mud, and then there is another beginning of generation, and this change occurs in all the *kosmoi* [that is, in every such cycle].

(Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 1.14.3–6)

35. (A39) <Concerning the stars that are called the *Dioscuri>*⁴ Xenophanes says that the things like stars that appear on boats are small clouds that glimmer as a result of a certain kind of motion. (Aëtius 2.18.1)

Suggestions for Further Reading

All of these entries have further bibliographies. Complete bibliographical information for collections may be found in the bibliography in the Introduction, pp. 10–12. See also the relevant chapters in Barnes; McKirahan; Guthrie; and Kirk, Raven, and Schofield

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4. Translator's note: Literally, "sons of Zeus"; the term was used to refer to Castor and Polydeuces (Pollux). The phenomenon referred to is St. Elmo's

5. HERACLITUS OF EPHESUS

and people in general, the nicknames on the enigmatic paradoxes he uses to is no doubt based on his rude comments about other philosophers, historians, world, he had a reputation for both misanthropy and obscurity traditional nicknames were "the Obscure," and "the Riddler." turned his back on the sort of political life normally associated with persons of rank, ceding his hereditary ruling position to his brother. In the ancient present his views. He is said to have written a single book, of which fragment BCE. He was a member of one of the aristocratic According to Diogenes Laertius, Heraclitus of Ephesus was born around 540 was likely the beginning (or very near the beginning). Although Heraclitus has cosmological views, many of which seem to have families of that city, but The reputation -among his

those who have much learning but little understanding. The accumulation of facts without insight into the divine law-like workings of the cosmos is logos can, apparently, have the sure and certain knowledge that Xenophanes claimed "no man has seen." The path to this understanding is not, Heraclitus thinks, just the inquiry recommended by Xenophanes: Heraclitus ridicules about the physical world. He asserted that a single divine law controls and steers the cosmos. He calls this the logos. The word logos means, among other things, "account," or "thing said," or even "word." As with the English Heraclitus attempts to bridge the gap between divine and human knowledge pointed out by Homer, Hesiod, and Alcmaeon. The soul that understands the possible in the words he uses, and he takes full advantage of the flexibility of the Greek language to make multiple points. Although the logos is an been influenced by Xenophanes, he is as interested in exploring questions about knowledge, the soul, and the human condition as in making claims grasped by humans who can (with difficulty) come to understand the cosmos, logos as the divine law of the cosmos, the content of which is a truth to be and instead act like dreamers asleep in their own private worlds. Treating the most people do not exercise the capacities required to come to understand it, objective and independent truth available to all, Heraclitus is convinced that word "account," to give a logos is to say something, but also to give an explanation. Heraclitus is well aware of the ambiguities and complications

useless. Understanding how all things form a unity is a fundamental part of the necessary insight. Heraclitus offers signs of this unity in his paradoxical claims about the identity of opposites, insisting that despite unceasing change in the cosmos, there is an unchanging principle—the logos—that both governs and explains these changes. The physical sign of the logos is fire:

always changing yet always the same.

own private understanding. (Sextus Empiricus, Against the Mathematicians 7.133)

3. (B40) Much learning ["polymathy"] does not teach insight. over Xenophanes and Hecataeus. Otherwise it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras and more-

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.1)

(B129) Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchus practiced inquiry [historiē] more than all other men, and making a selection of these writings constructed his own wisdom, polymathy, evil trickery. (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 8.6)

particular order can impose an interpretation. In DK the ordered alphabetically by the name of the source. Here,

the fragments fragments are

and

are grouped more or less thematically, beginning with B1 and B2,

going on to some general comments about the inadequacies of

the rest of the fragments. Their ordering is a controversial issue, as a the first two fragments, says that they occurred at or near the begin-ning of Heraclitus' book, but we do not have similar information for

Note on the order of the fragments: Sextus Empiricus, our source for

òı contests and flogged, (B42) Heraclitus said that Homer deserved to be expelled from the and Archilochus likewise

is greater than the others'

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 1.88)

things—a man who could not recognize day and night; for they are one.¹

 $\sqrt{8}$. (B104) What understanding (noos) or intelligence (phrēn) have they? They put their trust in popular bards and take the mob for their teacher, unaware that most people are bad, and few are good.

(Proclus Commentary on District Al-Rich Trust Commentary on District Commentary on Distric

(B86) Divine things for the most part escape recognition because

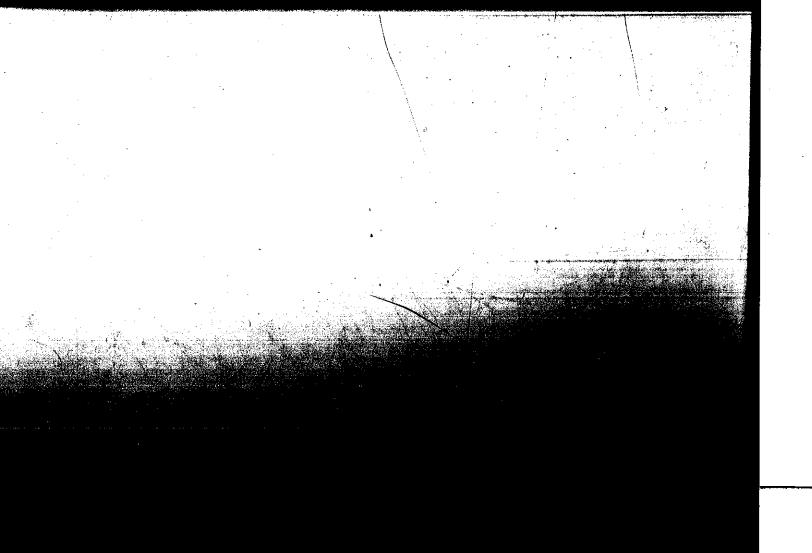
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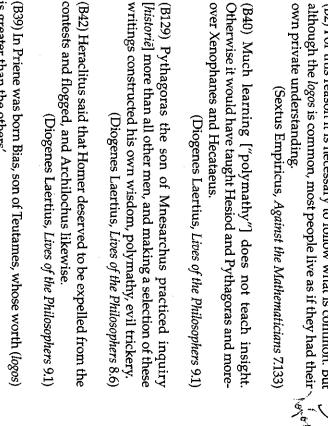
(Plutarch, Life of Coriolanus 38 = Clement, Miscellanies 5.88.4)

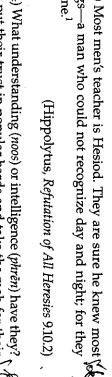
it is. But other people fail to notice what they do when awake, just as they forget what they do while asleep.

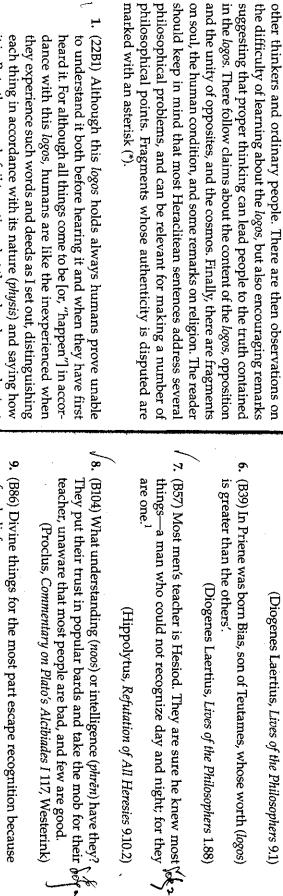
(Sextus Empiricus, Against the Mathematicians 7.132)

1. Translator's note: The verbs translated "are sure," "knew," and "recognize" are almost synonyms and can all be translated as "know," a translation that would emphasize the paradoxical suggestion of the fragment.









marked with an asterisk (*)

in the logos

There follow claim:

(Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.174)

(B50) Listening not to me, but to the logos, it is wise to agree that all things are one.

(Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.1)

21.

رم با (B123) Nature (physis) loves to hide. (Themistius, Orations 5.69)

13. (B107) Eyes and ears are bad witnesses to people if they have barbarian² souls.

(Sextus Empiricus, Against the Mathematicians 7.126)

(B46) [He said that] conceit is a holy disease³ [and that] sight tells falsehoods.

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.7)

15. (B34) Uncomprehending when having heard, they are like the deaf. The saying describes them: being present they are absent. (Clement, Miscellanies 5.115.3; tpc)

16. (B93) The Lord whose oracle is at Delphi neither speaks nor con-

(Plutarch, On the Pythian Oracle 404D)

25.

ceals but gives a sign.

(B113) Thinking (phronein) is common to all. (Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.179)

18. (B112) Right thinking (sōphronein) is the greatest excellence, and wisdom (sophia) is to speak the truth and act in accordance with nature (physis) while paying attention to it.

(Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.178)

2. Translator's note: A barbaros was originally anyone who did not speak Greek.... Heraclitus... uses the word here of people who do not understand the logos.

Translator's note: A reference to epilepsy, which was called the holy

19.* (B73) One ought not to act and speak like people asleep.
(Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 4.43)

(B89) For the waking there is one common world, but when asleep each person turns away to a private one. (Pseudo-Plutarch, On Superstition 166c)

(B26) A man in the night kindles a light for himself when his sight is extinguished; living he touches⁴ the dead when asleep, when awake he touches the sleeper.

(Clement, Miscellanies 4.141.2)

sleep. (B21) What we see when awake is death, what we see asleep is

(Clement, Miscellanies 3.21.1)

23. (B114) Those who speak with understanding (noos) must rely firmly on what is common to all as a city must rely on [its?] law, sufficient for all and is still left over. and much more firmly. For all human laws are nourished by one the divine law; for it has as much power as it wishes and is

(Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.179)

24. (B18) Unless he hopes for the unhoped for, he will not find it, since it is not to be hunted out and is impassable (aporon).⁵ (Clement, Miscellanies 2.17.4)

(B22) Those who seek gold dig up much earth but find little (Clement, Miscellanies 4.4.2)

26. (B17) For many, in fact all that come upon them, do not understand such things, nor when they have noticed them do they know them, but they seem to themselves <to do so>.

(Clement, Miscellanies 2.8.1)

4. Translator's note: The Greek word for "kindles" and "touches" is the same.
5. Translator's note: *aporon* ("without a path") is related to *aporia* ("perplexity").





36. (B35) Men who are lovers of wisdom must be inquirers into many

(Clement, Miscellanies 5.140.5)

things indeed

(Marcus Aurelius, Meditations 4.46)

- 28.* (B70) [Heraclitus judged human opinions to be] children's playthings.
- (Stobaeus, Selections 2.1.16)
- 29. (B19) [Rebuking some for their unbelief, Heraclitus says,] Knowing neither how to hear nor how to speak (Clement, Miscellanies, 2.24.5)
- 30. (B28) The knowledge of the most famous persons, which they guard, is but opinion. . . . Justice will convict those who fabricate falsehoods and bear witness to them.

(Clement, Miscellanies 5.9.3)

31. (B87) A fool is excited by every word (logos).

(Plutarch, On Listening to Lectures 40f-41a)

- **32.** (B97) Dogs bark at everyone they do not know. (Plutarch, Should Old Men Take Part in Politics? 787c)
- 33. (B56) People are deceived about the knowledge of obvious things, were killing lice deceived him by saying, "All we saw and caught we have left behind, but all we neither saw nor caught we bring like Homer, who was wiser than all the Greeks. For children who

(Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.5)

(B47) Let us not make random conjectures about the greatest matters

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.73)

35. (B116) It belongs to all people to know themselves and to think rightly (sophronein). (Stobaeus, Selections 3.5.6)

37. (B101) I searched [or: inquired into] myself.
(Plutarch, Against Colotes 1118C) **4**0. 39. (B12) Upon those who step into the same rivers, different and again 38. (B54) An unapparent connection (harmonia) is stronger than an scatters and again comes together, and approaches and recedes.
(Plutarch, On the E at Delphi 392b) (B91) [It is not possible to step twice into the same river]. . . . It different waters flow. apparent one. (Arius Didymus, fr. 39.2 = Dox. *Gr.* 471.4-5) (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.5)

(B49a) We step into and we do not step into the same rivers. We are and we are not.

(Heraclitus Homericus, Homeric Questions 24)

- 42. (B78) Human nature has no insight, but divine nature has it (Origen, Against Celsus 6.12)
- **43**. (B45) You would not discover the limits of the soul although you traveled every road: so deep a logos does it have (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.7)
- 44.* (B115).The soul has a self-increasing logos.
- 45. (B30) This kosmos, the same for all, none of gods nor humans made, but it was always and is and shall be: an ever-living fire, kindled in measures.

(Clement, Miscellanies 5.103.3; tpc)

46. (B41) The wise is one (to sophon), to know the intelligent plan (gnōmē) by which all things are steered through all.

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.1; tpc)



- 47. (B32) The wise (to sophon) is one alone, both unwilling and willing to be called by the name of Zeus.
- (Clement, Miscellanies 5.115.1; tpc)
- 48. (B64) Thunderbolt steers all things. (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.7)
- $\sqrt{49}$. (B90) All things are an exchange for fire and fire for all things, as goods for gold and gold for goods. (Plutarch, On the E at Delphi 338d-e)
- $\sqrt{50}$. (B65) Fire is want and satiety. (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.7)
- (B76) Fire lives the death of earth and aer lives the death of fire, water lives the death of aēr, earth that of water. (Maximus of Tyre, 41.4)
- 52. (B36) For souls to become water is to die, for water to become earth is to die; but from earth, water comes to be; from water, soul
- (Clement, Miscellanies 6.17.2; tpc)

53. (B118) Gleam of light: the dry soul, wisest (sophōtate) and best.

(Stobaeus, Selections 3.5.8)

54.

- (B117) A man when drunk is led by a boy, stumbling and not knowing where he goes, since his soul is moist.
- (Stobaeus, Selections 3.5.7)

55. (B84a) Changing it rests.

- (Plotinus, Enneads 4.8.1)
- **56.** (B125) Even the *Kykeōn* [posset]⁶ falls apart if it is not stirred. (Theophrastus, *On Vertigo* 9; tpc)
- The Kykeōn is a potion made of ground barley, grated cheese, and wine ometimes with honey).

- 57. (B80) It is necessary to know that war is common and justice is necessity. strife and that all things happen in accordance with strife and
- (Origen, Against Celsus 6.42)
- 58. (B53) War is the father of all and king of all, and some he shows as gods, others as humans; some he makes slaves, others free. (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.4)
- 59. (B8) What is opposed brings together; the finest harmony [harmo- nia] is composed of things at variance, and everything comes to Livers be [or, "occurs"] in accordance with strife.
- (Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 8.2 1155b4)
- 60. that is> being brought together and brought apart, in tune and out of tune; out of all things there comes a unity and out of a unity all (B10) Things taken together are whole and not whole, <something
- ([Aristotle], On the World 5 396b20)
- **61.** (B51) They do not understand how, though at variance with itself, it agrees with itself. It is a backwards-turning⁸ attunement like that of the bow and lyre.
- (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.2)
- 62. (B55) All that can be seen, heard, experienced—these are what I
- (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.9.5)
- 64. (B7) If all things were smoke, nostrils would distinguish them (Polybius, Histories 12.27.1)

63. (B101a) Eyes are more accurate witnesses than the ears

- (Aristotle, On the Senses and Their Objects 5 443a23)
- 7. Translator's note: Or, "how by being at variance with itself it agrees with itself"; more literally, "how (by) being brought apart it is brought together."
- 8. Reading *palintropos* here. Translator's note: The sources disagree; some give *palintonos*, "backwards-stretching." There is no scholarly consensus on which word Heraclitus used

- **66.** (B48) The name of the bow is life, but its work is death.⁹
- 67. (B59) The track of writing [or, "the path of the carding wheels"]10 (Etymologium Magnum sv bios)
- is straight and crooked (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.4)
- 68. (B60) The road up and the road down are one and the same.

 (Ginnalvius Refutation of All Heresies 9) (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.4)
- 69. (B61) The sea is the purest and most polluted water: to fishes drinkable and bringing safety, to humans undrinkable and

(Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.5)

70.* (B82) The most beautiful of apes is ugly in comparison with the (Plato, Hippias Major 289a3-4)

(B13) Pigs rejoice in mud more than in pure water. (Clement, Miscellanies 1.2.2)

72. (B9) Asses would choose rubbish rather than gold (Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics 10.5 1176a7)

(B4) We would call oxen happy when they find bitter vetch to

(Albertus Magnus, On Vegetables 6.401)

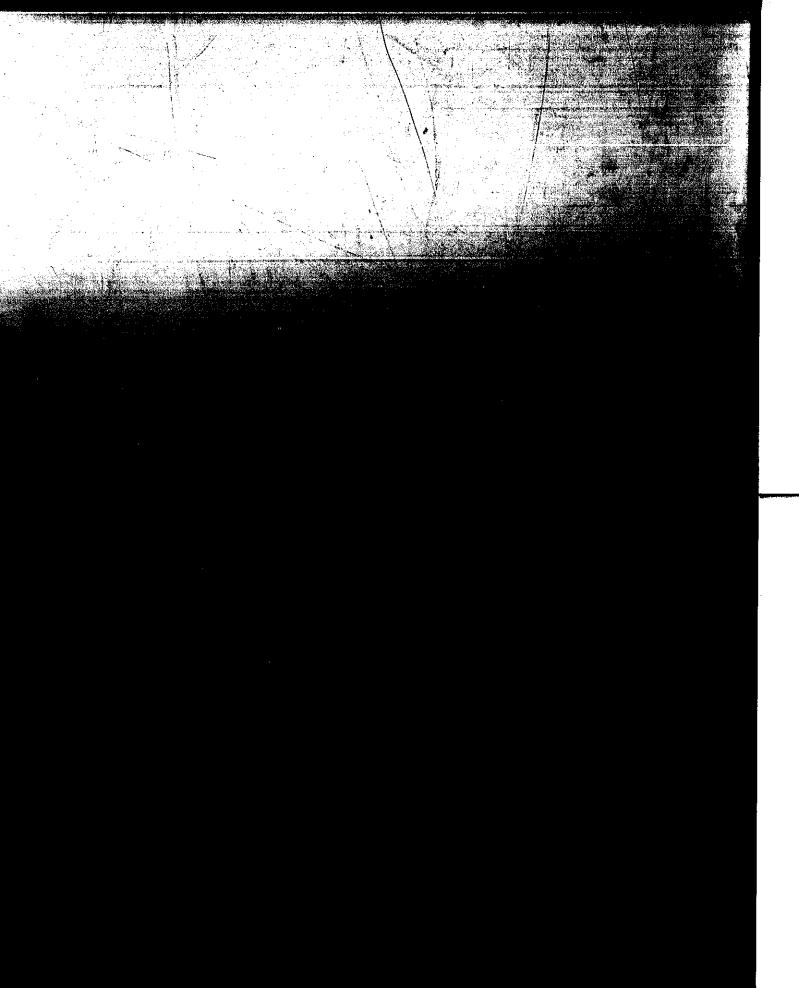
 Translator's note: The fragment exploits the identical spelling of the Greek words for bow (bios) and life (bios); they differed in the accented syllables, but in 10. Translator's note: The manuscript reading gnapheion ("carding wheels") is Heraclitus' time accents were not yet written. Also, the fragment does not contain the word biós (bow), but uses the more common word toxon, thus requiring Heraclitus' readers (or hearers) to make the essential association themselves. emended by some editors to grapheiōn ("writing").

- 74. (B37) Pigs wash themselves in mud, birds in dust or ash.
- (Columella, On Agriculture 8.4.4)
- 75. (B11) Every beast is driven to pasture by blows. ([Aristotle], On the World 6 401a10)
- 76. (B83) The wisest of humans will appear as an ape in comparison with a god in respect to wisdom, beauty, and all other things (Plato, Hippias Major 289b4-5)
- 77. (B102) To god all things are beautiful and good and just, but humans have supposed some unjust and others just. (Porphyry, Notes on Homer, on Iliad 4.4)
- 8 (B124) The most beautiful kosmos is a pile of things poured out at
- (Theophrastus, Metaphysics 15)
- 79. (B103) The beginning and the end are common on the circumference of a circle. (Porphyry, Notes on Homer, on Iliad 24.200)
- 80. (B126) Cold things grow hot, a hot thing cold, a moist thing withers, a parched thing is moistened

(John Tzetzes, Notes on the Iliad, p. 126 Hermann)

- 81. (B67) God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger, but changes the way <fire,(?)> when mingled with perfumes, is named according to the scent of each.
 (Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 9.10.8)
- 82. (B88) The same thing is both living and dead, and the waking and the sleeping, and young and old; for these things transformed are continuous. those, and those transformed back again are these.
 (Pseudo-Plutarch, Consolation to Apollonius 106E)
- 83. (B23) They would not have known the name of justice if these things [unjust things] did not exist.

(Clement, Miscellanies 4.9.7)



- 84. (B111) Disease makes health pleasant and good, hunger satiety,
- (Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.178)
- (B58) Physicians who cut and burn complain that they receive no worthy pay, although they do these things.
 (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.3)
- 86. (B62) Immortal mortals, mortal immortals, living the death of the
- others and dying their life. (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.6)

95.

they die.

87. (B31) The turnings of fire: first, sea; and of sea, half is earth and half fiery waterspout. . . . Earth is poured out as sea, and is measured according to the same ratio (*logos*) it was before it became

(Clement, Miscellanies 5.104 3,5)

88. (B3 + B94) The sun by its nature is the width of a human foot, not exceeding in size the limits of its width \dots Otherwise, the Erinyes, ministers of Justice, will find him out.

(Derveni Papyrus, col. IV)

89. (B6) The sun is new each day.

(Aristotle, Meteorology 2.2 355a13)

(B99) If there were no sun, as far as concerns all the other stars 11 it would be night.

(Plutarch, Is Water or Fire the More Useful? 957A)

- (B120) Limits of dawn and evening are the Bear and opposite the Bear, 12 the limit of bright Zeus. (Strabo, Geography 1.6)
- and may not be authentic 11. Translator's note: The clause "as far . . . stars" is omitted in one of the sources
- 12. Translator's note: The Bear is the constellation Ursa Major (the Big Dipper), and "opposite the Bear" refers to the star Arcturus, which was used as an indicator of the seasons.

- 92. (B136) Souls slain in war are purer than those that perish of
- (Bodleian Scholium on Epictetus, lxxi Schenkel)
- 93. (B24) Gods and humans honor those slain in war
- (Clement, Miscellanies 4.16.1)
- 94. (B25) Greater deaths win greater destinies. (Clement, Miscellanies 4.49.2)
- (B27) Things unexpected and unthought of await humans when (Clement, Miscellanies 4.22.144)
- 96. (B63) They arise and become vigilant guardians of the living and the dead.
- (Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.10.6)
- 97. (B20) When they are born, they are willing to live and to have their destinies, and they leave children behind to become their $\frac{1}{2}$ destinies.

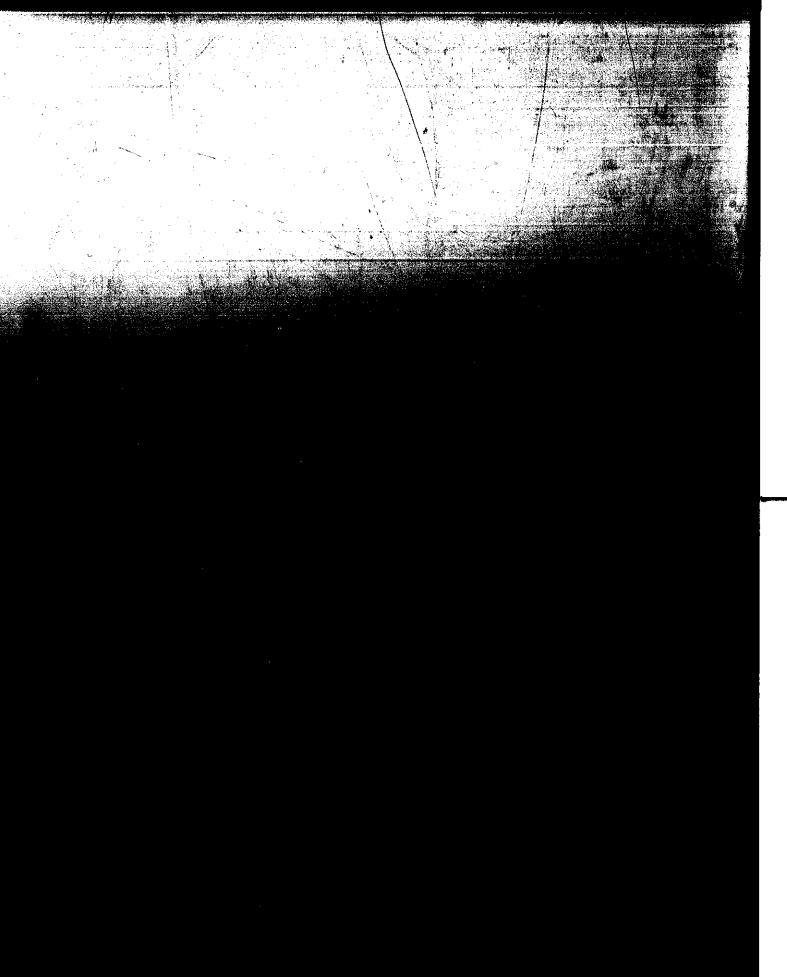
(Clement, Miscellanies 3.14.1)

- 98. (B16) How could one fail to be seen by that which does not set? (Clement, Pedagogue 2.99.5)
- 99. (B96) Corpses are more fit to be thrown out than dung (Plutarch, Table Talk 669A)
- 100. (B121) Every grown man of the Ephesians should hang himself and leave the city to the boys; for they banished Hermodorus, the best man among them, saying "let no one of us excel, or if he does, be it elsewhere and among others."
- (B125a) May wealth never leave you, Ephesians, lest your wickedness be revealed

(Strabo, Geography 14.25)

(John Tzetzes, Scholium on Aristophanes' Wealth 88)

102. (B49) One person is ten thousand to me if he is best. (Theodorus Prodromus, Letters 1)



(Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 9.94)

104. (B44) The people must fight for the law as for the city wall. (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.2)

105. (B43) Willful violence [hubris] must be quenched more than a

(Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 9.3)

φυχή J106. (B119) A person's character is his divinity [or, "guardian spirit," daimon].

(Stobaeus, Selections 4.40.23)

107. (B110) It is not better for humans to get all they want (Stobaeus, Selections 3.1.176)

108. (B95) It is better to conceal ignorance.

(Plutarch, Tablė Talk 644F)

109. (B85) It is difficult to fight against anger, for whatever it wants it buys at the price of the soul.

1

(Plutarch, Life of Coriolanus 22.2)

110. (B5) They vainly purify themselves with blood when defiled with it, as if a man who had stepped into mud were to wash it off with mud. He would be thought mad if anyone noticed him acting thus.

(Aristocritus, Theosophia 68; Origen, Against Celsus 7.62)

111. (B15) If it were not for Dionysus that they hold processions and sing hymns to the shameful parts [phalli], it would be a most shameless mad and celebrate the Bacchic rites. act; but Hades and Dionysus are the same, in whose honor they go

(Clement, Protreptic 34.5)

112. (B14) Nightwalkers, Magi, Bacchoi, Lenai, and the initiated. [These people Heraclitus threatens with what happens after death. . . .]

unholy manner. For the secret rites practiced among humans are celebrated in an

113. (B92) The Sibyl with raving mouth uttering mirthless [and unadorned and unperfumed phrases, reaches a thousand years in her voice on account of the god]. 13
(Plutarch, On the Oracles at Delphi 397A)

Suggestions for Further Reading

cal information for collections may be found in the bibliography in Guthrie; McKirahan; and Kirk, Raven, and Schofield. the Introduction, pp. 10-12. See also the relevant chapters in Barnes; All of these entries have further bibliographies. Complete bibliographi-

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13. Translator's note: The bracketed material may contain Heraclitean ideas, although the wording is probably not authentic.

