

# The Hellenistic philosophers

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VOLUME 2  
Greek and Latin texts  
with notes and bibliography

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# Introductory note

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This second volume of *The Hellenistic Philosophers* is strictly ancillary to the translations and commentaries which appear in vol. 1. Whereas vol. 1 is designed to be usable on its own, vol. 2 provides the sort of supplementary information required by readers familiar with Greek and Latin. It is not designed to be read in isolation.

The principal object of vol. 2 is to supply the originals of the texts which are translated in vol. 1. These are sometimes presented here in longer excerpts than appear in vol. 1, and in such cases the additional portions are marked by smaller print. Occasionally an entire extra text is added, also in smaller print, and designated with a lower case (instead of the usual upper case) bold letter.

The texts are accompanied by notes. These do not attempt systematic or exhaustive commentary, but offer cross-references, information on context and on further relevant texts, and discussion of obscure or controversial points of interpretation, particularly where this is required in order to justify the translations and interpretations proposed in vol. 1. If our coverage at times seems uneven, that is because we have found that some texts demand extensive elucidation, while others seem able to speak adequately for themselves.

We have not, with one or two special exceptions, attempted to obtain readings of the original manuscripts, but have relied principally on a standard edition of each work. These editions are listed in the Index of sources appended to vol. 1. Although we do not always follow their precise readings or punctuation, we do adopt their systems of sigla in our apparatus criticus, so that readers requiring technical information on the manuscript and editorial traditions can consult them directly. We do not attempt to supply exhaustive information on the textual tradition, but we have tried to give full information at least in all cases where a philosophical interpretation might depend on the reading chosen. Our use of bracketing and other such conventions is standard. However, readers should be warned that some of our texts are papyrological or epigraphic, and that square brackets in such texts enclose editorial *fillings* for lacunae, whereas square brackets in other texts indicate editorial *deletions*, or, if their content opens with 'sc.', editorial *glosses*.

References in bold are to our own texts. If the final figure is not in bold, e.g.

*Introductory note*

**70E 2**, it refers to the line number in the vol. 2 text. If it is in bold, e.g. **70E 2**, it refers to a subsection of the text, as in vol. 1.

In the notes we have found it hard, for reasons of space, to do justice to all the relevant scholarship. In partial recompense, the bibliography, which is designed for use in company with the notes, often serves as our vehicle for referring to and evaluating the range of existing interpretations. Numbered references in square brackets, e.g. 'Pohlenz [298]', are to entries in the bibliography.

AAL

Cambridge, June 1986

DNS

ξετιν; . . . (new fr. 1.2.7ff.) οὐκουν μὲν κενὰ λέγει | ταῦτα ὡς καὶ δύναμις | τοσαύτη πρόσεστιν. οὐ | μὴν πάλιν, εἴ μή ἔστιν | κενά, αἰσθησίν] ἔχει | καὶ λογιαμὸν καὶ τῷ | ὅντι προσλαβεῖ ἡμεῖν], | ὡς ὑπολαμβάνει Δημόκριτος. [ἀ]μήχανον γὰρ λεπτοῖς ὑμέσιν οὔτως καὶ | στερεμύτας φύσεως βάθος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ταῦτα προσέεναι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπλανήθησαν οἵ τε Στωικοί[ι] καὶ Δημόκριτος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Στωικοὶ καὶ ἦν 10 ἔχουσι δύναμιν τῶν φαντασιῶν ἀφαιροῦνται· Δημόκριτος δὲ | καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαρᾶ[[ζεται].

For apparatus, see Chilton [170] and [171] and Smith [173] and [176].

*Context:* Diogenes' physics treatise, cf. E.

For Democritus' view, see also vol. I, 145, and for the Stoics', 39B 5–6.

6 λέγει Sc. Epicurus.

## EPISTEMOLOGY

### 16 The truth of all impressions

A Lucretius 4.469–521

- (1) denique nil sciri si quis putat, id quoque nescit  
an sciri possit, quoniam nil scire fatetur. 470  
hunc igitur contra mittam contendere causam,  
qui capite ipse suo in statuit vestigia sese.  
(2) et tamen hoc quoque uti concedam scire, at id ipsum  
quaeram, cum in rebus veri nil viderit ante,  
unde sciat quid sit scire et nescire vicissim,  
notitiam veri quae res falsique crearit 475  
et dubium certo quae res differre probarit.  
(3) invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam  
notitiam veri neque sensus posse refelli.  
(4) nam maiore fide debet reperirier illud,  
sponte sua veris quod possit vincere falsa.  
quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi  
debet? (5) an ab sensu falso ratio orta valebit  
dicere eos contra, quae tota ab sensibus orta est?  
qui nisi sunt veri, ratio quoque falsa fit omnis. 485  
(6) an poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an auris  
tactus? an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,  
an confutabunt nares oculive revincent?  
non, ut opinor, ita est. nam sorsum cuique potestas  
divisast, sua vis cuiusque, ideoque necesse est  
et quod molle sit et gelidum fervens seorsum  
et sorsum varios rerum sentire colores  
et quaecumque colorib[us] sint coniuncta videre.  
sorsus item sapor oris habet vim, sorsus odores 490

noscuntur, sorsum sonitus. ideoque necesse est  
non possint alios alii convincere sensus.

(7) nec porro poterunt ipsi reprehendere sese,  
aequa fides quoniam debebit semper haberi.

(8) proinde quod in quoquest his visum tempore, verumst.

(9) etsi non poterit ratio dissolvere causam,  
cur ea quae fuerint iuxtim quadrata, procul sint  
visa rutunda, tamen praestat rationis egentem  
reddere mendose causas utriusque figurae,  
quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam  
et violare fidem primam et convellere tota  
fundamenta quibus nixatur vita salusque.

(10) non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa  
concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis  
praecipitesque locos vitare et cetera quae sint  
in genere hoc fugienda, sequi contraria quae sint.

(11) illa tibi est igitur verborum copia cassa  
omnis quae contra sensus instructa parast.

(12) denique ut in fabrica, si pravast regula prima,  
normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,  
et libella aliqua si ex parti claudicat hilum,  
omnia mendose fieri atque obstipa necesse est  
prava cubantia prona supina atque absona tecta,  
iam ruere ut quaedam videantur velle, ruantque  
prodita iudiciis fallacibus omnia primis,  
sic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necessest  
falsaque sit, falsis quecumque ab sensibus ortast.

505

510

515

520

472 *suo* OQ: *sua* Lachmann  
necessest codd.

491 *seorsum* Bentley: *videti* codd.: *videre* Martin  
495 *noscuntur* Giussani: *nascuntur* OQ: *nascuntur* ed. Veronensis

493 *videre* Lachmann:  
517 *prava* Marullus:  
*parva* codd.

*Context:* following Lucretius' accounts of vision and optical illusion. Cf. also vol. 1, 109.

472 See Burnyeat [10], [229] for the recognition of Epicurus' expression *περικάτω τρέπεται* in this line, and for the dialectical principle involved cf. also 20C 5. Most editors emend *suo* to *sua*, presumably so that *in* can govern it. The separation of *in . . . vestigia* is no doubt the more irregular usage, but it would be entirely in character for Lucretius to use linguistic disorder to convey the sceptic's confusion (for a nearby example, cf. 13E 832–3, on the back-to-front nature of teleology).

504–6 Cf. 18A 29.

513 **regula** Probably = *κανών*, for which see 17.

## B Diogenes Laertius 10.31–2

(1) *πᾶσα γάρ, φησίν, αἰσθησις ἄλογός ἐστι καὶ μνήμης οὐδεμιᾶς δεκτική·*

(2) οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ' αὐτῆς κινεῖται οὔτε ὑφ' ἐτέρου κινηθεῖσα δύναται τι προσθεῖναι ἡ ἀφελεῖν· (3) οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ δυνάμενον αὐτὰς διελέγχαι. (4) οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ὁμογένεια αἰσθησίς τὴν ὁμογενή διὰ τὴν ἴσοσθένειαν, (5) οὐθ' ἡ ἀνομογένεια τὴν ἀνομογένειαν, οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσὶ κριτικαί· (6) οὔτε μὴν λόγος, πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἥρτηται. (7) οὐθ' ἡ ἐτέρα τὴν ἐτέραν, πάσαις γὰρ προσέχομεν. (8) καὶ τὸ τὰ ἐπαισθήματα δ' ὑφεστάναι πιστοῦται τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀλήθειαν. (9) ὑφέστηκε δὲ τό τε ὄραν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀκούειν ὥσπερ τὸ ἀλγεῖν· (10) ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἀπὸ τῶν φαινομένων χρὴ σημειούσθαι. (11) [=15F] (12) τά τε τῶν μαινομένων φαντάσματα καὶ τὰ κατ' ὄντας ἀληθή, κινεῖ γάρ τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν οὐ κινεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> δύναται Gassendi: ἀδύνατει codd. <sup>4</sup> αἰσθησίς secl. Diano <sup>6</sup> ἥρτηται φ: εἱρηται cett. <sup>7</sup> ἐπαισθήματα BP: ἀνεπαισθητα FP(corr.) <sup>11</sup> τὰ Casaubon

**Context:** doxography of Epicurean canonics.

6–7 It is unclear how this relates to the arguments of 3–5, which seem in themselves to cover all possible cases. It apparently caps them with a quite general consideration, one which differs in not referring to different types of sensation at all.

**7 ἐπαισθήματα** The term *ἐπαισθῆσις* seems to be 'sensory recognition' (C 24; 15A 15–16; P. Herc. 19/698, cols. 8–10, in Scott [149] – not a rational judgement as to an object's identity, but a successfully made sensory apprehension of something, normally an object or property (34.31.13 Arrighetti [119] is an exception, apparently a completely untechnical use). *ἐπαισθῆμα* will be explicitly the product, the accomplished act of recognition, where *ἐπαισθῆσις* can also include the power of recognition (this accords with Greek usage, and may be the most that can be got out of the confused Actius 4.8.2 = Usener 249). But for a different view, see Asmis [225], 162–3. The role of *ἐπαισθήματα* in the present laconic argument is unclear: perhaps (cf. 15A 15) the point is that we can be said e.g. to hear external objects, not just their sounds: the senses successfully put us into contact with external objects in a way the sceptic would disallow.

10–12 This implicit glossing of ἀληθής as 'real' is made explicit at S.E. M. 8.9 (= Usener 247): for reservations about it as a satisfactory interpretation of Epicurus, see vol. 1, 85.

**11 φαντάσματα** A sign that Epicurus' own words are not being quoted. He uses this term for impressions in general (cf. 18C 21, 19A 8–9), whereas here it clearly carries its normal sense 'figments' (cf. its Stoic definition, 39A–B).

## C Anonymous Epicurean treatise on the senses (P. Herc. 19/698), cols. 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, fr. 21

(1) τὴν μὲν γ[ὰ]ρ [ο]ἴψιν ὄρατὰ κατα[λ]αμβ[ά]νειν ἡγούμεθ[α], τὴν δὲ | ἀφῆν ἀπτά, καὶ τὴν μὲν | χρώματο{ι}s, τὴν δὲ σώματος, καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν | τοῦ τῆς ἐτέρας [κρ]ύμα[τος] | μηθὲν π[ολ]υπραγμ[ο]ν|νεῦν· ἐπειδήπερ εἰ συ[ν]έβαινε τὴν ὄψιν σώματος μέγεθος καὶ σχῆμα | κ[α]ταλαμβάνειν, π[ολὺ] | π[ρ]ότερον ἀν καὶ σώμα | κ[α]τελάμβανεν . . . (2) . . . τύπον εἰ[...]ε, καὶ πο[λλά]||κις οὐδὲ αὐ[τό] τοῦτο. [εἰ]||περ οὖν οὐθὲν

ἔτερο[ν] | ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ὄρα[τὸν] | ἡ τῶν χρωμάτω[ν] ἡ [έξω] | τάτω  
θέσις, οὐδὲ τὸ μ[έγεθος τὸ ὄρατὸν ἡ τῶ[ν] | πλειόνων χρωμάτω[ν] | ἡ  
κατὰ τὸ ἔξι[ω] θέσι[ις,] ἵσω[σι] δύνατον τὴν α[ὐτή] ὥν χρωμάτων οὐ[σαν]  
[ἀ]ντιληπτικήν [τὴν] | ἔξωτάτω θέσιν τῶ[ν] | χρωμάτων καταλαμ[βά]-  
| νειν . . . (3) ὥστε | κατ' αὐτὴν ἀναλογίαν | κοινὰ κρίματ' εἴναι | τῶν  
αἰσθήσεων τού[των] τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέ[γεθος, ὃν λόγον ἔχει | τ[ὰ τοῦ] 10  
χρώματος π[ρὸ]ς | τὸ χρῶμα, τούτον ἔχόντων | τῶν τοῦ σώματος | πρὸς  
τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὃν | λόγον ἔχει τὸ χρῶμα[α] | πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῆς ὄρά[σεως]  
[κατ]άληψιν, τοῦ[τον] τοῦ σώματος π[ρὸ]ς | τὴν δι[α] τῆς ἀφῆς 15  
. . . (4) . . . ἀ[π]ικοῆς, χωρὶς τῶν ἀνωτάτων καὶ κοινοτάτων | ἀ προδιήλθο-  
μεν, κρίμα | κοινὸν οὐκ οἰόμεθα | κατὰ τὸν πρόχειρον | τρόπον εἴναι· κατὰ  
δὲ | τὸν οὐ πρόχειρον μέν, | κοινότητα δὲ προσφεύρομένον, ὥστ' ἀναλογίαν  
εὐόδως ἂν ἔχειν | ὥρθηναι, φήσα[ι]μεν | ἂν κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἴναι κρίμα τὸ  
σχῆμα | . . . (5) ὥστε | τῶν αἰσθήσεων προσυπομνήσωμεν ὁ προσφερε-  
ται ἴδιον ἐκάστη χωρὶς τῆς τῶν κρινομένων ἐπ[α]ισθήσεως. ἡ | μὲν  
τοίνυν ὄρασις ἴδιωτατον ἔχει παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας, χωρὶς τῆς τῶν  
[χ]ρωμάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ κρίσεως, τὸ ἐν ἀποστάσει κα[τ]αλαμ-  
βάνειν | τὰς μορφάς, ἐπαισθανομένην καὶ τοῦ μεταξὺ ἑαυτῆς τε  
κάκειν[νων δια]στήματος . . . (6) ἡ δὲ ἀφῆς, κατὰ μέν τὸ [ἱδίον, τὸ]  
μηδεμιᾶς | ἀγτιλαμβάνεσθαι ποιότητος· κατὰ δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἡ ποιὰ σάρξ  
ἔστιν, ὁ πα[ρ]ακο[λουθεῖ] καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσιν, τὸ ἐτερογενῶν  
ποιοτήτων | ἀγτιλαμβάνεσθαι. [σκ]ληρῶν γάρ καὶ μ[α]λακῶν[ν] | οὐσ[α]  
κριτική, καταλαμβάνει καὶ θερμὰ καὶ | ψυχρά, τά τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ | καὶ παρ'  
ἑαυτῇ . . . | (7) τῆς ὄράσεως τοίνυν στερεμνιότητα μὴ κρινούσης, |  
καταφεύδονται τ[ι]νες | κρίνειν νομίζοντες· | ὑποβ[ά]λλειν γάρ αὐτὴν |  
καθ' ἀπλῆν προσβολὴν | ὅταν π[έ]τρας όρῶμεν | . . .

9 ἵσω[σ] Sedley: π[ά]ω[σ] Scott

12 μέ[γεθος]: με[γεθ]ῶν pap. ante corr.

12 τ[ὰ] Sedley: τὸ

Scott 28 [σκ]ληρῶν Asmis: [π]ληρῶν Scott

The full text is that of Scott [149], except where otherwise indicated. Fuller papyrological information will be found there.

Context: a work on the senses by an Epicurean, possibly Philodemus.

26–8 Cf. Plutarch, *Col.* 1121B–C, τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὐ λεγούσης [corr. Einarson/De Lacy: λέγουσι codd.] τὸ ἔκτος εἴναι θερμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πάθος γεγονέ<ναι> τοιοῦτον . . . For ‘internal touch’ as a common function of the senses, the aspect of self-awareness in the sensory process, see Cicero, *Acad.* 2.20 and 76, Aetius 4.8.7 (= *SVF* 2.852), and note on 53G. Although the only explicit attributions are to the Cyrenaics and Stoics, Cicero reports it to be a standard philosophical usage. Hence the suggestion in vol. 1, 84, that the Epicureans are invoking it here. Aetius, loc. cit., may be right to connect it with Aristotelian κοινὴ αἰσθησις. Before τὸ μηδεμιᾶς (25–6) and τὸ ἐτερογενῶν (27) understand ἴδιωτατον ᔹχει from 22.

## D Epicurus, RS 23

εἰ μαχῆ πάσαις ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, οὐχ ἔξεις οὐδὲ ἂν φῆς αὐτῶν

διεφεύσθαι πρὸς τί ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναγωγὴν κρίνης.

ι εἰ μάχη Bywater: εἰ μὴ codd.

**E** Sextus Empiricus, M. 7.203–10 (Usener 247)

Ἐπίκουρος δὲ δυοὶ ὅντων τῶν συζυγούντων ἀλλήλοις πραγμάτων, φαντασίας καὶ τῆς δόξης, τούτων τὴν φαντασίαν, ἥν καὶ ἐνάργειαν καλέει, διὰ παντὸς ἀληθῆ φησιν ὑπάρχειν.

ώς γάρ τὰ πρῶτα πάθη, τουτέστιν ἡδονὴ καὶ πόνος, ἀπὸ ποιητικῶν τινῶν καὶ κατ’ αὐτὰ τὰ ποιητικὰ συνίσταται, οἷον ἡ μὲν ἡδονὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδέων, ἡ δὲ ἀλγηδῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλγειῶν, καὶ οὕτε τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ποιητικὸν ἐνδέχεται ποτε μὴ εἶναι ἡδὺ οὕτε τὸ τῆς ἀλγηδόνος παρεκτικὸν μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἀλγειών, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ἡδονὴδύ καὶ τὸ ἀλγύνον ἀλγειών τὴν φύσιν ὑποκείθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασῶν παθῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐσῶν τὸ ποιητικὸν ἔκαστης αὐτῶν πάντη τε καὶ πάντως φανταστὸν ἔστιν, † οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ὃν φανταστὸν μὴ ὑπάρχειν κατ’ ἀλήθειαν τοιούτον οἷον φαίνεται, ποιητικὸν φαντασίας καθεστάναι. † καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος τὸ παραπλήσιον χρή λογίζεσθαι. τὸ γάρ ὄρατὸν οὐ μόνον φαίνεται ὄρατὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔστι τοιούτον ὄποιον φαίνεται· καὶ τὸ ἀκουστὸν οὐ μόνον φαίνεται ἀκουστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοιούτον ὑπῆρχεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλων ὡσαύτως. γίνονται οὖν πᾶσαι αἱ φαντασίαι ἀληθεῖς. καὶ κατὰ λόγον· εἰ γάρ ἀληθῆς φαίνεται φαντασία, φασὶν οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι, ὅταν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντός τε καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ὑπάρχον γίνηται, πᾶσα δὲ φαντασία ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ φανταστοῦ καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ φανταστὸν συνίσταται, πᾶσα κατ’ ἀνάγκην φαντασία ἔστιν ἀληθής. (1) ἔξαπατῷ δὲ ἐνίους ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰσθητοῦ οἷον ὄρατοῦ δοκουσῶν προσπίπτειν φαντασιῶν, καθ’ ἦν ἡ ἀλλοιόχρουν ἡ ἀλλοιόσχημον ἡ ἀλλως πως ἐξηλλαγμένον φαίνεται τὸ ὑποκείμενον· ὑπεινόρησαν γάρ ὅτι τῶν οὕτω διαφερουσῶν καὶ μαχομένων φαντασῶν δεῖ τὴν μέν τινα ἀληθῆ εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. ὅ πέρ ἔστιν εὑηθεῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν μὴ συνορώντων τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι φύσιν. (2) οὐ γάρ ὅλον ὄράται τὸ στερεμνίον, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρατῶν ποιώμεθα τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸ χρώμα τοῦ στερεμνίου. τοῦ δὲ χρώματος τὸ μέν ἔστιν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στερεμνίου, καθά περ ἐπὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετρίου διαστήματος βλεπομένων· τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ στερεμνίου καν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τόποις ὑποκείμενον, καθά περ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος θεωρουμένων· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἔξαλλαττόμενον καὶ ἴδιον ἀναδεχόμενον σχῆμα τοιαύτην ἀναδίδωσι φαντασίαν, ὄποιον καὶ αὐτὸ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν ὑπόκειται. (3) ὃν περ οὖν τρόπον οὕτε ἡ ἐν τῷ κρουομένῳ χαλκώματι φωνὴ ἔξακούεται οὕτε ἡ ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ κεκραγότος ἀλλ’ ἡ προσπίπτουσα τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ αἰσθήσει, καὶ ὡς οὐθεὶς φησι τὸν ἐξ ἀποστήματος μικράς ἀκούοντα φωνῆς ψευδῶς ἀκούειν, ἐπεὶ περ σύνεγγυς ἐλθῶν ὡς μείζονος ταύτης ἀντιλαμβάνεται, (4) οὕτως οὐκ ἄν εἴποιμι ψεύδεσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ὅτι ἐκ μακροῦ μὲν διαστήματος μικρὸν ὄρα τὸν πύργον καὶ στρογγύλον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σύνεγγυς μείζονα καὶ τετράγωνον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύειν, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε φαίνεται μικρὸν αὐτῇ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ τοιουτόσχημον, οὗτως ἔστι μικρὸν καὶ τοιουτόσχημον, τῇ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος φορᾷ ἀποθραυομένων τῶν κατὰ τὰ εἰδῶλα περάτων, καὶ ὅτε μέγα πάλιν καὶ ἀλλοιόσχημον, πάλιν ὅμοιῶς

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μέγα καὶ ἄλλοιόσχημον, ἥδη μέντοι οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφότερα καθεστώς. τούτο γὰρ τῆς διαιστρόφου λοιπὸν ἔστι δόξης οἰεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τό τε ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς καὶ τὸ πόρρωθεν θεωρούμενον φανταστόν. (5) αἰσθήσεως δὲ ἕδιον ὑπῆρχε τοῦ παρόντος μόνον καὶ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι οίον χρώματος, οὐχὶ δὲ τὸ διαικρίνειν ὅτι ἄλλο μέν ἔστι τὸ ἐνθάδε ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ἐνθάδε ὑποκείμενον. (6) διό περ αἱ μὲν φαντασίαι διὰ ταῦτα πᾶσαι εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς· *〈αἱ δὲ δόξαι οὐ πᾶσαι ἡσαν ἀληθεῖς〉*, ἀλλ’ εἴχον τινα διαφοράν. τούτων γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἡσαν ἀληθεῖς αἱ δὲ ψευδεῖς, ἐπεὶ περ κρίσεις καθεστάσιν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις, κρίνομεν δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅρθως, τὰ δὲ μοχθηρῶς ἦτοι παρὰ τὸ προστιθέναι τι καὶ προσνέμειν ταῖς φαντασίαις ἡ παρὰ τὸ ὑφαιρεῖν τι τούτων καὶ κοινῶς καταψεύδεσθαι τῆς ἀλόγου αἰσθήσεως.

8 ἔκαστης Kayser: ἔκαστου codd. 45 suppl. Usener

*Context:* the beginning of the section on Epicurus within a brief history of theories of the criterion, almost certainly derived from the *Canonica* of Antiochus (cf. on 18A, the sequel to this passage; and note the Stoicizing reading of Epicurus at 14–15, for which cf. 40C 4–5, etc.). The first person singular in 33 shows how little Sextus has adapted his source material.

3–13 This first exegesis of 'all impressions are true' looks too feeble to deserve serious attention, unless the apparent corruption in 8–9 conceals some more subtle ground than that *prima facie* offered, that every sense-object really is a sense-object.

22–3 Cf. C 2.

25–7 The hazy outline of distant objects is attributed to the fact that some of their colour is physically transmitted to the air surrounding them.

27–9 For the same basic interpretation, cf. Plutarch, *Col.* 1121A (Usener 252, part).

36 τὸ αἰσθητόν Not the tower itself, since solid bodies are not the object of vision, but its colour-at-a-distance, an object distinct from its colour-close-up (38–9).

45 διαφοράν This may well be meant to paraphrase Epicurus' διάληψιν at 15A 40, but if so Antiochus has probably missed the relevant technical sense of the latter term (see vol. 1, 86, 109–10).

## F Sextus Empiricus, M. 8.63–4 (Usener 253)

(1) ὁ δὲ Ἐπίκουρος ἔλεγε μὲν πάντα τὰ αἰσθητὰ εἶναι ἀληθῆ καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχοντος εἶναι καὶ τοιαύτην ὅποιόν ἔστι τὸ κινοῦν τὴν αἰσθησιν, (2) πλανάσθαι δὲ τοὺς τινὰς μὲν τῶν φαντασιῶν λέγοντας ἀληθεῖς, τινὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρίζειν δόξαν ἀπὸ ἐναργείας. (3) ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Ὁρέστου, ὅτε ἐδόκει βλέπειν τὰς Ἐρινύας, ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις ὑπὲρ εἰδώλων κινούμενη ἀληθῆς ἦν (ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τὰ εἰδώλα), ὁ δὲ νοῦς οἰόμενος ὅτι στερέμνιοί εἰσιν Ἐρινύες ἐψευδοδόξει. καὶ ἄλλως, φησίν, οἱ προειρημένοι τῶν φαντασιῶν διαφορὰ εἰσάγοντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσι πιστώσασθαι τὸ τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀληθεῖς ὑπάρχειν τινὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς· οὔτε γὰρ φαινομένων διδάξουσι τὸ

τοιούτον (ζητεῖται γὰρ τὰ φαινόμενα) οὐτε ἀδήλω (διὰ φαινομένου γὰρ ὄφείλει τὸ ἀδηλὸν ἀποδείκνυσθαι). 10

*Context:* ‘Is there anything true?’

5 The text implies that the fantastic images acted on Orestes’ eyes, not directly on his mind. 15D 2–4 may suggest that this is strictly inaccurate. On the other hand, note the similar but innocuous inaccuracy at 15D 791.

### G Lucretius 4.353–63

(1) quadratasque procul turris cum cernimus urbis,  
propterea fit uti videantur saepe rutundae,  
angulus obtusus quia longe cernitur omnis 355  
sive etiam potius non cernitur ac perit eius  
plaga nec ad nostras acies perlabbitur ictus,  
aera per multum quia dum simulacra feruntur,  
cogit hebescere eum crebris offensibus aer.  
hoc ubi suffugit sensum simul angulus omnis,  
fit quasi ut ad tornum saxorum structa terantur, 360  
(2) non tamen ut coram quae sunt vereque rutunda,  
sed quasi adumbratim paulum simulata videntur.

361 *terantur* Munro: *tuantur* OQP: *tuamur* Lachmann

*Context:* optical illusion.

359 Cf. E 37–8.

### H Lucretius 4.364–86

umbra videtur item nobis in sole moveri  
et vestigia nostra sequi gestumque imitari; 365  
aera si credis privatum lumine posse  
indugredi, motus hominum gestumque sequentem.  
nam nil esse potest aliud nisi lumine cassus  
aer id quod nos umbram perhibere suemus.  
nimirum quia terra locis ex ordine certis 370  
lumine privatur solis quacumque meantes  
officimus, repletur item quod liquimus eius,  
propterea fit uti videatur, quae fuit umbra  
corporis, e regione eadem nos usque secuta.  
semper enim nova se radiorum lumina fundunt 375  
primaque dispereunt, quasi in ignem lana trahatur.  
propterea facile et spoliatur lumine terra  
et repletur item nigrasque sibi abluit umbras.  
nec tamen hic oculos falli concedimus hilum.  
nam quocumque loco sit lux atque umbra tueri 380

illorum est; eadem vero sint lumina necne,  
umbraque quae fuit hic eadem nunc transeat illuc,  
an potius fiat paulo quod diximus ante,  
hoc animi demum ratio discernere debet,  
nec possunt oculi naturam noscere rerum.  
proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfangere noli.

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Context: following G.

## I Plutarch, Col. 1109A-E (Usener 250)

ὅ δ' οὖν δόξας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον εἶναι τοῖον ἡ τοίον Ἐπικουρείω δόγματι κέχρηται τῷ πάσας εἶναι τὰς δι' αἰσθήσεως φαντασίας ἀληθεῖς. εἰ γὰρ δυοῦν λεγόντων τοῦ μὲν αὐστηρὸν εἶναι τὸν οἶνον, τοῦ δὲ γλυκὺν οὐδέτερος φεύδεται τῇ αἰσθήσει, τί μᾶλλον ὁ οἶνος αὐστηρὸς ἡ γλυκύς ἔστιν; καὶ μὴν λουτρῷ γε τῷ αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ὡς θερμῷ, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ψυχρῷ χρωμένους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν<sup>7</sup> οἱ μὲν γὰρ ψυχροί, οἱ δὲ θερμὸν ἐπεμβάλλειν κελεύοντες . . . εἴπερ οὖν μὴ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἡ ἔτερα τῆς ἔτερας ἀληθῆς αἰσθήσις, εἰκός ἔστι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὸν ἡ θερμόν . . . εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἔτερῳ φάσκει τις, ἀμφότερα εἶναι λέγων λέληθεν. αἱ δὲ πολυνθρύλητοι συμμετρίαι καὶ ἄρμονίαι τῶν περὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια πόρων αἱ τε πολυμιξίαι τῶν σπερμάτων, ἢ δὴ πᾶσι χυμοῖς καὶ δόσμαις καὶ χροιαῖς ἐνδιεσπαρμένα λέγουσιν ἔτέραν ἔτέρῳ ποιότητος κινεῖν αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἄντικρυς εἰς τὸ μὴ μᾶλλον τὰ πράγματα συνελαύνοντες αὐτοῖς; τοὺς γὰρ οἰομένους φεύδεσθαι τὴν αἰσθησιν, ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία πάθη γινόμενα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρῶσι, παραμυθούμενοι διδάσκουσιν ὡς ἀναπεφυρμένων καὶ συμμεμιγμένων ὅμοιοι τι πάντων, ἄλλου δὲ ἄλλῳ πεφυκότος ἐναρμόττειν οὐκ ἔστι τῆς αὐτῆς ποιότητος ἐπαφὴ καὶ ἀντίληψις οὐδὲ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι κινεῖ πάντας ὡσαύτως τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἄλλᾳ ἔκεινοις ἔκαστοι μόνοις ἐντυγχάνοντες πρὸς ἡ σύμμετρον ἔχουσι τὴν αἰσθησιν οὐκ ὄρθως διαμάχονται περὶ τοῦ χρηστὸν ἡ πονηρὸν ἡ λευκὸν ἡ μὴ λευκὸν εἶναι τὸ πράγμα, τὰς αὐτῶν οἰομένοι βεβαιοῦντες τοῖς αἰσθήσεις τῷ τὰς ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν. δεῖν δὲ αἰσθήσει μὲν μηδεμιᾷ μάχεσθαι· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἄποτονται τινός, οἷον ἐκ πηγῆς τῆς πολυμιξίας ἔκάστη λαμβάνουσα τὸ πρόσφορον καὶ οἰκείον ὅλου δὲ μὴ κατηγορεῖν ἀποτομένους μερῶν· μηδὲ τὸ αὐτὸς οἰεσθαι δεῖν πάσχειν ἄπαντας, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην ποιότητα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ πάσχοντας. ἀρα δεῖ σκοπεῖν, τίνες μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι τὸ μὴ μᾶλλον ἐπάγουσι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡ οἵ πᾶν μὲν τὸ αἰσθητὸν κράμα παντοδαπῶν ποιοτήτων ἀποφαίνονται "σύμμικτον ὥστε γλεῦκος ὄλιστήριον"<sup>8</sup> ἔρρειν δὲ ὄμολογοῦσι τοὺς κανόνας αὐτοῖς καὶ παντάπασιν οἰχεσθαι τὸ κριτήριον, ἀν περ εἰδικρινές αἰσθητὸν ὄτιον καὶ μὴ πολλὰ ἔκαστον ἀπολίπωσιν.

7 &lt;τὸ&gt; Einarson/De Lacy 15 αὐτῆς &lt;πᾶσι&gt; Pohlenz 21 μηδεμιᾳ Dübner: μηδὲ δια- codd.

Context: reply to the Epicurean Colotes' attack on Democritus for allegedly holding that things are 'no more this than that' (a standard sceptic formula, cf. 1F-G, 71C).

8 συμμετρίαι Explained at 15A 23-5, 60-1.

**19 χρηστὸν ἡ πονηρόν** The argument *en passant* defends the objectivity of moral qualities. 'Good' and 'bad' are no doubt included on the ground that they are reducible to the sensible properties 'pleasant' and 'painful'.

## 17 The criteria of truth

**A** Diogenes Laertius 10.31

(1) ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Κανόνι λέγων ἔστιν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος κριτήρια τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ προλήψεις καὶ τὰ πάθη, (2) οἱ δὲ Ἐπικούρειοι καὶ τὰς φανταστικὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῆς διανοίας· λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον ἐπιτομῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Κυρίαις δόξαις.

2-4 οἱ δὲ Ἐπικούρειοι-δόξαις scil. Diano 3 καὶ *⟨αὐτὸς⟩* Usener

*Context:* doxography of Epicurean canonics.

2 The same list appears at Cicero, *Acad.* 2.142.

2-3 For Epicurus' own appeals to φανταστικὴ ἐπιβολὴ τῆς διανοίας, in addition to the texts cited in vol. 1, 90, see 11E 15-16.

3-4 I.e. at **B**, **C** and **D**.

**B** Epicurus, RS 24

(1) εἴ τιν' ἐκβαλεῖς ἀπλῶς αἰσθησιν καὶ μὴ διαιρήσεις τὸ δοξαζόμενον κατὰ τὸ προσμενόμενον καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἥδη κατὰ τὴν αἰσθησιν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ πᾶσαν φανταστικὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς διανοίας, συνταράξεις καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰσθήσεις τῇ ματαίῳ δόξῃ, ὥστε τὸ κριτήριον ἄπαν ἐκβαλεῖς. (2) εἰ δὲ βεβαιώσεις καὶ τὸ προσμενόμενον ἄπαν ἐν ταῖς δοξαστικαῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐπιμαρτύρησιν *⟨...⟩* οὐκ ἐκλείψεις τὸ διεφευσμένον· ὥστ' ἔχηρηκὼς ἔσῃ πᾶσαν ἀμφισβήτησιν καὶ πᾶσαν κρίσιν τοῦ ὅρθως ἢ μὴ ὅρθως.

1-2 κατὰ τὸ προσμενόμενον BP: καὶ τὸ προσμένον F 5 προσμενόμενον BP: προσμένον F 6 lacunam ind. Mühl 6-7 ὥστ' ἔχηρηκὼς Usener: ὡς τετηρηκὼς codd.

2, 5 **προσμενόμενον** 'Evidence yet awaited.' The reading *προσμένον* has been preferred here, at **C** 9, and at 18B 3, by all modern editors except Bollack [123]. It is generally glossed as 'that which awaits ἐπιμαρτύρησις'. But the passive form is the reading of the best MSS both here and at **C**, and its shortening by a simple haplography in the inferior MSS is likelier palaeographically than that the same dittoigraphy should have occurred independently three times. Even at 18B, where the active form is found in all MSS, the illustration is 'waiting to get near the tower and find out what it looks like from close to'. This is quite inappropriate to *προσμένον* on the traditional interpretation, according to which it is the belief, not the observer, that does the waiting. There too, then, the passive form should be adopted.

**C** Epicurus. *Ep. Hdt.* 37-8

(1) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα τοῖς φθόγγοις, ὡς Ἡρόδοτε, δεῖ

είληφέναι, δῆπας ἀν τὰ δοξαζόμενα ἡ ζητούμενα ἡ ἀπορούμενα ἔχωμεν εἰς ταῦτα ἀναγαγόντες ἐπικρίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἄκριτα πάντα ἡμῖν εἰς ἄπειρον ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἡ κενοὺς φθόγγους ἔχωμεν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ πρώτον ἐννόημα καθ' ἕκαστον φθόγγον βλέπεσθαι καὶ μηθὲν ἀποδείξεως προσδεῖσθαι, εἴπερ ἔξομεν τὸ ζητούμενον ἡ ἀπορούμενον καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἐφ' ὁ ἀνάξομεν. (2) εἴτα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δεῖ πάντα τηρεῖν καὶ ἀπλῶς τὰς παρούσας ἐπιβολὰς εἴτε διανοίας εἴθ' ὅτου δήποτε τῶν κριτηρίων, ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πάθη, ὥστα ἀν καὶ τὸ προσμενόμενον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἔχωμεν οἷς σημειωσόμεθα.

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<sup>3</sup> post ἡμῖν, ἡ g; ἡ d: om. cett.      <sup>7</sup> εἴτα Gassendi: εἴτε codd.: εἴτι τε Arndt      <sup>9</sup> προσμενόμενον BP: προσμένον FP(corr.)

*Context:* opening methodological recommendations of the *Letter to Herodotus*.

1–7 For discussion, see especially Striker [9], 68–73. The absence of the actual word *πρόληψις* is more economically explained (cf. vol. 1, 89) as due to Epicurus' avoidance of excessive technical assumptions at the outset than by the suggestion (Sedley [126], 14) that this part of *Ep. Hdt.* was written before the term itself had been introduced.

**9 προσμενόμενον** See on **B 2.**

## D Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 82

ὅθεν τοῖς πάθεσι προσεκτέον τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι, κατὰ μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ταῖς κοιναῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον ταῖς ἴδιαις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ παρούσῃ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν κριτηρίων ἐναργείᾳ. ἀν γὰρ τούτοις προσέχωμεν, τὸ ὅθεν ὁ τάραχος καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐγίνετο ἐξαιτιολογήσομεν ὄρθως καὶ ἀπολύσομεν, ὑπέρ τε μετεώρων αἰτιολογούντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἀεὶ παρεμπιπόντων, ὅσα φοβεῖ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσχάτως.

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<sup>1</sup> πάθεσι Bonnet: πάσι codd.

*Context:* the need to gear physical research to the goal of tranquillity (cf. **18C; 25B**).

1–2 For *κοιναὶ αἰσθήσεις* see Bignone [121] ad loc., and Striker [9], 68, who helpfully cites Philodemus, *Rhet.* 1.207, 2.41, and Aristotle, *Metaph.* A.1, 981b14.

## E Diogenes Laertius 10.33

(1) τὴν δὲ πρόληψιν λέγουσιν οἶονεὶ κατάληψιν ἡ δόξαν ὀρθὴν ἡ ἔννοιαν ἡ καθολικὴν νόησιν ἐναποκειμένην, τουτέστι μνήμην, τοῦ πολλάκις ἔξωθεν φανέντος, οἷον “τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος”. (2) ἂμα γὰρ τῷ ρήθηναι ἄνθρωπος εὐθὺς κατὰ πρόληψιν καὶ ὁ τύπος αὐτοῦ νοεῖται προηγουμένων τῶν αἰσθήσεων. (3) παντὶ οὖν ὄντοι ματὶ τὸ πρώτως ὑποτεταγμένον ἐναργέστερον ἐστι· (4) καὶ οὐκ ἀν ἔζητήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτό· οἷον “τὸ πόρρω ἐστὼς ἵππος ἐστὶν ἡ βοῦς”; δεῖ γὰρ κατὰ πρόληψιν ἐγνωκέναι ποτὲ ἵππου καὶ βοὸς μορφήν· (5) οὐδὲ ἀν ὠνομάσαμέν τι μὴ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόληψιν τὸν τύπον μαθόντες. (6) ἐναργεῖς οὖν εἰσιν

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αἱ προλήψεις· (7) καὶ τὸ δοξαστὸν ἀπὸ προτέρου τινὸς ἐναργοῦς ἥρηται, ἐφ' ὅ ἀναφέροντες λέγομεν, οἷον “πόθεν ἴσμεν εἰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος;”  
ἢ ὑποτεταγμένον Gassendi (cf. C 1): ἐπι- codd.

*Context: doxography of Epicurean canon (immediately following 16B).*

1 For Epicurus as originator of the term *πρόληψις*, see 23E 3. For the Stoics' definition and use of it, cf. 40A 3, N, S; and for the Pyrrhonists, 40T.

2 We punctuate after *τουτέστι μνήμην*, to make this a gloss on the preceding two words. Other editors take it directly with what follows, but that severs *τοῦ πολλάκις κτλ.* from *κατάληψις* ἡ δόξαν κτλ., leaving the latter as hopelessly weak definitions of *πρόληψις*.

6–9 For the same principle, see 23E 2, 40T 1; S.E., M. 1.57, 11.21; and cf. 39C 4.

## 18 Scientific methodology

A Sextus Empiricus, M. 7.211–16 (Usener 247, part)

(1) οὐκοῦν τῶν δοξῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον αἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν αἱ δὲ φευδεῖς, ἀληθεῖς μὲν αἱ τε ἐπιμαρτυρούμεναι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρούμεναι πρὸς τῆς ἐναργείας, φευδεῖς δὲ αἱ τε ἀντιμαρτυρούμεναι καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυρούμεναι πρὸς τῆς ἐναργείας. (2) ἔστι δὲ ἐπιμαρτύρησις μὲν κατάληψις δι’ ἐναργείας τοῦ τὸ δοξαζόμενον τοιούτον εἶναι ὅποιον ποτε ἐδοξάζετο, οἷον Πλάτωνος μακρόθεν προσιόντος εἰκάζω μὲν καὶ δοξάζω παρὰ τὸ διάστημα ὅτι Πλάτων ἔστι, προσπελάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ προσεμαρτυρήθη ὅτι ὁ Πλάτων ἔστι, συναιρεθέντος τοῦ διαστήματος, καὶ ἐπεμαρτυρήθη δι’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐναργείας. (3) οὐκ ἀντιμαρτύρησις δὲ ἔστιν ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὑποσταθέντος καὶ δοξασθέντος ἀδήλου τῷ φαινομένῳ, οἷον ὁ Ἐπίκουρος λέγων εἶναι κενόν, ὃ πέρ ἔστιν ἀδηλον, πιστοῦται δι’ ἐναργοῦς πράγματος τούτο, τῆς κινήσεως· μὴ ὅντος γάρ κενοῦ οὐδὲ κίνησις ὥφειλεν εἶναι, τόπον μὴ ἔχοντος τοῦ κινουμένου σώματος εἰς ὃν περιστήσεται διὰ τὸ πάντα πλήρη εἶναι καὶ ναστά· ὥστε τῷ δοξασθέντι ἀδήλῳ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν τὸ φαινόμενον κινήσεως οὕσης. (4) ἡ μέντοι ἀντιμαρτύρησις μαχόμενόν τι ἔστι τῇ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρήσει· ἦν γάρ ἀνασκευὴ τοῦ φαινομένου τῷ ὑποσταθέντι ἀδήλῳ, οἷον ὁ Στωικὸς λέγει μὴ εἶναι κενόν, ἀδηλόν τι ἀξιῶν, τούτῳ δὲ οὕτως ὑποσταθέντι ὀφείλει τὸ φαινόμενον συνανασκευάζεσθαι, φημὶ δὲ ἡ κίνησις· μὴ ὅντος γάρ κενοῦ κατ’ ἀνάγκην οὐδὲ κίνησις γίγνεται κατὰ τὸν ἡδη προδεδηλωμένον ἥμιν τρόπον. (5) ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτύρησις ἀντίξους ἔστι τῇ ἐπιμαρτυρήσει· ἦν γάρ ὑπόπτωσις δι’ ἐναργείας τοῦ τὸ δοξαζόμενον μὴ εἶναι τοιούτον ὅποιον περ ἐδοξάζετο, οἷον πόρρωθέν τινος προσιόντος εἰκάζομεν παρὰ τὸ διάστημα Πλάτωνα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ συναιρεθέντος τοῦ διαστήματος ἔγνωμεν δι’ ἐναργείας ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι Πλάτων. καὶ γέγονε τὸ τοιούτον οὐκ ἐπιμαρτύρησις· οὐ γάρ ἐπεμαρτυρήθη τῷ φαινομένῳ τὸ δοξαζόμενον. (6) ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ἐπιμαρτύρησις καὶ οὐκ ἀντιμαρτύρησις τοῦ

## Epicurean epistemology

ἀληθὲς εἶναι τι ἐστὶ κριτήριον, ή δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτύρησις καὶ ἀντιμαρτύρησις τοῦ ψεύδος εἶναι. πάντων δὲ κρηπὶς καὶ θεμέλιος ή ἐνάργεια.

<sup>17</sup> ἀνασκευὴ codd.: συνανασκευὴ Gassendi

Context: immediately following 16E.

Our grounds for naming Antiochus as the source of this text (along with 16E), and for questioning its evidential value, are fully argued in Sedley [243]. For a more positive assessment, see especially Striker [9].

## B Diogenes Laertius 10.34

τὴν δὲ δόξαν καὶ ὑπόληψιν λέγουσιν, ἀληθῆ τέ φασι καὶ ψευδῆ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμαρτυρήται η̄ μὴ ἀντιμαρτυρήται, ἀληθῆ εἶναι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιμαρτυρήται η̄ ἀντιμαρτυρήται, ψευδῆ τυγχάνειν. ὅθεν *〈τὸ〉 προσμενό〈μενο〉ν* εἰσήχθη· οἷον τὸ προσμεῖναι καὶ ἔγγυς γενέσθαι τῷ πύργῳ καὶ μαθεῖν ὃποῖος ἔγγυς φαίνεται.

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<sup>3</sup> *〈τὸ〉 Gassendi προσμενό〈μενο〉ν* Sedley: προσμένων B: προσμένον B(corr.): πρὸς μὲν ὃν FP

Context: immediately following 17E.

<sup>3</sup> προσμενό〈μενο〉ν See on 17B.

<sup>4-5</sup> For the tower example, a standard one, see 16E 4, G; 72F 2.

## C Epicurus, Ep. Pyth. 85–8

(1) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλο τι τέλος ἐκ τῆς περὶ μετεώρων γνώσεως εἴτε κατὰ συναφὴν λεγομένων εἴτε αὐτοτελῶς νομίζειν *〈δεῖ〉* εἶναι ἡπερ ἀταραξίαν καὶ πίστιν βέβαιον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. (2) μήτε τὸ ἀδύνατον καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι μήτε ὄμοίαν κατὰ πάντα τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχειν η̄ τοῖς περὶ βίων λόγοις η̄ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φυσικῶν προβλημάτων κάθαρσιν, οἷον ὅτι τὸ πᾶν σῶμα καὶ ἀναφῆς φύσις ἐστίν η̄ ὅτι ἄτομα στοιχεῖα, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δὴ ὅσα μοναχῆν ἔχει τοῖς φαινομένοις συμφωνίαν· ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων οὐχ ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε πλεοναχήν ἔχει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι σύμφωνον κατηγορίαν. (3) οὐ γὰρ κατὰ ἀξιώματα κενὰ καὶ νομοθεσίας φυσιολογητέον, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκκαλεῖται· οὐ γὰρ ἴδιολογίας καὶ κενῆς δόξης ὁ βίος ήμῶν ἔχει χρείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀθορύβως ήμᾶς ζῆν. (4) πάντα μὲν οὖν γίνεται ἀσείστως κατὰ πάντων *〈τῶν〉* κατὰ πλεοναχὸν τρόπον ἐκκαθαιρομένων συμφώνως τοῖς φαινομένοις, ὅταν τις τὸ πιθανολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεόντως καταλίπῃ· ὅταν δέ τις τὸ μὲν ἀπολίπῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐκβάλῃ ὄμοίως σύμφωνον ὃν τῷ φαινομένῳ, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς ἐκπίπτει φυσιολογήματος, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μῦθον καταρρεῖ. (5) σημεῖα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις συντελουμένων φέρει τῶν παρ' ήμῖν τινα φαινομένων, ἢ θεωρεῖται η̄ ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις φαινόμενα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνδέχεται πλεοναχῶς γενέσθαι. (6) τὸ μέντοι

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φάντασμα έκαστου τηρητέον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ συναπτόμενα τούτω διαιρετέον ἄ  
οὐκ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖται τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γινομένοις πλεοναχῶς συντελεῖσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> *{δεῖ}* Gassendi    6 σώμα codd.: *σώματα* Usener    7 δή Bignone: η codd.    8 ὑπάρχει  
Gassendi: ὑπάρχειν codd.    11 ιδεολογία Stephanus: ιδιαλογία BP: ηδη ἀλογίας FP(corr.)    13  
*{τῶν}* Bignone    17 δ' ἐπὶ Usener: δέ τι BP: δέ τινα FP(corr.)    18 φέρει Kühn: φέρειν codd.

Context: methodological introduction to *Letter to Pythocles*.

## D Lucretius 5.509–33

- (1) motibus astrorum nunc quae sit causa canamus.  
 (2) principio magnus caeli si vertitur orbis,  
 ex utraque polum parti premere aera nobis  
 dicendum est extraque tenere et claudere utrimque;  
 inde alium supra fluere atque intendere eodem  
 quo volvenda micant aeterni sidera mundi;  
 (3) aut aliud subter, contra qui subvehat orbem,  
 ut fluvios versare rotas atque haustra videmus:  
 (4) est etiam quoque uti possit caelum omne manere  
 in statione, tamen cum lucida signa ferantur;  
 (5) sive quod inclusi rapidi sunt aetheris aestus  
 querentesque viam circum versantur et ignis  
 passim per caeli volvunt summania tempa;  
 (6) sive aliunde fluens alicunde extrinsecus aer  
 versat agens ignis; (7) sive ipsi serpere possunt  
 quo cuiusque cibus vocat atque invitat euntis,  
 flammea per caelum pascentis corpora passim.  
 (8) nam quid in hoc mundo sit eorum ponere certum  
 difficile est; sed quid possit fiatque per omne  
 in variis mundis varia ratione creatis,  
 id doceo plurisque sequor disponere causas,  
 motibus astrorum quae possint esse per omne;  
 e quibus una tamen sit et hic quoque causa necessest  
 quae vegeat motum signis; sed quae sit earum  
 praecipere haudquamst pedetemptim progredientis.

531 sit et hic Nencini: sit et haec Q: sit in hoc Munro: siet hic Bernays: siet haec Lachmann

*Context:* following Lucretius' account of cosmogony. The corresponding text in Epicurus is at *Ep. Pyth.* 92.

The various alternative explanations listed in the *Letter to Pythocles* and Lucretius 5.509–770 and 6.96ff. seem in general to be culled from Presocratic sources. Virtually any such theory is deemed intrinsically possible, provided only that it is sufficiently mechanistic in character to exclude divine control (cf. 13). Those in the present passage cannot be attributed with certainty: see Bailey [154] ad loc.

## E Lucretius 6.703–11

sunt aliquot quoque res quarum unam dicere causam  
non satis est, verum pluris, unde una tamen sit;  
corpus ut exanimum siquod procul ipse iacere  
conspicias hominis, fit ut omnis dicere causas  
conveniat leti, dicatur ut illius una.

705

nam neque eum ferro nec frigore vincere possis  
interiisse neque a morbo neque forte veneno,  
verum aliquid genere esse ex hoc quod contigit ei  
scimus. item in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus.

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710 *verum* Marullus: *utrum* OQ

*Context:* in the middle of a long series of explanations of natural phenomena, paving the way for four alternative explanations of the Nile's flooding at 712–37.

F Philodemus, *Sign.* 11.32–12.31

(1) τιθεμ[έ]νου γάρ | τοῦτό τε ἀληθεύ[εσθα]ι, τὸ εἰ τὸ | πρῶτον τὸ δεύτε[ρο]ν, ὅταν ἀληθὲς ἡι τὸ εἰ μὴ τὸ δεύτερον | [οὐ]δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, οὐ [κα]τὰ τοῦτο | [συν]άγεται τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν | [κατὰ τὸ] ἀνασκευὴν τρόπον ἀναγκαστικόν. (2) τὸ γάρ εἰ μὴ | τὸ δεύτερον οὐδὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἀληθὲς [γίνεται ποτὲ μὲν παρόσον τοῦ δευτέρου καθ' ὑπόθεσιν {σθ}] | ἀνασκευασθέντος, παρ' αὐτὴν | τὴν ἀνασκευὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναιρεῖται, (3) καθάπερ [ἔ]χει | καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι κύνησ[ις] ἔστιν | κενόν· ἀναιρεθέντος γάρ[ρ] καθ' ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ κενοῦ, παρὰ φιλὴν | τὴν ἀναιρεσιν [αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἀναιρεθή[σεθ], ὥστ' εἰς τὸ | κατ' ἀνασκευὴν[ν γένε]ος ἐναρμότ[τειν τὸ τοιοῦτον· (4) ποτὲ] δ' οὐχ οὐδὲ τως ἀλλὰ παρ' [αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ] δύνα[σθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπάρχον <ν>ο[ι]ε[ν]η] ἡ τοιοῦτον [ὑπάρχον] τὸ δὲ | [δεύτερον] μὴ [ὑπάρχον] η μῆτ[ρη] το[ι]οῦτον, (5) ο[ι]ο[ν]γ ε[ι] Π[λάτων] ἔστιν ἄν[θρωπος], καὶ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ἄν[θρωπος]· τούτου γάρ ἀληθοῦς | ὄντος ἀλλήθες [γίνεται] καὶ τὸ | εἰ Σωκράτης οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωπος, | οὐδὲ Πλάτων ἔστιν ἀνθρωπος, | οὐχὶ [τὸ] οὐ τῆται Σωκράτους ἀναιρέσει συνανασκευάζεσθαι[ι] τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἀλλὰ τῶι μὴ δυνατόν | | εἶναι τὸν μὲν Σωκράτην νοεῖν] | οὐκ ἄγθρωπος[πον, τὸ] δὲ Πλάτωνα ἀνθρωπον, [δ] δὴ τοῦ καθ' ὁμοιότητα[α] ἔχεται τρόπον.

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4 τὸ δεύτερον οὐδὲ τὸ πρῶτον Bahnsch: τὸ πρῶτον οὐδὲ τὸ δεύτερον παρ. Gomperz

17 νοεῖν Sedley: εἶναι

For fuller apparatus, see De Lacy [152].

*Context:* reply to the Stoic Dionysius' first two arguments against the Epicurean Similarity Method, reported in the lost portion of text preceding 42G. Philodemus' source is his Epicurean master Zeno of Sidon (19.4–11).

17 νοεῖν This, in preference to Gomperz's εἶναι, is supported by *Sign.* 14.26, 33.1–9. The 'inconceivability' that one of the similar items should lack an essential

property which the other possesses is presented in the *De signis* as an entirely cogent ground of inference.

**G** Philodemus, *Sign.* 34.29–36.17

(1) τοῖς δ' ἐπιλαμβανομένοις τῆς καθ' ὄμοιότητα | σημειώσεως ἡ τε παραλλαγὴ | τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνεπισήμαντός ἐστι καὶ πώς τὸ καθὸ λαμβάνομεν, οἷον λόγου χάριν ὡς | ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς καθὸ ἀνθρ[ρ]ωπος | θυητός ἐστι· διὸ καὶ φασιν ἄν || μὲν παριῆται τὸ καθό, τὸν λόγον | ἀπρόβατον ὑπάρξειν, ἀν δὲ παραλαμβάνηται, τῷ κατ' ἀνασκευὴν χρήσασθαι τρόπῳ. (2) τὸ γὰρ | τόδε συνηρητῆσθαι τῷδ' ἔξ ἀνάγκης λαμβάνομεν [ἔ]ξ αὐτῷ πάσιν οἷς περιεπέσομεν | τεθεωρῆσθαι τοῦτο παρακολουθοῦν, καὶ ταῦτα ποικίλοις ἐκ ταύτού γένους ἐντευχηκότων | ζώοις καὶ παραλλαγὰς κατὰ τὰλλα πρὸς ἄλληλ' ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ | τοιούτων κοινοτήτων πᾶσι | μ[ε]τ[έ]χουσι. (3) τὸν [οὐ]ν φα[με]ν κα[ὶ] | ἀνθρ[ρ]ωπον | καθὸ κ[αὶ] ἡ ἀνθρωπός | ἐστι τι θυητὸν [εἴν]αι, τῷ π[ε]ριπ[ε]τ[η]ωκέναι πολλοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις ἀνθρώποις ἔξαλλαγ[έν | δέ] τοιούτο σύμπτωμα μηδέποτ[ο] | ἐφευρεῖν, εἴ[τ]οι τούναντίον | [τε] μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐπισπώμενοι, (4) ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τρόπον | [τοῦ]τον εἰλήφθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων κα[ὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφ' ὧν τάττομεν τὸ καθό καὶ τὸ ἡ, | τη̄τη̄ν ἰδιότητα ἐνδεικνυμένου τοῦ μὴ ἄλλως ἡ σὺν τούτῳ | καὶ ἔξ ἀνάγκης παρακολουθεῖν τοῦτο τούτῳ, (5) καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ | τῶν δὲ ἀνασκευαζομένου σημείου μόνον λαμβανομένων. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ πάσιν περιπεσεῖν τοῦτ' ἔχουσιν | παρακολουθοῦν ἐργάζεται | τὴν διαβεβαίωσιν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ | τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κινούμενα { ή } πάντα διαφορὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔχειν | κοινὸν δὲ τὸ διὰ κενωμάτων, πάντως τὸ καν τοῖς ἀδήλοις, καὶ ὡς | μὴ πυρὸς { οὐκ } ὄντος ἡ γεγονότος | ὁ καπνὸς ἀνασκευασθῆται τῷ πάντως καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων καπνὸν | ἐκ πυρὸς ἐκρινόμενον τεθεωρῆσθαι διατεινόμεθα. (6) διαπίπτουσιν δὲ καὶ καθόσον οὐ συνβλέπουσιν τὸ λαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς | ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀντιπίπτει διὰ τῶν | φαινομένων. οὐ γὰρ ἴκανὸν εἰς | τὸ προσδέξασθαι τὰς ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον παρενκλίσεις τῶν ἀτόμων | διὰ τὸ τυχηρὸν καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμᾶς, | ἀλλὰ δεῖ[ται] προσεπιδεῖξα[ὶ] καὶ τὸ μηδέποτ[ο] ἔν τούτῳ μάχεσθαι | τῶν ἐναρργῶν.

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8 κατὰ Gomperz: καὶ παρ. 11–12 π[ε]ριπ[ε]τ[η]ωκέναι—τοιούτο Sedley 12 μηδέποτ[ο] Sedley  
For fuller apparatus, see De Lacy [152].

**Context:** Philodemus' report of an oral contribution to the same Epicurean–Stoic debate as in **F** by an unidentified Epicurean, replying to the Stoic proposal at **42G 4**. He accepts the suggested rewriting of the inference 'Since all men familiar to us are mortal, men everywhere are mortal' into the essentialist-sounding 'Since the men familiar to us are mortal *in so far as they are men*, men everywhere are mortal', but insists that the 'in so far as' premise is itself established empirically by the Epicurean 'Similarity Method'. However, in being prepared to include 'in so far as they are men' in the premise, this Epicurean goes beyond Zeno of Sidon's rejoinder to the Stoic objection stated in **42G 3**; cf. *Sign.* 16.5–29, 22.28–23.7.

**2 τῶν εἰρημένων** At 33.33–34.29 Philodemus' Epicurean source has distinguished four uses of *καθό*. (1) Necessary concomitant, e.g. 'Men in so far as they are men are prone to disease and ageing'; (2) definition and *πρόληψις*, e.g. 'Man, in so far as he is man, is a rational animal'; (3) attribute . . . (text truncated); (4) necessary concomitant of an attribute, e.g. '⟨A man, in so far as he⟩ is foolish, is utterly unhappy'. However, he adds that all four usages express a necessary connexion, and the thesis in the present passage that 'in so far as' premises are verified empirically seems to be intended as equally applicable to them all.

19–21 On this argument from motion to void, see vol. 1, 32.

25–6 The inference from *τὸ παρ’ ἡμᾶς* to the atomic swerve is well attested, e.g. at 20E 3, F. A similar inference from the existence of *luck* to that of the swerve is attested only here and at Plutarch, *Soll. an.* 964c (Usener p. 351, 11), and the latter passage is perhaps textually suspect. See further, Long [219], and cf. note on 20A 7.

26–8 This formal requirement of *οὐκ ἀντιμαρτύρησις* in confirmation of the atomic swerve is fulfilled at 11H 249–50.

## 19 Language

**A** Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 75–6

(1) ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διδαχθῆναι τε καὶ ἀναγκασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτης παρεγγυθέντα ὕστερον ἐπακριβοῦν καὶ προσεξευρίσκειν, ἐν μέν τισι θάττουν, ἐν δέ τισι βραδύτερον, καὶ ἐν μέν τισι περιόδοις καὶ χρόνοις ἀπὸ τῶν [ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου] ⟨ἰδίων χρειῶν κατὰ μείζους ἐπιδόσεις⟩, ἐν δέ τισι κατ’ ἐλάττους. (2) ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ’ ἔκαστα ἔθνη ἴδια πασχούσας πάθη καὶ ἴδια λαμβανούσας φαντάσματα ἴδιως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν στελλόμενον ὑφ’ ἔκάστων τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων, ὡς ἂν ποτε καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἔθνων διαφορὰ ἦ· (3) ὕστερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ’ ἔκαστα ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια τεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἤτον ἀμφιβόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλαις καὶ συντομωτέρως δηλουμένας· (4) τινὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ συνορώμενα πράγματα εἰσφέροντας τοὺς συνειδότας παρεγγυησάι τινας φθόγγους· (5) τοὺς ⟨μὲν οὖν⟩ ἀναγκασθέντας ἀναφωνῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ ἐλομένους, κατὰ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐρμηνεῦσαι.

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s. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου *scil.* Sedley: ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου *scil.* Mühl. <ἰδίων χρειῶν> Sedley <κατὰ μείζους ἐπιδόσεις> Leopold 10 ἦ Usener: εἴη codd. 12 ἀλλήλαις BPF(corr.): -ous F: -oīs Meibom 14 τοὺς <μὲν οὖν> Sedley: <καὶ> τοὺς <μὲν> Gassendi: τοὺς del. Usener

*Context:* following the section on world formation which includes 13C.

9–10 It is not clear whether these differences are a primary or merely a supplementary factor in the production of different languages and dialects: *καὶ* may suggest the latter (see Brunschwig [248]), unless it is an instance of Epicurus' redundant *καὶ* (see Usener [133], s.v.), as at 7B 29. Nor is it made clear how far impressions and reactions result (a) from environmental differences (cf. 22B 1), and (b) from differing racial physique (cf. 22Q 5–6).