

The art and thought of Heraclitus

*An edition of the fragments with
translation and commentary*

CHARLES H. KAHN

Professor of Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

LONDON NEW YORK NEW ROCHELLE

MELBOURNE SYDNEY

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Bibliography and abbreviations</i>	xiii
General introduction	1
1 The man, the time and the place	1
2 The book	3
3 The doctrine: Heraclitus and his predecessors	9
Introductory note to text and translation	25
The fragments	27
On reading Heraclitus	87
Commentary on the fragments	96
Appendices	
I Dubious quotations from Heraclitus	288
II Doxographic reports	290
III Heraclitus and the Orient, apropos of a recent book by M.L. West	297
Notes	303
Concordances	341
Indexes	
1 General index	349
2 Index of Passages discussed	353

Bibliography and abbreviations

Adkins, A.W.H. *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values* (Oxford, 1960)

AJP: *American Journal of Philology*

Anaximander: C.H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York, 1960)

'A new look at Heraclitus': C.H. Kahn in *American Philosophical Quarterly* 1 (1964), 189–203

Bollack, J. and H. Wismann. *Héraclite ou la séparation* (Paris, 1972)

Bronowski, J. *The Ascent of Man* (London, 1973)

Burnet, J. *Early Greek Philosophy* (4th ed. London, 1930)

Bywater, I. *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae* (Oxford, 1877)

Deichgräber, K. 'Bemerkungen zu Diogenes' Bericht über Heraklit', *Philologus* 93 (1938), 12–30

Diels, H. *Doxographi graeci* (Berlin, 1879; reprint, 1929)

Diels, H. *Herakleitos von Ephesos* (1st ed. Berlin, 1901; 2nd ed. 1909)

DK: H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th ed. by W. Kranz (Berlin, 1951)

D.L.: Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* (ed. H.S. Long, Oxford, 1964)

Dodds, E.R. *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951)

Fränkel, H. *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (1st ed. New York, 1951; 2nd ed. Munich, 1962)

Fränkel, H. *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denken* (3rd ed. Munich, 1968)

Furley, D. and R.E. Allen (eds.). *Studies in Presocratic Philosophy*, Vol. I (London, 1970)

Gigon, O. *Untersuchungen zu Heraklit* (Basel dissertation, Leipzig, 1935)

Gigon, O. *Der Ursprung der griechischen Philosophie* (Basel, 1945)

Gomperz, H. 'Ueber die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge einiger Bruchstücke Heraklits', *Hermes* 58 (1923), 20ff.

- Guthrie, W.K.C. *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1962)
- Hölscher, U. *Anfängliches Fragen: Studien zur frühen griechischen Philosophie* (Göttingen, 1968)
- Hussey, E. *The Presocratics* (London, 1972)
- JHS*: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- Kerschensteiner, J. *Kosmos. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den Vorsokratikern* (Munich, 1962)
- Kirk, G.S. *Heracitus, The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge, 1954)
- Kirk and Raven: G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1957)
- Lebeck, A. *The Oresteia: A Study in Language and Structure* (Washington, 1971)
- LSJ: Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1925–40)
- Mansfeld, J. *Die Offenbarung des Parmenides und die menschliche Welt* (Assen, 1964)
- Marcovich, M. *Heracitus, editio maior* (Merida, Venezuela, 1967)
- Marcovich, PW: article 'Herakleitos' in PW Supplement-Band X (1965), 246–320
- Mondolfo, R. and L. Tarán. *Eraclito. Testimonianze e Imitazioni* (Florence, 1972)
- North, H. *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Cornell, 1966)
- 'On early Greek astronomy': C.H. Kahn in *JHS* 90 (1970), 99–116
- Powell, J.E. *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1938; reprint, Hildesheim, 1960)
- PW: *Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll (Stuttgart, 1894–)
- Reinhardt, K. *Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (Bonn, 1916; reprint, 1959)
- Reinhardt, K. *Vermächtnis der Antike. Gesammelte Essays zur Philosophie und Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. C. Becker (Göttingen, 1966)
- Schleiermacher, F. *Herakleitos der dunkle, von Ephesos*, in *Sämtliche Werke* Abt. III, Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1839), pp. 1–146
- Snell, B. *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (3rd ed. Hamburg, 1955)
- Snell, B. 'Die Sprache Heraklits', *Hermes* 61 (1926), 353–81; in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen, 1966)
- Stokes, M.C. *One and Many in Presocratic Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971)
- The Verb 'Be' in Ancient Greek*: C.H. Kahn, *The Verb 'Be' and its*

- Synonyms*, Part 6, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar (Foundations of Language Suppl. Series, Vol. 16, Reidel, Dordrecht, 1973)
- Verdenius, W.J. 'A psychological statement of Heraclitus', *Mnemosyne*, Series 3.11 (1943), 115–21
- Vlastos, G. 'On Heraclitus', *AJP* 76 (1955), 337–68, reprinted in part in Furley and Allen
- von Arnim, H. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–5)
- Walzer, R. *Eracrito, Raccolta dei frammenti* (Florence, 1939; reprint, 1964)
- West, M.L. *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford, 1971)
- Wiese, H. *Heraklit bei Klemens von Alexandrien* (Kiel dissertation, 1963, typescript)
- Zeller-Nestle: E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, I, 6th ed. by W. Nestle (Leipzig, 1919–20)
- Zuntz, G. *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1971)

Introductory note to text and translation

I give here as a ‘fragment’ every ancient citation or report that seems to provide information about the content of Heraclitus’ book not otherwise available. Out of these 125 fragments, only 89 qualify as fully verbatim citations, and even this figure may be a bit too generous. The other 36 texts, marked here by square brackets, form a mixed bag. They include partial quotations blended with the citer’s own text, free paraphrases that may or may not preserve some of the original wording, and some reports of doctrine that do not even claim to represent Heraclitus’ words. Thus this second group of texts ranges from borderline quotations, that might be counted among the literal fragments, to doctrinal statements that could be listed with the doxography (in Appendix II). At either end the division is arbitrary. More significant, and less controversial, is the difference in principle between those passages where we have Heraclitus’ own words and those where we do not. It is this distinction that I have tried to mark by the use of square brackets.

The translation aims at giving a readable version of Heraclitus’ text, with as much literal accuracy as is compatible with the primary goal of not making Heraclitus more obscure in English than he is in Greek. In some cases, for example in LXXIII, D. 58, this means that the translation will deviate slightly from what I print as the most plausible text. In five cases (XLII, LXXII, LXXXI, XCV, and CXIII) I have combined two paraphrases in the translation or rendered the more reliable version. The glosses to the translation are designed to provide the minimum of lexical and other information required for a fair reading of the fragments. All substantive questions of scholarship and interpretation are postponed to the commentary.

In presenting the Greek text I follow Marcovich’s edition wherever possible, but without his spacing and occasionally without his punctuation. The critical notes are designed to indicate significant discrepancy between Marcovich (‘M.’) and Diels-Kranz (‘D.’), and my own divergences from Marcovich. The most important differences are the

following. In the case of XXXVII (D. 30), LXIII (D. 49), LXXXII (D. 80), LXXXVI (D. 86), CVIII (D. 77), CIX (D. 118), and CXXIII (D. 67), I reject an interpolation or emendation made by Bywater or Diels and accepted by most subsequent editors (except Bollack-Wismann, with whom I agree in these cases). In XXXII (D. 112) I accept the punctuation given by Bollack-Wismann, which crucially alters the sense. In the desperate case of LXXIII (D. 58) I follow the text of Kirk, against both Diels and Marcovich.

The fragments

I

I (D. 1, M. 1) Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* VII.132

τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ
 πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον· γινομένων γὰρ
 πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ἀπείροισιν εἰκόσιν πειρώμενοι καὶ
 ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιούτων ὁκοίων ἐγὼ διηγεῖμαι κατὰ φύσιν
 διαιρέων ἕκαστον καὶ φράζων ὅκως ἔχει· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
 ἀνθρώπους λανθάνει ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ποιοῦσιν ὅκωσπερ ὁκόσα
 εὐδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται.

II

II (D. 34, M. 2) Clement, *Stromateis* V.115.3

ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν εἰκόσιν· φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρεῖ
 παρεόντας ἀπεῖναι.

III

III (D. 2, M. 23b) Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* VIII.133

[διὸ δεῖ ἔπεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ · ξυνός γάρ ὁ κοινός.] τοῦ λόγου δ'
 ἐόντος ξυνοῦ ζῶουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν.

IV

IV (D. 17, M. 3) Clement, *Stromateis* II.8.1.

οὐ γὰρ φρονέουσι τοιαῦτα πολλοὶ ὁκοίοις ἐγκυρέουσιν, οὐδὲ μαθόντες
 γινώσκουσιν, ἐωυτοῖσι δὲ δοκέουσι.

III With Bywater and Bollack-Wismann, I take the words in brackets as a comment by Sextus. In the belief that they contain a genuine quotation Bekker inserted <ξυνῶ, τουτέστι τῷ> after τῷ and before κοινῷ; followed by D., M., and others.

IV For ὁκοίοις ἐγκυρέουσιν D. reads ὁκόσοι ἐγκυρεῖουσιν; others otherwise. The MSS have ὁκόσοι ἐγκυρσεύουσιν.

I

Although this account holds forever, men ever fail to comprehend, both before hearing it and once they have heard. Although all things come to pass in accordance with this account, men are like the untried when they try such words and works as I set forth, distinguishing each according to its nature and telling how it is. But other men are oblivious of what they do awake, just as they are forgetful of what they do asleep.

II

Not comprehending, they hear like the deaf. The saying is their witness: absent while present.

III

Although the account is shared, most men live as though their thinking were a private possession.

IV

Most men do not think things in the way they encounter them, nor do they recognize what they experience, but believe their own opinions.

I account: *logos*, saying, speech, discourse, statement, report; account, explanation, reason, principle; esteem, reputation; collection, enumeration, ratio, proportion; *logos* is translated 'account' here (twice) and also in III, XXVII, LX and LXII; it is rendered 'report' in XXXV, XXXVI and CI; 'amount' in XXXIX.

holds forever: text is ambiguous between 'this account is forever, is eternal' and 'this account is true (but men ever fail to comprehend)'.

III shared: *xynos*, common, in common, together: cf. same term in VI, XXX, LXXXII, XCIX.

thinking: *phronēsis*, intelligence, understanding.

IV think: *phroneousi*, understand, think straight; act with intelligence.

recognize: *ginōskousi*, know, be acquainted with; a recurrent theme: cf. XIX, XX, XXII, XXVII, etc.

believe their own opinions: *heōutoisi dokeousi*, lit. 'seem to themselves (to recognize and understand)', or 'imagine for themselves': cf. LXXXIV–LXXXV.

V

V (D. 71–3, M. 69b¹, 4, 3c, 1h¹) Marcus Aurelius IV.46

[[ἀεὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτειου μεμνησθαι . . .

(there follows a version of XLI, D. 76)

μεμνησθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλανθανομένου ἧ ἡ ὁδὸς ἄγει· καὶ ὅτι ᾧ
μάλιστα διηνεκῶς ὁμιλοῦσι (λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι) τούτῳ
διαφέρονται, καὶ οἷς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα
φαίνεται. καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὥπερ καθεύδοντας ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν.]]

VI

VI (D. 89, M. 24) Plutarch, *De Superstitione* 166C

[[ὁ Ἡράκλειτος φησι τοῖς ἐγρηγορόσιν ἓνα καὶ κοινὸν κόσμον εἶναι,
τῶν δὲ κοιμωμένων ἕκαστον εἰς ἴδιον ἀποστρέφεισθαι.]]

VII

VII (D. 18, M. 11) Clement, *Stromateis* II.17.4

ἐὰν μὴ ἔλπηται ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ ἐξευρήσει, ἀνεξερεύνητον ἐὼν καὶ
ἄπορον.

VIII

VIII (D. 22, M. 10) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.4.2

χρυσὸν οἱ διζήμενοι γῆν πολλὴν ὀρύσσουσι καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν ὀλίγον.

V

[[Men forget where the way leads . . . And they are at odds with that with which they most constantly associate. And what they meet with every day seems strange to them . . . We should not act and speak like men asleep.]]

VI

[[The world of the waking is one and shared, but the sleeping turn aside each into his private world.]]

VII

He who does not expect will not find out the unexpected, for it is trackless and unexplored.

VIII

Seekers of gold dig up much earth and find little.

V From Marcus Aurelius: 'Always bear in mind what Heraclitus said . . . about the man who forgets . . .'

at odds with: *diapherontai*, differ from; quarrel with: cf. LXXVIII and CXXIV; most of this text seems to be a reminiscence of other fragments (CVI, D. 117; IV, D. 17; and I or VI, D. 89).

VI From Plutarch: 'Heraclitus says that . . .'

IX

IX (D. 35, M. 7) Clement, *Stromateis* V.140.5

χρὴ εὖ μάλα πολλῶν ἱστορας φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας εἶναι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.

X

X (D. 123, M. 8) Philo, Themistius, etc.

φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ.

XI

XI (D. 47, M. 113) Diogenes Laertius IX.73

μὴ εἰκῇ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβαλλώμεθα.

XII

XII (D. A23, M. 6a¹) Polybius IV.40.2

[[οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πρέπον εἶη ποιηταῖς καὶ μυθογράφοις χρῆσθαι μάρτυσι περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, ὅπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πεποιήκασι περὶ τῶν πλείστων, ἀπίστους ἀμφισβητουμένων παρεχόμενοι βεβαιωτὰς κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.]]

IX

Men who love wisdom must be good inquirers into many things indeed.

X

Nature loves to hide.

XI

Let us not concur casually about the most important matters.

XII

[[In taking the poets as testimony for things unknown, they are citing authorities that cannot be trusted.]]

IX Men who love wisdom: *philosophoi andres*, philosophers: cf. *sophon*, wise, in XXVII, etc.

inquirers: *histores*, researchers, investigators; judges; eye-witnesses; Ionian science was called *peri physeōs historiē*, inquiry into the nature of things.

X Nature: *physis*, character or nature of a thing.

loves: *philei*, tends; alternate rendering: 'The true character of a thing likes to be in hiding.'

XI casually: *eikē*, at random, perhaps with a play here on *eikēi*, (concur) with likelihood.

XII From Polybius: 'It would no longer be fitting to take poets and story-tellers as witnesses for things unknown, as our ancestors did in most cases, citing untrustworthy authorities on disputed points as Heraclitus says.'

XIII

XIII (D. 74, M. 89) Marcus Aurelius IV.46 (following citation V above)

[[καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ <ὥς> παῖδας τοκεῶνων (sc. ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν),
τουτέστι κατὰ ψιλόν· καθότι παρειλήφμεν.]]

XIV

XIV (D. 55, M. 5) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.5

ὄσων ὄψις ἀκοή μάθησις, ταῦτα ἐγὼ προτιμέω.

XV

XV (D. 101a, M. 6) Polybius XII.27.1

[[κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον· ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὥτων ἀκριβέστεροι
μάρτυρες.]]

XVI

XVI (D. 107, M. 13) Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*
VII.126

κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισιν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα βαρβάρους ψυχὰς
ἐχόντων.

XVII

XVII (D. 19, M. 1g) Clement, *Stromateis* II.24.5

ἀκοῦσαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδ' εἰπεῖν.

XIII

[[We should not listen like children to their parents.]]

XIV

Whatever comes from sight, hearing, learning from experience: this I prefer.

XV

[[Eyes are surer witnesses than ears.]]

XVI

Eyes and ears are poor witnesses for men if their souls do not understand the language.

XVII

Not knowing how to listen, neither can they speak.

XIII From Marcus Aurelius (continuing V above); alternate rendering: 'we should not <act and speak> like children of our parents, in other words, in the way that has been handed down to us.'

XIV **learning from experience:** *mathêsis*, cognate with *mathontes*, they experience, in IV.

XV From Polybius: 'According to Heraclitus . . .'

Eyes i.e. direct experience.

ears i.e. hearsay.

XVI Literally, 'if they have barbarian souls (*psychai*)', souls that do not speak Greek. For *psychê*, see on XXXV.

XVIII

XVIII (D. 40, M. 16) Diogenes Laertius IX.1

πολυμαθίῃ νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτὶς τε Ξενοφάνεά τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖον.

XIX

XIX (D. 57, M. 43) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.2

διδάσκαλος δὲ πλείστων Ἡσίοδος· τοῦτον ἐπίστανται πλεῖστα εἰδέναι, ὅστις ἡμέρην καὶ εὐφρόνην οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν· ἔστι γὰρ ἔν.

XX

XX (D. 106, M. 59) Plutarch, *Camillus* 19.1

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

XXI

XXI (D. 42, M. 30) Diogenes Laertius IX.1

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

XVIII

Much learning does not teach understanding. For it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, and also Xenophanes and Hecataeus.

XIX

The teacher of most is Hesiod. It is him they know as knowing most, who did not recognize day and night: they are one.

XX

[[Hesiod counted some days as good, others as bad, because he did not recognize that the nature of every day is one and the same.]]

XXI

Homer deserves to be expelled from the competition and beaten with a staff — and Archilochus too!

XVIII Much learning: *polymathiē*, learning many things, cognate with *mathontes*, *mathēsis* in IV and XIV; term apparently coined by Heraclitus.

understanding: *noos*, mind, good sense, as in XXX and LIX.

Hesiod, epic poet of early seventh century B.C., author of *Theogony* and *Works and Days*.

Pythagoras of Samos, philosopher and social leader of late sixth century.

Xenophanes of Colophon, poet and philosopher-theologian of same period.

Hecataeus of Miletus, contemporary world-traveller and rationalizing student of myth, author of lost works on geography and legendary genealogies.

XIX day and night: referring to *Theogony* 748–57, where Day and Night meet one another as mythical figures moving in opposite directions.

XX From Plutarch: ‘Heraclitus attacked Hesiod for counting some days as good . . .’, referring to *Works and Days* 765ff., where lucky and unlucky days are distinguished.

XXI beaten with a staff, with a *rhabdos*, standard instrument of bards and rhapsodes who competed in poetic performances.

Archilochus, lyric poet and author of comic invectives, seventh century B.C.

XXII

XXII (D. 56, M. 21) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.5

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

XXIII

XXIII (D. 105, M. 63a) Scholia A T in *Iliad* XVIII.251

[[Ἡράκλειτος. . . ἀστρολόγον φησὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον.]]

XXIV

XXIV (D. 38, M. 63b) Diogenes Laertius I.23

[[δοκεῖ δὲ (sc. Θαλῆς) κατὰ τινὰς πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς
ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὐδήμος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν
ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
θαυμάζει· μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δημόκριτος.]]

XXV

XXV (D. 129, M. 17) Diogenes Laertius VIII.6

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

XXII

Men are deceived in the recognition of what is obvious, like Homer who was wisest of all the Greeks. For he was deceived by boys killing lice, who said: what we see and catch we leave behind; what we neither see nor catch we carry away.

XXIII

[[Homer was an astronomer.]]

XXIV

[[Thales practiced astronomy.]]

XXV

Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus pursued inquiry further than all other men and, choosing what he liked from these compositions, made a wisdom of his own: much learning, artful knavery.

XXII In traditional versions of this story Homer, who is blind, dies of chagrin at not guessing the riddle.

XXIII From scholia on *Iliad* XVIII.251: 'Heraclitus calls Homer an astronomer.'

XXIV From Diogenes Laertius: 'Xenophanes and Herodotus express their admiration for Thales <for his practice of astronomy>. Heraclitus also bears witness to him <for this>.'

XXV **Pythagoras:** see on XVIII.

inquiry: *historiē*: see on IX.

much learning: *polymathiē*: see on XVIII.

artful knavery: *kakotechniē*, the art (*technē*) of doing evil, another coinage of Heraclitus.

XXVI

XXVI (D. 81, M. 18) Philodemus, *Rhetorica* I, coll. 57, 62

[[κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπίδων ἐστὶν ἀρχηγός.]]

XXVII

XXVII (D. 108, M. 83) Stobaeus III.1.174

ὁκόσων λόγους ἤκουσα οὐδεὶς ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοῦτο ὥστε γινώσκειν
ὅτι σοφόν ἐστι, πάντων κεχωρισμένον.

XXVIII

XXVIII (D. 101, M. 15) Plutarch, *Adversus Coloten* 1118C

ἐδιζησάμην ἐμεωυτόν.

XXIX

XXIX (D. 116, M. 15f = 23e) Stobaeus III.5.6

ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσι μέτεστι γινώσκειν ἐωυτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν.

XXVI

[[Pythagoras was the prince of imposters.]]

XXVII

Of all those whose accounts I have heard, none has gone so far as this:
to recognize what is wise, set apart from all.

XXVIII

I went in search of myself.

XXIX

It belongs to all men to know themselves and to think well.

XXVI From Philodemus: 'Rhetoric . . . is, in the words of Heraclitus, the prince (*archēgos*, initiator, founder, ring-leader) of imposters'; reference to Pythagoras is not certain.

XXVII **accounts:** *logoi*: see on I.

what is wise: alternate punctuation: 'that the wise is set apart'.

from all: *pantōn*, ambiguous between 'all men' and 'all things'. For *sophon*, wise, see also XXXVI, LIV, and CXVIII.

XXIX **know themselves:** allusion to the Delphic motto *gnōthi seauton* 'Know (lit. recognize) thyself'.

think well: *sōphronein*, sound thinking, good sense; moderation, self-restraint; cognate with *phronēsis*, thinking, intelligence in III, *phronein* think, act with intelligence in IV and XXXI.

XXX

XXX (D. 114, M. 23a) Stobaeus III.1.179

ξὺν νόῳ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ξυνῷ πάντων, ὅκωσπερ νόμῳ πόλις καὶ πολὺ ἰσχυροτέρως· τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου· κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὁκόσον ἐθέλει καὶ ἐξαρκεῖ πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται.

XXXI

XXXI (D. 113, M. 23d) Stobaeus III.1.179

ξυνόν ἐστι πᾶσι τὸ φρονεῖν.

XXXII

XXXII (D. 112, M. 23f) Stobaeus III.1.178

σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μέγιστη καὶ σοφίη, ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίοντας.

XXXIII

XXXIII (D. 93, M. 14) Plutarch, *De Pythiae Oraculis* 404D

ὁ ἄναξ οὐ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει.

XXX

Speaking with understanding they must hold fast to what is shared by all, as a city holds to its law, and even more firmly. For all human laws are nourished by a divine one. It prevails as it will and suffices for all and is more than enough.

XXXI

Thinking is shared by all.

XXXII

Thinking well is the greatest excellence and wisdom: to act and speak what is true, perceiving things according to their nature.

XXXIII

The lord whose oracle is in Delphi neither declares nor conceals, but gives a sign.

XXX understanding: *noos*: cf. XVIII.

shared: *xynos*: see on III.

by all: *pantōn*: ambiguous gender as in XXVII.

divine one: *henos tou theiou*, similarly ambiguous between ‘the one divine (thing)’ and ‘the one divine law’.

suffices for all: *pasi*, same ambiguity: all things? laws? people?

is more than enough: *periginetai*, is left over, survives intact; prevails over, surpasses. The three terms ‘with understanding’ (*xyn noōi*), ‘what is shared’ (*tōi xynōi*) and ‘its law’ (*tōi nomōi*) are linked by an untranslated word play. For the thought cf. LXV.

XXXI Thinking: *to phronein*: see on IV.

shared: *xynon*: see on III.

by all: *pasi*: ‘all things’ or ‘all men’, as in the preceding.

XXXII Thinking well: *sôphronein*: see on XXIX.

excellence: *aretê*, courage, military prowess; nobility, good breeding, distinction; virtue, moral excellence; alternate punctuation: ‘Sound thinking is the greatest excellence, and wisdom is to speak things true and act according to nature by listening <to the *logos*>.’

XXXIII The lord i.e. Apollo.

XXXIV

XXXIV (D. 92, M. 75) Plutarch, *De Pythiae Oraculis* 397A

[[Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.]]

XXXV

XXXV (D. 45, M. 67) Diogenes Laertius IX.7

ψυχῆς πείρατα ἰὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροιο πᾶσαν ἐπιπορευόμενος ὁδόν· οὕτω βαθύν λόγον ἔχει.

XXXVI

XXXVI (D. 50, M. 26) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.1

οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαντας ὁμολογεῖν σοφόν ἐστὶν ἐν πάντα εἶναι.

XXXVII

XXXVII (D. 30, M. 51) Clement, *Stromateis* V.103.6

κόσμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰείζων, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.

XXXVI With some misgiving I accept the usual correction εἶναι for εἰδέναι in the MSS. XXXVII I give the text of Clement. Since Bywater most editors have added τόνδε after κόσμον from an inferior variant found in Simplicius and Plutarch (who do not have τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων).

XXXIV

[[The Sibyl with raving mouth utters things mirthless and unadorned and unperfumed, and her voice carries through a thousand years because of the god who speaks through her.]]

XXXV

You will not find out the limits of the soul by going, even if you travel over every way, so deep is its report.

XXXVI

It is wise, listening not to me but to the report, to agree that all things are one.

XXXVII

The ordering, the same for all, no god nor man has made, but it ever was and is and will be: fire everliving, kindled in measures and in measures going out.

XXXIV From Plutarch: 'The Sibyl with raving mouth, as Heraclitus says . . .'.
Sibyl, legendary woman who prophesied in trance, possessed by Apollo.

XXXV soul: *psychē*, life-breath, life; ghost, phantom; spirit, soul.

report: *logos*: see on I: perhaps 'so deep is its measure'.

XXXVI wise: *sophon*: see on XXVII.

report: *logos*: see on I.

agree: *homologeîn*, say the same thing as, agree with, playing here on *logos*: 'to speak in agreement with the report that says . . .'.

XXXVII ordering: *kosmos*, military array, good order; adornment; world order.

for all: *hapantōn*, either 'all men' or 'all things', as in XXVII, etc. Alternate version of the text: 'This ordering no god nor man has made . . .'

XXXVIII

XXXVIII (D. 31A, M. 53A) Clement, *Stromateis* V.104.3

πυρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα, θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἡμῖν πρηστήρ.

XXXIX

XXXIX (D. 31B, M. 53B) Clement, *Stromateis* V.104.5

θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρέεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὁκοῖος πρόσθεν ἢν ἢ γενέσθαι γῆ.

XL

XL (D. 90, M. 54) Plutarch, *De E apud Delphous* 388D–E

πυρὸς ἀνταμοιβὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός.

XLI

XLI (D. 76, M. 66e¹) Plutarch, *De E apud Delphous* 392C

[[ὥς Ἡράκλειτος ἔλεγε, πυρὸς θάνατος ἀέρι γένεσις, καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος ὕδατι γένεσις.]]

XXXIX Here again I give the text of Clement, as corrected from Eusebius. Many editors introduce <γῆ> as subject of the first clause.

XL The MS reading in Plutarch ἀνταμείβεται πάντα, retained by Bywater and revived by Bollack-Wismann, may be correct: but it offers no appreciable difference in sense.

XXXVIII

The reversals of fire: first sea; but of sea half is earth, half lightning storm.

XXXIX

Sea pours out <from earth>, and it measures up to the same amount it was before becoming earth.

XL

All things are requital for fire, and fire for all things, as goods for gold and gold for goods.

XLI

[[The death of fire is birth for air, and the death of air is birth for water.]]

XXXVIII **reversals:** *tropē*, reversal, flight in battle, rout; turning around, turning point, esp. of the sun = solstice.

lightning storm: *prēstēr*, literally 'burner', a violent storm with destructive lightning.

XXXIX May be continuous with preceding fragment.

pours out: *diacheetai*, is spread apart, dissolves.

amount: *logos*: see on I; cf. the sense 'measure' in XXXV. Alternate version of the text: 'Earth dissolves as sea, and it measures up to the same *logos* as was there at first.'

XL **requital:** *antamoibē*, exchange; payment; punishment.

XLI From Plutarch: 'As Heraclitus said . . . '

XLII

XLIIA (D. 100, M. 64) Plutarch, *Quaestiones Platonicae* 1007D—E

[[περίόδους· ὦν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστάτης ὦν καὶ σκοπός, ὁρίζειν καὶ βραβεύειν καὶ ἀναδεικνύναι καὶ ἀναφαίνειν μεταβολὰς καὶ ὥρας αἱ πάντα φέρουσι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον.]]

XLIIIB (see M. p. 344) Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum* 416A

[[ἐναιυτὸς ἀρχὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁμοῦ τι πάντων ὦν φέρουσιν ὥραι γῇ δὲ φύει περιέχων.]]

XLIIIA

XLIIIA (D. A13, M. 65) Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 18.11

[[est praeterea annus . . . [sc. magnus] . . . cuius anni hiemps summa est cataclysmos, . . . aestas autem ecpyrosis, quod est mundi incendium. nam his alternis temporibus mundus tum ignescere tum exauescere videtur. hunc Aristarchus putavit esse annorum vertentium DCCCCLXXXIII, . . . Heraclitus et Linus XDCCC.]]

XLIIIB

XLIIIB (D. A5) Simplicius, *in Physicorum* 23, 38

[[ποιεῖ δὲ (sc. Ἡράκλειτος) καὶ τάξιν τινὰ καὶ χρόνον ὠρισμένον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς κατὰ τινὰ εἰμαρμένην ἀνάγκην.]]

XLIV

XLIV (D. 94, M. 52) Plutarch, *De Exilio* 604A

Ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν.

XLII

[[The sun is overseer and sentinel of cycles, for determining the changes and the seasons which bring all things to birth.]]

XLIIIA

[[There is a Great Year, whose winter is a great flood and whose summer is a world conflagration. In these alternating periods the world is now going up in flames, now turning to water. This cycle consists of 10,800 years.]]

XLIIIB

[[There is a certain order and fixed time for the change of the cosmos in accordance with some fated necessity.]]

XLIV

The sun will not transgress his measures. If he does, the Furies, ministers of Justice, will find him out.

XLII From Plutarch: 'the seasons which bring all things to birth, as Heraclitus says'. Reference to the sun may not belong to Heraclitus.

XLIIIA From Censorinus: 'Heraclitus and Linus <believed this cycle to consist of> 10,800 years.'

XLIIIB From Simplicius: 'Heraclitus posits a certain order . . . '

XLIV Justice: *dikē*, personified as daughter of Zeus in Hesiod's *Works and Days*: see on LXIX.

XLV

XLV (D. 120, M. 62) Strabo I.1.6

ἡοῦς καὶ ἐσπέρας τέρματα ἢ ἄρκτος καί, ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου, οὖρος αἰθρίου Διός.

XLVI

XLVI (D. 99, M. 60) Plutarch (?), *Aqua an ignis utilior* 957A

[[Ἡράκλειτος μὲν οὖν εἰ μὴ ἥλιος φησὶν ἦν, εὐφρόνη ἂν ἦν.]]

XLVII

XLVII (D. 3, M. 57) Aetius II.21 (ed. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* p. 352)

[[Ἡράκλειτος εὖρος ποδὸς ἀνθρωπείου (sc. φησὶν τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι.)]]

XLVIII

XLVIII (D. 6, M. 58a) Aristotle, *Meteorologica* II.2 355a13

[[ὁ ἥλιος . . . καθάπερ ὁ Ἡράκλειτός φησι, νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρη ἐστίν.]]

XLVIII B

XLVIII B (M. 58c) Plato, *Republic* VI, 498A

[[οἱ καὶ ἀπτόμενοι (sc. τῆς φιλοσοφίας) μειράκια ὄντα . . . πρὸς δὲ τὸ γῆρας ἐκτὸς δὴ τινων ὀλίγων ἀποσβέννυνται πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου ἡλίου, ὅσον αὐθις οὐκ ἐξάπτονται.]]

XLVI Another version (in Plutarch and Clement) has the words *ἐνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν* preceding the second clause.

XLV

The limits of Dawn and Evening is the Bear; and, opposite the Bear,
the Warder of luminous Zeus.

XLVI

[[If there were no sun, it would be night.]]

XLVII

[[The sun is the size of a human foot.]]

XLVIII A

[[The sun is new every day.]]

XLVIII B

[[The sun is extinguished in old age, but rekindled again.]]

XLV **limits:** *termata*, goal, destination; turning mark for runners in a race; border, limits.

Dawn i.e. the east.

Evening i.e. the west.

The Bear: Ursa Major, the north?

Warder: *ouros*, watchman, warder; boundary, limit; the *ouros* opposite the Bear (*arktos*) must be Arcturus (*Arkt-ouros*), whose risings and settings commonly served to mark the seasons.

XLVI From Plutarch: 'Heraclitus says . . . ' Some versions add 'as far as the other stars are concerned'.

XLVII From Aetius: 'Heraclitus says . . . '

XLVIII A From Aristotle: 'As Heraclitus says . . . '

XLVIII B From Plato: 'Those who are kindled <in their interest for philosophy> as boys . . . are, except for a few, extinguished in old age, much more so than the sun of Heraclitus, since they are not rekindled.'

XLIX

XLIX (D. 126, M. 42) Tzetzes, *Scholia ad Exegesis in Iliadem* p. 126

τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται, ὑγρὸν αὐαίνεται, καρφαλέον νοτίζεται.

L

L (D. 12, M. 40a) Arius Didymus fr. 39.2, ed. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* p. 471, 4

ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνουσιν ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ.

LI

LI (D. 91, M. 40c³) Plutarch, *De E apud Delphous* 392B

[[ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δις τῷ αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον· οὐδὲ θνητῆς οὐσίας δις ἄψασθαι κατὰ ἕξιν, ἀλλ' ὀξύτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἀλλ' ἅμα συνίσταται καὶ ἀπολείπει, καὶ πρόσσεισι καὶ ἄπεισιν.]]

LII

LII (D. 84a, M. 56A) Plotinus IV.8.1 (text below)

LIII

LIII (D. 84b, M. 56B) Plotinus (reference above)

[[ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡράκλειτος . . . εἰπὼν . . . μεταβάλλον ἀναπαύεται καὶ κάματός ἐστι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μοχθεῖν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι, εἰκάξειν ἔδωκεν.]]

XLIX

Cold warms up, warm cools off, moist parches, dry dampens.

L

As they step into the same rivers, other and still other waters flow upon them.

LI

[[One cannot step twice into the same river, nor can one grasp any mortal substance in a stable condition, but it scatters and again gathers; it forms and dissolves, and approaches and departs.]]

LII

[[It rests by changing.]]

LIII

[[It is weariness to toil at the same tasks and be always beginning.]]

L For the context, see note to CXIII.

LI From Plutarch: 'According to Heraclitus . . .'

LII From Plotinus: 'Heraclitus left us to guess what he means when he said . . .'

LIII From Plotinus (continuing LII): 'and when he said . . .'. Alternate rendering: 'It is a weariness to labor for the same masters and be ruled by them' (Burnet).

LIV

LIV (D. 41, M. 85) Diogenes Laertius IX.1

ἐν τῷ σοφόν· ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ὅκη †κυβερνήσαι† πάντα διὰ πάντων.

LV

LV (D. 78, M. 90) Origen, *Contra Celsum* VI. 12

ἦθος γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον οὐκ ἔχει γνώμας, θεῖον δὲ ἔχει.

LVI

LVI (D. 82–3, M. 92b) [Plato], *Hippias Major* 289A–B

[[τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου εὖ ἔχει, ὥς ἄρα πιθήκων ὁ κάλλιστος αἰσχροὺς ἀνθρώπων γένει συμβάλλειν. . . ἢ οὐ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος αὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγει, ὃν σὺ ἐπάγῃ, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεὸν πίθηκος φανεῖται καὶ σοφίῃ καὶ κάλλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν;]]

LVII

LVII (D. 79, M. 92a) Origen, *Contra Celsum* VI.12

ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος ὁκωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός.

LVIII

LVIII (D. 70, M. 92d) Iamblichus, *De Anima*, in Stobaeus II.1.16

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

LIV The form ὅκη (as in CVI, D. 117) is a natural emendation for the impossible *ὁτέη* in the MSS. The plausible readings for *κυβερνήσαι* are (1) *ἐκυβέρνησε* and (2) *κυβερνᾶται*; but neither seems an obvious correction.

LIV

The wise is one, knowing the plan by which it steers all things through all.

LV

Human nature has no set purpose, but the divine has.

LVI

[[The most beautiful of apes is ugly in comparison with the race of man; the wisest of men seems an ape in comparison to a god.]]

LVII

A man is found foolish by a god, as a child by a man.

LVIII

[[Human opinions are toys for children.]]

LIV **wise:** *sophon*: see on XXVII.

plan: *gnōmē*, insight, recognition; thought, opinion, judgment; plan, proposal. Alternate reading: 'The wise is one thing, namely, to know [lit. master the insight] how all things are steered through all.'

LV **nature:** *ēthos*, character, customary disposition.

set purpose: *gnōmai*: see preceding note.

LVI From pseudo-Plato, *Hippias Major*: 'What Heraclitus says is right, that . . . '

LVIII From Iamblichus: 'Heraclitus believed that . . . '

LIX

LIX (D. 104, M. 101) Proclus *in Alcibiades* I, p. 117 Westerink

τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν νόος ἢ φρήν; δῆμων ἀοιδοῖσι πείθονται καὶ
διδασκάλῳ χρείωνται ὁμίλῳ οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ κακοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ
ἀγαθοί.

LX

LX (D. 87, M. 109) Plutarch, *De Audiendis Poetis* 28D

βλάξ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ παντὶ λόγῳ φιλεῖ ἐπτοῆσθαι.

LXI

LXI (D. 97, M. 22) Plutarch, *An Seni Respublica gerenda sit* 787C

κύνες καὶ βαῦξουσιν ὃν ἂν μὴ γινώσκωσι.

LXII

LXII (D. 39, M. 100) Diogenes Laertius I.88

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

LXIII

LXIII (D. 49, M. 98) Theodorus Prodromus, *Epistulae* 1 (Migne
p. 1240A)

εἷς μύριοι, ἐὰν ἄριστος ᾗ.

LIX With most editors I accept Diels' conjecture *πείθονται* for *ἐπονται* (Clement) or *ἠπιόων τε* (MSS of Proclus).

LX With Bollack-Wismann, I follow the word order of what seems the more accurate citation. The last two words are inverted in most editions.

LXIII With Bollack-Wismann, I give the text as found in Theodorus and Symmachus. D. and M. combine this with a variant (in Galen and elsewhere) that includes *ἐμοί*.

LIX

What wit or understanding do they have? They believe the poets of the people and take the mob as their teacher, not knowing that 'the many are worthless', good men are few.

LX

A fool loves to get excited on any account.

LXI

Dogs bark at those they do not recognize.

LXII

In Priene lived Bias son of Teutames, who is of more account than the rest.

LXIII

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

LIX wit: *phrên*, mind, thought, intelligence, cognate with *phronēsis* and *phronein*: see on III and IV.

understanding: *noos*: see on XVIII. The quotation is from Bias, the sage mentioned in LXII.

LX loves i.e. tends (cf. X).

account: *logos*: see on I. Alternate rendering: 'A stupid man tends to get excited at any report', i.e. at whatever he hears.

LXII Priene: city near Ephesus.

Bias: sixth-century statesman and sage, often credited with saying 'most men are worthless' cited in LIX.

account: *logos*: see on I; here primarily 'esteem, reputation' with a play on Bias' 'saying'.

LXIII Alternate text: 'One man is ten thousand for me.'

LXIV

LXIV (D. 121, M. 105) Strabo XIV.25 with Diogenes Laertius IX.2

ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἀπάγξασθαι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν, οἵτινες Ἐρμόδωρον ἄνδρα ἐωυτῶν ὀνήιστον ἐξέβαλον φάντες· ἡμέων μὴδὲ εἰς ὀνήιστος ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄλλη τε καὶ μετ' ἄλλων.

LXV

LXV (D. 44, M. 103) Diogenes Laertius IX.2

μάχεσθαι χρή τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου [ὑπὲρ τοῦ γινομένου] ὅκως ὑπὲρ τείχεος.

LXVI

LXVI (D. 33, M. 104) Clement, *Stromateis* V.115.2

νόμος καὶ βουλῇ πείθεσθαι ἐνός.

LXVII

LXVII (D. 110–11, M. 71 and M. 44) Stobaeus, III.1.176–7

ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι ὁκόσα θέλουσιν οὐκ ἄμεινον. νοῦσος ὑγιείην ἐποίησεν ἡδὺ καὶ ἀγαθόν, λιμός κóρον, κάματος ἀνάπαυσιν.

LXV The bracketed words probably represent a mechanical error in copying. I see no reason to change ὅκως ὑπὲρ to ὅκωσπερ with most editors.

LXIV

What the Ephesians deserve is to be hanged to the last man, every one of them, and leave the city to the boys, since they drove out their best man, Hermodorus, saying 'Let no one be the best among us; if he is, let him be so elsewhere and among others.'

LXV

The people must fight for the law as for their city wall.

LXVI

It is law also to obey the counsel of one.

LXVII

It is not better for human beings to get all they want. It is disease that makes health sweet and good, hunger satiety, weariness rest.

LXIV **Hermodorus:** apparently a contemporary, otherwise unknown. A late legend (perhaps based on this text) made him go to Rome as co-author of the Twelve Tables, the first codification of Roman law.

best: *onēiston*, most useful, beneficial.

LXV Cf. XXX.

LXVI **counsel:** *boulē*, will, intention, plan; advice, counsel; the city council, ruling body in some states.

of one: *henos*, with usual ambiguity: 'one man' or 'one principle'.

LXVII Allusion to a proverbial line: 'the sweetest thing is to get what you desire'.

LXVIII

LXVIII (D. 102, M. 91) *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* ed. H. Erbse, I (1969), p. 445, on *Iliad* IV.4 (= Porphyry, *Quaestiones Homericae*, p. 69 Shrader)

[[ἄπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος λέγει, ὡς τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἃ μὲν ἄδικα ὑπειλήφασιν ἃ δὲ δίκαια.]]

LXIX

LXIX (D. 23, M. 45) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.9.7

Δίκης ὄνομα οὐκ ἂν ᾗδεσαν εἰ ταῦτα μὴ ᾗν.

LXX

LXX (D. 61, M. 35) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.5

θάλασσα ὕδωρ καθαρώτατον καὶ μιαρώτατον· ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον καὶ ὀλέθριον.

LXXI

LXXI (D. 9, M. 37) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* X.5, 1176a6

[[καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησιν ὄνους σύρματ' ἂν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν.]]

LXVIII

[[For god all things are fair and good and just, but men have taken some things as unjust, others as just.]]

LXIX

If it were not for these things, they would not have known the name of Justice.

LXX

The sea is the purest and foulest water: for fish drinkable and life-sustaining; for men undrinkable and deadly.

LXXI

[[Asses prefer garbage to gold.]]

LXVIII From scholia to *Iliad* IV.4: 'As Heraclitus said . . . '

LXIX **these things:** probably = wrongdoing and punishment.

Justice: *dikē*, judgment, sentence; trial, lawsuit; justice; just punishment, penalty; personified in Hesiod: see XLIV.

LXXI From Aristotle: 'As Heraclitus says . . . '

LXXII

LXXIIA (D. 13, M. 36a¹) Clement, *Stromateis* I.2.2

ὕες βορβόρω ἡδονται μᾶλλον ἢ καθαρώ ὕδατι.

LXXIIB (D. 37, M. 36c¹) Columella VIII.4.4

[[si modo credimus Ephesio Heraclito qui ait sues caeno, cohortales
aves pulvere vel cinere lavari.]]

LXXIII

LXXIII (D. 58, M. 46) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.3

οἱ ἱατροὶ τέμνοντες καίοντες [πάντη βασανίζοντες κακῶς τοὺς
ἀρρωστούοντας] ἐπειτιῶνται μηδέν ἄξιον μισθὸν λαμβάνειν [παρὰ
τῶν ἀρρωστούντων] ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενοι †τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς νόσους†.

LXXIV

LXXIV (D. 59, M. 32) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.4

γνάφων ὁδὸς εὐθεΐα καὶ σκολιή.

LXXV

LXXV (D. 8, M. 27d¹ = 28c¹) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* VIII.1,
1155b4)

[[καὶ Ἡράκλειτός <sc. φησιν> τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον καὶ ἐκ τῶν
διαφερόντων καλλίστην ἀρμονίαν καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι.]]

LXXIII I follow the text of Kirk. M. reads ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενοι [τὰ ἀγαθὰ] καὶ αἱ νόσοι,
following an emendation of Wilamowitz.

LXXIV I follow M., but omit the words μία ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ αὐτή which he assigns to Heraclitus.
D. reads γναφείω for γνάφων.

LXXII

[[Swine delight in mire more than clean water; chickens bathe in dust.]]

LXXIII

Doctors who cut and burn and torture their patients in every way complain that they do not receive the reward they deserve.

LXXIV

The path of the carding wheels is straight and crooked.

LXXV

[[The counter-thrust brings together, and from tones at variance comes perfect attunement, and all things come to pass through conflict.]]

LXXII From Clement and Columella (combined): 'Heraclitus says . . . '

LXXIII A disputed text. For variants see the commentary.

LXXV From Aristotle: 'Heraclitus says . . . ' The text paraphrases LXXXII, and perhaps also LXXVIII.

LXXVI

LXXVI (D. 11, M. 80) [Aristotle], *De Mundo* 6, 401a10

πᾶν ἐρπετὸν πληγῇ νέμεται.

LXXVII

LXXVII (D. 125, M. 31) Theophrastus, *De Vertigine* 9

[[καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησι, καὶ ὁ κυκεῶν δίδισσεται <μῆ>
κινούμενος.]]

LXXVIII

LXXVIII (D. 51, M. 27) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.2

οὐ ξυνιᾶσιν ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἐωυτῷ ὁμολογέει· παλίντροπος
ἁρμονίῃ ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

LXXIX

LXXIX (D. 48, M. 39) *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. βίος

τῷ τόξῳ ὄνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.

LXXX

LXXX (D. 54, M. 9) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.5

ἁρμονίῃ ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείττων.

LXXVI πληγῇ (preserved by Stobaeus) is the usual correction for τὴν γῆν in the MSS of Aristotle.

LXXVIII With D. I give the unaltered text of Hippolytus. M., following Zeller and others, substitutes *συμφέρεται* for *ὁμολογέει*, most implausibly. The inevitable Homeric corruption *παλίντρονος* for *παλίντροπος* appears once in Plutarch (out of three citations), much more often in modern editions.

LXXVI

All beasts are driven by blows.

LXXVII

[[Even the potion separates unless it is stirred.]]

LXXVIII

They do not comprehend how a thing agrees at variance with itself; it is an attunement turning back on itself, like that of the bow and the lyre.

LXXIX

The name of the bow is life; its work is death.

LXXX

The hidden attunement is better than the obvious one.

LXXVI **beasts:** *herpeton*, creeping thing, used by gods in Homer to refer to mankind.

driven: *nemetai*, pastured.

blows: *plēgē*, probably an allusion to the stroke of Zeus, the thunderbolt by which he rules.

LXXVII From Theophrastus: 'As Heraclitus says . . . '

potion: *kykeōn*, mixture of wine, barley, and cheese, described in *Iliad* XI.639f.

LXXVIII **agrees:** *homologeēi*: see on XXXVI.

at variance: *diapheromenon*, differs from; quarrels with: cf. V.

attunement: *harmoniē*, fitting together; joint, fastening; agreement, compact; musical tuning, scale, tune.

turning back: *palintropos*, an enigmatic variant on the usual *palintonos*, stretching back, epithet of the bow in Homer; probably alludes to solstice (*tropai*) and reversals of fire in XXXVIII.

LXXIX Old word for 'bow' (*biós*) differs from word 'life' (*bíos*) only by the accent, not written in Heraclitus' time.

LXXX **attunement:** *harmoniē*: see on LXXVIII.

better: *kreittōn*, more powerful, superior; better, preferable.

LXXXI

LXXXIA (D. A22, M. 28c²) Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* VII.1, 1235a25

[[καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι ὥς ἔρις ἐκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι ἁρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος ἐναντίων ὄντων.]]

LXXXIB (M. 28c⁵) Scholia A to *Iliad* XVIII.107

[[Ἡράκλειτος τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν κατ' ἔριν συνεστάναι νομίζων μέμφεται Ὅμηρον, σύγχυσιν κόσμου δοκῶν αὐτὸν εὐχέσθαι.]]

LXXXII

LXXXII (D. 80, M. 28) Origen, *Contra Celsum* VI.28

εἰδέ<ναι> χρὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἐόντα ξυνόν καὶ δίκην ἔριν καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ χρεώμενα (?).

LXXXIII

LXXXIII (D. 53, M. 29) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.4

πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

LXXXIV

LXXXIV (D. 27, M. 74) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.144.3

ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἄσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσιν.

LXXXII Most editors emend χρεώμενα to χρεών, following an improbable suggestion of Diels.

LXXXI

[[Homer was wrong when he said 'Would that Conflict might vanish from among gods and men!' (*Iliad* XVIII.107). For there would be no attunement without high and low notes nor any animals without male and female, both of which are opposites.]]

LXXXII

One must realize that war is shared and Conflict is Justice, and that all things come to pass (and are ordained?) in accordance with conflict.

LXXXIII

War is father of all and king of all; and some he has shown as gods, others men; some he has made slaves, others free.

LXXXIV

What awaits men at death they do not expect or even imagine.

LXXXI From Aristotle: 'Heraclitus reproaches the poet for saying . . .'

Conflict: *eris*, strife, personified as a divine power in Hesiod.

LXXXII **shared:** *xynon*: see on III, and cf. XXX.

Conflict: see preceding note.

ordained: text uncertain.

LXXXIV **expect:** *elpontai*, hope, anticipate: cf. VII.

imagine: *dokeousi*, believe, decide; suppose, conjecture, guess: cf. IV.

LXXXV

LXXXV (D. 28A, M. 20) Clement, *Stromateis* V.9.3

δοκέοντα ὁ δοκιμώτατος γινώσκει, φυλάσσει.

LXXXVI

LXXXVI (D. 86, M. 12) Plutarch, *Coriolanus* 38 = Clement, *Stromateis* V.88.4

ἀπιστίη διαφυγγάνει μὴ γινώσκεσθαι.

LXXXVII

LXXXVII (D. 28B, M. 19) Clement, *Stromateis* V.9.3

Δίκη καταλήψεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας.

LXXXVIII

LXXXVIII (D. 96, M. 76) Strabo XVI.26 = Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* IV.4.3, etc.

νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι.

LXXXIX

LXXXIX (D. 21, M. 49) Clement, *Stromateis* III.21.1

θάνατός ἐστιν ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν, ὁκόσα δὲ εὐδοντες ὕπνος.

LXXXVI With Bollack-Wismann, I keep ἀπιστίη in the nominative, the nearly unanimous reading of the MSS both in Plutarch and in Clement. Since Bywater most editors have preferred the dative form ἀπιστίῃ, which is not transmitted.

LXXXIX M. substitutes ὕπαρ for ὕπνος, needlessly.

LXXXV

The great man is eminent in imagining things, and on this he hangs his reputation for knowing it all.

LXXXVI

Incredibility escapes recognition.

LXXXVII

Justice will catch up with those who invent lies and those who swear to them.

LXXXVIII

Corpses should be thrown out quicker than dung.

LXXXIX

Death is all things we see awake; all we see asleep is sleep.

LXXXV More literally: 'What the most esteemed man recognizes and defends is <mere> imaginings.'

eminent: *dokimōtatos*, fully approved, most highly esteemed, with a play on *dokein*, seem, guess.

imagining things: *dokeonta*, what seems to be so, what is believed: see on *dokeousi* in LXXXIV.

knowing it all: *ginōskei*, recognize: see note on IV. This text is perhaps continued by LXXXVII.

LXXXVI **Incredibility:** *apistiē*, untrustworthiness, unreliability; incredulity, lack of confidence. For other construals see commentary.

LXXXVII Perhaps a continuation of LXXXV.

XC

XC (D. 26, M. 48) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.141.2

ἄνθρωπος ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος ἄπτεται ἐαυτῷ [ἀποθανῶν] ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις, ζῶν δὲ ἄπτεται τεθνεώτος εὐδῶν [ἀποσβεσθεὶς ὄψεις], ἐγρηγορῶς ἄπτεται εὐδοντος.

XCI

XCI (D. 75, M. 1h²) Marcus Aurelius VI.42

[[τοὺς καθεύδοντας οἶμαι δ' Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων.]]

XCII

XCII (D. 62, M. 47) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.6

ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες.

XCIII

XCIII (D. 88, M. 41) Pseudo(?)-Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 106E

ταῦτό τ' ἐνι (?) ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὸς καὶ τὸ ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεύδον καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι κακείνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα.

XCIV

XCIV (D. 52, M. 93) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.9.4

αἰὼν παῖς ἐστι παῖζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊ.

XCIII The form τ' ἐνι must be wrong and should probably be bracketed. Some editors exclude πάλιν, needlessly.

XC

A man strikes a light for himself in the night, when his sight is quenched. Living, he touches the dead in his sleep; waking, he touches the sleeper.

XCI

[[Men asleep are laborers and co-workers in what takes place in the world.]]

XCII

Immortals are mortal, mortals immortal, living the others' death, dead in the others' life.

XCIII

The same . . . : living and dead, and the waking and the sleeping, and young and old. For these transposed are those, and those transposed again are these.

XCIV

Lifetime is a child at play, moving pieces in a game. Kingship belongs to the child.

XC **strikes:** *haptetai*, touches, is in contact with; sets fire to, kindles, as in XXXVIL.

quenched: *apostheis*, extinguished, put out, also of fire in XXXVII; lit. 'the man is extinguished in regard to his vision'.

touches: *haptetai* again, twice.

XCI From Marcus Aurelius: 'Heraclitus says, I think . . . '

XCIII Beginning of text is corrupt. Some eds. read 'The same is there . . . ' or 'The same is present in us . . . '

XCIV **Lifetime:** *aiōn*, vitality, life; lifetime, duration, time; cognate with *aiei*, forever.

moving pieces: *pessuōn*, playing *pessoi*, a board game perhaps involving dice, like backgammon and modern Greek *tavli*.

XCV

XCVA (D. A19, M. 108b¹) Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum* 415E

[[ἐτή τριάκοντα ποιοῦσι τὴν γενεὰν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας.]]

XCVB (D. A19, M. 108b²) Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 17.2

[[Hoc enim tempus [sc. annos triginta] *genean* vocari Heraclitus auctor est, quia orbis aetatis in eo sit spatio; orbem autem vocat aetatis dum natura ab sementi humana ad sementim revertitur.]]

XCVI

XCVI (D. 25, M. 97) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.49.2

μόροι μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι.

XCVII

XCVII (D. 29, M. 95) Clement, *Stromateis* V.59.4

αἰρεῦνται ἐν ἀντὶ ἀπάντων οἱ ἄριστοι, κλέος ἀέναον θνητῶν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κεκόρηνται ὅκωσπερ κτήνεα.

XCVIII

XCVIII (D. 20, M. 99) Ibid. III.14.1

γενόμενοι ζῶειν ἐθέλουσι μόρους τ' ἔχειν [μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναπαύεσθαι]· καὶ παῖδας καταλείπουσι μόρους γενέσθαι.

XCV

[[A generation is thirty years, in which time the progenitor has engendered one who generates. The cycle of life lies in this interval, when nature returns from human seed-time to seed-time.]]

XCVI

Greater deaths are allotted greater destinies.

XCVII

The best choose one thing in exchange for all, everflowing fame among mortals; but most men have sated themselves like cattle.

XCVIII

Once born they want to live and have their portions; and they leave children behind born to become their dooms.

XCV From Plutarch and Censorinus, combined: 'According to Heraclitus . . .'
from seed-time to seed-time i.e. from a man's birth to the birth of his son.

XCVI deaths: *moros*, portion, lot; fate, doom; violent death.
destinies: *moira*, part, share, fraction; allotment, territory; social status; destiny, Fate.

XCVII sated: *kekorēntai*, cognate with *koros*, satiety in LXVII, CXX, and CXXIII.

XCVIII portions: *moroi*: see on XCVI; here 'share of life' with play on 'doom, death'.

born to become: *genesthai*, to become; last word in sentence echoes first word, *genomenoi*, having been born

dooms: *moroi* again: see above.

XCIX

XCIX (D. 103, M. 34) Porphyry, *Quaestiones Homericae*, on *Iliad* XIV.200

[[ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον.]]

C

C (D. 24, M. 96) Clement, *Stromateis* IV.16.1

ἀρῆϊφάτους θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἄνθρωποι.

CI

CI (D. 115, M. 112) Stobaeus III.1.180a

ψυχῆς ἐστι λόγος ἑαυτὸν αὖξων.

CII

CII (D. 36, M. 66) Clement, *Stromateis* VI.17.2

ψυχῆσιν θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι· ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχὴ.

CIII

CIII (D. 60, M. 33) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.4

ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὠυτή.

CIV

CIV (D. 43, M. 102) Diogenes Laertius IX.2

ὑβριν χρηὴ σβεννύναι μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊήν.

XCIX

[[The beginning and the end are shared in the circumference of a circle.]]

C

Gods and men honor those who fall in battle.

CI

To the soul belongs a report that increases itself.

CII

For souls it is death to become water, for water it is death to become earth; out of earth water arises, out of water soul.

CIII

The way up and down is one and the same.

CIV

One must quench violence quicker than a blazing fire.

XCIX From Porphyry: 'According to Heraclitus . . .'

end: *peras*, limit, end-point; cf. limits (*peirata*) of soul in XXXIV.

shared: *xynon*: see on III.

C **who fall in battle:** *arēiphatoi*, lit. who are slain by Ares the war god.

CI **report:** *logos*: see on I, and sense of measure in XXXIX; for thought cf. XXXV.

CII **souls:** *psychai*, see on XXXV.

become: *genesthai*, with play on 'birth', as in XCVIII; cf. XLI: 'the death of air is birth for water'.

CV

CV (D. 85, M. 70) Plutarch, *Coriolanus* 22.2; cf. Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* II.7, 1223b22, etc.

θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπόν· ὁ γὰρ ἄν θέλη, ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται.

CVI

CVI (D. 117, M. 69) Stobaeus III.5.7

ἀνὴρ ὁκόταν μεθυσθῇ, ἄγεται ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀνήβου σφαλλόμενος, οὐκ ἐπαίῳ ὅκη βαίνει, ὑγρὴν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχων.

CVII

CVII (D. 95, M. 110a³) Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* 644F

[[ἀμαθίην γὰρ ἄμεινον, ὥς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, κρύπτειν· ἔργον δὲ ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ παρ' οἶνον.]]

CVIII

CVIII (D. 77, M. 66d¹) Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum* 10
(Numenius fr. 30 des Places = fr. 35 Theodina)

[[ὄθεν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον ψυχῇσι φάναι τέρψιν μὴ θάνατον ὑγρῇσι γενέσθαι.]]

CIX

CIX (D. 118, M. 68) Stobaeus III.5.8

αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχῇ, σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.

CVIII M. and others follow D. in reading ἦ instead of μή.

CIX With D. and Bollack-Wismann, I keep the full text of Stobaeus, confirmed by a dozen ancient citations. Most modern editors have been tempted to change αὐγὴ to αὐή, and then bracket ξηρὴ as a gloss.

CV

It is hard to fight against passion; for whatever it wants it buys at the expense of soul.

CVI

A man when drunk is led by a beardless boy, stumbling, not perceiving where he is going, having his soul moist.

CVII

[[It is better to hide one's folly; but that is difficult in one's cups and at ease.]]

CVIII

[[It is delight, not death, for souls to become moist.]]

CIX

A gleam of light is the dry soul, wisest and best.

CV **passion:** *thymos*, heart, spirit, mind; passion, desire; manly spirit, courage; anger, rage: the last sense is understood here by ancient authors.
 soul i.e. life-spirit or vitality: see on XXXV.

CVII From Plutarch: 'As Heraclitus says . . . '

CVIII From Porphyry: 'Hence Heraclitus says . . . '

CIX **gleam of light:** *augē*, brilliance, ray of sunlight, flare of fire, sheen of metal.

CX

CX (D. 63, M. 73) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.6

†ένθα δ' έόντι† έπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι έγερτί ζώντων
καὶ νεκρῶν.

CXI

CXI (D. 98, M. 72) Plutarch, *De Facie in Orbe Lunae* 943E

[[(τὰς ψυχὰς) ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ἀναθυμιάσεως τρέφεσθαι· καὶ
καλῶς Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ ὁσμῶνται καθ' Ἀἰδην.]]

CXII

CXII (D. 7, M. 78) Aristotle, *De Sensu* 5, 443a21

[[(δοκεῖ δ' ἐνίοις ἡ καπνώδης ἀναθυμιάσις εἶναι ὁσμή, οὕσα κοινὴ
γῆς τε καὶ ἀέρος . . . διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὕτως εἴρηκεν, ὥς εἰ
πάντα τὰ ὄντα καπνὸς γένοιτο, ῥῖνες ἂν διαγνοῖεν.]]

CXIII

CXIIIA (D. A15) Aristotle, *De Anima* I.2, 405a25 (cf. 404b9)

[[(οὗτοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὰς ἀρχάς . . .) καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ
τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναί φησι ψυχὴν, εἵπερ τὴν ἀναθυμιάσιν, ἐξ ἧς τὰλλα
συνίστησιν· καὶ ἀσωματώτατόν τε καὶ ῥέον ἀεί.]]

CXIIIB (D. 12, M. 40) Arius Didymus fr. 39.2, ed. Diels,
Doxographi Graeci 471

[[(Κλεάνθης . . . φησὶν ὅτι Ζήνων τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἰσθητικὴν
ἀναθυμιάσιν καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος· βουλόμενος γὰρ ἐμφανίσαι
(sc. Ἡράκλειτος) ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀναθυμιώμεναι νοεραὶ ἀεὶ γίνονται,
εἵκασεν αὐτὰς τοῖς ποταμοῖς λέγων οὕτως· 'ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν
αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνουσιν ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ'. καὶ ψυχαὶ δὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται.]]

CXIIIB For νοεραί, M. and other editors read νεαραί.

CX

(. . .) to rise up (?) and become wakeful watchers of living men and corpses.

CXI

[[Souls smell things in Hades.]]

CXII

[[If all things turned to smoke, the nostrils would sort them out.]]

CXIII

[[The soul is an exhalation that perceives; it is different from the body, and always flowing.]]

CX Beginning of the text is corrupt.

watchers: *phylakes*, guardians; cf. golden race in Hesiod (*Works and Days* 122f.) who after death became spirits and guardians of men.

CXI From Plutarch: 'Heraclitus was right to say . . . '

CXII From Aristotle: 'Heraclitus said . . . '

CXIII From Cleanthes (combined with Aristotle, D. A15): 'Zeno says the soul is a perceiving exhalation, like Heraclitus. For Heraclitus, wanting to show that souls as they are exhaled are continually becoming intelligent, likened them to rivers when he said . . . (= fr. L). But souls too steam up out of moisture.'

CXIV

CXIV (D. 119, M. 94) Stobaeus IV.40.23 = Plutarch, *Quaestiones Platonicae* 999E, etc.

ἦθος ἀνθρώπων δαίμων.

CXV

CXV (D. 14, M. 87) Clement, *Protrepticus* 22.2

τὰ νομιζόμενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωσὶ μωοῦνται.

CXVI

CXVI (D. 15, M. 50) Clement, *Protrepticus* 34.5

εἰ μὴ Διόνυσω πομπὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὕμνεον ἄσμα αἰδοίοισιν,
ἀναιδέστατα εἵργασται· ὧν τὸς δὲ Ἀίδης καὶ Διόνυσος ὄτεω
μαίνονται καὶ ληναῖζουσιν.

CXVII

CXVII (D. 5, M. 86) *Theosophia* 68 (Erbse, *Fragmente griechischen Theosophien*, p. 184) plus Origen, *Contra Celsum* VII.62

καθαίρονται δ' ἄλλως αἵματι μαινόμενοι, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις εἰς πηλὸν
ἐμβὰς πηλῷ ἀπονίζοιτο· μαίνεσθαι δ' ἂν δοκέει εἴ τις μιν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπιφράσαιτο οὕτω ποιέοντα. καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι δὲ τουτέοισιν
εὐχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, οὐ τι γινώσκων
θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας οὔτινές εἰσι.

CXV In what precedes, the words *νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις, μύσαις* may also belong to Heraclitus, as Diels thought.

CXIV

Man's character is his fate.

CXV

The mysteries current among men initiate them into impiety.

CXVI

If it were not Dionysus for whom they march in procession and chant the hymn to the phallus, their action would be most shameless. But Hades and Dionysus are the same, him for whom they rave and celebrate Lenaia.

CXVII

They are purified in vain with blood, those polluted with blood, as if someone who stepped in mud should try to wash himself with mud. Anyone who noticed him doing this would think he was mad. And they pray to these images as if they were chatting with houses, not recognizing what gods or even heroes are like.

CXIV **character:** *ēthos*: see on LV.

fate: *daimōn*, divinity; fortune for good or evil.

CXV Preceded by 'For whom is Heraclitus prophesying? For nightwandering sorcerers (*magoi*), Bacchoi, Lenai, mystic initiates'; the list may be part of the quotation.

CXVI **phallus:** *aidōia*, pudenda, genitals.

Hades: god of the dead.

Lenaia: festival of Dionysus, probably characterized by frenzied dancing or ritual madness. The phallic hymn and procession belong to a different festival of Dionysus.

CXVII **with blood:** ritual purification from blood guilt involved use of pig's blood.

CXVIII

CXVIII (D. 32, M. 84) Clement, *Stromateis* V.115.1

ἐν τῷ σοφὸν μῶνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς ὄνομα.

CXIX

CXIX (D. 64, M. 79) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.7

τάδε πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός.

CXX

CXX (D. 65, M. 79 and 55) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.7

[[κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον. λέγει δὲ καὶ φρόνιμον τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ὅλων αἵτιον· καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ 'χρησιμοσύνην καὶ κόρον'· χρησιμοσύνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ διακόσμησις κατ' αὐτόν, ἡ δὲ ἐκπύρωσις κόρος.]]

CXXI

CXXI (D. 66, M. 82) Ibid.

πάντα τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὼν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται.

CXXII

CXXII (D. 16, M. 81) Clement, *Paedagogus* II.99.5

τὸ μὴ δύνον ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι;

CXIX Reading τῶδε for τὰ δέ with Boeder and others.

CXX I give the text of Hippolytus, as in D. M. has transposed the text according to a suggestion of Fränkel.

CXVIII

The wise is one alone, unwilling and willing to be spoken of by the name of Zeus.

CXIX

The thunderbolt pilots all things.

CXX

(Fire is?) need and satiety.

CXXI

Fire coming on will discern and catch up with all things.

CXXII

How will one hide from that which never sets?

CXVIII The wise is one: *hen to sophon*: identical with initial phrase of LIV; and cf. on XXVII.

of Zeus: *Zēnos* with play on *zēn*, to live.

CXIX thunderbolt: the weapon of Zeus.

all things: *tade panta*, lit. 'these things, all of them'.

CXX satiety: *koros* as in LXVII and CXXIII; cf. cognate *kekorēntai* in XCVII. Cited by Hippolytus in his commentary on CXIX: 'By thunderbolt he means the eternal fire. And . . . he calls it Need and Satiety.'

CXXI discern: *krinei*, separate, select, judge.

catch up with: *katalēpsetai*, catch, grasp, seize, as in LXXXVII.

CXXII hide from: *lathoi*, escape the notice of.

CXXIII

CXXIII (D. 67, M. 77) Hippolytus, *Refutatio* IX.10.8

ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρῃ εὐφρόνῃ, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνῃ, κόρος λιμός.
ἀλλοιοῦται δὲ ὅκωσπερ ὁκόταν συμμιγῇ θυνώμασιν ὀνομάζεται καθ'
ἡδονὴν ἐκάστου.

CXXIV

CXXIV (D. 10, M. 25) [Aristotle], *De Mundo* 5, 396b20

συλλάψεις· ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον
διᾶδον, ἐκ πάντων ἔν καὶ ἐξ ἐνός πάντα.

CXXV

CXXV (D. 124, M. 107) Theophrastus, *Metaphysica* 15 (p. 16, Ross and Fobes)

[[σάρμα εἰκῇ κεχυμένων ὁ κάλλιστος, φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, [ὁ]
κόσμος.]

CXXIII This is the text of Hippolytus, without his inserted comment (τὰναντία ἅπαντα· οὗτος ὁ νοῦς). Most editors add a word, generally <πῦρ>, as subject for συμμιγῇ.

CXXIV I follow M. and most recent editors in reading συλλάψεις where D. has συνάψεις.

CXXV I give the text of Diels, accepted by Ross and Fobes. M. has κεχυμένον (for κεχυμένων) and he adds <ὥς> before φησὶν.

CXXIII

The god: day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger. It alters, as when mingled with perfumes, it gets named according to the pleasure of each one.

CXXIV

Graspings: wholes and not wholes, convergent divergent, consonant dissonant, from all things one and from one thing all.

CXXV

[[The fairest order in the world is a heap of random sweepings.]]

CXXIII pleasure: *hēdonē*, pleasure; flavor, taste.

of each one: *hekastou*, ambiguous between 'each person' and 'each perfume'. Some editors introduce 'fire' (after 'as') as subject of last two clauses.

CXXIV Graspings: *syllapsis*, seizing, arresting, catching hold of; combination, comprehending, summing up; biological conception.

convergent: *sympheromenon*, moving towards; agreeing with, being on friendly terms.

divergent: *diapheromenon*, moving apart; differing from; quarrelling with: cf. LXXVIII.

consonant: *synaidon*, accompany in song, sing in agreement with.

dissonant: *diaidon*, contend against in singing, compete in singing contest; sing apart.

CXXV from Theophrastus: 'Heraclitus says . . .'

The fairest order in the world: *kosmos*, world order, with play on older sense: adornment, ornament.

Concordances

<i>Diels-Kranz</i>	<i>This edition</i>
1	I
2	III
3	XLVII
4	Appendix I
5	CXVII
6	XLVIII A
7	CXII
8	LXXV
9	LXXI
10	CXXIV
11	LXXVI
12	L, CXIII B
13	LXXII A
14	CXV
15	CXVI
16	CXXII
17	IV
18	VII
19	XVII
20	XCVIII
21	LXXXIX
22	VIII
23	LXIX
24	C
25	XCVI
26	XC
27	LXXXIV
28A	LXXXV
28B	LXXXVII
29	XCVII
30	XXXVII

<i>Diels-Kranz</i>	<i>This edition</i>
31A–B	XXXVIII–XXXIX
32	CXVIII
33	LXVI
34	II
35	IX
36	CII
37	LXXIIB
38	XXIV
39	LXII
40	XVIII
41	LIV
42	XXI
43	CIV
44	LXV
45	XXXV
46	Appendix I
47	XI
48	LXXIX
49	LXIII
49a	Appendix I
50	XXXVI
51	LXXVIII
52	XCIV
53	LXXXIII
54	LXXX
55	XIV
56	XXII
57	XIX
58	LXXIII
59	LXXIV
60	CIII
61	LXX
62	XCII
63	CX
64	CXIX
65	CXX
66	CXXI
67	CXXIII
67a	Appendix I
68	Appendix I

<i>Diels-Kranz</i>	<i>This edition</i>
69	Appendix I
70	LVIII
71	V
72	V
73	V
74	XIII
75	XCI
76	XLI
77	CVIII
78	LV
79	LVII
80	LXXXII
81	XXVI
82	LVI
83	LVI
84A	LII
84B	LIII
85	CV
86	LXXXVI
87	LX
88	XCIII
89	VI
90	XL
91	LI
92	XXXIV
93	XXXIII
94	XLIV
95	CVII
96	LXXXVIII
97	LXI
98	CXI
99	XLVI
100	XLIIA
101	XXVIII
101a	XV
102	LXVIII
103	XCIX
104	LIX
105	XXIII
106	XX

Diels-Kranz This edition

107	XVI
108	XXVII
109	CVII
110	LXVII
111	LXVII
112	XXXII
113	XXXI
114	XXX
115	CI
116	XXIX
117	CVI
118	CIX
119	CXIV
120	XLV
121	LXIV
122	Appendix I
123	X
124	CXXV
125	LXXVII
125a	Appendix I
126	XLIX
129	XXV

A5	XLIII
A13	XLIII
A15	CXIIIA
A19	XCV
A22	LXXXI
A23	XII

<i>This edition</i>	<i>Diels</i>	<i>Marcovich</i>
I	1	1
II	34	2
III	2	23b
IV	17	3
V	71–73	69b ¹ , 4, 3c, 1h ¹
VI	89	24
VII	18	11
VIII	22	10
IX	35	7
X	123	8
XI	47	113
XII	A 23	6a ¹
XIII	74	89
XIV	55	5
XV	101a	6
XVI	107	13
XVII	19	1g
XVIII	40	16
XIX	57	43
XX	106	59
XXI	42	30
XXII	56	21
XXIII	105	63a
XXIV	38	63b
XXV	129	17
XXVI	81	18
XXVII	108	83
XXVIII	101	15
XXIX	116	15f = 23e
XXX	114	23a
XXXI	113	23d
XXXII	112	23f
XXXIII	93	14
XXXIV	92	75
XXXV	45	67
XXXVI	50	26
XXXVII	30	51
XXXVIII	31A	53A
XXXIX	31B	53B
XL	90	54

<i>This edition</i>	<i>Diels</i>	<i>Marcovich</i>
XLI	76	66e ¹
XLII (A)	100	64
XLIII	A 13, A 5	65
XLIV	94	52
XLV	120	62
XLVI	99	60
XLVII	3	57
XLVIII A–B	6	58a, c
XLIX	126	42
L	12	40a
LI	91	40c ³
LII	84A	56A
LIII	84B	56B
LIV	41	85
LV	78	90
LVI	82–83	92b
LVII	79	92a
LVIII	70	92d
LIX	104	101
LX	87	109
LXI	97	22
LXII	39	100
LXIII	49	98
LXIV	121	105
LXV	44	103
LXVI	33	104
LXVII	110–111	71, 44
LXVIII	102	91
LXIX	23	45
LXX	61	35
LXXI	9	37
LXXII A–B	13, 37	36a ¹ , c ¹
LXXIII	58	46
LXXIV	59	32
LXXV	8	27d ¹ (= 28c ¹)
LXXVI	11	80
LXXVII	125	31
LXXVIII	51	27
LXXIX	48	39
LXXX	54	9

<i>This edition</i>	<i>Diels</i>	<i>Marcovich</i>
LXXXIA—B	A 22	28c ² , c ⁵
LXXXII	80	28
LXXXIII	53	29
LXXXIV	27	74
LXXXV	28A	20
LXXXVI	86	12
LXXXVII	28B	19
LXXXVIII	96	76
LXXXIX	21	49
XC	26	48
XCI	75	1h ²
XCH	62	47
XCIII	88	41
XCIV	52	93
XCVA—B	A 19	108b ¹ , b ²
XCVI	25	97
XCVII	29	95
XCVIII	20	99
XCIX	103	34
C	24	96
CI	115	112
CII	36	66
CIII	60	33
CIV	43	102
CV	85	70
CVI	117	69
CVII	95	110a ³
CVIII	77	66d ¹
CIX	118	68
CX	63	73
CXI	98	72
CXII	7	78
CXIIIA	A 15	
CXIIIB	12	40
CXIV	119	94
CXV	14	87
CXVI	15	50
CXVII	5	86
CXVIII	32	84
CXIX	64	79

348 *Concordances*

<i>This edition</i>	<i>Diels</i>	<i>Marcovich</i>
CXX	65	79, 55
CXXI	66	82
CXXII	16	81
CXXIII	67	77
CXXIV	10	25
CXXV	124	107