

# What if Kyriai Doxai was NOT a list?

Post by "Don" of July 18, 2023 at 10:34 PM

Okay, this is a "quick and dirty" experiment in "What if *Kyriai Doxai* was not written as a list?" I'm using the Hicks text available at Perseus Digital Library and simply taking the "list" of 40 "[principal doctrines](#)" and combining them into (somewhat) coherent sections with no breaks for line numbers. Just as an experiment... which on a number of levels seems to work. I find the sections hang together pretty well and the sections seem to me to elucidate the topics being covered. I also see call backs to other sections. Some of the "solitary" doctrines seem almost out of place, which makes me curious if the extant manuscripts all follow the same "order"... Memory serves me that they don't. Which further makes me wonder if the book got re-arranged somehow and then got ossified into the "order" we have now. MUCH more research has to be done, manuscripts need to be examined, etc.... but, here, for your enjoyment and consideration is a POSSIBLE version of Epicurus's work entitle *Kyriai Doxai*:

*Kyriai Doxai* of Epicurus

A blessed and eternal being has no trouble himself and brings no trouble upon any other being ; hence he is exempt from movements of anger and partiality, for every such movement implies weakness.\*

[Death is nothing to us](#); for the body, when it has been resolved into its elements, has no feeling, and that which has no feeling is nothing to us.

The magnitude of pleasure reaches its limit in the removal of all pain. When pleasure is present, so long as it is uninterrupted, there is no pain either of body or of mind or of both together. 4. Continuous pain does not last long in the flesh ; on the contrary, pain, if extreme, is present a very short time, and even that degree of pain which barely outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last for many days together. Illnesses of long duration even permit of an excess of pleasure over pain in the flesh.

It is impossible to live a pleasant life without living wisely and well and justly, and it is impossible to live wisely and well and justly without living pleasantly. Whenever any one of these is lacking, when, for instance, the man is not able to live wisely, though he lives well and justly, it is impossible for him to live a pleasant life.

In order to obtain security from other men any means whatsoever of procuring this was a natural good. Some men have sought to become famous and renowned, thinking that thus they would make themselves secure against their fellow-men. If, then, the life of such persons really was secure, they attained natural good ; if, however, it was insecure, they have not attained

the end which by nature's own prompting they originally sought.

No pleasure is in itself evil, but the things which produce certain pleasures entail annoyances many times greater than the pleasures themselves. If all pleasure had been capable of accumulation,--if this had gone on not only by recurrence in time, but all over the frame or, at any rate, over the principal parts of man's nature, there would never have been any difference between one pleasure and another, as in fact there is. If the objects which are productive of pleasures to profligate persons really freed them from fears of the mind,--the fears, I mean, inspired by celestial and atmospheric phenomena, the fear of death, the fear of pain ; if, further, they taught them to limit their desires, we should never have any fault to find with such persons, for they would then be filled with pleasures to overflowing on all sides and would be exempt from all pain, whether of body or mind, that is, from all evil. If we had never been molested by alarms at celestial and atmospheric phenomena, nor by the misgiving that death somehow affects us, nor by neglect of the proper limits of pains and desires, we should have had no need to study natural science. It would be impossible to banish fear on matters of the highest importance, if a man did not know the nature of the whole universe, but lived in dread of what the legends tell us. Hence without the study of nature there was no enjoyment of unmixed pleasures. There would be no advantage in providing security against our fellow-men, so long as we were alarmed by occurrences over our heads or beneath the earth or in general by whatever happens in the boundless universe. When tolerable security against our fellow-men is attained, then on a basis of power sufficient to afford support<sup>140</sup>and of material prosperity arises in most genuine form the security of a quiet private life withdrawn from the multitude.

Nature's wealth at once has its bounds and is easy to procure ; but the wealth of vain fancies recedes to an infinite distance.

Fortune but seldom interferes with the wise man ; his greatest and highest interests have been, are, and will be, directed by reason throughout the course of his life.

The just man enjoys the greatest peace of mind, while the unjust is full of the utmost disquietude.

Pleasure in the flesh admits no increase when once the pain of want has been removed ; after that it only admits of variation. The limit of pleasure in the mind, however, is reached when we reflect on the things themselves and their congeners which cause the mind the greatest alarms. Unlimited time and limited time afford an equal amount of pleasure, if we measure the limits of that pleasure by reason. The flesh receives as unlimited the limits of pleasure ; and to provide it requires unlimited time. But the mind, grasping in thought what the end and limit of the flesh is, and banishing the terrors of futurity, procures a complete and perfect life, and has no longer any need of unlimited time. Nevertheless it does not shun pleasure, and even in the hour of death, when ushered out of existence by circumstances, the mind does not lack enjoyment of the best life. He who understands the limits of life knows how easy it is to procure

enough to remove the pain of want and make the whole of life complete and perfect. Hence he has no longer any need of things which are not to be won save by labour and conflict.

We must take into account as the end all that really exists and all clear evidence of sense to which we refer our opinions ; for otherwise everything will be full of uncertainty and confusion. If you fight against all your sensations, you will have no standard to which to refer, and thus no means of judging even those judgements which you pronounce false. If you reject absolutely any single sensation without stopping to discriminate with respect to that which awaits confirmation between matter of opinion and that which is already present, whether in sensation or in feelings or in any presentative perception of the mind, you will throw into confusion even the rest of your sensations by your groundless belief and so you will be rejecting the standard of truth altogether. If in your ideas based upon opinion you hastily affirm as true all that awaits confirmation as well as that which does not, you will not escape error, as you will be maintaining complete ambiguity whenever it is a case of judging between right and wrong opinion. If you do not on every separate occasion refer each of your actions to the end prescribed by nature, but instead of this in the act of choice or avoidance swerve aside to some other end, your acts will not be consistent with your theories.

All such desires as lead to no pain when they remain ungratified are unnecessary, and the longing is easily got rid of, when the thing desired is difficult to procure or when the desires seem likely to produce harm.

Of all the means which are procured by wisdom to ensure happiness throughout the whole of life, by far the most important is the acquisition of friends. The same conviction which inspires confidence that nothing we have to fear is eternal or even of long duration, also enables us to see that even in our limited conditions of life nothing enhances our security so much as friendship.

Of our desires some are natural and necessary ; others are natural, but not necessary ; others, again, are neither natural nor necessary, but are due to illusory opinion.\*\* Those natural desires which entail no pain when not gratified, though their objects are vehemently pursued, are also due to illusory opinion ; and when they are not got rid of, it is not because of their own nature, but because of the man's illusory opinion.

Natural justice is a symbol or expression of expediency, to prevent one man from harming or being harmed by another. Those animals which are incapable of making covenants with one another, to the end that they may neither inflict nor suffer harm, are without either justice or injustice. And those tribes which either could not or would not form mutual covenants to the same end are in like case. There never was an absolute justice, but only an agreement made in reciprocal intercourse in whatever localities now and again from time to time, providing against the infliction or suffering of harm. Injustice is not in itself an evil, but only in its consequence, viz. the terror which is excited by apprehension that those appointed to punish such offences will discover the injustice. It is impossible for the man who secretly violates any article of the

social compact to feel confident that he will remain undiscovered, even if he has already escaped ten thousand times ; for right on to the end of his life he is never sure he will not be detected. Taken generally, justice is the same for all, to wit, something found expedient in mutual intercourse ; but in its application to particular cases of locality or conditions of whatever kind, it varies under different circumstances. Among the things accounted just by conventional law, whatever in the needs of mutual intercourse is attested to be expedient, is thereby stamped as just, whether or not it be the same for all ; and in case any law is made and does not prove suitable to the expediencies of mutual intercourse, then this is no longer just. And should the expediency which is expressed by the law vary and only for a time correspond with the prior conception, nevertheless for the time being it was just, so long as we do not trouble ourselves about empty words, but look simply at the facts. Where without any change in circumstances the conventional laws, when judged by their consequences, were seen not to correspond with the notion of justice, such laws were not really just ; but wherever the laws have ceased to be expedient in consequence of a change in circumstances, in that case the laws were for the time being just when they were expedient for the mutual intercourse of the citizens, and subsequently ceased to be just when they ceased to be expedient.

He who best knew how to meet fear of external foes made into one family all the creatures he could ; and those he could not, he at any rate did not treat as aliens ; and where he found even this impossible, he avoided all intercourse, and, so far as was expedient, kept them at a distance. Those who were best able to provide themselves with the means of security against their neighbours, being thus in possession of the surest guarantee, passed the most agreeable life in each other's society ; and their enjoyment of the fullest intimacy was such that, if one of them died before his time, the survivors did not lament his death as if it called for commiseration.

\* Elsewhere he says that the gods are discernible by reason alone, some being numerically distinct, while others result uniformly from the continuous influx of similar images directed to the same spot and in human form.--Schol.

\*\*Epicurus regards as natural and necessary desires which bring relief from pain, as e.g. drink when we are thirsty ; while by natural and not necessary he means those which merely diversify the pleasure without removing the pain, as e.g. costly viands ; by the neither natural nor necessary he means desires for crowns and the erection of statues in one's honour.--Schol.

---

## **Post by “Cassius” of July 18, 2023 at 10:46 PM**

Don are there any markings or other reasons for the paragraph divisions, or are those done solely by judgment as to topic change?

---

## Post by “Don” of July 18, 2023 at 10:55 PM

### [Quote from Cassius](#)

Don are there any markings or other reasons for the paragraph divisions, or are those done solely by judgment as to topic change?

Oh, those are merely where I thought the topic changed!

As I mentioned, this is ONLY a VERY quick and dirty experiment at this point.

I merely copied and pasted Hicks' text, took out the numbers, went through and combined similar topics (to my briefly considered satisfaction), copied that, and pasted it here. No real scholarship or research of any kind!

That said, several of the sections hold together quite well even using this slapdash technique for the time being.

---

## Post by “Don” of July 19, 2023 at 7:15 AM

My primary reason for posting this little experiment is to simply elicit thoughts - using this admittedly brute force method at its most basic - on whether the idea that Kyriai Doxai could have been more prose than list deserves more attention.... Or have I been barking up the wrong tree this whole time!

If the feedback is generally that this prose theory seems to maybe have some merit, I'll maybe go off digging into the manuscripts etc (after I finish that menoikeus revision 😊 )

If the consensus is that the "prose" idea adds no real value overall to the "list", I'll dial back my enthusiasm for that idea.

---

## Post by “Godfrey” of July 19, 2023 at 2:02 PM

I think that the prose idea is definitely worth pursuing! It seems to me that this adds a degree of clarity to understanding the PDs (KDs?) that is sometimes hard to find with them split into a neat little list of 40. 👍 👍

---

### Post by “Joshua” of July 19, 2023 at 3:28 PM

I wouldn't dispense with the list altogether, it's too historically ingrained. But a prose version in parallel is definitely worthwhile.

I'd actually be curious to know what a trained classicist with no knowledge of the text would do with it if you handed them a lump of Greek capital letters with no numbering or paragraphs. But of course the first thing they would likely do is consult earlier scholarship.

---

### Post by “Don” of July 19, 2023 at 3:56 PM

#### [Quote from Joshua](#)

I wouldn't dispense with the list altogether, it's too historically ingrained. But a prose version in parallel is definitely worthwhile.

I actually like [Cassius](#) 's idea of using superscript "verse" numbers in a prose format. "Chapters" could be topics.

So, we'd have Principle Doctrines 3:2 for example 😊

---

### Post by “Eikadistes” of July 19, 2023 at 4:38 PM

#### [Quote from Don](#)

#### [Quote from Joshua](#)

I wouldn't dispense with the list altogether, it's too historically ingrained. But a prose version in parallel is definitely worthwhile.

I actually like [Cassius](#) 's idea of using superscript "verse" numbers in a prose format. "Chapters " could be topics.

So, we'd have Principle Doctrines 3:2 for example 😊

## (I) RESPONSE

[1] Once (*down the road*) I feel satisfied with my translations, [2] I'd like to put them in a form that we might find in the Bible, [3] like Cassius said in another post that I cannot find at the moment. [4] I documented it here, to demonstrate.

---

### Post by “Don” of July 20, 2023 at 11:10 AM

Okay, I've posted my Menoikeus update. So now it's off to Kyriai Doxai. I've printed out the appropriate pages of codex Laurentianus Plut.69.35 - written 1101-1200 CE (12 century CE) and I want to start going through and checking order, punctuation, etc. Fun!! 😊👍 (no sarcasm intended btw)

---

### Post by “Don” of July 20, 2023 at 10:26 PM



This is what my notes look like.... Just beginning, but finding some interesting punctuation. Just made it on a first run up to [PD17](#).

Probably have something very preliminary to share before next week. 😊

---

### **Post by “Cassius” of July 21, 2023 at 6:37 AM**

Don from what manuscript are you working? And is there more than one which we can compare?

---

### **Post by “Don” of July 21, 2023 at 7:56 AM**

[Quote from Cassius](#)

from what manuscript are you working?

codex Laurentianus Plut.69.35 - written 1101-1200 CE (12 century CE)

<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOItZA2I1A4r7GxMME1&c=Laertius%20Diogenes#/oro/496>

[Principal Doctrines](#) start on folio 243v, 10 lines from the bottom on the left side.

The oldest I could find.

[Quote from Cassius](#)

And is there more than one which we can compare?

Oh, yeah. There are at least 3 more I want to look at that have no numbers. Plus there are the Latin translations. I've only just started!

---

### **Post by “Don” of July 24, 2023 at 8:05 AM**

Okay, made first pass through 2nd manuscript: codex Parisinus gr. 1759 (14th c.) known as P. Some very interesting marks and abbreviations and ligatures. Some similarities with Pluto.69.35 and some differences.

I want to get through a 3rd manuscript before I start sharing any specific observations or possible structures.

I must say I continue to find it amazing I - or anyone! - can peruse these manuscripts online. It is humbling and exhilarating at the same time.

Stay tuned y'all. Thanks for your patience... And continued interest (I hope 😊).

Edit:

I've also put on hold my copying of the Vatican Sayings into their respective threads. Kuriai Doxai is a much more self-contained text so I'm concentrating on that for now.

---

### **Post by “Cassius” of July 24, 2023 at 10:27 AM**

Yes at least for me this definitely has my continued interest so please continue as you can!

---

### **Post by “Don” of July 26, 2023 at 1:08 PM**

Okay, after going through three manuscripts:

- Plut.69.35 (12 c.)
- Parisinus gr. 1759 (14th c.)
- Grec. 1758 (1401-1500)

I have the following VERY preliminary, conservative proposal to make. The only thing this post looks at is where the 3 texts agree in NOT putting an interpunct (dot - signifying a full stop or full breath) between what are usually individual "[Principal Doctrines](#)." I purposefully did NOT try to remember what each of the PDs were, so the text didn't sway me on "Is that a dot or not?" All three manuscripts appear to NOT place a dot:

- EDIT: between 5 & 6 (Plut..69.35 places a comma)

- between 10 & 11 (Plut.69.35 places a comma)
- between 12 & 13 (every manuscript started a new line with 13 with no dot after 12)
- between 15 & 16 (Plut.69.35 places a comma)
- between 16 & 17
- between 18 & 19 (gr.1759 is inconclusive but does not appear to have a dot)

There are other sections worth looking at, but here are those non-dotted PDs listed above for your consideration, using Hicks for the quick-n-dirty translation.

(5 & 6) It is impossible to live a pleasant life without living wisely and well and justly, and it is impossible to live wisely and well and justly without living pleasantly. Whenever any one of these is lacking, when, for instance, the man is not able to live wisely, though he lives well and justly, it is impossible for him to live a pleasant life. In order to obtain security from other men any means whatsoever of procuring this was a natural good.

(10 & 11) If the objects which are productive of pleasures to profligate persons really freed them from fears of the mind,--the fears, I mean, inspired by celestial and atmospheric phenomena, the fear of death, the fear of pain ; if, further, they taught them to limit their desires, we should never have any fault to find with such persons, for they would then be filled with pleasures to overflowing on all sides and would be exempt from all pain, whether of body or mind, that is, from all evil. If we had never been molested by alarms at celestial and atmospheric phenomena, nor by the misgiving that death somehow affects us, nor by neglect of the proper limits of pains and desires, we should have had no need to study natural science.

(12 & 13) It would be impossible to banish fear on matters of the highest importance, if a man did not know the nature of the whole universe, but lived in dread of what the legends tell us. Hence without the study of nature there was no enjoyment of unmixed pleasures. There would be no advantage in providing security against our fellow-men, so long as we were alarmed by occurrences over our heads or beneath the earth or in general by whatever happens in the boundless universe.

(15 & 16 & 17) Nature's wealth at once has its bounds and is easy to procure ; but the wealth of vain fancies recedes to an infinite distance. Fortune but seldom interferes with the wise man ; his greatest and highest interests have been, are, and will be, directed by reason throughout the course of his life. The just man enjoys the greatest peace of mind, while the unjust is full of the utmost disquietude.

(18 & 19) Pleasure in the flesh admits no increase when once the pain of want has been removed ; after that it only admits of variation. The limit of pleasure in the mind, however, is reached when we reflect on the things themselves and their congeners which cause the mind the greatest alarms. Unlimited time and limited time afford an equal amount of pleasure, if we measure the limits of that pleasure by reason.

There are other idiosyncracies of the manuscripts that I want to explore, but figured I'd share this since ya'll have been patient. There are also instances where two manuscripts will lack a dot "between" PDs but not the third. There are some gaps, other marks, other things to consider. But those above seem to hang together, done better than others admittedly.

EDIT: And this also doesn't take into consideration different forms of words, missing lines or different phrasing.

---

## Post by “Godfrey” of July 26, 2023 at 5:12 PM

You've undertaken quite a sleuthing project [Don](#) !

Pondering the data from a current, English-speaking perspective that is ignorant of Greek (mine):

- Interesting that 6 and 7 have a dot between them as they seem to address the same subject. Why a dot there, but not between 5 and 6?
- Why between 11 and 12, but not between 10 and 11 or 12 and 13? I would tend to combine all four.
- I considered the individual PDs as we now have them, so I'm just beginning where [Don](#) left off.

The above post seems to make this project even more difficult than it appeared before! The red dot is the logical (maybe the only!) place to start this quest, but as I understand it all of these manuscripts were created over 1,000 years after Epicurus' death. I'm curious if those who wrote these manuscripts had a different use for the red dots than separating individual PDs. Might it be an attempt to split up a continuous text into equal chunks, regardless of meaning?

Having never heard of an interpunct, of course I went to: [Interpunct - Wikipedia](#). From that article:

### Quote

Greek: "*The Hellenistic scholars of [Alexandria](#) first developed the mark for a function closer to the [comma](#), before it fell out of use and was then repurposed for its present role.*[8]"

Latin: "*The interpunct (interpunctus) was regularly used in [classical Latin](#) to separate words. In addition to the most common round form, [inscriptions](#) sometimes use a small [equilateral triangle](#) for the interpunct, pointing either up or down. It may also appear as*

a mid-line comma, similar to the [Greek](#) practice of the time. The interpunct fell out of use c. 200 CE, and [Latin](#) was then written [scripta continua](#) for several centuries."

Does this open up the red dots to any different interpretation?

---

## Post by "Don" of July 26, 2023 at 5:38 PM

### [Quote from Godfrey](#)

You've undertaken quite a sleuthing project Don !



Tell me about it! LOL!

### [Quote from Godfrey](#)

Pondering the data from a current, English-speaking perspective that is ignorant of Greek (mine):

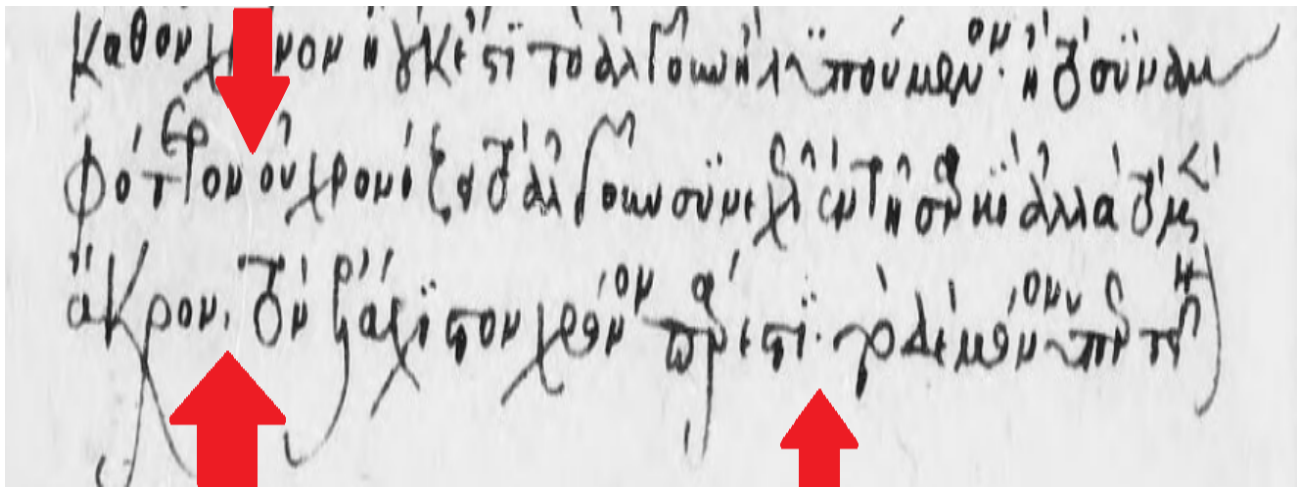
- Interesting that 6 and 7 have a dot between them as they seem to address the same subject. Why a dot there, but not between 5 and 6?
- Why between 11 and 12, but not between 10 and 11 or 12 and 13? I would tend to combine all four.

Your questions are VERY good ones, and may very well come to light with other punctuation, spacing, etc. issues that come later. I generally agree with your assessments btw.

### [Quote from Godfrey](#)

red dots

Oh, the ones I'm looking at are not red. They're the same color as the rest of the ink (at least on the ones scans that are color; grec.1758 is in b&w. The red color was used on the initial letters of the Vatican Sayings. Here's an example of what I'm talking about from grec. 1758...



- The top arrow points to the space (NO interpunct... and I think I'm using the word correctly 😊 ) at the end of PD3 (συναμφο<sup>τερον</sup>) leading right into PD4 (Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ...).
- The first arrow pointing up from the bottom points to a comma after the ακρον, ("height, summit") of PD4.
- The right arrow pointing up from the bottom points to the "interpunct" after παρέστι, ι in PD4 which Hicks transliterates as a comma.

SO, unfortunately, the interpunct symbol could do multiple duties...evidently depending on the whims of the scribe!! So, some of your intuitions, Godfrey, could be correct. My initial post there is literally a blunt force attempt at a start. LOL. Only a start! (Shields eyes from the sun... heads back into the scriptorium)

---

### Post by "Pacatus" of July 26, 2023 at 6:16 PM

[Don](#)

What if I am not a list?

Okay, couldn't help myself: just my mood today.

+++++++

With that crass distraction tossed in the trash, I'd point out that the original Hebrew texts of the Bible had no verse numbers, no line breaks, no sentence breaks – and more often than not, no word breaks (and no determinate vowels before the Masorettes' inventions between the 7th and 10th centuries C.E.). That is what makes classical Hebrew such a radically polysemous

language, which guided the highly hermeneutical approach of the Talmuds and subsequent rabbinical Judaisms (many rabbis at the time objected to the Masoretes' project as arbitrarily limiting interpretation).

[Oh, and far more of the Hebrew Scriptures (the Tanach) is actually poetry than is often recognized.]

The same can be said for the earliest Koine Greek of the New Testament. Such things as verse numbers (which can far too often - in my opinion - be quoted without attention to larger context) - and even phrase breaks - were later (interpretive) additions.

And so, I think you may well be onto something here ... (Do we know the historical development of these texts? I had thought not.)

---

## Post by "Don" of July 26, 2023 at 6:47 PM

### [Quote from Pacatus](#)

(Do we know the historical development of these texts? I had thought not.)

As far as I know, "details" are sketchy at best. There is such a gap between Epicurus and Diogenes Laertius (lived after 200 CE), but I \*think\* there are other mentions of either the book title *Kyriai Doxai* or individual quotes from the book in earlier authors. Lucian of Samasota (c. 125 - after 180 CE) mentions them in *Alexander the Oracle Monger*...

### Quote from Lucian

In this connection Alexander once made himself supremely ridiculous. Coming across Epicurus' Accepted Maxims (Ἐπικούρου κυρίας δόξας, Epikourou kyrias doxas), the most admirable of his books, as you know, with its terse presentment of his wise conclusions, he brought it into the middle of the market-place, there burned it on a fig-wood fire for the sins of its author, and cast its ashes into the sea. He issued an oracle on the occasion: "The dotard's maxims to the flames be given." The fellow had no conception of the blessings conferred by that book upon its readers, of the peace, tranquility, and independence of mind it produces, of the protection it gives against terrors, phantoms, and marvels, vain hopes and insubordinate desires, of the judgment and candor that it fosters, or of its true purging of the spirit, not with torches and squills and such rubbish, but with right reason, truth, and frankness.

Edit:

Philodemus (c. 110 – prob. c. 40/35 BCE) mentions *Kyriai Doxai* as well. He mentions it by title and refers to / quotes KD/PD1 in *On Anger*, 43:14-41.

We then at least have a trail that leads from Epicurus to Laertius:

Epicurus 341–270 BC

Philodemus (c. 110 – prob. c. 40/35 BCE)

Lucian of Samasota (c. 125 – after 180 CE)

Diogenes Laertius (fl. after 200 CE)

---

## Post by “Don” of July 26, 2023 at 10:15 PM

I wondered whether Lucian's text gave an idea if "Accepted Maxims" description would give us an idea of whether it was in discrete, listed items (like we have now) or more summary or epitome.

Lucian's text reads:

εὐρῶν γὰρ τὰς Ἐπικούρου κυρίας δόξας, τὸ κάλλιστον, ὡς οἴσθα, τῶν βιβλίων καὶ κεφαλαιώδη περιέχον τῆς τάνδρὸς σοφίας τὰ δόγματα,...

- τὰς Ἐπικούρου κυρίας δόξας = Epicurus's "Accepted Maxims" (as the translation goes)
- τὸ κάλλιστον, ὡς οἴσθα, τῶν βιβλίων = the greatest, the most noble, the most beautiful, etc. of books (κάλλιστον is the superlative of καλός "beautiful, noble, etc."). Lucian doesn't seem to say "of 'his' (i.e., Epicurus's) books" but just seems to say "of books", as in all books.
- καὶ κεφαλαιώδη περιέχον τῆς τάνδρὸς σοφίας τὰ δόγματα "and a summary that encompasses the doctrines of The Man's wisdom"
  - [κεφαλαιώδη](#) This is the key word which means the principal or capital but also summary.
    - [Arist.Rh.1415b8](#) uses it: there is no need of an exordium, except just to make a summary statement of the subject, so that, like a body, it may have a head.
    - [Arist. Metaph.988a18](#) uses it: We have given only a concise and summary account of those thinkers who have expressed views about the causes 988a.20and reality, and of their doctrines.

I see nothing to suggest Lucian saw it as a list per se but just a summary text. Just to be clear, I'm not maintaining that Kyriai Doxai read beginning to end like a treatise. It was obviously a summary. However, we do a great disservice to the text by seeing the "maxims" as discrete entities. My goal is to connect what needs to be connected, to let stand alone what needs or is intended to stand alone. My primary position is that the numbered list has corrupted our understanding of the text that, according to Lucian, is the most noble of books.

---

## Post by "Cassius" of July 27, 2023 at 4:57 AM

### [Quote from Don](#)

It was obviously a summary.

Much like the letter to Herodotus or to Pythocles are summaries that cover a wide variety of topics but still hang together as identifiable by theme.

Or another analogy is with the atoms themselves and how in Sedley's words we have to avoid radical atomic reductionist thinking that only the atoms are "real." (Just as Epicurus seems to have opposed that line of thinking in Democritus.)

The individual sentences of the PD do deserve separate and detailed examination, but when they come together in summary they produce a "body" which has real characteristics of its own that are not identifiable when looking only with a magnifying glass -- like the forest that can't be seen if we do nothing but look at leaves.

---

## Post by "Don" of July 27, 2023 at 11:38 PM

NOTE:

Here is a Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius with NO numbers in Kyriai Doxai:

[Diogenis Laertii De uita et moribus philosophorum, libri X. / Recéns ad fidem Graeci codicis diligenter recogniti. Cum indice locupletissimo.](#)

"Principle Doctrines" starts in the middle of the page with:

*Quod beatum atque immortale est, neque ipsum negotia habet neque alii praebet, ...*

Published Lugduni (London), : Apud Antonium Gryphium., 1592.

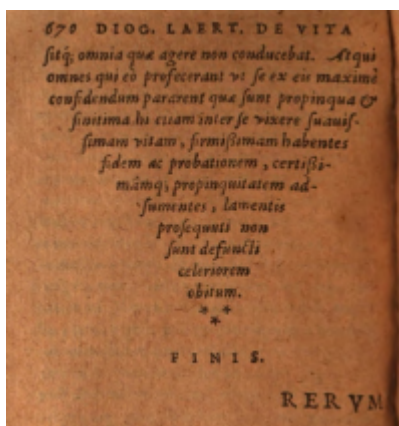
Gryphius, Antonius 1527-1599, printer, Traversari, Ambrogio 1386-1439

I have seen printed Latin translation from 1692 WITH numbered lists.

---

## Post by “Cassius” of July 28, 2023 at 5:37 AM

Very nice tapering ending on that one:



## Post by “Don” of July 28, 2023 at 7:09 PM

Finding some more manuscripts and printed books, Greek and Latin, on HathiTrust.

This project is NEVER going to be done 😊

I will say that I like the Latin translation of *Principle Doctrines 2*: Mors nihil ad nos.

That has a nice ring to it. Although Ο ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΑΣ (ancient Greek: ho thanatos ouden pros hēmas) isn't bad either.

---

## Post by “Cassius” of July 28, 2023 at 7:56 PM

Yes I hope you will point out Latin lines like that. For many of us the Latin words will always ring in a way that the Greek equivalents never will. Not saying that's good, just the way that it is.

And with the Latin too we have the possibility or probability that these translations date back to a period when the people who made them were fluent in both languages \*and\* had access to people who really understood the philosophy due to training from real Epicurean experts.

So there's lots of reasons in my mind to pay special attention to the Latin translations. I wish we had a good digital (text) version of Diogenes Laertius in Latin. (Do we?)

---

## Post by “Don” of July 28, 2023 at 11:08 PM

### [Quote from Cassius](#)

And with the Latin too we have the possibility or probability that these translations date back to a period when the people who made them were fluent in both languages \*and\* had access to people who really understood the philosophy due to training from real Epicurean experts.

Not so sure about that. The earliest Latin translation I've found (so far as of my typing this line) is 1533.

For reference, I'm pasting some links and notes here for later:

Diogenes Laertius: the Manuscripts of "The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers"

[Diogenes Laertius: the Manuscripts of "The Lives of Eminent Philosophers"](#)

Notes on the history of manuscripts and printed editions of Diogenes Laertius's Lives of the Eminent Philosophers re-arranged in chronological order from the link above (as well as other sources):

- 3rd c. CE: The original work is dated to the earlier decades of the 3rd century AD
- 9th c. CE: we may reasonably assume that a single stray copy, brought to light in the ninth century, was the parent of all extant MSS.
- 1200 CE: best MSS is Codex Borbonicus (B) of the National Library at Naples : Gr. III. B 29 is the class-mark.
  - all critics agree that B is the most faithful to the archetype.
  - B is not digitized anywhere online.
- c. 1300 CE: Next to the Borbonicus comes the [Paris codex MSS \(Gr. 1759\), known as P](#)

- Thirteenth or fourteenth century: MSS (Co) from the Library of the Old Seraglio at Constantinople
- Fourteenth century: MSS (W) from the [Vatican \(Gr. 140\)](#)
  - Co & W may be said to side with P rather than with B
- [Florentine MS. F \(Gr. plut. Ixix. 13 \(69.13\)\)](#), for which letter Martini and Bywater substitute L
  - The superiority of BPF is laid down in Usener's *Epicurea*, pp. vi sqq., xxii sqq.
  - all three must have been written between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.
- Subsidiary MSS: [Paris codex \(Gr. 1758, Q\)](#), which had been copied from P
  - another subsidiary MSS is Florentine codex, [Laurentianus \(Gr. plut. Ixix. 28 \(69.28\), G\)](#)
    - Cod. Neapolitanus Bourbonicus III B 28 (=D)
    - [cod. Laurentianus 69.28 \(=G\)](#)
    - [cod. Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus 261 \(=S\)](#)
    - [cod. Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 109 \(=T\)](#).
      - These four manuscripts, all dated to the fifteenth century, form a distinct subgroup among the various manuscript families of Diogenes' work. **Their text is almost completely uniform, which indicates that they were either copied from one another or from the same (now-lost) exemplar.**
- **February 1432: Printed Latin Translation of Ambrosius Traversarius Camaldulensis, completed in 1431**
  - 1475: Venice
  - 1476: Nuremberg
  - several times reprinted at other places, with the alterations due to successive improvements in the Greek text.
    - For example: 1559: [Diogenis Laertii De uita et moribus philosophorum libri X. :Cum indice locupletissimo.](#)
- **1533: The whole Greek text printed at Basel** with the dedication: Hieronymus Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopus studiosis S.P.D
  - [1533: Hieronymus Frobenius et Nicolaus Episcopus studiosis S.P.D.](#)
  - In 1566 there appeared at Antwerp another edition, with this title : *Laertii Diogenis de vita et moribus philosophorum libri X. Plus quam mille in locis restituti et emendati et fide dignis vetustis exemplaribus Graecis, ut inde Graecum exemplum possit restitui; opera Ioannis Sambuci Tirnaviensis Pannonii. Cum indice locupletissimo. Ex officina Christophori Plantini.*
  - editor tells us that he used older MSS., naming the Venetus and Vaticanus.
    - That he has also some readings peculiar to the Borbonicus has been shown by Usener (*Epicurea*, p. 16)
  - editio princeps of 1533 was printed from an inferior MS., the identity of which has been discovered by Von der Muehll, who calls it Z. It is the Raudnitz MS., now in the

library of Prince Lobkowitz.

- 1570: [Stephanus \(Henri Estienne\) published 2-volume edition at Paris \(Notes/commentary on Books 1-9\)](#)
  - 1593: [second edition, "cum Is. Casauboni notis multo auctior," Paris](#)
  - 1615: Geneva
    - fault of these editions (as of Froben's) is that they are based on inferior MSS.
- 1649: [Gassendi: 1649, Leyden: Animadversiones in librum X Diogenis Laertii, with a companion volume, De vita et moribus Epicuri.](#)
  - 1675, Leyden: two parts, Epicuri philosophiae per Petrum Gassendum, tomus primus, and Epicuri ethicae per Petrum Gassendum, tomus secundus, were united.
    - See also this [1647 edition of De vita et moribus Epicuri libri octo. Authore Petro Gassendo](#)
  - Gassendi depended less upon MSS. than upon common sense and his own reasoning powers ; nevertheless to him, as to his predecessors, Stephanus, Casaubon, and Aldobrandinus, are due some conjectural restorations of the text which subsequent editors accept without reserve ; for example, there are three such in x. 83.
- 1691-92: [variorum edition of the whole work was published by Meibomius, included the valuable commentary of Menage and other illustrative matter.](#)
- 1887: [Usener has edited Book X. in Epicurea](#) (1887)
- 1922: Von der Muehl is the editor for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana of Epicuri epistulae ires et ratae sententiae a L. D. seruatae (Leipzig, 1922).

List of manuscripts online:

[Digitized Greek Manuscripts | Modern Language Translations of Byzantine Sources](#)  
[Digitized Greek Manuscripts](#)

---

## Post by “Joshua” of July 29, 2023 at 1:49 AM

Yeah, the transmission of Greek texts from the Arab world back into Europe where Latin was the *lingua franca* of the educated meant that there was a great desire to translate Greek into Latin.

The great printer and book maker Aldus Manutius (c. 1450 to 1515) wrote that part of his goal was to "inundate the reading public with Greek" and not settle for Latin translation. He felt that too many people were relying on Latin translations.

## Post by “Cassius” of July 29, 2023 at 6:40 AM

Are the Latin translations varying dramatically such as modern translations of Lucretius into English do, or do they tend to be largely latin word for latin word consistent?

---

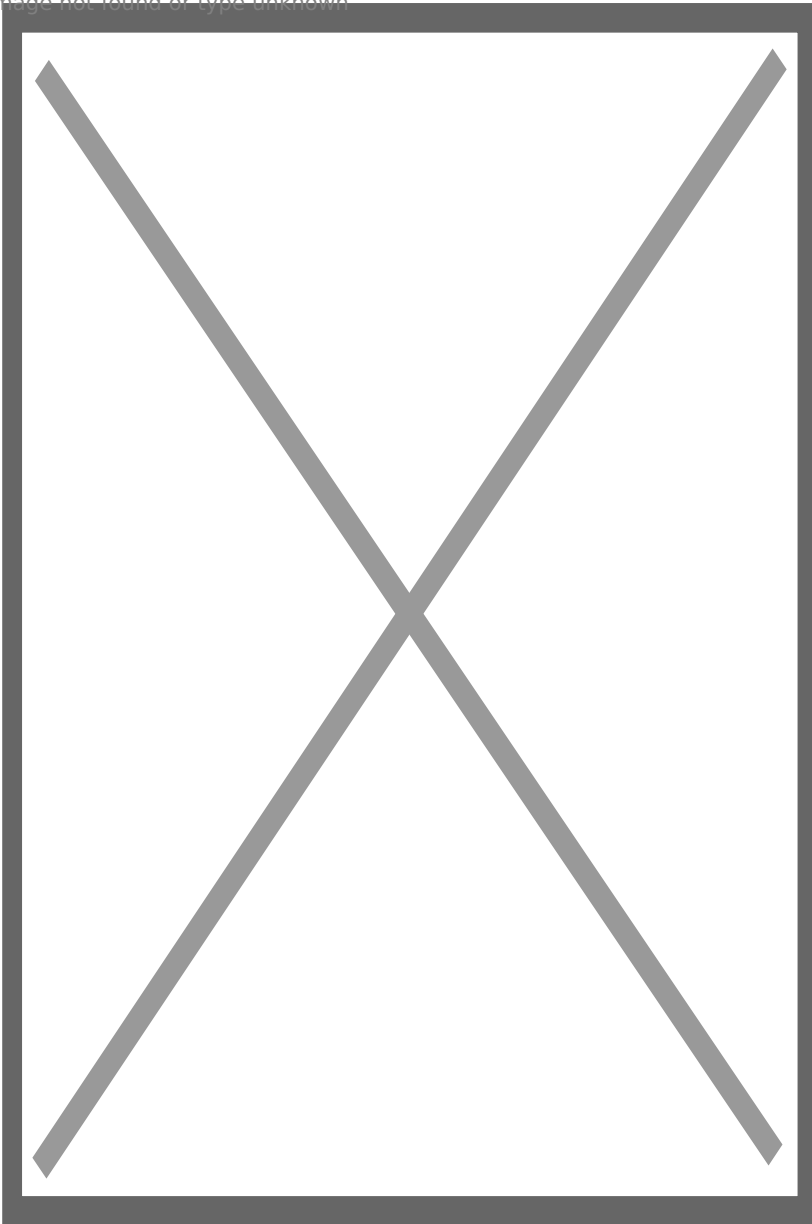
## Post by “Don” of July 29, 2023 at 6:50 AM

[Quote from Joshua](#)

Aldus Manutius (c. 1450 to 1515)

Trivia: Manutius' dolphin & anchor publishers mark was adopted as the symbol of the library science honor society ΒΦΜ.

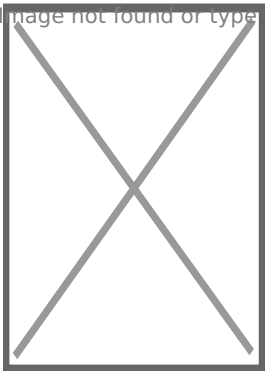
Image not found or type unknown



[Aldus Manutius - Wikipedia](#)

[en.wikipedia.org](https://en.wikipedia.org)

Image not found or type unknown



## Post by “Joshua” of July 29, 2023 at 11:11 AM

### Quote

Are the Latin translations varying dramatically such as modern translations of Lucretius into English do, or do they tend to be largely latin word for latin word consistent?

That's a good question that I don't have an answer to. In one of Poggio's letters to Niccolo Niccoli, the writer apologizes for his style--he was stuck in England reading Ecclesiastical Latin and did not, at the time, have access to the high Classical Latin of Cicero, Varro, Lucretius, Virgil, etc. So a Poggio or a Niccoli at the height of their powers would have attempted as far as possible to consciously imitate the style of the Late Republic, while many of their contemporaries will have written in a less polished register. This difference would affect everything from grammar and sentence structure to diction and spelling.

Montaigne, whose native language was Latin due to an unusual upbringing, complained that the Latin of the Renaissance had fallen so far below that of its antecedents.

### Quote

When I consider this, reiicit, pascit, inhians, molli, foveat, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit, and this noble circumfusa, mother of gentle infusus, I am vexed at these small points and verbal allusions, which since have sprung up. To those well-meaning [ancient] people there needed no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation: their speech is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: they are all epigram, not only taile, but head, stomacke, and feet. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenour.

He was referring to this passage from Lucretius:

-----belli fera munera Mavors

Armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se

Reiicit, aeterno devinctus vulnere amoris:

Pascit amore aridos inhians in te Dea visus,

Eque tuo endet resupini spiritus ore:

Hunc tu Diva tuo recubantem corpore sancto

Circumfusa super, suaveis ex ore loquelas

Funde.

Mars, mighty arm'd, rules the fierce feats of armes,

Yet often casts himselfe into thine armes,

Oblig'd thereto by endlesse wounds of love,

Gaping on thee feeds greedy sight with love,

His breath hangs at thy mouth who upward lies,

Goddesse thou circling him, while he so lies,

With thy celestiall body, speeches sweet

Montaigne continues:

Quote

This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and only without offence; it is sinnowie, materiall, and solid; not so much delighting, as filling and ravishing, and ravisheth most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behold these gallant formes of expressing, so lively, so nimble, so deepe, I say not this is to speake well, but to think well.

Translated into [English](#) by John Florio, 1603.

---

**Post by “Cassius” of July 29, 2023 at 11:28 AM**

[Quote from Joshua](#)

That's a good question that I don't have an answer to.

Yes after the first person translated Diogenes Laertius from Greek to Latin (for example) I would not necessarily expect a bunch of new writers to launch off into their own totally original versions, even though that is certainly possible if they did not have access to each others' work. It's not like they had the internet to circulate them.

It's probably worth speculating that the oldest Latin copies of Diogenes Laertius would be potential sources for "correction" to some of the difficult Greek passages. I would expect that the further you go back into the distant past that the Greek to Latin translation was made, the more it might be possible that the translators had access to other texts , or other sources of tradition about Epicurus, which now do not exist. Certainly that's a lot of speculation but it would be interesting to do such a comparison on difficult passages.

---

### **Post by “Don” of July 30, 2023 at 7:34 AM**

I've edited post 26 to include links to as many manuscripts and printed texts as I could find online. The consolidated list link at the bottom is a good catch-all. The fact that B is not available (as far as I can tell) is so frustrating! But I can have gratitude for what IS available.

(Edit: I've also posted the info to my profile; so, if anything new comes up, I'll be updating that one.)

---

### **Post by “Don” of July 31, 2023 at 7:22 PM**

FYI ..I was listening to an episode of the Data Over Dogma podcast today, and the host mentioned that verse numbers were added to the Bible in 1551. Before that, plain old paragraphs.

Which is interesting because it seems to PDs were also first numbered in the 1500s/early 1600s.

---

### **Post by “Cassius” of July 31, 2023 at 8:00 PM**

Very interesting. That somewhat predates the King James version.

Added in English? Or as we might suspect was this a German organization innovation?

---

### **Post by “Don” of August 1, 2023 at 11:52 AM**

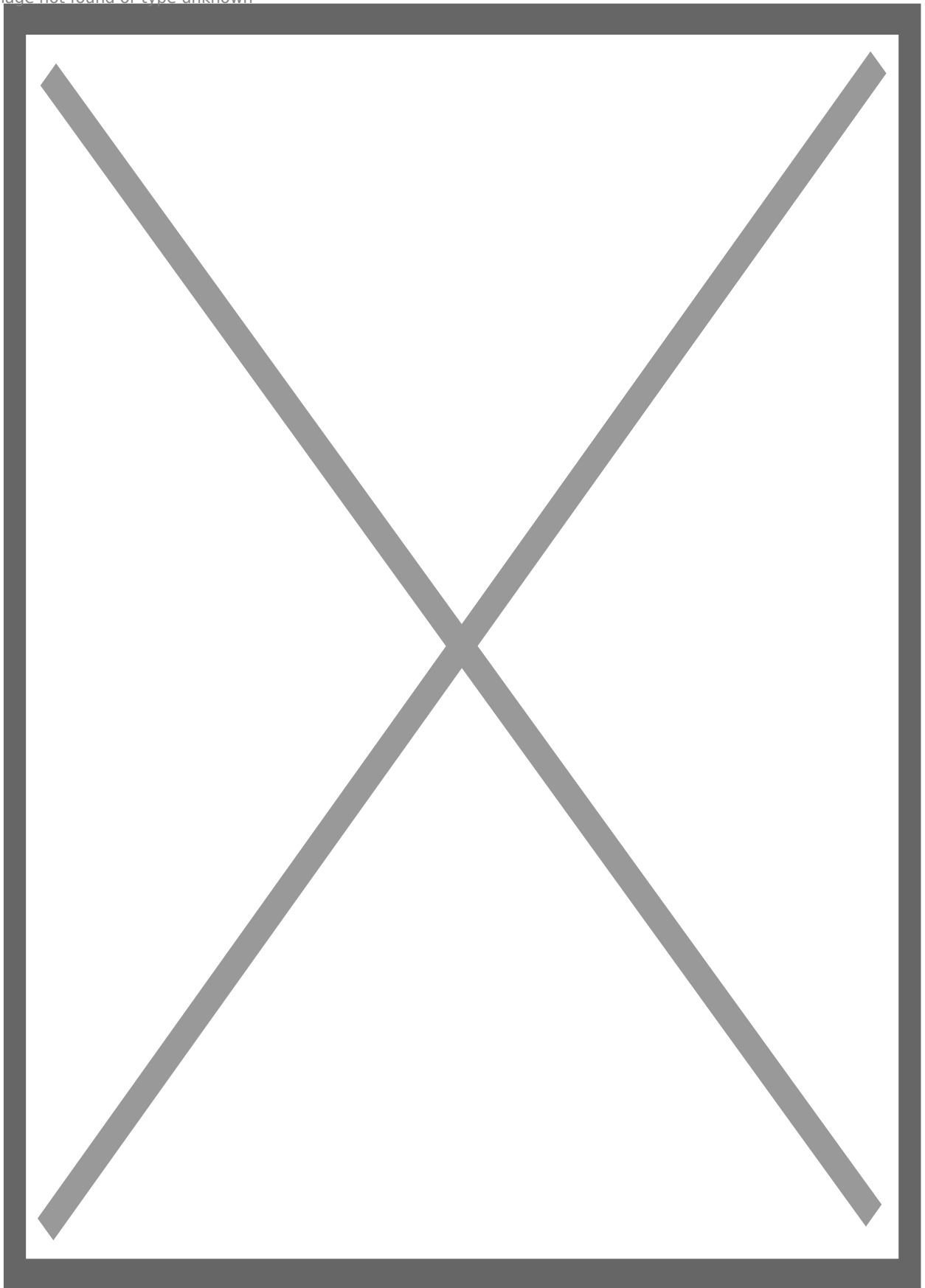
#### [Quote from Cassius](#)

Very interesting. That somewhat predates the King James version.

Added in English? Or as we might suspect was this a German organization innovation?

Good question. They didn't delve into that, although the topic was English translations. The Geneva Bible (an English translation) was the popular one, in addition to the Bishops Bible and Tyndale.

Image not found or type unknown



[Chapters and verses of the Bible - Wikipedia](#)

en.wikipedia.org

Note: I \*think\* Estienne also did a Diogenes Laertius edition?? Did he put the numbers in?? Note also there were originally 44 "principle doctrines" not 40 in earliest numbered system.

---

## Post by "Don" of August 2, 2023 at 12:00 AM

Following up on [a post of mine from Cassius' thread about PDs in narrative form](#) on a list of 44 PDs in a 1739 Greek/Latin translation:

I used a 1739 Greek with Latin translation to compare with the text at Perseus Digital Library:

1739: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nn...id=27021597768674761-1400>

Perseus Greek (DL, Book 10): <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/h...3Abook%3D10%3Achapter%3D1>

Perseus English (DL, Book 10): <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/h...3Abook%3D10%3Achapter%3D1>

I used the Greek text to compare with each other since 1739 had 44 [Principal Doctrines](#) and Perseus (i.e., Hicks, 1972) had the "normal" 40! I wanted to see what was different. And were there differences!! Starting at 44, I had to go all the way back to [PD18](#) to get the lists to coincide! Note that right there, [PD18](#) is split into two by the 1739 list. Some Hicks were divided by the 1739, a couple 1739's were combinations of Hicks, and so on. To follow the numbers, capital Roman numerals are the 1739 list, Arabic numerals are the Hicks (usual) translation PD numbers. So, XXIII/21 means that XXIII (i.e., 23) in the 1739 translation = [PD21](#) in the usual list we're all accustomed to. I also want to go back and research some more, because I seem to remember that an earlier book (16th century CE?) also had 44 in their list. My primary reason for posting this here is that the list of 40 that we're used to is by no means sacrosanct or was it originally the way to divide them up. And, I would contend, precisely because *Kyriai Doxai* was NOT divided into a list of discrete sayings. Also, the only reason I'm using Hicks is because it's easy to copy/paste. I don't necessarily agree with his translations.

For now, enjoy...

I/1. through XVII/17.

XVIII/18. Pleasure in the flesh admits no increase when once the pain of want has been removed ; after that it only admits of variation.

XIX. The limit of pleasure in the mind, however, is reached when we reflect on the things themselves and their congeners which cause the mind the greatest alarms.

XX/19. Unlimited time and limited time afford an equal amount of pleasure, if we measure the limits of that pleasure by reason.

XXI/20. [If] the flesh receives as unlimited the limits of pleasure; and to provide it requires unlimited time.

XXII. [If] the mind, grasping in thought what the end and limit of the flesh is, and banishing the terrors of futurity, procures a complete and perfect life, and has no longer any need of unlimited time. Nevertheless it does not shun pleasure, and even in the hour of death, when ushered out of existence by circumstances, the mind does not lack enjoyment of the best life.

XXIII/21. through XXV/23. then...

XXVI/24. If you reject absolutely any single sensation without stopping to discriminate with respect to that which awaits confirmation between matter of opinion and that which is already present, whether in sensation or in feelings or in any presentative perception of the mind, you will throw into confusion even the rest of your sensations by your groundless belief and so you will be rejecting the standard of truth altogether.

XXVII. If in your ideas based upon opinion you hastily affirm as true all that awaits confirmation as well as that which does not, you will not escape error, as you will be maintaining complete ambiguity whenever it is a case of judging between right and wrong opinion.

XXVIII/25.

NOTE: [PD26](#) appears as alternative text for XXXII below!

(ALTERNATE TEXT for XXIX, combines text from [PD27](#). and [PD28](#). from Perseus: Ὡν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὄλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγισόν ἐσιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις. καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὠρισμένοις ἀσφάλειαν φιλίαις μάλισα κτησεὶ δεῖ νομιζεῖν συντελουμένην. XXIX. Ex iis, quae ad totius vitae beatitudinem sapientia comparat, longe maxima est amicitiae possessio. Et in mediocribus opibus securitatem, amicitiae possessione maxime perfici putandum est. Google Translate: Of those which wisdom brings to the happiness of the whole life, the possession of friendship is by far the greatest. And in moderate wealth security is to be thought best accomplished by the possession of friendship.)

(ALTERNATE TEXT for XXX: λ'. Ἡ αὐτὴ γνῶμη θάρρειν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθεν αἰωνιον εἶναι δεινον, μηδε πολυχρονιον. XXX. Eadem sententia confidentiam parit, quod nullum sit aeternum malum, neque diurnum. Google Translate: The same sentence gives birth to confidence that there is no eternal evil, nor long-lasting.)

XXXI/29. Of our desires some are natural and necessary ; others are natural, but not necessary ; others, again, are neither natural nor necessary, but are due to illusory opinion. [Epicurus regards as natural and necessary desires which bring relief from pain, as e.g. drink when we are thirsty ; while by natural and not necessary he means those which merely diversify the pleasure without removing the pain, as e.g. costly viands ; by the neither natural nor necessary he means desires for crowns and the erection of statues in one's honour.--Schol.]

(ALTERNATIVE TEXT for XXXII from [PD26](#): λβ'. Των επιθυμιων ὅσαι μη ἐπ' ἀλγουν ἐπαναγουσιν εἰαν μὴ συμπληρωθῶσιν οὐκ εἰσιν ἀναγκαιαί, ἀλλ' ἐθδιαχυτον τὴν ὀρεξιν ἐχουσιν, ὅταν δυστοριζοι, ἢ βλαβῆς ἀπργαζικαί, δοξῶσιν εἶναι. XXXII. Cupiditates illae; quae dolorem non inducunt, si consummatae non fuerint, non sunt necessariae: sed adpetitum habent, qui facile dissipetur, quoties paratu difficiles, aut detrimenti effectrices esse videantur. Google Latin translate: Those desires; which do not cause pain, if they have not been completed, they are not necessary: but they have an appetite, which is easily dissipated, whenever they appear to be difficult in preparation, or productive of harm.)

XXXIII/30. Those natural desires which entail no pain when not gratified, though their objects are vehemently pursued, are also due to illusory opinion ; and when they are not got rid of, it is not because of their own nature, but because of the man's illusory opinion.

XXXIV/31. through XXXIX/36.

XL/37. Among the things accounted just by conventional law, whatever in the needs of mutual intercourse is attested to be expedient, is thereby stamped as just, whether or not it be the same for all.

XLI. For in case any law is made and does not prove suitable to the expediencies of mutual intercourse, then this is no longer just. And should the expediency which is expressed by the law vary and only for a time correspond with the prior conception, nevertheless for the time being it was just, so long as we do not trouble ourselves about empty words, but look simply at the facts.

XLII/38. through XLIV/40.

---

## **Post by “Cassius” of August 2, 2023 at 2:41 AM**

Thank you for all that work Don! Seems clear that the numbering needs major reevaluation.

---

## **Post by “Eikadistes” of August 2, 2023 at 11:42 AM**

I just wanted to share an early draft of my attempt. Ignore the translations and groupings; I am still fine-tuning them. Mainly, I meant to to copy the visual styles of my preferred copy of the Bible (The *NRSV*). Here are the first two pages:



---

## Post by "Cassius" of August 2, 2023 at 12:24 PM

Looks great!

---

## Post by "Don" of August 2, 2023 at 1:29 PM

### [Quote from Nate](#)

I just wanted to share an early draft of my attempt. Ignore the translations and groupings; I am still fine-tuning them. Mainly, I meant to to copy the visual styles of my preferred copy of the Bible (The *NRSV*). Here are the first two pages:



That is a gorgeous format. What software did you use? That's exactly the kind of thing I had in mind.

---

### **Post by “Eikadistes” of August 2, 2023 at 1:43 PM**

[Quote from Don](#)

[Quote from Nate](#)

That is a gorgeous format. What software did you use? That's exactly the kind of thing I had in mind.

Thank you!

I use Apache OpenOffice. I dusted off my NRSV and tried to replicate it exactly. The strangest thing I had to learn is that making the first number of the paragraph two-lines tall is called a "Drop Case", and that's standard in Office 365 as well. The other tiny numbers are "Superscripts", and the title is kept in a single column, versus the double-columned body.

---

### **Post by “Cassius” of August 2, 2023 at 2:02 PM**

The format is definitely gorgeous. The only real apprehension I have is to the use of headings. No doubt at all they are useful, but in getting rid of the issues that come from extreme segmentation, it would be good not to introduce another potential source of prejudice to the texts with our selection of headings that might make sense to us but might not ring exactly true ---- but which in any case were not in the original.

Probably on balance some kind of headings are appropriate, but it probably makes sense to be very conservative in labeling.

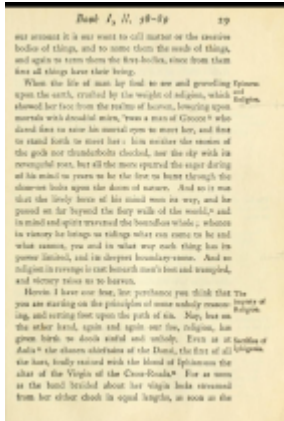
Of course anyone putting together their own format can and should make any design decisions that they feel is appropriate. I'm making this post not to criticize anything I see in the mockup but mainly to be sure that this aspect gets the discussion it deserves too.

---

### **Post by “Cassius” of August 2, 2023 at 2:06 PM**

Same issues go with the letters to Herodotus and Pythocles. They cry out for some kind of organizational headings, but we face the same decisions. Not really suggesting this but perhaps the formats some of the older books use where they put italicized headings in the right or left margin, which isolates them from the text?

Sort of like this from Bailey's Lucretius:



---

## Post by “Don” of August 2, 2023 at 2:45 PM

I'm a sucker for chapter and verse. I was going to suggest chapter numbers instead of headers so we could have things like Principle Doctrines 2:5 but that's just me. The idea of marginal topics is a nice idea.

---

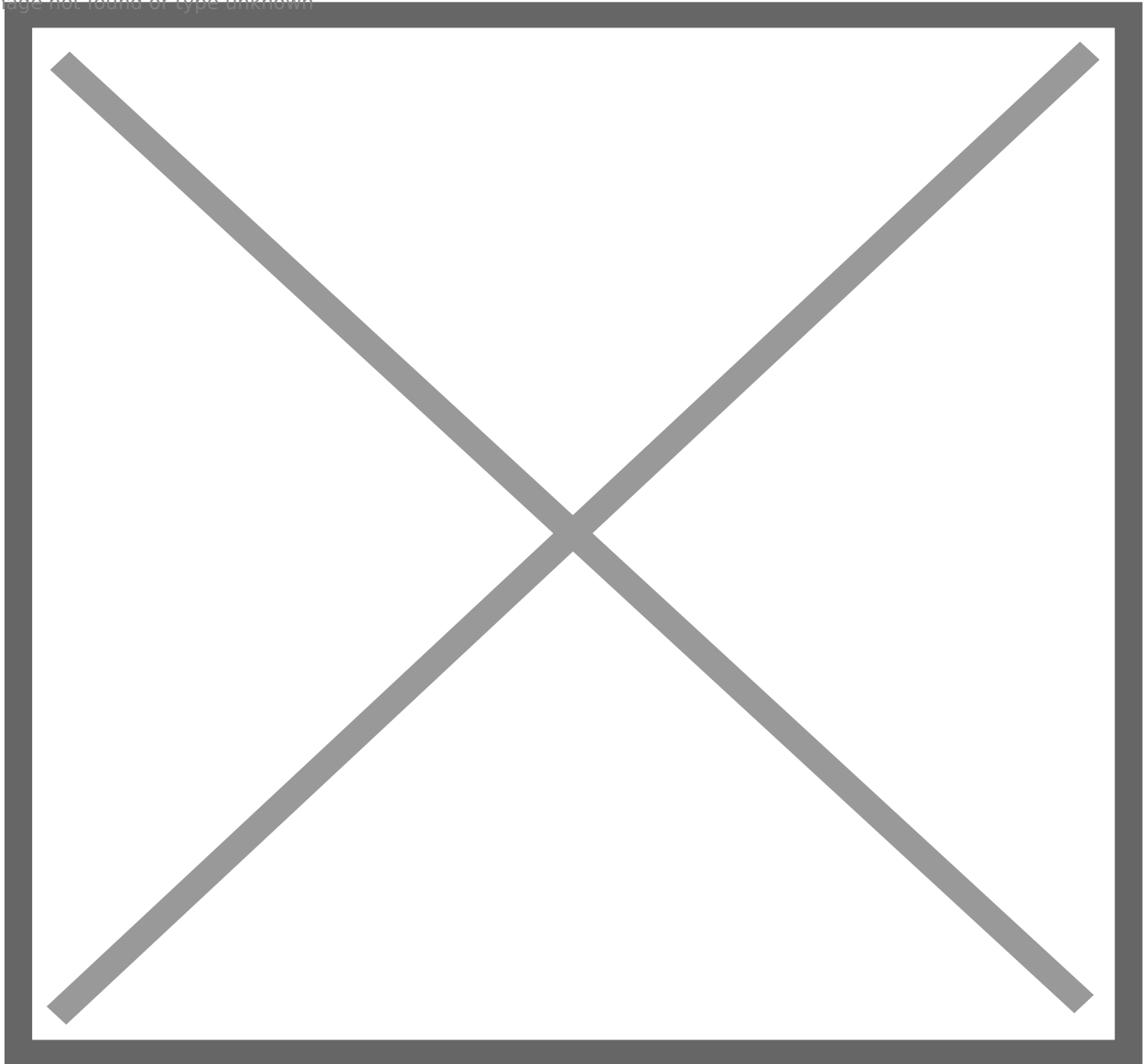
## Post by “Cassius” of August 2, 2023 at 2:45 PM

For what it is worth, I recently came across this "side-note" formatting popularized by someone named Tufte that apparently has a following, and can also be implemented in web formats:

[Tufte CSS](#)

[A la tufte](#)

Image not found or type unknown



[GitHub - edwardtufte/tufte-css: Style your webpage like Edward Tufte's handouts.](#)

Style your webpage like Edward Tufte's handouts. Contribute to edwardtufte/tufte-css development by creating an account on GitHub.

github.com



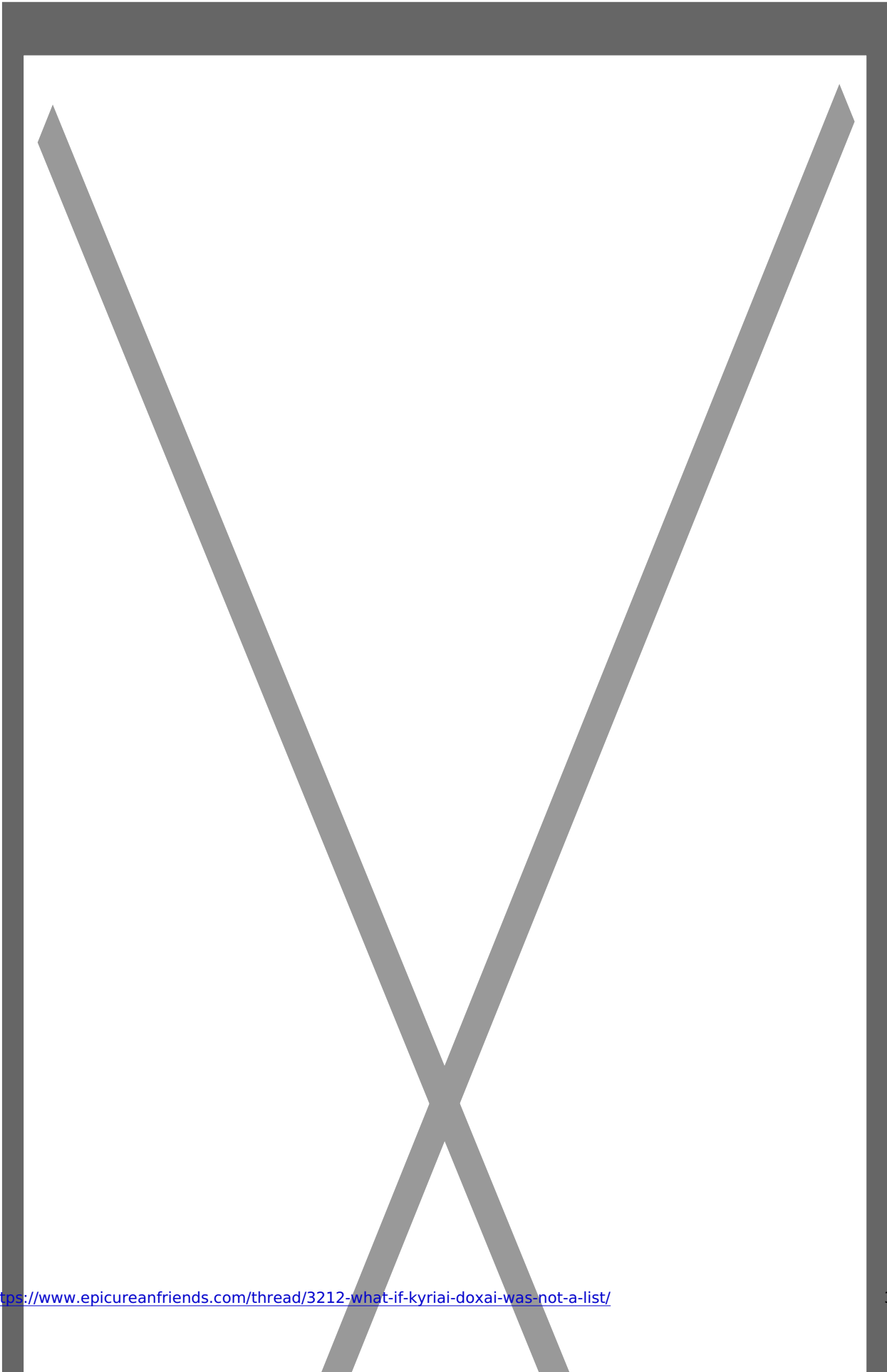
Apparently a lot of the steam behind Tufte-style formatting is that "sidenotes" are easier to reference without losing one's place in the text than are footnotes or endnotes. Makes sense.

---

## Post by “Don” of August 2, 2023 at 3:46 PM

Tufte's the Big Dog when it comes to data visualization.

Image not found or type unknown



## Post by “Cassius” of August 2, 2023 at 7:22 PM

### [Quote from Don](#)

Tufte's the Big Dog when it comes to data visualization.

Thanks for letting me know that as I shall now try to read further into it.

"Data visualization" is a term that seems closely related to what we need to do to effectually drive home the big picture lessons.

---

## Post by “Eikadistes” of August 3, 2023 at 12:27 PM

### [Quote from Don](#)

In a sucker for chapter and verse. I was going to suggest chapter numbers instead of headers so we could have things like Principle Doctrines 2:5 but that's just me. The idea of marginal topics is a nice idea.

I really like the idea of using the Chapter:Verse designation if we can organize it appropriately. Groupings will risk subjectivity since they were not part of the original format, but I think they can be helpful to students (no different than translators of the Bible grouping things together for coherence).

I think [Don](#) is probably noticing some of the same linguistic devices that lead to natural groupings that I am. For example, KD 9-11 all being with conditional statements related to pleasure "If... then...". The same is true of 23-25 (I am not proposing that these should necessarily be grouped together, but they employ the same rhetorical structure).

I like grouping 27 and 28 together because they explicitly deal with **friendship**.

The last 10 dealing with **Justice** might justify being their own group, but, even so, 36 and 37 have the same structure.

I am curious to see how everyone would group these if tasked to do so.

---

## Post by “Don” of August 7, 2023 at 11:14 PM

I had the thought this evening that with some of the Vatican Sayings being copies (or near copies) of passages from Kyriai Doxai ([Principal Doctrines](#)), it would be good to compare what order the VS gives the KDs that it includes. Furthermore, we can probably confirm that the VS/KD passages were also "standalone" passages in KD itself. Also, we read the Vatican Sayings (or as they're titled in the manuscript, "Epicurus's Declaration") in isolation because they are headed that way, with red initial letters. Maybe we should examine them to for any similar groups of like topics. Translations are Saint-Andre's.

Note that, as usual, the correct idea of the gods is first! Just like Principle Doctrines, just like the letter to Menoikeus.

VS = KD

1 = 1

That which is blissful and immortal has no troubles itself, nor does it cause trouble for others, so that it is not affected by anger or gratitude (for all such things come about through weakness).

2 = 2

[Death is nothing to us](#); for what has disintegrated lacks awareness, and what lacks awareness is nothing to us.

3 = 4

Pain does not last continuously in the flesh; instead, the sharpest pain lasts the shortest time, a pain that exceeds bodily pleasure lasts only a few days, and diseases that last a long time involve delights that exceed their pains.

5 = 5

It is not possible to live joyously without also living wisely and beautifully and rightly, nor to live wisely and beautifully and rightly without living joyously; and whoever lacks this cannot live joyously.

6 = 25

If at all critical times you do not connect each of your actions to the natural goal of life, but instead turn too soon to some other kind of goal in thinking whether to avoid or pursue something, then your thoughts and your actions will not be in harmony.

8 = 15

Natural wealth is both limited and easy to acquire, but the riches incited by groundless opinion have no end.

12 = 17

One who acts aright is utterly steady and serene, whereas one who goes astray is full of trouble and confusion.

13 = 27

Of all the things that wisdom provides for the complete happiness of one's entire life, by far the greatest is friendship.

20 = 29

Among desires, some are natural and necessary, some are natural and unnecessary, and some are unnatural and unnecessary (arising instead from groundless opinion).

22 = 19

Finite time and infinite time contain the same amount of joy, if its limits are measured out through reasoning.

49 = 12

It is impossible for someone who is completely ignorant about nature to wash away his fears about the most important matters if he retains some suspicions about the myths. So it is impossible to experience undiluted enjoyment without studying what is natural.

50 = 8

No pleasure is bad in itself; but the means of paying for some pleasures bring with them disturbances many times greater than the pleasures themselves.

72 = 13

It is useless to be safe from other people while retaining suspicions about what is above and below the earth and in general about the infinite unknown.

---

**Post by “Don” of August 18, 2023 at 11:13 PM**

I decided to correlate the Kyriai Doxai excerpts from Diogenes of Oenoanda's inscription to see what order they appear there as far as we can tell.

The excerpts from Kyriai Doxai that appear in the inscription appear to be in the following order:

PD1

PD2

PD6 & PD8 (combined)

[PD10](#)

PD3

[PD13](#)

PD5

[PD29](#)

[PD25](#)

[PD32](#)

PD4

[PD16](#)

In trying to see any parallels with the Vatican Sayings, here is the correlated list again from there:

VS = KD

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 4

5 = 5

6 = 25

8 = 15

12 = 17

13 = 27

20 = 29

22 = 19

49 = 12

50 = 8

72 = 13

Note that PD1 and PD2 are ALWAYS first!

PD4, [PD13](#), [PD25](#), [PD29](#) are separated in each list, so they must be considered separate sayings.

Interesting that PD6 & PD8 are combined in Oenoanda but separate in Vatican Sayings.

One must also keep in mind that not all the Oenoanda fragments have been found, too!

Without further ado...

The Kyriai Doxai excerpts currently known in the inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda

The following format is:

1. PD covered (ex. \* PD1)

2. Text as it appears in the inscription translation at [http://www.english.enoanda.cat/the\\_inscription.html](http://www.english.enoanda.cat/the_inscription.html)

3. Greek text as it appears from <https://papyri.info/dclp/865216>

4. Hicks' Greek transcription (and a couple translations) from Perseus at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?do...0%3Achapter%3D1>

\* PD1

Fr. 29 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 1)

[The blessed and imperishable being] neither experiences troubles itself nor causes it to another, [so that it is not affected by feelings either anger or of favour; for it is to the weak that such emotions belong.]

fragment 29NF207 column margin

[τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρ]τον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχ[ει], ὥστε οὔτ' ὀργαῖς vac. 1 οὔτε χάρισιν συνέχεται· ἐν ἀσθεν[εῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον]

Hicks

Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὔτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει, ὥστε οὔτε ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται: ἐν ἀσθενεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον.

NOTE: No scholion in Diogenes O's inscription (or one that survives)

\* PD2

Fr. 30 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 2)

[Death] is nothing to us; for what has been dissolved is without sensation, [and what is without sensation is nothing to us.]

fragment 146 column 1

[ὁ θάνατος οὐδέν]

[πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἡ ψυχὴ γάρ,]

[ἐμεῖ τάχιστα ἤκομεν]

[εἰς τὰ τέρματα ἀμετα-]

5[κείνητα βέβ]αιά θ' ἄ εσ-

[τιν τὸ πέρ]ας φυσικοῦ

[βίου, διαλύε]ται. vac. 1

□ vac. 1

HICKS

Ὁ θάνατος οὐδέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς: τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ: τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

\* PD6 & PD8

Fr. 32 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 6, 😎)

[For the purpose of gaining security from men government and kingship are a natural good, so long as] this end can be procured [from them].

No pleasure is intrinsically bad; but the] means for achieving some pleasures [involve disturbances] that are far, [outweigh the pleasures.]

fragment 38 column margin

[ἔνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν ποτε οἴός τ' ἦ τοῦτο παρασκευ[άζε]σθαι. vac. 1 [οὐδεμία ἡδ]ονὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν κα[κόν· ἀλλὰ τὰ] ποιητικὰ ἐνίων ἡδονῶν πολλα[α]πλ[α]σί[ους] ὀχλήσεις ἐπιφέρει τῶν ἡδονῶν].

HICKS

[fl.] Ἐνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἦν κατὰ φύσιν [ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας] ἀγαθόν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν ποτε τοῦθ' οἴός τ' ἦ παρασκευάζεσθαι.

[flil.] Οὐδεμία ἡδονὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ κακόν: ἀλλὰ τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικὰ πολλαπλασίου ἐπιφέρει τὰς ὀχλήσεις τῶν ἡδονῶν.

\* [PD10](#)

Fr. 33 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 10)

[If the things which are productive of pleasures for debauchees dispelled the minds' fears about celestial phenomena and death and pains, and moreover taught the limit of desires] and of pains, we should have no reason to [censure such people], since they would be seated [with pleasures from every side] and [would] not [experience either mental] or physical pain —[pain which is the evil.]

fragment 33NF128 column margin

[εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τοὺς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ] τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐδίδασκε, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι [μεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς], παντα[χό]θεν ἐκπληρ[ο]υμέν[οις] τῶ[ν] ἡδο[ν]ῶν καὶ οὔτε τὸ λυπούμεν[ο]ν οἴ[ε]ται τὸ ἀλγοῦ[ν] ἔχουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.]

HICKS

[χ.] Εἰ τὰ ποιητικὰ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀσώτους ἡδονῶν ἔλυε τοὺς φόβους τῆς διανοίας τοὺς τε περὶ μετεώρων καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀλγηδόνων, ἔτι τε τὸ πέρας τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐδίδασκεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴχομεν ὅ τι ἐμεμψάμεθα αὐτοῖς, πανταχόθεν εἰσπληρουμένοις τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε τὸ ἀλγοῦν οὔτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἔχουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν.

\* PD3

Fr. 34 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 3)

[The quantitative limit of pleasure is the] removal of all pain. [Whoever experiences pleasure, so long as it continues, cannot ever be troubled] by pain of body or of mind or [of both together].

fragment 40 column margin

[ὄρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ τοῦ ἀλγ]οῦντος ἅπαντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. [οἷς δ' ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῆ, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ἦ, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὀχλοῖν]το τῷ ἀλγοῦντι ἢ λυπούμενῳ ἢ συ[ναμφοτέρῳ.]

HICKS

[ιι.] Ὅρος τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἢ παντὸς τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ὑπεξαίρεσις. ὅπου δ' ἂν τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐνῆ, καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ἦ, οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἀλγοῦν ἢ τὸ λυπούμενον ἢ τὸ συναμφοτέρον.

\* [PD13](#)

Fr. 35 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 3)

There would be [no] advantage [in securing protection against our fellow-men so long as phenomena above and below the earth and in general whatever happens in the boundless universe were matters of suspicion].

fragment 41 column margin

[οὐθὲ]ν ἦν ὄφελο[ς τὴν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρω].

HICKS

[χιι.] Οὐθὲν ὄφελος ἦν τὴν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀσφάλειαν κατασκευάζεσθαι τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑπόπτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρω.

\* PD5

Fr. 37 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 5)

[It is impossible to live pleasantly without living prudently] and honourably and justly, and it is impossible to live prudently and honourably and justly [without living pleasantly. If a man lacks these qualities, it is impossible for him to live pleasantly].

fragment 43 column margin

[οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμ]ως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, □ vac. 1□ οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. ὅτω δὲ τοῦτο· μὴ ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ἡδέως ζῆν.]

HICKS

[f.] Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, <οὐδὲ φρονίμως καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως> ἄνευ τοῦ ἡδέως. ὅτω δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὑπάρχει ἐξ οὗ ζῆν φρονίμως, καὶ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον ἡδέως ζῆν.

\* [PD29](#)

Fr. 39 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 29 = Sent. Vat. 20)

[Of the desires, some are natural and necessary; others] natural, but [not necessary]; and others neither natural nor [necessary, but the products of idle fancy.]

fragment 45 column margin

[τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι φυσικαὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ φυσ[ι]καὶ γὰρ [οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι] δέ· □ vac. 1□  
αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ ο[ὐ]τ[ε] ἀναγκαῖαι, παρὰ δ[ὲ] κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι.]

HICKS

[χχιχ.] Τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι φυσικαὶ <καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ> καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι· αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτ' ἀναγκαῖαι ἀλλὰ παρὰ κενὴν δόξαν γινόμεναι. NOTE: No scholion on Diogenes' inscription

\* [PD25](#)

Fr. 40 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 25)

[If you do not at all the times refer each of your actions to the natural end, but instead, when making a choice or avoidance, turn aside to adopt some other criterion, your actions will not be in conformity with your principles].

fragment 46 column margin

[εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπαν[ο]ίσεις ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἴτε φυγὴν εἴτε δίωξιν ποιούμενος εἰς ἄλλο τι, οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι τοῖς λόγοις αἱ πράξεις ἀκόλουθοι.]

HICKS

[χχψ.] Εἰ μὴ παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπανοίσεις ἕκαστον τῶν πραττομένων ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ προκαταστρέψεις εἴτε φυγὴν εἴτε δίωξιν ποιούμενος εἰς ἄλλο τι, οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι τοῖς λόγοις αἱ πράξεις ἀκόλουθοι.

\* [PD32](#)

Fr. 43 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 32)

For [all those animals which could not make compacts not to harm one another or] be harmed, nothing is either [just or indeed unjust. And the same is true of all those peoples which could not or would not to make compacts not to harm or not to be harmed].

fragment 50 column margin

[ὄσα τῶν ζώων μὴ ἐδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν ἄλληλα μηδὲ β]λάπτεσθαι, □ vac. 1□ πρὸς [τα]ῦτ' οὐθὲν ἐστιν οὔτ[ε] δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἄδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὄσα μὴ ἐδύνατο ἢ μὴ ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι].

HICKS

[χχχιι.] Ὅσα τῶν ζώων μὴ ἠδύνατο συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν ἄλλα μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐθὲν ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ ἄδικον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὄσα μὴ ἠδύνατο ἢ μὴ ἐβούλετο τὰς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βλάπτειν μηδὲ βλάπτεσθαι.

\* PD4

Fr. 44 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 4)

[Pain in the flesh does not last continuously: extreme pain is present a very short time; pain which only just outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last many days; and chronic illnesses] permit a preponderance of pleasure over pain in the flesh.

fragment 51 column margin

[οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἠδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαίνει. αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἠδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἢ περ τὸ ἀλγ[οῦν].

HICKS

[ιf.] Οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἠδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμμένει.212 αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἠδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἢ περ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.

HICKS

4. Continuous pain does not last long in the flesh ; on the contrary, pain, if extreme, is present a very short time, and even that degree of pain which barely outweighs pleasure in the flesh does not last for many days together. Illnesses of long duration even permit of an excess of pleasure over pain in the flesh.

\* [PD16](#)

Fr. 49 lower margin (Epic. Sent. 16, cf. Fr. 71.II.9-13)

[It is seldom that chance impedes a wise man: it is] reason [which has controlled the] greatest and most important matters, [and which controls and will control them throughout the whole course of life.]

fragment 56 column margin

[βραχέα σοφῶ τύχη παρενπίπτει, τὰ δὲ] μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς [διώκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικῆσει.]

HICKS

[χφι.] Βραχέα σοφῶ τύχη παρεμπίπτει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα ὁ λογισμὸς διώκηκε καὶ κατὰ τὸν συνεχῆ χρόνον τοῦ βίου διοικεῖ καὶ διοικῆσει.

Fr. 50 lower margin (from Epic. Sent. 37?)

.... and whether not ....

NOTE: I'm not convinced with this one but include it here for further research.

---

### Post by “Cassius” of August 19, 2023 at 7:17 AM

Again thank you for all the work spent in doing that Don!

---

### Post by “Kalosyni” of August 19, 2023 at 10:13 AM



---

### Post by “burninglights” of August 19, 2023 at 11:30 AM

---

## Post by “Don” of June 4, 2025 at 11:06 PM

File

### [Kyria Doxai Comparison](#)

This sheet grew out of the interest to understand Kyriai Doxai (Principal Doctrines) as a text and not a "list."



Don

June 4, 2025 at 11:03 PM

Check out the link above. The file was too big to add here as an attachment.

Using the posts above, especially the one on the 1739 text with 44 "doctrines," I've composed a spreadsheet comparing the various texts that contain sections of [Principal Doctrines](#).

I've sorted the PDF spreadsheet to show the 1739 text and not the usual translation. It's a bit of any eye opener. As for the English, I've used a combo of Hicks, Saint-Andre, and Google Translate to allow me not to get attached to one translation.

Thoughts welcomed.

---

## Post by “Cassius” of June 5, 2025 at 6:59 AM

thanks for that work Don! Do we know anything about the history behind the 1739 version versus the one that is used now? And also is it purely a matter of arrangement or are there significant textual differences too?

---

## Post by “Don” of June 5, 2025 at 7:12 AM

For ease of reference, here's the post above with the 1739 information and texts link:

<https://www.epicureanfriends.com/thread/3212-what-if-kyriai-doxai-was-not-a-list/>

Post

## **RE: What if Kyriai Doxai was NOT a list?**

Following up on [a post of mine from Cassius' thread about PDs in narrative form](#) on a list of 44 PDs in a 1739 Greek/Latin translation:

I used a 1739 Greek with Latin translation to compare with the text at Perseus Digital Library:

1739: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nn...id=27021597768674761-1400>

Perseus Greek (DL, Book 10): <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/h...3Abook%3D10%3Achapter%3D1>

Perseus English (DL, Book 10): <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/h...3Abook%3D10%3Achapter%3D1>

I used the Greek text to compare...



Don

August 2, 2023 at 12:00 AM

There are textual variations. The book is an edition in Latin and Greek of Diogenes Laertius.

Here's the beginning of that Book 10:

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.0021060738&seq=1203>

It's listed in this bibliography of Laertius:

<https://www.ontologia.co/pdf/diogenes-laertius-editions.pdf>