

Athenagoras, Works of Athenagoras

About This Translation

The English translation included here was created on 2025-09-07 using gpt-4.1-mini. This diglot edition was created on 2025-09-07. The index of names and places is drawn from named entity recognition using UGARIT/grc-ner-xlmr, available from HuggingFace. A sentence-level semantic similarity check was performed between the source text and translation using bowphs/SPhilBerta, also available from HuggingFace. In addition to the sentence-level semantic similarity check, the text-to-translation length ratio was evaluated for each verse to locate and review possible hallucination.

Disclaimer

Please note, as indicated above, that this translation is a machine-generated translation. There are several older works, like Athenagoras's *Works of Athenagoras*, that are either not available in English or only available in old and difficult to read translations. This translation is an attempt to provide a readable and fairly literal modern English translation of the source text. It is provided in a diglot format so the source text can be appealed to by readers if they run into sticky spots. The process that created this translation has done its best to mitigate hallucinations, but there will still be translation issues.

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About the Publisher

This translation was created and published by Rick Brannan for the Appian Way Press. This diglot edition is available for download at <https://github.com/AppianWayPress/Athenagoras>. We are also evaluating low-priced, translation-only print, ebook, and audio editions through Amazon and other providers.

A Plea for the Christians by Athenagoras the Athenian, a Christian Philosopher (1) (ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ (1))

Αὐτοκράτορσι (2) Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ (3), καὶ Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ (4), Ἀρμενιακοῖς, Σαρματικοῖς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φιλοσόφοις.

To the emperors (2) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (3), and Lucius Aurelius Commodus (4), conquerors of the Armenians and the Sarmatians, and above all, to the philosophers.

1. Ἡ ὑμετέρα, μεγάλοι βασιλέων (5), οἰκουμένη (6) ἄλλος ἄλλοις ἔθεσι χρῶνται καὶ νόμοις, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν, νόμῳ καὶ φόβῳ δίκης, κἂν γελοῖα ᾖ, μὴ στέργειν τὰ πάτρια εἴργεται. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰλιεὺς θεὸν Ἑκτορα λέγει, καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀδράστειαν (7) ἐπιστάμενος (8) προσκυνεῖ· ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα (9) Δία, καὶ Φυλονόην τὴν Τυνδάρεω θυγατέρα, καὶ Τέννην Ὀδίαν (10) σέβει· ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύει· καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια ἄγουσι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἱ ἐνομίσθησαν ἀσεβεῖν, ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα. Καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ, κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ δήμους θυσίας κατὰγουσιν, ἃς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν (11) ἄνθρωποι, καὶ μυστήρια. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ κύνας θεοὺς νομίζουσι. Καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν (12) ἐπιτρέπετε καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ νόμοι· τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδ' ὅλως θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον νομίσαντες· τὸ δὲ οἷς ἕκαστος βούλεται χρῆσθαι ὡς θεοῖς, ἀναγκαῖον· ἵνα τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον δέει ἀπέχωνται (13) τοῦ ἀδικεῖν. Ἡμῖν δὲ (14) (καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ, ἐξ ἀκοῆς) τῷ ὀνόματι ἀπεχθάνεσθε. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσους ἄξια, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδίκημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας. Διόπερ τὸ πρᾶον ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμερον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαντα (15)

1. Your great empire of kings (5), the inhabited world (6), is governed by different customs and laws in different places, and none of them, by law and fear of punishment, even if the customs are ridiculous, forbids honoring the ancestral traditions.. But the man from Ilium calls Hector a god, and worships Helen as Adrasteia (7); the Spartan honors Agamemnon as Zeus, and Phylonoe, daughter of Tyndareus, and Tennes Odias (10); the Athenian sacrifices to Erechtheus as Poseidon; and the Athenians bring rites and mysteries to Agraulus and to Pandrosus, who were thought to be impious for opening the chest.. And in one word, among nations and peoples, they bring sacrifices and mysteries as men wish (11).. But the Egyptians consider cats, crocodiles, snakes, shields, and dogs to be gods.. And to all these things (12) both you and the laws allow; so, on the one hand, considering it impious and irreverent not to regard any god at all; but on the other hand, it is necessary to use whatever each one wishes as gods, so that they may keep away from wrongdoing by reverence toward the divine (13).. But for us (14) (and do not be misled, as many are, by hearsay), you are hated because of the

εἰρηνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θαυμάζοντες, οἱ μὲν καθ' ἓνα ἰσονομοῦνται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς ἴσης μετέχουσι τιμῆς· καὶ ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ συνέσει βαθείας εἰρήνης ἀπολαύουσιν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοὶ (ὅτι μὴ προεννόησθε καὶ ἡμῶν, συγχωρεῖτε δὲ, μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας (16), ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων, ὡς προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δειχθήσεται, εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους καὶ δικαιοτάτα πρὸς τε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν, ἐλαύνεσθαι (17) καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι, ἐπὶ μόνῳ ὀνόματι προσπολεμούντων ἡμῖν τῶν πολλῶν) μηνῦσαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐτολήσαμεν (διδασκῆσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἄτερ δίκης καὶ παρὰ πάντα νόμον καὶ λόγον πάσχοντας ἡμᾶς), καὶ δεόμεθα ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τι σκέψασθαι, ὅπως παυσώμεθα (18) ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν σφαττόμενοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς χρήματα ἢ παρὰ τῶν διωκόντων ζημία, οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν ἢ αἰσχύνῃ, ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι τῶν μειζόνων ἢ βλάβῃ (τούτων γὰρ καταφρονοῦμεν, κἂν τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκῇ σπουδαῖά γε ὄντα· οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀντιπαίειν, οὐδὲ μὴν δικάζεσθαι τοῖς ἄγουσι καὶ ἀρπάζουσιν ἡμᾶς, μεμαθηκότες· ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν, κἂν κατὰ κόρρῃς προσπηλακίζωσι, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον παίειν παρέχειν τῆς κεφαλῆς μέρος· τοῖς δὲ, εἰ τὸν χιτῶνα ἀφαιροῖντο, ἐπιδιδόναι καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον), ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅταν ἀπείπωμεν τοῖς χρήμασιν, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἡμῖν, κατασκεδάζοντες ὄχλον ἐγκλημάτων· ἃ ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑπονοίας, τοῖς δὲ ἀδολεσχοῦσι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνων πρόσεστι γένει.

name.. For it is not the names that deserve hatred, but the wrongdoing that deserves justice and punishment.. Therefore, admiring your peaceful and gentle nature, and your peaceful and kind attitude toward everyone (15), some are equal under one law, and the cities share in equal honor according to the value of equality; and the whole world enjoys deep peace because of your understanding.. We who are called Christians (so that you do not misunderstand us, forgive us, we do nothing wrong (16), but, as the argument will show, we are most devout and just toward both the divine and your kingdom, yet we are driven, carried, and persecuted, attacked by many only because of the name) have dared to report what concerns ourselves (you will learn from the argument that we suffer without trial and against all law and reason), and we ask you to consider us as well, so that we may at last stop being slaughtered by slanderers (18).. For the harm from those who persecute us is not about money, nor is the shame about punishment, nor any greater damage (for we despise these things, even if they seem important to many; we have learned not only to resist, but also not to be judged by those who lead us away and seize us; but to some, even if they strike us hard on the head, we offer the other cheek; to others, if they take away our tunic, we also give our cloak), but they plot against our bodies and souls when we refuse money, stirring up a crowd with accusations—accusations that we do not even suspect, but that belong to those who are idle and to their kind.

2. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν ἔχει ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον ἀδικοῦντας, κολάζεσθαι οὐ

2. And if anyone has grounds to accuse us of wrongdoing, whether small or great, we

παραιτούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡτις πικροτάτη καὶ ἀνηλεὲς τιμωρία, ὑπέχειν ἀξιοῦμεν. Εἰ δὲ μέχρις ὀνόματος ἡ κατηγορία (εἰς γοῦν τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν ἃ περὶ ἡμῶν λογοποιοῦσιν, ἡ κοινὴ (19) καὶ ἄκριτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων φήμη, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀδικῶν Χριστιανὸς ἐλήλεγκται), ὑμῶν ἤδη ἔργον τῶν μεγίστων καὶ φιλανθρώπων καὶ φιλομαθεστάτων βασιλέων ἀποσκευάσαι ἡμῶν νόμῳ τὴν ἐπήρειαν· ἵν' ὥσπερ ἡ σύμπασα (20) ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐεργεσίαις καὶ καθ' ἓνα κεκοινωνήκε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν ὑμῖν χάριν, σεμνυνόμενοι, ὅτι πεπαύμεθα συκοφαντούμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, αἰτίαν λαβόντας ἀδικημάτων, μὴ πρότερον ἢ ἐλεγχθῆναι κολάζεσθαι· ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μεῖζον ἰσχύειν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ ἐλέγχων· οὐκ εἰ ἡ δίκησέ τι ὁ κρινόμενος, τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπιζητούντων (21), ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς εἰς ἀδίκημα, ἐνυβρίζοντων. Οὐδὲν δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οὐ πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζεται· διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἢ πονηρὰς ἢ ἀγαθὰς πράξεις, ἢ φλαῦρα ἢ ἀγαθὰ δοκεῖ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἴστε φανερώτερον, ὡσανεὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας καὶ παιδείας πάσης ὀρμώμενοι. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν κρινόμενοι, κἂν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις φεύγωσι (22), θάρροῦσιν, εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐξετάσετε αὐτῶν τὸν βίον, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ὀνόμασι προσθήσεσθε, ἂν ἢ κενὰ, οὔτε ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν κατηγοριῶν αἰτίαις, εἰ ψευδεῖς εἶεν· ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει (23) τὴν καταδικάζουσιν τῆς ἀπολυούσης δέχονται ψῆφον. Τὸ τοίνυν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἴσον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, μὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα, μισεῖσθαι καὶ κολάζεσθαι (τί γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς κακίαν τελεῖ;) ἀλλὰ κρίνεσθαι ἐφ' ὅτων ἂν καὶ εὐθύνῃ τις, καὶ ἢ ἀφίεσθαι ἀπολυομένους τὰς κατηγορίας, ἢ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἀλισκομένους πονηροῦς· μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ Χριστιανὸς

do not refuse to be punished, but we consider ourselves worthy to endure even the harshest and most merciless punishment.. But if the accusation reaches even to the name (for at least today the common and uncritical opinion of people speaks about us, and no one has proven a Christian to be unjust), it is already your work, O greatest, most humane, and most learned kings, to prepare by law a restraint on arrogance against us; so that just as all the cities have shared in your benefits and in one accord, we too may hold gratitude toward you, proudly, because we have ceased to be slandered.. For it is not according to your justice that others, having been accused of wrongdoings, should be punished before being proven guilty; but with us, the name of those who judge in court holds greater power: not if the one being judged has done wrong, but the judges seek to disgrace him by attacking his name as if it were a crime.. No name by itself and through itself is considered either bad or good; but because of the actions attached to it, whether bad or good, it seems either worthless or good.. But you know these things more clearly, as if driven by philosophy and all education.. Because of this, even those accused by you, though they flee to the greatest places (22), are confident, knowing that you will examine their life, and neither will you add to their names if they are empty, nor to the charges from accusations if they are false. They accept the condemning vote and the acquitting vote in equal order (23).. Therefore, we also demand the same treatment for everyone, not that because we are called Christians we should be hated and punished (for what harm does the name bring us?), but that we be judged based on what someone is responsible for,

πονηρὸς, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀδικήματι. Οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας (24) κρινομένους ὁρῶμεν. Οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πρὸ κρίσεως διὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἢ τέχνην ἀγαθὸς ἢ πονηρὸς τῷ δικαστῇ εἶναι δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ δόξας μὲν εἶναι ἄδικος, κολάζεται, οὐδὲν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ προστριψάμενος ἔγκλημα (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πονηρὸς, ὁ μὴ, ὡς νόμος, φιλοσοφῶν· ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη ἀνάτιος), ἀπολυσάμενος δὲ τὰς διαβολὰς, ἀφίεται. Ἔστω δὴ τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· ὁ τῶν κρινομένων ἐξεταζέσθω βίος· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα παντὸς ἀφείσθω ἐγκλήματος. Ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι ἀρχομένῳ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου, δεηθῆναι ὑμῶν, μέγιστοι αὐτοκράτορες, ἴσους ἡμῖν ἀκροατὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ φήμῃ συναπενεχθέντας προκατασχεθῆναι, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ φιλομαθὲς καὶ φιλάληθες καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ. Ὑμεῖς τε γὰρ οὐ πρὸς ἀγνοίας ἐξαμαρτήσετε, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρίτου τῶν πολλῶν φήμης ἀπολυσάμενοι (25), παυσόμεθα πολεμούμενοι.

and either the charges against those acquitted be dismissed, or the guilty wicked ones be punished—not because of the name (for no Christian is wicked, unless he pretends the word), but because of the wrongdoing.. In the same way, we see those judged by philosophy (24).. None of them seems to the judge to be good or bad before the trial because of their knowledge or skill; but if thought to be unjust, he is punished, having committed no crime by philosophy itself (for the one who is wicked is not truly a philosopher, as the law says; knowledge itself is innocent). But if the accusations are cleared, he is acquitted.. Let the same be true for us as well: let the life of the one being judged be examined; but let the name be free from all blame.. It is necessary for me, as I begin to defend this argument, to ask you, greatest emperors, to be fair listeners to us, and not to be swayed beforehand by common and unreasonable rumors, but to allow your love of learning and truthfulness, and your attention to the argument about us, to prevail.. For you will not fail through ignorance, and we, having freed ourselves from the uncertain rumor of the many (25), will stop being attacked.

3. Τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα· ἀθεότητα, Θυεστεία δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους (26) μίξεις. Ἀλλὰ, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, μηδενὸς γένους φείσησθε, ἐπεξέλθετε δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι· σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ προρρίζους ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνετε, εἴ γέ τις ἀνθρώπων ζῇ δίκην θηρίων. Καίτοι γε καὶ τὰ θηρία τῶν ὁμογενῶν οὐχ ἄπτεται, καὶ νόμῳ φύσεως, καὶ πρὸς ἓνα καιρὸν τὸν τῆς τεκνοποιίας, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀδείας μίγνυνται· γνωρίζει δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ὠφελεῖται. Εἴ τις οὖν καὶ τῶν θηρίων ἀνημερώτερος, τίνα οὖν πρὸς τὰ τηλικάῃτα ὑποσχὼν δίκην, καὶ

3. Three crimes are charged against us: atheism, Thyestean feasts, and incest like Oedipus (26). But if these things are true, spare no one's family; bring out the wrongdoings. You killed us along with our wives and children, as if someone among humans lives by the law of beasts. Yet even beasts do not touch their own kind, and by the law of nature, and only for a time of reproduction, they do not mate without permission; and they know from whom they benefit. If then someone is wilder than the beasts, who, having promised such a

πρὸς ἀξίαν κεκολάσθαι νομισθήσεται; Εἰ δὲ
λογοποιῖαι ταῦτα καὶ διαβολαὶ κεναὶ,
φυσικῶ λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς κακίας
ἀντικειμένης, καὶ πολεμούντων ἀλλήλοις
τῶν ἐναντίων (27) θεῖῳ νόμῳ, καὶ τοῦ
μηδὲν τούτων ἀδικεῖν, ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες,
κελεύοντες μὴ ὁμονοεῖν (28)· πρὸς ὑμῶν
λοιπὸν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι βίου,
δογμάτων, τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον
οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν (29) σπουδῆς καὶ
ὑπακοῆς, καὶ οὕτω ποτὲ συγχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν
οὐδὲν πλέον τοῖς διώκουσιν ἡμᾶς.
Νικήσομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας
ἀόκνως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιδιδόντες (30).

law, will be thought to be punished justly
and fittingly? But if these are fabrications
and empty slanders, opposed by natural
reason to virtue when set against vice, and
if those opposing each other fight by divine
law (27), and none of these things have
been done wrong, you are witnesses,
urging us not to agree (28); then it remains
for you to examine our life, our beliefs, our
eagerness and obedience toward you, your
household, and the kingdom (29), and so
never again allow those who persecute us
to have any excuse. For we will overcome
them, tirelessly for the truth and even
giving our lives (30).

4. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐσμεν ἄθεοι (πρὸς ἕν
ἕκαστον ἀπαντήσω τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, μὴ
καὶ γελοῖον ἢ τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ ἐλέγχειν),
Διαγόρα μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀθεότητα
ἐπεκάλουν Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν
Ὅρφικὸν εἰς μέσον κατατιθέντι λόγον, καὶ
τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβείρων
δημεύοντι μυστήρια, καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Ἡρακλέους, ἵνα τὰς γογγύλας ἐψοῖ,
κατακόπτοντι ξόανον· ἄντικρυς δὲ
ἀποφαινομένῳ μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι Θεόν. Ἡμῖν
δὲ, διαιρουσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τὸν Θεόν, καὶ
δεικνύουσιν ἕτερον μὲν τι εἶναι τὴν ὕλην,
ἄλλο δὲ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου πολὺ
(τὸ μὲν γὰρ Θεῖον, ἀγέννητον εἶναι καὶ
ἀίδιον, νῶ μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ θεωρούμενον·
τὴν δὲ ὕλην γενετήν καὶ φθαρτήν [31]),
μήτι οὐκ ἀλόγως τὸ τῆς ἀθεότητος
ἐπικαλοῦσιν ὄνομα; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφρονοῦμεν
ὅμοια τῷ Διαγόρᾳ, τοσαῦτα ἔχοντες πρὸς
θεοσέβειαν ἐνέχυρα, τὸ εὐτακτον, τὸ
διαπαντὸς σύμφωνον, τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν
χροιάν, τὸ σχῆμα, τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου·
εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μὴ θεοσεβεῖν
δόξα καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαύνεσθαι αἰτία
προσετρίβετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν ἕνα

4. As for the charge that we are atheists (I
will answer each of the accusations one by
one, so that those who say them are not
thought ridiculous for failing to prove
them), the Athenians rightly called
Diagoras an atheist, not only because he
rejected the Orphic teaching, and the
mysteries at Eleusis and those of the
Cabeiri, and because he broke the statue of
Heracles to stop the complaints; he openly
declared that there is no god at all. But we
separate God from matter, showing that
matter is one thing and God another, and
that God is far above matter (for the divine
is unbegotten and eternal, perceived only
by mind and reason; matter is created and
perishable [31]). Is it not then
unreasonable to call us atheists? For if we
thought like Diagoras, having so many
proofs of reverence for God—the order, the
harmony throughout, the size, the color, the
shape, the arrangement of the world—then
the reputation of impiety and the cause of
being driven out would rightly be added to
us. But since our teaching leads to one God,
the maker of all things, who himself is

Θεὸν ἄγει τὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴν,
αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ γενόμενον (ὅτι τὸ ὄν οὐ
γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν), πάντα δὲ διὰ τοῦ
παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου πεποιηκότα· ἐκάτερα
ἀλόγως πάσχομεν, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορευόμεθα
καὶ διωκόμεθα.

uncreated (because what exists is not
made, but what does not exist is made), and
all things are made through his word; we
suffer both charges without reason, and are
spoken against and persecuted unjustly.

5. Καὶ ποιηταὶ μὲν καὶ φιλόσοφοι οὐκ
ἔδοξαν ἄθεοι, ἐπιστήσαντες περὶ Θεοῦ. Ὁ
μὲν Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ κοινὴν
πρόληψιν ἀνεπιστημόνως ὀνομαζομένων
θεῶν διαπορῶν·

5. Poets and philosophers who have
studied about God have not seemed
atheists. Euripides, on the one hand, was
confused about the gods commonly
accepted by popular belief;

Ὡφειλε δ' εἶπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ

**He ought to have said, if there is one in
heaven**

Ζεὺς, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν (32) **δυστυχῇ
καθιστάναι.**

Zeus, not to make him the same (32)
unlucky one.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἐπιστήμην νοητοῦ (ὥς
ἐκεῖνος δογματίζων [33]).

But concerning the one understood by
knowledge (as he was asserting [33]):

Ὅρᾳς τὸν ὑψοῦ (34) **τόνδ' ἄπειρον
αἰθέρα,**

Do you see the height (34) **of this
boundless sky,**

**Καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν
ἀγκάλαις;**

**And the earth held around with moist
embraces?**

Τοῦτον (35) **νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ
θεόν.**

Consider this one (35) **as Zeus was
thought to be, and this one as the god was
regarded.**

Τῶν μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰς οὐσίας, αἷς
ἐπικατηγορεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα συμβέβηκεν,
ὑποκειμένης ἐώρα,

For I have seen that neither the substances,
to which the name happened to be applied,
nor the things themselves, were
underlying,

****(Ζῆνα γὰρ ὅστις ἐστὶ Ζεὺς, οὐκ οἶδα****
(36) **πλὴν λόγῳ),**

****(For I do not know Zeus himself, who is**
Zeus, except by word) (36)**

οὔτε τὰ ὀνόματα καθ' ὑποκειμένων
κατηγορεῖσθαι πραγμάτων· ὧν γὰρ αἱ
οὐσίαι οὐχ ὑπόκεινται, τί πλέον αὐτοῖς τῶν
ὀνομάτων; Τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὅψει τῶν
ἀδήλων (37) νοῶν τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀέρος,
αἰθέρος, γῆς. Οὗ οὖν τὰ ποιήματα, καὶ ὑφ'
οὗ τῷ πνεύματι ἡνιοχεῖται, τοῦτον
κατελαμβάνετο εἶναι Θεὸν (συνάδοντος
τούτῳ καὶ Σοφοκλέους,

Nor are the names said of things according
to what underlies them; for if the
substances do not underlie, what more do
the names have over them? But the one
who understands the unseen things from
their works sees the appearances of air,
ether, and earth. Therefore, the one whose
creations these are, and by whom the spirit
is guided, was taken to be God (with
Sophocles agreeing with this),

****Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν** (38), ****εἷς ἐστὶν****
Θεὸς,**

****One God exists in the truths** (38), ****one****
God there is,**

****Ὁς οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν**
μακρὰν,**

****Who made both the sky and the vast**
earth,**

πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσιν τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ
ἐκείνου πληρουμένην [39]), ἐκάτερα, καὶ
ποῦ δεῖ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ὅτι ἓνα δεῖ εἶναι
(40), διδάσκων (41).

toward the nature of that beauty of God
being filled [39]), both, and where God
must be, and that there must be one (40),
teaching (41).

6. Καὶ Φιλόλαος δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐν φρουρᾷ,
πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ περιειληφθαι λέγων,
καὶ τὸ ἓνα εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἀνωτέρω τῆς ὕλης,
δεικνύει. Λύσις δὲ καὶ ὅψει (42)· ὁ μὲν
ἀριθμὸν ἄρρητον ὀρίζεται τὸν Θεὸν, ὁ δὲ

6. And Philolaus, as if in a fortress, saying
that all things are surrounded by God, and
that there is one, and that it is above
matter, shows. Resolution and vision (42):
one defines God as an unutterable number,

τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐγγυτάτῳ (43) ὑπεροχὴν. Εἰ δὲ μέγιστος μὲν ἀριθμὸς ὁ δέκα, κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς, ὁ τετρακτὺς τε ὢν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀριθμητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀρμονίους περιέχων λόγους, τούτῳ δὲ ἐγγὺς παράκειται ὁ ἐννέα· μονὰς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἷς. Ἐνὶ γὰρ ὑπερέχει ὁ μέγιστος τὸν ἐγγυτάτῳ ἐλάχιστον (44) αὐτῷ. Πλάτων δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἐπιδεικνύων τὰ δόγματα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβές, οὕτως ἃ εἰρήκασιν περὶ Θεοῦ, διέξειμι. Οἶδα γὰρ, ὅτι ὅσον συνέσει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς βασιλείας πάντων ὑπερέχετε, τοσοῦτον καὶ τῷ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἀκριβοῦν, πάντων κρατεῖτε· οὕτω καθ' ἕκαστον παιδείας μέρος κατορθοῦντες, ὡς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῆς μόριον ἀποτεμνόμενοι. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀδύνατον δεικνύειν ἄνευ παραθέσεως ὀνομάτων, ὅτι μὴ μόνοι εἰς μονάδα τὸν Θεὸν κατακλείομεν, ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας ἐτραπόμεν [45])· φησὶν οὖν ὁ Πλάτων· Τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα, εἰς πάντας (46) ἀδύνατον λέγειν· ἓνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ αἰδίων νοῶν Θεόν. Εἰ δ' οἶδεν καὶ ἄλλους, οἷον ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, ἀλλ' ὡς γεννητοὺς οἶδεν αὐτούς· Θεοὶ θεῶν (47), ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἀδύνατα ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος. Τὸ μὲν οὖν δεθὲν πᾶν, λυτόν. Εἰ τοίνυν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄθεος Πλάτων, ἓνα τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων νοῶν ἀγέννητον Θεόν· οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄθεοι, ὅφ' οὗ λόγῳ δεδημιούργηται καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πνεύματι συνέχεται τὰ πάντα, τοῦτον εἰδότες καὶ κρατοῦντες Θεόν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἓνα ἄγοντες οἰονεὶ ζῶον σύνθετον (48), ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεστηκότα λέγουσι τὸν Θεόν, σῶμα μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰθέριον νομίζοντες, τοὺς τε πλανωμένους ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν σφαῖραν τῶν ἀπλανῶν κινούμενα

the other as the highest of numbers, surpassing the nearest (43).. If the greatest number is ten, according to the Pythagoreans, being the tetractys and containing all the numerical and harmonic ratios, then nine lies close to it; God is the unit, that is, one.. For the greatest surpasses the nearest by the smallest amount (44) to it.. Plato and Aristotle (and not as if I were showing off the doctrines of the philosophers exactly, but rather I will explain what they have said about God). For I know that as much as you surpass in understanding and power over the kingdom of all, so much do you also rule over every kind of education precisely; thus, by completing each part of education, not even those who lack one part of it are successful.. But since it is impossible to show this without listing names, that we do not enclose God alone in unity, I turned to the opinions [45]; thus Plato says: To find the maker and father of this whole universe, and having found him, to speak about him to all is impossible; there is one God, unbegotten and eternal, who is understood.. But if he knows others as well, such as the sun and the moon and the stars, he knows them as beings that are born; gods of gods (47), of whom I am the creator and the father of works, nothing is impossible if I am willing.. Everything that is bound is therefore able to be loosed.. If then Plato is not godless, but thinks of one unbegotten God as the creator of all; neither are we godless, since through him all things have been created by the Word and are held together by the Spirit from him, knowing and ruling this God.. Aristotle and those who follow him say that God is a kind of composite living being (48), made up of soul and body. They think his body is the ether, and that the wandering stars and

κυκλοφορητικῶς, ψυχὴν δὲ, τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
κινήσει τοῦ σώματος λόγον· αὐτὸν μὲν οὐ
κινούμενον, αἷτιον δὲ τῆς τούτου κινήσεως
γινόμενον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, κἂν ταῖς
προσηγορίαις κατὰ τὰς παραλλάξεις τῆς
ὑλης, δι' ἧς φασὶ τὸ πνεῦμα χωρεῖν τοῦ
Θεοῦ, πληθύνωσι τὸ Θεῖον τοῖς ὀνόμασι, τῷ
γοῦν ἔργῳ ἓνα νομίζουσι τὸν Θεόν. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ
μὲν Θεὸς πῦρ τεχνικὸν ὁδῶ βαδίζον ἐπὶ
γενέσεις κόσμου, ἐμπεριειληφὸς (49)
ἅπαντας τοὺς σπερματικὸς λόγους, καθ'
οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίνεταί, τὸ δὲ
πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ διήκει δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου·
ὁ Θεὸς εἷς κατ' αὐτοὺς, Ζεὺς μὲν κατὰ τὸ
ζέον τῆς ὑλης, ὀνομαζόμενος· Ἥρα δὲ, κατὰ
τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τῆς
ὑλης μέρος δι' ἧς κεχώρηκε, καλούμενος.

the sphere of the fixed stars move in circles
around him. They say his soul is the reason
for the movement of the body; he himself is
not moved, but becomes the cause of this
movement.. Those from the Stoa, even
though they change the names according to
the variations of matter through which they
say the spirit of God moves, multiply the
divine names; but at least in action they
think of God as one.. For if God is technical
fire moving along the origins of the world,
containing (49) all the seed-like reasons by
which each thing comes to be according to
fate, and his spirit passes through the
whole world; then God is one according to
them, called Zeus in relation to the heat of
matter, Hera according to the air, and the
others according to each part of matter
through which it has passed.

7. Ὅταν οὖν τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἓν τὸ Θεῖον, ὡς ἐπὶ
τὸ πλεῖστον, κἂν μὴ θέλωσι, τοῖς πᾶσι
συμφωνῇται, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων
παραγινόμενοις, ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατύνωμεν τὸν
διακοσμήσαντα τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο, τοῦτον εἶναι
τὸν Θεόν· τίς ἢ αἰτία, τοῖς μὲν, ἐπ' ἀδείας
ἔξεῖναι καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν περὶ τοῦ
Θεοῦ ἃ θέλουσιν· ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ κεῖσθαι
νόμον, οἳ ἔχομεν ὃ τι καὶ νοοῦμεν καὶ
ὀρθῶς πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι,
ἀληθείας σημεῖοις καὶ λόγοις παραστῆσαι;
Ποιηταὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ὡς καὶ τοῖς
(50) ἄλλοις, ἐπέβαλον στοχαστικῶς,
κινήθοντες μὲν, κατὰ συμπάθειαν τῆς παρὰ
τοῦ Θεοῦ πνοῆς, ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ
ψυχῆς ἕκαστος ζητῆσαι, εἰ δυνατὸς εὐρεῖν
καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· τοσοῦτον δὲ
δυνήθοντες (51) ὅσον περινοῆσαι οὐχ
εὐρίηται ὃν οὐ παρὰ Θεοῦ περὶ Θεοῦ
ἀξιόσαντες μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ
ἕκαστος. Διὸ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλως ἐδογμάτισεν
αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ περὶ ὑλης καὶ περὶ

7. So when the divine being is mostly one,
even if they do not want it, all agree on this,
coming to the origins of all things, we hold
that the one who arranged all this is God.
What is the reason that some are free to say
and write whatever they want about the
divine, while for us there is a law that what
we think and rightly believe is that God is
one, and to show this with signs and words
of truth? For poets and philosophers, like
others (50), have imposed their own
speculations, each moved by sympathy
with the breath from God, each seeking by
their own soul to find and understand the
truth if possible; but having been able (51)
only to think deeply, they have not found
anything that was not from God about God,
worthy to be learned, but each from
himself. Therefore, each of them formed
different opinions about God, matter,
forms, and the world. But we, what we
think and believe, have prophets as

είδων καὶ περὶ κόσμου. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὧν νοοῦμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἔχομεν προφήτας μάρτυρας, οἱ Πνεύματι ἐνθέω (52) ἐκπεφωνήκασιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἴποιτε δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, συνέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ ὄντως θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους προὔχοντες, ὥς ἔστιν ἄλογον, παραλιπόντας (53) πιστεύειν τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεύματι, ὥς ὄργανα κεκνηκότες τὰ τῶν προφητῶν στόματα, προσέχειν δόξαις ἀνθρωπίναις.

8. Ὅτι τοίνυν εἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴς Θεὸς, οὕτως σκέψασθε, ἵν' ἔχητε καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἡμῶν τῆς πίστεως. Εἰ δύο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ πλείους ἦσαν θεοὶ, ἤτοι ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῳ ἦσαν, ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. Ἐν μὲν οὖν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῳ εἶναι οὐκ ἡδύναντο. Οὐ γὰρ εἰ θεοὶ, ὅμοιοι· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀγέννητοι, οὐχ ὅμοιοι (54). Τὰ μὲν γὰρ γεννητὰ ὅμοια τοῖς παραδείγμασι· τὰ δὲ ἀγέννητα ἀνόμοια, οὔτε ἀπὸ τινος, οὔτε πρὸς τινα γενόμενα. Εἰ δὲ ὥς χεῖρ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ποῦς περὶ ἐν σῶμά εἰσιν, συμπληροῦτες τὰ μέρη, ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπληροῦντες, ὁ Θεὸς εἷς· καίτοι ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης, παρ' ὃ γεννητὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς, συγκεῖμενος καὶ διαιρούμενος εἰς μέρος· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος. Οὐκ ἄρα συνεστὼς ἐκ μερῶν. Εἰ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄντος, τοῦ τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότος, ἀνωτέρω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ περὶ ἃ ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, ποῦ ὁ ἕτερος. ἢ οἱ λοιποί; Εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν (55) κόσμος, σφαιρικὸς ἀποτελεσθεὶς, οὐρανοῦ κύκλοις ἀποκέκλεισται, ὁ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητὴς ἀνωτέρω τῶν γεγονότων ἐπέχων αὐτὸν τῇ τούτων προνοίᾳ, τίς ὁ τοῦ ἐτέρου Θεοῦ ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τόπος; Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστίν, ὅτι ἐτέρου ἐστίν· οὔτε περὶ τὸν κόσμον· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ κόσμου

witnesses, who spoke by the Spirit inspired (52) about God and about the things of God. You might say also, with understanding and true reverence for the divine, that others are superior, as if irrational, leaving aside belief in the Spirit from God, as if the mouths of the prophets were moved instruments, paying attention to human opinions.

8. Therefore, think that the one God, the maker of this whole universe, has been from the beginning, so that you may also hold to our reasoning of faith.. If from the beginning there were two or more gods, either they were together in one and the same, or each one was separate on his own.. But they could not be in one and the same.. For if they were gods, they would be alike; but since they are unbegotten, they are not alike (54).. For the created things are like their models; but the uncreated are unlike, neither made from anything nor made toward anything.. If, like hand and eye and foot belong to one body, completing its parts, and one of them completes it, then God is one; yet Socrates, although born and perishable, is composed and divided into parts; but God is unbegotten, impassible, and indivisible.. Therefore, not composed of parts.. But if each of them exists separately, the one who made the world being above what has come into being and above what he both made and arranged, where then is the other?. Or the others?? For if the world, having been completed as a sphere, is enclosed by the circles of the heavens, and the maker of the world, holding himself above what has come into being, governs it

ποιητῆς Θεός. Εἰ δὲ μήτε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶ, μήτε περὶ τὸν κόσμον (τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν πᾶν ὑπὸ τούτου κατέχεται), ποῦ ἔστιν; Ἀνωτέρω τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἐν ἐτέρῳ κόσμῳ, ἢ περὶ ἕτερον; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἐν ἐτέρῳ καὶ περὶ ἕτερον, οὔτε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστὶν ἔτι. Οὔτε γὰρ κόσμου κρατεῖ, οὔτε αὐτὸς δυνάμει μέγας ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ περιωρισμένῳ τόπῳ ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ οὔτε ἐν ἐτέρῳ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν (πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου πεπληρωται), οὔτε περὶ ἕτερον (πάντα γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου κατέχεται), καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ὄντος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν. Ἡ τί ποιεῖ, ἐτέρου μὲν ὄντος οὗ ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνωτέρω ὢν τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκ ὢν δὲ οὔτε ἐν κόσμῳ, οὔτε περὶ κόσμον; Ἀλλ' ἔστι τι ἕτερον, ἵνα πού σῃ ὁ γενόμενος κατὰ τοῦ ὄντος (56), ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ τίς ἔσται τόπος, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόσμον τούτου πεπληρωκότος; ἀλλὰ προνοεῖ (57); Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ προνοεῖ, πεποίηκεν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖ, μήτε προνοεῖ, μήτε ἐστὶ τόπος ἕτερος ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν εἷς οὗτος ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μόνος ὁ ποιητῆς τοῦ κόσμου Θεός.

by the providence of these things, what then is the place of the other God or of the others?? For it is neither in the world, since it belongs to another; nor around the world; for the God who made the world is above it.. But if it is neither in the world nor around the world (for everything around it is controlled by this one), where is it?? Above the world and above God.? In another world, or around another.? But if it is in another and around another, it is no longer about us.. For it neither rules the world, nor is it great in power; for it is in a limited place.. But if it is neither in another world (for all things are filled by this one), nor around another (for all things are held by this one), and it does not exist, it is not in what exists.. Or what does it do, being of another whose world it is, but itself being higher than the maker of the world, and not being either in the world or around the world?? But there is something else, so that the one who has come into being stands somewhere against what exists (56), but God and the things of God are above it.. And what place will there be, when that which is above this world is full?? But he foresees (57)? And indeed, he has done nothing, if he does not foresee.. But if he does not act, neither does he foresee, nor is there another place where this one is, who from the beginning is the only creator God of the world.

9. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐννοίαις ἀπηρκούμεθα, ἀνθρωπικὸν ἂν τις εἶναι τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνόμισεν λόγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ φωναὶ τῶν προφητῶν πιστοῦσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς λογισμούς (58) (νομίζω καὶ ὑμᾶς (59), φιλομαθεστάτους καὶ ἐπιστημονεστάτους ὄντας, οὐκ ἀνοήτους γεγονέναι οὔτε τῶν Μωϋσέως, οὔτε τῶν Ἡσαΐου καὶ Ἱερεμίου,

9. If then we are satisfied with such ideas, one would think that the reason about us is human. But since the voices of the prophets confirm our thoughts (58) (I think also you, being most eager to learn and most knowledgeable, are not ignorant of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other prophets, who, moved by the divine Spirit working

καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, οἱ κατ' ἔκστασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν, κινήσαντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος, ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν· συγχρησαμένου τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὥσει καὶ ἀύλητῆς αὐλὸν ἐμπνεῦσαι) (59·). Τί οὖν οὗτοι; Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἐγὼ Θεὸς πρῶτος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα· καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι Θεός. Ὅμοιος ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἄλλος Θεός, καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἔσται. Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ (60). Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους· Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ, ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου. Ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; Καταλείπω δὲ ὑμῖν (61), ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βιβλίων γενομένοις, ἀκριβέστερον τὰς ἐκείνων ἐξετάσαι προφητείας, ὅπως μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λογισμοῦ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπήρειαν ἀποσκευάσηθε.

10. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄθεοι μὴ εἶναι, ἓνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀχώρητον, νῶ μόνῳ καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβάνόμενον, φωτὶ καὶ κάλλει καὶ πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ περιεχόμενον, ὃς γὰρ γεγένηται τὸ πᾶν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (62) Λόγου καὶ διακεκόσμηται καὶ συγκρατεῖται, Θεὸν ἄγοντες, ἱκανῶς μοι δέδεικται. Νοοῦμεν γὰρ καὶ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ μὴ μοι γελοῖόν τις νομίσῃ τὸ Υἱὸν εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ. Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ποιηταὶ μυθοποιοῦσιν, οὐδὲν βελτίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεικνύντες τοὺς θεοὺς, ἢ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἢ περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πεφρονήκαμεν. Ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος (63) τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν ἰδέᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ (64). Πρὸς αὐτοῦ (65) γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ὅντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν Υἱῷ,

within them, spoke out in ecstasy of their thoughts; the Spirit being used like a flute player breathing into a flute) (59). What then are these? The Lord our God; no other will be reckoned alongside him. And again: «I am God first, and after me there is no God.» «Before me no other God was formed, and after me there will not be.» «I am God, and there is none besides me» (60). And about his greatness: «The heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool of my feet. What house will you build for me, or what place for my rest?» I leave it to you (61), who have studied these books, to examine their prophecies more carefully, so that with proper reasoning you may prepare your understanding about us.

10. Therefore, it is clear enough to me that atheists are not, since there is one uncreated, eternal, invisible, impassible, incomprehensible, and indivisible being, grasped only by mind and reason, contained in ineffable light, beauty, spirit, and power, through whom all things came into being and are arranged and held together by the same (62) Word—this being God. For we also understand the Son of God. And let no one think it ridiculous that the Son is God. For we have not imagined gods better than humans, as poets do, either about God and the Father or about the Son. But the Son of God is the Word (63) of the Father in form and activity (64). For through him (65) and by him all things came into being, there being one Father and one Son. And since the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son,

ἐνόητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος (66), νοῦς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἰ δὲ δι' ὑπερβολὴν συνέσεως σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἔπεισιν, ὁ Παῖς τί βούλεται, ἐρῶ διὰ βραχέων, πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον (ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς νοῦς αἰδῖος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ (67) τὸν Λόγον, αἰδῖως λογικὸς ὢν), ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν ὑλικῶν ξυμπάντων ἀποίου φύσεως καὶ γῆς ὀχείας (68) ὑποκειμένων δίκην, μεμιγμένων τῶν παχυμερεστέρων πρὸς τὰ κουφότερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια εἶναι προσελθὼν (69). Συνάδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν Πνεῦμα· Κύριος γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἀπορροῖαν εἶναι φαμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον (70), ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν (71) ἀπορήσῃ, λέγοντας (72) Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεολογικὸν (73) ἡμῶν ἵσταται μέρος· ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν φαμεν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγου διένειμε, καὶ διέταξε περὶ τε τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν.

united and empowered by the Spirit (66), the mind and Word of the Father, the Son of God. But if you wish to consider this more deeply with great understanding, I will say briefly what the Child wants: that he is the firstborn of the Father, not as something made (for God from the beginning, being eternal mind, had the Word in himself (67), being eternally rational), but as the idea and activity that came forth (69) like a nature separate from all material things and the earth's vessel (68) underlying them, mixed with the denser parts toward the lighter ones upon them. The prophetic Spirit also agrees with the Word; for the Lord says, «He created me the beginning of his ways for his works.» And indeed, we say that the holy Spirit, which works through those who speak prophetically, is a flowing forth from God, flowing out and returning (70), like a ray of the sun. Who then would not be puzzled (71), hearing one speak of God the Father, and the Son God, and the holy Spirit, showing both their power in unity and their distinction in order, and call them atheists? And our theology (73) does not stop there; but we also say there is a multitude of angels and ministers whom the creator and maker God of the world distributed through the Word with him, and appointed them over the elements, the heavens, the world, and all things in it, and their good order.

11. Εἰ δὲ ἀκριβῶς διέξιμι τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον, μὴ θαυμάσητε· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἀλόγῳ συναποφέρησθε γνώμη, ἔχητε δὲ τάληθές εἰδέναι, ἀκριβολογοῦμαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν δογμάτων (74) οἷς προσέχομεν (75), οὐκ ἀνθρωπικοῖς οὔσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοφάτοις καὶ θεοδιδάκτοις, πεῖσαι ὑμᾶς, μὴ ὡς περὶ ἀθέων ἔχειν, δυνάμεθα.

11. If I explain our reason carefully, do not be surprised; for so that you do not share in common and unreasonable opinion, and so that you may have the truth known, I speak precisely. Since even through the very doctrines (74) to which we attend (75), which are not human but divine and God-taught, we can persuade you not to hold us

Τίνες οὖν ἡμῶν οἱ λόγοι, οἷς ἐντρεφόμεθα; Λέγω ὑμῖν· Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑμῶν (76) τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὃς τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. Ἐπιτρέψατε (77) ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐξακούστου μετὰ πολλῆς κραυγῆς γεγονότος, ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἀναγαγεῖν, ὥς ἐπὶ βασιλέων φιλοσόφων ἀπολογούμενον. Τίνες γὰρ ἡ τῶν τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς ἀναλύνοντων καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας διαλύνοντων καὶ τὰς ἐτυμολογίας σαφηνιζόντων, ἢ τῶν τὰ ὁμώνυμα καὶ συνώνυμα καὶ κατηγορήματα καὶ ἀξιώματα, καὶ τί τὸ ὑποκείμενον, καὶ τί τὸ κατηγορούμενον (78), οἱ εὐδαίμονας (79) ἀποτελεῖν διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ὑπισχνοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας, οὕτως ἐκκεκαθαρμένοι εἰσὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ μισεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ, τὸ μετριώτατον, κακῶς ἀγορεύειν τοὺς προκατάρξαντας λοιδορίας, εὐλογεῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων εἰς τὸ ζῆν προσεύχεσθαι; Οἱ τούναντίον ἀεὶ διατελοῦσι κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα (80) μεταλλεύοντες, καὶ ἀεὶ τι ἐργάσασθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντες κακὸν (81), τέχνην λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίδειξιν ἔργων, τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοι. Παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν εὗροιτε ἂν ἰδιώτας καὶ χειροτέχνας καὶ γραῖδια, εἰ λόγῳ ὠφέλειαν παριστᾶν εἰσὶν ἀδύνατοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἔργῳ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως ὠφέλειαν ἐπιδεικνυμένους. Οὐ γὰρ λόγους διαμνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἀγαθὰς ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· παιόμενοι (82) μὴ ἀντιτύπτειν, καὶ ἄρπαζόμενοι μὴ δικάζεσθαι, τοῖς αἰτοῦσι διδόναι, καὶ τοὺς πλησίον ἀγαπᾶν ὥς ἑαυτούς.

as atheists. What then are the words by which we are nourished? I say to you: Love your enemies, bless those who curse you, pray for those who persecute you, so that you may become children of your Father (76) who is in heaven, who makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust. Allow (77) here a word unheard before, spoken with much outcry, to be brought forth boldly, as if defending itself before kings and philosophers. For who, among those who analyze arguments, dissolve doubts, and clarify etymologies, or among those who explain homonyms, synonyms, predicates, and axioms, and what is the subject and what is the predicate (78), who promise happiness to those present through such words and the like, have purified souls so much that instead of hating enemies, they love them, and instead of, at the least, speaking badly of those who first insult, they bless and pray for those plotting against their life? These people always do the opposite, mining such hidden things for themselves (80), and always desiring to work some evil (81), making the craft of words, not a display of deeds, their work. But among us you would find common people, craftsmen, and old men, if they are unable to provide benefit by word, showing benefit by deed from choice. For they do not remember words, but show good deeds; beaten so as not to strike back, and seized so as not to judge, giving to those who ask, and loving neighbors as themselves.

12. Ἄρα τοίνυν, εἰ μὴ ἐφεστηκέναι Θεὸν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἐνομίζομεν, οὕτως ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξεκαθαίρομεν; Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πεπεισμεθα ὑφ' ἐξίν παντὸς τοῦ ἐνταῦθα βίου λόγον τῷ πεποιηκότι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν κόσμον Θεῷ, τὸν μέτριον (83) καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητον βίον αἰρούμεθα, οὐδὲν τηλικούτον πείσεσθαι κακὸν ἐνταῦθα νομίζοντες, κἂν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρῶνται τινες, ὧν ἐκεῖ κομιούμεθα τοῦ πράου (84) καὶ φιλάνθρωπου καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς βίου παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου δικαστοῦ. Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν δικάσιν καὶ κολάσιν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἔφη· ἡμεῖς δὲ, κἂν Μίνως τις κἂν Ῥαδάμανθος ᾗ, κἂν ὁ τούτων πατήρ, οὐδὲ τοῦτόν φαμεν διαφεύξεσθαι τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἴθ' οἱ μὲν τὸν βίον τοῦτον νομίζοντες, Φάγωμεν καὶ πίνωμεν (85), αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν, καὶ τὸν θάνατον βαθὺν ὕπνον καὶ λήθην τιθέμενοι (ὕπνος καὶ θανάτω διδυμάονε (86)), πιστεύονται θεοσεβεῖν· ἄνθρωποι δὲ, τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγου καὶ μικροῦ τινος ἄξιον βίον λελογισμένοι, ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παραπεμπόμενοι (87) τούτον, ὃν ἴσως (88) Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον εἰδέναι, τίς ἢ τοῦ Παιδὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐνότης (89), τίς ἢ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν κοινωνία, τί τὸ Πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσούτων (90) ἔνωσις, καὶ διαίρεσις ἐνουμένων, τοῦ Πνεύματος, τοῦ Παιδὸς, τοῦ Πατρὸς· πολὺ δὲ καὶ κρεῖττονα (91) ἢ εἰπεῖν λόγῳ τὸν ἐκδεχόμενον βίον εἰδότες. ἂν καθαροὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ παντὸς παραπεμφθῶμεν ἀδικήματος· μέχρι τοσούτου δὲ φιλάνθρωπότατοι, ὥστε μὴ μόνον στέργειν τοὺς φίλους (Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶτε, φησὶν, τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, καὶ δανείζετε τοῖς δανείζουσιν ὑμῖν, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε;) τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες, καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον βιοῦντες βίον, ἵνα κριθῆναι διαφύγωμεν, ἀπιστούμεθα θεοσεβεῖν; Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν,

12. Then, if we do not think that God stands over the human race, would we clear ourselves in this way? It cannot be said. But since we are convinced to attribute every word of this life here to the Maker of both us and the world, God, and since we choose a moderate (83), kind, and humble life, we do not think that any such great evil will convince us here, even if some take away our soul, from whom we receive there the gentle (84), kind, and reasonable life from the great judge. Plato said that Minos and Rhadamanthus judge and punish the wicked; but we say, even if one is Minos or Rhadamanthus, or even their father, we do not think he escapes the judgment of God. Then some, thinking this life to be all, say, «Let us eat and drink (85), for tomorrow we die,» and they put death as a deep sleep and forgetfulness (sleep and death are twins (86)), and they believe they are god-fearing; but men, considering this life here to be of little and small worth, and sent only (87) by one who perhaps (88) knows God and the Word with him, who is the unity of the Child with the Father (89), what is the communion of the Father with the Son, what is the Spirit, what is the union of so many (90), and the distinction of those united—the Spirit, the Child, the Father—knowing the life they expect is much better (91) than words can say. If, being pure from all wrongdoing, we are sent away; and so kind-hearted that we not only love friends (for if you love those who love you, and lend to those who lend to you, what reward will you have?), being such as we are, and living such a life, to escape judgment, do we disbelieve in godliness? These things then, small from great, and few from many, so that we do not trouble you more; for even tasting honey and cheese (92) in a small part of the whole,

μικρὰ ἀπὸ μεγάλων, καὶ ὀλίγα ἀπὸ πολλῶν,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμῖν ἐνοχλοίημεν· καὶ γὰρ
τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸν ὅρον (92) δοκιμάζοντες,
μικρῷ μέρει τοῦ παντός, τὸ πᾶν εἰ καλὸν
δοκιμάζουσιν.

they test the whole to see if it is good.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ (93) οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
ἐπικαλούντων ἡμῖν τὴν ἀθεότητα, οὐδ’
ὄναρ τί ἐστὶ Θεὸν ἐγνωκότες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ
ἀθεώρητοι ὄντες τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ
θεολογικοῦ (94) λόγου, μετροῦντες τὴν
εὐσέβειαν θυσιῶν νόμῳ, ἐπικαλοῦσι, τὸ μὴ
καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσι θεοὺς ἄγειν·
σκέψασθέ μοι, αὐτοκράτορες, ὧδε περὶ
ἐκατέρων καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τοῦ μὴ θύειν.
Ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντός δημιουργὸς καὶ πατήρ
οὐ δεῖται αἵματος, οὐδὲ κνίσης, οὐδὲ τῆς
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θυμιαμάτων εὐωδίας,
αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ τελεία εὐωδία (95), ἀνενδεὴς
καὶ ἀπροσδεής· ἀλλὰ θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη,
ἂν γινώσκωμεν τίς ἐξέτεινε καὶ
συνεσφαίρωσεν τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ τὴν
γῆν κέντρου δίκην ἥδρασε, τίς συνήγαγε τὸ
ὔδωρ εἰς θαλάσσας, καὶ διέκρινε τὸ φῶς
ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, τίς ἐκόσμησεν ἄστροις
τὸν αἰθέρα, καὶ ἐποίησεν πᾶν σπέρμα τὴν
γῆν ἀναβάλλειν, τίς ἐποίησεν ζῶα, καὶ
ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασεν. Ὅταν (96) ἔχοντες τὸν
δημιουργὸν Θεὸν συνέχοντα καὶ
ἐποπτεύοντα ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνῃ, καθ’ ἣν
ἄγει τὰ πάντα, ἐπαίρωμεν ὁσίους χεῖρας
αὐτῷ, ποίας ἔτι χρειάν ἐκατόμβης ἔχει;

13. Since many of those who accuse us of
atheism have not even dreamed what God
is, being ignorant and unseeing of natural
and theological reason (94), measuring
piety by the law of sacrifices, they accuse us
of not even bringing gods into their own
cities. Consider this for me, emperors,
about each point, and first about not
sacrificing. The creator and father of all this
does not need blood, nor smoke, nor the
fragrance from flowers and incense; he
himself is the perfect fragrance (95),
lacking and needing nothing. But the
greatest sacrifice to him is if we know who
stretched out and gathered together the
heavens, and set the earth like a center,
who gathered the waters into seas, and
separated light from darkness, who
adorned the sky with stars, and made every
seed to grow from the earth, who made
animals, and formed man. When we have
the creator God holding and watching over
all things with knowledge and skill, by
whom all things are led, we lift holy hands
to him—what further need does he have
for a hundredfold sacrifice?

**Καὶ τοὺς μὲν θυσίησι καὶ εὐχολῆς
ἀγανῆσι,**

**And some with sacrifice and abundant
prayer,**

**Λοιβῇ τε κνίσσῃ τε παρατρῶπῳ
ἄνθρωποι.**

People also offer libations and smoke.

****Λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβαίῃ καὶ ἁμάρτη.****

****Begging, whenever someone might go beyond and sin.****

Τί δέ μοι ὀλοκαυτώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ Θεός; καίτοι προσφέρειν δέον (97) ἀναιμακτον θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν.

But what use are burnt offerings to me, if God does not need them? And yet it is necessary to offer (97) a bloodless sacrifice, and to bring a reasonable worship.

14. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ προσιέναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ταῖς πόλεσιν θεοὺς ἅγειν πάνυ αὐτοῖς εὐήθης λόγος. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ ἡμῖν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἀθεότητα, ἐπεὶ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἷς ἴσασι νομίζομεν, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συμφωνοῦσι περὶ θεῶν μάτην (98). Ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Κελεὸν καὶ Μετάνειραν (99) ἱδρυνται θεοὺς· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μενέλεων (1), καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐορτάζουσιν· Ἰλιεῖς δὲ, οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούοντες, Ἑκτορα φέρουσιν· καὶ Χῖοι (2) Ἀρισταῖον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες· Θάσιοι Θεαγένην (3), ὑφ' οὗ καὶ φόνος Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐγένετο· Σάμιοι Λύσανδρον (4), ἐπὶ τοσαύταις σφαγαῖς καὶ τοσοῦτοις κακοῖς· Ἀλκμὰν καὶ Ἡσίοδος Μήδειαν· καὶ Νιόβην (5) Κίλικες· Σικελοὶ Φίλιππον τὸν Βουτακίδου· Ὀνησίλαον Ἀμαθοῦσιοι· Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιοι. Ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὸ πλῆθος καταλέγοντα. Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς διαφωνῶσι περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς θεῶν, τί ἡμῖν μὴ συμφερομένοις ἐπικαλοῦσι; Τὸ δὲ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦ; Τύπτονται γὰρ (6) ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ στήθη κατὰ τὰς πανηγύρεις ὡς ἐπὶ τετελευτηκόσιν, καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεοῖς. Καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οἱ γὰρ καὶ τὰ θηρία θεοὺς ἄγουσι, καὶ ξυρῶνται, ἐπεὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ θάπτουσιν ἐν ἱεροῖς, καὶ δημοτελεῖς κοπετοὺς ἐγείρουσιν. Ἄν τοίνυν ἡμεῖς, ὅτι

14. The argument about not approaching and about the same gods being worshiped in the cities is very simple for them. But even those who accuse us of impiety, since we do not worship the same gods they know, agree with them in vain about gods (98). The Athenians have established Celeus and Metaneira as gods; the Lacedaemonians have Menelaus, and they sacrifice to him and celebrate festivals; the people of Ilium, not even hearing the name, bring Hector; and the Chians have Aristaeus, whom they consider both Zeus and Apollo; the Thasians have Theagenes (3), under whom a murder also happened at Olympia; the Samians have Lysander (4), despite so many slaughterings and so many evils; Alcman and Hesiod have Medea; and the Cilicians have Niobe (5); the Sicilians have Philip, son of Boutakides; the Amathusians have Onesilaus; the Carthaginians have Hamilcar. The day will fail me to recount the full number. So when they themselves disagree about the gods they have, why do they call us impious for not agreeing with them? And is it not also ridiculous concerning the Egyptians? For they beat their chests in the temples during festivals as if for the dead, and they sacrifice as if to gods. And this is nothing strange; for they also worship animals as

μη κοινῶς ἐκείνοις θεοσεβοῦμεν,
ἀσεβῶμεν, πᾶσαι μὲν πόλεις, πάντα δὲ ἔθνη
ἀσεβοῦσιν (7)· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάντες
(8) ἄγουσι θεοὺς.

gods, and they shave themselves when they die, and bury them in temples, and raise public mourning cries. Therefore, if we are impious because we do not worship the gods commonly with them, all cities and all nations are impious (7); for not all of them worship the same gods (8).

15. Ἀλλ' ἔστωσαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄγοντες· τί οὖν, ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοὶ διακρίναι οὐ δυνάμενοι τί μὲν ὕλη, τί δὲ θεὸς, πόσον δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου (9) αὐτῶν, προσίαισι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης εἰδώλοις, δι' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ διακρίνοντες καὶ χωρίζοντες τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὸ γενητὸν, τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ νοητὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν, καὶ ἐκάστω αὐτῶν τὸ προσῆκον ὄνομα ἀποδιδόντες, προσελευσόμεθα καὶ προσκυνήσομεν τὰ ἀγάλματα; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ταύτῃ ὕλη καὶ θεός, δύο ὀνόματα καθ' ἑνὸς πράγματος, τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα, τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον οὐ νομίζοντες θεοὺς, ἀσεβοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ διεστᾶσι πάμπολυ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον τεχνίτης καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴ, τί ἐγκαλούμεθα; Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κεραμεὺς καὶ ὁ πηλὸς (ὕλη μὲν ὁ πηλός, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ κεραμεύς (10)), καὶ ὁ θεὸς δημιουργός, ὑπακούουσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ὕλη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην. Ἀλλ' ὥς ὁ πηλὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν σκευὴ γενέσθαι χωρὶς τέχνης ἀδύνατος, καὶ ἡ πανδεχὴς (11) ὕλη ἄνευ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διάκρισιν καὶ σχῆμα καὶ κόσμον οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν. Ὡς δὲ οὐ τὸν κέραμον προτιμότερον τοῦ ἐργασαμένου (12) αὐτὸν ἔχομεν, οὐδὲ τὰς φιάλας καὶ χρυσίδας τοῦ χαλκεύσαντος· ἀλλ' εἴ τι περὶ ἐκείνας δεξιὸν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, τὸν τεχνίτην ἐπαινοῦμεν, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σκεύεσι δόξαν καρπούμενος· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν κεκοσμημένων, οὐχ ὕλη τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν δικαίαν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ὁ δημιουργός

15. But let them worship the same gods; what then? Since most people are not able to distinguish what is matter, what is God, and how much is in between (9) them, they worship idols made from matter. Should we, who distinguish and separate the uncreated and the created, the being and the non-being, the intelligible and the sensible, and give each its proper name, approach and worship statues because of those? For if matter and God were the same, two names for one thing, then not considering stones and wood, gold and silver as gods would be impiety. But if they are very different from each other, as much as the craftsman and his skill in the craft, what are we accused of? Just as the potter and the clay (matter is the clay, the potter is the craftsman (10)), and God is the creator, with matter obeying him in the craft. But just as clay by itself cannot become vessels without skill, so the all-receiving (11) matter without the creator did not receive distinction, shape, or order. And just as we do not prefer the clay over the one who made it (12), nor the cups and gold over the smith who made them; but if anything about those is skillful according to the craft, we praise the craftsman, and he is the one who receives glory for the vessels; so also for matter and God, the arranger of the adorned, it is not matter that rightly has glory and honor, but the creator God himself. For if (13) we were to worship the

αὐτῆς Θεός. Ὡς, εἰ (13) τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης ἄγοιμεν θεοὺς, ἀναισθητεῖν τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ δόξομεν, τὰ λυτὰ καὶ φθαρτὰ τῷ ἀϊδίῳ ἐξισοῦντες.

forms of matter as gods, we would be ignoring the true God, equating what is perishable and corruptible with the eternal.

16. Καλὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τῷ μεγέθει περιέχων, καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῶν τε ἐν τῷ λοξῷ κύκλῳ. καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἄρκτον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι σφαιρικῷ ὄντι· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τεχνίτην αὐτοῦ προσκυνητέον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνούμενοι ὑπήκοοι, παραλιπόντες ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δεσπότας θεραπεύειν, παρ' ὧν, ὧν ἂν (14) δέοιντο, καὶ τύχοιεν, ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνὸν (15) τῆς καταγωγῆς ὑμῶν καταφεύγουσιν· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν βασιλικὴν ἐστίαν, τὴν ἀλλως ἐντυχόντες αὐτῇ, θαυμάζουσι καλῶς ἡσκημένην, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντα (16) ἐν πᾶσιν ἄγουσι τῇ δόξῃ. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἀσκεῖτε τὰς καταγωγὰς βασιλικάς· ὁ δὲ κόσμος, οὐχ ὡς δεομένου τοῦ Θεοῦ, γέγονεν· Πάντα γὰρ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, κόσμος τέλειος, πνεῦμα, δύναμις, λόγος. Εἰ τοίνυν ἐμμελὲς ὁ κόσμος ὄργανον καὶ κινούμενον (17) ἐν ῥυθμῷ, τὸν ἁρμοσάμενον καὶ πλήσσοντα (18) τοὺς φθόγγους, καὶ τὸ σύμφωνον ἐπάδοντα μέλος, οὐ τὸ ὄργανον, προσκυνῶ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, παραλιπόντες οἱ ἀθλοθέται τοὺς κιθαριστάς, τὰς κιθάρας στεφανοῦσιν (19) αὐτῶν. Εἴτε (20) (ὡς Πλάτων φησί) τέχνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, θαυμάζων αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος, τῷ τεχνίτῃ πρόσειμι· εἴτε οὐσία καὶ σῶμα (21) (ὡς οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ Περιπάτου), οὐ παραλιπόντες προσκυνεῖν τὸν αἴτιον τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ σώματος Θεὸν, ἐπὶ τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆ στοιχεῖα καταπίπτομεν, τῷ ἀπαθεῖ ἀέρι κατ' αὐτοὺς παθητὴν ὕλην προσκυνοῦντες· εἴτε δυνάμεις τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου νοεῖ τις, οὐ τὰς δυνάμεις προσιόντες

16. For the world is indeed beautiful, both in its size and in the arrangement of the things within the oblique circle.. and those around the Bear, and in its truly spherical shape; but not this one, rather the craftsman himself must be worshiped.. For even those subjects who come to you do not leave behind serving your rulers and masters, from whom, whenever they need something, they might obtain it, and they turn to the sacred origin of your authority; but they rightly admire the royal hearth, which they encounter in a different way, and you lead them in all things with glory.. And you kings cultivate royal origins for yourselves; but the world did not come into being as if God needed it. For God himself is everything to himself: unapproachable light, perfect order, spirit, power, reason.. If then the world is a fitting instrument, moving in rhythm, arranging and striking the notes, and singing a harmonious melody, I do not worship the instrument.. For just as the victors do not crown the lyres, having left behind the harpists, so too I do not crown the instruments.. Whether (20) (as Plato says) it is an art of God, admiring its beauty, I pay respect to the artist; or whether it is substance and body (21) (as those of the Peripatetic school hold), without neglecting to worship God, the cause of the body's movement, we fall down before the poor and weak elements, worshiping the impassive air as if it were a passive matter; or whether one thinks of the powers of God as the parts of the world, we do not serve the powers themselves,

θεραπεύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην. Οὐκ αἰτῶ τὴν ὕλην ἃ μὴ ἔχει, οὐδὲ παραλιπὼν τὸν Θεὸν, τὰ στοιχεῖα (22) θεραπεύω, οἷς μηδὲν πλέον ἢ ὅσον ἐκελεύσθησαν ἔξεστιν (23). Εἰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ ἰδεῖν τῇ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ τῇ τῆς ὕλης φύσει (24). Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ Πλάτων (25). Ὁν γὰρ οὐρανὸν, φησὶ, καὶ κόσμον ἐπυνόμακεν, πολλῶν μὲν μετέσχηκε μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός· ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινώνηκε σώματος· ὅθεν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρῳ τυγχάνειν ἀδύνατον. Εἰ τοίνυν, θαυμάζων τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς τέχνης, οὐ προσκυνῶ αὐτὰ ὡς θεοὺς, εἰδὼς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς λύσεως λόγον· ὧν οἶδα ἀνθρώπους (26) δημιουργοὺς, πῶς ταῦτα προσεῖπω θεοὺς; σκέψασθε δέ μοι διὰ βραχέων.

but their maker and master.. I do not blame the matter for what it does not have, nor, neglecting God, do I serve the elements (22), to which nothing more than what they were commanded is allowed (23).. For it is good to see the works of the creator's art, but these belong to the nature of matter itself (24).. Plato also bears witness to this statement (25: For he says, "The one whom he called heaven and world shared in many blessings from the Father; yet he also partook of a body; therefore, it is impossible for him to be subject to change."). If then, admiring the heaven and the elements of art, I do not worship them as gods, knowing the reason for their dissolution; and since I know men (26) who are creators, how could I call these things gods?? Consider for me briefly.

17. Ἀνάγκη δὲ, ἀπολογούμενον, ἀκριβεστέρους παρέχειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὅτι νεώτερα, καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων, ὅτι χθὲς καὶ πρόην γεγόνασιν, ὡς λόγος (27) εἶπεῖν. Ἰστε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἀξιολογώτερον, ὡς ἂν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοῖς παλαιοῖς συγγενόμενοι. Φημὶ οὖν Ὀρφέα καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον εἶναι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν (28) λεγομένοις θεοῖς. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω πρεσβυτέρους ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλείοσι, τοὺς καὶ γένη καὶ ὀνόματα δόντας (29). Οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. Αἱ δ' εἰκόνες, μέχρι μήπω πλαστικὴ καὶ γραφικὴ καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴ ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐνομίζοντο (30) Σαυρίου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου καὶ Κράτωνος τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ Κλεάνθους

17. It is necessary, in defense, to provide more precise arguments, both about the names, since they are newer, and about the images, since they came into being yesterday and the day before, so to speak (27).. You yourselves also know these things to be more worthy, so that in all things and above all you may be connected with the ancients.. I say, then, that Orpheus and Homer and Hesiod are the gods spoken of by those people (28).. Herodotus also bears witness; for I think Hesiod and Homer to have been older than me by four hundred years, and not more, those who gave both kinds and names (29).. These are the ones who composed the theogony for the Greeks, and gave names to the gods, and assigned honors and roles, and marked their forms.. Images, until the time when sculpture, painting, and statue-making existed, were not even considered (30). These arts came about with Saurius of

τοῦ Κορινθίου, καὶ Κόρης Κορινθίας ἐπιγενομένων· καὶ σκιαγραφίας μὲν εὐρεθείσης ὑπὸ Σαυρίου, ἵππον ἐν ἡλίῳ περιγράψαντος, γραφικῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτωνος, ἐν πίνακι λελευκωμένῳ σκιὰς (31) ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐναλείψαντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κόρης ἡ κοροπλαστικὴ (32) εὐρέθη. Ἐρωτικῶς γάρ τινος ἔχουσα, περιέγραψεν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου ἐν τοίχῳ τὴν σκιάν· εἴθ' ὁ πατὴρ ἡσθεὶς ἀπαραλλάκτῳ οὕσῃ τῇ ὁμοιότητι (κέραμον δὲ εἰργάζετο), καὶ ἀναγλύψας (33) τὴν περιγραφὴν, πηλῷ προσανεπλήρωσεν. Ὁ τύπος ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Κορίνθῳ σῶζεται. Τούτοις δὲ ἐπιγενόμενοι Δαίδαλος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μιλήσιος, πλαστικὴν καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιητικὴν (34) προσεξεῦρον. Ὁ μὲν δὴ χρόνος ὀλίγος τοσοῦτος ταῖς εἰκόσι καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ εἶδωλα πραγματείᾳ, ὥς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου τεχνίτην θεοῦ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, μᾶλλον γε Ἀθηλᾶς (35) (Ἀθήλᾳ γὰρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον, οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας (36) τὸ παλαιὸν), καὶ τὴν καθημένην Ἐνδοῖος (37) εἰργάσατο μαθητὴς Δαιδάλου· ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἔργον Θεοδώρου καὶ Τηλεκλέους (38)· καὶ ὁ Δήλιος καὶ ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἰδεκταίου (39) καὶ Ἀγγελίωνος τέχνη· ἡ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ (40) Ἥρα καὶ ἐν Ἄργει Σμίλιδος χεῖρες, καὶ Φειδίου τὰ λοιπὰ εἶδωλα· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Κνίδῳ ἑταίρα, Πραξιτέλους τέχνη· ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἔργον Φειδίου. Συνελόντα φάναι, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν διαπέφευγεν τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου γεγονέναι. Εἰ τοίνυν θεοὶ, τί οὐκ ἦσαν (41) ἐξ ἀρχῆς; Τί δαί (42) εἰσι νεώτεροι τῶν πεποιηκότων; Τί δαί ἔδει αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι, ἀνθρώπων καὶ τέχνης; γῆ ταῦτα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ ὕλη, καὶ περίεργος τέχνη.

Samos, Craton of Sicyon, Cleanthes of Corinth, and Kore of Corinth. Saurius invented shadow-drawing, having outlined a horse in the sunlight; Craton invented painting, by shading the shadows of a man and a woman on a white panel (31); and from Kore came the invention of clay modeling (32).. Having a certain love for him, she traced his shadow on the wall while he was sleeping; then the father, pleased with the perfect likeness (he was a potter), carved the outline and filled it in with clay (33).. The mold is still preserved in Corinth even now.. After these, Daedalus and Theodorus of Miletus came along and added modeling and statue-making (34).. The time was indeed so short for the twenty and for the study of images, that one might say each craftsman had a god.. For the one at Ephesus of Artemis, and that of Athena, rather of Athela (35) (for Athela, as the more secret ones say, is the old name from the olive tree (36)), and the seated Endoios (37) was made by a student of Daedalus; the Pythian was the work of Theodorus and Telecles (38); and the Delian and the Artemis were the art of Idectaeus (39) and Angelion; but the Hera at Samos (40) and at Argos were the hands of Smilidas, and the rest of the images were by Phidias; the Aphrodite at Knidos was a courtesan, the work of Praxiteles; and the Asclepius at Epidaurus was the work of Phidias.. To sum up, it can be said that nothing among them escaped being made by human hands.. If then they were gods, why were they not from the beginning? (41)? What gods (42) are newer than those who made them?? What need did they have, before coming into being, of humans and skill?? These things are earth and stones, and wood, and elaborate skill.

18. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν φασὶ τινες εἰκόνας μὲν εἶναι ταύτας, θεοὺς δὲ, ἐφ' οἷς αἱ εἰκόνες· καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἅς τούτοις προσίσασι, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ εἰς ἐκείνους γίνεσθαι· μὴ εἶναί τε ἕτερον τρόπον τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τοῦτον προσελθεῖν (χαλεποὶ (43) δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς), καὶ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν τεκμήρια παρέχουσι τὰς ἐνίων εἰδώλων ἐνεργείας· φέρε, ἐξετάσωμεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δύναμιν αὐτῶν. Δεήσομαι δὲ ὑμῶν, μέγιστοι (44) αὐτοκρατόρων, πρὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἀληθεῖς παρεχομένῳ τοὺς λογισμοὺς συγγνῶναι. Οὐ γὰρ προκείμενός μοι ἐλέγχειν τὰ εἴδωλα, ἀλλ' ἀπολυόμενος τὰς διαβολὰς, λογισμὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἡμῶν παρέχω (45). Ἔχοιτε ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπουράνιον βασιλείαν (46) ἐξετάζειν· ὥς γὰρ ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσιν (βασιλέως γὰρ ψυχὴ (47) ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ, φησὶ τὸ προφητικὸν Πνεῦμα), οὕτως ἐνὶ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγῳ Υἱῷ νοουμένῳ ἀμερίστῳ πάντα ὑποτέτακται. Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν σκέψασθέ μοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. Οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὥς φασιν, ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ, ἀλλ' οὕτως γέγονεν (48) αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ὥς γιγνόμεθα ἡμεῖς· καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συμφωνεῖ· Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ λέγοντος,

Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

Ὅρφέως δὲ (ὃς καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐξηῦρεν, καὶ τὰς γενέσεις διεξῆλθε, καὶ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπεν, καὶ πεπίστευται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀληθέστερον θεολογεῖν· ᾧ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ

18. Since, then, some say that these are images, but gods are those on whom the images depend; and that the offerings given to these images and the sacrifices are brought to and become for those gods; and that the gods cannot be approached in any other way than this (and gods appear to be clearly difficult to reach), and the actions of some idols provide proof that this is so; bring it, let us examine their power over the names. I will ask you, greatest emperors, before the argument, to forgive the thoughts if the truth is offered. For it is not my purpose to criticize the idols, but by removing slanders, I offer a reason based on our choice. You should examine the heavenly kingdom for yourselves; for since everything has been handed over to you by the Father and the Son, having received the kingdom from above (for the soul of the king is in the hand of God, says the prophetic Spirit), so everything has been subjected to one God and to the Word, the Son, understood as indivisible. Consider this first before the others. The gods were not from the beginning, as they say, but each of them came to be in this way, just as we come to be; and this agrees with all of them. For Homer says,

Oceanus, the origin and mother of the gods, Tethys;

Orpheus (who was also the first to discover their names, and traced their origins, and told what each of them had done, and is believed among them to speak more truly about the gods—whom even Homer mostly

θεῶν μάλιστα ἔπεται), καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν
πρώτην γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὕδατος
συνιστάντος·

follows, especially regarding the gods), also
presents their first origin as coming from
water;

****Ὠκεανὸς** (49), ****ὅσπερ γένεσις
πάντεσσι τέτυκται.******

****Oceanus** (49), ****just as the origin of all
things has been established.******

Ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις,
ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ
ἐκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῶον δράκων,
προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος,
διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν (50) θεοῦ πρόσωπον,
ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ Χρόνος. Οὗτος ὁ
Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμέγεθες ὦον (51),
ὃ, συμπληρούμενον, ὑπὸ βίας τοῦ
γεγεννηκότος ἐκ παρατριβῆς εἰς δύο
ἐρράγη. Τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ
οὐρανὸς εἶναι ἐτελέσθη· τὸ δὲ κάτενεχθὲν
(52) γῆ. Προῆλθε δὲ καὶ θεὸς γῆ διὰ
σώματος· οὐρανὸς δὲ (53), γῆ μιχθεῖς,
γεννᾷ θηλείας μὲν Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσιν,
Ἄτροπον· ἄνδρας δὲ ἐκατόγχειρας Κόττυν,
Γύγην (54), Βριάρεων· καὶ Κύκλωπας
Βροντὴν καὶ Στεροπὴν καὶ Ἄργην· οὓς καὶ
δήσας κατεταρτάρωσεν, ἐκπεσεῖσθαι
αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῆς ἀρχῆς μαθὼν.
Διὸ καὶ ὀργισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας
ἐγέννησε·

For water was the beginning for all things
according to him, and from the water came
mud, and from both was born a living
dragon, having the head of a lion, and in the
middle of them (50) the face of a god,
named Heracles, and Time. This Heracles
produced a huge egg (51), which, being
filled, was violently broken into two by the
one who had been born, through rubbing.
The part at the top was completed as
heaven; the part that fell down (52) was
earth. Then a god of the earth came forth
through the body; and heaven (53), mixed
with earth, gave birth to the females Clotho,
Lachesis, Atropos, and the men the
hundred-handed Cottus, Gyges (54),
Briareus; and the Cyclopes Brontes,
Steropes, and Arges; whom, after binding,
he put in order, having learned that they
would be overthrown by the children of the
ruler. Therefore, angered, the earth gave
birth to the Titans;

****Κούρους δ' Οὐρανίωνας ἐγείνατο πότνια
Γαῖα,****

****And the earth, the mistress, gave birth to
the youthful Uranian ones,****

****Οὓς δὲ καὶ Τιτῆνας ἐπὶ κλησιν
καλέουσιν,****

****whom indeed they also call by the name
Titans,****

****Οὐνεκα τισάσθην** (55) ****μέγαν**
οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα.****

****Because I took vengeance on the great
starry heaven.****

19. Αὕτη ἀρχὴ γενέσεως περὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεοὺς τε καὶ τῷ παντί (56). Ἐκεῖνο τοίνυν· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν τεθεολογημένων ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄν εἶναι (57). Εἰ γὰρ γεγόνασιν οὐκ ὄντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν θεολογοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγέννητόν τι καὶ ἔστιν αἰδίον· ἡ γεννητὸν φθαρτόν (58) ἔστι. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ οὕτως, ἐτέρως δὲ οἱ φιλόσοφοι. Τί τὸ ὄν αἰεὶ, γένεσιν τε οὐκ ἔχον· ἢ τί τὸ γενόμενον μὲν, ὄν δὲ οὐδέποτε; Περὶ νοητοῦ καὶ αἰσθητοῦ διαλεγόμενος ὁ Πλάτων, τὸ μὲν αἰεὶ ὄν, τὸ νοητὸν, ἀγέννητον εἶναι διδάσκει· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ αἰσθητὸν, γεννητόν· ἀρχόμενον εἶναι καὶ παυόμενον. Τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς τῷ λόγῳ ἐκπυρωθήσεσθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάλιν ἔσεσθαι φασιν, ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόσμου λαβόντος (59). Εἰ δὲ, καίτοι διισοῦ αἰτίου κατ' αὐτοὺς ὄντος, τοῦ μὲν δραστηρίου καὶ καταρχομένου, καθὼς ἡ πρόνοια· τοῦ δὲ πάσχοντος καὶ τρεπομένου, καθὼς ἡ ὕλη· ἀδύνατον δέ ἐστι καὶ προνοούμενον ἐπὶ ταύτῳ μείναι τὸν κόσμον γενόμενον· πῶς ἡ τούτων μένει (60) σύστασις, οὐ φύσει ὄντων, ἀλλὰ γενομένων; Τί δὲ τῆς ὕλης κρείττους οἱ θεοὶ, τὴν σύστασιν ἐξ ὕδατος ἔχοντες; Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀρχή· ἔκ τε ἀπλῶν καὶ μονοειδῶν τί ἂν συστήναι στοιχείων δύναιτο; Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ τεχνίτου, καὶ ὕλης (61) τῷ τεχνίτῃ· ἢ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο τὰ ἐκτυπώματα χωρὶς τῆς ὕλης ἢ τοῦ τεχνίτου; Οὔτε πρεσβυτέραν λόγον ἔχει εἶναι τὴν ὕλην τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον προκατάρχειν τῶν γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη.

19. This is the beginning of the account about the gods themselves and the whole universe (56). Now this: for each of those called gods is said to be the beginning (57). For if they came into being without being, as those who speak about them say, then they do not exist. Either something ungenerated and eternal exists, or something generated and perishable (58) exists. And I do not think this way, but philosophers think differently. What is always being has no origin; or what has come into being, but is never being? Discussing the intelligible and the sensible, Plato teaches that what is always being, the intelligible, is ungenerated; but what is not being, the sensible, is generated, having a beginning and an end. To this, those from the Stoa add that all things will be burned by fire and again will be, having taken a new beginning of the world (59). But if, although there are two causes according to them, one active and primary, as is providence, and the other passive and receptive, as is matter, it is impossible for the world that has come into being to remain the same while being both foreseen and generated; how then does the arrangement of these things remain (60), not by nature existing, but by becoming? Why are the gods superior to matter, if the arrangement comes from water? But even according to them, water is not the principle of all things; from simple and uniform elements, how could things be arranged? There must be an artisan for matter, and matter for the artisan (61); or how could impressions be made without matter or the artisan? Matter cannot be

older than God; for the creative cause must precede what is generated.

20. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τοῦ φῆσαι γεγονέναι τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος τὴν σύστασιν ἔχειν, τὸ ἀπίθανον ἦν αὐτοῖς τῆς θεολογίας, ἐπιδεδειχώς, ὅτι οὐδὲν γενητὸν, ὃ οὐ καὶ διαλυτὸν, ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν παρεγενόμην (62) τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν διατεθείκασιν αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα· τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι θεὸς δράκων (63) ἐλικτός· τοὺς δὲ ἑκατόγχειρας εἰπόντες· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Διὸς, ἣν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς Ῥέας καὶ Δήμητρος ἢ Δημήτρος αὐτῆς (64) ἐπαιδοποιήσατο, δύο μὲν κατὰ φύσιν εἶπον ἔχειν ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ δύο, καὶ προτομὴν κατὰ τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ τραχήλου μέρος, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κέρατα· διὸ καὶ τὴν Ῥέαν, φοβηθεῖσαν τὸ παιδὸς τέρας, φυγεῖν, οὐκ ἐφεῖσαν αὐτῇ τὴν θηλήν· ἔνθεν μυστικῶς μὲν Ἀθηλᾶ, κοινῶς δὲ Φερσεφὸνῃ καὶ Κόρῃ κέκληται, οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ οὔσα τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης (65) λεγομένη· τοῦτο δὲ, τὰ πραχθέντα ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῖς, ὡς οἶονται, διεξεληλύθασι· Κρόνος μὲν, ὡς ἐξέτεμε τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ κατέρριψεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος, καὶ ὡς ἐτεκνοκτόνει καταπίνων τῶν παίδων τοὺς ἄρσενας· Ζεὺς δὲ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πατέρα δῆσας κατεταρτάρωσε, καθὰ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ὁ Οὐρανός· καὶ πρὸς Τιτᾶνας περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν μητέρα Ῥέαν ἀπαγορεύουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον ἐδίωκε· δρακαίνης δ’ αὐτῆς γενομένης, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν, συνδήσας αὐτὴν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἡρακλειωτικῷ ἄμματι, ἐμίγη, τοῦ σχήματος τῆς μίξεως σύμβολον ἢ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ῥάβδος· εἶθ’ ὅτι Φερσεφὸνῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐμίγη, βιασάμενος καὶ ταύτην ἐν δράκοντος σχήματι, ἐξ ἧς παῖς Διόνυσος αὐτῷ· ἀνάγκη (66) κἂν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν. Τί

20. If then, up to the point of saying that the gods came into being, and that the arrangement comes from water, their theology was unbelievable, I would be adding nothing but more accusations (62) against them. But since they have assigned these bodies to them: Heracles, because he is a god in the form of a coiled serpent (63); the hundred-handed ones they named; and the daughter of Zeus, whom he begot from the mother Rhea and Demeter or Demeter herself (64), they said she naturally has two eyes, and two on her forehead, and a face on the back of her neck, and also horns. Because of this, Rhea, frightened by the child's monstrous form, fled and did not nurse it; hence she is called secretly Athena, but commonly Persephone and Kore, not the same as Athena who is called "from Kore" (65). This, they say, is a precise account of what happened: Cronus cut off the genitals of his father and threw him from the chariot, and killed his male children by swallowing them; Zeus bound and overthrew his father, as did Uranus with his sons; he fought the Titans over the rule, and pursued his mother Rhea who forbade his marriage; when she became a serpent, he himself changed into a serpent, tied her with the so-called Heracleotic band, and joined with her—the rod of Hermes being the symbol of their union. Then he joined with Persephone, his daughter, forcing himself on her also in the form of a serpent, from whom the child Dionysus was born; it is necessary (66) to say even this much. What is sacred (67) or fitting in such a story, so that we might believe that Cronus, Zeus, Kore, and the

τὸ σεμνὸν (67) ἢ χρηστὸν τῆς τοιαύτης
ἱστορίας, ἵνα πιστεύσωμεν θεοὺς εἶναι τὸν
Κρόνον, τὸν Δία, τὴν Κόρην, τοὺς λοιπούς;
Αἱ διαθέσεις (68) τῶν σωμάτων; Καὶ τίς ἂν
ἄνθρωπος κεκριμένος καὶ ἐν θεωρίᾳ
γεγονῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεννηθῆναι πιστεύσαι
ἔχιδναν; (Ὀρφεύς·

others are gods? The dispositions (68) of
their bodies? And what man, judged and
having come to contemplation, would
believe that a snake was born from God?
(Orpheus:

Ἄν δέ (69) **Φάνης ἄλλην γενεὴν
τεκνώσατο δεινὴν**

But if (69) **Phanes begot another
terrible generation**

**Νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς, προσιδεῖν φοβερῶπὸν
ἔχιδναν,**

**From the sacred womb, to look upon a
fearsome-faced serpent,**

**Ἡς χαῖται μὲν ἀπὸ κρατὸς, καλὸν τε
πρόσωπον**

**Whose locks from the head, and a
beautiful face**

**Ἦν ἐσιδεῖν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη φοβεροῖο
δράκοντος**

**Could be seen, but the rest of the parts
were of a fearsome dragon.**

Αὐχένος ἐξ ἄκρου.)

From the top of the neck.

ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Φάνητα δέξαιτο, θεὸν ὄντα
πρωτόγονον (οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ὠοῦ
προχυθείς), ἢ σῶμα ἢ σχῆμα ἔχειν
δράκοντος, ἢ καταποθῆναι (70) ὑπὸ τοῦ
Διὸς, ὅπως ὁ Ζεὺς ἀχώρητος γένοιτο; Εἰ
γὰρ μηδὲν διενηνόχασιν τῶν φαυλοτάτων
θηρίων (δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ὑποδιαλλάσσειν δεῖ
τῶν γηϊνῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης
ἀποκρινομένων (71) τὸ θεῖον), οὐκ εἰσὶ
θεοί. Τί δαὶ καὶ πρόσμιεν αὐτοῖς, ὧν
κτηνῶν μὲν δίκην ἔχει ἡ γένεσις, αὐτοὶ δὲ
θηριόμορφοι καὶ δυσειδεῖς;

Either to receive Phantes himself, being a
primordial god (for he is the one poured
forth from the egg), or to have the body or
form of a dragon, or to be swallowed (70)
by Zeus, so that Zeus might become
unrestrained? For if they do not surpass in
any way the most base beasts (it is clear
that the divine must distinguish between
earthly things and those separated from
matter (71)), they are not gods. What
indeed is the use of those who have the
nature of beasts, but themselves are beast-

shaped and dreadful?

21. Καίτοι, εἰ σαρκοειδεῖς μόνον ἔλεγον
αὐτοὺς καὶ αἷμα ἔχειν καὶ σπέρμα (72), καὶ
πάθη ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ τότε ἔδει
λῆρον καὶ γέλωτος λόγους τούτους
νομίζειν· οὔτε γὰρ ὀργή, οὔτε ἐπιθυμία καὶ
ὄρεξις, οὐδὲ παιδοποιὸν σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.
Ἔστωσαν τοίνυν σαρκοειδεῖς, ἀλλὰ
κρείττους μὲν θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς· ἵνα μὴ
Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν βλέπεται

21. And yet, if they said that they were only
fleshly and had blood and seed (72), and
feelings of anger and desire, even then
these words would be foolish and
laughable; for neither anger, nor desire and
craving, nor seed that produces children,
exist in God. Let them be fleshly, then, but
stronger in spirit and anger; so that Athena
is not seen

**Σκυζομένη Διὶ πατρὶ, χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος
αἶρεϊ** (73).

"Scolding father Zeus, but fierce anger
takes hold of him" (73);

Ἦρα δὲ θεωρῆται,

Hera is seen,

**Ἦρῃ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στῆθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ
προσηύδα**.

Hera did not have anger in her heart, but
spoke to him;

κρείττους δὲ λύπης·

a stronger pain;

**ὦ πόποι! ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα διωκόμενον περὶ
τείχος,**

"Oh woe! A dear man being chased around
the wall,"

**Ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμαι· ἔμὸν δ'
όλοφύρεται ἦτορ**.

"I see with my eyes; but my heart laments."

Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀνθρώπους (74) ἀμαθεῖς
καὶ σκαιοὺς λέγω τοὺς ὀργῇ καὶ λύπῃ
εἴκοντας· ὅταν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν
τε ὀδύρηται (75) μὲν τὸν υἱόν,

For I call people unlearned and foolish
when they give in to anger and grief; but
when the father of men and gods laments
his son,

****Αἱ αἱ** (76) ******(λέγων) ὅτε μοι
Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,********

****Those who** (76) ******(saying) when
Sarpedon, the dearest of men to me,********

****Μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο
δαμῆναι**.**

****That fate was to be overcome by
Patroclus, son of Menoetius.****

ἀδυνατῇ (77) δὲ ὀδυρόμενος τοῦ κινδύνου
ἐξαρπάσαι,

But powerless, lamenting, to snatch him
away from danger,

****Σαρπηδὼν, Διὸς υἱὸς· ὁ δ' οὐδ' ὧ παιδὶ
ἀμύνει**.**

Sarpedon, son of Zeus; but he does not
defend even his own child;

τίς οὐκ ἂν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις μύθοις
φιλοθέους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀθέους, τῆς ἀμαθίας
καταμέμψοιτο; Ἔστωσαν σαρκoειδεῖς·
ἀλλὰ μὴ τιτρωσκέσθωσαν (78), μηδὲ
Ἀφροδίτῃ ὑπὸ Διομήδους τὸ σῶμα,

Who would not blame those who believe in
such stories as god-loving, but rather
godless, for their ignorance? Let them be
fleshly; but let them not be wounded, nor
Aphrodite's body by Diomedes,

****Οὔτα με Τυδέος υἱὸς, ὑπέρθυμος
Διομήδης**.**

Not even I, son of Tydeus, hot-tempered
Diomedes.

ἢ ὑπὸ Ἄρεως τὴν ψυχὴν,

Or the soul by Ares,

****Ὡς ἐμὲ χολὸν ἐόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ
Ἄφροδίτῃ****

As Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, found me
lame,

****Αἶέν ἀτιμάζει, φιλέει δ' ἄδηλον Ἄρηα**.**

He always dishonors, but loves the unseen
Ares.

****Διὰ δὲ χροῖα καλὸν ἔδαψεν**.**

But he buried the beautiful body.

Ὁ δεινὸς ἐν πολέμοις, ὁ σύμμαχος κατὰ
Τιτάνων τοῦ Διὸς, ἀσθενέστερος
Διομήδους φαίνεται·

The terrible one in wars, the ally of Zeus
against the Titans, seems weaker than
Diomedes;

(Μαίνεται δ' ὥς ὅτ' Ἄρης ἐγχέσπαλος**).**

**** (He raged like when Ares, the spear-
handed, rages)**.**

Σιώπησον, Ὅμηρε· Θεὸς οὐ μαίνεται. Σὺ δέ
μοι καὶ μαιφόνον καὶ βροτολοιγὸν

Be silent, Homer; God does not rage. But
you call him both bloodstained and
destroyer of mortals,

**** (Ἄρες, Ἄρες, βροτολοιγέ, μαιφόνε**)**

**** (Ares, Ares, destroyer of mortals,
bloodstained one)****

διηγῇ τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ
διεξίης (79) καὶ τὰ δεσμά·

Describe the god, and explain his adultery
(79) and the bonds;

**** Τὼ δ' ἐς δέμνια βάντε κατέδραθον· ἄμφι
δὲ δεσμοί****

**** They went to the bed and fled; and
around were bonds****

**** Τεχνήεντες ἔχυντο (80) πολύφρονος
Ἥφαιστοιο,****

Skillful ones poured out (80) of the wise
Hephaestus,

**** Οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων ἦν**.**

It was not possible to move any of the
limbs.

Οὐ καταβάλλουσι τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον ἀσεβῆ
λῆρον (81) περὶ τῶν θεῶν; Οὐρανὸς
ἐκτέμνεται, δεῖται καὶ καταταρταροῦται

Do they not cast down this great impious
nonsense (81) about the gods? Heaven is
cut apart, Cronus is bound and thrown into

Κρόνος, ἐπανάστανται Τιτᾶνες, Στὺξ
ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὴν μάχην. Ἦδη καὶ
θητοὺς αὐτοὺς δεικνύουσιν· ἐρῶσιν
ἀλλήλων, ἐρῶσιν ἀνθρώπων·

Tartarus, the Titans rise up, Styx dies in
battle. Already they even show the mortals
themselves; they love one another, they
love humans;

**Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε δῖ'
Ἀφροδίτη**

Aeneas, born to Anchises by the goddess
Aphrodite,

**Ἰδης ἐν κνημοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῶ
εὐνηθεῖσα.**

On Ida's slopes, the goddess lay with a
mortal.

Οὐκ ἐρῶσιν; οὐ πάσχουσιν; Ἴ γὰρ θεοὶ
(82), ἄψεται αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμία; Κἂν σάρκα
θεὸς κατὰ θεῖαν οἰκονομίαν λάβῃ, ἤδη
δοῦλός ἐστιν ἐπιθυμίας;

Do they not speak? Do they not suffer? For
the gods (82), does desire touch them? And
if a god takes on flesh according to divine
plan, is he already a slave to desire?

**Οὐ γὰρ πώποτε μ' ὦδε θεᾶς ἔρος, οὐδὲ
γυναικὸς**

For never before has the love of a goddess
or a woman been like this for me.

**Θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περιπροχυθεὶς
ἐδάμασσεν.**

A spirit poured out within my chest
subdued me;

Οὐδ' ὁπότε ἥρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο,

Nor ever did I fall in love with the wife of
Ixion,

**Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου
Ἀκρισιῶνης.**

Nor even when Danaë, daughter of Acrisius
with beautiful hips,

**Οὐδ' ὅτε Φοῖνικος κούρης
τηλεκλειτοῖο.**

Nor even when the far-famed daughter of
Phoenicus;

****Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Σεμέλης, οὐδ' Ἀλκμήνης ἐνὶ
Θήβῃ.****

Nor even when Semele, nor Alcmena in
Thebes;

****Οὐδ' ὅτε Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο
ἀνάσσης.****

Nor even when Demeter, queen with
beautiful hair;

****Οὐδ' ὅτε περ Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος, οὐδέ σευ
αὐτῆς.****

Nor even when of famous Leto, nor of
yourself.

Γενητός ἐστι, φθαρτός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἔχων
θεοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ θητεύουσιν ἀνθρώποις·

He is born, he is mortal, having no part of
God. But even so, they serve as slaves to
men;

****Ἦ δώματ' Ἀδμήτει', ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ****

O house of Admete, in which I endured—

****Θῆσσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι, θεός περ
ὦν.****

To praise the Thessalian table, though
being a god.

καὶ βουκολοῦσιν·

And they tend cattle;

****Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν
ξένω** (83),**

«Having come to this land, they fed cattle
for a stranger» (83),

****Καὶ τόνδ' ἔσωζον οἶκον**.**

And they saved this household.

Οὐκοῦν κρείττων Ἀδμητος τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἦ
μάντι καὶ σοφὲ, καὶ προειδὼς τοῖς ἄλλοις
τὰ ἐσόμενα, οὐκ ἐμαντεύσω τοῦ ἐρωμένου
τὸν φόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκτεινας αὐτοχειρὶ τὸν
φίλον.

Then Admetus is better than the god. O
prophet and wise one, who foresaw what
would happen to others, you did not
prophecy the death of the one asked about,
but you yourself killed your friend with

your own hand.

****Κάγῳ τὸ** (84) ****Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς
στόμα******

And I also [am] the divine, unfailing mouth
of Phoebus.

****Ἦλπιζον εἶναι, μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνη.****

I hoped to be, by the art of prophecy, full of
skill;

(Ὡς ψευδόμαντιν κακίζει τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὁ
Αἰσχύλος)

(How Aeschylus blames Apollo as a false
prophet)

****Ὅδ' αὐτὸς ὕμνων, αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ
παρῶν,****

Here I am praising you myself, here I am
present in the feast,

****Αὐτὸς τὰδ' εἰπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ
κτανὼν****

Having said these things myself, I am the
one who kills.

****Τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.****

My own child.

22. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως πλάνη ποιητικὴ,
φυσικὸς δέ τις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοιοῦτος
λόγος,

22. But these things may be a kind of poetic
error, yet there is a natural and fitting
argument behind them,

****Ζεὺς ἀργῆς (ὥς φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) Ἥρῃ
τε φερέσβιος, ἥδ' Αἰδωνεὺς,****

Zeus the bright (as Empedocles says), and
Hera the ever-young, and Hades,

****Νῆστις θ' ἢ δακρυοῖς τέγγει κρούνωμα
(85) βρότειον.****

Fasting, who wets the mortal spring with
tears.

Εἰ τοίνυν Ζεὺς μὲν τὸ πῦρ, Ἥρα δὲ ἡ γῆ

If then Zeus is fire, Hera the earth, and

(86), καὶ ὁ ἀήρ Ἀἰδωνεύς, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ Νῆστις, στοιχεῖα δὲ ταῦτα, τὸ πῦρ, τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ ἀήρ· οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν θεὸς, οὔτε Ζεὺς, οὔτε Ἥρα, οὔτε Αἰδωνεύς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ὕλης διακριθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ τούτων σύστασίς τε καὶ γένεσις.

Hades the air, and fasting is water, these are the elements: fire, water, and air. None of these is a god, neither Zeus, nor Hera, nor Hades; for their composition and origin come from matter separated by God.

Πῦρ, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ ἥερος ἥπιον ὕψος,

Fire, and water, and earth, and air, the gentle height,

Καὶ φιλίη (87) μετὰ τοῖσιν.

And friendship with them.

Ἄ χωρὶς τῆς φιλίας (88) οὐ δύναται μένειν, ὑπὸ τοῦ νείκουσ συγγεόμενα (89). Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις ταῦτα εἶναι θεοὺς; Ἀρχικὸν ἢ φιλία, κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα· ἀρχόμενα τὰ συγκρίματα· τὸ δὲ ἀρχικὸν, κύριον. Ὡς ἐάν (90) μίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τε ἀρχομένου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος δύναμιν θῶμεν, λήσομεν ἑαυτοὺς ἰσότημον τὴν ὕλην τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ ῥευστὴν καὶ μεταβλητὴν τῷ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀϊδίῳ καὶ διαπαντὸς συμφώνῳ ποιοῦντες Θεῷ. Ζεὺς ἢ ζέουσα οὐσία κατὰ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς· Ἥρα ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, εἰ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἐπισυνάπτοιο (91), συνεκφωνουμένου (92)· Ποσειδῶν, ἢ πόσις. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως φυσιολογοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀέρα διφυῆ, ἀρσενόθηλυν τὸν Δία (93) λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ καιρὸν εἰς εὐκрасίαν τρέποντα τὸν χρόνον· διὸ καὶ μόνος Κρόνον διέφυγεν. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· Εἰ ἓνα τὸν ἀνωτάτῳ Θεὸν ἀϊδιὸν τε καὶ ἀγένητον νομίζετε, συγκρίματα δὲ ἴσα (94) ἢ τῆς ὕλης ἀλλαγῇ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς ὕλης κεχωρηκὸς κατὰ τὰς παραλλάξεις αὐτῆς (95), ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ὄνομα μεταλαγχάνειν φατέ· σῶμα μὲν τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης τοῦ Θεοῦ γενήσεται, φθειρομένων δὲ τῶν στοιχείων

It cannot remain without friendship, being confused by strife.. How then could anyone say that these are gods?? Friendship is the beginning, according to Empedocles; the mixtures begin; and the beginning is the master.. If we consider (90) one power that is both the beginning and the ruler, we will make ourselves equal to matter, which is perishable, fluid, and changeable, compared to the uncreated, eternal, and always harmonious God.. Zeus is the boiling substance according to the Stoics; Hera is the air, and the name, if it were joined to it (91), would be sounded together (92); Poseidon is the drink.. Others explain differently; some say Zeus is a two-natured air, both male and female (93); others say time turns into a favorable mixture; therefore, only Cronus escaped.. But concerning those from the Stoa, it is possible to say this: They believe that the highest God is one, eternal, and uncreated, and that the change of matter is equal (94) to a mixture, and that the spirit of God has taken place through matter according to its variations (95), saying that it receives different names. The forms of matter will

κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἀνάγκη συμφθαρῆναι ὁμοῦ τοῖς εἶδεσι τὰ ὀνόματα, μόνου μένοντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὡν οὖν σωμάτων φθαρτὴ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην παραλλαγή, τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσαι θεούς; Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας τὸν μὲν Κρόνον χρόνον, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν γῆν· τὴν μὲν συλλαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ ἀποτίκτουσιν (ἐνθεν καὶ μήτηρ νομίζεται πάντων (96)), τὸν δὲ γεννῶντα καὶ καταναλίσκοντα· καὶ εἶναι τὴν μὲν τομὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ἄρρενος πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, τέμνουσιν καὶ καταβάλλουσιν σπέρμα εἰς μήτραν, καὶ γεννῶσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη, ἔχοντα· τὴν δὲ μανίαν τοῦ Κρόνου τροπὴν καιροῦ φθείρουσιν ἔμψυχα καὶ ἄψυχα· τὰ δὲ δεσμὰ καὶ τὸν τάρταρον χρόνον ὑπὸ καιρῶν τρεπόμενον καὶ ἀφανῆ γινόμενον· πρὸς τοίνυν τούτους φαμέν· Εἴτε χρόνος ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, μεταβάλλει· εἴτε καιρὸς, τρέπεται· εἴτε σκότος, ἢ πάγος, ἢ οὐσία ὑγρὰ, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν μένει· τὸ δὲ Θεῖον καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. Οὔτε ἄρα ὁ Κρόνος, οὔτε τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶδωλον (97) θεός. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, εἰ μὲν ἄῃρ ἐστι γεγωνῶς ἐκ Κρόνου, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἄρσεν ὁ Ζεὺς, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ Ἥρα (διὸ καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή), ἀλλοιοῦται· εἰ δὲ καιρὸς, τρέπεται. Οὔτε δὲ μεταβάλλει, οὔτε μεταπίπτει τὸ Θεῖον. Τί δεῖ (98) πλέον λέγοντα ἐνοχλεῖν, οἳ ἄμεινον τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεφυσιολογηκότων οἶδατε; ἢ οἳ περὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐνόησαν οἱ συγγραψάμενοι· ἢ ἂ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὴν φρόνησιν (99) διὰ πάντων διήκουσάν φασι· ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος, ἣν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἔφυσαν, καὶ δι' ἧς πάντες εἰσι, λέγουσιν (1)· ἢ περὶ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος, οὗ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περὶ Πελώρου (2) τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἢ Ἰσὶς ζητοῦσα τὰ μέλη, καὶ εὐροῦσα ἥσκησεν εἰς ταφήν· ἢ ταφὴ ἕως

become the body of God's being, but as the elements are destroyed by burning, it is necessary that the names perish together with the forms, with only the spirit of God remaining.. Since the change according to matter is of perishable bodies, who would believe these to be gods?? To those who say that Cronus is time, and Rhea is earth; that she conceives from Cronus and gives birth (hence she is considered the mother of all (96)), and that he both generates and consumes; and that the cutting is the necessary union of the male with the female, cutting and casting seed into the womb, and producing a human, having within himself desire, which is Aphrodite; and that the madness of Cronus is the turning of time, destroying living and non-living things; and that the bonds and Tartarus are time turned by seasons and becoming invisible; to these we say: Whether Cronus is time, it changes; whether it is season, it turns; whether it is darkness, or frost, or moist substance, none of these remain; but the divine is immortal, unmoving, and unchanging.. Therefore, neither Cronus nor the image upon him (97) is a god.. About Zeus, if he is air born from Cronus, of whom the male is Zeus and the female Hera (therefore both sister and wife), he changes; but if he is a season, he turns.. The divine neither changes nor shifts.. What more is there to say to trouble those who know better than anyone else the things naturally spoken by each?? Either as those who wrote about nature understood it; or about Athena, whom they say reason has heard through all things; or about Isis, the nature of the age from which all were born and through which all exist, they speak; or about Osiris, who was killed by Typhon, his brother, concerning Pelorus, the son, Isis searched for the body parts,

νῦν Ὀσιριακὴ καλεῖται. Ἄνω γὰρ καὶ κάτω περὶ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης στρεφόμενοι, ἀποπίπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ (3) θεωρητοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ μόρια αὐτῶν θεοποιοῦσιν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς τιθέμενοι· τὴν μὲν τοῦ σίτου σπορὰν Ὀσιριν (ὅθεν, φασὶ, μυστικῶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνευρέσει τῶν μελῶν ἢ τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιλεχθῆναι τῇ Ἰσιδι· Εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν)· τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν Διόνυσον· καὶ Σεμέλην αὐτὴν τὴν ἄμπελον, καὶ κεραυνὸν τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα. Καί τι γὰρ (4) πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ θεολογοῦσιν οἱ τοὺς μύθους θεοποιοῦντες, οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι οἷς ἀπολογοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν, τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγους βεβαιοῦσι (5). Τί ἢ Εὐρώπη καὶ ὁ Ταῦρος καὶ ὁ Κύκνος καὶ ἡ Λήδα πρὸς γῆν καὶ ἀέρα, ἵν' ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα (6) μισὰ τοῦ Διὸς μῖξις, ἢ γῆς καὶ ἀέρος; Ἀλλ' ἀποπίπτοντες (7) τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὑπερκύψαι (8) τῷ λόγῳ (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι συμπάθειαν εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον) οὐ δυνάμενοι, ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδη τῆς ὕλης συντετήκασιν (9), καὶ καταπίπτοντες, τὰς τῶν στοιχείων τροπὰς θεοποιοῦσιν· ὅμοιον εἰ καὶ ναῦν τις, ἐν ᾗ ἔπλευσεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου ἄγοι. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν πλεον νεῶς, κἂν ἢ πᾶσιν ἡσκημένη, μὴ ἐχούσης τὸν κυβερνήτην· οὐδὲ τῶν στοιχείων ὄφελος διακεκοσμημένων, δίχα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας. Ἥ τε γὰρ ναῦς καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐ πλευσεῖται, τὰ τε στοιχεῖα χωρὶς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ οὐ κινήσεται.

and finding them, prepared them for burial; a burial that is still called Osirian today.. For turning up and down around the forms of matter, they fall away from the reason of the visible God; but they make the elements and their parts divine, giving them different names at different times: the seed of wheat as Osiris (whence, they say, Isis was mysteriously named at the finding of the parts or the fruits: "We have found, we rejoice"); the fruit of the vine as Dionysus; and Semele herself as the vine, and the lightning bolt as the flame of the sun.. And what do those who make the myths divine say, if not more than theology, not knowing that by defending the gods with these stories, they actually confirm the arguments against them?. What do Europa and the Bull and the Swan and Leda have to do with earth and air, so that there might be a foul mixing of Zeus with these, or of earth and air?? But falling away from the greatness of God, and unable to rise above reason (for they have no sympathy with the heavenly realm), they have melted down into the forms of matter, and falling down, they make divine the changes of the elements; like if a ship in which someone sailed were to be taken instead of the pilot.. Just as a ship, no matter how well equipped for all things, is nothing without its pilot; so too, the elements, though arranged, are of no use without the providence of God.. For the ship by itself will not sail, and the elements apart from the creator will not move.

23. Εἴποιτε ἂν οὖν συνέσει πάντας ὑπερέχοντες· Τίνοι οὖν τῷ λόγῳ ἔνια τῶν εἰδώλων ἐνεργεῖ, εἰ μὴ εἰσι θεοὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἰδρυόμεθα τὰ ἀγάλματα; Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰς ἀψύχους καὶ ἀκινήτους εἰκόνας καθ'

23. You might say, then, that all surpass in understanding; But by what reason do some of the idols have power, if they are not gods on whom the statues are founded?? For it is not reasonable that

ἐαυτὰς ἰσχύειν χωρὶς τοῦ κινουῦντος. Τὸ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τόπους καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη γίγνεσθαι τινὰς ἐπ' ὀνόματι εἰδώλων ἐνεργείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἀντιλέγομεν· οὐ μὴν, εἰ ὠφελήθησάν τινες, καὶ αὖ ἐλυπήθησαν ἕτεροι, θεοὺς νομιοῦμεν (10) τοὺς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐνεργήσαντας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧ λόγῳ νομίζετε ἰσχύειν τὰ εἰδῶλα, καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐνεργοῦντες, ἐπιβατεύοντες αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐξητάκαμεν (11). Ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι μέλλοντι δεικνύειν τίνες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐνεργοῦντες, καὶ ὅτι μὴ θεοί, προσκρήσασθαι τισι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας μάρτυσι. Πρῶτος Θαλῆς διαιρεῖ (12) (ὥς οἱ τὰ ἐκείνου διαιροῦντες, ἀκριβοῦντες μνημονεύουσιν) εἰς Θεὸν, εἰς δαίμονας, εἰς ἥρωας. Ἀλλὰ Θεὸν μὲν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ἄγει, δαίμονας δὲ οὐσίας νοεῖ ψυχικάς· καὶ ἥρωας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθὰς, κακοὺς δὲ τὰς φαύλας (13). Πλάτων δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπέχων, καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς τε τὸν ἀγέννητον Θεὸν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου εἰς κόσμον τὸν οὐρανοῦ (14) γεγονότας, τοὺς τε πλάνητας καὶ τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας, καὶ εἰς δαίμονας τέμνει. Περὶ ὧν δαιμόνων αὐτὸς ἀπαξιῶν λέγειν, τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκόσιν προσέχειν ἀξιοῖ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν, καὶ γινῶναι τὴν γένεσιν, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Πειστέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐγγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὥς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς γέ που (15) τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν (16). Ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, κἄνπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγωσιν (17)· ἀλλὰ, ὥς οἰκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. Οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν (18) ἐχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὀκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγεννήθησαν (19)· τούτων δὲ, Φόρκυς (20), Κρόνος τε

lifeless and motionless images have power by themselves without the one who moves them.. Indeed, we do not deny that in certain places, cities, and nations, some power is attributed to idols by name; yet, even if some have been helped and others hurt, we do not consider those who acted on both sides to be gods (10).. But also, for what reason do you think the idols have power, and who are the ones acting, riding on their names? We have examined this carefully (11).. It is necessary for me, in what follows, to show who are the ones acting through the idols, and that they are not gods, having appealed also to some witnesses from philosophy.. First, Thales divides (12) (as those who analyze his divisions carefully recall) into God, into demons, into heroes.. But God is understood as the mind of the world, demons as spiritual beings, and heroes as the separated souls of humans, the good being good souls, and the bad being wicked ones (13).. Plato, holding to other things as well, divides into the unbegotten God, and those who have come into the world of heaven from the unbegotten (14), both the wandering and the fixed stars, and into demons.. About these demons, he himself refuses to speak, considering it worthy to pay attention to those who have spoken about them.. To speak about the other demons, and to know their origin, is greater than for us.. We must believe those who spoke before, saying that these demons are descendants of the gods, since they clearly know their own ancestors.. It is impossible, then, to disbelieve the children of the gods, even if they speak without clear and necessary proofs; but, as they say, one must believe those who follow the law when they report what is proper.. So then, according to them, let our account of the

καὶ Ῥέα, καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων· ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου τε καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς, Ἥρα τε, καὶ πάντες, οὓς ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν· ἔτι τε τούτων (21) ἄλλους ἐκγόνους. Ἄρ' οὖν ὁ τὸν αἶδιον νοῦν καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβανόμενον περινοήσας Θεὸν (22), καὶ τὰ ἐπισυμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἐξείπειν (23), τὸ ὄντως ὄν, τὸ μονοφυῆς, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποχεόμενον (24), ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια· καὶ περὶ πρώτης δυνάμεως· καὶ ὡς περὶ τὸν πάντων Βασιλέα πάντα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἔνεκεν πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον πάντων· καὶ περὶ δύο καὶ τρία, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα· περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ λεγομένων γεγονέναι, μείζον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τάληθές μαθεῖν ἐνόμισεν; Ἥ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον γεννᾶν καὶ ἀποκυῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμισεν, ἐπομένων τοῖς γιγνομένοις τελῶν, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἀδυνατώτερον, μεταπεῖσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀβασανίστως τοὺς μύθους παραδεχομένους· διὰ ταῦτα μείζον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἔφη περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων γενέσεως, οὔτε μαθεῖν, οὔτε ἐξείπειν γεννᾶσθαι θεοὺς δυναμένους (25). Καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον αὐτῷ (26), Ὁ δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῷ δὲ ἔπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Κρόνου λεγομένου ἔχει Διός. Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ὄνομα τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων, ἐτέρῳ (27) σημαντικῶ προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχων, τῷ δημῳδεὶ ὀνόματι, οὐχ ὡς ἰδίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰς σαφήνειαν, ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν εἰς πάντας φέρειν κατὰ δύναμιν (28) τὸν Θεόν, προσεχρήσατο, ἐπικατηγορήσας τὸ μέγας, ἵνα διαστείλῃ τὸν οὐράνιον ἀπὸ τοῦ χαμᾶθεν, τὸν ἀγέννητον ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννητοῦ, τοῦ νεωτέρου μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, νεωτέρου

origin of those gods be established and spoken.. Children of Earth and Heaven were Ocean and Tethys; from these came Phorcys, Cronus and Rhea, and all who were with them; and from Cronus and Rhea came Zeus, Hera, and all those whom we know and call their brothers; and from these, other descendants as well.. So then, the one who understands God as eternal mind and reason, and who explains what has happened to him—the truly existing, the only-begotten, the good flowing from him, which is truth—and about the first power; and how, as the king of all, everything belongs to him, and because of him everything exists, and he is the cause of all; and about two and three, second about the second things, and third about the third things; about those said to have come from the sensible earth and heaven, he thought it better to learn the truth itself rather than what is said about them.? Is it not possible to say?? But since it is impossible to generate and give birth to gods, he thought it better to follow what comes into being, and even more impossible is to persuade the many who accept myths without question; for this reason, he said it is better to know and speak about the birth of the other spirits, who are neither able to learn nor explain the generation of gods. (25). And what was said to him (26), “Indeed, the great leader in heaven is Zeus, driving a winged chariot, going first, arranging all things and taking care of them; after him follows a host of gods and spirits,” does not hold for Zeus, as said to be from Cronus.. For in this, there is a name for the maker of all things. And Plato himself shows this, not having another way to express it (27), using a common name, not as a personal name of God, but for clarity, since it is not possible to carry God in all ways (28). He

δὲ Κρητῶν, οἳ ἐξέκλεψαν αὐτόν, μὴ ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.

used the term “great,” to separate the heavenly from the earthly, the unbegotten from the begotten, the younger heaven and earth, and the younger Cretans, who stole him so that he would not be destroyed by his father.

24. Τί δαί (29) δεῖ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντα λόγον κεκινηκότας, ἢ ποιητῶν μνημονεύειν, ἢ καὶ ἐτέρας δόξας ἐξετάζειν; τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχοντι· Εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἓνα μὲν εἶναι ἐπεγίνωσκον Θεὸν, περὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ὡς περὶ δαιμόνων, οἱ δὲ ὡς περὶ ὕλης, οἱ δὲ ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπων γενομένων ἐφρόνουν, ἡμεῖς τε ἂν εἰκότως ἐξηγηλατούμεθα (30), διαιρετικῶς λόγῳ καὶ περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ὕλης καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων αὐτῶν οὐσίας κεχρημένοι. Ὡς γὰρ Θεὸν φάμεν, καὶ γινόν τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα (31) ἅγιον, ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν (32), τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν γινόν, τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅτι Νοῦς, Λόγος, Σοφία, Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπόρροια, ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα· οὕτως καὶ ἐτέρας εἶναι δυνάμεις κατειλήμμεθα περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐχούσας καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς (33)· μίαν μὲν τὴν ἀντίθεον· οὐχ ὅτι ἀντιδοξοῦν τι ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ, ὡς τῇ φιλίᾳ τὸ νεῖκος, κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ νύξ, κατὰ τὰ φαινόμενα (ἐπεὶ, κἂν εἰ ἀνθιστήκει τι τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπαύσατο τοῦ εἶναι, λυθείσης αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμει καὶ ἰσχύϊ τῆς συστάσεως), ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθῷ, ὃ κατὰ συμβεβηκός (34) ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνυπάρχον, ὡς χροὰ σώματι, οὔ ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐχ ὡς μέρους ὄντος, ἀλλ’ ὡς κατ’ ἀνάγκην συνόντος παρακολουθήματος ἠνωμένου καὶ συγκεχρωσμένου (35), ὡς τῷ πυρὶ ξανθῷ εἶναι, καὶ τῷ αἰθέρι κυανῷ), ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ὕλην ἔχον πνεῦμα, γενόμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασιν ἄγγελοι, καὶ

24. What then (29) is necessary, since every argument has been set in motion toward you, either to remember the poets or to examine other opinions as well?? Having so much to say, if even poets and philosophers recognized that there is one God, but concerning this, some thought of him as a spirit, others as matter, and others as a man who came to be, we would rightly investigate (30) by a dividing argument, using distinctions about God, matter, and the very essence of these.. Since we say God, and the Son is his Word, and the Holy Spirit (31), united indeed in power (32), the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, because Mind, Word, Wisdom, Son of the Father, and an outflow, like light from fire, is the Spirit; so also we have taken other powers concerning matter and through it (33); one indeed is the opposite; not because it is something contrary to God, like strife is to friendship, according to Empedocles, and night to day, according to appearances (since, even if it opposed God in some way, it would cease to be, having been undone by the power and strength of God’s composition), but because it is opposed to the good of God, which is accidental (34) to him and coexisting, like color to a body, without which it does not exist (not as a part, but as a necessarily accompanying and joined and mingled attribute (35), like blond to fire, and blue to the air), the spirit that holds to matter is opposed; having been made by God, just as the others were

τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς τῆς ὕλης εἶδεσι πιστευσάμενον διοίκησιν. Τοῦτο γὰρ (36) ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων σύστασις τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ προνοίᾳ γέγονε τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακεκοσμημένοις, ἵνα τὴν μὲν παντελικὴν καὶ γενικὴν ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὅλων πρόνοιαν (37), τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους (38), οἱ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταχθέντες ἄγγελοι. Ὡς δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐθαίρετον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν ἔχόντων (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐτ' ἐτιμᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὐτ' ἐκολάζετε τοὺς πονηροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ ἡ κακία καὶ ἡ ἀρετή· καὶ οἱ μὲν σπουδαῖοι περὶ ᾧ πιστεύονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄπιστοι εὐρίσκονται), καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐν ὁμοίῳ καθέστηκεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι αὐθαίρετοι δὴ, οἵοι γεγόνασιν (39) ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔμειναν, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν καὶ διέταξεν ὁ Θεός· οἱ δὲ ἐνύβρισαν καὶ τῇ τῆς οὐσίας ὑποστάσει καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ· οὗτός τε ὁ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰδῶν ἄρχων, καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν (40) περὶ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦτο στερέωμα (ἴστε δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀμάρτυρον λέγειν, ἃ δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται, μνησύνειν)· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πεσόντες παρθένων, καὶ ἡττοὺς σαρκὸς εὐρεθέντες· οὗτος δὲ, ἀμελήσας, καὶ πονηρὸς περὶ τὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων γενόμενος διοίκησιν. Ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῶν περὶ τὰς παρθένους ἔχόντων, οἱ καλούμενοι ἐγεννήθησαν γίγαντες. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ μέρους εἴρηται περὶ τῶν γιγάντων καὶ ποιηταῖς λόγος, μὴ θαυμάσητε, τῆς κοσμικῆς σοφίας, καὶ θεολογικῆς (41), ὅσον ἀλήθεια πιθανοῦ διαφέρει, διαλλαττουσῶν, καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐσης ἐπουρανίου, τῆς δὲ ἐπιγείου. Καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ὕλης

made by him as angels, and having believed in the governance over matter and the forms of matter.. For this (36) the arrangement of the angels was made by God through providence for those ordered under him, so that God would have complete and general care (37) of all things, and the angels appointed over them would have care in part (38).. Just as with humans, who have free will and both virtue and vice (for you would neither honor the good nor punish the wicked if both vice and virtue were not in them; and some are found trustworthy by you, while others are found untrustworthy), so it has been established similarly concerning the angels.. For some others remained free, as they were made and ordered by God (39), abiding in what God made and arranged for them; but others insulted both the substance and the authority; this one, the ruler of matter and the forms within it, and others concerning this first firmament (40) (know that we say nothing without witness, but it has been proclaimed by the prophets, to reveal it); those others fell into desire for virgins and were found weaker than flesh; but this one, neglecting and becoming evil regarding the governance entrusted to him.. From those concerning the virgins, the ones called giants were born.. If anyone has spoken in part about the giants and poets, do not be surprised, for the difference between worldly wisdom and theological wisdom (41), as much as truth is persuasive, is like a mixture of both, one being heavenly and the other earthly.. And according to the ruler of matter.

***Ἰσμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὅμοια.**

We know that many false things are said that resemble the true.

25. Οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες
τῶν οὐρανῶν, περὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἔχοντες καὶ
τὴν γῆν, οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερουράνια
ὑπερκύψαι δυνάμενοι· καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων
ψυχαὶ, οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι
δαίμονες, ὁμοίας (42) κινήσεις οἱ μὲν αἷς
ἔλαβον συστάσεσιν οἱ δαίμονες (43), οἱ δὲ
αἷς ἔσχον ἐπιθυμίαις οἱ ἄγγελοι,
ποιοῦμενοι. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ὕλης ἄρχων, ὡς ἔστιν
ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γινομένων ἰδεῖν, ἐναντία τῷ
ἀγαθῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτροπεύει καὶ διοικεῖ·

25. These, then, are the angels who fell
from the heavens, holding to the air and the
earth, no longer able to look up to the
higher heavens; and the souls of the giants,
who wander around the world as demons,
making similar (42) movements—some
demons by the bodies they received in their
formation (43), and some angels by the
desires they had. The ruler of matter, as can
be seen from these events, watches over
and governs in opposition to the goodness
of God;

**Πολλάκι (44) μοι πραπίδων διῆλθε
φροντὶς**

**Many times (44) a thought passed
through my mind**

**Εἴτε τύχα, εἴτε δαίμων τὰ βιότια
κράίνει.**

Whether chance or demon rules life;

Παρά τ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ δίκαν

Against hope and against justice

Τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' οἴκων δ' ἀναπίπτοντας

Those falling away from their homes

Ἄτερ βίου, τοὺς δὲ ευτυχοῦντας ἄγει.

He leads those without life, and those who
are fortunate.

Τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ δίκην εὖ πράττειν ἢ
κακῶς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐποίησε,
τίνος ἡ τοιαύτη τῶν περιγείων διοικήσις, ἐν
ᾗ εἶποι τις ἄν·

Euripides made the claim that to act well or
badly beyond hope and justice is a kind of
madness, a view of his earthly rule, in
which one might say:

Πῶς οὖν τάδ' εἰσορῶντες (45), **ἢ

So then, seeing these things (45),

θεῶν γένος**

either the race of the gods

Εἶναι λέγωμεν, ἢ νόμοισι χρώμεθα;

Shall we say that they exist, or that we follow laws?

Τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη ἀπρονόητα εἶπεῖν τὰ κατωτέρω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐποίησε, καίτοι τῆς αἰδίου ἐπίσης ἡμῖν μενούσης προνοίας τοῦ Θεοῦ·

This is why Aristotle spoke without foresight when he made the following about what is under the sky, although the eternal providence of God also remains with us;

(Ἡ γῆ δ' ἀνάγκη κἂν θέλῃ, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ)

(The earth, whether it wants to or not, is compelled)

Φύουσα ποίαν (46) τάμὰ πιαίνει βοτά·)

Growing what kind of plants it takes hold of; (46)

τῆς δ' ἐπὶ μέρους πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐ πρὸς δόξαν χωρούσης ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀξίους, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν συστάσεως νόμῳ (47) λόγου προνοουμένων. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τούναντίου πνεύματος δαιμονικαὶ κινήσεις καὶ ἐνέργειαι τὰς ἀτάκτους ταύτας ἐπιφορὰς παρέχουσιν, ἥδη καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλον ἄλλως καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη, μερικῶς καὶ κοινῶς κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὕλης λόγον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα συμπαθείας, ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν κινουῦσαι· διὰ τοῦτό τινες, ὧν δόξαι οὐ μικραὶ, ἐνόμισαν οὐ τάξει τινὶ τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο συνεστάναι, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ τύχῃ ἄγεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι· οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου σύστασιν οὐδὲν ἄτακτον οὐδὲ ἀπημελημένον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γεγονὸς λόγῳ· διὸ οὐδὲ τὴν ὠρισμένην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσι τάξιν·

In part, according to truth and not opinion, it happens among those who are worthy, and among the rest according to the common law of composition (47) foreseen by reason. But since the demonic movements and actions from the opposite spirit bring these disorderly burdens, already people are carried differently, one by one and by nations, partly and generally according to the reason of matter and the sympathy toward the divine, moving from within and from without; because of this, some, whose opinions are not small, thought that the whole of this was not arranged by any order, but was driven and carried by irrational chance; not knowing that concerning the arrangement of the whole universe, there is nothing disorderly or neglected, but each of them has come to

ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὸν πεποιηκότα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτάκτως ἔχει, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν φύσει, καὶ ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν ἐπεχούση λόγον, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν διαθέσει, οὐ παραβαινούση τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμον, καὶ τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει, ἴσῳ καὶ κοινῷ μένοντι· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐπέχοντος (48) ἄρχοντος, καὶ τῶν παρακολουθούντων δαιμόνων ἐνέργειαν, ἄλλος ἄλλως φέρεται καὶ κινεῖται· κοινὸν πάντες τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες λογισμόν.

be by reason; therefore they do not even break the fixed order upon them. But man, according to what he has made himself, also stands in good order, both according to the nature given at birth, holding one and common reason, and according to the disposition formed, not breaking the law upon it, and the purpose of life, which remains equal and common; but according to his own reason and the rule of the one who holds power (48), and the activity of the accompanying demons, each is carried and moved differently; all having in common the reasoning within themselves.

26. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ εἰδωλα αὐτοῦς ἔλκοντες, οἱ δαίμονές εἰσιν οἱ προειρημένοι, οἱ προστετηκότες τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἵματι, καὶ ταῦτα περιλιχμώμενοι· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκοντες θεοὶ, καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἐπονομαζόμενοι, ὥς ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἱστορίας εἰδέναι, ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασιν. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν δαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς ἐπιβατεύοντας τοῖς ὀνόμασι, πίστις ἢ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργεια. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποτέμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ῥέαν· οἱ δὲ ἐγκόπτουσι ἢ ἐντέμνουσιν, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν Ταύροις φονεύει τοὺς ξένους. Ἐὼ γὰρ τοὺς ταῖς μαχαίραις καὶ τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις αἰκίζομένους αὐτοὺς λέγειν, καὶ ὅσα εἶδη δαιμόνων. Οὐ γὰρ Θεοῦ κινεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν.

26. And those who draw people toward idols are the demons mentioned before, those who stand beside the blood from the priests, and who are stained by these things; but the gods who please the many, and are called by images, as it is known from their history, have become men. And the belief that each of these demons is the power behind the names they ride upon is their faith. Some cut off the genitals, those around Rhea; others cut or mutilate, those around Artemis. And the one in Tauris kills strangers. For I refuse to call those who torment themselves with knives and dice, and all kinds of demons, gods. For it is not God who moves toward things against nature.

Ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ,

Whenever a demon brings evil to a man,

Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον.

It first harms the mind.

Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς, τελείως ἀγαθὸς ὢν, ἀϊδίως ἀγαθοποιὸς ἐστίν. Τοῦ τοίνυν ἄλλους μὲν εἶναι τοὺς ἐνεργοῦντας, ἐφ' ἐτέρων (49) δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τὰς εἰκόνας, ἐκεῖνο μέγιστον τεκμήριον, Τρωᾶς καὶ Πάριον· ἡ μὲν, Νερυλλίνου (50) εἰκόνας ἔχει, ὃς ἀνὴρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς· τὸ δὲ Πάριον, Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Πρωτέως. Τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὁ τάφος καὶ ἡ εἰκών. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἀνδριάντες τοῦ Νερυλλίνου, κόσμημά εἰσι δημόσιον (εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις κοσμεῖται πόλις), εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρηματίζειν καὶ ἰᾶσθαι νοσοῦντας νομίζεται· καὶ θύουσί τε δι' αὐτὰ (51), καὶ χρυσῷ περιαλείφουσι, καὶ στεφανοῦσι τὸν ἀνδριάντα (52) οἱ Τρωαδεῖς. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πρωτέως (τοῦτον δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ῥίψαντα ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν), ὁ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεται χρηματίζειν· τῷ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

God, being completely good, is eternally a giver of good. Therefore, that others are the ones acting, and that images arise from others (49), is the greatest proof in the cases of the Trojans and the Parian; the former has the images of Nerullinus (50), a man among us; the latter, of Alexander and Proteus. Alexander's image and tomb are still in the marketplace. The other statues of Nerullinus are a public ornament (if indeed the city is adorned by these), and one of them is even believed to give oracles and to heal the sick; and the Trojans offer sacrifices to it (51), anoint it with gold, and crown the statue (52). As for the statues of Alexander and Proteus (you do not ignore that this one threw himself into the fire near Olympia), Alexander's is also said to give oracles.

** (Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές)**

** (Dyspari, a noble form, mad with rage against women)**

δημοτελεῖς ἄγονται θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ, ὥς ἐπηκόῳ Θεῷ. Πότερον οὖν ὁ Νερυλλῖνος καὶ ὁ Πρωτεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρός εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ἐνεργοῦντες περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἢ τῆς ὕλης ἡ σύστασις; ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὕλη, χαλκὸς ἐστίν· τί δαί (53) χαλκὸς δύναται καθ' αὐτόν; ὃν μεταποιῆσαι πάλιν εἰς ἕτερον σχῆμα ἔξεστιν, ὥς τὸν ποδονιπτῆρα ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ Ἀμασις. Ὁ Νερυλλῖνος καὶ ὁ Πρωτεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τί πλεον τοῖς νοσοῦσιν; ἃ γὰρ ἡ εἰκὼν λέγεται νῦν ἐνεργεῖν, ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ζῶντος (54) καὶ νοσοῦντος Νερυλλίνου.

Public sacrifices and festivals are held as to a hearing god. So, is it Nerullinus, Proteus, and Alexander who work these things around the statues, or is it the arrangement of the material? But the material is bronze; what can bronze do by itself? It can be reshaped again into another form, like the foot-washer that Amasis had near Herodotus. What more can Nerullinus, Proteus, and Alexander do for the sick? For what the image is now said to do, the living and sick Nerullinus also did.

27. Τί οὖν; Πρῶτα μὲν αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογοι καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις περὶ τὰς δόξας κινήσεις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλα εἶδωλα, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἔλκουσι, τὰ δὲ αὐταῖς ἀναπλάττουσι καὶ κυοῦσι. Πάσχει δὲ τοῦτο ψυχὴ μάλιστα τοῦ ὑλικοῦ προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ἐπισυγκραθεῖσα πνεύματος, οὐ πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν τούτων ποιητὴν, ἀλλὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια βλέπουσα, καθολικῶς εἰς γῆν (55), ὡς μόνον αἷμα καὶ σὰρξ, οὐκέτι πνεῦμα καθαρὸν γιγνομένη. Αἱ οὖν ἄλογοι αὗται καὶ ἰνδαλματώδεις τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις εἰδωλομανεῖς ἀποτίκτουσι φαντασίας. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπαλὴ καὶ εὐάγωγος ψυχὴ, ἀνήκοος μὲν καὶ ἄπειρος λόγων ἐρρώμενων, ἀθεώρητος δὲ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς, ἀπερινόητος δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων, ἐναποσφραγίσσεται (56) ψευδεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς (57) δόξας· οἱ περὶ τὴν ὕλην δαίμονες, λίχνοι περὶ τὰς κνίσσας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερείων αἷμα ὄντες, ἀπατηλοὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων, προσλαβόντες τὰς ψευδοδόξους ταύτας τῶν πολλῶν τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις, φαντασίας αὐτοῖς (58), ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ἐπιβατεύοντες αὐτῶν τοῖς νοήμασιν, εἰσεῖν παρέχουσι· καὶ ὅσα καθ' αὐτήν, ὡς ἀθάνατος οὔσα, λογικῶς κινεῖται ψυχὴ, ἢ προμηνύουσα τὰ μέλλοντα, ἢ θεραπεύουσα τὰ ἐνεσθηκότα, τούτων τὴν δόξαν καρποῦνται οἱ δαίμονες.

28. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἴσως, κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα, περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὀλίγα εἰπεῖν. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐπιστολῇ (ἐκάτεροι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει, καὶ Μέμφι (59) καὶ Θήβαις, εἰς λόγους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφίχθαι λέγονται), φασὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, μαθεῖν. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν· "Ἦδη ὧν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιοῦτους ἀπεδείκνυσάν

27. What then? First, the irrational and image-like movements of the soul around opinions, sometimes taking different forms—some drawn from matter, others shaped and conceived by themselves. This especially happens to the soul when it has taken on a material nature and is held together by spirit, not looking upward to the heavens and their maker, but downward to earthly things, generally toward the earth, becoming only blood and flesh, no longer a pure spirit. These irrational and image-like movements of the soul produce idol-mad fantasies. But when the soul is gentle and receptive, yet deaf and inexperienced in flowing words, unable to see the truth, and unaware of the Father and maker of all, it becomes sealed with false opinions about itself; the demons around matter, like flies around smoke and the blood of priests, deceitful to humans, take hold of these false opinions—movements of the many souls—and give them fantasies, as if coming from idols and statues. Riding on these thoughts, they allow them to enter; and as the soul itself, being immortal, moves rationally, foretelling what is to come and caring for what is present, the demons take the credit for these things.

It is perhaps necessary, according to what has been said before, to say a few things about names.. Herodotus and Alexander, son of Philip, in the letter to their mother (each said to have arrived in Heliopolis, and also in Memphis (59) and Thebes, to speak with the priests), are said to have become men from those places, to learn.. Herodotus said: Since images already existed, they showed themselves as such—being like

σφεας αὐτοὺς (60) ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπηλλαγμένους. Τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστερον (61) δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ἥρον τὸν Ὀσίρεως (62) παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἑλληνες ὀνομάζουσι. Τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. Οἱ τε οὖν ἄλλοι, καὶ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου (παρὰ δὲ τούτων εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἦλθε τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν) Ἀπόλλων ὁ Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιδος (ὥς ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος λέγει· Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιδος λέγουσιν εἶναι παῖδας· Λητῶ δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν (63) γενέσθαι·) οὐς οὐρανίους γεγονότας, πρώτους βασιλεῖας ἔσχον· πῇ μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς ἀληθοῦς περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας (64), πῇ δὲ χάριτι τῆς ἀρχῆς θεοὺς ὁμοῦ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἦγον. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας, καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλείας (65) οὐ σφιν ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλ' ἱραὶ εἰσι τῆς Ἴσιδος, τῆς ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικίῳ βούκερὼν ἐστίν, κατὰ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν (66) γράφουσι. Τίνες δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ταῦτα πιστευθεῖεν λέγοντες, ἢ οἱ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους, παῖς παρὰ πατρός, ὥς τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διαδεχόμενοι; οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σεμνοποιοῦντας ζακόρους τὰ εἶδωλα, εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ψεύδεσθαι. Εἴ τι μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος ἔλεγε, περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὥς περὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἱστορεῖν Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ λέγοντι. τῷ Ἡροδότῳ· Τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων, οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος διηγεῖσθαι, ἔξω ἢ (67) τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτέων μῶνα ἐλάχιστα· μὴ πιστεύειν ὥς μυθοποιῶ ἔδει· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὁ Τρισμέγιστος

gods but far removed from them. (60). Before these men, the rulers in Egypt were gods, not at the same time humans; and among them, there was always one who held power. Later (61), Horus, the son of Osiris (62), ruled there, whom the Greeks call Apollo.. After this one defeated Typhon, he became the last king of Egypt.. Osiris is Dionysus in the Greek language.. The others, then, and the last king of Egypt (from whom the names of the gods came to the Greeks), were Apollo, the son of Dionysus and Isis (as Herodotus says: they say that Apollo and Artemis are the children of Dionysus and Isis; Leto became their nurse and savior). These were considered heavenly beings and held the first kingship. Some out of ignorance of the true piety toward the divine, and some by the favor of their rule, led gods along with their wives.. Now all the Egyptians sacrifice clean bulls, the male ones, and calves; but they are not allowed to sacrifice the female ones. The females are sacred to Isis, whose image is a woman with cow's horns, just as the Greeks depict Juno.. Who would believe these things more readily than those of the family line, child after father, as they inherit the priesthood and the history?? For it is not likely that the priests who perform the sacred rites would themselves be false about the images.. If then Herodotus said anything about the gods, as about humans, that the Egyptians were historians, and said. To Herodotus: "Now, I am not willing to tell the divine stories as I heard them, except for a very few of their names; do not believe as if it were a myth-maker's tale. But since Alexander and Hermes Trismegistus call upon them, linking their eternal race, and countless others (so that I do not list each one separately), there is no longer any reason to deny that they were

ἐπικαλούμενος, συνάπτων τὸ αἶδιον αὐτοῖς γένος (68), καὶ ἄλλοι μυρίοι (ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον καταλέγοιμι (69)), οὐδὲν λόγος ἔτι καταλείπεται, βασιλεῖς ὄντας αὐτοὺς μὴ νενομίσθαι (70) θεοὺς. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωποι, δηλοῦσι μὲν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογιώτατοι, οἱ θεοὺς λέγοντες αἰθέρα, γῆν, ἥλιον, σελήνην, τοὺς ἄλλους (71) ἀνθρώπους θνητοὺς νομίζουσι, καὶ ἱερὰ τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ θεῶν. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ τὰ μαθήματα (72) αὐτῶν φησι μυστήρια. Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει, ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι. Τύπτονται γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων. Τὸν δὲ τύπτονται τρόπον, οὗ μοι ὁσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. Εἰ θεοὶ, καὶ ἀθάνατοι· εἰ δὲ τύπτονται, καὶ τὰ πάθη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν μυστήρια, ἄνθρωποι· ὡς αὐτὸς Ἡρόδοτος· Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐχ ὁσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τοῦνομα, ἐν Σαΐ, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθεν τοῦ νηοῦ παντὸς, τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου (73). Λίμνη δ' ἐστὶν ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπιδὶ κεκοσμημένη ἐν κύκλῳ, μέγεθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ, ἢ Τροχοειδῆς καλεομένη. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. Καὶ οὐ μόνον ὁ τάφος τοῦ Ὀσίριδος δείκνυται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταριχεΐα· Ἐπεὰν σφισι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα τῶν νεκρῶν ξύλινα τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα· καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶν εἶναι τοῦ οὐχ ὁσιον ποιεῦμαι οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν.

kings who were not considered gods.”. And that they were men, the most learned of the Egyptians show clearly, who, calling gods the air, the earth, the sun, the moon, consider the other men mortal, and hold their tombs sacred.. Apollodorus also shows this in his work On the Gods.. Herodotus also calls their teachings mysteries.. In the city of Busiris, as they celebrate the festival of Isis, it was told to me earlier.. For after the sacrifice, all men and women strike themselves, countless thousands of people.. The way they strike themselves is not proper for me to say.. If they are gods, then they are immortal; but if they strike themselves, their sufferings are their mysteries, and they are human— just as Herodotus himself says. And there are also tombs, which I do not consider proper to name in such a matter, at Saïs, in the temple of Athena, behind the entire temple, near the wall of Athena’s temple. (73). There is a lake surrounded by a stone edge, decorated in a circle, about the size, as it seems to me, of the one in Delos called the Wheel-shaped.. In this lake, the Egyptians call the signs of his sufferings the mysteries of the night.. Not only is the tomb of Osiris shown, but also the embalming; when a dead body is brought to them, they show to those who bring it wooden examples of the dead, carved in writing; and they say that the most important of these is the one they call "Not Making Holy," a name I do not consider proper to use for such a matter.

29. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων οἱ περὶ ποίησιν καὶ ἱστορίαν σοφοὶ περὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέους·

29. But also among the Greeks, those wise in poetry and history concerning Heracles;

****Σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν ἠδέσατ' οὐδὲ
τράπεζαν,****

****Cruel, he did not respect the face of the
gods nor the table,****

****Τὴν οἱ παρέθηκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ
αὐτὸν Ἴφιτον** (74).**

****He set it before him; then he also killed
Iphitus** (74).**

Τοιοῦτος ὦν, εἰκότως μὲν ἐμαίνετο·
εἰκότως δὲ, ἀνάψας πυρὰν, κατέκαυσεν
αὐτόν. Περὶ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ἡσίοδος μὲν·

Being such a man, he was rightly mad; and
rightly, having lit a fire, he burned himself.
As for Asclepius, Hesiod says:

****Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε****

****Father of men and gods****

****Ὅτ' ἐχώσατ', ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ βαλὼν
ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ****

****When he was angry, he struck from
Olympus with a flashing thunderbolt****

****Ἐκτανε Λητοῖδην φίλον, σὺν θυμὸν
ὀρίνων.****

****He killed the son of Leto, his dear one,
stirring up his spirit.****

Πίνδαρος δέ·

Pindar says:

****Ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεταί.****

****But wisdom is also gained.****

****Ἐτραπεν κάκεῖνον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ
χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶν φανείς.****

****Gold appeared in his hands, turning him
also, the young man, by its gentle reward.****

****Χερσὶ δ' ἄρα Κρονίων,****

****And so by the hands of the son of
Cronus,****

****Ρίψαις δι' άμφοϊν άμπνοάιν****

****With a throw through both, a breath****

****Στέρνων κάθελεν****

****He poured down upon the chest****

****Ωκέως· αΐθων δέ κεραυνός ένέσκηψε
μόρον.****

Quickly; and a blazing thunderbolt struck death.

**Ή τοίνυν θεοί ἦσαν, καί οὔτε αὐτοί πρὸς
χρυσὸν εἶχον**

So then, if they were gods, they themselves did not care for gold

***(ὦ χουσέ, δεξίωμα (75) κάλλιστον
βροτοῖς,****

***(Oh feast, the finest banquet for
mortals,****

****Ὡς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοιάσδ' ἔχει,****

****As if even a mother does not have such
pleasures,****

****Οὐ παῖδες.****

****Not children.****

Άνεπιδεές γάρ καί κρεῖττον ἐπιθυμίας τὸ
θεῖον), οὔτε ἀπέθνησκον· ἢ ἄνθρωποι
γεγονότες, καί πονηροὶ δι' ἁμαθίαν ἦσαν,
καί χρημάτων ἐλάττους. Τί με πολλὰ
λέγειν, ἢ Κάστορος ἢ Πολυδεύκους
μνημονεύοντα, ἢ Ἀμφιάρεω, οἷ, ὡς εἶπεῖν
λόγῳ, χθές καί πρῶην ἄνθρωποι ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων γεγονότες, θεοὶ νομίζονται·
ὁπότε καί Ἰνώ μετὰ τὴν μανίαν καί τὰ ἐπὶ
τῆς μανίας πάθη θεὸν δοξάζουσι γεγονέναι;

For the divine is both ignorant and better
than desire), and they did not die; or having
become human, they were evil through
ignorance, and less in wealth. Why should I
say more, mentioning Castor or Polydeuces,
or Amphiaraus, who, so to speak, yesterday
and this morning were men born from
men, are considered gods; whenever even
Ino, after her madness and the sufferings of
madness, is believed to have become a god?

****Πόντου πλάνητες· Λευκοθέαν
ἐπώνυμον.****

Wandering in the Pontus; named
Leukothea.

Καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς·

And her child;

****Σεμνὸς Παλαίμων ναυτίλοις
κεκλήσεται.****

The solemn Palamon will be called to the
sailors.

30. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὥς ἀπόπτυστοι (76) καὶ
θεοστυγεῖς δόξαν ἔσχον εἶναι θεοὶ, καὶ ἡ
θυγάτηρ τῆς Δερκετοῦς Σεμίραμις, λάγνος
γυνὴ καὶ μαιφόνος, ἔδοξε Συρία θεὸς (77)·
καὶ διὰ τὴν Δερκετὼ καὶ τὰς περιστερὰς
καὶ τὴν Σεμίραμιν σέβουσι Σύροι (τὸ γὰρ
ἀδύνατον, εἰς περιστερὰν μετέβαλεν ἡ
γυνή· ὁ μῦθος παρὰ Κτησίᾱ)· τί θαυμαστὸν
τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀρχῇ καὶ τυραννίδι ὑπὸ τῶν
κατ' αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι θεοὺς, (Σίβυλλα,
μέμνηται δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Πλάτων·

30. For even if the gods were thought to be
detestable (76) and hated by the gods, and
the daughter of Derketo, Semiramis, a
lustful and bloodstained woman, was
considered a Syrian goddess (77); and
because of Derketo and the doves and
Semiramis, the Syrians worship (for the
impossible, the woman changed into a
dove; the story is from Ktesias); what is
surprising is that some were called gods at
the beginning and in tyranny by those
under them, (Sibylla, and Plato remembers
her too;

****Δὴ τότε δὴ δεκάτῃ γενεῇ** (78)
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,**

"Indeed, then, in the tenth generation of
mortal men,"

****Ἐξ οὗ δὴ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ προτέρους
γένετ' ἄνδρας,****

"From then on, a flood came upon the
earlier men,"

****Καὶ βασίλευσε** (79) ****Κρόνος, καὶ
Τιτὰν, Ἰαπετός τε,******

"And Cronus ruled, and Titan, and Iapetus,"

****Γαίης τέκνα φέριστα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ,
ἐξεκάλεσαν****

"the best children of Earth and Heaven,
they were called"

****"Ἄνθρωποι, Γαῖάν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν" (80)**
****οὕνομα θέντες,****

"Men, giving the names Earth and Heaven,"

****Οὐνεκα οἱ πρῶτιστοι (81) **ἔσαν**
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.)**

"Because they were the first of mortal men."

τοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἰσχύϊ, ὥς Ἡρακλέα καὶ Περσέα,
τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τέχνῃ, ὥς Ἀσκληπιόν; Οἷς μὲν
οὖν ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι τιμῆς
μετεδίδοσαν, ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ μὲν
φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ, μετεῖχον τοῦ
ὀνόματος. Καὶ Ἀντίνοος φιλανθρωπία (82)
τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων πρὸς τοὺς
ὑπηκόους ἔτυχε νομίζεσθαι θεός. Οἱ δὲ μετ'
αὐτοὺς, ἀβασανίστως παρεδέξαντο.

Those honored for strength, like Heracles and Perseus, and those honored for skill, like Asclepius; to some, either the rulers themselves gave part of the honor, or the rulers received it themselves—some shared it out of fear, others also out of respect. And Antinous was considered a god because of the kindness of your ancestors toward their subjects. Those who came after accepted this without question.

****Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο****

****Cretans are always liars; for even your tomb, O lord,****

****Κρήτες ἐτεκτίναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες.****

****The Cretans were killed; but you did not die.****

Πιστεύων, Καλλίμαχε, ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς,
ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ· καὶ νομίζων
ἐπισκιάσειν (83) τάληθές, καὶ τοῖς
ἀγνοοῦσι κηρύσσεις τὸν τεθνηκότα. Κἂν
μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπῃς, τὸν Ῥέας
ὑπομνήσκῃ τόκον· ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδῃς,
ἐπισκοτεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς, ὅτι
μόνος αἰῖδιος ὁ ἀγέννητος Θεός. Ἡ γὰρ
ἄπιστοι οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ποιητῶν
λεγόμενοι μῦθοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ
περισσὴ ἡ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐσέβεια (οὐ γὰρ
εἰσὶν ὧν ψευδεῖς οἱ λόγοι)· ἢ, εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ
γενέσεις, οἱ ἔρωτες, αἱ μαιφοναί, αἱ

Believing, Callimachus, in the knees of Zeus, you disbelieve his tomb; and thinking to overshadow the truth, you proclaim to those who do not know that he is dead. If you see the cave, it reminds you of Rhea, the mother; but if you see the corpse, you darken your view of the dead, not knowing that only the unbegotten God is eternal. Either the stories told by many and by poets about the gods are untrustworthy, and the reverence toward them is excessive (for the words are not false); or, if the births, loves, murders, thefts, mutilations,

κλοπαί, αἱ ἔκτομαί, οἱ κεραυνοί, οὐκέτ' εἰσὶ,
παυσάμενοι εἶναι· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκ
ὄντες. Τίς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πιστεύειν λόγος,
τοῖς δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸ τεμνότερον περὶ
αὐτῶν τῶν ποιητῶν ἱστορηκότων; Οὐ γὰρ
ἂν δι' οὓς ἐνομίσθησαν θεοὶ,
σεμνοποιήσαντας τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς
ἱστορίαν, οὗτοι τὰ πάθη τὰ αὐτῶν
ἐψεύσαντο. Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐσμεν ἄθεοι,
θεὸν ἄγοντες τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ
παντὸς, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Λόγον, κατὰ
δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀξίαν,
ἐλήλεγκται.

and thunderbolts are true, they no longer
exist, having ceased to be, since they once
happened but are no longer. For what
reason is there to believe some and
disbelieve others, when the poets have
recorded these things in detail? For those
who were thought to be gods, and who
made their history solemn, did not lie about
their own sufferings. Therefore, since we
are not atheists, holding the creator of this
universe to be God, and the Word from him,
according to my ability, even if not fully
worthy, has been demonstrated.

31. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τροφὰς καὶ μίξεις
λογοποιοῦσιν ἀθέους καθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τε
μισεῖν νομίζοιεν μετὰ λόγου, καὶ οἰόμενοι
τῷ δεδίττεσθαι, ἢ τῆς ἐνστάσεως ἀπάξειν
ἡμᾶς τοῦ βίου, ἢ πικροὺς καὶ
ἀπαραιτήτους, τῇ τῶν αἰτιῶν ὑπερβολῇ,
τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρασκευάσειν (84)· πρὸς
εἰδότας παίζοντες, ὅτι ἄνωθέν πως ἔθος,
καὶ οὐχ ἐφ' ἡμῶν μόνον, κατὰ τινα θεῖον
νόμον (85) καὶ λόγον παρηκολούθηκε,
προσπολεμεῖν τὴν κακίαν τῇ ἀρετῇ. Οὕτω
καὶ Πυθαγόρας μὲν ἅμα τριακοσίοις
ἐτέροις κατεφλέχθη πυρὶ, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ
καὶ Δημόκριτος, ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως
ἠλαύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν,
ἐπικατηγορούμενος μεμνηνῶν· καὶ
Σωκράτους Ἀθηναῖοι θάνατον
κατέγνωσαν. Ἄλλ' ὥς ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν χεῖρους
εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν
δόξαν, οὐδ' ἡμῖν οὐθὲν (86) ἐπισκοτεῖ πρὸς
ὁσιότητα βίου ἢ παρὰ τινων ἄκριτος
βλασφημία. Εὐδοξοῦμεν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.
Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπαντήσω τὰ
ἐγκλήματα. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν (87) καὶ δι' ὧν
εἴρηκα, εὖ οἶδα ἀπολελογῆσθαι ἐμαυτόν.
Συνέσει γὰρ πάντας ὑπερφρονοῦντες, οἷς ὁ
βίος ὥς πρὸς στάθμην τὸν Θεὸν
κανονίζεται, ὅπως ἀνυπαίτιος καὶ

31. They even invent false teachings and
mixtures about us atheists, so that they
might seem to hate us with reason, and
thinking that by fearing us, either they will
drive us away from life by objection, or
prepare the rulers to be harsh and
unyielding because of excessive blame (84).
Playing to those who know, as if somehow
there is a custom from above, and not only
among us, following some divine law (85)
and reason, to fight evil with virtue. Thus
Pythagoras was burned along with three
hundred others by fire, Heraclitus and
Democritus—one was driven out of the city
of Ephesus, the other of Abdera, accused of
madness—and the Athenians condemned
Socrates to death. But just as those men did
not harm the cause of virtue because of the
opinion of many, neither does the
unmeasured slander of some darken our
holiness of life (86). For we are well
thought of by God. Yet I will answer these
accusations as well. You, then (87), and by
what I have said, I know well that I have
defended myself. For despising all with
understanding, who think that life is
measured by God as a standard, so that
each of us might be blameless and faultless

ἀνεπίληπτος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος αὐτῷ (88) γένοιτο, ἵστε τούτους μηδ' εἰς ἔννοιάν ποτε τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἐλευσομένους ἀμαρτήματος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον βιώσεσθαι πεπεσμεθα, καὶν ὑποπεύειν ἐνῆν, δουλεύοντας σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, ἢ κέρδους ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάττους γενομένους ἀμαρτεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφেষτηκέναι μὲν οἷς ἐννοοῦμεν, οἷς λαλοῦμεν, καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν Θεὸν οἶδαμεν, πάντα δὲ φῶς αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν ὄραν (89), πεπεσμεθα, τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαλλαγέντες βίου, βίον ἕτερον βιώσεσθαι ἀμείνονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἐπουράνιον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον (ὥς ἂν μετὰ Θεοῦ καὶ σὺν Θεῷ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὥς σάρκες, καὶν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὥς οὐράνιον πνεῦμα, μενοῦμεν)· ἢ συγκαταπίπτοντες τοῖς λοιποῖς χεῖρονα καὶ διὰ πυρός (οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὥς πρόβατα ἢ ὑποζύγια, πάρεργον, καὶ ἵνα ἀπολοίμεθα καὶ ἀφανισθῆμεν, ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεός), ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐθελοκακεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς τῷ μεγάλῳ παραδιδόναι κολασθησομένους δικαστῇ.

32. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν λογοποιεῖν περὶ ἡμῶν ἢ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων λέγουσι θεῶν, καὶ τὰ πάθη αὐτῶν δεικνύουσι μυστήρια. Χρῆν δ' αὐτοὺς, εἰ δεινὸν τὸ ἐπ' ἀδείας καὶ ἀδιαφόρως μίγνυσθαι κρίνειν ἔμελλον, ἢ τὸν Δία μεμνησκέναι, ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Ῥέας, θυγατρὸς δὲ Κόρης πεπαιδοποιημένον, γυναικὶ δ' ἰδίᾳ ἀδελφῇ (90) χρώμενον· ἢ τὸν τούτων ποιητὴν Ὀρφέα, ὅτι καὶ ἀνόσιον ὑπὲρ τὸν Θεέστην καὶ μιὰρὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Δία. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος τῇ θυγατρὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐμίγη, βασιλεὺς ἐθέλων καὶ Θεέστης (91) ἐκδικηθῆναι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀδιάφοροι εἶναι ἀπέχομεν, ὥς μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξεῖναι. Ὁ

before him (88), know that these men never even considered the slightest sin. For if we were convinced to live only this one life here, and even then it was possible to suspect sin while serving the flesh and blood, or being less than gain or desire, we would sin. But since we have come to believe that the one we think of and speak about, whom we know both night and day, is God, and that he is all light, and sees what is in our hearts (89), we are convinced that after this life here, we will live another life better than this one, a heavenly life, not an earthly one (since if you live with God and in God, your soul remains steady and free from passion, not as flesh, even if we have it, but as a heavenly spirit). Or, if we were to fall along with the rest into something worse and through fire (for God did not make us as sheep or beasts of burden, a side matter, so that we might perish and be destroyed), it is not reasonable for us to willfully do evil, nor to hand ourselves over to the great judge to be punished.

32. Therefore, it is nothing wonderful that they make up stories about us atheists, like those they say about their own gods, and reveal their sufferings as mysteries. If they were to judge it terrible to mix freely and carelessly, either to hate Zeus—who was born from his mother Rhea, and the daughter of Kore, and who took a wife who was also his sister (90)—or to hate Orpheus, their creator, because he made Zeus impious and foul for the sake of Thyestes. For he also, according to prophecy, slept with his daughter, being king and wanting to take revenge on Thyestes (91). But we keep ourselves so indifferent that we do not even allow

γὰρ βλέπων, φησὶ, γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη μεμοίχευκεν (92) ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Οἷς οὖν μηδὲν πλέον (93) ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν, ἢ ἐφ’ ἃ ἔπλασεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, ἡμῖν φῶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι· καὶ οἷς τὸ ἰδεῖν ἡδέως, μοιχεία, ἐφ’ ἕτερα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν γεγονότων, μέχρις ἐννοίας κριθησομένοις· πῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀπιστηθεῖεν σωφρονεῖν; Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνθρωπικῶς νόμους ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν, οὐς ἂν τις γενόμενος πονηρὸς καὶ λάθοι (ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ ὑμῖν, δεσπότης (94), θεοδίδακτον εἶναι τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγον ἐπιστοῦμην)· ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἡμῖν νόμος ὃς (95) δικαιοσύνης μέτρον ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πέλας ἔχειν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ καθ’ ἡλικίαν, τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας νοοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχομεν καὶ ἀδελφάς· καὶ τοῖς προβεβηκόσι τὴν τῶν πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τιμὴν ἀπονέμεμεν. Οὐς οὖν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ (96) ἀδελφάς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ γένους νοοῦμεν ὀνόματα, περὶ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν ἀνύβριστα καὶ ἀδιάφθορα αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα μένειν· πάλιν ἡμῖν λέγοντος τοῦ λόγου (97)· Ἐάν τις διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ δευτέρου καταφιλήσῃ, ὅτι ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐπιφέροντος· Οὕτως οὖν ἀκριβώσασθαι τὸ φίλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα (98) δεῖ· ὥς, εἴπου μικρὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ παραθλωθείη, ἔξω ἡμᾶς τῆς αἰωνίου τιθέντος ζωῆς.

ourselves to look with desire. For he says that anyone who looks at a woman to desire her has already committed adultery in his heart (92). Therefore, those who can see nothing more than what God made their eyes for, to us their eyes are light; and those whose seeing has turned into adultery, having eyes for other things, will be judged by understanding. How could these people be thought to be wise when they disbelieve? For our argument is not about human laws, which someone might become wicked and escape (and at first I insisted to you, master (94), that the teaching about us was God-taught); but we have a law that has made them a measure of justice and holds those near to them. Because of this, we consider sons and daughters by age, and we have brothers and sisters; and we give honor to those who have gone before us, our fathers and mothers. Therefore, those whom we call brothers and sisters and the rest of the family, we consider their bodies to remain uninjured and incorruptible for us; again, as the word says (97): “If someone kisses a second time because he pleased him,” and adds, “Thus the kiss must be exacted, and even more so the worship” (98), so that if the mind is a little confused, we might be cast out from the eternal life that is given.

33. Ἐλπίδα οὖν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχοντες, τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφρονοῦμεν, μέχρι καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡδέων. Γυναῖκα μὲν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν, ἣν ἡγάγετο κατὰ τοὺς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν (99) τεθειμένους νόμους, νομίζων, καὶ ταύτην μέχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς, καταβάλλων εἰς γῆν τὰ σπέρματα, ἄμητον περιμένει, οὐκ ἐπισπείρων· καὶ ἡμῖν μέτρον ἐπιθυμίας ἡ παιδοποιία. Εὐροις δ’ ἂν πολλοὺς τῶν παρ’

33. Therefore, having hope of eternal life, we despise the things of this life, even the pleasures of the soul. Each of us, if he takes a wife according to the laws established by us (99), considers her only until she bears children. Just as a farmer, planting seeds in the ground, waits for an unplowed field, not sowing again; so for us, the measure of desire is procreation. You will find many among us, both men and women, growing

ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, καταγρηράσκοντας ἀγάμους, ἐλπίδι τοῦ μᾶλλον συνέσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἐν εὐνουχίᾳ μεῖναι (1), μᾶλλον παρίστησι τῷ Θεῷ, τὸ δὲ μέχρις ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλθεῖν ἀπάγει· ὧν τὰς ἐννοίας φεύγομεν, πολὺ πρότερον τὰ ἔργα παραιτούμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ μελέτη λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξει καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ ἔργων τὰ ἡμέτερα· ἢ οἷός τις ἐτέχθη, μένειν, ἢ ἐφ' ἐνὶ γάμῳ. Ὁ γὰρ δεῦτερος εὐπρεπής ἐστι μοιχεία (2). Ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ, φησὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην, μοιχᾶται· οὔτε ἀπολύειν ἐπιτρέπων ἥς ἔπαυσέ τις τὴν παρθενίαν, οὔτε ἐπιγαμεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ ἀποστερῶν ἑαυτὸν τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς, καὶ εἰ τέθνηκε, μοιχός ἐστι παρακεκαλυμμένος, παραβαίνων μὲν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Θεὸς ἕνα ἄνδρα ἔπλασε καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα· λύων δὲ τὴν σάρκα πρὸς σάρκα κατὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν πρὸς μίξιν εἰς τοῦ γένους κοινωνίαν (3).

old unmarried, hoping to be more united with God. And if remaining in virginity and chastity (1) brings one closer to God, then coming even to the thoughts and desires leads away from him; from which thoughts we flee, much more do we reject the deeds. Our way is not by words, but by demonstration and teaching through deeds; either one is able to be born again, or to remain in one marriage. For the second is a kind of adultery (2). For he who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery; neither is it allowed to divorce the one whose virginity has been ended, nor to remarry. For he who deprives himself of his former wife, even if she has died, is a hidden adulterer, transgressing the hand of God, because in the beginning God made one man and one woman; and by uniting flesh to flesh in marriage, he made them partners in offspring (3).

34. Ἀλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι (ὦ τί ἂν εἴποιμι τὰ ἀπόρρητα;) ἀκούομεν τὰ τῆς παροιμίας, Ἡ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα. Οἱ γὰρ ἀγορὰν στήσαντες πορνείας, καὶ καταγωγὰς ἀθέσμους πεποιημένοι τοῖς νέοις πάσης αἰσχρᾶς ἡδονῆς, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀρσένων φειδόμενοι, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὰ δεινὰ κατεργαζόμενοι· ὅσων σεμνότερα καὶ εὐειδέστερα σώματα, παντοίως αὐτὰ ὑβρίζοντες· ἀτιμοῦντες καὶ τὸ ποιητὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καλόν (οὐ γὰρ αὐτοποίητον ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χειρὸς καὶ γνώμης πεμπόμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ), οὗτοι δὲ ἅ συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους λέγουσι θεοὺς (4), ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς σεμνὰ, καὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ αὐχοῦντες, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦνται· κακίζοντες οἱ μοιχοὶ καὶ παιδερασταὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους, καὶ μονογάμους· οἱ δίκην ἰχθύων ζῶντες (καὶ

34. But such people (oh, what could I say about the unspeakable?) we hear the proverb, "The prostitute hates the chaste." For those who have set up a market of prostitution, and made unlawful brothels for the young, offering every shameful pleasure, sparing not even males, males doing terrible things with males; those who dishonor the most honorable and beautiful bodies in every way; dishonoring even the beautiful work of God (for beauty on earth is not self-made, but sent by the hand and will of God), these, as they understand themselves and call their own gods (4), boast about these things as sacred, even of the gods themselves, and they insult us for these things. Adulterers and pederasts insult the eunuchs and the monogamists; those who live like fish (for these also

γὰρ οὗτοι καταπίνουσι τὸν ἐμπεσόντα,
ἐλαύνοντες ὁ ἰσχυρότερος τὸν
ἀσθενέστερον· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι σαρκῶν
ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρωπικῶν, τὸ κειμένων
νόμων, οὓς ὑρεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι
πρὸς πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην ἐξετάσαντες
ἐθήκατε, παρὰ τούτους αὐτοὺς βιάζεσθαι),
ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν καταπεμπομένους
ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαρκεῖν ταῖς δίκαις,
οἷς οὐδὲ παιομένοις μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς,
οὐδὲ κακῶς ἀκούουσι μὴ εὐλογεῖν ἕξεσιν·
οὐ γὰρ (5) ἀπαρκεῖ (6) δίκαιον εἶναι (ἔστι
δὲ δικαιοσύνη (7) ἴσα ἴσοις ἀμείβειν), ἀλλ'
ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀνεξικάκοις (8) εἶναι
πρόκειται.

35. Τίς οὖν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι, τοιούτους
ὄντας ἡμᾶς, ἀνδροφόνους εἶναι; οὐ γὰρ
ἔστι πάσασθαι (9) κρεῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν, μὴ
πρότερον ἀποκτείνασί τινα. Τὸ πρότερον
οὖν ψευδόμενοι· τὸ δεύτερον, κἂν μὲν τις
αὐτοὺς ἔρηται (10), εἰ ἐωράκασιν ἃ
λέγουσιν, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀπηρυθριασμένος,
ὡς εἶπεῖν ἰδεῖν. Καίτοι καὶ δοῦλοί εἰσιν
ἡμῖν, τοῖς μὲν καὶ πλείους, τοῖς δὲ ἐλάττους·
οὓς οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων
οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡμῶν (11) τὰ τηλικαῦτα οὐδὲ
κατεψεύσατο. Οὓς γὰρ ἴσασι οὐδ' ἰδεῖν
κἂν δικαίως φονευόμενον ὑπομένοντας,
τούτων τίς ἂν κατεῖποι ἢ ἀνδροφονίαν
(12), ἢ ἀνθρωποβορίαν; Τίς οὐχὶ τῶν περὶ
σπουδῆς τὰς δι' ὅπλων ἀγωνίας καὶ διὰ
θηρίων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ὑφ' ὑμῶν
ἀγομένας, ἔχει; Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς πλησίον εἶναι τὸ
ἰδεῖν τὸν φονευόμενον (13) τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι
νομίζοντες, ἀπηγορεύσαμεν τὰς τοιαύτας
θέας. Πῶς οὖν μηδὲ ὀρῶντες, ἵνα μὴ
ἑαυτοῖς ἄγος καὶ μίασμα προστριψαίμεθα,
φονεύειν δυνάμεθα; Καὶ οἱ τὰς τοῖς
ἀμβλωθριδίοις χρωμένας, ἀνδροφονεῖν τε
καὶ λόγον ὑφέξειν τῆς ἐξαμβλώσεως τῷ
Θεῷ φαμέν, κατὰ ποῖον ἀνδροφονοῦμεν

swallow the fallen, the stronger driving out
the weaker; and this is touching human
flesh, breaking the laws laid down by you
and your ancestors after examining all
justice), they say that even the rulers of the
nations sent by you are not enough for
justice, and that those who are not beaten
should not allow themselves to be treated
badly or praised. For it is not enough (5)
for justice to be just (and justice (7) is to
give equal to equals), but it must be for the
good and the unresentful (8).

35. Who then, thinking well, would say that
we are such as to be murderers? For it is
not possible to eat human flesh without
first killing someone. So they lie about the
first; and even if someone asks them (10)
whether they have seen what they say, no
one is so enraged as to say he has seen it.
And yet they are slaves to us, some many,
some fewer; whom it is not possible to
hide; but none of these, among us (11), has
ever lied about such things. For those who
are known to endure even justly being
killed, who would accuse them of murder
(12) or cannibalism? Who does not know
about the struggles by arms and beasts,
especially those fought by you? But we,
thinking it close to seeing a person killed as
to killing, have forbidden such sights. How
then, not even seeing, so that we do not
bring shame and pollution upon ourselves,
could we be able to kill? And those who use
the things of the womb, we say that to kill
and to lessen the word of abortion before
God is murder; by what kind of murder do
we kill? For it is not the same, to think that
a being is living in the womb and therefore

λόγον; Οὐ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, νομίζειν μὲν καὶ τὸ κατὰ γαστρὸς ζῶον εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ μέλιν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ παρεληλυθότα εἰς τὸν βίον, φονεύειν· καὶ μὴ ἐκτιθέναι μὲν τὸ γεννηθὲν, ὡς τῶν ἐκτιθέντων τεκνοκτονούντων, πάλιν δὲ τὸ τραφὲν ἀναιρεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν πάντα πανταχοῦ ὅμοιοι καὶ ἴσοι, δουλεύοντες τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐκ ἄρχοντες (14) αὐτοῦ.

cared for by God, and having come into life, to kill; and not to expose what is born, as those who expose are child-killers, but again to kill what has been nourished. But we are all alike and equal everywhere, serving the word and not its rulers (14).

36. Τίς ἂν οὖν, ἀνάστασιν πεπιστευκῶς, ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἀναστησομένοις ἑαυτὸν παράσχοι τάφον; Οὐ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀναστήσεσθαι ἡμῶν πεπεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα, καὶ ἐσθίειν αὐτὰ ὡς οὐκ ἀναστησόμενα· καὶ ἀποδώσειν μὲν νομίζειν τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἰδίους νεκροὺς, οὓς δὲ τις αὐτὸς ἐγκατέθαψεν αὐτῷ, μήτε ἀπαιτηθήσεσθαι. Τούναντίον μὲν οὖν εἰκὸς, τοὺς μὲν μήτε λόγον (15) ὑφέξειν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἢ πονηροῦ ἢ χρηστοῦ βίου, μήτε ἀνάστασιν εἶναι οἰομένους, συναπόλλυσθαι δὲ τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ οἷον ἐναποσβέννυσθαι λογιζομένους, μηδενὸς ἂν ἀποσχέσθαι τολμήματος· τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἀνεξέταστον ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, συγκολασθήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπουργῆσαν σῶμα ταῖς ἀλόγοις ὁρμαῖς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις πεπεισμένους, οὐδεὶς λόγος ἔχει οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων τι ἀμαρτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τῷ λῆρος πολὺς δοκεῖ, τὸ σαπὲν καὶ διαλυθὲν καὶ ἀφανισθὲν σῶμα συστήναι πάλιν, κακίας μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δόξαν ἀποφεροίμεθα διὰ τοὺς οὐ πιστεύοντας, ἀλλ' εὐηθίας. Οἷς γὰρ ἀπατῶμεν ἑαυτοὺς λόγοις, ἀδικοῦμεν οὐδένα. Ὅτι μέντοι οὐ καθ' ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀναστήσεται τὰ σώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων, περιέργων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δεικνύειν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγωνίους τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπεισάγειν δοκῶμεν λόγους, ἢ περὶ νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων συστάσεως

36. Who then, believing in the resurrection, would offer himself as a tomb to bodies raised again? For it is not possible both to believe that our bodies will rise and to eat them as if they will not rise. And to think that the earth will give back its own dead, those whom someone has buried for himself, and that they will not be demanded back. On the contrary, it is likely that those who neither speak of a life here that is either evil or good, nor believe in resurrection, perish together with the body and think they are extinguished, would not dare to refrain from anything. But those who believe that nothing escapes God's judgment, and that the body which served the irrational impulses and desires of the soul will be punished, have no reason to sin even in the smallest things. If it seems foolish to some that the rotten, dissolved, and vanished body will be restored again, we would not rightly be blamed for wickedness because of those who do not believe, but rather for foolishness. For when we deceive ourselves with words, we wrong no one. Indeed, it is not only among us that the resurrection of the bodies is believed, but also among many philosophers. It is strange to show this now, so that we do not seem to bring forward arguments that are foreign to those we address, either about the

λέγοντες, ἢ ὅτι πρεσβύτερα τὰ ἀσώματα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὰ νοητὰ προάγει τῶν αἰσθητῶν, κἂν πρώτοις περιπίπτωμεν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, συνισταμένων ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀσωμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἐπισύνθεσιν τῶν νοητῶν σωμάτων (16), ἐκ δὲ τῶν νοητῶν. Οὐ γὰρ κωλύει, κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα, γενομένης τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν σωμάτων, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν συνέστη, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτὰ καὶ πάλιν συστήναι. Ἄλλ' ἀνακείσθω μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος.

intelligible and the sensible and their composition, or that the immaterial is older than the body, and the intelligible comes before the sensible, even if we begin with the sensible things, which are composed from the immaterial according to the combination of intelligible bodies (16), and from the intelligible. For according to Pythagoras and Plato, the dissolution of the bodies from which the principle was composed does not prevent those same bodies from being composed again. But let the discourse about the resurrection be laid aside for now.

37. Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὧ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι φύσει καὶ παιδεῖα χρηστοὶ καὶ μέτριοι καὶ φιλόανθρωποι, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιοι, διαλελυμένῳ μὲν τὰ ἐγκλήματα, ἐπιδεδεικότει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ψυχὰς κεκολασμένοι, τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπινεύσατε. Τίνες γὰρ καὶ δικαιότεροι ὧν δέονται τυχεῖν, ἢ οἵτινες περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα παῖς μὲν παρὰ πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαιοτάτον διαδέχησθε τὴν βασιλείαν, αὖξῃσιν δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποχειρίων (17) γιγνομένων, λαμβάνη; Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν (18), ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευσμένα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῖμεν.

37. But you, who are good and moderate and kind in every nature and education, and worthy of the kingdom, having your sins forgiven and showing that you are both God-fearing and gentle and souls corrected, nod to the royal head. For who, being more just, would be more in need to receive it than those of us who pray for your rule, that as a son you may rightly succeed your father in the kingdom, and that your rule, with all under your authority (17), may grow and be increased? And this is also for us (18), so that we may live a calm and peaceful life, while we ourselves eagerly serve all the commands given.

On the Resurrection of the Dead, by Athenagoras the Athenian, a Christian Philosopher (ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ)

1. Παντὶ δόγματι καὶ λόγῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὖσι (19) ἀληθείας ἐχομένῳ παραφύεται τι

1. Every doctrine and word that holds to the truth in things that exist has some

ψεῦδος. Παραφύεται δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένης τινὸς ἀρχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ὀρμώμενον ἢ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἕκαστον αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἔκθεσμον σπορὰν ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῆς ἀληθείας τετιμηκότων σπουδαζόμενον. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ταῖς περὶ τούτων φροντίσιν ἐσχολακότων, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς ὁμοχρόνους γενομένης διαφορᾶς· οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν ἐν μέσῳ στρεφομένων ταραχῆς. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀληθῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι κατέλιπον ἀσυκοφάντητον, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ τὴν γνῶσιν, οὐ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, οὐ τὰ τοῦτοις ἐφεξῆς καθ' εἰρμὸν ἐπόμενα, καὶ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν ὑπογράφοντα λόγον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πάντη καὶ καθάπαξ ἀπογινώσκουσι τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς διαστρέφουσιν (20)· οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀπορεῖν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν. Ὅθεν οἶμαι δεῖν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα πονουμένοις λόγων διττῶν, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας (21)· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας ἢ τοὺς ἀμφιβάλλοντας· τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πρὸς τοὺς εὐγνωμονοῦντας καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας δεχομένους τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ὡς ἔνεκεν χρὴ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐξετάζειν ἐθέλοντας, τὴν ἐκάστοτε προκειμένην χρεῖαν σκοπεῖν, καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς λόγους μετρεῖν· τὴν τε περὶ τούτων τάξιν μεθαρμόζειν πρὸς τὸ δέον, καὶ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖν τὴν αὐτὴν πάντοτε φυλάττειν ἀρχὴν, ἀμελεῖν τοῦ προσήκοντος, καὶ τῆς ἐπιβαλλούσης ἐκάστῳ χώρας. Ὡς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν πάντοτε πρωτοστατοῦσιν οἱ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγοι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· ὥς δὲ πρὸς τὸ χρειωδέστερον ἀνεστραμμένως οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῶν περὶ αὐτῆς. Οὕτε γὰρ γεωργὸς δύναται ἂν προσηκόντως

falsehood growing alongside it (19).. But this falsehood does not grow from some underlying principle moving according to nature or from the cause of each thing itself, but rather it is produced by those who have sown error for the destruction of the truth and have eagerly worked toward its ruin.. This can be discovered, first, from those long ago who were occupied with these concerns, and from the disagreements that arose between them and their elders as well as their contemporaries; and not least from the very disturbances among those involved in the middle.. For these men left nothing true unreported—not the essence of God, nor the knowledge, nor the activity, nor the things that follow in order from these, nor the teaching that confirms piety for us. But some completely reject the truth about these things; others twist it to what seems right to them (20); and others even try to be uncertain about what is clear.. Therefore, I think it is necessary for those who labor concerning these matters to have two kinds of words: some in defense of the truth, and others about the truth (21); and the words in defense of the truth are for those who do not believe or who doubt; while the words about the truth are for those who are grateful and receive the truth with goodwill.. For this reason, those who wish to examine these matters must consider the need at hand each time and measure their words accordingly; they must adjust the order of discussion about these things to what is proper, and not always hold to the same principle based on what seems right, neglecting what is appropriate and the particular circumstances that apply to each case.. For when it comes to proof and the natural order, the words about the truth always

καταβάλλειν τῇ γῇ τὰ σπέρματα, μὴ
προξελὼν τὰ τῆς ἀγρίας ὕλης, καὶ τοῖς
καταβαλλομένοις ἡμέροις σπέρμασι
λυμαινόμενα· οὔτε ἱατρὸς ἐνεῖναι τι τῶν
ὑγιεινῶν φαρμάκων τῷ δεομένῳ
θεραπείας σώματι, μὴ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν κακίαν
προκαθάρας (22), ἢ τὴν ἐπιρρέουσιν
ἐπισχών. Οὔτε μὴν ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐθέλων
διδάσκειν, περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λέγων, πεῖσαι
δύναιτ' ἂν τινα ψευδοδοξίας τινὸς
ὑποικουρούσης τῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων
διανοίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀντιστατούσης. Διὸ
πρὸς τὸ χρειωδέστερον ἀφορῶντες καὶ
ἡμεῖς, προτάσσομεν ἔσθ' ὅτε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀληθείας λόγους τῶν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.
Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ποιῆσαι καὶ νῦν
ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγων οὐκ
ἀχρεῖον φαίνεται, σκοποῦσι τὸ δέον. Καὶ
γὰρ ἐν τούτοις εὐρίσκομεν τοὺς μὲν
ἀπιστοῦντας πάντη, τινὰς δὲ (23)
ἀμφιβάλλοντας, καὶ τῶν γε τὰς πρώτας
ὑποθέσεις (24) δεξαμένων τινὰς ἐπίσης
τοῖς ἀμφιβάλλουσιν ἀποροῦντας· τὸ δὲ
πάντων παραλογώτατον, ὅτι ταῦτα
πάσχουσιν, οὐδ' ἠντιναοῦν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀπιστίας ἀφορμὴν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν
εὐρίσκοντες εἰπεῖν εὐλογον, δι' ἣν
ἀπιστοῦσιν ἢ διαποροῦσιν.

take the lead over those in defense of it; but
when it comes to what is more necessary,
the words in defense of the truth take
precedence over those about it.. For neither
can a farmer properly sow seeds in the
earth without first removing the wild
plants that harm the seeds being sown; nor
can a doctor give any healing medicine to a
body needing treatment without first
cleansing the existing disease or stopping
the flow of the spreading illness.. Nor
indeed can one who wishes to teach the
truth, speaking about the truth, persuade
someone when a false opinion is secretly
influencing the mind of the listener and
opposing the words.. Therefore, turning to
what is more necessary, we also put first
the words in defense of the truth rather
than those about the truth.. In the same
way, it does not seem useless now to do the
same regarding the words about the
resurrection, since they consider what is
necessary.. For even in these matters we
find some who completely disbelieve, some
who (23) doubt, and among those who
accept the basic premises (24), some who
are also puzzled like the doubters; but the
most unreasonable thing of all is that they
suffer these doubts without having any real
cause for disbelief from the facts
themselves, nor do they find any
reasonable reason to say why they
disbelieve or are confused.

2. Σκοπῶμεν δὲ οὕτως· Εἰ πᾶσα ἀπιστία μὴ
προχείρως καὶ κατὰ τινα δόξαν ἄκριτον
ἐγγινομένη (25) τισὶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος
αἰτίας ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
ἀσφαλείας (τότε γὰρ τὸν εἰκότα σώζει
λόγον, ὅταν αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, περὶ οὗ
ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἀπιστον εἶναι δοκῇ· τὸ γὰρ τοι
τοῖς οὐκ οὔσιν ἀπίστοις ἀπιστεῖν

2. Let us consider it this way: If all disbelief
does not come about rashly and without
careful thought (25) for some, but rather
from a strong cause and from security
according to the truth (for a plausible
argument saves only when the thing itself,
about which there is disbelief, seems
unbelievable; for it is the work of people

ἀνθρώπων ἔργον οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσα κρίσει
περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν χρωμένων)· οὐκοῦν χρή
καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως
ἀπιστοῦντας ἢ διαποροῦντας μὴ πρὸς τὸ
δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀκρίτως καὶ τὸ τοῖς
ἀκολάστοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν περὶ ταύτης
ἐκφέρειν γνώμην· ἀλλ' ἢ μηδεμιᾶς (26)
αἰτίας ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσιν
(ὃ δὴ καὶ λίαν ἐστὶν εὐεξέλεγκτον), ἢ τῷ
Θεῷ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνατιθέντας αἰτίαν, εἰς
τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ δόγματος ἀποβλέπειν
ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ διὰ ταύτης δεικνύναι τὴν
ἀνάστασιν οὐδαμόθεν ἔχουσιν τὸ πιστόν.
Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσουσιν, ἔάν δεῖξαι
δυνήσωνται, ἢ ἀδύνατον ὄν τῷ Θεῷ ἢ
ἀβούλητον, τὰ νεκρωθέντα τῶν σωμάτων,
ἢ καὶ πάντη διαλυθέντα, πάλιν ἐνῶσαι καὶ
συναγαγεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν αὐτῶν
ἀνθρώπων σύστασιν. Ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ
δύνωνται, παυσάσθωσαν τῆς ἀθέου
ταύτης ἀπιστίας, καὶ τοῦ βλασφημεῖν ἃ μὴ
θέμις. Ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ἀδύνατον λέγοντες
ἀληθεύουσιν, οὔτε τὸ ἀβούλητον, ἐκ τῶν
ῥηθησομένων γενήσεται φανερόν. Τὸ
ἀδύνατόν τι γινώσκεται (27) κατ'
ἀλήθειαν τοιοῦτον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γινώσκειν
τὸ γενησόμενον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δύναμιν
ἀρκοῦσαν μὴ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι καλῶς
τὸ ἐγνωσμένον. Ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν τι τῶν
γενέσθαι δεόντων οὐκ ἂν οὔτ' ἐγχειρήσῃ,
οὔτε ποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν δυνήσῃ ὅπερ
ἀγνοεῖ· ὅτε γινώσκων καλῶς τὸ
ποιηθησόμενον, καὶ πόθεν γένοιτ' ἂν, καὶ
πῶς, δύναμιν δὲ ἢ μηδ' ὅλως ἔχων πρὸς τὸ
ποιῆσαι τὸ γινωσκόμενον, ἢ μὴ ἀρκοῦσαν
ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν ἐγχειρήσειε τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰ
σωφρονοίη, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπισκέψεται (28)
δύναμιν· ἐγχειρήσας δὲ ἀπερίσκεπτος, οὐκ
ἂν ἐπιτελέσειε τὸ δόξαν. Ἄλλ' οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν
τὸν Θεὸν δυνατὸν τῶν ἀναστησομένων
σωμάτων τὴν φύσιν κατὰ τε μέρος ὅλον
καὶ μόνιον, οὔτε μὴν ὅποι χωρεῖ τῶν
λυομένων ἕκαστον, καὶ ποῖον τῶν

who are not sane to disbelieve what does
not exist, when they use sound judgment
about the truth), then it is necessary that
those who disbelieve or are puzzled about
the resurrection do not hold their opinion
carelessly or as a license given to the
undisciplined. Rather, they either kindle
the origin of disbelief in people from no
cause at all (26) — which is very easy to
refute — or they attribute the cause of
existing things to God, aiming at the
hypothesis of this doctrine, and through
this show that the resurrection has no
trustworthy basis anywhere.. They will do
this if they are able to show that it is either
impossible or against the will of God to
reunite and gather again the dead bodies,
or even those completely broken down,
back to the composition of their own
people.. But if they are not able to do this,
let them stop this godless disbelief and
cease from blaspheming what is not lawful..
For it will become clear from what has
been said that they are speaking neither
the impossible nor the against-the-will..
Something is truly known to be impossible
either because what will happen is not
known, or because there is not enough
power to do well what has been
recognized.. For one who does not know
what must happen would neither attempt
nor be able at all to do what he does not
know; but when he knows well what is to
be done, and from where it would come,
and how, yet has no power or not enough
power to do what is known, he would not
attempt the beginning, if he were sensible
and considered his own strength. But if he
attempts recklessly, he would not complete
what he intended.. But it is neither possible
to be ignorant of God concerning the nature
of the bodies to be raised, both as a whole
and in part, nor where each of the things

στοιχείων (29) μέρος δέδεκται τὸ λυθὲν, καὶ χωρῆσαν πρὸς τὸ συγγενές, κἂν πάνυ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀδιάκριτον εἶναι δοκῇ τὸ τῷ παντὶ πάλιν προσφυῶς ἡνωμένον. Ἴδ' γὰρ οὐκ ἡγνόητο πρὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκάστου συστάσεως, οὔτε τῶν γενησομένων στοιχείων ἢ φύσις, ἐξ ὧν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα, οὔτε τὰ μέρη τούτων ἐξ ὧν ἤμελλεν λήψεσθαι τὸ δόξαν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σώματος σύστασιν, εὐδηλον, ὡς οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸ διαλυθῆναι τὸ πᾶν (30) ἀγνοηθήσεται ποῦ κεχώρηκεν ἕκαστον ὧν εἵληφε πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου συμπλήρωσιν. Ὅσον μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν νῦν κρατοῦσαν παρ' ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἑτέρων κρίσιν, μεῖζον τὸ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα προγινώσκειν· ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τούτου σοφίαν ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ ῥᾶδιον ἐπίσης, τῷ τὰ μὴ γενόμενα προγινώσκειν, τὸ καὶ διαλυθέντα γινώσκειν.

3. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρκοῦσα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν, δείκνυσιν ἢ τούτων αὐτῶν γένεσις. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν ἐποίησε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀρχάς· καὶ διαλυθέντα, καθ' ὃν ἂν τύχη τρόπον (31), ἀναστήσει μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς (32) εὐμαρείας· ἐπίσης γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. Καὶ τῷ λόγῳ βλάβος οὐδὲν, κἂν ἐξ ὕλης ὑποθῶνται τινες τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς, κἂν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς πρώτων, τὰ σώματα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν ἐκ σπερμάτων. Ἦς γὰρ ἔστι δυνάμει καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς νενομισμένην (33) ἄμορφον οὔσαν μορφῶσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀνείδεον, καὶ ἀδιακόσμητον πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις εἶδεσι κοσμεῖν, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν

dissolved fits, nor which part of the elements has received what was dissolved, and how it fits with what is related— even if it seems very unclear among humans how the whole is again properly united.. For the nature of each one's own composition was not unknown before, nor the nature of the elements from which human bodies are made, nor the parts of these from which the form was to be taken for the composition of the human body. It is clear that even after the whole has been dissolved, it will not be unknown where each of the things it took has gone for the completion of each one.. For as far as the current order of things and the judgment about others that we have hold, it is greater to know beforehand what has not happened; but in relation to the worth of God and his wisdom, both are natural, and it is also easy for the one who knows what has not happened to know what has been dissolved.

3. And indeed, the very origin of these bodies shows the power sufficient for their resurrection. For if the human bodies and their elements were not made according to the first composition, and if, after being dissolved, they will be raised again with the same ease—this is also possible for him. And there is no harm in the argument, even if some suppose that the first elements come from matter, or that the human bodies come from the elements as first principles, or even from seeds. For it is the power of these to shape the formless as it is customary with them, and to arrange the shapeless and unadorned into many and diverse forms, to gather the parts of the elements into one, to take one seed and divide it simply into many, to join what is

στοιχείων εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα
ἐν ὃν καὶ ἀπλοῦν εἰς πολλὰ διελεῖν, καὶ τὸ
ἀδιάρθρωτον διαρθρῶσαι, καὶ τῷ μὴ ζῶντι
δοῦναι ζωὴν, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ
διαλελυμένον ἐνῶσαι, καὶ τὸ κείμενον
ἀναστῆσαι, καὶ τὸ τεθνηκὸς ζωοποιῆσαι
πάλιν, καὶ τὸ φθαρτὸν μεταβαλεῖν (34) εἰς
ἀφθαρσίαν. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς δυνάμεως καὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ
διατεθρυμμένον πλήθει ζῶων
παντοδαπῶν, ὅποσα τοῖς τοιούτοις
σώμασιν ἐπιτρέχειν εἴωθε καὶ τὸν ἐκ
τούτων ἀγείρειν κόρον, διακρίναι μὲν
ἐκεῖθεν, ἐνῶσαι δὲ πάλιν τοῖς οἰκείοις
μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις (35), κἂν εἰς ἓν ἐξ
ἐκείνων χωρήσῃ ζῶον, κἂν εἰς πολλὰ, κἂν
ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἕτερα, κἂν ἐκείνοις αὐτοῖς
(36) συνδιαλυθὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς
ἐνεχθῇ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν εἰς ταύτας
ἀνάλυσιν· ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ταραττεῖν
ἔδοξε τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ
θαυμαζομένων, ἰσχυρὰς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
ἡγησαμένων τὰς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν
φερομένας διαπορήσεις.

4. Οὗτοι δὲ γέ (37) φασιν πολλὰ μὲν
σώματα τῶν ἐν ναυαγίοις καὶ ποταμοῖς
(38) δυσθανάτων ἰχθύσι γενέσθαι τροφήν,
πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν πολέμοις θνησκόντων, ἢ
κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τραχυτέραν αἰτίαν καὶ
πραγμάτων περίστασιν, ταφῆς
ἀμοιρούντων, τοῖς προστυγχάνουσι ζώοις
προκεῖσθαι βοράν. Τῶν οὖν οὕτως
ἀναλισκομένων σωμάτων, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα
συμπληρούντων μερῶν καὶ μορίων, εἰς
πολὺ πλῆθος ζῶων διαθρυπτομένων, καὶ
διὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων
σώμασιν ἐνουμένων· πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
διάκρισιν τούτων φασὶν ἀδύνατον· πρὸς δὲ
ταύτῃ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπορώτερον. Τῶν γὰρ
τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐκβοσκηθέντων ζῶων, ὅποσα πρὸς τροφήν

unjoined, and to give life to what is not
living. It is the same power that unites what
has been dissolved, raises what lies down,
brings back to life the dead, and changes
what is perishable into imperishability. And
the same power and wisdom would also be
for the many creatures broken into parts,
as many as are accustomed to be allowed to
such bodies and to gather satisfaction from
them, to separate from there, to unite again
with their proper parts and members—
whether one living being comes from one
of those, or many, or from there to others,
or mixed with those very ones brought
back to the first elements according to
natural dissolution. This is what seemed to
trouble some, even among those admired
for wisdom, who thought strongly about
the difficulties brought by the many.

4. These men say that many bodies of fish
that die in shipwrecks and rivers, and many
of those who die in wars, or by some other
harsher cause and circumstance of events,
deprived of burial, are set before living
animals as food. Of the bodies thus
consumed, and of the parts and members
that complete them, broken into a great
number of animals and joined to the bodies
of those fed by them through food, they say
first that it is impossible to distinguish
these. And second, even more puzzling is
this: of the animals that have fed on the
bodies of humans, as many as are suitable
for human food, passing through their
stomachs and joined to the bodies of those
who have taken them in, it is necessary that

ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτήδεια, διὰ τῆς τούτων
γαστρὸς ἰόντων, καὶ τοῖς τῶν
μετελιφόντων σώμασιν ἐνουμένων,
ἀνάγκην εἶναι πᾶσαν τὰ μέρη τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, ὅποσα τροφή γέγονε τοῖς
μετελιφόσι ζώοις, πρὸς ἕτερα τῶν
ἀνθρώπων μεταχωρεῖν σώματα, τῶν
μεταξὺ τούτοις (39) τραφέντων ζώων τὴν
ἐξ ὧν ἐτράφησαν τροφήν
διαπορθμευόντων εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους ὧν ἐγένετο τροφή. Εἴτα
τούτους ἐπιτραγωδοῦσι τὰς ἐν λιμοῖς καὶ
μανίαις τολμηθείσας τεκνοφαγίας, καὶ τοὺς
κατ' ἐπιβουλήν ἐχθρῶν τῶν γεννησαμένων
ἐδηδεσμένους παῖδας, καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν
τράπεζαν ἐκείνην, καὶ τὰ τραγικὰ δεῖπνα
Θυέστου, καὶ τοιαύτας δὴ τινὰς
ἐπισυνείρουσι παρ' Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις
καινουργηθείσας συμφοράς· ἔκ τε τούτων
κατασκευάζουσιν, ὥς νομίζουσιν,
ἀδύνατον τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ὥς οὐ
δυναμένων τῶν αὐτῶν (40) μερῶν ἐτέροις
τε καὶ ἐτέροις συναναστῆναι σώμασιν· ἀλλ'
ἦτοι τὰ τῶν προτέρων συστήναι μὴ
δύνασθαι, μετεληλυθόντων τῶν ταῦτα
συμπληρούντων μερῶν πρὸς ἐτέρους, ἢ
τούτων ἀποδοθέντων τοῖς προτέροις,
ἐνδεῶς ἔξειν τὰ τῶν ὑστέρων.

5. Ἐμοὶ δὴ δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πρῶτον
μὲν τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος καὶ
διοικοῦντος τόδε τὸ πᾶν ἀγνοεῖν δύναμιν
τε καὶ σοφίαν, ἐκάστου ζώου φύσει καὶ
γένει τὴν προσφυῇ καὶ κατάλληλον
συναρμόσαντος τροφήν, καὶ μήτε πᾶσαν
φύσιν πρὸς ἔνωσιν ἢ κρᾶσιν παντὸς
σώματος ἰέναι δικαιώσαντος, μήτε πρὸς
διάκρισιν τῶν ἐνωθέντων ἀπόρως ἔχοντος·
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ καθ' ἑκάστον φύσει τῶν
γενομένων τὸ δρᾶν ἢ πάσχειν ἃ πέφυκεν
ἐπιτρέποντος, ἄλλοτε καὶ (41) κωλύοντος,
καὶ πᾶν ὃ βούλεται, καὶ πρὸς ὃ βούλεται

all the parts of humans, as many as have
become food for the animals that took them
in, pass into other human bodies. Among
these animals fed between them, the food
from which they were fed is ferried back to
those humans of whom it became food.
Then they add to this the tragic stories of
cannibalism attempted in famines and
madness, and the children born to enemies
who are bound, and that Persian feast, and
the tragic dinners of Thyestes, and such
new disasters among Greeks and
barbarians. From these they construct, as
they think, the impossibility of
resurrection, because the same parts
cannot be raised again in different and
different bodies. Either the earlier parts
cannot be composed again, having been
transferred to others who complete them,
or if these parts are returned to the earlier
ones, the parts of the later ones will be
lacking.

5. To me, such people seem first to be
ignorant of the power and wisdom of the
one who created and governs this whole
universe, who has fitted the proper and
suitable food to the nature and kind of each
living being, and who neither allows every
nature to go toward the union or mixture of
every body, nor is puzzled by the
distinction of what has been joined. But he
also permits each nature of the beings to do
or suffer what it is naturally inclined to,
sometimes even preventing it, and allows
or changes whatever he wishes and toward

συγχωροῦντος ἢ μεταστρέφοντος. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις μηδὲ τὴν ἐκάστου τῶν τρεφόντων ἢ τρεφομένων ἐπεσκέφθαι δύναμιν τε καὶ φύσιν. Ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι μὴ πᾶν ὃ προσφέρεται τις ὑπενδόσει τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀνάγκης, τοῦτο γίνεται τῷ ζῳῷ τροφή προσφυῆς (42)· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἅμα τῷ (43) προσομιλῆσαι τοῖς περιπτυσσομένοις τῆς κοιλίας μέρεσι φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἐμούμενά τε καὶ διαχωρούμενα, καὶ τρόπον ἕτερον διαφορούμενα, ὡς μηδὲ κατὰ βραχὺ τὴν πρώτην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπομεῖναι πέψιν, ἥπου γε τὴν εἰς τὸ τρεφόμενον σύγκρασιν· ὥσπερ οὖν μηδὲ πᾶν τὸ πεφθὲν καὶ τὴν πρώτην δεξάμενον μεταβολὴν τοῖς τρεφομένοις μορίοις προσπελάζει πάντως, τινῶν μὲν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν γαστέρα τῆς θρεπτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀποκρινομένων, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἥπατι γινομένην πέψιν διακρινομένων, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μεταχωρούντων, ὃ τὴν τοῦ τρέφειν ἐκβέβηκε δύναμιν· καὶ αὐτῆς γε τῆς (44) ἐν ἥπατι γινομένης μεταβολῆς οὐ πάσης ἐς τροφήν ἀνθρώποις χωρούσης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἃ πέφυκε περιττώματα διακρινομένης· τῆς τε καταλειφθείσης τροφῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς τρεφομένοις μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις πρὸς ἕτερόν τι μεταβαλλούσης, κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ἢ περιττεύοντος (45) καὶ φθείρειν πῶς ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ τρέπειν τὸ πλησιάσαν εἰωθότος.

whatever he wishes. Besides what has been said, they do not even consider the power and nature of each of those feeding or being fed. For if they had known that not everything offered is truly food for the living being because of external necessity, then that would be proper food. But some things are naturally destined to be destroyed together with the parts folded into the stomach, being digested and separated and differing in another way, so as not even briefly to endure the first and natural digestion—that is, the mixture into the one being fed. Just as not everything that has died and first received change fully passes into the parts of those fed, some are rejected by the stomach's nutritive power itself, others are distinguished by the second change and digestion occurring in the liver, and pass into something else, which has lost the power of nourishing. And not all of the change occurring in the liver turns into food for humans, but is separated into what is naturally waste. And sometimes the leftover food in them, changing into something else for the parts and members of those fed, according to the dominance of what is excessive or leftover, tends to corrupt or turn back toward itself, as it is accustomed to do.

6. Πολλῆς οὖν οὔσης ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις τῆς φυσικῆς διαφορᾶς, καὶ αὐτῆς γε τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τροφῆς ἐκάστῳ γένει ζώου καὶ τῷ τρεφομένῳ σώματι συνεξαλλαττομένης· τρίτης δὲ (46) κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ζώου τροφήν γενομένης καθάρσεως καὶ διακρίσεως, δεῖ πάντως φθείρεσθαι μὲν καὶ διαχωρεῖν ἢ πέφυκεν, ἢ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι

6. Since there is great natural difference in all living beings, and even the natural food changes together with the kind of each living being and the body being fed; and thirdly, because of the purification and separation that happens according to the food of each living being, it is necessary that all food which is foreign to the

μεταβάλλειν πᾶν ὁπόσον ἀλλότριον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζώου τροφήν, ὡς συγκραθῆναι μὴ δυνάμενον· συμβαίνουσιν δὲ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος σώματος δύναμιν ταῖς τοῦ τρεφομένου ζώου δυνάμεσι, καὶ ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν δι' ὧν πέφυκε κριτηρίων, καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς φυσικοῖς καθαρσίαις, εἰλικρινεστάτην γενέσθαι πρόσληψιν εἰς οὐσίαν· ἦν δὲ καὶ μόνην, ἐπαληθεύων ἂν τις τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὀνομάσειεν τροφήν, ὡς ἀποβάλλουσιν πᾶν ὁπόσον ἀλλότριον καὶ βλαβερὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ τρεφομένου ζώου σύστασιν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον ὄγκον ἐπεισαχθέντα (47) πρὸς τὴν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὀρέξεως θεραπείαν. Ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν (48) οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἐνοῦσθαι τῷ τρεφομένῳ σώματι, συμπλεκομένην (49) τε καὶ περιπλαττομένην πᾶσι τοῖς τούτου μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις· τὴν δ' ἐτέρως ἔχουσιν (50) καὶ παρὰ φύσιν φθείρεσθαι μὲν ταχέως, ἦν ἐρῶμενεστέρα συμμῖξι δυνάμει, φθείρειν δὲ σὺν εὐμαρείᾳ τὴν κρατηθεῖσαν, εἷς τε μοχθηροὺς ἐκτρέπεσθαι χυμοὺς καὶ φαρμακῶδεις ποιότητας· ὡς μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἢ φίλον τῷ τρεφομένῳ σώματι φέρουσιν. Καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον μέγιστον τὸ πολλοῖς τῶν τρεφομένων ζώων ἐκ τούτων ἐπακολουθεῖν ἄλγος, ἢ κίνδυνον, ἢ θάνατον, ἦν ὑπὸ σφοδροτέρας ὀρέξεως τῇ τροφῇ καταμειγμένον συνεφελκύσεται τι φαρμακῶδες (51) καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ὃ δὲ καὶ πάντως φθαρτικὸν ἂν εἴη τοῦ τρεφομένου σώματος, εἴγε τρέφεται μὲν τὰ τρεφόμενα τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, φθείρεται δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Εἴπερ οὖν τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν τῇ φύσει διαφερόντων ζώων ἢ κατὰ φύσιν συνδιήρηται τροφή, καὶ ταύτης γε αὐτῆς οὔτε πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν προσενέγκηται τὸ ζῶον, οὔτε τὸ τυχὸν ἐκ τούτου τὴν πρὸς τὸ τρεφόμενον σῶμα δέχεται σύγκρασιν, ἀλλ'

nourishment of the animal be destroyed and separated or changed into something else, so that it cannot be held together. It also naturally happens that the power of the feeding body acts upon the powers of the animal being fed, and this power, coming through the natural judges with which it was born and purified exactly by natural purifications, becomes the most sincere reception into substance. This alone, if someone were to confirm it by facts, would be called food, since it removes all that is foreign and harmful to the constitution of the animal being fed, and that large mass introduced serves to fill the stomach and satisfy appetite.. But no one would deny that this [pure food] is united with the body being fed, being mixed and spread through all its parts and members. The other kind, which is different and unnatural, is quickly destroyed if mixed with stronger power, and easily corrupts what has been held, turning into harmful juices and poisonous substances, carrying nothing that is natural or friendly to the body being fed.. And the greatest proof of this is that pain, danger, or death often follows for many of the animals being fed if something poisonous and unnatural is mixed with the food by a stronger appetite and is swallowed. This would certainly be destructive to the body being fed, if it is nourished by what is natural and proper, but is harmed by what is opposed to it.. If then, according to the difference among animals that differ by nature, food is naturally divided, and not everything that is brought to the animal, nor whatever chance comes from it, is received into a mixture with the body being fed, but only that which has been purified through all digestion and truly transformed into union with the making body and fitting well with

αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ διὰ πάσης πέψεως
κεκαθαρμένον, καὶ μεταβεβληκὸς (52)
εἰλικρινῶς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποιοῦ σώματος
ἔνωσιν, καὶ τοῖς τρεφομένοις μέρεσιν
εὐάρμοστον· εὐδηλον, ὥς οὐδὲν τῶν (53)
παρὰ φύσιν ἐνωθείη ποτ' ἂν τούτοις, οἷς
οὐκ ἔστι τροφή προσφυῆς καὶ κατάλληλος,
ἀλλ' ἥτοι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν κοιλίαν διαχωρεῖ,
πρὶν ἕτερόν τινα γεννηῖσαι χυμὸν, ὠμὸν καὶ
διεφθαρμένον, ἢ συστὰν ἐπὶ πλεῖον, τίκει
πάθος ἢ νόσον δυσίατον,
συνδιαφθείρουσαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν
τροφὴν, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς τροφῆς
δεομένην σάρκα. Ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀπωσθῇ ποτε,
φαρμάκοις τισὶν, ἢ σιτίοις βελτίοσιν, ἢ ταῖς
φυσικαῖς δυνάμεσι νικηθὲν (54), μετ' οὐκ
ὀλίγης ἐξερρῦη τῆς βλάβης, ὥς μηδὲν
φέρων τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν εἰρηνικὸν, διὰ τὸ
πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀσύγκρατον.

7. Ὅλως δὲ κἂν συγχωρήσῃ τις τὴν ἐκ
τούτων εἰσιοῦσαν τροφήν (προσειρήσθω
δὲ τοῦτο συνηθέστερον) καίπερ οὔσαν
παρὰ φύσιν, διακρίνεσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλειν
εἰς ἓν τι τῶν ὑγραινόντων ἢ ξηραίνόντων, ἢ
θερμαινόντων ἢ ψυχόντων· οὐδ' οὕτως ἐκ
τῶν συγχωρηθέντων αὐτοῖς γενήσεται τι
προὔργου, τῶν μὲν ἀνισταμένων σωμάτων
ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων μερῶν πάλιν
συνισταμένων, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων
μέρους ὄντος, οὐδὲ τὴν ὥς μέρους (55)
ἐπέχοντος σχέσιν ἢ τάξιν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
παραμένοντος πάντοτε τοῖς τρεφομένοις
τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν, ἢ συνανισταμένου
ἀνισταμένοις (56)· οὐδὲ συντελοῦντος ἔτι
πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, οὐχ αἵματος, οὐ φλέγματος, οὐ
χολῆς, οὐ πνεύματος (57). Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν
ἐδεήθη ποτὲ τὰ τρεφόμενα σώματα,
δεηθήσεται καὶ τότε, συνανηρημένης τῇ
τῶν τρεφομένων (58) ἐνδείᾳ καὶ φθορᾷ
τῆς ἐξ ὧν ἐτρέφετο χρεΐας. Ἐπειθ' ὅτι κἂν
μέχρι σαρκὸς φθάνειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης

the parts being fed; it is clear that nothing
unnatural would ever be joined to these,
for which no proper and suitable
nourishment exists, but either it is
separated by the very stomach before it
produces some other juice, raw and
corrupted, or, gathering in excess, it causes
suffering or a severe disease, destroying
together the natural food and even the flesh
itself that needs nourishment.. But even if it
is sometimes driven away by certain
poisons, or better foods, or by natural
powers having been overcome, a great
amount of harm still breaks out, because it
brings nothing peaceful to what is natural,
due to being incompatible with nature.

7. In general, even if one allows the food
coming from these things (let it be noted
that this is more common), though it is
unnatural, to be separated and transformed
into one of the moistening or drying,
heating or cooling substances, still nothing
productive will come from what is allowed
to them—bodies that rise again from their
own parts—nor will any of the mentioned
parts exist, nor the relation or order that
belongs to a part. Nor will it always remain
with the parts of the body being fed, or rise
together with those that rise; nor will it still
contribute to living—not blood, not
phlegm, not bile, nor spirit.. For the bodies
being fed will never need those things
again, even then, when the need and decay
of what they were fed on have been taken
away.. Therefore, even if one assumes that
the change from such food reaches as far as
the flesh, it is still not necessary that the
flesh recently changed from such food,

τροφῆς μεταβολὴν (59) ὑποθοῖτό τις, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀνάγκη τις ἔσται τὴν νεωστὶ μεταβληθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης τροφῆς σάρκα, προσπελάσασαν ἑτέρου τινὸς ἀνθρώπου σῶματι, πάλιν ὡς μέρος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τελεῖν συμπλήρωσιν, τῷ μῆτε αὐτὴν τὴν προσλαμβάνουσιν σάρκα πάντοτε φυλάττειν ἢ προσεῖληφε, μῆτε τὴν ἐνωθεῖσαν ταύτῃ μόνιμον εἶναι καὶ παραμένειν ἢ προσετέθη· πολλὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα δέχεσθαι μεταβολὴν, ποτὲ μὲν πόνοις ἢ φροντίσι διαφορουμένην, ἄλλοτε δὲ λύπαις, ἢ καμάτοις, ἢ νόσοις συντηκομένην, καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἐγκαύσεως ἢ περιψύξεως ἐπιγενομέναις δυσκρασίαις, μὴ συμεταβαλλομένων σαρκὶ καὶ πιμελῇ τῶν δημῶν ἐν τῷ μένειν ἅπερ ἐστὶν τὴν τροφήν δεχομένων. Τοιούτων δὲ ἐπιγενομένων (60) ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς παθημάτων, πολὺ γ' ἔτι μᾶλλον εὖροι τις ἂν ταῦτα πάσχουσιν τὴν ἐξ ἀνοικείων τρεφομένην σάρκα· νῦν μὲν εἰς ὄγκον προϊοῦσαν καὶ πιανομένην ἐξ ὧν προσεῖληφεν· εἴτα πάλιν ἀποπτύουσιν ὃν ἂν τύχῃ τρόπον καὶ μειουμένην, ἢ μιᾷ τινι τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ῥηθειςῶν αἰτιῶν ἢ πλείοσι· μόνα δὲ (61) παραμένειν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἃ συνδεῖν ἢ στέγειν ἢ θάλπειν πέφυκεν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξελεγμένην καὶ τούτοις προσπεφυκυῖαν, οἷς τὴν κατὰ φύσιν συνεξέπλησε ζωὴν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ πόνους· ἀλλ' οὔτε γὰρ καθ' ὃ δεῖ κρινομένων τῶν ἑναγχος ἐξητασμένων, οὔτε κατὰ συγχώρησιν (62) παραδεχθέντων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γεγυμνασμένων, ἀληθὲς δεικνύειν δυνατόν τὸ πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενον, οὔτ' ἂν συγκραθεῖ ποτὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σῶματα τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσι φύσεως, κἂν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ποτὲ κλαπῶσι τὴν αἴσθησιν δι' ἑτέρου τινὸς μετασχόντες τοιούτου σώματος, κἂν αὐτόθεν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἢ μανίας ὁμοειδοῦς τινος μιανθῶσι σῶματι· εἶγε μὴ λελήθασιν ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τινες ὄντες

having joined the body of another person, will again be completed as a part of that body—neither always keeping the flesh that took it in, nor remaining permanent and fixed in the place where it was added. Moreover, it undergoes many other changes, sometimes altered by pains or worries, at other times wasted away by grief, fatigue, or diseases, and by the bad humors caused by burning or chilling, which do not change along with the flesh but carelessly remain in the parts that receive the food. When such sufferings happen to the flesh, one would find them much more in flesh fed from foreign sources—now growing in size and swelling from what it has taken in; then again spitting out whatever it can in some way and shrinking, caused by one or more of the previously mentioned reasons. Only those parts remain that are naturally meant to connect, cover, or warm, chosen by nature and joined to those that complete life according to nature, along with the pains involved in life. But neither when examined closely as they should be, nor when accepted with allowance after being tested by those experiences, can what is said about them be shown to be true. Nor could the bodies of humans ever be held together with those of the same nature, even if by ignorance they sometimes lose sensation by sharing the body of another like that, or if from lack or madness they become defiled with a similar body. Surely some among us, being human-like beasts or having a mixed nature of humans and beasts, as the boldest poets have been used to imagining, have not forgotten this.

θῆρες, ἢ μικτὴν ἔχοντες φύσιν ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων καὶ θηρίων, οἷους πλάττειν
εἰώθασιν οἱ τολμηρότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν.

8. Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν μηδενὶ ζῳῷ
πρὸς τροφήν (63) ἀποκληρωθέντων
σωμάτων, μόνην δὲ τὴν εἰς γῆν ταφήν ἐπὶ
τιμῇ τῆς φύσεως μεμοιραμένων; ὅπου γε
μηδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ζώων τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
(64) εἶδους εἰς τροφήν ἀπεκλήρωσεν ὁ
ποιησας, κἂν ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν
ἐτερογενῶν τροφή γίνηται κατὰ φύσιν. Εἰ
μὲν οὖν ἔχουσι δεικνύναι σάρκας
ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώποις εἰς βρώσιν
ἀποκληρωθείσας, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὰς
ἀλληλοφαγίας εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, ὥσπερ
ἄλλο τι τῶν τῇ φύσει συγκεχωρημένων, καὶ
τούς γε τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν τολμῶντας, τοῖς
τῶν φιλάτων ἐντροφῶν σώμασιν ὡς
οἰκειότεροις, ἢ καὶ τοὺς εὐνουστάτους
σφίσι, τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἐστιᾶν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο
μὲν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν εὐαγές, τὸ δὲ σαρκῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπους μετασχεῖν,
ἔχθιστόν τι καὶ παμμίαρον, καὶ πάσης
ἐκθέσμου καὶ παρὰ φύσιν βρώσεως ἢ
πράξεως ἐναγέστερον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν
οὐκ ἂν ποτε χωρήσειεν εἰς τροφήν τοῖς
ταύτης δεομένοις μέρεσι καὶ μορίοις (65)·
τὸ δὲ μὴ χωροῦν εἰς τροφήν οὐκ ἂν
ἐνωθεῖη τούτοις ἢ μηδὲ τρέφειν πέφυκεν·
οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα
συγκριθεῖη ποτ' ἂν τοῖς ὁμοίοις σώμασιν,
οἷς ἐστὶν εἰς τροφήν παρὰ φύσιν, κἂν
πολλάκις διὰ τῆς τούτων ἱγῆ γαστρός, κατὰ
τινα πικροτάτην συμφορὰν (66)·
ἀποχωροῦντα δὲ τῆς θρεπτικῆς δυνάμεως,
καὶ σκιδνάμενα πρὸς ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἐξ ὧν
τὴν πρώτην ἔσχε σύστασιν, ἐνοῦται μὲν
τούτοις ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστον τύχη χρόνον·
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διακριθέντα πάλιν σοφίᾳ καὶ
δυνάμει τοῦ πᾶσαν ζώου φύσιν σὺν ταῖς
οἰκείαις δυνάμεσι συγκρίναντος, ἐνοῦται

8. And what need is there to speak about
bodies that belong to no living creature for
food, but are assigned only to burial in the
earth as a respect to nature? For the one
who made them has not assigned any other
animal of the same kind as food, even if in
some other cases food comes naturally
from different kinds. If, then, they have
proof that human flesh has been assigned
to humans for eating, nothing would
prevent mutual eating from being natural,
just like other things that naturally agree
with each other. And those who dare to say
such things have their place among the
bodies most beloved to them as more
familiar, or even among their own eunuchs.
But if it is not even proper to say this, then
that humans share the flesh of other
humans is the most hateful and utterly foul
thing, and more unlawful and unnatural
than any eating or action. And the
unnatural would never be allowed as food
for the parts and members that need it. And
what is not allowed as food would not be
joined to those things that are not naturally
meant to feed it. Nor would the bodies of
humans ever be joined to similar bodies
that are unnatural as food, even if often,
through the passage of their stomachs, by
some most bitter misfortune, they depart
from the power of nutrition and scatter
back to those from which they first had
their composition. They are joined to these
for as long as each happens to last; then,
separated again by the wisdom and power
that arranges the nature of every living
thing with its own powers, each is
continually joined to its own, whether

προσφυῶς ἕκαστον ἐκάστω, καὶ πυρὶ καυθῇ, καὶ ὕδατι κατασαπῇ, καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων ἢ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ζώων καταδαπανηθῇ, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐκκοπὲν, προδιαλυθῇ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν· ἐνωθέντα δὲ πάλιν ἀλλήλοις, τὴν αὐτὴν ἴσχει χώραν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ σώματος ἁρμονίαν τε καὶ σύστασιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεκρωθέντος ἢ καὶ πάντῃ διαλυθέντος ἀνάστασιν καὶ ζωὴν. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ πλεῖον μηκύνειν οὐκ εὐκαιρον· ὁμολογουμένην γὰρ ἔχει τὴν ἐπίκρισιν, τοῖς γε μὴ μιζοθήροις.

burned by fire, destroyed by water, consumed by beasts or other animals encountered, or cut off from the whole body and dissolved from the other parts. When joined again to one another, they hold the same place in harmony and composition with the same body, and the resurrection and life of the dead or even completely dissolved body. These things, then, are not easy to extend further; the judgment is agreed upon, at least by those who are not mixed beasts.

9. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ἐξέτασιν χρησιμωτέρων, παραιτοῦμαι δὴ νῦν τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔργα, καὶ τοὺς τούτων δημιουργοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ συντριβέντα τῶν ἔργων, ἢ χρόνῳ παλαιωθέντα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως διαφθαρέντα καινουργεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσιν· εἴτα ἐξ ὁμοίου τοῖς κεραμεῦσι καὶ τέκτοσι δεικνύναι πειρωμένους, τὸ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μήτ' ἂν βουληθῆναι, μήτε βουληθέντα δυνηθῆναι νεκρωθῆν ἢ καὶ διαλυθῆν ἀναστῆσαι σῶμα· καὶ μὴ λογιζομένους ὅτι διὰ τούτων τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐξυβρίζουσιν εἰς Θεὸν, συνεξισοῦντες τῶν πάντῃ διεστηκότων τὰς δυνάμεις, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τῶν ταύταις χρωμένων τὰς οὐσίας (67) καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τοῖς φυσικοῖς. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων σπουδάζειν οὐκ ἀνεπιτίμητον. Ἡλίθιον γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ τοῖς ἐπιπολαίοις καὶ ματαίοις ἀντιλέγειν· μακρῷ γε μὴν ἐνδοξότερον καὶ πάντων ἀληθέστατον τὸ φῆσαι τὸ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον παρὰ Θεῷ δυνατόν. Εἰ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς ἐνδόξων καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐξητασμένων δείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος δυνατόν, εὐδηλον ὡς οὐκ ἀδύνατον. Ἀλλὰ

9. Since there are many things more useful for the present examination, I now pass over those who rely on the works of humans, and those human creators who are unable to renew broken works, whether worn out by time or otherwise destroyed. Then, like potters and carpenters, they try to show that even God would neither will nor be able to raise a body that is dead or even dissolved. And they do not consider that by these claims they insult God with the worst kind of disrespect, equating the powers that are completely separated, and even more so the substances and artifices used by these powers, with the natural ones. It is not blameworthy to be eager about these matters. For it is truly foolish to argue against what is obvious and vain; far more glorious and most true is the saying that what is impossible for humans is possible for God. And if through these things, as glorious and through all the small things examined earlier, the argument shows that it is possible, it is clear that it is not impossible. But it is also not unwilling.

μὴν οὐδ' ἀβούλητον.

10. Τὸ γὰρ ἀβούλητον, ἢ ὡς ἄδικον, αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ἀβούλητον, ἢ ὡς ἀνάξιον. Καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἄδικον ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται τὸν ἀναστησόμενον, ἢ περὶ ἄλλον τινὰ παρ' αὐτόν. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖται τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὖσις ἀριθμουμένων, πρόδηλον. Οὔτε γὰρ αἱ νοηταὶ φύσεις ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστάσεως ἀδικηθεῖεν ἂν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμπόδιόν τι ταύταις πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, οὐ βλάβος, οὐχ ὕβρις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνάστασις)· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ἢ φύσις, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀψύχων (68)· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσται μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν· περὶ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὂν οὐδὲν ἄδικον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶναι τι ὑποθοῖτο διαπαντός, οὐκ ἂν ἀδικηθεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων ἀνανεωθέντων· Εἰ γὰρ, ὑπείκοντα νῦν τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ταῖς τούτων χρείαις ὄντων ἐνδεῶν, ὑπὸ τε ζυγὸν ἡγμένα καὶ δουλείαν παντοίαν, οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖται· πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀνεκδεῶν γενομένων, καὶ μηκέτι δεομένων τῆς τούτων χρείας, ἐλευθερωθέντα δὲ πάσης δουλείας, οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ φωνῆς μετεῖχεν, ἠτιάσαντο ἂν τὸν δημιουργὸν ὡς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλαττούμενα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς τούτοις τέτυχεν ἀναστάσεως. Ὡς γὰρ ἡ φύσις οὐκ ἴση, τούτοις οὐδὲ τὸ τέλος ἴσον ὃ δίκαιος ἐπιμετρεῖ. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, παρ' οἷς οὐδεμία (69) τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις, οὐδὲ μέμψις ἀδικίας. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο φῆσαι δυνατόν, ὡς περὶ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖται τις ἀδικία τὸν ἀνιστάμενον ἄνθρωπον. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὗτος ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· οὔτε δὲ εἰς ψυχὴν, οὔτε εἰς σῶμα δέχεται τὴν ἀδικίαν. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀδικεῖσθαι φήσιν τις σωφρονῶν, ὅτι λήσεται γε ταύτῃ συνεκβάλλων καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν. Εἰ γὰρ νῦν ἐν φθαρτῷ καὶ

10. For the unwilling, or as unjust, is unwilling to him, or as unworthy.. And again, the unjust is considered either concerning the one who will be raised or concerning someone else beside him.. But that no one is wronged by those outside and those counted among the living is clear.. For neither the spiritual natures would be wronged by the resurrection of humans (for this is no obstacle to their being, no harm, no insult is the resurrection of humans); nor indeed the nature of irrational beings, nor of lifeless things (68); for they will not exist after the resurrection; and concerning what does not exist, there is no injustice.. And even if it were assumed that there is some existence, these would not be wronged by the renewal of human bodies. For if, now subject to the nature of humans and lacking their needs, being under a yoke and all kinds of slavery, they are not wronged; much more, when they become incorruptible and free from need, and no longer require these needs, and are freed from all slavery, they will not be wronged.. For even if they had a voice, they would not blame the creator for the humans being lessened unjustly, because they did not receive the same resurrection as these.. For since their nature is not equal, the just one does not assign them an equal end.. Apart from these, there is no judgment of justice, nor any blame of wrongdoing, against those.. Nor indeed is it possible to say that injustice is considered against the one who rises up.. For this one belongs to both soul and body; and injustice does not affect either the soul or the body.. For no one who is wise would say that the soul is wronged,

παθητῷ κατοικοῦσα σῶματι, μηδὲν ἡδίκηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ συζῶσα, οὐκ ἀδικηθήσεται. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἀδικεῖται τι. Εἰ γὰρ νῦν φθαρτὸν ἀφθάρτῳ συνὸν, οὐκ ἀδικεῖται (70), δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδ' ἄφθαρτον ἀφθάρτῳ συνὸν ἀδικηθήσεται. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο φαίη τις ἂν, ὡς ἀνάξιον ἔργον πῶς Θεοῦ, τὸ διαλυθὲν ἀναστῆσαι σῶμα καὶ συναγαγεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ χεῖρον οὐκ ἀνάξιον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ φθαρτὸν ποιῆσαι σῶμα καὶ παθητόν· πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ ἀνάξιον, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀπαθές.

since it will take away with it the present life as well.. For if now, living in a perishable and suffering body, it is not wronged at all, much more will it not be wronged living with an imperishable and impassible one.. But the body is not wronged either.. For if now the perishable is not wronged when joined with the imperishable, it is clear that the imperishable will not be wronged when joined with the imperishable.. No one would say that it is an unworthy work of God to raise up and gather together a body that has been broken apart. For if it is not unworthy to make a body that is worse perishable and subject to suffering, then much more it is not unworthy to make one that is better, which is imperishable and impassible.

11. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πρώτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων δέδεικται τῶν ἐξητασμένων ἕκαστον, εὐδὴλον ὅτι καὶ δυνατόν καὶ βουλευτὸν καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔργον ἢ τῶν διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις. Διὰ γὰρ τούτων ἐδείχθη ψεῦδος τὸ τούτοις ἀντικείμενον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀπιστούντων παράλογον. Τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον (71) ἀντιστροφῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα συναφείας; εἶγε δεῖ καὶ συνάφειαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἑτερότητί τινι κεχωρισμένων, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ δυνατόν λέγειν βουλευτὸν (72), καὶ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ βουλευτὸν, πάντως εἶναι δυνατόν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βουλευθέντος ἀξίαν. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἕτερος ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, εἴρηται διὰ τῶν προλαβόντων μετρίως (73), οἷς τε διενήνοχεν ἕκαστος καὶ πότε καὶ πρὸς τίνας ἔχει τὸ χρήσιμον. Κωλύει δὲ ἴσως οὐδὲν, τῆς τε κοινῆς

11. But if each of the things examined has been shown through the natural first causes and those following them, it is clear that the resurrection of the broken bodies is also possible, willed, and worthy of the creator's work.. For through these things, what opposes them and the reasoning of the unbelievers have been shown to be false.. For what need is there to speak about the reversal of each thing toward each other (71) and their mutual connection?? And if it is necessary to speak of connection, as a certain difference of things separated, it also says that what is possible is willed (72), and that what is willed by God is entirely possible, and according to the worthiness of what is willed.. And that the argument about the truth is one thing, and the one in favor of the truth is another, has been moderately explained through what came before (73), by which each was held back, and when

ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς τῶν εἰρημένων
πρὸς τὰ λειπόμενα συναφείας, ἀπ' αὐτῶν
τούτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις προσηκόντων
πάλιν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Προσηῖκε δὲ
τῷ μὲν τὸ πρωτεύειν κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ δὲ
δορυφορεῖν (74) τὸν πρῶτον, ὁδοποιεῖν τε,
καὶ προανείργειν πᾶν ὁπόσον ἐμποδῶν καὶ
πρόσαντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας
λόγος, ἀναγκαῖος ὢν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν,
πρωτοστατεῖ καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ
τῇ χρείᾳ· τῇ φύσει μὲν, ὡς τὴν τῶν
πραγμάτων γνῶσιν παρεχόμενος· τῇ τάξει
δὲ, ὡς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἅμα τούτοις ὑπάρχων,
ὧν γίνεται μηνυτής· τῇ χρείᾳ δὲ, ὡς τῆς
ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς
γινώσκουσι γινόμενος πρόξενος. Ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἀληθείας φύσει τε καὶ δυνάμει
καταδεέστερος. Ἐλαττον γὰρ τὸ τὸ ψεῦδος
ἐλέγχειν τοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρατύνειν· καὶ
τάξει δεύτερον· κατὰ γὰρ τῶν
ψευδοδοξούντων ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν·
ψευδοδοξία δὲ ἐξ ἐπισπορᾶς ἐπεφύη καὶ
παραφθορᾶς. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τούτων οὕτως
ἐχόντων, προτάττεται πολλάκις καὶ γίνεται
ποτε χρειωδέστερος, ὡς ἀναιρῶν καὶ
προκαθαίρων (75) τὴν ἐνοχλοῦσάν τισιν
ἀπιστίαν καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι προσιούσι τὴν
ἀμφιβολίαν ἢ ψευδοδοξίαν. Καὶ πρὸς ἓν μὲν
ἐκάτερος ἀναφέρεται τέλος (εἰς γὰρ τὴν
εὐσέβειαν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν ὃ τε τὸ
ψεῦδος ἐλέγχων καὶ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν
κρατύνων), οὐ μὴν καὶ καθάπαξ ἓν εἰσιν,
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀναγκαῖος, ὡς ἔφην, πᾶσι τοῖς
πιστεύουσιν, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς
ιδίας (76) σωτηρίας φροντίζουσιν· ὁ δ'
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τισι καὶ πρὸς τινὰς γίνεται
χρειωδέστερος. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν
κεφαλαιωδῶς προειρήσθω πρὸς
ὑπόμνησιν τῶν ἤδη λεχθέντων. Ἰτέον δὲ
ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον, καὶ δεικτέον ἀληθῆ τὸν
περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον, ἀπὸ τε τῆς
αἰτίας αὐτῆς, καθ' ἣν καὶ δι' ἣν ὁ πρῶτος

and for whom it is useful.. Perhaps nothing
prevents making a new beginning from
these things and those related to them, for
the sake of common certainty and the
connection of what has been said to what
remains.. It was fitting for one to take the
lead according to nature, and for the other
to attend upon the first (74), to make the
way, and to prevent as much as possible
any obstacle or hindrance.. The argument
about the truth, being necessary for all
people for safety and salvation, takes the
lead both by nature and by order and by
need: by nature, as it provides knowledge
of things; by order, as it exists in and with
those things of which it is the messenger;
and by need, as it becomes the cause of
safety and salvation for those who know it..
But the one who supports the truth is
naturally and by power inferior.. For it is
less to expose falsehood than to hold the
truth strong; and it ranks second in order.
For it has power against those who hold
false opinions; false opinion, however,
grows from sowing and corruption.. But
even with these things as they are, it is
often put first and sometimes becomes
more necessary, as it removes and clears
away the disbelief that troubles some and
the doubt or false opinion that has just
come to others.. And each is referred to one
goal (for both exposing falsehood and
holding the truth have reference to piety),
yet they are not simply one; rather, the one
is necessary, as I said, for all who believe
and care for the truth and their own
salvation; the other sometimes becomes
more necessary even for some and in
certain cases.. And let these things be said
to us briefly as a reminder of what has
already been spoken.. It is necessary to
come to the main point, and the true
account of the resurrection must be shown,

γένονεν ἄνθρωπος οἱ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον (εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ὁμοιον γεγόνασι τρόπον), ἀπὸ τε τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἀνθρώπων, φύσεως· ἔτι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις κρίσεως, καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστος ἔζησε χρόνον, καὶ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτεύσατο νόμους· ἦν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμφισβητήσειεν εἶναι δικάϊαν.

both from its cause, by which the first man came to be and those after him (even if not in the same way), and from the common nature of all humans as humans; furthermore, from the judgment of the one who made them, according to how long each lived and under which laws they lived—this judgment no one would deny is just.

12. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας λόγος, ἐὰν ἐπισκοπῶμεν πότερον ἀπλῶς καὶ μάτην γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἢ τινὸς ἔνεκεν· εἰ δὲ τινὸς ἔνεκεν, πότερον ἐπὶ τοῦτο γενόμενον αὐτὸ (77) τὸ ζῆν καὶ διαμένειν καθ' ἣν ἐγένετο φύσιν, ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν τινός. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ χρεῖαν, ἥτοι τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν αὐτῶ προσηκόντων καὶ πλείονος φροντίδος ἡξιωμένων. Ὁ δὲ καὶ κοινότερον σκοποῦντες, εὐρίσκομεν, ὅτι πᾶς εὖ φρονῶν καὶ λογικῇ κρίσει πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν τι κινούμενος, οὐδὲν ὦν κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἐνεργεῖ, ποιεῖ μάτην· ἀλλ' ἥτοι τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκεν χρήσεως, ἢ διὰ χρεῖαν ἄλλου τινὸς ὦν πεφρόντικεν· ἢ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ γινόμενον, ὁλκῇ τινι φυσικῇ καὶ στοργῇ (78) πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν κινούμενος. Οἷον (λεγέσθω γὰρ δι' εἰκόνας τινὸς, ἵνα σαφὲς γένηται τὸ προκείμενον) ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ μὲν οἶκον διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν (79) χρεῖαν, ποιεῖ δὲ βουσί καὶ καμήλοις, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις ὦν ἐστὶν ἐνδεής, τὴν ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἀρμόζουσαν σκέπην, οὐκ ἰδίας ἔνεκεν χρήσεως κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸ τέλος διὰ τοῦτο, κατὰ δὲ τὸ προσεχὲς διὰ τὴν τούτων ὦν πεφρόντικεν ἐπιμέλειαν. Ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ παῖδας (80), οὔτε διὰ χρεῖαν ἰδίαν, οὔτε δι' ἕτερόν τι τῶν αὐτῶ προσηκόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι τε καὶ διαμένειν καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε, τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννωμένους (81), τῇ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων διαδοχῇ τὴν

12. The account from the cause is this: if we consider whether a human came to be simply and without purpose, or for some reason; and if for some reason, whether this very living and continuing came to be according to the nature it took on, or because of some necessity.. But if it is by necessity, either that of the one who made him, or of someone else belonging to him and worthy of greater care.. And looking at it more generally, we find that everyone who thinks well and acts with reason toward doing something does nothing without purpose; either for their own use, or because of the need of someone else they care about; or because of what is happening itself, moved by some natural attraction and affection toward its own origin.. Suppose (let it be said by way of an example, so that the matter at hand becomes clear) a person builds a house for their own need, but builds shelters for oxen and camels, or for other animals that are in need, not for their own use as it seems, but for the sake of the end, and also because of the care they have for those creatures.. He also has children, not for his own need, nor for any other of his own concerns, but so that those born from him may exist and continue as long as possible, comforting himself with the succession of children and descendants, and thinking that through this

ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν παραμυθούμενος, καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ θνητὸν ἀπαθανατίζειν οἰόμενος. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων. Ὁ μέντοι Θεὸς οὐτ' ἂν μάτην ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον (ἔστι γὰρ σοφός· οὐδὲν δὲ σοφίας ἔργον μάταιον)· οὔτε διὰ χρείαν ἰδίαν· παντὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπροσδεής· τῷ δὲ μηδενὸς δεομένῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν τῶν (82) ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων συντελέσειεν ἂν εἰς χρείαν ἰδίαν. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διὰ τινὰ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἔργων ἐποίησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν λόγῳ καὶ κρίσει χρωμένων οὔτε τῶν μειζόνων οὔτε τῶν καταδεεστέρων γέγονεν ἢ γίνεται πρὸς ἑτέρου χρείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν τῶν γενομένων ζωὴν τε καὶ διαμονήν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ λόγος εὐρίσκει τινὰ χρείαν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως αἰτίαν· τῶν μὲν ἀθανάτων ἀνενδεῶν ὄντων καὶ μηδεμιᾶς μηδαμῶς παρ' ἀνθρώπων συντελείας πρὸς τὸ εἶναι δεομένων· τῶν δὲ ἀλόγων ἀρχομένων κατὰ φύσιν καὶ τὰς πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν ἑκάστον χρείας ἀνθρώποις ἀποπληροῦντων, ἀλλ' οὐ τούτοις (83) χρῆσθαι πεφυκότων. Θέμις γὰρ οὔτε ἦν οὔτε ἐστὶ, τὸ ἄρχον καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν ὑπάγειν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν, ἢ τὸ λογικὸν ὑποτάττειν ἀλόγοις, οὔσι πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνεπιτηδείois. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ μήτε ἀναιτίως καὶ μάτην γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος (οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ (84) γενομένων μάταιον, κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ ποιήσαντος γνώμην) μήτε χρείας ἔνεκεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος, ἢ ἄλλου (85) τινὸς τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένων ποιημάτων· εὐδὴλον, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον καὶ κοινότερον λόγον, δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς δημιουργίας θεωρουμένην ἀγαθότητα καὶ σοφίαν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κατὰ δὲ τὸν προσεχέστερον τοῖς γενομένοις λόγον, διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν γενομένων ζωὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἐξαπτομένην, εἴτα παντελῶς σβεννυμένην (86). Ἐρπετοῖς γὰρ, οἷμαι, καὶ

he makes the mortal immortal.. But these things are done by these people.. But God certainly did not make man in vain (for he is wise; no work of wisdom is in vain); not for his own need, for he is in no way lacking; and nothing created by him would serve any personal need for one who needs nothing at all.. But he did not make man for any of the works created by him.. For nothing that is governed by reason and judgment, whether greater or lesser, has been or is made for the need of another, but for the life and existence of the things themselves.. For reason does not find any cause for the birth of humans; since the immortals lack nothing and do not in any way need human help to exist; and the irrational beings, governed by nature and fulfilling their own needs for which each is made, do so without needing humans, nor were they made to be used by them.. For it was not and is not right for the ruler and leader to be subject to the use of those who are lesser, or for the rational to be placed under the irrational, which are unfit to rule.. Therefore, if a human came into being neither without cause nor in vain (for nothing made by God is in vain, at least according to the intention of the maker), nor for the need of the one who made him, or of any other creature made by God; it is clear that, according to the first and more general reason, God made the human for himself and for the goodness and wisdom seen in all creation; but according to the more specific reason related to those who have come into being, it was for their life, which is not briefly touched upon and then completely extinguished.. For to the creeping things, I think, and to the flying and swimming creatures, or more generally to all irrational beings, God assigned such a life; but to those who bear the image of the

πτηνοῖς καὶ νηκτοῖς, ἢ καὶ κοινότερον εἰπεῖν, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλόγοις, τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἀπένειμε Θεός· τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὸν ποιητὴν, νοῦν τε συνεπιφερομένοις (87), καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως μεμοιραμένοις, τὴν εἰς αἰὲ διαμονὴν ἀπεκλήρωσεν ὁ ποιητής, ἵνα γινώσκοντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν ποιητὴν, καὶ τὴν τούτου δυνάμιν τε καὶ σοφίαν, νόμῳ τε συνεπόμενοι καὶ δίκη, τούτοις (88) συνδιαιωνίζωσιν ἀπόνως οἷς τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ἐκράτουν ζωὴν, καίπερ ἐν φθαρτοῖς καὶ γηϊνοῖς ὄντες σώμασιν. Ὅποσα μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου του χάριν γέγονεν, παυσασμένων ἐκείνων ὧν ἔνεκεν γέγονε, παύσεται εἰκότως καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γενόμενα τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαμένει μάτην (ὡς ἂν μηδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένοις τοῦ ματαίου χώραν ἔχοντος)· τὰ γε μὴν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι καὶ ζωὴν καθὼς πέφυκε γενόμενα, ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῇ φύσει συνειλημμένης, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ εἶναι θεωρουμένης, οὐδεμίαν (89) οὐδέποτε δέξαιτ' ἂν τὴν τὸ εἶναι παντελῶς ἀφανίζουσιν αἰτίαν. Ταύτης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἶναι πάντοτε θεωρουμένης, δεῖ σώζεσθαι πάντως καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶον, ἐνεργοῦν τε καὶ πάσχον ἃ πέφυκεν, ἐκατέρου τούτων ἐξ ὧν γέγονε τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεισφέροντος, καὶ τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς οὐσῆς τε καὶ διαμενούσης ὁμαλῶς ἐν ἧ γέγονε φύσει, καὶ διαπονούσης ἃ πέφυκεν (πέφυκε δὲ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιστατεῖν ὁρμαῖς, καὶ τὸ προσπίπτειν αἰὲ τοῖς προσήκουσι κρίνειν καὶ μετρεῖν κριτηρίοις καὶ μέτροις), τοῦ δὲ σώματος κινουμένου κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς ἃ πέφυκεν, καὶ τὰς ἀποκληρωθείσας αὐτῷ δεχομένου μεταβολὰς, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας, ἢ κατ' εἶδος, ἢ μέγεθος, τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Εἶδος γάρ τι μεταβολῆς καὶ πάντων ὕστατον ἢ ἀνάστασις, ἢ τε τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον περιόντων ἔτι

maker in themselves, and who share in reason and the judgment of the rational mind, the maker gave the inheritance of eternal existence, so that, knowing their own maker and his power and wisdom, and following law and justice, they may live together forever without trouble, even though they have bodies that are perishable and earthly.. For as many things as have come into being for the sake of something else, when those things for whose sake they came into being cease, it is reasonable that the things themselves will also cease to be, and they would not remain in vain (since nothing made by God has a place for the vain); but those things that have come into being by their very nature for existence and life, having received existence together with the cause itself by nature, and considering existence alone, would never accept any cause that completely destroys their existence.. If existence is always considered in itself, then the living being that has come into being must be preserved completely, both in its activity and in its suffering, each coming from the two causes that contribute to it from itself: the soul, which exists and continues smoothly in the nature in which it was made, and exerts effort according to its nature (for it is naturally inclined to govern the body, and it always judges and measures what happens to it by proper standards and measures); and the body, which moves naturally toward what it is made for, and accepts the changes allotted to it, along with the other changes that come with age, form, or size—this is the resurrection.. For resurrection is a kind of change and the final change of all, and it is still a change toward the better for those who survive that time.

πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολή.

13. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τεθάρρηκότες (90), οὐ μείον ἢ τοῖς ἤδη γενομένοις, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπισκοποῦντες φύσιν, τὴν τε μετ' ἐνδείας καὶ φθορᾶς ζωὴν στέργομεν, ὥς τῷ παρόντι βίω προσήκουσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ διαμονὴν ἐλπίζομεν βεβαίως· ἦν οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ἀναπλάττομεν μάτην, ψευδέσιν ἑαυτοὺς βουκολοῦντες ἐλπίσιν, ἀπλανεστάτῳ δὲ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐχεγγύῳ, τῇ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἡμᾶς γνώμῃ, καθ' ἣν ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ σώματος· νοῦν τε συγκατεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ καὶ νόμον ἔμφυτον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδομένων (91), ἔμφρονι τε βίῳ καὶ ζωῇ λογικῇ προσηκόντων· εὖ εἰδότες ὥς οὐκ ἂν τοιοῦτον κατεσκεύασε ζῶον, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς διαμονὴν ἐκόσμησεν, εἰ μὴ διαμένειν ἐβούλετο τὸ γενόμενον. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τῷ ζωῆς ἔμφρονος μετασχεῖν, καὶ γενόμενον θεωρὸν τῆς τε μεγαλοπρεπείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι σοφίας, τῇ τούτων συνδιαμένειν ἀεὶ θεωρίᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην, καὶ καθ' ἣν (92) εἴληχε φύσιν· ἡ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία πιστοῦται τὴν εἰς ἀεὶ διαμονὴν, ἡ δὲ διαμονὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν διαμείνειεν ἄνθρωπος. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων εὐδελον, ὥς τῇ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίᾳ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ποιήσαντος δείκνυται σαφῶς ἡ ἀνάστασις. Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς αἰτίας οὕσης καθ' ἣν εἰς τόνδε παρῆκται τὸν κόσμον ἄνθρωπος, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη τὸν τούτοις κατὰ φύσιν ἢ καθ' εἰρμόν ἐπόμενον διασκέψασθαι λόγον. Ἐπεταὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῇ μὲν αἰτίᾳ τῆς γενέσεως ἡ τῶν γεννηθέντων ἀνθρώπων φύσις· τῇ δὲ φύσει τῶν γενομένων ἡ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις

13. Having been buried (90) alongside those already born, and observing our own nature, we accept life with its lack and decay as fitting for this present life, and we firmly hope for an existence that lasts without corruption. This hope is not shaped by humans in vain, nor do we deceive ourselves with false hopes as shepherds do, but we trust with unwavering confidence in the guarantee given by the mind of the one who created us. According to that mind, he made man from an immortal soul and a body; he also fashioned a mind for him and implanted a natural law for salvation and the guarding of what was given by him (91), suitable for a sensible and rational life. We know well that he would not have made such a living being, nor adorned it with all things necessary for lasting existence, if he did not intend for what was made to endure. Therefore, if the creator of this whole universe made man to share in a sensible life, and made him a witness to his grandeur and to all wisdom, so that he might always share in the vision of these things according to that creator's plan, and according to the nature he received (92), then the cause of birth guarantees eternal existence, and eternal existence guarantees resurrection, without which man could not endure. From what has been said, it is clear that resurrection is shown plainly by the cause of birth and the mind of the creator. Since this is the cause by which man came into the world, it follows naturally to consider the reasoning that accords with nature or order. According to this examination, the cause of birth is the nature of born humans; the nature of those

δικαία κρίσις· τούτοις τε πᾶσι τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος. Ἐξετασμένων δὲ ἡμῖν τῶν προτεταγμένων, ἐπισκεπτέον ἐξῆς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν.

born is the just judgment of the creator over them; and to all these belongs the end of life. Having examined these points, we must next consider the nature of humans.

14. Ἡ τῶν τῆς (93) ἀληθείας δογμάτων ἢ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν εἰς ἐξέτασιν προβαλλομένων ἀπόδειξις, τὴν ἀπλανῆ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπιφέρουσα πίστιν, οὐκ ἔξωθεν ποθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν τισι δοκούντων ἢ δεδογμένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ φυσικῆς ἐννοίας, ἢ τῆς πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν δευτέρων ἀκολουθίας. Ἡ γὰρ περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἐστὶ δογμάτων, καὶ δεῖ μόνης ὑπομνήσεως τῆς τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνακινούσης ἐννοίαν· ἢ περὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπομένων τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας, καὶ δεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεως, δεικνύντας τί τοῖς πρώτοις ἢ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἀκολουθεῖ κατ' ἀλήθειαν, ἐπὶ τῷ (94) μήτε τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀσφαλείας ἀμελεῖν, μήτε τὰ τῇ φύσει τεταγμένα καὶ διωρισμένα συγχεῖν, ἢ τὸν φυσικὸν εἰρμόν διασπᾶν. Ὅθεν οἴμαι χρῆναι (95) δίκαιον περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐσπουδακότας καὶ κρίνειν ἐμφρόνως θέλοντας, εἴτε γίνεται τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις, εἴτε μὴ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπισκοπεῖν καλῶς τῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε δεῖξιν συντελούντων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ποῖαν ἕκαστον εἴληχε χώραν, καὶ τί μὲν τούτων πρῶτον, τί δὲ δεύτερον, τί δὲ τρίτον, τί δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕστατον. Ταῦτα δὲ διαταξαμένους χρὴ πρώτην μὲν τάξαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος γνώμην καθ' ἣν ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον· ταύτη δὲ (96) προσφυῶς ἐπισυνάψαι τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, οὐχ ὥς τῇ (97) τάξει δευτερεύουσιν, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ ταύτῃ ἀμφοτέρων γενέσθαι τὴν κρίσιν· καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα συνυπάρχουσιν

14. The proof of the truths of doctrines, or of anything put forward for examination, which brings unwavering faith to what is said, does not have its origin from outside anywhere, nor from some who seem or are given, but from the common and natural understanding, or from the sequence of secondary things following the first.. Either the doctrines concern the first principles, and then only a reminder is needed to stir up the natural understanding; or they concern those things that follow naturally from the first principles, and the natural sequence, and then the order established upon these must be shown, indicating what truly follows from the first or the prior principles, so that one neither neglects truth or the security based on it, nor confuses what is set and defined by nature, nor breaks the natural order (94).. Therefore, I think it is right for those who are serious and want to judge wisely about the matters at hand, whether the resurrection of human bodies happens or not, first to carefully examine the powers contributing to the demonstration here, and what place each one holds, and what comes first, what second, what third, and what last among these (95).. After arranging these, one must first set in order the cause of the birth of humans, that is, the plan of the creator according to which he made man; and to this (96) one must closely join the nature of the created humans, not as secondary in order (97), but because the judgment cannot be made about both at the same time; even though

ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον τὴν ἴσιν παρέχονται δύναμιν. Διὰ δὲ τούτων, ὡς πρώτων, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δημιουργίας ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν ἐναργῶς δεικνυμένης τῆς ἀναστάσεως, οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ διὰ τῶν τῆς προνοίας λόγων ἔστι λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ ταύτης πίστιν· λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφειλομένης κατὰ δικαίαν κρίσιν τιμῆς ἢ δίκης, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τέλους. Πολλοὶ γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον διαλαμβάνοντες, τῷ τρίτῳ μόνῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρεισαν (98) αἰτίαν, νομίσαντες τὴν αἰτίαν γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν κρίσιν. Τοῦτο δὲ περιφανῶς δέικνυται ψεῦδος ἐκ τοῦ πάντας μὲν ἀνίστασθαι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀνθρώπους, μὴ πάντας δὲ κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀναστάντας. Εἰ γὰρ μόνον τὸ κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν δίκαιον, τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἦν αἴτιον, ἐχρῆν δήπου τοὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, ἢ κατορθώσαντας, μὴδ' ἀνίστασθαι, τουτέστι τοὺς κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας. Ἐξὸν δὲ πάντας ἀνίστασθαι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν τελευτήσαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ (99) δικαιούσιν, ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἀνάστασις γίνεται κατὰ πρῶτον λόγον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος γνώμην, καὶ τὴν τῶν δημιουργηθέντων φύσιν.

15. Ἀρκούσης δὲ καὶ μόνης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεωρουμένης αἰτίας, δεῖξαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατὰ φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐπομένην τοῖς διαλυθεῖσι σώμασι· δίκαιον ἴσως πρὸς μηδὲν ἀποκνῆσαι τῶν προτεθέντων, ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐπομένων ἀφορμὰς ὑποδείξαι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνιδεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις· καὶ πρό γε τῶν (1) ἄλλων, τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἄγουσαν ἔννοιαν, καὶ τὴν ἴσιν παρέχουσιν περὶ τῆς

they mostly coexist with each other and provide equal power toward the matter at hand.. Through these, as first things, and the clear beginning of what comes from creation, the resurrection is plainly shown; no less can the faith about it be taken through the words of providence. I mean through the just honor or judgment owed to each person according to right judgment, and the end according to human life.. For many, when discussing the matter of the resurrection, have placed all the cause on the third alone (98), thinking that the cause happens because of judgment.. This is clearly shown to be false from the fact that all the dead humans rise, but not all those who have risen are judged.. For if only what is just according to judgment were the cause of the resurrection, then certainly those who have done no wrong, or who have lived rightly, would not rise—that is, the young children who have died.. It is possible for all to rise, both the others and indeed those who have died in their earliest age, and they themselves (99) are justified, showing that resurrection does not happen primarily because of judgment, but because of the will of the creator and the nature of the created.

15. Since the cause seen in the birth of humans alone is enough, show the resurrection as a natural consequence following the bodies that have been dissolved; it may be right not to reject any of the points made, and accordingly, following what has been said, also show the reasons arising from each of the following points for those who cannot understand them by themselves; and before all else (1), show the nature of created humans, leading to the same idea and giving equal faith

ἀναστάσεως πίστιν. Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσα κοινῶς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῇ συναρμοσθέντος σώματος ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, καὶ μήτε τῇ φύσει τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ἑαυτὴν, μήτε τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος χωρὶς ἀπεκλήρωσε Θεὸς τὴν τοιάνδε γένεσιν, ἢ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα βίον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ τούτων γενομένοις ἀνθρώποις, ἵν' ἐξ ὧν γεννῶνται καὶ ζῶσι, διαβιώσαντες, εἰς ἓν τι καὶ κοινὸν καταλήξωσι τέλος· δεῖ πάντως ἐνὸς ὄντος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ζώου, τοῦ καὶ πάσχοντος (2) ὁπόσα πάθη ψυχῆς, καὶ ὁπόσα τοῦ σώματος, ἐνεργοῦντός τε καὶ πράττοντος ὁπόσα τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἢ τῆς λογικῆς δεῖται κρίσεως, πρὸς ἓν τι τέλος ἀναφέρεσθαι πάντα τὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰρμόν· ἵνα πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντων συντρέχῃ πρὸς μίαν ἁρμονίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν συμπάθειαν ἀνθρώπου, γένεσις ἀνθρώπου, φύσις ἀνθρώπου, ζωὴ ἀνθρώπου, πράξεις (3) καὶ πάθη, καὶ βίος, καὶ τὸ τῇ φύσει προσῆκον τέλος. Εἰ δὲ μία τις ἐστὶν ἁρμονία τοῦ ζώου παντός καὶ συμπάθεια, καὶ τῶν ἐκ ψυχῆς φουμένων, καὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτελουμένων, ἓν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις τέλος. Ἐν δὲ τέλος ἔσται κατ' ἀλήθειαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύστασιν ὄντος, οὗ πέρ ἐστι τέλος τὸ τέλος (4). Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ζῶον ἔσται καθαρῶς, τῶν αὐτῶν ὄντων πάντων ἐξ ὧν ὡς μερῶν (5) τὸ ζῶον· τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ, κατὰ τὴν ἰδιάζουσιν ἔνωσιν ἔσται, τῶν διαλυθέντων, πάλιν ἐνωθέντων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζώου σύστασιν. Ἡ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων σύστασις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένην δείκνυσι τὴν τῶν νεκρωθέντων καὶ διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν. Ταύτης γὰρ χωρὶς, οὔτ' ἂν ἐνωθείη τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλήλοις, οὔτ' ἂν συσταίη τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις. Εἰ δὲ καὶ νοῦς καὶ λόγος δέδοται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς διάκρισιν νοητῶν, οὐκ οὐσιῶν μόνον,

concerning the resurrection.. For if the nature of all humans together is made up of an immortal soul and a body joined to it at birth, and God has not separated such a birth from the nature of the soul by itself or the nature of the body by itself, nor life and the whole existence, but has made them for the humans born from these, so that from what they are born and live by, after living through it, they come to one common end; it is necessary that the whole arrangement of these two beings—both the one suffering (2) all the sufferings of the soul and all those of the body, both acting and doing all that the sensory or rational judgment requires—be referred to one end; so that all things and through all things come together in one harmony and the same feeling of a human: the birth of a human, the nature of a human, the life of a human, the actions (3) and sufferings, and the life, and the end proper to the nature.. But if there is one harmony of the whole being and one feeling, both of those born from the soul and those carried out through the body, then the end for all these must also be one.. There will truly be one end for the same being according to its own composition, for which the end itself is the goal (4).. The same living being will be purely composed of all the same parts from which the living being is made (5); and the same parts, according to their particular union, will be again joined to the composition of the living being after being separated.. The composition of the same human beings necessarily shows the resurrection of the bodies that have died and been dissolved.. For without this, the same parts would neither naturally join together, nor would the nature of the same humans be formed.. And if mind and reason have been given to humans for the purpose

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ δόντος ἀγαθότητος καὶ σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἀνάγκη, διαμενόντων ὧν ἔνεκεν ἡ λογικὴ δέδοται κρίσις, καὶ αὐτὴν διαμένειν τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις δοθεῖσαν κρίσιν. Ταύτην δὲ διαμένειν ἀδύνατον, μὴ τῆς δεξαμένης αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ διαμενούσης φύσεως. Ὁ δὲ καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον δεξάμενος, ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν. Ἄνθρωπον ἄρα δεῖ τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ὄντα διαμένειν εἰς αἰὲ. Τοῦτον δὲ ἀδύνατον διαμένειν, μὴ ἀνιστάμενον· ἀναστάσεως γὰρ μὴ γινομένης, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἀνθρώπων διαμένοι φύσις· τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως μὴ διαμενούσης, μάτην μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ συνήρμοσται τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τούτου πάθεσι· μάτην δὲ τὸ σῶμα πεπέδηται πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν ὧν ὀρέγεται, ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνίκαις ὑπεῖκον καὶ χαλιναγωγούμενον· μάταιος δὲ ὁ νοῦς, ματαία δὲ φρόνησις, καὶ δικαιοσύνης παρατήρησις, ἢ καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἄσκησις, καὶ νόμων θέσις καὶ διάταξις, καὶ συνόλως εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ὃ τί περ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπους καλὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ (6) τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ γένεσις τε καὶ φύσις· εἰ δὲ πάντων καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπελήλαται τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδομένων δωρεῶν τὸ μάταιον, δεῖ πάντως τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτελευτήτῳ συνδιαιωνίζειν τὴν τοῦ σώματος διαμονὴν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν (7) φύσιν.

of distinguishing things not only by their being, but also by the goodness, wisdom, and justice of the one who gives them; then it is necessary that the judgment given for these things, for which reason has been given, also remains.. But it is impossible for this to remain without the nature that received it and that remains in the things in which it exists.. The one who has received both mind and reason is a human, not a soul by itself.. Therefore, the human, who is made from both, must remain forever.. But it is impossible for this to remain without rising again; for if resurrection does not happen, the nature of humans as humans would not remain. And if the nature of humans does not remain, the soul is joined in vain to the body's need and its sufferings. In vain is the body bound to get what it desires, yielding to and being controlled by the reins of the soul. In vain is the mind, in vain is understanding, and the keeping of justice, or even the practice of every virtue, and the setting and ordering of laws, and, in short, everything that is good in humans and through humans, and even more so the very origin and nature of humans themselves. But if all the works of God and the gifts given by him are lost from all and everywhere, then the body's lasting existence must absolutely continue together with the soul's endless life according to its own nature.

16. Ξεनिζέσθω δὲ μηδεὶς, εἰ τὴν θανάτῳ καὶ φθορᾷ διακοπτομένην ζωὴν, ὀνομάζομεν διαμονὴν, λογιζόμενος (8) ὡς οὐχ εἷς τοῦ προσρήματος ὁ λόγος, οὐχ ἓν τῆς διαμονῆς τὸ μέτρον· ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν διαμενόντων φύσις μία. Εἴπερ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἕκαστον τῶν διαμενόντων ἔχει τὴν διαμονὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν καθαρῶς ἀφθάρτων

16. Let no one be surprised if we call life that is cut off by death and decay a lasting existence, thinking that the word is not used in the same way, or that the measure of lasting is not the same; for even among those who last, their natures are not the same.. For if each of those who last has lasting existence according to its own

καὶ ἀθανάτων εὖροι τις ἂν ἰσάζουσιν τὴν
διαμονήν, τῷ μὴδὲ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν
κρείττωνων συνεξισοῦσθαι ταῖς καθ’
ὑπόβασιν διαφορῶσαι· οὐτ’ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τὴν ὁμαλήν ἐκείνην τὴν
ἀμετάβλητον ἐπιζητεῖν ἄξιον· ἅτε δὲ τῶν
μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένων ἀθανάτων καὶ
διαμενόντων μόνῃ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ
ποιήσαντος ἀτελευτήτως· τῶν δὲ
ἀνθρώπων κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ
γενέσεως ἐχόντων τὴν ἀμετάβλητον
διαμονήν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα
προσλαμβάνοντων ἐκ μεταβολῆς τὴν
ἀφθαρσίαν· ὅπερ ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος
βούλεται· πρὸς ἣν ἀποβλέποντες, τὴν τε
διάλυσιν τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἐπομένην τῇ
μετ’ ἐνδείας καὶ φθορᾶς ζωῇ, περιμένομεν,
καὶ μετὰ ταύτην, τὴν μετ’ ἀφθαρσίας
ἐλπίζομεν διαμονήν· οὔτε τῇ τῶν ἀλόγων
τελευτῇ συνεξισοῦντες τὴν ἡμετέραν
τελευτήν, οὔτε τῇ τῶν ἀθανάτων διαμονῇ
τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμονήν, ἵνα μὴ
λάθωμεν ταύτη συνεξισοῦντες καὶ τὴν τῶν
ἀνθρώπων φύσιν καὶ ζωὴν οἷς μὴ
προσῆκεν. Οὐ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
δυσχεραίνειν ἄξιον, εἴ τις ἀνωμαλία
θεωρεῖται περὶ τὴν (9) τῶν ἀνθρώπων
διαμονήν, οὐδ’ ἐπειδὴ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ
τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν καὶ μορίων
διάλυσιν τὴν συνεχῇ διακόπτει ζωὴν, διὰ
τοῦτ’ ἀπογινώσκειν χρὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τὴν κατὰ συναίσθησιν
ζωὴν διακόπτειν δοκοῦσιν αἱ κατὰ τὸν
ὕπνον φυσικῶς ἐγγινόμεναι παρέσεις τῶν
αἰσθήσεων καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων,
ἰσομέτροις χρόνου διαστήμασιν
ὑπνοῦντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τρόπον
τινὰ πάλιν ἀναβιωσκόντων, τὴν αὐτὴν
παραιτούμεθα ζωὴν λέγειν. Παρ’ ἣν αἰτίαν,
οἶμαι, τινὲς ἀδελφὸν τοῦ θανάτου τὸν
ὕπνον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν
προγόνων ἢ πατέρων (10) φύντας
γενεαλογοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὡς τῶν ὁμοίων

nature, one would not find lasting existence
equal among those purely incorruptible
and immortal, since the essences of the
higher beings are not to be equated with
those differing in rank. Nor is it proper to
seek the same smooth and unchanging
lasting existence among humans; for those
who were made immortal and lasting from
the beginning exist only by the will of the
creator without end; but humans have
unchanging lasting existence according to
the soul from birth, and according to the
body they receive incorruption through
change. This is what the teaching of the
resurrection intends. Looking toward this,
we await the dissolution of the body as
following the life that is subject to need and
decay, and after this, we hope for lasting
existence that is incorruptible. We do not
equate our end with that of irrational
creatures, nor do we equate the lasting
existence of the immortal with the lasting
existence of humans, so that we do not
mistakenly equate with this both the
nature and life of humans with those to
which they do not belong.. Therefore, it is
not proper to be troubled if someone sees
irregularity concerning the lasting
existence of humans, nor to reject
resurrection just because the separation of
the soul from the parts and members of the
body breaks continuous life.. For just as we
do not think that the natural interruptions
of sensations and natural powers during
sleep, which happen according to feeling,
break life, even though humans sleep for
equal periods of time and in a way come
back to life again, so too we refuse to call
that life anything other than the same life..
Because of this reason, I think some call
sleep the brother of death, not tracing their
origin from the same ancestors or fathers,
but because of the similar experiences that

παθῶν τοῖς τε θανοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπνοῦσιν ἐγγινομένων, ἔνεκά γε τῆς ἡρεμίας καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐπαισθάνεσθαι τῶν παρόντων ἢ γινομένων, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῆς ιδίας ζωῆς. Εἴπερ οὖν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωὴν τοσαύτης γέμουσαν ἀνωμαλίας ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι διαλύσεως, καὶ διακοπτομένην πᾶσιν οἷς προείπομεν, οὐ παραιτούμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν ζωὴν· οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῆς διαλύσεως ζωὴν, ἥτις ἑαυτῇ συνεισάγει τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀπογινώσκειν ὀφείλομεν, κἂν ἐπὶ ποσὸν διακόπτηται τῷ χωρισμῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.

happen to both those who die and those who sleep, namely the calmness and the lack of awareness of what is present or happening, and even more so the absence of being and of their own life.. If then the life of humans is filled with such irregularities from birth until dissolution, and is interrupted by all the things we mentioned before, we do not refuse to call it the same life; nor should we deny the life beyond dissolution, which brings about resurrection, even if it is interrupted for a time by the separation of the soul from the body.

17. Αὕτη γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις, ἄνωθεν καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ποιήσαντος συγκεκληρωμένην ἔχουσα τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, ἀνώμαλον ἔχει τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν διαμονήν, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπνω, ποτὲ δὲ θανάτῳ διακοπτομένην, καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡλικίαν μεταβολαῖς οὐκ ἐμφαινομένων ἐναργῶς τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγινομένων. Ὡς τίς ἂν ἐπίστευσεν, μὴ τῇ πείρᾳ δεδιδαγμένος, ἐν ὁμοιομερεῖ καὶ διαπλάστῳ τῷ σπέρματι τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀποκεῖσθαι δυνάμεων, ἢ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐπισυνισταμένων καὶ πηγνυμένων ὄγκων διαφορὰν, ὁστέων φημί, καὶ νεύρων καὶ χόνδρων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μυῶν, καὶ σαρκῶν, καὶ σπλάγχνων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν; Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ὑγροῖς ἔτι τοῖς σπέρμασι τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν οὐδὲν, οὔτε μὴν τοῖς νηπίοις ἐμφαίνεται τι τῶν τοῖς τελείοις ἐπιγινομένων· ἢ τῇ τῶν τελείων ἡλικίᾳ τὰ τῶν παρηγηκότων, ἢ τούτοις τὰ τῶν γεγηρακότων. Ἀλλὰ δὴ, καίτοι τῶν εἰρημένων τινῶν μὲν οὐθ' ὅλως, τινῶν δὲ ἀμυδρῶς ἐμφαινόντων τὴν φυσικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ τὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιγινομένας μεταβολὰς, ὅμως ἴσασιν ὅσοι μὴ τυφλώττουσιν ὑπὸ κακίας ἢ

17. For this is the nature of humans, having irregularity joined from above and according to the plan of the Creator; it has an irregular life and duration, sometimes interrupted by sleep, sometimes by death, and by the changes that happen at each age, not clearly visible to those who come first, but to those who come later. Who would believe, if not taught by experience, that in the equally measured and formed seed there are so many and such great powers, or the difference of the masses joined and fixed to it—bones, I say, and nerves and cartilage, even muscles, flesh, organs, and the other parts of the body? For neither in the moist seeds is anything of these visible, nor in infants does anything appear of what happens in adults; either the things of the grown-up come from those who have passed childhood, or those of the old come from the grown-up. Yet, although some of the things said do not appear at all, and some only faintly show the natural order and the changes that happen by nature in humans, still those who are not blinded by evil or laziness in judging these things know that first the seed must be formed,

ῥαθυμίας περι τὴν τούτων κρίσιν, ὅτι δεῖ
 πρῶτον μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν σπερμάτων
 καταβολήν, διαρθρωθέντων δὲ τούτων
 καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος καὶ μόριον, καὶ
 προελθόντων εἰς φῶς τῶν κυηθέντων,
 ἐπιγίνεται μὲν ἡ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην (11)
 ἡλικίαν αὔξησις, ἣ τε κατ' αὔξησιν
 τελείωσις, τελειωθέντων δὲ ὕφεις τῶν
 φυσικῶν δυνάμεων μέχρι γήρωος, εἴτα
 πεπονηκότων τῶν σωμάτων ἡ διάλυσις.
 Ὡςπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὔτε τοῦ σπέρματος
 ἐγγεγραμμένην ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων ζωὴν ἢ μορφήν, οὔτε τῆς ζωῆς
 τὴν εἰς τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς διάλυσιν, ὁ τῶν
 φυσικῶς γενομένων εἰρμός παρέχει τὴν
 πίστιν τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν φαινομένων
 ἔχουσι τὸ πιστόν, πολὺ μᾶλλον (12) ὁ
 λόγος, ἐκ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας
 ἀνιχνεύων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, πιστοῦται τὴν
 ἀνάστασιν, ἀσφαλέστερος ὢν καὶ κρείττων
 τῆς πείρας πρὸς πίστωσιν ἀληθείας.

18. Τῶν πρώην ἡμῖν εἰς ἐξέτασιν
 προτεθέντων λόγων καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν
 πιστουμένων, πάντες (13) μὲν εἰσιν
 ὁμογενεῖς, ὡς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φύντες ἀρχῆς
 (ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν πρώτων
 ἀνθρώπων ἐκ δημιουργίας γένεσις)· ἀλλ' οἱ
 μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς κρατύνονται τῆς πρώτης
 ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἧςπερ ἔφυσαν, οἱ δὲ, παρεπόμενοι
 τῇ τε φύσει καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ
 τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας
 λαμβάνουσι τὴν πίστιν (ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰτία
 καθ' ἣν καὶ δι' ἣν γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι,
 συνεζευγμένη τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ
 δημιουργίας ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν· ὁ δὲ τῆς
 δικαιοσύνης λόγος, καθ' ὃν κρίνει Θεὸς
 τοὺς εὖ ἢ κακῶς (14) βεβιωκότας
 ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τοῦ τούτων τέλους)·
 φύονται μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν, ἡρτῆνται δὲ
 μᾶλλον τῆς προνοίας. Δεδειγμένων δὲ ἡμῖν
 τῶν πρώτων ὡς οἷόν τε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ

then each part and portion arranged, and
 when these come into the light of those
 conceived, growth happens during the first
 age, and with growth comes completion;
 when complete, the natural powers decline
 until old age, then the bodies, worn out,
 dissolve. Just as, therefore, neither the life
 or form of humans is written in the seed,
 nor the dissolution of life into the first
 elements, the order of natural events
 provides faith to those who do not have
 faith from the things seen; much more, the
 word, tracing truth from the natural order,
 confirms resurrection, being more certain
 and stronger than experience for faith in
 truth.

18. Of the earlier words proposed to us for
 examination and believing in the
 resurrection, all (13) are of the same origin,
 as born from the same beginning (for their
 beginning is the creation of the first
 humans); but some are strengthened by
 that first origin from which they were born,
 while others, following both the nature and
 life of humans, receive faith from God's
 providence concerning us (for the cause by
 which and through which humans have
 come to be, joined with the nature of
 humans, has its power from creation; but
 the word of justice, by which God judges
 those who have lived well or badly (14),
 comes from the end of these things); for
 they grow from that source, but are rather
 sustained by providence.. Having shown to
 us the first things as possible, it would be
 good also to show the one proposed

διὰ τῶν ὑστέρων δεῖξαι τὸ προκείμενον· λέγω δὲ διὰ τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ δικαίαν κρίσιν τιμῆς ἢ δίκης, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τέλους· αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων προτάξαι τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἡγούμενον· καὶ πρῶτόν γε διασκέψασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς κρίσεως λόγον· τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπόντας φροντίδι τῆς προσηκούσης τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀρχῆς καὶ τάξεως, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ποιητὴν τὸν Θεὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς παραδεξαμένους τῇ τούτου σοφίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν τῶν γενομένων ἀπάντων ἀνατιθέναι φυλακὴν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν, εἴγε ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀρχαῖς παραμένειν ἐθέλοιεν· ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τούτων φρονοῦντας, μὴδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε τῶν κατὰ γῆν, μήτε τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀνεπιτρόπευτον, μὴδ' ἀπρονόητον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφανὲς ὁμοίως καὶ φαινόμενον, μικρόν τε καὶ μεῖζον, διήκουσαν γινώσκειν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπιμέλειαν. Δεῖται γὰρ πάντα γενόμενα (15) τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπιμελείας, ἰδίως δὲ ἕκαστον καθ' ὃ πέφυκε, καὶ πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν ἃ χρὴ (16). Οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι φιλοτιμίας τὸ κατάγειν (17), ἢ διαίρειν νῦν, ἢ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐκάστη φύσει καταλέγειν ἐθέλειν. Ὅ γε μὴν ἄνθρωπος, περὶ οὗ νῦν πρόκειται λέγειν, ὡς μὲν ἐνδεὴς, δεῖται τροφῆς· ὡς δὲ θνητὸς, διαδοχῆς· ὡς δὲ λογικὸς, δίκης. Εἰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δεῖται μὲν τροφῆς διὰ τὴν ζωὴν, δεῖται δὲ διαδοχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαμονὴν, δεῖται δὲ δίκης διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἔννομον, ἀνάγκη δήπου, τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ συναμφότερον φερομένης, ἐπὶ τοῦτο (18) φέρεσθαι καὶ τὴν δίκην· λέγω δὲ συναμφότερον τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἄνθρωπον· καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον γίνεσθαι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόδικον, τὴν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις δέχεσθαι τιμὴν ἢ τιμωρίαν. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ

through the later things; I mean through the just judgment owed to each human according to honor or justice, and the end according to human life. Of these things, let us first put forward the one considered natural; and first examine the word about judgment, having said only so much out of care for the proper beginning and order of the things proposed, that those who accept God as the Creator of this whole universe must entrust to his wisdom and justice the care and providence of all things created, if they wish these things to remain in their own proper beginnings. And those who think about these things should consider nothing as ungoverned or without providence, neither those on earth nor those in heaven, nor unplanned, but should know that the care from the Creator extends equally over all things, both unseen and seen, small and great.. All things that have come into being (15) need the care of the Creator, especially each one according to what it is by nature, and according to what it must be used for (16).. For I do not think it is out of ambition (17) to now bring down or divide, or to want to assign what is fitting to each nature.. But the human being, about whom we are now about to speak, is, as a needy one, in need of food; as mortal, in need of succession; and as rational, in need of justice.. If each of the things mentioned belongs to a human by nature, and a human needs food for life, needs succession for the continuation of the race, and needs justice because food and succession are lawful, then it is necessary, of course, that justice be applied to food and succession together, since they are carried along together. For this reason (18) justice is also applied. By “together” I mean the human being made up of soul and body. And such a human becomes subject to all

συναμφοτέρου φέρει τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς
εἰργασμένοις δίκην ἢ δικαίαν κρίσις, καὶ
μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν μόνην δεῖ κομίσασθαι τὰ
ἐπίχειρα τῶν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος
εἰργασμένων (ἀπροσπαθῆς γὰρ αὕτη καθ'
ἑαυτὴν τῶν περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς ἢ
τροφὰς καὶ θεραπείας γινομένων
πλημμελημάτων), μήτε τὸ σῶμα μόνον
(ἄκριτον γὰρ τοῦτο καθ' ἑαυτὸ νόμου καὶ
δίκης), ὁ δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἐφ'
ἐκάστῳ (19) τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ
δέχεται κρίσιν· τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε κατὰ τὴνδε
τὴν ζωὴν εὐρίσκει συμβαῖνον ὁ λόγος (οὐ
γὰρ σώζεται τὸ κατὰ ἀξίαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
βίῳ, διὰ τὸ (20) πολλοὺς μὲν ἀθέους καὶ
πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ κακίαν ἐπιτηδεύοντας,
μέχρι τελευτῆς διατελεῖν κακῶν
ἀπειράτους, καὶ τούναντίον τοὺς κατὰ
πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐξητασμένον τὸν ἑαυτῶν
βίον ἐπιδειξαμένους, ἐν ὁδύναϊς ζῆν, ἐν
ἐπηρείαις, ἐν συκοφαντίαις, αἰκίαις τε καὶ
παντοίαις κακοπαθείαις), οὔτε δὲ μετὰ
θάνατον (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔτι τὸ
συναμφοτέρον, χωριζομένης μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, σκεδαννυμένου δὲ καὶ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἐς ὧν
συνεφορήθη, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σώζοντος τῆς
προτέρας φυῆς, ἢ μορφῆς, ἢ ποῦ γε τὴν
μνήμην τῶν πεπραγμένων)· εὐδὴλον παντὶ
τὸ λειπόμενον, ὅτι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον
τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο καὶ διασκεδαστὸν (21)
ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, ἵνα,
ζωοποιηθέντων ἐξ ἀναστάσεως τῶν
νεκρωθέντων, καὶ πάλιν ἐνωθέντων τῶν
κεχωρισμένων, ἢ καὶ πάντη διαλελυμένων,
ἕκαστος κομίσῃται δικαίως ἃ διὰ τοῦ
σώματος ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε κακά.

actions done, receiving either honor or
punishment for them.. If just judgment
applies to both together regarding what
has been done, then neither the soul alone
should receive the consequences of what
was done with the body (for it is powerless
by itself concerning the faults related to
bodily pleasures or food and care), nor the
body alone (for it is without law and justice
by itself). But the human being, who is one
of these two, receives judgment for each of
the things done to him (19). However, this
reasoning does not find fulfillment in this
life (for what is deserved is not preserved
in the present life, because many live as
atheists, practicing all lawlessness and evil,
and the evils continue without end until
death; and on the other hand, those who
have shown their lives examined by every
virtue live in pain, in hardships, in slanders,
insults, and all kinds of suffering) (20). Nor
does it happen after death (for the
composite no longer exists, the soul being
separated from the body, and the body
itself being scattered back to those
elements from which it was taken,
preserving nothing of its former nature or
form, that is, the memory of what was
done). It is clear to everyone that what
remains must, according to the Apostle, put
on incorruption and immortality (21), so
that, when those who died are made alive
again by the resurrection, and those
separated are reunited, or even those
completely dissolved, each one may justly
receive what he did through the body,
whether good or bad.

19. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν
πρόνοιαν, καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμῖν
παραδεξαμένους ἀρχὰς, εἴτα τῶν οἰκείων
ὑποθέσεων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκπίπτονται,

19. To those who agree with providence
and have accepted the same principles as
we have, but then fall away from their own
affairs, I would use such arguments, and

τοιούτοις χρήσαιτ' ἂν τις λόγοις, καὶ πολλῶ
πλείοσι τούτων, εἴγε πλατύνειν ἐθέλοι τὰ
συντόμως καὶ κατ' ἐπιδρομὴν εἰρημένα.
Πρὸς δέ γε τοὺς περὶ τῶν πρώτων
διαφερομένους ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ἐτέραν
ὑποθέσθαι πρὸ τούτων ἀρχὴν,
συνδιαποροῦντας αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν
δοξάζουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα
συνδιασκεπτομένους, ἄρα γε πάντα
καθάπαξ ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρῶπται ζωὴ
καὶ σύμπας ὁ βίος, ζόφος δέ τις βαθὺς
κατακέχυται τῆς γῆς, ἀγνοία καὶ σιγῇ
κρύπτων αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ
τὰς τούτων πράξεις· ἢ πολὺ τούτων
ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ δοξάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
ποιήμασιν ἐφῆσθηκεν ὁ ποιήσας, πάντων
τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων ἢ γινομένων ἔφορος,
ἔργων τε καὶ βουλευμάτων κριτής. Εἰ μὲν
γὰρ μηδεμία μηδαμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώποις
πεπραγμένων γίγνοιτο κρίσις, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι
πλεῖον τῶν ἀλόγων ἄνθρωποι· μᾶλλον δὲ
κάκεινων πράξουσιν ἀθλιώτερον, οἱ τὰ
πάθη δουλαγωγοῦντες, καὶ φροντίζοντες
εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἢ τῆς ἄλλης
ἀρετῆς· ὁ δὲ κτηνώδης βίος καὶ θηριώδης
ἄριστος· ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀνόητος· δίκης δὲ ἀπειλὴ
γέλως πλατύς· τὸ δὲ πᾶσαν θεραπεύειν
ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν τὸ μέγιστον· δόγμα δὲ
κοινὸν (22) τούτων ἀπάντων καὶ νόμος εἷς
τὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις καὶ λάγνοις φίλον·
Φάγωμεν δὲ (23) καὶ πίνωμεν· αὔριον γὰρ
ἀποθνήσκομεν. Τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου βίου
τέλος οὐδὲ ἡδονὴ κατὰ τινος, ἀλλ'
ἀναισθησία παντελῆς. Εἰ δέ ἐστὶ τις τῶ
ποιήσαντι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἰδίων
ποιημάτων φροντὶς, καὶ σώζεται πού τῶν
εὖ ἢ κακῶς βεβιωμένων ἢ διάκρισις, ἥτοι
κατὰ τὸν παρόντα βίον, ζώντων ἔτι τῶν
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν βεβιωκότων, ἢ μετὰ
θάνατον, ἐν χωρισμῶ καὶ διαλύσει
τυγχανόντων. Ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐδέτερον τῶν
εἰρημένων εὐρεῖν δυνατόν σωζομένην τὴν
δικαίαν κρίσιν· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ σπουδαῖοι κατὰ

many more than these, if anyone wishes to
expand briefly and in overview what has
been said.. But for those who differ about
the first things, it might be good to assume
a different starting point before these,
joining with them in what they believe, and
considering such matters together: is it
really so that human life and all of
existence are completely blind, and that
some deep darkness is poured over the
earth, hiding both humans themselves and
their actions in ignorance and silence? Or is
it much safer to believe that the maker
stands over his own creations, the overseer
of all things that exist or come to be, and
the judge of deeds and plans?. For if there
were no judgment anywhere for what
people have done, humans would be no
better than irrational animals; indeed,
those who are slaves to their passions and
care for piety and justice, or any other
virtue, would act even more miserably. The
best life would be a beastly and savage one;
virtue would be foolishness; the threat of
justice would be a wide laughter; and
pleasure would be the greatest good that
cures all. The common belief and law of all
these is that the reckless and lustful are
favored: «Let us eat and drink, for
tomorrow we die.». For the end of such a
life is not pleasure according to some, but
complete numbness.. But if there is
someone who cares for the maker of
humans as for his own works, and if the
judgment of those who have lived well or
badly is preserved somewhere, either
during this present life, while those who
have lived in virtue or vice are still alive, or
after death, when they are in separation
and dissolution,. But it is not possible to
find the just judgment preserved in either
of the cases mentioned; for neither do the
serious people in this present life bear the

τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν φέρονται τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπίχειρα, οὐτε μὴν οἱ φαῦλοι τὰ τῆς κακίας. Παρίημι γὰρ λέγειν, ὅτι σωζομένης τῆς φύσεως, ἐν ᾗ νῦν (24) ἐσμεν, οὐθ' ἡ θνητὴ φύσις ἐνεγκεῖν οἷα τε τὴν σύμμετρον δίκην πλειόνων ἢ βαρυτέρων φερομένων πλημμελημάτων. Ὅ τε γὰρ μυρίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἀνελὼν ἀδίκως ληστής, ἢ δυνάστης, ἢ τύραννος, οὐκ ἂν ἐνὶ θανάτῳ λύσειε τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις δίκην· ὃ τε μηδὲν περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζων ἀληθὲς, ὕβρει δὲ πάσῃ καὶ βλασφημίᾳ συζῶν, καὶ παρορῶν μὲν τὰ θεῖα, καταλύων δὲ νόμους, ὑβρίσας δὲ παῖδας ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκας, κατασκάψας δὲ πόλεις ἀδίκως, ἐμπρήσας δὲ οἴκους μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, καὶ δηϊώσας χώραν, καὶ τούτοις συναφανίσας δήμους καὶ λαοὺς, ἢ καὶ σύμπαν (25) ἔθνος, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φθαρτῷ σώματι πρὸς τὴν τούτοις σύμμετρον ἀρκέσειε δίκην, προλαμβάνοντος τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κατὰ ἀξίαν, καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν τι τῶν εἰργασμένων τῆς θνητῆς ἐξαρκούσης φύσεως; Οὐτ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν δέικνυται κρίσις, οὔτε μετὰ θάνατον.

rewards of virtue, nor do the wicked bear the punishments of vice.. For I pass over saying that, while the nature in which we now are is preserved, neither is the mortal nature able to bring about a fair judgment of those who have committed more or heavier faults.. For the robber, tyrant, or despot who unjustly takes thousands upon thousands, would not pay the just penalty for these by a single death; and the one who holds no true belief about God, living in every kind of outrage and blasphemy, ignoring the divine things, breaking laws, insulting children and women alike, unjustly destroying cities, burning houses with their inhabitants, ravaging the land, and with these acts wiping out towns and peoples, or even an entire nation—how could a corruptible body be enough to give just punishment corresponding to these, when death comes before the deserved penalty, and the mortal nature is not sufficient for any one of the deeds done?? Therefore, neither in this present life nor after death is the judgment shown according to what is deserved.

20. Ὅτοι γὰρ παντελής ἐστὶ σβέσις τῆς ζωῆς ὁ θάνατος, συνδιαλυομένης τῷ σώματι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ συνδιαφθειρομένης· ἢ μένει μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἄλυτος ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀσκέδαστος, ἀδιάφθορος, φθείρεται δὲ καὶ διαλύεται τὸ σῶμα, οὐδεμίαν ἔτι σῶζον οὔτε μνήμην τῶν εἰργασμένων, οὔτ' αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ παθημάτων. Σβεννυμένης μὲν γὰρ παντελῶς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς, οὐδεμία φανήσεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ ζώντων φροντίς, οὐ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ κακίαν βεβιωκότων ἢ κρίσις· ἐπεισκευληθήσεται δὲ πάλιν τὰ τῆς ἀνόμου ζωῆς, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ, συνεπομένων ἀτόπων τὸ σμῆνος, τό τε τῆς ἀνομίας ταύτης

20. For death is the complete extinction of life, with the soul dissolving together with the body and being destroyed; or the soul remains by itself, untroubled, undispersed, and incorruptible, while the body is destroyed and broken down, no longer preserving any memory of what was done, nor any sensation of the sufferings endured. Since the life of humans is completely extinguished, no care will be shown for those humans no longer living, nor will there be judgment for those who lived in virtue or in vice; but the shameful acts of lawless life will be revenged, along with the absurd crowd that follows it, and

κεφάλαιον ἀθεότης (26). Εἰ δὲ φθείροιτο μὲν τὸ σῶμα καὶ χωροίη πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς τῶν λελυμένων ἕκαστον, μένοι δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὡς ἀφθαρτος, οὐδ' οὕτως ἔξει χώραν ἢ κατ' αὐτῆς κρίσις, μὴ προσούσης δικαιοσύνης· ἐπειδὴ (27) μὴδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ γίνεσθαί τινα κρίσιν, ἢ μὴ πρόσσεστι τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ πρόσσεστι δὲ τῇ κρίσει τὸ δίκαιον, μὴ σωζομένου τοῦ διαπραξαμένου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἢ τὴν ἀνομίαν. Ὁ γὰρ διαπραξάμενος ἕκαστον τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ κρίσις, ἄνθρωπος ἦν, οὐ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐπ' οὐδενὸς φυλάξει τὸ δίκαιον.

the chief cause of this lawlessness, godlessness (26). If the body were destroyed and each one returned to their kindred of the dead, but the soul remained by itself as incorruptible, even then the judgment concerning it would have no place, since justice would not be present; for it is neither lawful to suppose that any judgment comes from God or by God that lacks justice (27). Justice is not present in judgment if the one who did the just or unjust deed is not preserved. For the one who did each thing in life, on which judgment depends, was a human, not a soul by itself. To say this in general, this argument will not preserve justice in any way.

21. Κατορθωμάτων τε γὰρ (28) τιμωμένων, ἀδικηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα σαφῶς, ἐκ τοῦ κοινωνῆσαι μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σπουδαζομένοις πόνων, μὴ κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωθείσι τιμῆς, καὶ συγγνώμης μὲν τυγχάνειν πολλάκις τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τινων πλημμελημάτων διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔνδειαν τε καὶ χρεῖαν, ἐκπίπτειν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθωθείσι κοινωνίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ συνδιήνεγκε πόνους (29) Καὶ μὴν καὶ πλημμελημάτων κρινομένων οὐ σώζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ δίκαιον, εἴ γε μόνη τίνοι δίκην ὑπὲρ ὧν, ἐνοχλοῦντος τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ὀρέξεις ἢ κινήσεις ἔλκοντος, ἐπλημμέλησεν· ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ συναρπαγὴν (30) καὶ κλοπὴν, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τινα βιαιοτέραν ὁλκὴν, ἄλλοτε κατὰ συνδρομὴν, ἐν χάριτος μέρει καὶ θεραπείας τῆς τούτου συστάσεως. Ἡ πῶς οὐκ ἄδικον, τὴν ψυχὴν κρίνεσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ' ἦντιναοῦν ἔχει, κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν, οὐκ ὀρεξιν, οὐ κίνησιν, οὐχ ὀρμήν·

21. For the body will clearly be wronged when punishments are given for achievements, since it shares with the soul in the efforts made in serious matters but does not share in the honor earned for those achievements; and often the soul receives pardon for certain faults because of the body's lack and need, while the body itself falls away from sharing in the honors for which it endured pains together in life (29). And indeed, when faults are judged, justice is not preserved for the soul, especially when it alone suffers punishment for faults committed because the body, disturbed and drawn by its own desires or impulses, has sinned; sometimes through robbery and theft (30), sometimes through a more violent dragging, and at other times through complicity, in a measure of favor and treatment of this condition.. Or how is it not unjust for the soul to be judged by itself for things over which it has no control according to its own nature—no desire, no impulse, no urge—

οἷον λαγνείας, ἢ βίαις, ἢ πλεονεξίας, ἢ ἀδικίας, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδικημάτων (31) ; Εἰ γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τοιούτων γίνεται κακῶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ κατακρατεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐνοχλούντων παθῶν· ἐνοχλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείας καὶ χρείας, καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦτο σπουδῆς καὶ θεραπείας (τούτων γὰρ ἔνεκεν πᾶσα ἡ κτῆσις, καὶ πρὸ ταύτης ἡ χρῆσις· ἔτι δὲ γάμος, καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεις, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ θεωρεῖται τό τε πλημμελὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον)· ποῦ δίκαιον, ἐν οἷς πρωτοπαθεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔλκει πρὸς συμπάθειαν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἐφ' ἃ δεῖται πράξεων, αὐτὴν κρίνεσθαι μόνην; καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀρέξεις καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἔτι δὲ φόβους καὶ λύπας, ἐφ' ὧν πᾶν τὸ μὴ μέτριον ὑπόδικον, ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν τὴν κίνησιν· τὰς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν φέρεσθαι μόνην, τὴν μήτε δεομένην τοιούτου τινὸς, μήτε ὀρεγομένην, μήτε φοβουμένην, ἢ πάσχουσάν τι τοιοῦτον καθ' ἑαυτὴν, οἷον πάσχειν πέφυκεν ἄνθρωπος; Ἀλλὰ κἂν μὴ μόνου τοῦ σώματος, ἀνθρώπου δὲ θῶμεν εἶναι τὰ πάθη, λέγοντες ὀρθῶς, διὰ τὸ μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι τὴν τούτου ζωὴν, οὐ δὴπου γε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα προσήκειν φήσομεν, ὁπόταν καθαρῶς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῶμεν φύσιν. Εἰ γὰρ πάσης καθάπαξ τροφῆς ἐστὶν ἀνενδεὴς, οὐκ ἂν ὀρεχθεῖη ποτὲ τούτων ὧν οὐδαμῶς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, οὔτ' ἂν ὀρμήσειεν ἐπὶ τι τούτων οἷς μηδ' ὅλως χρῆσθαι πέφυκεν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν λυπηθεῖη δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ φθορᾶς ἐστὶ κρείττων, οὐδὲν φοβεῖται τὸ παράπαν, ὥς φθαρτικὸν ἑαυτῆς· οὐ γὰρ δέδοικεν οὐ λιμὸν, οὐ νόσον, οὐ πῆρωσιν, οὐ λῶβην, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σίδηρον· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ παθεῖν ἐκ τούτων δύναται τι βλαβερόν, οὔτ'

such as lust, violence, greed, injustice, and the wrongs connected to these (31)? For if most of these kinds of evils happen because people fail to control the troubling passions, and these passions are disturbed by the body's lack and need, and by the effort and care for these (for all possession exists because of these, and before them is use; also marriage and all actions in life, in which both fault and non-fault are considered), where is justice in judging the soul alone, when the body first suffers and draws the soul into sympathy and sharing in the actions it must perform?? And both desires and pleasures, as well as fears and pains, on which all excess depends, come from the body's movement; yet the sins arising from these and the punishments for the sins are laid upon the soul alone, which neither needs such things, nor desires them, nor fears them, nor suffers anything of this kind by itself, as a human naturally suffers.? But even if we say that the passions belong not only to the body but also to the person, rightly so, because life is one from both, surely we will not say that these things belong to the soul when we look purely at its own nature.. For if the soul is completely without need of any food, it would never desire those things it does not need to exist, nor would it rush after any of those things it is naturally not meant to use; nor would it be troubled by lack of money or possessions, since none of these belong to it.. And even if it is better than decay, it fears nothing at all as something perishable to itself; for it does not fear hunger, disease, injury, insult, fire, or iron. Since it is not able to suffer any harm or pain from these, none of these things touch it at all, neither the body nor bodily forces.. And if it is absurd to attribute the passions specifically to the

ἀλγεινὸν, οὐχ ἀπτομένων αὐτῆς τὸ παράπαν οὔτε σωματῶν, οὔτε σωματικῶν δυνάμεων. Εἰ δὲ τὸ τὰ πάθη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἰδιαζόντως προσάπτειν ἄτοπον, τὸ τὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις τιμωρίας ἐπὶ μόνας φέρειν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀδίκον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσεως ἀνάξιον.

22. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κακίαν μηδὲ νοηθῆναι δύνασθαι χωρὶς ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς (32) (ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἀρετὰς εἶναι γινώσκομεν τὰς ἀρετὰς, ὥσπεροῦν καὶ τὴν ταύταις ἀντικειμένην κακίαν, οὐ ψυχῆς κεχωρισμένης τοῦ σώματος, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐσης)· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τούταις τιμὴν ἢ τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ μόνης φέρεσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς; Ἡ πῶς ἂν τις καὶ νοήσειεν ἐπὶ ψυχῆς μόνης ἀνδρείαν ἢ καρτερίαν, οὐκ ἐχούσης οὐ θανάτου φόβον, οὐ τραύματος, οὐ πηρώσεως, οὐ ζημίας, οὐκ αἰκίας, οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀλγημάτων, ἢ τῆς ἐκ τούτων κακοπαθείας; Πῶς δὲ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλκούσης αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς τροφήν, ἢ μίξιν, ἢ τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς τε καὶ τέρψεις, οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς οὔτ' ἔσωθεν ἐνοχλοῦντος, οὔτ' ἔξωθεν ἐρεθίζοντος; Πῶς δὲ φρόνησιν, οὐχ ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ πρακτέων καὶ μὴ πρακτέων (33), οὔθ' αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ μηδεμιᾶς ἐνούσης αὐτῇ κινήσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ φυσικῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ τι τῶν πρακτέων; Ποῦ δὲ ὅλως ψυχῆς ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλας δικαιοσύνη προσφυῆς, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἢ ἑτερογενῶν, οὐκ ἐχούσαις οὔτε πόθεν, οὔτε δι' ὧν, οὔτε πῶς ἀπονεύωσι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, ἐξηρημένης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν τιμῆς· οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐχούσαις ὁρμὴν ἢ κίνησιν πρὸς χρῆσιν ἰδίων, ἢ πρὸς ἀποχὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· τῆς μὲν χρήσεως τῶν κατὰ

souls, then to say that the souls alone bear the sins that come from these passions and the punishments for them is excessively unjust and unworthy of the judgment of God.

22. And along with what has been said, how is it not absurd that virtue and vice cannot even be understood apart from the soul (for we know that human virtues are virtues, just as the vices opposed to them are vices, not separated from the soul of the body, but existing by themselves); yet honor or punishment for these is borne by the soul alone? Or how could anyone think of courage or endurance as belonging to the soul alone, which has neither fear of death, nor of wounds, nor of injury, nor insult, nor the pains that come with these, nor the suffering that results? How about self-control and temperance, when no desire for food, or drink, or other pleasures and delights pulls it, nor does anything else disturb it from within or provoke it from outside? How about prudence, when there are no actions to be done or not done under its control, no choices to be made or avoided; rather, it has no movement at all, neither natural impulse toward any of the things to be done? And where at all is there justice among souls toward one another, or toward any other kindred or different beings, when they have neither source, nor means, nor way to distribute justly or proportionally what is due, with the honor due to the one God removed; nor do they have any impulse or movement toward using their own things, or refraining from what belongs to others? The use of what is

φύσιν, ἢ τῆς ἀποχῆς (34) ἐπὶ τῶν χρῆσθαι πεφυκότων θεωρουμένης· τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς μήτε δεομένης τινός, μήτε χρῆσθαί τισιν ἢ τινι πεφυκυίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τῆς λεγομένης ἰδιοπραγίας (35) τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οὕτως ἐχούσης ψυχῆς εὐρεθῆναι δυναμένης;

natural, or the abstaining from what is natural to be used, is considered; but the soul neither needs anything, nor is it made to use anything or anything at all, and therefore it cannot be found to have what is called the private activity of the parts in a soul that is held in this way.

23. Καὶ μὴν κάκεῖνο πάντων παραλογώτατον, τὸ τοὺς μὲν θεσπισθέντας νόμους ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, τῶν δὲ νομίμως ἢ παρανόμως πεπραγμένων τὴν δίκην ἐπὶ μόνας τρέπειν τὰς ψυχάς. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς νόμους δεξάμενος, οὗτος δέξαιτ’ ἂν δικαίως καὶ τῆς παρανομίας τὴν δίκην, ἐδέξατο δὲ τοὺς νόμους ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ψυχὴ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν, ἄνθρωπον δεῖ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑποσχεῖν δίκην, οὐ ψυχὴν καθ’ ἑαυτήν. Ἐπεὶ μὴ ψυχᾷς ἐθέσπισε θεὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς προσηγόντων, οἷον μοιχείας, φόνου, κλοπῆς, ἀρπαγῆς, τῆς κατὰ τῶν γεννησάντων ἀτιμίας, πάσης τε κοινῶς τῆς ἐπ’ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ πέλας γινομένης ἐπιθυμίας. Οὐτε γὰρ τό, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα (36), ψυχᾷς μόνον εὐάρμοστον, οὐ προσηγόντων αὐταῖς τῶν τοιούτων ὀνομάτων· οὐ γὰρ ψυχαὶ, ψυχὰς γεννῶσαι, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τῆς μητέρος οἰκειοῦνται προσηγορίκν, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρώπους ἄνθρωποι. Οὐτε οὖν τὸ, Οὐ μοιχεύσης, ἐπὶ ψυχῶν λεχθεῖη ποτ’ ἂν ἢ νοηθεῖη (37) δεόντως, οὐκ οὔσης ἐν αὐταῖς τῆς κατὰ τὸ (38) ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ διαφορᾶς, οὐδὲ πρὸς μίξιν τινὸς ἐπιτηδειότητος, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην ὀρέξεως. Ὅρεξεως δὲ τοιαύτης οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ μίξιν εἶναι δυνατόν. Παρ’ οἷς δὲ μίξις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως (39), οὐδὲ ἔνθεσμος μίξις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ γάμος. Ἐννόμου δὲ μίξεως οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ τὴν παράνομον καὶ τὴν ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίᾳ γυναικὶ γινομένην ὀρεξιν ἢ μίξιν εἶναι δυνατόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ μοιχεία. Ἀλλ’

23. And indeed, that is the most unreasonable of all: that the laws established for humans should apply to them, but the judgment for what has been done lawfully or unlawfully is turned solely upon the souls.. For if the one who accepts the laws would also justly accept the judgment for wrongdoing, and if it is a human who accepts the laws, not the soul by itself, then it is a human who must also promise to pay the penalty for sins, not the soul by itself.. Since God did not establish for souls to abstain from anything that belongs to them, such as adultery, murder, theft, robbery, dishonor against one's parents, and all desires generally arising in injustice and harm toward one's neighbor,. For the command, "Honor your father and your mother" (36), is not suitable for souls alone, since such names do not belong to them; for souls do not call souls their father or mother, but humans call humans so.. Nor, then, could the command, "You shall not commit adultery," ever be properly said or understood about souls, since there is no difference of male and female in them, nor any suitable connection for union, nor any desire for it.. Since there is no such desire, union is also impossible.. Among those with whom there is no union at all, there is also no lawful union, which is what marriage is.. Since there is no lawful union, neither is it possible for desire or union to occur with another man's wife; for this is adultery.. But

οὐδὲ τὸ κλοπὴν ἀπαγορεύειν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν, ψυχᾷς προσφυές· οὐδὲ γὰρ δέονται τούτων, ὧν οἱ δεόμενοι διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ἔνδειαν ἢ χρεῖαν κλέπτειν εἰώθασιν, ἢ ληστεύειν, οἷον χρυσὸν, ἢ ἄργυρον, ἢ ζῶον, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν ἢ σκέπην ἢ χρῆσιν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἀχρεῖον γὰρ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει πᾶν ὁπόσον τοῖς ἐνδεέσιν ὀρεκτὸν, ὡς χρήσιμον. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐντελέστερος περὶ τούτων λόγος ἀφείσθω τοῖς σπουδαιότερον ἕκαστον σκοπεῖν βουλομένοις, ἢ φιλοτιμότερον διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διαφορομένους. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρκούντων τῶν ἀρτίως εἰρημένων, καὶ τῶν συμφώνως τούτοις τὴν ἀνάστασιν πιστουμένων, τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρίβειν, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἔχοι καιρόν. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν (40), πεποιήμεθα σκοπὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφαλαιωδῶς ὑποδεῖξαι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἃ χρὴ περὶ ἀναστάσεως φρονεῖν, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν παρόντων συμμετρηῖσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦτο φερούσας ἀφορμάς.

24. Ἐξητασμένων δὲ ποσῶς τῶν προτεθέντων, ὑπόλοιπον ἂν εἴη καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους διασκέψασθαι λόγον, ἥδη μὲν τοῖς εἰρημένοις (41) ἐμφαινόμενον, τοσαύτης δὲ μόνον ἐπιστάσεως καὶ προσθήκης δεόμενον, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν τι τῶν μικρῶς (42) εἰρημένων ἡμῖν ἀμνημόνευτον (43) καταλιπεῖν, καὶ παραβλάψαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένην διαίρεσιν. Τούτων τε οὖν (44) ἕνεκεν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγκεισομένων, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον ἐπισημῆνασθαι μόνον, ὅτι δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἐκ φύσεως συνισταμένων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνην γινομένων οἰκεῖον ἐκάστου τέλος εἶναι, τοῦτό που (45) καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἐννοίας ἐκδιδασκούσης ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς στρεφομένων ἐπιμαρτυρούντων. Ἥ γὰρ (46) οὐ

neither does it forbid theft, or the desire for more, which is natural to souls; for those who lack by nature or need have been accustomed to steal or rob, such as gold, or silver, or animals, or anything else suitable for food, shelter, or use.. For all that is desired by those in need is useless to one who is immortal by nature, as if it were useful.. But let the more complete discussion about these things be left to those who wish to consider them more carefully or to compete more eagerly with those who differ.. Since what has just been said is enough for us, and since we believe in the resurrection in agreement with these things, there would no longer be time to spend on the same matters in more detail.. For we have not aimed to say everything that exists (40), but to show briefly to those gathered how one should think about the resurrection, and to match the reasons brought forward for it with the power of what is present.

24. Having examined how much of what was proposed remains, there would still be the matter of considering the end, which already appears in what has been said (41), but requires such understanding and addition that it does not seem we have left anything we spoke of briefly (42) forgotten (43), or harmed the subject or the division made from the beginning. For these reasons (44), and because of what depends on them, it would be enough to point out only this much: that both things that come from nature and those made by art must each have their proper end, which perhaps (45) is taught by the common understanding of all and confirmed by what is seen with the eyes. For do we not see that those who farm have a different

θεωροῦμεν ἕτερόν τι τοῖς γεωργοῦσιν, ἕτερον δὲ τοῖς ἰατρεύουσιν ὑποκείμενον τέλος· καὶ πάλιν ἄλλο μὲν τι τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων, ἄλλο δὲ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τρεφομένων ζώων, καὶ κατὰ τινα φυσικὸν εἰρμὸν γεννωμένων; Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἕναργές, καὶ δεῖ πάντως ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἢ τεχνικαῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τούτων (47) ἐνεργείαις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔπεσθαι τέλος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τέλος, ὡς ἰδιαζούσης ὃν φύσεως, ἐξηρῆσθαι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κοινότητος. Ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ θεμιτὸν ταύτῃ ὑποθέσθαι τέλος τῶν τε λογικῆς κρίσεως ἀμοιρούντων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἔμφυτον νόμον καὶ λόγον ἐνεργούντων, ἔμφρονί τε ζωῇ καὶ δίκη χρωμένων. Οὐτ' οὖν τὸ ἄλυπον οἰκεῖον τούτοις (48) ἂν εἴη τέλος (μετεῖη γὰρ ἂν τούτου καὶ τοῖς παντελῶς ἀναισθητοῦσιν)· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τὸ σῶμα τρεφόντων ἢ τερπόντων ἀπόλαυσις, καὶ πλῆθος ἡδονῶν· ἢ πρωτεύειν ἀνάγκη τὸν κτηνώδη βίον, ἀτελῆ δὲ εἶναι τὸν κατ' ἀρετήν. Κτηνῶν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ βοσκημάτων οἰκεῖον τοῦτο τέλος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτῳ ψυχῇ καὶ λογικῇ κρίσει χρωμένων.

end from those who heal; and again, that what grows from the earth is different from the animals fed on it, and that they are born according to a certain natural order? If this is clear, and it is necessary that the natural or technical powers and their effects follow the natural end, then it is necessary that every human end, as belonging to a distinct nature, be separated from the common end of others. Since it is not lawful to suppose the same end for those lacking rational judgment and those who act according to the natural law and reason, living a rational life and practicing justice. Therefore, the painless end would not be proper for these (48) (for it would belong also to those who are completely without feeling); nor would the enjoyment of nourishing or pleasing the body, nor the abundance of pleasures; for the beastly life must be primary, but the life according to virtue is incomplete. For I think this end belongs to beasts and cattle, not to humans who possess an immortal soul and rational judgment.

25. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ μακαριότης ψυχῆς κεχωρισμένης (49) σώματος· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν θατέρου τούτων ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ἄνθρωπος ἐσκοποῦμεν ζωὴν ἢ τέλος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τόνδε λαχὼν τὸν βίον ἄνθρωπος, καὶ δεῖ τῆς τούτου ζωῆς εἶναί τι τέλος οἰκεῖον. Εἰ δὲ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου τὸ τέλος, τοῦτο δὲ οὔτε ζώντων αὐτῶν (50) ἔτι κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον εὐρεθῆναι δυνατόν διὰ τὰς πολλάκις ἤδη, ῥηθείσας αἰτίας, οὔτε μὴν ἐν χωρισμῷ τυγχανούσης τῆς ψυχῆς, τῷ μὴδὲ συνεστάναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, διαλυθέντος ἢ καὶ πάντα σκεδασθέντος τοῦ σώματος, κἂν ἡ ψυχὴ διαμένη καθ'

25. Nor indeed is there blessedness for a soul separated from the body (49); for we do not consider the life or end of either part of what makes up a human being, but of the whole composed of both. For every person who has received this life is such, and there must be a proper end belonging to this life. But if the end belongs to the whole, it is neither possible to find this end in their life while still living according to this life (50), because of the many causes already mentioned, nor in the soul when separated, since such a person does not exist as a whole, the body having been dissolved or scattered entirely, even if the soul remains

ἐαυτήν· ἀνάγκη πᾶσα κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζώου σύστασιν, τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φανῆναι τέλος. Τούτου δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένου, δεῖ πάντως γενέσθαι τῶν νεκρωθέντων ἢ καὶ πάντη διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους συστήναι πάλιν· ἐπειδὴ γε τὸ μὲν τέλος οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῆς φύσεως τίθεται νόμος, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατὰ τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ζωὴν βεβιωκότων. Τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους συστήναι πάλιν ἀμήχανον, μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐταῖς (51) ἀποδοθέντων. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ σῶμα τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἄλλως μὲν ἀδύνατον, κατὰ μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν δυνατόν. Ταύτης γὰρ γενομένης (52), καὶ τὸ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόσφορον ἐπακολουθεῖ τέλος. Τέλος δὲ ζωῆς ἔμφορος καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὸ τοῦτοις ἀπερισπάστως συνδιαίωνίζειν, οἷς μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτως ὁ φυσικὸς συνήρμωσται λόγος, τῇ τε θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος (53) καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δεδογμένων ἀπαύστως ἐπαγάλλεσθαι· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐμπαθέστερον καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῖς τῇδε προσπεπονθότες (54), ἄστοχοι τούτου διατελῶσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀκυροῖ τὴν κοινὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποπιπτόντων τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτοῖς τέλους, ἰδιαζούσης τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐξετάσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐκάστῳ συμμετρομένης ὑπὲρ τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς βεβιωμένων τιμῆς ἢ δίκης.

by itself. It is necessary, therefore, that the end of humans be shown in some other arrangement of the whole living being composed of both parts. And following this necessity, there must be a resurrection of the dead or even completely dissolved bodies, and the same humans must be reconstituted; since the end is not simply set by the law of nature for any humans who happen to exist, but for those who have lived according to the preceding life. But it is impossible for the same humans to be reconstituted if the same bodies are not given back to the same souls (51). It is impossible for the same body to receive the same soul otherwise, but it is possible through resurrection alone. For when this happens (52), the end appropriate by nature to humans follows. And no one would err in saying that the end of a life with reason and rational judgment is to continue unbroken with those to whom natural reason is especially and primarily joined, rejoicing endlessly in the contemplation of being (53) and the gifts given to it; although many humans, more passionately and intensely affected by these things (54), remain mistaken about this. For the multitude of those who fall away from the proper end does not invalidate the common allotment, which is distinct in its examination of these matters and measured for each according to the honor or justice due for how well or poorly they have lived.