

The Awake and Sober Man: A Key Motif in the Rhetoric of Conversion of (Hellenistic) Stoicism

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2. Physical Claims about Sleep and Drunkenness and their relevance in Ethics in the Hellenistic Stoics

- a) *D.L. 7.158 (SVF 2.766):* τὸν δὲ ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τόνου περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τροπὰς.

Sleep is caused, they say, by the slackening of the tension of our senses, round the ruling part of the soul. They consider that the passions are caused by the changes of the vital breath.

- b) *D.L. 7.159 (SVF 2.837):* εἶναι δ’ αὐτὸ Χρύσιππος φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Φυσικῶν πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, [...]. τὸ δὲ τῆς Θηλείας ἄγονον ἀποφαίνονται· ἄτονόν τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ ὕδατῶδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρος φησιν.

Chrysippus in the second book of his Physics mentions that semen to be identical in substance with vital breath [...]. That of the female is according to them (Sphaerus and his followers) sterile, since it lacks of tension, and is scanty and watery.

- c) *Galen, de H. et Plat. decr. 4.6.2-3 (SVF 3.473; LS 65T):* ὅσα γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πράττουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν εἰς μοχθηρὰν κρίσιν ἀναφέρει, τὰ δ’ εἰς ἀτονίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ὧν κατορθοῦσιν ἢ ὀρθῆ κρίσις ἐξηγεῖται μετὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐτονίας, ἀλλὰ τοιούτων ὥσπερ ἡ κρίσις ἔργον ἐστὶ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, οὕτως ἡ εὐτονία ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετὴ δυνάμεως ἐτέρας παρὰ τὴν λογικὴν, ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Χρύσιππος ὀνομάζει τόνον, ἀφίστασθαί τε φησιν ἔστιν ὅτε τῶν ὀρθῶς ἐγνωσμένων ἡμῖν ἐνδόντος τοῦ τόνου τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μὴ παραμείναντος ἕως παντός μηδ’ ἐξυπηρετήσαντος τοῖς τοῦ λόγου προστάγμασιν [...].

Some of men's wrong actions are referred by Chrysippus to faulty judgement, others to the soul's lack of tension and its weakness, just as their right actions are guided by right judgement together with the soul's tensions.... He says there are times when we give up right decisions because the soul's tension gives in, and does not persist till the end or fully execute the commands of reason.

- d) *D.L. 7.110-111 (SVF 3.412.)*: ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἢ ἄλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὀρμὴ πλεονάζουσα. Τῶν δὲ παθῶν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθά φησιν Ἐκάτων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν. δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθά φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν· ἢ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψις ἔστι τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἡ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλα.

Passion, or emotion, is defined by Zeno as an irrational and unnatural movement in the soul, or again as impulse in excess. The main, or most universal, emotions, according to Hecato in his treatise *On the Passions*, second book, and Zeno in his treatise with the same title, constitute four great classes, grief, fear, desire or craving, pleasure. They hold the emotions to be judgements, as is stated by Chrysippus in his treatise *On the Passions*: avarice being a supposition that money is a good, while the case is akin with drunkenness and profligacy and all the other emotions.

- e) *D.L. 7.50 (SVF 1.59)*: Διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα· φάντασμα μὲν γὰρ ἔστι δόκησις διανοίας οἷα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου, φαντασία δὲ ἔστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τούτεστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται.

There is a difference between the impression and the phantasma. The phantasma is a semblance in the mind such as may occur in sleep, while the impression is the act of imprinting something on the soul, that is a process of change, as is presented by Chrysippus in the second book of his treatise *Of the Soul*.

3. Wakefulness and Soberness as Positive Physical-Psychic Conditions in the Hellenistic Stoics

- a) Cicero, *Div. 2.61.126*: Illud etiam requiro, cur, si deus ista visa nobis providendi causa dat, non vigilantibus potius det quam dormientibus? Sive enim externus et adventicius pulsus animos dormientium commovet, sive per se ipsi animi moventur, sive quae causa alia est cur secundum quietem aliquid videre, audire, agere videamur, eadem causa vigilantibus esse poterat; idque si nostra causa di secundum quietem facerent, vigilantibus idem facerent, praesertim cum Chrysippus Academicos **refellens permulto clariora et certiora esse dicat quae vigilantibus videantur quam quae somniantibus.**

I also ask, if God gives us these visions as forewarnings, why does he not give them to us when we are awake rather than when we are asleep? For, whether our souls in sleep are impelled by some external and foreign force; or whether they are self-moved; or whether there is some other cause why, during sleep, we imagine ourselves seeing or hearing, or doing certain things—whatever the cause, it would apply just as well when we are awake. If the gods did send us warnings in our sleep and for our

good they would do the same for us when we are awake, especially since, as Chrysippus says in replying to the Academicians, appearances seen when we are awake are much more distinct and trustworthy than those seen in dreams.

- b) *D.L. 7.118 (SVF 3.644)*: Ἀκιβδήλους **τοὺς σπουδαίους** φυλακτικούς τ' εἶναι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτοὺς παριστάνειν, διὰ παρασκευῆς τῆς τὰ φαῦλα μὲν ἀποκρυπτούσης, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα ἀγαθὰ φαίνεσθαι ποιούσης. ἀπλάστους τε· περιηρηκέναι γὰρ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τῷ εἶδει. ἀπράγμονάς τ' εἶναι· ἐκκλίνειν γὰρ τὸ πράττειν τι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον. **καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μὲν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δέ.**

The diligent man is careful and cautious about his own improvement, and lives according to a way of life which moves away from evil and makes what good there is in things appear. They are also free from pretence; for they have stripped off all pretence or falsehood whether in voice or in look. They are free too from all business cares, refusing to do anything contrary to duty. They will drink wine, but will not get drunk.

**See the anecdotal testimonies on Zeno's and Chrysippus's sobriety: D.L. 7.26-27; 7.183.*

4. A Follow-Up of a Hellenistic Tradition: Protreptic Usage of Wakefulness and Sobriety in the Imperial Stoa

4.1. To Wake Up and Be Sober: Askesis and Stoic Physical-Psychic Conversion

- a) *Epictetus, Diss. 3,10-11*: εἰ σε εὐτακτεῖν, ἀναγκοφαγεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων, γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ὥρα τεταγμένη, ἐν καύματι, ἐν ψύχει· **μὴ ψυχρὸν πίνειν, μὴ οἶνον ὅτ' ἔτυχεν**· ἀπλῶς ὡς ἰατρῶ γὰρ παραδεδωκέναι σεαυτὸν τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ· ἄλλος γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο τι πέφυκεν. δοκεῖς ὅτι ταῦτα ποιῶν δύνασαι φιλοσοφεῖν; δοκεῖς ὅτι δύνασαι ὡσαύτως ἐσθίειν, **ὡσαύτως πίνειν**, ὁμοίως ὀργίζεσθαι, ὁμοίως δυσαρεστεῖν; **ἀγρυπνήσαι δεῖ, πονῆσαι, νικῆσαι τινὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων**, [...].

You must accept the discipline, submit to a diet, abstain from eating cakes, train under orders, at a fixed time, in heat or cold, and you mustn't drink cold water or wine just as you wish; in short, you must give yourself up to your trainer as you would to a doctor. Do you suppose that you can act as you do at present and yet be a philosopher? Do you suppose that you can eat as you do, drink as you do, lose your temper as you do, and be as irritable as you are? You must stay up at night, toil away, overcome certain desires, become separated from those who are close to you [...].

- b) *Seneca, Lucil. 95.18;37 (in the context of drunkenness and sleepiness)*: [18] Immunes erant ab istis malis, qui nondum se deliciis solverant, qui sibi imperabant, sibi ministrabant. [37] Illis autem hebetibus et obtusis aut mala consuetudine obsessis diu robigo animorum effricanda est.

Men used to be free from the ills of drunkenness because they had not yet slackened their strength by indulgence, because they had control over themselves, and supplied

their own needs. [...], but your dull sluggish fellow, who is hampered by his evil habits, must have his soul incessantly rubbed off.

4.2. Wakefulness and Soberness as Conditions “According to Nature”

- a) *Marcus Aurelius, 8.12*: Ὅταν ἐξ ὕπνου δυσχερῶς ἐγείρη, ἀναμνησκου ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν σου ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξεις κοινωνικὰς ἀποδιδόναι, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων· ὁ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφυέστερον καὶ δὴ καὶ προσηνέστερον.

When you are reluctant to get up from your sleep, remind yourself that it is your constitution and man’s nature to perform social acts, whereas sleep is something you share with dumb animals. Now what accords with the nature of each being is thereby the more closely related to it, the more in its essence, and indeed the more to its linking.

4.3. To Wake and Sober Up from Sleep and Drunkenness as Images of Physical-Psychic Healing from the Faults of a Previous Way of Life

- a) *Seneca, Lucil., 53.7-8*: Non est quod mireris, Lucili carissime. Nam qui leviter dormit, et species secundum quietem capit et aliquando dormire se dormiens cogitat; gravis sopor etiam somnia extinguit animumque altius mergit, quam ut in ullo intellectu sui sit. Quare vitia sua nemo confitetur? **Quia etiam nunc in illis est; somnium narrare vigilantis est, et vitia sua confiteri sanitatis indicium est. Expergiscamur ergo, ut errores nostros coarguere possimus.** Sola autem nos philosophia excitabit, sola somnum excutiet gravem. Illi te totum dedica. Dignus illa es, illa digna te est; ite in complexum alter alterius. Omnibus aliis rebus te nega, fortiter, aperte. Non est quod precario philosopheris.

You needn’t feel surprised, my dearest Lucilius; a person sleeping lightly perceives impressions in his dreams and is sometimes, even, aware during sleep that he is asleep, whereas a heavy slumber blots out even dreams and plunges the mind too deep for consciousness of self. Why does no one admit his failings? Because he’s still deep in them. It’s the person who’s awakened who recounts his dream, and acknowledging one’s failing is a sign of health. So let us wake up, so that we may be able to demonstrate our errors. But only philosophy will wake us; only philosophy will shake us out of that heavy sleep.

- b) *Marcus Aurelius, 6.31*: Ἀνάγηφε καὶ ἀνακαλοῦ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἐξυπνισθεὶς πάλιν καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι ὄνειροί σοι ἠνώχλουν, πάλιν ἐγρηγορῶς βλέπε ταῦτα, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἔβλεπες.

Sober up, recall yourself, shake off sleep once more: realize they were mere dreams that troubled you, and now that you are awake again look on these things as you would have looked on a dream.

5. Conclusions and Open Questions