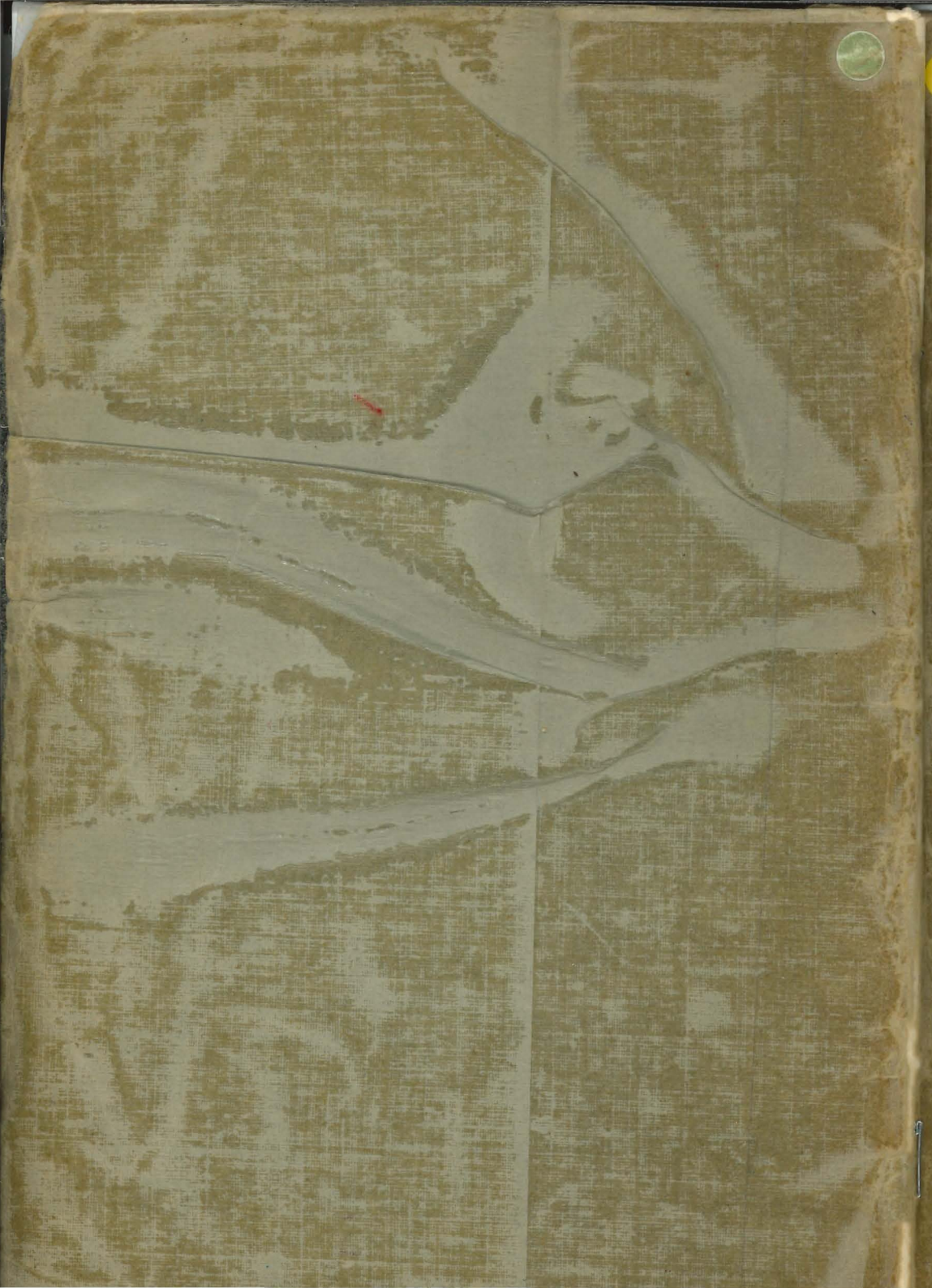

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SWANSEA

DIODORUS SICULUS

UNIVERSAL HISTORIAN

Inaugural Lecture of the
Professor of Classics
delivered at the College on
November 10 1936

by

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN FARRINGTON
M.A.

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ἁλίσκονται δ', οἶμαι, τῶν ἡμέρων ἀνδρῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ μάλιστά πως ἐλέῳ διὰ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς φύσεως ὁμοπάθειαν.

DIODORUS xiii, 24 (ed. Vogel, Leipzig 1893.)

(*The souls of gentle men are, I suppose, most open to pity owing to the fellowship of all nature in suffering.*)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I WISH to acknowledge a special debt to the following study:

La Cité du Monde et la Cité du Soleil, J. Bidez, Paris, 1932. A more elaborate but less suggestive study of Iambulus will be found in *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, Robert von Pöhlman, Munich, 3rd ed. 1925.

The English translations of Diodorus are the following:

The History of Diodorus Siculus, done into English by H. C., Gent. (Henry Cogan), London, 1653.

The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, made English by G. Booth, of the City of Chester, Esquire, London, MDCC.

Diodorus of Sicily, with an English translation by C. H. Oldfather, London and New York, 1933 (in progress).

The following editions of Diodorus have been most valuable:

Diodorus Siculus, ed. Peter Wesseling, Amsterdam, 1745. This is the only complete annotated edition.

Diodorus Siculus, Dindorf and Müller, Paris, 1878. This edition offers a convenient collection of the fragments of books xxxiv and xxxvi with a parallel Latin version.

Diodorus Siculus, Vogel. Leipzig, 1888.

DIODORUS SICULUS

DIODORUS, to state in summary fashion the known facts about him, was the author of a 'Universal History' in forty books, about one-third of which is now extant. He was a native of Agyrium in Sicily, was born about 90 B.C., and lived on into the reign of Augustus. He tells us that he took about thirty years in the composition of his history. He was, of course, Greek-speaking, but contact with the Romans in Sicily gave him an intimate acquaintance with their language. Thus he was enabled to utilize the resources, both Latin and Greek, of the libraries of Rome, which, according to his own statement, was his chief centre of study. He also tells us that he travelled widely in Europe and Asia in order to acquaint himself with the countries and peoples of which he wrote; but though it is certain that he was in Egypt (he reports as an eye witness the lynching by an Egyptian mob of a Roman soldier who had accidentally killed a cat) it is difficult to feel confident that he was familiar with any countries except Sicily, Italy, and Egypt. He called his book an 'Historical Library', either to emphasize its comprehensiveness, or because he wished frankly to acknowledge the extent to which he had incorporated in it the writings of other men. It may be presumed that Diodorus was a man of independent means, otherwise he could not have commanded the leisure and wherewithal for travel and study. Probably he owned land in Sicily near his native Agyrium. It can further be said of him that among the rival philosophies of his day it was the Stoic creed, with its doctrine of the brotherhood of man, that won the allegiance of his sympathetic heart. To say that it claimed also the allegiance of his head would be to compliment too highly his meagre philosophical capacity.

The present is, perhaps, a not inappropriate moment

for attempting to revive the claims of Diodorus to the attention of the English-speaking world. The editors of the Loeb Library, pursuing their beneficent task of supplying handy texts and translations of the Greek and Roman authors to the English world, have now made some progress with their edition of Diodorus. We may look to see the work completed in the next few years. It is surprising, however, to be reminded that the only previous efforts to make Diodorus the Sicilian speak English lie behind us at an interval of some two hundred years and more. Has this foreign voice, so long dumb among us, anything of importance to tell us to-day?

To Henry Cogan, gentleman, as he styles himself, who in 1653 translated into English the first five books of the history of Diodorus, that is to say so much of it as ran 'from the first ages of the world until the War of Troy', the claim of his original to attention admitted of no doubt. 'The History of Diodorus Siculus', he tells us, 'hath been of so much repute with the most learned of all times, as he hath justly acquired a prime place amongst the best historians of former ages; yea he is preferred before them by Justin martyr, and Eusebius, who affirm him to be more renowned than them all: and truly it may be said of him, that what the whole universe is in comparison of one city, or nation, the same are his writings in regard of others; for whereas we can draw out of them, as out of a rivelet or little brook, the acts of but one city, or prince, we may out of him, as out of a great and spacious river, draw all that hath been done by the people of the habitable earth, and particularly by the most eminent states and flourishing commonwealths.'

Henry Cogan, it will be evident from this specimen, had at command a prose style of much grace and dignity, fully adequate to the rendering of even a better writer than the Sicilian into English. It is to be doubted, however, whether he knew much Greek. At all events his version is most inaccurate. And the defects of his version, as well as its limitation to the first five books, are both to be ascribed to the same cause. They were 'chiefly occasioned by an old Latin edition of Diodorus, whereunto the translator wholly applied himself, having at that time (without doubt) no better an edition to direct him'.

This at least is the explanation of George Booth, 'of the City of Chester, esquire', who in 1700 offered the first, and so far the only complete, version of Diodorus to the favour of the English public. George Booth was not prepared to accept Henry Cogan's version as satisfactory, but he is at one with him as regards the merits of their author and his claims on the attention of the English reader. He reminds us that Henry Stephen said of Diodorus that 'among all the historians of antiquity that have survived to our day, if we consider rather the utility of the matter than the charm of the style, he stands out as the sun among the stars'; and he adds these further claims, that 'amongst other excellencies of this author, he is peculiarly observable to have a regard and respect to the providence of God in the affairs of the world; and is the only ancient author that takes notice in the course of his history of the times wherein the most famous historians, philosophers, and poets flourished'.[1]

Here, then, is the testimony of two Englishmen to the great value of Diodorus; and it would not be difficult to show that from the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century Diodorus was a living influence on English thought. But this is certainly not true to-day. He now belongs to that class of writers who are familiar to all students in footnotes and to few for their own sake. Nor do the historians of literature do much to excite one's interest in him. Bury, in his *Ancient Greek Historians*, gives him a page in which he quotes with approval his

idea of universal history, but tells us that 'he was quite unequal to the task'. The routine practice in works of reference is to admit his indispensableness for certain periods and allude to his clear but pedestrian style. A Dublin professor under whom I sat claimed complete originality for him in one particular—his battle descriptions. He used to say that he had only one description for all battles, namely, trumpets, noise, brave deeds, numbers of dead, the inclination of Fortune to one side, and the flight of the other. Nor am I concerned to challenge the fairness of these strictures. As an original thinker Diodorus does not count. Even the peculiar merits that earlier writers loved to claim for him now seem exaggerated. His championship of the action of Providence as a clue to history is a shallow and perfunctory contribution to a perplexed argument. Nor are his allusions to eminent figures in the world of intellect and art, refreshing though they be, sufficiently full or systematic to give his work the wide appeal of a history of culture. If there is one outstanding excellence I should like to claim for him, it is the sentiment of pity that pervades his work. But even this emotion is too little tempered with irony to be of the finest quality.

Nevertheless, Diodorus is rich in interest, and the interest of his work is not unconnected with the mediocrity of the man. Mediocrity is perforce content to borrow, to reflect, to repeat what others have said; and in the special circumstances of Diodorus this was a very valuable function. The creative historian gives us his own construction of events. The feebler author, incapable of dominating his material, may bore us by his ineptitude, but in his very incapacity better mirror some aspects of his time. So it is with Diodorus. Living at the conclusion of that momentous epoch in the history of the Graeco-Roman world which saw a century of social

convulsions issue in the transformation of the Republic into the Principate; actuated by an impulse to gather into one book the whole story of humanity; having still at command the complete treasure of Greek and Roman historical literature of which we have the fragments; but incapable of subduing this immense material into an orderly whole which would exhibit an original interpretation of the historical process, he turns here and turns there, borrows on this hand and on that, and leaves undigested in his helpless pages materials for a picture of the ancient world which are all the more significant for his failure to understand their significance. It matters nothing that Diodorus sometimes seems bewildered and ill at ease in his own historical library. Possibly he copied all the more diligently for that, and we have more leisure than he had to sort his materials.

From these materials I wish to extract only those bearing on one topic to-night. Diodorus has something to say about every nation of antiquity. To quote his greatest editor, Peter Wesseling, one can find in him instruction with regard to the history, laws, and manners of the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Scythians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Gauls, and many other peoples. But the materials which I wish to select from the pages of Diodorus are those which throw an unfamiliar light on the social question in antiquity. Again and again there emerges from what he writes a criticism of the social conditions of his day, which he nowhere succeeds in developing systematically or in bringing to a point, but from which, apparently, he cannot long escape. It is as if he half consciously conveyed to us an element that pervaded the mental atmosphere of his day. What was this criticism of society of which Diodorus gives us so many glimpses? In what circles was it current? On what theoretical foundations did it rest? How far was it

systematized? Did it find expression only in words? If it found expression in action, what was the scope and extent of this action? These questions suggest the theme of my paper this evening.

The immediate source from which Diodorus derived his outlook on the world is not in doubt, and has already been mentioned. Stoicism was the chief influence that operated on him, as is plainly revealed in the preface to his work. There he tells us, in what is probably the most quoted passage of his writing, that 'to write universal history is to be a servant of divine providence; for a universal history unites in one composition all mankind, who though separated in space are all brothers in blood'. Here we may recognize the voice of Stoicism. Then in a most magniloquent sentence, of special interest as displaying the astrological foundation of the Stoic creed, he gives the reason for his claim that the universal historian is in a special sense the servant of divine providence. 'Providence', he says, 'wheels uninterruptedly throughout all time, composing into one harmonious whole the orderly procession of the visible stars and the lives of men, dispensing to each what Fate has decreed; and he who writes a history of the whole habitable world as if it were but one city makes of his labours a common archive of the record of mankind.' This passage, the high-water mark of the intellectual achievement of Diodorus, is characteristic of his idealism, of his susceptibility to the lure of grandiose conceptions, and of his incapacity for coherent thought. But its chief interest for us at the moment is that it holds entangled in its skein of words the master conceptions of the Stoic creed, that is to say, not only the conviction that all men are brothers, but the theory that the whole universe is a unity in which the lives of men are indissolubly bound up with the actions of the stars by a sympathy which pervades all nature.

It was the practice during the greater part of the nineteenth century to discuss the Stoic philosophy as if it were a logical development within the domain of pure Greek thought. Then the recognition of the fact that a preponderating number of early Stoics, including the chief founders of the sect, were Orientals, led to the view that the ethical peculiarities of Stoicism and its emphasis on duty were Semitic in origin; stress was laid upon race as a determining factor in Stoic thought; and comparisons between the Phoenician, Zeno, and St. Paul, the Jew, were the order of the day. But without denying the suggestiveness of this most interesting parallel, it may confidently be asserted that the supposed influence of Semitic blood is wholly inadequate to explain the originality, within the sphere of Greek philosophy, of the Stoic creed. The significance of the fact that the chief exponents of Stoicism came from the East resides not in the quality of their blood but in the importation by them of a new system of thought.

Various lines of research have led scholars in recent years to the recognition of a profound influence on Greek by Oriental systems of thought; and this interpenetration of Greek philosophy with Oriental views is nowhere more pronounced than in Stoicism. Older than Greek philosophy and science was the science and philosophy of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Here was the home of astrology. And though the modern adherents of this belief are in my opinion in error, there was a time, two thousand years ago and more, when acceptance of it might seem to be imposed by as strong an array of arguments as any other system could show. The Chaldean astrologers, basing themselves upon a systematic observation of the heavenly bodies, and utilizing a well-developed mathematical technique for the ordering of this material, had long anticipated the achievements in positional

astronomy we are in the habit of crediting to the Greeks. But passing beyond this, they had erected on a slender basis of observation and much unfounded speculation, a theory of the interdependence of celestial and terrestrial phenomena which experience has not confirmed. The central tenet of this system, which was passed on to the Middle Ages as the notion of Macrocosm and Microcosm, was the unity of the universe, the Cosmopolis, or city of the world, of which men were citizens indeed, but not the chief citizens. These were the visible deities, the sun, moon, planets, and the stars of heaven, whose orderly motions control the course of human destiny. The believers in this philosophy, or this religion, which has been called the most scientific religion of antiquity, practised reading the future of men from the starry map of the sky; but though the less worthy among them may have hoped, by having foreknowledge of their fate, to escape whatever in it did not please them, such was not the ambition of the nobler believers. For them happiness lay in conformity to the law of cosmopolis, in gladly accepting the law of the universe. If a Zeno or a Cleanthes sought to read his future in the stars, it was so that he might attune his mind to whatever Fate held in store for him. This was virtue, this was happiness, this was wisdom; and it was this conception of the Universe which lay behind the much misunderstood formula of Stoicism, life according to nature. Nature for the Stoic did not connote a return to the primitive; it meant obedience to the laws of Cosmopolis, the world state,—laws not made by man, but revealed to him day and night by the luminous gods of the sky. Such plainly was the view of things that actuated our Sicilian landlord, Diodorus, when he conceived the idea of writing his universal history, and one of his invaluable contributions to history is the insight he gives us, in several passages, into the nature and influence of this system of thought.[2]

For though Diodorus does not fail to pay tribute to the efficacy of Greek philosophy to liberate men's minds from the power of superstition,[3] he also preserves for us a most striking criticism of the whole tendency of Greek philosophy, which is thrust home by an elaborate contrast with the system of thought of the Chaldeans, the originators and custodians of the astrological view of the universe. The Chaldeans, Diodorus tells us, are descendants of the most ancient inhabitants of Babylonia, and occupy in their country a position similar to that occupied by the priests in Egypt, that is to say, they are State-supported servants of the gods free to devote their whole time to the pursuit of wisdom. The form of wisdom for which they are chiefly renowned is astrology. This study is traditional in the priestly families, being passed on from father to son from generation to generation. The leisure assured to this priestly caste together with its hereditary character have operated to produce a rapid advance of knowledge without disturbing the continuity and uniformity of tradition. With the Greeks the whole position is reversed. Students approach a great variety of subjects without due preparation. Their philosophical training begins late and ends early, for when they have persevered for a little they are called away by the necessity of earning a living. Only a few really strip themselves for a serious philosophical training, namely, those who intend to make their living by teaching, and their practice is to innovate with regard to the most fundamental doctrines in defiance of tradition. The result is that the teachers are always founding new schools and bringing the most important questions into debate, while the pupils are bewildered and incapable of arriving at firm convictions.[4]

That a Stoic should institute a hostile comparison of Greek education with an external system should not be

a matter for surprise. The first founder of Stoicism, Zeno, wrote we are told a treatise *On Greek Education*. Of its contents we are lamentably ignorant. But we are surely justified in inferring from its very title and the circumstance of its being the production of a stranger that it was in some sense a criticism from the outside. It was an estimate of the defects of Greek education from the point of view of some other and better system, just as his famous *Republic*, by the title of which he challenged comparison with Plato, was a rejection of the ideals of the Greek city-state from the standpoint of a citizen of the world. It seems, then, a most natural supposition that the passage of Diodorus we have been considering derives from the founder of Stoicism himself, and that the contrast between the fluctuating and individualistic philosophical tradition of the Greeks and the rigid orthodoxy of Chaldean astrology is a legacy to the Stoicism of Diodorus from its earliest days.

As the Stoicism of Diodorus, owing to its connexion with Chaldean astrology, operated to produce a critical attitude towards Greek education, so also it influenced his outlook on the structure of society. Here, again, Stoicism was from the outset in opposition to the fundamental ideas of the Greeks. Politically the Greeks were organized in independent city-states. Their religious system, adapting itself to the political, was equally particularistic. And their economic system rested upon a basis of slavery. In spite of the efforts of a few thinkers and publicists the Greeks remained firmly attached to their tradition of religious and political particularism; while with the help of their philosophers they had secured a mental adjustment to the uncomfortable fact of slavery. Notwithstanding the obvious truth that slavery was often the result of unmerited poverty, of capture by pirates, or of being taken prisoner in war, it was maintained that the

distinction between freeman and slave was not artificial, conventional, and accidental, but a law of nature. This miserable sophism was accepted by Plato and formulated by Aristotle in the famous description of the slave as an animated machine. Against all these conceptions Zeno in his first work, the *Republic*, which was his manifesto, waged open war. Greek city-states were unimportant to him; there was one city, the City of the World, of which all men were citizens. Greek religion, with its local deities, meant nothing to him; the same gods ruled the whole universe, to wit, the sun, the moon, and the stars. The distinction between freeman and slave was to him an artificial one; virtue alone exalted one man above another; all men were citizens of the world, but the good alone were free, the rest slaves.

It needs little imagination to understand the effects such teaching might have in the public places of Athens, and then elsewhere throughout the Mediterranean world. The conception of the world-state might intrigue the political philosopher. The new conception of deity would find a welcome in quarters where the local deities with their dubious reputations had long been objects of attack. Here were matters worthy of debate by the intellectual leisured class. But the insistence that slavery was not natural was a different matter. This teaching appealed to a different stratum of the population, and touched ancient society in its sorest spot.

This championship of the slave gave early Stoicism a revolutionary complexion which became still more pronounced under its second founder, Cleanthes of Assos. Zeno had, it is true, been a foreigner, but he was a merchant. Cleanthes was equally a foreigner, and a proletarian. Beginning life as a pugilist, he came to Athens with a few shillings in his wallet, picked up his philosophy in the streets, and maintained himself while doing so by

manual toil. He belonged to the class of society which in a timocracy is inevitably on the wrong side of the law. He had no visible means of support. He was a vigorous fellow, and society needed to be assured how he earned a living. He was haled before the court of Areopagus, and satisfied the authorities by summoning as witnesses the gardener for whom he drew well-water by night and the miller's wife for whom he ground flour. The Areopagus, apparently satisfied with him, offered him a sum of ten mina, which he was forbidden by Zeno to accept. He regularly paid in to his master, Zeno, a portion of his wages. And when his humble way of life provoked criticism among men whose tradition was the Platonic one, that only a man of independent means could be a philosopher, he defended himself stoutly. He thrust out a handful of small coin and said: 'Cleanthes could support a second Cleanthes, if he wished; but men of independent means live on others, and are yet but indifferent philosophers'. Such was the man who, if I interpret his career aright, definitely associated Stoicism with the aspirations of the dispossessed element in society.

One of the items in the reformed Stoicism of Cleanthes was that he exalted the Sun to the central position among the heavenly bodies which were the objects of the worship of the Stoics. This might appear to us an innocent and unimportant theological innovation. At the time, however, it is probable that its significance was great. There is abundant evidence that in many circles where the religion of the stars had blended with aspirations after a juster society, the Sun was looked upon in a special sense as the dispenser of justice, the guarantor of fair-play, the redresser of grievances, the one who held the balance straight. Already in the code of Hammurabi, about 2000 B.C., we find that monarch claiming that he is the king of justice and that he derives this prerogative

from the Sun. And at the time of which we are now speaking, in the third century B.C., the sun had become the centre of the millennial aspirations of the dispossessed among mankind. It was believed that at recurrent periods the Sun-king would descend from heaven to earth to re-establish justice and make all men participators in a happiness without alloy. It would be natural enough for the wage-earning Cleanthes to share this devotion to the Sun as the god of justice; and that his modification of the City of the World into the City of the Sun marked a definite alignment of Stoicism with practical movements for the equalization of wealth is confirmed by the career of his disciple Sphaerus.

At this period Sparta was the scene of a prolonged and violent effort at reform. The young Spartan king Agis paid with his life for his endeavour to reform his corrupt kingdom by a redistribution of lands, and by the admission of foreigners to the ownership of property and the rights of citizenship. His more determined successor on the throne, Cleomenes, actually succeeded in putting these reforms into effect, and in doing so relied on the advice and support of the Stoic Sphaerus. Sphaerus was thus the first, but not as we shall see the last, Stoic philosopher who aspired to direct the accomplishment of a drastic social reform.

We may now sum up the results of this enquiry into the social outlook of the early Stoics. From its connexion with Chaldean astrology Stoicism had derived a belief in the brotherhood of the human race, based on the astrological view of the solidarity of the universe. This theory of the brotherhood of the human race implied a criticism of the institution of slavery from which the Stoics did not shrink. This rejection of slavery had a religious as well as a social aspect. It was connected with the worship of the Sun, who dispenses his light and warmth equally to

all, and would one day descend upon earth to establish his kingdom there. It is clear that it is because, as a Stoic, he was touched with the Stoic outlook on society, that Diodorus in his history exhibits the lively interest in the slaves which I now proceed to illustrate from his pages.

It would not be true, of course, to suggest that it was only those Greeks who came under the influence of foreign ideas who showed a disposition to criticize the institution of slavery. Euripides is an outstanding example of a Greek who rejected the sophistries that later satisfied Plato and Aristotle. And the Epicureans, equally with the Stoics, opposed the notion of slavery as a law of nature. Nevertheless, it is significant that for Diodorus slavery was a blot not on civilization as a whole, but chiefly on the civilization of the Graeco-Roman world. Thus, in his idealized picture of the Indian caste system, he mentions with approval many features that sharply distinguish it from Greek society. He tells us, for instance, that the Indians when they go to war among themselves always respect the farmer and his lands, thus sparing the civil population the horror of famine. He tells us that there is no such thing as private property in land. He tells us that a strict social equality is established on the basis of equality of wealth, because 'only a fool would try to establish equality before the law without also establishing equality of wealth'. And then, with special emphasis, he tells us that 'of their peculiar customs there is one instituted by their wise men of old which is the most noteworthy of all, to wit, it is ordained by law that no one among them shall be a slave'.[5] It is then as one who believes in the actual existence of social systems not based on slavery that Diodorus describes the lot of the slaves in the Mediterranean world. Of these slaves there were two main types, the mine slaves and the

predial slaves. We shall consider what he has to say about the mine slaves first.

There are two groups of mines to which Diodorus makes extended reference; they lie at opposite ends of the Mediterranean, in Egypt and in Spain. With regard to the mines of Egypt, he tells us that the Egyptian kings condemned to the mining of the gold three classes of person, criminals, prisoners of war, and those who had fallen under the royal anger and been unjustly accused and imprisoned. These last were sometimes accompanied to the mines by all their kith and kin, who were made to share in their punishment. Obviously drastic steps were necessary to secure a sufficient supply of labour. The labourers at the mines, he tells us, work in chains day and night, under a guard of soldiers, who are always foreigners so that the language barrier may prevent fraternization between them and their prisoners. Owing to the depth to which they penetrate the earth, they carry lamps bound on their foreheads. Different tasks are assigned to children, men of mature age, women, and old men. The workers have no opportunity to care for their persons; they lack even clothing to cover their nakedness. No man could look upon them unmoved by the extremity of their misfortune. No mercy nor respite is granted to the sick, maimed, or aged, nor to female disabilities. All are forced by the lash to persist at their tasks until they die of ill treatment in the course of their forced labours. Owing to the hopelessness of their lot death is looked forward to as the only release. Such are the sufferings that accompany the mining of gold. Nature herself proclaims, concludes Diodorus, that gold is troublesome to get, difficult to keep, a source of envy, and productive of as much pain as pleasure in its use.[6]

This sympathetic examination of the condition of a section of the lower stratum of society—a phenomenon

very rare among the ancient historians that have managed to survive—is supplemented in many particulars by the description of the Spanish mines. These were mainly silver-mines and were worked at first in a primitive way by the natives. Then came the Phoenician traders, bartering cheap goods for the valuable ore. Under the influence of this trade the Phoenicians increased in wealth, and the native Spanish miners in skill; but the mines continued to be worked in a haphazard and individualistic fashion until the Roman conquest of Spain. Then a flood of Italians descended on the mines, and the systematic exploitation of them by gangs of slave labourers purchased by large-scale capitalists began. Doubtless the new system of working the Spanish mines was developed, as many other Roman institutions were developed, under the influence of the system employed by the Ptolemies of Egypt. And it is of interest to note that it was an invention made by Archimedes in Egypt, his famous cochlea or screw, which served the Romans for pumping the water out of their Spanish mines. So the slaves made a rich revenue for their masters while they toiled underground in conditions which Diodorus describes in almost identical terms with those used of the Egyptian mines. All the miners would prefer death, he says, but the great physical strength of some protracts their agonies. Meanwhile much advantage has been reaped by the two exploiting peoples, 'by the Phoenicians who have a genius for discovering sources of wealth, and the Italians whose genius is to leave nothing for anybody else'.[7]

But if the condition of the mine slaves was desperate, they constituted on the whole a less distressing problem than the predial slaves; for the predial slaves were much more numerous. They worked the great ranches which had become the dominant feature of the agricultural life

of Italy and Sicily by the middle of the second century B.C. A vivid light is thrown on their condition by the records we possess of the course of two great slave revolts which broke out in Sicily, the first of which lasted from 135 to 132 B.C., the second from 104 to 102 B.C. The memory of these tremendous events would still be living when Diodorus was growing up in the country-side which had been their theatre. And in the fragments that remain of his thirty-fourth and thirty-sixth books he gives us a precious narrative of these abortive revolutions. This narrative is precious not only for its record of events, but for the evidence it gives us of some serious effort to analyse the nature of the disease which threatened to destroy society.

The first of these revolts, Diodorus tells us, took people by surprise; but, he adds, it ought not to have done so, for it was produced by an obvious disease of society, the concentration of vast estates in the hands of a few wealthy families. These wealthy landowners appear to have lost all sense of proportion in the tide of prosperity that flowed in upon them. They purchased slaves, mostly from the populous east, in hundreds and thousands. They acted literally on the Aristotelian dictum that the slave is a living machine, and since at the time the machine was cheap there was no need to take care of it. Replacement was cheaper than upkeep. The slaves were ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed in great barracks, and forced to work, often in chains, under the lash of the overseer. Some masters found it an economy to suggest to the half-naked slaves who looked after their vast herds of cattle, large and small, that they should clothe themselves by lying in wait for travellers and stripping them of their attire. The Roman district commanders would gladly have checked this abuse, which was making the roads impassable and abolishing all freedom of movement; but

they were powerless. For the landlords belonged to the Roman equestrian order, and as such sat as judges in the courts before which the Roman magistrates would be summoned to give an account of their conduct. Government was powerless in the grasp of an insolent plutocracy. The hidden sore which none could cure at last came to a head. It is probable that the last intolerable torment and indignity that drove the slaves to the desperate expedient of revolt was the frequent resort to the practice of branding them.

The course of the revolt, which can only be given here in the most summary fashion, is eloquent of the state of society in which it could occur. The number of the revolted slaves, at first a mere four hundred, swelled within three days to six thousand, then to ten thousand; and they began to encounter successfully the Roman troops. It is difficult to form a clear idea of the amount of preparation that preceded the revolt, of the discipline of the slaves, and the quality of the leaders they threw up. But it is evident that they were something more than a mob. The first leader was a Syrian slave called Eunus. When under him the rebellion had already reached dangerous proportions, the landowners and the government saw a gleam of hope in the fact that an independent revolt sprang up under a Cilician slave, Cleon. It was hoped that the two rebel armies would destroy one another. But the solidarity of the class front was sufficient to induce Cleon to submit unreservedly to the command of Eunus, and he brought with him five thousand followers to swell their common army. Within thirty days from the beginning of the rising the slaves had fifteen thousand men in the field. A general was despatched from Rome and took the field with eight thousand men. But Eunus, who had now raised his strength to twenty thousand men, encountered the Roman general

in a regular battle and defeated him. The revolt spread like wild-fire. Now not twenty thousand but two hundred thousand men were in arms against the government. There were sympathetic revolts in other places. In Rome itself one hundred and fifty men raised the standard of revolt, in Athens over a thousand. There were risings also in Delos, where one of the principal slave-markets was, and in other places, all of which were promptly suppressed. In Sicily the revolt continued to prosper. Not only the country-side but the towns fell into the hands of the slaves, until almost the whole island had passed under their control. The struggle did not end for some four years, when at length the ordered government of Rome prevailed over the improvised slave state.

In the narrative of these events which Diodorus composed or borrowed, the most remarkable feature is that the writer, while putting on record the excesses committed by the slaves, maintains his active sympathy for their just grievances and his championship of their essential humanity. His treatment of one incident in particular illuminates his point of view. At the outbreak of the revolt a landowner Damophilus and his wife Megallis, both of whom had been notorious for the brutality of their treatment of their slaves, were taken by the slaves, and tortured and killed. But their daughter, whose sympathetic and tender concern for the slaves whom her parents abused, had become a matter of common knowledge, was not only unmolested, but actively protected from all harm and conveyed to a place of safety. By this it was proved, comments Diodorus, that the excesses of the slaves were not the result of natural cruelty, but were intended as a requital of the injuries they had endured. By these words the true Stoic dissociates himself from the master lie of this epoch, that the slave was a different kind of creature from his owner.

With regard to the second slave revolt in Sicily, there is no time to summarize even its chief events. It will be more instructive to isolate one detail which throws light on the fundamental question, whether these revolts were merely blind reactions to intolerable oppression, or whether they contained in them some element that consciously aimed at establishing a new society. The most remarkable leader thrown up by this revolt was a Cilician named Athenion. Diodorus draws attention to an original feature of his programme. He did not accept all the runaway slaves who rallied to his standard into his fighting force. His prudent plan was to enrol in his army only the more physically fit, and to order the rest to remain at their productive tasks. This seems to suggest that the slaves seriously envisaged not merely reprisals on their oppressors but the taking over of the management of the island. And this view is supported by an interesting fragment, referring to the first rising, in which the foresight of the revolted slaves is contrasted with the improvidence of the free proletariat. In that passage we read that when the revolt occurred the cleavage in the free population of Sicily between the rich and poor was so great that the poor openly rejoiced in the discomfiture of the rich and the success of the slaves. And we are further informed that when the slaves, looking to the future, carefully spared the villas, the property contained in them, and the stores of grain, and refrained from interfering with those proceeding to the labour of cultivating the ground, the city proletariat, driven by envy, and acting under cover of the slave revolt, burned the homesteads and plundered their contents. It seems a fair inference from these statements that, in the opinion of the writer, the outlook of the slaves was by no means limited to the exacting of reprisals on their oppressors, but that they looked to establish a permanent society under their own control.

If, then, we are justified, as I believe we are, in seeing in these revolts not merely the violent outbreak of desperate men, but at least in some degree a conscious effort to set up a new society, it would be of the greatest interest to know whether the new society had taken any definite shape in the minds of any thinkers in this epoch. Was there, we might ask, a revolutionary intelligentsia? And what expression, if any, did its ideas find? Our modern literatures contain innumerable examples of ideal societies. Ancient literature also, as everybody knows from the example of the *Republic* of Plato, was not innocent of Utopias. But Plato's ideal state left wholly out of account the fundamental problem of the slave revolts. What Plato was concerned with was to secure that all the governing class should be soundly educated according to the notions of the Academy. He was for reforming the state by giving all politicians a university education. But that the educated governing class ought to be free from the necessity of toil, and ought to be fed, clothed, and housed by the toil of a despised class of labourers, he never doubted. Utopias of the Platonic sort, therefore, could have no appeal to a mass movement of the toilers towards a new society. The question, then, is, Do we find anywhere set down in a systematic way a picture from the point of view of the under-dog of what the ideal society ought to be? Here, again, in his blundering way, Diodorus comes to our rescue.

Among the countries described by Diodorus are certain Islands of the Sun. Since he sandwiches his account of these islands in between his descriptions of Arabia and Ethiopia, it is obvious that he supposes himself to be describing a real place. This is perhaps the most striking example in the whole of his history of the stupidity of which he could be capable; for it is obvious that the source upon which Diodorus is here drawing was not a

history but an agreeable fiction. It is an account of an ideal society introduced, in the manner of Defoe and Swift, by a circumstantial narrative which had the singular fortune to deceive the universal historian. Criticism has left no room for doubt that the utopia emanates from Stoic circles, which adds to its interest for us in the present connexion and to our wonder at our historian's mistaking its true nature. It belongs in all probability to the second century B.C. The composition, whatever its original length may have been, has been condensed by Diodorus into a few pages, and of this scanty allowance of space some is wasted in reproducing the obviously fictitious narrative of the alleged discovery of the islands. Nevertheless, the account we have of life in the Islands of the Sun is reasonably complete and is of absorbing interest. At the Renaissance it was widely familiar to European readers. Extracted from Diodorus it was separately printed and published again and again. It influenced the *Utopia* (1516) of Thomas More as well as Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1627). But since it is unfamiliar to modern readers, I may be excused for offering an almost complete rendering of it to-night.

The narrative of the discovery of the islands may be told in two or three sentences. There was a certain Iambulus, passionately addicted to learning as a child. On the death of his father, who was a merchant, he was obliged to follow the same profession. After various adventures he and a companion fell into the hands of an Ethiopian people, who made use of them as scapegoats for the purification of their land. They put them in a well-provisioned boat and told them to sail south, when they would come to a fortunate island and kindly people among whom they would have a blessed life. From this point I shall translate the story fully.

'The pair then sailed over a great expanse of sea and

encountered many storms, but in the fourth month they came to the island of which they had been told, which was circular in shape and had a circumference of five thousand stades. As they drew near to the island some of the inhabitants came down and brought the boat to land. Then from all parts of the island they ran together, astonished at the arrival of the strangers, but treating them kindly and giving them of their supplies. Now the inhabitants of the island are very different both in their physical constitution and in their way of life from the inhabitants of our part of the world. They are all of one physical type and over six feet high; and their bones are flexible up to a point, springing back into shape like sinewy parts. Their bodies are exceedingly tender, yet in far better condition than ours; for instance, if they seize anything in their fingers it is impossible to force it from their grasp. They have not a hair on their bodies except for the head, the eyebrows, the eyelids, and of course the beard, but all the other parts of the body are so smooth that not the slightest down is visible. They are very handsome and well-proportioned. Their ear-holes are much wider than ours and are fitted with little flaps to cover them. They have a peculiar feature in their tongues, partly natural and partly artificially contrived. For their tongues are forked for a certain length, and they continue the cleft inwards so that the tongue is divided up to the root. Accordingly their utterance is very varied. They imitate not only every kind of human and articulate speech but the manifold cries of the birds, and in a word every variety of sound. What is most remarkable is that they can maintain two conversations perfectly at the same time, answering the questions of one person and discoursing to another on the circumstances of the moment; they employ one-half of the tongue for one purpose, the other for the other.

'The air of their land is perfectly tempered, for they live on the equinoctial line and are troubled neither by heat nor cold. Their fruits are in season all the year, so that, as the poet says,

> Pear on pear ripens, and apple on apple,
> Cluster on cluster of grapes, and fig on fig.

And always with them day is equal to night, and at noon nothing casts a shadow for the sun is directly overhead.

'They live in organized groups of clans, not more than four hundred relatives in each group. Their life is passed in the meadows, the land supplying abundant sustenance; for by reason of the excellence of the soil and the temperate air crops spring up of themselves beyond their needs. There is, for example, a prolific rush-plant, bearing abundant fruit like white vetch or pulse. This they gather and steep in warm water until it swells to about the size of a pigeon's egg; they then crush and knead it skilfully in their hands, fashioning loaves, which when baked are sweet and appetizing. There are copious springs, some of warm water suited for bathing and refreshing tired limbs, others of cold, very sweet and wholesome.

'The zeal for learning of the inhabitants is great, and their special study is astrology. Their alphabet expresses twenty-eight sounds but has only seven characters, each having four modifications. They do not write from side to side as we do, but vertically, from the top down. The people live to a great age, reaching the span of one hundred and fifty years as a rule without sickness. If a man becomes maimed or has any physical defect they compel him to depart this life by a law which admits of no exceptions. Their practice is to live a fixed number of years, and when they have completed this span they voluntarily depart by a strange death. For there is a special grass that grows in their island on which when

one reposes he passes first into a mild oblivion and thence into sleep and death.

'They do not marry, but have their women in common, and the children that are born are brought up in common and equally loved. While they are still infants the nurses must frequently pass their charges round, so that not even the mothers can know their own children. Thus since there is no jealousy among them there is no civil strife, and they keep their love of unity and concord throughout life.

'There are among them animals not large in size but very unusual in physical structure and in a certain property of their blood. In shape they are round and like tortoises, with two yellow stripes crossed upon their back. At the ends of the stripes are an eye and a mouth. Accordingly they have four eyes to see with and four mouths to eat with. But they have but one gullet to which all the food is brought, and their nourishment when taken down through this flows all into one belly. Like the belly all the other internal organs are single; but round about the periphery is a vast number of feet capable of carrying the animal in any direction. The blood of this animal has a wonderful property. It immediately glues together a cut in any living body, and a hand or other part that has been cut off can be fastened on again by it while the cut is fresh. This is true of any part of the body not connected with the vital centres.

'Each of the clans maintains a big bird of a peculiar sort, by means of which the infant children are tested to see what quality of spirit they have got. They mount the babies on the birds; off fly the birds; the babies who stand the aerial excursion are reared, but those who suffer from air-sickness or show fear they reject as not being likely to live to a proper age nor worth preserving for their spiritual qualities. In every clan the eldest man has

the rule, like a sort of king, and all the rest obey him. But when he finishes his hundred and fifty years and, in accordance with the law, puts an end to his life, the next in age succeeds to the rule.

'The sea round the island, which has strong currents and ebbs and flows violently, is sweet to the taste. Of the constellations known to us the Bears and a great many others are not visible. There are seven islands in all, identical in size and at equal distances from one another, all employing the same laws and customs. All the inhabitants of these islands, although having a rich abundance of all things automatically supplied, are not self-indulgent in their enjoyments, but practice plain living and content themselves with a bare sufficiency of nourishment. Their meat and everything else they either roast or boil. Of rich sauces such as cooks concoct, or carefully varied condiments, they have no idea.

'As gods they honour the vault of heaven, the sun, and generally all the heavenly bodies. They skilfully catch an abundance of all sorts of fish and also hunt several varieties of birds. Fruits grow spontaneously in great plenty, and they have olives and vines of which they make abundant oil and wine. The snakes are large but quite harmless to man, and have edible flesh which is very toothsome. They make clothes from certain rushes which have in the middle a bright soft down. This they gather and mix with pounded oyster shells, thus making wonderful purple garments. There are other extraordinary animals, so strange as to be incredible. As for the people themselves, their whole way of life is very strictly ordered, although they do not take their meals together nor eat the same things. But definite days are appointed for the eating of fish, of fowl, of flesh, others when they have olives or other very simple relishes. They take turns in ministering to one another, in doing the fishing, and

in exercising arts and crafts, and the public services also are administered in rotation, except by the very old. At their banquets and festivals are said or sung hymns and lauds to the gods, but most of all to the sun, by whose name the islands and their inhabitants are called.

'They bury their dead at low tide, covering them over with sand; when the tide comes in it buries them still deeper. The reeds from which they get their nourishment are a span in breadth, and they wax as the moon waxes and dwindle as it wanes. The water of their hot springs, which is sweet and wholesome, keeps its heat and never grows cold, unless cold water or wine is added.

'Iambulus and his friend abode seven years with them, and were then cast out against their will, as evil-doers bred in corrupt ways.' The islanders fitted up their boat for them and compelled them to depart. Thus after further adventures, and the loss of his companion, Iambulus returned to Greece and put on record the account of his sojourn in the Islands of the Sun.[8]

If we seek now to analyse the heterogeneous elements of which this utopian romance is composed, we may admit that certain details afford some excuse to Diodorus for supposing it to be historical. There is, for instance, the practice of writing vertically from top to bottom, and the plant that yields a bright soft down from which clothes are made. These suggest the east; and it is quite possible that these particulars may indicate actual acquaintance on the part of some traveller with the island of Ceylon. But this will not suffice to rescue Diodorus from the reproach of excessive credulity. Even his most devoted editor cannot here refrain from censuring Diodorus for seeking to adorn his history with trifles, the fictitious character of which is obvious.[9] Indeed, however delightful they may be as fictions, the story of the birds that are used to test the babies, the animal with the

magic blood that heals all wounds, and the warm water that never grows cold should have sufficed to warn even Diodorus that he was not here in the domain of history.

But even more remarkable than his ability to swallow the marvels is his apparent insensibility to the utopian intention of the tale. On reflection it appears to me that Diodorus must have been so much drawn to the Stoic ideal of society that he was only too ready to believe that it had already materialized somewhere on earth.

In any case, of the real character of the fiction of Iambulus there can be no doubt. It is a Stoic utopia exhibiting in the most unmistakable way the intimate connexion between Stoic and Chaldean conceptions of the universe and society. The islands are the Islands of the Sun, and the inhabitants are the Sun men. Each island is, like the sun, circular in shape, and they are seven in number, to correspond with the sun, moon, and five planets. There is a plant on the island that waxes and wanes with the moon, a detail illustrating the sympathy observed, or imagined, to exist in Chaldean astrology between heaven and earth. Furthermore, we are told that the special study of the inhabitants is astrology; and that their worship is directed to the vault of heaven, the stars, and above all the sun.

Again, it is upon this astrological character of the society that its just constitution depends. It is because the inhabitants are Sun men and worship the Sun as god that their society is based upon a sort of egalitarian communism. The islands lie upon the equator, a symbol of the equality that reigns there over all. The inhabitants are all of one type and size, and all live to the same age. But still more significant than these fancies are the details of their deliberate organizing of their communal life. Thus leadership in the various communities goes round in rotation according to seniority. There are no

rich and no poor. There is no distinction between slave and free. Domestic tasks, and public duties, devolve in turn upon all; and all must take their turn at all the trades. There are no temples, for their gods are visible to all and live in temples not made with hands. And as there are no priests, so there are no police and no soldiers; for there is neither crime nor war, where all is ordered according to nature. Needless to say, there are no guardians as with Plato. Wisdom and leisure are no longer the privilege of a class, for a classless society has been achieved.

The fiction as we have it is a light one. I suspect also that, in the process of condensation it has undergone, some gaiety and high spirits have been squeezed out of it, as well as some sarcastic thrusts at the utopian dreams of the epoch. For I find it difficult to believe that the composition is wholly free of satiric intent. But we must surely also recognize, as the social reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did, that it implies a very searching criticism of the evils of the day. Nor is such literature as this likely to be a mere academic exercise. Utopias are not as a rule composed out of the blue; they are literary products of a period of social upheaval; symptoms of an uneasy conscience in the educated classes. The fictions of Jonathan Swift are not innocent of allusion to the Ireland of his day.

Of this stirring of conscience in the governing class of Rome the Gracchan movement is the most familiar symptom. What the judgment of Tiberius Gracchus was on the Italy of his day we know from the speech of his which Plutarch has preserved: 'The wild beasts', he cried, 'that range over Italy have every one of them some hole or lair to shelter them; but the men who fight and die for Italy have nothing but the common air and sun; without hearth or home they wander about with their wives and children. Their generals appeal to them in

battle to defend their tombs and their altars from the enemy. But the generals are in error. Not one of all these many Romans has an hereditary altar nor an ancestral tomb. They fight and die to maintain others in wealth and luxury; but though they are styled the lords of the earth not one of them has a single clod of earth that he can call his own.' This is remarkable language for a Roman; one would think to read it that Tiberius had gone to school to the Stoics. And this is likely to be the truth. The passage should in all probability be put down to the inspiration of Stoic enthusiasm for social justice. For, like the reforming Spartan king Cleomenes, Tiberius had at his elbow a Stoic philosopher.

This remarkable man, Blossius of Cumae, had a career which affords us the most striking testimony we possess to the influence which Stoic ideals exercised, and inclines us to see in the attempted Gracchan reforms a distant echo of the note sounded by Zeno in Athens two hundred years earlier. Blossius the Stoic not only urged Tiberius forward with his programme of reform and nerved him at the crisis of his fate; but when Tiberius had been slain by a senatorial mob he withdrew to the other end of the Mediterranean, and threw in his lot with an army largely composed of slaves in revolt who were attempting to save the kingdom of Pergamum from incorporation in the Roman Empire. On the defeat of their cause he slew himself. Why this Italian should have cared so much for the cause of the Asiatic slaves as to give his life for it becomes somewhat clearer when we are told that these slaves had given themselves the same title as the inhabitants of the Stoic utopia, the Island of the Sun. They were the Sun men, fighting for the cause of social justice. This was the allegiance which summoned the Stoic Blossius from defeat on one field in Italy to death on another in Pergamum.

His career, then, vividly illumines the movement in ancient society of which the history of Diodorus is another manifestation. As everybody knows, by the middle of the first century Stoicism had become the most popular philosophy in governing circles in Rome. It then no longer produced men like Sphaerus or Blossius concerned to give practical effect to the views that land is by nature common and men by nature free. These two principles were unacceptable to a society dominated by the owners of large estates worked by slave labour. On the question of *res mancipi*, that is the typical form of Roman capital, consisting of land and the slaves and cattle necessary to work it, Stoicism had to give way. Otherwise it suited the Roman character and circumstances to perfection with its inculcation of devotion to duty and its universal gods so suitable for an empire. It is the interest of Diodorus that he seems to preserve for us echoes from the earlier Stoic period when its devotion was to the City of the World and not to the City on the Tiber.

NOTES

1. It would not be difficult to adduce further evidence of the esteem in which Diodorus was held by Englishmen in the seventeenth century and earlier. Thus the Latin version of the first five books, published in Bologna in 1472 and ascribed to the Florentine Poggio, was claimed in England as the work of an Englishman, John Free of the city of Bristol. See Guilielmus Burtonus, *Graecae linguae Historia*, London, 1657, p. 55; Brianus Twynus, *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, Oxford, 1608, p. 371; Anthony à Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1674, vol. ii, p. 76. I know no sufficient reason why the claim of John Free to be the first translator of Diodorus into Latin should now be generally disallowed in favour of Poggio. The 1472 version was that employed by Henry Cogan.

Additional evidence of the interest taken in Diodorus in England in the seventeenth century is supplied by the poetry of George Herbert. His poem *Providence*, so strongly Stoic in outlook, is

almost certainly indebted to the third book of the 'Library' of Diodorus for certain curious features. The verse beginning 'Thou hast hid metals' should be compared with Diodorus, book iii, chaps. 12–14. The extraordinary proof of the versatility of Providence offered in the line

> Most things sleep lying, the elephant leans or stands

comes from the same book, chap. 27, pars. 1 and 2. While the striking lines:

> the Indian nut alone
> Is clothing, meat and trencher, drink and can,
> Boat, cable, sail, and needle, all in one

reproduces exactly the form of a similar sentence in chap. 21, par. 5: *τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τροφήν, ἀγγεῖον, οἰκίαν, ναῦν.*

2. For the view that 'the chief cause of the peculiarities of the Stoical School is to be sought in the race of its founders', see *The Ethics of Aristotle*, by Sir Alexander Grant, 3rd ed., pp. 306 ff.

For the astrological background of the Stoic creed, see *La Cité du Monde et La Cité du Soleil*, J. Bidez.

3. Diodorus, book iii, chap. 6, illustrates the efficacy of Greek thought to conquer superstition by the following story. It was the practice of the Ethiopian priests at Meroë to maintain their control over the monarchy by ordering the successive kings to die at the time they thought fit. The kings, implicitly believing the sacerdotal claim to be the mouthpiece of the divine will, obeyed from time immemorial this injunction to commit suicide until in the time of Ptolemy II the Ethiopian king Ergamenes, having acquired a Greek education and therewith a philosophic outlook, defied the priestly injunction and asserted the royal authority by slaughtering the priests.

4. Diodorus, book ii, chaps. 29–31. With this passage should be compared the extract from the *De Finibus* that follows:

'Physicae quoque non sine causa tributus idem est honos, propterea quod, qui convenienter naturae victurus est, ei proficiscendum est ab omni mundo atque ab eius procuratione. Nec vero potest quisquam de bonis et malis vere iudicare, nisi omni cognita ratione naturae et vitae etiam deorum, et utrum conveniat necne natura hominis cum universa. Quaeque sunt vetera praecepta sapientium, qui iubent *tempori parere* et *sequi deum* et *se noscere* et *nihil nimis*, haec sine physicis quam vim habeant (et habent maximam) videre nemo potest. Atque etiam ad iustitiam colendam, ad tuendas amicitias et reliquas caritates quid natura valeat, haec una cognitio potest tradere. Nec vero pietas adversus deos, nec quanta iis gratia debeatur, sine explicatione naturae intellegi potest.' Cicero, *De Finibus*, book iii, chap. 22 (par. 73).

What this passage implies is the shifting of the whole proverbial wisdom and ethical doctrine of the Greeks on to a new foundation—a knowledge of the universe and the way in which it is run. And this new knowledge, as a comparison with the passage of Diodorus cited above reveals, is the Chaldean theory of man and the universe as bound together into an indissoluble unity, the theory of microcosm and macrocosm.

5. Diodorus, book ii, chap. 39, § 5–chap. 41, § 5.

The phrase, *εὔηθες γὰρ εἶναι νόμους μὲν ἐπ' ἴσης τιθέναι πᾶσι, τὰς δ' οὐσίας ἀνωμάλους κατασκευάζειν*, which contains so significant and familiar a thought, has fallen on evil days. The passage, which is correctly understood both by Henry Cogan and by George Booth, is rendered in the Loeb Library edition as follows: 'since it is silly to make laws on the basis of equality for all persons, and yet to establish inequalities in social intercourse.' This fatuous version has not been arrived at without help from the textual critics. For the *οὐσίας* of the MSS. Dindorf, followed by Bekker, proposed to read *ἐξουσίας*; Capps, followed by Oldfather for the Loeb text, prefers *συνουσίας*. Emendation is entirely gratuitous.

6. Diodorus, book iii, chaps. 12–14.

7. Diodorus, book v, chaps. 35–8. With regard to the effects of the mine conditions on the health of the miners, his contemporary, the Roman poet Lucretius, tells the same tale with the concentrated force of his peculiar genius. 'See you not, when men are following up the veins of silver and gold and searching with the pick quite into the bowels of the earth, what stenches Scaptensula (a town in Thrace where there were silver mines) exhales from below? Then what mischief do gold mines exhale! to what a state do they reduce men's faces and what a complexion they produce! Know you not by sight or hearsay how they commonly perish in a short time and how all vital power fails those whom the hard compulsion of necessity confines in such an employment!' *De Rerum Natura*, vi. 808–15.

8. Diodorus, book ii, chaps. 55–60. The fullest discussion of this Stoic Utopia is to be found in Pöhlman, op. cit., pp. 305–24. It might, indeed, be complained that the treatment is too full, some of the efforts to equate details in Iambulus' account of the Islands of the Sun with points in the programmes of modern socialists exhibiting little historical sense.

9. Diodoro paene succenseo, huiusmodi nugis historias suas distinguenti atque ornanti, says Wesseling.

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