

# EMPEDOCLES 17. 1-13: A SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERPRETATION

δίπλ' ἐρέω· τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡϋξήθη μόνον εἶναι	(17. 1)
ἐκ πλεόνων, τοτὲ δ' αὖ διέφυ πλέον' ἐξ ἐνός εἶναι.	(17. 2)
δοιῇ δὲ θνητῶν γένεσις, δοιῇ δ' ἀπόλειψις·	(17. 3)
τὴν μὲν γὰρ πάντων σύνοδος τίκτει τ' ὀλέκει τε,	(17. 4)
ἡ δὲ πάλιν διαφυομένων θρεφθεῖσα διέπτῃ.	(17. 5)
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερές οὐδαμὰ λήγει,	(17. 6)
ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἐν ἅπαντα,	(17. 7)
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει.	(17. 8)
<οὕτως ἦι μὲν ἐν ἐκ πλεόνων μεμάθηκε φύεσθαι>	(17. 9)
ἡδὲ πάλιν διαφύντος ἐνός πλέον' ἐκτελέθουσι,	(17.10)
τῇ μὲν γίνονται τε καὶ οὐ σφισιν ἔμπεδος αἰών·	(17.11)
ἦι δὲ διαλλάσσοντα διαμπερές οὐδαμὰ λήγει,	(17.12)
ταῦτηι δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον.	(17.13)

Diels - Kranz 17.1 - 13

Empedocles 17 has been the butt of extended critical concern, as well it should, since it establishes the ground rules of the Empedoclean Cosmos. The above Diels-Kranz reading has, however, not sat well with some. O' Brien has been the latest to air the controversy to any great extent. He spreads before our gaze the conjectures and opinions of Bergk (1836), Preller (1837), Karsten (1838), Tischer (1843), Wilamowitz (1930), Zafiropulo (1953)<sup>1</sup>. As is the case with O' Brien's conjectures themselves, the previous scholars have always been concerned with the textual relationship between fragments 17 and 26. None of them, except for O' Brien himself in a fairly clear but nevertheless somewhat inconsequential way, makes note of the obvious structure of 17 and the many levels on which this structure is applied. In the first six lines of this fragment, as printed in Diels-Kranz, Empedocles establishes a provable triadic structure in his exposition. This structure is disrupted in the next expected triad, however, by a line supplied from fragment 26 (26.8). The initial structure is again resumed at 17.11 for one last triad. Could the lines be reconstructed in order to derive an original triadic structure throughout? Where might Diels-Kranz have gone astray? And, how far does a triadic structure govern the language and meaning of this fragment?

Only at first glance does the language seem to point to a double or dyadic explication of the cosmos: «Δίπλ' ἐρέω,» Empedocles tells us. «I shall speak double.» And so he does. Lines one and two tell us of the One on the one hand (μὲν) that has increased from Many (τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡϋξήθη . . . ἐκ πλεόνων) and of the disjoining on the other (δέ) that creates the Many from the One (τοτὲ δ' αὖ διέφυ πλέον' ἐξ ἐνός). Yet a third, «synthetic» line makes the foregoing simple set of statements point to a third unifying term underlying the dynamics:

1. D. O' Brien, *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle* (Cambridge 1967), pp. 323-324.

«Double the genesis of mortals and double the death» (δοιή δὲ θνητῶν γένεσις, δοιή δ' ἀπόλειψις). «Doubleness» as affirmed in the third line is in fact a third, stated condition. The next set of three lines work on the same principle: «On the one hand (μέν) a meeting (σύνοδος) of all things both gives birth to and destroys the one [genesis]; on the other back again (δὲ πάλιν) [a death] having been reared while things are dislodged (διαφουμένων) flies apart.» Line six again stresses the condition of the third underlying term: «And these things changing continually (ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερές) never cease.» The important term is «ἀλλάσσοντα», a word that correlates two concepts in an equal and, in some ways, mutually identical linguistic bond. Lines seven and eight appear to be following the established pattern; they are properly dyadic and opposed: «Sometimes on the one hand (ἄλλοτε μὲν) all things coming together through Φιλότης into One (ἓν); at others (ἄλλοτε δ') again each thing being borne apart (δίχ') by the hatred of Νεῖκος.» Empedocles here introduces the opposition between Φιλότης and Νεῖκος. But where might be the third, «synthetic» line?

A lacuna has existed at this point in the text since at least the time of Simplicius, and if we turn to his *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, it becomes immediately clear what occurred in the transmission of the Empedoclean text. At *Phys.* 157.25, Simplicius transmits the present fragment 17 in the form 17.1-8 and 17.10-35. It is also significant to note that he transmits the fragment of the present 26.1-12 earlier in his commentary at *Phys.* 33.18. In other words, when faced with the abrupt break after 17.8--surely the need of a third line was as clear to the ancients as to the moderns--Simplicius had before him the text of what is now 26.1-12. It was this text that either he or, if one prefers, an unknown x who also possessed both texts, used to fill the lacuna after 17.8.

Which line did Simplicius or x employ for his purpose? It is at this point that one must turn to the rather strange phenomenon of fragment 26 and especially to its lines 5-12:

ἐν δὲ μέρει κρατέουσι περιπλομένοιο κύκλοιο,  
καὶ φθίνει εἰς ἄλληλα καὶ αὖξεται ἐν μέρει αἴσης.  
αὐτὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ταῦτα, δι' ἀλλήλων δὲ θέοντα  
γίνονται(αι) ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα θηρῶν,  
5 ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓνα κόσμον,  
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορούμενα Νεῖκος ἔχθει,  
εἰσόκεν ἐν συμφύντα τὸ πᾶν ὑπένερθε γένηται.  
οὕτως ἦ μὲν ἐν ἐκ πλεόνων μεμάθηκε φύεσθαι  
ἦ δὲ πάλιν διαφύντος ἐνὸς πλέον' ἐκτελέθουσι,  
10 τῇ μὲν γίγνονταί τε καὶ οὐ σφισιν ἔμπεδος αἰών·  
ἦ δὲ τὰ δ' ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερές οὐδαμὰ λήγει,  
ταύτηι δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον.

The complete fragment has been defended as authentic by van Groningen<sup>2</sup> and was, of course, taken to be so by Diels-Kranz. Van Groningen also contends, however, that the fragment is a patchwork--'un véritable centon,' as he says, the

2. Van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam, 1958), p. 213: «Il se trouvait dans le texte qu'il avait sous les yeux et rien ne permet de supposer que ce texte ait été interpolé ou dénaturé. Il faut, jusqu'à preuve ou indice sérieux du contraire, le considérer comme authentique».

contents of which are composed in a typically archaic manner: Empedocles at this point is simply reviewing a series of previously stated arguments or declarations<sup>3</sup>. The joints are fairly obvious (1-2, 3-7 with a clause 5-7 that can itself be easily detached<sup>4</sup>, 8-12 with the strong possibility of detachment after 9--this argument will be set forth below in conjunction with 17). The fortunate--or perhaps «unfortunate,» if one considers the transmission of 17--fact is that 26 contains large amounts of 17, although perhaps not so much as Simplicius and Diels-Kranz would have us believe. 26.5-6 is almost identical to 17.7-8 and 26.10-12 is almost identical to 17.11-13. The present 17.9-10 is identical to 26.8-9, although one must question whether or not this identity is manufactured. The point is, of course, that Simplicius or x, when faced with a lacuna after 17.8 could reasonably consider that they had before them in 26 the needed line.

Simplicius or x, however, made a disastrously false selection, for he chose the present 17.10 to complete the sense of 17.8, and while it is obvious to us that it does not, it was not so to Simplicius or x, for what he did was simply to insert 26.9 (our 17.10) because it came immediately before 26.10-12 which in themselves are *almost* identical to 17.11-13. Yet, it is this «almost» that most clearly reveals Simplicius' or x's mechanical manipulations, for although it is correct to assume the existence of both 26.11 and 17.12 because they are not exactly equivalent and then, perhaps, the lines preceding and following in both fragments (17.11 = 26.10 and 17.13 = 26.12), it is not correct to assume that 26.9 was indeed in the text of 17. I suggest that it was not, for the logic of Simplicius' or x's emendation is all too clear, although all too false: since 26.10-12 almost equals 17.11-13, 26.9 must be 17.10<sup>5</sup>.

No modern scholar has considered this probable piece of legerdemain on the part of Simplicius or x, although Wilamowitz seems to have been aware that errors on the part of Simplicius or his scribe regarding the relationship of fragments 17 and 26 were probable<sup>6</sup>. Bergk, not questioning the wrongly-conjectured 17.10, «restored» 26.8 to 17<sup>7</sup>. Diels-Kranz have maintained this con-

3. *Ibid.* p. 214: «Ce centon est un résumé des idées essentielles dont nous avons jusqu'à présent fait la connaissance».

4. This would be clearer if Diels-Kranz had marked line 4 off from line 5 with a comma, as they do in a similar circumstance between 17.6 and 17.7. I have so punctuated 26 in the above printing of the text.

5. One may also adduce a scribal argument: x or Simplicius meant to copy another line all along into the text of 17 and slipped to our 26.9 by mistake, given the close similarities of the texts of 17 and 26. This does save Simplicius from the accusation of not knowing his Greek, but perhaps one should not be so sure that he did have the equipment to handle texts as difficult as those composed of epic lines.

6. U. von Wilamowitz, «Usefrüchte», *Hermes*, 65 (1930), p. 245. The question concerns the placement of 26.2 before 17.29: «Hier ist wahrscheinlich dass der Fehler vom Simplikios oder seinem Schreiber begangen ist, dann er hat erst 17 ganz hergesetzt und führt in der Besprechung einzelne Verse von neuem an, darunter 29 mit dem Verse, der aus Fr. 26 eingesetzt werden muss».

7. T. Bergk, *Kleine philologische Schriften* (Halle 1886), II. 1. Note the logic: «Recte me talem versum inseruisse patet ex v. 100 [St. = 145 K. = 159 M], ubi iidem fere versus repetuntur». See also S. Kersten, «Empedoclis Agrigentini carminum reliquiae» *Philosophorum graecorum veterum praesertim qui ante Platonem floruerunt operum reliquiae* (Amstelodami 1838), p. 323.

jecture<sup>8</sup>, thereby establishing what is in fact nothing more than the compounding of the original error: they, as Bergk, operated on the principle that a line (in this case 26.8) appropriately belonged to 17 because it anticipated a set of similar or identical lines in 26. But, what is the grammatical result of such a double «restoration»? What is the grammatical structure that now binds together 17.9—13 and makes it one? Diel's grammatical reconstruction:  $\eta\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ (17.9)\dots\tau\eta\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ [17.11]\text{--}\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ [?]\ (17.12)\ [?]\dots\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ (17.13)\ ^9$ , is not only misprinted but also decidedly awkward. There is no real parallel for this construction, not even if one is to examine a more or less contemporary writer of prose such as Herodotus<sup>10</sup>. The only other verse parallel exists in Empedocles himself in fragment 9.1—4 ( $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta'\ \alpha\upsilon$ ), but here, I should contend, the double  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  construction is dependent upon  $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \dots\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$  which are correlative terms that receive the most emphasis in the first half of the construction and carry the major share of meaning. Yet, even granting such examples, this construction does not bind the various phrases of a sentence together in such a way as to necessitate the «restoration» of 17.9<sup>11</sup>. What one would expect, moreover, if Bergk's conjecture were correct, would be the typical epic grammatical order, opposing the first  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  to the last  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  and the second  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  to the first  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (17.9 to 17.13 and 17.11 to 17.12)<sup>12</sup>. Such an expected construction causes an almost total collapse in meaning for 17.7—13. The present reading, if correct, represents for poetry a grammatical hapax. It would be best to regard it with grave suspicion.

All would be better if it were possible to detach 17.9—10 (26.8—9) from 17.11—13 (26.10—12)—that is, to suggest a possible self-sufficient structure to 17.9—10 (26.8—9). On the level of sense and the two lines' relationship to what precedes and what follows, it is perhaps necessary to note that they begin no satisfying completion to 17.7—8: «Sometimes all things coming together through  $\Phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$  into One; at others again each thing being borne apart by the hatred of  $\text{Νεῖκος}$ . Thus by this, on the one hand, the One has learned to grow

8. H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 12th ed. (Dublin/Zürich 1966), I. 316, states simply and without any obvious thought: fehlt hier den Hss., erg. aus B28, 8.»

9. *Ibid.* III. 429.

10. K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge 1960), pp. 43—44.

11. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1966), p. 385: In speaking of the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  construction, he defines the grammatical situation by stating that here there exists «only one  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  clause, but it contains two  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ s the second of which is added for clearness, as an extra signpost, or, perhaps, more often for emphasis. Often  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  also is duplicated. Except for two examples in Empedocles, I can find no verse instances.» Besides Empedocles 9.1—4, Denniston cites 26.8—12. If Bergk's conjecture holds, we must also cite 17.9—13.

12. R. Kühner, *Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hannover 1904), II. 2. 270—271, casts decisive light on this  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  construction: «Anmerk. Der homerischen Sprache ist diese Verbindungsweise durch  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  fremd; wo aber in derselben zwei  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  auf einander folgen, ist das zweite  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  nicht eine blosser Wiederholung des ersten, sondern bildern einem neuen Gegensatz zu einem folgenden  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , so dass erste  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  einem Vordersatz zu einem doppelgliederigen Nachsatze einleitet. Y, 41ff.  $\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ \theta\eta\eta\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \xi\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu/\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Ἀχαιοὶ}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\delta\chi\eta\nu\ \dots,\ \text{Τρῶας}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\delta\acute{\nu}\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\ \gamma\upsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \xi\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \dots\ \text{Αὐτὰρ}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$  Das erste  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  ( $\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ) entspricht dem  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$ ; das zweite  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  dem folgenden  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .

out of the Many and, when the One grows back apart, the Many are fulfilled.» The material in 17.9–10 (26.8–9) is totally repetitive; it reiterates *with no additional information* exactly what we are told in 17.1–2: «For then the One grows to be alone from the Many, and then again the Many are disjoined to be from the One.» Such repetition runs counter to established, archaic appositional elaboration<sup>13</sup>. In regard to what follows 17.9–10 (26.8–9), I can see no clear reason why the τῆι of 17.11 must depend on the reiterated process so lackadaisically described in 17.9–10. Certainly it could just as easily, and certainly more convincingly in terms of the argument's elegance, rest on any other statement of the «doubleness» of the process--e.g., 17.1–3, 17.4–6, or perhaps the whole previous statement (see below). What, in fact, is the case is that 17.9–10 (26.8–9) form a doublet in themselves and belong to the «patchwork» of 26 but not to the more closely-knit argument of 17. This doublet becomes most clear if one effects Wilamowitz' suggested emendation of ἡδὲ in 17.10 (26.9) to ἥι δέ: <sup>14</sup>

οὕτως τι ἥι μὲν ἐν ἐκ πλεόνων μεμάθηκε φύεσθαι  
ἥι δὲ πάλιν διαφύντος ἐνὸς πλέον' ἐκτελέθουσι

The internal opposition is a powerful ἥι μὲν ... ἥι δέ construction. There is, then, no strong argument necessitating the inclusion of 17.9–10 (26.8–9) in fragment 17, and although scholarly opinion is certainly mirrored by van Groningen when he calls 17.9 a 'vers indispensable,'<sup>15</sup> one must indeed ask 'indispensable' to what. It is fairly obvious that the answer must be «to 17.10 and 17.10 alone.»

We are back once again to the lacuna after 17.8. Where did Simplicius or x go astray in his emendation by 17.10? *The original error consisted*, I propose, *in not positing 26.7 as the proper line to complete the sense of 17.7–8--a suggestion that follows clearly from the text of 26.5–7.* In 26 two lines almost parallel to 17.7–8 (26.5–6) :

ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓνα κόσμον,  
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορούμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει,

are followed by a line (26.7) that forms a natural conclusion to, or synthesis of, the previous two lines :

Sometimes all things coming together through Φιλότης  
into one cosmos,

At others again each thing being borne apart by the  
hatred of Νεῖκος,

Until growing together [into] One they [the opposed  
processes] may become the All [Whole] underneath.

26.7 forms a proper triadic third to complete the sense and structure of

13. Cf. Harry and Agathe Thornton, *Time and Style* (London 1962), pp. 1–3. They note too a strong appositional mode of expression in the opening lines of Empedocles 17 (p. 24) yet do not attempt any close analysis or diagram of the expression's force and extent. See also my *Archaic Logic* (The Hague 1976), *passim*.

14. U. von Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 246 : «Μὲν ... ἡδὲ geht wirklich nicht. Gleich die nächsten Verse fangen mit τῆι μὲν ... ἥι δέ an. Also ἥι δέ auch hier.»

15. B. A. van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 206 fn. 3.

17.7—8 in that it points to an all important underlying, third term-- $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ . O'Brien, Preller, and Wilamowitz (although for the wrong reason)<sup>16</sup> have argued that this line should be restored to 17. O'Brien even goes so far as to introduce a kind of triadic reasoning<sup>17</sup>. The argument for inclusion of 26.7, however, is intuitively obvious: if 26.7 is going to complete the sense of 26.5—6, it is going to complete the sense of 17.7—8, lines 26.5—7 and 17.7—8 being almost identical from the very beginning.

It must, therefore, be concluded that 17.7—8 precede 26.7 and that 26.7 should not be followed by 17.9—10 or 17.10. What follows is simply what remains: 17.11—13, for here is formed the continuation *and* culmination of the proper triadic form: 17.11 states that «as on the one hand ( $\tau\tilde{\eta}\iota$  μέν) things come into being and not for them [is there a] stable life  $\xi\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  αἰών)»; 17.12 continues, «and as on the other ( $\tau\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ)<sup>18</sup> things continually changing ( $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  διαμπερὲς) never cease»; and 17.13 concludes, «so in this they are always unmoved ( $\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$  ἀκίνητοι) according to the configuration of a circle ( $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$  κύκλον)». Here, of course, is the ultimate point of the triadic structure within the argument that is found in the opening lines of the fragment: the underlying Empedoclean term of the κόσμος as a whole, i. e., the κύκλος. These closing three lines of the opening argument or presentation of 17 represent a clarification of preceding material. They are, therefore, in expected epic asyndeton to that pre-

16. von Wilamowitz, «Usefrüchte», *Hermes* 65, pp. 245—250: «Ich weiss nicht, was 26. 7 in dem Zusammenhange soll, und er fehlt wo doch die ganze Partie 26, 5—12 wiederkehrt. Allerdings ist mir das ganze Fragment 26 bedenklich und ob alle Wiederholungen von Versen vom Dichter herrühren, muss geprüft werden» (pp. 245—246).

17. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 323. O'Brien, however, does not see that the *meaning* of 17. 7—8 requires 26. 7: «Line 7 is not demanded by the sense. . . .» He does, however, postulate a very loose triadic structure: «But this consideration [that 26. 7 is not demanded by the sense and hence should not «regain» its position in 17] seems to me to be ruled out by a striking and no doubt conscious schematization of verses which appear in fr. 17. . . . Four times pairs of lines describing Love and increasing Strife are divided by a line describing some other feature of the cycle.» He is correct in arguing for a structure somewhat on the order of the one he sees--although there is a sharp difference in kind between a strong «triadic structure» and one of «a pair plus some other line». In any case, O'Brien should have considered the repercussions of his idea more closely: while 26. 7 certainly makes a «third something else» for 17. 7—8, by retaining both 17. 9 and 17. 10 he necessitates that 1) 17. 11 be a «third something else» which it is not since its μέν calls for the δέ in 17. 12 and is, therefore, linked to it and does not somehow stand alone and 2) 17. 12 and 17. 13 have no «third other something» to complete the scheme he himself suggests.

18. I should propose to consider Wilamowitz' emendation of 17. 10 (26. 9) as correct (cf. fn. 14 above) but for reasons of textual displacement--i. e., the proper  $\tau\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ of 17.10 (26. 9) was originally copied into 17. 12 (26. 11). Once it is returned to 17 10, one may emend  $\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ to  $\tau\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ at will and bring line 17.11 (26. 10) once again into parallel construction with 17. 12 (26. 11). Of course, one may leave the  $\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ of 17.12 as is, arguing that  $\tau\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ =  $\tilde{\eta}\iota$  δέ (cf. Kühner *op. cit.*, II. 2.269), although I can find no parallel for such orthographical confusion of these forms.

vious body of verse<sup>19</sup>. The κύκλος is, hence, given an especial place in the presentation because it lies not only as a third term in its own triad but also as a third term in the triad that represents the whole. One might say, as I shall argue presently, that it finds itself in the peculiar position of a fourth:

δίπλ' ἐρέω· τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ηὐξήθη μόνον εἶναι (17.1)

ἐκ πλεόνων, τοτὲ δ' αὖ διέφυ πλεόν' ἐξ ἐνός εἶναι, (17.2)

δοιή δὲ θνητῶν γένεσις, δοιή δ' ἀπόλειψις· (17.3)

τὴν μὲν γὰρ πάντων σύνοδος τίκτει τ' ὀλέκει τε, (17.4)

ἢ δὲ πάλιν διαφυομένων θρεφθεῖσα διέπτει, (17.5)

καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει, (17.6)

ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἐν ἅπαντα, (17.7)

ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα Νείκεος ἔχθει, (17.8)

εἰσόκεν ἐν συμφύοντα τὸ πᾶν ὑπένερθε γέννηται· (26.7)

τῇ μὲν γίνονται τε καὶ οὐ σφισιν ἔμπεδος αἰών, (17.11)

τῇ δὲ διαλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει, (17.12)

ταύτῃ δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον. (17.13)

In conclusion, fragment 17 without 17.9—10 and with the addition of 26.7 after 17.8 at last assumes a recognizable grammatical and logical form: a triadic exposition of the cosmos culminating in the Empedoclean conception of the circle. 17.1—2 oppose the One (μὲν) that has increased from Many and the disjoining (δέ) that creates the Many from the One. 17.3 posits a third unifying condition: doubleness («*Double* the genesis of mortals and *double* the death.») The next three lines (17.4—6) follow the same principle: «On the one hand (μὲν) a meeting of all things both gives birth to and destroys the one [genesis]; on the other back again (ἢ δὲ πάλιν) a death having been reared while things are dislodged flies apart.» Line six again points to the unifying condition: «And these things *changing continually* never cease.» Lines 17.7—8 are characteristically opposed: «Sometimes (ἄλλοτε μὲν) all things coming together through Φιλότης into One (ἐν); at others (ἄλλοτε δέ) again each thing being borne apart (δίχα) by the hatred of Νείκος. The proposed ninth line (26.7) produces the expected third condition: «until growing together [into] One they [the opposed processes] become the *All* [Whole] *underneath*.» The last three clarifying lines (17.11—13) follow in order: «as (τῇ μὲν) things come into being and not for them [is there a] stable life, and as (τῇ δέ) things continually changing never cease, in this (ταύτῃ δέ) they are always unmoved according to the configuration of a circle.»

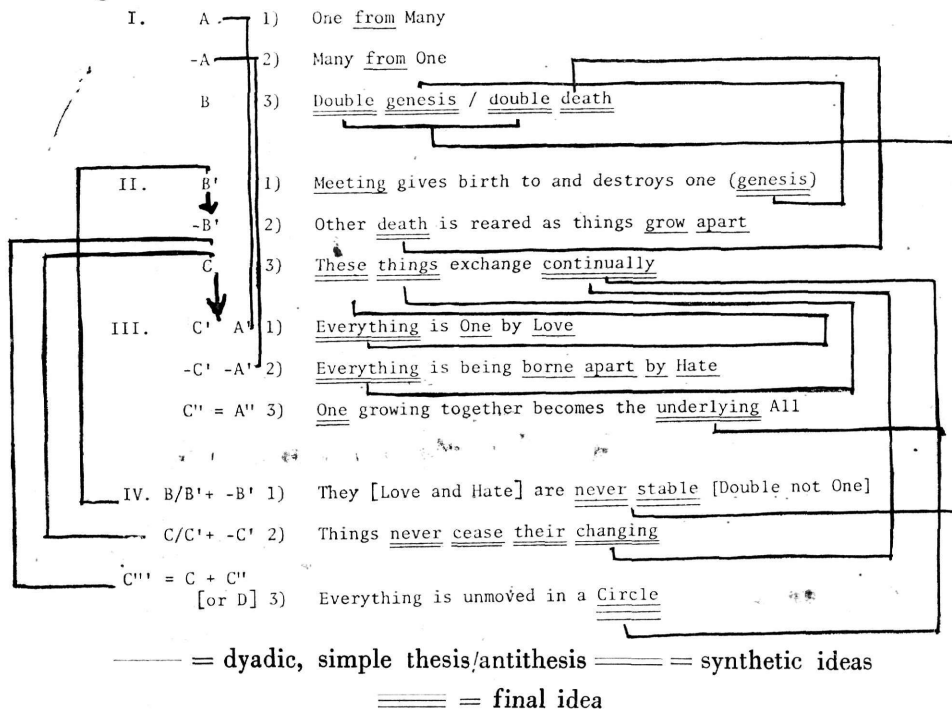
\* \* \*

The new reading gives a clear triadic structure from a grammatical point of view.

19. On epic asyndeton cf. Kühner, *ibid.* II.2.344: «Ganz gewöhnlich ist das Asyndeton wenn der zweite Satz ein *Erklärungssatz* ist, der sonst durch γὰρ oder auch durch ἄρα nämlich angereicht wird. Der zweite Satz gibt eine nähere Erklärung dessen, was im vorhergehenden nur allgemein oder unbestimmt oder undeutlich ausgesprochen.» He give as epic examples: Ψ654, B217, Ω608, N46, Ψ420, Z174. J. D. Denniston in his *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford 1960), p. 99, notes in a general statement that «from the very outset the Greeks were aware of the striking effects which can be obtained by asyndeton.» Empedocles was certainly in this instance no exception.



In each triad two opposites yield a third:  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (17.1—3);  $\tau\eta\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \kappa\alpha\iota$  (17.4—6);  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \delta'\ \dots\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\nu$  (17.7—8, 26.7);  $\tau\eta\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \dots\ \tau\eta\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \dots\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  (17.11—13). I should like at this point to examine how this triadic structure might be analyzed and perhaps reveal more clearly thereby the importance it must assume in Empedocles' description of the  $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . One should pay especial attention to the interweaving or 'entrelacement' of material in fragment 17—a phenomenon that has been seen only indistinctly in the past<sup>20</sup>. It provides the underlying structure of Empedocles' argument. I have endeavored to make this argument *structurally* clearer in the following schema :



∴ I.  $A + -A = B$

II.  $B' + -B' = C$

III.  $A' \text{ (All into One by love)} + -A' \text{ (Borne apart by Hate)} = C''$   
 (Underlying All = Continual Exchange)

also

$C' + -C' = C''$  (Actually  $C'' = A''$ )

IV.  $B/B' + -B' + C/C' + -C' = C'''$  ( $C/C' + -C' + C''$ ) or D

<sup>20</sup> Note van Groningen, *op. cit.*, pp. 208—209, where he calls attention to interpolation, 'chevilles', the formulation of one idea in several different fashions, and one example of 'anticipation'. He states in conclusion that «There is a remarkable combination of two processes: a linking-up ('enchainement') by similitude of content and an interlacing ('entrelacement') of diverse elements».



From the above structural exposition, one may conclude the following: 1) The triads of 17 are not merely statements of unrelated parts of the Empedoclean doctrine, say on the lines of  $A + -A = B$ ;  $C + -C = D$ ; etc. Nor, are they of the «centon-type» found in fragment 26. 2) These triads do show a decided tendency towards synthesizing their internal substance in the third line and picking up this synthesis as the dyadic opposition in a following triad. This is the clear relationship between I, II, and III. The relationship between I/II/III and IV is noticeably governed by the appositional repetition of the major dynamic idea of the synthetic lines in the former triads in each line of the latter in order ( $IV.1-3 = B + C + C''/A''$ ). The situation is only at first glance somewhat ambiguous in the case of the relationship between II and III where the term of the third line of II ('these things') is picked up in III.1 ('everything') und III.2 ('everything'), but where III.3 ('One underlying'), while structurally--that is grammatically and also in a way substantially--a synthetic line within its own triad, does not reveal a third, novel synthesis but adds to a meaning already being established in II.3. It also may be considered a synthesis of materials in I. III.3 is a second statement of the continual exchange premised in II.3 and at last given its full circular definition in IV.3. We are confronted, then, with a concept of the κόσμος formed before our eyes and ears by the archaic process of extended apposition in which, at each recurrence of the primary kernel of thought, certain additional information is added to form a more exact picture of the whole<sup>21</sup>. 3) The final term ( $C''$  or D)--that is the Circle--in the last line of this triadic mélange becomes doubly important not only because it establishes the κύκλος through the appositional use of II.3 (C) and III.3 ( $C''$ ) (the latter itself being placed in an appositional relationship to the former) but also because it is the direct synthetic product of I.3 (B) ('doubleness') and II.3 (C) ('continual exchange'), catching up slightly different material from II.3 than does III.3. IV.1 ('lack of stability') = I.3 ('double genesis/double death'), and IV.2 ('never cease from change') = II.3 ('continual exchange'). In other words, the fourth triad in its last line represents a synthesis of material not only opposed within the triad itself (i. e., the opposition between IV.1 and IV.2) but also taken from previous lines that are synthetic in themselves (I.3 and II.3). Triads I and III act as a direct «input» into the first two lines of IV respectively; triads II and III act as a «direct input» into the last line. The appositional 'entrelacement' is a closely-knit phenomenon that establishes the Circle as the unmoved symbol of the cosmos. This κύκλος assumes an especial position also because of the asyndetonic condition of the fourth triad. One may see that from threes there appears a «special third» or, I should suggest, a «fourth» in the fourth triad. Could it be that the operation at work here is either the same operation or one similar to that which Plato would conjure up for us at the beginning of the *Timaeus*: Εἷς, δύο, τρεῖς· ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος...? Empedocles' «fourth» is his unmoved cosmos of the Circle.<sup>22</sup>

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21. Cf. fn. 13 above.

22. Grateful thanks are due to Profs. Bruno Snell, Winfried Bühler, Carroll Moulton, and Volker Langhoff for their kindness in reading various sections of this paper in its last stages and for providing helpful suggestions. I should also like to thank the Von Humboldt - Stiftung and the libraries of the University of Hamburg for providing the necessary time and facilities.

# ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΙΣ

Τὸ κείμενον τοῦ Ἑμπεδοκλέους ἐν Ἀπ. 17. 1—13 παρουσιάζει ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Σιμπλικίου κενὸν μετὰ τὸν στίχον 8. Ἡ γραμματικὴ ἀνακατασκευὴ τοῦ Diels (Vorsokr. III. 429) δὲν εἶναι πειστικὴ, αἱ δὲ μετέπειτα εἰκασίαι δὲν εἶναι ικανοποιητικαί. Ὑπάρχει πάντοτε τὸ ζήτημα τῆς σχέσεως μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀπ. 17 καὶ 26. Τὸ ἐν Ἀπ. 17 ὑπάρχον κενὸν δέον νὰ συμπληρωθῇ ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ Σιμπλικίου Φυσ. 157. 25, τοῦ περαδίδοντος τὸ Ἀπ. ὑπὸ τὴν μορφὴν 17. 1—8 καὶ 17. 10—35. Εἶναι ὅμως ἀξιοσημείωτον ὅτι ὁ Σιμπλικίος μνημονεύει τὸ 26. 1—12 ἐνωρίτερον, ἐν Φυσ. 33. 18. Εἰς τὴν θέσιν τῶν στίχων ἐμφανίζεται προχειρότης, μέρη δὲ τοῦ 26 εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀκριβεῖς ἐπαναλήψεις τοῦ 17. Θὰ ἡδύνατό τις νὰ εἴπῃ ὅτι στίχοι τινὲς τοῦ 17 ὑπάρχουν εἰς τὸ 26. Ἐν τούτοις τοῦ Σιμπλικίου τὸ κείμενον 17 τελειώνει μετὰ τὸ 17. 8.

Ὁ Bergk ἐσκέφθη, ἀφοῦ τὸ 26. 10—12 ἀνταποκρίνεται σχεδὸν εἰς τὸ 17. 11—13, τότε τὸ 26. 9 δέον νὰ ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὸ 17. 10. Εἶδεν ὅμως ὅτι αὐτὸ δὲν δύναται νὰ ἀκολουθῇ εἰς τὸ 17. 8 καὶ διὰ τὸ νὰ ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ κενὸν ἀνεζήτησεν ἓνα στίχον 17. 9, ὡς τοιοῦτον δὲ παρέλαβεν τὸν 26. 8. Ἡ λογικὴ τῆς εἰκασίας ἔχει βάσιν, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὰ πράγματα. Ὁ Diels ἠκολούθησε τὴν εἰκασίαν τοῦ Bergk.

Ὅμως τὸ 17. 9—10 ἀποτελεῖ αὐτοτελὲς ζεῦγος, κάποιαν ἀδιευκρίνητον ἐπανάληψιν καὶ ὅχι ἀπόφασιν. Ἡ ἀρχικὴ πλάνη συνίσταται εἰς τὸ ὅτι δὲν ἐτέθη τὸ 26. 7 ὡς ὁ κύριος στίχος πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐννοίας τοῦ 17. 7—8. Ἡ γνώμη αὕτη προκύπτει σαφῶς ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ 26. 5—7.

Τὸ Ἀπ. 17 μετὰ τὴν προσθήκην τοῦ 26. 7 μετὰ τὸ 17. 8 (ἀπορριπτομένου τοῦ 17. 9—10) ἐναρμονίζει τὴν γραμματικὴν μορφὴν πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν, δηλ. τὴν τριαδικὴν ἔκθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου, ἣτις κορυφοῦται εἰς τὴν Ἑμπεδοκλείου ἀντίληψιν τοῦ κύκλου. Ἡ νέα ἀνάγνωσις αἰσθητοποιεῖ τὴν τριαδικὴν αὐτὴν ἄποψιν :

τοτὲ μὲν ...	τοτὲ δὲ ...	δὲ	17. 1—3
τὴν μὲν ...	ἢ δὲ ...	καὶ	17. 4—6
ἄλλοτε μὲν ...	ἄλλοτε δὲ ...	εἰσόκεν	17. 7—8, 26. 7
τῇ μὲν ...	ἢ δὲ ἢ [τῇ δέ] ...	ταύτη δὲ	17. 11—13

Δομικῶς αἱ τριάδες αὗται δεικνύουν ἀποφασιστικὴν τάσιν νὰ συντεθῇ ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ τῶν οὐσιᾶ εἰς τὸν τρίτον στίχον, ἢ δὲ σύνθεσις αὕτη νὰ ληφθῇ ὡς δυαδικὴ ἀντίθεσις πρὸς τὴν ἀκολουθοῦσαν τριάδα. Ὁ τελικὸς δομικὸς ὅρος καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος στίχος γίνονται πρωταρχικοί, διότι ὁ Ἑμπεδοκλῆς ἀποκαθιστᾷ τὸν «κύκλον» διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως τῶν προηγουμένων ὅρων καὶ διότι ὁ στίχος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποτελεῖ εὐθείαν σύνθεσιν προηγουμένων ἐννοιῶν. Ἀπὸ δομικῆς ἐπόψεως ὁ κύκλος ἐγκαθίσταται ὡς ἐν εἰδικὸν «τέταρτον».