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Volume I

ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY

FOURTH EDITION

FORREST E. BAIRD
WALTER KAUFMANN

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Volume I

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Forrest E. Baird, Editor
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Late, of Princeton University

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This volume is dedicated to

STANLEY R. OBITTS

and

ROBERT N. WENNBERG

Professors of Philosophy
Westmont College

Preface

The philosophers of ancient Greece have fascinated thinking persons for centuries. Their writings have been one of the key influences on the development of Western civilization, beginning with the fragmentary statements of the Pre-Socratics, moving to the all-embracing systems of Plato and Aristotle, and culminating in the practical advice of the Hellenistic writers, Greek philosophers have defined the questions and suggested many of the answers for subsequent generations. As the great Greek statesman, Pericles, sagely predicted, "Future ages will wonder at us, as the present age wonders at us now."

This volume in the *Philosophic Classics* series includes the writings of the most important Greek philosphers, along with selections from some of their Roman followers. In choosing texts for this volume I have tried wherever possible to follow three principles: (1) to use complete works or, where more appropriate, complete sections of works (2) in clear translations (3) of texts central to the thinker's philosophy or widely accepted as part of the "canon." To make the works more accessible to students, most footnotes treating textual matters (variant readings, etc.) have been omitted and all Greek words have been transliterated and put in angle brackets. In addition, each thinker is introduced by a brief essay composed of three sections: (1) biographical (a glimpse of the life), (2) philosophical (a resumé of the philosopher's thought), and (3) bibliographical (suggestions for further reading).

For this edition a number of small changes have been made including the addition of Critias and Aspasia to the Pre-Socratics and the section on the "Ring of Gyges" from Plato's *Republic.* The section on the Hellenistic and Roman philosophers has been restructured to follow the development of the different schools and the translations of Plato, *Apology* and *Crito*, Lucretius, *On the Nature of the Universe,* and Plotinus, *Enneads,* have all been changed.

Those who use this first volume in a one-term course in ancient philosophy will find more material here than can easily fit a normal semester. But this embarrassment of riches gives teachers some choice and, for those who offer the same course year after year, an opportunity to change the menu.

* * *

I would like to thank the many people who assisted me in this volume, including the library staff of Whitworth College, especially Hans Bynagle, Gail Fielding, and Jeanette Langston; my colleagues F. Dale Bruner, who made helpful suggestions on all the introductions, Barbara Filo, who helped make selections for artwork, and Ronald Pyle, who made suggestions about Aspasia; Stephen Davis, Claremont McKenna College; Jerry H. Gill, The College of St. Rose; Rex Hollowell, Spokane Falls Community College; Stanley Obitts, Westmont College; and Charles Young, The Claremont Graduate School, whose students each read some of the introductions and gave helpful advice; my secretary, Michelle Seefried; my production editor, Bruce Hobart, my acquisitions editor, Ross Miller, of Prentice Hall; and my former acquisitions editors, Karita France, Angela Stone, and Ted Bolen. I would also like to acknowledge the following reviewers: James W. Allard, Montana State University; David Apolloni, Augsburg College; Robert C. Bennett, El Centro College; Herbert L. Carson, Ferris State University; Helen S. Lang, Trinity College; Scott MacDonald, University of Iowa; Reginald Savage, North Carolina State University; Gregory Schultz, Wisconsin Lutheran College; Stephen Scott, Eastern Washington University; Daniel C. Shartin, Worcester State College; Donald Phillip Verene, Emory University; Robert M. Wieman, Ohio University; and Sarah Worth, Allegheny College. New as reviewers to this edition, I would also like to thank Mark Hébert, Austin College; and Ted Toadvine, Emporia State University.

I am especially thankful to my wife, Joy Lynn Fulton Baird, and to our children, Whitney Jaye, Sydney Tev, and Soren David, who have supported me in this enterprise. Finally, I would like to thank Stanley R. Obitts and Robert N. Wennberg, who first introduced me to the joys of philosophy. It is to them that this volume is dedicated.

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Rome
ITALY
ADRIATIC
SEA
Danube R.
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
Elea
BLACK SEA
MACEDONIA
Thuril
Abdera
Croton
SICILY
Acragas
Leontini
Syracuse
IONIAN
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Nicopolis
Lampsacus
Hellespont
Assos
Harbor
LESBOS
AEGEAN
SEA
Delphi
Elis
Corinth
Athens
PELOPONNESUS
Clazomenae
Colophon
Ephesus
Hieropolis
Miletus
ASIA MINOR
SAMOS
Melos
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
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CYPRUS
Citium
Alexandria
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300 Miles
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200
300 Kilometers

Philosophers In This Volume

600 B.C. | 500 B.C | 400 B.C. | 300 B.C. | 200 B.C.

Thales
Anaximander
Anaximenes
Pythagoras
Xenophanes
Heraclitus
Anaxagoras
Protagoras
Parmenides
Empedocles
Critias
Aspasia
Gorgias
Socrates
Zeno of Elea
Democritus
Melissus
Plato
Aristotle
Pyrrho
Epicurus
Zeno of Citium
Cleanthes

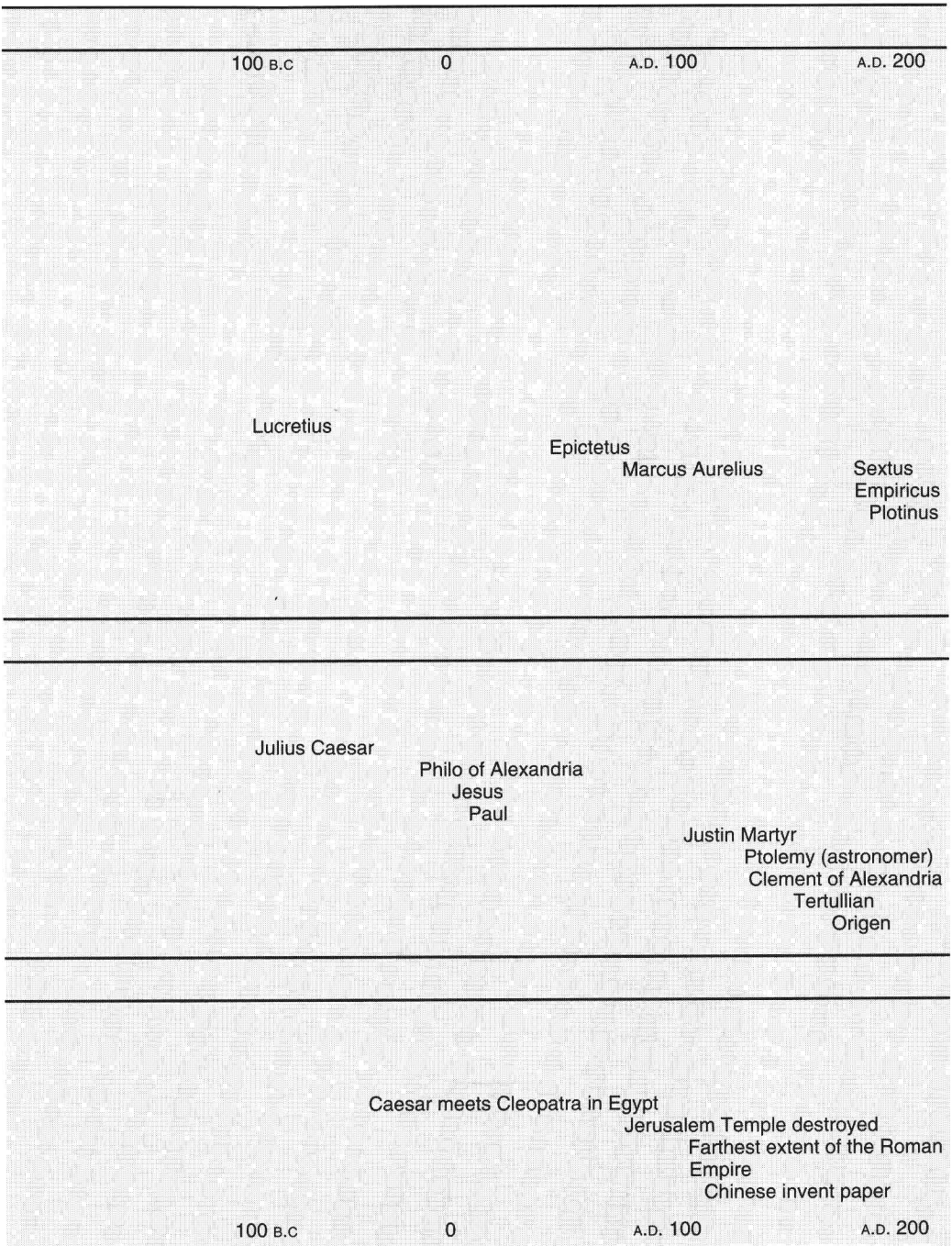
Other Important Figures

Zoroaster
Lao Tzu
Ezekial
Buddah
Confucius
Pericles
Sophocles
Herodotus
Euripides
Thucydides
Hippocrates
Aristophanes
Ezra
Nehemiah
Alexander the Great
Euclid

A Sampling of Major Events

Jerusalem falls to Babylonians
Battle of Marathon
Parthenon built
Peloponnesian War
Punic Wars and rise of Rome
Wall of China

600 B.C. | 500 B.C | 400 B.C. | 300 B.C. | 200 B.C.


100 B.C
0
A.D. 100
A.D. 200
Lucretius
Epictetus
Marcus Aurelius
Sextus Empiricus
Plotinus
Julius Caesar
Philo of Alexandria
Jesus
Paul
Justin Martyr
Ptolemy (astronomer)
Clement of Alexandria
Tertullian
Origen
Caesar meets Cleopatra in Egypt
Jerusalem Temple destroyed
Farthest extent of the Roman Empire
Chinese invent paper
100 B.C
0
A.D. 100
A.D. 200

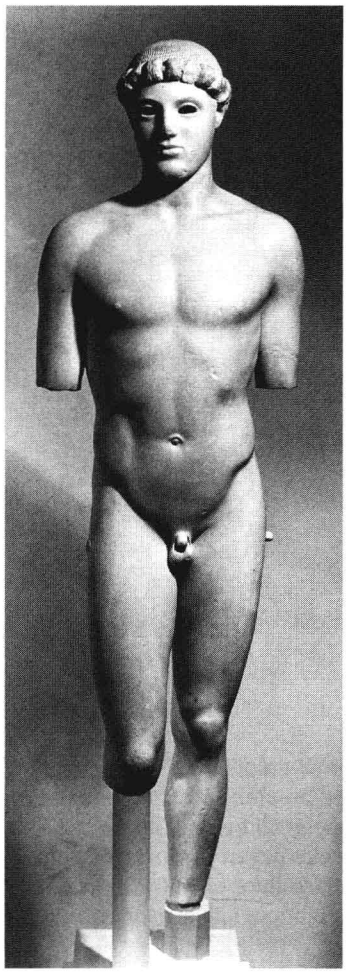
Contents

BEFORE SOCRATES

Something unusual happened in Greece and the Greek colonies of the Aegean Sea some twenty-five hundred years ago. Whereas the previous great cultures of the Mediterranean had used mythological stories of the gods to explain the operations of the world and of the self, some of the Greeks began to discover new ways of explaining things. Instead of reading their ideas into, or out of, ancient scriptures or poems, they began to use reason, contemplation, and sensory observation to make sense of reality.

The story, as we know it, began with the Greeks living on the coast of Asia Minor (present-day Turkey). These colonists, such as Thales, tried to find the one common element in the diversity of nature. Subsequent thinkers, such as Anaximenes, sought not only to find this one common element, but also to find the process by which one form changes into another. Other thinkers, such as Pythagoras, turned to the nature of form itself rather than the basic stuff that takes on a particular form. These lovers of wisdom, or *philosophers,* came to very different conclusions and often spoke disrespectfully of one another. Some held the universe to be one, while others insisted that it must be many. Some believed that human knowledge was capable of understanding virtually everything about the world, while others thought that it was not possible to have any knowledge at all. But despite all their differences, there is a thread of continuity, a continuing focus: the *human* attempt to understand the world, using *human* reason. This fact distinguishes these philosophers from the great minds that preceded them.

There are excellent reasons for beginning a study of philosophy with these men and then proceeding to Socrates and Plato. This, after all, is how Western



The Kritos Boy (Statue from the Acropolis attributed to Kritos.) Ca. 480 B.C. Just as the philosophers of classical Greece focused on human reason and its ability to know, the artists of the same period examined the human body in its idealized form. (*Athens, Acropolis Museum. Photographer: Alison Frantz.*)

philosophy did begin, and we can still recapture something of the excitement of this new way of thinking as we move from the bald statements of Thales to the all-embracing questions of Socrates, and thence to Plato's efforts to fuse criticism with construction.

If dissatisfaction with facile answers is the starting point of philosophic thought, the fragments of the Pre-Socratics are especially appropriate for a beginning. Not one of their works has survived complete—all we have are scattered quotations and reports from later writers. As a result, Pre-Socratic thought has a mysterious quality. Cryptic passages and forceful aphorisms, whose original context is lost, stimulate the imagination. Instead of looking for "the" answer, one is fascinated by a wealth of possible answers. And in the effort to show why some suggested answers are untenable, one develops critical faculties.

Some fragments may remind readers of archaic statues—heads with broken noses, torsos without heads or arms—pieces so perfect in form that one has no regrets at the loss of the whole and may even believe that the complete work could not have been as fascinating.

For all that, most interest in the Pre-Socratics is motivated by the fact that these thinkers furnish the backdrop for the thought of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—this is why one lumps them together as the "Pre-Socratics." But this magnificent succession of thinkers deserves more respect. Though often enigmatic and at times oracular, the Pre-Socratics are distinguished above all by their appeal to reason. And through the appeal to reason, each thinker makes it possible for successors to exercise criticism, to amend, to develop alternatives, to move beyond.

The Pre-Socratics' influence on Plato was so great that a study of their thought is essential to understanding many passages in his dialogues and his intentions; many problems were suggested to him by Heraclitus, the Eleatics, and the Pythagoreans—and, of course, by his originality. Aristotle studied the Pre-Socratics closely and discussed them at length in the first book of his *Metaphysics* (reprinted in this volume). Of the later Greek philosophers, it has often been remarked that the Stoics were particularly influenced by Heraclitus, and the Epicureans by Democritus. Elements of Orphism, an early Greek religious movement, also found their way into the ideas of the Pre-Socratics—most obviously, but by no means only, into Pythagoreanism—and hence into Plato and, later, into Christianity. In fact, a few of the fragments survived only as quotations in the works of early Christian writers.

* * *

What follows is only a selection. There is no such thing as a complete roster of the Pre-Socratics. The so-called Sophists were Socrates' contemporaries, but Protagoras and Gorgias were older than he and had acquired reputations before he came along and challenged them. Together with the later Sophist, Critias, they are included here. After Socrates', his thought developed partly in response to their teaching. Among the older writers, it is arguable who was, and who was not, a philosopher. Various poets, for example, are occasionally included among the Pre-Socratics. Not counting the Sophists, the present selection concentrates on twelve major figures. They might conveniently be arranged into four groups of three: (1) the three great Milesians (Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes); (2) the three great independents—figures who came from different places and stood for quite different principles (Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and Heraclitus); (3) the three great Eleatics (Parmenides, Zeno of Elea, and Melissus); and finally (4) the three great pluralists (Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and Democritus). The only major name missing in this list is Leucippus, founder of the atomistic philosophy, who is included with his better-known follower, Democritus.

If we were to offer all the fragments of the twelve figures, we would have to include such unhelpful items as the following, each given in its entirety: "The joint connects two things"; "as when fig juice binds white milk"; "having kneaded together barley-meal with water" (Empedocles, fragments 32, 33, 34). Instead, the following selections were chosen to give an idea of each thinker's main teachings, as far as possible in his own words, and to provide some sense of his way of thinking and feeling. In short, the selections should give us the essence of thinkers who still have the power to astonish students across roughly twenty-five hundred years.

* * *

For a discussion of the primary sources, see the "Sources of the Fragments" section on page 65. For a comprehensive work on the Pre-Socratics, see Volumes I and II of W.K.C. Guthrie's authoritative *The History of Greek Philosophy,* six volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962–1981). John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (1892; reprinted New York: Meridian, 1960); John Mansley Robinson, *An Introduction to Early Greek Philosophy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968); Jonathan Barnes, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); and Edward Hussey, *The Presocratics* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1995) are standard secondary sources, while the relevant sections of W.T. Jones, *The Classical Mind* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969); Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy: Volume I, Greece & Rome, Part I* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962); Friedo Ricken, *Philosophy of the Ancients,* translated by Eric Watkins (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991); and J.V. Luce, *An Introduction to Greek Philosophy* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992) provide basic introductions. Robert S. Brumbaugh, *The Philosophers of Greece* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1981), is an accessible introduction with pictures, charts, and maps. Francis MacDonald Cornford, *Principium Sapientiae: The Origins of Greek Philosophical Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), and Werner Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947) are both classic works that discuss the movement from mythology to philosophy. For collections of essays, see David J. Furley and R.E. Allen, eds., *Studies in Presocratic Philosophy,* two volumes (New York: Humanities Press, 1970–1975); A.P.D. Mourelatos, ed., *The Pre-Socratics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Gregory Vlastos, ed., *Studies in Greek Philosophy, Volume I: The Presocratics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Terence Irwin, ed., *Philosophy Before Socrates* (Hamden, CT: Garland Publishing, 1995); A.A. Long, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Anthony Preus, ed., *Essays in Ancient Greek Philosophy VI* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).

In addition to the general sources listed here, the individual articles in Paul Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1967) and Edward Craig, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1998) are frequently useful. Consult the following books for these specific thinkers:

ANAXIMANDER: Charles H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); and Robert Hahn, *Anaximander and the Architects* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).

PYTHAGORAS: Walter Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism,* translated by Edwin L. Minar Jr. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); and Charles H. Kahn, *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2001).

HERACLITUS: G.S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); and Charles H. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

PARMENIDES: Leonardo Tarán, *Parmenides: A Text with Translation, Commentary, and Critical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965); A.P.D. Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides* (New Haven, CT: Yale University