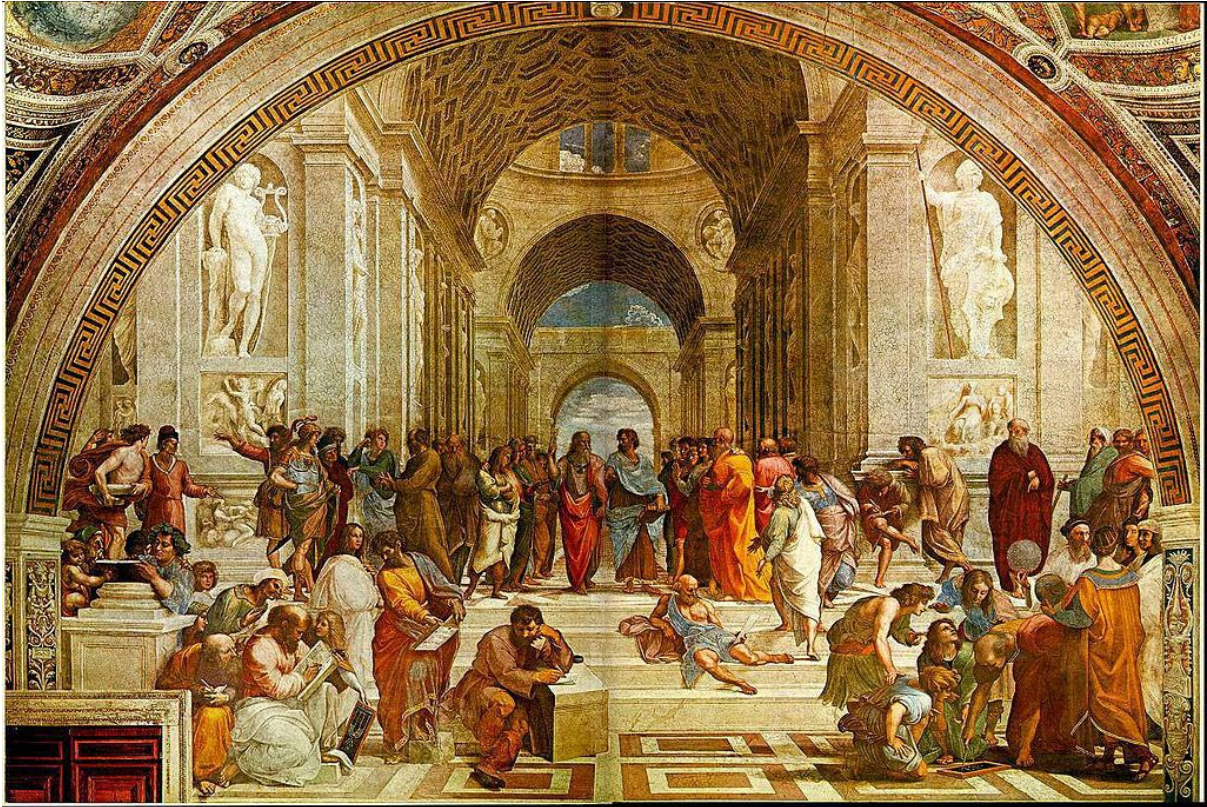
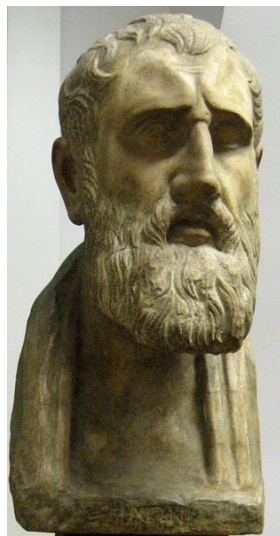


## *BELLARIA XCIII*



School of Athens (Raphael, 1509-1511)

### (ix) ZENO (c. 335-263 BC, from Citium in Cyprus)



#### Introduction

Zeno, who came to Athens in 313 BC, invented Stoicism. In its developed form it rested on arguments about the physical nature of the universe (which was material and determinist); that virtue alone is both good and sufficient for happiness; and

that human reason helps us to understand nature and its place in a rational world. Little of this magnificent scheme appears in these random thoughts.

### How Zeno met Crates



Crates (from the Villa Farnese in Rome)

2 Now the way he came across Crates was this. He was shipwrecked on a voyage from Phoenicia to Peiraeus, bringing a cargo of purple [very expensive luxury item!]. He went up into Athens and sat down in a bookseller's shop, being then a man of thirty. As he went on reading the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, he was so pleased that he inquired where men like Socrates were to be found. 3 Crates passed by at that lucky moment, so the bookseller pointed to him and said, 'Follow him.' From that day he became Crates's pupil, showing in other respects a strong bent for philosophy, though with too much native modesty to assimilate Cynic shamelessness. Hence Crates, desirous of curing this defect in him, gave him a potful of lentil-soup to carry through the Kerameikos; and when he saw that he was ashamed and tried to keep it out of sight, with a blow of his staff he broke the pot. As Zeno took to flight with the lentil-soup flowing down his legs, 'Why run away, my little Phoenician?' said Crates, 'nothing terrible has happened to you.'

2 τῷ οὖν Κράτητι παρέβαλε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. πορφύραν ἐμπεπορευμένος ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐναυάγησεν. ἀνελθὼν δ' εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρά τινα βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δ' ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἤσθεις ἐπύθετο ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες. 3 εὐκαίρως δὲ παριόντος Κράτητος, ὁ βιβλιοπώλης δείξας αὐτὸν φησι, 'τούτῳ παρακολούθησον.' ἐντεῦθεν ἤκουσε τοῦ Κράτητος, ἄλλως μὲν εὖτονος ὢν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κυνικὴν ἀναισχυντίαν. ὅθεν ὁ Κράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτο

θεραπεῦσαι δίδωσι χύτραν φακῆς διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φέρειν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἶδεν αὐτὸν αἰδούμενον καὶ παρακαλύπτοντα, παίσας τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κατάγνυσι τὴν χύτραν· φεύγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς φακῆς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν ῥεούσης, φησὶν ὁ Κράτης, 'τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας.'

### Origin of 'Stoic', Athens' honouring of Zeno



Zeno's stoa ('the Stoa Poikile')

5 He used then to discourse, pacing up and down in the painted colonnade, which is also called the colonnade or Portico of Pisianax, but which received its name from the painting of Polygnotus; his object being to keep the place clear of bystanders. It was the spot where, in the time of the Thirty, 1400 Athenian citizens had been put to death. From then on people came here to hear Zeno, and this is why they were known as men of the Stoa, or Stoics; and the same name was given to his followers, who had formerly been known as Zenonians. According to Eratosthenes in his eighth book *On the Old Comedy*, the name of Stoic had formerly been applied to the poets who passed their time there, and they had made the name of Stoic still more famous.

6 The people of Athens held Zeno in high honour, as is proved by their depositing with him the keys of the city walls, and their honouring him with a golden crown and a bronze statue. This last mark of respect was also shown to him by citizens of his native town, who deemed his statue an ornament to their city

5 Ἀνακάμπτων δὴ ἐν τῇ ποικίλῃ στοᾷ τῇ καὶ Πεισιανακτίῳ καλουμένῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς τῆς Πολυγνώτου ποικίλῃ, διετίθετο τοὺς λόγους, βουλόμενος καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀπερίστατον ποιῆσαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν τριάκοντα τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις τετρακόσιοι ἀνήρηντ' ἐν αὐτῷ. προσήεσαν δὴ λοιπὸν ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στωικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως, πρότερον Ζηνώνειοι καλούμενοι. καὶ πρότερόν γε Στωικοὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ

διατρίβοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ποιηταί, καθά φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ὀγδόῃ Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, οἱ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἠϋξησαν.

6 Ἐτίμων δὴ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι σφόδρα τὸν Ζήνωνα, οὕτως ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῷ τὰς κλεῖς παρακαταθέσθαι καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι, κόσμον ἡγουμένους τὴν τάνδρὸς εἰκόνα.

### Modest life, no paedophile, no party-goer, shunned people

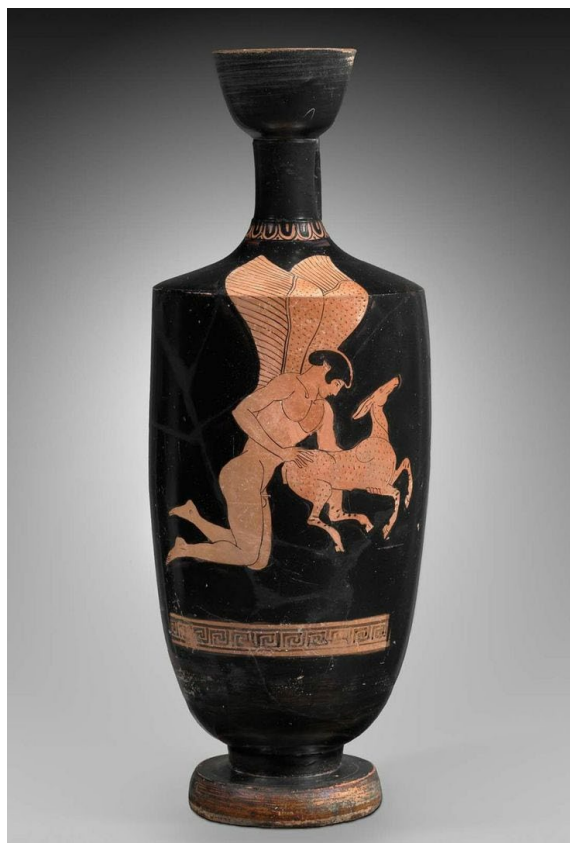
13 He used to eat little loaves and honey and to drink a little wine of good bouquet. He rarely took advantage of young men; once or twice indeed he might have a young girl in order not to seem a misogynist. He shared the same house with Persaeus, and when the latter brought in a little flute-player he lost no time in leading her straight to Persaeus. They tell us he readily adapted himself to circumstances, so much so that King Antigonus often broke in on him with a noisy party, and once took him along with other revellers to Aristocles the musician; Zeno, however, in a little while gave them the slip ...

13 ἦσθιε δ' ἀρτίδια καὶ μέλι καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἴναρίου ἔπινε. παιδαρίοις τε ἐχρῆτο σπανίως, ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς που παιδισκαρίῳ τινί, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη μισογύνης εἶναι, σὺν τε Περσαίῳ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ὄκει· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλητρίδιον εἰσαγαγόντος πρὸς αὐτόν, σπάσας πρὸς τὸν Περσαῖον αὐτὸ ἀπήγαγεν. ἦν τε, φασίν, εὐσυμπερίφορος, ὡς πολλάκις Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπικωμάσαι αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ἅμ' αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κῶμον, εἴτα μέντοι ὑποδῦναι ...

14 He disliked, they say, to be brought too near to people, so that he would take the end seat of a couch, thus saving himself at any rate from one half of such inconvenience. Nor indeed would he walk about with more than two or three. He would occasionally ask the bystanders for coppers, in order that, for fear of being asked to give, people might desist from mobbing him.

14 ἐξέκλινε δέ, φησί, καὶ τὸ πολυδημῶδες, ὡς ἐπ' ἄκρου καθίζεσθαι τοῦ βάρου, κερδαίνοντα τὸ γοῦν ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ἐνοχλήσεως. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μετὰ πλειόνων δύο ἢ τριῶν περιεπάτει. ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν εἰσέπραττε τοὺς περισταμένους, ὥστε δεδιότας τὸ δίδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν.

## Frowning, mean, concise rebuke of men



Greek oil-flask

**16** Zeno himself was sour and of a frowning countenance. He was very frugal too, clinging to meanness unworthy of a Greek, on the plea of economy. If he rebuked anyone he would do it concisely, and not effusively, keeping him rather at arm's length. I mean, for example, his remark upon the dandy showing himself off.

**17** When a dandy was slowly picking his way across a watercourse, 'With good reason,' said Zeno, 'he looks askance at the mud, for he can't see his face in it.' When a certain Cynic declared he had no oil in his flask and begged some of him, Zeno refused to give him any. However, as the man went away, Zeno bade him consider which of the two was the more shameless.

**16** Αὐτὸν δὲ στυγνὸν τ' εἶναι καὶ πικρὸν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον συνεσπασμένον. ἦν εὐτελής τε σφόδρα καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐχόμενος σμικρολογίας, προσχήματι οἰκονομίας. εἰ δέ τινα ἐπικόπτει, περιεσταλμένως καὶ οὐ χάδην, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν· λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλωπιζομένου ποτὲ ἔφη.

**17** ὁχέτιον γάρ τι ὀκνηρῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαίνοντος, 'δικαίως,' εἶπεν, 'ὑφορᾷ τὸν πηλόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοπτρίσασθαι.' ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φήσας ἔλαιον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ, προσήτησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἀπελθόντα μέντοι ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι ὁπότερος εἴη ἀναιδέστερος.

## Rebukes a young man and a critic of Antisthenes

19 A youth was putting a question with more curiosity than became his years, whereupon Zeno led him to a mirror, and bade him look in it; after which he inquired if he thought it became anyone who looked like that to ask such questions. Someone said that he did not in general agree with Antisthenes, whereupon Zeno produced that author's essay on Sophocles, and asked him if he thought it had any excellence; to which the reply was that he did not know. 'Then are you not ashamed,' said he, 'to pick out and mention anything wrong said by Antisthenes, while you suppress his good things without giving them a thought?'

19 μειρακίου δὲ περιεργότερον παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐρωτῶντος ζήτημά τι, προσήγαγε πρὸς κάτοπτρον καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐμβλέψαι· ἔπειτ' ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἀρμόττοντα εἶναι τῇ ὄψει τοιαύτη ζητήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν φάσκοντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ Ἀντισθένης οὐκ ἀρέσκοι, χρεῖαν Σοφοκλέους προενεγκάμενος ἠρώτησεν εἴ τινα καὶ καλὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ· τοῦ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, 'εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ,' ἔφη, 'εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἦν εἰρημένον ὑπ' Ἀντισθένους, τοῦτ' ἐκλεγόμενος καὶ μνημονεύων, εἰ δέ τι καλόν, οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενος κατέχειν;'

## On brevity, conversing, talking too much, love and philosophers



20 Someone having said that he thought the chain arguments of the philosophers seemed brief and curt, Zeno replied, 'You are quite right; indeed, the very syllables ought, if possible, to be clipped.' Someone remarked to him about Polemo, that his discourse was different from the subject he announced. He replied with a frown, 'Well, what value would you have set upon what was given out?' He said that when conversing we ought to be earnest and, like actors, we should have a loud voice and great strength; but we ought not to open the mouth too wide, which is what your senseless chatterbox does. 'Telling periods,' he said, 'unlike the works of good

craftsmen, should need no pause for the contemplation of their excellences; on the contrary, the hearer should be so absorbed in the discourse itself as to have no leisure even to take notes.'

**20** Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι μικρὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ λογάρια τῶν φιλοσόφων, 'λέγεις,' εἶπε, 'τάληθῆ' δεῖ μέντοι καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν βραχείας εἶναι, εἰ δυνατόν.' λέγοντος δέ τινος αὐτῷ περὶ Πολέμωνος ὡς ἄλλα προθέμενος ἄλλα λέγει, σκυθρωπάσας ἔφη 'πόσου γὰρ ἂν ἠγάπας τὰ διδόμενα;' δεῖν δ' ἔφη τόνῳ διαλεγόμενον ὥσπερ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τὴν μὲν φωνὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχειν, τὸ μέντοι στόμα μὴ διέλκειν' ὃ ποιεῖν τοὺς πολλὰ μὲν λαλοῦντας, ἀδύνατα δέ. τοῖς εὖ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν καταλείπεσθαι τόπον ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τεχνίταις εἰς τὸ θεάσασθαι, τούναντίον δὲ τὸν ἀκούοντα οὕτω πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις γίνεσθαι ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν ἐπισημείωσιν.

**21** Once when a young man was talking a good deal, he said, 'Your ears have slid down and merged in your tongue.' To the handsome young man, who gave it as his opinion that the wise man would not fall in love, his reply was: 'Then who can be more hapless than you handsome young men?' He used to say that even of philosophers the greater number were in most things unwise, while about small and random things they were quite ignorant.

**21** Νεανίσκου πολλὰ λαλοῦντος ἔφη 'τὰ ὄτιά σου εἰς τὴν γλῶτταν συνερρήκεν.' πρὸς τὸν καλὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφός 'οὐδέν,' ἔφη, 'ὑμῶν ἀθλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι τῶν καλῶν.' ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς πλείστους τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἀσόφους εἶναι, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τυχηρὰ ἀμαθεῖς.

**Conceit, time, friends, stealing, beauty, slaves, perfumes, talking nonsense**



Flogging a slave mosaic (from Paphos)

**23** Again he would say that if we want to master the sciences there is nothing so fatal as opinion, and again there is nothing we stand so much in need of as time. To

the question 'Who is a friend?' his answer was, 'A second self (*alter ego*).' We are told that he was once chastising a slave for stealing, and when the latter pleaded that it was his fate to steal, 'Yes, and to be beaten too,' said Zeno. Beauty he called the flower of chastity, while according to others it was chastity which he called the flower of beauty. Once when he saw the slave of one of his acquaintance marked with bruises, 'I see,' said he, 'the imprints of your anger.' To one who had been drenched with unguent, 'Who is this,' said he, 'who smells of woman?' When Dionysius the Renegade asked, 'Why am I the only pupil you do not correct?' the reply was, 'Because I mistrust you.' To a stripling who was talking nonsense his words were, 'The reason why we have two ears and only one mouth is that we may listen the more and talk the less.'

23 Ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τῆς οἰήσεως ἀλλοτριώτερον πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, μηδενός θ' ἡμᾶς οὕτως εἶναι ἐνδεεῖς ὡς χρόνου. ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἐστι φίλος, ἄλλος, ἔφη, ἑγώ. δοῦλον ἐπὶ κλοπῇ, φασίν, ἐμαστίγου· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, εἴμαρτό μοι κλέψαι, ἔφη, καὶ δαρήναι. τὸ κάλλος εἶπε τῆς σωφροσύνης ἄνθος εἶναι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν σωφροσύνην. τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς παιδάριον μεμωλωπισμένον θεασάμενος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὄρω σου, ἔφη, τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ ἴχνη· πρὸς τὸν κεχρισμένον τῷ μύρω, τίς ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὁ γυναικὸς ὄζων; Διονυσίου δὲ τοῦ Μεταθεμένου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ διὰ τί αὐτὸν μόνον οὐ διορθοῖ, ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ σοι πιστεύω. πρὸς τὸ φλυαροῦν μειράκιον, διὰ τοῦτο, εἶπε, δύο ὦτα ἔχομεν, στόμα δὲ ἓν, ἵνα πλείονα μὲν ἀκούωμεν, ἥττονα δὲ λέγωμεν.'

Love of learning, applying learning, love of drink, well-being, frugal



One too many...



25 A dialectician once showed him seven logical forms concerned with the sophism known as 'The Reaper,' and Zeno asked him how much he wanted for them. Being told a hundred drachmas, he promptly paid two hundred: to such lengths would he go in his love of learning. They say too that he first introduced the word 'Duty' and wrote a treatise on the subject. It is said, moreover, that he corrected Hesiod's lines thus:

He is best of all men who follows good advice:

Good too is he who finds out all things for himself.

[For Hesiod 'He was best who finds out all things for himself']

26 The reason he gave for this was that the man capable of giving a proper hearing to what is said and profiting by it was superior to him who discovers everything himself. For the one had merely a right apprehension, the other in obeying good counsel added proper conduct. When he was asked why he, though so austere, relaxed at a drinking-party, he said,

'Lupins too are bitter, but when they are soaked become sweet.'

Hecato too says that he indulged freely at such gatherings. And he would say,

'Better to trip with the feet than with the tongue.'

'Well-being is attained by little and little, and nevertheless it is no little thing itself.'

27 He showed the utmost endurance, and the greatest frugality; the food he used was uncooked, and the cloak he wore was thin.

25 καὶ πρὸς τὸν δείξαντα δ' αὐτῷ διαλεκτικὸν ἐν τῷ θερίζοντι λόγῳ ἑπτὰ διαλεκτικὰς ἰδέας πυθέσθαι, πόσας εἰσπράττεται μισθοῦ· ἀκούσαντα δὲ ἑκατόν, διακοσίας αὐτῷ δοῦναι. τοσοῦτον ἥσκει φιλομάθειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον καθῆκον ὠνομακέναι καὶ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιηκέναι. τοὺς θ' Ἡσιόδου στίχους μεταγράφειν οὕτω·

κεῖνος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται,

ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακεῖνος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ.

26 κρείττονα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἀκοῦσαι καλῶς δυνάμενον τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ πᾶν συννοήσαντος· τῷ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μόνον τὸ συνεῖναι, τῷ δ' εὖ πεισθέντι προσεῖναι καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δέ, φησί, διὰ τί αὐστηρὸς ὢν ἐν τῷ πτότῳ διαχεῖται ἔφη,

'καὶ οἱ θέρμοι πικροὶ ὄντες βρεχόμενοι γλυκαίνονται.'

φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐκάτων ἀνίσσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις κοινωνίαις. ἔλεγέ τε κρείττον εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ.

τὸ εὖ γίνεσθαι μὲν παρὰ μικρόν, οὐ μὴν μικρόν εἶναι.

27 Ἦν δὲ καρτερικώτατος καὶ λιτότατος, ἀπύρῳ τροφῇ χρώμενος καὶ τρίβωνι λεπτῷ.

30 Here too is another [epitaph] by Zenodotus the Stoic, a pupil of Diogenes:

You made self-sufficiency your rule, abandoning supercilious wealth,  
Zeno, with your grey, wrinkled brow.

You founded a manly doctrine, and far-sightedly championed  
a school of thought, mother of fearless liberty.

5 If your native country was Phoenicia, so what? Was not Cadmus  
From there, who gave Greece her books and art of writing?

30 καὶ ἄλλο Ζηνόδοτος ὁ στωικός, Διογένους μαθητής·

ἔκτισας ἀυτάρκειαν, ἀφεις κενεαυχέα πλοῦτον,  
Ζήνων, σὺν πολιῷ σεμνὸς ἐπισκυνίῳ.

ἄρσενά γὰρ λόγον εὗρες, ἐνηθλήσω δὲ προνοία  
αἴρεσιν, ἀτρέστου ματέρ' ἐλευθερίας·

5 εἰ δὲ πάτρα Φοίνισσα, τίς ὁ φθόνος; οὐ καὶ ὁ Κάδμος  
κεῖνος, ἀφ' οὗ γραπτὰν Ἑλλάς ἔχει σελίδα;

Next week: Macrobius' *Saturnalia* on jokes to tell at dinner-parties