The development of cosmology or natural philosophy in the Greek fifth century B.C. used to be given a Hegelian narrative: Heraclitus had proclaimed a doctrine of flux and diversity; the Eleatic philosophers (Parmenides and Zeno of Elea, plus Melissus of Samos) had countered with a doctrine of eternal changelessness and monism; most of the cosmologists of the middle and late fifth century -- Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Philolaus, Democritus, Diogenes of Apollonia -- sought a compromise between the speculative extremes represented by Heraclitus and by the Eleatics. Students of pre-Socratic philosophy have known for several decades now that this elegant triadic narrative of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis is both simplistic and incorrect. Heraclitus is not purely a philosopher of flux; he gives equal emphasis to the constancy and stability found in flux, to the unity found in diversity. (Even so, textbooks and encyclopedias continue -- down to our own day -- recounting the triadic narrative.) Among cognoscenti, the approach that has been favored articulates the development on a dyadic scheme. It leaves Heraclitus out, grouping him with the Ionians of the sixth century, and concentrates on canvassing the logic of exchanges (both actual and putative) between, on the one side, the Eleatics and, on the other, the later cosmologists, aptly called "Neo-Ionians" by Jonathan Barnes.\footnote{See his \textit{The Presocratic Philosophers}, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), passim.} In this modern canvassing of fifth-century philosophical dialectic, the Eleatics have been lionized. They are perceived as having issued a logically exacting.
"challenge" and as having precipitated a methodological and epistemological "crisis"; every subsequent philosopher in this period is portrayed as struggling mightily to come up with an adequate answer or appropriate resolution. This approach to the development of later pre-Socratic philosophy has been most conspicuously promoted in the last twenty-five years by scholars in the Anglo-American tradition.\(^2\) But the approach has also been favored outside this tradition and indeed earlier.\(^3\) Just as the thesis-antithesis-synthesis approach betrays the influence of Hegel on the historiography of philosophy, the approach in terms of Eleatic challenge and Neo-Ionian answer reflects the fascination of twentieth-century philosophers -- and indeed of twentieth-century academics generally -- with what might be called the paradigm of a "debaters' forum."

This dyadic twentieth-century approach has produced a rich fund of insights into the dialectic of post-Parmenidean philosophy. It is, indeed, a conceptually fruitful approach, one that deserves to continue to be pursued. But, as we become more sophisticated in our appreciation of details and nuances in the post-Parmenidean systems, we also need to be on guard against

\(^2\) In the original edition of *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven wrote: "Both Empedocles and Anaxagoras repeatedly and clearly reveal, not only by their thought but also by the language in which it is expressed, an almost servile observance of the Parmenidean demands" (p. 319). The corresponding paragraph in the new edition omits this statement and adds several qualifying remarks. But it does make the same announcement made in the original edition, of an exegetic program of "showing, where possible in the philosophers' own words, how these post-Parmenidean systems are deliberately designed to take account of the findings of the Truth [Parmenides' poem]": G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven and M. Schofield, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 351. The new edition adheres to that original program with only minor changes.

\(^3\) It would seem that the path was opened as early as 1916, with the appearance of one of our century's great works in the field, Karl Reinhardt's *Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie*, a work which -- in spite of some extremes of revisionism, such as placing Heraclitus and Xenophanes after Parmenides -- has inspired hundreds of classicists and philosophers in several national schools and traditions.