ λόγον, πῶς[1] πέπαυται τὸ μαντεῖον ἔπεσι καὶ μέτροις[2] χρώμενον."

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Θέων, "ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, δοκοῦμεν ἐπηρείᾳ τινὶ τοὺς περιηγητὰς
E ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον. ἔασον οὖν γενέσθαι τὸ τούτων πρότερον, εἶτα περὶ ὧν βούλει καθ' ἡσυχίαν διαπορήσεις."

8. Ἤδη δὲ προϊόντες ἦμεν κατὰ τὸν Ἱέρωνος ἀνδριάντα τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὁ ξένος εἰδὼς ἅπαντα παρεῖχεν ὅμως ὑπ' εὐκολίας ἀκροατὴν αὐτόν· ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι κίων τις ἑστὼς ἄνω χαλκοῦς Ἱέρωνος ἔπεσεν αὐτομάτως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ᾗ τὸν Ἱέρωνα συνέβαινεν ἐν Συρακούσαις τελευτᾶν, ἐθαύμασε. κἀγὼ τῶν ὁμοίων ἄλλα[3] συνανεμίμνησκον, οἷα δὴ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος[4] μὲν τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις αὐτῷ γενομένης τελευτῆς ἐξέπεσον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, οἱ δ' ἀστέρες
F ἠφανίσθησαν οὓς Λύσανδρος ἀνέθηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίας· ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ[5] Λυσάνδρου λίθινος ἀνδριὰς ἐξήνθησεν ἀγρίαν λόχμην καὶ πόαν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε κατακρύψαι τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σικελικοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτυχήμασιν αἵ τε χρυσαῖ τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπέρρεον βάλανοι, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοῦ Παλλαδίου κόρακες

[1] πῶς Duebner: ὡς.
[2] μέτροις F.C.B.; ἄλλοις μέτροις Reiske from p. 402 B; ἐλέγοις Madvig; ἐλεγείοις Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: λόγοις.
[3] ἄλλα F.C.B.: ἅμα.
[4] Ἱέρωνος] Ἕρμωνος von der Muhl.
[5] τοῦ added by Stephanus.

---

[a] *Cf.* Pausanias, x. 9. 7, with Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 9. Presumably the same man is referred to in both

to learn the cause and reason why the oracle has ceased to employ verse and metre."

Whereupon Theon, interrupting, said, "But just now, my young friend, we seem rather rudely to be taking away from the guides their proper business. Permit, therefore, their services to be rendered first, and after that you shall, at your leisure, raise questions about any matters you wish."

8. By this time we had proceeded until we were opposite the statue of Hiero the despot. The foreign visitor, by reason of his genial nature, made himself listen to the various tales, although he knew them all perfectly well; but when he was told that a bronze pillar of Hiero's standing above had fallen of itself during that day on which it happened that Hiero was coming to his end at Syracuse, he expressed his astonishment. Whereupon I proceeded to recall to his mind other events of a like nature, such, for example, as the experience of Hiero[a] the Spartan, how before his death, which came to him at Leuctra, the eyes fell out of his statue, and the stars disappeared which Lysander had dedicated from the naval battle at Aegospotami; and the stone statue of Lysander[b] himself put forth a growth of wild shrubs and grass in such abundance as to cover up the face; and at the time of the Athenian misfortunes in Sicily, the golden dates were dropping from the palm-tree and ravens were pecking off the edge of the shield of Pallas Athena[c]; and the crown

passages, as he may well have lived till the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., and he may be mentioned also in Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 6. 32, but whether his name was Hiero or Hermon cannot, apparently, be determined with certainty.

[b] *Cf. Life of Lysander*, chap. xviii. (443 A).

[c] *Cf.* Pausanias, x. 15. 5.

περιέκοπτον· ὁ δὲ Κνιδίων στέφανος, ὃν Φαρσαλίᾳ τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι Φιλόμηλος ὁ Φωκέων τύραννος ἐδωρήσατο, μεταστᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀπώλεσεν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ παίζουσαν
398 περὶ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ὁρμήσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον οἱ νεανίσκοι καὶ μαχόμενοι περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέσπασαν τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν οὖν μόνον Ὅμηρον ἔλεγε κινούμενα ποιεῖν ὀνόματα διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ἐγὼ δὲ φαίην ἂν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ ἐνταυθοῖ μάλιστα συγκινεῖσθαι καὶ συνεπισημαίνειν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, καὶ τούτων μέρος μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν μηδ' ἀναίσθητον, ἀλλὰ πεπλῆσθαι πάντα θειότητος.

Καὶ ὁ Βόηθος, "ναί," εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸν θεὸν εἰς σῶμα καθειργνύναι θνητὸν ἅπαξ ἑκάστου
B μηνός, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθῳ παντὶ καὶ χαλκῷ συμφυράσομεν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες[1] ἀξιόχρεων τῶν τοιούτων συμπτωμάτων τὴν τύχην δημιουργὸν καὶ ταὐτόματον."

"Εἶτ'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τύχη σοι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτόματον τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστον τεθεικέναι,[2] καὶ πιθανόν ἐστι τὰς ἀτόμους ἐξολισθεῖν καὶ διαλυθῆναι[3] καὶ παρεγκλῖναι μήτε πρότερον μήθ' ὕστερον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἀναθέντων ἕκαστος ἢ χεῖρον ἔμελλε πράξειν ἢ βέλτιον; καὶ σὲ μὲν Ἐπίκουρος ὠφελεῖ νῦν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀφ' ὧν εἶπεν ἢ ἔγραψε πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων· ὁ θεὸς δ', εἰ μὴ
C συνείρξειε φέρων[4] ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἅπαντα μηδ' ἀνακερα-

[1] ἔχοντες Anon.: ἔχοντος. [2] τεθεικέναι F.C.B.: ἐοικέναι.
[3] διαλυθῆναι] διαχυθῆναι Usener.
[4] φέρων] φυρῶν Pohlenz.

[a] *Cf.* Athenaeus, 605 c.

of the Cnidians which Philomelus, despot of the Phocians, had presented to the dancing-girl [a] Pharsalia caused her death, after she had emigrated from Greece to Italy and was disporting herself in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo at Metapontum ; for the young men made a rush for the crown, and as they struggled with one another for the gold, they tore the girl to pieces.

Aristotle [b] used to say that Homer is the only poet who wrote words possessing movement because of their vigour ; but I should say that among votive offerings also, those dedicated here have movement and significance in sympathy with the god's foreknowledge, and no part of them is void or insensible, but all are filled with the divine spirit.

" Yes indeed," said Boëthus. " It is not enough to incarnate the god once every month in a mortal body, but we are bent upon incorporating him into every bit of stone and bronze, as if we did not have in Chance or Accident an agent responsible for such coincidences."

" Then," said I, " does it seem to you that chance and accident have ordered every single one of such occurrences ; and is it credible that the atoms slipped out of place and were separated one from another and inclined towards one side neither before nor afterwards, but at precisely the time when each of the dedicators was destined to fare either worse or better ? And now Epicurus [c] comes to your aid, apparently, with what he said or wrote three hundred years ago ; but it does not seem to you that the god, unless he should transport himself and incorporate

[b] *Rhetoric*, iii. 11 (1411 b 31) ; *cf.* Frag. 130 (ed. Rose).
[c] Frag. 383.

(398) σθείη πᾶσιν, οὐκ ἄν σοι δοκοίη κινήσεως ἀρχὴν καὶ πάθους αἰτίαν[1] παρασχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων."

9. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν Βόηθον ἀπεκρινάμην, ὅμοια δὲ περὶ τῶν Σιβυλλείων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔστημεν κατὰ τὴν πέτραν γενόμενοι τὴν κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐφ' ἧς λέγεται καθίζεσθαι τὴν πρώτην Σίβυλλαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος παραγενομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν τραφεῖσαν (ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐκ Μαλιέων[2] ἀφικέσθαι Λαμίας οὖσαν θυγατέρα τῆς Ποσειδῶνος), ὁ μὲν Σαραπίων ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐν οἷς ὕμνησεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς οὐδ' ἀποθανοῦσα λήξει μαντικῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ[3] μὲν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ περίεισι τὸ καλούμενον φαινόμενον γενομένη πρόσωπον, τῷ δ' ἀέρι τὸ πνεῦμα συγκραθὲν ἐν φήμαις ἀεὶ φορήσεται καὶ κληδόσιν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σώματος μεταβαλόντος ἐν τῇ γῇ πόας καὶ ὕλης ἀναφυομένης, βοσκήσεται ταύτην ἱερὰ θρέμματα, χρόας τε παντοδαπὰς ἴσχοντα καὶ μορφὰς καὶ ποιότητας ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀφ' ὧν αἱ προδηλώσεις ἀνθρώποις τοῦ μέλλοντος.

Ὁ δὲ Βόηθος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς καταγελῶν. Τοῦ δὲ ξένου εἰπόντος ὡς, εἰ καὶ ταῦτα μύθοις ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε[4] μαντείαις ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλαὶ μὲν ἀναστάσεις καὶ μετοικισμοὶ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, πολλαὶ δὲ βαρβαρικῶν στρατιῶν ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ ἀναιρέσεις ἡγεμονιῶν· "ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ

[1] αἰτίαν Leonicus: ἑστίαν.
[2] ἐκ Μαλιέων Meineke (ἐκ Μαλιαίων Clem. Alex. p. 358 Potter): εἰς Μαλεῶνα.
[3] αὐτὴ Reiske: αὕτη.
[4] γε Reiske: τε.

himself into everything and be merged with everything, could initiate movement or cause anything to happen to any existent object ! "

9. Such was my answer to Boëthus, and in similar vein mention was made of the oracles of the Sibyl. For when we halted as we reached a point opposite the rock which lies over against the council-chamber, upon which it is said that the first Sibyl [a] sat after her arrival from Helicon where she had been reared by the Muses (though others say that she came from the Malians and was the daughter of Lamia whose father was Poseidon), Sarapion recalled the verses in which she sang of herself : that even after death she shall not cease from prophesying, but that she shall go round and round in the moon,[b] becoming what is called the face that appears in the moon ; while her spirit, mingled with the air, shall be for ever borne onward in voices of presage and portent ; and since from her body, transformed within the earth, grass and herbage shall spring, on this shall pasture the creatures reared for the holy sacrifice, and they shall acquire all manner of colours and forms and qualities upon their inward parts, from which shall come for men prognostications of the future.

Boëthus even more plainly showed his derision.

The foreign visitor remarked that even if these matters appear to be fables, yet the prophecies have witnesses to testify for them in the numerous desolations and migrations of Grecian cities, the numerous descents of barbarian hordes, and the overthrow of empires. " And these recent and unusual occur-

[a] *Cf.* Pausanias, x. 12. 1 and 5 ; and the scholium on Plato, *Phaedrus*, 244 B.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 566 D.

πρόσφατα καὶ νέα πάθη περί τε Κύμην καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν[1] οὐχ ὑμνούμενα πάλαι καὶ ᾀδόμενα διὰ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ὁ χρόνος ὥσπερ ὀφείλων ἀποδέδωκεν, ἐκρήξεις πυρὸς ὀρείου καὶ ζέσεις θαλαττίας, καὶ πετρῶν καὶ φλεγμονῶν[2] ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀναρρίψεις, καὶ φθορὰς πόλεων ἅμα τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων, ὡς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἄγνοιαν εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν ὅπου κατῴκηντο τῆς χώρας συγκεχυμένης; ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ γέγονε πιστεῦσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, μή τί γε προειπεῖν ἄνευ θειότητος."

10. Καὶ ὁ Βόηθος, "ποῖον γάρ," εἶπεν, "ὦ δαι-
F μόνιε, τῇ φύσει πάθος ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ὀφείλει; τί δ' ἔστι τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων περὶ γῆν ἢ θάλατταν ἢ πόλεις ἢ ἄνδρας, ὅ τις ἂν προειπὼν οὐ τύχοι γενομένου; καίτοι τοῦτό γε σχεδὸν οὐδὲ προειπεῖν ἔστιν ἀλλ' εἰπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ῥῖψαι καὶ διασπεῖραι λόγους οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον· οἷς πλανωμένοις ἀπήντησε πολλάκις ἡ τύχη καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτομάτως. διαφέρει γὰρ οἶμαι γενέσθαι τὸ ῥηθὲν ἢ ῥηθῆναι τὸ γενησόμενον. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα λόγος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ
399 ἡμαρτημένον ἔχων οὐ δικαίως ἀναμένει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πίστιν οὐδ' ἀληθεῖ τεκμηρίῳ χρῆται τοῦ προειπεῖν ἐπιστάμενος τῷ[3] μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν γενομένῳ,[4] πάντα τῆς ἀπειρίας φερούσης· μᾶλλον[5]

[1] Δικαιάρχειαν Bernardakis : δικαιαρχίαν.
[2] καὶ φλεγμονῶν] καταφλεγομένων Strijd ; καὶ φλογμῶν Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
[3] τῷ added by Wyttenbach.
[4] γενομένῳ Wyttenbach : γενομένου.
[5] μᾶλλον Reiske : καλ . .

rences near Cumae and Dicaearcheia,[a] were they not recited long ago in the songs of the Sibyl? and has not Time, as if in her debt, duly discharged the obligation in the bursting forth of fires from the mountain, boiling seas, blazing rocks tossed aloft by the wind, and the destruction of such great and noble cities that those who came there by daylight felt ignorance and uncertainty as to where these had been situated, since the land was in such confusion? Such things, if they have come to pass, it is hard to believe, to say nothing of foretelling them, without divine inspiration."

10. Thereupon Boëthus said, "My good sir, what kind of an occurrence can there be that is not a debt owed by Time to Nature? What is there strange and unexpected round about land or sea or cities or men which one might foretell and not find it come to pass? Yet this is not precisely foretelling, but telling; or rather it is a throwing and scattering of words without foundation into the infinite; and oftentimes Chance encounters them in their wanderings and accidentally falls into accord with them. As a matter of fact, the coming to pass of something that has been told is a different matter, I think, from the telling of something that will come to pass. For the pronouncement, telling of things non-existent, contains error in itself, and it is not equitable for it to await the confirmation that comes through accidental circumstances; nor can it use as a true proof of having foretold with knowledge the fact that the thing came about after the telling thereof, since Infinity brings all things to pass. Much more is it true that the 'good

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 566 E; this is, of course, the famous eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. Dicaearcheia is the Latin Puteoli (Pozzuoli).

(399) δ' ὁ μὲν 'εἰκάζων καλῶς,' ὃν 'ἄριστον μάντιν' ἀνηγόρευκεν ἡ παροιμία, ἰχνοσκοποῦντι καὶ στιβεύοντι διὰ τῶν εὐλόγων τὸ μέλλον ὅμοιός ἐστι.

"Σίβυλλαι δ' αὗται καὶ Βάκιδες ὥσπερ εἰς πόντον ἀτεκμάρτως εἰς[1] τὸν χρόνον κατέβαλον καὶ διέσπειραν ὡς ἔτυχε παντοδαπῶν ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα παθῶν καὶ συμπτωμάτων, αἷς[2] γιγνομένων ἐνίων ἀπὸ τύχης ὁμοίως ψεῦδός ἐστι τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, κἂν[3] ὕστερον ἀληθές,[4] εἰ τύχοι, γένηται."

B 11. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βοήθου διελθόντος ὁ Σαραπίων, "δίκαιον," ἔφη, "τὸ ἀξίωμα περὶ τῶν οὕτως, ὡς[5] λέγει Βόηθος, ἀορίστως καὶ ἀνυποθέτως λεγομένων· 'εἰ νίκη στρατηγῷ προείρηται, νενίκηκεν,' 'εἰ πόλεως ἀναίρεσις, ἀπόλωλεν.' ὅπου δ' οὐ μόνον λέγεται τὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς καὶ πότε καὶ μετὰ τί καὶ μετὰ τίνος, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκασμὸς τῶν τάχα γενησομένων ἀλλὰ τῶν πάντως ἐσομένων προδήλωσις. καὶ ταῦτ'[6] ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Ἀγησιλάου χωλότητα·

φράζεο δή, Σπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐοῦσα,
μὴ σέθεν ἀρτίποδος βλάστῃ[7] χωλὴ βασιλεία.
δηρὸν γὰρ μόχθοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἄελπτοι,
C φθισίβροτόν τ' ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδομένου πολέμοιο.

[1] εἰς added by F. E. Webb.
[2] αἷς F.C.B.; ἐν οἷς Wyttenbach: οἷς.
[3] κἂν Leonicus: καὶ.
[4] ἀληθές Emperius: ἀληθῶς.
[5] ὡς added by Xylander.
[6] ταῦτ'] τοιαῦτ' Xylander.
[7] βλάστῃ Pausanias, iii. 8. 9, and one MS. of the *Life of Agesilaus*: βλάψῃ.

[a] The reference is to a much quoted line of Euripides which will be found in 432 c, *infra*: "bene qui coniciet, vatem hunc perhibeto optimum," as Cicero translates it, *De Div.* ii. 5 (12). See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, no. 973; and Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. 65, Menander, no. 225.

guesser,' whom the proverb has proclaimed 'the best prophet,'[a] is like unto a man who searches the ground over, and tries to track the future by means of reasonable probabilities.

"These prophets of the type of the Sibyl and Bacis toss forth and scatter into the gulf of time, as into the ocean depths with no chart to guide them, words and phrases at haphazard, which deal with events and occurrences of all sorts; and although some come to pass for them as the result of chance, what is said at the present time is equally a lie, even if later it becomes true in the event that such a thing does happen."

11. When Boëthus had expounded these views, Sarapion said, "That is setting a fair valuation on things which are predicated, as Boëthus affirms, so indefinitely and groundlessly. Granted that victory was foretold for a general: he is victorious; or the destruction of a city: it is now overthrown. But where there is stated not only what shall come to pass, but also how and when and after what and attended by what, that is not a guess about what may perhaps come to pass, but a prognostication of things that shall surely be. These, for example, are the lines referring to the lameness of Agesilaüs:[b]

Sparta, take thought as thou must, although thou art haughty and boastful,
Lest from thee, who art sturdy of foot, shall spring a lame kingship,
Since for a long time to come shall troubles unlooked for engage thee,
Likewise the onrushing billow of war, bringing death to thy people.

[b] *Cf. Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. iii. (597 c); *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (446 A); Pausanias, iii. 8. 9, where the four verses are repeated with very slight variation.

(399) καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς νήσου πάλιν, ἣν ἀνῆκεν ἡ πρὸ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας θάλαττα, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολέμου[1]·

ἀλλ' ὁπότε Τρώων γενεὰ καθύπερθε γένηται
Φοινίκων ἐν ἀγῶνι, τότ' ἔσσεται ἔργα ἄπιστα·
πόντος μὲν λάμψει πῦρ ἄσπετον, ἐκ δὲ κεραυνῶν
πρηστῆρες μὲν ἄνω διὰ κύματος ἀίξουσιν
ἄμμιγα σὺν πέτρᾳ,[2] ἡ δὲ στηρίξεται αὐτοῦ
οὐ φατὸς ἀνθρώποις νῆσος· καὶ χείρονες ἄνδρες
χερσὶ βιησάμενοι τὸν κρείσσονα νικήσουσι.

τὸ γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ Ῥωμαίους τε Καρχηδονίων
D περιγενέσθαι καταπολεμήσαντας Ἀννίβαν, καὶ Φίλιππον Αἰτωλοῖς συμβαλόντα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μάχῃ κρατηθῆναι, καὶ τέλος ἐκ βυθοῦ νῆσον ἀναδῦναι μετὰ πυρὸς πολλοῦ καὶ κλύδωνος ἐπιζέσαντος, οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ὡς ἀπήντησεν ἅμα πάντα καὶ συνέπεσε κατὰ τύχην καὶ[3] αὐτομάτως, ἀλλ' ἡ τάξις ἐμφαίνει τὴν πρόγνωσιν· καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις πρὸ ἐτῶν ὁμοῦ τι πεντακοσίων προειπεῖν τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ ἔθνη πολεμήσοιεν ἅμα· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀποστᾶσιν. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀτέκμαρτον οὐδὲ τυφλὸν ὂν[4] ἄλλως[5] τε τύχην
E ζητεῖ[6] ἐν ἀπειρίᾳ· καὶ[7] ὁ λόγος ἄλλα[8] πολλὰ τῆς πείρας ἐνέχυρα δίδωσι καὶ δείκνυσι τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ

[1] τοῦ . . . πολέμου F.C.B.: τὸν . . . πόλεμον. Others would omit καὶ before περὶ.
[2] πέτρᾳ] πέτραις Reiske.
[3] τύχην καὶ Stegmann: τύχην.
[4] ὂν added by F.C.B.
[5] ἄλλως F.C.B.: ἀμφὶ.
[6] ζητεῖ in one MS. only: ζητεῖν.
[7] καὶ added by F.C.B.
[8] ἄλλα F.C.B. (suggested by Bernardakis): ἀλλὰ.

[a] *Cf.* Strabo, i. 3. 16; Justin, xxx. 4. 1.

And then again these lines about the island which the sea cast up in front of Thera and Therasia,[a] and also about the war of Philip and the Romans :

> But when the offspring of Trojans shall come to be in ascendant
> Over Phoenicians in conflict, events shall be then beyond credence ;
> Ocean shall blaze with an infinite fire, and with rattling of thunder
> Scorching blasts through the turbulent waters shall upward be driven ;
> With them a rock, and the rock shall remain firm fixed in the ocean,
> Making an island by mortals unnamed ; and men who are weaker
> Shall by the might of their arms be able to vanquish the stronger.

The fact is that these events, all occurring within a short space of time—the Romans' prevailing over the Carthaginians by overcoming Hannibal in war, Philip's coming into conflict with the Aetolians and being overpowered by the Romans in battle, and finally an island's rising out of the deep accompanied by much fire and boiling surge—no one could say that they all met together at the same time and coincided by chance in an accidental way ; no, their order makes manifest their prognostication, and so also does the foretelling to the Romans, some five hundred years beforehand, of the time when they should be at war with all the nations of the world at once : this was their war with their slaves, who had rebelled. In all this, then, there is nothing unindicated or blind which is helplessly seeking to meet chance in infinity[b] ; and reason gives many other trustworthy assurances regarding experience, and indicates the road along which

[b] *Cf.* 398 F, *supra.*

βαδίζει τὸ πεπρωμένον. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαί τιν' ἐρεῖν ὅτι μετὰ τούτων ὡς προερρήθη[1] συνέπεσε κατὰ τύχην· ἐπεὶ τί κωλύει λέγειν ἕτερον, ὡς οὐκ ἔγραψε τὰς Κυρίας ἡμῖν Ἐπίκουρος, ὦ Βόηθε, Δόξας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτως οὕτω πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν γραμμάτων συνεμπεσόντων, ἀπετελέσθη τὸ βιβλίον;"

12. Ἅμα δὲ τούτων λεγομένων προῆειμεν. ἐν
F δὲ τῷ Κορινθίων[2] οἴκῳ τὸν φοίνικα θεωμένοις τὸν χαλκοῦν, ὅσπερ ἔτι λοιπός ἐστι τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οἱ περὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ἐντετορευμένοι βάτραχοι καὶ ὕδροι θαῦμα τῷ Διογενιανῷ παρεῖχον, ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν. οὔτε γὰρ φοίνιξ, ὡς ἕτερα δένδρα, λιμναῖόν ἐστι καὶ φίλυδρον φυτόν, οὔτε Κορινθίοις τι βάτραχοι προσήκουσιν, ὥστε σύμβολον ἢ παράσημον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει Σελινούντιοί ποτε χρυσοῦν σέλινον ἀναθεῖναι λέγονται, καὶ Τενέδιοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπὸ τῶν καρκίνων τῶν γιγνομένων περὶ
400 τὸ καλούμενον Ἀστέριον παρ' αὐτοῖς· μόνοι γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τῷ χελωνίῳ τύπον πελέκεως ἔχουσι. καὶ μὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ θεῷ κόρακας καὶ κύκνους καὶ λύκους καὶ ἱέρακας καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτ' εἶναι προσφιλῆ τὰ θηρία νομίζομεν."

Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὅτι τὴν ἐξ ὑγρῶν ᾐνίξατο τροφὴν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ γένεσιν καὶ ἀναθυμίασιν ὁ δημιουργός, εἶθ' Ὁμήρου λέγοντος ἀκηκοὼς

[1] προερρήθη Aldine ed.: προερρέθη.
[2] Κορινθίων Meziriacus: Κορινθίω.

[a] *Cf.* Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 342.

a destined event travels. For I do not think that anybody will say that by chance it coincides in time with those things with which it was foretold that it should be attended. If that were so, what is to hinder someone else from declaring that Epicurus did not write his *Leading Principles*[a] for us, Boëthus, but that, by chance and accidentally, the letters fell in with one another as they now stand, and the book was completed?"

12. During this conversation we were moving forward. While we were looking at the bronze palm-tree in the treasure-house of the Corinthians, the only one of their votive offerings that is still left, the frogs[b] and water-snakes, wrought in metal about its base, caused much wonder to Diogenianus, and naturally to ourselves as well. For the palm does not, like many other trees, grow in marshes, or love water; nor do frogs bear any relation to the people of Corinth so as to be a symbol or emblem of their city, even as, you know, the people of Selinus are said to have dedicated a golden celery plant,[c] and the people of Tenedos the axe, derived from the crabs which are found on the island in the neighbourhood of Asterium, as the place is called. For these, apparently, are the only crabs that have the figure of an axe on the shell. Yet, in fact, we believe that to the god himself ravens and swans and wolves and hawks, or anything else rather than these creatures, are pleasing.

Sarapion remarked that the artisan had represented allegorically the nurture and birth and exhalation of the sun from moisture, whether he had read what Homer[d] says,

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 164 A.

[c] Selinon (*celery*), from which the city derives its name.

[d] *Od.* iii. 1.

(400) ἡέλιος δ' ἀπόρουσε[1] λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην·

εἶτ' Αἰγυπτίους ἑωρακὼς ὡς[2] ἀρχὴν[3] ἀνατολῆς παιδίον νεογνὸν γράφοντας ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθεζόμενον,

B γελάσας ἐγώ, "ποῦ σὺ πάλιν," εἶπον, "ὦ χρηστέ, τὴν Στοὰν δευρὶ παρωθεῖς καὶ ὑποβάλλεις ἀτρέμα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἀνάψεις καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις, οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ Θετταλαὶ κατάγων[4] τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὑδάτων βλαστάνοντας καὶ ἀρχομένους[5]; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πλάτων καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐράνιον ὠνόμασε φυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ῥίζης ἄνω τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀρθούμενον· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἐμπεδοκλέους καταγελᾶτε φάσκοντος τὸν ἥλιον περὶ τὴν γῆν[6] ἀνακλάσει φωτὸς οὐρανίου γενόμενον αὖθις

ἀνταυγεῖν πρὸς ὄλυμπον ἀταρβήτοισι[7] προσώποις·

C αὐτοὶ δὲ γηγενὲς ζῷον ἢ φυτὸν ἔλειον ἀποφαίνετε τὸν ἥλιον, εἰς βατράχων πατρίδα ἢ ὕδρων ἐγγράφοντες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Στωικὴν ἀναθώμεθα τραγῳδίαν, τὰ δὲ τῶν χειροτεχνῶν πάρεργα παρέργως ἐξετάσωμεν. ἐν πολλοῖς γάρ εἰσι κομψοί, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν οὐ πανταχοῦ καὶ περίεργον ἐκπεφεύγασιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας

[1] ἀπόρουσε] ἀνόρουσε Homer.
[2] ὡς added by F.C.B.
[3] ἀρχὴν Leonicus; ἀρχῆς ‹σύμβολον καὶ› Pohlenz: ἀρχῆς.
[4] κατάγων] Reiske would add ἀλλ' ἀνάγων.
[5] ἀρχομένους] ἀρδομένους Wyttenbach.
[6] περὶ τὴν γῆν F.C.B. (περιαυγῆ Wyttenbach): περὶ γῆν.
[7] ἀταρβήτοισι Wyttenbach: ἀταρβήτοις.

---

[a] *Cf.* 355 B, *supra.*

Swiftly away moved the Sun, forsaking the beautiful waters,

or whether he had observed that the Egyptians, to show the beginning of sunrise, paint a very young baby sitting on a lotus flower.[a] I laughed and said, "Where now, my good friend? Are you again slyly thrusting in your Stoicism here and unostentatiously slipping into the discussion their 'kindlings' and 'exhalations,'[b] not indeed bringing down the moon and the sun, as the Thessalian women do,[c] but assuming that they spring up here from earth and water and derive their origin from here? For Plato[d] called man also 'a celestial plant,' as though he were held upright from his head above as from a root. But you Stoics ridicule Empedocles[e] for his assertion that the sun, created by the reflection of celestial light, about the earth,

Back to the heavens again sends his beams with countenance fearless.

And you yourselves declare the sun to be an earth-born creature or a water-plant, assigning him to the kingdom of the frogs or water-snakes. But let us refer all this to the heroics of the Stoic school, and let us make a cursory examination of the cursory work of the artisans. In many instances they indeed show elegance and refinement, but they have not in all cases avoided frigidity and over-elaboration. Just as the man who constructed the cock upon the hand

[b] Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 652-656 (p. 196).

[c] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 749; Plato, *Gorgias*, 513 A; Horace, *Epodes*, 5. 46; Propertius, i. 1. 19, and especially Lucan, vi. 438-506; *cf.* also 416 F *infra*.

[d] Plato, *Timaeus*, 90 A; *cf. Moralia*, 600 F.

[e] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 243, Empedocles, no. B 44; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 890 B.

(400) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑωθινὴν ὑπεδήλωσεν ὥραν καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιούσης ἀνατολῆς, οὕτως ἐνταῦθα τοὺς βατράχους ἐαρινῆς ὥρας φαίη τις ἂν γεγονέναι σύμβολον ἐν ᾗ κρατεῖν ἄρχεται τοῦ ἀέρος
D ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διαλύειν, εἴ γε δεῖ καθ' ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μὴ δύο θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἕνα νομίζειν."

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων, "σὺ γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐχ οὕτω νομίζεις, ἀλλ' οἴει τὸν ἥλιον διαφέρειν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος;"

"Ἔγωγ'," εἶπον[1], "ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν σελήνην· ἀλλ' αὕτη[2] μὲν οὐ πολλάκις οὐδὲ πᾶσιν ἀποκρύπτει τὸν ἥλιον, ὁ δ' ἥλιος ὁμοῦ τι πάντας ἀγνοεῖν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεποίηκεν ἀποστρέφων τῇ αἰσθήσει τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπὶ τὸ φαινόμενον."

13. Ἐκ τούτου τοὺς περιηγητὰς ὁ Σαραπίων ἤρετο τί δὴ τὸν οἶκον οὐ Κυψέλου[3] τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἀλλὰ Κορινθίων ὀνομάζουσιν. ἀπορίᾳ δ' αἰτίας, ἐμοὶ
E γοῦν δοκεῖ,[4] σιωπώντων ἐκείνων, ἐπιγελάσας ἐγώ, "τί δὲ," εἶπον, "ἔτι τούτους οἰόμεθα γιγνώσκειν ἢ μνημονεύειν ἐκπεπληγμένους παντάπασιν, ὑμῶν μετεωρολεσχούντων; ἐπεὶ πρότερόν γ' αὐτῶν ἠκούομεν λεγόντων ὅτι τῆς τυραννίδος καταλυθείσης ἐβούλοντο Κορίνθιοι καὶ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα τουτονὶ θησαυρὸν ἐπιγράψαι τῆς πόλεως. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔδοσαν ὡς δίκαιον, καὶ συνεχώρησαν, Ἠλείους δὲ φθονήσαντας ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ μετέχειν Ἰσθμίων· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἐξ

[1] εἶπον Xylander: εἶπεν. [2] αὕτη Reiske: αὐτὴ.
[3] Κυψέλου Xylander: κυψέλλου.
[4] ὡς ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐδόκει Reiske.

[a] *Cf.* the note on 386 B, *supra.*

of Apollo's statue showed by suggestion the early morning and the hour of approaching sunrise, so here, one might aver, has been produced in the frogs a token of springtime when the sun begins to dominate the atmosphere and to break up the winter ; that is, if, as you say, we must think of Apollo and the Sun, not as two gods, but as one."

" Really," said Sarapion, " do you not think so, and do you imagine that the sun is different from Apollo ? " [a]

" Yes," said I, " as different as the moon from the sun ; but the moon does not often conceal the sun, nor conceal it from the eyes of all,[b] but the sun has caused all to be quite ignorant of Apollo by diverting the faculty of thought through the faculty of perception from what is to what appears to be."

13. Following this, Sarapion asked the guides why it is that they call the treasure-house, not the house of Cypselus the donor, but the house of the Corinthians. When they were silent, as I think, for lack of any reason to give, I laughed and said, " What knowledge or memory do we imagine these men have still remaining, when they are utterly dumbfounded by your high-flown talk ? As a matter of fact, we heard them say earlier that when the despotism was overthrown, the Corinthians wished to inscribe both the golden statue at Olympia and the treasure-house here with the name of their city, and the people of Delphi accordingly granted this as being a fair request, and gave their consent; but the Eleans refused out of ill-will, and the Corinthians voted that the Eleans should not be allowed to take part in the Isthmian Games. Consequently, from that time on

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 932 B.

ἐκείνου γέγονεν Ἰσθμίων ἀγωνιστὴς Ἠλεῖος. ὁ δὲ Μολιονιδῶν φόνος ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους περὶ Κλεωνὰς
F οὐδέν ἐστι μεταίτιος, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, Ἠλείοις τοῦ εἴργεσθαι· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς προσῆκον εἴργειν, εἰ διὰ τοῦτο Κορινθίοις προσεκεκρούκεσαν." ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' εἶπον.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀκανθίων καὶ Βρασίδου παρελθοῦσιν οἶκον ἡμῖν ἔδειξεν ὁ περιηγητὴς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ Ῥοδώπιδος ἔκειντό ποτε τῆς ἑταίρας ὀβελίσκοι σιδηροῖ, δυσχεράνας ὁ Διογενιανός, "ἦν ἄρα τῆς αὐτῆς," ἔφη, "πόλεως Ῥοδώπιδι μὲν χώραν παρασχεῖν, ὅπου τὰς δεκάτας φέρουσα καταθήσεται
401 τῶν μισθῶν, Αἴσωπον δ' ἀπολέσαι τὸν ὁμόδουλον αὐτῆς."

Καὶ ὁ Σαραπίων "τί δὲ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "μακάριε, δυσχεραίνεις; ἐκεῖ βλέψον ἄνω καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσι θέασαι Μνησαρέτην, ἣν Κράτης εἶπε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας ἀνακεῖσθαι τρόπαιον."

Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας, "εἶτα περὶ Φρύνης," ἔφη, "τοῦτ' ἦν εἰρημένον τῷ Κράτητι;"

"Ναί," εἶπεν ὁ Σαραπίων· "Μνησαρέτη γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο, τὴν δὲ Φρύνην ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε διὰ τὴν ὠχρότητα. πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἔοικε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποκρύπτουσιν αἱ παρωνυμίαι. τὴν γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου
B μητέρα Πολυξένην εἶτα Μυρτάλην Ὀλυμπιάδα τε καὶ Στρατονίκην κληθῆναι λέγουσι· τὴν δὲ Ῥοδίαν[1]

[1] Ῥοδίαν] Κορινθίαν in B is preferred by some editors.

---

[a] *Cf.* Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 7. 2.
[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 134-135.

there has been no competition from Elis at these games. The slaying of the Molionidae by Heracles near Cleonae[a] is not, as some think, a cause contributing in any way to the exclusion of the Eleans. On the contrary, it would have been appropriate for them to exclude the Corinthians, if they had taken offence against them for this reason." That was all I said.

14. When we had passed the house of the Acanthians and Brasidas, the guide pointed out to us the site where iron spits of Rhodopis the courtesan were once placed,[b] at which Diogenianus indignantly said, " So, then, it was the province of the same State to provide Rhodopis with a place where she might bring and deposit the tithes of her earnings, and also to put to death Aesop,[c] her fellow-slave."

" Why," said Sarapion, " are you indignant over this, my good sir ? Look up there and behold among the generals and kings Mnesaretê wrought in gold, who, as Crates said, stands as a trophy to the licentiousness of the Greeks."[d]

The young man accordingly looked at it and remarked, " Then it was about Phrynê that this statement was made by Crates ? "

" Yes," said Sarapion, " she was called Mnesaretê, but she got the nickname of Phrynê[e] because of her sallow complexion. In many instances, apparently, nicknames cause the real names to be obscured. For example, Polyxena, the mother of Alexander, they say was later called Myrtalê and Olympias and Stratonicê.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 556 F.

[d] *Ibid.* 336 C, Athenaeus, 591 B ; *cf.* also Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyklopaedie*, Supplement V. pp. 87-88.

[e] " Toad."

(401) Εὔμητιν ἄχρι νῦν Κλεοβουλίνην πατρόθεν οἱ πλεῖστοι καλοῦσιν· Ἡροφίλην δὲ τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν μαντικὴν γενομένην Σίβυλλαν προσηγόρευσαν. τῶν δὲ γραμματικῶν ἀκούσῃ καὶ τὴν Λήδαν Μνησινόην, καὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην Ἀχαιὸν . . .[1] ὠνομάσθαι φασκόντων. ἀλλὰ πῶς, ἔφη, διανοῇ σὺ (βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Θέωνα) τουτὶ διαλῦσαι τὸ περὶ Φρύνης αἰτίαμα;"

15. Κἀκεῖνος ἡσυχῇ διαμειδιάσας, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὥστε[2] καὶ σοὶ προσεγκαλεῖν τὰ μικρότατα
C τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πλημμεληματάτων ἐλέγχοντι. καθάπερ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης ἑστιώμενος[3] ἐν Καλλίου τῷ μύρῳ πολεμεῖ[4] μόνον, ὀρχήσεις δὲ παίδων καὶ κυβιστήσεις καὶ φιλήματα καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς ὁρῶν ἀνέχεται, καὶ σύ μοι δοκεῖς ὁμοίως γύναιον εἴργειν τοῦ ἱεροῦ χρησάμενον ὥρᾳ σώματος οὐκ ἐλευθερίως, φόνων δὲ καὶ πολέμων καὶ λεηλασιῶν ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ δεκάταις κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον τὸν θεὸν ὁρῶν καὶ τὸν νεὼν σκύλων Ἑλληνικῶν ἀνάπλεων[5] καὶ λαφύρων οὐ δυσχεραίνεις, οὐδ' οἰκτίρεις τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν ἀναθημάτων αἰσχίστας
D ἀναγιγνώσκων ἐπιγραφάς, 'Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων,' καὶ ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Κορινθίων,' καὶ ' Φωκεῖς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῶν,' ' Ὀρνεᾶται δ' ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων,' ' Ἀμφικτύονες δ' ἀπὸ Φωκέων.' ἀλλὰ Πραξιτέλης, ὡς ἔοικε, μόνος ἠνίασε Κράτητα τῇ ἐρωμένῃ τυχὼν αὐτόθι δωρεᾶς,[6] ὃν ἐπαινεῖν ὤφειλε

[1] A lacuna in the MSS. here probably contained another example.
[2] ὥστε Reiske: ὥς γε.
[3] ἑστιώμενος Reiske: αἰτιώμενος.
[4] πολεμεῖ Reiske: πολεμεῖν.
[5] ἀνάπλεων Reiske: ἀνάπλεω.
[6] δωρεᾶς] χώρας Emperius (*cf.* 400 F).

Eumetis of Rhodes most people call, even to this day, Cleobulina [a] from her father; and Herophilê of Erythrae, who had the gift of prophecy, they addressed as Sibyl. You will hear the grammarians assert that Leda was named Mnesinoë and Orestes Achaeus. . . . But how," said he, with a look at Theon, "do you think to demolish this charge of guilt against Phrynê?"

15. Theon, with a quiet smile, said, "In such a way as to lodge complaint against you as well for bringing up the most trifling of the peccadilloes of the Greeks. For just as Socrates, while being entertained at Callias's house, shows hostility toward perfume only,[b] but looks on with tolerance at children's dancing, and at tumbling,[c] kissing,[d] and buffoons[e]; so you also seem to me, in a similar way, to be excluding from this shrine a poor weak woman who put the beauty of her person to a base use, but when you see the god completely surrounded by choice offerings and tithes from murders, wars, and plunderings, and his temple crowded with spoils and booty from the Greeks, you show no indignation, nor do you feel any pity for the Greeks when upon the beautiful votive offerings you read the most disgraceful inscriptions: "Brasidas and the Acanthians from the Athenians," and "The Athenians from the Corinthians," and "The Phocians from the Thessalians," and "The Orneatans from the Sicyonians," and "The Amphictyons from the Phocians." But Praxiteles, apparently, was the only one that caused annoyance to Crates by gaining for his beloved the privilege of a dedication here, whereas Crates ought to have commended

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 148 D.
[b] Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2. 3.
[c] *Ibid.* 2. 11. [d] *Ibid.* 9. 5. [e] *Ibid.* 2. 22.

(401) Κράτης, ὅτι τοῖς χρυσοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις παρέστησε χρυσῆν ἑταίραν, ἐξονειδίζων τὸν πλοῦτον ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχοντα θαυμάσιον οὐδὲ σεμνόν. δικαιοσύνης γὰρ ἂν[1] ἀναθήματα καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλονοίας καλῶς εἶχε[2] τίθεσθαι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὐ χρυσῆς καὶ τρυφώσης εὐπορίας ἧς μέτεστι καὶ τοῖς αἴσχιστα
E βεβιωκόσιν."

16. "Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ λέγεις," εἶπεν ἄτερος τῶν περιηγητων, "ὅτι Κροῖσος ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ἀρτοποιοῦ[3] χρυσῆν εἰκόνα ποιησάμενος ἀνέθηκε."

Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναί," ἔφη,[4] "πλὴν οὐκ ἐντρυφῶν τῷ ἱερῷ, καλὴν δὲ λαβὼν αἰτίαν καὶ δικαίαν. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀλυάττην τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κροίσου δευτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας ἑτέρους τρέφειν· ἐπιβουλεύουσαν οὖν τῷ Κροίσῳ τὴν ἄνθρωπον φάρμακον δοῦναι τῇ ἀρτοποιῷ,[3] καὶ κελεῦσαι διαπλάσασαν ἄρτον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῷ Κροίσῳ παραδοῦναι· τὴν δ' ἀρτοποιὸν[3] κρύφα τῷ Κροίσῳ φράσαι, παραθεῖναι δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνης παισὶ τὸν ἄρτον. ἀνθ' ὧν βα-
F σιλεύσαντα τὸν Κροῖσον οἷον ἐπὶ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ τὴν χάριν ἀμείψασθαι τῆς γυναικός, εὖ γε ποιοῦντ' ἐκεῖνον. ὅθεν," εἶπεν, "ἄξιον δὴ καὶ τῶν πόλεων εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἔστιν ἀνάθημα τιμᾶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν,[5] οἷον τὸ Ὀπουντίων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Φωκέων τύραννοι πολλὰ τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων συγχέαντες ἔκοψαν νόμισμα καὶ διέσπειραν εἰς τὰς πόλεις,

[1] ἂν added by F.C.B. [2] εἶχε F.C.B.: ἔχειν.
[3] ἀρτοποιοῦ, etc., corrected by Leonicus and others: ἀρτόπου.
[4] Καὶ ὁ Θέων, "ναί," ἔφη, added by Paton and others to fill a lacuna in the MSS.
[5] ἀγαπᾶν Stegmann: ἄγαν.

him because beside these golden kings he placed a golden courtesan, thus rebuking wealth for possessing nothing to be admired or revered. For it would be well for kings and rulers to dedicate votive offerings to commemorate justice, self-control, and magnanimity, not golden and luxurious affluence, which is shared also by men who have led the most disgraceful lives."

16. "There is one thing that you omit to mention," said one of the guides, "that Croesus had a golden statue made of the woman who baked his bread, and dedicated it here."

"Yes," said Theon, "only he did it not in mockery of the holy shrine, but because he found an honourable and righteous cause for so doing.[a] For it is said that Alyattes, the father of Croesus, married a second wife, and was rearing a second group of children. So the woman, in a plot against Croesus, gave poison to the baker and bade her knead it into the bread and serve it to Croesus. But the baker secretly told Croesus and served the bread to the stepmother's children; in return for this action Croesus, when he became king, as it were in the sight of the god as a witness, requited the favour done by the woman and also conferred a benefit upon the god. Wherefore," he continued, "it is right and proper, if there is any similar votive offering from States, to honour and respect it, as, for example, that of the Opuntians. For, when the despots of the Phocians melted up many of the votive offerings made of gold or silver,[b] and minted coins and put them into circulation among the

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 51.

[b] *Cf.* Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i. p. 308, Theopompus, no. 182.

'Οπούντιοι συναγαγόντες ὅσον ἀργύριον[1] εὗρον[2] ὑδρίαν[3] ἀνέπεμψαν ἐνθάδε τῷ θεῷ καὶ καθιέρωσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Μυριναίους[4] ἐπαινῶ καὶ 'Απολλωνιάτας
402 θέρη χρυσᾶ δεῦρο πέμψαντας· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον 'Ερετριεῖς καὶ Μάγνητας, ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχαῖς δωρησαμένους τὸν θεόν, ὡς καρπῶν δοτῆρα καὶ πατρῷον καὶ γενέσιον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον· αἰτιῶμαι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς, ὅτι μόνοι σχεδὸν ἐνταῦθα λόγχην ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἣν 'Αθηναίους μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντας αὐτῶν νικήσαντες ἐξέβαλον. ὕστερον μέντοι πλῆκτρον ἀνέθηκαν τῷ θεῷ χρυσοῦν ἐπιστήσαντες, ὡς ἔοικε, Σκυθίνῳ λέγοντι περὶ τῆς λύρας,

ἣν ἁρμόζεται
Ζηνὸς εὐειδὴς 'Απόλλων, πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος
B συλλαβών· ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος."

17. 'Επιβάλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος εἰπεῖν τι περὶ τούτων, ὁ ξένος, " ἡδὺ μέν," ἔφη, " τὸ τοιούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὴν πρώτην ὑπόσχεσιν ἀπαιτῆσαι περὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣ πέπαυκε τὴν Πυθίαν ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ μέτροις ἄλλοις θεσπίζουσαν· ὥστ', εἰ δοκεῖ, τὰ λειπόμενα τῆς θέας ὑπερθέμενοι περὶ τούτων ἀκούσωμεν ἐνταῦθα καθίσαντες. οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν

[1] ἀργύριον an early correction: ἀργυρίου.
[2] εὗρον added by F.C.B.
[3] ὑδρίαν Reiske: ὑδρίον.
[4] Μυριναίους Reiske: μυρίνας.

---

[a] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, i. 502 (p. 112).

various States, the Opuntians, collecting what money they could find, sent back here a water-jar for the god, and consecrated it to him. For my part, I commend also the inhabitants of Myrina and of Apollonia for sending to this place fruits of the harvest fashioned of gold; and still more the inhabitants of Eretria and Magnesia who presented the god with the first-fruits of their people, in the belief that he is the giver of crops, the god of their fathers, the author of their being, and the friend of man. And I blame the Megarians because they are almost the only people who erected here a statue of the god with spear in hand to commemorate the battle in which they defeated and drove out the Athenians, who were in possession of their city in the period following the Persian Wars. Later, however, they dedicated to the god a golden plectrum,[a] calling attention, apparently, to Scythinus,[b] who says regarding the lyre,

> Which the son of Zeus,
> Fair Apollo, who embraces origin and end in one,
> Sets in tune, and for his plectrum has the bright rays of the sun."

17. As Sarapion was beginning to say something about these matters, the foreign visitor said, "It is very pleasant to listen to such conversation as this, but I am constrained to claim the fulfilment of your first promise regarding the cause which has made the prophetic priestess cease to give her oracles in epic verse or in other metres. So, if it be agreeable, let us postpone to another time what remains of our sightseeing, and sit down here and hear about it. For it is the recital of this fact which above all else

[b] Diels, *Poetarum Phil. Frag.* p. 167; *cf.* Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, v. 8. 48 (p. 674 Potter).

(402) τοῦ χρηστηρίου πίστιν ἀντιβαίνων λόγος, ὡς δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τῆς Πυθίας τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ πελαζούσης ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῖον ἔστιν, ἢ τοῦ πνεύματος παντάπασιν C ἀπεσβεσμένου καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλελοιπυίας."

Περιελθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθ εζόμεθα κρηπίδων τοῦ[1] νεὼ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸ-τό θ' ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες· ὥστ' εὐθὺς εἰπεῖν τὸν Βόηθον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος τῆς ἀπορίας συνεπιλαμβά-νεται τῷ ξένῳ. "Μουσῶν γὰρ ἦν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν τοῦ νάματος, ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο πρός τε τὰς λοιβὰς καὶ τὰς χέρνιβας[2] τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ, ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης

ἔνθα χερνίβεσσιν ἀρύεται[3] τὸ[4] Μουσᾶν
καλλικόμων ὑπένερθεν ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ.

μικρῷ δὲ περιεργότερον αὖθις ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν Κλειὼ προσειπὼν

D ἁγνὰν ἐπίσκοπον χερνίβων,

φησί,

πολύλιστον ἀρυόντεσσιν[5]
ἀχρυσόπεπλον[6] * * *[7]
εὐῶδες ἀμβροσίων ἐκ μυχῶν
ἐρανὸν[8] ὕδωρ λαβεῖν.[9]

[1] τοῦ added by Emperius.
[2] καὶ τὰς χέρνιβας added by Reiske from the verses below.
[3] ἀρύεται Turnebus: εἰρύεται.
[4] τὸ Bergk: τε.
[5] ἀρυόντεσσιν Emperius: ἀραιόν τέ ἐστιν.
[6] ἀχρυσόπεπλον] ἃ χρυσόπεπλον some editors.
[7] A short lacuna in the MSS.
[8] ἐρανὸν] ἐραννὸν Emperius.
[9] λαβεῖν F.C.B.; λάβοις Crusius; λίβα Paton and others: λαβόν.

militates against confidence in the oracle, since people assume one of two things : either that the prophetic priestess does not come near to the region in which is the godhead, or else that the spirit has been completely quenched and her powers have forsaken her."

Accordingly we went round and seated ourselves upon the southern steps of the temple, looking towards the shrine of Earth and the stream of water, with the result that Boëthus immediately remarked that the place itself proffered assistance to the visitor in the solution of the question. " For," said he, " there used to be a shrine of the Muses near the place where the water of the stream wells up ; wherefore they used to use this water for libations and lustrations, as Simonides [a] says :

> Where from depths below, for pure lustration
> Is drawn the fair-haired Muses' fount of holy water.

And in another passage [a] he addresses Clio in a somewhat affected way as the

> Holy guardian of lustration,

and goes on to say that

> She, invoked in many a prayer,
> In robes unwrought with gold,
> For those that came to draw
> Raised from the ambrosial grot
> The fragrant beauteous water.

[a] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. pp. 409-410, Simonides, nos. 44 and 45; or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, ii. p. 314. *Cf.* also Poulsen, *Delphi*, 4; but the attempted restorations of the verses by the various editors do not as yet display any felicity.

(402) οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὖν Εὔδοξος ἐπίστευσε τοῖς Στυγὸς ὕδωρ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι πεφήνασι. τὰς δὲ Μούσας ἱδρύσαντο παρέδρους τῆς μαντικῆς καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἧς λέγεται τὸ μαντεῖον γενέσθαι διὰ[1] τὴν ἐν μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι χρησμῳδίαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἡρῷον μέτρον ἀκουσθῆναι,

συμφέρετε πτερά τ',[2] οἰωνοί, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι·

E εἶτα τοῦ θεοῦ[3] ἐπιδεᾶ γενομένην ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ σεμνόν."

18. Ὁ Σαραπίων, "ἐπιεικέστερα ταῦτ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βόηθε, καὶ μουσικώτερα· δεῖ γὰρ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν[4] μηδ' ἀναιρεῖν μετὰ τῆς μαντικῆς ἅμα τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι δοκούντων λύσεις ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν δ' εὐσεβῆ καὶ πάτριον μὴ προΐεσθαι πίστιν."

"Ὀρθῶς," ἔφην ἐγώ, "λέγεις, ἄριστε Σαραπίων· οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεγιγνώσκομεν ὡς ἀνηρημένην παντάπασι καὶ διεφθορυῖαν, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐν ποιήμασιν ἐξέφερον οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ δόγματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ

F Ἡσίοδος καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Θαλῆς· ὕστερον δ' ἐπαύσαντο καὶ πέπαυνται χρώμενοι μέτροις πλὴν σοῦ· διὰ σοῦ δ' αὖθις εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ποιητικὴ κάτεισιν, ὄρθιον καὶ γενναῖον ἐγκελευομένη τοῖς νέοις.

"Οὐδ' ἀστρολογίαν ἀδοξοτέραν ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαριν καὶ Ἀρίστυλλον καὶ

[1] διὰ added by Wyttenbach.
[2] πτερά τ' Emperius from Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 247: πτερά.
[3] εἶτα τοῦ θεοῦ F.C.B.: ὅτε τῷ θεῷ.
[4] θεὸν Amyot: θέωνα.

Eudoxus, therefore, was wrong in believing those who declared that this is called the water of the Styx. But they established the cult of the Muses as associates and guardians of the prophetic art in this very place beside the stream and the shrine of Earth, to whom it is said that the oracle used to belong because of the responses being given in poetic and musical measures. And some assert that it was here that the heroic verse was heard for the first time :

> Birds, contribute your feathers, and bees, bring wax as your portion.

Later Earth became inferior to the god and lost her august position."

18. "That, Boëthus," said Sarapion, "is more reasonable and harmonious. For we must not show hostility towards the god, nor do away with his providence and divine powers together with his prophetic gifts ; but we must seek for explanations of such matters as seem to stand in the way, and not relinquish the reverent faith of our fathers."

"What you say, my esteemed Sarapion," said I, "is quite right. We have not been surrendering hope for philosophy either, as if it had been completely done away with and destroyed, just because formerly the philosophers used to publish their doctrines and discourses in the form of poems, as Orpheus, Hesiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Thales. Later they ceased to do this, and now all have ceased using metrical form, all except you. At your hands the poetic art returns to philosophy from its banishment, and sounds a clear and noble challenge to the young.

"Nor did Aristarchus, Timocharis, Aristyllus, and Hipparchus, and their followers make astronomy less

Ἵππαρχον καταλογάδην γράφοντες, ἐν μέτροις πρότερον Εὐδόξου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θαλοῦ γρα-
103 φόντων, εἴ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν,[1] τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν[2] ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογίαν. Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ περὶ τρόπου μελῳδίας ἀμελουμένου καθ' αὑτὸν ἀπορεῖν ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ θαυμάζειν[3] ὅτι * * *[4] οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι δεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτοπον αἰτίας ζητεῖν τῶν τοιούτων μεταβολῶν· ἀναιρεῖν δὲ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἄν τι κινηθῇ καὶ παραλλάξῃ τῶν κατὰ ταύτας, οὐ δίκαιον."

19. Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Θέων, "ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν," εἶπε, "μεγάλας ἔσχηκε τῷ ὄντι παραλλαγὰς καὶ καινοτομίας· τῶν δ' ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς χρησμῶν οἶσθα[5] καὶ τότε καταλογάδην ἐκφερομένους καὶ
B περὶ πραγμάτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων· Λακεδαιμονίοις τε γάρ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκε, περὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου χρωμένοις ἀνεῖλε νίκην καὶ κράτος, καὶ βοηθήσειν αὐτὸς καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἀπαράκλητος[6]· καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα[7] εἰ μὴ καταγάγοιεν 'ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ[8] εὐλάξειν[9].'

"Ἀθηναίοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μαντευομένοις στρατιᾶς προσέταξε τὴν ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν[10] ἱέρειαν ἀνάγειν[11] τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐκαλεῖτο δ' Ἡσυχία τὸ γύναιον.

[1] E. Harrison would omit εἰπεῖν.
[2] τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν Turnebus and Vulcobius: εἰς αὐτὴν.
[3] θαυμάζειν Reiske: θαυμάζει. [4] A long lacuna in the MSS.
[5] χρησμῶν added by Reiske, οἶσθα by Paton.
[6] ἀπαράκλητος] ἄκλητος Thucydides.
[7] Πλειστοάνακτα Wyttenbach from Thucydides, v. 16: Παυσανίαν.
[8] εὐλάκᾳ added by Wasse from Thucydides, v. 16.
[9] εὐλάξειν Wasse: συλλέξειν.
[10] Ἐρυθρῶν] Κλαζομενῶν in the *Life of Nicias*, ch. xiii.

notable by writing in prose, although in earlier days Eudoxus, Hesiod, and Thales wrote in verse, if indeed Thales, in all truth, composed the *Astronomy* which is attributed to him. Pindar also confesses that he is puzzled by the neglect of a mode of music and is astonished that . . .[a] The fact is that there is nothing dreadful nor abnormal in seeking the causes of such changes ; but to do away with these arts and faculties themselves because something about them has been disturbed or changed is not right."

19. Theon, taking up the subject, said, " But these matters have actually undergone great changes and innovations, whereas you know that many of the oracles here have been given out in prose, and those that concerned no unimportant matters. For, as Thucydides[b] has recorded, when the Spartans consulted the god about their war against the Athenians, his answer was a promise of victory and power and that he himself would come to their aid, bidden or unbidden ; and in another oracle that if they would not allow Pleistoanax to return from exile, they should plough with a silver ploughshare.[c]

" When the Athenians sought advice about their campaign in Sicily, he directed them to get the priestess of Athena at Erythrae ; the name which the woman bore was ' Quiet.'[d]

[a] Unfortunately the cause of Pindar's astonishment has been omitted by the copyist, who left a blank here.

[b] Thucydides, i. 118.

[c] *Ibid.* v. 16. The meaning seems to be that they would have to buy their grain.

[d] *Cf. Life of Nicias*, chap. xiii. (532 A), where it is explained that the god advised them τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, " to keep Quiet."

---

11 ἀνάγειν] ἄγειν *ibid.* Perhaps ἀγαγεῖν should be read here.

(403) "Δεινομένους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου μαντευομένου περὶ τῶν υἱέων, ἀνεῖλεν ὡς οἱ τρεῖς τυραννήσοιεν· C ὑποτυχόντος δὲ τοῦ Δεινομένους, 'οἰμωξόμενοί γ' ὦ δέσποτ' Ἄπολλον,' καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ[1] ἔφη διδόναι καὶ προσαναιρεῖν. ἴστε τοίνυν ὅτι Γέλων μὲν ὑδρωπιῶν Ἱέρων δὲ λιθιῶν ἐτυράννησεν· ὁ δὲ τρίτος Θρασύβουλος ἐν στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις γενόμενος χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

"Προκλῆς τοίνυν ὁ Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ὠμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀνεῖλε καὶ Τίμαρχον ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν παραγενόμενον μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεπόντισεν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς φορμόν· ἔπραξε δὲ ταῦτα διὰ Κλεάνδρου τοῦ D Αἰγινήτου, τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοούντων. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ ταραττομένων, ἔπεμψεν ἐνταῦθα Κλεότιμον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ μαντευσόμενον περὶ φυγῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάσεως. ἀνεῖλεν οὖν ὁ θεὸς διδόναι Προκλεῖ φυγὴν καὶ μετάστασιν, ὅπου τὸν φορμὸν ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι τὸν Αἰγινήτην ξένον ἢ ὅπου τὸ κέρας ἀποβάλλει ὁ ἔλαφος. συνεὶς οὖν ὁ τύραννος, ὅτι κελεύει καταποντίζειν αὐτὸν ἢ κατορύττειν ὁ θεός (οἱ γὰρ ἔλαφοι κατορύττουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσι κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὅταν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ κέρας), ἐπέσχεν ὀλίγον χρόνον, εἶτα τῶν πραγμάτων παντάπασι μοχθηρῶν γενομένων, ἐξέπεσε. λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Τιμάρ- E χου φίλοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ἐξέβαλον τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.

[1] οἱ Reiske: σοι.

"When Deinomenes of Sicily asked advice about his sons, the answer was that all three should rule as despots; and when Deinomenes rejoined, 'To their sorrow, then, O Lord Apollo,' the god said that he granted this also to Deinomenes, and added it to the response. You all know, of course, that Gelo, while he was despot, suffered from dropsy; and likewise Hiero from gall-stones; and the third, Thrasybulus, became involved in seditions and wars, and it was no long time before he was dethroned.

"Then there was Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, who did away with many men in a cruel and lawless manner, and finally put to death Timarchus, who had come to him from Athens with money, after receiving him and entertaining him with much show of hospitality. The body he thrust into a basket and sank in the sea. All this he accomplished through Cleander of Aegina, and nobody else knew anything about it. But later, when his affairs were in sad confusion, he sent here his brother Cleotimus to ask advice in secret concerning his flight and withdrawal to another country. The god therefore made answer that he granted Procles flight and withdrawal to the place in which he had bidden his friend from Aegina deposit the basket, or where the stag sheds his horns. The despot at once understood that the god ordered him to sink himself in the sea or to bury himself in the earth (for stags, whenever their horns fall off, bury them out of sight underground [a]); but he waited for a short time, and then, when the state of his affairs became altogether desperate, he had to leave the country. And the friends of Timarchus seized him, slew him, and cast forth his dead body into the sea.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 700 D.

"Ὃ δ' ἐστὶ μέγιστον, αἱ ῥῆτραι, δι' ὧν ἐκόσμησε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν Λυκοῦργος, ἐδόθησαν αὐτῷ καταλογάδην.

"Μυρίους[1] τοίνυν καὶ Ἡροδότου καὶ Φιλοχόρου καὶ Ἴστρου, τῶν μάλιστα τὰς ἐμμέτρους μαντείας φιλοτιμηθέντων συναγαγεῖν, ἄνευ μέτρου χρησμοὺς γεγραφότων, Θεόπομπος οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἀνθρώπων ἐσπουδακὼς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιτετίμηκε τοῖς μὴ νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον ἔμμετρα τὴν Πυθίαν θεσπίζειν· εἶτα τοῦτο βου-
F λόμενος ἀποδεῖξαι, παντάπασιν ὀλίγων χρησμῶν ηὐπόρηκεν, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων[2] καὶ τότ' ἤδη καταλογάδην ἐκφερομένων.

20. "Ἐνιοι δὲ καὶ νῦν μετὰ μέτρων ἐκτρέχουσιν, ὧν ἕνα[3] καὶ πρᾶγμα περιβόητον πεποίηκε. μισογύνου[4] γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι, καὶ νομίζεται τὸν ἱερωμένον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γυναικὶ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν· διὸ καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐπιεικῶς ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι. πλὴν ἔμπροσθεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ νεανίας οὐ πονηρὸς ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος, ἐρῶν
404 παιδίσκης, ἔλαβε τὴν ἱερωσύνην. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἦν ἐγκρατὴς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγε τὴν ἄνθρωπον· ἀναπαυομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ ποτε μετὰ πότου καὶ χορείαν προσπεσοῦσαν διεπράξατο. φοβούμενος οὖν καὶ ταραττόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον κατέφυγε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἠρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἴ τις εἴη παραίτησις ἢ λύσις· ἔλαβε δὲ τόνδε τὸν χρησμόν·

ἅπαντα τἀναγκαῖα[5] συγχωρεῖ θεός.

[1] μυρίους Paton; Ἀλυπίου Reiske: ἀλυρίου.
[2] τῶν ἄλλων] τῶν πολλῶν Herwerden.
[3] ἕνα Wyttenbach: ἕνεκα. [4] μισογύνου Xylander: μισοῦν.
[5] τἀναγκαῖα Reiske: ἀναγκαῖα.

"Most important of all is the fact that the decrees through which Lycurgus gave form and order to the Spartan constitution were given to him in prose.

"Now Herodotus and Philochorus and Ister, men who were most assiduous in collecting prophecies in verse, have quoted countless oracles not in verse; but Theopompus, who has given more diligent study to the oracle than any one man, has strongly rebuked those who do not believe that in his time the prophetic priestess used verse in her oracular responses. Afterwards, wishing to prove this, he has found to support his contention an altogether meagre number of such oracles, indicating that the others were given out in prose even as early as that time.

20. "Some of the oracles even to-day come out in metre, one of which an affair has made famous. There is in Phocis a shrine of Heracles the Woman-hater, and it is the custom that the man who is appointed to the priesthood shall have no association with a woman within the year. For this reason they usually appoint as priests rather old men. By exception, only a few years ago, a young man, not at all bad, but ambitious, who was in love with a girl, gained the office. At first he was able to control himself, and succeeded in keeping out of her way; but when she suddenly came in upon him as he was resting after drinking and dancing, he did the forbidden thing. Frightened and perturbed in consequence, he resorted at once to the oracle and asked the god about his sin, whether there were any way to obtain forgiveness or to expiate it; and he received this response:

All things that must be doth the god condone.

(404) "Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δοὺς ἄν τις ὡς οὐδὲν ἄνευ μέτρου θεσπίζεται καθ' ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον διαπορήσειε[1] περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ποτὲ μὲν ἐν[2] μέτροις ποτὲ δ' ἄνευ
B μέτρων διδόντων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἔστι δ' οὐδέτερον, ὦ παῖ, παράλογον, μόνον ἂν ὀρθὰς καὶ καθαρὰς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἔχωμεν, καὶ μὴ νομίζωμεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν τὰ ἔπη συντιθέντα πρότερον καὶ νῦν ὑποβάλλοντα τῇ Πυθίᾳ τοὺς χρησμούς, ὥσπερ ἐκ προσωπείων φθεγγόμενον.

21. "Ἀλλ' αὖθις ἄξιον μέν ἐστι[3] διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν τι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τούτων, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐν βραχεῖ μαθόντες διαμνημονεύωμεν ὡς σῶμα μὲν ὀργάνοις χρῆται πολλοῖς αὐτῷ δὲ σώματι ψυχὴ καὶ μέρεσι τοῖς σώματος· ψυχὴ δ' ὄργανον θεοῦ γέγονεν, ὀργάνου δ' ἀρετὴ μάλιστα μιμεῖσθαι τὸ χρώ-
C μενον ᾗ πέφυκε δυνάμει καὶ παρέχειν τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ νοήματος ἐν αὑτῷ[4] δεικνύμενον,[5] δεικνύναι δ' οὐχ οἷον ἦν ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, ἀλλὰ μεμειγμένον πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ·[6] καθ' ἑαυτὸ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἡμῖν, ἕτερον[7] δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρου φαινόμενον ἀναπίμπλαται τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως. καὶ κηρὸν μὲν ἐῶ καὶ χρυσὸν

[1] διαπορήσειε Reiske: διαπορήσει.
[2] ἐν added by Duebner.
[3] ἐστι] some would write ἔσται, but Plutarch often uses the present in such expressions; *e.g.* 410 D.
[4] αὑτῷ Paton: αὐτῷ.
[5] δεικνύμενον F.C.B.: δυναμένη.
[6] πολλῷ τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ Wyttenbach (οἰκείῳ Paton) to fill a lacuna in the MSS.
[7] ἕτερον] ἐν ἑτέρῳ Emperius.

" However, even if anybody were to grant that no word of prophecy is uttered in our time without being in verse, such a person would be in much more perplexity regarding the oracles of ancient times which gave their responses at one time in verse and at another time without versification. However, neither of these, my young friend, goes counter to reason if only we hold correct and uncontaminated opinions about the god, and do not believe that it was he himself who used to compose the verses in earlier times, while now he suggests the oracles [a] to the prophetic priestess as if he were prompting an actor in a play to speak his words.

21. " However, it is worth our while to discuss these matters at greater length and to learn about them at another time ; but for the present let us recall to our minds what we have learned in brief: that the body makes use of many instruments [b] and that the soul makes use of this very body and its members ; moreover, the soul is created to be the instrument of God, and the virtue of an instrument is to conform as exactly as possible to the purpose of the agent that employs it by using all the powers which Nature has bestowed upon it, and to produce, presented in itself, the purpose of the very design ; but to present this, not in the form in which it was existent in its creator, uncontaminated, unaffected, and faultless, but combined with much that is alien to this. For pure design cannot be seen by us, and when it is made manifest in another guise and through another medium, it becomes contaminated with the nature of this medium. Wax, for example, and gold and silver I

[a] *Cf.* 397 C, *supra*, and 414 E, *infra*.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 163 E.

(404) ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χαλκόν, ὅσα τ' ἄλλα πλαττομένης οὐσίας εἴδη δέχεται μὲν ἰδέαν μίαν ἐκτυπουμένης ὁμοιότητος, ἄλλο δ' ἄλλην ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ μιμήματι διαφορὰν προστίθησι· καὶ τὰς ἐν κατόπτροις ἐπι-
D πέδοις τε καὶ κοίλοις καὶ περιηγέσι[1] φασμάτων καὶ εἰδώλων ἀφ' ἑνὸς εἴδους μυρίας παρατυπώσεις. καὶ γάρ, εἰ σιγαλόεντ' ἄστρα βλέπομεν,[2] οὐδὲν οὔτε μᾶλλον τὴν[3] ἰδέαν ἔοικεν οὔθ' ὡς ὄργανον[4] χρῆσθαι φύσει γέγονεν εὐπειθέστερον σελήνης· λαμβάνουσα δὲ παρ' ἡλίου τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ πυρωπὸν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀποπέμπει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μειχθὲν αὐτῇ καὶ χρόαν μετέβαλε καὶ δύναμιν ἔσχεν ἑτέραν· ἡ δὲ θερμότης καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξοίχεται καὶ προλέλοιπε τὸ φῶς ὑπ' ἀσθενείας.

" Οἶμαι δέ σε[5] γιγνώσκειν τὸ παρ' Ἡρακλείτῳ λεγόμενον ὡς ὁ[6] ἄναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν
E Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. πρόσλαβε δὲ τούτοις εὖ λεγομένοις καὶ νόησον τὸν ἐνταῦθα θεὸν χρώμενον τῇ Πυθίᾳ πρὸς ἀκοήν, καθὼς ἥλιος χρῆται σελήνῃ πρὸς ὄψιν[7]· δείκνυσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀναφαίνει τὰς αὐτοῦ νοήσεις, μεμειγμένας δὲ δείκνυσι διὰ σώματος θνητοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς[8] ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένης[9] μηδὲ[10] τῷ κινοῦντι

[1] περιηγέσι Reiske: περιαυγέσι.
[2] εἰ σιγαλόεντ' ἄστρα βλέπομεν F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the MSS.; alii alia: εἰσι.
[3] τὴν added by Reiske.
[4] ὄργανον] ὀργάνῳ Reiske.
[5] σε added by Duebner (καί σε Reiske).
[6] ὡς ὁ Turnebus: ὥσθ'.
[7] πρὸς ὄψιν stands after Πυθίᾳ in the MSS.; transposed by Wyttenbach.
[8] A lacuna in the MSS. after ψυχῆς. Add παρθενικῆς (405 c)?
[9] δυναμένης Wyttenbach: δυνάμενος.

leave out of account, as well as other kinds of material,[a] which, when moulded, take on the particular form of the likeness which is being modelled ; and yet each one of them adds to the thing portrayed a distinguishing characteristic which comes from its own substance ; and so also the numberless distortions in the reflected images of one single form seen in mirrors both plane and concave and convex. Indeed, if we contemplate the shining constellations, there is nothing that shows greater similarity in form, or which, as an instrument, is by nature more obedient in use than the moon. Receiving as it does from the sun its brilliant light and intense heat, it sends them away to us, not in the state in which they arrived, but, after being merged with it, they change their colour and also acquire a different potency. The heat is gone, and the light becomes faint because of weakness.

" I imagine that you are familiar with the saying found in Heracleitus [b] to the effect that the Lord whose prophetic shrine is at Delphi neither tells nor conceals, but indicates. Add to these words, which are so well said, the thought that the god of this place employs the prophetic priestess for men's ears just as the sun employs the moon for men's eyes. For he makes known and reveals his own thoughts, but he makes them known through the associated medium of a mortal body and a soul that is unable to keep quiet, or, as it yields itself to the One that

[a] Obviously what is left is marble, the less plastic material.
[b] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 86, Heracleitus, no. B 93.

---

[10] μηδὲ Wyttenbach : δὲ.

παρέχειν ἑαυτὴν ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὑτῆς καὶ καθεστῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν σάλῳ ψοφοῦσαν[1] καὶ συμπλεκομένην τοῖς ἐν αὑτῇ[2] κινήμασι καὶ πάθεσιν ἐπιταράττουσαν αὑτήν.[3]

"Ὡς γὰρ οἱ δῖνοι τῶν ἅμα κύκλῳ καταφερομένων σωμάτων οὐκ ἐπικρατοῦσι βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης φερομένων κάτω δὲ φύσει
F ῥεπόντων γίγνεταί τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ταραχώδης καὶ παράφορος ἑλιγμός, οὕτως ὁ καλούμενος ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἔοικε μεῖξις εἶναι κινήσεων δυοῖν, τὴν μὲν ὡς πέπονθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα τὴν δ' ὡς πέφυκε κινουμένης. ὅπου γὰρ ἀψύχοις σώμασι καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ μονίμοις οὐκ ἔστι χρήσασθαι παρ' ὃ πέφυκε βιαζόμενον, οὐδὲ κινῆσαι σφαιρικῶς κύλινδρον ἢ κυβικῶς[4] ἢ λύραν αὐλητικῶς ἢ σάλπιγγα κιθαριστικῶς· ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερον,[5] ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ τεχνικῶς ἑκάστῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ ὡς πέφυκεν· ἦπου τὸ ἔμψυχον καὶ αὐτοκίνητον ὁρμῆς τε καὶ λόγου μετέχον ἄλλως ἄν τις ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ[6] προϋπάρχουσαν
405 ἕξιν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν μεταχειρίσαιτο, μουσικῶς κινῶν[7] νοῦν ἄμουσον ἢ γραμματικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον ἢ λογίως τὸν ἐν λόγοις ἀθεώρητον καὶ ἀνάσκητον; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.

22. "Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος, αἰτίᾳ μὲν 'ἄνευ θεοῦ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος

[1] *ψοφοῦσαν* Wyttenbach: *ψαύουσαν αὐτὴν.*
[2] *αὑτῇ* Bernardakis: *αὐτῇ.*
[3] *ἐπιταράττουσαν αὐτὴν* F.C.B.: *ἐπιταραττούσης.*
[4] *ἢ κυβικῶς*] *ἢ σφαῖραν κυβικῶς* Wyttenbach; *κῶνον κυβικῶς* Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. Stegmann would omit the two words.
[5] *ἕτερον* Wyttenbach; *ἕτερον ἢν* Paton: *ἕτερον ἢ.*
[6] *ἐν αὐτῷ* Meziriacus: *ἑαυτῶν.*
[7] *κινῶν* Wyttenbach: *κινοῦντι.*

moves it, to remain of itself unmoved and tranquil, but, as though tossed amid billows and enmeshed in the stirrings and emotions within itself, it makes itself more and more restless.

" For, as the eddies exercise no sure control over the bodies carried round and round in them, but, since the bodies are carried round and round by a compelling force, while they naturally tend to sink, there results from the two a confused and erratic circular movement, so, in like manner, what is called inspiration seems to be a combination of two impulses, the soul being simultaneously impelled through one of these by some external influence, and through the other by its own nature. Wherefore it is not possible to deal with inanimate and stationary bodies in a way contrary to their nature by bringing force to bear upon them, nor to make a cylinder in motion behave in the manner of a sphere or a cube, nor a lyre like a flute, nor a trumpet like a harp. No, the use of each thing artistically is apparently no other than its natural use. And as for the animate, endowed with power to move of itself and with its share of initiative and reason, could anyone treat it in a manner other than in keeping with the condition, faculty, or nature, already pre-existent in it, as, for example, trying to arouse to music a mind unmusical, or to letters the unlettered, or to eloquence one with no observation or training in speeches? That is something which no one could assert.

22. " Homer [a] also gives testimony on my side by his assumption that practically nothing is brought to pass for any reason ' without a god ' [b] ; he does not,

[a] *Il.* ii. 169 ; v. 1.
[b] For example, *Od.* ii. 372 ; xv. 531.

(405) περαινόμενον, οὐ μὴν πᾶσι πρὸς πάντα χρώμενον ποιῶν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἑκάστῳ καθ' ἣν ἔχει τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ φίλε Διογενιανέ, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅτε πεῖσαι βούλεται τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παρακαλοῦσαν, ὅτε συγχέαι τὰ ὅρκια, τὸν Πάνδαρον ζητοῦσαν, ὅτε τρέ-
B ψασθαι τοὺς Τρῶας, ἐπὶ τὸν Διομήδην βαδίζουσαν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὔρωστος καὶ μάχιμος ὁ δὲ τοξικὸς καὶ ἀνόητος ὁ δὲ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος. οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν Ὅμηρος τὴν αὐτὴν Πινδάρῳ διάνοιαν, εἴ γε Πίνδαρος[1] ἦν ὁ ποιήσας

θεοῦ θέλοντος, κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοις[2]·

ἀλλ' ἐγίγνωσκεν[3] ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλα δυνάμεις καὶ φύσεις γεγενημένας, ὧν ἑκάστη κινεῖται διαφόρως, κἂν ἓν ᾖ τὸ κινοῦν ἁπάσας. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ κινοῦν τὸ πεζὸν οὐ δύναται κινῆσαι[4] πτητικῶς, οὐδὲ τορῶς τὸ τραυλὸν οὐδ' εὐφώνως τὸ ἰσχνόφωνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Βάττον, οἶμαι, διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν
C φωνὴν παραγενόμενον εἰς Λιβύην ἔπεμψεν οἰκιστήν, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἰσχνόφωνος βασιλικὸς δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος· οὕτως ἀδύνατον διαλέγεσθαι ποιητικῶς τὸν ἀγράμματον καὶ ἀνήκοον

[1] Πινδάρῳ . . . Πίνδαρος Anonymous (Μενάνδρῳ . . . Μένανδρος Wilamowitz-Möllendorff): Πανδάρω . . . πάνδαρος.
[2] θεοῦ πλέοντος κἂν ἐπιρρεπῶς MSS. corrected from other citations.
[3] ἐγίνωσκεν Xylander: γίνωσκε.
[4] κινῆσαι added by Bernardakis.

---

[a] *Il.* ii. 169. [b] *Il.* iv. 86. [c] *Il.* v. 1.
[d] From the *Thyestes* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec.*

however, represent the god as employing everything for every purpose, but as employing each thing in accordance with the aptitude or faculty that each possesses. Do you not see," he continued, " my dear Diogenianus, that Athena, when she wishes to persuade the Achaeans, summons Odysseus [a] ; when she wishes to bring to naught the oaths, seeks out Pandarus [b] ; when she wishes to rout the Trojans, goes to Diomedes [c] ? The reason is that Diomedes is a man of great strength and a warrior, Pandarus a bowman and a fool, Odysseus adept at speaking and a man of sense. The fact is that Homer did not have the same idea as Pindar, if it really was Pindar who wrote

God willing, you may voyage on a mat ; [d]

but Homer recognized the fact that some faculties and natures are created for some purposes and others for others, and each one of these is moved to action in a different way, even if the power that moves them all be one and the same. Now this power cannot move to flight that which can only walk or run, nor move a lisp to clear speaking, nor a shrill thin voice to melodious utterance. No, in the case of Battus [e] it was for this reason, when he came to consult the oracle for his voice, that the god sent him as a colonist to Africa, because Battus had a lisp and a shrill thin voice, but also had the qualities of a king and a statesman, and was a man of sense. So in the same way it is impossible for the unlettered man who has never read verse to talk like a poet. Even so the maiden

Frag., Euripides, no. 397 ; but the line is sometimes ascribed to other poets also.

[e] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 155 ; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, v., and the scholium to *Pythian* iv. 10.

(405) ἐπῶν, ὥσπερ ἡ νῦν τῷ θεῷ λατρεύουσα γέγονε μὲν εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐνταῦθα νομίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ βεβίωκεν εὐτάκτως· τραφεῖσα[1] δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ γεωργῶν πενήτων, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀπ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐμπειρίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιφερομένη κάτεισιν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν οἴεται δεῖν ἐλάχιστα τὴν νύμφην ἰδοῦσαν ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσασαν εἰς ἀνδρὸς βαδίζειν, οὕτως ἄπειρος καὶ
D ἀδαὴς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἁπάντων καὶ παρθένος ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ θεῷ σύνεστιν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐρωδιοῖς οἰόμεθα καὶ τροχίλοις καὶ κόραξι χρῆσθαι φθεγγομένοις σημαίνοντα τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, ἢ θεῶν ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκές εἰσι, λογικῶς ἕκαστα καὶ σαφῶς[2] φράζειν· τὴν δὲ τῆς Πυθίας φωνὴν καὶ διάλεκτον ὥσπερ χορικὸν[3] ἐκ θυμέλης, οὐκ ἀνήδυντον οὐδὲ λιτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ πλάσματι καὶ μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ φθεγγομένην παρέχειν ἀξιοῦμεν.

23. "Τί οὖν φήσομεν περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν; οὐχ
E ἓν ἀλλὰ πλείονα, οἶμαι. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τὰ πλεῖστα κἀκεῖναι καταλογάδην ἀπεφθέγγοντο. δεύτερον δὲ καὶ σωμάτων ἤνεγκε κράσεις καὶ φύσεις ὁ χρόνος ἐκεῖνος εὕρουν τι καὶ φορὸν ἐχούσας πρὸς ποίησιν, αἷς εὐθὺς ἐπεγίγνοντο προθυμίαι καὶ ὁρμαὶ καὶ παρασκευαὶ ψυχῆς ἑτοιμότητα ποιοῦσαι μικρᾶς ἔξωθεν ἀρχῆς καὶ

[1] *τραφεῖσα* Basel ed of 1542: *γραφεῖσα*.
[2] *σαφῶς* Reiske: *σοφῶς*.
[3] *χορικὸν* F.C.B. to fill the lacuna in the MSS.; Pohlenz proposes *τραγικὴν*, but *διάλεκτον* and *αὐλοῦ* point to the choral song; so *χορευτῶν* Bernardakis.

---

[a] *Oeconomicus*, 7. 4-5. [b] 403 E and 404 A, *supra*.

who now serves the god here was born of as lawful and honourable wedlock as anyone, and her life has been in all respects proper ; but, having been brought up in the home of poor peasants, she brings nothing with her as the result of technical skill or of any other expertness or faculty, as she goes down into the shrine. On the contrary, just as Xenophon [a] believes that a bride should have seen as little and heard as little as possible before she proceeds to her husband's house, so this girl, inexperienced and uninformed about practically everything, a pure, virgin soul, becomes the associate of the god. Now we cherish the belief that the god, in giving indications to us, makes use of the calls of herons, wrens, and ravens ; but we do not insist that these, inasmuch as they are messengers and heralds of the gods, shall express everything rationally and clearly, and yet we insist that the voice and language of the prophetic priestess, like a choral song in the theatre, shall be presented, not without sweetness and embellishment, but also in verse of a grandiloquent and formal style with verbal metaphors and with a flute to accompany its delivery !

23. " What statement, then, shall we make about the priestesses of former days ? Not one statement, but more than one, I think. For in the first place, as has already been said,[b] they also gave almost all their responses in prose. In the second place, that era produced personal temperaments and natures which had an easy fluency and a bent towards composing poetry, and to them were given also zest and eagerness and readiness of mind abundantly, thus creating an alertness which needed but a slight initial stimulus from without and a prompting of the

προτροπῆς[1] τοῦ φανταστικοῦ δεομένην,[2] ὡς εὐθὺς ἕλκεσθαι πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον οὐ μόνον, ὡς λέγει Φιλῖνος, ἀστρολόγους καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἀλλ' ἐν οἴνῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πάθει γιγνομένων οἴκτου τινὸς ὑπορ-
F ρυέντος ἢ χαρᾶς προσπεσούσης ὀλισθάνειν[3] εἰς 'ἐνῳδὸν * * *[4] γῆρυν' ἐρωτικῶν τε κατεπίμπλαντο μέτρων καὶ ᾀσμάτων τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰ βιβλία γραμμάτων. ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης εἰπὼν[5] ὡς

ποιητὴν δ' ἄρα
Ἔρως[6] διδάσκει, κἂν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρίν,

ἐνενόησεν[7] ὅτι ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν Ἔρως δύναμιν οὐκ ἐντίθησιν, ἐνυπάρχουσαν δὲ κινεῖ καὶ ἀναθερμαίνει λανθάνουσαν καὶ ἀργοῦσαν. ἢ μηδένα νῦν ἐρᾶν, ὦ ξένε, λέγωμεν, ἀλλὰ φροῦδον οἴχεσθαι τὸν ἔρωτα, ὅτι μέτροις οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ᾠδαῖς

ῥίμφα παιδείους (ὡς Πίνδαρος ἔφη)
τοξεύει μελιγάρυας[8] ὕμνους;

406 ἀλλ' ἄτοπον· ἔρωτες γὰρ ἔτι[9] πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων[10] ἐπιστρέφονται, ψυχαῖς δ'[11] ὁμιλοῦντες οὐκ εὐφυῶς οὐδ' ἑτοίμως πρὸς μουσικὴν ἐχούσαις ἄναυλοι μὲν

[1] προτροπῆς Reiske: παρατροπῆς.
[2] δεομένην Reiske: δεομένης.
[3] ὀλισθάνειν F.C.B.: ὠλίσθανεν.
[4] A lacuna of eight letters in the MSS. before γῆρυν; Paton suggests ὀαριστὺς; perhaps ποιητὴν?
[5] εἰπὼν Basel ed. of 1542: ἐπιὼν.
[6] ποιητὴν ἄρα Ἔρως, κτλ. as in 762 B F.C.B. (δ' added by Valckenaer): Ἔρως ποιητὴν.
[7] ἐνενόησεν Wyttenbach: ἐννοῆσαι.
[8] παιδείους . . . μελιγάρυας Pindar, *Isthm.* ii. 3: παιδίοις . . . μελιγηρέας.

imagination, with the result that not only were astronomers and philosophers, as Philinus says, attracted at once to their special subjects, but when men came under the influence of abundant wine or emotion, as some note of sadness crept in or some joy befell, a poet would slip into 'tuneful utterance' [a]; their convivial gatherings were filled with amatory verses and their books with such writings. When Euripides said

> Love doth the poet teach,
> Even though he know naught of the Muse before,[b]

his thought was that Love does not implant in one the poetical or musical faculty, but when it is already existent in one, Love stirs it to activity and makes it fervent, while before it was unnoticed and idle. Or shall we say, my friend, that nobody is in love nowadays, but that love has vanished from the earth because nobody in verse or song

> Launches swiftly the shafts
> Of sweet-sounding lays
> Aimed at the youth beloved,

as Pindar [c] has put it? No, that is absurd. The fact is that loves many in number still go to and fro among men, but, being in association with souls that have no natural talent nor ear for music, they forgo the flute

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 623 A.

[b] The quotation, from the *Stheneboea* of Euripides, Plutarch repeats in more complete form in *Moralia*, 622 C and 762 B. *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 569, Euripides, no. 663.

[c] Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, ii. 3.

---

[9] ἔτι Reiske: ὅτι.

[10] τῶν ἀνθρώπων Turnebus: τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[11] δ' added by Reiske.

406) καὶ ἄλυροι λάλοι δ' οὐδὲν ἧττόν εἰσι καὶ διάπυροι τῶν παλαιῶν· ἔτι δ'[1] οὐδ' ὅσιον εἰπεῖν ἢ καλὸν ὡς ἀνέραστος ἦν ἡ Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ ὁ Σωκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος χορός, ὧν λόγοις μὲν ἐρωτικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν ἔστι, ποιήματα δ' οὐκ ἀπολελοίπασι. τί δ' ἀπολείπει[2] τοῦ λέγοντος ἐρωτικὴν μόνην γεγονέναι Σαπφὼ γυναικῶν ὁ μαντικὴν φάσκων μόνην[3] γεγονέναι Σίβυλλαν καὶ Ἀριστονίκαν καὶ ὅσαι
B διὰ μέτρων ἐθεμίστευσαν;

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος (ὡς ἔλεγε Χαιρήμων) τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται

τῶν πινόντων· ὁ δὲ μαντικὸς ἐνθουσιασμός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐρωτικός, χρῆται τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ δυνάμει καὶ κινεῖ τῶν δεξαμένων ἕκαστον καθ' ὃ πέφυκεν.

24. "Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς προνοίας σκοποῦντες, ὀψόμεθα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον γεγενημένην τὴν μεταβολήν. ἀμοιβῇ γὰρ ἔοικε νομίσματος ἡ τοῦ λόγου χρεία· καὶ δόκιμον καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σύνηθές ἐστι καὶ γνώριμον, ἄλλην ἐν ἄλλοις χρόνοις ἰσχὺν λαμβάνοντος. ἦν οὖν ὅτε λόγου νομίσμασιν ἐχρῶντο μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ᾠδαῖς,
C πᾶσαν μὲν ἱστορίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν πᾶν δὲ πάθος ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶγμα σεμνοτέρας φωνῆς δεόμενον εἰς ποιητικὴν καὶ μουσικὴν ἄγοντες. οὐ

[1] ἔτι δ' Reiske; ὅθεν Wyttenbach: ὅτι.
[2] ἀπολείπει Turnebus: ἀπολιπεῖν.
[3] ὁ . . . φάσκων μόνην added by Turnebus to fill a lacuna in the MSS.

[a] Such, for example, as the *Phaedrus* of Plato.
[b] A few epigrams (some amatory) attributed to Plato may

and lyre, but they are no less loquacious and ardent than those of olden time. Besides it is not righteous nor honourable to say that the Academy and Socrates and Plato's congregation were loveless, for we may read their amatory discourses [a]; but they have left us no poems.[b] As compared with him who says that the only poetess of love was Sappho, how much does he fall short who asserts that the only prophetess was the Sibyl and Aristonica and such others as delivered their oracles in verse? As Chaeremon [c] says,

Wine mixes with the manners of each guest,

and as he drinks, prophetic inspiration, like that of love, makes use of the abilities that it finds ready at hand, and moves each of them that receive it according to the nature of each.

24. "If, however, we take into consideration the workings of the god and of divine providence, we shall see that the change has been for the better. For the use of language is like the currency of coinage in trade: the coinage which is familiar and well known is also acceptable, although it takes on a different value at different times. There was, then, a time when men used as the coinage of speech verses and tunes and songs, and reduced to poetic and musical form all history and philosophy and, in a word, every experience and action that required a more impressive utterance. Not only is it a fact

be found in the *Anthology*; *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. 295-312; Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambic*, ii. pp. 2-11 (L.C.L.); and for Socrates' poems see Suidas *s.v.*; Plato, *Phaedo*, 60 C-D; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 42; Athenaeus, 628 E; Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. 287-288.

[c] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 787, no. 16; *cf.* also 437 D-E, *infra.*

(406) γὰρ μόνον νῦν ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐπαΐουσι, τότε δὲ πάντες ἠκροῶντο καὶ ἔχαιρον ᾀδομένοις

μηλοβόται τ'[1] ἀρόται τ' ὀρνιχολόχοι[2] τε

κατὰ Πίνδαρον· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ποιητικὴν ἐπιτηδειότητος οἱ πλεῖστοι διὰ λύρας καὶ ᾠδῆς ἐνουθέτουν ἐπαρρησιάζοντο παρεκελεύοντο, μύθοις καὶ παροιμίαις[3] ἐπέραινον, ἔτι δ' ὕμνους θεῶν εὐχὰς παιᾶνας ἐν μέτροις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ μέλεσιν οἱ μὲν δι' εὐφυΐαν οἱ δὲ διὰ συνήθειαν. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ μαντικῇ[4] κόσμου καὶ χάριτος ἐφθόνει ὁ θεὸς οὐδ' D ἀπήλαυνεν ἐνθένδε τὴν[5] τιμωμένην μοῦσαν τοῦ τρίποδος, ἀλλ' ἐπήγετο μᾶλλον ἐγείρων[6] τὰς ποιητικὰς καὶ[7] ἀσπαζόμενος φύσεις, αὐτός τε φαντασίας ἐνεδίδου καὶ συνεξώρμα τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ λόγιον ὡς ἁρμόττον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου μεταβολὴν ἅμα ταῖς τύχαις καὶ ταῖς φύσεσι λαμβάνοντος ἐξωθοῦσα τὸ περιττὸν ἡ χρεία κρωβύλους τε χρυσοῦς ἀφῄρει καὶ ξυστίδας μαλακὰς ἀπημφίαζε καί που καὶ κόμην σοβαρωτέραν ἀπέκειρε καὶ ὑπέλυσε κόθορνον, οὐ φαύλως ἐθιζομένων ἀντικαλλωπίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολυτέλειαν εὐτελείᾳ καὶ E τὸ ἀφελὲς καὶ λιτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ τίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ

[1] μηλοβόται τ' added by Xylander from Pindar or *Moralia* 473 A to fill a lacuna in the MSS.
[2] ὀρνιχολόχοι Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 68: ὀρνιθολόγοι.
[3] μύθοις καὶ παροιμίαις] μύθους καὶ παροιμίας Wyttenbach.
[4] μαντικῇ Turnebus: μαντικὴν.
[5] τὴν added by Stegmann.
[6] ἐγείρων] ἑτέρων Apelt.
[7] καὶ added by Vulcobius.

---

[a] *Isthmian Odes*, i. 68: repeated more fully in *Moralia*, 473 A.

that nowadays but few people have even a limited understanding of this diction, but in those days the audience comprised all the people, who were delighted with Pindar's [a] song,

Shepherds and ploughmen and fowlers as well.

Indeed, owing to this aptitude for poetic composition, most men through lyre and song admonished, spoke out frankly, or exhorted; they attained their ends by the use of myths and proverbs,[b] and besides composed hymns, prayers, and paeans in honour of the gods in verse and music, some through their natural talent, others because it was the prevailing custom. Accordingly, the god did not begrudge to the art of prophecy adornment and pleasing grace, nor did he drive away from here the honoured Muse of the tripod, but introduced her rather by awakening and welcoming poetic natures; and he himself provided visions for them, and helped in prompting impressiveness and eloquence as something fitting and admirable. But, as life took on a change along with the change in men's fortunes and their natures, when usage banished the unusual and did away with the golden topknots [c] and dressing in soft robes, and, on occasion, cut off the stately long hair and caused the buskin to be no longer worn, men accustomed themselves (nor was it a bad thing) to oppose expensive outlay by adorning themselves with economy, and to rate as decorative the plain and

[b] Passages from Hesiod, Theognis, and Archilochus might be cited in confirmation of these statements. See also E. B. Stevens, "The Topics of Counsel and Deliberation in Prephilosophic Greek Literature" in *Classical Philology*, xxviii. (1933) pp. 104-120.

[c] *Cf.* Thucydides, i. 6.

τὸ σοβαρὸν καὶ περίεργον· οὕτω τοῦ λόγου[1] συμμεταβάλλοντος ἅμα καὶ συναποδυομένου,[2] κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μέτρων ὥσπερ ὀχημάτων ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τῷ πεζῷ μάλιστα τοῦ μυθώδους ἀπεκρίθη τὸ ἀληθές· φιλοσοφία δὲ τὸ σαφὲς καὶ διδασκαλικὸν ἀσπασαμένη μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἐκπλῆττον τὴν διὰ λόγων ἐποιεῖτο ζήτησιν· ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς 'πυρικάους' μὲν ὀνομάζουσαν τοὺς αὑτῆς πολίτας, 'ὀφιοβόρους' δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, 'ὀρεᾶνας' δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, 'ὀρεμπότας' δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς·
F ἀφελὼν δὲ τῶν χρησμῶν ἔπη καὶ γλώττας καὶ περιφράσεις καὶ ἀσάφειαν οὕτω διαλέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασε τοῖς χρωμένοις ὡς νόμοι τε πόλεσι διαλέγονται καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι δήμοις καὶ μαθηταὶ[3] διδασκάλων ἀκροῶνται, πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν καὶ πιθανὸν ἁρμοζόμενος.

25. "Εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν θεόν, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς,

σοφοῖς μὲν αἰνικτῆρα θεσφάτων ἀεί,
σκαιοῖς δὲ φαῦλον κἀν βραχεῖ διδάσκαλον.

407 μετὰ δὲ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ ἡ πίστις οὕτως ἐστρέφετο συμμεταβάλλουσα τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν, ὥστε πάλαι μὲν τὸ μὴ σύνηθες μηδὲ κοινὸν ἀλλὰ λοξὸν[4] ἀτεχνῶς καὶ περιπεφρασμένον εἰς ὑπόνοιαν θειότητος[5] ἀνάγοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ σαφῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστα καὶ μὴ σὺν ὄγκῳ μηδὲ πλάσματι μανθάνειν

[1] τοῦ λόγου Leonicus: τῷ λόγῳ.
[2] συναποδυομένου] συναπολυομένου Bernardakis.
[3] μαθηταὶ Leonicus: καθηγηταὶ.
[4] ἀλλὰ λοξὸν Reiske: ἀλλ' ἄδοξον.
[5] θειότητος Wyttenbach: ὁσιότητος.

simple rather than the ornate and elaborate. So, as language also underwent a change and put off its finery, history descended from its vehicle of versification, and went on foot in prose, whereby the truth was mostly sifted from the fabulous. Philosophy welcomed clearness and teachability in preference to creating amazement, and pursued its investigations through the medium of everyday language. The god put an end to having his prophetic priestess call her own citizens 'fire-blazers,' the Spartans 'snake-devourers,' men 'mountain-roamers,' and rivers 'mountain-engorgers.' When he had taken away from the oracles epic versification, strange words, circumlocutions, and vagueness, he had thus made them ready to talk to his consultants as the laws talk to States, or as kings meet with common people, or as pupils listen to teachers, since he adapted the language to what was intelligible and convincing.

25. "Men ought to understand thoroughly, as Sophocles[a] says, that the god is

> For wise men author of dark edicts aye,
> For dull men a poor teacher, if concise.

The introduction of clearness was attended also by a revolution in belief, which underwent a change along with everything else. And this was the result: in days of old what was not familiar or common, but was expressed altogether indirectly and through circumlocution, the mass of people imputed to an assumed manifestation of divine power, and held it in awe and reverence; but in later times, being well satisfied to apprehend all these various things clearly and easily without the attendant grandiloquence and artifici-

[a] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 298, Sophocles, no. 704 (no. 771 Pearson).

(407) ἀγαπῶντες ἠτιῶντο τὴν περικειμένην τοῖς χρησμοῖς ποίησιν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀντιπράττουσαν[1] τῇ νοήσει πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ σκιὰν τῷ φραζο-
B μένῳ μειγνύουσαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας, ὥσπερ μυχοὺς καὶ καταφυγὰς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ πταίοντι πεποιημένας[2] τῆς μαντικῆς, ὑφεωρῶντο. πολλῶν δ' ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι ποιητικοί τινες ἄνδρες ἐκδεχόμενοι τὰς φωνὰς καὶ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐπικάθηνται[3] περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἔπη καὶ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς οἷον ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος περιπλέκοντες. Ὀνομάκριτοι δ' ἐκεῖνοι καὶ Πρόδικοι[4] καὶ Κιναίθωνες[5] ὅσην αἰτίαν
C ἀνηνέγκαντο[6] τῶν χρησμῶν, ὡς τραγῳδίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄγκον οὐδὲν δεομένοις προσθέντες ἐὼ λέγειν οὐδὲ προσίεμαι[7] τὰς μεταβολάς.

" Πλείστης μέντοι ποιητικὴν[8] ἐνέπλησεν ἀδοξίας τὸ ἀγυρτικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον καὶ περὶ τὰ μητρῷα καὶ Σαραπεῖα[9] βωμολοχοῦν καὶ πλανώμενον γένος, οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν οἱ δὲ κατὰ κλῆρον ἔκ τινων γραμματείων[10] χρησμοὺς περαίνοντες οἰκέταις καὶ γυναίοις ὑπὸ τῶν μέτρων ἀγομένοις μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ποιητικὴ δοκοῦσα κοινὴν ἐμπαρέχειν ἑαυτὴν ἀπατεῶσι καὶ

[1] ἀντιπράττουσαν] ἀντιφράττουσαν H. Jackson.
[2] πεποιημένας Meziriacus: πεποιημένα.
[3] ἐπικάθηνται Emperius: ἔτι κάθηνται.
[4] Πρόδικοι Botzon: προδόται.
[5] Κιναίθωνες Botzon and Cobet: κινέσωνες.
[6] ἀνηνέγκαντο F.C.B.: ἠνέγκαντο.
[7] προσίεμαι Wyttenbach: προσεῖναι.
[8] ποιητικὴν Turnebus: ποιητικῆς.
[9] Σαραπεῖα, as elsewhere, Bernardakis: σεράπεια.
[10] γραμματείων Bernardakis: γραμματίων.

ality, they blamed the poetic language with which the oracles were clothed, not only for obstructing the understanding of these in their true meaning and for combining vagueness and obscurity with the communication, but already they were coming to look with suspicion upon metaphors, riddles, and ambiguous statements, feeling that these were secluded nooks of refuge devised for furtive withdrawal and retreat for him that should err in his prophecy. Moreover, there was the oft-repeated tale that certain men with a gift for poetry were wont to sit about close by the shrine waiting to catch the words spoken, and then weaving about them a fabric of extempore hexameters or other verses or rhythms as 'containers,' so to speak, for the oracles. I forbear to mention how much blame men like Onomacritus,[a] Prodicus, and Cinaethon have brought upon themselves from the oracles by foisting upon them a tragic diction and a grandiloquence of which they had no need, nor have I any kindly feeling toward their changes.

"However, the thing that most filled the poetic art with disrepute was the tribe of wandering soothsayers and rogues that practised their charlatanry about the shrines of the Great Mother and of Serapis, making up oracles, some using their own ingenuity, others taking by lot from certain treatises oracles for the benefit of servants and womenfolk, who are most enticed by verse and a poetic vocabulary. This, then, is not the least among the reasons why poetry, by apparently lending herself to the service of tricksters, mounte-

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, vii. 6.

(407) γόησιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ψευδομάντεσιν ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος.

26. "Οὐ τοίνυν θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν, εἰ διπλόης τινὸς ἔδει καὶ περιαγωγῆς καὶ ἀσαφείας ἔστιν ὅτε
D τοῖς παλαιοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα μὰ Δία κατέβαινε περὶ ὠνῆς ἀνδραπόδου χρησόμενος οὐδ' ὁ δεῖνα περὶ ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ πόλεις μέγα δυνάμεναι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ τύραννοι μέτριον οὐδὲν φρονοῦντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ θεῷ περὶ πραγμάτων[1]· οὓς ἀνιᾶν καὶ παροξύνειν ἀπεχθείᾳ πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων ἀκούοντας οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.[2] οὐ πείθεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὥσπερ[3] νομοθετοῦντι καὶ λέγοντι

Φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
χρῆν[4] θεσπιῳδεῖν.

χρώμενος δὲ θνητοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προφήταις, ὧν
E κήδεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀπολοῦνται πονηρῶν θεῷ λατρεύοντες, ἀφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὸ ἀληθές, παρατρέπων δὲ τὴν δήλωσιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐγὴν ἐν τῇ ποιητικῇ πολλὰς ἀνακλάσεις λαμβάνουσαν καὶ πολλαχοῦ περισχιζομένην, ἀφῄρει τὸ ἀντίτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ σκληρόν. ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἃ[5] καλὸν[6] τυράννους ἀγνοῆσαι καὶ πολεμίους μὴ προαισθέσθαι. τούτοις οὖν περι-

[1] Paton assumed a lacuna after πραγμάτων which he filled elaborately. Schwartz suggested πολιτικῶν, Kronenberg ἀνοσίων, but μεγάλων would perhaps be better. Probably, however, the text is sound as it stands.

[2] χρηστήριον Stephanus: δικαστήριον.

[3] τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ ὥσπερ Wyttenbach: ὥσπερ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ.

[4] χρῆν Euripides: χρὴ.

[5] ἄρ' ἃ Madvig: ἄρα.

banks, and false prophets, lost all standing with truth and the tripod.

26. "I should not, therefore, be surprised if there were times when there was need of *double entendre*, indirect statement, and vagueness for the people of ancient days. As a matter of fact, this or that man assuredly did not go down to consult the oracle about the purchase of a slave or about business. No, powerful States and kings and despots, who cherished no moderate designs, used to appeal to the god regarding their course of action; and it was not to the advantage of those concerned with the oracle to vex and provoke these men by unfriendliness through their hearing many of the things that they did not wish to hear. For the god does not follow Euripides [a] when he asserts as if he were laying down a law:

> None but Phoebus ought
> For men to prophesy.

But inasmuch as the god employs mortal men to assist him and declare his will, whom it is his duty to care for and protect, so that they shall not lose their lives at the hands of wicked men while ministering to a god, he is not willing to keep the truth unrevealed, but he caused the manifestation of it to be deflected, like a ray of light, in the medium of poetry, where it submits to many reflections and undergoes subdivisions, and thus he did away with its repellent harshness. There were naturally some things which it was well that despots should fail to understand and enemies should not learn beforehand. About these, therefore,

[a] *Phoenissae*, 958.

---

[6] καλὸν F.C.B.: καὶ (ἔδει after πολεμίους Paton: συνέφερε Pohlenz).

ἔβαλεν ὑπονοίας καὶ ἀμφιλογίας, αἳ πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀποκρύπτουσαι τὸ φραζόμενον, οὐ διέφευγον αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ παρεκρούοντο τοὺς δεομένους καὶ προσέχοντας. ὅθεν εὐηθέστατός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων ἑτέρων γεγονότων, εἰ μηκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν
F ἡμῖν τρόπον ἀλλ' ἕτερον οἴεται δεῖν βοηθεῖν ὁ θεός, ἐγκαλῶν καὶ συκοφαντῶν.

27. "Ἔτι τοίνυν οὐδὲν ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς λόγῳ χρησιμώτερον ὑπάρχει τοῦ δεθέντα μέτροις τὰ φραζόμενα καὶ συμπλακέντα μᾶλλον μνημονεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τότε πολλὴν ἔδει[1] μνήμην παρεῖναι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐφράζετο καὶ τόπων σημεῖα καὶ πράξεων καιροὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ διαποντίων καὶ ἡρώων ἀπόρρητοι θῆκαι καὶ[2] δυσεξεύρετοι μακρὰν[3] ἀπαίρουσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἴστε[4] γὰρ Τεῦκρον[5] καὶ
408 Κρητίνην[6] καὶ Γνησίοχον[7] καὶ Φάλανθον,[8] ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας στόλων ὅσους ἔδει τεκμηρίοις ἀνευρεῖν τὴν διδομένην ἑκάστῳ καὶ προσήκουσαν ἵδρυσιν· ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ διημάρτανον, ὥσπερ Βάττος. ἔδοξε[9] γὰρ ἐκπεσεῖν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐφ' ὃν ἐπέμφθη

[1] ἔδει Basel ed. of 1542: ἔτι.
[2] καὶ added by Reiske.
[3] μακρὰν Bernardakis: μακρὸν.
[4] ἴστε Reiske: εἰς.
[5] Τεῦκρον Sieveking: τὸ χῖον.
[6] Κρητίνην, the usual form: Κρήτινον (Κρητῖνον Crönert).
[7] Γνησίοχον Paton; Ὀνήσιχον Amyot: . . νήσιχον.
[8] Φάλανθον Basel ed. of 1542: φάλαινθον.
[9] ἔδοξε Reiske: ἔλεξε.

---

[a] For example, the famous oracle given to Croesus (Herodotus, i. 53; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 5 (1407 a 39)) that if he crossed the river Halys he should overthrow a great kingdom; but the kingdom was his own.

he put a cloak of intimations and ambiguities [a] which concealed the communication so far as others were concerned, but did not escape the persons involved nor mislead those that had need to know and who gave their minds to the matter. Therefore anyone is very foolish who, now that conditions have become different, complains and makes unwarranted indictment if the god feels that he must no longer help us in the same way, but in a different way.

27. "Then, besides, there is nothing in poetry more serviceable to language than that the ideas communicated, by being bound up and interwoven with verse, are better remembered and kept firmly in mind. Men in those days had to have a memory for many things. For many things were communicated to them, such as signs for recognizing places, the times for activities,[b] the shrines of gods across the sea, secret burial-places of heroes, hard to find for men setting forth on a distant voyage from Greece. You all, of course, know about Teucer and Cretines and Gnesiochus and Phalanthus and many other leaders of expeditions [c] who had to discover by means of evidential proofs the suitable place of settlement granted to each. Some of these made a mistake, as did Battus.[d] For he thought that he had been forced to land without gaining possession of the place to which he had been sent. Then he came a second time

[b] As in Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

[c] *Cf. Geographi Graeci Minores*, i. p. 236, Scymnus, no. 949 ; scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 351.

[d] Battus was sent by an oracle to found a colony in Africa, but settled in an island (Plataea) off the coast. Since the colony did not prosper, he came again to consult the oracle: *cf.* Herodotus, iv. 155-157 ; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, v. ; Aristotle, Frag. 611. 16 (ed. Rose).

(408) τόπον· εἶθ' ἧκε δεύτερον ποτνιώμενος. ὑπειπὼν οὖν ὁ θεός,

αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύαν[1] μαλοτρόφον οἶσθας ἄρειον,[2]
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ·

οὕτω πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε.

"Λύσανδρος δὲ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσας τὸν Ὀρχαλίδην[3] λόφον καὶ Ἀλώπεκον[4] προσαγορευόμενον καὶ τὸν Ὁπλίτην ποταμὸν

γῆς τε δράκονθ'[5] υἱὸν δόλιον κατόπισθεν ἰόντα,

B μάχῃ κρατηθεὶς ἔπεσεν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις ὑπὸ Νεοχώρου Ἁλιαρτίου[6] ἀνδρὸς ἀσπίδα φοροῦντος ἐπίσημον ὄφιν ἔχουσαν. ἄλλα δὲ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δυσκάθεκτα καὶ δυσμνημόνευτα τῶν παλαιῶν διεξιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν.

28. "Τὰ δὲ νῦν πράγματα καθεστῶτα, περὶ ὧν ἐρωτῶσι τὸν θεόν, ἀγαπῶ μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ ἀσπάζομαι· πολλὴ γὰρ εἰρήνη καὶ ἡσυχία, πέπαυται δὲ πόλεμος, καὶ πλάναι καὶ στάσεις οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ
C τυραννίδες οὐδ' ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ κακὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὥσπερ πολυφαρμάκων δυνάμεων χρῄζοντα καὶ περιττῶν. ὅπου δὲ ποικίλον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀπόρρητον οὐδὲ δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράγμασι μικροῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς ἐρωτήσεις οἷον ἐν σχολῇ προτάσεις, 'εἰ γαμητέον,' 'εἰ πλευστέον,' 'εἰ δανειστέον,' τὰ

[1] *αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύαν* Wyttenbach from Herodotus, iv. 157: *μελιβύαν* preceded by a lacuna of eight or nine letters.

[2] *Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον* Herodotus.

[3] *Ὀρχαλίδην* from the *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxix.: *ἀρχελίδην*.

[4] *Ἀλώπεκον ibid.*: *ἀλώπηκον*.

[5] *δράκονθ'* Stephanus: *δράκοντα*.

in sore distress. And the god made answer to him [a]:

If without going you know far better than I, who have gone there,
Africa, mother of flocks, then I greatly admire your wisdom,

and with these words sent him forth again.

"Lysander also failed to recognize the hill Orchalides (the other name of which is Alopecus) and the river Hoplites [b] and

Also the serpent, the Earth-born, behind him stealthily creeping,

and was vanquished in battle, and fell in that very place by the hand of Neochorus, a man of Haliartus, who carried a shield which had as its emblem a snake. Numerous other instances of this sort among the people of olden time, difficult to retain and remember, it is not necessary to rehearse to you who know them.

28. "For my part, I am well content with the settled conditions prevailing at present, and I find them very welcome, and the questions which men now put to the god are concerned with these conditions. There is, in fact, profound peace and tranquillity; war has ceased, there are no wanderings of peoples, no civil strifes, no despotisms, nor other maladies and ills in Greece requiring many unusual remedial forces. Where there is nothing complicated or secret or terrible, but the interrogations are on slight and commonplace matters, like the hypothetical questions in school: if one ought to marry, or to start on a voyage, or to make a loan; and the most impor-

[a] The same lines are found in Herodotus, iv. 157.

[b] *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxix. (450 B-C).

[6] ὑπὸ Νεοχώρου Ἁλιαρτίου Reiske, from the *Life of Lysander*: ὑφ' ὧν ὁ χῶρος Ἁλιάρτου.

408) δὲ μέγιστα πόλεων μαντεύματα φορᾶς καρπῶν πέρι καὶ βοτῶν ἐπιγονῆς καὶ σωμάτων ὑγιείας, ἐνταῦθα περιβάλλειν μέτρα καὶ πλάττειν περιφράσεις καὶ γλώττας ἐπάγειν πύσμασιν ἁπλῆς καὶ συντόμου δεομένοις ἀποκρίσεως, ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοτίμου σοφιστοῦ καλλωπίζοντος ἐπὶ δόξῃ χρηστήριον. ἡ δὲ Πυθία καὶ καθ' αὑτὴν μέν ἐστι γενναία τὸ ἦθος, ὅταν δ'
D ἐκεῖ κατέλθῃ καὶ γένηται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, πλέον τὸ καθῆκον πληροῦν[1] ἢ ἐκείνης[2] μέλει δόξης καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινούντων ἢ ψεγόντων.

29. "Εδει δ' ἴσως καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔχειν οὕτως· νῦν δ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιῶντες καὶ δεδιότες, μὴ τρισχιλίων[3] ἐτῶν ἀποβάλῃ δόξαν ὁ τόπος καὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου καθάπερ σοφιστοῦ διατριβῆς ἀποφοιτήσωσιν ἔνιοι καταφρονήσαντες, ἀπολογούμεθα καὶ πλάττομεν αἰτίας καὶ λόγους ὑπὲρ ὧν οὔτ' ἴσμεν οὔτ' εἰδέναι προσῆκον ἡμῖν ἐστι, παραμυθούμενοι τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ πείθοντες, οὐ χαίρειν ἐῶντες·

αὐτῷ γάρ[4] οἱ πρῶτον ἀνιηρέστερον[5] ἔσται

E τοιαύτην ἔχοντι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ὥστε ταυτὶ μὲν τὰ προγεγραμμένα τῶν σοφῶν τὸ 'γνῶθι σαυτόν' καὶ τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν' ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὴν βραχυλογίαν ὡς πυκνὸν καὶ σφυρήλατον νοῦν ἐν ὀλίγῳ περιέχουσαν ὄγκῳ,

[1] τὸ καθῆκον πληροῦν F.C.B. (ἀληθείας Turnebus) to fill a lacuna in the MSS. [2] ἐκείνης F.C.B.: ἐκείνῃ.
[3] τρισχιλίων Leonicus: τρισχισμὸν.
[4] γάρ] μέν Homer.
[5] ἀνιηρέστερον Homer, *Od.* ii. 190: ἀνιηρότερον.

[a] Adapted from Homer, *Od.* ii. 190.

tant consultations on the part of States concern the yield from crops, the increase of herds, and public health—to clothe such things in verse, to devise circumlocutions, and to foist strange words upon inquiries that call for a simple short answer is the thing done by an ambitious pedant embellishing an oracle to enhance his repute. But the prophetic priestess has herself also nobility of character, and whenever she descends into that place and finds herself in the presence of the god, she cares more for fulfilling her function than for that kind of repute or for men's praise or blame.

29. "We also, perhaps, ought to have this frame of mind. But as it is, we act as if we were anxious and fearful lest the place here lose the repute of its three thousand years, and some few persons should cease to come here, contemning the oracle as if it were the lecturing of some popular speaker; and we offer a plea in defence and invent reasons and arguments for matters which we do not understand, and which it is not fitting that we should understand. We try to appease and win over the man who complains, instead of bidding him take his leave for all time,

> Since for himself first of all it will prove to be more distressing,[a]

if the opinion which he holds about the god is such that he can accept and admire the maxims [b] of the Wise Men inscribed here, 'Know thyself' and 'Avoid extremes,' because of their conciseness especially, since this very conciseness contains in small compass a compact and firmly-forged senti-

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 164 B, 385 D, 511 A.

τοὺς δὲ χρησμοὺς ὅτι συντόμως καὶ ἁπλῶς καὶ δι' εὐθείας τὰ πλεῖστα φράζουσιν αἰτιᾶσθαι. καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν ἀποφθέγματα τῶν σοφῶν ταὐτὸ τοῖς εἰς στενὸν συνθλιβεῖσι πέπονθε ῥεύμασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τοῦ νοῦ δίοψιν οὐδὲ διαύγειαν,[1] ἀλλ' ἐὰν σκοπῇς τί γέγραπται καὶ λέλεκται περὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ὅπως ἕκαστον ἔχει βουλομένοις καταμαθεῖν, οὐ ῥᾳδίως
F τούτων λόγους ἑτέρους εὑρήσεις μακροτέρους. ἡ δὲ τῆς Πυθίας διάλεκτος, ὥσπερ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ γραμμὴν εὐθεῖαν καλοῦσι τὴν ἐλαχίστην τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πέρατ' ἐχουσῶν, οὕτως οὐ ποιοῦσα καμπὴν οὐδὲ κύκλον οὐδὲ διπλόην οὐδ' ἀμφιβολίαν ἀλλ' εὐθεῖα πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὖσα πρὸς δὲ πίστιν ἐπισφαλὴς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος[2] οὐδένα καθ' αὑτῆς ἔλεγχον
409 ἄχρι νῦν παραδέδωκεν, ἀναθημάτων δὲ καὶ δώρων ἐμπέπληκε βαρβαρικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ χρηστήριον, οἰκοδομημάτων δ' ἐπικεκόσμηκε[3] κάλλεσι καὶ κατασκευαῖς Ἀμφικτυονικαῖς. ὁρᾶτε δήπουθεν αὐτοὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπεκτισμένα τῶν πρότερον οὐκ ὄντων, πολλὰ δ' ἀνειλημμένα τῶν συγκεχυμένων καὶ διεφθαρμένων. ὡς δὲ τοῖς εὐθαλέσι τῶν δένδρων ἕτερα παραβλαστάνει, καὶ τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἡ Πυλαία συνηβᾷ καὶ συναναβόσκεται, διὰ τὰς ἐντεῦθεν εὐπορίας σχῆμα λαμβάνουσα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ κόσμον ἱερῶν καὶ συνεδρίων καὶ ὑδάτων οἷον ἐν χιλίοις
B ἔτεσι τοῖς πρότερον οὐκ ἔλαβεν.

[1] *διαύγειαν* added by Turnebus to fill a lacuna in the MSS.

[2] *ἀνεπισφαλὴς καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος* Madvig; but *cf.* 484 c.

[3] δ' *ἐπικεκόσμηκε* F.C.B. (δὲ *κατακεκόσμηκε* Schwartz; δὲ *κεκαλλώπικε* Paton; δ' *ἐκαλλώπισε* Bernardakis; all much the same): δὲ.

ment, and yet he can impeach the oracles because they give nearly all their communications in brief, simple, and straightforward language. Now such sayings as these of the Wise Men are in the same case with streams forced into a narrow channel, for they do not keep the transparency or translucence of the sentiment, but if you will investigate what has been written and said about them by men desirous of learning fully the why and wherefore of each, you will not easily find more extensive writings on any other subject. And as for the language of the prophetic priestess, just as the mathematicians call the shortest of lines between two points a straight line, so her language makes no bend nor curve nor doubling nor equivocation, but is straight in relation to the truth ; yet, in relation to men's confidence in it, it is insecure and subject to scrutiny, but as yet it has afforded no proof of its being wrong. On the contrary, it has filled the oracular shrine with votive offerings and gifts from barbarians and Greeks, and has adorned it with beautiful buildings and embellishments provided by the Amphictyonic Council. You yourselves, of course, see many additions in the form of buildings not here before and many restored that were dilapidated and in ruins. As beside flourishing trees others spring up, so also does Pylaea [a] grow in vigour along with Delphi and derives its sustenance from the same source ; because of the affluence here it is acquiring a pattern and form and an adornment of shrines and meeting-places and supplies of water such as it has not acquired in the last thousand years.

[a] A suburb of Delphi, presumably on the road to the Crisa. meeting-place of the Amphictyonic Council.

(409) "Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ Γαλάξιον τῆς Βοιωτίας κατοικοῦντες ᾔσθοντο τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ γάλακτος·

προβάτων[1] γὰρ ἐκ πάντων κελάρυξεν,
ὡς ἀπὸ κρηνᾶν[2] φέρτατον ὕδωρ,
θαλέον[3] γάλα· τοὶ δ' ἐπίμπλαν[4] ἐσσύμενοι πίθους·
ἀσκὸς δ' οὐτέ τις ἀμφορεὺς ἐλίνυε[5] δόμοις,
πέλλαι δὲ ξύλιναι[6] πίθοι τε[7] πλᾶσθεν[8] ἅπαντες.

ἡμῖν δὲ λαμπρότερα καὶ κρείττονα καὶ σαφέστερα σημεῖα τούτων ἀναδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς πρόσθεν ἐρημίας καὶ πενίας εὐπορίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ τιμὴν πεποιηκώς. καίτοι φιλῶ μὲν
C ἐμαυτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἐγενόμην εἰς τὰ πράγματα ταῦτα πρόθυμος καὶ χρήσιμος μετὰ Πολυκράτους καὶ Πετραίου, φιλῶ δὲ τὸν καθηγεμόνα ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας γενόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων ἐκφροντίζοντα καὶ παρασκευάζοντα * * * ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ποτὲ[9] τηλικαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ γενέσθαι δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιμελείας, μὴ θεοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνεπιθειάζοντος τὸ χρηστήριον.

30. "Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἦσαν οἱ τὴν λοξότητα τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ ἀσάφειαν αἰτιώμενοι, καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν οἱ τὸ λίαν ἁπλοῦν συκοφαντοῦν-

[1] προβάτων Leonicus: προπάντων.
[2] κρηνᾶν Bergk: κρηνάων.
[3] θαλέον F.C.B.: θήλεον.
[4] ἐπίμπλαν F.C.B.: ἐπίμπλων.
[5] ἐλίνυε Bergk: ἐλίννυε.
[6] ξύλιναι Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: ξύλινοι.
[7] τε added by Bergk before πίθοι.
[8] πλᾶσθεν Bergk: πλῆσθεν.
[9] ποτὲ Michael; ἔτι Wyttenbach: ὅτι.

"They that lived in the neighbourhood of Galaxium in Boeotia became aware of the manifest presence of the god by reason of the copious and overabundant flow of milk [a]:

> From all the flocks and all the kine
> Like purest water from the springs
> Milk in abundance welling down
> Made music in the milking-pails.
> And all the folk in eager haste
> Filled every household vessel full;
> Wineskin and jar were put to use,
> Each wooden pail and earthen tun.

But for us the god grants clearer, stronger, and plainer evidence than this by bringing about after a drought, so to speak, of earlier desolation and poverty, affluence, splendour, and honour. It is true that I feel kindly toward myself in so far as my zeal or services may have furthered these matters with the co-operation of Polycrates and Petraeus [b]; and I feel kindly toward the man who has been the leader in our administration and has planned and carried out practically all that has been done.[c] But it is not possible that a change of such sort and of such magnitude could ever have been brought about in a short time through human diligence if a god were not present here to lend divine inspiration to his oracle.

30. "But, just as in those days there were people who complained of the obliquity and vagueness of the oracles, so to-day there are people who make an unwarranted indictment against their extreme

[a] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 719, Adespota, no. 90; Pindar, Frag. 101-102 ed. Christ; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, xxxiv. p. 225.

[b] L. Cassius Petraeus; *cf.* Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, p. 122.

[c] There is a lacuna in the MSS. here, but the sense is clear.

(409) τες. ὧν παιδικόν[1] ἐστι κομιδῇ καὶ ἀβέλτερον τὸ πάθος· καὶ γὰρ οἱ παῖδες ἴριδας μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλως καὶ κομήτας ἢ σελήνην καὶ ἥλιον ὁρῶντες γεγήθασι
D καὶ ἀγαπῶσι, καὶ οὗτοι τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς[2] τῆς μαντικῆς, ἀνακλάσεις οὔσας πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν καὶ φανταστικόν, ἐπιποθοῦσι· κἂν τὴν αἰτίαν μὴ ἱκανῶς πύθωνται τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἀπίασι τοῦ θεοῦ καταγνόντες, οὐχ ἡμῶν οὐδ' αὑτῶν[3] ὡς ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν."

[1] παιδικόν Wyttenbach: καὶ ἄδικον.
[2] καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς Leonicus: τῆς μεταφορᾶς.
[3] αὑτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

simplicity. Such an attitude of mind is altogether puerile and silly. It is a fact that children take more delight and satisfaction in seeing rainbows, haloes, and comets than in seeing moon and sun ; and so these persons yearn for the riddles, allegories, and metaphors which are but reflections of the prophetic art when it acts upon a human imagination. And if they cannot ascertain to their satisfaction the reason for the change, they go away, after pronouncing judgement against the god, but not against us nor against themselves for being unable by reasoning to attain to a comprehension of the god's purpose."

THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES

(DE DEFECTU ORACULORUM)

ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΩΝ ΕΚΛΕΛΟΙΠΟΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ

ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΣ, ΚΛΕΟΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ΔΙΔΥΜΟΣ, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ[1]

Ε 1. Ἀετούς τινας ἢ κύκνους, ὦ Τερέντιε Πρῖσκε, μυθολογοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερομένους εἰς ταὐτὸ συμπεσεῖν Πυθοῖ
F περὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὀμφαλόν· ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Φαίστιον Ἐπιμενίδην ἐλέγχοντα τὸν μῦθον ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαβόντα χρησμὸν ἀσαφῆ καὶ ἀμφίβολον εἰπεῖν

οὔτε γὰρ ἦν γαίης[2] μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης·
εἰ δέ τις ἔστι, θεοῖς δῆλος θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος.

ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς ἠμύνατο μύθου
410 παλαιοῦ καθάπερ ζωγραφήματος ἀφῇ διαπειρώμενον. (2.) ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ Πυθίων τῶν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τῆς οἰκουμένης περάτων ἔτυχον ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ δύο συνδρα-

[1] ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ . . . ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ not in the MSS.
[2] *γαίης* Xylander: *γῆς*.

THE OBSOLESCENCE OF ORACLES

(The persons taking part in the conversation are: Lamprias, Demetrius, Cleombrotus, Ammonius, Philip, Didymus, and Heracleon.)

1. THE story [a] is told, my dear Terentius Priscus, that certain eagles or swans, flying from the uttermost parts of the earth towards its centre, met in Delphi at the omphalus, as it is called; and at a later time Epimenides [b] of Phaestus put the story to test by referring it to the god and upon receiving a vague and ambiguous oracle said,

Now do we know that there is no mid-centre of earth or of ocean;
Yet if there be, it is known to the gods, but is hidden from mortals.

Now very likely the god repulsed him from his attempt to investigate an ancient myth as though it were a painting to be tested by the touch. (2.) Yet a short time before the Pythian games, which were held when Callistratus [c] was in office in our own day, it happened that two revered men coming from opposite ends of the inhabited earth met together at Delphi,

[a] The numerous other references to this story may be found most conveniently in Frazer's *Pausanias*, v. p. 315.

[b] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, ii. p. 191, Epimenides, no. B 11.

[c] The year 83–84 A.D.

(410) μόντες εἰς Δελφούς, Δημήτριος μὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐκ Βρεττανίας εἰς Ταρσὸν ἀνακομιζόμενος οἴκαδε, Κλεόμβροτος δ' ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, πολλὰ μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν γῆν πεπλανημένος, πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης ἀναπεπλευκὼς οὐ κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ φιλοθεάμων ὢν[1] καὶ φιλομαθὴς[2] οὐσίαν δ' ἔχων ἱκανὴν καὶ τὸ πλείονα τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχειν οὐκ ἄξιον πολλοῦ
B ποιούμενος ἐχρῆτο τῇ σχολῇ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ συνῆγεν ἱστορίαν οἷον ὕλην φιλοσοφίας θεολογίαν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τέλος ἐχούσης. νεωστὶ δὲ γεγονὼς παρ' Ἄμμωνα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἐκεῖ δῆλος ἦν μὴ πάνυ τεθαυμακώς, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λύχνου τοῦ ἀσβέστου διηγεῖτο λόγον ἄξιον σπουδῆς λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔλαττον ἀναλίσκειν ἔλαιον ἔτους ἑκάστου, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι τεκμήριον ἐκείνους τῆς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀνωμαλίας, τὸν ἕτερον[3] τοῦ προάγοντος ἀεὶ τῷ χρόνῳ βραχύτερον ποιούσης· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ τὸ δαπανώμενον ἔλαττον εἶναι.
C 3. Θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου καὶ γελοῖον φήσαντος εἶναι ἀπὸ μικρῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω μεγάλα θηρᾶν, οὐ κατ' Ἀλκαῖον "ἐξ ὄνυχος τὸν λέοντα" γράφοντας, ἀλλὰ θρυαλλίδι καὶ λύχνῳ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ[4] σύμπαντα μεθιστάντας καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν ἄρδην ἀναιροῦντας.

[1] ὢν added by H. Richards.
[2] φιλομαθὴς an early correction: φιλοφανὴς.
[3] ἕτερον] ὕστερον Turnebus. [4] καὶ τὰ] τι in most MSS.

---

[a] *Cf. Inscript. Graec.* xiv. no. 2548 θεοῖς τοῖς τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ Πραιτωρίου Σκριβ‹ώνιος› (others σκρῖβα) Δημήτριος and

Demetrius [a] the grammarian journeying homeward from Britain to Tarsus, and Cleombrotus of Sparta, who had made many excursions in Egypt and about the land of the Cave-dwellers, and had sailed beyond the Persian Gulf; his journeyings were not for business, but he was fond of seeing things and of acquiring knowledge; he had wealth enough, and felt that it was not of any great moment to have more than enough, and so he employed his leisure for such purposes; he was getting together a history to serve as a basis for a philosophy that had as its end and aim theology, as he himself named it. He had recently been at the shrine of Ammon, and it was plain that he was not particularly impressed by most of the things there, but in regard to the ever-burning lamp he related a story told by the priests which deserves special consideration; it is that the lamp consumes less and less oil each year, and they hold that this is a proof of a disparity in the years, which all the time is making one year shorter in duration than its predecessor; for it is reasonable that in less duration of time the amount consumed should be less.

3. The company was surprised at this, and Demetrius went so far as to say that it was ridiculous to try in this way to draw great conclusions from small data, not, as Alcaeus [b] puts it, "painting the lion from a single claw," but with a wick and lamp postulating a mutation in the heavens and the universe, and doing away completely with mathematical science.

[a] Ὠκεανῷ καὶ Τηθύι Δημήτρι⟨ος⟩. *Cf.* also Huebner, *Ephemeris Epigr.* iii. 312; Clark, *Archaeol. Jour.* xlii. p. 425; Dessau, in *Hermes*, xlvi. (1911) pp. 156 ff.

[b] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 184, Alcaeus, no. 113.

(410) Ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "οὐδέτερον,[1]" ἔφη, "τούτων διαταράξει τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς οὐχ ὑφήσονται τῆς ἀκριβείας, ὡς μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκείνους διαφυγόντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν κινήσεσι καὶ περιόδοις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀφεστώσαις ἢ τὸ μέτρον αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἐλαίου προσέχοντας ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῷ
D παραλόγῳ καὶ παραφυλάττοντας. τὸ δὲ μικρὰ μὴ διδόναι σημεῖα γίγνεσθαι μεγάλων, ὦ Δημήτριε, πολλαῖς ἐστι τέχναις ἐμποδών, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀποδείξεις παραιρεῖσθαι συμβήσεται πολλῶν δὲ προαγορεύσεις. καίτοι καὶ ἡμῖν οὐ μικρὸν ἀποδείκνυτε[2] πρᾶγμα, λεαίνεσθαι ξυρῷ τὰ σώματα τοὺς ἥρωας, ἐντυχόντες παρ'[3] Ὁμήρῳ ξυρὸν ὀνομάσαντι· καὶ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ὅτι που 'χρέος ὀφέλλεσθαι,'[4] φησίν, 'οὔτι νέον οὐδ' ὀλίγον,' ὡς τοῦ ὀφέλλεσθαι[5] τὸ αὔξεσθαι δηλοῦντος. αὖθις δὲ τὴν νύκτα 'θοὴν' εἰπόντος, ἀγαπητῶς ἐμφύεσθε[6] τῷ ῥήματι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνό φατε, φράζεσθαι τὴν σκιὰν
E τῆς γῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κωνικήν, οὖσαν ἀπὸ σφαιροειδοῦς. ἰατρικὴν δὲ λοιμῶδες θέρος ἀραχνίων πλήθει προδηλοῦν, καὶ θρίοις ἐαρινοῖς ὅταν κορώνης ποσὶν[7] εἴκελα γένηται, τίς ἐάσει τῶν ἀξιούντων μικρὰ σημεῖα μὴ γίγνεσθαι τῶν μεγάλων; τίς δ' ἀνέξεται

[1] οὐδέτερον] οὐδὲν in most MSS.
[2] ἀποδείκνυτε Meziriacus: ἀποδείκνυται.
[3] παρ' Madvig: γὰρ.
[4] ὀφέλλεσθαι Homer, *Od.* iii. 367: συμβάλλεσθαι.
[5] *ibid.*: ὠφελεῖσθαι.
[6] ἐμφύεσθε] ἐμφύεσθαι most MSS.
[7] ποσὶν Stegmann, from Hippocrates, *Epidemics*, vi. (vol. v. p. 342 Littré): ποδί.

---

[a] *Il.* x. 173. [b] *Od.* iii. 367-368.

"Neither of these things," said Cleombrotus, "will disturb these men; certainly they will not concede any superior accuracy to the mathematicians, since it is more likely that a set period of time, in movements and cycles so far away, should elude mathematical calculation than that the measurement of the oil should elude the very men who were always giving careful attention to the anomaly and watching it closely because of its strangeness. Besides, Demetrius, not to allow that small things are indication of great stands directly in the way of many arts; for it will result in taking away from us the demonstration of many facts and the prognostication of many others. Yet you people try to demonstrate to us also a matter of no small importance: that the heroes of old shaved their bodies with a razor, because you meet with the word 'razor' in Homer[a]; also that they lent money on interest because Homer[b] somewhere says that 'a debt is owing, not recent nor small,' the assumption being that 'owing' signifies 'accumulating.' And again when Homer[c] speaks of the night as 'swift,' you cling to the expression with great satisfaction and say that it means this: that the Earth's shadow is by him called conical, being caused by a spherical body; and as for the idea that medical science can predict a pestilential summer by a multitude of spiders' webs or by the fig-leaves in the spring when they are like crows' feet, who of those that insist that small things are not indications of great will allow this to go unchallenged? Who will endure

[c] *Il.* x. 394, for example; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 923 B. Further explanation of the idea that θοός may mean "conical" may be found in the *Life and Poetry of Homer*, 21 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 347).

πρὸς χοῦν καὶ κοτύλην ὕδατος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος μετρούμενον, ἢ τῆς ἐνταῦθα πλινθίδος ἣν ποιεῖ γωνίαν ὀξεῖαν κεκλιμένην πρὸς τὸ ἐπίπεδον μέτρον εἶναι λεγομένην τοῦ ἐξάρματος ὃ ἐξῆρται τῶν πόλων ὁ ἀεὶ φανερὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρίζοντος; ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀκούειν τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν, ὥστ' ἄλλο τι λεγέ-
F σθω[1] πρὸς αὐτούς, εἰ βουλόμεθα τῷ ἡλίῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὴν νενομισμένην τάξιν ἀπαράβατον ποιῆσαι.[2]"

4. Παρὼν οὖν ἀνεφώνησεν Ἀμμώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος "οὐ τῷ ἡλίῳ μόνον," εἶπεν,[3] "ἀλλὰ τῷ οὐρανῷ παντί. συστέλλεσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῶι
411 ἐπὶ τροπὰς πάροδον αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ διαμένειν τηλικοῦτο μέρος οὖσαν τοῦ ὁρίζοντος ἡλίκον οἱ μαθηματικοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλάττονα γίγνεσθαι, ἀεὶ[4] πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῶν νοτίων συναγωγὴν λαμβανόντων, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἡμῖν βραχύτερον καὶ ψυχρότερον[5] εἶναι τὴν κρᾶσιν, ἐνδοτέρω κάμπτοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μειόνων[6] παραλλήλων ἐφαπτομένου τοῖς τροπικοῖς σημείοις· ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν Συήνῃ γνώμονας ἀσκίους μηκέτι φαίνεσθαι περὶ τροπὰς θερινὰς πολλοὺς δὲ ὑποδεδραμηκέναι τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων, ἐνίους δὲ ψαύειν καὶ συγκεχύσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
B τοῦ διαστήματος ἐκλελοιπότος. εἰ δ' αὖ φήσουσι τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων ἀτακτεῖν ταῖς κινήσεσι

[1] λεγέσθω F.C.B.: λεγόντων; others keep λεγόντων and read οἱ βουλόμενοι. [2] ποιῆσαι] ποιοῦσι in most MSS.
[3] εἶπεν Xylander: εἰπεῖν. [4] ἀεὶ del. Stegmann.
[5] ψυχρότερον] ψυχροτέραν in all MSS. but one.
[6] μειόνων F.C.B.: μειζόνων.

[a] Syenê was on the Tropic of Cancer, and because of the fact that on the day of the summer solstice the sun was directly overhead it was used by Eratosthenes (third century

in sore distress. And the god made answer to him [a]:

If without going you know far better than I, who have gone there,
Africa, mother of flocks, then I greatly admire your wisdom,

and with these words sent him forth again.

"Lysander also failed to recognize the hill Orchalides (the other name of which is Alopecus) and the river Hoplites [b] and

Also the serpent, the Earth-born, behind him stealthily creeping,

and was vanquished in battle, and fell in that very place by the hand of Neochorus, a man of Haliartus, who carried a shield which had as its emblem a snake. Numerous other instances of this sort among the people of olden time, difficult to retain and remember, it is not necessary to rehearse to you who know them.

28. "For my part, I am well content with the settled conditions prevailing at present, and I find them very welcome, and the questions which men now put to the god are concerned with these conditions. There is, in fact, profound peace and tranquillity; war has ceased, there are no wanderings of peoples, no civil strifes, no despotisms, nor other maladies and ills in Greece requiring many unusual remedial forces. Where there is nothing complicated or secret or terrible, but the interrogations are on slight and commonplace matters, like the hypothetical questions in school: if one ought to marry, or to start on a voyage, or to make a loan; and the most impor-

[a] The same lines are found in Herodotus, iv. 157.

[b] *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxix. (450 B-C).

[6] ὑπὸ Νεοχώρου Ἁλιαρτίου Reiske, from the *Life of Lysander*: ὑφ' ὧν ὁ χῶρος Ἁλιάρτου.

(411) τὸν ἥλιον, οὔτε τὴν μόνον[1] τοῦτον ἐκ τοσούτων ἐπιταχύνουσαν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν ἔξουσι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φαινομένων συνταράξουσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς σελήνην καὶ παντάπασιν, ὥστε μὴ δεῖσθαι μέτρων ἐλαίου τὴν διαφορὰν ἐλεγχόντων. αἱ γὰρ ἐκλείψεις ἐλέγξουσιν αὐτοῦ τε τῇ σελήνῃ πλεονάκις ἐπιβάλλοντος καὶ τῆς σελήνης γῇ σκιάν[2]· τὰ δ' ἄλλα δῆλα[3] καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ λόγου διελίττειν."

"Ἀλλὰ μήν," ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἔφη, "καὶ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸς εἶδον· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐδείκνυσαν· τὸ δ' ἐπέτειον ἀπέδει τῶν παλαιοτάτων οὐκ ὀλίγον."

C Ὑπολαβὼν δ' αὖθις ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "εἶτα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους," εἶπεν, "ἔλαθε παρ' οἷς ἄσβεστα θεραπεύεται πυρὰ καὶ σῴζεται χρόνον ἐτῶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἄπειρον; εἰ δ' οὖν ὑποθοῖτό τις ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον, οὐ βέλτιόν ἐστι ψυχρότητας αἰτιᾶσθαί τινας καὶ ὑγρότητας ἀέρων, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ πῦρ μαραινόμενον εἰκός ἐστι μὴ κρατεῖν πολλῆς μηδὲ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς, ἢ τοὐναντίον ξηρότητας καὶ θερμότητας; ἤδη γὰρ ἀκήκοα λεγόντων τινῶν περὶ τοῦ πυρός, ὡς ἐν χειμῶνι καίεται βέλτιον ὑπὸ ῥώμης εἰς αὐτὸ συστελλόμενον τῇ ψυχρότητι καὶ πυκνούμενον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς ἐξασθενεῖ καὶ

D γίγνεται μανὸν καὶ ἄτονον, κἂν ἐν ἡλίῳ κάηται, χεῖρον ἐργάζεται, καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἅπτεται μαλακῶς καὶ καταναλίσκει βράδιον. μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις εἰς αὐτὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπανάγοι τοὔλαιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικός

[1] *μόνον* Turnebus: *μονὴν*. [2] *γῇ σκιάν* F.C.B.: *τῇ σκιᾷ*.
[3] *τὰ δ' ἄλλα δῆλα* Wyttenbach: *τὰ δ' ἄλληλα* or *τὰ δ' ἄλλα*.

---

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Comment. on Hesiod, Works and Days*, 559 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 78).

irregularity in its movements, they will not be able to state the cause of the acceleration which affects the sun alone among so many bodies, and they will throw into confusion almost all the celestial mechanics, and into complete confusion those relating to the moon, so that they will have no need of measures of oil to prove the difference. In fact, the eclipses will prove it, as the sun more frequently casts a shadow on the moon and the moon on the earth ; the other facts are clear, and there is no need to disclose in further detail the imposture in the argument."

" But," said Cleombrotus, " I myself actually saw the measure ; for they had many of them to show, and that of this past year failed to come up to the very oldest by not a little."

" Then," said Ammonius, taking up the argument again, " this fact has escaped the notice of the other peoples among whom ever-burning fires have been cherished and kept alive for a period of years which might be termed infinite ? But on the assumption that the report is true, is it not better to assign the cause to some coldness or moisture in the air by which the flame is made to languish, and so very likely does not take up nor need very much to support it ? Or, quite the reverse, may we assign the cause to spells of dryness and heat ? In fact, I have heard people say before this regarding fire, that it burns better in the winter,[a] being strongly compacted and condensed by the cold ; whereas in warm, dry times it is very weak and loses its compactness and intensity, and if it burns in the sunlight, it does even worse, and takes hold of the fuel without energy, and consumes it more slowly. Best of all, the cause might be assigned to the oil itself; for it is not unlikely that in days of old it

ἐστι πάλαι μὲν ἄτροφον καὶ ὑδατῶδες εἶναι, γεννώμενον ἐκ φυτάδος νέας, ὕστερον δὲ πεττόμενον ἐν τελείοις καὶ συνιστάμενον ἀπὸ πλήθους ἴσου μᾶλλον ἰσχύειν καὶ τρέφειν βέλτιον, εἰ δεῖ[1] τοῖς Ἀμμωνίοις ἀνασῴζειν καίπερ ἄτοπον καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν."

5. Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, "μᾶλλον," ἔφην ἐγώ, "περὶ τοῦ μαντείου δίελθ' ἡμῖν, ὦ
E Κλεόμβροτε· μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ παλαιὰ δόξα τῆς ἐκεῖ θειότητος, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔοικεν ὑπομαραίνεσθαι."

Τοῦ δὲ Κλεομβρότου σιωπῶντος καὶ κάτω βλέποντος, ὁ Δημήτριος, "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν ἁπάντων ἔκλειψιν ὁρῶντας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο σκοπεῖν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐξησθένηκε. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅπου γε[2] τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἕνεκα χρηστηρίων
F πολύφωνον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῇ καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχηκε μαντικῆς αὐχμὸς τὴν χώραν; οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι νῦν ἢ περὶ[3] Λεβάδειαν[4] ἡ[5] Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρῄζουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
412 τὰ μὲν σιγὴ τὰ δὲ παντελὴς ἐρημία κατέσχηκε. καίτοι γε περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ πολλὰ[6] μὲν εὐδοκίμησε, τὸ δὲ Πτῷον[7] οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω[8]·

[1] εἰ δεῖ Meziriacus: ἔδει.
[2] γε is found in Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* v. 17) only.
[3] περὶ in Eusebius only.
[4] Λεβάδειαν] λεβαδία in most MSS.
[5] ἡ Basel ed. of 1542: ἢ.
[6] πολλὰ added by F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
[7] τὸ δὲ Πτῷον first suggested by Wyttenbach (in the gen. case).
[8] Ἀμφιάρεω Wyttenbach: ἀμφιάρεως.

contained incombustible material and water, being produced from young trees; but that later, being ripened on full-grown trees and concentrated, it should, in an equal quantity, show more strength and provide a better fuel, if the people at Ammon's shrine must have their assumption preserved for them in spite of its being so strange and unusual."

5. When Ammonius had ceased speaking, I said, "Won't you rather tell us all about the oracle, Cleombrotus? For great was the ancient repute of the divine influence there, but at the present time it seems to be somewhat evanescent."

As Cleombrotus made no reply and did not look up, Demetrius said, "There is no need to make any inquiries nor to raise any questions about the state of affairs there, when we see the evanescence of the oracles here, or rather the total disappearance of all but one or two; but we should deliberate the reason why they have become so utterly weak. What need to speak of others, when in Boeotia, which in former times spoke with many tongues because of its oracles, the oracles have now failed completely, even as if they were streams of flowing water, and a great drought in prophecy has overspread the land? For nowhere now except in the neighbourhood of Lebadeia has Boeotia aught to offer to those who would draw from the well-spring of prophecy. As for the rest, silence has come upon some and utter desolation upon others. And yet at the time of the Persian Wars many had gained a high repute, that of Ptoan Apollo no less than that of Amphiaraüs; Mys, as it seems, made

(412) ἀπεπειράθη μὲν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀμφοτέρων Μῦς.[1] ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μαντείου προφήτης φωνῇ Αἰολίδι χρώμενος τὸ πρίν,[2] τότε[3] προστὰς[4] τῶν βαρβάρων χρησμὸν[5] ἐξήνεγκεν, ὥστε μηδένα ξυνεῖναι ἄλλον[6] τῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ μόνον[7] ἐκεῖνον, ὡς δῆλον ὂν ἐκ[8] τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῦ προφήτου ὅτι[9] τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέποτε[10] φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα λαβεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπηρετοῦσαν.

"Ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Ἀμφιάρεω δοῦλος[11] ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὑπηρέτην τοῦ θεοῦ φανέντα πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος,[12] ἔπειτα ταῖς χερσὶν ὠθεῖν· ἐπι-
B μένοντος δὲ λίθον εὐμεγέθη λαβόντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πατάξαι. ταῦτα δ' ἦν ὥσπερ ἀντίφωνα τῶν γενησομένων· ἡττήθη γὰρ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, οὐ βασιλέως ἀλλ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ διακόνου βασιλέως ἡγουμένου τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἔπεσεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Λυδὸς ἔδοξε πληγῆναι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους.

"Ἤκμαζε δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Τεγύρας χρηστήριον, ὅπου καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἱστοροῦσι,

[1] Μῦς Madvig and others from Herodotus (earlier in the sentence): ὡς.
[2] τὸ πρίν F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
[3] τότε F.C.B.: τὸ or τῷ (Madvig puts τότε τῇ later in the sentence).
[4] προστὰς F.C.B.: πρὸς τοὺς.
[5] χρησμὸν Basel ed. of 1542: χρήσιμον.
[6] ἄλλον F.C.B.; ἀστῶν Wyttenbach: ἁγίων.
[7] ἀλλὰ μόνον Schwartz: ὂν preceded by a lacuna.
[8] δῆλον ὂν ἐκ F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.
[9] τοῦ προφήτου ὅτι F.C.B.: τι preceded by a lacuna.
[10] οὐδέποτε Schwartz: οὐ δέδοται.
[11] δοῦλος] Λυδὸς Wyttenbach from the *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix.
[12] παρόντος] παριέντος Reiske.

---

[a] The MSS. show several lacunae and corruptions here;

trial of both.[a] The prophetic priest of this oracle, accustomed in former times to use the Aeolic dialect, on that occasion took the side of the barbarians and gave forth an oracle such that no one else of those present comprehended it, but only Mys himself, since it is quite clear from the inspired language then used by the prophetic priest that it is not for barbarians ever to receive a word in the Greek tongue subservient to their command.[b]

"The minion who was sent to the oracle of Amphiaraüs had, in his sleep[c] there, a vision of a servant of the god who appeared to him and tried first to eject him by word of mouth, alleging that the god was not there; then next he tried to push him away with his hands, and, when the man persisted in staying, took up a large stone and smote him on the head. All this was in harmony, as it were, with events to come; for Mardonius was vanquished while the Greeks were led, not by a king, but by a guardian and deputy of a king[d]; and he fell, struck by a stone just as the Lydian dreamed that he was struck in his sleep.

"That time, too, was the most flourishing period of the oracle at Tegyrae, which place also by tradition is the birthplace of the god; and of the two streams of

the general sense must be restored from Herodotus, viii. 133-135. For some unexplained reason Plutarch in his *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xix. (330 c) and Pausanias, ix. 23, lay this scene at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia.

[b] *Cf. Life of Themistocles*, chap. vi. (114 D); *Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. xxiii. (350 c).

[c] The oracle of Amphiaraüs was an incubation oracle: the consultants went to sleep in the shrine and received their answer in dreams.

[d] Mardonius was defeated at Plataea in 479 B.C. by the Greeks under the command of Pausanias, who was regent of Sparta and guardian of Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas.

(412) καὶ ναμάτων δυοῖν παραρρεόντων τὸ μὲν Φοίνικα θάτερον δ' Ἐλαίαν ἄχρι νῦν οἱ ἔνοικοι[1] λέγουσιν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἐχεκράτους προφητεύοντος ἀνεῖλε νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
C ὁ θεός· ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ Δηλίοις ἐκπεσοῦσι τῆς νήσου φασὶ χρησμὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθῆναι προστάττοντα τὸν τόπον ἀνευρεῖν ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐκεῖ τελέσαι. θαυμαζόντων δὲ καὶ διαπορούντων εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' ἑτέρωθι γεγόνοι, τὴν Πυθίαν προσανελεῖν ὅτι κορώνη φράσει τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῖς. ἀπιόντας οὖν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς πανδοκευτρίας ἀκοῦσαι πρός τινας ξένους βαδίζοντας εἰς Τεγύρας περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου διαλεγομένης· τῶν δὲ ξένων, ὡς ἀπῆεσαν, ἀσπαζομένων καὶ προσαγορευόντων τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὅπερ ὠνομάζετο,
D Κορώνην,[2] συνεῖναι τὸ λόγιον, καὶ θύσαντας ἐν ταῖς Τεγύραις τυχεῖν καθόδου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι τούτων ἐπιφάνειαι περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα ταῦτα, νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπεν· ὥστε τὴν αἰτίαν ἄξιον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πυθίῳ διαπορῆσαι τῆς μεταβολῆς."

6. Ἤδη δέ πως ἀπὸ τοῦ νεὼ προϊόντες ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Κνιδίων λέσχης ἐγεγόνειμεν· παρελθόντες οὖν εἴσω, τοὺς φίλους πρὸς οὓς ἐβαδίζομεν ἑωρῶμεν καθημένους καὶ περιμένοντας ἡμᾶς·

[1] οἱ ἔνοικοι F.C.B.; Ὀρχομένιοι Paton: ὡς ἔνιοι preceded by a short lacuna.

[2] ὅπερ . . . Κορώνην] ἥτις . . . Κορώνη E.

---

[a] Plutarch gives more information about Tegyrae in his *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xvi. (286 B).

[b] In the year 421 B.C. (Thucydides, v. 1).

water that flow past it, the inhabitants even to this day call the one 'Palm' and the other 'Olive.'[a] Now in the Persian Wars, when Echecrates was the prophetic priest, the god prophesied for the Greeks victory and might in war; and in the Peloponnesian War, when the people of Delos had been driven out of their island,[b] an oracle, it is said, was brought to them from Delphi directing them to find the place where Apollo was born, and to perform certain sacrifices there. While they were wondering and questioning the mere possibility that the god had been born, not in their island, but somewhere else, the prophetic priestess told them in another oracle that a crow would show them the spot. So they went away and, when they reached Chaeroneia, they heard the woman who kept their inn conversing about the oracle with some strangers who were on their way to Tegyrae. The strangers, as they were leaving, bade good-bye to the woman and called her by her name, which actually was 'Crow.' Then the Delians understood the meaning of the oracle and, having offered sacrifice in Tegyrae, they found a way to return home a short time thereafter. There have been also more recent manifestations than these at these oracles, but now the oracles are no more; so it is well worth while, here in the precinct of the Pythian god, to examine into the reason for the change."

6. Proceeding onward from the temple, we had by this time reached the doors of the Cnidian Club-house.[c] Accordingly we passed inside, and there we saw sitting and waiting for us the friends to whom

[c] In the north-east corner of the sacred precinct. The foundations may still be seen.

ἦν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχία διὰ τὴν ὥραν ἀλειφομένων ἢ θεωμένων τοὺς ἀθλητάς. καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος διαμειδιάσας, "'ψεύσομαι,'" εἶπεν, "'ἢ ἔτυμον ἐρέω'; δοκεῖτέ μοι μηδὲν ἄξιον σκέμμα διὰ χειρῶν
E ἔχειν· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀνειμένως σφόδρα καθημένους καὶ διακεχυμένους τοῖς προσώποις."

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Ἡρακλέων, "οὐ γὰρ ζητοῦμεν," ἔφη, "τὸ βάλλω ῥῆμα πότερον τῶν δύο τὸ ἓν λάμβδα κατὰ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ἀπόλλυσιν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τίνων ἁπλῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ χείριστον καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐσχημάτισται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συντείνει καὶ συνίστησι τὸ πρόσωπον· τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔξεστι τὰς ὀφρῦς κατὰ χώραν ἔχοντας φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ
F ζητεῖν ἀτρέμα μὴ δεινὸν βλέποντας μηδὲ χαλεπαίνοντας τοῖς παροῦσιν."

"Δέξασθ' οὖν" ὁ Δημήτριος, "ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν λόγον, ὃς δὴ προσπέπτωκεν ἡμῖν οἰκεῖος ὢν τοῦ τόπου καὶ διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἅπασι προσήκων· καὶ ὅπως οὐ συνάξετε τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπιχειροῦντες."

7. Ὡς οὖν ἀνεμείχθημεν διακαθεζόμενοι καὶ
413 προέβαλεν εἰς μέσον ὁ Δημήτριος τὸν λόγον, εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσας ὁ κυνικὸς Δίδυμος, ἐπίκλησιν Πλανητιάδης, καὶ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ δὶς ἢ τρὶς πατάξας ἀνεβόησεν, "ἰοὺ ἰού, δύσκριτον πρᾶγμα καὶ ζητήσεως δεόμενον πολλῆς ἥκετε κομίζοντες ἡμῖν. θαυμαστὸν γάρ ἐστιν, εἰ τοσαύτης κακίας ὑποκεχυμένης μὴ μόνον, ὡς προεῖπεν Ἡσίοδος, Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀπολελοίπασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρό-

[a] Homer, *Od.* iv. 140. [b] Present *βάλλω*, future *βαλῶ*.
[c] *Works and Days*, 199.

we were going. There was quiet among the other people there because of the hour, as they were engaged in taking a rub-down or else watching the athletes. Then Demetrius with a smile said, " ' Shall I tell you a falsehood or speak out the truth ? ' [a] You seem to have on hand nothing worth considering ; for I see that you are sitting about quite at your ease and with faces quite relaxed."

" Yes," said Heracleon of Megara in reply, " for we are not investigating which of the two lambdas in the verb ' hurl ' [b] is the one that it loses in the future tense ; nor from what positives the adjectives ' worse ' and ' better ' and ' worst ' and ' best ' are formed ; for these and similar problems may set the face in hard lines, but the others it is possible to examine in a philosophic spirit, without knitting the brows, and to investigate quietly without any fierce looks or any hard feelings against the company."

" Then permit us to come in," said Demetrius, " and with us a subject which has naturally occurred to us, one which is related to the place and concerns all of us on account of the god ; and beware of knitting your brows when you attack it ! "

7. When, accordingly, we had joined their company and seated ourselves among them and Demetrius had laid the subject before them, up sprang at once the Cynic Didymus, by nickname Planetiades, and, striking the ground two or three times with his staff, cried out, " Aha ! a difficult matter to decide and one requiring much investigation is that which you have come bringing to us ! It is indeed a wonder, when so much wickedness has been disseminated upon earth that not only Modesty and Righteous Indignation, as Hesiod [c] said long ago, have deserted the life

(413) νοια θεῶν συσκευασαμένη τὰ χρηστήρια πανταχόθεν οἴχεται. τοὐναντίον δ' ὑμῖν ἐγὼ προβάλλω διαπορῆσαι πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τόδ'[1] ἀπείρηκεν οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς αὖθις ἤ τις ἄλλος θεῶν ὑπέσπακε τὸν τρίποδα
B καταπιμπλάμενον αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀθέων ἐρωτημάτων, ἃ τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διάπειραν λαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ περὶ θησαυρῶν ἢ κληρονομιῶν ἢ γάμων παρανόμων διερωτῶντες· ὥστε κατὰ κράτος ἐξελέγχεσθαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν εἰπόντα βελτίστους ἑαυτῶν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζωσιν· οὕτως ἄρ' ἃ[2] καλῶς εἶχεν ἀνθρώπου πρεσβυτέρου παρόντος ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν νοσήματα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ πάθη, ταῦτα γυμνὰ καὶ περιφανῆ κομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν."

Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ βουλομένου λέγειν, ὅ θ' Ἡρακλέων ἐπελάβετο τοῦ τρίβωνος, κἀγὼ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων
C αὐτῷ συνηθέστατος ὤν, "παῦε," ἔφην, "ὦ φίλε Πλανητιάδη, παροξύνων τὸν θεόν· εὐόργητος γάρ ἐστι καὶ πρᾶος,

κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν

ὥς φησιν ὁ Πίνδαρος. καὶ εἴθ' ἥλιός ἐστιν εἴτε κύριος ἡλίου καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὁρατοῦ παντός, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀπαξιοῦν φωνῆς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώ-

[1] τόδ' Madvig: τότ'.
[2] ἄρ' ἃ] ἄρα in most MSS.

---

[a] *Cf.* 387 D, *supra*, and the note.
[b] *Cf.* 408 C, *supra*.

of mankind, but that Divine Providence also has gathered up its oracles and departed from every place! Quite the contrary, I propose that you discuss how it happens that the oracle here has not also given out, and Heracles for a second time, or some other god, has not wrested away the tripod [a] which is constantly being occupied with shameful and impious questions which people propound [b] to the god, some of whom try to make a test of him as though his wisdom were an affectation, while others put questions about treasures or inheritances or unlawful marriages; so Pythagoras [c] is proved to be utterly wrong in asserting that men are at their best when they approach the gods. Thus those maladies and emotions of the soul which it would be good to disclaim and conceal in the presence of an older man, they bring naked and exposed before the god."

He would have said more, but Heracleon seized hold of his cloak, and I, being about as intimate with him as anybody, said, "Cease provoking the god, my dear Planetiades; for he is of a good and mild disposition,

> And towards mortal men he hath been judged the most gentle,

as Pindar [d] says. And whether he be the sun [e] or the lord and father of the sun and of all that lies beyond our vision,[f] it is not likely that he should deny his utterance to people of the present day because of

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 169 E.
[d] *Ibid.* 394 A and 1102 E; Pindar, Frag. 149 (ed. Christ).
[e] *Cf.* 386 B, *supra*, and the note.
[f] The language is reminiscent of ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας (Plato, *Republic* 509 B).

(413) πους, οἷς αἴτιός ἐστι γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ φρονεῖν, οὐδ' ἅμα τὴν πρόνοιαν ὥσπερ εὐγνώμονα μητέρα καὶ χρηστὴν πάντα ποιοῦσαν ἡμῖν καὶ φυλάττουσαν ἐν μόνῃ μνησίκακον εἶναι τῇ μαντικῇ, καὶ ταύτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δοῦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ καὶ τότε πλειόνων ὄντων ἐν πλείοσιν
D ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν, ὅτε πολλαχόθι[1] τῆς οἰκουμένης χρηστήρια καθειστήκει. δεῦρο δὴ πάλιν καθίσας καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν, ἣν εἴωθας ἀεὶ τῷ λόγῳ κολάζειν, Πυθικὰς ἐκεχειρίας σπεισάμενος, ἑτέραν τινὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαν ζήτει τῆς λεγομένης ἐκλείψεως τῶν χρηστηρίων· τὸν δὲ θεὸν εὐμενῆ φύλαττε καὶ ἀμήνιτον."

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τοσοῦτο διεπραξάμην, ὅσον ἀπελθεῖν διὰ θυρῶν σιωπῇ τὸν Πλανητιάδην.

8. Ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας, "ὅρα τί ποιοῦμεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Λαμπρία, καὶ πρόσεχε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν διάνοιαν,
E ὅπως μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἀναίτιον ποιῶμεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ μὴ θεοῦ γνώμῃ τὰ παυσάμενα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐκλιπεῖν ἡγούμενος, ὑπόνοιαν δίδωσι τοῦ μὴ γίγνεσθαι μηδ' εἶναι διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀλλ' ἑτέρῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ νομίζειν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη γέ τις ἔστι μείζων οὐδὲ κρείττων δύναμις, ὥστ' ἀναιρεῖν καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἔργον θεοῦ τὴν μαντικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλανητιάδου λόγος οὐκ ἀρεστὸς ἐμοὶ διά τε τἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἣν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ποιεῖ, πῇ μὲν ἀπο-

[1] πολλαχόθι Bases and Hartman: πολλαχόθεν.

---

[a] The sacred truce, made throughout the Greek world, for the duration of the Pythian games.

their unworthiness, when he is responsible for their birth and nurture and their existence and power to think; nor is it likely withal that Providence, like a benign and helpful mother, who does everything for us and watches over us, should cherish animosity in the matter of prophecy only, and take away that from us after having given it to us at the beginning, as if the number of wicked men included among a larger population were not larger at that earlier time when the oracles were established in many places in the inhabited world! Come, sit down again and make a 'Pythian truce[a]' with evil, which you are wont to chastise with words every day, and join us in seeking some other reason for what is spoken of as the obsolescence of oracles; but keep the god benign and provoke him not to wrath."

What I had said was so far effective that Planetiades went out through the door without another word.

8. There was quiet for a moment, and then Ammonius, addressing himself to me, said, "See what it is that we are doing, Lamprias, and concentrate your thoughts on our subject so that we shall not relieve the god of responsibility. The fact is that the man who holds that the obsolescence of such of the oracles as have ceased to function has been brought about by some other cause and not by the will of a god gives reason for suspecting that he believes that their creation and continued existence was not due to the god, but was brought about in some other way. For prophecy is something created by a god, and certainly no greater or more potent force exists to abolish and obliterate it. Now I do not like what Planetiades said, and one of the reasons is the inconsistency which it creates regarding the god,

στρεφόμενον καὶ ἀπαξιοῦντα τὴν κακίαν πῇ δὲ πάλιν
αὖ προσιέμενον, ὥσπερ εἰ βασιλεύς τις ἢ τύραννος
F ἑτέραις ἀποκλείων θύραις τοὺς πονηροὺς καθ' ἑτέ-
ρας εἰσδέχοιτο καὶ χρηματίζοι. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου[1] καὶ
ἱκανοῦ καὶ μηδαμῇ περιττοῦ πανταχῇ δ' αὐτ-
άρκους, μάλιστα τοῖς θείοις[2] πρέποντος ἔργοις,
εἰ ταύτην ἀρχὴν[3] λαβὼν φαίη τις ὅτι τῆς κοινῆς
ὀλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλε-
μοι περὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργά-
414 σαντο, πλεῖστον μέρος ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετέσχηκε, καὶ
μόλις ἂν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας,
ὅσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Πλα-
ταιέας (οὐδὲν οὖν ἕτερον ἦν τὸ πολλὰ καταλιπεῖν χρη-
στήρια τὸν θεὸν ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλέγχειν τὴν
ἐρημίαν), ἀκριβὲς[4] ἂν οὕτω[5] παράσχοι τι[6] τῆς εὐρησι-
λογίας. τίνος γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθόν, ἐν Τεγύραις ὡς πρό-
τερον εἶναι[7] μαντεῖον, ἢ περὶ τὸ Πτῷον ὅπου μέρος
ἡμέρας ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ νέμοντι; καὶ γάρ
τοῦτο δὴ τοὐνταῦθα[8] πρεσβύτατον ὂν χρόνῳ τε καὶ
B δόξῃ κλεινότατον ὑπὸ θηρίου χαλεποῦ δρακαίνης
πολὺν χρόνον ἔρημον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον
ἱστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν ἀργίαν[9] ἀλλ' ἀνάπαλιν
λαμβάνοντες· ἡ γὰρ ἐρημία τὸ θηρίον ἐπηγάγετο
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θηρίον ἐποίησε τὴν ἐρημίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
τῷ θεῷ δόξαν οὕτως ἥ θ' Ἑλλὰς ἐρρώσθη πόλεσι
καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀνθρώποις ἐπλήθυνε, δυσὶν ἐχρῶντο

[1] μετρίου Emperius: μεγίστου.
[2] θείοις Bernardakis: θεοῖς.
[3] ἀρχὴν omitted in some MSS.
[4] ἀκριβὲς F.C.B.: ἀκριβῶς. [5] οὕτω F.C.B.: αὐτῷ.
[6] παράσχοι τι F.C.B.: παράσχοιμι. [7] εἶναι Bryan: ἦν.
[8] δὴ τοὐνταῦθα Haupt: δήπου ἐνταῦθα.
[9] ἀργίαν] ἐρημίαν corr. in two MSS.: αἰτίαν Meziriacus.

who in one way turns away from wickedness and disavows it, and again in another way welcomes its presence ; just as if some king or despot should shut out bad men at certain doors and let them in at others and have dealings with them. Now moderation, adequacy, excess in nothing, and complete self-sufficiency are above all else the essential characteristics of everything done by the gods ; and if anyone should take this fact as a starting-point, and assert that Greece has far more than its share in the general depopulation which the earlier discords and wars have wrought throughout practically the whole inhabited earth, and that to-day the whole of Greece would hardly muster three thousand men-at-arms, which is the number that the one city of the Megarians sent forth to Plataeae [a] (for the god's abandoning of many oracles is nothing other than his way of substantiating the desolation of Greece), in this way such a man would give some accurate evidence of his keenness in reasoning. For who would profit if there were an oracle in Tegyrae, as there used to be, or at Ptoüm, where during some part of the day one might possibly meet a human being pasturing his flocks ? And regarding the oracle here at Delphi, the most ancient in time and the most famous in repute, men record that for a long time it was made desolate and unapproachable by a fierce creature, a serpent ; they do not, however, put the correct interpretation upon its lying idle, but quite the reverse ; for it was the desolation that attracted the creature rather than that the creature caused the desolation. But when Greece, since God so willed, had grown strong in cities and the place was thronged with people, they

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ix. 21 and 28.

(414) προφήτισιν ἐν μέρει καθιεμέναις,[1] καὶ τρίτη δ' ἔφεδρος ἦν ἀποδεδειγμένη. νῦν δ' ἔστι μία προφῆτις, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαλοῦμεν· ἐξαρκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη[2] τοῖς δεομένοις. οὐ τοίνυν αἰτιατέον οὐδὲν[3] τὸν θεόν· ἡ γὰρ οὖσα μαντικὴ καὶ διαμένουσα πᾶσίν ἐστιν
C ἱκανὴ καὶ πάντας ἀποπέμπει τυγχάνοντας ὧν χρῄζουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐννέα κήρυξιν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐχρῆτο, καὶ μόλις κατεῖχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ πλῆθος, ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄψεσθε μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μίαν φωνὴν ἐξικνουμένην εἰς πάντας· οὕτω τότε πλείοσιν ἐχρῆτο φωναῖς πρὸς πλείονας ἡ μαντική, νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περιεώρα τὴν μαντικὴν ἀχρήστως δίκην ὕδατος ἀπορρέουσαν ἢ καθάπερ αἱ πέτραι ποιμένων ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καὶ βοσκημάτων φωναῖς ἀντηχοῦσαν."

9. Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου κἀμοῦ σιωπῶντος, ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύσας, "ἤδη σὺ τοῦτο δέδωκας," ἔφη, "τὸ καὶ ποιεῖν ταυτὶ τὰ
D μαντεῖα καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὸν θεόν."

"Οὐκ ἔγωγε," εἶπον, "ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αἰτίᾳ θεοῦ φημι μαντεῖον οὐδὲ χρηστήριον· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ ποιοῦντος ἡμῖν ἐκείνου καὶ παρασκευάζοντος, ἐπάγει φθορὰν ἐνίοις καὶ στέρησιν ἡ φύσις, μᾶλλον δ' ἡ ὕλη στέρησις οὖσα ἀναφεύγει[4] πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλύει τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος αἰτίας, οὕτω μαντικῶν οἶμαι δυνάμεων σκοτώσεις ἑτέρας[5] καὶ ἀναιρέσεις εἶναι, πολλὰ καλὰ

[1] καθημέναις Xylander. [2] αὕτη Stegmann: αὐτὴ.
[3] οὐδὲν Kronenberg: οὐδὲ.
[4] ἀναφεύγει] ἀνυφαίνει Xylander; διαφθείρει Schwartz; τὸ εἶναι φεύγει Michael; ἀνατρέπει? [5] ἑτέρας] ἰδιαιτέρας Paton.

[a] Homer, *Il.* ii. 96.

used to employ two prophetic priestesses who were sent down in turn ; and a third was appointed to be held in reserve. But to-day there is one priestess and we do not complain, for she meets every need. There is no reason, therefore, to blame the god ; the exercise of the prophetic art which continues at the present day is sufficient for all, and sends away all with their desires fulfilled. Agamemnon,[a] for example, used nine heralds and, even so, had difficulty in keeping the assembly in order because of the vast numbers ; but here in Delphi, a few days hence, in the theatre you will see that one voice reaches all. In the same way, in those days, prophecy employed more voices to speak to more people, but to-day, quite the reverse, we should needs be surprised at the god if he allowed his prophecies to run to waste, like water, or to echo like the rocks with the voices of shepherds and flocks in waste places."

9. When Ammonius had said this and I remained silent, Cleombrotus, addressing himself to me, said, " Already you have conceded this point, that the god both creates and abolishes these prophetic shrines."

" No indeed," said I, " my contention is that no prophetic shrine or oracle is ever abolished by the instrumentality of the god. He creates and provides many other things for us, and upon some of these Nature brings destruction and disintegration ; or rather, the matter composing them, being itself a force for disintegration, often reverts rapidly to its earlier state and causes the dissolution of what was created by the more potent instrumentality ; and it is in this way, I think, that in the next period there are dimmings and abolitions of the prophetic agencies ; for while the god gives many fair things to

τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἀνθρώποις ἀθάνατον δὲ μηδέν· ὥστε θνήσκειν καὶ τὰ θεῶν θεοὺς δ' οὔ, κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα. τὴν δ' οὐσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν οὖσαν
E ἐν[1] τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ φασὶν[2] ἀεὶ[3] οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν[4] ζητεῖν, τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον φυλαττομένης. εὔηθες γάρ ἐστι καὶ παιδικὸν κομιδῇ τὸ οἴεσθαι τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους, Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι νυνὶ δὲ Πύθωνας προσαγορευομένους, ἐνδυόμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα τῶν προφητῶν ὑποφθέγγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐκείνων στόμασι καὶ φωναῖς χρώμενον ὀργάνοις. ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμειγνὺς[5] ἀνθρωπίναις χρείαις οὐ φείδεται τῆς σεμνότητος οὐδὲ τηρεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς."

10. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "ὀρθῶς λέγεις· ἀλλ'
F ἐπεὶ τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ διορίσαι πῶς χρηστέον καὶ μέχρι τίνων τῇ προνοίᾳ χαλεπόν, οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἁπλῶς τὸν θεὸν οἱ δ' ὁμοῦ τι πάντων αἴτιον ποιοῦντες ἀστοχοῦσι τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πρέποντος. εὖ μὲν οὖν λέγουσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι Πλάτων τὸ ταῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον ἐξευρών, ὃ νῦν ὕλην καὶ φύσιν καλοῦσιν, πολλῶν
415 ἀπήλλαξε καὶ μεγάλων ἀποριῶν τοὺς φιλοσόφους· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας

[1] οὖσαν ἐν F.C.B.: τοὺς ἐν.
[2] φασὶν] φημὶ several editors.
[3] ἀεὶ added by F.C.B.
[4] οἱ σοφοὶ δεῖν Paton: δεινοὺς (-οῖς) ὀφείλειν (-ει).
[5] ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἐγκαταμειγνὺς F.C.B. (*cf.* 148 A): καταμιγνὺς preceded by a lacuna.

mankind, he gives nothing imperishable, so that, as Sophocles [a] puts it, ' the works of gods may die, but not the gods.' Their presence and power wise men are ever telling us we must look for in Nature and in Matter, where it is manifested, the originating influence being reserved for the Deity, as is right. Certainly it is foolish and childish in the extreme to imagine that the god himself after the manner of ventriloquists (who used to be called ' Eurycleis,' [b] but now ' Pythones ') enters into the bodies of his prophets and prompts their utterances, employing their mouths and voices as instruments.[c] For if he allows himself to become entangled in men's needs, he is prodigal with his majesty and he does not observe the dignity and greatness of his pre-eminence."

10. " You are right," said Cleombrotus; " but since it is hard to apprehend and to define in what way and to what extent Providence should be brought in as an agent, those who make the god responsible for nothing at all and those who make him responsible for all things alike go wide of moderation and propriety. They put the case well who say that Plato,[d] by his discovery of the element underlying all created qualities, which is now called ' Matter ' and ' Nature,' has relieved philosophers of many great perplexities; but, as it seems to me, those persons have resolved more and greater per-

[a] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 311, Sophocles, no. 766 (no. 850 Pearson). The same thought is in the *Oedipus at Colonus*, 607.

[b] Eurycles was a famous ventriloquist. *Cf.* Plato, *Sophist*, 252 c, and Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1019, with the scholium.

[c] *Cf.* 397 c and 404 B, *supra*.

[d] In the *Timaeus*, 48 E ff., for example.

(415) ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θέντες[1] θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτον ἐξευρόντες, εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφέως εἴτ' Αἰγύπτιος ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἑκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμειγμένα πολλὰ[2] θνητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν ὁρῶντες. Ἑλλήνων δ' Ὅμηρος μὲν ἔτι φαίνεται κοινῶς
B ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε δαίμονας προσαγορεύων· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτος ἐξέθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη, θεοὺς εἶτα δαίμονας εἶθ' ἥρωας τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους, ἐξ ὧν ἔοικε ποιεῖν τὴν μεταβολήν, τοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ γένους εἰς δαίμονας[3] πολλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς τῶν δ' ἡμιθέων εἰς ἥρωας ἀποκριθέντων.

" Ἕτεροι δὲ μεταβολὴν τοῖς τε σώμασιν ὁμοίως ποιοῦσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ὕδωρ ἐκ δ' ὕδατος ἀὴρ ἐκ δ' ἀέρος πῦρ γεννώμενον ὁρᾶται, τῆς οὐσίας ἄνω φερομένης, οὕτως ἐκ μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας ἐκ δ' ἡρώων εἰς δαίμονας αἱ βελτίονες ψυχαὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν λαμβάνουσιν. ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων
C ὀλίγαι μὲν ἔτι χρόνῳ πολλῷ δι' ἀρετὴν[4] καθαρθεῖσαι παντάπασι θειότητος μετέσχον· ἐνίαις δὲ συμβαίνει μὴ κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑφιεμέναις καὶ

[1] *θέντες* in Eusebius, not in the MSS.
[2] *πολλὰ* Eusebius: *πρὸς τὰ*.
[3] *εἶθ' ἥρωας . . . γένους εἰς δαίμονας* in Eusebius, omitted in the MSS.
[4] *ἀρετὴν*] *ἀρετῆς* in most MSS.

plexities who have set the race of demigods midway between gods and men,[a] and have discovered a force to draw together, in a way, and to unite our common fellowship—whether this doctrine comes from the wise men of the cult of Zoroaster, or whether it is Thracian and harks back to Orpheus, or is Egyptian, or Phrygian, as we may infer from observing that many things connected with death and mourning in the rites of both lands are combined in the ceremonies so fervently celebrated there. Among the Greeks, Homer, moreover, appears to use both names in common and sometimes to speak of the gods as demigods; but Hesiod[a] was the first to set forth clearly and distinctly four classes of rational beings: gods, demigods, heroes, in this order, and, last of all, men; and as a sequence to this, apparently, he postulates his transmutation, the golden race passing selectively into many good divinities, and the demigods into heroes.

"Others postulate a transmutation for bodies and souls alike; in the same manner in which water is seen to be generated from earth, air from water, and fire from air, as their substance is borne upward, even so from men into heroes and from heroes into demigods the better souls obtain their transmutation. But from the demigods a few souls still, in the long reach of time, because of supreme excellence, come, after being purified, to share completely in divine qualities. But with some of these souls it comes to pass that they do not maintain control over themselves, but yield to temptation and are again clothed

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Comment. on Hesiod, Works and Days*, 122 (Bernardakis's edition, vol. vii. p. 52); *cf.* also 390 E, *supra.*

(415) ἐνδυομέναις[1] πάλιν σώμασι θνητοῖς ἀλαμπῆ καὶ ἀμυδρὰν ζωὴν ὥσπερ ἀναθυμίασιν ἴσχειν.

11. "Ὁ δ' Ἡσίοδος οἴεται καὶ περιόδοις τισὶ χρόνων γίγνεσθαι τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰς τελευτάς· λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ναΐδος προσώπῳ καὶ τὸν χρόνον αἰνιττόμενος

ἐννέα τοι ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη,
ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων· ἔλαφος δέ τε τετρακόρωνος·
τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόραξ γηράσκεται· αὐτὰρ ὁ φοίνιξ
ἐννέα τοὺς κόρακας· δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας[2]
D νύμφαι ἐυπλόκαμοι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ἀριθμοῦ συνάγουσιν οἱ μὴ καλῶς δεχόμενοι τὴν γενεάν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐνιαυτός· ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τὸ σύμπαν ἐννακισχίλια ἔτη καὶ ἑπτακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ζωῆς, ἔλαττον μὲν οὗ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν, πλέον δ' οὗ[3] Πίνδαρος εἴρηκεν εἰπὼν τὰς νύμφας ζῆν

ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαρ[4] αἰῶνος λαχοίσας,[5]

διὸ καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὰς ἁμαδρυάδας."

Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, Δημήτριος ὑπολαβών, "πῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις, ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, γενεὰν ἀνδρὸς
E εἰρῆσθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν; οὔτε γάρ 'ἡβῶντος' οὔτε 'γηρῶντος,' ὡς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἔνιοι, χρόνος ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τοσοῦτός ἐστιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μέν

[1] ἐνδυομέναις Turnebus: ἀναλυομέναις or ἀναδυομέναις.
[2] δ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας] φοίνικας δέ τοι ἡμεῖς Rzach.
[3] οὗ . . . οὗ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: οὖν . . . οὐ or οὖν.
[4] τέκμαρ Turnebus, as in *Moralia*, 757 F: τέκμωρ.
[5] λαχοίσας Heyne: λαχούσας.

with mortal bodies and have a dim and darkened life, like mist or vapour.

11. "Hesiod thinks that with the lapse of certain periods of years the end comes even to the demigods; for, speaking in the person of the Naiad, he indirectly suggests the length of time with these words: [a]

Nine generations long is the life of the crow and his cawing,
Nine generations of vigorous men.[b] Lives of four crows together
Equal the life of a stag, and three stags the old age of a raven;
Nine of the lives of the raven the life of the Phoenix doth equal;
Ten of the Phoenix we Nymphs, fair daughters of Zeus of the aegis.

Those that do not interpret 'generation' well make an immense total of this time; but it really means a year, so that the sum of the life of these divinities is nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty years, less than most mathematicians think, and more than Pindar [c] has stated when he says that the Nymphs live

Allotted a term as long as the years of a tree,

and for this reason he calls them Hamadryads."

While he was still speaking Demetrius, interrupting him, said, "How is it, Cleombrotus, that you can say that the year has been called a generation? For neither of a man 'in his vigour' nor 'in his eld,' as some read the passage, is the span of human life such

[a] Hesiod, Frag. 183 (ed. Rzach); *cf.* the Latin version of Ausonius, p. 93, ed. Peiper (1886). See also *Moralia*, 989 A; Martial, x. 67; Achilles Tatius, iv. 4. 3.

[b] *Cf.* Aristophanes, *Birds*, 609.

[c] Pindar, Frag. 165 (ed. Christ); quoted also in *Moralia*, 757 F.

'ἡβώντων'[1] ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ἔτη τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεὰν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὑτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας. οἱ δὲ 'γηρώντων' πάλιν οὐχ 'ἡβώντων' γράφοντες ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη νέμουσι τῇ γενεᾷ· τὰ γὰρ πεντήκοντα καὶ τέτταρα μεσούσης ὅρον ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς εἶναι, συγκείμενον ἔκ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς[2] καὶ τῶν πρώτων δυοῖν ἐπιπέδων καὶ δυοῖν τετραγώνων καὶ δυοῖν κύβων, οὓς καὶ Πλάτων ἀριθμοὺς ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ψυχογονίᾳ. καὶ ὁ λόγος ὅλος ἠνίχθαι δοκεῖ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ὁπηνίκα συνεκλείπειν τοῖς ὑγροῖς εἰκός ἐστι τὰς Νύμφας,

F

αἵ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα."

12. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "ἀκούω ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "πολλῶν καὶ ὁρῶ τὴν Στωικὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἔπη
416 οὕτω καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν[3]· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦ κόσμου τὴν φθορὰν ἀνέχομαι λεγομένην, τά τ' ἀμήχαν' ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομνήσει[4] τῶν φωνῶν μάλιστα περὶ τὴν κορώνην καὶ τὴν ἔλαφον ἐκδύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπερβάλλοντας. οὐκ ἐνιαυτὸς ἀρχὴν ἐν αὑτῷ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁμοῦ τι 'πάντων ὧν φέρουσιν ὧραι γῆ δὲ φύει' περιέχων,[5] οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ

[1] *ἡβώντων*] *ἡβῶντος* in nearly all MSS.
[2] *ἀρχῆς*] *μονάδος* in some MSS.
[3] *συνεξάπτουσαν* Wyttenbach: *συνεξαπατοῦσαν* (or *-ῶσαν*).
[4] *ἀμήχαν' ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομνήσει* F.C.B.: *ἀμήχανα καὶ ὧι ὑπόμνησις.*
[5] *περιέχων* most editors (*περιεσχηκὼς* Schwartz): *περιεχῶς.*

as this. Those who read ' in their vigour ' make a generation thirty years, in accord with Heracleitus,[a] a time sufficient for a father to have a son who is a father also ; but again those who write ' in their eld ' and not ' in their vigour ' assign an hundred and eight years to a generation ; for they say that fifty-four marks the limit of the middle years of human life, a number which is made up of the first number, the first two plane surfaces, two squares and two cubes,[b] numbers which Plato also took in his *Generation of the Soul.*[c] The whole matter as stated by Hesiod seems to contain a veiled reference to the ' Conflagration,' when the disappearance of all liquids will most likely be accompanied by the extinction of the Nymphs,

> Who in the midst of fair woodlands,
> Sources of rivers, and grass-covered meadows have their abiding.[d] "

12. " Yes," said Cleombrotus, " I hear this from many persons, and I observe that the Stoic ' Conflagration,' just as it feeds on the verses of Heracleitus and Orpheus, is also seizing upon those of Hesiod. But I cannot brook this talk of universal destruction ; and such impossibilities, in recalling to our minds these utterances, especially those about the crow and the stag, must be allowed to revert upon those that indulge in such exaggeration. Does not a year include within itself the beginning and the end of ' all things which the Seasons and the Earth make grow,' [e] and is it not foreign to men's ways to

[a] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 76, Heracleitus, no. A 19.
[b] That is $1+(1\times2)+(1\times3)+4+9+8+27=54$.
[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 34 C–35 A. [d] Homer, *Il.* xx. 8-9.
[e] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 97, Heracleitus, no. B 100.

(416) τρόπου γενεὰ κέκληται; καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὁμολογεῖτε δήπου[1] τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἀνθρωπίνην ζωὴν τὴν γενεὰν λέγειν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως;"

Συνέφησεν ὁ Δημήτριος.

B "Ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνο δῆλον," ὁ Κλεόμβροτος εἶπε, "τὸ πολλάκις τὸ μετροῦν καὶ τὰ μετρούμενα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύεσθαι, κοτύλην καὶ χοίνικα καὶ ἀμφορέα καὶ μέδιμνον. ὃν τρόπον οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὴν μονάδα μέτρον οὖσαν ἐλάχιστον καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀριθμὸν καλοῦμεν, οὕτω τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ᾧ πρώτῳ μετροῦμεν ἀνθρώπου βίον, ὁμωνύμως τῷ μετρουμένῳ γενεὰν ὠνόμασεν. καὶ γὰρ οὓς μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν ἀριθμοὺς οὐδὲν ἔχουσι τῶν νενομισμένων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν ὡς ἐν ἀριθμοῖς· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐννακισχιλίων ἑπτακοσίων εἴκοσι τὴν γένεσιν ἔσχηκε συνθέσει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τεττάρων ἐφεξῆς τετράκις γενομένων ἢ δεκάκις γενομένων[2] τεττάρων· τετταράκοντα γὰρ

C ἑκατέρως γίγνεται. ταῦτα δὲ πεντάκις τριγωνισθέντα τὸν ἐκκείμενον ἀριθμὸν παρέσχεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς Δημητρίῳ διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ κἂν[3] πλείων ὁ χρόνος ᾖ κἂν ἐλάττων κἂν τεταγμένος κἂν ἄτακτος, ἐν ᾧ μεταλλάττει δαίμονος ψυχὴ[4] καὶ ἥρωος βίον, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐφ' ᾧ[5] βούλεται δεδείξεται μετὰ μαρτύρων σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ὅτι φύσεις εἰσί τινες ὥσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεχόμεναι πάθη

[1] δήπου Turnebus: μήπου.
[2] ἢ δεκάκις Meziriacus, γενομένων F.C.B., to fill a lacuna.
[3] κἂν Eusebius: ἂν.
[4] ψυχὴ Eusebius and one MS. corr.: ψυχὴν.
[5] ἐφ' ᾧ] ἐφ' ὃ some MSS.; ὃ Viger.

call it a 'generation'? As a matter of fact you yourselves surely agree that Hesiod by the word 'generation' means a man's life. Is not that so?"

"Yes," said Demetrius.

"And this fact also is clear," said Cleombrotus, "that often the measure and the things measured are called by the same name, as, for example, gill, quart, gallon, and bushel.[a] In the same way, then, in which we call unity a number, being, as it is, the smallest number and the first; so the year, which we use as the first measure of man's life, Hesiod has called by the same name as the thing measured, a 'generation.' The fact is that the numbers which those other persons produce have none of those notable and conspicuous qualities which may be inherent in numbers. The number nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty[b] has been produced by adding together the first four numbers and multiplying them by four,[c] or by multiplying four by ten. Either process gives forty, and when this is multiplied five times by three it gives the specified number.[d] But concerning these matters there is no need for us to disagree with Demetrius. In fact, even if the period of time in which the soul of the demigod or hero changes its life[e] be longer or shorter, determinate or indeterminate, none the less the proof will be there on the basis which he desires, fortified by clear testimony from ancient times, that in the confines, as it were, between gods and men there exist certain natures susceptible to

[a] *Cf.* Censorinus, *De die natali ad Iu. Caerellium*, xviii. 11, and Geffcken in *Hermes*, xlix. 336.

[b] *Cf.* 415 D, *supra.*

[c] $(1+2+3+4)\times 4=40$.

[d] $40\times 3^5=9720$.

[e] *Cf.* 415 B, *supra.*

(416) θνητὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς ἀναγκαίας, οὓς δαίμονας ὀρθῶς ἔχει κατὰ νόμον πατέρων ἡγουμένους καὶ ὀνομάζοντας σέβεσθαι.

13. "Παράδειγμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ[1] Ξενοκράτης μὲν
D ὁ Πλάτωνος ἑταῖρος ἐποιήσατο τὸ τῶν τριγώνων, θείῳ μὲν ἀπεικάσας τὸ ἰσόπλευρον θνητῷ δὲ τὸ σκαληνὸν τὸ δ' ἰσοσκελὲς δαιμονίῳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἴσον πάντῃ τὸ δ' ἄνισον πάντῃ, τὸ δὲ πῇ μὲν ἴσον πῇ δ' ἄνισον, ὥσπερ ἡ δαιμόνων φύσις ἔχουσα καὶ πάθος θνητοῦ καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν. ἡ δὲ φύσις αἰσθητὰς εἰκόνας ἐξέθηκε καὶ ὁμοιότητας ὁρωμένας, θεῶν μὲν[2] ἥλιον καὶ ἄστρα θνητῶν δὲ σέλα καὶ κομήτας καὶ διάττοντας, ὡς Εὐριπίδης εἴκασεν ἐν οἷς εἶπεν,

ὁ δ' ἄρτι θάλλων σάρκα[3] διοπετὴς ὅπως
ἀστὴρ ἀπέσβη πνεῦμ' ἀφεὶς ἐς[4] αἰθέρα.

E μεικτὸν[5] δὲ σῶμα καὶ μίμημα δαιμόνιον ὄντως τὴν σελήνην, τῷ τῇ τούτου τοῦ γένους συνάδειν περιφορᾷ, φθίσεις φαινομένας δεχομένην καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ὁρῶντες, οἱ μὲν ἄστρον γεῶδες οἱ δ' ὀλυμπίαν γῆν οἱ δὲ χθονίας ὁμοῦ καὶ οὐρανίας κλῆρον Ἑκάτης προσεῖπον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἂν[6] εἴ τὸν ἀέρα τις ἀνέλοι καὶ ὑποσπάσειε τὸν μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης, τὴν ἑνότητα διαλύσειε[7] καὶ τὴν κοινω

[1] τῷ λόγῳ] τοῦ λόγου?
[2] ὁρωμένας, θεῶν μὲν Turnebus: ὁρωμένων θεῶν ὡς.
[3] σαρκὶ in *Moralia*, 1090 c. [4] ἐς Nauck: εἰς.
[5] μικτὸν Turnebus: μικρὸν. [6] ἄν added by F.C.B.
[7] διαλύσειε F.C.B.: διαλύσει.

[a] "All last night the northern streamers flashed across the western sky."

[b] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 674, Euripides, no 971. Plutarch quotes the lines again in *Moralia*, 1090 c.

human emotions and involuntary changes, whom it is right that we, like our fathers before us, should regard as demigods, and, calling them by that name, should reverence them.

13. "As an illustration of this subject, Xenocrates, the companion of Plato, employed the order of the triangles; the equilateral he compared to the nature of the gods, the scalene to that of man, and the isosceles to that of the demigods; for the first is equal in all its lines, the second unequal in all, and the third is partly equal and partly unequal, like the nature of the demigods, which has human emotions and godlike power. Nature has placed within our ken perceptible images and visible likenesses, the sun and the stars for the gods, and for mortal men beams of light,[a] comets, and meteors, a comparison which Euripides[b] has made in the verses:

> He that but yesterday was vigorous
> Of frame, even as a star from heaven falls,
> Gave up in death his spirit to the air.

But there is a body with complex characteristics which actually parallels the demigods, namely the moon; and when men see that she, by her being consistently in accord with the cycles through which those beings pass,[c] is subject to apparent wanings and waxings and transformations, some call her an earth-like star, others a star-like earth,[d] and others the domain of Hecatê, who belongs both to the earth and to the heavens. Now if the air that is between the earth and the moon were to be removed and withdrawn, the unity and consociation of the universe would be destroyed,

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 361 c, and the lines of Empedocles there quoted.

[d] *Ibid.* 935 a.

νίαν τοῦ παντός, ἐν μέσῳ κενῆς καὶ ἀσυνδέτου
χώρας γενομένης, οὕτως οἱ δαιμόνων γένος μὴ
F ἀπολείποντες, ἀνεπίμεικτα τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πων ποιοῦσι καὶ ἀσυνάλλακτα, τὴν ἑρμηνευτικήν,
ὡς Πλάτων ἔλεγεν, καὶ διακονικὴν ἀναιροῦντες
φύσιν, ἢ πάντα φύρειν ἅμα καὶ ταράττειν ἀναγ-
κάζουσιν ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πάθεσι καὶ πράγ-
μασι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβιβάζοντας καὶ κατασπῶντας ἐπὶ
τὰς χρείας, ὥσπερ αἱ Θετταλαὶ λέγονται τὴν σελή-
417 νην. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ τὸ πανοῦργον
ἔσχε πίστιν Ἀγλαονίκης τῆς Ἡγήτορος, ὥς φασιν,
ἀστρολογικῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ἐκλείψει σελήνης ἀεὶ
προσποιουμένης γοητεύειν καὶ καθαιρεῖν αὐτήν.
ἡμεῖς δὲ μήτε μαντείας τινὰς ἀθειάστους εἶναι
λεγόντων[1] ἢ τελετὰς καὶ ὀργιασμοὺς ἀμελουμένους
ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀκούωμεν· μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν
τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ παρεῖναι καὶ συμ-
πραγματεύεσθαι δοξάζωμεν, ἀλλ' οἷς δίκαιόν ἐστι
ταῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶν ἀνατιθέντες ὥσπερ ὑπη-
ρέταις καὶ γραμματεῦσι,[2] δαίμονας νομίζωμεν ἐπι-
σκόπους θεῶν[3] ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιαστάς,
B ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων καὶ μεγάλων τιμωροὺς
ἀδικιῶν περιπολεῖν. τοὺς δὲ πάνυ σεμνῶς ὁ
Ἡσίοδος

'ἀγνούς' προσεῖπε
'πλουτοδότας, καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον ἔχοντας,'

ὡς βασιλικοῦ τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν ὄντος. εἰσὶ γάρ, ὡς

[1] λεγόντων] λέγοντας most MSS. (λέγοντος Schwartz).
[2] γραμματεῦσι] πραγματευταῖς van Groningen.
[3] θεῶν] θείων Reiske.

[a] *Cf. Republic*, 260 D, and *Symposium*, 202 E.

since there would be an empty and unconnected space in the middle; and in just the same way those who refuse to leave us the race of demigods make the relations of gods and men remote and alien by doing away with the 'interpretative and ministering nature,' as Plato[a] has called it; or else they force us to a disorderly confusion of all things, in which we bring the god into men's emotions and activities, drawing him down to our needs, as the women of Thessaly are said to draw down the moon.[b] This cunning deceit of theirs, however, gained credence among women when the daughter of Hegetor, Aglaonicê, who was skilled in astronomy, always pretended at the time of an eclipse of the moon that she was bewitching it and bringing it down.[c] But as for us, let us not listen to any who say that there are some oracles not divinely inspired, or religious ceremonies and mystic rites which are disregarded by the gods; and on the other hand let us not imagine that the god goes in and out and is present at these ceremonies and helps in conducting them; but let us commit these matters to those ministers of the gods to whom it is right to commit them, as to servants and clerks, and let us believe that demigods are guardians of sacred rites of the gods and prompters in the Mysteries, while others go about as avengers of arrogant and grievous cases of injustice. Still others Hesiod[d] has very impressively addressed as

Holy
Givers of wealth, and possessing in this a meed that is kingly,

implying that doing good to people is kingly. For

[b] *Cf.* the note on 400 B *supra.*
[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 145 C.
[d] *Works and Days*, 123, 126; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 361 B, *supra.*

(417) ἐν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔτι λείψανον ὥσπερ περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὧν ἴχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιεσπαρμένα.

14. "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰς
C μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἔστι τῆς περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, 'εὔστομά μοι κείσθω,' καθ' Ἡρόδοτον· ἑορτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεῖαί τε καὶ κοπετοί, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς

μανίαι τ' ἀλαλαί τ'[1] ὀρινομένων[2]
ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ,

θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ δαιμόνων δὲ φαύλων ἀποτροπῆς ἕνεκα φήσαιμ' ἂν τελεῖσθαι[3] μειλίχια καὶ παραμύθια. καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιουμένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὔτε θεοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανόν ἐστιν,
D οὔτε μάτην ἂν ἀνείχοντο[4] βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ παῖδας αὑτῶν ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ καταρχόμενοι[5] καὶ σφάττοντες,[6] ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὀργὰς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι[7] καὶ ἀποπιμπλάντες ἀλαστόρων, ἐνίων[8] δὲ μανικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς

[1] ἀλαλαί τε Turnebus: ἄλλα τε or ἄλλαι.
[2] ὀρινομένων in 623 B and Theodoretus: ὀρινόμεναι (or ὀρινόμενον in one MS.).
[3] τελεῖσθαι Eusebius: τελεῖν.
[4] ἂν ἀνείχοντο F.C.B.; ἂν ἠνέσχοντο Sieveking; ἂν ἐδέχοντο Eusebius: ἀνέχονται.
[5] καταρχόμενοι Eusebius: ἀρχόμενοι.
[6] σφάττοντες Eusebius: φυλάττοντες.
[7] ἀφοσιούμενοι Eusebius: ἀποσειόμενοι. [8] ἐνίων] ἐνίοις?

as among men, so also among the demigods, there are different degrees of excellence, and in some there is a weak and dim remainder of the emotional and irrational, a survival, as it were, while in others this is excessive and hard to stifle. Of all these things there are, in many places, sacrifices, ceremonies, and legends which preserve and jealously guard vestiges and tokens embodied here and there in their fabric.

14. " Regarding the rites of the Mysteries, in which it is possible to gain the clearest reflections and adumbrations of the truth about the demigods, ' let my lips be piously sealed,' as Herodotus [a] says ; but as for festivals and sacrifices, which may be compared with ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur the eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting, and beating of breasts, and again in many places scurrilous language at the shrines, and

> Frenzy and shouting of throngs in excitement
> With tumultuous tossing of heads in the air,[b]

I should say that these acts are not performed for any god, but are soothing and appeasing rites for the averting of evil spirits. Nor is it credible that the gods demanded or welcomed the human sacrifices of ancient days, nor would kings and generals have endured giving over their children and submitting them to the preparatory rites and cutting their throats to no purpose save that they felt they were propitiating and offering satisfaction to the wrath and sullen temper of some harsh and implacable avenging deities, or to the insane and imperious passions of

[a] Herodotus, ii. 171 ; *cf. Moralia*, 607 c and 636 D.
[b] Pindar, Frag. 208 (ed. Christ). *Cf. Moralia*, 623 B and 706 E.

(417) ἔρωτας οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἡρακλῆς Οἰχαλίαν ἐπολιόρκει διὰ παρθένον, οὕτως[1] ἰσχυροὶ καὶ βίαιοι δαίμονες ἐξαιτούμενοι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην περιεχομένην σώματι[2] λοιμούς τε πόλεσι καὶ γῆς ἀφορίας ἐπάγουσι καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις
E ταράττουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ[3] λάβωσι καὶ τύχωσιν οὗ ἐρῶσιν. ἔνιοις[4] δὲ τοὐναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ χρόνον συχνὸν διάγων ἔγνων ἄτοπόν τινα τελουμένην ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ εἴδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον ἀναδεικνύουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὗτος ἦν Μόλος ὁ Μηριόνου πατήρ, νύμφῃ δὲ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος ἀκέφαλος εὑρεθείη.

15. "Καὶ μὴν ὅσας ἔν τε μύθοις καὶ ὕμνοις λέγουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, τοῦτο μὲν ἁρπαγὰς τοῦτο δὲ πλάνας θεῶν κρύψεις τε καὶ φυγὰς καὶ λατρείας, οὐ θεῶν εἰσιν ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων παθήματα καὶ τύχαι μνημονευόμεναι δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὔτ' Αἰσχύλος εἶπεν ὅσιον,[5]

F ἁγνόν τ' Ἀπόλλω φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεόν,

οὔθ' ὁ Σοφοκλέους Ἄδμητος

οὐμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἦγε πρὸς μύλην.

πλεῖστον δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ Δελφῶν θεολόγοι νομίζοντες ἐνταῦθά ποτε πρὸς

[1] οὕτως] οὕτω πολλάκις Eusebius and some MSS.
[2] σώματι Eusebius: σώματι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὁμιλεῖν copied from above.
[3] οὗ] ὧν Sieveking.
[4] ἐνίοις F.C.B.: ἔνιοι.
[5] ὅσιον added by F.C.B. (ὀρθῶς added by Xylander).

some who had not the power or desire to seek satisfaction in a natural and normal way. But as Heracles laid siege to Oechalia for the sake of a maiden,[a] so powerful and impetuous divinities, in demanding a human soul which is incarnate within a mortal body, bring pestilences and failures of crops upon States and stir up wars and civil discords, until they succeed in obtaining what they desire. To some, however, comes the opposite; for example, when I was spending a considerable time in Crete, I noted an extraordinary festival being celebrated there in which they exhibit the image of a man without a head, and relate that this used to be Molus,[b] father of Meriones, and that he violated a young woman; and when he was discovered, he was without a head.

15. "As for the various tales of rapine and wanderings of the gods, their concealments and banishment and servitude, which men rehearse in legend and in song, all these are, in fact, not things that were done to the gods or happened to them, but to the demigods; and they are kept in memory because of the virtues and power of these beings; nor did Aeschylus[c] speak devoutly when he said

Holy Apollo, god from heaven banned;

nor Admetus in Sophocles,[d]

My cock it was that sent him to the mill.

But the greatest error in regard to the truth is that of the theologians of Delphi who think that the god

[a] Iolê; *cf. e.g.* Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 475-478.
[b] A son of Deucalion.
[c] Aeschylus, *Supplices*, 214.
[d] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 311, Sophocles, no. 767 (no. 851 Pearson).

ὄφιν τῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ χρηστηρίου μάχην γενέσθαι,
καὶ ταῦτα ποιητὰς καὶ λογογράφους ἐν θεάτροις
418 ἀγωνιζομένους λέγειν ἐῶντες, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες
ἀντιμαρτυροῦντας ὧν δρῶσιν ἱεροῖς[1] τοῖς ἁγιω-
τάτοις."

Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου (παρῆν γὰρ[2] ὁ
συγγραφεύς) καὶ πυθομένου, τίσιν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν
ὁσίοις[3] οἴεται τοὺς ἀνταγωνιζομένους, "τούτοις,"
ἔφη, "τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, οἷς ἄρτι τοὺς ἔξω
Πυλῶν πάντας Ἕλληνας ἡ πόλις κατοργιάζουσα
μέχρι Τεμπῶν ἐλήλακεν. ἥ τε γὰρ ἱσταμένη
καλιὰς ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἅλω δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν οὐ
φωλεώδης[4] τοῦ δράκοντος χειά, ἀλλὰ μίμημα τυραν-
νικῆς ἢ βασιλικῆς ἐστιν οἰκήσεως· ἥ τε μετὰ σιγῆς
ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Δολωνίας ἔφοδος,
B ἣ Λαβυάδαι[5] τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆ κόρον ἡμμέναις δᾳσὶν
ἄγουσι, καὶ προσβαλόντες[6] τὸ πῦρ τῇ καλιάδι καὶ
τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνατρέψαντες ἀνεπιστρεπτὶ φεύ-
γουσι διὰ τῶν[7] θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ τελευταῖον αἵ
τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἵ τε γιγνό-
μενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοὶ μεγάλου τινὸς ἄγους
καὶ τολμήματος ὑποψίαν ἔχουσι. παγγέλοιον γάρ
ἐστιν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κτείναντα θηρίον
φεύγειν ἐπὶ πέρατα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁγνισμοῦ δεό-
μενον, εἶτ' ἐκεῖ χοάς τινας χεῖσθαι καὶ δρᾶν ἃ
δρῶσιν ἄνθρωποι μηνίματα δαιμόνων ἀφοσιούμενοι

[1] ἱεροῖς] ἱερῶν Stegmann. [2] γὰρ added by Turnebus.
[3] ὁσίοις F.C.B.; θείοις Turnebus; ἱεροῖς Sieveking: θεοῖς.
[4] φωλεώδης] φωλεοῦ δὴ Schwartz, supported by D.
[5] ἣ Λαβυάδαι Pomtow (ἣ Αἰολάδαι Xylander, *cf.* Hesychius, Αἰόδα· παρὰ Δελφοῖς γένος τι): μὴ αἰόλα δὲ.
[6] προσβαλόντες] προσβάλλοντες in most MSS.
[7] διὰ τῶν] διὲκ in some MSS.

once had a battle here with a serpent for the possession of the oracle, and they permit poets and prose-writers to tell of this in their competitions in the theatres, whereby they bear specific testimony against the most sacred of the rites that they perform."

At this Philip the historian, who was present, expressed surprise, and inquired against what hallowed rites Cleombrotus thought that the competition bore testimony. "These," said Cleombrotus, "which have to do with the oracle here, and in which the city recently initiated all the Greeks west of Thermopylae and extended the rites as far as Tempê. For the structure which is erected here near the threshing-floor [a] every eight years [b] is not a nest-like serpent's den, but a copy of the dwelling of a despot or king.[c] The onset upon it, which is made in silence through the way called 'Dolon's Way,' by which the Labyadae with lighted torches conduct the boy, who must have two parents living, and, after, applying fire to the structure and upsetting the table, flee through the doors of the temple without looking back; and finally the wanderings and servitude of the boy and the purifications that take place at Tempê—all prompt a suspicion of some great and unholy deed of daring. For it is utterly ridiculous, my good friend, that Apollo, after slaying a brute creature, should flee to the ends of Greece in quest of purification and, after arriving there, should offer some libations and perform those ceremonies which men perform in the effort to placate and mollify the wrath of spirits whom

[a] At the right of the second section of the sacred way, as one progresses upwards toward the temple of Apollo.

[b] See *Moralia*, 293 B-E.

[c] That is, a copy of the primitive circular house.

(418) καὶ πραΰνοντες, οὓς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναίους
C ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς ἀλήστων τινῶν καὶ παλαιῶν μιασμάτων μνήμαις ἐπεξιόντας.[1] ὃν δ' ἤκουσα λόγον ἤδη περὶ τῆς φυγῆς ταύτης καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως, ἄτοπος μέν ἐστι δεινῶς καὶ παράδοξος· εἰ δ' ἀληθείας τι μετέχει, μὴ μικρὸν οἰώμεθα μηδὲ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ πραχθὲν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὸ Ἐμπεδόκλειον ποιεῖν[2] δόξω

κορυφὰς ἑτέρας ἑτέρῃσι[3] προσάπτων
μύθων, μὴ τελέειν[4] ἀτραπὸν μίαν,

ἐάσατέ με τοῖς πρώτοις τὸ προσῆκον ἐπιθεῖναι τέλος· ἤδη γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγόναμεν· καὶ τετολμήσθω μετὰ πολλοὺς εἰρῆσθαι καὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς
D περὶ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ χρηστήρια τεταγμένοις δαιμονίοις ἐκλείπουσί τε κομιδῇ συνεκλείπει ταῦτ' αὐτὰ[5] καὶ φυγόντων ἢ μεταστάντων ἀποβάλλει τὴν δύναμιν, εἶτα παρόντων αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ καθάπερ ὄργανα φθέγγεται τῶν χρωμένων ἐπιστάντων καὶ παρόντων."

16. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κλεομβρότου διελθόντος, ὁ Ἡρακλέων "οὐδεὶς μέν," ἔφη, "τῶν βεβήλων καὶ ἀμυήτων καὶ περὶ θεῶν δόξας ἀσυγκράτους ἡμῖν ἐχόντων πάρεστιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ παραφυλάττωμεν αὐτούς, ὦ Φίλιππε, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους ὑποθέσεις καὶ μεγάλας τῷ λόγῳ διδόντες."

"Εὖ λέγεις," ὁ Φίλιππος εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τί

[1] ἐπεξιόντας] ἐπεξιόντες in all MSS. but E.
[2] ποιεῖν Emperius: εἰπεῖν.
[3] ἑτέρῃσι Scaliger: ἑτέραις.
[4] μὴ τελέειν Paton and Knatz: μήτε λέγειν.
[5] ταῦτ' αὐτὰ F.C.B.; καὶ ταῦτα Xylander: τὰ τοιαῦτα.

men call the 'unforgetting avengers,' as if they followed up the memories of some unforgotten foul deeds of earlier days. And as for the story which I have heard before about this flight and the removal to another place, it is dreadfully strange and paradoxical, but if it has any vestige of truth in it, let us not imagine that what was done in those days about the oracle was any slight or common affair. But that I may not seem to be doing what is described by Empedocles [a] as

> Putting the heads of myths together,
> Bringing no single path to perfection,

permit me to add to what was said at the outset the proper conclusion, for we have already come to it. Let this statement be ventured by us, following the lead of many others before us, that coincidently with the total defection of the guardian spirits assigned to the oracles and prophetic shrines, occurs the defection of the oracles themselves ; and when the spirits flee or go to another place, the oracles themselves lose their power, but when the spirits return many years later, the oracles, like musical instruments, become articulate, since those who can put them to use are present and in charge of them."

16. When Cleombrotus had expounded these matters, Heracleon said, " There is no unsanctified or irreligious person present, or anyone who holds opinions about the gods that are out of keeping with ours ; but let us ourselves be stringently on our guard lest we unwittingly try to support the argument with extraordinary and presumptuous hypotheses."

" That is a very good suggestion," said Philip,

[a] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 235, Empedocles, no. B 24.

E μάλιστά σε δυσωπεῖ τῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομβρότου τιθεμένων;"

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων "τὸ μὲν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις," εἶπε, "μὴ θεοὺς οἷς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις μονονουχὶ δράγδην[1] λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον."

Ἠρώτησεν οὖν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὁπόθεν ὁ νεανίας· πυθόμενος δὲ τοὔ-
F νομα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, "οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "λανθάνομεν, ὦ Ἡρακλέων, ἐν λόγοις ἀτόποις γεγονότες· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων μὴ μεγάλαις προσχρησάμενον ἀρχαῖς ἐπὶ τὸ εἰκὸς τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν. σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν λέληθας ὃ δίδως ἀφαιρούμενος· ὁμολογεῖς γὰρ εἶναι δαίμονας, τῷ
419 δὲ μὴ φαύλους ἀξιοῦν εἶναι μηδὲ θνητοὺς οὐκέτι δαίμονας φυλάττεις· τίνι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διαφέρουσιν, εἰ καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχουσι;"

17. Πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος σιωπῇ διανοουμένου τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος,[2] "ἀλλὰ φαύλους μέν," ἔφη, "δαίμονας οὐκ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μόνον, ὦ Ἡρακλέων, ἀπέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος· ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτος,

[1] δράγδην Wyttenbach: ῥάγδην (δραχμὴν Eusebius and Theodoretus). [2] ὁ Φίλιππος in Eusebius only.

[a] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 267, Empedocles, no. B 115.

" but which of the theses of Cleombrotus makes you the most uncomfortable ? "

" That it is not the gods," said Heracleon, " who are in charge of the oracles, since the gods ought properly to be freed of earthly concerns ; but that it is the demigods, ministers of the gods, who have them in charge, seems to me not a bad postulate ; but to take, practically by the handful, from the verses of Empedocles [a] sins, rash crimes, and heaven-sent wanderings, and to impose them upon the demigods, and to assume that their final fate is death, just as with men, I regard as rather too audacious and uncivilized."

Cleombrotus was moved to ask Philip who the young man was and whence he came ; and after learning his name and his city he said, " It is not unwittingly, Heracleon, that we have become involved in strange arguments ; but it is impossible, when discussing important matters, to make any progress in our ideas toward the probable truth without employing for this purpose important principles. But you unwittingly take back what you concede ; for you agree that these demigods exist, but by your postulating that they are not bad nor mortal you no longer keep them ; for in what respect do they differ from gods, if as regards their being they possess immortality and as regards their virtues freedom from all emotion or sin ? "

17. As Heracleon was reflecting upon this in silence, Philip said, " Not only has Empedocles bequeathed to us bad demigods, Heracleon, but so also have Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus [b] ; and,

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 1104 (p. 321).

(419) εὐχόμενος ' εὐλόγχων εἰδώλων ' τυγχάνειν, δῆλος[1] ἦν ἕτερα δυστράπελα καὶ μοχθηρὰς γιγνώσκων ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις τινὰς καὶ ὁρμάς.

" Περὶ δὲ θανάτου τῶν τοιούτων ἀκήκοα λόγον
B ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδ' ἀλαζόνος. Αἰμιλιανοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὗ καὶ ὑμῶν ἔνιοι διακηκόασιν, Ἐπιθέρσης ἦν πατήρ, ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος γραμματικῶν. οὗτος ἔφη ποτὲ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπιβῆναι νεὼς ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀγούσης· ἑσπέρας δ' ἤδη περὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους ἀποσβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὴν ναῦν διαφερομένην πλησίον γενέσθαι Παξῶν· ἐγρηγορέναι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πίνειν
C ἔτι δεδειπνηκότας· ἐξαίφνης δὲ φωνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῶν Παξῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, Θαμοῦν τινος βοῇ καλοῦντος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν. ὁ δὲ Θαμοῦς Αἰγύπτιος ἦν κυβερνήτης οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων γνώριμος πολλοῖς ἀπ' ὀνόματος. δὶς μὲν οὖν κληθέντα σιωπῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ καλοῦντι· κἀκεῖνον ἐπιτείναντα[2] τὴν φωνὴν εἰπεῖν, ' ὁπόταν[3] γένῃ κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε.' τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντας ὁ Ἐπιθέρσης ἔφη πάντας ἐκπλαγῆναι· καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοῖς λόγον εἴτε ποιῆσαι βέλτιον εἴη τὸ προστεταγμένον εἴτε μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀλλ' ἐᾶν, οὕτως γνῶναι τὸν Θαμοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἴη[4] πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, νηνεμίας δὲ καὶ γαλήνης περὶ τὸν τόπον

[1] δῆλος Eusebius only, followed by Wyttenbach; ἢ δῆλος Paton: ἢ or ἤ δῆλος.

[2] ἐπιτείναντα] ἐπιτείνοντα one MS. and one MS. of Eusebius.

[3] ὁπόταν Eusebius: ὅτι ὅταν.

[4] εἰ μὲν εἴη Eusebius: ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ or ἦν.

in addition, Democritus,[a] by his prayer that he may meet with ' propitious spirits,' clearly recognized that there is another class of these which is perverse and possessed of vicious predilections and impulses.

" As for death among such beings, I have heard the words of a man who was not a fool nor an impostor. The father of Aemilianus the orator, to whom some of you have listened, was Epitherses, who lived in our town and was my teacher in grammar. He said that once upon a time in making a voyage to Italy he embarked on a ship carrying freight and many passengers. It was already evening when, near the Echinades Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship drifted near Paxi. Almost everybody was awake, and a good many had not finished their after-dinner wine. Suddenly from the island of Paxi was heard the voice of someone loudly calling Thamus, so that all were amazed. Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, not known by name even to many on board. Twice he was called and made no reply, but the third time he answered ; and the caller, raising his voice, said, ' When you come opposite to Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead.' On hearing this, all, said Epitherses, were astounded and reasoned among themselves whether it were better to carry out the order or to refuse to meddle and let the matter go. Under the circumstances Thamus made up his mind that if there should be a breeze, he would sail past and keep quiet, but with no wind and a smooth sea

[a] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, ii. p. 94, Democritus, no. 166 ; and *Life of Timoleon*, chap. i. (235 B).

D γενομένης ἀνειπεῖν ὃ ἤκουσεν. ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο
(419) κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὔτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὔτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμοῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι Πὰν ὁ μέγας[1] τέθνηκεν. οὐ φθῆναι δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτὸν καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναγμὸν ἅμα θαυμασμῷ μεμειγμένον. οἷα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων, ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Θαμοῦν γενέσθαι μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τιβέριον, ὥστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός· εἰκάζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸν ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ
E καὶ Πηνελόπης γεγενημένον."

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος εἶχε καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐνίους μάρτυρας, Αἰμιλιανοῦ τοῦ γέροντος ἀκηκοότας.

18. Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὧν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι· πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θέας ἕνεκα πομπῇ[2] τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τῶν ἐρήμων, ἔχουσαν οὐ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας ἱεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ νεωστί, σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι καὶ
F πνεύματα καταρραγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινὸς ἔκλειψις γέγονεν. "ὡς γὰρ

[1] Πὰν ὁ μέγας (as above) one MS. of Eusebius: ὁ μέγας Πάν.
[2] πομπῇ Leonicus: πόμπης.

about the place he would announce what he had heard. So, when he came opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: 'Great Pan is dead.' Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement. As many persons were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelopê." [a]

Moreover, Philip had several witnesses among the persons present who had been pupils of the old man Aemilianus.

18. Demetrius said that among the islands lying near Britain [b] were many isolated, having few or no inhabitants, some of which bore the names of divinities or heroes. He himself, by the emperor's order, had made a voyage for inquiry and observation to the nearest of these islands which had only a few inhabitants, holy men who were all held inviolate by the Britons. Shortly after his arrival there occurred a great tumult in the air and many portents; violent winds suddenly swept down and lightning-flashes darted to earth. When these abated, the people of the island said that the passing of someone of the mightier souls had befallen. "For," said they, "as

[a] *Cf.* Herodotus, ii. 145.

[b] Presumably the Scilly islands; *cf.* *Moralia*, 941 A–942 A.

λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος," φάναι, " δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχει σβεννύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμψεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μέν, ὡς νυνί, πνεύματα καὶ ζάλας τρέφουσι,[1] πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθεσι τὸν[2] ἀέρα
420 φαρμάττουσιν." ἐκεῖ μέντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Κρόνον καθεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα· δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοὺς καὶ θεράποντας.

19. Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, " ἔχω μέν," ἔφη, " καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν, ἀρκεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδὲ κωλύειν[3] ἔχειν οὕτω ταῦτα. καίτοι τοὺς Στωικούς," ἔφη, " γιγνώσκομεν οὐ μόνον κατὰ δαιμόνων ἣν λέγω δόξαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ὄντων τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ἑνὶ χρωμένους ἀιδίῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ, τοὺς
B δ' ἄλλους καὶ γεγονέναι καὶ φθαρήσεσθαι νομίζοντας.

" Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χλευασμοὺς καὶ γέλωτας οὔ τι φοβητέον, οἷς τολμῶσι χρῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ τῆς προνοίας μῦθον αὐτὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἀπειρίαν μῦθον εἶναί φαμεν ἐν κόσμοις τοσούτοις μηδένα λόγῳ θείῳ κυβερνώμενον ἔχουσαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκ ταὐτομάτου καὶ γεγονότας καὶ συνισταμένους. εἰ δὲ χρὴ γελᾶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ εἴδωλα γελαστέον τὰ κωφὰ καὶ τυφλὰ καὶ ἄψυχ'

[1] τρέφουσι Eusebius: τρέπουσι, or τρέπουσαι.
[2] τὸν in Eusebius only. [3] κωλύειν Xylander: κώλυσιν.

---

[a] *Cf.* the interesting account which Plutarch gives in

a lamp when it is being lighted has no terrors, but when it goes out is distressing to many,[a] so the great souls have a kindling into life that is gentle and inoffensive, but their passing and dissolution often, as at the present moment, fosters tempests and storms, and often infects the air with pestilential properties." Moreover, they said that in this part of the world there is one island where Cronus is confined, guarded while he sleeps by Briareus ; for his sleep has been devised as a bondage for him, and round about him are many demigods as attendants and servants.

19. Cleombrotus here took up the conversation and said, " I too have similar stories to tell, but it is sufficient for our purpose that nothing contravenes or prevents these things from being so. Yet we know," he continued, " that the Stoics [b] entertain the opinion that I mention, not only against the demigods, but they also hold that among the gods, who are so very numerous, there is only one who is eternal and immortal, and the others they believe have come into being, and will suffer dissolution.

" As for the scoffing and sneers of the Epicureans [c] which they dare to employ against Providence also, calling it nothing but a myth, we need have no fear. We, on the other hand, say that their ' Infinity ' is a myth, which among so many worlds has not one that is directed by divine reason, but will have them all produced by spontaneous generation and concretion. If there is need for laughter in philosophy, we should laugh at those spirits, dumb, blind, and soulless, which

[a] *Moralia*, 941 A ff., and Lucretius's statement that a smouldering lamp may cause apoplexy.

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 1049 (p. 309).

[c] H. Usener, *Epicurea* (Leipzig, 1887), 394.

(420) ἃ[1] ποιμαίνουσιν[2] ἀπλέτους ἐτῶν περιόδους ἐπι-
φαινόμενα καὶ περινοστοῦντα πάντῃ, τὰ μὲν ἔτι
C ζώντων τὰ δὲ πάλαι κατακαέντων ἢ κατασαπέντων
ἀπορρυέντα, φλεδόνας καὶ σκιὰς ἕλκοντες εἰς
φυσιολογίαν, ἂν δὲ φῇ τις εἶναι δαίμονας οὐ φύσει
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγοις[3] καὶ τὸ σῴζεσθαι καὶ
διαμένειν πολὺν χρόνον ἔχοντας, δυσκολαίνοντες."[4]

20. Ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "ὀρθῶς,"
ἔφη, "μοι δοκεῖ Θεόφραστος ἀποφήνασθαι· τί γὰρ
κωλύει φωνὴν δέξασθαι σεμνὴν καὶ φιλοσοφω-
τάτην; καὶ γὰρ ἀθετουμένη πολλὰ τῶν ἐνδεχο-
μένων ἀποδειχθῆναι δὲ μὴ δυναμένων ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ
τιθεμένη πολλὰ[5] συνεφέλκεται τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ
ἀνυπάρκτων. ὃ μέντοι μόνον ἀκήκοα τῶν Ἐπι-
D κουρείων λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς εἰσαγομένους ὑπ'
Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονας, ὡς οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι[6]
φαύλους καὶ ἁμαρτητικοὺς ὄντας μακαρίους καὶ
μακραίωνας εἶναι, πολλὴν τυφλότητα τῆς κακίας
ἐχούσης καὶ τὸ περιπτωτικὸν τοῖς ἀναιρετικοῖς,
εὔηθές ἐστιν. οὕτω γὰρ Ἐπίκουρός τε χείρων
Γοργίου φανεῖται τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ Μητρόδωρος
Ἀλέξιδος τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ.[7] διπλάσιον γὰρ
οὗτος ἔζησε τοῦ Μητροδώρου, Ἐπικούρου δ'
ἐκεῖνος πλέον ἢ ἐπίτριτον. ἄλλως γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν

[1] ἄψυχ' ἃ F.C.B. (there is some warrant for such elisions); ἄψυχα ἃ Wyttenbach: ἄψυχα.

[2] ποιμαίνουσιν Wyttenbach: ποῖ μένουσιν.

[3] λόγοις] λόγῳ Stegmann.

[4] δυσκολαίνοντες Emperius: δυσκολαίνοντας.

[5] πολλὰ] οὐ πολλὰ Xylander. Pohlenz assumes a lacuna after ἀνυπάρκτων.

[6] ἐστι] εἶναι in many mss.

[7] κωμῳδιοποιοῦ the preferred form: κωμῳδοποιοῦ.

they shepherd for boundless cycles of years, and which make their returning appearance everywhere, some floating away from the bodies of persons still living, others from bodies long ago burned or decayed, whereby these philosophers drag witlessness and obscurity into the study of natural phenomena ; but if anyone asserts that such demigods exist, not only for physical reasons, but also for logical reasons, and that they have the power of self-preservation and continued life for a long time, then these philosophers feel much aggrieved."

20. After these remarks Ammonius said, " It seems to me that Theophrastus was right in his pronouncement. What, in fact, is there to prevent our accepting an utterance that is impressive and most highly philosophical ? For if it be rejected, it does away with many things which are possible but cannot be proved ; and if it be allowed as a principle, it brings in its train many things that are impossible or non-existent.[a] The one thing that I have heard the Epicureans say with reference to the demigods introduced by Empedocles [b] is that it is not possible, if they are bad and sinful, that they should be happy and of long life, inasmuch as vice has a large measure of blindness and the tendency to encounter destructive agencies, so that argument of theirs is silly. For by this reasoning Epicurus will be shown to be a worse man than Gorgias the sophist, and Metrodorus worse than Alexis the comic poet ; for Alexis lived twice as long as Metrodorus and Gorgias more than a third as long again as Epicurus. It is in another

[a] Some editors would insert a negative in the last sentence.
[b] Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. 267, Empedocles, no. B 115.

ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἀσθενὲς λέγομεν, οὐ πρὸς δια-
E μονὴν καὶ διάλυσιν σώματος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν θηρίων[1]
πολλὰ μὲν[2] δυσκίνητα καὶ νωθρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὄντα
πολλὰ δ' ἀκόλαστα καὶ ἄτακτα τῶν συνετῶν καὶ
πανούργων χρόνους ζῇ μακροτέρους. ὅθεν οὐκ
εὖ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀιδιότητα ποιοῦσιν ἐκ φυλακῆς
καὶ διακρούσεως τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν. ἔδει γὰρ ἐν
τῇ φύσει τοῦ μακαρίου τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἄφθαρτον
εἶναι, μηδεμιᾶς πραγματείας δεόμενον. ἀλλ' ἴσως
τὸ λέγειν πρὸς μὴ παρόντας οὐκ εὔγνωμον φαί-
νεται. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἡμῖν ὃν ἄρτι
περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως καὶ φυγῆς τῶν δαιμονίων
F ἀφῆκε λόγον ἀναλαβεῖν δίκαιός ἐστι."

21. Καὶ ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, " ἀλλὰ θαυμάσαιμ' ἄν," εἶπεν, " εἰ μὴ πολὺ φαίνεται τῶν εἰρημένων ὑμῖν[3] ἀτοπώτερος. καίτοι δοκεῖ φυσιολογίας ἔχεσθαι, καὶ Πλάτων αὐτῷ παρέσχε τὸ ἐνδόσιμον οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀποφηνάμενος ἐκ δόξης δ'[4] ἀμαυρᾶς καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ἐμβαλὼν αἰνιγματώδη μετ' εὐλαβείας· ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλὴ γέγονε κἀκείνου καταβόησις ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
421 φιλοσόφων. ἐπεὶ δὲ μύθων καὶ λόγων ἀναμεμειγμένων κρατὴρ ἐν μέσῳ πρόκειται (καὶ ποῦ τις ἂν[5] εὐμενεστέροις ἀκροαταῖς ἐπιτυχὼν ὥσπερ νομίσματα ξενικὰ τούτους δοκιμάσειε τοὺς λόγους;), οὐκ ὀκνῶ[6] χαρίζεσθαι βαρβάρου διήγησιν ἀνδρός, ὃν

[1] θηρίων Wyttenbach: θείων.
[2] μὲν added by Reiske. [3] ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν in many MSS.
[4] δ' added by Leonicus.
[5] ποῦ τις ἂν Emperius: που τις ἐν.
[6] οὐκ ὀκνῶ] οὐχ ὁρῶ in all MSS. but one.

sense that we speak of virtue as something strong, and vice as something weak, not with reference to permanence or dissolution of the body. For example, many of the animals that are sluggish in movement and slow in their reactions and many that are lascivious and ungovernable live a longer time than the quick and the clever. Therefore they do not well who make God's eternal existence to be the result of watchfulness and the thrusting aside of destructive agencies. No, immunity from emotion and destruction ought to reside in the blessed Being, and should require no activity on His part. Perhaps, however, to speak thus with reference to people that are not present does not show great consideration. So it is right that Cleombrotus should resume the topic which he discontinued a few moments ago about the migration and flight of the demigods."

21. Then Cleombrotus continued, " I shall be surprised if it does not appear to you much more strange than what has already been said. Yet it seems to be close to the subject of natural phenomena and Plato [a] has given the key-note for it, not by an unqualified pronouncement, but as the result of a vague concept, cautiously suggesting also the underlying idea in an enigmatic way ; but, for all that, there has been loud disparagement of him on the part of other philosophers. But there is set before us for general use a bowl of myths and stories combined, and where could one meet with more kindly listeners for testing these stories, even as one tests coins from foreign lands ? So I do not hesitate to favour you with a narrative about a man, not a Greek, whom I had great difficulty in finding, and then only by dint of long wanderings,

[a] *Cf.* 421 F, *infra.*

(421) πλάναις πολλαῖς καὶ μήνυτρα τελέσας μεγάλα, περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἀνθρώποις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἅπαξ ἐντυγχάνοντα τἄλλα δὲ συνόντα[1] νύμφαις νομάσι καὶ δαίμοσιν, ὡς ἔφασκε, μόλις ἐξανευρὼν ἔτυχον λόγου καὶ φιλοφροσύνης. κάλλιστος μὲν ἦν
B ὧν εἶδον ἀνθρώπων ὀφθῆναι νόσου τε πάσης ἀπαθὴς διετέλει, καρπόν τινα πόας φαρμακώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἑκάστου μηνὸς ἅπαξ προσφερόμενος· γλώτταις δὲ πολλαῖς ἤσκητο χρῆσθαι, πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐδώριζεν οὐ πόρρω μελῶν. φθεγγομένου δὲ τὸν τόπον εὐωδία κατεῖχε τοῦ στόματος ἥδιστον ἀποπνέοντος. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄλλη μάθησις καὶ ἱστορία συνῆν αὐτῷ τὸν πάντα χρόνον· εἰς δὲ μαντικὴν ἐνεπνεῖτο μίαν ἡμέραν ἔτους ἑκάστου καὶ προεθέσπιζε κατιὼν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπεφοίτων δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ γραμματεῖς βασιλέων εἶτ' ἀπῄεσαν. ἐκεῖνος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνῆγεν εἰς δαίμονας· πλεῖστον[2] δὲ
C Δελφῶν λόγον εἶχε, καὶ τῶν[3] λεγομένων περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν οὐδενὸς ἀνήκοος ἦν, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνα δαιμόνων ἔφασκεν εἶναι πάθη μεγάλα καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ[4] περὶ Πύθωνα.[5] τῷ δ' ἀποκτείναντι μήτ' ἐννέα ἐτῶν μήτ' εἰς τὰ Τέμπη γενέσθαι μετὰ τοῦτο[6] τὴν φυγήν, ἀλλ' ἐκπεσόντ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον[7]· ὕστερον δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδοις ἁγνὸν γενόμενον καὶ

[1] συνόντα Reiske: σὺν ταῖς.
[2] πλεῖστον Eusebius: ἥδιστον.
[3] καὶ τῶν Eusebius and one MS.: καὶ περὶ τῶν.
[4] τὰ Eusebius and E.
[5] Πύθωνα] τὴν Πυθίαν Eusebius.
[6] μετὰ τοῦτο Paton: μετὰ τοῦ or μετὰ τὸ.
[7] τὴν φυγήν . . . κόσμον Eusebius: φυγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα κόσμον.

and after paying large sums for information. It was near the Persian Gulf that I found him, where he holds a meeting with human beings once every year ; and there I had an opportunity to talk with him and met with a kindly reception. The other days of his life, according to his statement, he spends in association with roving nymphs and demigods. He was the handsomest man I ever saw in personal appearance and he never suffered from any disease, inasmuch as once each month he partook of the medicinal and bitter fruit of a certain herb. He was practised in the use of many tongues ; but with me, for the most part, he spoke a Doric which was almost music. While he was speaking, a fragrance overspread the place, as his mouth breathed forth a most pleasant perfume. Besides his learning and his knowledge of history, always at his command, he was inspired to prophesy one day in each year when he went down to the sea and told of the future. Potentates and kings' secretaries would come each year and depart. His power of prophecy he referred to the demigods. He made most account of Delphi and there was none of the stories told of Dionysus or of the rites performed here of which he had not heard ; these too he asserted were the momentous experiences of the demigods and so, plainly, were those which had to do with the Python. And upon the slayer of that monster was not imposed an exile of eight full years,[a] nor, following this, was he exiled to Tempê ; but after he was expelled, he fared forth to another world, and later, returning from there, after eight cycles of the Great Years, pure and truly the 'Radiant

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 293 B-C.

(421) Φοῖβον ὡς ἀληθῶς[1] κατελθόντα[2] τὸ χρηστήριον παραλαβεῖν, τέως ὑπὸ Θέμιδος φυλαττόμενον. οὕτως δ' ἔχειν[3] καὶ τὰ Τυφωνικὰ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικά· δαιμόνων μάχας γεγονέναι πρὸς δαίμονας, εἶτα φυγὰς
D τῶν κρατηθέντων ἢ δίκας[4] ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἐξαμαρτόντων, οἷα Τυφὼν λέγεται περὶ Ὄσιριν ἐξαμαρτεῖν καὶ Κρόνος περὶ Οὐρανόν, ὧν ἀμαυρότεραι γεγόνασιν αἱ τιμαὶ παρ' ἡμῖν[5] ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκλελοίπασι, μεταστάντων εἰς ἕτερον κόσμον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον[6] καὶ Τρωσοβιόν,[7] ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποιδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκεῖνον[8] μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκιρροὺς[9] θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρας ἐπὶ τούτων[10] ποιεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους. τούτοις
E μὲν οὖν ὅμοια πολλὰ λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν θεολογουμένων.[11] 'εἰ δὲ τοῖς νενομισμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι δαίμονάς τινας καλοῦμεν, οὐ θαυμαστέον,' εἶπεν ὁ ξένος· 'ᾧ γὰρ ἕκαστος θεῷ συντέτακται καὶ παρ' οὗ δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς εἴληχεν,[12] ἀπὸ τούτου φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ μέν τίς ἐστι Δῖος[13] ὁ δ' Ἀθηναῖος ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἢ Διονύσιος

[1] ὡς ἀληθῶς Eusebius: ἀληθῶς.
[2] κατελθόντα Eusebius: καὶ ἐλθόντα.
[3] ἔχειν Eusebius: ἔχει.
[4] δίκας Eusebius and D: δικωίοις or δικαιώσεις.
[5] τιμαὶ παρ' ἡμῖν Eusebius: τιμαὶ.
[6] Δρύον] Ἄρυον Theodoretus; ἄροιον or ἄρυτον Eusebius.
[7] Τρωσοβιὸν] Τόσιβιν Eusebius: Τρώσοβιν, Τόσιβιν, or Τόσοβιν
[8] ἐκεῖνον Eusebius and Theodoretus: ἐκείνους.
[9] σκιρροὺς (σκιροὺς) Eusebius and Theodoretus: σκληροὺς.
[10] τούτων Eusebius and Theodoretus: τούτῳ.

One,' he took over the oracle which had been guarded during this time by Themis. Such also, he said, were the stories about Typhons and Titans[a]; battles of demigods against demigods had taken place, followed by the exile of the vanquished, or else judgement inflicted by a god upon the sinners, as, for example, for the sin which Typhon is said to have committed in the case of Osiris, or Cronus in the case of Uranus; and the honours once paid to these deities have become quite dim to our eyes or have vanished altogether when the deities were transferred to another world. In fact, I learn that the Solymi, who live next to the Lycians, paid especial honour to Cronus. But when he had slain their rulers, Arsalus, Dryus, and Trosobius, he fled away from that place to some place or other, where they cannot say; and then he ceased to be regarded, but Arsalus and those connected with him are called the 'stern gods,' and the Lycians employ their names in invoking curses both in public and in private. Many accounts similar to these are to be had from theological history. But, as that man said, if we call some of the demigods by the current name of gods, that is no cause for wonder; for each of them is wont to be called after that god with whom he is allied and from whom he has derived his portion of power and honour. In fact, among ourselves one of us is Dïus, another Athenaeus, another Apollonius or Dionysius or

[a] *Cf.* 360 F, *supra.*

---

[11] *θεολογουμένων*] *μυθολογουμένων* in some MSS. and Eusebius.

[12] *παρ' οὗ δυνάμεως . . . εἴληχεν*] *οὗ τῆς δυνάμεως . . . μετεί-ληχεν* Eusebius.

[13] Δῖος Eusebius (*cf.* Crönert, *Hermes*, xxxvii. 226): *δίιος.*

ἢ Ἑρμαῖος· ἀλλ' ἔνιοι μὲν ὀρθῶς κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηδὲν προσηκούσας ἀλλ' ἐνηλλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν παρωνυμίας."

F 22. Σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομβρότου πᾶσι μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐφάνη θαυμαστός. τοῦ δ' Ἡρακλέωνος πυθομένου πῇ[1] ταῦτα προσήκει[2] Πλάτωνι καὶ πῶς ἐκεῖνος τὸ ἐνδόσιμον τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ παρέσχεν, ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "εὖ μνημονεύεις," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τὴν
422 μὲν ἀπειρίαν αὐτόθεν ἀπέγνω τῶν κόσμων, περὶ δὲ πλήθους ὡρισμένου διηπόρησε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πέντε τοῖς ὑποτιθεμένοις κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἕνα κόσμον ἐπιχωρήσας τὸ εἰκός, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἐτήρησεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο Πλάτωνος ἴδιον εἶναι, τῶν ἄλλων σφόδρα φοβηθέντων[3] τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τοὺς ἐνὶ[4] τὴν ὕλην μὴ ὁρίσαντας ἀλλ' ἐκβάντας εὐθὺς ἀορίστου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἀπειρίας ὑπολαμβανούσης."

"Ὁ δὲ ξένος," ἔφην ἐγώ, "περὶ πλήθους κόσμων ὥριζεν ἢ[5] Πλάτων ἤ, ὅτε συνεγένου[6] τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ,[7] οὐδὲ διεπειράθης;"

"Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμελλον," εἶπεν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος, "εἰ
B μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῶν[8] περὶ ταῦτα λιπαρὴς εἶναι καὶ πρόθυμος ἀκροατής, ἐνδιδόντος ἑαυτὸν ἵλεων καὶ παρέχοντος; ἔλεγε δὲ μήτ' ἀπείρους μήθ' ἕνα μήτε πέντε κόσμους, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν εἶναι συντεταγμένους κατὰ σχῆμα τριγωνο-

[1] πῇ Turnebus: μὴ.
[2] προσήκει] προσήκειν in most MSS.
[3] φοβηθέντων] φοβηθέντος Paton.
[4] ἐνὶ Wyttenbach: ἐπὶ.
[5] ἢ Xylander: ἤ.
[6] ἤ, ὅτε συνεγένου Xylander followed by Wyttenbach: ὅθεν εὖ ἐγένου.
[7] τούτῳ] τούτων Michael.
[8] τῶν Meziriacus: τῷ.

Hermaeus ; but only some of us have, by chance, been rightly named ; the majority have received names derived from the gods which bear no relation to the persons, but are only a travesty."

22. Cleombrotus said nothing more, and his account appeared marvellous to all. But when Heracleon inquired in what way this was related to Plato and how he had given the key-note for this topic, Cleombrotus said, " You well remember that he summarily decided against an infinite number of worlds, but had doubts about a limited number; and up to five[a] he conceded a reasonable probability to those who postulated one world to correspond to each element, but, for himself, he kept to one. This seems to be peculiar to Plato, for the other philosophers conceived a fear of plurality,[b] feeling that if they did not limit matter to one world, but went beyond one, an unlimited and embarrassing infinity would at once fasten itself upon them."

" But," said I, " did your far-away friend set a limit to the number of worlds, as Plato did, or did you not go so far as to sound him on this point when you had your interview with him ? "

" Was it not likely," said Cleombrotus, " that on anything touching these matters, if on nothing else, I should be an inquisitive and eager listener, when he so graciously put himself at my disposal and gave me the opportunity ? He said that the worlds are not infinite in number, nor one, nor five, but one hundred and eighty-three,[c] arranged in the form of a triangle,

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 55 C-D ; *Moralia*, 389 F, *supra*, and 430 B, *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Caelo*, i. 8 (276 a 18).

[c] *Cf.* Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 138 B.

(422) ειδές, οὗ πλευρὰν ἑκάστην ἑξήκοντα κόσμους ἔχειν τριῶν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἕκαστον ἱδρῦσθαι κατὰ γωνίαν, ἅπτεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλων ἀτρέμα περιιόντας ὥσπερ ἐν χορείᾳ· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς ἐπίπεδον τοῦ τριγώνου κοινὴν ἑστίαν εἶναι πάντων, καλεῖσθαι δὲ πεδίον ἀληθείας, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ εἴδη καὶ
C τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν γενησομένων ἀκίνητα κεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὄντος οἷον ἀπορροὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς κόσμους[1] φέρεσθαι τὸν χρόνον. ὄψιν δὲ τούτων καὶ θέαν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἅπαξ ἐν ἔτεσι μυρίοις ὑπάρχειν, ἂν γ' εὖ βιώσωσι· καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τελετῶν τὰς ἀρίστας ἐκείνης ὄνειρον εἶναι τῆς ἐποπτείας καὶ τελετῆς· καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀναμνήσεως[2] ἕνεκα τῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσοφεῖσθαι καλῶν ἢ μάτην περαίνεσθαι. ταῦτ'," ἔφη,[3] "περὶ τούτων μυθολογοῦντος ἤκουον ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐν τελετῇ καὶ μυήσει, μηδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ λόγου μηδὲ πίστιν ἐπιφέροντος."

23. Κἀγὼ τὸν Δημήτριον προσαγορεύσας, "πῶς
D ἔχει," ἔφην, "τὰ τῶν μνηστήρων ἔπη, τὸν Ὀδυσσέα θαυμασάντων τὸ τόξον μεναχειριζόμενον;" ὑπομνησθέντος δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου, "ταῦτ'," ἔφην, "ἐπέρχεται κἀμοὶ περὶ τοῦ ξένου εἰπεῖν

ἦ τις θητητὴρ[4] καὶ ἐπίκλοπος ἔπλετο

δογμάτων τε καὶ λόγων παντοδαπῶν, καὶ πολυπλανὴς ἐν γράμμασι καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος ἀλλ' Ἕλλην γένος ἦν, πολλῆς Ἑλληνίδος μούσης ἀνάπλεως. ἐλέγχει δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν κόσμων ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ὢν Αἰγύπτιος

[1] *κόσμους*] *χρόνους* in all MSS. but one (E).
[2] *ἀναμνήσεως* Wyttenbach: *ἀνέμνησεν* or *ἀνέμνησας*.
[3] *ἔφη* Meziriacus: *ἔφην*. [4] *θητητὴρ* Homer: *θηρητὴρ*.

each side of the triangle having sixty worlds ; of the three left over each is placed at an angle, and those that are next to one other are in contact and revolve gently as in a dance. The inner area of the triangle is the common hearth of all, and is called the Plain of Truth, in which the accounts, the forms, and the patterns of all things that have come to pass and of all that shall come to pass rest undisturbed ; and round about them lies Eternity, whence Time, like an ever-flowing stream, is conveyed to the worlds. Opportunity to see and to contemplate these things is vouchsafed to human souls once in ten thousand years if they have lived goodly lives ; and the best of the initiatory rites here are but a dream of that highest rite and initiation ; and the words of our philosophic inquiry are framed to recall these fair sights there—else is our labour vain. This," said he, " is the tale I heard him recite quite as though it were in some rite of mystic initiation, but without offering any demonstration or proof of what he said."

23. Then I, addressing Demetrius, said, " How do the verses about the suitors run, when they are marvelling at Odysseus as he handles the bow ? " And when Demetrius had recalled them to my mind, I said, " It occurs to me to say this of your far-away friend :

Surely he liked to see, or else was given to filching [a]

beliefs and tales of all sorts. He had ranged widely in literature and was no foreigner, but a Greek by birth, and replete with Greek culture to a high degree. The number of his worlds convicts him, since it is not

[a] Homer, *Od.* xxi. 397.

οὐδ' Ἰνδὸς ἀλλὰ Δωριεὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας, ἀνδρὸς Ἰμεραίου τοὔνομα Πέτρωνος· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου βιβλίδιον οὐκ ἀνέγνων οὐδ' οἶδα διασῳζόμενον·
E Ἵππυς δ' ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, οὗ μέμνηται Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος,[1] ἱστορεῖ δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην Πέτρωνος καὶ λόγον, ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς κόσμους ὄντας ἁπτομένους δ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, ὅ τι δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστί, κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἅπτεσθαι, μὴ προσδιασαφῶν μηδ' ἄλλην τινὰ πιθανότητα προσάπτων."

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ[2] Δημήτριος, "τίς δ' ἄν," εἶπεν, "ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν εἴη πιθανότης, ὅπου καὶ Πλάτων οὐδὲν εἰπὼν εὔλογον οὐδ' εἰκὸς οὕτω κατέβαλε τὸν λόγον;"

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλέων, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑμῶν," ἔφη, "τῶν
F γραμματικῶν ἀκούομεν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναγόντων[3] τὴν δόξαν, ὡς ἐκείνου τὸ πᾶν εἰς πέντε κόσμους διανέμοντος, οὐρανὸν ὕδωρ ἀέρα γῆν ὄλυμπον. ὧν τὰ μὲν δύο κοινὰ καταλείπει, γῆν μὲν τοῦ κάτω παντὸς οὖσαν, ὄλυμπον δὲ τοῦ ἄνω παντός· οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τρεῖς τοῖς τρισὶ θεοῖς ἀπεδόθησαν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Πλάτων ἔοικε τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πρῶτα σωμάτων εἴδη καὶ σχήματα συννέμων ταῖς τοῦ ὅλου διαφοραῖς
423 πέντε κόσμους καλεῖν, τὸν γῆς τὸν ὕδατος τὸν ἀέρος τὸν πυρός, ἔσχατον δὲ τὸν περιέχοντα τούτους, τὸν τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου, πολύχυτον καὶ πολύτρεπτον, ᾧ[4] μάλιστα δὴ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς περιόδοις καὶ κινήσεσι πρέπον σχῆμα καὶ συναρμόττον ἀπέδωκε."

[1] Ἐρέσιος Xylander: *αἱρέσιος*. [2] δ' ὁ Bernardakis: δὲ.
[3] *ἀναγόντων* Stegmann: *ἀγόντων*.
[4] ᾧ] *ὡς* in most MSS. (a common error).

---

[a] Frag. 6, Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. ii. p. 14.
[b] Frag. 22, Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. ii. p. 300.

Egyptian nor Indian, but Dorian and from Sicily, being the idea of a man of Himera named Petron. Petron's own treatise I have never read nor am I sure that a copy is now extant; but Hippys[a] of Rhegium, whom Phanias[b] of Eresus mentions, records that this was the opinion and the account of it given by Petron: that there are one hundred and eighty-three worlds in contact with one another according to element; but what this is, 'to be in contact according to element,' he does not explain further nor subjoin any plausible proof."

Demetrius, joining in, said, "What plausible proof could there be in matters of this sort in which even Plato, without stating anything reasonable or plausible, simply set down his own account?"

"But," said Heracleon, "we hear you grammarians attributing this view to Homer on the ground that he distributed the universe into five worlds[c]: the heavens, the water, the air, the earth, and Olympus. Of these he leaves two to be held in common, the earth for all below and Olympus for all above, and the three that lie between were assigned to the three gods. In this wise Plato[d] also, apparently, associated the fairest and foremost forms and figures with the different divisions of the universe, and called them five worlds, one of earth, one of water, one of air, one of fire, and last of all, the one which includes all these, the world of the dodecahedron, of wide expanse and many turnings, to which he assigned a form appropriate to the cycles and movements of the soul."

[c] *Cf.* 390 C, *supra*; Homer, *Il.* XV. 187.

[d] *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 31 A, and 55 C; *Moralia*, 390 A and 887 B.

(423) Καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, "Ὅμηρον," ἔφη, "τί κινοῦμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι; μύθων γὰρ ἄλις. Πλάτων δὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ τὰς πέντε τοῦ κόσμου διαφορὰς πέντε κόσμους προσαγορεύειν· ἐν οἷς τε μάχεται τοῖς ἀπείρους κόσμους ὑποτιθεμένοις αὖ, τῇδέ[1] φησι δοκεῖν ἕνα τοῦτον εἶναι μονογενῆ τῷ θεῷ καὶ
B ἀγαπητόν, ἐκ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς παντὸς ὅλον καὶ τέλειον καὶ αὐτάρκη γεγενημένον. ὅθεν ἄν τις καὶ θαυμάσειεν ὅτι τἀληθὲς εἰπὼν αὐτὸς ἑτέροις ἀπιθάνου καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσης ἀρχὴν παρέσχε διδαχῆς.[2] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕνα μὴ φυλάξαι κόσμον εἶχεν ἀμωσγέπως ὑπόθεσιν τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀπειρίαν, τὸ δ' ἀφωρισμένως ποιῆσαι τοσούτους καὶ μήτε πλείους τῶν πέντε μήτ' ἐλάττους κομιδῇ παράλογον καὶ πάσης πιθανότητος ἀπηρτημένον, εἰ μή τι σὺ λέγεις," ἔφη, πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψας.

Κἀγώ, "δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτως," ἔφην, "ἀφέντας ἤδη
C τὸν περὶ χρηστηρίων λόγον ὡς τέλος ἔχοντα, μεταλαμβάνειν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον."

"Οὐκ ἀφέντας," εἶπεν ὁ Δημήτριος, "ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρελθόντας τοῦτον ἀντιλαμβανόμενον ἡμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐνδιατρίψομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἱστορῆσαι τὴν πιθανότητα θιγόντες αὐτοῦ μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν."

24. "Πρῶτον τοίνυν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὰ κωλύοντα ποιεῖν κόσμους ἀπείρους οὐκ ἀπείργει πλείονας ἑνὸς ποιεῖν. καὶ γὰρ θεόν[3] ἔστιν εἶναι καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ

[1] αὖ, τῇδέ F.C.B.; αὐτῷ δὴ Vulcobius; αὐτὸς ἤδη Schwartz; ταύτῃ δή φησίν οἱ Paton: αὖτη δὴ.

[2] διδαχῆς F.C.B.; δόξης Leonicus; διατριβῆς Michael; διανομῆς Pohlenz: δι' αὐτῆς.

[3] θεόν Schwartz: ὅσον.

"Why," said Demetrius, "do we call up Homer in the present instance? Enough of legends! Plato, however, is very far from calling the five different divisions of the world five different worlds; and in those passages again, in which he contends against those who postulate an infinite number of worlds, he says that his opinion is that this world is the only-begotten and beloved of God, having been created out of the corporeal whole, entire, complete, and sufficient unto itself. Wherefore one might well be surprised that he, in stating the truth himself, has supplied others with a source for a doctrine that is unconvincing and lacking in reason. For not to defend the idea of a single world implied somehow an assumption of the infinity of the whole universe; but to make the worlds definitely just so many, neither more nor less than five, is altogether contrary to reason and devoid of all plausibility—unless," he added, with a glance at me, "you have anything to say."

"It appears," said I, "that we have already discontinued our discussion about oracles, feeling it to be completed, and are now taking up another topic just as large."

"Not discontinued that topic," said Demetrius, "but not passing over this one which claims our attention. We will not spend much time on it, but only touch upon it long enough to inquire into its plausibility; and then we will follow up the original proposition."

24. "In the first place, then," said I, "the considerations that prevent our making an infinite number of worlds do not preclude our making more than one. For it is possible for God and prophecy

(423) πρόνοιαν ἐν πλείοσι κόσμοις καὶ τὸ μικροτάτην τύχην παρεμπίπτειν, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τάξει[1] λαμβάνειν[2] γένεσιν καὶ μεταβολήν, ὧν οὐδὲν ἡ ἀπειρία δέχεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔπειτα τῷ λόγῳ
D μᾶλλον ἕπεται τὸ τῷ θεῷ μὴ μονογενῆ μηδ' ἔρημον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν τελέως οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἐνδεής ἐστιν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν[3] περὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φιλίαν· κάλλισται γὰρ αὗται[4] καὶ θεοῖς πρέπουσαι. μάτην δ' οὐδὲν ἔχειν οὐδ' ἄχρηστον θεὸς πέφυκεν. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐκτὸς ἕτεροι θεοὶ καὶ κόσμοι, πρὸς οὓς[5] χρῆται ταῖς κοινωνικαῖς ἀρεταῖς· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς αὑτὸν οὐδὲ μέρος αὑτοῦ χρῆσίς ἐστι δικαιοσύνης ἢ χάριτος ἢ χρηστότητος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄλλους. ὥστ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἄφιλον οὐδ' ἀγείτονα τόνδ' οὐδ'
E ἄμεικτον ἐν ἀπείρῳ κενῷ τὸν κόσμον σαλεύειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶμεν τὰ[6] καθ' ἕκαστα γένεσι καὶ εἴδεσιν οἷον ἀγγείοις ἢ περικαρπίοις σπέρματα[7] περιέχουσαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν, οὗ γε μὴ[8] λόγος ὑπάρχει κοινός, οὐδὲ τυγχάνει τῆς τοιᾶσδε προσηγορίας ὃ μὴ κοινῶς ποιὸν ἢ[9] ἰδίως ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ κόσμος οὐ λέγεται κοινῶς εἶναι ποιός· ἰδίως[10] τοίνυν ποιός ἐστιν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῆς πρὸς ἄλλα

[1] τάξει] τάξιν in most MSS.
[2] λαμβάνειν Basel ed. of 1542: λαμβάνει.
[3] τῶν] τῷ or τὸ in all MSS. but one (G).
[4] αὗται Turnebus: αὐτῷ.
[5] οὓς Turnebus: οἷς.
[6] τὰ added by some early editor.
[7] σπέρματα Reiske: σπέρματος.
[8] οὗ γε μὴ Wyttenbach: οὐδὲ μὴ or μὴν.
[9] ἢ added by Madvig.

and Providence to exist in more worlds than one, and for the incidence of chance to be reduced to the very smallest limits, while the vast majority of things and those of the highest importance attain to genesis and transmutation in a quite orderly sequence, none of which things does infinity, by its nature, admit. Then again it is more consistent with reason that the world should not be the only-begotten of God and quite alone. For He, being consummately good, is lacking in none of the virtues, and least of all in those which concern justice and friendliness; for these are the fairest and are fitting for gods. Nor is it in the nature of God to possess anything to no purpose or for no use. Therefore there exist other gods and other worlds outside, in relation with which He exercises the social virtues. For not in relation with Himself nor with any part of Himself is there any exercise of justice or benevolence or kindness, but only in relation with others. Thus it is not likely that this world, friendless, neighbourless, and unvisited, swings back and forth in the infinite void, since we see that Nature includes individual things in classes and species, like seeds in pods and envelopes. For there is nothing in the whole list of existing things for which there is not some general designation, nor does anything that does not possess certain qualities, either in common with others or solely by itself, obtain such an appellation. Now the world is not spoken of as having qualities in common with others. It has its qualities, therefore, solely by itself, by virtue of the difference when it is compared with other things which are akin to it and similar in

[10] *κοινῶς εἶναι ποιός· ἰδίως* corrections of Emperius, Wyttenbach, and Madvig: *κοινὸς εἶναι ποῖοι* (or *-os*) *δ' ὡς.*

συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ[1] γεγονὼς τοιοῦτος. εἰ γὰρ οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος εἷς οὔθ' ἵππος ἐν τῇ φύσει γέγονεν οὔτ' ἄστρον οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε δαίμων, τί κωλύει μηδὲ κόσμον ἕνα τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ[2] πλείονας; ὁ γὰρ
F λέγων ὅτι καὶ γῆν μίαν ἔχει καὶ θάλατταν ἐμφανές τι παρορᾷ τὸ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν· τήν τε γὰρ γῆν εἰς ὁμώνυμα μέρη καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὡσαύτως διαιροῦμεν· τοῦ δὲ κόσμου μέρος οὐκέτι κόσμος ἀλλ' ἐκ διαφόρων φύσεων συνέστηκε.

424 25. "Καὶ μὴν ὅ γε μάλιστα φοβηθέντες ἔνιοι καταναλίσκουσιν τὴν ὕλην εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἕν'[3] ἅπασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑπολειπόμενον[4] ἐκτὸς ἐνστάσεσιν ἢ πληγαῖς διαταράττοι τὴν τοῦδε σύστασιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔδεισαν. πλειόνων γὰρ ὄντων κόσμων ἰδίᾳ δ' ἑκάστου συνειληχότος οὐσίᾳ καὶ ὕλῃ μέτρον ὡρισμένον ἐχούσῃ καὶ πέρας, οὐδὲν ἄτακτον οὐδ' ἀκατακόσμητον οἷον περίττωμα λειφθήσεται προσπῖπτον ἔξωθεν. ὁ γὰρ περὶ ἕκαστον λόγος[5] ἐγκρατὴς ὢν τῆς συννενεμημένης ὕλης οὐδὲν ἔκφορον ἐάσει καὶ πλανώμενον ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἄλλον οὐδ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ
B ἄλλου διὰ τὸ μήτε πλῆθος ἀόριστον καὶ ἄπειρον τὴν φύσιν ἔχειν μήτε κίνησιν ἄλογον καὶ ἄτακτον. εἰ δὲ καί τις ἀπορροὴ φέρεται πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀφ' ἑτέρων, ὁμόφυλον εἶναι καὶ προσηνῆ προσήκει[6] καὶ πᾶσιν ἠπίως ἐπιμειγνυμένην ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν ἀστέρων

[1] ἄλλα συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμοειδῆ Wyttenbach: ἄλλας (or ἄλληλα) συγγενὴς (or -οῦς) καὶ ὁμοειδὴς (or μονοειδὴς).
[2] ἀλλὰ] ἀλλ' ἢ in all mss. but one (A).
[3] ἕν' added by F.C.B. (εἰς ἕνα τὸν van Herwerden).
[4] ὑπολειπόμενον Turnebus: ὑπολειπομένην.
[5] λόγος Meziriacus: λόγου.
[6] προσήκει added by F.C.B., assuming haplography; similarly εἰκὸς was added by Wyttenbach from οἰκείως, which stands in place of ἠπίως in all mss. but one (D).

appearance, since it has been created with such qualities as it possesses. If in all creation such a thing as one man, one horse, one star, one god, one demigod does not exist, what is there to prevent creation from having, not one world, but more than one? For he who says that creation has but one land and one sea overlooks a matter which is perfectly plain, the doctrine of similar parts [a]; for we divide the earth into parts which bear similar names, and the sea likewise. A part of the world, however, is not a world, but something combined from the differing elements in Nature.

25. "Again, as for the dread which some people especially have felt, and so use up the whole of matter on the one world, so that nothing may be left over outside to disturb the structure of it by resisting or striking it—this fear of theirs is unwarranted. For if there are more worlds than one, and each of them has received, as its meet portion, substance and matter having a restricted measure and limit, then there will be nothing left unplaced or unorganized, an unused remnant, as it were, to crash into them from the outside. For the law of reason over each world, having control over the matter assigned to each, will not allow anything to be carried away from it nor to wander about and crash into another world, nor anything from another world to crash into it, because Nature has neither unlimited and infinite magnitude nor irrational and disorganized movement. Even if any emanation is carried from some worlds to others, it is certain to be congenial, agreeable, and to unite peaceably with all, like the rays of starlight and

[a] The Homoeomeria of Anaxagoras; *cf.*, for example, Lucretius, i. 830 ff.

(424) αὐγαὶ καὶ συγκράσεις, αὐτούς τε τέρπεσθαι καθ-
ορῶντας ἀλλήλους εὐμενῶς, θεοῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ
ἀγαθοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον οὖσι παρέχειν ἐπιμειξίας καὶ
φιλοφροσύνας. ἀδύνατον γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων
οὔτε μυθῶδες οὔτε παράλογον· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τὰ[1] τοῦ
Ἀριστοτέλους ὑπόψονταί τινες ὡς φυσικὰς αἰτίας
ἔχοντα. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων ἑκάστου τόπον οἰκεῖον
C ἔχοντος, ὥς φησιν, ἀνάγκη τὴν γῆν πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ
τὸ μέσον φέρεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς διὰ βάρος
ὑφιστάμενον τοῖς κουφοτέροις. ἂν οὖν πλείονες ὦσι
κόσμοι, συμβήσεται τὴν γῆν πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἐπάνω
τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κεῖσθαι πολλαχοῦ δ'
ὑποκάτω· καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁμοίως, πῇ μὲν
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν πῇ δ' ἐν ταῖς παρὰ φύσιν[2]
χώραις ὑπάρχειν. ὧν ἀδυνάτων ὄντων, ὡς οἴεται,
μήτε δύο μήτε πλείονας εἶναι κόσμους, ἀλλ' ἕνα
τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας ἁπάσης συγκείμενον, ἱδρυ-
μένον κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς προσήκει ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων
διαφοραῖς. (26.) ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα πιθανῶς μᾶλλον
ἢ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται· σκόπει δ' οὕτως," ἔφην, " ὦ
D φίλε Δημήτριε. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
τὸ μέσον καὶ κάτω κινεῖσθαι λέγων τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ
μέσου καὶ ἄνω τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ μέσον καὶ κύκλῳ,
πρὸς τί λαμβάνει τὸ μέσον; οὐ δήπου πρὸς τὸ
κενόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κατ' αὐτόν. καθ' οὓς[3] δ' ἔστιν,
οὐκ ἔχει μέσον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρῶτον οὐδ' ἔσχατον·

[1] τὰ omitted in most MSS.
[2] πῇ δ' ἐν . . . φύσιν in one MS. only (B).
[3] οὓς Xylander: οὗ.

---

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Caelo*, i. 7 (276 a 18).
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 925 B and 1054 B.

their blending; and the worlds themselves must experience joy in gazing at one another with kindly eyes; and for the many good gods in each, they must provide opportunities for visits and a friendly welcome. Truly in all this there is nothing impossible or fabulous or contrary to reason unless, indeed, because of Aristotle's [a] statements some persons shall look upon it with suspicion as being based on physical grounds. For if each of the bodies has its own particular place, as he asserts, the earth must of necessity turn toward the centre from all directions and the water be above it, settling below the lighter elements because of its weight. If, therefore, there be more worlds than one, it will come to pass that in many places the earth will rest above the fire and the air, and in many places below them; and the air and the water likewise, in some places existing in positions in keeping with nature and in other places in positions contrary to nature. As this, in his opinion, is impossible, the inference is that there are neither two worlds nor more, but only this one, composed of the whole of matter and resting firmly in keeping with Nature, as befits the diversity of its bodies. (26.) All this, however, has been put in a way that is more plausible than true. Look at it in this way, my dear Demetrius," said I; "when he says of the bodies that some have a motion towards the centre and downwards, others away from the centre and upwards, and others around the centre and in a circular path, in what relation does he take the centre? [b] Certainly not in relation to the void, for according to him it does not exist. And according to those for whom it does exist, it has no centre, just as it has no point where it begins or where it ends;

πέρατα γὰρ ταῦτα, τὸ δ' ἄπειρον καὶ ἀπεράτωτον. εἰ δὲ καὶ βιάσαιτό τις αὐτὸν λόγου[1] βίᾳ κινούμενον[2] ἄπειρον[3] τολμῆσαι[4] τίς ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο γιγνομένη τῶν κινήσεων διαφορὰ τοῖς σώμασι; οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κενῷ δύναμις ἔστι τῶν σωμάτων οὔτε τὰ σώματα προαίρεσιν ἔχει καὶ ὁρμήν, ᾗ[5] τοῦ μέσου γλίχεται
E καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο συντείνει πανταχόθεν. ἀλλ' ὁμοίως[6] ἄπορόν ἐστιν ἀψύχων σωμάτων πρὸς ἀσώματον χώραν[7] καὶ ἀδιάφορον ἢ φορὰν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἢ ὀλκὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνης γιγνομένην νοῆσαι. λείπεται τοίνυν τὸ μέσον οὐ τοπικῶς ἀλλὰ σωματικῶς λέγεσθαι. τοῦδε γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου μίαν ἐκ πλειόνων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἑνότητα καὶ σύνταξιν ἔχοντος, αἱ διαφοραὶ τὰς κινήσεις ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλα ποιοῦσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης. δῆλον δὲ τῷ μετακοσμούμενα ταῖς οὐσίαις ἕκαστα καὶ τὰς χώρας ἅμα συμμεταβάλλειν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ διακρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου τὴν ὕλην αἰρομένην ἄνω κύκλῳ διανέμουσιν· αἱ δὲ συγκρίσεις
F καὶ πυκνώσεις πιέζουσι κάτω πρὸς τὸ μέσον καὶ συνελαύνουσι.

27. "Περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα πλείοσι λόγοις χρῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἄν τις ὑποθῆται τῶν παθῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι δημιουργόν, αὕτη συνέξει τῶν κόσμων[8] ἕκαστον ἐν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ γὰρ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἕκαστος ἔχει
425 κόσμος· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ μέσον ἕκαστος ἴδιον, καὶ πάθη

[1] λόγου Emperius: λόγῳ.
[2] κινούμενον] κενοῦ μέσον Wyttenbach.
[3] ἄπειρον] ἀπείρου Emperius.
[4] τολμῆσαι] τι ὁμολογῆσαι Xylander; τι νοῆσαι Madvig (but *cf. Moralia*, 122 c).
[5] ᾗ] ἡ or ᾗ in all mss. but one.
[6] ὁμοίως Madvig: ὅμως.

for these are limitations, and the infinite has no limitations. And if a man could force himself, by reasoning, to dare the concept of a violent motion of the infinite, what difference, if referred to this, is created for the bodies in their movements? For in the void there is no power in the bodies, nor do the bodies have a predisposition and an impetus, by virtue of which they cling to the centre and have a universal tendency in this one direction. It is equally difficult, in the case of inanimate bodies and an incorporeal and undifferentiated position, to conceive of a movement created from the bodies or an attraction created by the position. Thus one conclusion is left: when the centre is spoken of it is not with reference to any place, but with reference to the bodies. For in this world of ours, which has a single unity in its organization from numerous dissimilar elements, these differences necessarily create various movements towards various objects. Evidence of this is found in the fact that everything, when it undergoes transformation, changes its position coincidently with the change in its substance. For example, dispersion distributes upwards and round about the matter rising from the centre and condensation and consolidation press it down towards the centre and drive it together.

27. "On this topic it is not necessary to use more words at present. The truth is that whatever cause one may postulate as the author of these occurrences and changes, that cause will keep each of the worlds together within itself; for each world has earth and sea, and each has its own centre and occurrences that

---

[7] *χώραν* Meziriacus: *χωρεῖν*.
[8] *τῶν κόσμων* Reiske: *τὸν κόσμον*.

(425) σωμάτων καὶ μεταβολὰς καὶ φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν, ἢ[1] σώζει καὶ φυλάττει κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτός, εἴτ' οὐδέν ἐστιν εἴτε κενὸν ἄπειρον, οὐχ ὑπάρχει[2] μέσον, ὡς εἴρηται· πλειόνων δὲ κόσμων ὄντων, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔστιν ἴδιον μέσον· ὥστε κίνησις ἰδία τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοῦτο, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ διαιροῦσιν. ὁ δ' ἀξιῶν, πολλῶν μέσων ὄντων, ἐφ' ἓν μόνον ὠθεῖσθαι τὰ βάρη πανταχόθεν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ, πολλῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιοῦντος εἰς μίαν φλέβα τὸ πανταχόθεν αἷμα συρρεῖν καὶ μιᾷ μήνιγγι τοὺς
B πάντων ἐγκεφάλους περιέχεσθαι, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος, εἰ τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων οὐ μίαν ἅπαντα τὰ στερρὰ καὶ μίαν τὰ μανὰ χώραν ἐφέξει. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἄτοπος ἔσται κἀκεῖνος ἀγανακτῶν εἰ τὰ ὅλα τοῖς αὑτῶν μέρεσι χρῆται, τὴν κατὰ φύσιν θέσιν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ καὶ τάξιν. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἦν ἄτοπον, κεἴ[3] τις ἔλεγε κόσμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν αὑτῷ που[4] σελήνην ἔχοντα καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις τὸν ἐγκέφαλον φοροῦντα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις. τὸ δὲ πλείονας ποιοῦντας χωρὶς ἀλλήλων κόσμους ἅμα τοῖς ὅλοις τὰ μέρη συναφορίζειν καὶ συνδιαιρεῖν οὐκ
C ἄτοπον· ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῳ γῇ καὶ θάλαττα καὶ οὐρανὸς κείσεται κατὰ φύσιν ὡς προσήκει, τό τ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ κύκλῳ καὶ μέσον οὐ πρὸς ἄλλον

[1] ἢ added by Meziriacus.
[2] οὐχ ὑπάρχει Paton: οὐ παρέχει.
[3] κεἴ F.C.B.: εἰ. [4] που added by F.C.B.

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 928 A-B.
[b] Instead of revolving around it.

affect its component bodies; it has its own transmutations and a nature and a power which preserves each one and keeps it in place. In what lies beyond, whether it be nothing or an infinite void, no centre exists, as has been said; and if there are several worlds, in each one is a centre which belongs to it alone, with the result that the movements of its bodies are its own, some towards it, some away from it, and some around it, quite in keeping with the distinctions which these men themselves make. But anyone who insists that, while there are many centres, the heavy substances are impelled from all sides towards one only,[a] does not differ at all from him who insists that, while there are many men, the blood from all shall flow together into a single vein and the brains of all shall be enveloped in a single membrane, deeming it a dreadful thing in the case of natural bodies if all the solids shall not occupy one place only and the fluids also only one place. Such a man as that will be abnormal, and so will he be who is indignant if everything constituting a whole has its own parts, of which it makes use in their natural arrangement and position in every case. For that would be preposterous, and so too if anybody called that a world which had a moon somewhere inside it[b]; as well call that a man who carries his brains in his heels or his heart in his head![c] But to make more worlds than one, each separate from the other, and to delimit and distinguish the parts belonging to each to go with the whole is not preposterous. For the land and the sea and the heavens in each will be placed to accord with nature, as is fitting; and each of the worlds has its above and below and its round

[a] *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Oration* vii. 45.

(425) οὐδ' ἐκτὸς ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχει τῶν κόσμων ἕκαστος.

28. "Ὃν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ κόσμου λίθον ὑποτίθενταί τινες οὔτε μονῆς εὐπόρως παρέχει νόησιν οὔτε κινήσεως. πῶς γὰρ ἢ μενεῖ βάρος ἔχων ἢ κινήσεται πρὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ βάρη, μήτε μέρος ὢν αὐτοῦ μήτε συντεταγμένος εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν; γῆν[1] δ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ κόσμῳ περιεχομένην καὶ συνδεδεμένην οὐκ ἔδει διαπορεῖν ὅπως οὐκ ἐνταῦθα
D μεταχωρεῖ διὰ βάρος ἀπορραγεῖσα τοῦ ὅλου, τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶντας καὶ τὸν τόνον ὑφ' οὗ συνέχεται τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον. ἐπεὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ' ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτω καὶ ἄνω λαμβάνοντες, ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπορίαις Ἐπικούρῳ γενησόμεθα κινοῦντι τὰς ἀτόμους ἁπάσας εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ πόδας τόπους, ὥσπερ ἢ τοῦ κενοῦ πόδας ἔχοντος ἢ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐν αὑτῇ κάτω τε καὶ ἄνω νοῆσαι[2] διδούσης. διὸ καὶ Χρύσιππον ἔστι θαυμάζειν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως διαπορεῖν ὅ τι δὴ παθὼν τὸν κόσμον ἐν μέσῳ φησὶν ἱδρῦσθαι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν μέσον τόπον ἀιδίως κατειληφυῖαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτῳ[3] συνεργεῖσθαι[4] πρὸς
E τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀφθαρσίαν. ταυτὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Δυνατῶν λέγει, μέσον τε τοῦ ἀπείρου τόπον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὀνειρώττων ἀτοπώτερον τε τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ ἀνυπάρκτῳ μέσῳ

[1] γῆν Xylander: τὴν.
[2] νοῆσαι Bernardakis; διανοεῖσθαι Kronenberg: διανοῆσαι.
[3] τούτῳ Turnebus: τοῦτον or τούτων.
[4] συνεργεῖσθαι Wyttenbach; συνεργεῖν Paton: συνέργεσθαι.

---

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1054 B.
[b] Frag. 299.
[c] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, i. 551 (p. 174), and *Moralia*, 1054 C.

about and its centre, not with reference to another world or the outside, but in itself and with reference to itself.

28. "As for the stone which some assume to exist in the regions outside the world, it does not readily afford a concept regarding either its fixity or its motion. For how is it either to remain fixed, if it has weight, or to move towards the world like other heavy substances when it is no part of the world and has no place in the order of its being? Land embraced in another world and bound up with it ought not to raise any question as to how it comes about that it does not break away from the whole and transfer itself to our world, because we see the nature and the tension under which each of the parts is held secure. For if we take the expressions 'below' and 'above' as referring, not to the world, but outside of it,[a] we shall become involved in the same difficulties as Epicurus,[b] who would have all his atoms move to places under our feet, as if either the void had feet, or infinity granted us to conceive of 'below' and 'above' within itself! Wherefore we may well wonder at Chrysippus,[c] or rather be quite unable to understand what possessed him to assert that the world has been firmly set in the centre and that its substance, having pre-empted the central place from time eternal, thereby gains the greatest help towards its permanence, and that is as much as to say its immunity from destruction. This is actually what he says in the fourth book of his work on *Things Possible*, where he indulges in a day-dream of a central place in the infinite and still more preposterously ascribes the cause of the permanence of the world to the non-existent centre; yet in other

τὴν αἰτίαν ὑποτιθείς, καὶ ταῦτα πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς ἐν ἑτέροις ὅτι ταῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς μέσον ἡ οὐσία καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτῆς μέσου διοικεῖται καὶ συνέχεται κινήσεσι.

29. "Καὶ μὴν τά γ' ἄλλα τῶν Στωικῶν τίς ἂν φοβηθείη, πυνθανομένων πῶς εἱμαρμένη μία μενεῖ καὶ πρόνοια, καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ Δίες καὶ Ζῆνες ἔσονται, πλειόνων ὄντων κόσμων; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι Δίας καὶ Ζῆνας ἄτοπόν ἐστι,
F πολλῷ δήπουθεν ἔσται τὰ ἐκείνων ἀτοπώτερα· καὶ γὰρ ἡλίους καὶ σελήνας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδας καὶ Ποσειδῶνας ἐν ἀπείροις κόσμων περιόδοις ἀπείρους ποιοῦσιν. ἔπειτα τίς ἀνάγκη πολλοὺς εἶναι Δίας, ἂν πλείονες ὦσι κόσμοι, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄρχοντα πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ὅλου
426 θεὸν ἔχοντα καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, οἷος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κύριος ἁπάντων καὶ πατὴρ ἐπονομαζόμενος; ἢ τί κωλύσει τῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἱμαρμένης καὶ προνοίας ὑπηκόους πάντας εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐφορᾶν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατευθύνειν, ἐνδιδόντα πᾶσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα καὶ λόγους τῶν περαινομένων; οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἓν συνίσταται σῶμα πολλάκις ἐκ διεστώτων σωμάτων, οἷον ἐκκλησία καὶ στράτευμα καὶ χορός, ὧν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ζῆν καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ μανθάνειν συμβέβηκεν, ὡς οἴεται Χρύσιππος, ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ δέκα κόσμους ἢ πεντήκοντ' ἢ[1] καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας ἑνὶ χρῆσθαι λόγῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀρχὴν συντετά-

[1] ἢ Wyttenbach: καί.

---

[a] *Cf.* *Moralia*, 142 E; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, vii. 102.

[b] *Cf.* von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ii. 367 (p. 124).

works he has often said that substance is regulated and held together by its movements towards its own centre and away from its own centre.

29. "Then again, who could feel alarm at the other notions of the Stoics, who ask how there shall continue to be one Destiny and one Providence, and how there shall not be many supreme gods bearing the name of Zeus or Zen, if there are more worlds than one? For, in the first place, if it is preposterous that there should be many supreme gods bearing this name, then surely these persons' ideas will be far more preposterous; for they make an infinite number of suns and moons and Apollos and Artemises and Poseidons in the infinite cycle of worlds. But the second point is this: what is the need that there be many gods bearing the name of Zeus, if there be more worlds than one, and that there should not be in each world, as pre-eminent governor and ruler of the whole, a god possessing sense and reason, such as the one who among us bears the name of Lord and Father of all? Or again, what shall prevent all worlds from being subject to the Destiny and Providence of Zeus, and what shall prevent his overseeing and directing them all in turn and supplying them all with first principles, material sources, and schemes of all that is being carried out? Do we not in this world of ours often have a single body composed of separate bodies,[a] as, for example, an assembly of people or an army or a band of dancers, each one of whom has the contingent faculty of living, thinking, and learning, as Chrysippus[b] believes, while in the whole universe, that there should be ten worlds, or fifty, or an hundred even, living under one reasoned plan, and organized under one government, is an

B χθαι μίαν ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πρέπει
(426) θεοῖς ἡ τοιαύτη διάταξις· οὐ γὰρ ὡς σμήνους ἡγεμόνας δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀνεξόδους οὐδὲ φρουρεῖν συγκλείσαντας τῇ ὕλῃ μᾶλλον δὲ συμφράξαντας, ὥσπερ οὗτοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀέρων ἕξεις ποιοῦντες[1] καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ πυρὸς δυνάμεις ἐγκεκραμένας ἡγούμενοι συγγεννῶσι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ πάλιν συγκατακαίουσιν, οὐκ ἀπολύτους οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους οἷον ἡνιόχους ἢ κυβερνήτας ὄντας ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἀγάλματα προσηλοῦται καὶ συντήκεται βάσεσιν, οὕτως ἐγκεκλειμένους εἰς τὸ σωματικὸν καὶ συγκαταγεγομφωμένους, κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῷ μέχρι φθορᾶς καὶ διαλύσεως ἁπάσης
C καὶ μεταβολῆς.

30. "Ἐκεῖνος δ' οἶμαι σεμνότερος ὁ λόγος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερος, ἀδεσπότους καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας, ὥσπερ οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι τοῖς χειμαζομένοις βοηθοῦσιν

ἐπερχόμενόν[2] τε μαλάσσοντες βιατὰν[3]
πόντον ὠκείας τ' ἀνέμων ῥιπάς,

οὐκ ἐμπλέοντες αὐτοὶ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντες ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ σῴζοντες, οὕτως ἐπιέναι[4] τῶν κόσμων[5] ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον, ἡδονῇ τε τῆς θέας ἀγομένους καὶ τῇ φύσει συναπευθύνοντας ἕκαστον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὁμηρικὸς Ζεὺς οὐ πάνυ πρόσω μετέθηκε
D τὴν ὄψιν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπὶ τὰ Θρᾴκια καὶ τοὺς περὶ

[1] ποιοῦντες] ποιοῦντας in all MSS. but A, whence ποιὰς Reiske.
[2] ἐπερχόμενον from *Moralia*, 1103 c: ἐπερχόμενοι.
[3] βιατὰν Bergk: βία τὸν (βίαιον 1103 c).
[4] ἐπιέναι Turnebus: ὑπεῖναι (ἐπεῖναι G corr.).
[5] τῶν κόσμων Reiske: τὸν κόσμον.

impossibility? Yet such an organization is altogether appropriate for the gods. For we must not make them unable to go out, like the queens in a hive of bees, nor keep them imprisoned by enclosing them with matter, or rather fencing them about with it, as those [a] do who make the gods to be atmospheric conditions, or regard them as powers of waters or of fire blended therewith, and bring them into being at the same time with the world, and burn them up with it, since they are not unconfined and free like drivers of horses or pilots of ships, but, just as statues are riveted and welded to their bases, so they are enclosed and fastened to the corporeal; and are partners with it even unto destruction, dissolution, and transmutation, of whatsoever sort may befall.

30. "That other concept is, I think, more dignified and sublime, that the gods are not subject to outside control, but are their own masters, even as the twin sons of Tyndareüs [b] come to the aid of men who are labouring in the storm,

> Soothing the oncoming raging sea,
> Taming the swift-driving blasts of the winds,[c]

not, however, sailing on the ships and sharing in the danger, but appearing above and rescuing; so, in the same way, one or another of the gods visits now this world and now that, led thither by pleasure in the sight, and co-operates with Nature in the directing of each. The Zeus of Homer [d] turned his gaze not so very far away from the land of Troy towards the

[a] *Ibid.* 1055 (p. 311).
[b] Castor and Pollux, the protectors of sailors.
[c] Repeated with some variants by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 1103 c-D; *cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 730.
[d] Homer, *Il.* xiii. 3.

(426) τὸν Ἴστρον νομάδας, ὁ δ' ἀληθινὸς ἔχει καλὰς καὶ πρεπούσας ἐν πλείοσι κόσμοις μεταβολάς, οὐχὶ[1] κενὸν ἄπειρον ἔξω βλέπων οὐδ' ἑαυτὸν ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν, ὡς ᾠήθησαν ἔνιοι, νοῶν, ἀλλ' ἔργα τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ κινήσεις τε καὶ φορὰς ἄστρων ἐν περιόδοις καταθεώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεται μεταβολαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον, εἰ δεῖ τῶν φαινομένων τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐξαμείψεσι καὶ περιόδοις. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπειρία παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ ἄλογος καὶ μηδαμῇ προσιεμένη θεόν, ἀλλὰ χρωμένη πρὸς πάντα τῷ κατὰ
E τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως[2]· ἡ δ' ἐν ὡρισμένῳ πλήθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ κόσμων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πρόνοια τῆς εἰς ἓν δεδυκυίας σῶμα καὶ προσηρτημένης ἑνὶ καὶ τοῦτο μετασχηματιζούσης καὶ ἀναπλαττούσης ἀπειράκις ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἀσεμνότερον μητ' ἐπιπονώτερον."

31. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπέσχον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλιπών, "τὸ μὲν ἀληθές," ἔφη, "περὶ τούτων οὕτως ἔχειν ἢ ἑτέρως οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε διισχυρισαίμην· εἰ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐκβιβάζομεν ἑνὸς κόσμου, διὰ τί πέντε μόνων ποιοῦμεν οὐ πλειόνων δημιουργόν, καὶ τίς ἔστι τοῦ
F ἀριθμοῦ τούτου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος λόγος, ἥδιον ἄν μοι δοκῶ μαθεῖν ἢ τῆς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ εἶ καθιερώσεως τὴν διάνοιαν. οὔτε γὰρ τρίγωνος ἢ τετράγωνος οὔτε τέλειος ἢ κυβικὸς οὔτ' ἄλλην τινὰ φαίνεται

[1] οὐχὶ] οὐκ ἐπὶ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
[2] αὐτομάτως Bernardakis: αὐτομάτῳ.

---

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *The Eudemian Ethics*, vii. 12. 16 (1245 b 14).

Thracian regions and the wandering tribes about the Danube ; but the real Zeus has a fair and fitting variety of spectacles in numerous worlds, not viewing the infinite void outside nor concentrating his mind upon himself and nothing else, as some have imagined,[a] but surveying from above the many works of gods and men and the movements and courses of the stars in their cycles. In fact, the Deity is not averse to changes, but has a very great joy therein, to judge, if need be, by the alternations and cycles in the heavens among the bodies that are visible there. Infinity is altogether senseless and unreasoning, and nowhere admits a god, but in all relations it brings into action the concept of chance and accident. But the Oversight and Providence in a limited group and number of worlds, when compared with that which has entered one body and become attached to one and reshapes and remodels it an infinite number of times, seems to me to contain nothing involving less dignity or greater labour."

31. Having spoken at this length, I stopped. Philip, after no long interval, said, " That the truth about these matters is thus or otherwise is not for me to assert. But if we eliminate the god from one world, there is the question why we make him the creator of only five worlds and no more, and what is the relation of this number to the great mass of numbers ; and I feel that I would rather gain a knowledge of this than of the meaning of the E[b] dedicated here. For the number five represents neither a triangle nor a square, nor is it a perfect number nor a cube, nor does it seem to present any

[b] The meaning is discussed in the second essay of this volume.

κομψότητα παρέχων τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ θαυμάζουσιν. ἡ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων ἔφοδος, ἣν αὐτὸς[1] ὑπῃνίξατο, πάντῃ δυσληπτός ἐστι καὶ μηδὲν ὑποφαίνουσα τῆς ἐκεῖνον[2] ἐπεσπασμένης πιθανότη-
427 τος εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰκός ἐστι πέντε σωμάτων ἰσογωνίων καὶ ἰσοπλεύρων καὶ περιεχομένων ἴσοις ἐπιπέδοις ἐγγενομένων τῇ ὕλῃ, τοσούτους εὐθὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποτελεσθῆναι κόσμους."

32. "Καὶ μήν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "δοκεῖ Θεόδωρος ὁ Σολεὺς οὐ φαύλως μετιέναι τὸν λόγον, ἐξηγούμενος τὰ μαθηματικὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος. μέτεισι δ' οὕτως. πυραμὶς καὶ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ εἰκοσάεδρον καὶ δω-
δεκάεδρον, ἃ πρῶτα τίθεται Πλάτων, καλὰ μέν ἐστι πάντα συμμετρίαις λόγων καὶ ἰσότησι, καὶ κρεῖττον
B οὐδὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὅμοιον ἄλλο συνθεῖναι τῇ φύσει καὶ συναρμόσαι λέλειπται. μιᾶς γε μὴν πάντα συστάσεως οὐκ εἴληχεν οὐδ' ὁμοίαν ἔχει τὴν γέ-
νεσιν, ἀλλὰ λεπτότατον μέν ἐστι καὶ μικρότατον ἡ πυραμίς, μέγιστον δὲ καὶ πολυμερέστατον τὸ δω-
δεκάεδρον· τῶν δὲ λειπομένων δυοῖν τοῦ ὀκταέδρου μεῖζον ἢ διπλάσιον πλήθει τριγώνων τὸ εἰκοσά-
εδρον. διὸ τὴν γένεσιν ἅμα πάντα λαμβάνειν ἐκ μιᾶς ὕλης ἀδύνατόν ἐστι. τὰ γὰρ λεπτὰ καὶ μικρὰ καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἁπλούστερα πρῶτα τῷ κινοῦντι καὶ διαπλάττοντι τὴν ὕλην ὑπακούειν ἀνάγκη καὶ συντελεῖσθαι καὶ προϋφίστασθαι τῶν ἀδρομερῶν καὶ πολυσωμάτων ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν σύστασιν ἐργω-

[1] αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων Sieveking.
[2] ἐκεῖνον Turnebus: ἐκείνων.

[a] Presumably Pythagoras, but possibly Plato.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 1027 D.
[c] The five solids of which each has the same number of sides on all its faces, and all its solid angles made up of the

other subtlety for those who love and admire such speculations. Its derivation from the number of elements, at which the Master [a] hinted darkly, is in every way hard to grasp and gives no clear intimation of the plausibility which must have drawn him on to assert that it is likely that when five bodies with equal angles and equal sides and enclosed by equal areas are engendered in matter the same number of worlds should at once be perfected from them."

32. "Yes," said I, "Theodorus of Soli [b] seems to follow up the subject not ineptly in his explanations of Plato's mathematical theories. He follows it up in this way: a pyramid, an octahedron, an icosahedron, and a dodecahedron, the primary figures which Plato predicates, are all beautiful because of the symmetries and equalities in their relations, and nothing superior or even like to these [c] has been left for Nature to compose and fit together. It happens, however, that they do not all have one form of construction, nor have they all a similar origin, but the pyramid is the simplest and smallest, while the dodecahedron is the largest and most complicated. Of the remaining two the icosahedron is more than double the octahedron in the number of its triangles. For this reason it is impossible for them all to derive their origin from one and the same matter. For those that are simple and small and more rudimentary in their structure would necessarily be the first to respond to the instigating and formative power, and to be completed and acquire substantiality earlier than those of large parts and many bodies, from which class comes the dodecahedron, which requires

same number of plane angles. *Cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 53 c–56 c, and Grote's *Plato*, iii. 269.

C δεστέραν ἔχον,[1] τὸ δωδεκάεδρον. ἕπεται δὲ τούτῳ
(427) τὸ μόνον εἶναι σῶμα πρῶτον τὴν πυραμίδα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μηδέν, ἀπολειπομένων τῇ φύσει τῆς γενέσεως. ἔστιν[2] οὖν ἴαμα καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀτοπίας ἡ τῆς ὕλης εἰς πέντε κόσμους διαίρεσις καὶ διάστασις. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ πυραμὶς ὑποστήσεται[3] πρῶτον ὅπου δ' ὀκτάεδρον, ὅπου δ' εἰκοσάεδρον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προϋποστάντος ἐν ἑκάστῳ[4] τὰ λοιπὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἕξει κατὰ σύγκρισιν[5] μερῶν εἰς πάντα γιγνομένης πᾶσι μεταβολῆς, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων ὑποδείκνυσι διὰ πάντων σχεδὸν ἐπεξιών· ἡμῖν δὲ
D βραχέως ἀρκέσει μαθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀὴρ[6] μὲν σβεννυμένου πυρὸς ὑφίσταται, καὶ λεπτυνόμενος αὖθις ἐξ αὑτοῦ πῦρ ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἑκατέροις[7] σπέρμασι τὰ πάθη δεῖ θεᾶσθαι καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς. σπέρματα δὲ πυρὸς μὲν ἡ πυραμίς, ἐξ εἴκοσι καὶ τεττάρων πρώτων τριγώνων· τὸ δ' ὀκτάεδρον ἀέρος ἐκ τετταράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ τῶν αὐτῶν γίγνεται. γίγνεται τοίνυν ἀέρος μὲν ἓν στοιχεῖον ἐκ δυοῖν πυρὸς σωμάτων[8] συγκραθέντων καὶ συστάντων, τὸ δ' ἀέρος αὖ κερματιζόμενον εἰς δύο πυρὸς διακρίνεται σώματα, συνθλιβόμενον δ' αὖθις αὑτῷ καὶ συμπῖπτον εἰς ὕδατος ἰδέαν ἄπεισιν. ὥστε παν-
E ταχοῦ τὸ προϋφιστάμενον ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐπόρως παρέχειν τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς,

[1] ἔχον F.C.B.: ἐχόντων. [2] ἔστιν Leonicus: ἐπεὶ.
[3] ὑποστήσεται Madvig: ὑπέστησε γὰρ.
[4] ἑκάστῳ an early correction: ἑκάστῃ.
[5] σύγκρισιν] Turnebus would add καὶ διάκρισιν after σύγκρισιν.
[6] γὰρ ἀὴρ Bernardakis: γὰρ ἦν or ἀὴρ μὲν.
[7] ἑκατέροις] ἑκατέρου Bernardakis.
[8] σωμάτων to fill a lacuna (*cf.* σώματα just below) Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.

more labour for its construction. Hence it follows that the only primal body is the pyramid, and not one of the others, since by their nature they are outdistanced by it in coming into being. Accordingly, the remedy which exists for this strange state of affairs consists in the division and separation of matter into five worlds, one where the pyramid shall acquire substantiality first, another for the octahedron, and another for the icosahedron ; then from the one that first acquires substantiality in each world the rest will have their origin, since a transmutation for everything into everything takes place according to the adaptability of parts to fit together, as Plato [a] himself has indicated, going into the details of nearly all cases. But for us it will suffice to acquire the knowledge in brief form. Since air is formed when fire is extinguished, and when rarefied again gives off fire out of itself, we must observe the behaviour of each of the generative elements and their transmutations. The generative elements of fire are the pyramid,[b] composed of twenty-four primary triangles, and likewise for air the octahedron, composed of forty-eight of the same. Therefore one element of air is produced from two corpuscles of fire combined and united ; and that of air again, when divided, is separated into two corpuscles of fire, and again, when compressed and condensed, it goes off into the form of water. The result is that in every case the one which first acquires substantiality always affords the others a ready means of coming into being through transmutation ; and it

[a] Plato, *Timaeus*, 55 E ff.

[b] Does Plutarch (or Plato before him) see an etymological relation between "pyramid" and "pyr" (fire)? See also 428 D *infra*.

καὶ μὴ μόνον ἓν εἶναι πρῶτον, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ συστήματι κίνησιν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ προληπτικὴν ἐς γένεσιν ἔχοντος πᾶσι τηρεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν."

33. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "ἀνδρικῶς μέν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα τῷ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ φιλοτίμως διαπεπόνηται· θαυμάσαιμι δ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ δόξειε χρῆσθαι λήμμασιν ἀναιρετικοῖς ἀλλήλων. ἀξιοῖ γὰρ ἅμα πᾶσι τοῖς πέντε μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὴν σύστασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεπτότατον ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἐλάττονος πραγματείας συνιστάμενον προεκπίπτειν εἰς γένεσιν. εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἀκόλουθον οὐ μαχόμενον τούτῳ τίθησι τὸ μὴ
F πᾶσαν ὕλην πρῶτον ἐκφέρειν[1] τὸ λεπτότατον[2] καὶ ἁπλούστατον, ἀλλ' ἐνιαχῇ τὰ ἐμβριθῆ καὶ πολυμερῆ φθάνειν προανίσχοντα ταῖς γενέσεσιν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης. ἄνευ δὲ τούτου, πέντε σωμάτων πρώτων ὑποκειμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κόσμων λεγομένων εἶναι τοσούτων, πρὸς μόνα τὰ τέτταρα τῇ πιθανότητι χρῆται, τὸν δὲ κύβον ὥσπερ ἐν παιδιᾷ ψήφων ὑφῄρηται, μήτ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνα μεταβάλλειν πεφυκότα μήτ' ἐκείνοις παρέχειν μεταβολὴν εἰς
428 ἑαυτόν, ἅτε δὴ τῶν τριγώνων οὐχ ὁμογενῶν ὄντων. ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ὑπόκειται κοινὸν ἐν πᾶσι τὸ ἡμιτρίγωνον, ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἴδιον μόνῳ τὸ ἰσοσκελές, οὐ ποιοῦν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο σύννευσιν οὐτὲ σύγκρασιν ἑνωτικήν. εἴπερ οὖν πέντε σωμάτων ὄντων καὶ πέντε κόσμων ἓν[3] ἐν ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει τῆς γενέσεως, ὅπου γέγονεν ὁ κύβος πρῶτος,

[1] ἐκφέρειν F.C.B.: εἰσφέρειν.
[2] λεπτότατον] ἁπλότατον in most MSS.
[3] ἓν added by Wyttenbach.

is not one alone that first exists, but another in a different environment is endowed with movement, which takes the lead and forestalls the others in coming into being, and thus the name of being first is kept by all."

33. "Manfully and zealously," said Ammonius, "have these matters been worked out by Theodorus; but I should be surprised if it should not appear that he has made use of assumptions which nullify each other. For he insists that all the five shall not undergo construction at the same time, but the simplest always, which requires the least trouble to construct, shall first issue forth into being. Then, as a corollary to this, and not conflicting with it, he lays down the principle that not all matter brings forth the simplest and most rudimentary form first, but that sometimes the ponderous and complex forms, in the time of their coming into being, are earlier in arising out of matter. But apart from this, five bodies having been postulated as primary, and on the strength of this the number of worlds being put as the same, he adduces probability with reference to four only; the cube he has taken off the board, as if he were playing a game with counters, since, because of its nature, it cannot transmute itself into them nor confer upon them the power of transmutation into itself, inasmuch as the triangles are not homologous triangles. For in the others the common triangle which underlies them all is the half-triangle; but in this, and peculiar to it alone, is the isosceles triangle, which makes no convergence towards the other nor any conjunction that would unify the two. If, therefore, there are five bodies and five worlds, and in each one body only has precedence in coming into being, then where the cube has been the first to come

(428) οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶν ἄλλων· εἰς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων μεταβάλλειν πέφυκεν. ἐὼ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ καλουμένου δωδεκαέδρου στοιχεῖον ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σκαληνόν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πυραμίδα καὶ τὸ ὀκτάεδρον καὶ τὸ εἰκοσάεδρον ὁ Πλάτων συν-
B ίστησιν. ὥστε," ἅμα γελῶν ὁ Ἀμμώνιος εἶπεν, " ἢ ταῦτά σοι διαλυτέον ἢ ἴδιόν τι λεκτέον περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπορίας."

34. Κἀγώ, " πιθανώτερον οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι· βέλτιον δ' ἴσως ἐστὶν ἰδίας εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν δόξης ἢ ἀλλοτρίας. λέγω τοίνυν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι δυοῖν ὑποκειμένων φύσεων, τῆς μὲν αἰσθητῆς ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ μεταβόλου καὶ φορητῆς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως, ἑτέρας δ' ἐν οὐσίᾳ νοητῆς ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ἐχούσης, δεινόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὴν μὲν νοητὴν διωρίσθαι καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, τὴν δὲ σωματικὴν καὶ παθητικὴν
C εἰ μὴ μίαν τις ἀπολείπει[1] συμπεφυκυῖαν αὐτῇ καὶ συννεύουσαν[2] ἀλλὰ χωρίζει καὶ διίστησιν, ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ δυσχεραίνειν. τὰ γὰρ μόνιμα καὶ θεῖα δήπου μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἔχεσθαι προσήκει καὶ φεύγειν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι τομὴν ἅπασαν καὶ διάστασιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἡ τοῦ ἑτέρου δύναμις ἁπτομένη μείζονας ἐνείργασται τῶν κατὰ τόπον διαστάσεων τοῖς νοητοῖς τὰς κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἰδέαν ἀνομοιότητας. ὅθεν ἐνιστάμενος τοῖς ἓν τὸ πᾶν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὁ Πλάτων τό τ' ὂν εἶναί φησι καὶ τὸ ταὐτὸν καὶ

[1] ἀπολείπει] ἀπολείποι in all MSS. except E.
[2] συννεύουσαν] συμπνέουσαν in three MSS.

---

[a] Plato, *Sophist*, 256 C; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 391 B, *supra*.

into being, there will be none of the others, since, because of its nature, it cannot transmute itself into any one of them. I leave out of account the fact that they make the element of the dodecahedron, as it is called, something else and not that scalene from which Plato constructs the pyramid and the octahedron and the icosahedron. So," added Ammonius, laughing, "either you must solve these problems or else contribute something of your own concerning this difficulty in which we all find ourselves involved."

34. "For the present, at least," said I, "I have nothing more plausible to offer; but perhaps it is better to submit to examination on views of one's own rather than on another's. I repeat, therefore, what I said at the beginning, that if two natures be postulated, one evident to the senses, subject to change in creation and dissolution, carried now here now there, while the other is essentially conceptual and always remains the same, it is a dreadful thing that, while the conceptual nature has been parcelled out and has variety within itself, we should feel indignant and annoyed if anyone does not leave the corporeal and passive nature as a unity knit together and converging upon itself, but separates and parts it. For it is surely fitting that things permanent and divine should hold more closely together and escape, so far as may be, all segmentation and separation. But even on these the power of Differentiation has laid its hand and has wrought in things conceptual dissimilarities in reasons and ideas, which are vaster than the separations in location. Wherefore Plato,[a] opposing those who declare for the unity of the whole, says that these five things exist: Being, Identity,

(428) τὸ ἕτερον, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν. ὄντων
D οὖν πέντε τούτων, οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἦν, εἰ τῶν πέντε σωματικῶν στοιχείων ἐκείνων ἕκαστον ἑκάστου μίμημα τῇ φύσει καὶ εἴδωλόν ἐστι γεγενημένον οὐκ ἄμεικτον οὐδ' εἰλικρινές, ἀλλὰ τῷ μάλιστα μετέχειν ἕκαστον ἑκάστης δυνάμεως. ὁ μέν γε κύβος ἐμφανῶς στάσεως οἰκεῖόν ἐστι σῶμα[1] διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα· τῆς δὲ πυραμίδος πᾶς ἄν τις τὸ πυροειδὲς καὶ κινητικὸν ἐν τῇ λεπτότητι τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν γωνιῶν ὀξύτητι κατανοήσειεν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου φύσις, περιληπτικὴ τῶν ἄλλων σχημάτων οὖσα τοῦ ὅντος εἰκὼν πρὸς πᾶν ἂν[2] τὸ σωματικὸν γεγονέναι δόξειε· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δυοῖν τὸ μὲν εἰκοσάεδρον τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ δ' ὀκτάεδρον μάλιστα
E τῆς ταὐτοῦ μετείληχεν ἰδέας. διὸ τοῦτο μὲν ἀέρα σχετικὸν οὐσίας πάσης ἐν μιᾷ μορφῇ, θάτερον δ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῷ κεράννυσθαι γένη ποιοτήτων τρεπόμενον[3] παρεῖχεν. εἴπερ οὖν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἰσονομίαν ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ κόσμους εἰκός ἐστι μήτε πλείους γεγονέναι μήτ' ἐλάττους τῶν παραδειγμάτων, ὅπως ἕκαστον ἐν[4] ἑκάστῳ τάξιν ἡγεμονικὴν ἔχῃ καὶ δύναμιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς συστάσεσι τῶν σωμάτων ἔσχηκεν.

35. "Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔστω παραμυθία τοῦ θαυμάζοντος, εἰ τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ φύσιν εἰς γένη τοσαῦτα διαιροῦμεν. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἤδη

[1] σῶμα] σῆμα Xylander; *cf.* εἰκών, *infra*.
[2] ἂν added here by Bernardakis; in one MS. it stands after δόξειε, but is omitted in the others.
[3] τρεπόμενον Turnebus: τρεπόμενα.
[4] ἐν omitted in most MSS.

Differentiation, and, to crown all, Movement and Rest. Granted, then, that these five exist, it is not surprising if each of these five corporeal elements has been made into a copy and image of each of them respectively, not unmixed and unalloyed, but it is because of the fact that each of them participates most in its corresponding faculty. The cube is patently a body related to rest because of the security and stability of its plane surfaces. In the pyramid everybody may note its fiery and restless quality in the simplicity of its sides and the acuteness of its angles. The nature of the dodecahedron, which is comprehensive enough to include the other figures, may well seem to be a model with reference to all corporeal being. Of the remaining two, the icosahedron shares in the nature of Differentiation mostly, and the octahedron in that of Identity. For this reason the octahedron contributed air, which in a single form holds all being in its embrace, and the icosahedron water, which by admixture assumes the greatest variety of qualities. If, therefore, Nature demands an equal distribution in all things, there is a reasonable probability that the worlds which have been created are neither more nor less in number than the patterns, so that each pattern in each world may have the leading rank and power just as it has acquired it in the construction of the primary bodies.

35. " However, let this be a comfort for him that wonders because we divide Nature into so many classes in its generation and transmutation. But here is another matter [a] which I ask you all to con-

[a] *Cf.* 387 F ff., *supra.*

F σκοπεῖτε κοινῇ προσέχοντες ὅτι τῶν ἀνωτάτων[1] ἀρχῶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος, ἡ μὲν ἀμορφίας πάσης στοιχεῖον οὖσα καὶ ἀταξίας ἀπειρία κέκληται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσις ὁρίζουσα καὶ καταλαμβάνουσα τῆς ἀπειρίας τὸ κενὸν[2] καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀόριστον ἔμμορφον παρέχεται, καὶ τὴν ἑπομένην περὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ δείξει[3] καταγόρευσιν
429 ἀμωσγέπως ὑπομένον καὶ δεχόμενον. αὗται δὲ πρῶτον αἱ ἀρχαὶ περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιφαίνονται, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἔστι τὸ πλῆθος, ἂν μὴ καθάπερ εἶδος ὕλης τὸ ἓν γενόμενον[4] ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρίας τοῦ ἀορίστου πῇ μὲν πλεῖον πῇ δ' ἔλαττον ἀποτέμνηται. τότε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς γίγνεται τῶν πληθῶν ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὁριζόμενον· ἐὰν δ' ἀναιρεθῇ τὸ ἕν, πάλιν ἡ ἀόριστος δυὰς συγχέασα πᾶν ἄρρυθμον[5] καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ ἄμετρον ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀναίρεσίς ἐστι τῆς ὕλης ἀλλὰ μορφὴ καὶ τάξις ὑποκειμένης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τῷ
B ἀριθμῷ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνυπάρχειν ἀμφοτέρας, ὅθεν ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη διαφορὰ καὶ ἀνομοιότης γέγονεν. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀόριστος ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀρτίου δημιουργὸς ἡ δὲ βελτίων τοῦ περιττοῦ[6]· πρῶτος δὲ τῶν ἀρτίων τὰ δύο καὶ τὰ τρία τῶν περιττῶν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πέντε τῇ μὲν συνθέσει κοινὸς ὢν ἀμφοῖν ἀριθμὸς τῇ δὲ δυνάμει γεγονὼς περιττός. ἔδει γάρ, εἰς πλείονα μέρη τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ σωμα-

[1] ἀνωτάτων] ἀνωτάτω in all MSS. but one (J).
[2] κενὸν Turnebus: στενόν.
[3] περὶ . . . δείξει] τῇ περὶ . . . δόξῃ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
[4] ἓν γενόμενον Emperius: ἐγγενόμενον.
[5] ἄρρυθμον] ἀριθμὸν in several MSS., whence Paton ἀνάριθμον.
[6] τοῦ περιττοῦ Turnebus: ὥσπερ ἡ τούτου, or ὡς ἡ τοῦ περιττοῦ in one MS.

sider, and to give your undivided attention to it: of those numbers which come at the very first (I mean the number one and the indeterminate duality), the second, being the element underlying all formlessness and disarrangement, has been called infinity; but the nature of the number one limits and arrests what is void and irrational and indeterminate in infinity, gives it shape, and renders it in some way tolerant and receptive of definition, which is the next step after demonstration regarding things perceptible. Now these first principles make their appearance at the beginning in connexion with number; rather, however, larger amounts are not number at all unless the number one, created from the illimitability of infinity, like a form of matter, cuts off more on one side and less on the other. Then, in fact, any of the larger amounts becomes number through being delimited by the number one. But if the number one be done away with, once more the indeterminate duality throws all into confusion, and makes it to be without rhythm, bounds, or measure. Inasmuch as form is not the doing away with matter, but a shaping and ordering of the underlying matter, it needs must be that both these first principles be existent in number, and from this has arisen the first and greatest divergence and dissimilarity. For the indeterminate first principle is the creator of the even, and the better one of the odd. Two is the first of the even numbers and three the first of the odd; from the two combined comes five,[a] which in its composition is common to both numbers and in its potentiality is odd. For when the perceptible and corporeal was divided into

[a] *Cf.* 388 A, *supra.*

(429) τικοῦ μεριζομένου διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην[1] τῆς ἑτερότητος, μήτε τὸν πρῶτον ἄρτιον γενέσθαι μήτε τὸν πρῶτον περιττόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελούμενον, ὅπως ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀρχῶν γένηται, καὶ τῆς τὸ ἄρτιον δημιουργούσης καὶ τῆς
C τὸ περιττόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἷόν τε τῆς ἑτέρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὴν ἑτέραν· ἑκατέρα γὰρ ἀρχῆς φύσιν ἔχει καὶ δύναμιν. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν συνδυαζομένων, ἡ βελτίων κρατήσασα τῆς ἀοριστίας διαιρούσης τὸ σωματικὸν ἐνέστη, καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἐν ἀμφοτέροις διισταμένης μέσην τὴν μονάδα θεμένη δίχα νεμηθῆναι τὸ πᾶν οὐκ εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ πλῆθος μὲν γέγονε κόσμων ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτερότητος τοῦ ἀορίστου καὶ διαφορᾶς, περιττὸν δὲ πλῆθος ἡ ταὐτοῦ καὶ ὡρισμένου δύναμις ἀπείργασται, περιττὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον
D ὅ τι πορρωτέρω τὴν φύσιν ἢ βέλτιον ἔχει προελθεῖν οὐκ εἴασεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμιγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν τὸ ἕν, οὐδ' ἂν[2] ὅλως εἶχεν ἡ ὕλη διάστασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ διαιρετικῷ τῆς δυάδος μέμεικται, τομὴν μὲν ἐδέξατο καὶ διαίρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστη τῷ περιττῷ τοῦ ἀρτίου κρατηθέντος.

36. "Διὸ καὶ πεμπάσασθαι τὸ ἀριθμῆσαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔθος ἦν καλεῖν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πάντα τῶν πέντε παρώνυμα γεγονέναι κατὰ λόγον, ἅτε δὴ τῆς πεντάδος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν συνεστώσης. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολλαπλασιαζόμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους εἰς ἕτερον αὑτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκβαίνουσιν· ἡ

[1] σύμφυτον ἀνάγκην Wyttenbach: σύμφυσιν ἀνάγκη.
[2] οὐδ' ἂν Bernardakis: οὐδέν.

---

[a] *Cf.* 374 A and 387 E, *supra*.

several parts because of the innate necessity of differentiation, that number had to be neither the first even nor the first odd, but the third number, which is formed from these two, so that it might be produced from both the primary principles, that which created the even and that which created the odd, because it was not possible for the one to be divorced from the other; for each possesses the nature and the potentiality of a first principle. So when the two were paired, the better one prevailed over the indeterminate as it was dividing the corporeal and checked it; and when matter was being distributed to the two, it set unity in the middle and did not allow the whole to be divided into two parts, but there has been created a number of worlds by differentiation of the indeterminate and by its being carried in varying directions; yet the power of Identity and Limitation has had the effect of making that number odd, but the kind of odd that did not permit Nature to progress beyond what is best. If the number one were unalloyed and pure, matter would not have any separation at all; but since it has been combined with the dividing power of duality, it has had to submit to being cut up and divided, but there it stopped, the even being overpowered by the odd.

36. "It was for this reason that among the people of olden time it was the custom to call counting 'numbering by fives.'[a] I think also that 'panta' (all) is derived from 'pente' (five) in accord with reason, inasmuch as the pentad is a composite of the first numbers.[a] As a matter of fact, when the others are multiplied by other numbers, the result is a number different from themselves; but the pentad,

δὲ πεντάς, ἂν μὲν ἀρτιάκις λαμβάνηται, τὸν δέκα ποιεῖ τέλειον· ἐὰν δὲ περιττάκις, ἑαυτὴν[1] πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν. ἐῶ δ' ὅτι πρώτη[2] μὲν ἐκ πρώτων
E δυοῖν τετραγώνων συνέστηκε τῆς τε μονάδος καὶ τῆς τετράδος ἡ πεντάς, πρώτη δ' ἴσον δυναμένη τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῆς δυσὶ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὀρθογωνίων τριγώνων συνίστησι· πρώτη δὲ ποιεῖ τὸν ἡμιόλιον λόγον. οὐ γὰρ ἴσως οἰκεῖα ταῦτα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον, τὸ φύσει διαιρετικὸν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστα τούτῳ[3] τὴν φύσιν διανέμειν. ἔνειμε[4] γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰσθήσεις πέντε καὶ μέρη ψυχῆς, φυτικὸν[5] αἰσθητικὸν ἐπιθυμητικὸν θυμοειδὲς λογιστικόν· καὶ δακτύλους ἑκατέρας χειρὸς τοσούτους, καὶ τὸ
F γονιμώτατον σπέρμα πενταχῇ σχιζόμενον. οὐ γὰρ ἱστόρηται γυνὴ πλείονα τεκοῦσ' ἢ[6] πέντε τέκνα[7] ταῖς αὐταῖς ὠδῖσι. καὶ τὴν Ῥέαν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσι πέντε θεοὺς τεκεῖν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν ἐκ μιᾶς ὕλης τῶν πέντε κόσμων γένεσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ πέντε μὲν ζώναις ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος, πέντε δὲ κύκλοις ὁ οὐρανὸς διώρισται, δυσὶν ἀρκτικοῖς καὶ δυσὶ τροπικοῖς καὶ μέσῳ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ·
430 πέντε δ' αἱ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων περίοδοι γεγόνασιν, Ἡλίου καὶ Φωσφόρου καὶ Στίλβωνος ὁμοδρομούντων. ἐναρμόνιος δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου σύνταξις, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡρμο-

[1] ἑαυτὴν Bernardakis: ἑαυτὸν.
[2] πρώτη Turnebus: πρῶτον, or πρῶτον εἰ.
[3] τούτῳ Wyttenbach: τούτων.
[4] ἔνειμε (as below *bis*) Bernardakis: ἐν μὲν.
[5] φυτικὸν Wyttenbach: φυσικὸν.
[6] ἢ added by Emperius. [7] τέκνα Wyttenbach: συχνὰ.

[a] *Cf.* 388 D, *supra.* [b] *Ibid.* 391 A.

if it be taken an even number of times, makes ten exactly ; and if an odd number of times, it reproduces itself.[a] I leave out of account the fact that it is the first composite of the first two squares, unity and the tetrad[b]; and that it is the first whose square is equal to the two immediately preceding it, making with them the most beautiful of the right-angled triangles[c]; and it is the first to give the ratio $1\frac{1}{2} : 1$.[d] However, perhaps these matters have not much relation to the subject before us ; but there is another matter more closely related, and that is the dividing power of this number, by reason of its nature, and the fact that Nature does distribute most things by fives. For example, she has allotted to ourselves five senses and five parts to the soul[e] : physical growth, perception, appetite, fortitude, and reason ; also five fingers on each hand, and the most fertile seed when it is divided five times, for there is no record that a woman ever had more than five children together at one birth.[f] The Egyptians have a tradition[g] that Rhea gave birth to five gods, an intimation of the genesis of the five worlds from one single Matter ; and in the universe the surface of the earth is divided among five zones, and the heavens by five circles, two arctic, two tropic, and the equator in the middle. Five, too, are the orbits of the planets, if the Sun and Venus and Mercury follow the same course. The organization of the world also is based on harmony, just as a tune with us is seen

[c] *Ibid.* 373 F.

[d] *Ibid.* 389 D.

[e] *Cf.* 390 F, *supra* ; Plato, *Republic*, 410 B, 440 E–441 A ; and much diffused in *Timaeus*, 70 ff.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 264 B ; Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, vii. 4 (584 b 33) ; since Plutarch's time there have been a few authenticated cases of sextuplets.

[g] *Cf.* 355 D-F, *supra.*

(430) σμένον ἐν πέντε τετραχόρδων θέσεσιν ὁρᾶται, τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μέσων καὶ συνημμένων καὶ διεζευγμένων καὶ ὑπερβολαίων· καὶ τὰ μελῳδούμενα διαστήματα πέντε, δίεσις καὶ ἡμιτόνιον καὶ τόνος καὶ τριημιτόνιον καὶ δίτονον. οὕτως ἡ φύσις ἔοικε τῷ πέντε ποιεῖν ἅπαντα χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σφαιροειδῇ,[1] καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἔλεγε.

37. "'Τί δῆτα,' φήσαι τις ἄν, 'ὁ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τὰ
B πέντε σχήματα τὸν τῶν πέντε κόσμων ἀριθμὸν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῇ πέμπτῃ συστάσει ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν κατεχρήσατο ἐκεῖνο διαζωγραφῶν[2];' εἶτα τὴν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κόσμων ὑποθεὶς ἀπορίαν, πότερον ἕν' ἢ πέντ' αὐτοὺς ἀληθείᾳ πεφυκότας λέγειν προσήκει, δῆλός ἐστιν ἐντεῦθεν οἰόμενος ὡρμῆσθαι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. εἴπερ οὖν δεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου διάνοιαν ἐπάγειν τὸ εἰκός, σκοπῶμεν[3] ὅτι ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων καὶ σχημάτων ἐκείνων διαφοραῖς ἀνάγκη καὶ κινήσεων εὐθὺς ἕπεσθαι διαφοράς, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς διδάσκει, τὸ διακρινόμενον ἢ συγκρινόμενον ἅμα[4] τῆς οὐσίας τῇ
C ἑτεροιώσει καὶ τὸν τόπον μεταλλάττειν ἀποφαινόμενος. ἂν γὰρ ἐξ ἀέρος πῦρ γένηται, λυθέντος τοῦ ὀκταέδρου καὶ κερματισθέντος εἰς πυραμίδας, ἢ πάλιν ἀὴρ ἐκ πυρός, συνωσθέντος καὶ συνθλιβέντος εἰς ὀκτάεδρον, οὐ δυνατὸν μένειν ὅπου πρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ φεύγει καὶ φέρεται πρὸς ἑτέραν χώραν ἐκβιαζόμενον καὶ μαχόμενον τοῖς ἐνισταμένοις καὶ

[1] σφαιροειδῇ Turnebus: σφαιροειδεῖ.
[2] διαζωγραφῶν Patzig from Plato, *Timaeus*, 55 c ff., and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1003 c: διαγράφων.
[3] ἐπάγειν . . . σκοπῶμεν Wyttenbach: ἀπάγειν . . . σκοπῶν.
[4] ἅμα Turnebus: ὄνομα.

to depend on the five notes of the tetrachord[a]: lowest, middle, conjunct, disjunct, and highest; and the musical intervals are five: quarter-tone, semitone, tone, tone and a half, and double tone. Thus it appears that Nature takes a greater delight in making all things in fives than in making them round, as Aristotle[b] has said.

37. "'Why, then,' someone will say, 'did Plato[c] refer the number of his five worlds to the five geometric figures, saying that God used up the fifth construction on the universe in completing its embellishment?' Further on, where he suggests the question about there being more worlds than one,[d] whether it is proper to speak of one or of five as in truth naturally existent, it is clear that he thinks that the idea started from this source. If, therefore, we must apply reasonable probability to his conception, let us consider that variations in movement necessarily follow close upon the variations in the bodies and their shapes, as he himself teaches[e] when he makes it plain that whatever is disunited or united changes its place at the same time with the alteration of its substance. For example, if fire is generated from air by the breaking up of the octahedron and its resolution into pyramids, or again if air is generated from fire by its being forced together and compressed into an octahedron, it is not possible for it to stay where it was before, but it escapes and is carried to some other place, forcing its way out and contending against anything that blocks its course or keeps it back.

[a] *Cf.* 389 E, 1028 F, 1138 F–1139 B.
[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Caelo*, ii. 4 (286 b 10).
[c] Plato, *Timaeus*, 55 C.
[d] *Ibid.* 31 A; *cf.* 389 F and 421 F, *supra.*
[e] Plato, *Timaeus*, 57 C.

(430) κατεπείγουσιν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκόνι τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐνδείκνυται, 'τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων[1] καὶ ὀργάνων τῶν[2] περὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου κάθαρσιν σειομένοις καὶ[3] ἀναλικμωμένοις' ὁμοίως λέγων τὰ
D στοιχεῖα σείοντα τὴν ὕλην ὑπ' ἐκείνης τε σειόμενα, προσχωρεῖν ἀεὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς ὁμοίοις, ἄλλην τε χώραν ἄλλα ἴσχειν[4] πρὶν ἐξ[5] αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τὸ πᾶν διακοσμηθέν· οὕτως οὖν τότε[6] τῆς ὕλης ἐχούσης ὡς ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν εἰκὸς οὐ θεὸς[7] ἄπεστιν εὐθὺς αἱ πρῶται πέντε ποιότητες ἰδίας ἔχουσαι ῥοπὰς ἐφέροντο χωρίς, οὐ παντάπασιν οὐδ' εἰλικρινῶς ἀποκρινόμεναι, διὰ τὸ πάντων ἀναμεμειγμένων ἀεὶ τὰ κρατούμενα τοῖς ἐπικρατοῦσι παρὰ[8] φύσιν ἕπεσθαι. διὸ δὴ τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀλλαχῇ φερομένων ἰσαρίθμους μερίδας καὶ διαστάσεις ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ πυρὸς ἀλλὰ πυροειδῆ,
E τὴν δ' οὐκ ἀμιγοῦς αἰθέρος ἀλλ' αἰθεροειδῆ, τὴν δ' οὐ γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλὰ γεοειδῆ· μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ[9] τὴν ἀέρος κοίνωσιν τὴν ὕδατος διέθεντο[10] πολλῶν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἀλλοφύλων[11] ἀναπεπλησμέν'[12] ἀπελθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διέστησεν οὐδὲ διῴκισε τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς διεστῶσαν αὐτὴν καὶ φερομένην χωρὶς ἐν ἀκοσμίαις τοσαύταις

[1] ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων Turnebus from Plato, *Timaeus*, 52 E: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων.
[2] τῶν Turnebus *ibid.*
[3] σειομένοις καὶ Turnebus *ibid.*: ἐγκειμένοις.
[4] ἄλλα ἴσχειν Turnebus *ibid.*: ἄλλαις οἱ or ἄλλα οἱ.
[5] ἐξ Bernardakis: ἐπ' (ἀπ' ?).
[6] οὖν τότε] τοίνυν in one MS. (E).
[7] οὐ θεὸς Wyttenbach from Plato: εὐθέως or εὐθέος.
[8] παρὰ] κατὰ Xylander.
[9] κατὰ F.C.B.: καὶ.
[10] διέθεντο F.C.B.: διὰ τὸ.

What takes place he describes more clearly by a simile,[a] saying that in a manner like to 'grain and chaff being tossed about and winnowed by the fans and other tools used in cleaning the grain' the elements toss matter about and are tossed about by it; and like always draws near to like, some things occupying one place and others another, before the universe becomes completely organized out of the elements. Thus, when matter was in that state in which, in all probability, is the universe from which God is absent, the first five properties, having tendencies of their own, were at once carried in different directions, not being completely or absolutely separated, because, when all things were amalgamated, the inferior always followed the superior in spite of Nature.[b] For this reason they produced in the different kinds of bodies, as these were carried some in one direction and others in another, an equal number of separate divisions with intervals between them, one not of pure fire, but fiery, another not of unmingled ether, but ethereal, another not of earth by itself alone, but earthy; and above all, in keeping with the close association of air with water, they contrived, as has been said,[c] that these should come away filled with many foreign elements. It was not the Deity who parted substance and caused it to rest in different places, but, after it had been parted by its own action and was being carried in diverse ways in such great disarray, he took it over and set it in

[a] Plato, *Timaeus*, 52 E.

[b] Some would prefer to make Plutarch say 'in keeping with Nature.'

[c] *Cf.* 428 D-E, *supra.*

[11] ἀλλοφύλων] ἄλλων φύλλων (φύλων) in all MSS. but J.

[12] ἀναπεπλησμέν' Turnebus: ἀναπεπλησμένων.

παραλαβών, ἔταξε καὶ συνήρμοσε δι' ἀναλογίας καὶ μεσότητος· εἶθ' ἑκάστῃ λόγον ἐγκαταστήσας ὥσπερ ἁρμοστὴν καὶ φύλακα, κόσμους ἐποίησε τοσούτους, ὅσα γένη τῶν πρώτων σωμάτων
F ὑπῆρχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇ Πλάτωνος ἀνακείσθω χάριτι δι' Ἀμμώνιον· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν ἀριθμοῦ κόσμων οὐκ ἄν ποτε διισχυρισαίμην ὅτι τοσοῦτοι, τὴν δὲ πλείονας μὲν ἑνὸς οὐ μὴν ἀπείρους ἀλλ' ὡρισμένους πλήθει τιθεμένην δόξαν οὐδετέρας ἐκείνων ἀλογωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι, τὸ φύσει τῆς ὕλης σκεδαστὸν καὶ μεριστὸν ὁρῶν οὔτ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς μένον οὔτ'
431 εἰς ἄπειρον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βαδίζειν ἐώμενον. εἰ δ' ἀλλαχόθι που κἀνταῦθα[1] τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ὑπομιμνήσκοντες ἑαυτοὺς τὸ ἄγαν τῆς πίστεως ἀφαιρῶμεν, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ σφαλερῷ, τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας λόγῳ, μόνον διασῴζωμεν."

38. Ἐμοῦ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "Λαμπρίας παραινεῖ.

'πολλαῖς γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ μορφαῖς'

οὐ 'σοφισμάτων,' ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων 'σφάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς,' ὅταν ὡς ἐπιστάμενοι τολμῶμεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τηλικούτων. 'ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέος ὁ λόγος,' ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ φησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόθεσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀφ-
B ισταμένων καὶ ἀπολειπόντων τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν δαιμόνων ὥσπερ ὄργανα τεχνιτῶν ἀργὰ καὶ ἄναυδα κεῖσθαι λεχθὲν ἕτερον λόγον ἐγείρει τὸν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας μείζονα καὶ δυνάμεως, ᾗ[2] χρώμενοι ποιοῦσι

[1] κἀνταῦθα] κἂν in nearly all MSS.
[2] ᾗ Turnebus : ᾧ (ὡς, αἷς).

order and fitted it together by the use of proportions and means. Then, after establishing Reason in each as a governor and guardian, he created as many worlds as the existing primal bodies. Let this, then, be an offering for the gratification of Plato on Ammonius's account, but as for myself, I should not venture to assert regarding the number of worlds that they are just so many ; but the opinion that sets their number at more than one, and yet not infinite, but limited in amount, I regard as no more irrational than either of the others, when I observe the dispersiveness and divisibility implicit by nature in Matter, and that it neither abides as a unit nor is permitted by Reason to progress to infinity. But if in any other place we have recalled the Academy[a] to our mind, let us do so here as well, and divest ourselves of excessive credulity and, as if we were in a slippery place in our discussion about infinity, let us merely keep a firm footing."

38. When I had said this, Demetrius remarked, " Lamprias gives the right advice ; for

The gods make us to slip by many forms

not ' of tricks,' as Euripides[b] says, but of facts, whenever we make bold to pronounce opinions about such matters as if we understood them. ' But the discussion must be carried back,' as the same writer says,[c] to the assumption made at the beginning. For what was said then, that when the demigods withdraw and forsake the oracles, these lie idle and inarticulate like the instruments of musicians, raises another question of greater import regarding the causative means and power which they employ to

[a] *Cf.* 387 F, *supra.*

[b] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 674, Euripides, no. 972.

[c] *Cf.* the note on 390 c, *supra.*

(431) κατόχους τοῖς ἐνθουσιασμοῖς καὶ φαντασιαστικοὺς τοὺς προφήτας καὶ τὰς προφήτιδας. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε τὴν ἔκλειψιν αἰτιᾶσθαι τοῦ ἀπαυδᾶν τὰ μαντεῖα, μὴ πεισθέντας ὃν τρόπον ἐφεστῶτες αὐτοῖς καὶ παρόντες ἐνεργὰ καὶ λόγια ποιοῦσιν οἱ δαίμονες."

Ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ Ἀμμώνιος, "οἴει γὰρ ἕτερόν τι τοὺς δαίμονας," εἶπεν, "ἢ ψυχὰς ὄντας περιπολεῖν καθ' Ἡσίοδον 'ἠέρα ἐσσαμένους'; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ,
C ἣν ἄνθρωπος ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὑποκρινόμενον τραγῳδίαν ἢ κωμῳδίαν, ταύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ ψυχὴ πρὸς[1] ψυχὴν ἐνεσκευασμένην σῶμα τῷ[2] παρόντι βίῳ πρόσφορον.[3] οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλογον οὐδὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ ψυχαὶ ψυχαῖς ἐντυγχάνουσαι φαντασίας ἐμποιοῦσι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλοις οὐ πάντα διὰ φωνῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ γράμμασι καὶ θιγόντες μόνον καὶ προσβλέψαντες πολλὰ καὶ μηνύομεν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προσημαίνομεν. εἰ μή τι σὺ λέγεις ἕτερον, ὦ Λαμπρία· καὶ γὰρ ἔναγχος ἦκέ τις φωνὴ πρὸς
D ἡμᾶς, ὡς σοῦ πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ξένοις διαλεχθέντος, ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ διηγούμενος ἀκριβῶς διεμνημόνευε."

"Μὴ θαυμάσῃς," ἔφην ἐγώ, "πολλαὶ γὰρ ἅμα πράξεις διὰ μέσου καὶ ἀσχολίαι συντυγχάνουσαι διὰ τὸ μαντείαν[4] εἶναι καὶ θυσίαν τοὺς λόγους διεσπαρμένους ἡμῖν καὶ σποράδας ἐποίησαν."

"Ἀλλὰ νῦν," ὁ Ἀμμώνιος ἔφη, "καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἀκροατὰς ἔχεις[5] καὶ προθύμους[6] τὰ μὲν

[1] ψυχὴ πρὸς added by Xylander.
[2] τῷ added by Emperius.
[3] πρόσφορον Reiske: προσφέρειν.
[4] μαντείαν F.C.B. (*cf.* 1125 E): μαντεῖον.

make the prophetic priests and priestesses possessed by inspiration and able to present their visions. For it is not possible to hold that the desertion by the demigods is the reason for the silence of the oracles unless we are convinced as to the manner in which the demigods, by having the oracles in their charge and by their presence there, make them active and articulate."

Here Ammonius joined in and said, " Do you really think that the demigods are aught else than souls that make their rounds, ' in mist apparelled,' as Hesiod [a] says ? To my mind the difference between man and man in acting tragedy or comedy is the difference between soul and soul arrayed in a body suitable for its present life. It is, therefore, not at all unreasonable or even marvellous that souls meeting souls should create in them impressions of the future, exactly as we do not convey all our information to one another through the spoken word, but by writing also, or merely by a touch or a glance, we give much information about what has come to pass and intimation of what is to come. Unless it be, Lamprias, that you have another story to tell. For not long ago a rumour reached us about your having had a long talk on these subjects with strangers at Lebadeia, but the man who told of it could recall none of it with exactness."

" You need not be surprised," said I, " since many activities and distractions occurring in the midst of it, because it was a day for oracles and sacrifice, made our conversation desultory and disconnected."

" But now," said Ammonius, " you have listeners with nothing to distract them and eager to seek and

[a] *Works and Days*, 125.

[5] ἔχεις] ἔχει in most MSS. [6] προθύμους Reiske: πρόθυμοι.

ζητεῖν τὰ δὲ μανθάνειν, ἔριδος ἐκποδὼν οὔσης καὶ φιλονεικίας ἁπάσης συγγνώμης δὲ παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ παρρησίας ὡς ὁρᾷς δεδομένης."

39. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπαρακαλούντων, μικρὸν ἐγὼ σιωπήσας, "καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ τύχης τινός, ὦ Ἀμμώνιε, τοῖς τότε λόγοις αὐτὸς ἀρχήν
E τινα καὶ πάροδον ἐνδέδωκας. εἰ γὰρ αἱ διακριθεῖσαι σώματος ἢ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τὸ παράπαν ψυχαὶ δαίμονές εἰσι κατὰ σὲ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Ἡσίοδον,

ἁγνοὶ[1] ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

διὰ τί τὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασι ψυχὰς ἐκείνης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποστεροῦμεν, ᾗ τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πεφύκασι καὶ προδηλοῦν οἱ δαίμονες; οὔτε γὰρ δύναμιν οὔτε μέρος οὐδὲν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὅταν ἀπολίπωσι τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημέναις πρότερον εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἔχειν δὲ φαυλότερα τῷ σώματι μεμειγμένας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅλως ἄδηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα τὰ δ' ἀσθενῆ
F καὶ ἀμαυρὰ καὶ τοῖς δι' ὁμίχλης ὁρῶσιν ἢ κινουμένοις ἐν ὑγρῷ παραπλησίως δύσεργα καὶ βραδέα, καὶ πολλὴν ποθοῦντα θεραπείαν τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ ἀνάληψιν ἀφαίρεσιν δὲ καὶ κάθαρσιν τοῦ καλύπτοντος.[2] ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος οὐχ ὅταν διαφύγῃ τὰ νέφη γίγνεται λαμπρός, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἀεὶ φαίνεται
432 δ' ἡμῖν ἐν ὁμίχλῃ δυσφαὴς καὶ ἀμαυρός, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν μαντικὴν οὐκ ἐπικτᾶται δύναμιν ἐκβᾶσα

[1] ἁγνοὶ] ἐσθλοὶ Hesiod.

[2] καλύπτοντος Emperius: κλέπτοντος (κωλύοντος in one MS., which also adds a short paraphrase of what has gone before).

gain information on this point or that ; all strife and contention is banished and a sympathetic hearing and freedom of statement, as you observe, is granted for all that may be said."

39. As the others also joined in the request, I, after a moment of silence, continued, " As a matter of fact, Ammonius, by some chance you happen to be the one who provided the opening and approach for what was said on that occasion. For if the souls which have been severed from a body, or have had no part with one at all, are demigods according to you and the divine Hesiod,[a]

Holy dwellers on earth and the guardian spirits of mortals,

why deprive souls in bodies of that power by virtue of which the demigods possess the natural faculty of knowing and revealing future events before they happen ? For it is not likely that any power or portion accrues to souls when they have left the body, if they did not possess them before ; but the souls always possess them ; only they possess them to a slight degree while conjoined with the body, some of them being completely imperceptible and hidden, others weak and dim, and about as ineffectual and slow in operation as persons that try to see in a fog or to move about in water, and requiring much nursing and restoring of the functions that properly belong to them and the removal and clearing away of the covering which hides them. Just as the sun does not become bright when it bursts through the clouds, but is bright always, and yet in a fog appears to us indistinct and dim, even so the soul does not acquire the prophetic power when it goes forth from the body

[a] *Works and Days*, 123.

(432) τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερ νέφους, ἀλλ' ἔχουσα καὶ νῦν τυφλοῦται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν ἀνάμειξιν αὐτῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἀπιστεῖν ὁρῶντας, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀντίστροφον τῇ μαντικῇ δύναμιν, ἣν μνήμην καλοῦμεν, ἡλίκον ἔργον ἀποδείκνυται τὸ σῴζειν τὰ παρῳχημένα καὶ φυλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὄντα· τῶν γὰρ γεγονότων οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὐδ' ὑφέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα γίγνεται πάντα καὶ φθείρεται, καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγοι καὶ
B παθήματα, τοῦ χρόνου καθάπερ ῥεύματος ἕκαστα παραφέροντος· αὕτη δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ δύναμις οὐκ οἶδ' ὅντινα τρόπον ἀντιλαμβανομένη τοῖς μὴ παροῦσι φαντασίαν καὶ οὐσίαν περιτίθησιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θετταλοῖς περὶ Ἄρνης[1] δοθεὶς χρησμὸς ἐκέλευε φράζειν

κωφοῦ τ' ἀκοὴν τυφλοῖό τε δέρξιν,

ἡ δὲ μνήμη καὶ κωφῶν πραγμάτων ἀκοὴ καὶ τυφλῶν ὄψις ἡμῖν ἐστιν. ὅθεν, ὡς ἔφην, οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστόν, εἰ κρατοῦσα τῶν μηκέτ' ὄντων προ-
λαμβάνει πολλὰ τῶν μηδέπω γεγονότων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῇ μᾶλλον προσήκει καὶ τούτοις συμπαθής ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ προστίθεται[2] πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ τῶν[3] παρῳχημένων καὶ τέλος ἐχόντων ἀπήλλακται πλὴν τοῦ μνημονεύειν.
C 40. "Ταύτην οὖν ἔχουσαι τὴν δύναμιν αἱ ψυχαὶ σύμφυτον μὲν ἀμυδρὰν δὲ καὶ δυσφάνταστον, ὅμως ἐξανθοῦσι πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλαμπουσιν[4] ἔν τε τοῖς

[1] Ἄρνης Turnebus: ἄννης.
[2] προστίθεται F.C.B.: προτίθεται.
[3] τῶν added by Stegmann.
[4] ἀναλάμπουσιν one MS. (E) and Emperius: ἀναλαμβάνουσιν.

as from a cloud ; it possesses that power even now, but is blinded by being combined and commingled with the mortal nature. We ought not to feel surprised or incredulous at this when we see in the soul, though we see naught else, that faculty which is the complement of prophecy, and which we call memory, and how great an achievement is displayed in preserving and guarding the past, or rather what has been the present, since nothing of all that has come to pass has any existence or substantiality, because the very instant when anything comes to pass, that is the end of it—of actions, words, experiences alike ; for Time like an everflowing stream bears all things onward. But this faculty of the soul lays hold upon them, I know not how, and invests with semblance and being things not now present here. The oracle given to the Thessalians about Arnê [a] bade them note

A deaf man's hearing, a blind man's sight.

But memory is for us the hearing of deeds to which we are deaf and the seeing of things to which we are blind. Hence, as I said, it is no wonder that, if it has command over things that no longer are, it anticipates many of those which have not yet come to pass, since these are more closely related to it, and with these it has much in common ; for its attachments and associations are with the future, and it is quit of all that is past and ended, save only to remember it.

40. " Souls therefore, all possessed of this power, which is innate but dim and hardly manifest, nevertheless oftentimes disclose its flower and radiance in

[a] *Cf.* Thucydides, i. 12.

(432) ἐνυπνίοις καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευτὰς[1] ἔνιαι, καθαροῦ γιγνομένου τοῦ σώματος ἢ τινα κρᾶσιν οἰκείαν πρὸς τοῦτο λαμβάνοντος, ᾗ[2] τὸ λογιστικὸν καὶ φροντιστικὸν ἀνίεται καὶ ἀπολύεται[3] τῶν παρόντων τῷ[4] ἀλόγῳ καὶ φαντασιαστικῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστρεφομέναις.[5] οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὁ Εὐριπίδης φησί,

μάντις δ'[6] ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,

ἀλλ' οὗτος ἔμφρων[7] μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετ' εἰκότος ἡγουμένῳ καθ' ὁδὸν ἑπόμενος· τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ὥσπερ γραμματεῖον ἄ-
D γραφον καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀόριστον[8] ἐξ αὑτοῦ, δεκτικὸν δὲ φαντασιῶν[9] πάθεσι καὶ προαισθήσεων, ἀσυλλογίστως ἅπτεται τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅταν ἐκστῇ μάλιστα τοῦ παρόντος. ἐξίσταται δὲ κράσει καὶ διαθέσει τοῦ σώματος ἐν μεταβολῇ γιγνομένου,[10] ἣν[11] ἐνθουσιασμὸν καλοῦμεν. αὐτὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὑτοῦ τὸ σῶμα τοιαύτην πολλάκις ἴσχει διάθεσιν· ἡ δὲ γῆ πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων δυνάμεων πηγὰς ἀνίησιν ἀνθρώποις, τὰς μὲν ἐκστατικὰς καὶ νοσώδεις καὶ θανατηφόρους, τὰς δὲ χρηστὰς καὶ προσηνεῖς καὶ ὠφελίμους, ὡς δῆλαι[12] γίγνονται πείρᾳ προστυγχάνουσι. τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα θειότατόν ἐστι καὶ ὁσιώτατον, ἄν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ δι' ἀέρος ἄν τε μεθ'

[1] τελευτὰς] τελετὰς in some MSS. [2] ᾗ Wyttenbach: ἣ.
[3] ἀνίεται καὶ ἀπολύεται Wyttenbach: ἀνίεσθαι καὶ ἀπολύεσθαι.
[4] τῷ added by Wyttenbach.
[5] ἐπιστρεφομέναις F.C.B.: ἐπιστρεφομένας.
[6] δ' in Euripides, omitted in the MSS. of Plutarch.
[7] ἔμφρων Meziriacus: ὁμόφρων.
[8] ἀόριστον] ἀόρατον Blümner.
[9] φαντασιῶν Meziriacus: φανταστὸν or φανταστῶν.
[10] γιγνομένου F.C.B.: γιγνόμενον. [11] ἣν Paton: ὃν.
[12] δῆλαι Turnebus: δῆλα.

dreams, and some in the hour of death,[a] when the body becomes cleansed of all impurities and attains a temperament adapted to this end, a temperament through which the reasoning and thinking faculty of the souls is relaxed and released from their present state as they range amid the irrational and imaginative realms of the future. It is not true, as Euripides[b] says, that

> The best of seers is he that guesses well;

no, the best of seers is the intelligent man, following the guidance of that in his soul which possesses sense and which, with the help of reasonable probability, leads him on his way. But that which foretells the future, like a tablet without writing, is both irrational and indeterminate in itself, but receptive of impressions and presentiments through what may be done to it, and inconsequently grasps at the future when it is farthest withdrawn from the present. Its withdrawal is brought about by a temperament and disposition of the body as it is subjected to a change which we call inspiration. Often the body of itself alone attains this disposition. Moreover the earth sends forth for men streams of many other potencies, some of them producing derangements, diseases, or deaths; others helpful, benignant, and beneficial, as is plain from the experience of persons who have come upon them. But the prophetic current and breath is most divine and holy, whether it issue by itself through the air or come in the company of

[a] *Cf.* Plato, *Apology*, 39 B.

[b] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 674, Euripides, no. 973; *cf. Moralia*, 399 A, *supra.*

E ὑγροῦ νάματος ἀπερâται.[1] καταμειγνύμενον γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα κρâσιν ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀήθη καὶ ἄτοπον, ἧς τὴν ἰδιότητα χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν σαφῶς, εἰκάσαι δὲ πολλαχῶς ὁ λόγος δίδωσι. θερμότητι γὰρ καὶ διαχύσει πόρους τινὰς ἀνοίγειν φαντα-στικοὺς τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰκός ἐστιν, ὡς οἶνος ἀνα-θυμιαθεὶς ἕτερα[2] πολλὰ κινήματα καὶ λόγους ἀποκειμένους καὶ λανθάνοντας ἀποκαλύπτει·

τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν[3] πολλὴν ἔχει

F κατ' Εὐριπίδην, ὅταν ἔνθερμος ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη καὶ πυρώδης ἀπώσηται τὴν εὐλάβειαν, ἣν ἡ θνητὴ φρόνησις ἐπάγουσα πολλάκις ἀποστρέφει καὶ κατα-σβέννυσι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν.

41. "Ἅμα δ' ἄν τις οὐκ ἀλόγως καὶ ξηρότητα φαίη μετὰ τῆς θερμότητος ἐγγιγνομένην λεπτύνειν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ποιεῖν αἰθερῶδες καὶ καθαρόν· αὕτη γὰρ 'ξηρὴ[4] ψυχή,' καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. ὑγρό-
433 της δ' οὐ μόνον ὄψιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀκοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατόπτρων θιγοῦσα καὶ μειχθεῖσα[5] πρὸς ἀέρας ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φέγγος. τοὐναν-τίον πάλιν αὖ περιψύξει τινὶ καὶ πυκνώσει τοῦ πνεύματος οἷον βαφῇ σίδηρον[6] τὸ προγνωστικὸν μόριον ἐντείνεσθαι[7] καὶ στομοῦσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι. καὶ μὴν ὡς κασσίτερος μανὸν

[1] ἀπερâται F.C.B. (ἀναφέρηται Bernardakis; ἀρτύτηται S. A. Naber): ἀφαιρῆται.
[2] ἕτερα] ἐγείρει Wyttenbach; κινεῖ Paton.
[3] μαντικὴν Euripides (*Bacch.* 298): μαντευτικὴν in most MSS.
[4] ξηρὴ 995 E, *Life of Romulus*, chap. xxviii., Stobaeus: ξηρά.
[5] μειχθεῖσα Emperius: μίχος καί.
[6] σίδηρον Michael and Kronenberg: σιδήρου.
[7] ἐντείνεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἐγγίνεσθαι.

running waters ; for when it is instilled into the body, it creates in souls an unaccustomed and unusual temperament, the peculiarity of which it is hard to describe with exactness, but analogy offers many comparisons. It is likely that by warmth and diffusion it opens up certain passages through which impressions of the future are transmitted, just as wine, when its fumes rise to the head, reveals many unusual movements and also words stored away and unperceived.

For Bacchic rout
And frenzied mind contain much prophecy,

according to Euripides,[a] when the soul becomes hot and fiery, and throws aside the caution that human intelligence lays upon it, and thus often diverts and extinguishes the inspiration.

41. " At the same time one might assert, not without reason, that a dryness engendered with the heat subtilizes the spirit of prophecy and renders it ethereal and pure ; for this is ' the dry soul,' as Heracleitus has it.[b] Moisture not only dulls sight and hearing, but when it touches mirrors and combines with air, it takes away their brightness and sheen.[c] But again the very opposite of this may not be impossible : that by a sort of chilling and compacting of the spirit of inspiration the prophetic element in the soul, as when steel is dipped in cold water, is rendered tense and keen. And further, just as tin

[a] *Bacchae*, 298.

[b] ' A dry soul is best (and/or wisest) ' is the dictum of Heracleitus, which is often quoted ; see Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 100, Heracleitus, no. B 118 ; *cf.* also *Moralia*, 995 E, and *Life of Romulus*, chap. XXVIII. (36 A).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Moralia*, 736 A-B.

(433) ὄντα καὶ πολύπορον τὸν χαλκὸν ἐντακεὶς ἅμα μὲν ἔσφιγξε καὶ κατεπύκνωσεν ἅμα δὲ λαμπρότερον ἀπέδειξε καὶ καθαρώτερον, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀπέχει τὴν μαντικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οἰκεῖόν τι ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ συγγενὲς ἔχουσαν ἀναπληροῦν τὰ μανὰ καὶ συν-
B έχειν ἐναρμόττουσαν. ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοις οἰκεῖα καὶ πρόσφορα, καθάπερ τῆς μὲν πορφύρας ὁ κύαμος[1] τῆς δὲ κόκκου τὸ νίτρον δοκεῖ τὴν βαφὴν ἐπ-άγειν[2] μεμειγμένον·

βύσσῳ δὲ γλαυκῆς κόκκου[3] καταμίσγεται ἀκτίς,[4]

ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς εἴρηκε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κύδνου[5] καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ταρσῷ μαχαίρας, ὦ φίλε Δημήτριε, σοῦ λέγοντος ἠκούομεν, ὡς οὔτ'[6] ὁ Κύδνος ἄλλον[7] ἐκκαθαίρει σίδηρον ἢ[8] ἐκεῖνον οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἄλλο τὴν μάχαιραν ἢ ἐκεῖνο· καθάπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὴν τέφραν προσπλάττουσι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ περιπηγνύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ παραχέοντες
C ὕδωρ, ἑτέρων δὲ πειρώμενοι ποταμῶν[9] οὐδενὶ δύνανται συναγαγεῖν οὐδὲ κολλῆσαι τὴν τέφραν.

42. "Οὐ θαυμαστέον οὖν, εἰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἄνω ῥεύματα μεθιείσης, ταῦτα μόνα τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικῶς διατίθησι καὶ φαντασιαστικῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἀμέλει[10] δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς φήμης συνᾴδει τῷ

[1] *κύαμος*] *κυανὸς* Paton and Hatzidakis.
[2] *ἐπάγειν* F.C.B. (*αὔξειν* Wyttenbach): *ἄγειν*.
[3] *κόκκου* Xylander (*κόκκος* Diels): *κρόκου, κρόνου, κρόκον*.
[4] *ἀκτίς* not in most MSS. (*ἀκτῆς* Wilamowitz-Möllendorff).
[5] Κύδνου] *κυάμου* in all MSS. but one (E).
[6] *οὔτ'* added by Madvig. [7] *ἄλλον* Emperius: *μᾶλλον*.
[8] *ἢ* added by Emperius.
[9] *ἑτέρων . . . ποταμῶν* Schellens: *ἑτέρῳ . . . ποταμῷ*.
[10] *ἀμέλει* Wyttenbach: *ἀμαχεί*.

when alloyed with copper, which is loose and porous in texture, binds it together and compacts it,[a] and at the same time makes it brighter and cleaner, even so there is nothing to prevent the prophetic vapour, which contains some affinity and relationship to souls, from filling up the vacant spaces and cementing all together by fitting itself in. For one thing has affinity and adaptability for one thing, another for another, just as the bean[b] seems to further the dyeing of purple and sodium carbonate[c] that of scarlet, when mixed with the dye ;

All in the linen is blended the splendour of glorious scarlet,

as Empedocles[d] has said. But regarding the Cydnus and the sacred sword of Apollo in Tarsus we used to hear you say, my dear Demetrius, that the Cydnus will cleanse no steel but that, and no other water will cleanse that sword. There is a similar phenomenon at Olympia, where they pile the ashes against the altar and make them adhere all around by pouring on them water from the Alpheius ; but, although they have tried the waters of other rivers, there is none with which they can make the ashes cohere and stay fixed in their place.

42. " It is not, therefore, anything to excite amazement if, although the earth sends up many streams, it is only such as these that dispose souls to inspiration and impressions of the future. Certainly the voice of legend also is in accord with my state-

[a] *Cf.* Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, ii. 8 (747 a 34).
[b] *Cf.* H. Blümner, *Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1875), i. 236.
[c] *Ibid.* 238.
[d] *Cf.* Diels, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*, i. p. 255, Empedocles, no. B 93.

(433) λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν περὶ τὸν τόπον δύναμιν ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν, νομέως τινὸς ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ τύχην, εἶτα φωνὰς ἀναφέροντος ἐνθουσιώδεις, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παραγενόμενοι κατεφρόνουν, ὕστερον δὲ γενομένων ὧν προεῖπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐθαύμασαν. οἱ δὲ λογιώτατοι Δελφῶν
D καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διαμνημονεύοντες Κορήταν λέγουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τοιαύτην πρὸς τὸ μαντικὸν πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν σύγκρασιν ψυχὴ καὶ σύμπηξιν, οἵαν πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἡ ὄψις ὁμοιοπαθὲς γιγνόμενον· ὀφθαλμοῦ τε γὰρ ἔχοντος τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν οὐδὲν ἄνευ φωτὸς ἔργον ἔστιν, ψυχῆς τε τὸ μαντικὸν ὥσπερ ὄμμα δεῖται τοῦ συνεξάπτοντος οἰκείου καὶ συνεπιθήγοντος. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦντο θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἥλιον· οἱ δὲ τὴν καλὴν καὶ σοφὴν ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες ἀναλογίαν, ὅπερ[1] σῶμα πρὸς ψυχὴν ὄψις δὲ πρὸς
E νοῦν φῶς δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστι, τοῦτο τὴν ἡλίου δύναμιν εἴκαζον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος φύσιν, ἔκγονον ἐκείνου καὶ τόκον ὄντος[2] ἀεὶ γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ τοῦτον ἀποφαίνοντες.[3] ἐξάπτει γὰρ καὶ προάγεται καὶ συνεξορμᾷ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τὴν ὁρατικὴν δύναμιν οὗτος ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν μαντικὴν ἐκεῖνος.

43. "Οἱ μέντοι δοξάζοντες ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι, εἰκότως Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Γῇ κοινῶς ἀνέθεσαν τὸ χρηστήριον, οἰόμενοι τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ κρᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ γῇ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ' ἧς ἐκφέρε-

[1] ὅπερ] ὅπως in most MSS.
[2] ὄντος] ὄντως in some MSS.
[3] ἀποφαίνοντες] ἀποφαίνοντος in most MSS.

ment; for they record that here the power hovering about this spot was first made manifest when a certain shepherd fell in by accident and later gave forth inspired utterances, which those who came into contact with him at first treated with disdain; but later, when what he had foretold came to pass, they were amazed. The most learned of the people of Delphi still preserve the tradition of his name, which they say was Coretas. But I incline most to the opinion that the soul acquires towards the prophetic spirit a close and intimate connexion of the sort that vision has towards light, which possesses similar properties. For, although the eye has the power of vision, there is no function for it to perform without light [a]; and so the prophetic power of the soul, like an eye, has need of something kindred to help to kindle it and stimulate it further. Hence many among earlier generations regarded Apollo and the Sun as one and the same god; but those who understood and respected fair and wise analogy conjectured that as body is to soul, vision to intellect, and light to truth, so is the power of the sun to the nature of Apollo; and they would make it appear that the sun is his offspring and progeny, being for ever born of him that is for ever. For the sun kindles and promotes and helps to keep in activity the power of vision in our perceptive senses, just as the god does for the power of prophecy in the soul.

43. "Those, however, who had reached the conclusion that the two are one and the same god very naturally dedicated the oracle to Apollo and Earth in common, thinking that the sun creates the disposition and temperament in the earth from which the prophet-

[a] See 436 D, *infra*, and Plato, *Republic*, 508A-509 B.

σθαι[1] τὰς μαντικὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις. αὐτὴν μὲν οὖν τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ Ἡσίοδος ἐνίων φιλοσόφων βέλτιον διανοηθεὶς

πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς

F προσεῖπεν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἄφθαρτον νομίζομεν· τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν δυνάμεων πῇ μὲν ἐκλείψεις πῇ δὲ γενέσεις ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ μεταστάσεις καὶ μεταρροίας ἀλλαχόθεν εἰκός ἐστι συμβαίνειν, καὶ κυκλεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ παντὶ πολλάκις περιόδους, ὡς ἔστι τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς φαινομένοις. λιμνῶν τε γὰρ γεγόνασι καὶ ποταμῶν, ἔτι δὲ πλείονες ναμάτων θερμῶν ὅπου μὲν ἐκλείψεις καὶ φθοραὶ παντάπασιν, ὅπου δ' οἷον
434 ἀποδράσεις καὶ καταδύσεις· εἶτα πάλιν ἥκει[2] διὰ χρόνων ἐπιφαινόμενα[3] τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις[4] ἢ πλησίον ὑπορρέοντα· καὶ μετάλλων ἴσμεν[5] ἐξαμαυρώσεις γεγονέναι καινάς,[6] ὡς τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀργυρείων καὶ τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ χαλκίτιδος ἐξ ἧς ἐδημιουργεῖτο τὰ ψυχρήλατα τῶν ξιφῶν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος εἴρηκε

λαβὼν γὰρ αὐτόθηκτον Εὐβοικὸν ξίφος·

ἡ δ' ἐν Καρύστῳ πέτρα[7] χρόνος οὐ πολὺς ἀφ' οὗ πέπαυται μηρύματα λίθων μαλακὰ καὶ[8] νηματώδη

[1] ἐκφέρεσθαι Xylander: ἐκφέρεται.
[2] ἥκει Emperius: ἐκεῖ.
[3] ἐπιφαινόμενα Turnebus: ἐπιφαινομένη or ἐπιφερόμενα. (Kronenberg would read ἐπιφαινόμεν' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς).
[4] τόποις added by Xylander. [5] ἴσμεν Turnebus: τὸ μὲν.
[6] καινὰς] κενὰς in one MS. (B).
[7] ἡ . . . πέτρα Turnebus: τῆς . . . πείρας.
[8] καὶ added by Stegmann, and δεινηματώδη in one MS. suggests that καὶ was once there.

inspiring vapours are wafted forth. As Hesiod,[a] then, with a better understanding than some philosophers, spoke of the Earth itself as

Of All the unshaken foundation,

so we believe it to be everlasting and imperishable. But in the case of the powers associated with the earth it is reasonable that there should come to pass disappearances in one place and generation in another place, and elsewhere shifting of location and, from some other source, changes in current,[b] and that such cycles should complete many revolutions within it in the whole course of time, as we may judge from what happens before our eyes. For in the case of lakes and rivers, and even more frequently in hot springs, there have occurred disappearances and complete extinction in some places, and in others a stealing away, as it were, and sinking under ground[c]; later they came back, appearing after a time in the same places or flowing out from below somewhere near. We know also of the exhaustion of mines, some of which have given out recently, as for example the silver mines of Attica and the copper ore in Euboea from which the cold-forged sword-blades used to be wrought, as Aeschylus[d] has said,

Euboean sword, self-sharpened, in his hand.

And it is no long time since the rock in Euboea ceased to yield, among its other products, soft petrous

[a] *Theogony*, 117. [b] *Cf.* 432 E, *supra*.

[c] A not uncommon phenomenon in Greece; *cf. Moralia*, 557 E.

[d] *Cf.* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 107, Aeschylus, no. 356. The hardness and temper of cold-forged copper is well attested.

(434) συνεκφέρουσα. καὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἑωρακέναι τινὰς οἶομαι χειρόμακτρα καὶ δίκτυα καὶ κεκρυφάλους
B ἐκεῖθεν οὔ τι[1] πυρὶ καιομένους[2]· ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἂν ῥυπανθῇ χρωμένων, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς φλόγα λαμπρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ κομίζονται· νῦν δ' ἠφάνισται καὶ μόλις οἷον ἶνες ἢ τρίχες ἀραιαὶ διατρέχουσιν ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις.

44. "Καίτοι[3] πάντων τούτων οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλην δημιουργὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ἀποφαίνουσιν, ᾗ καὶ συνεκλείπειν καὶ συμμεθίστασθαι καὶ συνεξανθεῖν πάλιν τὰς τοιαύτας φύσεις ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι. ταὐτὰ[4] δὴ περὶ μαντικῶν πνευμάτων διανοητέον, ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἀίδιον οὐδ' ἀγήρων τὴν
C δύναμιν ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην μεταβολαῖς. καὶ γὰρ ὄμβρους ὑπερβάλλοντας εἰκός ἐστι κατασβεννύναι καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐμπεσόντων διαφορεῖσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ὑποσάλου γιγνομένης καὶ λαμβανούσης ἴζήματα καὶ σύγχωσιν[5] ἐν βάθει, μεθίστασθαι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἢ τυφλοῦσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθά φασι παραμένειν τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν, ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέτρεψεν. ἐν δ' Ὀρχομενῷ λέγουσι λοιμοῦ γενομένου πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διαφθαρῆναι τὸ δὲ τοῦ Τειρεσίου χρηστήριον ἐκλιπεῖν παντάπασι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀργὸν διαμένειν καὶ ἄναυδον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Κιλικίαν ὅμοια συμβέβηκε παθεῖν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡμῖν, ὦ Δημήτριε, σοῦ φράσειε σαφέστερον."

[1] οὔ τι Bernardakis: οὔτε.
[2] πυρὶ καιομένους] περικαιομένους in nearly all MSS.
[3] καίτοι Xylander: καὶ οἱ or καὶ.
[4] ταὐτὰ Turnebus: ταῦτα.
[5] σύγχωσιν Reiske: σύγχυσιν.

filaments like yarn.[a] I think some of you have seen towels, nets, and women's head-coverings from there, which cannot be burned by fire ; but if any become soiled by use, their owners throw them into a blazing fire and take them out bright and clear. To-day all this has disappeared, and there are scarcely any attenuated fibres or hairs, as it were, running through the mines.

44. "And yet the school of Aristotle [b] would make it appear that exhalation is the author of all these changes that have taken place in the earth, and that things of this nature must of necessity follow with it in disappearing, changing their locality, and bursting forth once more in full vigour. Plainly the same sober opinion is to be held regarding the spirits that inspire prophecy ; the power that they possess is not everlasting and ageless, but is subject to changes. For excessive rains most likely extinguish them, and they probably are dispersed by thunderbolts, and especially, when the earth is shaken beneath by an earthquake and suffers subsidence and ruinous confusion in its depths, the exhalations shift their site or find completely blind outlets, as in this place they say that there are still traces of that great earthquake which overthrew the city. And in Orchomenos they relate that a pestilence raged and many persons died of it, and the oracle of Teiresias become altogether obsolescent and even to this day remains idle and mute. And if a like fate has befallen those in Cilicia, as we have been told, there is nobody, Demetrius, who could give us more certain information than you."

[a] An interesting early notice of the use of asbestos.

[b] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, i. 3 (340 b 29) ; Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 19 (38) ; ii. 57 (117).

(434) 45. Καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος, "οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε τά γε[1]
D νῦν· ἀποδημῶ γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, πάμπολυν ἤδη χρόνον· ἔτι δ' ἤκμαζεν ἐμοῦ παρόντος καὶ τὸ Μόψου καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλόχου μαντεῖον. ἔχω δ' εἰπεῖν τῷ Μόψου παραγενόμενος πρᾶγμα θαυμασιώτατον. ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Κιλικίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφίδοξος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστίας οἶμαι· τἄλλα γὰρ ἦν ὑβριστὴς καὶ φαῦλος· ἔχων δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν Ἐπικουρείους τινὰς δι' αἰτίαν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιολόγον[2] ἐνυβρίζοντας, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰσέπεμψεν ἀπελεύθερον οἷον εἰς πολεμίων κατάσκοπον ἐνσκευάσας, ἔχοντα κατεσφραγισμένην
E δέλτον, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἐρώτημ' ἦν ἐγγεγραμμένον, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος. ἐννυχεύσας οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὥσπερ ἔθος ἔστι τῷ σηκῷ, καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἀπήγγειλε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐνύπνιον τοιοῦτον. ἄνθρωπον ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ καλὸν ἐπιστάντα φθέγξασθαι τοσοῦτο 'μέλανα' καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς οἴχεσθαι. τοῦθ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἄτοπον ἐφάνη καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχεν· ὁ δ' ἡγεμὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐξεπλάγη καὶ προσεκύνησεν, καὶ τὴν δέλτον ἀνοίξας ἐπεδείκνυεν ἐρώτημα τοιοῦτο
F γεγραμμένον 'πότερόν σοι λευκὸν ἢ μέλανα θύσω ταῦρον;' ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους διατραπῆναι, κἀκεῖνον αὐτὸν τήν τε θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ σέβεσθαι διὰ τέλους τὸν Μόψον."

46. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ βουλόμενος ὥσπερ τι κεφάλαιον ἐπι-

[1] τά γε Wyttenbach: τάδε.
[2] δι' αἰτίαν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιολόγον F.C.B.; τῶν καλῶν δὴ κα φυσιολόγων Bernardakis: τὴν καλὴν δὴ καὶ φυσιολόγον.

---

[a] Frag. 395 Usener; Diogenes Laertius, x. 135.

45. "I do not know," said Demetrius, "the state of affairs there at present; for as you all know, I have been out of the country for a long time now. But, when I was there, both the oracle of Mopsus and that of Amphilochus were still flourishing. I have a most amazing thing to tell as the result of my visit to the oracle of Mopsus. The ruler of Cilicia was himself still of two minds towards religious matters. This, I think, was because his scepticism lacked conviction, for in all else he was an arrogant and contemptible man. Since he kept about him certain Epicureans, who, because of their admirable nature-studies, forsooth, have an arrogant contempt, as they themselves aver,[a] for all such things as oracles, he sent in a freedman, like a spy into the enemy's territory, arranging that he should have a sealed tablet, on the inside of which was written the inquiry without anyone's knowing what it was. The man accordingly, as is the custom, passed the night in the sacred precinct and went to sleep, and in the morning reported a dream in this fashion: it seemed to him that a handsome man stood beside him who uttered just one word 'Black' and nothing more, and was gone immediately. The thing seemed passing strange to us, and raised much inquiry, but the ruler was astounded and fell down and worshipped; then opening the tablet he showed written there the question: 'Shall I sacrifice to you a white bull or a black?' The result was that the Epicureans were put to confusion, and the ruler himself not only duly performed the sacrifice, but ever after revered Mopsus."

46. When Demetrius had told this tale he lapsed into silence. But I, wishing to crown, as it were,

θεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ, πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον αὖθις ἀπέβλεψα καὶ τὸν Ἀμμώνιον ὁμοῦ καθημένους. ἔδοξαν οὖν μοι βούλεσθαί τι διαλεχθῆναι καὶ πάλιν ἐπέσχον. ὁ δ' Ἀμμώνιος, "ἔχει μέν," ἔφη, "καὶ Φίλιππος, ὦ Λαμπρία, περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων εἰπεῖν· οἴεται γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἕτερον εἶναι τὸν
435 Ἀπόλλωνα θεὸν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸν αὐτόν. ἡ δ' ἐμὴ μείζων ἀπορία καὶ περὶ μειζόνων· ἄρτι γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῷ λόγῳ παρεχωρήσαμεν ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τὴν μαντικὴν ἐς δαίμονας ἀτεχνῶς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι. νυνὶ δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἐκείνους ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἐνθένδε τοῦ χρηστηρίου καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, εἰς πνεύματα καὶ ἀτμοὺς καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις τὴν τῆς μαντικῆς ἀρχὴν μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλύοντες. αἱ γὰρ εἰρημέναι κράσεις καὶ θερμότητες αὗται καὶ στομώσεις τόσῳ[1] μᾶλλον ἀπάγουσι τὴν δόξαν ἀπὸ τῶν
B θεῶν καί τινα τοιοῦτον ὑποβάλλουσι[2] τῆς αἰτίας ἐπιλογισμόν, οἷῳ ποιεῖ τὸν Κύκλωπα χρώμενον Εὐριπίδης,

ἡ γῆ δ' ἀνάγκῃ, κἂν θέλῃ κἂν μὴ θέλῃ,
τίκτουσα ποίαν τἀμὰ πιαίνει βοτά.

πλὴν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὔ φησι θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ 'τῇ μεγίστῃ γαστρὶ δαιμόνων,' ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ θύομεν καὶ προσευχόμεθα τί παθόντες[3] ἐπὶ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, εἰ δύναμιν μὲν ἐν ἑαυταῖς μαντικὴν αἱ ψυχαὶ κομίζουσιν, ἡ δὲ κινοῦσα ταύτην ἀέρος τίς ἐστι κρᾶσις ἢ πνεύματος; αἱ δὲ τῶν ἱερείων[4] κατα-

[1] τόσῳ F.C.B.: ὅσῳ.
[2] ὑποβάλλουσι] ἐπιβάλλουσι in most MSS.
[3] παθόντες] μαθόντες in most MSS.
[4] ἱερείων] in one MS. only (E); ἱερίδων in the others.

the discussion, glanced again towards Philip and Ammonius who were sitting side by side. They seemed to me to be desirous of saying something to us, and again I checked myself. Then Ammonius said, " Philip also has some remarks to make, Lamprias, about what has been said ; for he himself thinks, as most people do, that Apollo is not a different god, but is the same as the sun.[a] But my difficulty is greater and concerns greater matters. I do not know how it happened, but a little time ago we yielded to logic in wresting the prophetic art from the gods and transferring it merely to the demigods. But now it seems to me that we are thrusting out these very demigods, in their turn, and driving them away from the oracle and the tripod here, when we resolve the origin of prophecy, or rather its very being and power, into winds and vapours and exhalations. For these temperings and heatings and hardenings that have been spoken of serve only the more to withdraw repute from the gods and suggest in regard to the final cause some such conclusion as Euripides [b] makes his Cyclops employ :

> The earth perforce, whether it will or no,
> Brings forth the grass to fat my grazing flocks.

But there is one difference : he says that he does not offer them in sacrifice to the gods, but to himself and to his ' belly, greatest of divinities,' whereas we offer both sacrifices and prayers as the price for our oracles. What possesses us to do so, if our souls carry within themselves the prophetic power, and it is some particular state of the air or its currents which stirs this to activity ? And what is the significance of the

[a] *Cf.* 376 B, *supra*, and 1130 A, for example.
[b] Euripides, *Cyclops*, 332-333.

(435) σπείσεις[1] τί βούλονται, καὶ τὸ μὴ θεμιστεύειν, ἐὰν[2]
C μὴ τὸ ἱερεῖον ὅλον ἐξ ἄκρων σφυρῶν ὑπότρομον γένηται καὶ κραδανθῇ κατασπενδόμενον; οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ διασεῖσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δεῖ τοῖς μέρεσι τὸν σάλον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸν παλμὸν ἐγγενέσθαι μετὰ ψόφου τρομώδους· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται, τὸ μαντεῖον οὔ φασι χρηματίζειν οὐδ' εἰσάγουσι τὴν Πυθίαν. καίτοι θεῷ μὲν ἢ δαίμονι[3] αἰτίαν τὴν πλείστην ἀνατιθέντας εἰκός ἐστι ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ νομίζειν· ὡς δὲ σὺ λέγεις, οὐκ εἰκός· ἡ γὰρ ἀναθυμίασις, ἄν τε πτοῆται[4] τὸ ἱερεῖον ἄν τε μή, παροῦσα ποιήσει[5]
D τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ διαθήσει τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως οὐ τῆς Πυθίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἂν τοῦ τυχόντος ἅψηται σώματος. ὅθεν εὐηθές ἐστι τὸ μιᾷ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὰ μαντεῖα χρῆσθαι, καὶ ταύτῃ παρέχειν πράγματα φυλάττοντας ἁγνὴν διὰ βίου καὶ καθαρεύουσαν. ὁ γὰρ Κορήτας ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Δελφοὶ λέγουσι πρῶτον ἐμπεσόντα τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον δυνάμεως αἴσθησιν παρασχεῖν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι διέφερε τῶν ἄλλων αἰπόλων καὶ ποιμένων, εἴ γε δὴ τοῦτο μὴ μῦθός ἐστι μηδὲ πλάσμα κενόν, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι. καὶ λογιζόμενος πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τουτὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αἴτιον γέγονε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κτίσεσι πόλεων ἔν
E τε λοιμοῖς καὶ καρπῶν ἀφορίαις, δεινὸν ἡγοῦμαι μὴ θεῷ καὶ προνοίᾳ τὴν εὕρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ τύχην καὶ αὐτομάτως ἀνατίθεσθαι. πρὸς

[1] *κατασπείσεις* Reiske: *καταστάσεις*.
[2] *ἐὰν* Stegmann: *εἰ*.
[3] *θεῷ μὲν ἢ δαίμονι* Turnebus: *θεοῦ μὲν ἢ δαίμονος*.
[4] *πτοῆται* Xylander, also Meziriacus: *ποιῆται*.
[5] *ποιήσει* in one MS. only (J); *ποιεῖ* or *ποιῇ* in the others.

libations poured over the victims and the refusal to give responses unless the whole victim from the hoof-joints up is seized with a trembling and quivering, as the libation is poured over it? Shaking the head is not enough, as in other sacrifices, but the tossing and quivering must extend to all parts of the animal alike accompanied by a tremulous sound; and unless this takes place they say that the oracle is not functioning, and do not even bring in the prophetic priestess. Yet it is only on the assumption that they ascribe the cause almost entirely to a god or a demigod that it is reasonable for them to act and to believe thus; but on the basis of what you say it is not reasonable. For the presence of the exhalation, whether the victim be excited or not, will produce the inspiration and will dispose the soul auspiciously, not only the soul of the priestess, but that of any ordinary person with whom it may come into contact. Wherefore it is silly to employ one woman alone for the purpose of the oracles and to give her trouble by watching her to keep her pure and chaste all her life. As a matter of fact, this Coretas, who the people of Delphi say was the first, because he fell in, to supply any means of knowing about the power with which the place is endowed, was not, I think, any different from the rest of the goatherds and shepherds, if so be that this is not a fable or a fabrication as I, for one, think it is. When I take into account the number of benefactions to the Greeks for which this oracle has been responsible, both in wars and in the founding of cities, in cases of pestilence and failure of crops, I think it is a dreadful thing to assign its discovery and origin, not to God and Providence, but to chance and accident. But regard-

δὴ ταῦτ'," εἶπε, "τὸν Λαμπρίαν[1] βούλομαι διαλεχθῆναι· περιμενεῖς[2] δέ;"

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ὁ Φίλιππος ἔφη, "καὶ πάντες οὗτοι· πάντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος κεκίνηκε."

47. Κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν, "ἐμὲ δε," εἶπον, "οὐ κεκίνηκεν, ὦ Φίλιππε, μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκέχυκεν, εἰ ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν δοκῶ παρ' ἡλικίαν τῷ πιθανῷ τοῦ λόγου καλλωπιζόμενος ἀναιρεῖν τι καὶ κινεῖν τῶν ἀληθῶς καὶ ὁσίως[3] περὶ τοῦ θείου νενομισμένων. ἀπολογήσομαι δὲ μάρτυρα καὶ
F σύνδικον ὁμοῦ Πλάτωνα παραστησάμενος.[4] ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ[5] ἀνὴρ Ἀναξαγόραν μὲν ἐμέμψατο τὸν παλαιόν, ὅτι ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἄγαν ἐνδεδεμένος[6] αἰτίαις καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀνάγκην τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἀποτελούμενον πάθεσι μετιὼν ἀεὶ καὶ διώκων, τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ ὑφ' οὗ, βελτίονας αἰτίας οὔσας καὶ ἀρχάς, ἀφῆκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀμφοτέρας ἐπεξῆλθε, τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδιδοὺς τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἀποστερῶν δὲ τὴν ὕλην
436 τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸ γιγνόμενον αἰτιῶν, ἀλλὰ συνορῶν, ὅτι τῇδέ πῃ καὶ τὸ πᾶν αἰσθητὸν διακεκοσμημένον οὐ καθαρὸν οὐδ' ἀμιγές ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὕλης συμπλεκομένης τῷ λόγῳ λαμβάνει τὴν γένεσιν. ὅρα δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν· οἷον εὐθὺς ἡ περιβόητος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ κρατῆρος ἕδρα καὶ

[1] τὸν Λαμπρίαν Wyttenbach: ὦ Λαμπρία.

[2] περιμενεῖς Madvig; the future seems necessary, and so Prickard translates: περιμένεις (in one MS.) or περιμένοις; *cf.* 438 c, *infra*.

[3] ὁσίως van Herwerden: θείως.

[4] παραστησάμενος] παριστάμενος in all MSS. but one (D).

[5] ὁ omitted in all MSS. but one (G).

[6] ἐνδεδεμένος] ἐνδεδυμένος in all MSS. but one.

ing these matters," he added, " I wish that Lamprias would say something to us. Will you wait ? "

" Certainly I will," said Philip, " and so will all who are here. For what you have said has set us all thinking."

47. Then I, addressing myself to him, said, " Not only has it set me thinking, Philip, but it has filled me with confusion, if, in the presence of so many men such as you all are, I seem, in contradiction to my years, to give myself airs over the plausibility of my argument and to upset or disturb any of the beliefs regarding the Deity which have been conceived in truth and in piety. I shall defend myself by citing Plato as my witness and advocate in one. That philosopher [a] found fault with Anaxagoras, the one of early times, because he was too much wrapped up in the physical causes and was always following up and pursuing the law of necessity as it was worked out in the behaviour of bodies, and left out of account the purpose and the agent, which are better causes and origins. Plato himself was the first of the philosophers, or the one most prominently engaged in prosecuting investigations of both sorts, to assign to God, on the one hand, the origin of all things that are in keeping with reason, and on the other hand, not to divest matter of the causes necessary for whatever comes into being, but to realize that the perceptible universe, even when arranged in some such orderly way as this, is not pure and unalloyed, but that it takes its origin from matter when matter comes into conjunction with reason. Observe first how it is with the artists. Take as our first example the far-famed stand and base for the mixing-bowl here which

[a] Plato, *Phaedo*, 97 B-C.

(436) βάσις,[1] ἣν Ἡρόδοτος ὑποκρητηρίδιον[2] ὠνόμασεν, αἰτίας μὲν ἔσχε τὰς[3] ὑλικάς, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ μάλαξιν διὰ πυρὸς καὶ δι'[4] ὕδατος βαφήν, ὧν ἄνευ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον οὐδεμία μηχανή· τὴν δὲ κυριωτέραν ἀρχὴν καὶ ταῦτα κινοῦσαν καὶ διὰ τούτων
B ἐνεργοῦσαν ἡ τέχνη καὶ ὁ λόγος τῷ ἔργῳ παρέσχε. καὶ μὴν τῶν γε μιμημάτων τούτων καὶ εἰδώλων ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐπιγέγραπται,

γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος
υἱὸς περθομέναν Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν,

ὡς ὁρᾶται γράψας· ἄνευ δὲ φαρμάκων συντριβέντων καὶ συμφθαρέντων ἀλλήλοις οὐδὲν ἦν οἷόν τε τοιαύτην διάθεσιν λαβεῖν καὶ ὄψιν. ἆρ' οὖν ὁ βουλόμενος ἅπτεσθαι τῆς ὑλικῆς ἀρχῆς, ζητῶν δὲ καὶ διδάσκων τὰ παθήματα καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς, ἃς ὥχρᾳ
C μιχθεῖσα σινωπὶς ἴσχει καὶ μέλανι μηλιάς, ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν τοῦ τεχνίτου[5] δόξαν; ὁ δὲ τοῦ σιδήρου τὴν στόμωσιν ἐπεξιὼν καὶ τὴν μάλαξιν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν πυρὶ χαλασθεὶς ἐνδίδωσι[6] καὶ ὑπείκει τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι καὶ πλάττουσιν,[7] ἐμπεσὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ τῇ ψυχρότητι διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐγγενομένην ἀπαλότητα καὶ μανότητα πιληθεὶς καὶ καταπυκνω-

[1] βάσις] φάσις or φύσις in all MSS. but one (J).
[2] ὑποκρητηρίδιον Herodotus: ἐπικρητηρίδιον.
[3] ἔσχε τὰς Madvig: ἔχοντας or ἔχοντος.
[4] δι' added by Reiske.
[5] τεχνίτου] σιδήρου in all MSS. but one (E).
[6] ἐνδίδωσι Turnebus: ἐπιδίδωσι.
[7] πλάττουσιν] πλήττουσιν in some MSS.

---

[a] The stand, dedicated by Alyattes (king of Lydia from 617 to 560 B.C.), was of wrought iron and welded together,

Herodotus [a] has styled the 'bowl-holder'; it came to have as its material causes fire and steel and softening by means of fire and tempering by means of water, without which there is no expedient by which this work could be produced; but art and reason supplied for it the more dominant principle which set all these in motion and operated through them. And, indeed, the author and creator of these likenesses and portraits here stands recorded in the inscription [b]:

Thasian by race and descent, Aglaophon's son Polygnotus
Painted the taking of Troy, showing her citadel's sack;

so that it may be seen that he painted them. But without pigments ground together, losing their own colour in the process, nothing could achieve such a composition and sight. Does he, then, who is desirous of getting hold of the material cause, as he investigates and explains the behaviour of the red earth of Sinopê and the changes to which it is subject when mixed with yellow ochre, or of the light-coloured earth of Melos when mixed with lamp-black, take away the repute of the artist? And he that goes into the details of the hardening and the softening of steel, how it is relaxed by the fire, and becomes pliant and yielding for those who forge and fashion it, and then, plunged anew into clear water, is contracted and compacted by the coldness because of the softness and looseness of texture previously engendered

not riveted. *Cf.* Herodotus, i. 25; Pausanias, x. 16. 1. Of interest also in this connexion is the dedication recorded in the Sigeum inscription, *C.I.G.* i. 8, or Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, no. 42 (p. 78).

[b] Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 502, Simonides, no. 160; or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, ii. p. 399 (L.C.L.). *Cf.* also Pausanias, x. 25. 1.

436) θείς, εὐτονίαν ἴσχει καὶ πῆξιν, ἣν Ὅμηρος ' σιδήρου κράτος ' εἶπεν, ἧττόν τι τῷ τεχνίτῃ τηρεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τοῦ ἔργου γενέσεως; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶομαι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἰατρικῶν δυνάμεων ἔνιοι τὰς ποιότητας ἐλέγχουσι, τὴν δ' ἰατρικὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦσιν. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ[1] Πλάτων ὁρᾶν μὲν ἡμᾶς τῇ παρὰ[2] τῶν
D ὀφθαλμῶν[3] αὐγῇ συγκεραννυμένῃ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, ἀκούειν δὲ τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποφαινόμενος, οὐκ ἀνῄρει τὸ κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν ὁρατικοὺς καὶ ἀκουστικοὺς γεγονέναι.

48. " Καθόλου γάρ, ὥς φημι, δύο πάσης γενέσεως αἰτίας ἐχούσης, οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταὶ τῇ κρείττονι μόνῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν εἵλοντο, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγγόμενοι πᾶσι πράγμασι

Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται·

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς οὐκ ἔτι προσῄεσαν αἰτίαις. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τούτων καὶ φυσικοὶ προσ-
E αγορευόμενοι τοὐναντίον ἐκείνοις τῆς καλῆς καὶ θείας ἀποπλανηθέντες ἀρχῆς, ἐν σώμασι καὶ πάθεσι σωμάτων πληγαῖς τε καὶ μεταβολαῖς καὶ κράσεσι τίθενται τὸ σύμπαν. ὅθεν ἀμφοτέροις ὁ λόγος ἐνδεὴς τοῦ προσήκοντός ἐστι, τοῖς μὲν τὸ δι' οὗ καὶ

[1] καὶ added in the Aldine ed.
[2] παρὰ] περὶ in almost all MSS.
[3] τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν] τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν most MSS.

by the fire, and acquires a tenseness and firmness which Homer [a] has called 'the brawn of steel'—does such an investigator any the less preserve intact for the artist the credit for the creation of the work? I think not. In fact there are some who question the properties of medicinal agents, but they do not do away with medical science. And thus when Plato [b] declared that we see by the commingling of the irradiation from our eyes with the light of the sun, and that we hear by the vibration of the air, he certainly did not mean by this to abrogate the fundamental fact that it is according to the design of Reason and Providence that we have been endowed with sight and hearing.

48. "To sum up, then: while every form of creation has, as I say, two causes, the very earliest theological writers and poets chose to heed only the superior one, uttering over all things that come to pass this common generality:

Zeus the beginning, Zeus in the midst, and from Zeus comes all being [c];

but as yet they made no approach towards the compelling and natural causes. On the other hand the younger generation which followed them, and are called physicists or natural philosophers, reverse the procedure of the older school in their aberration from the beautiful and divine origin, and ascribe everything to bodies and their behaviour, to clashes, transmutations, and combinations. Hence the reasoning of both parties is deficient in what is essential to it,

[a] *Od.* ix. 393.
[b] *Cf.* 433 D, *supra*, and Plato, *Republic*, 507 C-D, and 508 D.
[c] *Orphic Frag.* vi. 10 (21a, 2); *cf.* Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Graec.* i. p. 169. 11.

ὑφ' οὗ, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἐξ ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἢ παραλείπουσιν. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐκφανῶς ἁψάμενος ἀμφοῖν καὶ τῷ κατὰ λόγον ποιοῦντι καὶ κινοῦντι προσλαβὼν ἀναγκαίως τὸ[1] ὑποκείμενον καὶ πάσχον, ἀπολύεται καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολήν. οὐ γὰρ ἄθεον ποιοῦμεν οὐδ' ἄλογον τὴν
F μαντικήν, ὕλην μὲν αὐτῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ δ' ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν οἷον ὄργανον ἢ πλῆκτρον ἀποδιδόντες· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ γεννήσασα γῆ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ὅ τε[2] πᾶσαν ἐνδιδοὺς κράσεως τῇ γῇ καὶ μεταβολῆς δύναμιν ἥλιος νόμῳ πατέρων θεός ἐστιν ἡμῖν· ἔπειτα δαίμονας ἐπιστάτας καὶ περιπόλους καὶ φύλακας οἷον ἁρμονίας τῆς κράσεως ταύτης τὰ μὲν ἀνιέντας ἐν
437 καιρῷ τὰ δ' ἐπιτείνοντας καὶ τὸ ἄγαν ἐκστατικὸν αὐτῆς καὶ ταρακτικὸν ἀφαιροῦντας τὸ δὲ κινητικὸν ἀλύπως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς τοῖς χρωμένοις καταμειγνύντας ἀπολείποντες, οὐδὲν ἄλογον ποιεῖν οὐδ' ἀδύνατον δόξομεν. (49.) οὐδέ γε προθυόμενοι καὶ καταστέφοντες ἱερεῖα καὶ κατασπένδοντες ἐναντία τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πράττομεν. οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσιοι[3] θύειν φασὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ κατασπένδειν καὶ τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τρόμον[4] ἀποθεωρεῖν ἑτέρου τίνος τοῦτο σημεῖον[5] ἢ τοῦ θεμιστεύειν τὸν θεὸν λαμβάνοντες; δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ
B τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. μήνυτρα[6] μὲν οὖν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κατιδεῖν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν ἐστι· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν δοκιμάζουσι,

[1] ἀναγκαίως τὸ] τὸ ἀναγκαίως Pohlenz.
[2] ὅ τε Emperius: ὁ δὲ. [3] ὅσιοι Turnebus: ὅσοι.
[4] τρόμον Turnebus: τρόπον.
[5] τοῦτο σημεῖον Emperius: τοῦθ' ἡμῖν.
[6] μήνυτρα Turnebus: μέτρα.

since the one ignores or omits the intermediary and the agent, the other the source and the means. He who was the first to comprehend clearly both these points and to take, as a necessary adjunct to the agent that creates and actuates, the underlying matter, which is acted upon, clears us also of all suspicion of wilful misstatement. The fact is that we do not make the prophetic art godless or irrational when we assign to it as its material the soul of a human being, and assign the spirit of inspiration and the exhalation as an instrument or plectrum for playing on it. For, in the first place, the earth, which generates the exhalation, and the sun, which endows the earth with all its power of tempering and transmutation, are, by the usage of our fathers, gods for us. Secondly, if we leave demigods as overseers, watchmen, and guardians of this tempered constitution, as if it were a kind of harmony, slackening here and tightening there on occasion, taking from it its too distracting and disturbing elements and incorporating those that are painless and harmless to the users, we shall not appear to be doing anything irrational or impossible. (49.) Nor again, in offering the preliminary sacrifice to learn the god's will and in putting garlands on victims or pouring libations over them, are we doing anything to contradict this reasoning. For when the priests and holy men say that they are offering sacrifice and pouring the libation over the victim and observing its movements and its trembling, of what else do they take this to be a sign save that the god is in his holy temple? For what is to be offered in sacrifice must, both in body and in soul, be pure, unblemished, and unmarred. Indications regarding the body it is not at all difficult to perceive, but they

137) τοῖς μὲν ταύροις ἄλφιτα τοῖς δὲ κάπροις ἐρεβίνθους παρατιθέντες· τὸ γὰρ μὴ γευσάμενον ὑγιαίνειν οὐκ οἴονται. τὴν δ' αἶγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης τὸ πρὸς τὴν κατάσπεισιν ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀκίνητον. ἐγὼ δέ, κἂν ᾖ βέβαιον ὅτι σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦ θεμιστεύειν τὸ σείσασθαι καὶ τοῦ μὴ θεμιστεύειν τοὐναντίον, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί συμβαίνει δυσχερὲς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. πᾶσα
C γὰρ δύναμις ὃ[1] πέφυκε σὺν καιρῷ βέλτιον ἢ χεῖρον ἀποδίδωσι· τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ διαφεύγοντος ἡμᾶς, σημεῖα διδόναι τὸν θεὸν εἰκός ἐστιν.

50. "Οἶομαι μὲν οὖν μήτε τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν ὡσαύτως ἔχειν ἀεὶ διὰ παντός, ἀνέσεις τέ[2] τινας ἴσχειν καὶ πάλιν σφοδρότητας· ᾧ δὲ τεκμηρίῳ χρῶμαι, μάρτυρας ἔχω[3] καὶ ξένους πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἅπαντας. ὁ γὰρ οἶκος, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς χρωμένους τῷ θεῷ καθίζουσιν, οὔτε πολλάκις οὔτε τεταγμένως ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ χρόνων εὐωδίας ἀναπίμπλαται καὶ πνεύματος, οἵας ἂν τὰ ἥδιστα καὶ πολυτελέστατα τῶν μύρων ἀποφορὰς ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἀδύτου προσβάλλοντος· ἐξ-
D ανθεῖν γὰρ εἰκὸς ὑπὸ θερμότητος ἤ τινος ἄλλης ἐγγιγνομένης δυνάμεως. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ δοκεῖ πιθανόν, ἀλλά γε τὴν Πυθίαν αὐτὴν ἐν πάθεσι καὶ διαφοραῖς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαις ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἴσχειν, ᾧ πλησιάζει τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ μὴ μίαν ἀεὶ

[1] ὃ] ὦ in nearly all MSS.
[2] τέ F.C.B.: δέ (Kronenberg would read μηδὲ for μήτε in the line above).
[3] ἔχω] ἔχει or ἔχειν in most MSS.

test the soul by setting meal before the bulls and peas before the boars ; and the animal that does not eat of this they think is not of sound mind. In the case of the goat, they say, cold water gives positive proof ; for indifference and immobility against being suddenly wet is not characteristic of a soul in a normal state. But for my part, even if it be firmly established that the trembling is a sign of the god's being in his holy temple and the contrary a sign of his not being there, I cannot see what difficulty in my statements results therefrom. For every faculty duly performs its natural functions better or worse concurrently with some particular time ; and if that time escapes our ken, it is only reasonable that the god should give signs of it.

50. " I think, then, that the exhalation is not in the same state all the time, but that it has recurrent periods of weakness and strength. Of the proof on which I depend I have as witnesses many foreigners and all the officials and servants at the shrine. It is a fact that the room in which they seat those who would consult the god is filled, not frequently or with any regularity, but as it may chance from time to time, with a delightful fragrance coming on a current of air which bears it towards the worshippers, as if its source were in the holy of holies ; and it is like the odour which the most exquisite and costly perfumes send forth. It is likely that this efflorescence is produced by warmth or some other force engendered there. If this does not seem credible, you will at least all agree that the prophetic priestess herself is subjected to differing influences, varying from time to time, which affect that part of her soul with which the spirit of inspiration comes into association, and that she

(437) κρᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν ἀμετάβολον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ διαφυλάττειν, ὁμολογήσετε. πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθομένης πλείονες δ' ἄδηλοι τό τε σῶμα καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπορρέουσι δυσχέρειαι καὶ κινήσεις· ὧν ἀναπιμπλαμένην οὐκ ἄμεινον ἐκεῖ βαδίζειν οὐδὲ παρέχειν ἑαυτὴν τῷ θεῷ μὴ παντάπασι καθαρὰν οὖσαν ὥσπερ ὄργανον ἐξηρτυμένον καὶ εὐηχές, ἀλλ' ἐμπαθῆ καὶ ἀκατάστατον. οὔτε
E γὰρ ὁ οἶνος ὡσαύτως ἀεὶ τὸν μεθυστικὸν οὔθ' ὁ αὐλὸς τὸν ἐνθουσιαστικὸν ὁμοίως διατίθησιν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἧττον οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκβακχεύονται καὶ παροινοῦσι, τῆς κράσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑτέρας γενομένης. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ φανταστικὸν ἔοικε τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀλλοιουμένου κρατεῖσθαι καὶ συμμεταβάλλειν, ὡς δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνείρων· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς γιγνόμεθα καὶ παντοδαπαῖς ἐνυπνίων ὄψεσι, ποτὲ δ' αὖ πάλιν πᾶσα γίγνεται
F γαλήνη καὶ ἡσυχία τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ Κλέωνα μὲν ἴσμεν αὐτοὶ τὸν ἐκ Δαυλίας τοῦτον ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οἷς βεβίωκε φάσκοντα μηδὲν ἰδεῖν πώποτ' ἐνύπνιον· τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ταὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγεται περὶ Θρασυμήδους τοῦ Ἡραιέως. αἰτία δ' ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἡ τῶν μελαγχολικῶν πολυόνειρος καὶ πολυφάνταστος, ᾗ[1] καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ εὐθυόνειρον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν· ἐπ' ἄλλα

[1] ᾗ Emperius: εἰ.

does not always keep one temperament, like a perfect concord, unchanged on every occasion. For many annoyances and disturbances of which she is conscious, and many more unperceived, lay hold upon her body and filter into her soul ; and whenever she is replete with these, it is better that she should not go there and surrender herself to the control of the god, when she is not completely unhampered (as if she were a musical instrument, well strung and well tuned), but is in a state of emotion and instability. Wine, for example, does not always produce the same state of intoxication in the toper,[a] nor the music of the flute the same state of exaltation in the votary ; but the same persons are roused now to less, now to more, extravagant conduct by the Bacchic revels or stimulated by the wine, as the temperament within them becomes different. But especially does the imaginative faculty of the soul seem to be swayed by the alterations in the body, and to change as the body changes, a fact which is clearly shown in dreams ; for at one time we find ourselves beset in our dreams by a multitude of visions of all sorts, and at another time again there comes a complete calmness and rest free from all such fancies. We ourselves know of Cleon here from Daulia and that he asserts that in all the many years he has lived he has never had a dream ; and among the older men the same thing is told of Thrasymedes of Heraea. The cause of this is the temperament of the body, just as that of persons who are prone to melancholy, at the other extreme, is subject to a multitude of dreams and visions ; wherefore they have the repute of possessing the faculty of dreaming straight ; for since they turn now to this

[a] *Cf.* 406 B, *supra.*

438 γὰρ ἄλλοτε τῷ φανταστικῷ τρεπόμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ πολλὰ βάλλοντες, ἐπιτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις.

51. "Ὅταν οὖν ἁρμοστῶς ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὥσπερ φαρμάκου κρᾶσιν ἡ φανταστικὴ καὶ μαντικὴ δύναμις, ἐν τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν· ὅταν δὲ μὴ οὕτως, μὴ γίγνεσθαι, ἢ γίγνεσθαι παράφορον καὶ οὐκ ἀκέραιον καὶ ταρακτικόν,[1] ὥσπερ ἴσμεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἔναγχος ἀποθανούσης Πυθίας.[2] θεοπρόπων γὰρ ἀπὸ ξένης παραγενομένων, λέγεται τὰς πρώτας κατασπείσεις ἀκίνητον ὑπομεῖναι καὶ ἀπαθὲς τὸ ἱερεῖον· ὑπερβαλλομένων δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ προσ-
B λιπαρούντων, μόλις ὕπομβρον γενόμενον καὶ κατακλυσθὲν ἐνδοῦναι.[3] τί οὖν συνέβη περὶ τὴν Πυθίαν[4]; κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς φασιν ἄκουσα καὶ ἀπρόθυμος, εὐθὺς δὲ περὶ[5] τὰς πρώτας ἀποκρίσεις ἦν καταφανὴς τῇ τραχύτητι τῆς φωνῆς οὐκ ἀναφέρουσα δίκην νεὼς ἐπειγομένης, ἀλάλου[6] καὶ κακοῦ πνεύματος οὖσα πλήρης· τέλος δὲ παντάπασιν ἐκταραχθεῖσα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀσήμου καὶ[7] φοβερᾶς φερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἔρριψεν ἑαυτήν, ὥστε φυγεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς θεοπρόπους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν προφήτην Νίκανδρον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν ὁσίων. ἀνείλοντο μέντοι μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτὴν εἰσ-
C ελθόντες ἔμφρονα καὶ διεβίωσεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας.

"Τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας ἁγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίμεικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς ὁμιλίαις

[1] *ταρακτικόν*] *πρακτικόν* in most MSS.
[2] *Πυθίας* Bernardakis (but *cf.* 295 D): *πυθιάδος*.
[3] *ἐνδοῦναι* Turnebus: *ἔνδον ἦν*.
[4] *Πυθίαν*] *πυθιάδα* in almost all MSS.
[5] *δὲ περὶ* Turnebus: *δ' ἐπὶ*. [6] *ἀλάλου*] *ἀλλ' ἀλαοῦ* Reiske.
[7] *ἀσήμου καὶ* omitted in most MSS.

and now to that in their imagery, like persons who shoot many arrows, they often manage to hit the mark.

51. "Whenever, then, the imaginative and prophetic faculty is in a state of proper adjustment for attempering itself to the spirit as to a drug, inspiration in those who foretell the future is bound to come; and whenever the conditions are not thus, it is bound not to come, or when it does come to be misleading, abnormal, and confusing, as we know in the case of the priestess who died not so long ago. As it happened, a deputation from abroad had arrived to consult the oracle. The victim, it is said, remained unmoved and unaffected in any way by the first libations; but the priests, in their eagerness to please, went far beyond their wonted usage, and only after the victim had been subjected to a deluge and nearly drowned did it at last give in. What, then, was the result touching the priestess? She went down into the oracle unwillingly, they say, and half-heartedly; and at her first responses it was at once plain from the harshness of her voice that she was not responding properly; she was like a labouring ship and was filled with a mighty and baleful spirit. Finally she became hysterical and with a frightful shriek rushed towards the exit and threw herself down, with the result that not only the members of the deputation fled, but also the oracle-interpreter Nicander and those holy men that were present. However, after a little, they went in and took her up, still conscious; and she lived on for a few days.

"It is for these reasons that they guard the chastity of the priestess, and keep her life free from all

(438) καὶ ἄθικτον φυλάττουσι[1] τῆς Πυθίας,[2] καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ σημεῖα λαμβάνουσιν, οἰόμενοι τῷ θεῷ κατάδηλον εἶναι, πότε τὴν πρόσφορον ἔχουσα κρᾶσιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀβλαβῶς ὑπομενεῖ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντας οὔτε τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ διατίθησιν ὡσαύτως ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὑπέκκαυμα παρέχει καὶ ἀρχὴν ὥσπερ εἴρηται τοῖς
D πρὸς τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μεταβαλεῖν οἰκείως ἔχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ θεία μὲν ὄντως καὶ δαιμόνιος, οὐ μὴν ἀνέκλειπτος οὐδ' ἄφθαρτος οὐδ' ἀγήρως καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον ὑφ' οὗ πάντα κάμνει τὰ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ σελήνης κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω φάσκοντες οὐχ ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἀπαυδῶντα πρὸς τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἄπειρον συνεχέσι[3] χρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς καὶ παλιγγενεσίαις.

52. "Ταῦτ'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "πολλάκις ἀνασκέπτεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, ὡς ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ὑπονοίας πρὸς τοὐναντίον, ἃς ὁ καιρὸς οὐ παρέχει πάσας ἐπεξελθεῖν· ὥστε καὶ
E ταῦθ' ὑπερκείσθω καὶ ἃ Φίλιππος διαπορεῖ περὶ ἡλίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος."

[1] *φυλάττουσι*] *φυλαττούσης* most MSS.
[2] Πυθίας] *πυθίαδος* most MSS.
[3] *συνεχέσι* Wyttenbach; *ὀξείαις* Reiske: *ὀξέσι*.

association and contact with strangers, and take the omens before the oracle, thinking that it is clear to the god when she has the temperament and disposition suitable to submit to the inspiration without harm to herself. The power of the spirit does not affect all persons nor the same persons always in the same way, but it only supplies an enkindling and an inception, as has been said, for them that are in a proper state to be affected and to undergo the change. The power comes from the gods and demigods, but, for all that, it is not unfailing nor imperishable nor ageless, lasting into that infinite time by which all things between earth and moon become wearied out, according to our reasoning. And there are some who assert that the things above the moon also do not abide, but give out as they confront the everlasting and infinite, and undergo continual transmutations and rebirths.

52. " These matters," I added, " I urge upon you for your frequent consideration, as well as my own, in the belief that they contain much to which objections might be made, and many suggestions looking to a contrary conclusion, all of which the present occasion does not allow us to follow out. So let them be postponed until another time, and likewise the question which Philip raises about the Sun and Apollo."