Book I

Mother of Aeneas and of his Rome, and of gods
and men the joy, dear Venus, who underneath the gliding
heavenly signals busies the seas with ships and makes
earth fruitful (for only through you are living things
conceived

and because of you they rise up to bask in the light of the sun):

from you the harsh winds flee and the skies' black storm clouds scatter

at your approach; for you the intricate earth sprouts flowers,

wide ocean roads subside into gentle smiling, and furthest reaches of heaven glow serene in response to your prompting.

In the spring's first days, the nurturing western breezes breathe

free again, and birds in the air, smitten by you,

warble the news of your coming, as beasts of woods and fields cavort in the meadows and splash through brooks—and all for love.

Under your spell, all creatures follow your bidding, captive, eager even. Look to the teeming seas, the mountains, the fast-flowing streams, the treetops, or rolling gorse where birds

flutter and dance the reel of lust as earth once more renews itself as you have ordained, for you alone govern the nature of things, and nothing comes forth to the light

except by you, and nothing joyful or lovely is made.

I seek, therefore, your blessing and help in writing these verses

that I presume to compose on the Nature of Things, the way

things come about and are—for Memmius's sake, my friend

whom you have favored, goddess: for his sake give me words.

Make it happen that war interrupts its savage work on land and sea, for this would be within your power and you can bring to mortals that peace we long for as Mars,

who is mighty in warfare and rules over bloody deeds, adores you,

will lay his head in your lap, defenseless, utterly vanquished and altogether undone by love's unhealable wound. Gazing upward at you, his neck stretched back, his eyes feeding upon your beauty as, breathless with adoration,

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he listens while you let fall from those luscious lips your coaxing

that for your sake, sweet lady, he allow the Romans peace—for in times of trouble and threat, I cannot perform my task nor, so beset, can the Memmii's noble son neglect his duties' demands. I pray for peace, such as the gods, immortal, enjoy, cut off as they are from the world's woes. Free of all threat of danger, divinity has no need of us and our rites or reason to fret at our impotent anger.

For the rest, Memmius, friend, turn your keen mind, detached

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from the cares of the office you hold to these philosophical questions

that I will address and with all my talents attempt to make clear.

Do not turn away or hold in contempt these earnest efforts but give me your patience while I expound for your understanding the laws of the heavens, explain the ways of the gods, and reveal first principles—how all things in nature

are made, how they increase and are nourished, and how in its time

nature dissolves them again and reduces them back to the seeds

of what we refer to as Matter: what we explain is being and becoming, for from these primary bodies all things arise.

It was long the case that men would grovel upon the earth,

crushed beneath the weight of Superstition whose head

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loomed in the heavens, glaring down with her dreadful visage

until Epicurus of Greece dared to look up and confront her, taking a stand against the fables and myths of the gods with their stories of those impending thunderbolts from above

and the vengeful roar of the skies that merely provoked his courage

and strengthened his will to defy them and shatter the bars of the cage

where Nature was kept in confinement. By the lively force of his mind

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he triumphed, forcing a breach through flaming walls of the world

to travel the universe in thought and imagination and return from his adventure bearing the prize of knowledge

of what can come into being and what cannot, the limits of the powers of things and their clear and orderly boundary lines.

Superstition is now unseated and trampled down while by his thought is mankind exalted as high as the heavens.

But one thing gives me pause—that you may see in my effort

to tread the paths of reason some risk of impiety. No! the opposite is the case, for Superstition produces wicked, even unholy, behavior. Think of that host at Aulis where Diana's altar was fouled with the blood of Iphigenia: they decked the maiden's hair with the fillets

of sacrifice and she knew, when she saw her sorrowing father

surrounded by his attendants hiding the terrible knife and the people assembled weeping silent, bitter tears, what was about to happen. Think of that poor girl who looked in vain to the king whom she had first called

father

and trembled as men laid hands upon her and bore her not to a flower-decked marriage altar with songs of loud

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rejoicing

but a sorrowing victim, immaculate virgin, to be defiled by her father's hand in order that fair winds favor the fleet. By Superstition we are driven to deeds of such great evil.

Someday even you may listen to one of these priests' empty threats and, in need or a moment of weakness,

be tempted

to listen as they conjure their vain dreams and sow seeds of doubt of the rules of right living and put your welfare at risk. It sounds good enough, but men, if only

they saw some limit to tribulation, could answer, summoning strength to defy the threats of their myths and superstitions. Who is so tough-minded that he can resist their stories of everlasting torments they tell us we face after death? Who can say for sure what the soul's nature might be, whether it is born with us or in some way existed before we were born and somehow installed itself? Who

knows

whether it dies when we do or lives on somewhere as a shade in the huge caverns of Orcus's gloom, or can it live on here on earth, perhaps in some animal's being? So our own great Ennius sang, who first brought down the laurel

from Helicon's height to win fame among the Italians. In immortal verse, he proposes as well another idea—that of the gloomy realm of Acheron, where neither bodies nor souls endure except as the vaguest likeness of what they had been in life. There, he imagines Homer, ever-blooming and fresh, arising before him, weeping, as he begins to expound on the hidden nature of things.

What we have to do is establish first principles: stars and the sun and moon and how they move about in the heavens;

and what are the laws that govern what happens here on earth?

And before everything else, we must observe and reason precisely

about the source of the spirit, the *anima*, and its nature, and also that of its partner, the *animus*, or mind.

How can it happen that things we encounter in waking life

return to appear before us in terrifying aspect when we are afflicted with illness or deep in sleep and dreaming,

so that we see and hear—or think that we do—close by us these wraiths, these simulacra, of those who are dead and whose bones

we well know lie in the earth's unremitting embrace?

I am not unaware of how difficult it will be
to make clear in these Latin verses obscure refinements

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of what the Greeks discovered. Our language needs to be stretched

and we shall be forced to invent new words for the new occasions

I know will arise. And yet I undertake this task your merit deserves, in the hope that I may find delight in your continuing friendship, for the sake of which I labor awake through the silent nights in my search for the right words

and cadences I may use to cast that bright, clear light in your mind of understanding of the hidden heart of things.

This terror, then, of the *animus*, this darkness of mind must be

dispelled, not by the sun's light or its rays' shafts but by careful observation and understanding of inner laws of how nature works. To start with, the first rule is that nothing can come from nothing, not even by will of the gods.

Mortal men are afraid as they look about them and see the many things that happen on earth and up in the sky, and they cannot tell why or how and therefore think that gods

must bring them about by fiat. But if our axiom holds and nothing can come of nothing, then we are obliged to look further

to learn what we want to know—how each thing was created

and how, without the gods, all things have come to be.

Consider the contrary case—that being could come from non-being

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and that anything could arise from anything or from nothing,

without even a seed. Men could emerge from sea-foam, scaly creatures could come swarming up from the earth, and birds could burst forth from the sky. In meadowlands

or deserts

cattle and wild beasts could simply appear at random, and trees could bear any fruit haphazardly, for all would be able to bring forth all, interchangeably. No bodies would produce their own kind: the idea of motherhood and fatherhood would give way. But it is not

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so, and we know how each kind comes from its seed, in a fixed,

unvarying manner, and everything that is born and makes its way

to the light has its material source in whatever came before it. It cannot happen that things can arise and be begotten from anything else: in each is a unique nature and individual power that sets it apart and defines it. Why do we always see roses bloom in the early spring or grain grow in the summer's heat, or grapes on their

vines

ripen in season in autumn, except that these life forms know

from the code that was there in their seeds what to do and when

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so that the teeming earth brings forth in safety its fragile beings that grow in the sunlight? Suppose that they just appeared, popping up out of nowhere at unpredictable moments, would they not come out of season at hostile times of the year

without some initial prompting, with neither restraint nor order

of generation that offers nature's many protections? And speaking of generation, what would be the need of time for maturation? Why would there be any wait for infants to grow into youth or seedlings to turn into trees?

But as we know well, one step must follow another as seeds

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sprout to become plants, preserving their own kind, and they grow in their proper seasons nourished by what is ordained.

Consider as well how the earth has its fixed seasons of rain without which it could not put forth its delightful yield of crops,

and animals then would starve for want of proper fodder by which they maintain themselves and renew their kinds.

Think

how letters make up words: in such a way are different bodies composed of the same elements that they all share and in lack of which none could come into being. Otherwise, why could not nature produce what we dream

up— 180

enormous men, so large they can wade across deep oceans or else with their bare hands tear great mountains asunder, and outlasting generations of ordinary life, except for the limitations ordained from the start not merely of flesh but of matter itself? We must therefore conclude that nothing can come of nothing and each thing needs some seed

from which it can germinate to be brought forth into the air's

gentle breezes. Lastly, we know how tillage is better than barren desert and soil that is worked gives better yields,

and from this we can reason back to the start of things that we bring to birth with the earth's clods broken up and turned

by a plowshare's blade. Otherwise, you would see, without the need

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for labor, the fruits of the soil pop up on their own and flourish.

Consider too how in nature things never disappear but are all resolved again to the elements that first made them. If matter just ceased to exist, then objects at any instant might simply vanish without any need of force to loosen the ties of their parts. But the seeds of things are eternal.

and nature does not allow, without some forcible blow that shatters or penetrates, for objects to be destroyed. If we allowed that time could devour matter, then how could Venus restore the races of living things to the earth, bringing each kind again and again to the light of life? And how, when she does, could the earth, that clever contriver, foster

its nurslings, providing appropriate sustenance to them all? How do the freshets continue to feed the brooks and springs

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that pour down from afar to replenish the oceans? How does the sky maintain the stars? In time's infinite stretch of days, how is it that all things we see of mortal body have not been devoured? We take it too much for granted,

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but these ephemeral beings, blessed with an immortal nature,

are somehow replenished over the course of the ages: they cannot—

and, indeed, they do not—disappear into non-being.

By the same cause would all things without any distinction be destroyed unless matter, itself everlasting, held them through time together enmeshed more closely or less in its bonds;

for the slightest touch would suffice for the destruction of things without

these particles that are immortal and that make up the world's body.

Some force is needed to sunder their texture and make them dissolve.

But since there are bonds that hold these elements together,

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and since matter is everlasting, things do abide and persist until some force appears that is great enough to disturb them,

and then things do not return to nothingness but, disrupted, are reduced to the elements of which they were first composed.

Raindrops, when the ethereal father has cast them into the lap of the earthly mother, may pass away, but green crops arise from the soil and branches on trees bud with new leaves and later with blossoms and then they bear their fruit.

From this we and our kind and other kinds derive our nourishment; from this comes the wealth of cities

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where

children play in the streets and the plenty of country scenes where songbirds frolic in orchards and raise their chicks;

from this

come flocks and herds that graze and lay their weary, fat bodies upon their pastures' greenswards to chew the cud or give suck to their young with milk from swollen udders while the kids and calves on the grass gambol on wobbly legs,

their hearts made glad by their drinking. And what do these pictures tell us

but the fundamental truth that nothing passes away utterly, but nature makes use of it and renews one thing with another? Nothing is born into being unless by this re-deployment of something else that has died.

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Now that I have explained how nothing can come from nothing

and that once a thing is brought forth it cannot return to nothing,

let me buttress my case lest you harbor still some doubts and find cause to distrust what I have been expounding, for these minuscule atoms cannot be seen by the naked eye but rather must be understood from inferences that we draw about what must be there, whether we see it or not.

Imagine a mighty wind that comes up to beat on the	
ocean	250
to overwhelm huge ships and scatter the clouds in the sky,	
sweeping along the plains with hurricane force that trees	
bow down to or rise up to join as their branches fly,	
and the blasts are so strong that even the mountains	
shudder.	
You can feel its fury and hear its savage, threatening	
howling.	
You cannot see this wind that roils the sea and sweeps	
the earth and harries the clouds across the sky's expanses	
this way and that, but you do not question that it is there.	
You've seen how water behaves, how gently purling	
brooks	260
can suddenly rise up, bursting their bonds and wreaking	
havoc when a deluge of water comes pouring down	
from the mountains' melting snows to dash against trees	
and destroy	
forests. Not even the strength of stone can withstand its	
force,	
and bridges give way to these torrents as they boil about	
their piers.	
With an awesome uproar it spreads its terrible devastation,	
tossing enormous boulders along in its currents and	
sweeping	
away whatever may lie in its catastrophic path.	
In just such a way can the blasts of a mighty wind bring	
ruin	

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to whatever stands in its way that its eddies scatter,

shatter,

and carry off in a moment, the rival of any great river in flood, although no man can see the wind that is surely there. Therefore I say that if wind, although unseen, and water behave in similar ways, then wind as well as water must be possessed of some material body.

Think, for that matter, of smell, and how we can discern the various odors of things that we may or may not see, but we are aware of their presence. Consider how we feel scorching heat that we cannot see with our eyes or bitter cold. Likewise, we perceive sounds, which have some substance

that we can make out with our senses but cannot behold with our eyes.

Nothing can touch or be touched, affect or be affected, unless it be possessed of some kind of physical body.

Clothing you hang on a line near the shore in the surf spray will grow damp but these garments spread out in the sun will dry,

but nobody sees that dampness pervade them or then, in the heat,

disappear, but the water was there in its minuscule particles that the attentive eye could never discern.

Over the course of time, the gold on a ring will wear thin by the finger's flesh, as the constant drip of water will hollow the hardest stone. The curved blade of the plow dwindles down as it works the clods of earth, and the feet of many men will erode the stony pavement of roads. You've seen the hands of statues that men have set by gateways

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that those who pass have touched in greeting, rubbing them thin,

and at each of these encounters, some particles must wear off that are far too tiny for our crude eyes to discern.

Observe as closely and keenly as anyone can the way things grow in nature—a plant, for example, that adds to itself

little by little and over the course of time is clearly larger. Or think of the opposite case, of something that time

diminishes—an overhanging rock that the waves of the salt sea gnaw, but you cannot see what is lost at each occasion. We therefore conclude how nature's workings depend

on the actions—and therefore the presence—of bodies that are not seen.

On the other hand, it is also true that things in the world

are not clumped together in one solid mass, but instead we must suppose there are also voids or empty spaces. This, I think you will find, is a necessary notion, without which you are likely to wander in some

at a loss as to how the world is made and also distrustful of what I am here proposing. There has to be empty space, emptiness that allows for the possible movement of things from one place to another. Otherwise bodies, fixed, could go neither forward nor backward in space that was

already filled.

confusion—

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But things, as you have seen yourself, can move at sea, on land, and across the heights of heaven in various ways. Were there no voids, they could not possibly manage to do this,

for matter then would be packed in one continuous mass. This is not to say that solids are not all the same, for some are permeable, as the rocks in certain caves must be to allow the water that oozes through to collect in drops so that the walls are dripping or even appear to weep. Think how in the bodies of living things the food is dispersed to all the parts. Trees grow and put forth their fruits

nourished by what the roots take from the soil below that flows up through the trunk and then out through the branches.

Sounds can pass through solid walls of rooms in houses, and cold can come through the clothing to permeate to the bones.

If there were no voids, no spaces through which these things

could somehow manage to pass, you would not see these effects.

Finally, why is it true that you see two objects the same in size but different in weight? A ball of wool, for example, weighs less than a ball of lead of exactly the same dimensions.

How could this be, if it were not for voids in the ball of wool?

The lead is more compact, which gives it that greater heft. We must therefore conclude for such good reasons as these 320

that intermingled with matter there must also be voids.

But here let me forestall an idea that could be posed as an alternate explanation, lest it should beguile you

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and lead you away from the truth. Some philosophers argue

that water yields to the pressure of the fish in the sea, that it opens

before them and closes behind, and from this they generalize

to a system in which all things move in and out, exchanging

places with one another. It's possible, is it not?
But, no, upon further inspection, it makes no sense whatever,

for where would the water go, and from where could it then close back

upon itself, and how, in the first place could the fish move at all? For things to move, there must be spaces intermingled with matter and allowing this to happen.

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Lastly, let us suppose two objects set in motion after a sudden impact, leaping apart . . . What happens? Air comes rushing in to fill the void they make and however quickly that happens, the currents of air that arrive

to fill the space cannot do this all at once but must go, as all matter does, from one point to the next. Or do you perhaps suppose, when the objects separate, that the air is somehow compressed? But this cannot be the case,

for then a void would be made that had not existed before, and a void that had existed would have to have been filled.

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Besides, the air cannot have its parts compressed that way, withdrawing into itself as a more compact mass.

Object however you may, you must at last concede that there is a void in things. Look around at the world and other demonstrations will come to your eye to buttress what I am saying here. For a keen mind like your own it won't be at all hard. Hounds can follow a trail

on a leaf-strewn mountainside once they have picked up a scent.

So, too, will you follow the trail of my exposition and see for yourself how logic leads from one thing to the next

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to draw forth truth from that hidden lair where it hides in the brush.

But should you not rise to the task or falter from time to time,

I promise you Memmius, friend, to do what I can to whet your appetite for wisdom with melodious speech I pour forth.

I will do my utmost to offer bounteous draughts of the treasure

stored in my mind, lest age should sap the strength of our limbs

and loosen the bonds of our health before I have won you over

But let us return to the task of weaving this web of discourse.

Everything in nature is made up of two things, for there are, on the one hand, bodies, and then, on the other,

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voids in which these bodies are and through which they move

one way or another. Our common-sense perception declares

that every body has its own separate existence, and we must base our belief on what our senses report, for this is the starting point from which our reason proceeds to reconcile and refine and to tease out hidden truths. This is how we arrive at our views of matter and voids, and their logical need if we are to make an account of motion

or even an object's location as we have just now seen.

There is nothing else in the world but matter and void: there is no

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third mode of being in nature. Whatever there is must possess physical properties our senses can report. However small it may be, it will have heft and substance, and, providing that it exists, can be weighed and measured.

But if,

on the other hand, it is an intangible and empty, allowing things to pass through it at any point or direction, then it must be what we have defined here as a void. If it acts or is acted upon, then it must be a body, but if things can be in it or move through it, then it is a void.

But there can be nothing further, no third thing that remains

that our senses can perceive or our reasoning understand.

Whatever we call by a name must either be possessed of properties of these two or of accidents of the same. A property is that which can never be separated without a thing's destruction and dissolution—as weight is a property of stone, or fluidity of water, or touch to a body or intangibility to a void. But slavery or wealth or poverty or freedom or war or peace . . . whatever may come and go while the thing

itself remains intact, its nature still the same, these are what we may distinguish as accidents.

Time has no independent existence but it derives from things and our sense of what has been done in the past

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and come to a close, what is now present, and what is to follow

later on. No one could have any sense of time except from things that move and change or else remain still.

When men talk of the rape of Helen or speak of the Trojan War, we may wonder how these things may be said to "exist,"

for what took place in the past to generations of men that have long ago departed may be classed as accidents of the countries involved or at least the regions where these things happened,

for without the people, the substance, the space in which these things

"took place," as we say, no fire could have been fanned into flames

of love for Tyndareus's daughter to burn in Paris's heart and set alight the blaze of savage war; no horse gravid with night-born Greeks could have fooled the sons of Troy.

As you see, then, actions—events—do not exist in \themselves

as a body does or a void, but are accidents of these.

The next point is that bodies are partly primordial things

and partly formed of the union of these primordial things. Those things which are primal, no power can quench, for they endure,

solid, stolid, unchanged. But what, you ask, can they be and where in all creation can such solid bodies be found? The thunderbolts of heaven pass through the walls of houses

as sounds can do, and voices; iron turns hot in fire, red and then white; stones in great heat will sunder, as gold will dissolve to liquid in that fire, or icy bronze will yield and melt. You have held in your hands cups wrought of silver

and your palms have felt how both heat and cold will pass through the metal

from the liquid within. So how can there possibly be such solids

when everything seems to change and shift. But let us reason

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and observe more closely and parse what nature's constraints imply

as we expound in these verses how there may be everlasting things with solid perdurable bodies, the seeds and the first beginnings from which all things we see in nature are built. We agreed that nature is two-fold, and whatever there is must be

composed of the two dissimilar things, which are bodies and space.

Each must exist unmixed, for whatever is empty or void cannot contain any matter. Likewise, what we call matter cannot include voids or empty spaces, for bodies are solid and do not have voids. In any created thing, where there are voids there must be solid matter around them.

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And, by the same token, reason tells us that voids must have solid matter containing them within it. What we behold in the world is therefore a compound of matter and voids,

each of them everlasting and each of them needing the other.

Without the voids, the universe would have to be one huge solid. And in the same way, without matter, the world would be all void, vacant, an enormous, empty space.

Therefore, without any doubt, through logic, we must

Therefore, without any doubt, through logic, we must conclude,

since the world is neither completely full nor yet completely empty, that there must be both matter and empty space, each separate from the other. The bodies cannot be dissolved,

destroyed by blows from without, nor pierced, nor decomposed

from within, nor assailed, nor shivered, as I have already explained,

for without voids nothing is crushed or split in two, or shattered, or broken; nothing can let in liquid or cold or heat by which things are destroyed. But the more a thing has voids,

the likelier it can be shaken or undone by whatever attacks it.

Therefore, if these primordial things are entirely solid and have no voids, they are—and they must be—everlasting.

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Think of how it would be if this were not the case: if matter were not everlasting, then things long ago would have all

returned to nothingness, and whatever we see before us would have been born from nothing—which, as we have agreed,

simply cannot happen, for nothing can come from nothing, as what has been created cannot be reduced to nothing. There have to be first beginnings, primordial pieces of

matter

into which things are resolved at their last moments, units that recombine and from which all new things must arise. These primordial bits are therefore solid, unitary, which is the only way they can have lasted from time's beginnings through the ages, making each new thing. Go at it another way and think how it would be if nature had not provided a limit to how far things

could break up or break down. By now, the relentless grinding

down of things of all the ages that have gone by would have so far reduced all matter that nothing could be conceived, let alone be brought to birth in the world. It only stands to reason that things will break down faster than

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they

can be built up or than they can be made anew. Those infinite aeons of matter breaking down and

dissolving could never be made good, reversed, or repaired again,

except for some limitation beyond which nature does not deteriorate—since we see how things persist or even reappear in the world, each after its kind in order to re-attain what we call the flower of life.

Now even if matter is solid, still we must give some account of how it can be that certain things in the world are soft—air, for instance, or water, or fire, or, sometimes, earth—500 and how these are formed and what forces govern the way they behave

once void has been intermingled. The contrary idea—
of things that were soft from the first beginnings—is hard
to defend,

for how then would we account for the hardness of flint or iron?

Nature would lack that foundation on which creation is based.

Solids and single atoms have to exist, which, packed more densely together, can show a greater hardness and strength.

It also stands to reason that if there were no natural limit to how far things could break down, it would be strange indeed

that after an infinite time, bodies of every kind 510 remain and have somehow persisted, never even in danger. For if all things can dissolve, how could they have remained over time everlasting, exposed as all things are to assault?

Likewise, there is also a limit set to the size to which things can grow, each true to its own kind and type, and each with a finite lease on existence. So nature decrees what each thing can do and what it cannot. In the world, nothing seems to change and everything proves to be faithful to what was intended: thus, birds in succeeding generations display those same markings by which their kind is

distinguished,
just as their bodies are made of immutable bits of matter.
It would follow, if those primordial bits could be altered
or changed

or in any way transcended, then consequences would not necessarily follow and anything then could arise from anything. But this does not happen, and each thing has defining limits that order the generations that repeat themselves in nature in the parents' forms and behaviors.

We know there are tiny bits that exist at the very edge of what our senses perceive and can report: and there at that tiniest point, the smallest possible thing exists, without component parts, but a part of something larger, for, lacking in weight or force, it cannot exist alone but must join with other tiny bits to be part of something

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else, another and larger thing to which it adheres, each in its own place, organized and arranged in such a way that these atoms cannot be torn away.

These atoms, these first beginnings, are single, solid, small, closely compact, cohering, not made of component parts but strong because unitary and eternal because in nature nothing may tear them down, erode them, or further

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diminish

these minuscule things that persist as the seeds for all that is.

Simple logic requires that there be some ultimate smallness,

some tiny thing that cannot be further subdivided, otherwise each mote would consist of infinite parts, each of which would of course be divisible yet again into another set of infinite parts, and so on and so on, with no limit to the endless diminution.

What difference then would there be between the sum of things

and the least of things? Both of them infinite? Both equal?

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But that is where we should be, with the infinite absolutes of largeness and smallness—but reason rebels against such a notion,

and the mind balks. You must, therefore, agree and yield, confessing that there are things that cannot be further reduced

to a set of component parts because they are already as small as things can get in nature. These things, then, must exist, these atoms, solid, and everlasting. Finally, think how if nature, the great creatrix, had planned for things to be resolved to infinitely tiny parts, then she could not reconstitute from these the things we see around us in all their rich and diverse qualities that she achieves by the process of augmentation from the generative matter from which all being derives.

Speaking, as we have been, of nature's need for difference in the seeds of things, let us consider the theory that fire is the source of whatever exists, the original parent substance. This cannot be correct. It was Heraclitus who said so—a famous Greek, but hardly one of their serious thinkers. A lot of those silly Greeks adore rhetorical tricks and mystic pronouncements that may be attractive but never enlighten.

That kind of thing is for fools who love what they can't understand,

are impressed by opaque propositions, and suckers for ornate style,

whatever fine-sounding phrases tickle their gullible ears. But what he doesn't and can't explain is how things are so various here in the world, if they all are descended from fire,

pure and simple, for how is fire more or less dense?

Are particles of fire, the individual sparks,

of the same nature as that which we find in the whole

blaze?

Are the particles compressed in a hotter and more intense fire? Or contrariwise, when they are dispersed, does it burn

with less heat? Or do these questions even apply?

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But you have to suppose some kind of differentiation to account for the wide range of material things in the world,

and what can fire do but burn with more or less heat?

There is also another problem: we've agreed that matter is mixed

with voids, but how can it happen that fire can grow more dense

and still be left as rare as it is. Believers in fire shrink from these heights and in fear lose the path of truth. Without these voids all things would have to condense and congeal

into one solid body from which not even heat or light could escape, as we know happens with any fire, which clearly means that it cannot be packed together this way.

In a closer or looser union, fire would be changed and its substance would no longer be fire, in which case there would be no heat or light in the world. Fire would perish to nothing, and it would follow that all things are made of nothing. It also is true that if fire is turned into something else, then fire would perish, no longer be fire,

for something must persist in things, or they turn into nothing,

in which case the things that are would have to be born of nothing.

But surely there are some things that persevere, their nature always the same, no matter how often they come 600

and go, transforming themselves, and reviving—and we may be certain

that these things cannot be made of fire, agglomerating and fracturing, changing place, and retaining the nature of fire.

Whatever came this way would still have to be fire.

But I think the truth is this—that there are in the world bodies

which, by their positions, relations, motions, and order, can produce fire and which, when their order is changed, change

the nature of the thing that they make up together, but they are not like fire nor indeed like anything else that sends out bits to the senses or that we are able to touch.

Further, to say that all things are fire and that nothing of all the number of things is real excepting fire as this same person does . . . It strikes me as utter madness, for what he is fighting against is what his own senses tell him,

which makes no sense whatever and cuts at the root of belief through which he knows all things—including the thing

he calls

fire, for what his senses report to him as "fire" is different from everything else that is just as clear to his sight

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or touch or hearing. He has to be stark staring mad. To what else can we appeal except our senses? What else do we rely upon to distinguish truth from falsehood? Why attempt to deny that everything else is real and only accord that odd honor to fire, rather

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than say that fire too is unreal and doesn't exist, and then substitute something else and acknowledge its "being"?

Whichever side you come down on this question, it's cuckooland!

Therefore, they're equally wrong: those who think that fire

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is what all things are made of and the universe itself; those who think that air is the primary element from which all things arise; those who say that water creates all things by itself; or those who opt for earth that somehow by changing itself produces all that there is. They have all strayed from the truth. Similarly those who combine, say, air and fire, or water and earth, or all four of these things together—earth, fire, air, and water. Foremost among the men who speculate in this way is Empedocles, the poet, who lived in Agrigento, in Sicily, that triangular island washed by the green Ionian sea and sprayed by the salty spume of its waves that divide it from the mainland. There is the ruinous

in which Charybdis lurks, and there is the mighty Etna rumbling its threats that it sometimes makes good with flame

whirlpool

that bursts forth from the depths of the earth to hurl to the

its flickering tongues of fire. This island boasts of many great wonders that people come from all over the world to see and admire. It is a fertile place and stocked with many fine men, and yet it can boast of nothing greater,

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finer, or more sacred than that this man lived here— 650 Empedocles, whose poems speak in a loud clear voice the thoughts of an adventurous mind that seems to transcend what we have always thought was the limit of mortal men.

My admiration for him is all but boundless, and still, although there is much in his thought and work that merits praise,

as there is, indeed, in the work of men who are less than he, but still in their various ways, rich and even inspired in their vision of things as they gave their explanations and answers

that seemed to come from a source at least as holy and far more sure than the Delphic priestess sitting upon her tripod

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pronouncing the words we suppose must come from Apollo, yet

all these eminent thinkers and writers stumble and fall when they address the question of how things came to be. Great as they were, so too were their falls from correctness great.

Think how they all assume motion and yet do not allow for voids in which such motion would have to take place.

They propose, instead, some softness and rarefaction, so air and sun and water and earth can mix and mingle in beasts and crops—and yet without any voids in their bodily structures.

Think also how they place no limit upon the division of parts into smaller parts or fixed point beyond which nothing can be further reduced; in other words,

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they deny that there is an extreme point beyond which, as our senses

tell us, there can be no further breaking down.

We have already reasoned that just as there is a minimal point

below which things cannot be perceived by the senses, so there must be a least extreme in what we cannot perceive but that nevertheless exists invisibly in nature.

And then, in the third place, think how they assume that the first beginnings in nature are soft, which is to say entirely perishable—and thus must return to nothing, which of course means that things must also arise from nothing.

We have agreed that both these views have to be wrong. Furthermore, these things are incompatible, hostile, poison one to another, so that when they come together they perish or fly apart, as when in a gathering storm we see the thunderbolts and the wind and rain contending.

Besides, if from these four things the rest are created and then resolved again into the four from which they came, how can one say that they are the first

beginnings?

As easy to look at the process the other way and say that from all the things that exist, four elements result. These four are begotten, one after another, and change their color and their nature, each giving way to the next in an endless, timeless progression. If you suppose that fire and earth and airy wind and water can come together without changing the nature of each of them, you will see that it can't happen, and nothing, animate or not,

68o

beast or tree, can arise—for each of the elements mixes only in discord with the others, and each will show its persistent nature. Air and earth, or fire and water, cannot abide one another. But primal beginnings must be things that have a secret and unseen nature that nothing can thwart or check from its proper being while it combines to make whatever is being made in the world we see.

Those who propose this theory maintain that the start is in heaven

and heaven's fire which somehow turns itself into air from the breezes of which is born the water of rain—and from that

earth is created. And then? All things return from earth, to water, to air, and then to the heat of the first fire. What they are saying, then, is that this process continues forever, back and forth, in their path from heaven to earth and from earth back to the stars of the firmament in heaven. But first-beginnings by no means ought to behave this way. It has to be that something abides, always the same, and that all things should not be emerging and then disappearing,

for whenever a thing changes into something else, or passes

out of its own nature, there is a kind of death of what it was before. Thus, the famous four elements we have been discussing are, by this account, changing and passing away, which means they must

be made of something else, must consist of something that doesn't

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have to change. Otherwise, the conclusion we could come to is that all things return to absolute nothingness.

Better by far to assume that bodies are endowed with such a nature that they can produce, say, fire, but with only a few rearrangements, something added or removed, they can make winds of the air or whatever, interchanging in a way that comports with reason and what we perceive around us.

But the counterargument is that we can see how living things grow into the air from out of the nourishing earth and need the rain in its proper season from the melting clouds in the skies above them, where the grateful trees shake their limbs, now in the rainstorms and now in the heat of the sun

whose fire fosters them and the crops about them, and beasts that cannot otherwise grow and thrive. And this is true. Who can deny that we need solid food to eat and liquid water to drink, without both of which we should lose

the flesh that clothes our bones, and our lives would leach away?

There can be no question that we ourselves are helped and nourished

by certain fixed things, as others are as well by other fixed things. There are many first beginnings we all have in common, commingled in various ways and nourished

according to their kinds. It is often of great importance with what and in what relation these first beginnings cohere

73°

together and how they move and how they receive one another,

for the same beginnings make up the sky, the sea, the earth, the flowing rivers, the sun overhead, and also our crops, our trees, and the beasts too—but differently mixed and in different

ways. Look at these lines of mine, with the same letters arranged in differing patterns to make the words and the phrases,

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but sharing the same characters. But the meanings are clear, I hope,

and have different sounds: so, too, can elements mix, the same

units that do not change in an order that always is new.

The elemental parts of the world, the unchanging beginnings

of things, do this as well, producing variety, difference, so that from them all the various wonders we see are brought forth.

Now let us turn to the subject of Anaxagoras's text, the *Homoeomeria*. This is the Greek name, clearly, for Latin does not have the richness of Greek, although one may surely explain

in the words of our mother tongue the ideas that he proposes.

What the *Homoeomeria* says is that bones, for example, are made

1. The Greek means "made up of like parts."

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of tiny little bones, and flesh likewise is made from teeny-weeny bits of flesh, and blood is made when many little droplets of blood unite together.

Gold, he thinks, consists of many small grains of gold, and earth is an agglomeration of little earths, as fire is of tiny fires, and water of drops of water, and so on and so on. But he does not allow voids anywhere in things, or place any limits on how fine things may be cut up. And I think he is just as wrong as all those others whose views we have taken pains to present.

77°

His first beginnings are weak and if indeed they are the primary things endowed with a similar nature to what they produce, then, like them, they must also suffer change and pass away, for nothing holds them back from the same ruin as that which affects their larger complex productions. How will these things endure under the pressures of nature, escape from death, and somehow elude the teeth of

destruction?

Fire? Water? Air? Which of these? Or blood or bone? Not one, I think, when everything is alike.

These beginnings will be as mortal as what we see with our eyes,

vanquished by the same violence and passing away. But as we have discussed and I have proved, things cannot fall away into nothing, as they cannot grow from nothing.

In any event, since food is what nourishes our bodies, we realize that muscle and bone and veins and blood are made up of parts that in no way are anything like themselves,

790

unless you suppose that foods of all kinds are themselves made up

of little bodies of sinew and bone and veins and blood, and that all food and drink is composed of things that are quite

unlike what they appear, but have in them commingled flesh and blood and bone and mucus and even pus.

And our food grows out of the earth, which ought to mean that the earth

is not what we think but consists of things that are somehow like food.

Apply this logic to other cases and see the results that are equally strange—that fire and smoke and ashes are hidden

in wooden logs, which therefore must be unlike themselves but must consist of things that are altogether different and arise out of the wood. Whatever bodies the earth nourishes and makes grow {must consist of unlike things which in turn contain yet other unlike ingredients.}²

To be fair, there is a loophole that Anaxagoras uses when he supposes that all things are somehow intermingled and hidden within one another. What appears and we see is what preponderates and therefore comes to the fore. But only a little thought will reveal the flaws of this theory, for if it were true then corn under the crushing weight of the turning millstone would bleed or reveal one of those other

2. The lines in curly brackets are missing in the mss. These follow Cyril Bailey's reasonable guess.

substances that nourish and build our bodies. But no, not a drop of blood oozes onto the miller's floor.

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- In the same way one could expect from the grass sheep graze on
- or else from the water they drink sweet drops of a milk-like substance
- that comes from the udders of fleecy ewes. Or from clods of earth,
- when you have crumbled them fine, you ought to see small signs
- of plants' seeds or leaves. Or when wood is shaved or sanded
- there ought to be traces of smoke and ashes and little fires—
- but as a plain matter of fact we know that this doesn't happen
- and that, instead, there must be seeds, common to all, and intermingled with all the things that arise from them.

And what could be the possible counterargument? Say that sometimes on mountaintops in the branches of tall trees

- that a strong wind rubs together, flowers of flame will blossom,
- and they blaze up together. But is it the "ignis" buried there in the "lignis," the flame at the heart of all wood? There are many things that can burn and whose seeds of

heat spark and then burst into flame when they are rubbed together, and if flame were hidden in all the trees of the woodlands,

they

would burst forth to consume the trees and the whole forest. I have already discussed the importance of how we think of the first beginnings of things and how they are held together,

830

what motions they give and take, and how the same elements, changed

slightly in their relation, create both fires and trees.

Just as the letters that make the words can change—from fir to fire—the things they name can also change and be changed.

What it comes down to is this: if you think that whatever you see

in the visible world cannot come into being without some earlier form of similar nature, then it must follow that the laughter this argument ought to engender will shake you with great

side-splitting guffaws until, all but helpless, you find 840 salt tears running down your cheeks and wetting your face.

Now pay attention. I'll try to be clear. I know these things are difficult and obscure, but I am full of the hope of fame: it's as if the thyrsus of Dionysus had struck my mind, even as my love of the Muses urged me onward to attempt untrodden paths on the heights of their sacred mountain.

I love to discover fresh springs that nobody else has drunk from,

to pluck new flowers and weave a chaplet for my brow from fields where no one has ever ventured before and the Muses have never recognized with this token of novel achievement.

850

What I'm writing about, after all, is of very high importance as I proceed to loosen the ligatures of religion.

The subject is also demanding of the clarity only the Muses' grace can give—which doesn't seem, after all, out of place.

Think of how doctors will give young patients bitter concoctions

but first touching the rim of the cup with a drop of honey to try to beguile the lips and the tongue so that the child may drink down the nasty juice of the wormwood or

whatever,

deluded but not betrayed, for the motive is to do him good and restore him to health. Just so, it is my intention to set forth my argument in sweet Pierian song, touching it with the drops of the Muses' sweetest honey the better to engage your mind with hexameter verses so that you may discover the world and how it is made,

86o

and come

to a better understanding of the true nature of things. We had been talking about how the bodies of matter are solid,

forever flying about and entirely unimpeded.

Let us now examine the question of whether or not there is any limit to these pieces of matter, and then whether there is also a limit to the spaces, the voids in which the basic bits exist and move.

In other words, what I ask is whether space is finite or extends forever without measure in height and breadth. The universe, one must reason, has no external limit,

for if it did then clearly there would have to be something beyond it,

something from which its border was a separation—but that

would also have to be part of the universe. Our reason tells us, therefore, that beyond the sum of things there cannot

be something else, something further, and we are then forced to conclude

that the universe is without any limit or end, and no matter

what point it may be that you happen to occupy, it is true that there is, extending in every direction, infinite space. Or let us consider the question in another way, supposing that in infinite space some person managed to get to the

furthest

limit and then somehow threw a flying lance beyond . . . Where does it go? Is there any "beyond" or does something block it?

You must choose one or the other, and neither makes any sense,

and compels you, then, to admit that the universe extends endlessly, for either there is an edge that prevents the lance from flying further or somehow makes it bounce

back,

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or else the edge turns out not really to be an edge, and whatever place you pick as your furthermost limit is not that at all. It doesn't exist anywhere, and the flight of the weapon can never escape into even more distant space. It also stands to reason that if all space stood within boundaries on all sides with fixed limits, then matter with its solid weight would have run together, collecting somewhere

at the bottom, and under heaven's capacious awning nothing could ever happen—nor could heaven itself exist, nor even the light of the sun, because all matter would lie in a dense heap having sunk from the very beginning of time.

But that hasn't occurred, and won't, and matter does not come to rest that way, but the world's business keeps on going with incessant motion in every part with the elements of matter supplied from infinite space.

We look at the landscape and see how one thing limits another:

between the hills and mountains is air, and around the sea there is earth, or if you will, the sea marks the land's end. But the universe is different, without any outer limit. Therefore, the extent and the depths of space are so great that not even quickest lightning bolts can traverse it all even though they hurtle onwards through endless time, for no matter how far they go in any direction, they cannot reduce the length they have yet to travel in endless space.

And nature also withholds any limits from matter because of the way she requires a body to be surrounded by void and also demands that the voids be surrounded by bodies.

It is by this alternation that she makes the universe infinite, for bodies or voids, without each other, would by themselves extend without any end or limit.

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{If we imagine space as infinite, it could not contain infinite matter; but if matter itself were finite,} neither sea nor land nor the shining realms of the sky nor the race of men, nor even the bodies of gods could stand

still for the shortest part of an hour—for that hoard of matter, driven abroad from its union would rush,

dissolved

through the huge void, or rather say that it never could in the first place have been compacted to any kind of form, because, scattered so widely, it never could have been rought together.

It stands to reason that all those first beginnings could not have placed themselves by design, each knowing where it went

and each endowed with an intellect, nor did they somehow agree

what motions they should produce, but because they were so many

and moving so many ways, they were harried and set into motion

with infinite collisions so that, in a random way, having tried every kind of motion and combination, they came

at last into such arrangements as the sum of things is made of.

And this is what has lasted through many years and aeons, for once these elements came together in their compatible patterns and motions, they produced a system in which rivers replenish the ever greedy seas with their water,

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and earth, in the heat of the sun, renews its generous yield.

So do the generations of living beings spring up which they could by no means do unless there were somewhere a great

store of matter that rose up from the infinite to replace in due season whatever is lost. To understand this, think of how an animal, deprived of food, will starve, wasting away and losing its body without the supply of matter. So it is with all things: they dissolve as soon as they are deprived of matter that is somehow turned away from its normal course and no longer provided.

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There are also external assaults from every direction, but these

cannot keep together the whole of each made thing where the pieces have come together in union, for, though they smite it,

again and again, and may keep some construction in place,

yet in the passage of time others arise and the sum is made good once again. Sometimes the bombarding atoms may bounce off and give to the first beginnings the time and space to escape so that they can fly clear of the combination in which they formerly made up

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And this is how it goes, with things rising up in great numbers,

a part.

and indeed, for the very bombardment of atoms there needs to be

an infinite supply of matter on every side.

Now there is a certain theory that some have proposed but you,

my dear Memmius, must by all means avoid: it claims that all things tend to the center and that for this reason the world

stands firm and holds together without external buffets, the highest and lowest as well unable to be set free because of this constant pressure, this tendency toward the middle.

In other words, the world is standing upon itself, with whatever is beneath the earth pressing upwards to find

an equipoise upside down—like images reflected on the surface of clear water. These people also maintain that animals there walk somehow with their heads

downward

and cannot fall from the earth into the sky's heights any more than our own bodies can fly up into heaven; and that when they see the sun, we are looking at stars of the night; and that they share the seasons with us in turn, just as they have night time when it is bright day for us. But this is absurd and false, and only the stupid can think that such twisted reason is plausible and embrace it. If indeed there really were a middle, could things stand still there at all, rather than instantly fly away—for an altogether different reason. All places and spaces, which we call voids, must yield a passage through that middle

(or not-middle) equal to weights, whatever their movements.

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Besides, there cannot be a place where bodies arrive and lose the force of weight, standing still in a void; nor can a void support anything with weight, but as its nature commands and desires, it yields place to bodies. Therefore, things cannot possibly be combined together in that way, yearning for some middle.

And in any event, they do not suppose that all bodies press toward the middle that way, but only earth and water—

the sea's liquid that pours down from the high mountains and such things as are held within the frame of earth. But then they try to account for the thin breezes of air and the flickering tongues of fire that are carried up from the middle.

And they cannot explain how the sky twinkles with constellations

and the sun's fire feeds through the blue sky, because all
heat flees from the middle and gathers itself up there.
And what about the tops of the trees that could not sprout leaves without the food that they get pouring up from the earth,

supplied by some internal fire. Their reasoning breaks down . . .

{If fire and air tend to move upward, then there's a danger} lest the walls of the world are suddenly dissolved and fly apart after the fashion of flames in a void with everything else comporting in like manner, the sky's thunder rushing upwards, and the earth slipping away from under our feet amid ruin of sky and everything else, their elements scattering out into an empty abyss

so that in one moment nothing is left behind but empty space and invisible atoms rushing about, for in whatever part you assume that these particles first shall be lacking, that will be the very gate of death for all things, and that will be how the mass of all the matter we see around us is dispersed into nothingness.

So, you will gain a most thorough understanding of all these subtle matters, led on with only a little effort, for as one thing becomes clear in your mind, it lights
the way
to the next so that night's blindness cannot obscure
your path or prevent your progress as you peer deep into nature's
depths as each found truth shines the way to the next.