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

Order of contents:
1. Introductory Remarks to W-S Language and Philosophical Conversion from Vice to Virtue  
2. Physical Claims about Sleep and Drunkenness and their relevance in Ethics in the Hellenistic Stoics  
3. Wakefulness and Soberness as Positive Conditions in the Hellenistic Stoics  
4. The Follow-Up of a Hellenistic Tradition: Protreptic Usage of Wakefulness and Soberness in the Imperial Stoa  
   a) D.L. 7.158 (SVF 2.766): τὸν δὲ ὑπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τῶν αἰσθητικῶν τόνων περί τὸ ἡγεμονικόν. αἰτίας δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἀπολείπουσι τὰς περὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τροπ às.  
   b) D.L. 7.159 (SVF 2.837): εἶναι δ᾿ αὐτὸ Χρύσιππός φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ψυχικῶν πνεύμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δὴλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλόμενων σπερμάτων, [...] τὸ δὲ τῆς Θελείας ὕγον ἀποφαίνονται ἄτονον τε γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ὅλιγον καὶ υδατώδες, ὡς ὁ Σφαῖρος φησιν.  
   c) Galen, de H. et Plat. decr. 4.6.2-3 (SVF 3.473; LS 65T): οὐσα γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πράττουσιν ἀνθρώποι, τὰ μὲν εἰς μοχθήραν κρίσιν ἀναφέρει, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἄτονίαν καὶ ἀθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡσπερ γε καὶ ὅν καταρθοῦσιν ἢ ὀρθὴ κρίσις ἐξηγεῖται μετὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχῆν εὐτονίας. ἀλλὰ τοιούτων ὡσπερ ἢ κρίσις ἔργον ἐστὶ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, οὔτως ἢ εὐτονία ρώμη τε καὶ ἁρετή δυνάμεως ἑτέρως παρὰ τὴν λογικὴν, ἤν αὐτὸς ὁ Χρύσιππος ὄνομαζε τόνων, ἀφιστασθαί τε φησιν ἐστιν ὅτε τῶν ὀρθῶς ἐγνωσμένων ἥμιν ἐνδόντος τοῦ τόνου τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μὴ παραμείναντος ἐως παντὸς μηδὲ ἐξουπηρετήσαντος 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.): ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος κατὰ Ζήνωνα ἢ ἀλογος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ψυχῆς κίνησις ἢ ὀρμὴ πλεονάζουσα. Τόν δὲ παθὸν τὰ ἀνωτάτω, καθὰ φησίν Ἐκάτων ἐν τὸδευτέρῳ Περὶ παθῶν καὶ Ζήνων ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν, εἶναι γένη τέτταρα, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, ἡδονήν, δοκεῖ δ’ αὐτοῖς τὰ πάθη κρίσεις εἶναι, καθὰ φησὶ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ παθῶν. ἢ τε γὰρ φιλαργυρία ὑπόληψις ἢς τοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον καλὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἢ μέθη δὲ καὶ ἢ ἀκολασία ὁμοίως καὶ τάλλα.

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 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*.

e) *D.L.* 7.50 (SVF 1.59): Διαφερεῖ δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα—φάντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἷα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς, φαντασία δὲ ἐστὶ τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τουτέστιν ἄλλοισις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ ψυχῆς ύφισταται.

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 quiem aliquid videre, audire, agere videamur, eadem causa vigilantibus esse poterat; idque si nostra causa di secundum quiem facerent, vigilantibus idem facerent, praesertim cum Chrysippus Academicos *refellens permutlo 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.

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

a) Epictetus, Diss. 3.10-11: ἐὰς σε εὐτάκτείν, ἀναγκοφαγεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι πεμμάτων,
γυμνάσεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγχην, ὀρα τεταγμένη, ἐν καῦματι, ἐν ψυχῇ. μὴ πυρρὸν πίνειν,
μὴ οἶνον ὃτ’ ἔτυχεν· ἀπλῶς ὡς ἵππος ἄλλος ἄλλο τί πέρυκεν. δοκεῖς ὅτι ταῦτα ποιοῦν 
δύνασαι φιλοσοφεῖν; δοκεῖς ὅτι δύνασαι σαφῶς ἐσθίειν, όσιτως πίνειν, ὀμοίως ὀργίζεσθαι,
ομοίως ὀψιαποτεῖλεσθαι; ἄγρυπνησαι δέ, πονῆσαι, νικῆσαι τινὰς ἐπιθυμίας,
ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τὸν 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 optusis 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: Ὄταν ἐξ ὑπνοῦ δυσχερῶς ἐγείρῃ, ἀναμιμνῄσκου ὁτι κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν σου ἑστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπικὴν φύσιν τὸ πράξεις κοινωνικὰς ἀποδίδοναι, τὸ δὲ καθεῦδειν κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων. ὃ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἑκάστῳ, 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


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: Ανάνηφος καὶ ἀνακαλοῖ σεαυτὸν καὶ ἐξουπισθείς πάλιν καὶ ἐννοήσας ὅτι δεινοὶ σοι ἡνώξαντο, πάλιν ἐγρηγορώς 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