

# Eusebius, Praeperatio Evangelica

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## About This Translation

This translation was created on 2024-12-27 using gpt-4o-mini. 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 Eusebius's *Praeperatio Evangelica*, 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.

## About the Source

Translated from: Eusebius, *Eusebii Caesaerensis Opera*. Teubner:Leipzig, 1867.

The source edition of *Praeperatio Evangelica* was retrieved from the Github repository **First1KGreek**. For more information: <https://opengreekandlatin.github.io/First1KGreek/>. The actual source file this translation uses as its source text is available at <https://github.com/OpenGreekAndLatin/First1KGreek/tree/master/data/tlg2018/tlg001/tlg2018.tlg001.1st1K-grc1.xml>.

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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/Eusebius>. We are also evaluating low-priced, translation-only print, ebook, and audio editions through Amazon and other providers.

## Book One (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

1.1.1 | Τὸν χριστιανισον, ὃ τι ποτέ ἔστιν, ἡγούμενος τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι παραστήσασθαι διὰ τῆς προδειμένης πραγματείας τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἀπόδειξιν περιέξειν ἐπαγγελλομένης, τήνδε σοι, θεῖον ἐπισκόπων χρῆμα, Θεόδοτε, φίλη θεοῦ καὶ ιερὰ κεφαλὴ, σὺν εὐχαῖς ἐπεφώνησα, εἴ πως ἄρα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τύχοιμι βοηθείας, ταῖς φιλοθέοις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ιερουργίαις τὰ μεγάλα μοι συμπράττοντος εἰς τὴν προβεβλημένην τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας ὑπόθεσιν.

1.1.2 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί βούλεται τοῦτο δηλοῦν ὃ φαμεν εὐαγγέλιον πρῶτον ἀπάντων διαρθρῶσαι καλόν. τοῦτο δὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, πάλαι μὲν προηγορευμένων, νεωστὶ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιλαμψάντων, εὐαγγελίζεται, οὐ τὸν οὐ βλέποντα πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ τὴν σμικρὰν καὶ πολυπαθῆ ταύτην ζωὴν προξενοῦν, οὐδ' ὅσα σώματος καὶ φθορὰς οίκεια, τὰ δὲ ψυχαῖς νοερὰν ούσιαν κεκτημέναις φίλα τε καὶ προσήγορα, ὃν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἔξηπται, σκιάς ἐφεπόμενα δίκην.

1.1.3 | εἴη δ' ἀν τούτων τὸ κεφάλαιον εύσέβεια, οὐχ ἡ ψευδώνυμος καὶ πολυπλανής, ἀλλ' ἡ σὺν ἀληθείᾳ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιγραφομένη. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἔνα καὶ μόνον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁμολογούμενόν τε καὶ ὅντα θεὸν ἀνάνευσις καὶ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον ζωὴ, ἔξῆς καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγγίνεται φιλία, ἡ παρέπεται τὸ θεοφιλές ὄντως καὶ τρισμακάριον τέλος,

1.1.1 | I aim to present the Christian faith, explaining what it is to those who do not know it, through this prepared work, promising to include the proof of the Gospel. I call upon you, Theodote, divine overseer, friend of God, and sacred leader, with prayers, hoping that I may receive help from you, as you assist greatly with your holy services on our behalf in support of the established foundation of the Gospel teaching.

1.1.2 | But what does it mean to say that we should first clearly explain the Gospel? It announces to all people the presence of the highest and greatest goods, which were foretold long ago and have recently shone upon everyone. It does not promise wealth that cannot be seen, nor this small and troubled life, nor anything related to the body and its decay. Instead, it speaks of the spiritual essence that souls possess, which is dear and close to them, and of which the bodies are merely shadows following along.

1.1.3 | If the main point of these things is piety, it is not the false and wandering kind, but the one that is truly named with truth. This piety is the relationship with the one and only true God, who is acknowledged and truly exists, and it is the life lived according to him. From this relationship comes friendship with him, which leads to the truly God-loving and most blessed end,

ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπηωρημένον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ διαικυβρνώμενον καὶ αὖτα πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταλήγον.

1.1.4 | τί οὖν ἂν γένοιτο τῆς ἀγαθῆς ταύτης καὶ πανολβίου θεοφιλίας μακαριστότερον; οὐχὶ καὶ ζωῆς αὐτὸς καὶ φωτὸς καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ταμίας καὶ χορηγὸς τοῖς πᾶσι καθέστηκεν; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸς τὴν αἴτιαν περιείληφε; τῷ δὴ οὖν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν στειλαμένῳ φιλίαν τί ἂν ἔτι λείποιτο; τίνος δ' ἂν ὑστεροῖτο ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν δημιουργὸν ἔξοικειούμενος; ἢ τίνος ἂν ἐλαττώτο ὁ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ κηδεμόνος τὸν μέγαν προστάτην καὶ παμβασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγραφόμενος;

1.1.5 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν είπεν ὅ τι μὴ οὐχὶ ὁ τῇ διαθέσει τῷ παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ πλησιάζων, καὶ τῆς παμμακαρίστου φιλίας διὰ τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς εὐσεβείας ἡξιωμένος, δόμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἔκτὸς ἀπάντων εὗ ἄν ἔχοι.

1.1.6 | ταύτην δὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σωτήριον ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεὸν φιλίαν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ παναγάθου καταπεμφθεὶς θεοῦ λόγος, ὥσπερ τις ἀπειρομεγέθους φωτὸς αὐγὴ, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐαγγελίζεται, οὐκ ἐνθένδε ποθὲν οὐδὲ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔθνῶν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν παρορμῶν ἥκειν, σπεύδειν τε καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς τὸ δῶρον ὑποδέχεσθαι, Ἔλλγνας δόμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους, ἀνδρας ἃμα γυναιξὶ καὶ νηπίοις, πένητάς τε καὶ πλουσίους, σοφοὺς καὶ ἴδιωτας, οὐδὲ τὸ οἰκετικὸν

coming from above, guided by the greater things, and returning again to them.

1.1.4 | What could be more blessed than this good and all-blessed love of God? Is he not the source of life, light, truth, and the giver of all good things to everyone? Does he not include the reason for everything that exists and for living itself? So, what more could be lacking in the friendship directed toward him? What could the creator of good things lack when becoming familiar with him? Or how could he be lessened, who is both a father in the world and the caretaker of the great ruler, the all-powerful king of all?

1.1.5 | But it cannot be said that anyone who approaches the all-powerful God and is honored with the most blessed friendship through true piety would not have a good state of both soul and body, as well as everything outside of them.

1.1.6 | This good and saving friendship of humans with God is sent down from above by the all-good word of God, like a ray of infinite light. It proclaims good news to all people, not from here or there, but from everywhere, urging all nations to come to the God of all. It encourages everyone to hurry and receive the gift with all the eagerness of their souls, whether they are Greeks or non-Greeks, men, women, or children, poor or rich, wise or uneducated, without anyone looking down on the call.

γένος ὑπερφρονῶν τῆς κλήσεως,

1.1.7 | ὅτι δὴ μίαν τὴν πάντων οὐσίαν τε καὶ φύσιν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν συστησάμενος μιᾶς εἰκότως καὶ τῆς Ἱσῆς πάλιν τοὺς πάντας μεγαλοδωρεᾶς ἡξίωσε, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γνῶσίν τε καὶ φιλίαν ἄπασι τοῖς ὑπακούειν ἐθέλουσι καὶ τὴν χάριν εύμαρῶς ἀσπαζομένοις δωρούμενος.

1.1.7 | Because the father of all has created the same essence and nature for everyone, he has justly made all people worthy of great gifts. He gives knowledge and friendship to all who wish to obey him and freely offers grace to those who gladly accept it.

1.1.8 | ταύτην ὁ Χριστοῦ λόγος ἤκε τὴν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα φιλίαν τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον εύαγγελιουμενος: "Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἐαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα," ἢ τὰ θεῖα διδάσκει λόγια, ἐλθών τε, φησὶν, εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἔγγύς.

1.1.8 | The word of Christ has brought the message of friendship to the father for the whole world, saying, "For God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not counting their sins against them." He teaches divine words and, coming, he proclaimed peace to those far away and peace to those nearby.

1.1.9 | ταῦτα πρόπαλαι παῖδες Ἐβραίων θεοφορούμενοι τῷ σύμπαντι κόσμῳ προεθέσπιζον, ὁ μὲν τις βοῶν "μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ πατριὰὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡ βασικεία, καὶ αὐτὸς δεσπόζει τῶν ἔθνῶν" καὶ πάλιν "εἶπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὅτι κύριος ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ γὰρ κατώρθωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται" ὁ δὲ φάσκων "ἐπιφανήσεται κύριος ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔξολοθρεύσει πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἔθνῶν τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ ἔκαστος ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ."

1.1.9 | Long ago, the children of the Hebrews, inspired by God, proclaimed to the whole world. One said, "All the ends of the earth will remember and turn to the Lord, and all the families of the nations will worship before him, for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he rules over the nations." And again, "Say among the nations that the Lord reigns; he has established the world, which will not be shaken." Another said, "The Lord will appear among them and will destroy all the gods of the nations of the earth, and each person will worship him from their own place."

1.1.10 | ταῦτα πρόπαλαι θείοις χρησμοῖς ἀνακείμενα νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

1.1.10 | Long ago, these things were revealed in divine oracles, but now they have been made known to us through the

διδασκαλίας πέφηνεν, ώς τὴν πάλαι κηρυττομένην τε καὶ τοῖς μὴ τούτων ἀπείροις προσδοκωμένην τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων θεογνωσίαν εἰκότως ἡμῖν τὸν ἔναγχος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρόντα λόγον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν φωναῖς τὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀποτελέσματα συντρέχειν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

teachings of our Savior, Jesus Christ. It is fitting that the knowledge of God, which was long preached and awaited by all the nations, is now proclaimed to us, as the word from heaven is present, showing the results of the works through the voices of the ancients.

1.1.11 | Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί χρὴ σπεύδειν φθάνοντα τῇ προθυμίᾳ τὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου λόγων ἀκολουθίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς δέον καὶ τὰ ἐμποδών ἄπαντα διαλύσασθαι; ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸν χριστιανισμόν τινες οὐδένα λόγον ἀποσώζειν, ἀλόγῳ δὲ πίστει καὶ ἀνεξετάστῳ συγκαταθέσει τοὺς τῆς προσηγορίας ἐφιεμένους τὸ δόξαν κυροῦν ὑπειλήφασιν, μηδένα φάσκοντες δύνασθαι δι' ἀποδείξεως ἐναργοῦς παρέχειν τεκμήριον τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἐπαγγελομένοις ἀληθείᾳς, πίστει δὲ μόνῃ προσέχειν ἀξιοῦν τοὺς προσιόντας, παρ' ὅ καὶ πιστοὺς χρηματίζειν, τῆς ἀκρίτου χάριν καὶ ἀβασανίστου πίστεως, εἰκότως ἐπὶ τήνδε καθεὶς τὴν πραγματείαν τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, εἰς προκατασκευὴν τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως, ἥγοῦμαι δεῖν βραχέα προδιαλαβεῖν περὶ τῶν ζητηθέντων ἀν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐλόγως ὑπό τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς, παντός τε τοῦ μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς ἔχετάσεως τὰ καθ' ἡμάς διερευνωμένου.

1.1.11 | But why should we hurry to follow the path of words, when we should first take up what is necessary and remove all obstacles? Since some do not save any word of Christianity, but with an unreasonable faith and unexamined agreement, they accept those who claim to uphold the glory, saying that no one can provide clear proof of the truth in what is promised. They only require faith from those who come, treating them as trustworthy, and relying on the grace of uncertain and untested faith. It is fitting, therefore, to briefly address the matters that have been reasonably asked of us by both Greeks and those of the circumcision, while thoroughly examining what concerns us.

1.1.12 | ταύτη γάρ μοι δοκῶ τὸν λόγον ἐν τάξει χωρήσεινίς τὴν ἐντελεστέραν τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν βαθυτέρων δογμάτων κατανόησιν, εἴ τὰ τῆς προπαρασκευῆς ἡμῖν πρὸ ὁδοῦ γένοιτο, στοιχειώσεως καὶ εἰσαγωγῆς ἐπέχοντα τόπον, καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἄρτι

1.1.12 | For I think that the word will proceed in order to the complete teaching of the gospel and the understanding of deeper doctrines, if the preparation for us is made beforehand, providing a foundation and introduction that fits those coming from the nations. After this, it will give

προσιοῦσιν ἐφαρμόττοντα· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῖς ἐνθένδε διαβεβηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ἥδη πάρεσκευασμένοις εἰς τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων παραδοχὴν τὴν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν παραδώσει τῶν συνεκτικωτάτων τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεοῦμυστικῆς οἰκονομίας.

those who have already entered and are now prepared the precise knowledge of the most important teachings about our Savior and Lord, Jesus Christ, and the mystery of God's plan.

1.1.13 | ἀρξάμεθα δὴ τῆς προπαρασκευῆς, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐλόγως ὑπό τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς, παντός τε τοῦ μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς ἔξετάσεως τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' ἐρευνωμένου λεχθησόμενα προσάγοντες.

1.1.13 | Let us begin the preparation, addressing what has been reasonably asked of us by both Greeks and those of the circumcision, while thoroughly examining what concerns us through careful investigation of what will be said.

## Section 2

1.2.1 | Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἂν τις διαπορήσει τίνες ὄντες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν παρεληλύθαμεν, πότερον "Ἑλληνες" ἢ βάρβαροι, ἢ τί ἂν γένοιτο τούτων μέσον, καὶ τίνας ἐαυτοὺς εἶναι φαμεν, οὐ τὴν προσηγορίαν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔκδηλος αὕτη, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου· οὕτε γὰρ τὰ 'Ἑλλήνων φρονοῦντας ὡρᾶν οὕτε τὰ βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδεύοντας,

1.2.1 | First, it would be reasonable for someone to wonder who we are in relation to the scripture, whether we are Greeks or barbarians, or something in between, and what we claim to be. It is not about the name we use, which is clear to everyone, but about the way of life and the choices we make. For we do not see the thoughts of Greeks nor the practices of barbarians.

1.2.2 | τί οὖν ἂν γένοιτο τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ξένον, καὶ τίς ὁ νεωτερισμὸς τοῦ βίου; πῶς δ' οὐ πανταχόθεν δυσσεβεῖς ἂν εἴεν καὶ ἄθεοι οἱ τῶν πατρίων ἔθῶν ἀποστάντες, δι' ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶσα πόλις συνέστηκεν; ἢ τί καλὸν ἐλπίσαι εἰκὸς τοὺς τῶν σωτηρίων ἔχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους καταστάντας καὶ τοὺς εὔεργέτας παρωσαμένους; καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἡ θεομαχοῦντας;

1.2.2 | So what would it mean for us to be strangers, and what is the new way of life? How could those who have turned away from their ancestral customs be anything but impious and godless, when these customs are what hold every nation and city together? Or what good is it to hope that the enemies and opponents of salvation will stand against us while the benefactors are pushed aside? And what else could this be but fighting against God?

1.2.3 | ποίας δὲ καὶ ἀξιωθήσεσθαι συγγνώμης τοὺς ἔξ αἰῶνος μὲν παρὰ πᾶσιν "Ἐλλγσι καὶ βαρβάροις κατά τε πόλεις καὶ ἄγροὺς παντοῖοις ἱεροῖς καὶ τελεταῖς καὶ μυστηρίοις πρὸς ἀπάντων ὅμοῦ βασιλέων τε καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων θεολογουμένους" ἀποστραφέντας, ἐλομένους δὲ τὰ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀθεα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις; ποίαις δ' οὐκ ἀν ἐνδίκως ὑποβληθεῖν τιμωρίαις οἵ τῶν μὲν πατρίων φυγάδες, τῶν δ' ὁθνείων καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι διαβεβλημένων Ἰουδαϊκῶν μνθολογημάτων γενόμενοι ζηλωταί;

1.2.4 | πῶς δ' οὐ μοχθηρίας εἶναι καὶ εύχερείας ἐσχάτης τὸ μεταθέσθαι μὲν εύκόλως τὰ τῶν οίκείων, ἔτι ἀλόγω δὲ καὶ ἀνεξετάστω πίστει τὰ τῶν δυσσεβῶν καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι πολεμίων ἐλέσθαι, καὶ μηδ' αὐτῷ τῷ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τιμωμένῳ θεῷ κατὰ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν τοῖς προσανέχειν νόμιμα, καινὴν δέ τινα καὶ ἐρήμην ἐαυτοῖς συντεμεῖν, μήτε τὰ Ἑλλήνων μήτε τὰ Ἰουδαίων φυλάττουσαν;

1.2.5 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν είκότως ἀν τις Ἑλλήνων, μηδὲν ἀληθὲς μήτε τῶν οίκείων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαί·ων, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπορήσειν. ἐπιμέμψαιντο δ' ἀν ἡμῖν καὶ Εβραίων παῖδες, εἰ δὴ ἀλλόφυλοι ὄντες καὶ ἀλλογενεῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις ἀποχρώμεθα μηδὲν ἡμῖν προσῆ κούσαις, ὅτι τε ἀναιδῶς, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐαυτοὺς μὲν εἰσωθοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ οίκείους καὶ ἐγγενεῖς τῶν αὐτοῖς πατρίων ἔξωθεῖν παραβιαζόμεθα.

1.2.3 | What kind of forgiveness could those who have been rejected for ages by all Greeks and barbarians, in cities and countryside, through various sacred rites, ceremonies, and mysteries, expect from all kings, lawmakers, and philosophers? They have turned away and embraced the impious and godless beliefs of humans. What punishments would be just for those who have fled their ancestral ways, while becoming zealots for the foreign and widely discredited Jewish traditions?

1.2.4 | How could it not be the greatest wickedness and carelessness to easily abandon the beliefs of one's own people, while thoughtlessly and without examination choosing the beliefs of the impious and enemies of all nations? And not even to offer proper worship to the God who punishes the Jews, but instead to create a new and empty faith for themselves, without keeping the customs of either the Greeks or the Jews?

1.2.5 | Surely, if someone from the Greeks were to hear these things, they would find nothing true about either their own customs or ours. The children of the Jews would blame us, saying that we, being foreign and of different race, use their books without any connection to ourselves. They would say that we shamelessly, as they might put it, try to include ourselves while forcefully pushing aside our own people and their traditions.

1.2.6 | εἴτε γάρ τις είη Χριστός θεσπιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡσαν προφῆται οἱ τούτου τὴν ἄφιξιν προκηρύξαντες, οἱ καὶ λυτρωτὴν καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων ἔξειν αὐτὸν, οὐχὶ δὲ τὸν ἄλλοφύλων ἔθνῶν κατήγγειλαν· εἴτε τινὰ ἄλλα φαιδρότερα περιέχουσιν αἱ γραφαὶ, καὶ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίοις ἀναφωνεῖσθαι, ὃν οὐκ εὺ πράττοντας παρακούειν ἡμᾶς.

1.2.7 | καὶ σφόδρα ἀτόπως τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐφ' οἵς ἡμάρτανον ἐλέγχους εὐ μάλα ἀρπαλέως ἀποδέχεσθαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πάλιν αὐτοῖς θεσπιζομένας ἐπαγγελίας ἀποσιωπᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς μεταφέρειν, ἀντικρυς πλεονεκτοῦντας καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἡ ἐαυτοὺς ἔξαπατῶντας.

1.2.8 | τὸ δ' οὗν ἀπάντων παραλογώτατον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὰ νόμιμα παραπλησίως αὐτοῖς περιέποντες, ἀλλὰ προφανῶς παρανομοῦντες, τὰς ἐπιγγελμένας τοῖς τῶν νόμων φύλαξι χρηστοτέρας ἀμοιβὰς είς ἐαυτοὺς ἐπισπώμεθα.

### Section 3

1.3.1 | Τούτων εύλογως ἀν ἡμῖν ἐν πρώτοις ἀπορηθέντων, φέρε τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὡς δι' ἀρχιερέως ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸ πρῶτον τῶν προτεθέντων ἀποκαθάρωμεν, συκφάντας προαποδείξαντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς δι' ἀποδείξεως παριστάναι, ἀλόγω δὲ πίστει προσέχειν ἀποφηναμένους.

1.2.6 | For if someone were to claim that Christ was foretold, it was the prophets of the Jews who announced his coming, saying that he would be the redeemer and king of the Jews, not that he would be sent to the foreign nations. Or if the scriptures contain any other cheerful messages, these are also proclaimed to the Jews, and we do not hear them acting on these things.

1.2.7 | And it is very strange that they quickly accept the accusations against their nation, while they keep silent about the promises made to them of good things. Instead, they are more likely to be forced to change themselves, taking advantage of others and deceiving no one but themselves.

1.2.8 | But the most unreasonable of all is that they do not even follow the laws closely, but clearly break them, while expecting to receive the promised better rewards for those who keep the laws for themselves.

1.3.1 | When we first wonder about these things, let us call upon the God of all through our savior, the same word, so that we may be cleansed by the high priest, having shown beforehand that we have nothing to present as proof, but instead, we hold on to an unreasonable faith.

1.3.2 | αύτόθεν δὴ οῦν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διελέγξομεν, ἐκ τε ὧν χρώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγων προσιόντας ἀποδείξεων, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς λογικωτέραις ζητήσεσιν ἀντιρρήσεων, δι' ὧν τε φιλοτιμούμεθα ποιεῖσθαι ἀγράφων τε καὶ ἔγγράφων ἵδια τε καὶ πρὸς ἔκαστον τῶν ἑρωτώντων καὶ κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ πλήθη διαλέξεων.

1.3.3 | ναὶ μὴν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ συγγραμμάτων τὴν καθόλου πραγματείαν περιεχόντων τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ χάριν καὶ τὴν οὐράνιον εὐεργεσίαν ὁ παρὼν λόγος πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐαγγελίζεται, τὴν κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν λογικώτερον διὰ πλείστων καὶ ἐναργῶν ἀποδείξεων πιστούμενος.

1.3.4 | ἐσπούδασται μὲν οὖν πλείστοις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλὴ τις ἄλλῃ πραγματείᾳ, τοτὲ μὲν ἐλέγχους καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμῖν λόγων συνταξαμένοις, τοτὲ δὲ τὰς ἐνθέους καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἔξηγητικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ὄμιλίαις διερμηνεύσασι τοτὲ δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγμασιν ἀγωνιστικώτερον πρεσβεύσασιν.

1.3.5 | καὶ μὴν ἴδιως ἡμῖν ἡ μετὰ χεῖρας ἐκπονεῖται πρόθεσις. πρῶτος γέ τοι παντων ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπόστολος Παῦλος τὰς μὲν ἀπατηλὰς καὶ σοφιστικὰς πιθανολογίας παραιτούμενος, ἀναμφιλόγοις δὲ χρώμενος

1.3.2 | So, we will discuss this right from the start and not from a distance, both from what we use to approach those who come for the teaching of our words and from those who oppose us in more logical arguments. Through these, we strive to create both written and unwritten responses, both for each individual questioner and for the public discussions.

1.3.3 | Yes, indeed, through the writings in hand that contain the overall discussion of the gospel proof, in which the present word proclaims to all people every grace from God and every heavenly blessing, we should reason more clearly about the plan of our savior and lord Jesus Christ of God, believing it through many and clear proofs.

1.3.4 | Many before us have diligently worked on a great number of other discussions, sometimes arranging arguments and counterarguments against those who oppose us, and at other times explaining the sacred scriptures with detailed notes and partial conversations. They have also defended our beliefs more vigorously.

1.3.5 | Indeed, our own effort is being worked out with care. First of all, the holy apostle Paul, avoiding deceptive and clever arguments, uses clear proofs. He says somewhere, "Our message and preaching

ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι, φησί που “καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης] σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.” οἵς ἐπιλέγει “σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων, ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὴν ἀποκεδρυμμῆνην. καὶ αὕτης ἡ ἱκανότης ἡμῶν φησὶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, δὅς καὶ ἱκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης.’

1.3.6 | εἰκότως δῆτα καὶ ἡμῖν ἄπασι παρήγγελται ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ ἐπερωτῶντι ἡμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἔλπίδος. δθεν καὶ τῶν νέων συγγραφέων μυρίας ὅσας, ὡς εἴρηται, πανσόφους καὶ ἐναργεῖς μετὰ συλλογισμῶν ἀποδείξεις ὑπέρ τε τούτου καθ' ἡμᾶς γραφείσας λόγου διαγνῶναι πάρεστιν, ὑπομνήματά τε οὐκ ὀλίγα εἰς τὰς Ἱερὰς καὶ ἐνθέους γραφὰς πεπονημένα, τὸ ἀψευδὲς καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον τῶν ἀρχῆθεν καταγγειλάντων ἡμῖν τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγον γραμμικαῖς ἀποδείξεσιν παριστῶντα.

1.3.7 | πλὴν ἀλλὰ περιττοὶ λόγοι πάντες, ὃν ἐναργῆ καὶ σαφέστερα τὰ ἔργα, ἄπερ ἡ Θεία καὶ οὐράνιος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δύναμις, πάντας ἀνθρώπους τὴν ἐνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον ζωὴν εὐαγγελιζομένη, διαρρήδην είσετι καὶ νῦν ἐπιδείκνυται.

1.3.8 | αὐτίκα γοῦν τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ κηρυχθήσεσθαι καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι θεσπίσαντος, τήν τε ὕστερόν ποτε τῇ

are not with persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the proof of the spirit and power.” He adds, “We speak wisdom among the perfect, but not the wisdom of this age, nor of the rulers of this age who are being brought to nothing, but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, the hidden wisdom.” And again, he says that our ability comes from God, who has made us servants of a new covenant.

1.3.6 | It is indeed fitting that we are all instructed to be ready to give an answer to anyone who asks us for a reason about the hope that is in us. Therefore, there are countless new writers, as has been said, who provide wise and clear arguments and proofs for our written message. There are also many notes prepared on the sacred and inspired scriptures, presenting the true and unchanging teachings that were first announced to us about the word of godliness with clear proofs.

1.3.7 | But all these words are unnecessary, since the works are clearer and more certain. The divine and heavenly power of our Savior is still openly showing all people the inspired and heavenly life it proclaims.

1.3.8 | Surely, his teaching will be proclaimed throughout the whole world as a witness to all nations. And later, by his power, he will gather a church from all the

αύτοῦ δυνάμει συστᾶσαν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν  
έθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν, οὕπω τότε καθ' οὓς  
ἐνηνθρωπήκει χρόνους ὁρωμένην ούδὲ  
συνεστῶσαν, ἐνθέω προγνώσει ἀήττητον  
καὶ ἀκατάπληκτον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ  
μηδεπώποτε ὑπὸ θανάτου νικηθήσεσθαι,  
ἔσταναι δὲ καὶ μένειν ἄσειστον, ὡς ἂν ἐπ'  
ἀσείστῳ καὶ ἀρραγεῖ πέτρᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ  
δυνάμει βεβηκύάν τε καὶ ἐρριζωμένην,  
ἀποφηναμένου, ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον τὸ τῆς  
προρρήσεως ἀποτέλεσμα εἰκότως πᾶν  
ἄθυρον ἀποφράξειν ἀν στόμα τῶν  
ἀναισχυντεῖν ἀναιδῶς παρεσκευασμένων.

1.3.9 | τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἀλήθειαν ὅμολογήσειν  
ἀν τῇ προρρήσει, τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς  
οὕτως μονονούχῃ φωνὴν ἀφιέντων ὅτι δὴ  
θεοῦ δύναμις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις  
ἢν ἡ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐσόμενα τὸν τρόπον  
πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι θεασαμένη, προφήσασά  
τε καὶ ἔργοις ἐπιτελέσασα;

1.3.10 | πεπλήρωκε γοῦν τὴν σύμπασαν,  
ὅσην ὁ ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ, ἡ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν  
εὐαγγελίου φήμη, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
διέδραμεν, εἰσέτι τε νῦν αὔξει καὶ  
ἐπιδίδωσι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κηρύγματα ταῖς  
αὐτοῦ φωναῖς ἀκολούθως.

1.3.11 | ἡ τε ὄνομαστὶ προθεσπισθεῖσα  
ἐκκλησία αύτοῦ ἔστηκε κατὰ κράτος  
ἐρριζωμένη, καὶ μέχρις ούρανίων ἀψίδων  
εὐχαῖς δσίων καὶ θεοφιλῶν ψυχῶν  
μετεωριζομένη, δοξαζομένη τε ὁσημέραι,  
καὶ εἰς ἀπαντας τὸ νοερὸν καὶ ἔνθεον φῶς  
τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταγγελθείσης εύσεβείας  
ἀπαστράπτουσα, ούδαμῶς τε τοῖς ἔχθροῖς  
ἡττωμένη καὶ ὑπείκουσα, ἀλλ' ούδὲ ταῖς

nations, which had not yet been seen or formed during the time he became human. It will be invincible and unshakable by divine foreknowledge, and it will never be overcome by death. It will stand and remain unmovable, just as it has been established on the unshakable and solid rock of his power. The outcome of this prophecy will rightly close the mouths of those who shamelessly prepare to speak against it.

1.3.9 | For who would not confess the truth of the prophecy, since the events clearly show that it is indeed the power of god? But it was not human nature that would bring about these things in this way before they happened, having seen them, both prophesied and accomplished through works.

1.3.10 | Surely, the message of the gospel has filled the whole world that the sun sees, and it has run through all the nations. Even now, it grows and continues to spread the teachings about him through his voices.

1.3.11 | The church, which is named after him, stands strong and rooted. It is raised up by the prayers of holy and god-loving souls to the heavenly heights, being praised every day. It shines forth the spiritual and divine light of the piety revealed by him to all. It is never defeated or submissive to its enemies, nor does it retreat from the gates of death. For he himself declared this

τοῦ θανάτου πύλαις ὑποχωροῦσα· διὰ μίαν  
έκεινην ἣν αὐτὸς ἀπεφήνατο λέξιν, εἰπὼν  
“ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν  
έκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ἄδου οὐ  
κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.”

saying: "I will build my church on this rock,  
and the gates of hell will not prevail against  
it."

1.3.12 | καὶ ἄλλα δὲ μυρία πρὸς τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λεχθέντα τε καὶ  
προρρηθέντα ἐν οἰκείᾳ συναγαγόντες  
ὑποθέσει, ταῖς ἐνθέοις αὐτοῦ προγνώσεσι  
τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποβάσεις  
συμφώνους παραστήσαντες,  
ἀναμφίλεκτον τῶν· περὶ αὐτοῦ  
δοξαζομένων ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
ἐπιδείκνυμεν.

1.3.12 | And gathering many other  
countless things that have been said and  
foretold by our Savior, we present them as  
evidence. We show that the outcomes of  
events agree with his divine  
foreknowledge. We demonstrate the truth  
about him, which is praised among us.

1.3.13 | πρὸς τούτοις δὲ πᾶσιν οὐ μικρὰ  
τυγχάνει τῆς καθ' ἡμὰς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξις  
καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν γραφῶν  
μαρτυρία, ἐν αἷς πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἔτῶν οἱ  
παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφῆται τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
ἐπαγγελίαν παντὶ τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ  
κηρύξαντες ὄνομαστὶ τῆς τε Χριστοῦ  
προσηγορίας ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τὴν εἰς  
ἀνθρώπους αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν  
προύθέσπισαν, τόν τε νέον τῆς εἰς πάντα  
τὰ ἔθνη διαδραμούσης διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ  
τρόπον κατήγγελαν, προειπόντες τὴν  
ἐσομένην εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπιστίαν καὶ  
ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, τά τε κατ'  
αὐτοῦ δρασθέντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετελθόντα  
αὐτοῖς σκυθρωπά· λέγω δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς  
μητροπόλεως αὐτῶν τὴν ἐσχάτην  
πολιορκίαν, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν παντελῆ  
καθαίρεσιν, αὐτῶν τε τὴν εἰς πάντα τὰ  
ἔθνη διασπορὰν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς  
καὶ πολεμίοις δουλείαν, ἢ καὶ ταῖς  
προρρήσεσιν ἀκολούθως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παρουσίαν φαίνονται

1.3.13 | In addition to all these things, the  
proof of the truth among us is not small,  
and the testimony from the Hebrew  
scriptures is significant. In those writings,  
the prophets among the Hebrews  
proclaimed the promise of good things to  
all of mortal life for many thousands of  
years. They specifically mentioned the  
name of Christ and foretold his presence  
among people. They announced the way his  
teaching would spread to all nations,  
predicting the coming disbelief and  
opposition from the Jewish nation. They  
also spoke of the actions taken against him  
and the immediate and not distant sorrows  
that would come upon them. I refer to the  
final siege of their royal city and the  
complete downfall of their kingdom, their  
scattering among all nations, and their  
slavery under enemies and foes, which they  
seem to have suffered according to the  
prophecies after the coming of our Savior.

πεπονθότες.

1.3.14 | ἐπὶ τούτοις τίς οὐκ ἀνέκπλαγείη τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκούων προφητῶν, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀπόπτωσιν, τὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν κλῆσιν λαμπραῖς καὶ διαυγέσι φωναῖς εὐαγγελιζομένων; ἡ καὶ αὐτὴ ἄντικρυς εἰς ἔργον ἔχωρησε ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκολούθως διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας.

1.3.15 | δι' οὗ ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων μυρίοι ὅσοι τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων ἀποστραφέντες πλάνην τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ τὴν ἀληθῆ γμᾶσίν τε καὶ εὔσεβειαν κατεδέξαντο, μονονουχὶ πιστούμενοι τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν χρησμοὺς, τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν διὰ τοῦ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου φήσαντα "κύριε ὁ θεός μου, πρὸς σὲ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν ἀπ' ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐροῦσιν ὡςψευδῆ ἐκτήσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἴδωλα καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὡφέλεια. εἰ ποιήσει ἐαυτῷ ἀνθρωπος θεοὺς, καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ είσιν θεοί;"

1.3.14 | Who would not be amazed, hearing the same prophets, after the coming of Christ and the downfall of the Jews, proclaiming the calling of the nations with bright and clear voices? This message also directly fulfilled the prophecies through the teaching of our Savior.

1.3.15 | Through him, from every race of people, countless individuals, having turned away from the deception of idols, accepted the true knowledge and worship of the God above all. They believed only in the ancient prophecies, including the one spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, which says, "Lord, my God, nations will come to you from the ends of the earth, and they will say, 'Our ancestors have inherited lies, worthless idols that have no benefit. If a man makes gods for himself, they are not gods.'"

## Section 4

1.4.1 | Πάντα δὴ ταῦτα τὸν περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων πιστοῦται λόγον, ὃς οὐκ ἔξ ἀνθρωπίνης ὄρμῆς ἐπιτηδευθέντα, θεόθεν δὲ προγνωσθέντα, καὶ θεόθεν διὰ τὸν ἐγγράφων χρησμῶν προαναφωνηθέντα, καὶ πολὺ πλέον ἔτι θεόθεν διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις προβεβλημένον, αὕθίς τε ἐκ θεοῦ δυναμούμενον καὶ συνεστῶτα, ὃς ἐν τοσούτοις ἔτῶν χρόνοις ἐλαυνόμενον πρός τε τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων καὶ πρὸς τῶν

1.4.1 | All these things confirm the trustworthy message about our matters, showing that it was not made up by human effort, but was known by God beforehand and announced through the written prophecies. Even more, it has been revealed by our Savior to all people. It is also empowered by God and stands firm, shining brightly over the invisible demons and the visible rulers of this world, growing and increasing every day, and multiplying

κατὰ χρόνους ὁρατῶν ἀρχόντων πολὺ  
πλέον διαλάμπειν, ὅσημέραι τε διαπρέπειν  
καὶ αὔξειν, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον πληθύειν,  
ἀντικρυς τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων  
θεοῦ συνεργίας τὸ ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήτητον τό<sup>7</sup>  
τε κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν νικητικὸν τῇ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν προσηγορίᾳ τε καὶ  
διδασκαλίᾳ παρεχούσης.

even more. This is due to the cooperation from the God of all, providing an invincible and undefeated victory against our enemies through the name and teaching of our Savior.

1.4.2 | καὶ τὸ αὐτόθεν δὲ πρὸς εύζωον  
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν  
προφανῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξ  
ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως προβεβλημένον, πῶς  
οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ  
παραστατικόν; θείας μὲν γὰρ καὶ  
ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως ἢν τὸ ἄμα τῷ αὐτοῦ  
λόγῳ, καὶ σὺν τῇ περὶ μοναρχίας ἐνὸς τοῦ  
ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ προβεβλημένῃ  
διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ὅμοι καὶ τῆς  
πολυπλανοῦς καὶ δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας,  
ὅμοι καὶ τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυαρχίας  
ἔλευθερον καταστῆναι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
γένος.

1.4.2 | And from the same source, for the well-being of all people, it is shown not only through his clear words but also through a hidden power. How could it not be a sign of his divine power? For the power that comes with his word is divine and hidden, along with his teaching about the one rule of the God above all. Together with this, it stands against the many wandering and demonic forces, and it also establishes the human race as free from the many rulers of the nations.

1.4.3 | μυρίων γοῦν τὸ παλαιὸν καθ'  
ἔκαστον ἔθνος βασιλέων καὶ τοπαρχῶν  
ἐπικρατούντων, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις τῶν μὲν  
δημαοκρατουμένων, τῶν δὲ  
πολυαρχουμένων, πολέμωντε κατὰ τὸ  
εἰκὸς ἐκ τούτου παντοίων συνεστώτων,  
ἔθνῶν ἔθνεσι προσρηγγυμένων καὶ  
συνεχῶς τοῖς πλησιοχώροις  
ἐπανισταμένων, δηούντων τε καὶ  
δηουμένων καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων  
πολιορκίαις ἐπιστρατευμένων, ὥστε διὰ  
ταῦτα πανδημὶ πάντας τούς τε τὰς πόλεις  
οἴκοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀγροῖς  
γεωπονοῦντας ἔξ ἔτι παίδων τὰ πολεμικὰ  
διδάσκεσθαι, ξιφηφορεῖν τε διὰ παντὸς  
κατὰ τέ τὰς λεωφόρους καὶ κατὰ κώμας

1.4.3 | Indeed, in ancient times, each nation had kings and local rulers in power. In some cities, there were democracies, while in others, there were many rulers. Because of this, there were constant wars among various nations, with groups rising up against their neighbors. They were killing each other and being killed, and they were also preparing for sieges against one another. Because of all this, everyone living in the cities and those farming in the countryside were taught to fight from a young age, learning to wield swords in the streets, in villages, and in the fields.

καὶ ἀγρούς.

1.4.4 | ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, περὶ οὗ πάλαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἀνείρητο “ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιούσῃ καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης. καὶ συγκόψουσιν τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν εἰς ἄροτρα καὶ τὰς ζιβύνας αὐτῶν εἰς δρέπανα, καὶ οὐ λήψεται ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος μάχαιραν, καὶ οὐ μὴ μάθωσιν ἔτι πολεμεῖν,” ἀκόλουθα ταῖς προρρήσεσιν ἐπηκολούθει τὰ ἔργα πᾶσα μὲν αὐτίκα περιηρεῖτο πολυαρχία Ῥωμαίων, Αύγούστου κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείᾳ μοναρχήσαντος. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ εἰς δεῦ οὐκ ἀν ἴδοις, ὡς τὸ πρὸν, πόλεις πόλεσι πολέμους οὐδέ ἔθνος ἔθνει διαμαχόμενον, οὐδέ γε τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συγχύσει κατατριβόμενον.

1.4.5 | καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον θαυμάζειν ἐπιστήσαντα τί δή ποτε τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν, ὅτε τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων κατετυράννουν οἱ δαίμονες καὶ πολλή τις ἦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ περὶ αὐτοὺς θεραπεία, πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν εξοιστρούμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' ἄλλήλων ἔξεκαίοντο πολέμους — ὡς τοτὲ μὲν Ἔλληνας αὐτοῖς Ἔλλησι, τοτὲ δὲ Αἴγυπτίους Αἴγυπτίοις, καὶ Σύρους Σύροις, Σύροις, τε Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν, ἀνδραποδίζεσθαί τε ἄλλήλους καὶ κατατρύχειν ταῖς πολιορκίαις, ὥσπερ οὖν αἱ περὶ τούτων δηλοῦσι τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορίαι — ἂμα δὲ τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εύσεβεστάτῃ καὶ εἰρηνικωτάτῃ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς μὲν πολυθέου πλάνης καθαίρεσις ἐπετελεῖτο, τὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν διαστάσεως παῦλαν αὐτίκα παλαιῶν κακῶν ἀπελάμβανεν; ὃ καὶ μάλιστα μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τεκμήριον τυγχάνειν τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως τού

1.4.4 | But when Christ of God came, about whom it was long ago said through the prophets, "Righteousness and a multitude of peace will arise in his days. They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into sickles, and nation will not lift sword against nation, and they will no longer learn to fight," following these prophecies, all the works immediately removed the many rulers of the Romans, with Augustus ruling at the same time as the appearance of our Savior. From that time on, you would not see, as before, cities warring against cities or nation fighting against nation, nor would life be wasted in the old chaos.

1.4.5 | And yet, how is it not worthy of wonder to see what was once the case, when all the nations were oppressed by demons and many people were devoted to them? They were driven to fight wars against each other—sometimes Greeks against Greeks, sometimes Egyptians against Egyptians, and Syrians against Syrians, with Romans also waging war. They enslaved one another and wore each other down through sieges, just as the old histories show. But with the most pious and peaceful teaching of our Savior, the confusion of many gods was removed, and the division among the nations was immediately ended, freeing them from old evils. I consider this to be the greatest proof of the divine and hidden power of our Savior.

σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

1.4.6 | Τῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων προφανιομένης ὥφελείας δεῖγμα ἐναργὲς ἴδοις ἀν ἐπιστήσας ὡς ούδε ἄλλοτέ πω ἔξ αἰῶνος, ούδ' ὑπό τινος τῶν πάλαι δοαφανῶν, ἐκ μόνων δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φωνῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διαδοθείσης διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ εὗ τὰ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν νόμιμα κεῖται, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρὶν θηριώδη καὶ βάρβαρα, ὡς Πέρσας μητρογαμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῷ μαθητευθέντας, μηδ' ἀνθρωποβορεῖν Σκύθας διὰ τὸν καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν ἐλθόντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγον, μηδ' ἄλλα γένη βαρβάρων ἐκθέσμως θυγατράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς μίγνυσθαι, μηδ' ἄρρενας ἄρρεσιν ἐπιμαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονὰς μετιέναι, μηδὲ κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς οἴκείους νεκροὺς προτιθέναι τοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο πράττοντας, μηδ' ἀγχόνῃ τοὺς γεγηρακότας ὥσπερ οὖν πρότερον, παραβάλλειν, μηδὲ σάρκας νεκρῶν τῶν φιλτάτων κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος θοινᾶσθαι, μηδ' ἀνθρωποθυτεῖν ὡς θεοῖς τοῖς δαίμοσι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς, μηδὲ τὰ φίλτατα κατασφάττειν ἐπ' εὔσεβείας ὑπολήψει.

1.4.7 | ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν καὶ συγγενῆ τούτοις μυρία τὰ πάλαι τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον λυμαινόμενα. Ιστοροῦνται Μασσαγέται καὶ Δέρβικες ἀθλιωτάτους. ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν οἴκείων τοὺς αὐτομάτως τελευτήσαντας, διὸ καὶ φθάσαντες κατέθυνον, καὶ εἰστιῶντο τῶν φιλτάτων τοὺς γεγηρακότας· Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ ζῶντας κατεκρήμνιζον τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γέροντας· Ύρκανοὶ δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι, οἱ μὲν οἰωνοῖς καὶ κυσὶ παρέβαλλον ζῶντας, οἱ δὲ τεθνεῶτας· Σκύθαι δὲ συγκατώρυττον ζῶντας, καὶ

1.4.6 | From the clear evidence of the benefits shown in his words, you would see that never before in history, nor under any of the ancient rulers, have the laws of all nations been so well established from his teachings, which have spread throughout the whole world. Those once wild and barbaric customs, like the Persians marrying their own students, or the Scythians practicing human sacrifice until the word of Christ reached them, or other barbaric peoples mixing daughters and sisters, or men engaging in unnatural pleasures, or placing their own dead before dogs and birds as they used to do, or hanging the elderly as they did before, or treating the bodies of their beloved dead according to ancient customs, or sacrificing humans to the demons as was done in the past, or slaughtering their dearest in the name of piety, have all been set aside.

1.4.7 | For these were also related to many ancient customs that harmed human life. The Massagetae and Derbikes are said to have been the most miserable. They would consider their own people who died naturally as unworthy, so they would sacrifice them, and they would feast on their beloved dead. The Tibareni would throw the living elderly into pits. The Hyrcanians and Caspians would offer the living to birds and dogs, while others would do the same with the dead. The Scythians

έπεσφαττον ταῖς πυραῖς οὓς ἡγάπων οἱ  
τεθνεῶτες μάλιστα· καὶ Βάκτριοι δὲ τοῖς  
κυσὶ παρέβαλλον ζῶντας τοὺς  
γεγηρακότας.

1.4.8 | ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάλαι ἦν πρότερον,  
νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέθ' ὅμοίως ἔστιν, ἐνὸς τοῦ  
σωτηρίου νόμου τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς  
δυνάμεως τὴν θηριώδη καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον  
τούτων ὅλων παραλύσαντος νόσον.

1.4.9 | τὸ δὲ μηκέτι θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἥτοι τὰ  
νεκρὰ καὶ κωφὰ ξόανα, ἢ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις  
ἐνεργοῦντας πονηροὺς δαίμονας, ἢ τὰ μέρη  
τοῦ φαινομένου κόσμου, ἢ τὰς τῶν πάλαι  
κατοιχομένων θνητῶν ψυχὰς, ἢ τῶν  
ἀλόγων ζῷων τὰ βλαπτικώτατα, ἀντὶ δὲ  
τούτων ἀπάντων διὰ μιᾶς τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας, "Ἐλληνας  
ὅμοι καὶ βαρβάρους, τοὺς γνησίως, ἀλλ'  
οὐκ ἐπιπλάστως αύτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ  
προσανέχοντας, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἄκρας  
φιλοσοφίας ἐλθεῖν ὡς μόνον τὸν ἀνωτάτω  
θεὸν, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν  
ὅλων, τὸν παμβασιλέα καὶ κύριον οὐρανοῦ  
καὶ γῆς, ἥλιου τε καὶ ἄστρων καὶ τοῦ  
σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργὸν, σέβειν καὶ  
ὑμνεῖν καὶ θεολογεῖν, βιούν τε ἀκριβῶς καὶ  
οὕτως μανθάνειν ὡς μέχρι καὶ τοῦ  
ἔμβλέπειν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς παιδαγωγεῖσθαι,  
καὶ μηδὲν ἀκόλαστον ἐκ τοῦ μετ' ἐπιθυμίας  
δρᾶν ἐννοεῖν, πρόρριζον δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς  
διανοίας πάντα αἰσχρὸν ὑποτέμνεσθαι πάθος,  
ταῦτα πάντα πῶς οὐκ ἀν τοῖς πᾶσι  
συμβάλλοιτο πρὸς εὔζωίαν;

1.4.10 | καὶ τὸ μηδ' εύορκίας δεῖσθαι,  
πολλοῦ γε δεῖ ἐπιορκεῖν, διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοῦ  
μανθάνειν μηδὲ ὄμνύναι ὅλως, ἐν πᾶσι δὲ

would bury the living and would burn  
those they loved the most. The Bactrians  
would also throw the living elderly to the  
dogs.

1.4.8 | But these things were once the case;  
now, however, it is no longer the same. The  
savage and inhumane customs of all these  
people have been cured by the power of the  
saving law of the Gospel.

1.4.9 | Now, no longer do people consider  
as gods either dead and mute wooden  
images, or the evil demons that act through  
them, or parts of the visible world, or the  
souls of the long-dead mortals, or the most  
harmful of irrational animals. Instead,  
through the one teaching of the Gospel of  
our Savior, both Greeks and barbarians,  
who sincerely but not falsely accept this  
teaching, have reached such a high  
philosophy that they honor and praise and  
speak of the one true God, who is above all,  
the universal king and lord of heaven and  
earth, of the sun and stars, and the creator  
of the whole universe. They live rightly and  
learn in such a way that they are taught  
even by what they see with their eyes, and  
they do not think about anything shameful  
with desire. They cut off every shameful  
passion from their minds. How could all  
this not contribute to a good life for  
everyone?

1.4.10 | And that there is no need to swear  
oaths, but rather to avoid swearing at all,  
because one learns to speak the truth and

άψευδεῖν καὶ ἀληθεύειν, ὡς ἀρκεῖσθαι τῷ ναί καὶ τῷ οὔ, παντὸς ὄρκου βεβαιοτέραν τὴν προαόρεσιν κατασκευάζοντας; τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἐν ψιλοῖς ῥήματίοις καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμιλίαις ἀδιαφορεῖν, ακριβολογεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ μέχρι τούτων, ὡς μήτε ψεῦδος μήτε λοιδορίαν μήτε τι αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἄσχημον ῥῆμα προίεσθαι τῇ φωνῇ, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πάλιν παρακέλευσιν, δι' ᾧς ἔφησε "περὶ παντὸς ἀργοῦ ῥήματος δώσετε λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως," ὅποιας ὑπερβολῆς φιλοσόφου ζωῆς ἔχεται;

1.4.11 | τὸ δὲ καὶ συλλήβδην ἀθρόως μυριάδας ὅλας ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, οίκετῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων, ἀδόξων τε καὶ ἐπιδόξων, καὶ προσέτι βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ χώραν, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡλίῳ ἡλίῳ ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων μαθημάτων, οἵων ἀρτίως μεμαθήκαμεν, φοιτᾶν καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς λόγοις παρέχειν, ἀναπείθουσιν οὐ μόνον ἀκολάστων ἐγχειρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν αἰσχρῶν ἐνθυμημάτων γαστρός τε καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα κρατεῖν· τό τε πάν τον γένος ἀνθρώπων παιδείαν παιδεύεσθαι ἐνθεον καὶ εύσεβη, φέρειν τε μανθάνειν γενναίως καὶ βαθεῖ φρονήματι τὰς τῶν ἐπανισταμένων ὕβρεις, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἵσοις τοὺς φαύλους ἀμύνεσθαι, θυμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὄργῆς καὶ πάσης ἐμμανοῦς ὄρέξεως κρείττους γίνεσθαι, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπόροις καὶ ἐνδεέσι κοινωνεῖν, πάντα τε ἄνθρωπον ὁμογενῆ δεξιοῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν νεονισμένον ξένον ὡς ἀν νόμῳ φύσεως οἰκειότατον καὶ ἀδελφὸν γνωρίζειν.

1.4.12 | Πάντα δὴ ἀθρόως ταῦτά τις

to be honest in everything, is enough to say "yes" or "no," making one's intention more reliable than any oath. Also, not to be careless even in simple words and common conversations, but to be precise and careful, so that no falsehood, insult, or shameful word comes out of one's mouth, because of the command to give an account for every idle word on the day of judgment. What kind of extraordinary life of a philosopher does this lead to?

1.4.11 | And also, altogether, countless men and women and children, both slaves and free, both the unknown and the famous, as well as barbarians together with Greeks, in every place, city, and region, among all the nations under the sun, are being taught such lessons as we have just learned. They are persuaded not only to avoid shameful actions but also to reject shameful thoughts in their minds and to control their desires. The whole human race is being educated in a divine and pious way, learning to bravely and deeply confront the insults of those who rise up against them, and not to defend the wicked against the righteous. They become better than anger and rage and all uncontrolled desires. Indeed, they also share with those who are in need and lacking, and they accept every person as a fellow human being, recognizing even the stranger as the closest brother according to the law of nature.

1.4.12 | Surely, if someone were to gather

συναγαγών πῶς οὐκ ἀν ὄμολογήσει τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εύαγγελίσασθαι τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, τό τε αὐτόθεν ὑπερέχον πρὸς εὔζω' αν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρεσχηκέναι βίω;

all these things together, how could they not agree that the greatest and truly good news is that all people have been blessed by our teaching, which is also superior for living well in the life given to humanity?

1.4.13 | ὅποιον δέ σοι εῖναι δοκεῖ τὸ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, οὐ μόνον Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνημερωτάτων βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς γῆς οἰκούντων, τῆς μὲν ἀλόγου θηριωδίας ἀνασχεῖν, δόξας δὲ φιλοσόφους ἀναλαβεῖν παρασκευάσαι;

1.4.13 | What do you think the whole human race is like, not only the Greeks but also the most uneducated barbarians and those living at the ends of the earth? Should they hold back from wild, irrational behavior and instead prepare to embrace the ideas of philosophers?

1.4.14 | οἶον, φέρε εἰπεῖν, τὰς περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῆς, καὶ ζωῆς τῆς παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῖς Θεοφιλέσιν ἀποκειμένης, δι' ἣν τοῦ προσκαίρου τούτου ζῆν καταφρονεῖν ἔμελέησαι· ὥστε ἀποδεῖξαι παῖδας τοὺς πώποτε ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαβοηθέντας, καὶ παίγνιον τὸν θρυλούμενον ἔκεινον θάνατον, ἀνὰ στόμα πάντων φιλοσόφων ἀδόμενον· θηλειῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ κομιδῇ παίδων βαρβάρων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ εὐτελῶν τῷ δοκεῖν τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν δυνάμει τε καὶ συνεργίᾳ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας λόγον ἔργοις πρότερον ἢ ὥρμασιν ἐπαληθεύοντα δειξάντων.

1.4.14 | For example, let us say, the teachings about the immortality of the soul and the life after this one, which is promised to those who love the divine, through which they should not care for this temporary life. Thus, we can show that children who have been guided in philosophy see death, often talked about, as just a game, sung about by all philosophers. Among us, both women and the care of children, as well as the poor men, believe that through the power and cooperation of our savior, the teaching about the immortality of the soul is proven by actions before words.

1.4.15 | οἶον δὲ καὶ τὸ καθόλου πάντας ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἐθνεσιν, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μαθημάτων περὶ θεοῦ προνοίας, ὡς ἐφορώσης τὰ σύμπαντα, ὑγιῶς καὶ ἐρρωένως φρονεῖν παιδεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν μανθάνειν τὸν περὶ δικαιωτηρίου καὶ κρίσεως θεοῦ λόγον, καὶ τὸ

1.4.15 | Just as for all people, those in every nation, from the teachings of our savior about God's care, they should learn to think healthily and strongly while observing the universe. They should learn about the teachings on justice and God's judgment, live wisely, and carefully avoid the

πεφροντισμένως ζῆν, καὶ φυλακικῶς ἔχειν τῶν τῆς κακίας ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

## Section 5

1.5.1 | Κεφάλαιον δὲ τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης εὐεργεσίας τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου γνοίης ἀν, εἰ ἐν νῷ λάβοις τὴν δεισιδαίμονα πλάνην τῆς παλαιᾶς εἰδωλολατρίας, ἢ τὸ σύμπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος δαιμόνων ἀνάγκαις πάλαι πρότερον κατετρύχετο· ἡς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοτίας ζοφωδεστάτης “Ἐλληνας ὁμοῦ ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους δυνάμει θείᾳ μεταστησάμενος ἐπὶ νοερὰν καὶ φωτεινοτάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀληθοῦς. εύσεβείας τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ τοὺς πάντας μετηγάγετο.

1.5.2 | καὶ τί χρὴ μηκύνειν ἀποδεικνύναι πειρωμένους ὅτι μὴ ἀλόγῳ πίστει ἐαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν, σώφροσι δὲ καὶ ὠφελίμοις λόγοις τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας τρόπον περιέχουσι; τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καθόλου πραγματευομένης, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι λόγων ἀποδείξει προτρέπομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν φρονήσεως ἐπιμέλεσθαι, καὶ λογικώτερον τῶν δογμάτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις παραλαμβάνειν, ἐτοίμους τε εῖναι πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ ἐπερωτῶντι ἡμᾶς τὸν λόγον τῆς καθ' ἡμὰς ἐλπίδος.

1.5.3 | ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ πάντες τοιοῦτοι, φιλανθρώπου τυγχάνοντος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ μηδένα μηδαμῶς ἀποτρεπομένου, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν τοῖς καταλλήλοις ίωμένου φαρμάκοις, καὶ τὸν ἄμαθὴ καὶ ἴδιωτην ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τρόπων θεραπείαν

practices of evil.

1.5.1 | You would understand the main point of the first and greatest gift of the saving message if you took to heart the fearful deception of the old idolatry, by which all of humanity was long ago troubled by demons. Just as from the darkest shadows, the divine power has moved both Greeks and barbarians together into the bright and true day of piety of the all-powerful God.

1.5.2 | And why should we need to prove to those who are trying to show that we have not devoted ourselves with unreasonable faith, when wise and helpful words contain the way of true piety? In this present situation, we encourage those who are capable to follow the proofs of our words and to take care of their understanding. They should receive the proofs of the teachings more logically and be ready to explain to anyone who asks us about the reason for our hope.

1.5.3 | Since not everyone is like this, and as the message is friendly to all, with no one being turned away, all people are being healed by suitable remedies. Even the ignorant and ordinary are encouraged toward better ways. It is fitting to guide

παρακαλοῦντος, εἰκότως ἐν εἰσαγωγῇ τοὺς ἀρχομένους τῶν ἴδιωτικωτέρων γύναια καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀγελαίων πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸν εὐσεβῆ βίον χειραγωγοῦντες, ὡς ἐν φαρμάκου μοίρᾳ, τὴν ὑγιῆ πίστιν παραλαμβάνομεν, ὥρθας δόξας περὶ θεοῦ προνοίας καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου ἐντιθέντες αὐτοῖς.

1.5.4 | ή οὐχ οὕτως καὶ τοὺς τὰ σωμάτων κάμνοντας ἐπιστημόνως ἰωμένους ὀρῶμεν αὐτοὺς μὲν διὰ πλείστης ἀσκήσεως καὶ παιδείας τοὺς κατὰ ίατρικὴν λόγους ἀνειληφότας καὶ πάντα λογικῶς χειρουργοῦντας, τούς γε μὴν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ προσιόντας αὐτοῖς πίστει ἐσυτοὺς καὶ τῇ τῶν χρηστοτέρων ἔλπιδι παρέχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην θεωρημάτων μηδὲν ἀκριβῶς ἐπαΐοντας, μόνης δὲ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἔλπίδος τε καὶ πίστεως ἔξηρτημένους;

1.5.5 | καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ίατρῶν ἄριστος εἰς μέσον παρελθών ἢ τε χρὴ προφυλάττεσθαι καὶ ἢ προσήκει δρᾶν ὕσπερ τις ἀρχων καὶ κύριος μετ' ἐπιστήμης προστάττει, ὃ δ' ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ νομοθέτῃ πείθεται, πιστεύων συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὸ προστεταγμένον. οὕτω

1.5.6 | καὶ μαθηταὶ παρὰ διδασκάλων παιδείας ἀποδέχονται, πιστεύσαντες ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὸ μάθημα, ναὶ μὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ πρότερόν τις ἐφάψαιτ' ἀνὴρ πιστεύσας συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα· καὶ ὁ μέν τις αὐτόθεν εὗλετο τὰ Ἐπικούρου, ὃ δὲ τὸν κυνικὸν ζηλοῖ βίον,

those beginning, like women and children, and the crowds of common people, toward a pious life, as if by a healing remedy. We receive healthy faith, teaching them correct beliefs about God's care, the immortality of the soul, and living a life of virtue.

1.5.4 | Or do we not see that those who are suffering in their bodies are being healed by experts? They are often treated through much training and education, following medical advice and acting logically. But those who come to them for healing place their faith in them and rely on the hope of better outcomes. They may not know much about the science, yet they depend solely on good hope and faith.

1.5.5 | And the best of the doctors, having come to the middle ground, knows what should be avoided and what should be done, just like a leader or master who gives orders with knowledge. The patient, like a subject to a king or lawgiver, trusts and believes that what is commanded will help them.

1.5.6 | And students receive education from teachers, believing that their learning will be good for them. Indeed, no one would attach themselves to philosophy without first trusting that it will help them. Some choose the teachings of Epicurus, others admire the life of the Cynics, some study

ἄλλος κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφεῖ, κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην ἔτερος, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος πάντων τὰ Στωϊκὰ προετίμησεν, ἐκάστου χρηστοτέρᾳ ἐλπίδι τε καὶ πίστει τὸ δόξαν ὡς συνοῦσον ἀγαπήσαντος.

1.5.7 | οὕτω καὶ τέχνας ἀνθωποι τὰς μέσας μετῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν στρατιωτικὸν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν ἐμπορικὸν βίον, πίστει πάλαι προειληφότες βιοποιστικὸν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. καὶ γάμων δὲ αἱ πρῶται σύνοδοι καὶ κοινωνίαι τῆς κατὰ παιδοποίαν ἐλπίδος ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ἐνήρξαντο πίστεως.

1.5.8 | καὶ πλεῖ τις αὗθις εἰς ἄδηλον, οὐδὲ ἄλλην προβεβλημένος τῆς σωτηρίας ἄγκυραν ἢ μόνην τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα· καὶ γεωργεῖ πάλιν ἄλλος, καὶ τὸν σπόρον εἰς γῆν ἀπορρίψας κάθηται τῆς ὥρας τὴν τροπὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, πιστεύων τὸ φθαρὶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πλημμυρίσιν ὑετῶν καλυφθὲν αὗθις ὕσπερ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβιώσεσθαι· πορείαν δέ τις μακρὰν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῆς ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας στελλόμενος πάλιν τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαθὰς ὁδηγοὺς ἐσυντῷ συνεπάγεται.

1.5.9 | καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τὸν πάντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον δυοῖν τούτοιν ἀνηρτημένον, ἐλπίδος τε καὶ πίστεως, καταλαμβάνων, τί δὴ θαυμάζεις εἰ καὶ τὰ κρείττονα κατὰ ψυχὴν τοῖς μὲν διὰ πίστεως παραδίδοται; οἵς οὐ σχολὴ λογικώτερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος παιδεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους αύτοὺς πάρεστι μετιέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῶν

according to Plato, others according to Aristotle, and still others prefer the Stoics above all. Each one hopes for something better and believes that what they have chosen will bring them closer to what they love.

1.5.7 | In the same way, people have turned to various skills. Some have chosen military life, while others have chosen trade, believing that these paths will provide for them. And marriages, too, begin with the first unions and partnerships based on the hope of having children, starting from a good trust.

1.5.8 | And some again go into the unknown, having no other anchor for their safety than faith alone and good hope. One person farms, and after throwing the seed into the ground, sits waiting for the change of the season, believing that what is buried in the earth will rise again, just like coming back to life from the dead after being covered by heavy rains. Another person sets off on a long journey to a foreign land, bringing along hope and good faith as guides for themselves.

1.5.9 | And what else is the whole life of people hanging on these two things, hope and faith? Why do you wonder if even the better things for the soul are given to some through faith? For those who do not have the time to learn in a more logical way, others can also share in the arguments themselves and learn the proofs of what is

πρεσβευομένων μανθάνειν;

being believed.

1.5.10 | Άλλὰ γάρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τούτων ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς ἄχρηστον προγεγυμνασμένων ἀνίωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην κατηγορίαν, καὶ τίνες ὄντες καὶ πόθεν ὀρμώμενοι τοῖς διερωτῶσιν ἀποκρινούμεθα. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ γένος Ἑλληνες ὄντες καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονοῦντες ἐκ παντοίων τε ἔθνων ὡς ἀν νεολέκτου στρατιὰς λογάδες συνειλεγμένοι τῆς πατρίου δεισιδαιμονίας ἀποστάται καθεστήκαμεν οὐδ' ἀν αὐτοί ποτε ἀρνηθείημεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Ἰουδαϊκαῖς βίβλοις προσανέχοντες κάκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφητειῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συνάγοντες οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ζῆν τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς προσφιλές ήγούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀν αὐτόθεν ὁμολογήσαιμεν.

1.5.10 | But indeed, in a little of this, we do not uselessly prepare ourselves for the first accusation, and we answer those who ask who we are and where we come from. Therefore, since we are Greeks and think like Greeks, we have established ourselves as those who have separated from the superstitions of our ancestors, even if we were gathered from all kinds of nations like a young army. And also, by bringing in the Jewish books and gathering most of what is in their prophecies, we do not think it is right to live in the same way as those who are favored because of circumcision, and we would agree to this from the very beginning.

1.5.11 | ὥρα τοιγαροῦν τούτων τὸν αἴτιολογισμὸν ὑποσχεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἀν ἄλλως δόξαιμεν εὗ πεποιηκέναι τὰ πάτρια καταλείψαντες εἰ μὴ πρῶτον εἰς μέσον αὐτὰ παραθέμενοι καὶ ἀγαγόντες ὑπ' ὄψιν τῶν ἐντευξιμένων; οὕτω γάρ ἀν γένοιτο φανερὰ καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως ἡ θεία δύναμις, εἰ τοῖς πᾶσι πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν τεθείη, τίνων καὶ ὀποίων κακῶν τὴν ἵασιν εὐαγγελίζεται.

1.5.11 | It is time, therefore, to present the reasoning for these things. How would we think we have done well by leaving behind our ancestral customs if we do not first set them before us and bring them to the attention of those who are meeting? For this way, the divine power of the gospel would become clear and evident to all, if it were shown before everyone's eyes, what kinds of evils it promises to heal.

1.5.12 | πῶς δ' ἀν τὸ εὔλογον τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν μεταδιώξεως φρανείη μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρετῆς ἀποδειχθείσης; τίνι τε λόγῳ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς γραφὰς ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸν ὅμοιον τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἀποκλίνομεν καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι διελθεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ὑποθέσεως λόγος καὶ τίς ἀν κυρίως λεχθείη ὁ χριστιανισμὸς, οὕθ' Ἑλληνισμὸς ὃν οὕτε

1.5.12 | How would the reasonableness of the Jewish persecution be shown without also proving their virtue? By what argument, while accepting their writings, do we rightly stray from the same way of life? And what is the basis of our gospel, and what would be said to be the essence of Christianity, which is neither Greek nor Jewish, but a new and true wisdom of God,

Ίουδαϊσμὸς, ἀλλά τις καινὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς θεοσοφίᾳ, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσηγορίας τὴν καινοτομίαν ἐπαγομένη.

1.5.13 | φέρ' οὖν πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὰς παλαιτάτας καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς πατρίους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν θεολογίας κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τεθρυλημένας ἐπιθεωήσωμεν, τὰς τε σεμνὰς τῶν γενναίων φιλοσόφων περί τε κόσμου συστάσεως καὶ περὶ θεῶν διαλήψεις, ἵνα γνῶμεν εἴτε καὶ ὄρθως ἀπέστημεν αὐτῶν, εἴτε καὶ μή.

1.5.14 | Θήσω δὲ οὐκ ἔμὰς φωνὰς ἐν τῇ τῶν δηλουμένων ἐκφάνσει, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ οὓς φασι θεοὺς εύσέβειαν περισπούδαστου πεποιημένων, ὡς ἀν ὁ λόγος ἀπάσης ἐκτὸς τῆς περὶ τοῦ πλάττεσθαι ἡμάς ὑπονοίας κατασταίη.

bringing forth its novelty from its very name?

1.5.13 | Therefore, let us first examine the oldest and also our ancestral theologies, which have been discussed in every city, even now. Let us look at the serious thoughts of the noble philosophers about the creation of the world and about the gods, so that we may know whether we have rightly separated ourselves from them or not.

1.5.14 | I will not express my own opinions in the explanation of those who are being revealed, but rather the views of those who have shown great piety towards the gods they speak of, so that the argument may be free from any suspicion about our being created.

## Section 6

1.6.1 | Φοίνικας τοιγαροῦν καὶ Αἴγυπτίους πρώτους ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κατέχει λόγος ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας θεοὺς ἀποφῆναι, μόνους τε εἶναι τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τε καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιους, εἴτα δὲ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι βοωμένας θεοποιίας τε καὶ θεογονίας εἰσηγήσασθαι τῷ βίῳ.

1.6.2 | πρὸ δέ γε τούτων μηδένα μηδὲν πλέον τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων είδέναι, ὀλίγων ἐκτὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις μνημονευομένων, οἱ διανοίας καθαρωτάτοις ὅμμασι πᾶν τὸ ὄρώμενον ὑπερκύψαντες τὸν κοσμοποιὸν καὶ τῶν

1.6.1 | Therefore, the Phoenicians and Egyptians are the first among all people to declare the sun, moon, and stars as gods, saying that they alone are the causes of the creation and destruction of everything. Then, they introduced the worship of gods and the stories of their origins into life.

1.6.2 | Before these people, no one knew anything more about the things that appear in the sky, except for a few men mentioned among the Hebrews. These men, with the clearest minds, looked beyond all that is seen and honored the creator of the world

ὅλων δημιουργὸν ἐσεβάσθησαν,  
ὑπερθαυμάσαντες τῆς τοσαύτης αὐτὸν  
σοφίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ἷν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων  
έφαντάσθησαν, καὶ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν  
πεισθέντες μόνον εἰκότως ἐθεολόγησαν,  
τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ πρώτην καὶ μόνην ταύτην  
εὔσεβειαν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενοι  
καὶ φυλάξαντες.

and the maker of everything, amazed by such great wisdom and power that they saw in the works. They were convinced that there is only one true god, and they taught this true and first and only piety, passing it down from father to son and keeping it safe.

1.6.3 | οἵ γε μὴν λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
τῆσδε τῆς μόνης καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεσόντες  
εὐσεβείας, τὰ φωσφόρα τῶν οὐρανίων  
σαρκὸς ὄφθαλμοῖς, οἷα νήπιοι τὰς ψυχὰς,  
καταπλαγέντες, θεούς τε ἀνεῖπον καὶ  
θυσίαις καὶ καταπλαγέντες, ἐγέραιρον, οὐ  
νεώς δειμάμενοι, ούδ' ἀφιδύμασι καὶ  
ξοάνοις θνητῶν εἰκόνας πλασάμενοι, πρὸς  
αἱθέρα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν οὐρανὸν  
ἀποβλέποντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆδε  
ὅρωμένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐφικνούμενοι.

1.6.3 | But the rest of the people, having fallen away from this one true piety, looked at the shining bodies in the sky with foolish eyes, like children. They were amazed and called these things gods, offering sacrifices and being astonished. They did not fear temples or the images of mortals made from wood and stone, but instead looked up to the sky and the heavens, reaching out with their souls to what they could see.

1.6.4 | ἀλλ' οὐ τῆδε ἄρα καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα  
ἀνθρώποις τὰ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης  
περιίστατο, ἐλαύνοντα δὲ εἰς βυθὸν κακῶν  
μείζονα τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν δυσσέβειαν  
ἀπειγάζετο, Φοινίκων, εἴτα Αἴγυπτίων  
ἀπαρξαμένων τῆς πλάνης· παρ' ὃν φάσι  
πρῶτον Ὁρφέα τὸν Οίάγρου  
μεταστησάμενον τὰ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις  
Ἐλλησι μεταδοῦναι μυστήρια, ὥσπερ οὖν  
καὶ Κάδμον τὰ Φοινικικὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
ἀγαγεῖν μετὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων  
μαθήσεως· οὕπω γάρ εἰσέτι τοὺς "Ἐλληνας  
τότε τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν εἰδέναι.

1.6.4 | But this false belief in many gods did not stop with these people and later generations. It drove them deeper into a pit of evils, greater than the wickedness of disbelief. The Phoenicians, and then the Egyptians, were the first to spread this deception. From them, it is said that Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, learned the mysteries of the Egyptians and shared them with the Greeks, just as Cadmus brought the Phoenician knowledge, including the learning of writing. For at that time, the Greeks did not yet know how to use writing.

1.6.5 | πρῶτα τοίνυν σκεψόμεθα τὰ τῆς  
κοσμογονίας τῆς πρώτης, ὅπως οἱ  
δηλούμενοι διειλήφασι· ἔπειτα τὰ περὶ τῆς

1.6.5 | First, then, let us examine the first account of the creation of the world, as it is presented. Next, we will look at the first

πρώτης καὶ παλαιτάτης τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίου δεισιδαιμονίας· καὶ τρίτον τὰ Φοινίκων, τέταρτον τὰ Αίγυπτίων, μεθ' ἂ πέμπτον τὰ Ἑλλήνων διελόντες πρότερον μὲν τὴν καὶ τούτων παλαιὰν καὶ μυδικτέραν πλάνην ἐποπτεύσομεν, εἴτα δὲ τὴν σεμνοτέραν καὶ φυσικωτέραν δὴ περὶ θεῶν φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν περὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν χρηστηρίων ἐφοδεύσομεν λόγον· ἐφ' οὓς καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς γενναίας Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ἐπισκεψόμεθα.

1.6.6 | τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ἐπὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων μεταβησόμεθα, τῶν δὴ πρώτων καὶ ἀληθῶς Ἐβραίων, καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν Ἰουδαίων λαχόντων προσηγορίαν. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ ἐπισφράγισμα τῶν ὅλων ἐποίσομεν τὰ ἡμέτερα.

1.6.7 | ἀναγκαίως δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀπάντων μνημονεύσομεν ἴστορίας, ὡς ἀν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ τεθαυμασμένων παραθέσεως ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔλεγχος ἀποδειχθῆ, δποίων τε ἡμεῖς ἀποστάντες τὴν ὅποιαν εἰλόμεθα φανερὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι γένηται.

1.6.8 | ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐπίωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον. πόθεν δῆτα πιστωσόμεθα τὰς ἀποδείξεις; οὐ μὲν δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γραμμάτων, ὡς ἀν μὴ δοκοίμην κεχαρισμένα πράττειν τῷ λόγῳ· μάρτυρες δὲ παρέστων ἡμῖν Ἑλγήνων αύτῶν οἱ τε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αύχοῦντες καὶ οἱ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν ἔθνῶν ἴστορίαν διηρευνηκότες.

and oldest superstitions of human life. Third, we will consider the beliefs of the Phoenicians, and fourth, those of the Egyptians. After that, we will discuss the Greeks, starting with their ancient and mixed-up beliefs. Then, we will move on to the more serious and natural philosophy about the gods, and after that, we will explore the remarkable oracles. In these, we will also examine the important aspects of the noble philosophy of the Greeks.

1.6.6 | After we have clarified these matters, we will move on to the Hebrews, the first and truly Hebrew people, and those who later took on the name of the Jews. Over all these topics, we will add our own conclusions as a seal to everything.

1.6.7 | We must necessarily remember the history of all these things, so that through the presentation of the wonders found everywhere, the proof of the truth may be shown. Whatever we choose to present will become clear to those who encounter it.

1.6.8 | But let us first drink to the beginning. From where then will we trust the proofs? Not from our own writings, so that we do not seem to be doing favors to our own words. Instead, we will have witnesses from the Greeks themselves, both those who boast of their philosophy and those who have explored the history of other nations.

1.6.9 | γράφει τοίνυν ἄνωθεν τὴν παλαιὰν Αἴγυπτίων ὑφηγούμενος θεολογίαν ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος, γνωριμώτατος ἀνὴρ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων λογιωτάτοις, ὃς ἀν ὑπὸ μίαν συναγηγόχως πραγματείαν ἅπασαν τὴν ἱστορικὴν βιβλιοθήκην. ἐξ οὗ πρῶτα παραθήσομαι ἡ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κοσμογονίας ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου διείληφε, τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορῶν δόξας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

## Section 7

1.7.1 | Περὶ μὲν οὖν θεῶν τίνας ἔννοίας ἔσχον οἱ πρῶτοι καταδείξαντες τιμὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ἐκάστου τῶν ἀθανάτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι πειρασόμεθα κατ' ίδίαν, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πολλοῦ λόγου προσδεῖσθαι ὅσα δ' ἀν ταῖς προκειμέναις ἱστορίαις ἔοικότα δόξωμεν ὑπάρχειν παραθήσομεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἀκοῆς ἀξίων ἐπιζητήσῃ.

1.7.2 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃς ἀν ἐνδέχηται περὶ τῶν οὕτω παλαιῶν, ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι.”

1.7.3 | “Περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοίνυν γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων διτταὶ γεγόνασιν ἀποφάνσεις παρὰ τοῖς νομιμωτάτοις τῶν τε φυσιολόγων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ὑποστησά μενοι τὸν τὸν κόσμον ἀπεφήναντο καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ αἰώνος ὑπάρχειν, μηδέποτε τῆς αὐτῶν

1.6.9 | So then, the Sicilian Diodorus writes about the ancient theology of the Egyptians, a very well-known man among the most learned Greeks, as if he has gathered all the historical library into one work. From this, I will first present what he has said about the creation of the whole world, separating the opinions of the ancient historians in this way.

1.7.1 | About the gods, the first ones had certain ideas, showing honor to the divine. As for the myths concerning each of the immortals, we will try to put together many of them individually, because this topic needs a lot of discussion. Whatever we think fits with the histories we have will be presented in summaries, and nothing worthy of attention will be left out.

1.7.2 | As for the race of all humans and the events that have taken place in the known parts of the world, we will write accurately about these ancient matters, starting from the earliest times.

1.7.3 | About the first creation of humans, there are two opinions from the most respected natural philosophers and historians. Some of them claimed that the world is uncreated and eternal, and that the human race has existed forever, with no beginning to their generation. Others, believing that humans are created and

τεκνώσεως ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκυίας, οἱ δὲ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι νομίσαντες ἔφησαν δόμοίως ἑκείνοις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τυχεῖν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ὡρισμένοις χρόνοις.

1.7.4 | κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τῶν δλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανόν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμιγμένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἄλλήλων τὸν μὲν κόσμον περιλαβεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν ὁρωμένην ἐν αὐτῷ σύνταξιν, τὸν δ' ἀέρα κινήσεως τυχεῖν συνεχοῦς, καὶ τὸ μὲν πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μετεωροτάτους τόπους συνδραμεῖν, ἀνωφεροῦς οὕσης τῆς τουαύτης φύς ἔως διὰ τὴν κουρότητα· ἀφ' ἣς αἰτίας τὸν μὲν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν ἀστρων ἐναποληφθῆναι τῇ πάσῃ δίνῃ, τὸ δὲ Ἰλυῶδες καὶ θολερὸν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑγρῶν συγκρίσεως ἐπὶ ταύτῳ καταστῆναι διὰ τὸ βάρος· εἰλούμενον δ' ἐν ἐαυτῷ καὶ συστρεφόμενον συνεχῶς ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὑγρῶν τὴν θάλατταν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στερεμνιωτέρων ποιῆσαι τὴν γῆν πηλώδη καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλήν

1.7.5 | ταύτην δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καταλάμψαντος πῆξιν λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν ἀναζυμουμένης τῆς ἐπιφανείας συνοιδῆσαί τινα τῶν ὑγρῶν κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, καὶ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτὰ σηπεδόνας ὑμέσι λεπτοῖς περιεχομένας, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι καὶ τοῖς λιμνάζουσι τῶν τόπων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὀρᾶσθαι γινόμενον, ἐπειδὰν τῆς χώας κατεψυγμένης ἀφνω διάπυρος ἀήρ γένηται, μὴ λαβών τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὄλιγον.

mortal, said that humans came into being at specific times, just like those before them.

1.7.4 | According to the original structure of everything, there is one idea of both heaven and earth, mixed together in their nature. After that, when the bodies separated from each other, the world contained all the visible arrangement within it, while the air became a continuous movement. The fiery part rushed to the highest places, since such a nature is light. For this reason, the sun and the rest of the stars were left in the whole whirl, while the muddy and cloudy part settled together with the liquids because of its heaviness. The water formed the sea, while the more solid parts created the soft and clay-like earth.

1.7.5 | At first, when the fire of the sun shone down, it caused a freezing. Then, because of the heat warming the surface, some of the liquids began to evaporate in many places, forming thin layers of moisture around them. This is still seen today in marshes and ponds, when suddenly hot air is created above the cold ground, without gradually changing.

1.7.6 | ζωογονουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑγρῶν διὰ τῆς θερμασίας τὸν εἰρημένον μένοντρόπον τὰς μὲν νύκτας λαμβάνειν αὐτίκα τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς πιπτούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁμίχλης, τὰρ δ' ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος στερεοῦσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον τῶν κυοφορουμένων τὴν τελείαν αὖξιν λαβόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμένων διακαυθέντων τε καὶ περιρραγέντων ἀναψυῆναι παντοδαποὺς τύπους ζώων.

1.7.6 | As the liquids were brought to life by the heat, they took in food at night from the mist that fell around them, while during the day they solidified under the heat. Finally, when the living things reached their full growth and the layers of moisture were burned away and broken apart, all kinds of animals began to emerge.

1.7.7 | τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστης θερμασίας κεκοινωνηκότα πρὸς τοὺς μετεώρους τόπους ἀπελθεῖν γενόμενα πτηνὰ, τὰ δὲ γεώδους ἀντεχόμενα συγκρίσως ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιγείων τάξει καταριθμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ φύσεως ὑγρᾶς μάλιστα μετεύληφότα πρὸς τὸν ὁμογενῆ τόπον συνδραμεῖν ὄνομασθέντα πλωτά.

1.7.7 | Of these, the ones that shared the most heat became birds and flew to the higher places. Those that remained on the ground were counted among the reptiles and other land animals. The ones that were most connected to the wet nature gathered together in the same place and were called aquatic creatures.

1.7.8 | τὴν δὲ γῆν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον στερεούμενην ὑπό τε τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυὸς καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ τελευταῖον μηκέτι δύνασθαι μηδὲν τῶν μειζόνων ζωογονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μίξεως ἔκαστα γεννᾶσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων.

1.7.8 | The earth, becoming more solid from the heat around the sun and the winds, could no longer create any of the larger living things. Instead, each of the living beings was born from the mixing together of different kinds.

1.7.9 | ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως οὐδὲ Εύριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητὴς ὧν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μελανίππῃ τίθησιν οὕτως ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχωρισθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα, τίκτουσι πάντα, κάνεδωκαν εἰς φάοςδένδρη, πετεινὰ, θῆρας, οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει, γένος τε θνητῶν."

1.7.9 | It seems that even Euripides does not disagree with what has been said about the nature of everything, being a student of Anaxagoras the natural philosopher. For in his "Melanippe," he says that the sky and the earth were once one form. But when they were separated from each other, they gave birth to everything and brought forth light: trees, birds, wild animals, and those that the sea nourishes, as well as the race of

mortals.

1.7.10 | Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως τοιαῦτα παρειλήφαμεν· τοὺς δὲ ἔξ ἀρχῆς γεννηθέντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων φασὶν ἐν ἀτάκτῳ καὶ θηριώδει βίῳ καθεστῶτας σποράδην ἐπὶ τὰς νομὰς ἔχιέναι, καὶ προσφέρεσθαι τῆς τε βοτάνης τὴν προσηγεστάτην καὶ τοὺς αύτομάτους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπούς· καὶ πολεμούμενους μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος διδασκομένους, ἀθροιζομένους δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐπιγινώσκειν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν τοὺς ἀλλήλων τύπους·

1.7.10 | And about the first generation of everything, we have said this: they say that the first humans were living in a wild and beastly way, scattered and going out to the pastures. They would gather the most pleasant plants and the fruits that fell from the trees by themselves. While being attacked by wild animals, they learned to help each other out of necessity. When they were gathered together because of fear, they began to recognize each other by their small differences.

1.7.11 | τῆς φωνῆς δὲ ἀσήμου καὶ συγκεχυμένης ὑπαρχούσης ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὄλιγον διαρθροῦν τὰς λέξεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τιθέντας σύμβολα περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνώριμον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαι τὴν περὶ ἀπάντων ἐρμηνείαν.

1.7.11 | As for speech, which was unclear and confused, they began to form words little by little. They set symbols for each of the things around them, making a way for themselves to understand everything.

1.7.12 | τοιούτων δὲ συστημάτων γινομένων καθ' ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐχ ὁμόφωνον πάντας ἔχειν τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐκάστων ὡς ἔτυχεν συνταξάντων τὰς λέξεις· διὸ καὶ παντοίους τε ὑπάρχαι χαρακτῆρας διαλέκτων καὶ τὰ πρῶτα γενόμενα συστήματα τῶν ἀπάντων ἔθνῶν ἀρχέγονα γενέσθαι.

1.7.12 | As these systems developed throughout the whole world, not everyone had the same language. Each group arranged their words as they happened to do. Therefore, there came to be many different kinds of dialects, and the first systems of all nations became original.

1.7.13 | τοὺς οὖν πρώτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων εὐρημένων ἐπιπόνως διάγειν, γυμνοὺς μὲν ἐσθῆτος ὄντας, οἰκήσεως δὲ καὶ πυρὸς ἀγήθεις, τροφῆς δ' ἡμέρου παντελῶς ἀνεννοήτους. καὶ γὰρ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῆς

1.7.13 | The first humans lived without any useful discoveries for life. They were naked, unskilled in building homes or making fire, and completely unaware of daily food. They did not know how to gather wild food, so they made no plans for

άγριας τροφῆς ἀγνοοῦντας μηδεμίαν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὰς ἐνδείας ποιεῖσθαι παράθεσιν· διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι κατὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας διὰ τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς.

the fruits. Because of this, many of them died during the winters due to the cold and the lack of food.

1.7.14 | ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατ' ὄλιγον ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας διδασκομένους εἴς τε τὰ σπήλαια καταφεύγειν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς φυλάττεσθαι δυναμένους ἀποτίθεσθαι. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἔξευρεθῆναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κοινὸν βίον ὡφελῆσαι.

1.7.14 | From this, little by little, they learned through experience to seek refuge in caves during the winter and to store the fruits they could gather. As they discovered fire and other useful things, they gradually found skills and other ways to help their daily lives.

1.7.15 | καθόλου γὰρ πάντων τὴν χρείαν αὐτὴν διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑφηγουμένην οίκειώς τὴν ἐκάστου μάθησιν εύφυεῖ ζώω καὶ συνεργούς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἅπαντα χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγχίνοιαν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τού παλαιοτάτου βίου τοῖς ḥρηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθήσομεθα, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας.”

1.7.15 | For the needs of all, experience became a teacher for humans, guiding each one to learn naturally, like a well-suited creature with hands, speech, and a quick mind. And concerning the first generation of humans and their ancient life, we will be satisfied with what has been said, considering the balance of things.

1.7.16 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς, ούδὲ μέχρις ὄνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ μνημονεύσας ἐν τῇ κοσμογοΐᾳ, συντυχικὴν δέ τινα καὶ αὐτόματον εἰσηγησάμενος τὴν τοῦ παντὸς διακόσμησιν. τούτῳ δ' ἂν εὑροις συμφώνους καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων, ὃν ἐγώ σοι τὰς περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἄλλήλους διαστάσεις καὶ διαφωνίας, ἐκ στοχασμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ καταλήψεως δρμηθείσας, ἀπὸ τῶν Πλουτάρχου Στρωματέων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκθήσομαι. σὺ δὲ μὴ παρέργως,

1.7.16 | The author mentioned so much, not even recalling the name of the god in the creation of the world, suggesting a somewhat random and automatic arrangement of everything. With this, you would find agreement with most of the philosophers among the Greeks, whose views on the beginnings and their disagreements with each other I will present to you, based on reflections, but not from direct understanding, drawing from Plutarch's "Stramata" for the present discussion. But you should not rush;

σχολῇ δὲ καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ θέα τῶν δηλουμένων τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους διάστασιν.

instead, take your time and think about the differences among the ideas presented.

## Section 8

1.8.1 | "Θάλητα πρῶτον πάντων φασὶν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων ὑποστήσασθαι τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γάρ εἶναι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν χωρεῖν."

1.8.1 | Thales is said to have first proposed that water is the beginning of everything; for everything comes from it and returns to it.

1.8.2 | "Μεθ' ὁν Ἀναξίμανδρον, Θάλητος ἐταῖρον γενόμενον, τὸ ἀπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἴτιαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δή φησι τούς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ καθόλου Τοὺς ἀπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κόσμους. ἀπεφήνατο δὲ τὴν φθορὰν γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ ἀπείρου αἰώνος ἀνακυκλουμένων πάντων αὐτῶν. ὑπάρχειν δέ φησι τῷ μὲν σχήματι τὴν γῆν κυλινδροειδῆ, ἔχειν δὲ τοσοῦτον βάθος ὅσον ἀν εἴη τρίτον πρὸς τὸ πλάτος. φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀιδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι, καί τινα ἐκ τούτου φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυῆναι τῷ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι ὡς τῷ δένδρῳ φλοιόν. ἥστινος ἀπορραγείσης καὶ εἴς τινας ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. ἔτι φησὶν ὅτι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἐαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυχρονίου δεῖσθαι τιθηνήσεως· διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἀν ποτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα διασωθῆνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος.

1.8.2 | After him, Anaximander, a companion of Thales, said that the infinite (or boundless) has the whole cause of the generation and destruction of everything, from which he claims the heavens were separated and that all worlds are infinite. He stated that destruction happens first, and much earlier than generation, from the infinite cycle of all things. He says that the earth is shaped like a cylinder and has a depth that is one-third of its width. He also says that from the eternal, hot and cold elements were separated in the creation of this world, and that a sphere of fire surrounds the air around the earth like the bark of a tree. When this was broken and closed off into certain circles, the sun, moon, and stars were formed. He further claims that in the beginning, humans were born from different kinds of animals, since all other creatures quickly take care of themselves, but humans need a long time of nurturing; therefore, in the beginning, they could not survive as such. This is what Anaximander said.

1.8.3 | "Ἀναξιμένην δέ φασι τὴν τῶν ὅλων

1.8.3 | Anaximenes is said to have stated

άρχην τὸν ἀέρα είπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τῷ μὲν γένει ἀπειρον, ταῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ποιότησιν ὡρισμένον· γεννασθαί τε πάντα κατὰ τινα πύκνωσιν τούτου καὶ πάλιν ἀραιώσιν. τήν γε μὴν κίνησιν ἔξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρειν· πιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν, πλατεῖαν μάλα· διὸ καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὗτὴν ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι· καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔχειν ἐκ γῆς. ἀποφαίνεται γοῦν τὸν ἥλιον γῆν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁξεῖαν κίνησιν καὶ μάλ’ ἵκανῶς θερμοτάτην κίνησιν λαβεῖν.”

1.8.4 | “Ξενοφάνης δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος, ἴδιαν τινὰ ὄδὸν πεπορευμένος καὶ παρηλλαχυῖαν πάντας τοὺς προειρημένους, οὕτε γένεσιν οὕτε φθορὰν ἀπολείπει, ἀλλ’ εἶναι λέγει τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ὅμοιον. εἴ γάρ γίγνοιτο τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸ τούτου μὴ εἶναι· τὸ μὴ ὅν δὲ οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο, ούδ’ ἀν τὸ μὴ ὅν ποιήσαι τι, οὕτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὅντος γένοιτ’ ἀν τι. ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ψευδεῖς, καὶ καθόλου σὺν αὐταῖς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον διαβάλλει. ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καταφερομένην συνεχῶς καὶ κατ’ ὄλιγον τὴν γῆν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν χωρεῖν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ πλειόνων πυριδίων ἀθροίζεσθαι. ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἡγεμονίας ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕσης· οὐ γάρ δισιν δεσπόζεσθαι τινα τῶν θεῶν· ἐπιδεῖσθαι τε μηδενὸς αὐτῶν μηδένα μηδ’ ὅλως· ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ ὄρᾶν καθόλου καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος. ἀποφαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπειρον εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν μέρος μὴ περιέχεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀέρος· γίνεσθαι δὲ ἀπαντά ἐκ γῆς· τὸν δὲ ἥλιόν φησι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν γίνεσθαι.”

that the beginning of everything is air, which is infinite in its nature but defined by its qualities. Everything is generated by a certain thickening of this air and again becomes thinner. He claims that movement has existed from eternity; he says that the earth was first formed from the condensed air, and it is very broad, which is why it is said to float on the air. He also states that the sun, moon, and other stars have their origin from the earth. He explains that the sun is formed from the earth, and due to its rapid movement, it becomes very hot.

1.8.4 | Xenophanes of Colophon, taking a different path and differing from all those mentioned before, does not leave out generation or destruction, but says that everything is always the same. For if this were to change, he claims, it would be necessary that there was nothing before it; and what is not cannot come into being, nor can anything be made from what is not. He also states that our senses are deceived, and along with them, he undermines reason itself. He claims that over time, the earth is continuously moving into the sea little by little. He says that the sun is formed from small and many fiery particles. He also states about the gods that there is no leadership among them; for it is not right to be ruled by any of the gods, nor to need any of them at all. He says that we hear and see as a whole and not in parts. He claims that the earth is infinite and is not surrounded by air in any part; everything comes from the earth, and he says that the sun and the other stars come from the clouds.

1.8.5 | “Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης, ὁ ἑταῖρος Ξενοφάνους, ἅμα μὲν καὶ τῶν τούτου δοξῶν ἀντεποιήσατο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐνεχείρησε στάσιν. αἴδιον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἀποφαίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὸ μοῦνον, μονογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμές, ἡδ' ἀγένητον· γένεσιν δὲ τῶν καθ' ὑπόληψιν ψευδῆ δοκούντων εἶναι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἔκβάλλει ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι εἴ τι παρὰ τὸ ὃν ὑπάρχει, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ὅν· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὃν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐκ ἔστιν. οὕτως οὖν τὸ ὃν ἀγένητον ἀπολείπει· λέγει δὲ τὴν γῆν τοῦ πυκνοῦ καταρρυέντος ἀέρος γεγονέναι.”

1.8.6 | “Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἕδιον μὲν οὔδεν ἔξεθετο, διηπόρησε δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον.”

1.8.7 | “Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἄβδηρίτης ὑπεστήσατο τὸ πᾶν ἄπειρον, διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς ὑπό τινος αὐτὸ δεδημιουρηῆσθαι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀμετάβλητον αὐτὸ λέγει· καὶ καθόλου, οἷον πᾶν ἔστι, ῥητῶς ἐκτίθεται μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὰς αἰτίας τῶν νῦν γιγνομένων, ἄνωθεν δὲ ὅλως ἐξ ἀπείρου χρόνου προκατέχεσθαι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς τὰ γεγονότα καὶ ὄντα καὶ ἐσόμενα. ἡλίου δὲ καὶ σελήνης γένεσίν φησι, κατ' ἴδιαν φέρεσθαι ταῦτα μηδέπω τοπαράπαν ἔχοντα θερμὴν φύσιν, μηδὲ μὴν καθόλου λαμπροτάτην, τούναντίου δὲ ἔξωμοιωμένην τῇ περὶ τὴν γῆν φύσει· γεγονέναι γὰρ ἐκάτερον τούτων πρότερον ἔτι κατ' ἴδιαν ὑποβολήν τινα κόσμου, ὕστερον δὲ μεγεθοποιουμένου τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἡλιον κύκλου ἐναποληφθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πῦρ.”

1.8.5 | Parmenides of Elea, a companion of Xenophanes, both opposed his views and argued for the opposite position. He claims that everything is eternal and unchanging, according to the truth of things. He says that it is one, unique, and unshakable, and that it has no origin. He rejects the idea of generation as false and dismisses the senses as misleading. He states that if anything exists outside of what is, then that cannot be considered real; and what is not does not exist at all. Thus, he concludes that what is cannot come into being. He also says that the earth was formed from the dense flowing air.

1.8.6 | Zeno of Elea did not present any unique ideas of his own, but he explained these matters further.

1.8.7 | Democritus of Abdera proposed that everything is infinite because it is not created by anything. He also says that it is unchanging. He explains that, in general, everything that exists does not have any starting point for the causes of what is happening now. Instead, everything simply comes from infinite time and necessity. He claims that the sun and moon were formed separately, and they do not have any warm nature yet, nor are they very bright. However, they are similar to the nature around the earth. Each of these things was formed first from some individual arrangement of the world, and later, as the circle around the sun grew larger, the fire was left behind in them.

1.8.8 | “Επίκουρος Νεοκλέους Άθηναῖος τὸν περὶ θεῶν τῦφον πειρᾶται καταστέλλειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐδὲν, φησὶ, γίγνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, δτὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν, καὶ ἔσται τοιοῦτον· δτὶ οὐδὲν ξένον ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀποτελεῖται παρὰ τὸν ἥδη γεγενημένον χρόνον ἅπειρον· δτὶ πάν έστι σῶμα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀμετάβλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπειρον· δτὶ τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡδονὴ.

1.8.9 | “Αρίστιππος ὁ Κυρηναῖος τέλος ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἡδονὴν, κακῶν δὲ τὴν ἀλγηδόνα· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην φυσιολογίαν περιγράφει, μόνον ὠφέλιμον εἶναι λέγων τὸ ζητεῖν ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.”

1.8.10 | “Εμπεδοκλῆς ὁ Άκραγαντῖνος στοιχεῖα τὲσσαρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, αἴθέρα, γαῖαν· αἵτιαν δὲ τούτων φιλίαν καὶ νεῖκος. ἐκπρώτης φησὶ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων κράσεως ἀποκριθέντα τὸν ἀέρα περιχυθῆναι κύκλῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀέρα τὸ πῦρ ἐκδραμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἔχον ἐτέραν χώραν ἄνω ἐκτρέχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάγου. εἶναι δὲ κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν γῆν φερόμενα δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τὸ μὲν καθόλου πυρὸς, τὸ δὲ μικτὸν ἔξ ἀέρος καὶ ὀλίγου πυρὸς, δπερ οἴεται τὴν νύκτα εἶναι. τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως συμβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τετυχηκέναι κατὰ τὸν ἀθροισμὸν, ἐπιβρίσαντος τοῦ πυρός. ὃ δὲ ἥλιος τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἔστι πῦρ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντανάκλασις, ὅμοία τῇ ἀφ' ὕδατος γινομένῃ. σελήνην δέ φησι συστῆναι καθ' ἐαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπολειφθέωτος ἀέρος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός· τοῦτον γὰρ παγῆναι, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν χάλαζαν· τὸ δὲ φῶς αύτὴν σχεῖν

1.8.8 | Epicurus, the Athenian son of Neocles, tries to calm the confusion about the gods. He says that nothing comes from what does not exist, because everything always is or will be like this. He claims that nothing new is created in the infinite time that has already passed. He believes that everything is a body, and it is not only unchanging but also infinite. He states that the ultimate good is pleasure.

1.8.9 | Aristippus of Cyrene says that the ultimate good is pleasure, and the ultimate bad is pain. He describes other natural things, saying that the only useful thing is to seek whatever is made in the houses, both good and bad.

1.8.10 | Empedocles of Akragas says there are four elements: fire, water, air, and earth. The cause of these is love and strife. He claims that when the elements mix, the air surrounds them in a circle, and then fire rushes out, having no other place to go but up, pushed by the air around it. There are two half-spheres moving in a circle around the earth: one is entirely fire, and the other is a mix of air and a little fire, which he thinks is what we see at night. He believes that the beginning of movement happens from what has come together through gathering, pushed by the fire. He says the sun is not fire itself, but a reflection of fire, similar to what happens with water. He claims that the moon is formed from the leftover air that was cooled by fire; it freezes like hail. The light of the moon comes from the sun. The ruling part of a person is not in the head or chest, but in

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν οὕτε ἐν κεφαλῇ οὕτε ἐν θώρακι, ἀλλ' ἐν αἷματι· ὅθεν καθ' ὃ τι ἀν μέρος τοῦ σώματος πλέον ἦ παρεσπαρμένον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, οἴεται κατ' ἔκεῖνο προτερεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.'

1.8.11 | "Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος ἀίδιον εἶναι φησι τὸ πᾶν, ὅτι εἰ ἦν γενητὸν, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἀν ἦν· ἀπειρον δὲ, ὅτι ἀίδιον, οὐ γάρ ἔχειν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἥρξατο, ούδε πέρας, ούδε τελευτήν· ἀλλ' ούδε κινήσεως μετέχειν τὸ πᾶν. κινεῖσθαι γάρ ἀδύνατον, μὴ μεθιστάμενον· μεθίστασθαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἦτοι εἰς πλῆρες ἢ εἰς κενόν. πυκνούμενον δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα ποιεῖν νεφέλας, εἶτα ὕδωρ, ὃ καὶ κατιὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἡλιον σβεννύναι αὐτὸν· καὶ πάλιν ἀραιούμενον ἔξαπτεσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ πήγνυσθαι τῷ ξηρῷ τὸν ἡλιον, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροῦ ὕδατος ἀστέρας, νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἐκ τῆς σβέσεως καὶ ἔξάψεως, καὶ καθόλου τὰς ἐκλείψεις ἀποτελεῖν."

1.8.12 | "Διογενής ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης ἀέρα ὑφίσταται στοιχεῖον· κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἀπέίρους τε εἶναι τοὺς κόσμους. κοσμοποιεῖ δὲ οὕτως· ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς κινουμένου, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀραιοῦ, ἡ δὲ πυκνοῦ γινομένου, ὅπου συνεκύρησε τὸ πυκνὸν συστροφὴν ποιῆσαι, καὶ οὕτω τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὰ κουφότατα τὴν ἄνω τάξιν λαβόντα τὸν ἡλιον ἀποτελέσαι.

1.8.13 | Τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν πανσόφων Ἑλλήνων τῶν δὴ φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπικληθέντων ἡ περὶ τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ παντὸς καὶ τῆς πρώτης κοσμογονίας διάληψις, οὐ δημιουργὸν ἡ ποιητήν τινα

the blood. Therefore, wherever a part of the body is more, the ruling part is spread out, and he thinks that people are better in that part.

1.8.11 | Metrodorus of Chios says that everything is eternal. If it were created, it would come from nothing. He believes that the infinite is eternal because it has no beginning, no end, and no limit. He also says that everything does not take part in movement. It is impossible to move without changing location, and it must change to either a full place or an empty one. When the air becomes dense, it forms clouds, then water, which can fall on the sun and put it out; and again, when it becomes thin, it ignites. Over time, the sun freezes from the dry air and makes stars from bright water, creating night and day from the putting out and igniting, and in general, causing eclipses.

1.8.12 | Diogenes of Apollonia says that air is an element. Everything moves, and there are infinite worlds. He explains how the universe is created: from everything that is moving, some parts become thin and others become dense. Where the dense parts gather, they create a spiral, and in this way, the lighter parts take the upper position, forming the sun.

1.8.13 | This is how the wise Greeks, the natural philosophers, discussed the creation of everything and the first origin of the universe. They did not suggest that there was a creator or a maker of all things,

τῶν ὄλων ὑποστησαμένων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὄλως θεοῦ μνήμην ποιησαμένων, μόνη δὲ τῇ ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτομάτῳ κινήσει τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνατεθειμένων.

1.8.14 | τοσαύτη δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐναντιότης, ἐν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἀλλήλοις συμπεφωνηκότων, μάχης δὲ καὶ διαφωνίας τὰ πάντα ἀναπεπληρωκότων. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος Σωκράτης τουτουσὶ πάντας μωραίνοντας ἀπήλεγχε, καὶ μαινομένων κατ’ οὐδὲν ἔλεγε διαφέρειν, εἴ δή σοι μάρτυς ἀξιόχρεως Ξενοῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι λέγων οὕτως

1.8.15 | "Οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς βὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἥκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀπάντων φύσεως, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι, διελέγετο, σκοπῶν ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔχει, καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἔκαστα γίγνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε." Καὶ ἐπιλέγει ἔξῆς

1.8.16 | "δὲ εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὅτι ταῦτα ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὅμοιώς διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι, τῶν τε περὶ τῆς πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ δὸν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν

nor did they mention a god at all. Instead, they attributed the cause of everything to blind chance and automatic movement.

1.8.14 | Such was their opposition to each other, with none agreeing among themselves, and everything filled with fighting and disagreement. For this reason, the wonderful Socrates showed them all to be foolish, saying that those who were angry did not differ at all. Indeed, if you have a worthy witness, Xenophon, in his *Memorabilia*, says this.

1.8.15 | "No one ever saw Socrates doing or saying anything impious or wrong. For he did not discuss the nature of everything or other matters, as most people think. Instead, he focused on how the world, called by the sophists, is arranged and what necessities cause each thing to happen in the heavens. He also showed that those who worry about such things are foolish." And he continues next.

1.8.16 | But if it is not clear to them that it is impossible for humans to discover these things, since even those who think the greatest thoughts do not agree with each other about these matters, but are similarly angry with one another. For among the angry, some do not fear terrible things, while others fear things that are not frightening. And among those worrying about the nature of everything, some think that only one thing exists, while others believe in countless things. Some think that

ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄπαντα γίνεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὕτ' ἀν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὕτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι."

everything is always moving, while others believe that nothing ever moves. And some think that everything comes into being and perishes, while others believe that nothing ever comes into being or perishes.

1.8.17 | Ταῦθ' ὁ Σωκράτης, ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν μαρτυρεῖ. συνάδει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τούτοις ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ψυχῆς τοιάδε λέγοντα αὐτὸν ἀναγράφων "Εγὼ γὰρ, ἔφη, ὡς Κέβης, νέος ὧν θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἐπεθύμησα ταύτης τῆς σοφίας, ἦν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως ἴστορίαν· ὑπερήφανον γάρ μοι εἶναι ἐδόκει εἰδέναι τὰς αἰτίας ἐκάστου, διὰ τί γίνεται ἔκαστον, καὶ διὰ τί ἀπόλλυται, καὶ διὰ τί ἔστι· καὶ πολλάκις ἐμαυτὸν ἄνω κάτω μετέβαλλον, σκοπῶν πρῶτον τὰ τοιάδε· ἂρ' ἐπειδὰν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν σηπεδόνα τινὰ λάβῃ, ὡς τινες ἔλεγον, τότε ἥδη τὰ ζῶα ξυντρέφεται· καὶ πότερον τὸ αἷμά ἔστιν ὃ φρονοῦμεν, ἢ ὁ ἀήρ, ἢ τὸ πῦρ· ἢ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν, ὃ δ' ἐγκέφαλός ἔστιν ὃ τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχων 'τον δρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι, ἐκ τούτων δὲ γίγνοιτο μνήμη καὶ δόξα, ἐκ δὲ μνήμης καὶ δόξης λαβούσς τὸ ἡρεμεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἐπιστήμην.

1.8.17 | This is what Socrates said, as Xenophon testifies. Plato also agrees with this in his work on the soul, writing that he said, 'For I, Kebes, when I was young, greatly desired this wisdom, which they call the study of nature. For I thought it would be proud to know the causes of each thing: why each thing comes into being, why it perishes, and why it exists. And many times I turned myself upside down, first considering such things: Is it when heat and cold take hold of something, as some say, that living things come together? And is the blood what we think with, or is it air, or is it fire? Or is it none of these, but the brain, which provides us with the senses to see, hear, and smell? From these, memory and opinion arise, and from memory and opinion, knowledge is formed about these things.'

1.8.18 | καὶ αὖ τούτων τὰς φθορὰς σκοπῶν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν πάθη, τελευτῶν οὕτ' ὡς ἐμαυτῷ ἔδοξα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν ἀφυῆς εἶναι ὡς οὐδὲν χρῆμα. τεκμήριον δέ σοι ἔρω ἱκανόν· ἔγὼ γὰρ ἂ καὶ πρότερον σαφῶς ἡπιστάμην, ὡς γε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔδόκουν, τότε ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς σκέψεως οὕτω σφόδρα ἐτυφλώθην ὥστε ἀπέμαθον καὶ ταῦθ' ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ὥμην ειδέναι."

1.8.18 | And again, while considering the destructions of these things, and the changes in the heavens and the earth, I ended up thinking that I was completely foolish for believing that there was any value in this kind of thinking. But I will tell you a strong proof: for I, who had previously known clearly what I thought I knew, was so blinded by this very thought that I forgot even those things that I believed I understood before.

1.8.19 | Ταῦτα Σωκράτης αύτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ πᾶσιν ἀσίδιμος "Ελλησιν ὅτε τοίνυν καὶ τῷ τηλικούτῳ φιλοσόφῳ τοιάδε εἶναι ἐδόκει τὰ τῆς τῶν δηλωθέντων φυσιολογίας, εἴκότως μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων ἀθεότητα παρητῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης αύτῶν οὐκ εοικεν εἶναι ἀλλότρια τῶν εἰρημένων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐλεγχθῆσται, καθ' ὃν ἀποδείξομεν ὅτι πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων Ἀναξαγόρας νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ τοῦ παντὸς αἵτιᾳ μνημονεύεται νῦν δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὸν Διόδωρον μετάβα, καὶ σκόπει οἶα περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεολογίας ἴστορεῖ

## Section 9

1.9.1 | "Τοὺς δ' οὓν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπους τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένους ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν καταπλαγέντας τε καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι δύο θεοὺς ἀϊδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τόν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὃν τὸν μὲν "Οσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν ὄνομάσαι, ἀπό τινος ἔτύμου τεθείσης ἐκατέρας τῆς προστγοοίας.

1.9.2 | υεθερμηνευομένων γὰρ τούτων εἰς τὸν Ελληνικὸν τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον εἶναι μὲν τὸν "Οσιριν πολυόφθαλμον, εἴκότως πάντῃ γὰρ ἐπιβαλλοντα τὰς ἀκτῖνας ὡσπερ πολλοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς βλέπειν ἀπασαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν· καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ λέγειν σύμφωνα τούτοις, 'Ηέλιος θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.

1.9.3 | τῶν δὲ παρ' "Ελλησι παλαιῶν

1.8.19 | This is what Socrates himself, who is famous among all Greeks, thought about the nature of the things mentioned. It seems right to me that we should also avoid the disbelief in all these things, since even the errors of polytheism do not seem to be different from what has been said. This will be examined at the right time, when we will show that Anaxagoras was the first among the Greeks to understand the mind in relation to the cause of everything. But now let me turn to Diodorus and see what he says about the earliest theology of humans.

1.9.1 | Those people in Egypt, looking up at the world and being amazed and astonished by the nature of everything, believed that there were two eternal and first gods: the sun and the moon. They named the sun Osiris and the moon Isis, based on some true meaning behind each name.

1.9.2 | When these names are translated into the Greek language, Osiris is called 'the one with many eyes,' which makes sense; for he sees the whole earth and sea by casting his rays everywhere, just like many eyes. And the poet also says in agreement with this, 'Helios, who sees everything and hears everything.'

1.9.3 | Some of the ancient storytellers

μυθολόγων τινές τὸν "Οσιριν Διόνυσον προσονομάζουσι καὶ Σείριον παρωνύμως. ὃν Εὔμολπος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσί φησιν ἀστροφαῆ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωπόν. Ὄρφεὺς δὲ τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον. φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ τὸ ἔναμμα αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς νεβρίδος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων ποικιλίας περιῆφθαι.

among the Greeks call Osiris Dionysus and playfully refer to him as Seirios. Eumolpos says in his Bacchic poems, 'the starry Dionysus with fiery rays.' Orpheus also calls him Phanites and Dionysus. Some say that his robe is made from the colorful patterns of the stars.

1.9.4 | τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν μεθερμηνευομένη εἶναι παλαιὰν, τεθειμένης τῆς προσηγορίας τῇ σελήνῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀιδίου καὶ παλαιᾶς γενέσεως· κέρατα δ' αὐτῇ περιτιθέασιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὄψεως, ἥν ἔχουσα φαίνεται καθὸν ἀν χρόνον ὑπάρχῃ μηνοειδής, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καθιερωμένης αὐτῇ βοὸς παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, τούτους δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑφίστανται τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διοικεῖν.

1.9.4 | Isis, when translated, is an ancient name given to the moon, from her eternal and ancient origin. They also place horns on her, based on her appearance, which looks like a crescent moon at any time she exists, and from the sacred cow associated with her by the Egyptians. These gods are believed to govern the entire universe.

1.9.5 | Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φοινικικῇ θεολογίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Φοινίκων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσικοὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συναφῆ θεοὺς μόνους ἐγίνωσκον, καὶ ὅτι τούτοις οἱ παλαίτατοι τὰ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέρωσαν βλαστήματα, καὶ θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ προσεκύνουν ταῦτα, ἀφ' ὃν αὐτοί τε διεγίνοντο καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες, καὶ χοάς καὶ ἐπιχύσεις ἐτέλουν· ἔλεον δὲ καὶ οἴκτον καὶ κλαυθμὸν βλαστήματι γῆς ἀπιόντι καθιέρουν, καὶ γενέσει ζώων ἐκ γῆς πρώτῃ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ἀλλήλων καὶ τελευτῇ, καθ' ἥν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπήρχοντο.

1.9.5 | Such things are indeed so. In Phoenician theology, the Phoenicians believed that the first natural beings were the sun, the moon, and the other wandering stars, along with the elements and the gods connected to them. They thought that these were the oldest beings to which they dedicated the plants of the earth, believing them to be gods, and they worshipped them. From these, they believed they came into being, as did those who followed them, and all those before them. They performed libations and offerings. They also purified with pity, sorrow, and weeping for the plants of the earth that were dying, and they honored the birth of animals from the earth, both first and last, through which life began.

1.9.6 | αὗται δ' ἡσαν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι τῆς

1.9.6 | These were indeed the inventions of

προσκυνήσεως ὅμοιαι τῇ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ψυχῆς ἔτι ἀτολμίᾳ. ταῦτα καὶ ἡ Φοινίκῶν γραφὴ, ὡς ἔξῆς ἀποδειχθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν λαμπρυνόμενος δυσφημίαις, ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἔμψυχων ἀποχῆς," καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀρχαιότητος τὴν μνήμην ὥδε πως αὐτολεξεὶ, Θεοφράστῳ μάρτυρι χρώμενος, παρατίθεται

worship, similar to their weakness and the still timid nature of their souls. This will be shown in the writings of the Phoenicians, as will be explained later. But also, that same person, who is being honored among us despite slander, wrote about 'The Departure of Living Beings,' and he recalls the memory of ancient times in this way, using Theophrastus as a witness.

1.9.7 | "Ἄναριθμος μέν τις ἔοικεν εἶναι χρόνος, ἀφ' οὗ τό γε πάντων λογιώτατον γένος, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ τὴν Ἱερωτάτην ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου κτισθεῖσαν χώραν κατοικοῦν, ἥρξαντο οἱ πρῶτοι ἐφ' ἐστίας τοῖς ούρανίοις θεοῖς θύειν, οὐ σμύρνης ούδὲ κασίας καὶ λιβανωτοῦ κρόκω μιχθέντων ἀπαρχάς· πολλαῖς γὰρ γενεαῖς ὕστερα παρελήφθη ταῦτα, καὶ πλάνης μαστήρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος γιγνόμενος τῆς ἀναγκαίας ζωῆς μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ δακρύων σταγόνας τούτων ἀπήρξατο τοῖς θεοῖς")

1.9.7 | Time seems to be countless, from which the most thoughtful race of all began, as Theophrastus says, and they settled in the sacred land built by the Nile. The first people began to offer sacrifices to the heavenly gods at their hearths, not with offerings mixed with myrrh, cinnamon, or saffron. Many generations later, these practices were forgotten, and man, becoming a master of his necessary life, began to offer these things to the gods with much effort and tears.

1.9.8 | οὐ τούτων οὖν ἔθυον πρόερον, ἀλλὰ χλόης οἰονεί τινα τῆς γονίμου φύσεως χνοῦν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀράμενοι. δένδρα μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸ ζώων ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ, τῶν δένδρων δὲ πολὺ πρόσθεν τὴν ἐπέτειον γεννωμένην πόαν· ἣς δρεπόμενοι φύλλα καὶ βίζας καὶ τοὺς ὅλους τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν βλαστοῦς κατέκαιον, ταύτη τοὺς φαινομένους ούρανίους θεοὺς τῇ θυσίᾳ δεξιούμενοι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθανατίζοντες αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμάς.

1.9.8 | Therefore, they did not offer these things first, but they took some kind of green growth of the fertile nature with their hands. For indeed, the earth produced trees before animals, and much earlier than the yearly grass. From this, they gathered leaves, roots, and all the shoots of their nature, and they burned them, receiving the visible heavenly gods with the sacrifice, and they made the honors of fire eternal for them.

1.9.9 | τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀθάνατον ἐφύλαττον ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς, ὡς ὃν μάλιστα

1.9.9 | For they kept the fire immortal in the temples, as it was most similar to them.

αύτοῖς δμοιότατον. ἐκ δὲ τῆς θυμιάσεως τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς θυμιατήριά τε ἐκάλουν καὶ τὸ θύειν καὶ θυσίας, ἢ δὴ ἡμεῖς ὡς τὴν ὑστέραν πλημμέλειαν σημαίνοντα οὐκ ὄρθως ἔξακούμεν, τὴν διὰ τῶν ζώων δοκοῦσαν θεραπείαν καλοῦντες θυσίαν.

From the offerings of the earth, they called the incense burners and the act of sacrificing and offerings, which we hear incorrectly as the later flood, calling the care through animals a sacrifice.

1.9.10 | τοσοῦτον 30] δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τοῦ μὴ παραβαίνειν τὸ ἔθος ἔμελεν ὡς κατὰ τῶν ἐκλειπόντων τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐπεισαγόντων δὲ ἔτερον, ἀρασαμένους ἀρώματα τὰ θυμιώμενα προσαγορεύσαι.

1.9.10 | So much did the ancients care about not breaking the custom, as it was against the old ways that were fading away. When they brought in something new, they would call the incense offerings by the name of the scents they had gathered.

1.9.11 | Ταῦτα είπών ἐπιλέγει μεθ' ἔτερα "Πόρρω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπαρχῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προιουσῶν παρανομίας ἢ τῶν δεινοτάτων θυμάτων παράληψις ἐπεισήθη ὡμότητος πλήρης, ὡς δοκεῖν τὰς πρόσθεν λεχθείσας καθ' ἡμῶν ἀρὰς νῦν τέλος είληφέναι, σφαξάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αἰμαξάντων."

1.9.11 | Having said this, he adds with other words, "Far from the offerings of first fruits, as people are moving toward wrongdoing, the most terrible neglect of sacrifices has come, full of cruelty, as it seems that the curses mentioned before have now reached their end, with people being slaughtered and the altars drenched in blood."

1.9.12 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ Θεόφραστος. ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τοῦ λόγου γένοιτ' ἀν ἡμῖν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν Κρατύλῳ, πρόσθεν τῶν εὐφημένων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅδε πῃ φάσκων πρὸς ὥημα Φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀστρα καὶ οὐρανόν ἄτε οὖν αὐτὰ δρῶντες πάντα ἀεὶ ίόντα δρόμω καὶ θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι."

1.9.12 | So much did Porphyrius say, no less than Theophrastus. A confirmation of this idea could come from Plato in the Cratylus, where he speaks about the Greeks, saying, "It seems to me that the first of the people around Greece consider only these as gods, just like many of the barbarians today: the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars, and the sky. Since they see all these things always moving and rushing, they named these as gods from this nature of divine beings."

1.9.13 | Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ

1.9.13 | But that the earliest and oldest

παλαίτατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὕτε ναῶν  
οίκοδομίαις προσεῖχον οὕτε ξοάνων  
ἀφιδρύμασιν, οὕπω τότε γραφικῆς ούδὲ  
πλαστικῆς ἢ γλυπτικῆς ἢ  
ἀνδριαντοποιητικῆς τέχνης ἐφευρημένης,  
ούδε μὴν οίκοδομικῆς ούδε ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς  
πω συνεστώσης, παντὶ τῷ οἶμαι  
συλλογιζομένῳ δῆλον εἶναι.

people neither built temples nor had statues made, and that at that time there was no art of painting, sculpting, or making statues invented, nor was there any building or architecture established, is clear to anyone who thinks about it.

1.9.14 | ὅτι δὲ ούδε τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κατωνομασμένων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων μνήμη τις τοῖς τότε παρῆν, οὕτ’ οὖν τις ἦν αὐτοῖς Ζεὺς, οὐ Κρόνος, οὐ Ποσειδῶν, οὐκ Ἀπόλλων, οὐχ Ἡρα, οὐκ Ἄθηνᾶ, οὐ Διόνυσος, ούδέ τις ἔτερος θήλειά τε καὶ ἄρρην θεὸς, οἵοι μετὰ ταῦτα μυρίοι παρά τε βαρβάροις καὶ Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλ’ ούδε δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς ἢ φαῦλος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐθαυμάζετο, μόνα δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα τῶν οὐρανίων ἄστρων, παρὰ τὸ θέειν, δύπερ ἐστὶ τρέχειν, θεῶν τε προσηγορίας, ως αὐτοί φασιν, ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ούδε ταῦτα ταῖς διὰ ζώων θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα περινοηθείσαις τιμαῖς ἐθρησκεύετο, οὐχ ἡμέτερος ὁ λόγος, οἴκοθεν δὲ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡ μαρτυρία, διὰ τῶν προτεθειμενῶν φωνῶν καὶ τῶν αὐθις ἐξῆς παρατεθησομένων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν παρασχομένη.

1.9.14 | That there was no memory of the gods and heroes named after this time is clear. There was no Zeus, no Cronus, no Poseidon, no Apollo, no Hera, no Athena, no Dionysus, nor any other male or female god like those that came later among the many barbarians and Greeks. Also, no good or evil spirit was admired among people. Only the visible heavenly stars were worshiped, as they say, and not even these were honored with sacrifices from animals or later offerings. Our argument is not from us, but the testimony from the Greeks themselves will provide proof through the words set forth and those that will be presented next.

1.9.15 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱεροὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι λόγοι, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὴν τῶν ὄρωμενων φωστήρων τιμὴν ἀπονεμῆσθαι περιέχοντες, μόνω δὲ τῷ Ἐβραϊσιν γένει τὴν ἐποπτείαν ἀνατεθεῖσθαι [τῆς θεωρίας] τοῦ τῶν ὄλων ποιητοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας.

1.9.15 | This is what the sacred teachings tell us. They say that all nations share the honor of the visible lights, but only the Hebrew people are given the understanding of the creator and maker of all things and the true piety toward him.

1.9.16 | ούκ ἄρα τις ἦν θεογονίας  
Ἐλληνικῆς ἢ βαρβαρικῆς τοῖς παλαιτάτοις  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος, ούδὲ ξοάνων  
ἀψύχων ἴδρυσις ούδ' ἡ νῦν πολλὴ φρυναρία  
τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν  
κατονομασίας.

1.9.16 | So, there was no account of Greek or barbarian creation myths among the earliest people, nor any establishment of lifeless statues, nor the many empty stories about the names of male and female gods that we have today.

1.9.17 | εἰ γοῦν προσηγορίαι καὶ τὰ  
όνόματα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὕστερον  
ἐφευρημένα οὕπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις  
ἔγνωρίζετο, ἀλλ' ούδὲ δαιμόνων καὶ  
πνευμάτων ἀφανῶν ἀναικήσεις, ούκ  
ἔκτοποι περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἥρωων μυθολογίαι,  
ούκ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν μυστήρια, ούδ'  
ὅλως τι τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀδολέσχου τῶν  
μετέπειτα ἀνδρῶν δεισιδαιμονίας.

1.9.17 | If indeed the names and titles invented by people later were not known among them at that time, then there were no calls for unseen spirits or demons, no myths about gods and heroes, no secret rituals of sacred ceremonies, and nothing at all of the many foolish superstitions of later men.

1.9.18 | ἀνθρώπων ἄρα ταῦτα ἦν εὐρήματα  
καὶ θνητῆς φύσεως ἀναπλάσματα, μᾶλλον  
δὲ τρόπων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων  
ἐπιτεχνήματα, κατὰ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῖον  
λόγιον τὸ φάσκον “ἀρχὴ πορνείας ἐπίνοια  
είδώλω.”

1.9.18 | These were inventions of humans and copies of mortal nature, more like tricks of shameful and immoral ways, according to our divine teaching that says, "the beginning of prostitution is the idea of an idol."

1.9.19 | ἡ γοῦν τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων  
πολύθεος πλάνη μακροῖς ὕστερον αἰῶσι  
πέφανται, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ Φοινίκων καὶ  
Αἴγυπτίων, διαβᾶσα δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπὶ τε τὰ  
λοιπὰ ἔθνη καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς  
καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἡ τῶν παλαιτάτων ἱστορία  
κατέχει, ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπισκέψασθαι καιρὸς  
ἀπὸ τῶν Φοινικικῶν ἀρξαμένους.

1.9.19 | Indeed, the widespread belief in many gods among all nations has appeared long after, starting from the Phoenicians and Egyptians, and then spreading from them to other nations and even to the Greeks. This is also what the oldest history shows, which is worth examining, beginning with the Phoenicians.

1.9.20 | Ἰστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα Σαγχονιάθων,  
ἀνὴρ παλαιίτατος καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν  
χρόνων, ὃς φασι, πρεσβύτερος, ὃν καὶ ἐπ'  
ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς Φοινικικῆς  
ἱστορίας ἀποδεχθῆναι μαρτυροῦσι. Φίλων

1.9.20 | These things are recorded by Sanchuniathon, a very ancient man from the time of the Trojan War, as they say, who is older and is testified to for the accuracy and truth of Phoenician history.

δὲ τούτου πᾶσαν τὴν συγγραφὴν ὁ Βύβλιος, οὐχ ὁ Ἐβραῖος, μεταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων γλώττης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ἔξεδωκε. μέμνηται τούτων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένος συσκευὴν ἐν τετάρτῳ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑποθέσεως, ὃδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυρῶν πρὸς λέξιν

Philo, not the Hebrew, translated his entire work from the Phoenician language into Greek. Our own scholar remembers these things in the fourth part of his work, providing evidence for this man's words.

1.9.21 | “ἰστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συμφωνότατα, Σαγχουνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἴληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ιερομβάλου τοῦ ιερέως Θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰευώ· ὃς Ἀβιβάλω τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίων τὴν ιστορίαν ἀναθεὶς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἔξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας παρεδέχθη. οἱ δὲ τούτων χρόνοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν πίπτουσι χρόνων, καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μώσεως πλησιάζουσιν, ὡς αἱ τῶν Φοινίκης βασιλέων σιλέων μηνύουσι διαδοχάι. Σαγχουνιάθων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον φιλαληθῶς πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν ιστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν συναγαγῶν δὴ καὶ συγγράψας ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονε τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος, ἥ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, ἥ κατ’ αὐτοὺς γε τοὺς χρόνους γενέσθαι ἀναγέγραπται. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἡρμήνευσε Φίλων ὁ Βύβλιος.”

1.9.21 | Sanchuniathon of Berytus tells the most truthful things about the Jews, noting that both their places and names are very similar. He took his notes from Hierombalus, the priest of the god Jove, who presented the history to Abibalus, the king of the Berytians, and accepted it from him and those who examined the truth. The times he speaks of are before the Trojan War and are almost close to the time of Moses, as they mention the line of the silent kings of Phoenicia. Sanchuniathon, in the Phoenician dialect, truthfully gathered and wrote all the ancient history from the city records and the inscriptions in the temples, and he wrote about Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians, who is recorded to have existed before the Trojan times or around that period. Philo of Byblos translated Sanchuniathon's work into Greek.

1.9.22 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς, ἀλήθειαν ὅμοι καὶ παλαιότητα τῷ δὴ θεολόγῳ μαρτυρήσας. ὁ δὲ προιών, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, οὐδὲ μήν θεοὺς τοὺς κατ’ οὐρανὸν, θνητοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐδὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀστείους, οἶους δὲ ἀρετὴν ἄξιον εῖναι ἀποδέξασθαι ἥ ζηλῶσαι τῆς φιλοσοφίας, φαυλότητος δὲ καὶ μοχθηρίας

1.9.22 | These things show both truth and ancientness, as the theologian testifies. However, he does not speak of the god above all, nor of the gods in the sky, but rather of mortal men and women, and of the ridiculous way in which they are considered worthy of praise or imitation for their virtue, while being wrapped in all

ἀπάσης κακίαν περιβεβλημένους Θεολογεῖ.  
καὶ μαρτυρεῖ γε τούτους αὐτοὺς ἔκείνους  
εἶναι, τοὺς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν θεοὺς παρὰ τοῖς  
πᾶσι νενομισμένους κατά τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ  
τὰς χώρας. δέχου δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκ τῶν  
ἔγγραφων τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

kinds of baseness and wickedness. He indeed testifies that these are the same ones who are still regarded as gods by everyone in the cities and regions. Accept also the proofs from their writings.

1.9.23 | ὁ δὴ Φίλων εἰς ἐννέα βίβλους τὴν  
πᾶσαν τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος πραγματείαν  
διελὼν, κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ πρώτου  
συγγράμματος αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι προλέγει  
περὶ τοῦ Σαγχουνιάθωνος ταῦτα

1.9.23 | Philo, having divided the entire work of Sanchuniathon into nine books, begins the first book with these words about Sanchuniathon.

1.9.24 | “Τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων ὁ  
Σαγχουνιάθων, ἀνὴρ πολυμαθῆς καὶ  
πολυπράγμων γενόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔξ ἀρχῆς,  
ἀφ' οὗ τὰ πάντα συνέστη, παρὰ πάντων  
εἰδέναι ποθῶν, πολυφροντίστως  
ἔξεμάστευσε τὰ Τααύτου, είδως ὅτι τῶν  
ὑφ' ἡλίῳ γεγονότων πρῶτός ἐστι Τάαυτος,  
ὅτι τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν εὔρεσιν ἐπινοήσας  
καὶ τῆς τῶν ὑπομνημάτων γραφῆς  
κατάρξας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὕσπερ κρηπῖδα  
βαλόμενος τοῦ λόγου, ὃν Αἴγυπτιοι μὲν  
ἐκάλεσαν Θωὺθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θώθ,  
Ἐρμῆν δὲ Ἑλληνες μετέφρασαν.”

1.9.24 | With these things in mind, Sanchuniathon, a very learned and curious man, wanting to know everything from the beginning, from which all things were made, carefully investigated the history of Taautus, knowing that Taautus is the first of those things that happened under the sun. He invented the writing of letters and began the writing of records, and from this point, like a foundation for his speech, the Egyptians called him Thoth, the Alexandrians called him Thoth, and the Greeks translated him as Hermes.

1.9.25 | Ταῦτα είπὼν ἐπιμέμφεται τοῖς  
νεωτέροις τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἂν  
βεβιασμένως καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῶς τοὺς περὶ  
θεῶν μύθους ἐπ' ἀλληγορίας καὶ φυσικάς  
διηγήσεις τε καὶ θεωρίας ἀνάγουστι λέγει δ'  
οὗν προίων

1.9.25 | Having said this, he criticizes the later ones who, in a forced and untrue way, interpret the myths about the gods through allegories and natural accounts and theories. He then says, as he continues...

1.9.26 | “Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν νεώτατοι τῶν  
ἱερολόγων τὰ μὲν γεγονότα πράγματα ἔξ  
ἀρχῆς ἀπεπέμψαντο, ἀλληγορίας δὲ καὶ  
μύθους ἐπινοήσαντες καὶ τοῖς κοσμικοῖς

1.9.26 | But the very latest of the priests sent away the actual events from the beginning, and having invented allegories and myths, they created mysteries by

παθήμασι συγγένειαν πλασάμενοι  
μυστήρια κατέστησαν, πολὺν αύτοῖς  
έπηγον τῦφον, ὡς μὴ ḥραδίως τινὰ συνορᾶν  
τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν γενόμενα· ὃ δὲ συμβαλὼν  
τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὐρεθεῖσιν  
ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμουνέων γράμμασι  
συγκειμένοις, ἀ δὴ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα,  
τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἥσκησε· καὶ  
τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὸν κατ'  
ἀρχὰς μῆθον καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας ἐκποδὼν  
ποιησάμενος, ἔξηνύσατο τὴν πρόθεσιν, ἵως  
πάλιν οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι ἱερεῖς χρόνοις  
ὕστερον ἡθέλησαν αὐτὴν ἀποκρύψαι, καὶ  
εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες ἀποκαταστῆσαι· ἔξ οὖν τὸ  
μυστικὸν ἀνέκυπτεν οὐδέπω φθάσαν εἰς  
“Ἐλληνας.”

connecting them to worldly experiences.  
They filled themselves with great pride, so  
that no one could easily see the true events.  
He, however, joined with those hidden  
writings of the Ammonians, which were not  
known to all, and he himself taught the  
knowledge of everything. Finally, adding to  
the work, he made the original myth and  
the allegories clear, revealing the intention,  
until later priests, in later times, wanted to  
hide it again and restore it to the mythical.  
From this, the secret emerged, which had  
not yet reached the Greeks.

1.9.27 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς φησιν “Ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν  
εὑρηται ἐπιμελῶς εἰδέναι τὰ Φοινίκων  
πιθοῦσι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔξερευνησαμένοις  
ἄλλην, οὐχὶ τὴν παρ’ Ἐλλησι· διάφωνος γάρ  
αὕτη καὶ φιλονεικότεον ὑπ’ ἐνίων μᾶλλον ἢ  
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν συντεθεῖσα.

1.9.27 | Next, he says, 'It has been found by  
us to know carefully what the Phoenicians  
desire, and having explored much material,  
not the one from the Greeks; for this is  
different and more contentious by some  
than it is put together according to the  
truth.'

1.9.28 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερα Οὔτως τε ἔχειν  
πεπεῖσθαι ἡμῖν παρέστη ὡς ἐκεῖνος  
γέγραφε, τὴν διαφωνίαν ὄρωσι τὴν παρ'  
Ἐλλησι. περὶ ἣς μοι τρία πεφιλοτίμηται  
βιβλία τὴν δ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα Παραδόξου  
ἰστορίας."

1.9.28 | And with other things, it has been  
shown to us that it is as he wrote, they see  
the disagreement among the Greeks. About  
which, three books have been highly valued  
by me, having the title 'Of Strange History.'

1.9.29 | Καὶ αὗθις μεθ’ ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει  
“Προδιαρθρῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν  
αὗθις σαφήνειαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος  
διάγνωσιν ὅτι οἱ παλαίτατοι τῶν  
βαρβάρων, ἔξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ  
Αἴγυπτιοι, παρ’ ὃν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον  
ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς

1.9.29 | And again, he adds, 'It is necessary  
to clarify for the sake of further  
understanding, and to recognize that the  
oldest of the barbarians, especially the  
Phoenicians and Egyptians, from whom  
other people also received knowledge,  
believed that the greatest gods were those

τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρείαν εὐρόντας, ἥ  
καὶ κατά τι εὗ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη·  
εύεργέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους  
ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενοι ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν,  
καὶ εἰς τὸ χρεών μεταστάντας ναοὺς  
κατασκευασάμενοι, στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους  
ἀφιέρουν ἔξ ὄνόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα  
μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἐορτὰς ἔνεμον  
αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοίνικες· ἔξαιρέτως δὲ  
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σφετέρων βασιλέων τοῖς  
κοσμικοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ τισὶ τῶν  
νομιζομένων θεῶν τὰς ὄνομασίας  
ἐπέθεσαν φυσικοὺς δὲ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην  
καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ  
στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συναφῆ θεοὺς  
μόνους ἐγίνωσκον, ὡστ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν  
θνητοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἀθανάτους θεοὺς εἶναι."

who discovered things for daily needs or who did good things for the nations; they considered these as benefactors and the causes of many good things, worshipping them as gods. They built temples in their honor, offering pillars and staffs in their names, greatly respecting these, and the Phoenicians held the greatest festivals for them. Especially from their own kings, they added names of the cosmic elements and some of the recognized gods; they recognized only the natural ones, like the sun, the moon, and the other wandering stars and the elements, and the gods connected to these, so that for them, some were mortal and others were immortal gods.'

1.9.30 | Ταῦτα κατὰ τό προοίμιον ὁ Φίλων διαστειλάμενος ἔξῆς ἀπάρχεται τῆς τού Σαγχονιάθωνος ἑρμηνείας, ὡδέ πως τὴν Φοινικικὴν ἐκτιθέμενος θεολογίαν

1.9.30 | These things, having been distinguished in the introduction, Philo then begins the interpretation of the work of Sanchuniathon, explaining the Phoenician theology in this way.

## Section 10

1.10.1 | "Τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται  
ἀέρα ζο c φώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἥ πνοήν  
ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερὸν,  
έρεβωδες, ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀπειρα καὶ διὰ  
πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. ὅτε δὲ, φησὶν,  
ἡράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ίδιων ἀρχῶν καὶ  
ἔγενετο σύγκρασις, ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη  
πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων.  
αὕτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν, καὶ  
ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος  
ἔγενετο Μώτ.

1.10.1 | He proposes that the origin of everything is a dark and misty air, or a breath of dark air, and chaotic, murky darkness. These things are infinite and have no end for a long time. But when, he says, the spirit desired its own beginnings, a mixture occurred, and that intertwining was called desire. This is the beginning of the creation of all things. It did not recognize its own creation, and from the intertwining of the spirit, Môt came into being.

1.10.2 | τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἥλυν, οἵ δὲ  
ύδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης  
ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις  
τῶν ὅλων. ἦν δέ τινα ζῷα οὐκ ἔχοντα  
αἴσθησιν, ἔξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῷα νοερὰ, καὶ  
ἐκλήθη Ζωφασμήν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ούρανοῦ  
κατόπται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὅμοιώς ώστε  
σχήματι, καὶ ἔξέλαμψε Μῶτ, ἥλιός τε καὶ  
σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.”

1.10.3 | Τοιαύτη μὲν αὐτῶν ἡ κοσμογονία,  
ἀντικρυς ἀθεότητα εἰσάγοντα· ἵδωμεν δὲ  
ἔξης ὡς καὶ τὴν ζωογονίαν ὑποστῆναι  
λέγει. φησὶν οὖν

1.10.4 | “Καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος διαυγάσαντος, διὰ  
πύρωσιν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς  
ἐγένετο πνεύματα καὶ νέφη καὶ ούρανίων  
ὑδάτων μέγισται καταφοραὶ καὶ χύσεις.  
καὶ ἐπειδὴ διεκρίθη, καὶ τοῦ ἴδιου τόπου  
διεχωρίσθη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἥλιου πύρωσιν, καὶ  
πάντα συνήντησε πάλιν ἐν ἀέρι τάδε  
τοῖσδε, καὶ συνέρραξαν, βρονταί τε  
ἀπετελέσθησαν καὶ ἀστραπαὶ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
πάταγον τῶν βροντῶν τὰ πριγεγρανέβα  
νοερὰ ζῷα ἐγρηγόρησεν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥχον  
ἐπτύρη, καὶ ἐκινήθη ἐν τε γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ  
ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ.”

1.10.5 | Τοιαύτη αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ ζωογονία.  
τούτοις ἔξης ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἐπιφέρει  
λέγων “Ταῦθ' ηὔρεθη ἐν τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ  
γεγραμμένα Τααύτου καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου  
ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐκ τε στοχασμῶν καὶ  
τεκμηρίων ὃν ἐώρακεν αὐτοῦ ἡ διάνοια

1.10.2 | Some say this is mud, while others  
say it is the decay of watery mixture. And  
from this came all the seeds of creation and  
the generation of everything. There were  
some creatures without sensation, from  
which intelligent creatures came into being,  
and they were called Zoëphasmín, which  
means 'watchers of the sky.' And they were  
shaped like an egg, and Môt shone forth,  
along with the sun, the moon, and the great  
stars.

1.10.3 | Such is their creation of the world,  
introducing outright godlessness. But let us  
see next how it also speaks of the  
generation of life.

1.10.4 | And when the air became clear,  
through the heating of the sea and the  
earth, spirits and clouds came into being,  
and the greatest downpours and floods of  
heavenly waters. And when it was  
separated, and its own place was divided  
because of the heat of the sun, everything  
met again in the air, and they joined  
together. Thunder was made, and lightning  
flashed, and at the crash of the thunder, the  
intelligent creatures that had been  
mentioned woke up, and at the sound, they  
stirred, both male and female, in the earth  
and the sea.

1.10.5 | Such is their generation of life. The  
same author goes on to say, 'These things  
were found written in the creation of the  
world, in the notes of that one, from  
thoughts and proofs that his mind has seen  
and discovered, and he has enlightened us.'

καὶ ηὗρε καὶ ἡμῖν ἐφώτισεν.'

1.10.6 | Έξῆς τούτοις ὄνόματα τῶν ἀνέμων είπὼν νότου καὶ βορέου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιλέγει "Ἄλλ' οὗτοί γε πρῶτοι ἀφιέρωσαν τὰ τῆς γῆς βλαστήματα καὶ θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, καὶ προσεκύνουν ταῦτα, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτοί τε διεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντες, καὶ χοὰς καὶ ἐπιθύσεις ἐποίουν."

1.10.6 | Next, after mentioning the names of the winds, the south wind and the north wind, he adds, 'But these were the first to dedicate the plants of the earth and believed in gods, and they worshiped them, from whom they themselves were born and those who followed them, as well as all those before them, and they made offerings and sacrifices.'

1.10.7 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Αὗται δ' ᾧσαν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅμοιαι τῇ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀτολμίᾳ. εἰτά φησι γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Κολπία ἀνέμου καὶ γυναικὸς Βάαυτ, τοῦτο δὲ νύκτα ἐρμηνεύει, Αἴῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον, θνητοὺς ἄνδρας, οὕτω καλούμενους· εὐρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἴῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ δένδρων τροφήν. ἐκ τούτων τοὺς γενομένους κληθῆναι Γένος καὶ Γενεὰν, καὶ οἰκῆσαι τὴν Φοινίκην· αὐχμῶν δὲ γενομένων τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὄρέγειν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. τοῦτον γὰρ (φησὶ) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον.  
Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες, ὃ ἔστι παρὰ Φοίνιξι κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' "Ελλησι"

1.10.7 | And he adds, 'These were the inventions of worship, similar to their weakness and the cowardice of their souls. Then he says that they were born from the South wind and the woman Baaut, which means night, Aion and Protagonos, mortal men, thus called; for Aion is found to mean nourishment from trees. From these, those born were called Race and Generation, and they settled in Phoenicia; and when they were thirsty, they raised their hands to the sky towards the sun. For they believed this god to be the only lord of heaven. They called him Baalshamin, which means lord of heaven among the Phoenicians, but Zeus among the Greeks.'

1.10.8 | Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλάνην "Ελλησιν αἴτιαται λέγων "Οὐ γὰρ ματαίως αὐτὰ πολλαχῶς διεστειλάμεθα, σιν ὄνομάτων, ἀπερ οἱ "Ελληνες ἀγνοήσαντες ἄλλως ἔξεδέξαντο, πλανηθέντες τῇ ἀμφιβολίᾳ τῆς μεταφράσεως."

1.10.8 | After these things, he blames the Greeks for their confusion, saying, 'For we have not been scattered in vain in many ways, by names, which the Greeks, not knowing, accepted differently, being misled by the uncertainty of translation.'

1.10.9 | Έξῆς φησιν "Απὸ Γένους Αἴῶνος καὶ Πρωτογόνου γεννηθῆναι αὐθις παῖδας

1.10.9 | Next, he says, 'From the Race of Aion and Protagonos, mortal children were

θνητοὺς, οἵς εῖναι ὄνόματα Φῶς καὶ Πύρ καὶ Φλόξ. οὗτοι (φησὶν) ἐκ παρατριβῆς ξύλων εῦρον πῦρ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἐδίδαξαν. υἱὸὺς δὲ ἐγέννησαν οὗτοι μεγέθει τε καὶ ὑπεροχῇ κρείσσονας, ὃν τὰ ὄνόματα τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἐπετέθη ὃν ἐκράτησαν, ὡς ἔξ αὐτῶν κληθῆναι τὸ Κάσσιον, καὶ τὸν Λίβανον, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον, καὶ τὸ Βραθύ. ἐκ τούτων (φησὶν) ἐγεννήθη Σαμημροῦμος, ὁ καὶ Υψουράνιος, καὶ Οὔσωας· ἀπὸ μητέρων δὲ (φησὶν) ἔχρημάτιζον, τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἀνέδην μισγομένων οἵς ἀν' ἐντύχοιεν.

born again, whose names are Light, Fire, and Flame. These, he says, found fire from rubbing wood and taught its use. And these sons were born greater in size and strength, whose names were given to the mountains they conquered, so that they were called Cassius, Lebanon, Antilebanon, and Brathy. From these, he says, was born Samimromus, who is also called Hypsuranios, and Ousoo; and from their mothers, he says, they were enriched, from the women of that time who were mingling freely with whom they happened to meet.'

1.10.10 | Εἶτά φησι "Τὸν Υψουράνιον οἰκῆσαι Τυρὸν, καλύβας τε ἐπινοῆσαι ἀπὸ καλάμων καὶ θρύων καὶ παπύρου, στασιάσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Οὔσωνον, ὃς τῷ σώματι πρῶτος ἐκ δερμάτων ὃν ἴσχυσε συλλαβεῖν θηρίων εὗρε. ἡγδαίων δὲ γενομένων ὅμιμρων καὶ πνευμάτων παρατριβέντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τυρῷ δένδρα πῦρ ἀνάψαι καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι ὕλην καταφλέξαι. δένδρου δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Οὔσωνον καὶ καὶ ἀποκλαδεσαντα πρῶτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἷμά τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὃν ἥγρευε θηρίων.

1.10.10 | Then he says, 'Hypsuranios settled in Tyre and invented huts made from reeds, rushes, and papyrus, and he stood by his brother Ousoo, who was strong in body. He was the first to use animal skins to capture wild beasts. And when heavy rains and winds came, he rubbed the trees in Tyre to start a fire and burned the wood there. Taking a tree, Ousoo first dared to enter the sea; and he set up two pillars with fire and spirit, and worshipped, pouring out blood from the beasts he had captured.'

1.10.11 | τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἐօρτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος. χρόνοις δὲ ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Υψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἄγρεα καὶ Ἀλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἀλείας εὐρετᾶς, ἐξ ὃν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἀλιεῖς· ἐξ ὃν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφοὺς σιδήρου εύρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας, ὃν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσώρ λόγους

1.10.11 | When these died, he says, the survivors dedicated staffs to them, worshipped the pillars, and held festivals for them every year. Many years later, from the lineage of Hypsuranios, Agrea and Haliea were born, who were the finders of game and fish, from whom came the names hunters and fishermen. From them were born two brothers, the discoverers of iron and its work, one of whom was Chrysoor,

άσκησαι καὶ ἐπωδὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον Ἡφαιστὸν, εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὄρμιὰν καὶ σχεδίαν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν.

who practiced words, songs, and prophecies; he was called Hephaestus, and he also invented the hook, bait, anchor, and net, being the first among all men to sail. For this reason, they honored him as a god after his death.

1.10.12 | καλεῖσθαι δὲ αύτὸν καὶ Δία μειλίχιον· οἷς δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοίχους φασὶν ἐπινοῆσαι ἐκ πλίνθων. μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτων γενέσθαι νεανίας δύο, καλεῖσθαι δὲ αύτῶν τὸν μὲν Τεχνίτην, τὸν δὲ Γήινον αὐτόχθονα οὗτοι ἐπενόησαν τῷ πηλῷ τῆς πλίνθου συμμιγνύειν φορυτὸν καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ αὐτὰς τερσαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στέγας ἔξεῦρον. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐγένοντο ἔτεροι, ὅν δὲ μὲν Ἀλρὸς ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρούηρος ἢ Ἀγρότης, οὗ καὶ ξόανον εἶναι μάλα σεβάσμιον καὶ ναὸν ζυγοφορούμενον ἐν Φοινίκῃ· παρὰ δὲ Βυβλίοις ἔξαιρέτως θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὄνομάζεται.

1.10.12 | He is also called gentle Zeus; and they say that his brothers invented walls made of bricks. After this, from this lineage, two young men were born, one called Technites and the other Geinos. These two thought to mix clay with straw and dry the bricks in the sun, and they also discovered roofs. From these, others were born, one called Alros and the other Agrueiros or Agrótis, who had a very revered statue and a temple carried on a yoke in Phoenicia; among the Byblians, he is especially named the greatest of the gods.

1.10.13 | ἐπενόησαν δὲ οὗτοι αύλας προστιθέναι τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ περιβόλαια καὶ σπήλαια. ἐκ τούτων ἀγρόται καὶ κυνηγοί. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ Ἀληται καὶ Τιτᾶνες καλοῦνται. ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι Ἀμυνον καὶ Μάγον, οἳ κατέδειξαν κώμας καὶ ποίμνας. ἀπὸ τούτων γενέσθαι Μισώρ καὶ Συδύκ, τουτ' ἔστιν εὔλυτον καὶ δίκαιον. οὗτοι τὴν τοῦ ἀλός χρῆσιν εὗρον.

1.10.13 | They also thought to add courtyards to the houses, as well as fences and caves. From these came farmers and hunters. These are also called Aleitai and Titans. From them were born Amynon and Magon, who showed how to build villages and herds. From these came Misor and Sudyk, which means easy and just. These discovered the use of salt.

1.10.14 | ἀπὸ Μισώρ Τάαυτος, ὃς εὗρε τὴν τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων γραφήν· δὸν Αἴγυπτιοι μὲν Θωὺθ, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς δὲ Θὼθ, "Ἐλληνες δὲ Ἐρμῆν ἐκάλεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Συδύκ Διόσκουροι, ἢ Κάβειροι, ἢ Κορύβαντες, ἢ Σαμοθράκες. οὗτοι φησὶν

1.10.14 | From Misor came Taautos, who discovered the writing of the first elements; the Egyptians called him Thoth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks Hermes. From Sudyk came the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothracians.

πρῶτοι πλοῖον εὗρον. ἐκ τούτων γεγόνασιν  
ἔτεροι, οἱ καὶ βοτάνας εὗρον καὶ τὴν τῶν  
δακετῶν ἵασιν καὶ ἐπωδάς, κατὰ τούτους  
γίνεται τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος "Ὕψιστος,  
καὶ Θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ· οἱ καὶ  
κατώκουν περὶ Βύβλου.

These are said to be the first to discover ships. From these others were born, who also found herbs and the healing of wounds and spells. Among them is one called the Most High, Helion, and a woman named Thelia from Beirut; they also lived around Byblos.

1.10.15 | ἐξ ᾧ γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος  
αὐτόχθων, ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν·  
ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχεῖον  
δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους ὄνομάζειν  
οὐρανόν. γεννᾶται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφὴ ἐκ  
τῶν προειρημένων, ἡ καὶ ἐκλήθη Γῆ. καὶ  
διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς φησὶν) ἐκάλεσαν τὴν  
διμῶνυμον γῆν. ὃ δὲ τούτων πατήρ ὁ  
Ὕψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας  
ἀφιερώθη, ὡς χοὰς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες  
έτελεσαν.

1.10.15 | From these is born the Earth-dweller, who was later called Uranus; because of him, the element above us is named heaven due to its great beauty. To him is born a sister from those mentioned before, who is also called Earth. And because of her beauty, they say they named the land the same. But their father, the Most High, after the end of beasts, was honored, to whom the children made offerings and sacrifices.

1.10.16 | παραλαβών δὲ ὁ Οὐρανὸς τὴν τοῦ  
πατρὸς ἀρχὴν ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον τὴν  
ἀδελφὴν Γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖται ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας  
τέσσαρας, Ἡλον, τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, καὶ  
Βαίτυλον καὶ Δαγὼν, ὃς ἔστι Σιτὼν, καὶ  
Ἄτλαντα. καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων δὲ γαμετῶν ὁ  
Οὐρανὸς πολλὴν ἔσχε γενεάν. διὸ  
χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανὸν  
ζηλοτυποῦσα ἐκάκιζεν, ὡς καὶ διαστῆναι  
ἄλλήλω.

1.10.16 | Then Uranus took the rule from his father and went to marry his sister Earth, and he had four children with her: Helios, who is also Cronus, and Baitylus and Dagon, who is Siton, and Atlas. And from other wives, Uranus had many descendants. Therefore, Earth, being jealous of Uranus, mistreated him, so that they would be separated from each other.

1.10.17 | ὃ δὲ Οὐρανὸς ἀποχωρήσας αὐτῆς,  
μετὰ βίας ὅτε καὶ ἐβούλετο ἐπιών καὶ  
πλησιάζων αὐτῇ, πάλιν ἀπηλλάττετο·  
ἐπεχείρει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας  
διαφθείρειν· τὴν δὲ Γῆν ἀμύνασθαι  
πολλάκις, συμμαχίαν αὐτῇ συλλεξαμένην·  
εἰς ἄνδρας δὲ προελθών ὁ Κρόνος Ἐρμῆ τῷ  
τρισμεγίστῳ συμβούλῳ καὶ βοηθῷ

1.10.17 | But Uranus, having separated from her, would often approach and get close to her again, but then he would pull away. He also tried to destroy the children he had with her. Earth often defended herself, gathering allies to help her. Then Cronus, having grown into a man, used Hermes, the greatest helper and advisor,

χρώμενος, οὗτος γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ γραμματεὺς, τὸν πατέρα Οὐρανὸν ἀμύνεται, τιμωρῶν τῇ μητρί.

1.10.18 | Κρόνω δὲ γίνονται παῖδες Περσεφόνη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη παρθένος ἔτελεύτα, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς γνώμῃ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ κατεσκεύασε Κρόνος ἐκ σιδήρου ἄρπην καὶ δόρυ. εἴτα ὁ Ἐρμῆς τοῖς τοῦ Κρόνου συμμάχοις λόγους μαγείας διαλεχθεὶς πόθον ἐνεποίησε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ μάχης ὑπὲρ τῆς Γῆς. καὶ οὕτω Κρόνος τὸν Οὐρανὸν πολέμω συμβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤλασε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διεδέξατο. ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἡ ἐπέραστος τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ σύγκοιτος ἐγκύμων οὔσα, ἦν ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ Κρόνος Δαγῶνι πρὸς γάμον.

1.10.19 | τίκτει δὲ τούτῳ ὁ κατὰ γαστρὸς ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ ἔφερεν, ὅ καὶ ἔκάεσσε Δημαροῦν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κρόνος τεῖχος περιβάλει τῇ ἐαυτοῦ οἰκήσει, καὶ πόλιν πρώτην κτίζει τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Βύβλον.

1.10.20 | μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἀδελὸ τὸν ἴδιον "Ἄτλαντα ὑπονοήσας ὁ Κρόνος μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ εἰς βάθος γῆς ἐμβαλὼν κατέχωσε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἵ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἐπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὄρος ναὸν αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν. οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι "Ηλου τοῦ Κρόνου Ἐλωεὶμ ἐπεικλήθησαν, ὡς ἂν Κρόνιοι οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐπὶ Κρόνου,

1.10.21 | Κρόνος δὲ υἱὸν ἔχων Σάδιδον ἴδιω αὐτὸν σιδήρω διεχρήσατο, δι' ὑπονοίας

for he was his secretary, to defend against his father Uranus, seeking to avenge his mother.

1.10.18 | Cronus had children, Persephone and Athena. The first was a maiden, and with the advice of Athena and Hermes, Cronus made a sickle and a spear out of iron. Then Hermes spoke to Cronus's allies, using magic words to stir their desire for the battle against Uranus for Earth. And so, Cronus engaged Uranus in war, drove him from power, and took the kingdom. In the battle, Uranus's beloved partner, who was pregnant, was captured, and Cronus gave her in marriage to Dagon.

1.10.19 | She gave birth to the child she carried from Uranus, who was named Demaroon. After this, Cronus surrounded his own home with a wall and built the first city, Bublon, in Phoenicia.

1.10.20 | After this, Cronus suspected his own brother Atlas and, with Hermes's advice, he threw him deep into the earth. During this time, the Dioscuri built ships and sailed, and after hiding around Mount Cassius, they dedicated a temple there. The allies of Cronus were called Helouim, as they were known as Cronians in honor of Cronus.

1.10.21 | Cronus had a son named Sadidon, and he used iron to harm him, suspecting

αύτὸν ἐσχηκώς, καὶ τῆς c ψυχῆς, αὐτόχειρ  
τοῦ παιδὸς γενόμενος, ἐστέρησεν·  
ἀσαύτως καὶ θυγατρὸς ἴδιας τὴν κεφαλὴν  
ἀπέτεμεν, ὡς πάντας ἐκπεπλῆχθαι θεοὺς  
τὴν Κρόνου γνώμην.

him. He took away the soul of the child,  
becoming the killer himself. Likewise, he  
cut off the head of his own daughter, so that  
all the gods would be struck by Cronus's  
will.

1.10.22 | χρόνου δὲ προί·όντος Ούρανὸς ἐν  
φυγῇ τυγχάνων θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ παρθένον  
Ἀστάρτην μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς δύο,  
Ῥέας καὶ Διώνης, δόλῳ τὸν Κρόνον ἀνελεῖν  
ὑπομέμπει· ἀς καὶ ἐλῶν ὁ Κρόνος κουριδίας  
γαμετὰς ἀδελφὰς οὕσας ἐποιήσατο.

1.10.22 | As time went on, Uranus was in  
hiding, and he had a daughter, the virgin  
Astarte, along with two other sisters, Rhea  
and Dione. He secretly urged Cronus to kill  
them. Cronus took them and made them his  
wives, since they were his sisters.

1.10.23 | γνοὺς δὲ Ούρανὸς ἐπιστρατεύει  
κατὰ τοῦ Κρόνου Εἰμαρμένην καὶ Ὁραν  
μεθ' ἑτέρων συμμάχων, καὶ ταύτας  
ἔξοικειωσάμενος ὁ Κρόνος παρ' ἐαυτῷ  
κατέσχεν. ἔτι δὲ φησὶν) ἐπενόησε θεὸς  
Ούρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους  
μηχανησάμενος. Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ  
Ἀστάρτης θυγατέρες ἐπτὰ Τιτανίδες ἥ  
Ἄρτεμιδες.

1.10.23 | Knowing this, Uranus gathered  
allies against Cronus, including Fate and  
Hour, and Cronus, having made them  
familiar with him, kept them close. It is also  
said that the god Uranus devised living  
stones. From Astarte, Cronus had seven  
daughters, known as the Titanides or the  
Artemides.

1.10.24 | καὶ πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ γίνονται ἀπὸ  
Ῥέας παῖδες ἐπτὰ, ὃν ὁ νεώτατος ἄμα τῇ  
γενέσει ἀφιερώθη· καὶ ἀπὸ Διώνης θήλειαι,  
καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀστάρτης πάλιν ἄρρενες δύο,  
Πόθος καὶ Ἔρως.

1.10.24 | And again, from Rhea, seven  
children were born, the youngest of whom  
was dedicated at birth. From Dione, there  
were daughters, and from Astarte, there  
were also two sons, named Desire and  
Love.

1.10.25 | ὁ δὲ Δαγὼν, ἐπειδὴ εὗρε σῖτον καὶ  
ἄροτρον, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἄρότρις. Συδύκω δὲ,  
τῷ λεγομένῳ δικαίῳ, μία τῶν Τιτανίδων  
συνελθοῦσα γεννᾷ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν.

1.10.25 | But Dagon, when he found grain  
and a plow, was called Zeus the Plowman.  
And with Sudykos, who is called Just, one of  
the Titanides came together and bore  
Asclepius.

1.10.26 | ἐγεννήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐν Περαίᾳ  
Κρόνω τρεῖς παῖδες, Κρόνος ὁμώνυμος τῷ  
πατρὶ καὶ Ζεὺς Βῆλος καὶ Ἀπόλλων. κατὰ  
τούτους γίνονται Πόντος καὶ Τυφῶν καὶ  
Νηρεὺς, πατὴρ Πόντου.

1.10.26 | And three children were also born  
to Cronus in Peraea: Cronus, who had the  
same name as his father, and Zeus Belus,  
and Apollo. From these, there came Pontus  
and Typhon and Nereus, the father of  
Pontus.

1.10.27 | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πόντου γίνεται Σιδῶν,  
ἡ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐφωνίας πρώτη ὕμνον  
ῳδῆς εὗρε, καὶ Ποσειδῶν. τῷ δὲ  
Δημαροῦντι γίνεται Μέλκαθρος, ὁ καὶ  
Ἡρακλῆς.

1.10.27 | From Pontus comes Sidon, who,  
because of her great beauty of voice, was  
the first to discover the hymn of songs, and  
Poseidon. And to Demarounte, Melkathros  
is born, who is also Heracles.

1.10.28 | εἴτα πάλιν Ούρανὸς πολεμεῖ  
Πόντῳ, καὶ ἀποστὰς Δημαροῦντι  
προστίθεται, ἔπεισί τε Πόντῳ ὁ Δημαροῦς,  
τροποῦται τε αὐτὸν ὁ Πόντος, ὁ δὲ  
Δημαροῦς φυγῆς θυσίαν ηὔξατο.

1.10.28 | Then again, Uranus fights against  
Pontus, and having separated from  
Demarounte, he adds to him. Demarounte  
persuades Pontus, and Pontus turns him  
away, but Demarounte prayed for a  
sacrifice of escape.

1.10.29 | ἔτει δὲ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς  
ἐαυτοῦ κρατήσεως καὶ βασιλείας ὁ Ἡλος,  
τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ Κρόνος, Ούρανὸν τὸν πατέρα  
λοχήσας ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μεσογείῳ καὶ λαβὼν  
ὑποχείριον ἐκτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα,  
σύνεγγυς πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν. ἔνθα  
ἀφιερώθη Ούρανὸς, καὶ ἀπηρτίσθη αὐτοῦ  
τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀπέσταξεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα  
τῶν αἰδοίων εἰς τὰς πηγὰς καὶ τῶν  
ποταμῶν τὰ ὄδατα, καὶ μέχρι τούτου  
δείκνυται τὸ χωρίον."

1.10.29 | In the thirty-second year of his  
own rule and kingship, Helos, that is  
Cronus, ambushed his father Uranus in a  
certain middle place and, taking a sickle,  
cut off his genitals near the springs and  
rivers. There Uranus was honored, and his  
spirit was separated, and his blood dripped  
from his genitals into the springs and the  
waters of the rivers, and up to this point  
the place is shown.

1.10.30 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου,  
καὶ τοιαῦτά γε τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ παρ' Ἑλλησι  
βωμένου βίου τῶν ἐπὶ Κρόνου, οὓς καὶ  
φασι γεγονέναι πρῶτον χρύσεον τε γένος  
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, τῆς μακαριζομένης  
ἔκείνης τῶν παλαιῶν εὐδαιμονίας. πάλιν δὲ

1.10.30 | So much for Cronus, and such are  
the sacred things of the life of those who  
lived during Cronus, whom they say were  
the first golden race of mortal men, from  
that blessed old happiness. Again, the

ὸ συγγραφεὺς τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων

writer adds to these things, saying

1.10.31 | “Ἄστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ Ζεὺς Δημαροῦς καὶ Ἀδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν ἐβασίλευον τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γνώμῃ. ἡ δὲ Ἄστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἴδιᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου· περινοστοῦσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην εῦρεν ἀεροπετῇ ἀστέρα, ὃν καὶ ἀνελομένη ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ ἀγίᾳ νήσῳ ἀφιέρωσε.

1.10.31 | Astarte, the greatest, and Zeus Demarous, and Adodos, king of the gods, ruled over the land of Cronus by their will. Astarte placed a bull's head as a sign of kingship on her own head. Traveling around the world, she found a star that flies in the air, which she took and dedicated in the holy island of Tyre.

1.10.32 | τὴν δὲ Ἄστάρτην Φοίνικες τὴν Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι λέγουσι. καὶ ὁ Κρόνος δὲ περιιών τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἀθηνᾶς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὶ δίδωσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὴν βασιλείαν.

1.10.32 | The Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite. And Cronus, traveling around the world, gives the kingdom of Attica to his daughter Athena.

1.10.33 | λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ φθορᾶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μονογενῆ υἱὸν Κρόνος Οὐρανῷ τῷ πατρὶ ὀλοκαρποῖ, καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα περιτέμνεται, ταυτὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄμ’ αὐτῷ συμμάχους καταναγκάσας,

1.10.33 | When a plague and destruction happened, Cronus completely sacrificed his only son to Uranus, his father, and he cut off his genitals, forcing his allies to do the same.

1.10.34 | καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἔτερον αύτοῦ παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὄνομαζόμενον Μούθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιεροῦ. Θάνατον δὲ καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὄνομάζουσι.

1.10.34 | And not long after, he dedicates another son of his, named Muth, who died from Rhea. The Phoenicians call death and Pluto.

1.10.35 | καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλον μὲν τὴν πόλιν θεᾶς Βααλτίδη, τῇ καὶ Διώνῃ, δίδωσι, Βηρυτὸν δὲ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Καβείροις Ἀγρόταις τε καὶ Ἀλιεῦσιν, οἱ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πόντου λείψανα εἰς τὴν Βηρυτὸν ἀφιέρωσαν.

1.10.35 | And on top of this, Cronus gives the city of Byblos to the goddess Baaltis, who is also called Dione. He gives Beirut to Poseidon and the Cabiri, to the farmers and fishermen, who also dedicated the remains of the sea to Beirut.

1.10.36 | πρὸ δὲ τούτων θεὸς Ταυθὸς μιμησάμενος τῶν συνόντων θεῶν ὄψεις, Κρόνου τε καὶ Δαγῶνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, διετύπωσεν τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας ὅμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθίων καὶ ὀπισθίων μερῶν, \* \* \* δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν ὡς ἵπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα.

1.10.37 | τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόνος κοιμώμενος ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορῶς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὅμοιώς, ὅτι ἀναπαύμενος ἔπτατο καὶ ἵπτάμενος ἀνεπαύετο. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς δύο ἐκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπτντο τῷ Κρόνῳ. καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πτερὰ δύο, ἐν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικωτάτου νοῦ καὶ ἐν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως.

1.10.38 | ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Κρόνος εἰς νότου χώραν ἄπασαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε θεῷ Ταυθῷ, ὅπως βασίλειον αὐτῷ γένηται. ταῦτα δὲ (φησὶ) πρῶτοι πάντων ὑπεμνηματίσαντο οἱ ἐπτὰ παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιός, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐνετείλατο θεὸς Ταυθός.

1.10.39 | ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίων, ὃς πάμπρωτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰώνος γεγονότων Φοινίκων ἱεροφάντης ἀλληγορή σας, τοῖς τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν ξας, παρέδωκε τοῖς ὄργεωσι καὶ τελετῶν κατάρχουσι προφήταις· οἱ δὲ τὸν τῦφον αὔξειν ἐκ παντὸς ἐπινοοῦντες τοῖς αὐτῶν διαδόχοις παρέδοσαν καὶ τοῖς ἐπεισάκτοις· ὧν εἰς ἦν καὶ Εἰσίριος τῶν τριῶν

1.10.36 | Before this, the god Thoth, imitating the appearances of the gods present, made the sacred symbols of the elements in the likeness of Cronus, Dagon, and the others. He also invented for Cronus royal signs: four eyes from the front and back parts, two quiet ones, and on the shoulders, four wings, two like they were flying and two like they were folded down.

1.10.37 | The symbol was that while Cronus was sleeping, he could see, and while awake, he would fall asleep. And similarly with the wings, because when resting, he would fly, and when flying, he would rest. For the other gods, each had two wings on their shoulders, as they were connected to Cronus. And for him, there were also two wings on his head, one on the most commanding mind and one on the sense.

1.10.38 | Then Cronus came to the southern region and gave all of Egypt to the god Thoth, so that it would become his kingdom. These things, he says, were first remembered by the seven Cabiri children, and their own brother Asclepius, as the god Thoth commanded them.

1.10.39 | All these things were handed down by Thoth, who was the very first hierophant of the Phoenicians from ancient times, using allegories about natural and cosmic experiences. He delivered them to the initiates and the leaders of the rituals. And they, thinking of increasing the confusion, passed them down to their successors and to the followers. One of

γραμέπεισάκτοις· εύρετής, ἀδελφὸς Χνᾶ  
τοῦ πρώτου] μετονομασθέντος Φοίνικος."

these was Isirios, one of the three followers. He was the discoverer, the brother of Khnum, who was first renamed Phoenician.

1.10.40 | Εῖσ' ἔξῆς αὐθις ἐπιλέγει "Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εύφυια πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πλεῖστα ἔξιδιώσαντο, εἴτα καὶ τοῖς προκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἔξετραγώδησαν, ταῖς τε τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς θέλγειν ἐπινοοῦντες παντοίως ἐποίκιλλον. ἐνθεν Ἡσίοδος οĩ τε κυκλικοὶ περιηχημένοι θεογονίας καὶ γιγαντομαχίας καὶ Τιτανομαχίας ἐπλασαν ἴδιας καὶ ἐκτομάς, οῖς συμπεριφερόμενοι ἔξενίκησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

1.10.40 | Next, he again chooses to say, "The Greeks, being naturally gifted, first created many things from their own ideas, and then they also decorated them in various ways with embellishments, thinking to delight in the pleasures of myths and to make everything colorful. From this, Hesiod and the circular poets created their own versions of the Theogony, the Gigantomachy, and the Titanomachy, and by adapting these, they overcame the truth."

1.10.41 | σύντροφοι δὲ τοῖς ἑκείνων πλάσμασιν αἱ ἀκοαὶ ἡμῶν γενόμεναι, καὶ προληφθεῖσαι πολλοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς παρακαταθήκην φυλάσσουσιν ἦν παρεδέξαντο μυθοποιίαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, ἢτις συνεργηθεῖσα χρόνῳ δυσεξίτητον αύτῆς τὴν κατοχὴν εἵργασται, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν δοκεῖν λῆρον, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀφηγήσεως νόθον ἀλήθειαν."

1.10.41 | But the stories that came from their creations have become our listeners, and having been received through many ages, they keep safe the tradition of the myths that they accepted, just as I said at the beginning. This tradition, having worked together over time, has made its hold difficult to escape, so that the truth seems like nonsense, while the tale appears to be the true reality.

1.10.42 | Ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Σαγχουνιάθωνος προκείσθω γραφῆς, ἐρμηνευθείσης μὲν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος τοῦ Βυβλίου, δοκιμασθείσης δὲ ὡς ἀληθοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς Πορφυρίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου μαρτυρίας. ὁ δ' αύτὸς ἐν τῷ β περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Κρόνου γράφει

1.10.42 | Let these things come from the writing of Sanchuniathon, which was interpreted by Philo of Byblos and was tested as true by the testimony of Porphyry the philosopher. He also writes about these things regarding Cronus in his work about the Jews.

1.10.43 | "Ταυθὸς, ὃν Αἴγυπτιοι Θωὺθ

1.10.43 | Thoth, whom the Egyptians call

προσαγορεύουσι, σοφίᾳ διενεγκών παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. Ὡς μετὰ γενεὰς πλείους θεὸς Σουρμουβηλὸς Θουρώ τε ἡ μετονομασθεῖσα Εὔσαρθις ἀκολουθήσαντες κεκρυμμένην τοῦ Ταυοῦ καὶ ἄλληγορίαις ἐπεσκιασμένην τὴν θεολογίαν ἐφώτισαν."

Thoth, having brought wisdom among the Phoenicians, was the first to organize the matters of piety from the confusion of the common people into scientific experience. After many generations, the god Surmubelos and the renamed Thuro, called Eusarthis, followed him and illuminated the hidden theology of Thoth, which was overshadowed by allegories.

1.10.44 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν "Ἐθος ἔθος ἡν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς τὸ ἡγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι, λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι· κατεσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς. Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες Ἦλον προσαγορεύουσι, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὑστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστέρα καθιερωθεὶς, ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας νύμφης Ἀνωβρέτ λεγομένης υἱὸν ἔχων μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἰεδοὺδ ἐκάλουν, τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι) κινδύνων ἐκ πολέμου μεγίστων κατειληφότων τὴν χώραν, βασιλικῷ κοσμήσας σχήματι τὸν υἱὸν βωμόν τε κατασκευάσας ἄσμενος κατέθυσεν."

1.10.44 | "And shortly after, he says, 'It was a custom among the ancients in great disasters to offer the beloved children of those who ruled a city or a nation as a sacrifice to the avenging spirits, as a ransom for all. The ones given were secretly slaughtered. Therefore, Cronus, whom the Phoenicians call El, ruling over the land, after the end of his life was established as a star of Cronus. Having a unique son from a local nymph named Anobret, whom they called Iedoud, for this reason, the only-begotten is still called this by the Phoenicians. When the greatest dangers from war seized the land, he, adorned in royal form, built an altar for his son and gladly poured a libation.'"

1.10.45 | Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιάθωνος μεταβαλὼν θέα ὀποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν καὶ ιόβολων θηρίων, ἢ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις οὐδεμίαν συντελεῖ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἵς ἀν τὸν δυσαλθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἴὸν ἐγχρίμψειν ἀπεργάζεται. γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν ὥδε πως λέγων

1.10.45 | He himself again, changing the subject to the Phoenician elements from Sanchuniathon, speaks about the creatures that crawl and those that bring poison, which indeed do not contribute any good use for humans, but instead cause destruction and harm to those whom they sting with their difficult and harsh venom. He also writes these things in this way.

1.10.46 | "Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν ὄφενω αὐτὸς ἔξεθείασεν ὁ Ταυθὸς, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αῦθις Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἴγυπτιοι· πνευματικώτατον γὰρ τὸ ζῷον πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ πυρῶδες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρεδόθη· παρ' ὅ καὶ τάχος ἀνυπέρβλητον διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παρίστησι, χωρὶς ποδῶν τε καὶ χειρῶν ἡ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἔκτοσθεν, δι' ὃν τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα τὰς κινήσεις ποιεῖται· καὶ ποικίλων σχημάτων τύπους ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐλικοειδῆς ἔχει τὰς ὄρμὰς ἐφ' ὅ βούλεται τάχος.

1.10.47 | καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον δέ ἔστιν, οὐ μόνον τε ἐκδύομενον τὸ γήρας νεάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὔξησιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι μείζονα πέφυκε· καὶ ἐπειδὴν τὸ ὡρισμένον μέτρον πληρώσῃ, εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλίσκεται, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς ὁμοίως αὐτὸς ὁ Ταυθὸς κατέταξε γραφαῖς. διὸ καὶ ἐν ιεροῖς τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον καὶ ἐν μυστηρίοις συμπαρείληπται.

1.10.48 | εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Ἐθωθιῶν ὑπομνήμασιν ἐπὶ πλέον· ἐν οἷς κατασκευάζεται ὅτι ἀθάνατον εἴη, καὶ ὡς εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἀναλύεται, ὡσπερ πρόκειται· οὐ γὰρ θνήσκει ἴδιῳ θανάτῳ, εἰ μὴ βίᾳ τινὶ πληγὴν, τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον. Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὁμοίως καὶ Αἴγυπτιοι κυνῆφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ιέρακος κεφαλὴν, διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ιέρακος.

1.10.49 | καί φησιν ὁ Ἐπήεις ἀλληγορῶν, (ὸνομασθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῖς μέγιστος

1.10.46 | Therefore, Thoth himself described the nature of the dragon and the serpents, and after him, both the Phoenicians and Egyptians did the same. For this creature is the most spiritual of all reptiles and was handed down as fiery by him. It also presents an unmatched speed through its spirit, without feet or hands or any other external parts, by which the other animals make their movements. It takes on various shapes and has a twisting motion according to the speed it desires.

1.10.47 | And it is very long-lived, not only shedding its old age to become young again, but it also has a nature that allows for growth. And when it has filled its set measure, it consumes itself, just as Thoth himself arranged in the sacred writings. For this reason, this creature is included in sacred places and in mysteries.

1.10.48 | It has been said to us about it in the writings of the Ethothians, where it is explained that it is immortal and that it consumes itself, as is stated. For this creature does not die a natural death, unless it is struck by some violent blow. The Phoenicians call it a good spirit; similarly, the Egyptians name it 'Kneph.' They also add a hawk's head to it because of the hawk's practical nature.

1.10.49 | And the Epēios says in allegories (he who is called the greatest hierophant

ιεροφάντης καὶ ιερογραμματεὺς, ὃν μετέφρασεν Ἀρειος Ἡρακλεοπολίτης) κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· ' τὸ πρῶτον ὃν θειότατον ὄφις ἐστὶν ιέρακος ἔχων μορφὴν, ἄγαν ἐπίχαρις· ὃς εἰ ἀναβλέψειε, φωτὸς τὸ πᾶν ἐπλήρου ἐν τῇ πρωτογόνῳ χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ· εἴ δὲ καμμύσειε, σκότος ἐγίνετο·'

1.10.50 | ἔμφασιν διδοὺς ὁ Ἐπήεις ὅτι καὶ διάπυρόν ἔστι διὰ τοῦ φάναι 'διηγάσε'· φωτὸς γὰρ ἵδιόν ἔστι τὸ διαυγάσαι. παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε περὶ τοῦ πιρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὁφίονος θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὁφιονιδῶν, περὶ ᾧν αὐθις λέξομεν.

1.10.51 | ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἴγυπτοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέσα τεταμένον ὄφιν ιερακόμορφον· καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θῆτα· τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες, τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα σημαίνοντες.

1.10.52 | καὶ Ζωροάστρης δὲ ὁ μάγος ἐν τῇ ιερᾷ συναγωγῇ τῶν Περσικῶν φησι κατὰ λέξιν ' ὃ δὲ θεός ἔστι κεφαλὴν ἔχων ιέρακος. οὗτός ἔστιν ὃ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, ἀΐδιος, ἀγένητος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιότατος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδόκητος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος· ἔστι δὲ καὶ πατήρ εύνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, φυσικὸς, καὶ τέλειος, καὶ σοφὸς, καὶ ιεροῦ φυσικοῦ μόνος εὑρετής.' τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Ὁστάνης φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ

and scribe among them, translated by Areios of Heracleopolis) as follows: 'The first being is the most divine serpent, having the form of a hawk, very graceful. If it looks up, it fills the whole place with light in its original land; but if it looks down, darkness comes.'

1.10.50 | The Epēios, giving an indication, says that it is also fiery because of the saying 'it shines brightly.' For light is its own clarity. Among the Phoenicians, Pherecydes took the starting points and spoke about the god called Ophiōn and the Ophiōnids, about which we will speak again later.

1.10.51 | Moreover, the Egyptians, from the same ideas, depict the universe as a round shape that is airy and fiery, and inside it, they stretch a serpent with the form of a hawk. The whole shape is like the letter theta among us; the circle shows the universe, while the serpent in the middle represents the good spirit that connects it.

1.10.52 | And Zoroaster, the magician, in the sacred gathering of the Persians, says literally, 'the god has the head of a hawk. He is the first, immortal, eternal, without a beginning, most unlike anything else, the charioteer of all that is beautiful, not one to receive gifts, the best of the good, the wisest of the wise; he is also the father of order and justice, self-taught, natural, perfect, wise, and the only discoverer of sacred nature.' The same things are said by Ostanes about him in the work titled

'Οκτατεύχω."

'Octateuch.'

1.10.53 | Πάντες δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρὰ Ταυθοῦ λαβόντες ἐφυσιολόγησαν, ὡσπερ πρόκειται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στοιχεῖα τὰ διὰ τῶν ὄφεων ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι ἐν ἀδύτοις ἀφιέρωσαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐορτάς καὶ θυσίας ἐπετέλουν καὶ ὅργια, θεοὺς τοὺς μεγίστους νομίζοντες καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν ὅλων. τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄφεων.

1.10.53 | All took their starting points from Thoth and explained things as follows. First, they built temples through the serpents in the hidden places and dedicated them. They held festivals and sacrifices for these and performed rituals, believing them to be the greatest gods and the leaders of all. This is how much they said about the serpents.

1.10.54 | Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας τοῦτον περιέχει τὸν τρόπον· ἥν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν καὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιόν φρενοβλαβείας τὴν ἴασιν μεταδιώκειν ὁ σωτήριος εὐαγγελίζεται λόγος.

1.10.54 | But indeed, the theology of the Phoenicians contains this way: it seeks to escape unchangeably and to pursue the cure of the madness of the ancients, as the saving message proclaims.

1.10.55 | ὅτι δὲ μὴ μῦθοι ταῦτα καὶ ποιητῶν ἀναπλάσματα λανθάνουσάν τινα ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἔχοντα θεωρίαν τυγχάνει, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ παλαιῶν, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, θεολόγων ἀληθεῖς μαρτυρίαι, τὰ καὶ ποιητῶν ἀπάντων καὶ λογογράφων πρεσβύτερα περιέχουσαι, τό τε πιστὸν τῶν λόγων ἐπαγόμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσέτι δεῦρο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Φοινίκην πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις κρατούσης τῶν θεῶν προσηγορίας τε καὶ ἱστορίας, τῶν τε παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπιτελουμένων μυστηρίων, δῆλον ἀν εἴη, ὡς μηκέτι χρῆναι τούτων βιαίους ἀνιχνεύειν φυσιολογίας, σαφῆ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλεγχον ἐπιφερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Φοινίκων θεολογία· ὡρα δὲ μεταβάντας καὶ τὰ Αίγυπτιων ἐπιθεωρῆσαι.

1.10.55 | That these are not myths and do not come from the poets, but have some deeper meaning from wise and ancient theologians, as they themselves say, is clear. They provide true testimonies that are older than all poets and writers, bringing forth the truth of their words from the cities and villages of Phoenicia, where the names and histories of the gods still hold power, and where each group performs their own mysteries. It would be clear that there is no need to forcefully search for the nature of these things, as the evidence from them is clear. Such is the theology of the Phoenicians; now it is time to turn and examine that of the Egyptians.

## Second Book (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ)

### Introduction

2.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας τὸν προειρημένον περιέχει τρόπον· ἥν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν καὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν φρενοβλαβείας τὴν ἴασιν μεταδιώκειν ὁ σωτήριος εύαγγελίζεται λόγος.

2.praef.2 | ὅτι δὲ μὴ μῦθοι ταῦτα καὶ ποιητῶν ἀναπλάσματα λανθάνουσάν τινα ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἔχοντα θεωρίαν τυγχάνει, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ παλαιῶν, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, θεολόγων ἀληθεῖς μαρτυρίαι, τὰ καὶ ποιητῶν ἀπάντων καὶ λογογράφων πρεσβύτερα περιέχουσαι, τό τε πιστὸν τῶν λόγων ἐπαγόμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσέτι δεῦρο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Φοινίκην πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις κρατούσης τῶν θεῶν προσηγορίας τε καὶ ἱστορίας, τῶν τε παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπιτελουμένων μυστηρίων, δῆλον ἂν εἴη ἀπό τε τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν συγγραφέων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν νομιφομένων θεολόγων δόμολογίας, δι' ἣς ἐμαρτύρησαν τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ πρώτους τὰ περὶ θεῶν συστησαμένους μηδὲν εἰς φυσικὰς ἀναφέρειν τροπολογίας, μηδ' ἀλληγορεῖν τοὺς περὶ θεῶν μύθους, ἐπὶ μόνης δὲ τῆς λέξεως φυλάττειν τὰς ἱστορίας.

2.praef.3 | ταῦτα γὰρ αἱ προπαρατεθεῖσαι τῶν είρημένων ἐδήλουν φωναὶ, ὡς μηκέτι χρῆναι τούτων βιαίους ἀνιχνεύειν φυσιολογίας, σαφῆ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλεγχον ἐπιφερομένων τῶν πραγμάτων.

2.praef.1 | Introduction. The theology of the Phoenicians contains the way mentioned before; it seeks to escape unchangeably and to pursue the cure of the madness of the ancients, as the saving message proclaims.

2.praef.2 | That these are not myths and do not come from the poets, but have some deeper meaning from wise and ancient theologians, as they themselves say, is clear. They provide true testimonies that are older than all poets and writers, bringing forth the truth of their words from the cities and villages of Phoenicia, where the names and histories of the gods still hold power, and where each group performs their own mysteries. It would be clear that there is no need to forcefully search for the nature of these things, as the evidence from them is clear. Such is the theology of the Phoenicians; now it is time to turn and examine that of the Egyptians.

2.praef.3 | For these things, as stated before, the voices made clear that there is no longer a need to forcefully search for the nature of these matters, since the evidence from them clearly brings forth the truth of the facts.

2.praef.4 | Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Φοινίκων θεολογία. ὥρα δὲ μεταβάντας καὶ τὰ Αἴγυπτίων ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, εἰς τὸ κατανοῆσαι ἀκριβῶς καὶ συνιδεῖν ἔξητασμένως εἰ μὴ κεκριμένη καὶ εὐλογος συνέστηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἔξ αὐτῶν ἀναχώρησις, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ μόνης τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως, πρώτιστα πάντων αὐτοῖς Αἴγυπτοις, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἵσα φρονοῦσιν αὐτοῖς κατορθουμένη.

2.praef.5 | πᾶσαν μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἴγυπτιακὴν ιστορίαν εἰς πλάτος τῆς Ἑλλήνων μετείληφε φωνῆς ἴδιως τε τὰ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς θεολογίας Μανεθῶς ὁ Αἴγυπτιος ἐν τε ἣ ἔγραψεν ἱερᾶ βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι.

2.praef.6 | πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν μνημονευθεὶς, ἐκ πλειόνων τὰς ιστορίας ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἔθνεσιν ἀπηκριβωκώς, ἐπιφανῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν παιδείας παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς φιλολόγοις κτησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν συναγαγάων ιστορίαν, συνάψας τε τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς ἔξῆς πράγμασι, τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς ὅλης ἐποιήσατο πραγματείας ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτοις θεολογίας· ἀφ' ἣς ἡγοῦμαι κρεῖττον εἶναι ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν προκειμένων παράθεσιν, ὡς ἀν μᾶλλον οὕσης γνωριμωτέρας τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς τούτου γραφῆς. Ιστορεῖ δ' οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν

2.praef.4 | Such is the theology of the Phoenicians. Now it is time to turn and examine that of the Egyptians, to understand clearly and closely whether their teachings are not hidden and whether they are reasonable. This can only be done through the clear evidence, first of all from the Egyptians themselves, and then also from those who think similarly to them.

2.praef.5 | Therefore, the entire history of Egypt has been included in the writings of the Greeks, especially the parts about their theology by Manetho the Egyptian, both in the sacred book he wrote and in his other writings.

2.praef.6 | But also Diodorus, mentioned before us, having gathered histories from many sources and having accurately reported what is most important about each nation, is a well-known man who has gained great respect for his education among all scholars. He has collected the entire ancient history and has connected the earlier events with those that follow, making the beginning of his whole work based on the theology of the Egyptians. I believe it is better to present the information about the topics at hand in this way, as it will be more familiar to the Greeks from this writing. He indeed records these things word for word.

## Section 1

2.1.1 | "Φασὶ τοίνυν Αἴγυπτοι κατὰ τὴν ἔξ

2.1.1 | The Egyptians say that the first

άρχῆς τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν πρώτους  
ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
διά τε τὴν εύκρασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν  
φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον  
ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς  
παρεχόμενον ἥδινας ἐκτρέφειν τὰ  
ζωογονηθέντα. —

humans came to be in Egypt because of the good conditions of the land and the nature of the Nile. For this river, being very fertile and providing food naturally, easily nourishes the living things that are born.

2.1.2 | τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὲν  
ὑπάρχαι θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν  
ἀνθρώπων εὔεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τῆς  
ἀθανασίας, ὡν ἔνιους καὶ βασιλεῖς  
γενέσθαι. μεθερμηνευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν  
τινὰς μὲν ὄμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς  
οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δὲ ίδιαν ἐσχηκέναι  
προσηγορίαν, "Ηλιον τε καὶ Κρόνον Κρόνον  
ἔτι δὲ καὶ Δία τὸν ὑπό τινων Ἀμμωνα  
προσαγορευόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἡραν  
καὶ Ἡφαιστον, ἔτι δὲ Ἐστίαν, καὶ  
τελευταῖον Ἐρμῆν.

2.1.2 | They say that the gods were once humans, who became mortal but gained immortality through wisdom and the common good they did for people, some of whom became kings. When they are translated, some of them have the same names as the heavenly ones, while others have their own unique names. They mention Helios and Cronus, and also Zeus, who is called Ammon by some. Along with these, they include Hera, Hephaestus, Hestia, and lastly Hermes.

2.1.3 | καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἡλιον βασιλεῦσαι  
τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὄμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ'  
οὐρανὸν ἀστρῳ. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἱερέων φασὶ  
πρῶτον Ἡφαιστον βασιλεῦσαι, πυρὸς  
εὐρετὴν γενόμενον.

2.1.3 | And first, they say that Helios ruled over those in Egypt, having the same name as the star in the sky. But some of the priests say that Hephaestus was the first to rule, being the discoverer of fire.

2.1.4 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κρόνον ἄρξαι, καὶ  
γῆμαντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ῥέαν γεννῆσαι κατὰ  
μὲν τινὰς τὸν Ὁσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν, κατὰ δὲ  
τοὺς πλείστους Δία τε καὶ Ἡραν, οὓς δι'  
ἀρετὴν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.

2.1.4 | After this, they say that Cronus began to rule, and he married his sister Rhea. According to some, he fathered Osiris and Isis, but according to most, he fathered Zeus and Hera, who ruled over the whole universe because of their virtue.

2.1.5 | ἐκ δὲ τούτων γενέσθαι πέντε θεοὺς,  
὾σιριν καὶ Ἰσιν καὶ Τυφῶνα, Ἀπόλλωνά τε  
καὶ Ἀφροδίτην. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὁσιριν εἶναι  
τὸν Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν τὴν Δήμητρα.

2.1.5 | From these, five gods came to be: Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. They say that Osiris is Dionysus, and that Isis is Demeter. After marrying her, Osiris

ταύτην δὲ γήμαντα τὸν "Οσιριν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενον πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς εὔεργεσίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ .

2.1.6 | κτίσαι τε πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι ἑκατόμπυλον, ἦν τινὰς μὲν Δῖός πόλιν, ἐνίους δὲ Θήβας προσειπεῖν. — Ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῶν γονέων, Δῖός τε καὶ Ἡρας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ θεῶν ναοὺς χρυσοῦς, ὡν ἐκάστῳ τιμᾶς ἀπονεῖμαι, καὶ καταστῆσαι τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἱερεῖς·

2.1.7 | εὺρετὴν δὲ γενέσθαι τὸν "Οσιριν τῆς ἀμπέλου, πρῶτον τε ψιλῷ χρήσασθαι, καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὴν γεωργίαν.

2.1.8 | τιμᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ἐρμῆν διαφόρῳ φύσει κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν τῶν δυναμένων ὥφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον. — εὺρετήν τε γάρ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ θυσίας θεῶν διατάξασθαι, λύραν τε εύρειν, καὶ τοὺς "Ἐλληνας διδάξαι τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐρμηνείαν· ἀφ' οὗπερ αὐτὸν Ἐρμῆν ὄνομασθῆναι.

2.1.9 | τοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑλαίας τὸ φυτὸν εύρειν. τὸν δὲ "Οσιριν ἐπελθόντα πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπὶ μὲν Φοινίκης καταστῆσαι Βούσιριν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἴθιοπίαν καὶ Λιβύην Ἀνταῖον. αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιστρατεῦσαι μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν φασιν εύρετὴν τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς δάφνης γενέσθαι.

took over the kingdom and did many good deeds for the common good.

2.1.6 | He founded a city in the land of Thebes with a hundred gates, which some call the city of Zeus, while others call it Thebes. He also established a temple for his parents, Zeus and Hera, and built golden temples for the other gods, to whom he assigned honors, and he set up priests to take care of them.

2.1.7 | Osiris was the first to discover the vine, and he used it in its natural state, and he taught the other people about farming.

2.1.8 | He was especially honored by him, Hermes, who was given a different nature to help improve the common life. For he was the first to discover writing and to arrange sacrifices for the gods, to invent the lyre, and to teach the Greeks about these things. From this, he was named Hermes.

2.1.9 | He also discovered the plant of the olive tree. When Osiris came, he established Bousiris in Phoenicia, and in Ethiopia and Libya, he set up Antaeus. He gathered an army with the brother of Apollo, who is said to be the first to discover the plant of the laurel.

2.1.10 | συστρατεῦτσαι δὲ τῷ ὄσιριδι τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς, Ἀνουβίν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, παραλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα διαφερόντως ὑπ' Αἴγυπτίων τιμώμενον, οὗ καὶ ἐπώνυμον εἶναι τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν. ὅντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ταφόσιριν ἀχθῆναι τὸ τῶν Σατύρων γένος.

2.1.10 | Osiris gathered the two sons, Anubis and Macedon, and he also received Pan, who was especially honored by the Egyptians, and for whom the city of Pan was named. He was troubled by the race of the Satyrs around Taphosiris.

2.1.11 | φιλόμουσον δὲ ὅντα περιάγειν πλῆθος μουσουργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ἄδειν καὶ τάλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὄνομαζομένας Μούσας, ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα.

2.1.11 | Being fond of music, he surrounded himself with a crowd of musicians, among whom were nine maidens able to sing and trained in other arts, known to the Greeks as the Muses, with Apollo as their leader.

2.1.12 | παντὸς δὲ ἔθνους ὡς θεὸν ἀποδέχομένου τὸν Ὅσιριν διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας πανταχοῦ μνημεῖα ἐαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν,

2.1.12 | Since every nation honored Osiris as a god because of his good deeds, they left monuments to him everywhere.

2.1.13 | κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὄλιγας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

2.1.13 | And they built many cities in India.

2.1.14 | ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἔθνη, καὶ περαιωθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰς τὴν Εύρωπην. καὶ Μακεδόνα μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολιπεῖν βασιλέα τῆς Μακεδονίας, Τριπτολέμῳ δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γεωργίας.

2.1.14 | And to approach the other nations in Phrygia, and to cross over to Europe across the Hellespont. And to leave the son of the king of Macedonia, but to entrust the farming in Attica to Triptolemus.

2.1.15 | καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντα τυχεῖν ὑπὸ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ἐρμοῦ ἱερόν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐν θεοῖς τιμῶν. τούτους δὲ καὶ τελετὰς καταδεῖξαι καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μυστικῶς εἰσηγήσασθαι.

2.1.15 | And after this, those who changed from humans to gods were honored by Isis and Hermes, and by the other most famous gods. And they showed these rituals and taught many secret things about him.

2.1.16 | ἀναιρεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πονηροῦ καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ὄντος' ὃν διελόντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φονευθέντος εἰς ἔξ καὶ εἴ· κοσι μέρη δοῦναι τῶν συνεπιτιθεμένων ἐκάστῳ μερίδᾳ, βουλόμενον ἅπαντας μετασχεῖν τοῦ μύσους.

2.1.17 | τὴν δὲ "Ισιν ἀδελφὴν οὕσαν Οσίριδος καὶ γυναῖκα μετελθεῖν τὸν φόνον, συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς" Ωρου. ἀνελοῦσαν δὲ τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας παρὰ τὴν νῦν Ἀνταίου κώμην καλουμένην βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αίγυπτου.

2.1.18 | εὺροῦσαν δὲ πάντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος πλὴν τῶν αἰδοίων τοῦ Ὁσίριδος ἐκάστῳ μέρει περιπλάσαι λέγουσιν αὐτὴν τύπον ἀνθρωπειδῆ, παραπλήσιον Ὁσίριδι τὸ μέγεμέγεθός ^ ἔξ ἀρωμάτων καὶ κηροῦ, καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι καθ' ὅλης τῆς Αίγυπτου τιμὰν. καθιερῶσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γινομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ζώων ἐν ὀποῖον ἀν βουληθῶσιν.

2.1.19 | τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόν τε ὄνομαζόμενον "Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν Ὁσίριδι καθιερωθῆναι, καὶ τούτους σέβεσθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς κοινῇ καταδειχθῆναι πᾶσιν Αίγυπτίοις. ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς εύροῦσι τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὰς κοινὰς γεωργίας.

2.1.20 | ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν "Ισιν μηδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔτι συνουσίαν προσδέξαπροσδέξασθαι

2.1.16 | And he was killed by Typhon, his brother, who was wicked and impious. After he tore the body of the slain into sixteen pieces, he wanted to give each of those attacking him a share, wishing for all to take part in the secret.

2.1.17 | And Isis, being the sister and wife of Osiris, went to avenge the murder, with her son Horus fighting alongside her. She killed Typhon and those who had helped him near the village now called Antaeus in Egypt.

2.1.18 | And she found all the parts of Osiris's body except for the private ones. They say she shaped each part into a human-like form, similar in size to Osiris, from perfumes and wax, and gave it to the priests throughout all of Egypt as an honor. She also established that any animals born among them could be whatever they wished.

2.1.19 | And the sacred bulls, the one called Apis and the other Mnevis, were dedicated to Osiris, and all the Egyptians were shown to honor them as gods. For those who found the grain harvest were believed to help with the planting and the common farming.

2.1.20 | And they swore that Isis would accept no more union with any man. After

μεταστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν καὶ ταφῆναι κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν.

2.1.21 | τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνευρεθέντα τού  
'Οσίριδος μέρη ταφῆς ἀξιωθῆναί φασι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον· τὸ δὲ αἴδοιον ὑπὸ μὲν Τυφῶνος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥιφῆναι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ισιδος οὐδὲν ἡττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιωθῆναι τιμῶν ἴσοθέων.

2.1.22 | ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς Ἱεροῖς εἴδωλον αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασαν τιμὰς καταδεῖξαι καὶ τελετὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γινομένας ἐντιμοτάτας ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξ Αἴγυπτου παρειληφότας τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὄργια σμοὺς καὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς ἐορτὰς τιμᾶν τοῦτο τὸ μόριον ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις, ὀνομάζοντας αὐτὸν φαλλόν.

2.1.23 | τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Βοιωτικαῖς γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Δῖος σχεδιάζειν. Ὁρφέα γὰρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ μετασχόντα τῆς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαβεῖν, τοῖς τε Καδμείοις φίλον ὅντα καὶ τετιμένον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μεταθεῖναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἔκείνοις χαριξόμενον, τοὺς δὲ ὄχλους τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν Ἕλληνα ὄναμάξεσθαι, προσδέξασθαι προσηνῶς τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ μυστήρια.

2.1.24 | ἀφορμὰς δὲ ἔχειν τὸν Ὁρφέα πρὸς τὴν μετάθεσιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τελετῆς τοιαύτας· Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὅντα

she changed, she was honored among mortals with immortal honors and was buried in Memphis.

2.1.21 | So they say that the parts of Osiris found were honored in the way mentioned. They say that the private part was thrown into the river by Typhon, but that by Isis it was still honored with equal honors as the others.

2.1.22 | For in the sacred places, they made an image of him to show honors, rituals, and the sacrifices made to this god, making them the most honored. Therefore, the Greeks who came from Egypt honored the rites and the Dionysian festivals, calling this part in the mysteries and the rituals and sacrifices of this god 'phallus'.

2.1.23 | They say that the god was born in Thebes of Boeotia from Semele and Zeus. For when Orpheus went to Egypt and took part in the rituals and the Dionysian mysteries, he was loved and honored by the Cadmeans, and he gave them the birth of the god as a gift. The crowds, some out of ignorance and some wanting to name the god as a Greek, accepted the rituals and the mysteries with friendliness.

2.1.24 | Orpheus had reasons for changing the birth and rituals of the god like this: Cadmus, being from Thebes, was said to be

τῶν Αἴγυπτίων γεννῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑφ' ὅτου δήποτε φθαρεῖσαν ἔγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπτά μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος οὗτόν περ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν "Οσιριν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι·

born of the Egyptians along with other children and Semele. This woman, however, was believed to have been made pregnant by someone, and after seven months, she gave birth to a child, like those who are thought to have been born in Egypt as Osiris.

2.1.25 | τὸν δὲ Κάδμον τελευτῆσαν τὸ βρέφος χρυσᾶσαι, καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ἀνάψαι δὲ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν εἰς Δία, σεμνύνοντα τὸν "Οσιριν, καὶ τῆς φθαρείσης τὴν διαβολὴν ἀφαιρούμενον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς ἡ Κάδμου θυγάτηρ Σεμέλη τέτοκεν ἐκ Δῖος "Οσιριν.

2.1.25 | When Cadmus died, he made the child golden and offered sacrifices to him. He also honored the birth by dedicating it to Zeus, making Osiris sacred, and removing the blame for the woman's death. Therefore, among the Greeks, it was said that Cadmus's daughter Semele gave birth to Osiris from Zeus.

2.1.26 | ἔπειτα παρελθόντων τῶν μυθογράφων ἐμπλῆσαι τὸ θέατρον, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ίσχυρὰν πίστιν καὶ ἀμετάθετον γενέσθαι. καθόλου δέ φασι τοὺς "Ἑλληνας ἔξιδιάξεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Αἴγυπτίων ἥρωάς τε καὶ θεούς.

2.1.26 | Then, as the storytellers came along, they filled the theater and made a strong and unchanging belief among those who followed. In general, they say that the Greeks chose the most famous heroes and gods of the Egyptians.

2.1.27 | καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα τὸ γένος Αἴγυπτιον ὄντα δι' ἀνδρείαν ἐπελθεῖν πολλὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης. ἔχοικειοῦσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς, καὶ μήν ἔτερον ὄντα τοῦ ἔξ Άλκμήνης παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὕστερόν ποτε γενομένου.

2.1.27 | For indeed, Heracles, being of Egyptian descent, was said to have brought great strength to the world. People became familiar with him, and there was also another Heracles among the Greeks who was born later, different from the one from Alcmene.

2.1.28 | φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Περσέα γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τῆς Ἱσιδος τὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Ἀργὸς μεταφέρεσθαι. μυθολογούντων αὐτὴν εἶναι Ἰώ, τὴν εἰς βοὸς τύπον

2.1.28 | They also say that Perseus was born in Egypt, and that the birth of Isis was brought to Argos by the Greeks. While telling stories, they said she was Io, who was transformed into the shape of a cow.

μεταμορφωθεῖσαν. τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τοὺς μὲν  
"Ισιν, τοὺς δὲ Δήμητρα, τοὺς δὲ  
Θεσμοφόρον, ἄλλους δὲ Σελήνην, καὶ  
ἄλλους "Ηραν νομίζειν.

2.1.29 | τὸν "Οσιριν τοὺς μὲν Σάραπιν, τοὺς  
δὲ Διόνυσον, τοὺς δὲ Πλούτωνα, τοὺς δὲ  
"Ἀμμωνα, τοὺς δὲ Δία, ἐτέρους δὲ Πάνα  
νομίζειν.

2.1.30 | εὐρετὴν δὲ γενέσθαι τὴν Ισίν φασι  
φαρμάκων πολλῶν καὶ ίατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης·  
εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας φάρμακον,  
δι' οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Ὄρον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων  
ἐπιβουλευθέντα, καὶ νεκρὸν εὐρεθέντα  
καθ' ὕδατος, μὴ μόνον ἀναστῆσαι δοῦσαν  
τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας  
ποιῆσαι μεταλαβεῖν.

2.1.31 | τὸν δὲ Ὄρον ὕστατον ὄντα τῶν  
θεῶν βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου.  
μεθερμηνευόμενον δέ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι  
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, τίν τε ίατρικὴν καὶ  
μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς "Ισιδος  
διδαχθέντα διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ θεραπειᾶ  
ν εὔεργετεῖν.

2.1.32 | συμφωνεῖται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς  
πλείστοις ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν  
"Οσιριν θεοῖς κατὰ τὴν "Ισιδος ἡλικίαν  
μεγαλόσωμοί τινες γίγαντες ἐπὶ τὸ  
τερατῶδες κοσμούμενοι πόλεμον ἤγειραν.  
νομοθετήσαι δὲ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους γαμεῖν  
ἀδελφὰς, διὰ τὸ τὴν Ισιν τῷ Οσίριδι  
ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτῆς γαμηθῆναι. "

Some called her Isis, others Demeter, some  
the Bringer of Law, and others called her  
Selene, and still others Hera.

2.1.29 | Some called Osiris Sarapis, others  
Dionysus, some Pluto, others Ammon, and  
still others Zeus, while some recognized  
him as Pan.

2.1.30 | They say that Isis was the  
discoverer of many medicines and the  
science of healing; she also found the  
potion of immortality, through which the  
son Horus, who was attacked by the Titans,  
was found dead in the water. Not only did  
she bring his soul back to life, but she also  
made him share in immortality.

2.1.31 | They say that Horus, being the last  
of the gods, ruled over Egypt. They also say  
that he is the same as Apollo, who was  
taught healing and prophecy by his mother  
Isis, so that he could help others through  
oracles and healing.

2.1.32 | Most people agree that during the  
time of Isis, some large giants raised a  
terrible war against the gods, including  
Zeus and Osiris. They also made laws for  
the Egyptians to marry their sisters,  
because Isis was married to her brother  
Osiris.

2.1.33 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἴστοροῦσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζῷων κατ' Αἴγυπτον τοιοῦτός τις παρ' αὐτοῖς κατέχει λόγος "Τινὲς μὲν φασι τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους θεοὺς, ὀλίγους ὅντας καὶ κατισχυομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, δόμοιωθηναὶ τισιν ἀλόγοις ζῷοις, καὶ οὕτως διαφυγεῖν· ἔπειτα χάριν ἀποδιδόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις σεῖς αὐτῶν τῶν ζῷων, οἵς ἀφωμοιώθησαν.

2.1.34 | οἵ δέ φασιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους συμβολαῖς κατασκευάσαντας εἰκόνας τῶν ζῷων ἃ νῦν τιμῶσι, φορεῖν ταύτας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ τοῦτο γνώρισμα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν νίκαις, ὡς ἀν αἴτια τὰ φῶα γενόμενα, ὃν τὰς εἰκόνας ἔφερον, ἀποθεῶσαι.

2.1.35 | ἔτεροι δὲ τρίτην αίτιαν φέρουσι, τῆς χρείας ἔνεκα τῶν ζῷων φάσκοντες αὐτὰ τετιμῆσθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ θήλειαν βοῦν τίκτειν καὶ ἀροῦν, τὰ δὲ πρόβατα τίκτειν καὶ σκέπτην παρέχειν καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος καὶ τοῦ τυροῦ τροφὴν, τὸν δὲ κύνα συνθηρεύειν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φυλακτικὸν εἶναι· διόπερ τὸν θεὸν τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον "Ἀνουβιν κυνὸς ἔχειν κεφαλήν· ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι σωματοφύλαξ ἦν τῶν περὶ τὸν "Οσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν.

2.1.36 | ἔνιοι δέ φασι Ἰσιδος προηγουμένους τοὺς κύνας καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐζήτει τὸν "Οσιριν τά τε θηρία καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἀπείργειν.

2.1.33 | And this is what they say about these things. As for the sacred animals in Egypt, they have a story: Some say that the gods who came first were few in number and were overpowered by the many and the wickedness of the native people. They became like irrational animals and thus escaped. Later, to show gratitude for their salvation, they dedicated the natures of those animals to the gods to whom they were compared.

2.1.34 | They say that in their battles against enemies, the leaders wore images of the animals that they honor now on their heads, and this was a sign of their authority. In their victories over their foes, they would then dedicate the images of those animals as a cause of their success.

2.1.35 | Others give a third reason, saying that the animals are honored because of their usefulness. For the female cow gives birth and provides plowing, while the sheep gives birth and provides wool, as well as food from milk and cheese. The dog is kept by people and serves as a guard. That is why the god they call Anubis has the head of a dog, showing that he was a protector of those around Osiris and Isis.

2.1.36 | Some say that the dogs were in front of Isis when she searched for Osiris, keeping away the wild animals and those who approached.

2.1.37 | καὶ τὸν μὲν αἴλουρον πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας εὑθετον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δακετὰ τῶν ἐρπετῶν, τὸν δὲ ἰχνεύμονα τὰ τῶν κροκοδείλων ὡὰ συντρίβειν, ἀναιρεῖν τε τοὺς κροκοδείλους πηλῷ κυλιόμενον καὶ ἐπιπηδῶντα κεχηνόσι τοῖς στόμασι, διαφαγόντα τε αὐτῶν τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς κοιλίας νεκροὺς ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

2.1.38 | τῶν δὲ ὄρνέων τὴν μὲν ἵβιν χρησίμην ὑπάρχειν πρός τε τοὺς ὄφεις καὶ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τὰς κάμπας, τὸν δὲ ἱέρακα πρὸς τοὺς σκορπίους καὶ κεράστας, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν δακετῶν θηρίων, καὶ διὰ τὸ συμβάλλεσθαι ταῖς μαντείαις· τὸν δ' ἀετὸν διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶναι.

2.1.39 | τὸν δὲ τράγον φασὶν ἀποτεθεῶσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν Πρίαπον, διὰ τὸ γεννητικὸν μόριον· τὸ μὲν γάρ ζῷον εἶναι τοῦτο κατωφερέστατον πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας, τὸ δὲ μόριον τοῦ σώματος τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἴτιον τιμᾶσθαι προσηκόντως ὡς ἀν ἀρχέγονον τῆς τῶν ζῷων φύσεως. καθόλου δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον οὐ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὁλίγους καθιερωκέναι κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς, ὡς αἴτιον τῆς τῶν ζῷων γενέσεως·

2.1.40 | τοὺς τε Ἱερεῖς τοὺς παραλαβόντας τὰς πατρικὰς Ἱερωσύνας κατ' Αἴγυπτον τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ μυεῖσθαι. καὶ τοὺς Πᾶνας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σατύρους φασὶν ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτῆς αἴτιας τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώποις· διὸ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς ἐντεταμένας καὶ τῇ τοῦ τράγου φύσει παραπλησίας· τὸ γάρ τοι ζῷον τοῦτο παραδίδοσθαι πρὸς τὰς

2.1.37 | The cat is well-suited to be near shields and to catch other small reptiles, while the tracker crushes the eggs of crocodiles, and he kills the crocodiles by rolling in mud and jumping on them with open mouths, also tearing apart the dead inside their bellies.

2.1.38 | Of the birds, the ibis is useful against snakes, locusts, and caterpillars, while the hawk is useful against scorpions and horned creatures, and also against small biting animals, and because they are involved in divination; the eagle is valued for being royal.

2.1.39 | They say that the goat is set apart, just like the Priapus among the Greeks, because of its reproductive organ; for this animal is the lowest in mating, but the organ of the body that causes generation is honored as if it were the origin of the nature of living things. In general, the private parts are not only honored by the Egyptians, but also by many others in their rituals, as the cause of the generation of living things.

2.1.40 | The priests who take on the ancestral priesthood in Egypt are initiated into this god. They say that the Pan and the Satyrs are honored by people for the same reason; that is why most people place their images in the temples, arranged in a way similar to the nature of the goat. For this animal is considered very active in mating.

συνουσίας ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργότατον.

2.1.41 | τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς Ἱεροὺς τὸν  
Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦν τιμᾶσθαι  
παραπλησίως τοῖς θεοῖς, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν  
γεωργίαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν εὔρεσιν  
τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνατιθέναι.

2.1.42 | τοὺς δὲ λύκους τιμᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν  
πρὸς τοὺς κύνας τῆς φύσεως ὁμοιότητα  
καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φασὶ, τῆς Ἰσιδος μετὰ  
τοῦ παιδὸς Ὁρου μελλούσης  
διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς Τυφῶνα,  
παραγενέσθαι βοηθὸν ἐξ Ἀιδου τὸν Ὅσιριν  
τῷ τέκνῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, λύκῳ τὴν ὄψιν  
ὁμοιωθέντα.

2.1.43 | ἔτεροι δὲ λέγουσιν Αἴθιοπας  
στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
πλήθους λύκων διωχθῆναι· διὸ καὶ  
Λυκοπολί τὴν κληθῆναι τὴν χώραν. τὸν δὲ  
κροκόδειλον σέβεσθαι φασι διὰ τὸ μὴ  
τολμᾶν διανήχεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον τοὺς ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ Λιβύης ληστὰς τόν  
κροκοδείλων χάριν.

2.1.44 | φασὶ δέ τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
βασιλέων διωκόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἴδιων  
κυνῶν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἔπειτα  
ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου παραδόξως ἀναληφθέντα  
εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀπενεχθῆναι.

2.1.45 | αἵτιας δὲ καὶ ἄλλας φασί τινες τῆς  
τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τιμῆς. τοῦ γὰρ πλήθους  
τὸ παλαιὸν ἀφισταμένου τῶν βασιλέων,  
καὶ συμφρονοῦντος εἰς τὸ μηκέτι

2.1.41 | The sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis,  
are honored similarly to the gods, both for  
agriculture and also for being associated  
with the discovery of their harvests.

2.1.42 | Wolves are honored because of  
their similarity to dogs in nature, and they  
say that long ago, when Isis was about to  
compete with Typhon for her son Horus,  
Osiris came as a helper from the  
Underworld, appearing like a wolf to his  
child and wife.

2.1.43 | Others say that the Ethiopians,  
when they marched against Egypt, were  
chased away by a pack of wolves; that is  
why the area was called Lycopolis. They  
also say that the crocodile is revered  
because it does not dare to cross the Nile to  
attack thieves from Arabia and Libya.

2.1.44 | They say that one of their kings,  
being chased by his own dogs, fled to the  
lake, and then was strangely taken away by  
a crocodile and carried across to the other  
side.

2.1.45 | Some say there are other reasons  
for the honor given to the irrational  
animals. When the many kings of old  
stopped ruling and agreed not to rule

βασιλεύεσθαι, ἐπινοῆσαί τινα διάφορα σεβάσματα αύτοῖς τῶν ζώων παρασχεῖν, ὅπως ἐκάστων τὸ μὲν παρ' αύτοῖς τιμώμενον σεβομένων, τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιερωμένου καταφρονούντων, μηδέποτε ὅμονοήσαι δύνωνται πάντες οἵ κατ' Αἴγυπτον. —

2.1.46 | ὅταν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ τι τῶν είρημένων ζώων, σινδόνι καλύψαντες καὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς τὰ στήθη καταπληξάμενοι ἐν ιεραῖς θήκαις θάπτουσιν. ὃς δ' ἂν τι τούτων τῶν ζώων ἐκὼν διαφθείρῃ, θανάτῳ περιπίπτει, πλὴν ἔάν αἴλουρον ἢ τὴν ἵβιν ἀποκτείνῃ ' ταῦτα δὲ ἔάν τε ἐκών ἔάν τε ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ τις, πάντως θανάτῳ περιπίπτει. —

2.1.47 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ καθ' ἦν ἀν οίκιαν εὐρεθῆ κύων τετελευτηκώς, ξυρῶνται πάντες ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ποιοῦνται πένθος· κάν οἶνος, ἢ σῖτος, ἢ τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων τύχῃ κείμενον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οὐκ ἀν ἔτι χρήσασθαι αύτοῖς ὑπομείνειαν.

2.1.48 | τρέφουσι δὲ τὸν Ἀπιν ἐν Μέμφει, καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει, καὶ τὸν τράγον ἐν Μένδητι, καὶ τὸν κροκόδειλον ἐν τῇ Μοιρίδος λίμνῃ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ θηρία ἐν ιεροῖς περιβόλοις, σεμίδαλιν προσφέροντες, ἢ χόνδρον ἔψοντες ἐν γάλακτι, καὶ πέμπατα παντοδαπὰ μέλιτι φύροντες καὶ κρέα χήνεια τὰ μὲν ἔψοντες, τὰ δὲ ὄπτῶντες.

2.1.49 | τοῖς δε ώμοφάγοις πολλὰ τῶν ὄρνέων παραβάλλουσι, καὶ θηλείας

anymore, they thought of providing different kinds of worship for these animals. This way, each animal would be honored by some but looked down upon by others, so that they could never all agree together in Egypt.

2.1.46 | When one of these mentioned animals dies, they cover it with a linen cloth and, crying out in sorrow, they bury it in sacred tombs. Anyone who willingly kills one of these animals faces death, unless it is a cat or an ibis. But if someone kills one of these, whether on purpose or by accident, they will definitely face death.

2.1.47 | But indeed, in any house where a dog is found dead, everyone shaves their whole body and goes into mourning. Even if wine, grain, or anything else necessary for life is lying in the house, they will not use it anymore.

2.1.48 | They feed the Apis in Memphis, and the Mnevis in the city of Heliopolis, and the goat in Mendes, and the crocodile in the lake of Moeris. They keep the other wild animals in sacred enclosures, bringing them fine flour or cooking barley in milk, and offering various kinds of cakes made with honey, and meat, some of which they boil and some they roast.

2.1.49 | To those who eat raw meat, they offer many kinds of birds, and they raise

έκάστω τῶν ζώων τὰς εύειδεστάτας  
συντρέφουσιν, ἃς παλλακίδας  
προσαγορεύουσιν.

2.1.50 | ὅταν δὲ ὁ Ἀπις τελευτήσας ταφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ζητοῦσιν ἔτερον ὅμοιον· ὅταν δὲ εὐρεθῇ, τὰ μὲν πλήθη τοῦ πένθους ἀπολύεται, ἄγεται δὲ ὁ μόσχος πρῶτον εἰς Νείλου πόλιν. καὶ τότε μόνον σὶ γυναικες αὐτὸν ὄρωσι κατὰ πρόσωπον ιστάμεναι, καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀνασυράμεναι τὰ ἐαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον χρόνον ἅπαντα κεκωλυμένον ἔστιν εἰς ὅψιν αὐτὰς ἔρχεσθαι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. φασὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ὄσιριδος ψυχὴν εἰς τοῦτον μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν μεταστῆναι.”

2.1.51 | Τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτίων ἀσχήμων ἀθεότης μᾶλλον ἡ θεολογία, πρὸς ἣν καὶ τὸ ἐνίστασθαι αἰσχρόν. ἦς καὶ είκότως καταπτύσαντες ἀνεχωρήσαμεν, λύτρωσιν καὶ ἔλευθερίαν τῶν τοσούτων κακῶν οὐδετέρως εὐράμενοι ἡ διὰ μόνης τῆς σωτηρίου καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας, τῆς τὰς διανοίας τυφλοῖς τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν εύαγγελισαμένης.

2.1.52 | τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς σεμνοτέρας δὴ θεωρίας τε καὶ φυσιολογίας μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐπισκεψόμεθα, ἐπάν ταῦτα Ἐλληνικὰ διαλάβωμεν. οὕτω δῆτα ἀναμίξ Αἴγυπτιακῆς ὄμοιος καὶ Φοινικικῆς συνδραμούσης μυθολογίας κεκράτηκεν είκότως παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἔθνῶν ἡ τῆς παλαιᾶς πλάνης δεισιδαιμονία.

2.1.53 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ λεκτέον καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων. τὰ μὲν δὴ σεμνὰ τῆς Αἴγυπτίων μυθολογίας

the most beautiful females of each animal, which they call concubines.

2.1.50 | When the Apis dies, they bury it with great ceremony, and they look for another one that is similar. When it is found, the crowd is freed from mourning, and the calf is first taken to the city of the Nile. Only then do the women see it face to face, standing and showing their private parts, while at all other times they are not allowed to approach this god. They say that the soul of Osiris moves into this one after its death.

2.1.51 | Such is the shameful atheism of the Egyptians, more than their theology, which is also shameful to stand against. And rightly so, we have turned away from it, finding no redemption or freedom from such great evils except through the saving and good news teaching, which has brought sight to the blind minds.

2.1.52 | We will soon examine their more serious theories and natural philosophy, after we have discussed the Greek ones. Thus, the old myths of the Egyptians mixed with those of the Phoenicians have rightly dominated the superstitions of most nations.

2.1.53 | But we must also speak of the Greeks. The serious parts of the Egyptian

τὸν προτεθέντα περιείληφε τρόπον, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικὰ ὅτι τούτων αὐτῶν ἀποσπάσματα καὶ παρακούσματα τυγχάνει προείρηται μὲν πολλάκις καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν προτεθέντων συγγραφέων διαγνώσεως,

mythology have been included in the way mentioned before, while the Greek ones are often fragments and misunderstandings of these. This has been stated many times through the understanding of the earlier writers.

2.1.54 | οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας γένοιτ’ ἀν ἕκδηλον, ἐπαγομένων ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις περὶ θεῶν ἀναγραφαῖς οἴκοθεν μὲν οὐδὲν, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν περιπιπτόντων μυθολογίαις·

2.1.54 | Indeed, it would also be clear from Greek theology itself, as those who write about the gods at home say nothing, while they are influenced by myths from outside.

2.1.55 | ξοάνοις τε γὰρ τοῖς παραπλησίοις καὶ μυστηρίοις τοῖς αύτοῖς ἀποδείκνυνται συγχρόμενοι, ὡς ἔνεστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τούτων ἴστορίας, ἥν ὁ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἐπὶ ταύτὸν ὅμοῦ συναγαγών οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνημόνευσα, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον τῆς δηλωθείσης αὐτοῦ πραγματείας ἴστορεῖ, τὴν τῆς ἴστορίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Κάδμου χρόνων πεποιημένος.

2.1.55 | For they show that the offerings and the mysteries are similar, as it is possible to learn from the history about these things. This history, which I mentioned before when gathering the libraries together, tells in the third and fourth parts of its work, starting the history from the times of Cadmus.

2.1.56 | τὸν δὲ Κάδμον μετὰ Μωσέα γενέσθαι αἱ ἀκριβεῖς τῶν χρονογραφιῶν παριστῶσι διαδοχαὶ, ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιδείξομεν. ὥστε καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὸν Μωσέα προτερεῖν, εἰ δὴ πρὸ Κάδμου μὲν οὕτος, οἵ δὲ θεοὶ νεώτεροι τῆς Κάδμου γεγονότες ἡλικίας ἀναφαίνονται. ἄκουε δ' οὖν τῶν τοῦ συγγραφέως φωνῶν

2.1.56 | The accurate chronologies show that Cadmus came after Moses, as we will demonstrate in due time. Therefore, it is shown that Moses is earlier than the Greek gods, since this one is before Cadmus, while those gods appear to be younger than Cadmus. So listen to the words of the author.

## Section 2

2.2.1 | "Κάδμον τὸν Ἀγίνορός φασιν ἐκ Φοινίκης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς Εύρωπης, ἥν ὑπὸ Διός

2.2.1 | They say that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, was sent from Phoenicia by the king to search for Europe, whom Zeus had

ἀρπαγῆναι· μὴ εὐρόντα δὲ εἰς Βοιωτίαν  
έλθεῖν κτίσαι τε τὰς αύτόθι Θήβας,  
γήμαντα δὲ Ἀρμονίαν τὴν Ἀφροδίτης  
γεννῆσαι ἐξ αὐτῆς Σεμέλην καὶ τὰς ταύτης  
ἀδελφάς.

carried away. Not finding her, he came to Boeotia and founded the Thebes there, and he married Harmonia, the daughter of Aphrodite, and had Semele and her sisters with her.

2.2.2 | τῇ δὲ Σεμέλῃ Δία μιγέντα  
παρακληθῆναι τάς ἐπιπλοκὰς ὁμοίας αὐτῇ  
ποιήσασθαι ταῖς πρὸς Ἡραν. ἐπελθόντος  
δὲ αὐτοῦ θεοπρεπῶς μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ  
ἀστραπῶν, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαν τὴν Σεμέλην  
ἐγκύμονα οὕσαν ἔκτρωσαι τὸ βρέφος, ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὴν τελευτῆσαι.

2.2.2 | When Semele had been with Zeus, she was urged to ask for the same things as Hera. But when he came to her in a divine way with thunder and lightning, Semele, who was pregnant, could not bear it and lost the child. She died because of the fire.

2.2.3 | τὸν δὲ Δίᾳ λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον  
παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἑρμῇ, ἐκπέμψαι τε εἰς τὸ ἐν  
τῇ Νύσῃ ἄντρον, κείμενον μεταξὺ Φοινίκης  
τε καὶ Νείλου. οὕτω δὲ τραφέντα τὸν  
Διόνυσον ὑπὸ τῶν νυμφῶν εὐρετὴν τοῦ  
οἴνου γενέσθαι, καὶ τὴν φυτείαν διδάξαι  
τῆς ἀμπέλου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

2.2.3 | After Zeus took the child, he gave it to Hermes to be sent to the cave in Nysa, located between Phoenicia and the Nile. There, Dionysus was raised by the nymphs and became the discoverer of wine, teaching people how to plant the vine.

2.2.4 | εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς  
κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα, τὸ καλούμενον  
ξύθον· περιφέρειν δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐ  
μόνον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ  
τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
κολάζειν. στρατεῦσαι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν  
τριετεῖ χρόνω.

2.2.4 | He also discovered the drink made from barley, called beer. He gathered not only men but also women into his camp, and he punished the unjust and impious among people. He campaigned in India for three years.

2.2.5 | ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταδεῖξαι  
τριετηρικὰς θυσίας Διονύσῳ, καὶ τὸν θεὸν  
νομίζειν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι  
τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφανείας,  
σέβειν τε αὐτὸν πάντας ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν  
τοῦ οἴνου δόσιν, ὕσπερ καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα  
διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου τροφῆς εὔρεσιν."

2.2.5 | From there, the Greeks showed three-year sacrifices to Dionysus and believed that the god made appearances to people during this time. All people honored him because of the gift of wine, just as they honored Demeter for the discovery of grain for food.

2.2.6 | "Εἶναι δέ φασι καὶ ἄλλον Διόνυσον πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου, τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάξιον ὄνομαζόμενον, ἐκ Δῖος καὶ Περσεφόνης γεμόμενον· οὗ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους εἰσάγουσιν, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν.

2.2.7 | ὃν καὶ πρῶτον βοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι ζευγνύειν, ἀφ' οὐδὴ καὶ κερατίαν αὐτὸν εἰσάγουσι. τὸν δὲ ἐκ Σεμέλης νεώτερον, τρυφερὸν τῷ σώματι, καὶ εὐπρεπείᾳ διενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς ἡδονὰς εὐκατάφορον γεγονέναι φασὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας γυναικῶν πλῆθος περιάγειν καθωπλισμένας λόγχαις συναποδημεῖν

2.2.8 | φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μούσας αὐτῷ συναποδημεῖν παρθένους οὕσας καὶ πεπαιδευμένας διαφερόντως, ἃς καὶ διὰ μελῳδίας καὶ ὥρχήσεως ψυχαγωγεῖν τὸν θεόν. παιδαγωγόν τε αὐτοῦ Σειληνὸν μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀρετήν. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος οἴνου κεφαλαλγίας ἀναδεδέσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν μίτρᾳ.

2.2.9 | διμήτορα δὲ αὐτὸν προσαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἐνὸς ὑπάρχαι τοὺς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυοῖν. νάρθηκα δὲ προσάπτουσιν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ πίνοντας ἄκρατον τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὸν οἶνον μανιώδεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ταῖς βακτηρίαις ἀλλήλους τύπτειν, ὡς καὶ ἀναιρεῖσθαι τινας, ὅθεν καὶ ἀντὶ ξύλων νάρθηξι χρῆσθαι

2.2.6 | They say there was another Dionysus, much earlier than this one, called Sabazius, born from Zeus and Persephone. His birth, sacrifices, and honors were held at night and in secret because of the shame that followed from the gatherings.

2.2.7 | They say that he was the first to try to yoke an ox, and from that, they introduced the horn. The one born from Semele was younger, delicate in body, and said to be pleasing in appearance and easily drawn to pleasures of love. During the campaigns, he was said to lead a crowd of armed women who traveled with him.

2.2.8 | They say that the Muses traveled with him, being young maidens who were well-trained, and they entertained the god with songs and dances. His tutor, Silenus, was said to greatly help him in becoming virtuous. Also, to relieve headaches from too much wine, he would wrap his head with a band.

2.2.9 | They call him "twice-born" because there are two Dionysuses, one from his father and two from his mothers. They also associate him with the thyrsus, because when the ancients drank unmixed wine, they would become mad and strike each other with staffs, as if to kill some, which is why they show that the thyrsus is used

καταδεῖξαι.

2.2.10 | καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχιον ἀπὸ τόν Βακχῶν, Ληναῖον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατεῖσθαι τὰς σταφυλὰς ἐν ληνοῖς, Βρόμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενομένου βρόμου.

2.2.11 | καὶ Σατύρους δέ φασιν αὐτὸν περιάγεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὄρχήσεσι καὶ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τέρψιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡδονὴν παρέχοντας, καταθεῖξαι δὲ θέατρον καὶ μουσικῶν ἀκροαμάτων σύστημα. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Διονύσου.

2.2.12 | "Τὸν δὲ Πρίαπον υἱὸν εἶναί φασι Διονύσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, διὰ τὸ τοὺς οἰνωθέντας ἐντετάσθαι ἐντετάσθαι τετάσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς ἡδονάς. τινὲς δέ φασι τὸ αἰδοῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς παλαιοὺς μυρικῶς Πρίαπον ὄνομάζειν.

2.2.13 | ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τὸ γεννητικὸν μόριον αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν τῆς γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τυχεῖν τῆς ἀθανάτου τιμῆς· ὕσπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ Αἴγυπτοι τὴν Ἰσιν ἐφῆσαν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὁσίριδος ἀναξητοῦσαν, τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ μὴ δυναμένην εὐρεῖν, καταδεῖξαι τιμᾶν ὡς θεὸν, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐντεταμένον.

2.2.14 | ἄλλὰ καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησιν οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς, ἄλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις οὗτος ὁ θεὸς τυγχάνει

instead of wooden sticks.

2.2.10 | He is called Bacchus from the Bacchae, Leneus from stomping the grapes in the wine presses, and Bromius from the smell that came about during his birth.

2.2.11 | They say that he is surrounded by Satyrs in the dances and tragedies, providing him with joy and pleasure, and that he established a theater and a system of musical performances. Such are the things about Dionysus.

2.2.12 | They say that Priapus is the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, because those who are drunk are said to be set towards the pleasures of love. Some say that the genitals of men were called Priapus by the ancients.

2.2.13 | Some say that the generative organ is the cause of the birth of humans, and for this reason, it is said to achieve immortal honor throughout all time. Just as the Egyptians said that the limbs of Osiris were searched for, unable to find his genitals, they showed honor to him as a god and placed them in the temple as a sacred offering.

2.2.14 | But among the Greeks, this god receives some honor not only in the Dionysian festivals but also in all other

τινὸς τιμῆς, μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς παρεισαγόμενος ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις· ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἐρμαφρόδιτον, ὃν ἐξ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννηθέντα τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας.

2.2.15 | τοῦτον δέ φασι τὸν θεὸν κατά τινας χρόνους φαίνεσθαι παρ' ἄνθρωποις καὶ γεννᾶσθαι τὴν τού σώματος φύσιν ἔχοντα μεμιγμένην ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός κός· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τέρατα ὑπάρχειν φασὶ, σπανίως τε γεννώμενα σημαντικὰ ποτὲ μὲν κακῶν, ποτὲ δ' ἀγαθῶν γίνεσθαι.”

2.2.16 | “Τὰς δὲ Μούσας θυγατέρας εἶναι Δῖός καὶ δ Μνημοσύνης, τινὲς δὲ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς, παρθένους τε αὐτὰς οἱ πλεῖστοι μυθολογοῦσι, τυχεῖν τε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ μυεῖν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους, τοῦτο δέ ἔστι διδάσκειν τὰ καλά.”

2.2.17 | “Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἐλληνες τοιαῦτά φασι· Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καὶ Δῖός γενέσθαι Περσέα, Πέρσεως δὲ καὶ Ἄνδρομέδας Ἡλεκτρύωνα, ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενέσθαι τὴν Ἀλκμήνην, ἣ μιγέντα τὸν Δία γεννῆσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. μισγόμενον δὲ αὐτῇ τὸν Δία τριπλασίονα τὴν νύκτα ποιῆσαι· μόνην δὲ ταύτην τοῦ Δῖος τὴν ὄμιλίαν οὐκ ἔρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἔνεκα γενέσθαι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς παιδοποιίας χάριν.

2.2.18 | τὴν δὲ Ἡραν ἤλοτυποῦσαν ὑποῦσαν παρακατασχεῖν μὲν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης τὰς ὡδῖνας, τὸν δὲ Εύρυσθέα πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀγαγεῖν,

celebrations, being brought in with laughter and play during the sacrifices. Just like Hermaphroditus, who was born from Hermes and Aphrodite, receives this name.

2.2.15 | They say that this god appears among humans for certain periods and is born with a nature mixed from both man and woman. Some say that such monsters exist, being born rarely and sometimes signifying evils, and at other times, good things.

2.2.16 | Some say that the Muses are the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, while others say they are the daughters of Uranus and Gaia. Most people describe them as maidens, and they receive their name from the word that means to teach humans, which is to teach the beautiful things.

2.2.17 | About Heracles, the Greeks say this: Perseus was born from Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, and Zeus. From Perseus and Andromeda came Electryon, and from him was born Alcmene, who, after having relations with Zeus, gave birth to Heracles. When Zeus was with her, he made the night three times longer. This union with Zeus was not for the sake of romantic desire, like with other women, but mostly for the purpose of having children.

2.2.18 | Hera, while she was walking, tried to delay Alcmene's labor pains and to bring Eurystheus to light before the right time, since Zeus had foretold that the one born

τοῦ Δῖός προαγορεύσαντος τὸν  
τεχθησόμενον κατ' ἔκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν  
βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους.

2.2.19 | τεκοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀλκμήνη ἔξέθηκεν, ὡς  
φασι, τὸ βρέφος, φόβῳ τῆς Ἡρας. τὴν δὲ  
Ἀθηνᾶν ἀγασθεῖσαν τὸ βρέφος πεῖσαι τὴν  
Ἡραν ὑποσχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν θηλήν. τοῦ δὲ  
παιδὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν βιαιότερον  
ἐπισπασαμένου τὴν θηλήν ἡ μὲν Ἡρα  
διαλγήσασα τὸ βρέφος ἔρριψεν, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ  
κομίσασα αὐτὸ τὴν μητέρα τρέφειν  
παρεκελεύσατο.”

2.2.20 | “Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἡρα δύο  
δράκοντας ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἀναλώσοντας  
τὸ βρέφος, ὃ δὲ παῖς οὐ καταπλαγεὶς  
ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν αὐχένα θλίψας  
ἀπέπνιξε τοὺς δράκοντας. ἀνδρὶ δὲ  
γενομένω τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ Εύρυσθεὺς ὁ τὴν  
βασιλείαν ἔχων τῆς Ἀργείας προστάττει  
ἄθλους ἐκτελέσαι δώδεκα.

2.2.21 | εἰς πολλὴν δὲ ἀμηχανίαν  
ἔμπεσόντος αὐτοῦ Ἡρα μὲν ἔπειμψεν αὐτῷ  
λύσσαν, ὃ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ δυσφορῶν εἰς μανίαν  
ἐνέπεσε· τοῦ πάθους δὲ αὐξομένου τῶν  
φρενῶν ἐκτὸς γενόμενος τὸν ἐταῖρον καὶ  
ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰόλαον ἐπεβάλλετο κτείνειν,  
τοῦ δὲ φεύγοντος, τοὺς ἴδιους παῖδας ἐκ  
Μεγάρας τῆς Κρέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως  
Θυγατρὸς γενομένους αὐτῷ κατετόξευσεν  
ώς πολεμίους.

2.2.22 | καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἥρέμα καταστὰς  
ὑπουργεῖ τῷ Εύρυσθεῖ τοὺς δώδεκα  
ἄθλους. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κενταύρους,  
μεθ' ᾧν καὶ Χείρωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ιατρικῇ

on that day would rule over the lineage of  
Perseus.

2.2.19 | Alcmene, while giving birth,  
brought forth the baby, as they say, in fear  
of Hera. Athena, admiring the baby,  
persuaded Hera to give him her breast. But  
when the child, pulling harder than  
expected, caused Hera pain, she threw the  
baby away. Athena then took him and told  
his mother to nurse him.

2.2.20 | After this, Hera sent two dragons to  
destroy the baby, but the child, not afraid,  
squeezed the necks of each of them and  
killed the dragons. When he grew up,  
Eurystheus, who ruled over Argos, ordered  
Heracles to complete twelve labors.

2.2.21 | When he fell into great confusion,  
Hera sent him madness, and he, feeling  
troubled in his soul, fell into a rage. As his  
madness grew, he turned against his friend  
and cousin Iolaus, wanting to kill him. But  
when Iolaus fled, he shot his own children,  
who were born to him from Megara, the  
daughter of King Creon, as if they were  
enemies.

2.2.22 | And after this, he quietly assisted  
Eurystheus with the twelve labors. He also  
killed the Centaurs, among whom was  
Chiron, who was known for his healing

βοώμενον.”

2.2.23 | “Φᾶσί δὲ ἵδιόν τι συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ. Ζεὺς γάρ πρώτη μὲν ἐμίγη γυναικὶ θνητῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνέως, ἐσχάτῃ δὲ Ἀλκμήνῃ τῇ τού Ήρακλέους μητρὶ. ταύτην δὲ ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἐκκαιδεκάτην γενεαλογοῦσιν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰς θνητὰς ὄμιλίαν κατέλυσεν.”

2.2.24 | “Αλλὰ γάρ τελέσας τοὺς ἄθλους ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ γυναικα Μεγάραν συνώκισεν Ἰόλα τῷ ἀδελφιδῷ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα συμφοράν· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰόλην τὴν Εύρύτου πρὸς γάμον αἴτήσας, μὴ δόντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσήσας, χρησμὸν λαμβάνει ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τῆς νόσου, εἰ πρότερον πραθεὶς δουλεύσειεν.

2.2.25 | πλεύσας οὖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν ὑπό τινος τῶν φίλων πιπράσκεται, καὶ δοῦλος γίνεται Ὄμφάλης βασιλευούσης τῶν τότε Μαιόνων, νυνὶ δὲ Λυδῶν ὀνομαζομένων. γίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν τῆς δουλείας καιρὸν ἐκ δούλης υἱὸς Κλεόλαος, γήμας δὲ τὴν Ὄμφάλην ποιεῖται καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς παῖδα.

2.2.26 | “Ἐπανιών δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, καὶ καταλύσας παρ’ Ἀλεω τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῇ θυγατρὶ τούτου λάθρα μιγεῖς, καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἔγκυον, ἐπανῆλθε.”

2.2.27 | “Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔγημε

skills.

2.2.23 | They say that something special happened in the birth of this god. For Zeus first mingled with the mortal woman Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus, and last with Alcmene, the mother of Heracles. They trace her lineage back to Niobe through sixteen generations. In her, he ended his relationships with mortals.

2.2.24 | But after completing the labors, Heracles married his wife Megara to Iolaus, his cousin, because of the misfortune concerning the children. He himself asked for Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, for marriage, but when her father did not give her, he became ill. He received an oracle saying he would be cured of his illness if he first sold himself into servitude.

2.2.25 | Then, having sailed to Phrygia, he was sold by one of his friends and became a slave to Omphale, who was ruling the Maiones at that time, now called the Lydians. During his time of servitude, a son named Cleolaus was born to him from his slave status. After marrying Omphale, he had a child with her.

2.2.26 | When he returned to Arcadia and stayed with King Aleus, he secretly mingled with his daughter and made her pregnant, then he went back.

2.2.27 | And after that, he married Deianira,

Δηιάνειραν τὴν Οίνέως, τετελευτηκότος ἥδη τοῦ Μελεάγρου. “Λαβὼν δὲ αἴχμάλωτον τὴν Φυλέως θυγατέρα ἐπεμίγη αὐνῇ καὶ ἐτέκνωσε Τληπόλεμον. δειπνῶν δὲ παρ' Οίνεῖ τὸν διακονοῦντα περί τι διαμαρτήσαντα κονδύλω πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν.

the daughter of Oeneus, after Meleager had already died. He took captive the daughter of Phyleus, mingled with her, and had a son named Telephus. While dining with Oeneus, he killed a servant who had accidentally hit him with a club.

2.2.28 | ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος ἥλθε πρὸς τὸν Εὔηνον ποταμὸν, καταλαμβάνει Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον μισθοῦ διαβιβάζοντα τὸν ποταμόν. οὗτος δὲ πρῶτον διαβιβάσας τὴν Δηιάνειραν, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἔρασθεὶς ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὴν βιάσασθαι· ἐπιβοωμένης δὲ αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἐτόξευσε τὸν Κένταυρον, ὁ δὲ Νέσσος μεταξὺ μισγόμενος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς πληγῆς εύθυνς ἀποθνήσκων, ἔφησε τῇ Δηιανείρᾳ δώσειν φίλτρον, ὅπως μηδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν Ἡρακλῆς θελήσῃ πλησιάσαι.

2.2.28 | When he was traveling and came to the river Euenus, he found Nessus the Centaur ferrying across the river. First, he ferried Deianira across, and because of her beauty, he tried to force himself on her. When she cried out, her husband Heracles shot the Centaur with an arrow. As Nessus was dying from the wound, he told Deianira to give her a potion so that Heracles would desire no other woman.

2.2.29 | παρεκελεύσατο οὖν λαβοῦσαν τὸν ἔξ αὐτοῦ πεσόντα γόνον, καὶ τούτῳ προσμίξασαν ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκίδος ἀποσταζόμενον αἷμα, χρῖσαι τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσασα Δηιάνειρα κατεῖχε παρ' ἐαυτῇ τὸ φάρμακον.”

2.2.29 | Then he urged her to take the child that had fallen from him, and after mixing it with oil and the blood dripping from the arrow, to anoint Heracles' cloak. After doing this, Deianira kept the potion with her.

2.2.30 | “Πάλιν δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Φύλαντος θυγατέρα λαβὼν αἴχμάλωτον καὶ μιγεὶς αὐτῇ υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐγέννησε· καὶ πάλιν Ἀστυάνειραν τὴν Ἀρμενίου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα λαβὼν αἴχμάλωτον καὶ μιγεὶς αὐτῇ Κτήσιππον υἱὸν ἐγέννησε·”

2.2.30 | Again, Heracles took the daughter of Phyleus as a captive and had a son named Antiochus with her. And again, he took Astyaneira, the daughter of King Armenius, as a captive and had a son named Ctesippus with her.

2.2.31 | “Θέσπιος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθέως

2.2.31 | Thespios, the son of Erechtheus

παῖς ἐκ διαφόρων γυναικῶν θυγατέρας ἀριθμῷ πεντήκοντα πεποιηκώς, φιλοτιμησάμενός τε αὐτὰς ἐξ Ἡρακλέους παῖδας κτήσασθαι, καλέσας ἐπί τινα θυσίαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν ἐστιάσας, κατὰ μίαν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων ἀπέστειλεν. ὃ δὲ ἐν μᾶς νυκτὶ διέφθειρεν τὰς πάσας, καὶ γίνεται πατὴρ τῶν καλουμένων Θεσπιάδων."

from Athens, had fifty daughters from different women. Wanting to have children from Heracles, he invited Heracles to a sacrifice and hosted him splendidly. During one night, he slept with all of his daughters and became the father of those called the Thespian women.

2.2.32 | "Λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰόλην αἴχμαλωτον καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν, ἀποστείλας ἐπὶ τὴν γυναικα Δηιάνειραν ἥτει ἴματιον καὶ χιτῶνα οὓς εἰώθει χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς θυσίας· ἡ δὲ τὸν χιτῶνα χρίσασα τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Κενταύρου δεδομένῳ φίλτρῳ ἀποστέλλει.

2.2.32 | After taking Iole as a captive and performing a sacrifice, he sent to his wife Deianira asking for a cloak and a tunic that she usually used for sacrifices. She, after anointing the tunic with the potion given by the Centaur, sent it back.

2.2.33 | ὃ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν χιτῶνα περιθέμενος περιέπεσε συμφορᾷ τῇ μεγίστῃ. τῆς γάρ ἀκίδος τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἐχίσνης ίὸν ἀπειληφυίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ χιτῶνος διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν τὴν σάρκα τοῦ σώματος λυμηναμένου, περιαλγής γενόμενος τὸν διακονήσαντα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ χρησμὸν πυρὶ ἐαυτὸν παραδοὺς, οὕτως κατέλυσε τὸν βίον. καὶ τὰ μὲν καθ' Ἡρακλέα τοιαῦτα."

2.2.33 | Heracles, putting on the tunic, fell into a great misfortune. For the poison from the arrow of Echidna was deadly, and because of the heat, the tunic was burning his skin. In pain, he killed the servant who brought it, and then, following the prophecy, he gave himself to fire, thus ending his life. And these things happened to Heracles.

2.2.34 | "Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασιν Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸν εἶναι καὶ Κορωνίδος, ζηλῶσαι δὲ τὴν ἱατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ προβῆναι τῇ δόξῃ ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων ἀρρώστων παραδόξως θεραπεύειν· ὥστε τὸν Δία παροξυνθέντα κεραυνῷ βαλόντα αὐτὸν διαφθεῖραι, τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ παιδὸς παροξυνθέντα φονεῦσαι τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν τῷ Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας

2.2.34 | They say that Asclepius is the son of Apollo and Coronis. He became so skilled in the art of medicine that he was able to heal many desperate patients in surprising ways. This made Zeus angry, and he struck him down with a thunderbolt. Apollo, enraged by the death of his son, killed the Cyclopes who had made the thunderbolt for Zeus. After these events, Zeus ordered Apollo to serve Admetus and to receive

Κύκλωπας· δέ τῇ τούτων τελευτῇ παροξυνθέντα τὸν Δία προστάξαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρ' Ἀδμήτῳ, καὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.”

2.2.35 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν ὁ Διόδωρος παρατέθειται. καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δὲ θεολογίαν πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν μετειληθέναι φησὶ τοὺς “Ἐλληνας, γράφων ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱστορίας τάδε

2.2.36 | “Φασὶ τοίνυν Ἀτλάντειοι πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς βασιλεῦσαι Οὐρανὸν, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας ὅν πλειόνων γυναικῶν πέντε προς τοῖς τεσσαρακοντα, ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα λέγουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐκ Τεπαίας γυναικός, ἣν σώφρονα γενομένην καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν ἀποθεωθῆναι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν, Γῆν μετονομασθεῖσαν.

2.2.37 | γενέσθαι δὲ Οὐρανῷ θυγατέρας Βασίλειαν καὶ Ρέαν, τὴν καὶ Πανδώραν. τὴν δὲ Βασίλειαν ἐκθρέψασαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μητρὸς εὗνοιαν παρεχομένην μητέρα προσαγορευθῆναι.

2.2.38 | ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ τελευτὴν συνοικήσασαν Ὑπερίονι τῷ ἀδελφῷ γεννῆσαι δύο παῖδας, οὓς καὶ νομάσαι Ἡλιον καὶ Σελήνην.

2.2.39 | τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς τῆς Ρέας φοβηθέντας τὸν μὲν Ὑπερίονα

punishment for these crimes.

2.2.35 | These things are presented by Diodorus in the fourth of his libraries. He also says that the same man took from other nations the rest of theology and wrote this in the third book of his history.

2.2.36 | They say that the Atlanteans first had Uranus as their king, and that he had children, of whom there were more than five with the forty women. They say there were eighteen from a woman named Tepaios, who, after her death, was honored as a goddess for being wise and the cause of many good things, and was renamed Earth.

2.2.37 | And daughters were born to Uranus, Basileia and Rhea, who is also called Pandora. Basileia, raising her brothers, was called mother for providing them with good will.

2.2.38 | Later, after the death of Uranus, she lived with her brother Hyperion and bore two children, whom they named Helios and Selene.

2.2.39 | The brothers of Rhea, fearing her, killed Hyperion and drowned Helios in the

κατασφάξαι, τον δὲ Ἡλιον εἰς τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν ἀποπνῖξαι· τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ταῦτα μαθοῦσαν ἀπὸ τέγους ρῆψαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα ἐμμανῆ γενομένην πλανᾶσθαι κατ τὴν χώραν, λελυμένην μὲν τὰς τρίχας, διὰ τυμπάνον δὲ καὶ κυμβάλων ἐνθεάζουσαν, καὶ ὅλως ἀφανῆ κὶ αὐτὴν γενέσθαι.

river Eridanus. When Selene learned of this, she threw herself from a roof. Her mother, driven mad, wandered through the land, with her hair disheveled, inspired by drums and cymbals, and she herself became completely invisible.

2.2.40 | τοὺς δὲ ὄχλους θαυμάσαντς τὴν περιπέτειαν τὸν μὲν Ἡλιον καὶ τὴν Σελήνηι μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστρα, τὴν δὲ μηέρα τούτων θεόν τε νομίσαι καὶ βωμοὺς ἴδρυ σασθαι, καὶ ταῖς διὰ τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων ἐνεργείαις τιμῆσαι.”

2.2.40 | The crowds, amazed by the events, decided to place Helios and Selene among the stars in the sky, and they thought of their mother as a goddess and set up altars for her, honoring her with the rituals of drums and cymbals.

2.2.41 | “Φρύγες δέ φασι Μήονα βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Φρυγίας παῖδα Κυβέλην κτήσασθαι, ἦν καὶ σύριγγα πρώτην εὺρεῖν, κιληθῆναι τε ὄρείαν μητέρα. Μαρσύαν δὲ τὸν Φρύγα πρὸς ταύτην φιλίαν ἔχοντα πρῶτον αύλοὺς συστήσασθαι, διατελέσαι δὲ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀπείρατον ἀφροδισίων.

2.2.41 | The Phrygians say that Maion became king of Phrygia and married Cybele, who was the first to discover the flute and was called the mountain mother. Marsyas, the Phrygian, having a friendship with her, was the first to create flutes, and he continued to play them until the end, full of endless pleasures.

2.2.42 | τὴν δὲ Κυβέλην συνελθοῦσαν εἰς ὄμιλίαν Ἀττιδι γενέσθαι ἐγκύμονα. οῦ γνωσθέντος ὃ ταύτης πατήρ τὸν Ἀττιν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὰς τροφούς· τὴν δὲ Κυβέλην ἐμμανῆ γενομένην ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκπηδῆσαι, ἐκεῖσέ τε ὄλολύζουσαν καὶ τυμπανίζουσαν διατελεῖν.

2.2.42 | When Cybele gathered with others, she became pregnant with Attis. When this was known, her father killed Attis and the nurses. Cybele, driven mad, jumped into the land, and there she continued to wail and beat drums.

2.2.43 | συνεῖναι δὲ αὐτῇ Μαρσύαν, ὃν εἰς ἄμιλλαν περὶ μουσικῆς ἐλθόντα τῷ Απόλλωνι καὶ ἡτηθέντα ζῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ

2.2.43 | Marsyas came to her, who had entered a contest in music against Apollo and, having been defeated, was flayed alive

Άπόλλωνος έκδαρηναι.

by Apollo.

2.2.44 | τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρασθέντα τῆς Κυβέλης συμπλακῆναι αὐτῇ μέχρι τῶν Υπερβορέων, κελεῦσαι τε θάψαι τὸ Ἀττίδος σῶμα καὶ τιμὰν ὡς θεὸν τὴν Κυβέλην. διόπερ εἰσέτι καὶ σήμερον τοὺς Φρύγας τοῦτο ποιεῖν, θρηνοῦντας τοῦ μειρακίου τὸν θάνατον, βωμούς τε ἴδρυσαμένους θυσίαις Ἀττιν τε καὶ τὴν Κυβέλην τιμᾶν.

2.2.45 | ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Πισινοῦντι τῆς Φρυγίας κατασκευάσαι νεών πολυτελῆ, καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας καταδεῖξαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτις.”

2.2.46 | “Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Υπερίονος τελευτὴν τοὺς Οὐρανοῦ παῖδας διελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἀτλαντα καὶ Κρόνον. τούτων δὲτὸν Ἀτλαντα λαβεῖν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Ὦκεανὸν τόπους γενόμενον ἀστρολόγον ἄριστον· ὑπάρχαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπτὰ, τὰς καλουμένας Ἀτλαντίδας. ταύτας δὲ μιγείσας τοῖς εὐφυεστάτοις θεοῖς ἀρχηγοὺς καταστῆναι τοῦ πλείστου γένους, τεκούσας δ' ἀρετὴν θεοὺς καὶ ἥρωας, ὃν τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Μαῖαν Διὸν μιγεῖσαν τεκνοποιῆσαι τὸν Ἐρμῆν.”

2.2.47 | “Τὸν δὲ Κρόνον διαφέροντα πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ρέαν, ἐξ ἣς γεννῆσαι τὸν Δία. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Δία, τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῇ δόξῃ πο)ν λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου.

2.2.44 | Apollo, having fallen in love with Cybele, fought with her all the way to the Hyperboreans. He ordered that the body of Attis be buried and honored Cybele as a goddess. For this reason, even today, the Phrygians do this, mourning the death of the young man, and they have set up altars to honor Attis and Cybele with sacrifices.

2.2.45 | Later, in Pisinus of Phrygia, they built a grand temple and showed the most splendid honors and sacrifices.

2.2.46 | After the death of Hyperion, the children of Uranus divided the kingdom, among whom the most famous were Atlas and Cronus. They took Atlas, who became the best astrologer in the lands by the Ocean. He had seven daughters, called the Atlantids. Mixing with the best gods, they became leaders of the greatest race, giving birth to gods and heroes, among whom the eldest, Maia, bore Hermes with Zeus.

2.2.47 | Now Cronus, being different because of greed and lust, married his sister Rhea, from whom he fathered Zeus. There was also another Zeus, the brother of Uranus, who ruled over Crete, according to the fame that was left behind by the later

one.

2.2.48 | τοῦτον μὲν οὖν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν δὲ τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ δέκα παῖδας γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὄνομασθένιας Κουρῆτας. δείκνυσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ φασιν εἰσέτι νῦν τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ.

2.2.49 | δυναστεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν. τούτου δὲ γενόμενον τὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πατρὶ βίον ζηλῶσαι. διαδέξασθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ μέν φασιν ἐκόντος τοῦ πατρὸς παραχωρήσαντος, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων αἰρεθέντα διὰ τὸ μῆσος τὸ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

2.2.50 | ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰ τῶν Τιτάνων κρατῆσαι μάχη τὸν Δία καὶ ἐπελθεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. διενεγκεῖν δὲ κύτὸν σώματος ἥωμη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, σπουδὴν τε ποιεῖσθαι πᾶσαν εἰς κόλασιν μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἔεργεσίας δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνθ' ὧν μετὰ τὴν ἔξ ἀνθώπων μετάστασιν ὄνομασθῆναι Ζῆνα, διὰ τὸ δοκν τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

2.2.51 | τῶν μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀτλαντείοις θεολογουμνων τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτα ἔστι. τούτοις δέ φασι καὶ τς "Ἐλληνας συγχρῆσθαι."

2.2.52 | Ταῦτα ὁ Διόδωρος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔκτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Εύημέρου τουΜεσσηνίου γραφὴς ἐπικυροῖ

2.2.48 | This one ruled over the whole world, while the other ruled over Crete, and he fathered ten children, called the Curetes. They say that even now his tomb can be seen in Crete.

2.2.49 | Cronus ruled over Sicily, Libya, and Italy. His son Zeus, wanting to live the opposite life of his father, took the kingdom. Some say that he received it willingly from his father, while others say he was chosen by the crowds because of their hatred for his father.

2.2.50 | When Cronus marched against him with the Titans, he fought Zeus and attacked the whole world. He was to bring strength and other virtues to the body, making every effort to punish the wicked and help the good. Because of this, after the change from humans, he was called Zeus, because he was seen as the reason for living well among people.

2.2.51 | These are the main points about the gods according to the Atlanteans. They also say that the Greeks are mixed in with them.

2.2.52 | These things Diodorus writes in the third book of his histories. He also confirms the same theology in the sixth book,

τὴν αὐτὴν θεολογίας ὡδε κατὰ λέξιν  
φάσκων

2.2.53 | "Περὶ θεῶν τοίνυν διττὰς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις παραδεδώκασιν ἐννοίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀιδίους καὶ ἀφθάρτους εἶναι φασιν, οἷον ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνέμους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τῆς ὁμοίας φύσεως τούτοις τετευχότας· τούτων γὰρ ἔκαστον ἀίδιον ἔχειν τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν διαμονήν· ἐτέρους δὲ λέγουσιν ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι θεοὺς, διὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὔεργεσίας ἀθανάτου τετευχότας τιμῆς τε καὶ δόξης, οἷον Ἡρακλέα, Διόνυσον, Ἀρισταῖον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τούτοις ὁμοίους.

2.2.54 | περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιγείων θεῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι παραδέδονται λόγοι πάρα τοῖς ιστορικοῖς τε καὶ μυθογράφοις. καὶ τῶν μὲν ιστορικῶν Εύήμερος, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενος, ίδιως ἀναγέγραφεν, τῶν δὲ μυθολόγων Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἔτεροι τοιοῦτοι τερατωδεστέρους μύθους περὶ θεῶν πεπλάκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναγεγραμμένα πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας."

2.2.55 | "Εύήμερος μὲν οὖν φίλος γεγονὼς Κασάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἡναγκασμένος τε λεῖν βασιλικάς τινας χρείας καὶ μεγάλας ἀποδημία φησὶν ἐκτοπισθῆναι κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν εἰς τὸ ὡκεανόν· ἐκπλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβίᾳς ποιήσασθαι τὸν πλοῦν

quoting from the writings of Eumenius of Messene.

2.2.53 | About the gods, the ancients passed down two ideas to later people. They say that some are eternal and unchanging, like the sun, the moon, and the other stars in the sky, along with the winds and others of the same nature. Each of these has an eternal origin and existence. They also say that other gods are earthly, and because of their good deeds toward humans, they have become immortal and received honor and glory, like Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaios, and others similar to them.

2.2.54 | About the earthly gods, many different stories are handed down by both historians and mythographers. Among the historians, Eumenius, who made a sacred record, wrote down his ideas in detail. Among the mythologists, Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and others like them created more fantastic myths about the gods. We will try to briefly touch on what is written by both groups, considering their similarities.

2.2.55 | Eumenius, a friend of King Cassander, says that he was forced to leave for a great journey because of royal needs and was sent away to the ocean in the south. After he set sail from the happy land of Arabia, he spent many days crossing the ocean. He came to some islands in the sea;

δι' ὥκεανοῦ πλείον ἡμέρας. καὶ προσενεχθῆναι νήσοις πελαγίαις· μίαν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Παγχαίαν, ἐν ἣ τ' θεᾶσθαι τοὺς ἔνοικούντας Παγχαίους εύσεβείᾳ δφέροντας, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶντας μεγαλοπρεπεσ ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις, ἀργυροῖς τε καὶ χρυσοῖς.

2.2.56 | εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἱερὰν θεῶν, καὶ ἔτερα πλείω θαυμαζόμενα κατά τε τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν τῆς κατασκευῆς πολυτεχνίαν, περὶ ᾧ τὰ κατά μέρος ἐν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἀναγεγράφαμεν.

2.2.57 | εἶναι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ κατά τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν Ἱερὸν Δῖός Τριφυλίου, καθιδρυμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἔτι κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὥν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ἱερῷ στήλῃν εἶναι χρυσῆν, ἐν ἣ τοῖς Παγχαίοις γράμμασιν ὑπάρχειν γεγραμμένας τάς τε Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Δῖός πράξεις κεφαλαιωδῶς

2.2.58 | μετὰ ταῦτά φησι πρῶτον Οὐρανὸν βασιλέα γεγονέναι, ἐπιεικῆ τινα ἄνδρα καὶ εὔεργετικόν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων κινήσεως ἐπιστήμονα· ὃν καὶ πρῶτον θυσίαις τιμῆσαι τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς, διὸ καὶ Οὐρανὸν προσαγορευθῆναι.

2.2.59 | υἱὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Ἐστίας Τιτᾶνα καὶ Κρόνου, θυγατέρας δὲ Ῥέαν καὶ Δήμητρα. Κρόνον δὲ βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ Οὐρανὸν, καὶ γήμαντα Ῥέαν γεννῆσαι Δία καὶ Ἡραν καὶ

one of them is called Pangaea, where the inhabitants, the Pangaeans, live with great piety, honoring the gods with impressive sacrifices and worthy offerings of silver and gold.

2.2.56 | There is also a sacred island of the gods, along with many other wonders, both for their ancient history and for the skill in their construction. We have written about some of these in the books before this one.

2.2.57 | There is also a very high hill in the island, where there is a sacred place of Zeus Trifilius, built by him during the time he ruled over all the world while still being human. In this sacred place, there is a golden pillar, on which are written in Pangaeian letters the main deeds of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus.

2.2.58 | After this, he says that first there was Uranus, a certain noble and generous man, and an expert in the movement of the stars. He was also the first to honor the heavenly gods with sacrifices, which is why he was called Uranus.

2.2.59 | And he had sons from the Titaness Hestia and Cronus, and daughters from Rhea and Demeter. After Uranus, Cronus became king, and he married Rhea and had children: Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon.

Ποσειδῶνα.

2.2.60 | τὸν δὲ Δία διαδεξάμενον τὴν  
βασιλείαν τοῦ Κρόνου γῆμαι Ἡραν καὶ  
Δήμητρα καὶ Θέμιν· ἐξ ὧν παῖδας  
ποιήσασθαι Κουρῆτας μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης,  
Περσεφόνην δὲ ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ  
ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης.

2.2.61 | ἔλθόντα δὲ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα  
ἐπιξενωθῆναι Βήλῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν  
Παγχαίαν νῆσον πρὸς τῷ ὑκεανῷ κειμένην  
παραγενόμενον Οὐρανοῦ τοῦ ἴδιου  
προπάτορος βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, κάκεῖθεν  
διὰ Συρίας ἔλθεν πρὸς τὸν τότε δυνάστην  
Κάσιον, ἐξ οὗ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος· ἔλθόντα δὲ  
εἰς Κιλικίαν πολέμων νικῆσαι Κίλικα  
τοπάρχην. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλεῖστα ἔθνη  
ἐπελθόντα παρ' ἅπασι τιμηθῆναι, καὶ θεὸν  
ἀναγορευθῆναι.'

2.2.62 | Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια  
ώς περὶ θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν περὶ τῶν θεόν  
διελθών ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Καὶ περὶ μὲν  
Εύμηρου τοῦ συνταξαμένου τὴν ἱερὰν  
ἀναγραφὴν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ἡρητεῖσι·  
τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι μυθολογούμενα  
περὶ θεῶν ἀκολούθως Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ  
καὶ Ὄρφεῳ πειρασόμεθα συντόμως  
ἐπιδραμεῖν. Εἴθ' ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει τὰς τῶν  
ποιητῶν μυθολογίας.

2.2.63 | Ἀλλὰ γάρ τοσαῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
Ἐλλήνων θεολογίας ἀποχρῶντας ἡμῖν  
ἀποτεμήσθω, οἵς εὐλογον ἐπισυνάψαι  
τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις  
τελετὰς καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια,  
σκέψασθαί τε πότερον θείας ώς ἀληθῶς

2.2.60 | After Zeus took over the kingdom  
from Cronus, he married Hera, Demeter,  
and Themis. From these, he had children:  
the Curetes from the first, Persephone from  
the second, and Athena from the third.

2.2.61 | After arriving in Babylon, he was  
welcomed by Bel. Then he went to the  
island of Pangaea, which lies by the ocean,  
and there he built an altar to Uranus, his  
ancestor. From there, he traveled through  
Syria to the ruler Cassius, from whom the  
mountain Cassius gets its name. After  
arriving in Cilicia, he defeated the Cilician  
governor in battle. Many other nations also  
honored him, and he was declared a god.

2.2.62 | These things and similar ones, as  
he discusses mortals, he also brings up  
about the gods, saying, 'And concerning  
Eumeirus, who wrote the sacred record,  
we will be satisfied with what has been  
said. But about the myths among the  
Greeks concerning the gods, we will try to  
briefly touch on what Hesiod, Homer, and  
Orpheus have written. Then, he will add the  
myths of the poets.'

2.2.63 | But let us take so much from the  
theology of the Greeks, so that we can  
connect the rites and secret mysteries of  
the same gods in the temples. We should  
consider whether they truly offer some  
divine proof of genuine theology, or if they

θεολογίας ἔχούσης τι θεοπρεπὲς δεῖγμα φέρουσιν, ἡ κάτωθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς καὶ δαιμονικῆς πλάνης ὄρμῶνται, γέλωτος ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσχύνης, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι τυφλώτουσιν οἴκτου ὅντα ἄξια.

come from a distant and demonic delusion, bringing laughter or even more shame, and are more deserving of pity for those who are still blinded.

2.2.64 | ταῦτα δὲ Κλήμης ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐλληνας Προτρεπτικῷ διαρρήδην ἐκκαλύπτει, πάντων μὲν διὰ πείρας ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ, θᾶττόν γε μὴν τῆς πλάνης ἀνανεύσας, ὡς ἀν πρὸς τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν κακῶν λελυτρωμένος. βραχέα δ' οὖν καὶ τούτων ἐπάκουουσον

2.2.64 | These things, Clement the wonderful clearly reveals in his work 'Exhortation to the Greeks.' He, having come through experience, points out the deception, so that he may be freed from evils through the saving word and the teaching of the Gospel. Therefore, listen briefly to these things.

### Section 3

2.3.1 | Ὅτι τοίνυν ἄθεα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, διὰ μηδὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατείας ἔμπλεα, ἡ λέβητα Θεσπρώτειον,, ἡ τρίποδα Κιρραῖον, ἡ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, γεράνδρυον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε.

2.3.1 | So, do not meddle with the unholy mysteries, nor with the mouths full of monstrous tales, or the Thesprotians' cauldrons, or the tripod of Delphi, or the bronze of Dodona, or the shrine honored by sandy deserts and the oracle there at the oak tree. Leave behind the myths that have grown old.

2.3.2 | σεσίγηται γοῦν ἡ Κασταλίας πηγὴ, καὶ Κολοφῶνος ἄλλῃ πηγῇ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δημοίως τέθνηκε νάματα μαντικά. καὶ δὴ τοῦ τύφου κενὰ ὄψε μὲν ὅμως δ' οὖν διελήγεγκται τοῖς ἴδιοις συνεκρεύσαντα μύθοις.

2.3.2 | Indeed, the spring of Castalia is silent, and the other spring of Colophon has also died, just like the other prophetic waters. And truly, the empty places of the fog have been examined, yet they are still entangled with their own myths.

2.3.3 | διήγησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς. μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς τὰ ἄχρηστα χρηστήρια, τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα, τὸν Ἀμφιάρεω, τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὸν

2.3.3 | Tell us about the other prophecies. More so about the useless oracles, like Clarian, Pythian, Didymean, Amphiaraus, Apollo, and Amphilius.

## Άμφιλοχον·

2.3.4 | εί δὲ βούλει καὶ τερατοσκόπους καὶ οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὄνείρων κριτὰς ἀνιέρου σὺν αὐτοῖς· στῆσον δὲ ὅμοι παρὰ τὸν Πύθιον ἄγων τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις καὶ κριθομάντεις καὶ τοὺς είσετι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τετιμημένους ἐγγαστριμύθους· ναὶ μὴν ἄδυτα Αἴγυπτίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομαντεῖαι σκότῳ παραδεδόσθων μανικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων σοφιστήρια καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβευτήρια.

2.3.4 | If you want, you can also include the monster-seers and the bird-seers, along with the dream interpreters. Set them together by the Pythian, leading the flour-diviners and barley-diviners, and those still honored by many as ventriloquists. Yes, indeed, the hidden places of the Egyptians and Tyrrhenians have been handed down in darkness as necromancies; these are truly the tricks of untrustworthy people and the deceitful games of shameless gamblers.

2.3.5 | συνέμποροι τῆσδε τῆς γοητείας αἴγες αἱ ἐπὶ μαντικὴν ἡσκημέναι μέναι καὶ κόρακες ἀνθρώποις χρᾶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων διδασκόμενοι."

2.3.5 | Partners in this sorcery are the goats trained for divination and the crows, which are used by people, taught by humans.

2.3.6 | Τί δ' εἴ σοι καταλέγοιμι τὰ μυστήρια; οὐκ ἔξορχήσομαι μὲν ὁσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην λέγουσιν, ἀπογυμνώσω δὲ εῦ μάλα ἀνὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον τὴν γοητείαν τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτούς γε τοὺς καλουμένους ὑμῶν θεοὺς, ὃν αἱ τελεταὶ μυστικαὶ, οἷον ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἀληθείας ἐγκυκλήσω θεαταῖς.

2.3.6 | What if I were to reveal the mysteries to you? I will not dance around like Alcibiades, but I will clearly expose the hidden sorcery to them, and even those you call your gods, whose secret rituals I will circle around like a stage in the theater of truth.

2.3.7 | Διόνυσον μαινόλην ὄργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὡμοφαγίᾳ τὴν ἱερομηνίαν ἄγοντες, καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεανομίας τῶν φόνων, ἀνεστεμένοι τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὔαν Εὔαν ἔκείνην, δι' ἣν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησε καὶ ὁ θάνατος ἐπηκολούθησε· καὶ σημεῖον ὄργιών Βακχικῶν ὄφις ἔστι τετελεσμένος.

2.3.7 | The Bacchae rage for Dionysus with wild feasting, leading the sacred festival with flesh-eating, and they complete the meat offerings of the murders, adorned with serpents, shouting 'Euan Euan' for her, for whom the deception followed and death came after; and a sign of Bacchic rites is the serpent that is completed.

2.3.8 | αύτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἐβραίων φωνὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Εῦα δασυνόμενον ἐρμηνεύεται ὄφις ἡ θήλεια. Δηὸς δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἥδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικὸν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσίς δᾳδουχεῖ.”

2.3.8 | Indeed, in the precise language of the Hebrews, the name Eua is interpreted as the female serpent. And already, a secret drama has been born of Demeter and Persephone, and Eleusis reveals the deception, the abduction, and the grief to them.

2.3.9 | “Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ὄργια καὶ τὰ μυστήρια δεῖν ἔτυμολογεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄργης τῆς Δηοῦς τῆς πρὸς Δία γεγενημένης, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύσους τοῦ συμβεβηκότος περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Μυοῦντός τινος Ἀττικοῦ, δὸν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ διαφθαρῆναι Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει, οὐ φθόνος ὑμῶν δεδοξάσθαι τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίω [φωνῇ καὶ] τιμῇ.

2.3.9 | And it seems to me that the rites and the mysteries should be explained, some from the anger of Demeter towards Zeus, and others from the secret that happened around Dionysus; and if it is also from some Attic Myoun, whom Apollodorus says was destroyed in hunting, there is no jealousy in you for the mysteries to be honored with a grave voice and respect.

2.3.10 | πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μυθάριά σοι νοεῖν, ἀντιστοιχούντων τῶν γραμμάτων, τὰ μυστήρια. Θηρεύουσι γάρ, εἴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ μῆθοι οἱ τοιοίδε Θρακῶν τοὺς βαρβαρικωτάτους, Φρυγῶν τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους, Ἑλλήνων τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας.

2.3.10 | There are also other stories for you to consider, corresponding to the letters of the mysteries. For they hunt, even if there are others, but indeed the myths of the Thracians are the most barbaric, those of the Phrygians are the most foolish, and those of the Greeks are the most superstitious.

2.3.11 | ὅλοιτο οὖν ὁ τῆσδε ἄρξας τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος ὁ μύθους θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἴτε Ἡετίων ὁ τὰ Σαμοθρακῶν ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς ὑποστησάμενος, εἴτε ὁ Φρὺξ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μίδας, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ὁδρύσου μαθὼν, ἐπειτα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἔντεχνον ἀπάτην.

2.3.11 | Therefore, let the one who started this deception among people perish, whether it was Dardanus who revealed the mysteries of the gods, or Aetion who supported the rites and ceremonies of Samothrace, or that Phrygian Midas, who learned from the Odrysians and then passed on a clever deception to those under him.

2.3.12 | ού γάρ με ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης  
Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτ' ἀν, τὰ περὶ τὴν  
Ἄφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὅργια ἐκ νυκτὸς  
ἡμέρᾳ παραδοῦναι τολμήσας,  
φιλοτιμούμενος θειάσαι πόρνην πολίτιδα.

2.3.13 | Μελάμποδα δὲ τὸν Ἀμυθάονος  
ἄλλοι φασὶν ἔξ Αἴγυπτου μετακομίσαι τῇ  
Ἐλλάδι τὰς Δηοῦς ἐορτὰς, πένθος  
ὑμνούμενον. τούτους ἔγωγ' ἀν ἀρχεκάκους  
φήσαιμι μύθων ἀθέων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας  
όλεθρίου πατέρας, σπέρμα κακίας καὶ  
φθορᾶς ἔγκαταφυτεύσαντας τῷ βίῳ τὰ  
μυστήρια.”

2.3.14 | "Ηδη δὲ, καὶ γὰρ καιρὸς, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν  
τὰ ὅργια ἔξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας  
ἔμπλεα. καὶ εἰ μεμύησθε, μᾶλλον  
ἐπιγελάσσεσθε τοῖς μύθοις ὑμῶν τούτοις  
τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύσω δὲ ἀναφανδὸν  
τὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ἀ  
προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε.

2.3.15 | ή μὲν οὗν ἀφρογενῆς καὶ  
κυπρογενῆς καὶ Κινύρα φίλη, τὴν  
Ἄφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν φιλομήδεα, ὅτι  
μηδέων ἔξεφαάνθη, μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν  
ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ, τῶν λάγνων,  
τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κῦμα βεβιασμένων,  
ώς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μο— ρίων ἄξιος  
Ἄφροδίτη γίνεται καρπὸς, ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς  
ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς, τεκμήριον τῆς  
γονῆς, ἀλῶν χόνδρος, καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς  
μυουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικήν  
ἐπιδέδοται· νόμισμα δὲ είσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ  
οἱ μυούμενοι ώς ἐταίρα ἐρασταί.

2.3.12 | For the Cyprian, the islander  
Kinyras, would never persuade me to dare  
to reveal the night-time rites concerning  
Aphrodite, being eager to honor a city-  
dwelling prostitute.

2.3.13 | Others say that Melampus, the son  
of Amythaon, brought the festivals of  
Demeter from Egypt to Greece, celebrated  
with mourning. I would call these people  
the original evildoers, the fathers of empty  
myths and harmful superstition, planting  
the seeds of wickedness and decay into life  
through the mysteries.

2.3.14 | Now, for the time has come, I will  
expose your rituals, full of deception and  
wonders. And if you have been initiated,  
you will only laugh more at these myths of  
yours that are honored. I will openly  
declare the hidden things, not ashamed to  
speak of what you do not feel ashamed to  
worship.

2.3.15 | Therefore, I speak of Aphrodite,  
born of foam and Cyprus, beloved by  
Kinyras, that she has not appeared from  
any of those things cut off from Heaven,  
those lustful things, those forced into  
waves after the cutting, as if the fruit of  
Aphrodite is worthy of your lewdness. In  
the rituals of this oceanic pleasure, the  
evidence of the mother is the salt of the sea,  
and the phallus is offered to the initiates as  
the art of adultery; the initiates bring her a  
token as if she were a companion for  
lovers.

2.3.16 | "Δηοῦς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ Δῖός πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι φῶ λοιπὸν, μητρὸς ἡ γυναικὸς, τῆς Δηοῦς ' ἦς δὴ χάριν Βριμῷ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται· ἵκετηρίαι Δῖός καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίαι καὶ ἀρρητουργίαι·

2.3.16 | The mysteries of Dionysus and the connections to his mother Demeter are full of pleasures and anger. I do not know what else to say, whether about a mother or a woman, of Dionysus, who is said to be called Brimo for her sake. There are prayers to Dionysus, drinks of bile, heart-pulling rituals, and secret rites.

2.3.17 | ταῦτα οἱ Φρύγες τελίσκουσιν Ἀττιδὶ καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορύβασι. τεθρυλήκασι δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τού κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψευδῇ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτιννύων, ὡς ἐαυτὸν δῆθεν ἐκτεμών.

2.3.17 | These things the Phrygians perform in honor of Attis, Cybele, and the Corybantes. They say that when Zeus took the ram, he threw the twins into the lap of Demeter, as a false punishment for the violent connection, as if he were cutting himself off.

2.3.18 | τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυήσεως ταύτης ἔκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἶδ' ὅτι κινήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασέουσιν ὑμῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους. ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν. ταῦτα οὐχ ὕβρις τὰ σύμβολα; οὐ χλεύη τὰ μυστήρια;"

2.3.18 | I know that the symbols of this initiation are given from abundance, and they will cause laughter and not mockery because of the tests. They ate from the drum, drank from the cymbal, and carried the grain under the cover. Are these symbols not arrogance? Are the mysteries not a joke?

2.3.19 | "Τί δ' εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα προσθείην; κύει μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ κόρη, μίγνυται δ' αὐθίς ὁ γεννήσας οὐτὸσὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Φερρεφάτῃ τῇ ἴδιᾳ θυγατρὶ μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δηῶ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσους, καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, ὃς ἦν ἐλεγχθείς.

2.3.19 | What if I add the rest? Demeter is pregnant, the daughter is being raised, and this Zeus mingles again with his own daughter Persephone after the mother Demeter, forgetting the earlier mysteries, and he mingles becoming a dragon, who was exposed.

2.3.20 | Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου

2.3.20 | Indeed, the symbol of the mysteries of Sabazios is the god through the womb

Θεός· δράκων δέ ἔστιν οὗτος διολκούμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος ἀκρασίας Δῖος, κύει καὶ ἡ Φερρέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον.

for those being initiated; this dragon is drawn from the womb of the completed rites, a test of the lack of self-control of Zeus. And Persephone is pregnant with a child in the form of a bull.

2.3.21 | ἀμέλει φησί τις ποιητὴς εἰδωλικὸς, ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων, ἐν ὅρει τὸ κρύφιον βουκόλος τὸ κέντρον βουκολικὸν, οἶμαι, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν, ὃν δὴ κάλων ἀναστρέψουσιν οἱ Βάκχοι.

2.3.21 | A certain poet says without care, 'the bull is a dragon and the father of the bull is a dragon, in the mountain the hidden herdsman is the center;' I think the center is pastoral, calling the thyrsus, which the Bacchae indeed turn upside down.

2.3.22 | "Βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερρεφάττης ἀνθολόγια διηγήσωμαί σοι, καὶ τὸν κάλαθον, καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Άιδωνέως, καὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς ὖς τὰς Εύβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν, δι' ḥν αἴτιαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐκβάλλουσι;

2.3.22 | I will tell you about the flowers of Persephone, and the basket, and the abduction by Hades, and the chasm of the earth, and the pigs of Eubouleus that are offered to the goddesses, for what reason do they drive out pigs during the Thesmophoria?

2.3.23 | ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν ποικίλως κατὰ πόλεις ἔορτάζουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, Θεσμοφόρια, Σκιροφόρια, Ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερρεφάττης ἐκτραγῳδοῦσαι ἀρπαγήν. τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα, ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλω κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὁρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θράκιος, κῶνος καὶ ὥρμοις καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυια, μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἐσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

2.3.23 | Women celebrate this mythology in various cities, the Thesmophoria, the Skirrophoria, the Arretophoria, telling in many ways the story of the abduction of Persephone. For the mysteries of Dionysus are completely inhuman, while he was still a child, dancing with armed Curetes, and the Titans, using trickery, deceived him with childish toys. These are the Titans who tore him apart while he was still an infant, as the poet of the rites, Orpheus the Thracian, says, 'a cone and a wheel and games with curved shapes, and beautiful golden apples from the sweet-voiced Hesperides.'

2.3.24 | "Καὶ τῆσδε ἡμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ

2.3.24 | And for us, it is not useless to

άχρεῖα σύμβολα ούκ ἀχρεῖον είς  
κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος,  
σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ρόμβος,  
ἔσοπτρον, πόκος.

present the useless symbols of this rite for understanding: an astragalus, a ball, a top, apples, a wheel, a mirror, and a tuft.

2.3.25 | Άθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Διονύσου ὑφελομένη Πάλλας ἐκ τοῦ πάλλειν τὴν καρδίαν προσηγορεύθη· οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἵ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτὸν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες, καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον, ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοι.

2.3.25 | Therefore, Pallas Athena, having taken away the heart of Dionysus, was called 'the one who strikes the heart.' And the Titans, who also tore him apart, placed certain cauldrons on tripods, and after putting the limbs of Dionysus in them, they first boiled them, then they skewered them and offered them to Hephaestus.

2.3.26 | Ζεὺς δ' ὕστερον ἐπιφανεὶς — εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὄπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβὼν, ἥς δὴ τὸ γέρας λαχεῖν ὅμολογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ — κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτάνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡπείθησε Διὶ, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν.

2.3.26 | Later, Zeus appeared — if he was a god, perhaps having taken part in the smell of the roasted flesh, of which the gods say you have the honor to receive — and he struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and the limbs of Dionysus were entrusted to Apollo's son to be buried. But he, not obeying Zeus either, carried the dismembered body and placed it on Mount Parnassus.

2.3.27 | Εἴ θέλεις δ' ἐποπτεῦσαι καὶ τὰ Κορυβάντων ὅργια, τὸν τρίτον ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὗτοι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φοινικίδι ἐπεκαλυψάτην, καὶ καταστέψαντες ἔθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπὸ τάς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὄλυμπου.

2.3.27 | If you want to see the rites of the Corybantes, these ones, having killed their third brother, covered the head of the dead man with a red cloth, and after dressing it, they buried it, carrying it on a bronze shield under the slopes of Olympus.

2.3.28 | καὶ c ταῦτ' ἔστι τὰ μυστήρια,  
συνελόντι φάναι, φόνοι καὶ τάφοι· οἵ δ'  
ἱερεῖς οἵ τῶνδε, οὓς ἀνακτοτελέστας οἵ  
μέλον καλοῦσι, προσεπιτερατεύονται τῇ  
συμφορᾷ, δλόριξον ἀπαγορεύοντες σέλινον

2.3.28 | And this is the mystery, they say, of murders and graves; the priests of these rites, whom they call the 'royal finishers,' take part in the disaster, strictly forbidding placing celery on the table. For they believe

έπὶ τραπέζης τιθέναι· οἴονται γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ  
αἷματος τοῦ ἀπορρυέντος τοῦ  
Κορυβαντικοῦ τὸ σέλινον ἐκπεφυκέναι·  
ῶσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ αἱ θεσμοφοριάζουσαι  
τοὺς τῆς ῥοιᾶς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσιν  
ἐσθίειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀποπεπτωκότας χαμαὶ ἐκ  
τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου αἷματος σταγόνων  
βεβλαστηκέναι νομίζουσι τάς ῥοιᾶς.

that celery has grown from the blood that flowed from the Corybantic sacrifice; just as those who celebrate the Thesmophoria watch over the seeds of the pomegranate to eat them. For they think that the fallen seeds have sprouted from the drops of Dionysus's blood.

2.3.29 | Καβείρους δὲ τοὺς Κορύβαντας  
καλοῦντες καὶ τελετὴν Καβειρικὴν  
καταγγέλλουσιν. αὐτῷ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ  
ἀδελφοκτόνῳ τὴν κίστην ἀνελομένῳ, ἐν ἣ  
τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου αἰδοῖον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς  
Τυρρηνίαν κατήγαγον, εύκλεοῦς ἔμποροι  
φορτίου· κάνταῦθα διετριβέτην φυγάδες  
ὅντε, τὴν πολυτίμητον εύσεβείας  
διδασκαλίαν, αἰδοῖα καὶ κίστην θρησκεύειν  
παραθεμένῳ Τυρρηνοῖς· δι' ἣν αἵτιαν οὐκ  
ἀπεικότως τὸν Διόνυσον προσαγορεύεσθαί  
τινες "Ἄττιν θέλουσιν, αἰδοίων  
έστερημένον."

2.3.29 | They call the Corybantes 'Kabeiroi' and announce the Kabeiric rites. For they, having taken the chest that contained the sacred things of Dionysus, brought it down to Tyrrhenia, being merchants of good reputation. And there, while being fugitives, they spent time teaching the valuable lessons of piety, placing the sacred things and the chest before the Tyrrhenians. For this reason, some wish to call Dionysus 'Attis,' saying he is without sacred things.

2.3.30 | "Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἴ Τυρρηνοὶ οἵ  
βάρβαροι αἰσχροῖς οὕτω τελίσκονται  
παθήμασιν, ὅπου γε Ἀθηναίοις ναίοις καὶ  
τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι, αἰδοῦμαι καὶ λέγειν,  
αἰσχύνης ἔμπλεως ἡ περὶ τὴν Δηῶ  
μυθολογία;

2.3.30 | And what is so amazing if the Tyrrhenians, who are barbarians, are initiated into such shameful experiences, while I feel ashamed to speak of the myths about the goddess Demeter among the Athenians and the rest of Greece, being full of shame?

2.3.31 | ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηῶ κατὰ ζήτησιν  
τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Κόρης περὶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα  
— τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον —  
ἀποκάμνει, καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει  
λυπουμένη. τοῦτο τοῖς μυουμένοις  
ἀπαγορεύεται είσετι καὶ νῦν, ἔνα μὴ  
δοκοῖεν οἶ τετελεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν

2.3.31 | For the goddess Demeter, while searching for her daughter Persephone around Eleusis — which is a place in Attica — becomes exhausted and sits by a well, filled with sorrow. This is still forbidden to those who are initiated, so that they do not seem to imitate the one who is mourning.

όδυρομένην.

2.3.32 | ὥκουν δὲ τηνικάδε τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα οὗ γηγενεῖς· ὄνόματα αὐτοῖς Βαυβὼ καὶ Δυσαύλης καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, ἔτι δὲ Εὔμολπός τε καὶ Εύβουλεύς· βουκόλος δὲ Τριπτόλεμος ἦν, ποιμὴν δὲ ὁ Εὔμολπος, συβώτης δὲ ὁ Εύβουλεύς· ἀφ' ᾧ τὸ Εύμολπιδῶν καὶ τὸ κηρύκων τὸ ιεροφαντικὸν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀθήνησι γένος ἔνθησε.

2.3.33 | καὶ δὴ — οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσω μὴ ούχὶ είπεῖν — ξενίσασα ἡ Βαυβὼ τὴν Δῆμῳ ὄρέγει κυκεῶνα αὐτῇ. τῆς δὲ ἀναινομένης λαβεῖν καὶ πιεῖν οὐκ ἔθελούσης — πενθήρης γὰρ ἦν — περιαλγής ἡ Βαυβὼ γενομένη, ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν, ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ θεῷ, ἡ δὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὄψει ἡ Δῆμῳ, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ δέχεται τὸ ποτὸν, ἡσθεῖσα τῷ θεάματι.”

2.3.34 | Ταῦτά ἔστι τὰ κρύφια τῶν Ἀθηναίων μυστήρια, ταῦτά τοι καὶ Ὁρφεὺς ἀναγράφει. παραθήσομαι δέ σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ Ὁρφέως τὰ ἔπη, ἵν ἔχης μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναισχυντίας τὸν μυσταγωγόν· ὡς εἴποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρατο, δεῖξε δὲ πάντασώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦν Ἱακχος, χειρί τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μείδησε θεὰ, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν δὲ κυκεών ἐνέκειτο.

2.3.35 | κάστι τὸ σύνθημα Ἐλευσινίων

2.3.32 | The native people lived near Eleusis. Their names were Baubo, Dysaules, and Triptolemus, as well as Eumolpos and Eubouleus. Triptolemus was a herdsman, Eumolpos was a shepherd, and Eubouleus was a swineherd. From these, the families of Eumolpidai and the heralds, who held the sacred office, truly flourished in Athens.

2.3.33 | And indeed — for I cannot help but say — Baubo, having welcomed Demeter, offers her a drink of kykeon. But when Demeter refuses to take and drink it — for she was grieving — Baubo, feeling distressed as if she were ignored, lifts her dress and shows her private parts to the goddess. Demeter is pleased by the sight, and she hardly accepts the drink, happy with the display.

2.3.34 | "These are the hidden things of the Athenian mysteries, and Orpheus also writes these. I will share with you the verses of Orpheus, so that you have a witness to the shamelessness of the initiator. So saying, she lifted her robes and showed everything of her body, not even the proper shape. And there was a child, Iacchus, whom Baubo tossed into her lap while laughing. And when the goddess smiled, she smiled in her heart, and she accepted the shining cup, in which the kykeon was placed."

2.3.35 | "And here is the secret of the

μυστηρίων ἐνήστευσα. ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον, καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην.' καλά γε τὰ θεάματα καὶ θεᾶ πρέποντα.

2.3.36 | "Ἄξια μὲν οὖν νυκτὸς τὰ τελέσματα καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ μεγαλήτορος, μᾶλλον δὲ ματαιόφρονος Ἐρεχθειδῶν δήμου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οὔστινας μένει τελευτήσαντας ἄσσα ούδε ἔλπονται.

2.3.37 | τίσι δὲ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος; νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, Λήναις, μύσταις· τούτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τούτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ· τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μυεῦνται.

2.3.38 | νόμος οὖν καὶ ὑπόληψις κενὴ καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τὰ μυστήρια ἀπάτη τίς ἐστι θρησκευομένη τὰς ἀμυήτους ὄντως μυήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνοργιάστους τελετὰς εύσεβείᾳ νόθῳ προτρεπομένων.

2.3.39 | οἵαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαὶ; — δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμνῶσαι τὰ ἄγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἔξειπεν — οὐ σησαμαῖ ταῦτα καὶ πυραμίδες καὶ τολύπαι καὶ πόπανα πολυόμφαλα, χόνδροι τε ἀλῶν, καὶ δράκων ὅργιον Διονύσου Βασσάρου; οὐχὶ δὲ ῥοιαὶ, πρὸς τοῖσδε καὶ καρδίαι, νάρθηκές τε καὶ κιττοὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθόις καὶ μήκωνες; ταῦτ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄγια.

Eleusinian mysteries: I fasted. I drank the kykeon, I took it from the basket, having worked, I placed it in the basket, and from the basket into the chest." The sights are beautiful and fitting for the goddess.

2.3.36 | Indeed, the results of the night are worthy, both of fire and of the great ones, but more so of the foolish people of Erechtheus, and also of the other Greeks, who remain at the end of things that they do not even hope for.

2.3.37 | What does Heraclitus of Ephesus prophesy for these? For night-walkers, magicians, Bacchae, those at the Lenaea, and initiates; he threatens them with what comes after death, he prophesies the fire for them; for the things believed to be mysteries among humans are taught without being sacred.

2.3.38 | Therefore, the law and the empty belief about the dragon's mysteries is a deception for those who are truly initiated, and the unholy rituals are encouraged by a false piety.

2.3.39 | What kind of mysteries are these? — For it is necessary to strip away their sacred things and to reveal the unspeakable — are these not sesame seeds, pyramids, and tolupai, and many-voiced popana, and salt grains, and the dragon's rites of Dionysus Bassaros? Are not also pomegranates, along with these, and hearts, and the narthex and the kittos, and also the phthisis and the poppies? These

are their sacred things.

2.3.40 | καὶ προσέτι τῆς Θέμιδος τὰ ἄρρητα σύμβολα, ὄργανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεὶς γυναικεῖος, ὃς ἔστιν εύφήμως καὶ μυστικῶς μόριον γυναικεῖον. ὡς τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀναισχυντίας· πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώποις σωφρονοῦσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἡδονῆς νὺξ ἦν σιωπωμένη, νυνὶ δὲ τοῖς μυουμένοις ἡ Ἱερὰ τῆς ἀκρασίας νύξ ἔστι λαλουμένη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐλέγχει τὰ πάθη δαδουχούμενον.

2.3.41 | ἀπόσβεσον, ὡς Ἱεροφάντα, τὸ πῦρ· αἰδέσθητι, δαδούχε, τὰς λαμπάδας· ἐλέγχει σου τὸν "Ιακχον τὸ φῶς· ἐπίτρεψον ἀποκρύψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὰ μυστήρια· σκότει τετιμήσθω τὰ ὅργια. τὸ πῦρ οὐχ ὑποκρίνεται· ἐλέγχειν καὶ κολάζειν κελεύεται."

2.3.42 | "Ταῦτα τῶν ἀθέων τὰ μυστήρια. ἀθέους δὲ είκότως ἀποκαλῶ τούτους, οἵ τὸν μὲν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἡγνοήκασι, παιδίον δὲ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων διασπώμενον καὶ γύναιον πενθοῦν καὶ μόρια ἄρρητα ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης ἀναισχύντως σέβουσι, διττῇ ἐνισχημένοι τῇ ἀθεότητι· προτέρᾳ μὲν, καθ' ἣν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸν θεόν, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα μὴ γνωρίζοντες θεόν, ἐτέρᾳ δὲ καὶ δευτέρᾳ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πλάνῃ τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας ὡς ὄντας νομίζοντες, καὶ θεοὺς τούτους ὄνομάξοντες τοὺς οὐκ ὄντως ὄντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ὄντας, μόνου δὲ τοῦ ὄνόματος τετυχηκότας." Τοσαῦτα καὶ οὕτος.

2.3.40 | And besides, the unspeakable symbols of Themis: oregano, a lamp, a sword, a woman's dagger, which is a pleasing and secret part of a woman. Oh, the open shamelessness! Once, for those who are wise, the night was a cover for pleasure, silent; but now, for the initiated, the sacred night of lack of self-control is speaking, and the fire reveals the passions being lit.

2.3.41 | Put out the fire, oh hierophant; have shame, torchbearer, for the lights; the light reveals your Iacchus. Allow the mysteries to be hidden by the night; let darkness honor the rites. The fire does not pretend; it is ordered to reveal and to punish.

2.3.42 | "These are the mysteries of the atheists. And I rightly call them atheists, because they have ignored the true God, while worshiping a child torn apart by Titans and a grieving woman, and secret parts that they shamelessly honor out of shame. They are doubly held by their disbelief: first, because they do not know the true God, not recognizing him as God; and second, because they think that those who do not exist are real, calling these non-existent beings gods, which are not truly beings, but only exist by name." So much for this.

## Section 4

2.4.1 | Είκότως δῆτα ἡμεῖς τούτων  
ἀπάντων ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι  
διμολογοῦμεν, τῆς μακρᾶς καὶ  
πεπαλαιωμένης πλάνης ὥσπερ τινὸς δεινῆς  
καὶ χαλεπωτάτης νόσου λελυτρωμένοι· καὶ  
πρῶτα μὲν τῇ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ  
χάριτι καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ, δεύτερον δὲ  
ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ τρίτον  
σώφρονι λογισμῷ κρίναντες ἀνόσιον εἶναι  
καὶ δυσσεβές τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σεβασμίᾳ  
προσηγορίᾳ τιμᾶν τοὺς πάλαι ἐν νεκροῖς  
κειμένους θνητοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ οὐδὲ  
σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν μνήμην  
ἀπολελοιπότας, ἐσχάτης δὲ ἀκρασίας καὶ  
ἀκολασίας ὡμότητός τε καὶ φρενοβλαβείας  
δείγματα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν  
παραδεδωκό

2.4.1 | Indeed, we rightly acknowledge that we have become free from all these things, as if freed from a long-standing and terrible disease. First, by the grace and kindness of the all-powerful God; second, by the hidden power of our Savior's gospel teaching; and third, by using sound reasoning, we judge it to be impious and disrespectful to honor the mortal men who have long been dead, and to forget the memory of wise men. This is the ultimate sign of lack of self-control and immorality, and it has been handed down as a warning to those who come after them.

2.4.2 | πῶς γὰρ οὐ πάντων ἡλιθιώτατον  
τοὺς σωφροσύνης ἔραστὰς τοῖς αἰσχροῖς  
καὶ ἀκολάστοις τὸν πρωτείων παραχωρεῖν,  
καὶ τοὺς συνετοὺς καὶ ἔμφρονας τοῖς τάς  
φρένας ἀπολωλεκόσι τὴν σεβασμίαν  
παρέχειν τιμὴν, τούς τε δικαιοσύνης καὶ  
φιλανθρωπίας ἀσκητὰς τοῖς δι' ὑπερβολὴν  
ὡμότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας τεκνοκτονίας  
καὶ πατροκτονίας μιάσμασιν ἐνισχημένοις ;

2.4.2 | For how is it not the most foolish of all to give the honor of self-control to the shameful and immoral, while offering respect to those who have lost their minds? And to grant the practice of justice and kindness to those who are held back by extreme wickedness, such as child murder and patricide?

2.4.3 | ποίαν δὲ οὐχ ὑπερηκόντισεν  
ὑπερβολὴν ἀσεβείας τὸ καταβάλλειν εἰς  
ἄρρητα ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν μόρια καὶ εἰς  
τὴν ἄλογον καὶ θηριώδη φύσιν τὴν σεμνὴν  
καὶ παναγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν, τοιαῦτά  
τε αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα θεολογεῖν, οἷα  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακουργῶν, εἴ  
κατελεγχθείη, ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων

2.4.3 | But what extreme impiety has not gone beyond in throwing into secret parts of men and women, and into the irrational and beastly nature, the sacred and most holy name of God? Such shameful and inhumane things are spoken of, as if they were the same as those committed by wicked people among humans. If they were to be accused, would they not fall under the

ἀπαραιτήτοις ὑποπέσοιεν ἀν τιμωρίαις ;

unavoidable punishments of the laws?

2.4.4 | καὶ τί χρὴ μηκύνειν εὐαγγελιζομένους πάντα βάρβαρον ὄμοιον καὶ Ἑλληνα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων κακῶν ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδωνύμων θεῶν ἀποστασίας, τὸ εὔλογον εἰς φῶς ἀγαγόντας, ὅποτε καὶ αὐτῶν ἡδη τῶν σφόδρα δεισιδαιμόνων οἴ πλείους, ὥσπερ ἐκ βαθέος κάρου διανήψαντες, καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀχλύος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅμμα διοίξαντες, τὸν βαθὺν λῆρον συνεῖδον τῆς πατρικῆς πλάνης, καὶ στάντες ἐπὶ λογισμοῦ τὴν ἐτέραν ὁδὸν εἰλοντο, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀναχωρήσαντες ;

2.4.4 | And what is the need to prolong the message of freedom from the mentioned evils for both barbarian and Greek? This freedom from the false gods brings reason into the light, whenever even the most superstitious among them, like those who have awakened from a deep sleep, open the eye of the soul and see the deep deception of their ancestral error. They then choose a different path, having turned away from the old ways.

2.4.5 | ὃν οἱ μὲν ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες τῆς ὅλης κατέπτυσαν μυθολογίας τῶν σφετέρων προγόνων πλατὺ καταγελάσαντες, οἱ δ' ἀθεότητος δόξαν ἐκκλίναντες οὕτε ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἔστησαν οὕτε ἐξ ἅπαντος αὐτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν, κολακεῦσαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεῦσαι τὴν οἰκείαν προθέμενοι δόξαν τὰς περὶ τῶν τεθρυλημένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν ἴστορίας ἀληθεῖς μύθους εἶναι πεπλασμένους ὑπὸ ποιητῶν ἐπεφήμισαν, φυσικὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρύπτοντες θεωρίας.

2.4.5 | Some of them, having moved away together, completely rejected the myths of their ancestors, laughing broadly at them. But others, turning away from the belief in gods, neither stood by the earlier ideas nor completely abandoned them. They sought to flatter and serve their own beliefs, claiming that the stories about the gods they had heard were true myths made by poets, while hiding the natural theories within them.

2.4.6 | ὃν, εἴ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν φέρουσιν ἀληθείας δεῖγμα, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀναγκαία γένοιτ' ἀν ἡμῖν ἡ ἔκθεσις εἰς θεωρίαν τῶν καὶ παρὰ τούτοις σεμνῶν, ὡς ἀν καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως οὐκ ἄλλως ἡμῖν προξενηθείσης ἢ εἰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τὸ εὔλογον παρασταίη. φέρε οὖν καὶ τούτων τὸν λόγον ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβόντες

2.4.6 | Although they bring no evidence of truth, it is still necessary for us to present a theory about those who are serious, so that we may understand their departure in no other way than through the reasonable teaching of our savior. Therefore, let us take up their arguments and examine them.

έπισκεψώμεθα.

## Section 5

2.5.1 | Τῆς μὲν οὖν Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας, λέγω δὲ τῆς πανδήμου καὶ μυθικωτέρας καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῆς παρὰ Φοίνιξι καὶ Αἴγυπτίοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις, ὃν τὴν μνήμην οἱ πρὸ τούτου περιέσχον λόγοι, τοιόσδε τις ὁ τρόπος ἀποδέδεικται, οὗτος διὰ τῶν προεκτεθεισῶν φωνῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων προδεδήλωται· ὃν καὶ εἰκότως ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς προκειμένης Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς είς διάγνωσίν τε καὶ ἐπίκρισιν τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις προτεθείκαμεν, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ μάθοιμεν ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ τῶνδες εἰσέτι νῦν ἄπειροι τίνες ὅντες πάλαι πρότερον, καὶ οἱών ἐκ πατέρων φύντες, πηλίκοις τε τὸ πρὶν κακοῖς πεπεδημένοι, δυσσεβείας τε δόποσῃ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳς θεοῦ μέθη τὰς ψυχὰς κατορωρυγμένοι τῆς τούτων ἀπάντων ἀνανεύσεως καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἡξιώθημεν διὰ μιᾶς μόνης τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας, οὐκ ἄλλως ἡμῖν πρυτανευθείσης ἢ δι' ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ·

2.5.2 | ὃς οὐ μέρει γῆς, οὐδὲν ἐν γωνίᾳ χώρας ἔθνους ἐνὸς, καθ' ὅλης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς μάλιστα δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ὑπερίσχυσεν, οἵα τις νοερῶν καὶ λογικῶν ψυχῶν ἥλιος, τὰς τοῦ οίκείου φωτὸς ἐφαπλώσας ἀκτῖνας, ὅμοι πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀχλύος δεινῆς καὶ ζοφερωτάτης τε καὶ ἀειδοῦς νυκτὸς τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ἐπὶ λαμπρὰν καὶ διαυγεστάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εύδεβείας τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ πάντας ἡμάς

2.5.1 | Concerning Greek theology, which is widespread, mythical, and much older than that of the Phoenicians and Egyptians, the way has been shown by the words of the Greek writers. This has been rightly placed at the beginning of the current preparation of the Gospel for understanding and judgment for those who will encounter it. So that we may learn, both we and those who are still ignorant of these things, what they were like in the past, and what kind of ancestors they came from, being bound by many evils and trapped in ignorance and disrespect for God. We have been deemed worthy of renewal and freedom from all of this through the one teaching of the Gospel, which has been given to us only through the appearance of our savior, Jesus Christ, who is God.

2.5.2 | Who does not have a part of the earth, nor in any corner of a single nation, but throughout the whole world, where the greatest fear and deception have prevailed, like the sun for rational and thinking souls, spreading its rays of light, has brought all of humanity, both barbarians and Greeks, from the terrible and dark night of superstitious deception to the bright and clearest day of true piety of the all-sovereign God.

μετεστήσταο.

2.5.3 | διαρρήδην γοῦν αὶ προπαρατεθεῖσαι φωναὶ νεκρῶν εἴδωλα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πάλαι κατοιχομένων εἰκόνας πάντας πανδημὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν πολύθεον πλάνην κατά τε πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐπτοημένους θεραπεύειν τε καὶ περιέπειν ἐδίδαξαν· τῶν πάλαι ἀνδρῶν δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ τότε βίου θηριωδίαν θεοῦ μὲν τοῦ πάντων δημιουργοῦ μηδένα λόγον ποιουμένων, μηδὲ τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλημμελουμένοις τιμωροῦ δίκης ἐμπαζομένων, εἰς πάσας δὲ ἀνοσιουργίας καταβαλλόντων.

2.5.4 | οὕπω γὰρ είσετι τότε νόμων καθ' οὓς χρὴ βιοῦν συνεστώτων, οὐδέ γε τῆς ἡμέρου πολιτείας ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατατεταγμένης, ἀνειμένου δὲ καὶ νομαδικοῦ τοῦ βίου θηριώδους τε καθεστῶτος, τοῖς μὲν θρεμμάτων ἀλόγων δίκην τῶν τῆς γαστρὸς ἀποπληρώσεων πλέον οὐδὲν ἔμελεν, οἵς καὶ πρῶτος ἀθεότητος ὑποικουρεῖ τρόπος· οἱ δὲ εἰς βραχὺ τι φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ἀνακινούμενοι θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν σωτήριόν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι χρῆμα διενοήθησαν, εὐρεῖν δὲ τοῦτον ἐθελήσαντες ἄνω μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔτειναν, αὐτόθι δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ στάντες, καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινόντων τε καὶ φαινομένων φωστήρων καταπλαγέντες τὰ κάλλη, ταῦτ' εἶναι θεοὺς ἀπεφήναντο.

2.5.5 | τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι σφᾶς αύτοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίψαντες τοὺς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αύτοὺς προφέρειν νενομισμένους, ἢ καὶ ὥμη σώματος καὶ δυναστείας ἴσχύι τῶν

2.5.3 | Indeed, the voices that have been presented clearly teach about the dead idols and the images of men long settled, showing how all around the many gods' deception, people in cities and villages were frightened and learned to worship and honor them. The ancient men, through the excessive savagery of life at that time, made no account of the God, the creator of all, nor did they pay attention to divine justice punishing those who did wrong, but instead fell into all kinds of wickedness.

2.5.4 | For at that time, there were still no laws by which people should live, nor was there an established civil order among humans. Life was still nomadic and savage. Those who were driven by their stomachs cared nothing for the punishment of their actions, and they were the first to follow a way of disbelief. Others, stirred by some natural thoughts, began to think of God and the power of God as something good and saving. Wanting to find this, they raised their souls up to the heavens and stood there in thought. Amazed by the beauty of the heavenly bodies and the stars that appeared, they declared these to be gods.

2.5.5 | But others, having thrown themselves down to the earth, believed that those who were thought to have wisdom or strength in body and power over others

πλειόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας, ἡ τυράννους, ἡ καὶ γόγτας καὶ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, ἐκ τινος τῶν θειοτέρων ἀποπτώσεως τὰς κακοτέχνους γοητείας συνεσκευασμένους, ἡ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κοινῆς τινὸς καὶ βιωφελοῦς εὔεργεσίας προάρξαντας, ζῶντάς τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν.

were giants, tyrants, or even sorcerers and magicians. They were made up of some divine essence and were skilled in harmful magic. These people, along with others who had brought about some common and beneficial service, were declared to be gods, both while they were still alive and after their death.

2.5.6 | ἐνθεν αύτοῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν θεῶν οἶκοι νεκρῶν εἶναι τάφοι μνημονεύονται, ὡς ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑλληνας Προτρεπτικῷ ἰστορεῖ, τοῦ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπαγόμενος. εἰ δέ σοι φίλον, αὗθις καὶ τούτου τόνδε γρά φοντος ἄκουε 'τον τρόπον

2.5.6 | From this, it is said that the tombs of the gods are the graves of the dead, as Clement tells in his Exhortation to the Greeks, bringing forward the Greeks as witnesses to this story. If you like, listen again to this writing in this way.

## Section 6

2.6.1 | "Είκότως ἄρα ἀρχήν ποθεν ἡ δεισιδαιμονία λαβοῦσα κακίας ἀνοήτου γέγονε πηγή· ἐπειτα μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ἡνεῖσα δημιουργὸς πολλῶν καθίσταται δαιμόνων, ἐκατόμβιας ποιοῦσα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνιστᾶσα καὶ νεώς ἀνοικοδομοῦσα· οὓς δὴ — οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο σιωπήσομαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐλέγξω — νεώς μὲν εὐφήμιως ὄνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους, τουτέστι τοὺς τάφους νεώς ἐπικεκλημένους. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ κἄν νῦν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκλάθεσθε, λάθεσθε, τοὺς τάφους τιμᾶν αἰσχυνόμενοι."

2.6.1 | Therefore, it is reasonable that superstition, having taken its beginning from some evil and foolishness, became a source of many problems. Then, without stopping, it came to give many offerings, becoming the creator of many demons. It made great sacrifices, held festivals, set up statues, and built temples. These temples—let me not be silent about this, and I will also prove it—are called temples with good names, but they have become graves, that is, the graves are called temples. But even now, if you forget superstition, you should be ashamed to honor the graves.

2.6.2 | "Ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρισίου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν ιστοριῶν.

2.6.2 | In the temple of Athena in Larissa on the acropolis, there is a tomb of Acrisius, and in the acropolis of Athens, there is that of Cecrops, as Antiochus says in the ninth of

his histories.

2.6.3 | τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται; Ἰμμαρος δὲ ὁ Εύμολπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ κεκήδευται τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει; αἱ δὲ Κελεοῦ θυγατέρες ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τετάφαται;

2.6.3 | What about Erichthonius? Is he not buried in the temple of Polias? And what about Immarus, son of Eumolpus, and Daedalus? Are they not buried in the enclosure of Eleusis, under the acropolis? And what about the daughters of Celeus? Are they buried in Eleusis?

2.6.4 | τί σοι καταλέγω τὰς ἔξ Υπερβορέων γυναῖκας; Υπερόχη καὶ Λαοδίκη κέκλησθον, ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐν Δίλῳ κεκήδευσθον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἔστιν ιερῷ.

2.6.4 | What should I tell you about the women from Hyperborea? Hyperoche and Laodice are named, and they are buried in the temple of Artemis in Delos, but the one in the temple of Apollo of Delos is sacred.

2.6.5 | Λέανδρος δὲ Κλεόμαχον ἐν Μιλήτῳ τετάφθαι ἐν τῷ Διδυμαίῳ φησίν. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Λευκοφρύνης τὸ μνῆμα οὐκ ἄξιον παρελθεῖν, ἐπομένους Ζήνωνι τῷ Μυνδίῳ, ἦ ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κεκήδευται· οὐδὲ μὴν τὸν ἐν τῷ Τελμησσῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βωμὸν μνῆμα εῖναι καὶ τοῦτον Τελμησσέως τοῦ μάντεως Ιστοροῦσι.

2.6.5 | Leander is said to be buried in Miletus in the Didymaion. Here, the tomb of Leucophryne is not worth passing by, following Zenon of Myndus, who is buried in the temple of Artemis in Magnesia. Also, do not forget the altar of Apollo in Telmessus; they say it is also a tomb of Telmessus the seer.

2.6.6 | Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ιερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι.

2.6.6 | Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, says in the first of those about Philopator in Paphos that Kinyras and the descendants of Kinyras are buried in the temple of Aphrodite.

2.6.7 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπιόντι μοι τοὺς προσκυνουμένους ὑμῖν τάφους ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁ πᾶς ἀν ἀρκέσαι χρόνος ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰ μὴ ὑπεισέρχεται τις αἰσχύνη τῶν

2.6.7 | But as I approach, the tombs you worship are not enough for me, not even if all the time in the world were given. But if no one feels shame for the bold actions,

τολμωμένων, νεκροὶ ἄρα τέλεον νεκροῖς  
πεπιστευκότες περιέρχεσθε· ἀ δειλοὶ, τί<sup>1</sup>  
κακοὶ τόδε πάσχετε;

2.6.8 | Καὶ μετ' ὄλίγα φησί "Καινὸν δὲ  
ἄλλον ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, ὄλιγου δεῖν καὶ παρ'  
Ἐλλησι, σεβασμίως τεθείακε θεὸν  
βασιλεὺς ὁ Ρωμαίων, τὸν ἔρωμενον  
ώραιότατον σφόδρα γενόμενον Ἀντίνοον  
ἀνιέρωσεν οὗτος, ὡς Γανυμήδην ὁ Ζεύς·

2.6.9 | οὐ γὰρ κωλύεται ῥαδίως ἐπιθυμία  
φόβον οὐκ ἔχουσα· καὶ νύκτας ιερὰς τὰς  
Ἀντινόου προσ κυνοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νῦν, ἃς  
αἰσχρὰς ἡπίστατο ὁ συναγρυπνήσας  
έραστής. " Καὶ ἐπάγει "Ηδη δὲ ὁ τάφος τοῦ  
ἔρωμένου νεώς ἔστιν Ἀντινόου καὶ πόλις·  
καθάπερ γὰρ, οἴμαι, οἱ ναοὶ, οὕτω καὶ οἱ  
τάφοι θαυμάζονται, πυραμίδες καὶ  
μαυσώλια καὶ λαβύρινθοι]· ἄλλοι ναοὶ τῶν  
νεκρῶν, ὡς ἔκεινοι τάφοι τῶν θεῶν."

2.6.10 | Καὶ πάλιν μετ' ὄλίγα · "Ιθι δὴ καὶ  
τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν βραχεῖ περιοδεύσωμεν καὶ  
τὰς ἐπιτυμβίους ταυτασὶ πανηγύρεις  
καταλύσωμεν, "Ισθμιά τε καὶ Νέμεα καὶ  
Πύθια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀλύμπια. Πυθοὶ  
μὲν οὖν ὁ δράκων ὁ Πύθιος θρησκεύεται  
καὶ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ πανήγυρις καταγγέλλεται  
Πύθια, Ισθμοῖ δὲ σκύβαλον προσέπτυσεν  
έλεεινὸν ἡ θάλασσα, καὶ Μελικέρτην  
όδύρεται τὰ "Ισθμια, Νεμέασι δὲ ἄλλο  
παιδίον Ἀρχέμορος κεκήδευται, καὶ τοῦ  
παιδίου ὁ ἐπιτάφιος προσαγορεύεται  
Νέμεα. Πῖσα δ' ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν τάφος, ὡς  
Πανέλληνες, 5 ἡνιόχου Φρυγὸς, καὶ τοῦ  
Πέλοπος τὰς χοὰς τὰ Ὀλύμπια ὁ Φειδίου

then you are walking around as if you trust  
the dead completely.

2.6.8 | And after a little while, he says,  
'There is a new one in Egypt, and it is  
almost the same among the Greeks. The  
king of the Romans has respectfully  
honored the god, who has become very  
beautiful, Antinous, just as Zeus honored  
Ganymede.'

2.6.9 | For desire is not easily stopped  
when it has no fear. And now, people  
worship the sacred nights of Antinous,  
which the lover who kept watch found  
shameful. And he adds, 'Already the tomb  
of the beloved is a temple of Antinous and a  
city; just as, I think, the temples are  
admired, so too are the tombs, with  
pyramids and mausoleums and labyrinths.  
Other temples of the dead are like those  
tombs of the gods.'

2.6.10 | And again, after a little while, let us  
go and briefly visit the contests and  
celebrate these funeral games, the  
Isthmian, Nemean, Pythian, and the  
Olympic ones that follow. In Pytho, the  
Pythian dragon is honored, and the festival  
of the serpent is called Pythia. At the  
Isthmus, the sea has sadly washed up a  
wretched piece of debris, and Melicertes is  
mourned at the Isthmian games. In Nemea,  
another child, Archemoerus, is buried, and  
the tomb of the child is called Nemea. There  
is a tomb among you, O Panhellenes, of the  
Phrygian charioteer, and Zeus claims the

σφετερίζεται Ζεύς.”

2.6.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος· σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπτωσιν. φύσει μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἔννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόν τι καὶ ὡφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσηγορίαν τε καὶ ούσίαν· πάντες γάρ ἄνθρωποι κοινοῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφεσαν, τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερῷ ψυχῇ φυσικαῖς ἔννοίαις ὑποσπείραντος.

2.6.12 | οὐ μὴν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηντο· εἰς μὲν γάρ που τάχα τις καὶ δεύτερος, ἢ καί τινες ἄλλοι κομιδῇ βραχεῖς, ὃν τὴν μνήμην τὰ Ἑβραίων περιέχει λόγια, εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐφαρμόσαντες τὴν περὶ Θεοῦ ἔννοιαν, ἀδιαστρόφοις δὲ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργὸν καὶ τὸν μέγαν τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀναγαγόντες, διανοίας ὅμμασι κεκαθαρμένοις μόνον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεὸν, τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα, καὶ μόνον ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρα συνενόησαν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παντοίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμαυρώσει περιτραπέντες κατὰ βυθὸν ἀσεβείας ἡνέχθησαν, ὥστε θηρίων ἀγρίων τρόπον τὸ καλὸν καὶ συμφέρον καὶ ἀγαθὸν μέχρι σωμάτων καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῆς στῆσαι.

2.6.13 | ταύτῃ δὲ κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα τοὺς τῶν νενομισμένων τοῦ σώματος καλῶν καὶ χρησίμων εὐρετὰς, ἢ καὶ δυνάστας τινὰς καὶ τυράννους, ἢ καὶ γόητας καὶ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, τὴν φύσιν θνητοὺς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις κεχρημένους

offerings of Pelops at the Olympic games.

2.6.11 | These things are so. But you, taking up the discussion from the beginning, should examine the descent of the superstitious delusion. For by nature, and even more by divine teaching, it is good and useful to understand the meaning of the name and essence of the god. For all people have accepted common thoughts, as the creator of all things subtly influences this in every rational and intelligent soul with natural ideas.

2.6.12 | Indeed, they also chose according to their reasoning. For there is perhaps one person, or maybe a second, or even some others with brief thoughts, whose memory contains words of the Hebrews. They did not apply the idea of god to anything visible, but with undistracted thoughts, they raised their minds to the creator of the entire universe and the great maker of all things. They understood him to be the only god, the savior of all, and the giver of only good things. The rest, however, were overwhelmed by various darknesses of the soul and were carried down into the depths of impiety, so that they established what is beautiful, beneficial, and good in the manner of wild beasts, up to the pleasures of bodies and flesh.

2.6.13 | In this way, according to what has been said before, they call the discoverers of the beautiful and useful things of the body, or even certain rulers and tyrants, or also sorcerers and men skilled in magic, as if they were benefactors, saviors, and gods,

συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγοὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεοὺς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἐφ' οὓς ἐνόμιζον εὐεργέτας μετατεθεικότες.

while they are mortal and subject to human misfortunes. They attribute to them a reverent idea that naturally exists in them, thinking they have transferred the role of benefactors to those whom they believed to be helpful.

2.6.14 | τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αύτοὺς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελουμένων τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι, μηδ' ἐρυθριᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν.

2.6.14 | Such a strong confusion of their minds held them, that they did not consider any of the wrongdoings attributed to those called gods, nor did they blush at the shameful things said about them. But they admired all those men for the benefits they provided, or even for the powers and tyrannies that were first established at that time.

2.6.15 | νόμων γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἔφην ἦδη πρότερον, μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις τιμωρίας ἐπηωρημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀρρένων φθορᾶς, ἐκθέσμους τε καὶ παρανόμους γάμους, μιαιφονίας τε καὶ πατροκτονίας, τέκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, ναὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις πεπραγμένας ὅντως τοῖς οἰκείοις προστάταις, οὓς θεοὺς ἡγοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὄψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες.

2.6.15 | Indeed, as I have already said before, at that time there were no laws among people, nor were there punishments for those who sinned, such as adultery and the destruction of men, or illegal and unnatural marriages, or murders and parricides, or the slaughter of children and brothers, yes, even wars and uprisings that truly happened against their own people. They considered and called these as gods, just as they remembered their achievements and bravery, leaving behind their memory as honorable and courageous for those who came after.

2.6.16 | Τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πρώην ἐπιφυέντες, λογικώτερόν τε φιλοσοφεῖν αύχοῦντες, τὴν δὴ φυσικωτέραν τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρας

2.6.16 | Such were the ideas of the old theology, which some young people, inspired recently and in the past, claimed to think more rationally. They introduced a more natural view of the history about the gods, thinking of the myths as more serious

εὐρεσιλογίας τοῖς μύθοις  
προσεπινοήσαντες, καὶ μήτε πάντη τῶν  
προπατόρων τὸ πλημμελὲς τῆς δυσσεβείας  
έκφυγόντες μήτ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν αὐτόθεν  
προφαινομένην τῶν θεολογουμένων  
μοχθηρίαν ὑπομείναντες.

and reasonable. They neither completely escaped the faults of their ancestors' impiety nor did they endure the evident wickedness of those called gods.

2.6.17 | Θεραπεῦσαι δ' οὗν ὅμως οἵδε τὸ  
πατρικὸν ἀμάρτημα προθυμηθέντες ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
φυσικὰς διηγήσεις καὶ θεωρίας τοὺς  
μύθους μετεσκευάσαντο, τὰ θρεπτικὰ καὶ  
αὐξητικὰ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων φύσεως ταῦτ'  
εἶναι τὰ διὰ τῶν μύθων δηλούμενα ὡς δὴ  
μυστικώτερον κομπάσαντες.

2.6.17 | These people, eager to heal their ancestral mistakes, transformed the myths into natural stories and theories. They claimed that the nourishing and growing aspects of the nature of bodies were what the myths were really showing, as if they were revealing something more secretive.

2.6.18 | ἔνθεν ἀνιόντες καὶ οἵδε τὰ στοιχεῖα  
τοῦ κόσμου θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup>  
μόνον ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἄστρα,  
προσέτι δὲ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, ἀέρα τε καὶ πῦρ,  
τά τε ἐκ τούτων συγκρίματά τε καὶ  
ἀποτελέσματα, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ὠραίους  
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς  
ξηρᾶς καὶ ὑγρᾶς τροφῆς βλαστήματα, ἢ καὶ  
αὐτὰ, ὡς ἀν τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ζωῆς αἴτια,  
Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ ὅσα  
ἄλλα τούτοις ἐμφερῆ προσειπόντες  
τεθειάκασι, βεβιασμένον καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ  
τῶν μύθων τὸν καλλωπισμὸν  
εἰσηγησάμενοι.

2.6.18 | From this, these people named the elements of the world as gods, not only the sun, moon, and stars, but also earth and water, air and fire. They included the mixtures and results from these, yes, even the beautiful fruits from the earth, and the other plants for food, both dry and wet. They claimed these were causes of life for bodies, naming Demeter, Persephone, Dionysus, and others similar to them, while presenting the embellishments of the myths as forced and not true.

2.6.19 | ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ὄψε ποτε, ὡς ἀν  
ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὰς τῶν προγόνων  
θεολογίας, οἴκοθεν ἀς ἔκαστος ἐφεῦρε  
σεμνολογίας τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις  
προσεπενόησαν, κινεῖν τὰ πάτρια  
τολμῶντος οὐδενὸς, περὶ πολλοῦ δὲ τὴν  
ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον  
ἐκ παιδῶν ἀγωγὴν τιμώμενοι.

2.6.19 | But these people, later on, feeling ashamed of their ancestors' theologies, thought up their own serious ideas about the myths concerning the gods. They did not dare to change the traditional beliefs, and they valued the ancient ways and the usual upbringing that came from childhood.

2.6.20 | οἵ γε μὴν τούτων πρεσβύτεροι ἐν  
ἴσῳ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποιίᾳ καὶ τὰς τῶν  
ἀλόγων ζώων ἐκθεώσεις διετάξαντο διὰ τὸ  
καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν χρήσιμον κατὰ τὰς πρόσθεν  
ἀποδοθείσας αἰτίας, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις  
θηρίοις τὰς ἵσας ἀφιέρωσαν θρησκείας,  
σπονδαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ μυστικαῖς  
τελεταῖς, ὕμνοις τε καὶ ὡδαῖς, ὅμοιώς τοῖς  
τεθεοποιημένοις ἀνδράσι καὶ τὰς τούτων  
τιμὰς ἐπάραντες· εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα  
κακῶν ἥλαυνον ὡς δὶ' ὑπερβολὴν  
ἡδυπαθείας ἀκρατοῦς τὰ ὀλκὰ πρὸς  
αἰσχρουργίαν μέρη τοῦ σώματος τά τε  
ἀκόλαστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις πάθη ταῖς  
ἰσοθέοις ἐκθειάσαι τιμαῖς, μηδὲν τὸ  
παράπαν ἐν τούτοις χρῆναι σεμνολογεῖν  
τῶν δὴ θεολόγων αὐτῶν ἀποφηναμένων.

2.6.20 | Indeed, those older than them  
arranged the worship of gods among men  
and the honors for irrational animals,  
because they found usefulness in them  
based on the earlier reasons given. They  
dedicated the same kinds of worship to the  
irrational beasts, with offerings, sacrifices,  
and secret rituals, along with hymns and  
songs, just as they did for the deified men,  
raising their honors. They fell into such  
great evils that, due to excessive pleasure,  
they associated the shameful parts of the  
body with the same honors given to the  
gods, not caring at all to keep the teachings  
of their theologians sacred.

2.6.21 | Τηρητέον γοῦν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα οἱ  
παλαίτατοι οὐδέν τι πλέον τῆς ἱστορίας  
είδότες, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς μύθοις  
προσανέχοντες ἐμαρτυρήθησαν. πλὴν ἀλλ'  
ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὡρμήθημεν καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ  
ἀπόρρητα τῶν γενναίων φιλοσόφων  
κατασκοπῆσαι, φέρε καὶ ταῦτα  
ἐπιθεωρήσωμεν, ὡς ἂν μὴ δοκοίημεν  
ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰς θαυμαστὰς αὐτῶν  
φυσιολογίας.

2.6.21 | We should keep in mind that the  
ancients knew nothing more than history,  
and they only testified to the myths.  
However, since we have once been inspired  
to explore the serious and secret teachings  
of noble philosophers, let us also examine  
these things, so that we do not seem to be  
ignorant of their wonderful natural  
explanations.

2.6.22 | πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἔκθεσιν ποιήσασθαι  
τούτων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ προεπισημήνασθαι καὶ  
τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν θαυμαστῆν φιλοσόφων κάν  
τούτοις πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς ἐναντιολογίαν. οἱ μὲν  
γάρ τηνάλλως διηγοῦνται καὶ κατὰ τὸ  
παραστάν ἐκάστοις ἴδιως ἀποφαίνονται·  
οὐδὲ γάρ ἀλλήλοις σύμφωνα  
φυσιολογοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ εὐγνωμονέστερον τὸ  
σύμπαν ἀναιροῦσιν, καὶ τῆς οίκείας  
πολιτείας οὐ μόνον τὰς ἀπρεπεῖς περὶ θεῶν

2.6.22 | Before making an explanation of  
these things, it seems to me that I should  
point out the contradictions among the  
wonderful philosophers regarding  
themselves. Some tell their stories  
differently and each one explains according  
to their own views; for they do not agree  
with each other in their natural  
explanations. Others more wisely reject the  
whole idea, and they not only dismiss the

διηγήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τούτων ἐρμηνείας  
ἀπελαύνουσιν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε φόβῳ τῆς ἀπὸ  
τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας τοὺς μύθους  
ὑποκορίζονται.

inappropriate stories about the gods from their own beliefs but also their interpretations. There are times when, out of fear of punishment from the laws, they soften the myths.

2.6.23 | ἄκουε δ' οὗν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
δι' ἐνὸς τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τοτὲ μὲν  
ἔξωθοιοῦντος, τοτὲ δ' αὖταν  
εἰσποιούμένου τοὺς μύθους. ὁ δ' οὗν  
θαυμάσιος αὐτῶν Πλάτων', ὅτε μὲν τὴν  
οἰκείαν ἀπογυμνοῖ προαίρεσιν,  
τολμηρότερον ἀπαγορεύει καθόλου περὶ  
θεῶν τοιαῦτα φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν οἴα  
τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἴρηται, εἴτε περιέχοιέν τι  
λεληθός ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλούμενον, εἴτε  
έκτὸς πάσης ὑπονοίας λέγοιτο· ὅτε δὲ τοὺς  
νόμους ὑποκορίζεται, καὶ δεῖν φησι τοῖς  
περὶ θεῶν μύθοις πιστεύειν, ὡς μηδὲν  
ἔχουσιν ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἔξ αὐτῶν δηλούμενον.

2.6.23 | Listen then to the Greeks, who at times push away the myths and at other times bring them back in through one of the best of all. The wonderful Plato, when he reveals his own preferences, boldly forbids thinking and speaking about the gods in such ways as the ancients have said, whether something hidden is suggested in their hints or whether it is said completely outside of any hint. But when he softens the laws, he says that one must believe the myths about the gods, as they show nothing hidden in their hints.

2.6.24 | ἥδη δέ ποτε τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων  
τὴν οἰκείαν θεολογίαν ἀφορίσας, περὶ τε  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης καὶ  
ἄστρων, καὶ ἔτι περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος  
κόσμου, καὶ τῶν τούτου μερῶν  
κεχωρισμένως φυσιολογήσας, ἴδιως πάλιν  
καὶ ἀφωρισμένως περὶ τῶν πάλαι  
γενεαλογηθέντων θεῶν ὕδε πως αὐτοῖς  
βήμασιν ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ διέξεισιν

2.6.24 | At one time, having defined the own theology of the ancient myths, he discusses the sky, the sun, the moon, and the stars, and also about the whole universe, explaining the parts of it separately. Then he again speaks clearly and distinctly about the gods who were born in ancient times, as he does with these words in the Timaeus.

## Section 7

2.7.1 | Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἴπειν  
καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμάς·  
πιστευτέον δὲ τοῖς είρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν,  
ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν ούσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν,  
σαφῶς δέ πως τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους  
είδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν

2.7.1 | About the other spirits, it is greater to speak and understand their origin than about ourselves. One must believe what has been said before, that they are descendants of the gods, as they claim, and they clearly know their own ancestors. Therefore, it is

ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οίκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον.

impossible to disbelieve the children of the gods, even though they speak without obvious and necessary proofs. But they say that one should believe what they declare as their own, following the law.

2.7.2 | οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἔκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχετω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὦκεα νὸς καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην· τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ἄρης καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων ἐκ Κρόνου τε καὶ Ἄρεας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκγόνους ἄλλους.

2.7.2 | So, let our account of the origin of these gods continue and be told. I was born of Earth and Sky, from Oceanus and Tethys. From them came Phorcys, Cronus, Rhea, and all those who are with them. From Cronus and Rhea came Zeus, Hera, and all those we know, who are all called their siblings, and also other descendants from them.

2.7.3 | Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέα εἶναι, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων είρησθαι αὐτὰ δύολογήσας· προσεκτέον δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἀπόρρητον τὰς τῶν θεῶν δὴ προσηγορίας τε καὶ γενεαλογίας ἐν φυσιολογίαις δηλούμενον ἐμφαίνει.

2.7.3 | Plato says that one must believe these things, following the law, even though they are stated without obvious and necessary proofs. It should be noted that nothing is secret about the names and genealogies of the gods, as they are clearly shown in natural explanations.

2.7.4 | αὗθις δ' ἐν ἑτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς τὴν οίκείαν ἀπογυμνῶν προαίρεσιν πάλιν τούτοις κέχρηται τοῖς ῥήμασι "Πρῶτον μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος ὁ εἰπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Οὐρανός τε είργάσατο ἡ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὃ τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν. τί δὲ δὴ τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱέος, οὐδ' ἄν, εἰ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ὥμην δεῖν ῥᾳδίως οὕτω λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἄφρονάς τε καὶ νέους, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν σιγᾶσθαι, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τις ἦν λέγειν, δι' ἀπόρρητων ἀκούειν ὡς ὀλιγίστους, θυσαμένους οὐ χοῖρον, ἀλλά τι μέγα καὶ ἀπορον θῦμα, ὅπως ἀν ἐλαχίστοις

2.7.4 | Again, in another place, the same person, revealing his own choice, uses these words: "First of all, if I were to say that the greatest and most important thing is a lie, I would not have spoken well, as Uranus did what Hesiod says he did, and Cronus punished him. But what are the deeds and sufferings of Cronus by his son? Even if they were true, I would think they should be spoken easily to foolish and young people, but rather they should be kept silent. If it were necessary to speak, it should be heard in secret, as very few people do, offering not a common sacrifice, but something great and difficult to offer,

συνέβη ἀκοῦσαι.

so that only a very few might hear."

2.7.5 | καὶ γὰρ, ἡ δ' ὅς, οὗτοί γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί. καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε, ὁ Ἀδείμαντε, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει· ούδὲ δοτέον νέω ἀκούοντι, ὡς ἀδικῶν τὰ ἔσχατα ούδεν ἀν θαυμαστὸν ποιοῖ, ούδ' αὖ ἀδικοῦντα πατέρα κολάζων παντί τρόπῳ, ἄλλὰ δρῷῃ· ἀν ὅπερ θεῶν οἶ πρωτοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι. ούδε αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι λέγειν.

2.7.5 | For indeed, he says, these words are difficult. And they should not be spoken, dear Adeimantus, in our city; nor should they be given to a young listener, as doing the worst wrong would not seem surprising, nor would punishing a father in any way be just, but rather it should be avoided. This is what I think about the first and greatest of the gods. It does not seem fitting to me to speak of it.

2.7.6 | ούδέ γε, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ παράπαν, ὡς θεοὶ θεοῖς πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ μάχονται· ούδὲ γὰρ ἀληθῆ· εἴ γε δεῖ ήμιν τρὺς μέλλοντας τὴν πόλιν φυλάξειν αἰσχιστὸν νομίζειν τὸ ῥἀδίως ἄλλήλοις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ποικιλτέον καὶ ἄλλας ἔχθρας καὶ παντοδαπὰς θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ οίκείους αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' εἴ πως μέλλοιμεν πείσειν ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε πολίτης ἔτερος ἐτέρῳ ἀπήχθετο, ούδ' ἔστι τοῦτο δσιον, τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον λεκτέα πρὸς τὰ παιδία εύθὺς καὶ γέρουσι καὶ γραυσὶ καὶ πρεσβυτέροις γενομένοις, καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγγὺς τούτων ἀναγκαστέον λογοποιεῖν.

2.7.6 | Nor indeed," I said, "is it at all true that the gods wage war against one another and plot against each other and fight. For if we must think of the city we are about to protect, it would be the most shameful to easily hate one another. We should tell many tales about the battle of giants, and also about other conflicts and various enmities of gods and heroes against their relatives and kin. But if we are to persuade that no citizen ever hated another, and that this is not sacred, such things should rather be spoken to children right away, as well as to old men and those who have become elders, and poets should be forced to create stories close to these.

2.7.7 | Ἡρας δὲ δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ υἱέος καὶ Ἡφαίστου ρίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς, μέλλοντος τῇ μητρὶ τυπτομένῃ ἀμύνειν, καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὁμηρος πεποίηκεν, οὐ παραδεκτέον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὕτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὕτ' ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν.

2.7.7 | The chains of Hera thrown by her son and Hephaestus under their father, while he was about to defend his mother being struck, and all the battles of the gods that Homer has created, should not be accepted in the city, neither as hints nor without hints.

2.7.8 | Σαφῶς δὴ διὰ τούτων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν μύθους τὸν περὶ θεῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν μύθων ἐν ὑπονοίαις εἰρῆσθαι νομίζομένας φυσιολογίας παραινητέας ἔας εἶναι διδάσκει, ὡς μηκέτ' ἀλόγως ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναχώρην τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι διδασκαλίαν, ὅποτε καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβέβληται.

2.7.8 | Clearly, through these things, the philosopher teaches that the old myths about the gods and the meanings of those myths should be seen as natural explanations. He says that we should no longer speak foolishly about them and that the teachings from these should not be rejected when it comes to our savior's message, especially when it comes to our own people.

2.7.9 | ὅθεν ἔπεισί μοι καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων θαυμάζειν, τίνα τρόπον ἀπάσας τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς περὶ θεῶν φυσιολογίας ἀτόπους οὕσας καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ βεβιασμένας ἀσυστάτους κατανοήσαντες, αὐτοῖς μύθοις τῆς οἰκείας περιέγραψαν θεολογίας, καὶ τοῦτο δέ σοι γνῶναι πάρεστιν ἀπὸ τῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλικαρνασσέως Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας· οὗτος γάρ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ κατὰ Ῥωμύλον τὸν πρῶτον κτίστην τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴστορῶν τά τε ἄλλα διέξεισιν αὐτοῦ κατορθώματα, ἀτὰρ καὶ περὶ τῶνδε τοῦτον γράφων τὸν τρόπον

2.7.9 | From this, I am convinced that the ancient Romans admired how they described all the Greek ideas about the gods, which were strange and useless, and even more, they saw them as forced and chaotic. They instead created their own myths about theology. You can learn this from Dionysius of Halicarnassus's work on Roman antiquities; for in the second book, he tells about Romulus, the first founder of Rome, and he discusses his achievements as well as the way he writes about these matters.

## Section 8

2.8.1 | “Αλλ’ ἔγνω ὅτι νόμοι σπουδαῖοι καὶ καλῶν ζῆλος ἐπιτηδευμάτων εύσεβη καὶ σώφρονα καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθὴν ἔξεργάζονται πόλιν· ὃν πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν, τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν.

2.8.1 | But he knew that important laws and the pursuit of good things create a city that is pious, wise, and just, and that they produce good results against enemies. He had great foresight in this, starting from the respect for the divine and the spirits.

2.8.2 | ἵερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ξοάνων ἱδρύσεις, μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις Καὶ δωρεὰς, αἷς τὸ

2.8.2 | Therefore, he established sacred places, temples, altars, and statues, along with their forms, symbols, powers, and

γένος ἡμῶν εύηργέτησαν, ἔορτάς τε ὅποιας τινὰς ἐκάστῳ θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων ἄγεσθαι προσήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἷς χαίρουσι γεραιρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκεχειρίας τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο τῶν κρατίστων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομίμων.

gifts, by which our people were blessed. He also arranged festivals for each of the gods or spirits, and sacrifices, which bring joy to those who honor them among humans. He set up peace treaties, gatherings, and rest from labors, and all such things in the same way as the best laws among the Greeks.

2.8.3 | τοὺς δὲ παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους, ἐν οἷς βλασφημίαι τινές εἰσι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ κατηγορίαι, πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὑπολαβών εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους, ἀπαντας ἔξεβαλε, καὶ παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ κάλλιστα περὶ θεῶν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσανύωας ἀνάξιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως.

2.8.3 | He rejected the myths handed down about them, in which there are some blasphemies or accusations against them, considering them to be wicked, useless, and shameful, and not worthy of the gods or even of good humans. He prepared people to speak and think the best things about the gods, not allowing any unworthy practice that goes against the nature of the blessed.

2.8.4 | Οὔτε γὰρ Ούρανὸς ἐκτεμνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ Παίδων παρὶ Ῥωμαίοις λέγεται οὕτε Κρόνος ἀφανίζων τὰς ἐαυτοῦ γονὰς φόβῳ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεως, οὐτε Ζεὺς καταλύων τὴν Κρόνου δυναστείαν καὶ κατακλείων ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦ Ταρτάρου τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πατέρα, οὐδέ γε πόλεμοι καὶ τραύματα καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ θητεῖαι θεῶν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις.

2.8.4 | Neither is it said among the Romans that Uranus was cut off by his own children, nor that Cronus hid from fear of their attack, nor that Zeus ended Cronus's rule and locked his father in the prison of Tartarus. There are no wars, wounds, chains, or servitude of the gods among humans.

2.8.5 | ἔορτή τε οὐδεμία παρ' αὐτοῖς μελανεύμων ἡ πένθιμος ἄγεται, κοπετοὺς ἔχουσα καὶ θρήνους γυναικῶν ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἀφανιζόμενοις, ἢ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτελοῦνται περὶ τε Περσεφόνης ἀρπαγὴν καὶ Διονύσου πάθη, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

2.8.5 | No festival is held among them that is dark or mournful, filled with the wailing and lamentations of women for the gods who have disappeared, like those celebrated by the Greeks for the abduction of Persephone and the sufferings of Dionysus, and other similar things.

2.8.6 | οὐδ' ἀν ἴδοι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, καίτοι

2.8.6 | Nor would anyone see among them,

διεφθαρμένων τῶν ἔθῶν ἥδη, οὐ  
θεοφορήσεις, οὐ κόρυ βάντ' ίασμοὺς, οὐ  
βακχείας καὶ τελετὰς ἀπορρήτους, οὐ  
διαπανυχισμοὺς ἐν Ἱεροῖς θεῶν ἀνδρῶν  
σὺν γυναιξὶν, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν παραπλησίων  
τούτοις τερατευμάτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'  
εὐλαβῶς ἄπαντα πραττόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα  
τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς οὕτε παρ' Ἑλλησιν  
οὕτε παρὰ βαρβάροις.

even though their customs are already corrupted, any divine processions, no crown-wearing rituals, no Bacchic celebrations and secret rites, no all-night vigils in the temples of the gods with women, nor anything else similar to these strange practices. Instead, everything done and said about the gods is done with respect, just as it is neither among the Greeks nor among the barbarians.

2.8.7 | καὶ ὁ πάντων μάλιστα ἔγωγε  
τεθαύμακα, καίπερ μυρίων ὄσων εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν ἐπεληλυθότων ἔθνῶν, οἵς πολλὴ  
ἀνάγκη σέβειν τοὺς πατρίους θεοὺς τοῖς  
οἴκοθεν νομίμοις, οὐδενὸς εἰς ζῆλον  
ἐλήλυθε τῶν ξενικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡ  
πόλις δημοσίᾳ, ὁ πολλοῖς ἥδη συνέβη  
παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινα κατὰ χρησμοὺς  
ἐπεισῆκται ἱερὰ, τοῖς αὐτόθι αὐτὰ νομίμοις  
μεθήρμοσεν, ἅπασαν ἐκβαλοῦσα τερθρείαν  
μυθικὴν, ὡσπερ τὰ τῆς ιερᾶς θεᾶς ιερά.

2.8.7 | And what I especially marvel at is that, although countless nations have come to the city, where there is a strong need to honor the ancestral gods according to local customs, none of the foreign practices have been adopted publicly by the city, which has already happened to many. And even if some sacred things have been introduced according to oracles, they have been adapted to the local customs, completely removing any mythical elements, just like the sacred rites of the holy goddess.

2.8.8 | Θυσίας μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀγῶνας  
ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος οἱ στρατηγοὶ κατὰ  
τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους, ἱερᾶται δ' αὐτῇς  
ἀνὴρ Φρύξ καὶ γυνὴ Φρυγία, καὶ  
περιάγουσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν οὗτοι  
μηναγυρτοῦντες, ὡσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος,  
τύπους τε περικείμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι καὶ  
καταυλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ  
μητρῷα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες.

2.8.8 | For every year, the generals hold sacrifices and contests for her according to Roman laws. A man from Phrygia and a woman from Phrygia serve as her priests, and they go around the city celebrating the festival, as is their custom. They wear symbols on their chests and sing the mother's songs while beating drums.

2.8.9 | Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν αὐθιγενῶν οὕτε  
μηναγυρτῶν τις οὕτε καταυλούμενος  
πορεύεται διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ποικίλην  
ἐνδεδυμένος στολὴν, οὕτε ὄργιάζει τὴν  
θεὸν τοῖς Φρυγίοις ὄργιασμοῖς κατὰ νόμον

2.8.9 | But among the native Romans, no one goes through the city celebrating the festival, dressed in colorful clothing, nor do they honor the goddess with the Phrygian rituals according to law or council decree.

ἢ ψήφισμα βουλῆς. οὕτως εὐλαβῶς ἢ πόλις  
ἔχει πρὸς τὰ οὐκ ἐπιχώρια ἔθη περὶ θεῶν  
καὶ πάντα ὄττεύεται τῦφον, ᾧ μηδέν ἔστι  
τὸ εὐπρεπές.

In this way, the city treats non-local customs about the gods with great respect, and everything else is seen as foolishness, which has no beauty.

2.8.10 | καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι  
τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων είσὶ τινες  
ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι  
τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα διὰ λύπην, οἱ δὲ  
παραμυθίας ἔνεκα συγκείμενοι τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων συμφορῶν, οἱ δὲ ταραχὰς  
ἔξαιρούμενοι ψυχῆς καὶ δείματα καὶ δόξας  
καθαιροῦντες οὐχ ὑγιεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλης τινὸς  
ἔνεκα συμπλασθέντες ὡφελείας.

2.8.10 | And let no one think that I am unaware that some of the Greek myths are useful to people. Some show the works of nature to bring sorrow, while others are made up to comfort people in their misfortunes. Some help to calm the soul's disturbances and remove fears and false beliefs, while others are created for some other benefit.

2.8.11 | ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα  
οὐδενὸς χεῖρον, δόμως εὐλαβῶς διάκειμαι  
πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλον  
ἀποδέχομαι θεολογίαν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι  
τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων ἀγαθὰ  
μικρά τέ ἔστι καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς δυνάμενα  
ὡφελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοὺς ἔξητακότας ὡν  
ἔνεκα γίνεται.

2.8.11 | But even though I know these things, I still feel cautious about them, and I accept the theology of the Romans more. I consider that the good things from the Greek myths are small and can help only a few people, but only those who seek them out for their own reasons.

2.8.12 | σπάνιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετειληφότες  
ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ὃ δὲ πολὺς καὶ  
ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω  
λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν λόγους,  
καὶ πάσχει θάτερον, ἢ καταφρονεῖ τῶν  
θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ  
κυλινδουμένων ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ  
παρανομωτάτων οὐδενὸς ἀπέχεται, θεοῖς  
ὅρῶν αὐτὰ προσκείμενα.

2.8.12 | Few are those who have taken up this philosophy; but the large and unphilosophical crowd prefers to accept worse ideas about them. They either scorn the gods, as if they are caught in great misfortune, or they do not stay away from the most shameful and unlawful things, seeing them as connected to the gods.

2.8.13 | ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων τοῖς αὐτὸ  
μόνον τὸ θεωρητικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας  
μέρος ἀσκοῦσιν ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν, τῆς δὲ  
ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου κατασταθείσης πολιτείας

2.8.13 | But let those who only practice the theoretical part of philosophy focus on these matters. As for the government established by Romulus, I thought it worthy

καὶ τάδε ἡγησάμην ιστορίας ἄξια.” Τὰ μὲν δὴ παραστάντα τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ πρώτοις τῆς Ὀρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας τοιαῦτα ἦν, οὐδαμῶς φυσιολογίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις παραδεχόμενα, οὐδέ γε τὰς σεμνοφρανεῖς καὶ σοφιστικὰς τερθρείας. ἡμεῖς γε μὴν ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὠρμήθημεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τούτων ἔλεγχον, φέρε τὰς ἐρμηνείας αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρίας, τί ποτε ἄρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς ἐπικομίζονται, κατίδωμεν, μηδὲν μὲν ἔξ ἡμῶν, πάντα δὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν φωναῖς συγχρώμενοι, ὡς ἀν παρ’ αὐτῶν αὗθις τὰ αὐτῶν οίκεια καταμάθωμεν.

of history. The things that were presented to the greatest philosophers and to the ancient ones, and first among the Roman leaders regarding Greek theology, were such that they accepted nothing about the gods from natural philosophy, nor did they accept the pretentious and sophistical tricks. Since we have once been motivated to examine these things, let us bring forth their interpretations and theories, and see what they claim to be serious and godly, using none of our own ideas, but applying everything to their words, so that we may learn their own teachings again.

## Book Three (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

3.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὰ μὲν παραστάντα τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ πρώτοις τῆς Ὀρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας τοιαῦτα ἦν, οὐδαμῶς φυσιολογίας ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις παραδεχόμενα, οὐδέ γε τὰς σεμνοφρανεῖς καὶ σοφιστικὰς τερθρείας.

3.praef.1 | Introduction. The things that were presented to the greatest philosophers and to the ancient ones, and first among the Roman leaders regarding Greek theology, were such that they accepted nothing about the gods from natural philosophy, nor did they accept the pretentious and sophistical tricks.

3.praef.2 | ἡμεῖς γε μὴν ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὠρμήθημεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τούτων ἔλεγχον, φέρε τὰς ἐρμηνείας αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρίας, τί ποτε ἄρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὲς ἐπικομίζονται, συνίδωμεν, μηδὲν μὲν ἔξ ἡμῶν, πάντα δὲ ταῖς αὐτῶν φωναῖς συγχρώμενοι, ὡς ἀν παρ’ αὐτῶν αὗθις τὰ αὐτῶν σεμνὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα καταμάθωμεν.

3.praef.2 | Since we have once been motivated to examine these things, let us bring forth their interpretations and theories, and see what they claim to be serious and godly, using none of our own ideas, but applying everything to their words, so that we may learn their own teachings again.

3.praef.3 | Μυρίοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλομένων πολὺς περὶ τούτων εἰσῆκται πόνος, διαφόρους τὰς αὐτῶν εὐρεσιλογίας πεποιημένοις, καὶ τὸ παραστάν καὶ δόξαν ἐκάστῳ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπισχυριζομένοις· ἔμοι δὲ ἔξαρκεῖ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα διαφανῶν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις γνωρίμων κλέος τε οὐ μικρὸν φιλοσοφίας παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀπενηγεγμένων παρασχεῖν.

3.praef.4 | ὃν πρώτου λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τοῦ Χαιρωνέως Πλουτάρχου τὰς περὶ τῶν προκειμένων φωνὰς, ἐν αἷς σεμνολογῶν παρατρέπει τοὺς μύθους ἐφ' ἃς φησιν εἶναι μυστηριώδεις θεολογίας· ἃς δὴ ἔκκαλύπτων τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον τὴν μέθην εἶναι φησιν, οὐκέτι τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἴστορίας ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι δεδηλωμένον Θηντὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν δὲ Ἡραν τὴν γαμήλιον ἄνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συμβίωσιν· εἴθι', ὡσπερ ἐπιλελησμένος τῆς ἀποδόσεως, ἐτέραν ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάφας ἴστοίαν, τὴν Ἡραν οὐκέτε ως τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ὄνομάζει, λήθην δὲ καὶ νύκτα τὴν Λητώ· καὶ ἄλιν τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Λητοῖ μαησιν εἶναι τὴν Ἡραν· εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰσάυεται αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὴν αἰθέριον δύναμιν ἀλληγορούμενος.

3.praef.5 | Καὶ τί με δεῖ ταῦτα προλαμβάνειν, αὐτοῦ παρὸν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ἄνδρὸς ὃδε πως ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων τὰ λανθάνοντα τοὸς πλλοὺς τῆς ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν φυσιολογίας ἐκφαίνοντος

3.praef.3 | Many others who claim to be philosophers have put in a lot of effort about these things, creating different ideas and arguing that each of them has the truth. But for me, it is enough to provide proofs from the most clear and well-known sources, and to offer a significant reputation for philosophy among the Greeks.

3.praef.4 | First, read the words of Plutarch about the matters at hand, where he seriously discusses the myths that he says are mysterious theology. He reveals that Dionysus represents drunkenness, no longer the mortal man shown in the earlier history. He describes Hera as the union of husband and wife. Then, as if forgetting the previous explanation, he connects another story, naming Hera not as before, but as the earth, and he mentions Leto as forgetfulness and night. He also says that Hera is the same as Leto in magic. After this, Zeus is allegorically joined with him in the heavenly power.

3.praef.5 | And why should I anticipate these things, when I can hear from the man himself, who wrote about the hidden matters in Plataea, revealing to many the secret natural philosophy about the gods?

## Section 1

3.1.1 | “Οτι μὲν οὖν ἡ παλαιὰ φυσιολογία καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις λόγος ἦν φυσικὸς ἔγκεκρυμ μένος μύθοις, τὰ πολλὰ δι' αἰνιγμάτων καὶ ὑπονοιῶν ἐπίκρυψος καὶ μυστηριώδης θεολογία, τά τε λαλούμενα τῶν σιγωμένων σαφέστερα τοῖς πλλοῖς ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ σιγώμενα τῶν λαλουμένων ὑποπτότερα, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἐπεσι καὶ τοῖς Αίγυπτιακοῖς καὶ Φρυγίοις λογοις· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς ὄρυασμοὶ καὶ τὰ δρώμενα συμβολικῶς ἐν ταῖς ἵε ρουργίαις τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἐμφαίνει διάνοιαν.

3.1.2 | Οἶον, ίνα μὴ μακρὰν τῶν ἐνστηκότων λόγων βαδίζωμεν, οὐ νομίζουσιν ουδε ἀξιοῦσι κοινωνίαν εἶναι πρὸς Διόνυσον Ἡρα· φυλάσσονται δὲ συμμιγνύναι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἱερείας ἀπαντώσας φασὶν ἀλλή λαὶς μὴ προσαγορεύειν, μηδὲ δλως κιττὸν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἡρας είσκομίζεσθαι τέμενος, οὐ διὰ τὰς μυθικὰς καὶ φυλαρώδεις ζηλοτυπίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι γαμήλιος μὲν ἡ θεός καὶ νυμφαγωγὸς, ἀπρεπὲς δὲ νυμφίοις τὸ μεθύειν, καὶ γάμοις ἀναρμοστάτον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκρατοποσίᾳ γάρ, φησὶ, ταραχὴν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν, ὑφ' ἣς ἀπλαστα καὶ πεπλανημένα ῥίζοῦται κακῶς τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ κυϊσκόμενα. πάλιν οἱ θύοντες Ἡρα τὴν χολὴν οὐ καθαγίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ κατορύττουσι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν, ὡς δέον ἀθυμον καὶ ἄχολον καὶ καθαρεύουσαν ὄργῆς καὶ πικρίας ἀπάσης τὴν γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι συμβίωσιν.”

3.1.3 | Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συμβολικὸν εἴδος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς μύθοις μᾶλλον ἐστιν.

3.1.1 | That the old natural philosophy, both among the Greeks and the non-Greeks, was a natural explanation hidden in myths, often expressed through riddles and hints, is clear. The things spoken are clearer to most than the things kept silent, and the silent things are more suspicious than the spoken ones. This is evident in the Orphic writings and in the Egyptian and Phrygian texts; especially in the rituals, the cries, and the symbolic actions in the sacred ceremonies reveal the thoughts of the ancients.

3.1.2 | Now, so that we do not stray far from the current discussion, they do not believe or consider it right to have a connection between Dionysus and Hera. They are careful not to mix the sacred things and say that the priestesses of Athena should not greet each other, nor should anything be brought into the temple of Hera. This is not because of mythical and foolish jealousies, but because the goddess is a bride and a guide for brides, while it is inappropriate for bridesgrooms to be drunk, and it is most unsuitable for weddings, as Plato says. For, he claims, drinking without restraint causes disturbance to both souls and bodies, which leads to bad things being poorly rooted and wandering. Again, those who sacrifice to Hera do not purify the bile, but they bury it beside the altar, as it is necessary for it to be without spirit, without anger, and free from all bitterness in the union of a woman and a man.

3.1.3 | This symbolic form is more present in the stories and myths. For example, they

οῖον, Ἰστοροῦσι τὴν Ἡραν ἐν τῇ Εύβοιᾳ τρεφομένην ἔτι παρθένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός κιλαπῆναι, καὶ διακομισθεῖσαν ἐνταῦθα κρύπτεσθαι, Κιθαιρῶνος αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκιον τινα μυχὸν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφυῆ παρασχόντος. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς Μακρίδος κατὰ ζήτησιν — ἦν δὲ Ἡρας τιθήνη — καὶ βουλομένης ἔρευνᾶν οὐκ ἄν τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ τῷ χωρίῳ προσάγειν, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ τῇ Λητοῖ συναναπαυομένου καὶ συνδιατρίβοντος. ἀπελθούσης δὲ τῆς Μακρίδος, οὕτω τότε μὲν διαλαθεῖν τὴν Ἡραν, ὅστερον δὲ τῇ Λητοῖ χάριν ἀπομνημονεύουσαν ὁμοβώμιον θέσθαι καὶ σύνναον, ὥστε καὶ Λητοῖ μυχίᾳ προθύεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ νυχίαν λέγουσι. σημαίνεται δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων τὸ κρύψιον καὶ διαλεληθός. ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν Ἡραν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ τῷ Διὶ λάθρα συνοῦσαν καὶ λανθάνουσαν οὕτω Λητώ φασιν νυχίαν προσηγορεῦσθαι· φανερῶν δὲ τῶν γάμων γενομένων, καὶ περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς τῆς ὁμιλίας ἀνακαλυφθείσης, Ἡραν τελείαν καὶ γαμήλιον αὐτὴν προσαγορευθηναι.

3.1.4 | "οἱ δὲ φυσικῶς μᾶλλον καὶ πρεπόντως ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν μῦθον οὕτως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ Λητοῖ συνάγουσιν τὴν Ἡραν. γῆ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ Ἡρα, καθάπερ εἴρηται, νὺξ δὲ ἡ Λητὼ, λήθω τις οὕσα τῶν εἰς ὕπνον τρεπομένων, νὺξ δὲ οὐδέν ἔστιν ἄλλο πλὴν σκιὰ γῆς· ὅταν γὰρ πλησιάσασα ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἀποκρύψῃ τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἐκλειπτικὸν ὄλισθημα τῶν πανσελήνων, ὅταν τῆς σελήνης περιφερομένης ἡ σκιὰ τῆς γῆς ἐπιψαύσῃ καὶ διαθολώσῃ τὸ φέγγος.

tell of Hera being raised as a virgin in Euboea, who was stolen by Zeus and brought here to hide, with a certain shady nook and natural chamber provided by Cithaeron. When Makris came seeking her—she was a nurse of Hera—and wanting to investigate, she was not allowed to disturb Cithaeron or approach the area, as Zeus was resting there with Leto. After Makris left, Hera was hidden for a time, but later, as a favor to Leto, she was remembered and made a companion, so that Leto could also sacrifice in the hidden place; some say it was at night. Each of the names indicates something secret and forgotten. Some say that Hera herself secretly met with Zeus there, and thus Leto is said to be called 'night.' When the marriages became clear and the gatherings around Cithaeron were first revealed, Hera was called complete and bridal.

3.1.4 | But those who think more naturally and fittingly connect the myth of Hera with Leto in this way. Hera is the earth, as has been said, while Leto is night, which is something that leads those who are going to sleep into forgetfulness. Night is nothing other than the shadow of the earth; for when it approaches the west and hides the sun, it darkens the air, and this is the eclipse that happens during full moons, when the shadow of the earth touches and obscures the light of the moon.

3.1.5 | “Οτι ούκ ἄλλη τίς ἔστι τῆς Ἡρας ἡ Λητώ μάθοιτ’ ἀν ἐνθένδε. τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἥδη που θυγατέρα Λητοῦς καλοῦμεν, ἄλλὰ καὶ Εἴλήθυιαν τὴν αὐτὴν ὄνομάζομεν· ούκοῦν ἡ τε Ἡρα καὶ ἡ Λητώ δύο είσι μιᾶς θεοῦ προσηγορίαι. πάλιν, ἐκ μὲν Λητοῦς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἐκ Ἡρας ὁ Ἀρης γέγονε, μία δέ ἔστιν ἀμφοτέρων δύναμις, καὶ κέκληται Ἀρης μὲν ὡς ἀρήγων τοῖς κατὰ βίαν καὶ μάχην συμπτώμασιν, Ἀπόλλων δὲ ὡς ἀπαλλάττων καὶ ἀπολύων τῶν περὶ σῶμα νοσηματικῶν παθῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐμτυρωτάτων ἀστρων καὶ πυριφλεγεστάτων ὃ μὲν ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων κέκληται, ὃ δὲ πυροειδῆς Ἀρης ἐπωνόμασται. καὶ οὐκ ἀπότροπόν ἔστι τὴν αὐτὴν θεὸν γαμήλιον λέγεσθαι καὶ μητέρα Εἴληθυίας καὶ ἥλιου νομίζεσθαι. γάμου μὲν γάρ τέλος γένεσίς ἔστι, γένεσις δὲ ἡ εἰς ἥλιον καὶ φῶς ἐκ σκότους πορεία. καὶ καλῶς ἔφη ὁ ποιητής Αὔταρ ἐπειδὴ τόν γε μογοστόκος Εἴληθυιαέξάγαγε πρὸ φόρωσδε καὶ ἥλιού ἵδεν αὐγάς. εῦ ὁ ποιητής τῇ μὲν προθέσει τὴν σύνθεσιν ἔθλιψεν, ἐμφαίνων τὸ βεβιασμένον τῆς ὡδῖνος, τέλος δὲ τῆς γενέσεως ἐποίησεν ἥλιον ἰδεῖν. ούκοῦν ἡ αὐτὴ θεὸς ἐποίησε καὶ γάμον συνελθεῖν, ἵνα γένεσιν παρασκευάσῃ.”

3.1.6 | “Δεῖ δὲ ἶσως καὶ τὸν εὐηθέστερον μῦθον είπεῖν. λέγεται γάρ ὁ Ζεὺς, τῆς Ἡρας αὐτῷ διαφερομένης καὶ μηκέτι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ διαφερομένης, ἄλλὰ κρυπτούσης ἐστήν, ἀμηχανῶν καὶ πλανώμενος Ἀλαλκομένει τῷ αὐτόχθονι συντυχεῖν, καὶ διδαχθῆναι ὑπὸ τούτου ὡς ἔξαπατητέον τὴν Ἡραν, σικηψάμενον γαμεῖν ἐτέραν. συνεργοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλαλκομένους κρύφα τεμόντας αὐτοὺς εύκτεανον καὶ παγκάλην δρῦν μορφῶσαι τε αὐτὴν καὶ καταστεῖαι

3.1.5 | That Leto is not another than Hera can be learned from here. We already call Artemis the daughter of Leto, but we also name Eileithyia the same. Therefore, both Hera and Leto are names for one goddess. Again, Apollo came from Leto, while Ares came from Hera; yet their power is one. Ares is called a helper in violent battles and fights, while Apollo is called one who frees and releases people from bodily illnesses. That is why among the brightest stars, the sun is called Apollo, while the fiery Ares is named as such. It is not strange for the same goddess to be called a bride and to be thought of as the mother of Eileithyia and the sun. For marriage is the end of birth, and birth is the journey from darkness to the sun and light. The poet rightly said: 'But when Eileithyia, the one who brings forth, was brought forth before the light and saw the rays of the sun.' The poet skillfully showed the pain of childbirth in the beginning, revealing the struggle of labor, and at the end of birth, he made it so that the sun could be seen. Therefore, the same goddess caused the marriage to happen, so that she could prepare for birth.

3.1.6 | It is perhaps necessary to tell the simpler myth. It is said that Zeus, when Hera was avoiding him and no longer wanted to come to the same place, but was hiding herself, was wandering around and, unable to find her, happened upon Alalcomeneus, a local. He learned from him how to deceive Hera and decided to marry another. With Alalcomeneus helping, they secretly cut down a beautiful and all-giving oak tree, shaping it and adorning it as a

νυμφικῶς, Δαιδάλην προσαγορεύσαντας· εἴτα οὕτως ἀναμέλπεσθαι μὲν τὸν ὑμέναιον, λουτρὰ δὲ κομίζειν τὰς Τριτωνίδας νύμφας, αὐλοὺς δὲ καὶ κώμους τὴν Βοιωτίαν παρασχεῖν· περαινομένων δὲ τούτων οὐκέτι τὴν Ἡραν καρτερεῖν, ἀλλὰ καταβᾶσαν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, τῶν Πλαταιάδων αὐτῇ γυναικῶν ἐπομένων, ὑπ’ ὄργης καὶ ζηλοτυπίας θέουσαν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Δία, καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος φανεροῦ γενομένου διαλλαγεῖσαν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ γέλωτος αὐτὴν νυμφαγωγεῖν· τιμὴν δὲ τῷ ξοάνῳ προσθεῖναι καὶ Δαιδάλᾳ τὴν ἔορτὴν προσαγορεῦσαι, κατακαῦσαι δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν, καίπερ ἄψυχον ὄν, ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας.”

3.1.7 | “Ο μὲν οὗν μῆθος τοιοῦτος, ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ τοιόσδε. Ἡρας καὶ Δῖος διαφορὰ καὶ στάσις οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν στοιχείων δυσκρασία καὶ τάραχός ἐστιν, ὅταν ἀλλήλοις μηκέτι συμμετρῆται κατὰ κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύτητος ἐγγενομένης δυσμαχήσαντα λύσῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν ὅλων ἀπεργάσηται. ἂν μὲν οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς, τουτέστιν ἡ θερμὴ καὶ πυρώδης δύναμις, αἵτιαν παράσχῃ τῆς διαφθορᾶς, αύχμὸς τὴν γῆν καταλαμβάνει, ἐὰν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἡραν, τουτέστι τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ πνευματικὴν φύσιν, ὕβρις τις ἡ πλεονασμὸς γένηται, ὥευμα ἥλθε πολὺ καὶ συνώμβρισε καὶ κατέκιλυσε τὰ πάντα. τοιούτου δέ τινος γενομένου καὶ περὶ τοὺς τότε χρόνους, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Βοιωτίας βυθισθείσης, ὡς πρῶτον ἀνέδυ τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐλώφησεν, ὁ μὲν ἐξ εὐδίας κόσμος τοῦ περιέχοντος ὄμονοια καὶ διαλλαγὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐλέχθη, πρῶτον δὲ ἀνέσχεν ἐκ τὸν φυτῶν τῆς γῆς ἡ δρῦς, καὶ ταύτην ἡγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τροφῆς βίου καὶ σωτηρίας διαμονήν παρασχοῦσαν, οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῖς εὔσεβεσιν, ὡς Ἡσίοδος φησιν,

bride. Then they began to sing the wedding song, while the Nymphs of Triton brought baths, and they provided flutes and dances for Boeotia. When all this was finished, Hera could no longer wait, but came down from Cithaeron, followed by the women of Plataea, filled with anger and jealousy, to go to Zeus. When the truth of the plan was revealed, they reconciled with joy and laughter, and she was led to the wedding. They added honor to the statue and called the festival 'Daedala,' but they still burned it, even though it was lifeless, out of jealousy.

3.1.7 | Such is the myth, and this is the explanation. The conflict and strife between Hera and Zeus is nothing other than a bad mixture of elements and chaos, when they no longer balance with each other in harmony. This leads to irregularities and roughness, breaking their union and causing the destruction of everything. If Zeus, meaning the hot and fiery force, causes the reason for this destruction, then drought overtakes the land. But if it concerns Hera, meaning the moist and spiritual nature, then some kind of arrogance or excess occurs, bringing a great flood that overwhelms everything. Something like this happened in those times, especially in Boeotia, when the land was first submerged and the flood receded. The harmonious world that surrounded it was said to be restored by the agreement and reconciliation of the gods. First, the oak tree rose from the earth's plants, and people loved it because it provided sustenance and safety in life. For it was not only for the pious, as Hesiod says, but also for those who survived the destruction; the

άλλα καὶ τοῖς ὑπολειφθεῖσι τῆς φθορᾶς  
“Ἄκρη μὲν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέση δὲ  
μελίσσας.”

## Section 2

3.2.1 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλούταρχος. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ  
τῶν παρατεθεισῶν αὐτῷ φωνῶν ὡς ἄρα  
καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ καὶ ἀπόρρητος φυσιολογία  
τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας θεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν,  
οὐδέ τι μέγα καὶ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ τῆς  
ἀνατάσεως ἄξιον ἐπήγετο.

3.2.2 | ἀκήκοας γὰρ τὴν Ἡραν, τοτὲ μὲν  
γαμήλιον ἀναγορευομένην καὶ τὴν ἀνδρὸς  
καὶ γυναικὸς συμβίωσιν δηλοῦσαν, τοτὲ δὲ  
τὴν γῆν πάλιν Ἡραν ὀνομαζομένην, τοτὲ δὲ  
τὴν ὑγρὰν ούσιαν, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἰς τὴν  
μέθην μετενηγμένον, εἰς νύκτα δὲ τὴν  
Λητώ, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ  
αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Δία εἰς τὴν Θερμῆν καὶ  
πυρώδη δύναμιν.

3.2.3 | οὐκοῦν πρὸς τῇ τῶν μύθων  
ἀπρεπείᾳ καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα σεμνοτέρᾳ  
διήγησις καὶ φυσιολογία οὐκ ἐπί τινας  
οὐρανίους νοερὰς καὶ θείας δυνάμεις οὐδ'  
ἐπὶ λογικὰς καὶ ἀσωμάτους ἀνῆγεν ούσιας,  
κάτω δὲ πάλιν καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς μέθας καὶ  
γάμους καὶ ἀνθρώπεια πάθη, εἴς τε πῦρ καὶ  
γῆν καὶ ἥλιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ὅλης  
στοιχεῖα κατέστρεψε τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου,  
καὶ πλέον θεοποιοῦσα οὐδέν.

3.2.4 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' οἶδεν.  
ὅμολογεῖ γοῦν διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ  
μηδὲν πλέον τῶν δρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου

top brings acorns, while the middle brings  
honey.

3.2.1 | This is what Plutarch says. But from  
the voices presented to him, we see that the  
wonderful and secret nature of Greek  
theology does not suggest anything divine,  
nor anything great and worthy of reverence  
or resurrection.

3.2.2 | For you have heard of Hera,  
sometimes called the goddess of marriage,  
showing the union of man and woman, and  
sometimes referred to as the earth. At  
other times, she is known as the moist  
essence. Dionysus is associated with  
drunkenness, while Leto is linked to the  
night, and the sun is connected to Apollo.  
Zeus himself is seen as the hot and fiery  
force.

3.2.3 | Therefore, in light of the  
awkwardness of the myths, the seemingly  
more serious stories and nature do not lead  
to any heavenly, intelligent, or divine  
powers, nor to logical and incorporeal  
essences. Instead, they return to  
drunkenness, marriage, and human  
emotions, destroying the parts of the world  
with fire, earth, sun, and the other elements  
of matter, creating nothing divine.

3.2.4 | This is also known to Plato. He  
clearly states in the Cratylus that nothing  
beyond what is seen in the world has been

μερῶν τοὺς πρώτους τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
ἀνθρώπων ἐγνωκέναι, μόνους δὲ θεοὺς  
εἶναι τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστῆρας καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ τῶν φαινομένων νομίσαι.

recognized by the first people about Greece, and that only the heavenly lights are considered gods, along with the other visible things.

3.2.5 | λέγει δ' οὗν ὥδε πρὸς λέξιν  
“Φαίνονταί μοι οἵ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς  
ἡγεῖσθαι οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν  
βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ  
ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.

3.2.5 | He says this in words: "It seems to me that the first people around Greece considered these alone as gods, just as many of the barbarians do now, the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars, and the sky."

3.2.6 | Άλλὰ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ τοιαῦτα·  
ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων παλαίτατα· ἦν δὲ  
τὰ Αἰγυπτία. τὴν Ἰσίν φασι καὶ Ὀσιριν τὸν  
ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἶναι, καὶ Δία μὲν τὸ  
διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνεῦμα, Ἡφαιστον δὲ  
τὸ πῦρ, τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητρα ἐπονομάσαι,  
ώκεανόν τε τὸ ὑγρὸν νομίζεσθαι παρ'  
Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν  
Νεῖλον, ὃ καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀναθεῖναι  
γενέσεις· τὸν δὲ ἄέρα φασὶν αὐτοὺς  
προσαγορεύειν Ἀθηνᾶν.

3.2.6 | But the Greek beliefs are like this. Let us also see the oldest ones of these, which were Egyptian. They say that Isis and Osiris are the sun and the moon, and that Zeus is the spirit that moves through everything, Hephaestus is the fire, and the earth is named Demeter. The Egyptians consider the ocean to be the water and the river they have, the Nile, where they also place the births of the gods. They say that they call the air Athena.

3.2.7 | τούτους δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς, τὸν  
Ἄέρα λέγω καὶ τὸ "Γδωρ τό τε Πύρ" καὶ τὴν  
Γῆν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην  
ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως εἰς μορφὰς  
καὶ ἴδεας ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ παντοίων ζώων  
σχηματιζομένους, καὶ τούτων ὁμοιώμους  
παρ' αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις γεγονέναι Θνητοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους, Ἡλιον καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν,  
ἔτι δὲ Δία καὶ Ἡραν καὶ Ἡφαιστον καὶ  
Ἐστίαν ἐπονομασθέντας. γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰ  
περὶ τούτων πλάτυτερον μὲν ὁ Μανεθῶς,  
ἐπιτετμημένως δὲ ὁ Διόδωρος ἐν τῇ  
προλεχθείσῃ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ ὥδε πως  
ἰστορῶν κατὰ λέξιν

3.2.7 | These five gods, I mean the air, the water, the fire, the earth, and the spirit, are said to move through the whole world, sometimes taking different forms and shapes of humans and all kinds of animals. Among them, the Egyptians have named mortal humans with the same names: Sun, Cronus, Rhea, and also Zeus, Hera, Hephaestus, and Hestia. Manetho writes more broadly about these, but Diodorus writes more briefly in his earlier writings, telling the history like this.

### Section 3

3.3.1 | "Τούτους δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς, τὸν Ἡλιον, φασὶ, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, "Οσιριν ὄντας κατ' Αἴγυπτίους καὶ Ἰσιν, τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διοικεῖν τρέφοντάς τε καὶ αὔξοντας πάντα τριμερέσιν ὥραις, ἀοράτω κινήσει τὴν περίοδον ἀπαρτίζουσαις, τῇ τε ἐαρινῇ καὶ θερινῇ καὶ χειμερινῇ: ταύτας δὲ ἐναντιωτάτην ἀλλήλαις τὴν φύσιν ἔχούσας ἀπαρτίζειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρίστη συμφωνίᾳ.

3.3.1 | They say that these gods, the Sun and the Moon, are Osiris and Isis according to the Egyptians. They govern the whole universe, nourishing and making everything grow in three parts of the year, with an unseen movement marking the seasons: spring, summer, and winter. These seasons have opposite natures to each other, arranging the year in the best harmony.

3.3.2 | φύσιν δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πλείστην είς τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ζωογονίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων, τὸν μὲν πυρώδους καὶ πνεύματος, τὴν δὲ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, κοινῇ δ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀέρος· καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα γεννᾶσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄπαν σῶμα τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐ·ξ ήλίου καὶ σελήνης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τούτων μέρη πέντε τὰ προειρημένα, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ὑγρὸν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸ ἀερῶδες, ὃσπερ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη καταριθμοῦμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου συγκεῖσθαι πᾶν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων.

3.3.2 | They say that the nature of these gods contributes greatly to the life of all living things: the fiery and the spiritual, the wet and the dry, and both together make up the air. Through these, everything is born and nourished. Therefore, the whole body of nature is made up of the sun and the moon, while its five parts are the spirit, the fire, the dry, the wet, and finally the airy. Just as we count the head, hands, feet, and other parts of a human body, in the same way, the body of the universe is made up of all these mentioned elements.

3.3.3 | τούτων δ' ἔκαστον θεὸν νομίσαι, καὶ προστηγορίαν ἴδιαν ἐκάστῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον, τὸν πρώτους διαλέκτῳ χρησαμένους διηρθρωμένη τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεῦσαι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως· ὃν αἴτιον ὄντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῷοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἰονεί τινα πατέρα.

3.3.3 | They believe that each of these gods has its own name, given according to its nature, by the first people who spoke the language of the Egyptians. Therefore, they call the spirit Zeus, which means the cause of life for all living things, and they thought of him as a kind of father of all.

3.3.4 | συμφωνεῖν δὲ τούτοις φασὶ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν παρ' Ἔλλησι ποιητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο λέγοντα, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.' τὸ δὲ πῦρ μεθερμηνευόμενον "Ηφαιστον ὄνομάσαι, νομίσαντας μέγαν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ πολλὰ συμβάλλεσθαι πᾶσιν εἰς γένεσίν τε καὶ τελείαν αὐξῆσιν. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὡσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεῦσαι· καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως Δήμητρα καλεῖν, βραχὺ μετατεθείσης διὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς λέξεως.

3.3.5 | τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὄνομάζεσθαι γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὄρφέα προσμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα, Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν ὄνομάσαι λέγουσι τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὥκεανὸν, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον μὲν εἶναι τροφῆς μητέρα, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὥκεανὸν ὑπάρχειν ὑπειλῆφθαι, περὶ οὐ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγειν Ὦκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

3.3.6 | οὗ γὰρ Αἴγυπτιοι νομίζουσιν ὥκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον, πρὸς ὃ καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεις ὑπάρχαι. τῆς γὰρ πάσης οἰκουμένης κατὰ μόνην τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι πόλεις πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν ἔκτισμένας· οἷον Δῖος, Ήλίου, Ἐρμοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος, Πανὸς, Εἴληθυίας, ἄλλων πλειόνων.

3.3.7 | τὸν δὲ ἀέρα προσαγορεῦσαι φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν, μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, καὶ Δῖος θυγατέρα γε νομίσαι ταύτην, καὶ παρθένον ὑποστήσασθαι διά τε τὸ

3.3.4 | They also agree that the most famous of the Greek poets said about this god, "father of men and gods." They translate fire as Hephaestus, believing him to be a great god who contributes a lot to the creation and complete growth of everything. They think of the earth as a kind of vessel for growing things and call it mother. The Greeks similarly call this goddess Demeter, with a slight change in the name over time.

3.3.5 | For in ancient times, they called the earth mother, just as Orpheus also supports this by saying, "Earth, mother of all, Demeter, giver of wealth." They say that the wet element was called Ocean, which means mother of nourishment. Some of the Greeks believe that Ocean was thought to be a source of life, about whom the poet says, "Ocean, both the source of the gods and mother Tethys."

3.3.6 | For the Egyptians believe that the river Nile is their Ocean, near which the births of the gods took place. For in all the inhabited world, only Egypt has many cities built by the ancient gods, such as those of Zeus, Helios, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eileithyia, and many others.

3.3.7 | They say that the air is called Athena, which means that she is thought to be the daughter of Zeus. She is also considered a virgin because the air is pure

άφθορον εἶναι φύσει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸν  
ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ σύμπαντος  
κόσμου· διόπερ ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Δῖός  
μυθολογηθῆναι γενέσθαι ταύτην.  
ώνομάσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ τριτογένειαν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ τρὶς μεταβάλλειν τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς κατ'  
ἐνιαυτὸν, ἔαρος καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

by nature and holds the highest place in the whole universe. For this reason, it is said that she was born from the peak of Zeus. She is also named "Tritogeneia" because her nature changes three times each year: in spring, summer, and winter.

3.3.8 | λέγεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ γλαυκῶπιν,  
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέλαβον  
ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς γλαυκοὺς ἔχειν·  
τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὔηθες ὑπάρχειν· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ τὸν ἀέρα τὴν πρόσωψιν ἔχειν  
ἔγγλαυκον. φασὶ δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς τοὺς  
προειρημένους τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην  
ἐπιτορεύεσθαι φρανταζομένους τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἱερῶν ζῷων μορφαῖς, ἔστι δ'  
ὅτε καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἴδεας ἡ τινων ἄλλων  
μεταβάλλοντας.

3.3.8 | She is also called "glaukopis," not because some of the Greeks thought she had gray eyes. This would be a simple mistake. Instead, it is because she has the appearance of the air, which is bright and clear. They say that the five gods mentioned earlier travel throughout the whole inhabited world, appearing to humans in the forms of sacred animals, and sometimes even changing into human shapes or other forms.

3.3.9 | καὶ τοῦτο μὴ μυθῶδες ὑπάρχειν,  
ἀλλὰ δύνατον εἴπερ οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλήθειάν  
είσιν οἱ πάντα γεννῶντες. καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν  
δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ  
μετασχόντα παρὰ τῶν Ἱερέων τῶν  
τοιούτων λόγων, θεῖναί που κάτα ποίησιν  
τὸ προειρημένον ὡς γινόμενον, Καί τε θεοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι παντοῖοι  
τελέθοντες ἐπιστρωφῶσι  
πόληας, ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εύνομίην  
έσορῶντες. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ  
θεῶν καὶ γένεσιν ἀίδιον ἐσχηκότων  
τοσαῦτα λέγουσιν Αἴγυπτον."

3.3.9 | And this is not a myth, but it is possible if these beings are truly the ones who create everything. The poet, when he compared this to Egypt and shared it with the priests, seems to have made the earlier statement as if it were true. "And the gods, like strangers, are seen in many forms, watching over the pride and order of humans." So, the Egyptians say many things about the gods in heaven and their eternal nature.

3.3.10 | "Ἄλλους δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους  
γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρχαντας μὲν θνητοὺς,  
διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων  
εὐεργεσίαν τετευχότας τῆς ἀθανασίας, ὃν  
ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν

3.3.10 | They say that others came from these beings and became earthly, existing as mortals. But through their understanding and common good deeds, they achieved immortality, some of whom

Αἴγυπτον. μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν τινὰς μὲν ὄμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δὲ ἴδιαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν, "Ηλιον τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ρέαν, ἔτι δὲ Δία τὸν ὑπό τινων Ἀμμων προσαγορευόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἡραν καὶ Ἡφαιστον, ἔτι δὲ Ἐστίαν, καὶ τελευταῖον Ἐρμῆν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ηλιον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὅντα τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρῳ."

3.3.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεύς. καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰσιν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι τάδε γράφει κατὰ λέξιν "Ἄπ' ἄλλης δὲ ἀρχῆς τῶν φιλοσοφώτερόν τι λέγειν δοκούντων τοὺς ἀπλουστάτους σκεψώμεθα πρῶτον. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὡσπερ Ἑλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, "Ἡραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, γένεσιν δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὴν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀέρος μεταβολὴν, οὕτω παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν "Οσιριν, "Ισιδί συνόντα τῇ γῇ, Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰς ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐμπίπτων ἀφανίζεται."

3.3.12 | Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν πάλιν εἰς δαίμονας ἀναφέρει τοὺς περὶ τῶν δηλουμένων θεῶν μύθους, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλως ἀποδίδωσι, καὶ αὖθις ἐτέρως ἀλληγορῶν.

3.3.13 | ἦν δ' ἂν κατὰ λόγον πυθέσθαι ὃποτέρων θεῶν τὰ ξόανα τὰς ἐντετυπωμένας μορφὰς σώζειν φήσουσιν. πότερα δαιμόνων; ἄλλὰ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ἢ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν εἰκόνας, καὶ ζῷων ἀλόγων καὶ θηρίων

became kings in Egypt. When they translate these names, some are the same as the heavenly ones, while others have their own unique names. They mention Helios, Kronos, and Rhea, as well as Zeus, who is called Ammon by some. Along with these, they include Hera, Hephaestus, Hestia, and lastly Hermes. First, Helios is said to rule over those in Egypt, being the star in the sky.

3.3.11 | So, this is what the writer has explained. And Plutarch, in his writing about Isis, says the following word for word: "From another beginning, let us first consider what those who seem to be the most philosophical say. These are the ones who, like the Greeks, interpret Kronos as time, Hera as air, and the transformation of Hephaestus into fire as a change of air. In this way, the Egyptians say that the Nile is Osiris, who is joined with the earth, and Typhon is the sea, into which the Nile flows and disappears."

3.3.12 | After saying these things and similar ones, he again refers to the demons in the myths about the revealed gods. He explains them in another way, and again interprets them differently.

3.3.13 | It would be worth asking which gods' statues preserve the carved forms. Are they of demons? Or are they images of fire, air, earth, and water, or of men and women, and shapes of irrational animals and beasts?

σχήματα;

3.3.14 | ἐπεὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν συγκεχώρηται ὄμωνύμως ἡλίως καὶ τοῖς καθόλου στοιχείοις θνητούς τινας ἄνδρας γεγονέναι, καὶ τούτους θεοὺς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι, τίνων εἰκός ἀν εἴη μορφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας λέγειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀψύχοις ξιάνοις γλυφάς; πότερον τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων, ἢ, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς τῆς ὄψεως ἐπιδείκνυσι, τῶν ἐν νεκροῖς κειμένων θνητῶν;

3.3.15 | ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ λέγοιεν, ὃ γέ τοι ἀληθῆς λόγος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε, μονονούχῃ φωνὴν ἀφιεῖς, θνητοὺς ἄνδρας μαρτυρῶν γεγονέναι τοὺς δηλουμένους. ὁ δὲ Πλούταρχος καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν ἐκ περιουσίας 'τον ποιὸν ὑπογράφει του σχήματος χαρακτῆρα, ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς "Ισιδος καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν ὅδε πως λέγων

3.3.16 | "Ιστοροῦσι γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν Ἐρμῆν τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι γαλιάγκωνα, τὸν δὲ Τυφῶνα τῇ χροιᾱͅ πυρρὸν, λευκὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀρην, καὶ μελάγχρον τὸν "Οσιριν, ὡς τῇ φύσει γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους."

3.3.17 | Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος. νεκρῶν ἄρα ἡ πᾶσα αὐτῶν θεοποιία καθέστηκε· πέπλασται δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς φυσιολογίας. τί γὰρ ἔχρην ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σχήματα ζωοπλαστεῖν, παρὸν καὶ δίχα τούτων ἥλιον σέβειν καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα;

3.3.14 | Since it has also been said that some mortal men are named the same as the sun and the basic elements, and that these are called gods, what could be the reason for saying that the carved forms and images in the lifeless statues represent them? Are they of the basic elements, or, as is clearly shown by what is visible, of the mortals lying among the dead?

3.3.15 | But even if they do not say it themselves, the true word cries out and shouts, leaving aside only the voice, that the ones being shown are mortal men. Plutarch, too, notes the character of the shape of these bodies from their abundance, speaking in this way in his work about Isis and the Egyptian gods.

3.3.16 | For the Egyptians say that Hermes has a body like a fish, Typhon is red in color, Ares is white, and Osiris is dark-skinned, as if they were naturally human.

3.3.17 | These things, too, are noted by Plutarch. Therefore, their entire divinity is based on the dead; they are shaped by the laws of nature. For what need is there to create forms of men and women, while also worshiping the sun and moon, and the other elements of the world?

3.3.18 | ποτέροις δὲ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τίνων ἀρξάμενοι τὰς τοιάσδε προσηγορίας ἐπεφήμισαν; οἶν, λέγω τὸν Ἡφαιστὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, Δία τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Ἡραν. ἄρα γάρ ταῦτα τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων πρότερον ὅντα ὄντος τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἐπιτεθείκασιν, ἢ τοῦμπαλιν ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἐπικλήσεως τὴν μεταφορὰν ἐπὶ τὰς οὐσίας πεποίηνται;

3.3.18 | From which of these and starting from what things did they first give such names? For example, I mention Hephaestus and Athena, as well as Zeus, Poseidon, and Hera. Did these names come first from the general elements and then were given to mortals as the same names for the heavenly beings, or the other way around, that the names used by humans were later transferred to the divine beings?

3.3.19 | καὶ τί χρὴ θνηταῖς προσηγορίαις τὰς καθόλου φύσεις ἐπιφημίζειν; τὰ δὲ καθ' ἔκαστον θεὸν μυστήρια, οὕτως τὸν καὶ αἷ ὥδαι καὶ τῶν τελετῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, πρότερον τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων, ἢ τῶν πάλαι θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ὄμωνύμων ἐπάγονται τὰ σύμβολα;

3.3.19 | And why should mortal names be used to honor the general natures? As for the mysteries of each god, the hymns, the songs, and the secret parts of the rituals, do they come from the general elements, or do they relate to the symbols of the ancient mortal men who had the same names as the gods?

3.3.20 | ἀλλὰ γάρ πλάνας καὶ μέθας καὶ ἔρωτας φθοράς τε γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ μυρία ἄττα, θνητὰ ως ἀληθῶς καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσεμνα, πῶς ἂν τις ἀναθείη τοῖς καθόλου στοιχείοις, αὐτόθεν τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἀνθρωποπαθὲς ἐπενηγμένα;

3.3.20 | But indeed, how could one dedicate to the general elements things like deception, drunkenness, love, the destruction of women and men, plots, and countless other shameful and indecent mortal matters, which are truly human and full of flaws?

3.3.21 | ὥστε ἐκ τούτ' ὧν ἀπάντων ἀλίσκεσθαι τὴν θαυμαστὴν ταύτην καὶ γενναίαν φυσιολογίαν κατ' οὐδὲν ἀληθείας ἡμμένην, οὐδέ τι θεῖον ἀληθῶς ἐπαγομένην, βεβιασμένην δὲ καὶ διεφευσμένην ἔχουσαν τὴν ἔξωθεν σεμνολογίαν. ἄκουε δ' οὖν οἴα καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀνεβὼ τὸν Αἴγ' πτιον ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰστορεῖ

3.3.21 | So, from this, it is clear that this wonderful and noble study of nature is not based on any truth, nor does it truly bring forth anything divine. Instead, it is forced and hidden, having an outward appearance of seriousness. Listen then to what Porphyry says in his letter to Anubis about the same things.

## Section 4

3.4.1 | "Χαιρήμων μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῶν ὄρωμένων κόσμων ἡγοῦνται, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τιθέμενοι τοὺς Αίγυπτίους, ούδ' ἄλλους θεοὺς πλὴν τῶν πλανητῶν λεγομένων, καὶ τῶν συμπληρούντων τὸν ζωδιακὸν, καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις παρανατέλλουσι· τάς τε εἰς τοὺς δεκανοὺς τομὰς, καὶ τοὺς ὠροσκόπους, καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους κραταιοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὃν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα ἐν τοῖς ἀλμενιχιακοῖς φέρεται, καὶ θεραπεῖαι παθῶν, καὶ ἀνατολαὶ, καὶ δύσεις, καὶ μελλόντων σημειώσεις.

3.4.1 | For Chairemon and others do not think anything different about the visible worlds, placing at the beginning some reasoning about the Egyptians. They mention no other gods except for the so-called wandering stars, and those that complete the zodiac, along with all those that rise with them. They also discuss the divisions into the decans, the horoscopes, and the so-called powerful leaders, whose names are found in the Almenichian texts, along with treatments for ailments, and the rising and setting of stars, and signs of the future.

3.4.2 | ἐώρα γὰρ τοὺς τὸν ἥλιον δημιουργὸν φαμένους καὶ τὰ περὶ "Οσιριν καὶ τὴν" Ἰσιν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἱερατικὸν μύθους, ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰς τούτων φάνσεις καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἐπιτολὰς ἐλιττομένους, ἢ εἰς τὰς τῆς σελήνης αὔξησεις καὶ μειώσεις, ἢ εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἥλιου πορείαν, ἢ τό γε νυκτερινὸν ἡμισφαίριον, ἢ τὸ ἡμερινὸν, ἢ τὸν γε ποταμὸν· καὶ ὅλως πάντα εἰς τὰ φυσικὰ, καὶ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας ἐρμηνεύοντας. ὃν οὖτις πλείους καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀνῆψαν κινήσεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀνάγκῃ, ἢν εἰμαρμένην λέγουσι, πάντα καταδήσαντες, καὶ πάντα τούτοις ἀνάψαντες τοῖς θεοῖς. οὕτω λυτῆρας τῆς εἰμαρμένης μόνους ἔν τε ἱεροῖς καὶ ξοάνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεραπεύουσι."

3.4.2 | For they see those who say the sun is a creator, and those about Osiris and Isis, and all the priestly myths, either relating to the stars and their appearances and disappearances and risings, or to the waxing and waning of the moon, or to the journey of the sun, or to the night hemisphere, or to the day, or to the river. And in general, everything is explained in terms of nature, and nothing is interpreted as incorporeal and living beings. Many of them claim that the movements of the stars are bound by chains of necessity, which they call fate, having tied everything down and connected everything to the gods. Thus, they serve only the liberators of fate in temples, shrines, and other places.

3.4.3 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης ἐπιστολῆς κείσθω, σαφῶς διαγορεύοντα ὅτι καὶ ἡ τῶν Αίγυπτίων ἀπόρρητος

3.4.3 | Let these things then be taken from the stated letter, clearly declaring that the secret theology of the Egyptians speaks

θεολογία ούδε ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων τῶν τε ἀπλανῶν καλουμένων καὶ τῶν ὄνομαζομένων πλανητῶν ἐθεολόγει, δημιουργόν τε τῶν ὅλων εἰσῆγεν οὐτιναοῦν ἀσώματον, ούδε λόγον δημιουργικὸν, ούδε μὴν θεὸν, ούδε θεοὺς, ούδε τινας νοερὰς καὶ ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, μόνον δὲ τὸν ὄρώμενον ἥλιον· διὸ καὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἀστροῖς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀνετίθεσαν αἴτιαν, τὰ πάντα εἰμαρμένης ἔξαπτοντες καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων κινήσεως τε καὶ φορᾶς, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἥδε παρ’ αὐτοῖς κεκράτηκεν ἡ δόξα.

3.4.4 | εἰ τοίνυν είς μόνα τὰ ὄρώμενα τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα καὶ ούδεν είς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας ἡρμήνευται τοῖς Αίγυπτίοις, τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ δρατὰ σώματα τῷ ίδιῳ λόγῳ ἄψυχα καὶ ἄλογα ἡευστά τε τῇ φύσει καὶ φθαρτὰ συνέστηκε, θέα εἰς οἷα πάλιν αὐτῶν καταπέπτωκεν ἡ θεολογία, τὴν ἄψυχον ούσιαν καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ ἄλογα σώματα θειάζουσα, μάλιστα ὅτε είς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοερὰς ούσιας ούδεν αὐτοῖς ἀνεφέρετο, ούδε ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον δημιουργικὸν τῶν ὅλων.

3.4.5 | ἐπεὶ δὲ προωμολογήθη διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν είς ‘Ελληνας παρ’ Αίγυπτίων τὰ τῆς θεολογίας μετακεκομίσθαι, ὡρα τούτοις στοιχεῖν καὶ ‘Ελληνας, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Αίγυπτίοις φυσιολογεῖν, ἀπελέγχεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς ούδεν πλέον τῆς ἀψύχου ὕλης θεοποιοῦντας. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ σεμνὰ Αίγυπτίων κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως γραφὴν, ὅστις πάλιν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διέξεισιν

only of the stars in the sky, both the fixed stars and those called wandering stars. It does not introduce any incorporeal creator, nor a creative reason, nor a god, nor gods, nor any mental and unseen powers, but only the visible sun. Therefore, they attribute the cause of everything solely to the stars, connecting everything to fate and the movements and changes of the stars, just as this belief still holds strong among them today.

3.4.4 | If then the Egyptians interpret only the visible elements of the world and nothing about incorporeal and living beings, and if the elements and all visible bodies are considered lifeless and irrational, fluid by nature and perishable, then their theology has fallen into such a view, treating lifeless existence and dead, irrational bodies as divine. This is especially true since they do not mention anything about incorporeal and mental beings, nor do they refer to a creative mind or reason for everything.

3.4.5 | Since it has been previously agreed that the Egyptians have transferred their theology to the Greeks, it is time for them to align with the Greeks and to explain the same things as the Egyptians. They should no longer be refuted for making the lifeless material divine. For these were the solemn beliefs of the Egyptians according to the writing of the stated author, who again in what he wrote about the separation of living beings will discuss similar things.

3.4.6 | Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως ἔγνωσαν ὡς οὐ δί' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, οὕτε ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς κατεσκήνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζῷων. διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποίαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῷον, καὶ ὅμοιώς που ἀνέμιξαν θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πάλιν ὄρνέων σώματα καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

3.4.7 | εἴκασται γάρ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδῆς, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὄρνέου ἥ λέοντος ἥ ἄλλου τινὸς ζῷου κεκτημένος· καὶ πάλιν αὖ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρώπειος, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζῷων μέρη, τῇ μὲν ὑποκείμενα, πῃ δὲ ἐπικείμενα· δι' ὃν δηλοῦσιν ὅτι κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἄλλήλοις κοινωνεῖ, καὶ σύντροφα ἡμῖν καὶ τιθασά ἔστι τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἄγρια οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς θείας βουλήσεως.

3.4.8 | ὅθεν καὶ ὁ λέων ὡς θεὸς θρησκεύεται, καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ καλοῦσι νομόν, ἐπώνυμον ἔχει Λεοντοπολίτην, ἄλλο δὲ Βουσιρίτην, ἄλλο δὲ Κυνοπολίτην. τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντα δύναμιν διὰ τῶν συννόμων ζῷων ὃν ἔκαστος τῶν θεῶν παρέσχεν ἐθρήσκευσαν.

3.4.9 | Ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ σέβονται, τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ταῦτα αἴτιώτατα τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα δεικνύντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς που ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τοῦ ἀγίου Σαράπιδος ἡ τε θεραπεία διὰ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος γίνεται,

3.4.6 | Starting from this practice and their closeness to the divine, they understood that the divine did not pass through only one human, nor did a soul settle in just one person on earth, but rather the same divine presence passed through all living creatures. Therefore, they accepted every animal into their divinization, and they mixed together beasts and humans, as well as the bodies of birds and humans.

3.4.7 | For among them, there are some figures that are human-like up to the neck, but they have the face of a bird, a lion, or some other animal. Again, there are those with a human head and parts of other animals, some beneath and some above. Through these, they show that according to the will of the gods, these beings share a connection with each other, and that the wild beasts are not without some divine purpose in relation to us.

3.4.8 | For this reason, the lion is worshiped as a god, and a part of Egypt, which they call a nome, has the name Leontopolis, another is called Busiris, and another is called Cynopolis. For they worshiped the power that comes from all the animals that each of the gods provided.

3.4.9 | They honor water and fire, the most beautiful of the elements, as these are the most important for our salvation. Showing this in their temples, even now during the opening of the holy Sarapis, healing happens through fire and water. The hymn

λείβοντος τοῦ ὑμνωδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ πῦρ φαίνοντος, ὅπηνίκα ἐστῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐδοῦ τῇ πατρίῳ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων φωνῇ ἐγείρει τὸν θεόν.

3.4.10 | ταῦτ' οὖν σέβονται τὰ μέτοχα, καὶ μάλιστα πλέον τούτων ἐσέφθησαν τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἱερῶν μετέχοντα. τοιαῦτα δὲ πάντα τὰ ζῷα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπον σέβουσι κατὰ "Αναβιν κώμην, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τούτῳ θύεται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκκάεται·

3.4.11 | ὁ δὲ μετ' ὄλιγον c φάγοι ἀν τὰ ἴδια αὐτῷ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρεσκευασμένα. ὡς οὖν ἀνθρώπου ἀφεκτέον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

3.4.12 | ἔτι δὲ ἐκ περιττῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον συντροφίας κατέλαβόν τισι τῶν θεῶν προσφιλῇ τῶν ζώων τινὰ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἡλίῳ ἱέρακα, σύμπασαν μὲν τὴν φύσιν ἐξ αἵματος ἔχοντα καὶ πνεύματος, οἰκτείροντα δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ κωιύοντα ἐπὶ νεκρῷ κειμένῳ, γῆν τε ἐπαμώμενον. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν

3.4.13 | "Κάνθαρον δὲ ἀμαθής μὲν βδελυχθείη ἀν ἀγνώμων ὑπάρχων τῶν θείων, Αἴγυπτοι δὲ ἐσέφθησαν ὡς είκόνα ἡλίου ἔμψυχον. κάνθαρος γάρ πᾶς ἄρρην, καὶ ἀφιεῖς τὸν θορὸν ἐν τέλματι καὶ ποιήσας σφαιροειδῆ, τοῖς ὅπισθίοις ἀνταναφέρει ποσὶν, ὡς ἡλιος ούρανὸν καὶ περίοδον ἡμερῶν ἐκδέχεται σεληνιακήν.

singer pours out the water, and the fire shines when he stands at the altar and calls upon the god in the native language of the Egyptians.

3.4.10 | Therefore, they honor these beings, and especially those that are more closely connected to the sacred. All such animals are honored, since they also worship humans in the village of Anabis, where sacrifices are made to them, and offerings are burned on the altars.

3.4.11 | After a little while, he would eat the food prepared for him as a human. Just as one should be free from a human, so too should one be free from the others.

3.4.12 | Moreover, from an excess of wisdom and the companionship concerning the divine, some of the gods have a special fondness for certain animals more than for humans, like the hawk of the sun. They all have a nature made of blood and spirit, feeling pity for humans, and they cry out over a dead body, touching the ground. And after a short time, he says,

3.4.13 | But a beetle, being ignorant, would be disgusted if it were to exist among the divine. The Egyptians have regarded it as a living image of the sun. For every beetle is male, and leaving the noise in the mud and making a round shape, it carries with its back legs, just as the sun receives the moon in the sky and the cycle of days.

3.4.14 | οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ κριοῦ τι φιλοσοφοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλο τι περὶ κροκοδείλου, περὶ τε γυπτὸς καὶ ἵβεως, καὶ ὅλως καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν ζώων· ὡς ἐκ φρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἄγαν θεοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὸ σέβας ἐλθεῖν καὶ τῶν ζώων.”

3.4.14 | Thus, they also philosophize about the ram, and something about the crocodile, and about the vulture and the ibis, and generally about each of the animals. They seek to reach reverence through understanding and excessive wisdom about the divine.

## Section 5

3.5.1 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς γενναίας τῶν σοφῶν Αἴγυπτίων φυσιολογίας τέθειται ὁ δεδηλωμένος, Αἴγυπτίων διασαφήσας ἡμῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ὅτι τε ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ σέβουσι, καὶ μία λογικῶν καὶ ἀλόγων οὐ μόνον σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς ούσία κέκριται εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς εὐλόγως αὐτῷ δοκεῖν θεοὺς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι τὰ θηρία.

3.5.1 | Such things are also stated about the noble nature of the wise Egyptians, as the one who has revealed them has explained to us the hidden things. They honor both water and fire, and they believe that there is one essence of both rational and irrational bodies, as well as of the soul. It seems reasonable to them that the gods are called the beasts.

3.5.2 | καίτοι πῶς οὐ παραλογώτατον εἰς θεοποίαν παραλαμβάνειν τὴν ἄλογον καὶ θηριώδη φύσιν, διὰ τὸ τῆς ἴσης, ὡς φασιν, ἀνθρώποις μετέχειν ψυχῆς; ἔχρην γάρ, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἀνθρώπους καὶ αὐτὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας αὐτοῖς δόξης τε καὶ τιμῆς μεταδιδόναι.

3.5.2 | And yet, how is it not completely unreasonable to take the irrational and beastly nature into divinity, because of the supposed equality in sharing the soul with humans? For, if that is the case, then humans should also be considered leaders, and they should share in the honor and respect of humanity.

3.5.3 | οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ πράξαντες, τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἄλογα θηρία γενόμενα, καὶ ταύτην εἰληχότα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων προσρήσεως ἡξιωμένα, οὐδὲ ὄμοιώς ἀνθρώποις ἡξιωσαν ἀποδέξασθαι· τὴν ἀνωτάτω δὲ τοῦ παμβασιλέως προσηγορίαν καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ φέροντες εἰς τὴν θηρίων φύσιν καταβεβλήκασι, καὶ

3.5.3 | But those who did not do this considered the irrational beasts to be of that nature, and they took this name for them, and they did not think they deserved even the name of humans. They did not consider them worthy to be accepted as humans. Instead, they have brought down the highest title of the universal king and the creator of all to the nature of beasts,

θεοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν ἢ μηδὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηξίωται προσηγορίας.

and they have called them gods, which is a title that is not even worthy of humans in relation to that god.

3.5.4 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀκήκοας καὶ τῆς θεοσοφίας τῆς μυστικῆς, δι' ἣν οἶ θαυμάσιοι τῶν Αἴγυπτίων λύκους καὶ κύνας καὶ λέοντας ἐσεβάσθησαν· ἔγνως καὶ τοῦ κανθάρου τὸ θαῦμα καὶ ιέρακος τὴν ἀρετήν· μὴ δὴ γέλα τοῦ λοιποῦ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐλέει δὲ τῆς πολλῆς εὐηθείας καὶ ἀβλεψίας τὸ τρισάθλιον ἀνθρώπων γένος.

3.5.4 | On this matter, you have heard about the mystical wisdom, through which the wonderful Egyptians honored wolves, dogs, and lions. You have also seen the wonder of the beetle and the virtue of the hawk. Do not laugh at the gods anymore, for it shows the great foolishness and carelessness of the miserable human race.

3.5.5 | καὶ δὴ σκόπει πάντα περιαθρῶν οἴων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν πάρεστι δοτὴρ ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τοσαύτης νόσου μακρὰς τε καὶ πολυχρονίου πηρώσεως καὶ τὰς Αἴγυπτίων ψυχὰς διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας λελυτρωμένος, ὡς τοὺς πλείους ἥδη τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ταύτης ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς νόσου.

3.5.5 | And indeed, look at all the good things that Christ, the giver from God, provides for us. He has freed the souls of the Egyptians from such a long and lasting sickness through his gospel teaching, so that most of those in Egypt have already been freed from this illness.

## Section 6

3.6.1 | Άλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, ἢ καὶ παλαιότερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπάντων μνημονεύεται. ἔχεις τοιγαροῦν πρὸς τῇ μυθικῇ καὶ τὴν φυσικωτέραν θεολογίαν Ἑλλήνων ὅμοῦ καὶ Αἴγυπτίων, τῶν πάλαι τὴν πολύθεον δεισιδαιμονίαν συστησαμένων, παρ' οἷς ὅτι μηδέν τι τῶν ἀληθῶς θείων ἀσωμάτων τε καὶ νοερῶν ούσιῶν ἔγνωρίζετο μεμάθηκας.

3.6.1 | But indeed, such things and those from the Egyptians are mentioned even before all the Greeks. Therefore, you have both the mythical and the more natural theology of the Greeks and Egyptians, who long ago established their polytheistic superstitions. Among them, you have learned that nothing truly divine, whether incorporeal or intellectual, was recognized.

3.6.2 | πλὴν ἀλλὰ δεδόσθω καὶ συγκεχωρήσθω τουτοισὶ τοῖς μετεωρολέσχαις λέγειν ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀλληγορουμένων

3.6.2 | However, let it be allowed and granted to those who speak of the heavens to say the truth, and let them achieve in the natural philosophy of the allegorized that

φυσιολογίᾳ γινέσθω τε αύτοῖς ὁ ἥλιος ποτὲ μὲν Ἀπόλλων, καὶ πάλιν Ὄρος, καὶ Ὀσιρις πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ μυρία ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ θέλοιεν· ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ἡ Ἰσις ἡ Ἀρτεμις, καὶ ὅσα ἂν τις ἔξαριθμεῖν βούλοιτο·

the sun is sometimes Apollo, and again Horus, and Osiris is the same, along with countless others as they wish; just as the moon is either Isis or Artemis, and however many one might want to count.

3.6.3 | μὴ γὰρ ἔστω ταῦτα θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπουρανίων φωστήρων σημαντικαὶ προσηγορίαι· τὸν ἥλιον ἄρα καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνητέον.

3.6.3 | Let these not be names of mortal men, but significant titles of the heavenly lights themselves; therefore, the sun and the moon and the stars and the other parts of the world should be worshipped as gods.

3.6.4 | καὶ ταύτῃ τοιγαροῦν ἡ γενναία τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίᾳ ὡσπερ διὰ μηχανῆς πέφηνεν εἰς ὕψος μὲν ἀνάγουσα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ λόγου, κάτω δὲ περιστρέφουσα ἀμφὶ τὴν αἰσθητὴν καὶ φαινομένην τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίαν τὴν τῶν σοφῶν διάνοιαν, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἡ πῦρ καὶ τὴν θερμήν ούσιαν, τά τε μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, διὰ τῶν οὐρανίων φωστήρων, ἔστω δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν καὶ τὴν σύγκρασιν τῶν σωμάτων θειάζουσα.

3.6.4 | And thus, the noble philosophy of the Greeks has revealed, as if by a machine, raising the promise of the word to a height, while turning below around the sensible and visible creation of the god, the thought of the wise; and nothing more than fire and the warm essence, and the parts of the world, through the heavenly lights, let there also be the moist and the dry and the combination of the bodies that are divine.

3.6.5 | πῶς οὖν οὐ μέγα καὶ θαυμάσιον τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων παιδεῦον τὸν ἡλίον καὶ σελήνης θεόν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων, ταῖς προσηκούσαις ἐννοίαις εὔσεβεν;

3.6.5 | How then is the gospel of our savior Jesus Christ, the god, not great and wonderful, teaching every kind of people to honor the god and master of the sun and moon, the creator of the whole universe, the one who is highest and beyond all, with fitting thoughts of piety?

3.6.6 | καὶ οὐ τὰ τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ζωῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τροφὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταμίαν ὑμνεῖν, μέρη τε τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ πᾶν τὸ

3.6.6 | And not the elements of bodies, but to praise the source of life itself and the provider of all good things; the visible parts of the world and everything that can be

καταληπτὸν σαρκὸς αἰσθήσει, ὡς ἀν τῆς φθαρτῆς ὄντα φύσεως, οὐδαμῶς καταπλήττεσθαι, τὸν δ' ἐν τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀόρατον, καὶ τὸν καθόλου τε καὶ κατὰ μέρος δημιουργικὸν νοῦν μόνον ἀποθαυμάζειν, καὶ θεολογεῖν μίαν μόνην ἔκεινην τὴν διήκουσαν καὶ διακοσμοῦσαν τὰ πάντα θείαν δύναμιν, ἀσώματον οὖσαν καὶ νοερὰν τὴν φύσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρρητον εἴπεῖν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον, διὰ πάντων, δ' ὁν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ. παραφαινομένην, διήκουσάν τε ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀσυμπλόκως τὰ πάντα ἐπιπορευομένην, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὐκ ούρανίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, τῶν τε καθόλου στοιχείων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους, τὴν τῆς θεότητος διαρκῇ μεγαλουργίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένην, πᾶσί τε ἀφανῶς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀνεπαισθήτως ἐπιστατοῦσαν, καὶ λόγοις ἀνεκφράστου σοφίας τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον διακυβερνῶσαν.

3.6.7 | Τοσούτων ἡμῖν ἀποδεδειγμένων είς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀσυστάτου σοφίας ἥ Θεολογίας, τῆς τε λεγομένης μυθικωτέρας καὶ τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας δὴ καὶ φυσικωτέρας, ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἔλληνές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνύνοντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, ὥρα καὶ τῶν νέων τῶν δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς αύτοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐπαθρῆσαι τὰ καλλωπίσματα· οἵδε γάρ τὰ περὶ νοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀσωμάτων ἴδεῶν νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν δυνάμεων τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα μακροῖς ποθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐφευρημένα καὶ λογισμοῖς ὁρθοῖς ἐπινενοημένα συμπλέξαι τῇ τῶν παλαιῶν θεολογίᾳ πεπειραμένοι μείζονι τύφῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν μύθων ἐπαγγελίαν ἔξηραν. ἄκουε δ' οὖν καὶ τῆς τούτων φυσιολογίας, μεθ' οἷας ἔξενήνεκται τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἀλαζονείας:

sensed by the flesh, so that being of a perishable nature, they are not at all struck down, but the invisible one in all these, and the creative mind of the whole and of each part, is to be admired alone, and to speak of that one divine power that governs and arranges everything, being incorporeal and intellectual in nature, and more so, ineffable and incomprehensible, through all things, by which it also acts. It is seen as moving through all things, both through the heavenly and those on earth, showing the lasting greatness of divinity, being present to all invisibly and to us imperceptibly, and governing the whole universe with words of unspeakable wisdom.

3.6.7 | Since so many things have been shown to us for the proof of the ungraspable wisdom or theology, both that which is called more mythical and that which is higher and more natural, which the ancient Greeks and Egyptians, honoring it, demonstrated; it is now time for the new ones, who promise to philosophize among us, to examine the embellishments. For they have taken the ideas about the creator of all things and the incorporeal ideas and intellectual powers, which were invented later in long times by those around Plato and thought out with correct reasoning, and they have mixed them with the theology of the ancients, raising the promise about myths to a greater blindness. Therefore, listen also to their natural philosophy, with which it is connected to Porphyry's arrogance.

## Section 7

3.7.1 | “Φθέγξομαι οῖς θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ'  
έπιθεσθε βέβηλοι, σοφίας θεολόγου  
νοήματα δεικὺς, οῖς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ εἰκόνων συμφύλων  
αἰσθήσει ἐμήνυσαν ἄνδρες τὰ ἀφανῆ  
φανεροῖς ὑποτυπώσαντες πλάσμασι, τοῖς  
καθάπερ ἐκ βίβλων τῶν ἀγαλμάτων  
ἀναλέγειν τὰ περὶ θεῶν μεμαθηκόσι  
γράμματα θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ξύλα καὶ  
λίθους ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ ξόανα τοὺς  
ἀμαθεστάτους, καθὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν  
γραμμάτων οἱ ἀνόητοι λίθους μὲν ὄρωσι  
τὰς στήλας, ξύλα δὲ τὰς δέλτους,  
έξυφασμένην δὲ πάπυρον τὰς βιβλους.”

3.7.1 | I will speak of what is just, but you, the unholy, place your doors. Show the thoughts of the wise theologian, by which men have revealed the invisible through visible images, announcing the powers of the god and of the divine. They have formed representations as if from the books of statues, learned about the gods, and consider nothing wonderful in wood and stone, regarding the statues as the most ignorant. Just as the foolish see the stones as the pillars and the wood as the tablets, they weave the papyrus into the books.

3.7.2 | Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐν προοιμίῳ  
κατακοσμήσας ἄκουε οἴα προιών ἔξῆς  
γράφει πρὸς λέξιν “Φωτοειδοῦς δὲ ὅντος  
τοῦ θείου καὶ ἐν πυρὸς αἰθερίου περιχύσει  
διάγοντος, ἀφανοῦς τε τυγχάνοντος  
αἰσθήσει περὶ θνητὸν βίον ἀσχόλω, διὰ μὲν  
τῆς διαυγοῦς ὅλης, οἰον κρυστάλλου ἢ  
Παρίου λίθου ἢ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
φωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἔννοιαν ἐνῆγε, διὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ  
χρυσοῦ εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς διανόησιν, καὶ τὸ  
ἄμιαντον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι χρυσὸς οὐ μιαίνεται.

3.7.2 | Having arranged such things as an introduction, listen to what follows in the text: 'Since the divine is like light and lives in the flow of fiery ether, being invisible to the senses regarding mortal life, through clear materials, like crystal or Parian stone or even ivory, it brings forth the idea of its own light. And through gold, it leads to the understanding of fire, and its purity, that gold is not stained.'

3.7.3 | πολλοὶ δὲ αὖ καὶ μέλανι λίθῳ τὸ  
ἀφανὲς αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐδήλωσαν, καὶ  
ἀνθρωποιειδεῖς μὲν ἀπετύπουν τοὺς θεοὺς  
ὅτι λογικὸν τὸ θεῖον, καλούς δὲ, ὅτι κάλλος  
ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀκήρατον· διαφόροις δὲ  
σχήμασι καὶ ἡλικίαις, καθέδραις τε καὶ  
στάσεσι καὶ ἀμφιάσεσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
ἄρρενας, τὰς δὲ θηλείας, καὶ παρθένους,  
καὶ ἐφήβους, ἢ γάμου πειραν εἰληφότας,  
εἰς παράστασιν αὐτῶν τῆς διαφορᾶς.

3.7.3 | Many have also shown the invisible nature of the divine with black stone, and they shaped the gods in human form, saying that the divine is rational and beautiful, because beauty in them is untouched. They used different shapes and ages, with thrones and postures and garments, making some male, some female, and some virgins, and others in the prime of marriage, to represent their differences.

3.7.4 | ὅθεν πᾶν τὸ λευκὸν τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς ἀπένειμαν, σφαιράν τε καὶ τὰ σφαιρικὰ πάντα ἴδιας τε κόσμῳ καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ, ἔσθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίδι· κύκλον δὲ καὶ τὰ κυκλικὰ αἰῶνι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν κινήσει ταῖς τε ἐν αὐτῷ ζώναις καὶ τοῖς κύκλοις· κύκλων δὲ τμῆματα τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς τῆς σελήνης· πυραμίδας δὲ καὶ ὄβελίσκους τῇ πυρὸς οὐσίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς Ὄλυμπίοις θεοῖς ὥσπερ αὖ κῶνον μὲν ἡλίῳ, γῇ δὲ κύλινδρον, σπορᾶ δὲ καὶ γενέσει φάλητα, καὶ τὸ τρίγωνον σχῆμα διὰ τὸ μόριον τῆς θηλείας.”

3.7.4 | From this, they assigned everything white to the heavenly gods, including spheres and all spherical things, especially in relation to the cosmos, the sun, and the moon, wherever there is chance and hope. They associated circles and circular things with eternity and the movement in the sky, with the living beings and the circles within it. They divided the segments of circles according to the shapes of the moon. They connected pyramids and obelisks to the essence of fire, and for this reason, to the Olympian gods. Just as they made a cone for the sun, a cylinder for the earth, and for seeds and generation, a phallus, and the triangular shape for the part of the female.

3.7.5 | Ταῦτα ὁ θαυμαστὸς φιλόσοφος, ὃν τί ἀν γένοιτο ἀσχημονέστερον τὰ αἰσχρὰ σεμνολογοῦσιν, τί δὲ βιαιότερον τὰς ἀψύχους ὕλας, χρυσὸν καὶ λίθον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰκόνας φέρειν τοῦ φωτὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς οὐρανίου καὶ αἰθερίου φύσεως δηλώματα φάσκειν; ὅτι δὲ τῶν νέων ἔστι ταῦτα σοφίσματα, μηδ' ὅναρ τῶν παλαιῶν εἰς ἐνθύμησιν ἐλθόν, γνοίης ἀν μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ ἀπόβλητα ἦν παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις τὰ διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆς νομιζομένης πολυτελεστέρας ὕλης ξόανα. λέγει δ' οὖν Πλούταρχος ὥδε πη κατὰ λέξιν

3.7.5 | These things the wonderful philosopher says, that whatever might be more shameful, they speak of the shameful things with seriousness, and what could be more violent than lifeless materials, like gold and stone and such things, to carry images of the light of the gods and the heavenly and ethereal nature? And that these ideas belong to the new thinkers, if you were to understand, you would know that the statues made of gold and the supposedly more luxurious materials were also rejected by the ancients. Thus, Plutarch says this in these words.

## Section 8

3.8.1 | “Ἡ δὲ τῶν ξοάνων ποίησις ἀρχαῖον ἔοικεν εἶναί τι καὶ παλαιὸν, εἴ γε ξύλινον μὲν ἦν τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Δῆλον ὑπὸ Ἐρυσίχθονος Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἄγαλμα, ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ

3.8.1 | The making of statues seems to be something ancient and old, if indeed the first statue was wooden, made for Apollo in Delos by Erysichthon, as a gift for the festivals, and the wooden one of Polias was

τῶν αύτοχθόνων ἰδρυθὲν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν  
Ἄθηναῖοι διαφυλάττουσιν. "Ἡρας δὲ καὶ  
Σάμιοι ξύλινον εἶχον ἔδος, ὡς φησι  
Καλλίμαχος Οὕπω Σκέλμιον ἔργον ἐύξοον,  
ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμὸν δηναιὸν γλυφάνων ἄξοος  
ῆσθα σανίς. ὅδε γὰρ ἰδρύοντο θεοὺς τότε·  
καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λᾶαν  
ἔθηκεν ἔδος. λέγεται δὲ Πείρας ὁ πρῶτος  
Ἀργολίδος "Ἡρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν  
ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλίθυιαν ἵέρειαν  
καταστήσας, ἐκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων  
ὅγχην τεμών εύκτεανον "Ἡρας ἄγαλμα  
μορφῶσαι. πέτραν μὲν γὰρ εἰς θεοῦ  
κόπτειν εἰκόνα σκληρὰν καὶ δύσεργον καὶ  
ἄψυχον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ  
ἄργυρον ἡγοῦντο γῆς ἀκάρπου καὶ  
διεφθαρμένης χρώματα νοσώδη καὶ  
ιηλῆδας ἔξανθεῖν ὁσπερ μώλωπας ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
πυρὸς ῥαπισθείσης· ἐλέφαντι δὲ παίζοντες  
μὲν ἵσθ' ὅπου προσεχρῶντο, ποικίλματι  
τρυφῆς."

3.8.2 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλούταρχος· καὶ τούτου δὲ  
πολὺ πρότερον ὁ Πλάτων<sup>τ</sup> οὐδὲν εἶναι  
σεμνὸν οὐδὲ προσεοικὸς θείᾳ φύσει ἐν  
χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις καὶ ἐλέφαντι τοῖς τε ἔξ  
ϋλης ἀψύχου κατασκευάσμασιν εῦ μάλα  
είδὼς, ἐπάκουουσον ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ὅποια  
διατάττεται "Γῆ μὲν οὖν ἐστία τε οἰκήσεως  
ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν· μηδεὶς οὖν  
δευτέρως ιερὰ καθιερούτω θεοῖς. χρυσὸς  
δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ίδιᾳ τε  
καὶ ἐν ιεροῖς ἐπίφθονόν ἐστι κτῆμα, ἐλέφας  
δὲ ἀπολελοιπότος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ  
εύαγες ἀνάθημα· σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς  
πολέμων ὅργανα." Ταῦτα δὲ σαφῆ  
περιέχειν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς προτεθείσης  
ἀνατροπὴν φυσιολογίας, ἦς φέρε καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ ἐπιθεωρήσωμεν. ἐπάκουουσον οὖν οἵα  
φησιν

set up by the natives, which the Athenians  
still protect to this day. Hera and the  
Samians had a wooden seat, as Callimachus  
says: 'Not yet was the work of Skelmos a  
fine offering, but you were a board carving  
a long-standing image.' For this is how they  
established the gods back then; for even in  
Lindos, Danaus set a stone seat for Athena.  
It is said that Peiras, the first priest of Hera  
from Argolis, made his daughter Callithyia  
a priestess, creating a statue of Hera by  
cutting down a tree from around Tiryns.  
For they did not want to carve a hard,  
difficult, and lifeless image from stone, and  
they thought gold and silver were colors of  
the earth that were barren and corrupted,  
with sickly spots like bruises from being  
struck by fire. But when they used ivory,  
they played with it wherever they applied  
it, enjoying its beauty.

3.8.2 | These things Plutarch says; and  
much earlier, Plato knew well that there is  
nothing serious or resembling divine  
nature in gold, stones, and ivory, which are  
made from lifeless materials. Listen to what  
is ordered in the Laws: 'The earth is the  
sacred home of all gods; therefore, no one  
should set up a second sacred offering to  
the gods. Gold and silver are a coveted  
possession in other cities, both privately  
and in temples, but ivory, when the soul  
has left the body, is not a fitting offering.  
Iron and bronze are tools of war.' I believe  
these clearly contain a reversal of the  
natural order, which we should also  
examine in other matters. So listen to what  
he says.

## Section 9

3.9.1 | “Ορα δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφίαν οὐτωσὶ διασκοπούμενος. τὸν γὰρ Δία τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὃς τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔδημιούργησεν ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν μὲν ταῖς θεολογίαις ταύτη περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδώκασιν οἱ τὰ ὄρφέως εἰπόντες”

3.9.1 | Look at the wisdom of the Greeks as you consider this. For they understood Zeus as the mind of the universe, who created everything in it while having the universe itself. In their theology, those who spoke of Orpheus handed down these ideas about him.

3.9.2 | Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος, Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Δῖός δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται. Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος ἐπλετο νύμφῃ. Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος. Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος, ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων, ἐν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἴθηρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἥμαρ, καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής· πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζῆνός τάδε σώματι κεῖται. τοῦ δή τοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα οὐρανὸς αἰγάληις, δὸν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι ἀστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἡερέθονται, ὡς ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα, ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ Οὐρανιώνων, ὅμματα δ' ἡέλιος τε καὶ ἀντιόωσα σελήνη. νοῦς δέ οἱ ἀψευδῆς, βασιλῆιος, ἄφθιτος αἴθηρ, ὡς δὴ πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν αὐδὴ, οὔτ' ἐνοπή, οὔτε κτύοπος, οὐδὲ μὲν ὄσσα, ἦ λήθει Διός οὓς ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος. ὡδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἡδὲ νόημα· Σῶμα δέ οἱ περιφεγγές, ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον, ὅβριμον, ὁβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενὲς ὡδε τέτυκται. Ωμοί μὲν καὶ στγέρνα καὶ εύρεα νῶτα θεοῖσι ἀήρ εύρυβίης, πτέρυγες δέ οἱ ἔξεφύοντο, τῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ', ιερὴ δέ οἱ ἐπλετο νηδὺς, γαῖα

3.9.2 | "Zeus came first, Zeus is the last with the bright thunder, Zeus is the head, Zeus is the middle, from Zeus everything is made. Zeus became male, Zeus is immortal like a nymph. Zeus is the depth of the earth and the starry sky. Zeus is king, Zeus himself is the source of all beginnings. 'In strength, he became one spirit, the great leader of all, 'In his body, he is royal, in which all these things are surrounded, fire and water and earth and air, night and day, and Metis, the first creator, and sweet Eros; for everything lies in the great body of Zeus. Indeed, to see his head and beautiful face is the shining sky, which is surrounded by golden beautiful stars that sparkle, Oh, and on both sides two golden horns, the rising and setting, the paths of the heavenly gods, and his eyes are the sun and the moon that meets. His mind is true, royal, immortal air, which indeed surrounds everything and knows, and there is no sound, nor voice, nor noise, nor even sight, that escapes the great son of Cronus. Thus, he has an immortal head and thought; His body is shining, limitless, city-like, strong, with strong limbs, thus it is made. His shoulders and chest and broad back of the god are wide air, and wings have grown for him, with which he flies everywhere; a sacred belly surrounds him, and the earth is the

τε παμμήτειρ' ὄρέων τ' αίπεινά  
κάρηνα· μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρυηχέος οἶδμα  
θαλάσσης καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις,  
χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ρίζαι, Τάρταρά τ' εύρώεντα  
καὶ ἔσχατα πέιρατα γαίης. Πάντα δ'  
ἀποκρύψας αὐθίς φάος ἐς  
πολυγηθέσμέλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν  
πάλι, θέσκελα ρέζων.

all-nurturing mother and the high peaks of mountains; in the middle is the heavy roar of the sea and the deep ocean; the bottom is the base, with roots deep in the earth, and Tartarus is wide and the farthest limits of the earth. Everything hidden again will bring light to the rich and will come forth from the heart again, like a divine flow."

3.9.3 | Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ  
ζώων καὶ θεός ἐκ θεῶν· Ζεὺς δὲ, καθὸ νοῦς,  
ἀφ' οὗ προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς  
νοήμασι.

3.9.3 | Therefore, Zeus is the whole universe, a living being from living beings and a god from gods; Zeus, as the mind, is the source from which everything comes forth and creates through thoughts.

3.9.4 | Τῶν δὴ θεολόγων τὰ δὴ περὶ τοῦ  
θεοῦ τοῦτον ἔξηγησαμένων τὸν τρόπον,  
εἰκόνα μὲν τοιαύτην δημιουργεῖν, οἵαν ὁ  
λόγος ἐμήνυσεν, οὕτ' οἶόν τε ἦν οὗτ', εἴ τις  
ἐπενόησε, τὸ ζωτικὸν καὶ νοερὸν καὶ  
προνοητικὸν διὰ τῆς σφαιρᾶς ἐδείκνυεν.

3.9.4 | After the theologians explained this way about the god, it was not possible to create such an image as the word suggested, nor was it possible, if anyone thought of it, to show the living, thinking, and caring spirit through the sphere.

3.9.5 | ἀνθρωπόμορφον δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ  
δείκηλον πεποιήκασιν, ὅτι νοῦς ἦν καθ' ὃν  
ἐδημιούργει καὶ λόγοις σπερματικοῖς  
ἀπετέλει τὰ πάντα· κάθηται δὲ, τὸ ἐδραῖον  
τῆς δυνάμεως αἰνιττόμενος· γυμνὰ δὲ ἔχει  
τὰ ἄνω, ὅτι φανερὸς ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ  
τοῖς οὐρανίοις τοῦ κόσμου μέρεσιν ἔστι·  
σκέπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πρόσθια, ὅτι ἀφανῆς  
τοῖς κάτω Κεκρυμμένοις· ἔχει δὲ τῇ μὲν  
λαιᾷ τὸ σκῆπτρον, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ  
σώματος μερῶν τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατόν τε καὶ  
νοερώτατον ὑποικουρεῖ σπλλάγχνον, ἡ  
καρδία· βασιλεὺς γάρ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ  
δημιουργικὸς νοῦς· προτείνει δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ἥ  
ἀετὸν, ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἀεροπόρων θεῶν, ὡς  
τῶν μεταρσίων ὄρνέων ὁ ἀετὸς, ἥ νίκην,

3.9.5 | They have made a human-like image of Zeus, because he was the mind through which he created and completed everything with seed-like words; he sits as the foundation of power, hinting at his strength. He is bare above, because he is clear in the thinking and heavenly parts of the universe; he looks ahead, because he is hidden from those below. He holds the scepter in his left hand, which rules over the most important and thinking part of the body, the heart; for the creative mind is the king of the universe. In his right hand, he either holds an eagle, because he rules over the sky gods, like the eagle among flying birds, or victory, because he has conquered

ὅτι νενίκηκεν αύτὸς πάντα.”

3.9.6 | Ταῦτά σοι δὲ Πορφύριος, ὃν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀποδεδομένων ἡρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐπιθεωρῆσαι καλὸν τίνα ποτὲ ἄρα τὸν Δία φασὶν εἶναι τὰ ἔπη. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἡγοῦμαι ἢ τὸν ὁρῶμενον κόσμον ἐκ παντοίων συνεστῶτα μερῶν, τῶν τε κατ’ οὐρανὸν καὶ αἰθέρα καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φαινομένων ἀστρων, ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλου σώματος κεφαλῇ προτεταγμένων, τῶν τε ἐν ἀέρι καὶ γῇ καὶ θαλάτῃ καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις.

3.9.7 | μέρη γοῦν κόσμου καὶ γῆ καὶ ὅρη καὶ βουνοὶ, εἰλεῖται τε αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ζώνης τρόπον ἡ θάλαττα, καὶ πῦρ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα τῆς αὐτῆς εἴεν ἀν τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως μέρη. ταῦτα δ' ἀντικρυς τὸν ὁρῶμενον ὑποφαίνειν ἡγοῦμαι κόσμον, εἰ μή τι καὶ σφάλλομαι, καὶ τὸ δλον ἐκ μερῶν συνεστῶτας διδάσκει.

3.9.8 | λέγει δ' οὗν Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζῆνός τάδε σώματι κεῖται. καὶ τίνα τὰ πάντα διασαφεῖ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἴθηρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ. τοῦ δή τοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἴδειν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, δὸν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι ἀστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἡερέθονται,

3.9.9 | καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα· ἐν οἷς ἐπιφέρει τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Διός λέγων εἶναι τὸν αἴθέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο, κατὰ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς τὴν πυρώδη καὶ θερμὴν οὐσίαν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν φάσκοντας εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι σῶμα, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν οὐδέ τέτερον τῆς τοῦ

everything.

3.9.6 | These things Porphyry tells you, and he says that it is good to quietly and thoughtfully consider what they say about Zeus in the way mentioned. For I do not think of anything other than the visible universe made up of many parts, both those in the sky and the air, and the stars that appear in them, just like the head of a large body is arranged, along with those in the air, on land, and in the sea, and similar places.

3.9.7 | Parts of the universe are land, mountains, and hills, and the sea surrounds them in the middle like a zone. Fire and water, night and day, would also be parts of the nature of the universe. I think that these things show the visible universe clearly, unless I am mistaken, and that the whole is made up of parts.

3.9.8 | It says, 'For everything lies in the great body of Zeus.' And what are all these things? Fire, water, earth, and air, night and day. Indeed, you can see the head and beautiful faces of the shining sky, which is surrounded by golden hair, and the wonderfully bright stars rise around it.

3.9.9 | And what follows from these things? In which it is said that the mind of Zeus is the air and nothing else, according to the Stoics, claiming that the fiery and warm essence is the ruling part of the universe, and that the god is a body, and the creator is nothing other than the power of fire. For

πυρὸς δυνάμεως. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ οἴμαι  
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν είρησθαι Νοῦς δέ οἱ  
ἀψευδὴς βασιλήιος, ἀφθιτος αἰθήρ, ὃ δὴ  
πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται.

3.9.10 | δι' ᾧν ἀνεπικαλύπτως ζῷον μέγα  
τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία  
προσειπὼν, νοῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰθέρα,  
σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη  
ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι.

3.9.11 | τοιοῦτος μέν τις ὁ διὰ τῶν ἔπῶν  
ὑπογραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεύς. ὁ δὲ τῶν  
ἔπῶν ἔξιγγητής ἀρξάμενος μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν  
ἀκολούθως λέγει, Ζεὺς οὗν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος,  
ζῷον ἐκ ζῷων, θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν  
θεολογούμενον Δία ούδε ἄλλον ἢ τὸν  
δρώμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον δηλοῦσθαι  
διὰ τῶν ἔπῶν ἐρμηνεύσας.

3.9.12 | Αἴγυπτίων δὲ ὁ λόγος, παρ' ᾧν καὶ  
Ὀρφεὺς τὴν θεολογίαν ἐκλαβὼν τὸν  
κόσμον εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ὥστο, ἐκ πλειόνων  
θεῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ μερῶν, (ὅτι καὶ τὰ μέρη  
τοῦ κόσμου θεολογοῦντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν  
ἀπεδείχθησαν,) συνεστῶτα, καὶ τούτου  
πλέον ούδεν τὰ παρατεθέντα τῶν ἔπῶν  
ρήματα διεσάφησεν.

3.9.13 | ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐρμηνείαν  
δευτέραν ἔξ αὐτοῦ προστίθησι, τὸν τῶν  
ὅλων ποιητὴν θεὸν τὸν δημιουργικὸν νοῦν  
τοῦτον φάσκων εἶναι τὸν τεθεολογημένον.

3.9.14 | πῶς δ' ἀν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἐθεολόγει,

I think the same is said in the verses: 'And the mind is a true royal one, the imperishable air, which indeed surrounds and holds everything.'

3.9.10 | Through these things, he openly suggests that the great living being is the universe, and calling this being Zeus, he declared that the mind of this being is the air, while the body is the other parts of the universe.

3.9.11 | Such is the Zeus that is described through the verses. The interpreter of the verses begins by saying that Zeus is the whole universe, a living being made of living beings, a god made of gods; clearly, the one being spoken of as Zeus is nothing other than the visible and sensible universe, as explained through the verses.

3.9.12 | The saying of the Egyptians, from whom Orpheus also took his theology, is that the universe is the god, made from many parts of gods. (For it has already been shown that the parts of the universe are also called gods.) And nothing more has been clearly explained in the verses that have been presented.

3.9.13 | After the first explanation, he adds a second one, saying that the creator god, the mind of all things, is the one being spoken of in theology.

3.9.14 | How could he speak of this one,

ὅν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγνω ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιητὴς, εἴτε ὁ Θρᾷξ εἴη Ὀρφεὺς εἴτε τις ἄλλος; εἴ δὴ παρ' Αἴγυπτίων ἡ καὶ τῶν πρώτων Ἑλλήνων ἤκοντα ἦν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς θεολογίας, οἵ δέ γε ἀπεδείχθησαν οὐδὲν νοητὸν ἐπιστάμενοι, οὐδέν ἐν ἀφανεῖ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ οὐσίᾳ περιεχόμενον, εἴ τω ἵκανὸς πιστώσασθαι ὁ Πλάτων, ὅμολογῶν ἐν Κρατύλῳ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.

whose beginning was not known even by the poet of the verses, whether he was Orpheus the Thracian or someone else? If indeed the teachings of theology came from the Egyptians or even from the earliest Greeks, then they have shown nothing understandable, nor anything existing in an unseen and incorporeal essence. If Plato was able to convince anyone, he agreed in the Cratylus that the first humans in Greece considered only these as gods, just as many of the barbarians do now: the sun, the moon, the earth, the stars, and the sky.

3.9.15 | καὶ ὁ Χαιρήμων δὲ μικρῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἔμαρτύρει οὐδέν ἄλλο τι πρὸ τοῦ ὀρώμενου κόσμου τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδέν ἄλλους θεοὺς πλὴν τῶν πλανητῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων, πάντα τε εἰς τὰ ὀρώμενα τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καὶ οὐδὲν εἰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας οὐσίας ἐρμηνεύοντας.

3.9.15 | And Chairemon also testifies a little earlier that the Egyptians believed in nothing else before the visible world, nor in any other gods except for the wandering stars and the other stars, and that everything is explained in terms of the visible parts of the world and nothing in terms of incorporeal and living essences.

## Section 10

3.10.1 | Ό δὴ οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος ποιητὴς πόθεν, ἢ πῶς, ἢ παρὰ τίνος λαβὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ κόσμου θεὸν, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων αὐτοῦ τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργὸν κατεβάλλετο; ἀσωμάτου δὲ ἡ γνῶσις αὐτῷ πόθεν;

3.10.1 | Therefore, from where does the poet get the idea of the god beyond the world, or how, or from whom did he take this in his verses, and how was he able to speak of the creator of the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky, and the whole universe? And from where does he have knowledge of the incorporeal?

3.10.2 | ἀλλ' οὐ τούτων γε οὐδὲν εἶδὼς τυγχάνει ὁ γάρ τοι τῶν ὅλων δημιουργικὸς νοῦς οὕτ' ἐκ πλειόνων μερῶν συνέστηκεν οὕτ' ἀν γένοιτο αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴ οὐρανὸς, οὐ σῶμα πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

3.10.2 | But he knows nothing of these things; for the creative mind of all things is neither made up of many parts nor could it have a head that is the sky, nor a body of fire, water, and earth, nor could the sun and

ὅμματα αύτοῦ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη. πῶς δ' ἀνεῖεν ὕμοι καὶ στέρνα καὶ νῶτα καὶ νηδὺς τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ ἀήρ εύρυυβίης καὶ γῆ καὶ ὄρέων αἴπεινά κάρηνα; ἢ πῶς ὁ αἴθηρ νοῦς ποτ' ἀνέπινοηθείη τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητοῦ, ἢ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ;

moon be its eyes. How could there be shoulders, chest, back, and belly of the god who creates all things, with the wide air, earth, and the high peaks of mountains? Or how could the ether be the mind of the creator of all things, or the creative mind itself?

3.10.3 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σεσόφισται τῷ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνεῖ οὐδὲν ἐπιλέγειν χρή. ἔγωγε μὴν τὰ ἔσχατα ἀσεβεῖν φημι τὸν φάσκοντα μέρη εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν ἀποφηνάμενον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ κόσμου νοῦν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν.

3.10.3 | Therefore, it is not necessary to say anything about how these things are explained by the interpreter of the verses. I indeed say that it is very impious to claim that parts of the world are parts of god, and even more so to say that god is the same as the world, and on top of that to consider the mind of the creator of all things to be the mind of the world.

3.10.4 | ποιητὴν μὲν γάρ αὐτὸν καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου ἔτερον ὄντα τοῦ πεποιημένου εύσεβες ἀποφαίνειν, νοῦν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου, ὡσπερ τινὸς ζώου ψυχὴν, ἡνωμένον διόλου καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἡμφιεσμένον, οὐκέθ' ὅσιον ἀνεῖη λέγειν.

3.10.4 | For it is pious to say that the poet is a different being from the world he has created, and to claim that the mind of the world, like the soul of some animal, is completely united with it and that the whole is wrapped up in it, would not be holy to say.

3.10.5 | καίτοι παρεῖναι αὐτὸν τῷ παντὶ καὶ προνοεῖν τοῦ κόσμου παιδεύει τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱερὰ λόγια, θεολογοῦντα ἐπαξίως καὶ θεοπρεπῶς δι' ὃν φησιν "οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος." καὶ πάλιν "ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω." καὶ πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ καὶ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν· "ἄλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδ' ὡς ἐν ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ νοί·

3.10.5 | And yet, his sacred words teach us that he is present in all things and cares for the world, speaking worthily and fittingly, through which he says, 'Do I not fill heaven and earth?' says the Lord. And again, 'For God is above in heaven and below on earth.' And again, 'For in him we live and move and are.' But not as if he is a part of the world, nor as if he is in its soul and mind.

3.10.6 | ἄλλ' εἰ χρὴ παραδείγματι

3.10.6 | But if it is necessary to use an

χρήσασθαι, θεοπρεπέστερον καὶ ἀληθείας οἰκείως ὁ Ἱερός που λόγος ἔξεφώνησεν "ὸ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος (εἴπων), ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου."

3.10.7 | εἰ γὰρ χρῆν ὅλως προσωποποιεῖν ἀνθρωπινωτέρω λόγῳ, θέα τὸ διάφορον τῆς θεολογίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν είπων θρόνον ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀνωτάτω τῶν ὅλων τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἀφωρίσατο, ούδε τὴν γῆν τīς προνοίας αὐτοῦ χωρίσας· συγκατιέναι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε τῆς θεότητος τὰς προνοητικὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις διδάσκει· διό φησιν "ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου."

3.10.8 | ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ ὑποπόδιον οὔτε μὴν ὁ θρόνος σῶμα τοῦ καθιδρυμένου, ούδέ γε μέρη ποτ' ἀν αὐτοῦ λεχθείη. ὁ δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτῳ φήσας καὶ νοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἱθέρα, μέλη τε αὐτοῦ καὶ σῶμα τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, οὔτε δημιουργὸν οὔτε θεὸν ἀλίσκεται είδως.

3.10.9 | οὐ γὰρ ἀν αὐτὸς ἔσαυτὸν δημιουργοίη, ούδ' ἀν ἔτι νοῦς λέγεσθαι δύναιτο οὖ νοῦς ἦν ὁ αἱθέρος. ποῖος δὲ καὶ εἴη ἀν θεὸς οῦ μέρη γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὄρη, ὅγκοι σωμάτων ἄλογοι; πῶς δὲ καὶ εὖλογον θεὸν ἀναγορεύειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενῆ πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος, ἀλόγου καὶ φθαρτῆς ὅλης ἐκγόνων;

3.10.10 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ Δῖός οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τοῦ δηλωθέντος αἱθέρος ἦν, αἱθέρος δὲ ἀήρ ἔστιν ὁ ὑψηλότατος καὶ

example, the sacred word has spoken more fittingly and truthfully, 'Heaven is my throne,' he said, 'and the earth is the footstool of my feet.'

3.10.7 | For if it is necessary to use a more human-like expression, it shows the difference in theology. For when he called heaven a throne, he set apart the all-sovereign God above the throne and higher than all things, without separating the earth from his care. For it teaches that his caring powers are also present in these things, which is why he says, 'And the earth is the footstool of my feet.'

3.10.8 | But neither is the footstool nor the throne a body of the one who sits, nor could any part of him be said to exist. He called heaven the head of God and the air his mind, and the other parts of the world are his members and body, and no one knows him as either a creator or a god.

3.10.9 | For he could not create himself, nor could the mind be called a mind if the air was its mind. And what kind of god would he be whose parts are the earth and the mountains on the earth, which are just masses of lifeless bodies? And how could one call a reasonable god the brother and relative of fire, air, and water, which are made from lifeless and perishable matter?

3.10.10 | But if the mind of Zeus was nothing other than the air that was mentioned, and the air is the highest and

πυρώδης ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴθεσθαι, ὅπερ ἔστι  
καίεσθαι, ταύτην, ὡς φασιν, εἱληχῶς τὴν  
έπωνυμίαν, σώματα δὲ ἄμφω ὅ τε ἀήρ, ὃ τε  
αἴθηρ, ὅρα ποῦ σοι τοῦ Δῖός ὁ νοῦς  
ἀποπέπτωκε.

fiery part of the ether, which is what burns,  
then, as they say, it has taken this name.  
Both the air and the ether are bodies, so see  
where the mind of Zeus has fallen.

3.10.11 | καὶ τίς ἀν̄ ἔτι προσείποι θεὸν τῶν  
εὐ φρονούντων τοῦτον ὡς νοῦς ὑπῆρχεν  
ἄνους καὶ ἄλογος, εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη παντὸς  
σώματος φύσις; διόπερ ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς  
θεολογίαις πάντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ  
ἐναντία παραληπτέον, ὅτι τε μὴ οὐρανὸς  
ῶν τυγχάνει, μήτε αἴθηρ μήθ' ἥλιος μήτε  
σελήνη, μήθ' ὁ σύμπας τῶν ἀστρων χορὸς  
μήτ' αὐτὸς ἀθρόως ὁ πᾶς κόσμος· ἔργα δὲ  
χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ταῦτα μικρὰ ἔτι καὶ βραχέα,  
ταῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοεραῖς δυνάμεσι  
παραβαλλόμενα· ὅτι δὴ πᾶν σῶμα φθαρτὸν  
καὶ ἄλογον, τοιαύτη δὲ τῶν ὄρωμένων ἡ  
φύσις· τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα ἐν ἀοράτοις λογικὰ  
καὶ ἀθάνατα, συνδιαιωνίζοντα τῇ τοῦ  
παμβασιλέως θεοῦ μακαρίᾳ ζωῆ, μακρῷ  
γένοιτ' ἀν τῶν ὄρωμένων ἀπάντων βελτίω.

3.10.11 | And who would still call a god one  
whose mind was without thought and  
reason, if such a nature belongs to all  
bodies? Therefore, in our discussions about  
the gods, we must take into account  
everything that is opposite to what has  
been said, that neither the heaven, nor the  
ether, nor the sun, nor the moon, nor the  
whole group of stars, nor the entire  
universe itself is the true god. These are  
small and short-lived works of his hands,  
compared to the incorporeal and intelligent  
powers. For indeed, every body is  
perishable and without reason, and such is  
the nature of the visible things. But the  
things beyond are rational and immortal,  
sharing in the blessed life of the all-ruling  
god, and they would be much better than  
all the visible things.

3.10.12 | εἰκότως οὖν τὰ θεῖα λόγια περὶ  
τῶν ὄρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ὕδε πως  
παιδεύει ὄψιμαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἔργα τῶν  
δακτύλων σου, σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, ἢ σὺ  
έθεμελίωσας." καὶ πάλιν σὺ κύριε κατ'  
ἀρχὰς τὴν γῆν ἔθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν  
χειρῶν σου εἰσὶν οἱ οὐρανοί." καὶ ἄλις  
"ἀναβλέψατε εἰς ὑψος τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς  
ὑμῶν, καὶ ἵδετε τίς κατέδειξε ταῦτα  
πάντα."

3.10.12 | Therefore, the divine sayings  
teach us about the visible parts of the  
world in this way: 'I will look at the  
heavens, the work of your fingers, the  
moon and the stars, which you have  
founded.' And again, 'You, Lord, established  
the earth at the beginning, and the heavens  
are the work of your hands.' And once  
more, 'Lift up your eyes on high and see  
who has made all these things.'

3.10.13 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν πρώτην  
τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνείαν εἰρήσθω· φέρε δὲ καὶ

3.10.13 | Let these things be said in the first  
interpretation of the verses; but let us also

τὰ ἔξῆς διασκοπήσωμεν. ἐπεὶ μὴ οἶόν τ' ἦν, φησὶν, εἰκόνα τοιαύτην δημιουργεῖν οἴαν ὁ λόγος ἐμήνυσε, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπόμορφον τοῦ Διός τὸ δείκηλον πεποιήκασιν, δτι νοῦς ἦν καθ' ὃν ἐδημιούργει, καὶ λόγοις σπερματικοῖς ἀπετέλει τὰ πάντα.

examine what comes next. Since it was not possible, he says, to create such an image as the word suggested, they made a human-like representation of Zeus, because there was a mind by which he created, and with seed-like words, he brought everything to completion.

3.10.14 | καὶ πῶς εί μὴ οἶόν τε ἦν εἰκόνα τοιαύτην ποιεῖν οἴαν ὁ λόγος ἐμήνυσεν, ἐμήνυσε δὲ ἄρα τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ ὀρωμένου κόσμου τὰ μέρη, οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀέρα τε καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τούτοις· εἰ δὴ οὖν τῶν ὀρωμένων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν εἰκόνα συστήσασθαι, καθό νοῦς ἦν ὁ θεός, πῶς ἂν τις τὴν εἰκόνα αύτοῦ δημιουργήσειεν;

3.10.14 | And how could it be possible to create such an image as the word suggested? The word indicated the parts of the visible and seen world: the heavens and what is in the heavens, the air and the earth, and what is in these. If, then, it is not possible to form an image of the visible parts of the world, since God is a mind, how could anyone create an image of him?

3.10.15 | τί δ' ἀν ἔχοι σῶμα ἀνθρώπειον ἐμφερὲς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἡγοῦμαι· ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσώματος καὶ ἀσύνθετος καὶ ἀμερής, τὸ δὲ βαναύσων ἀνδρῶν ἔργον καὶ θνητοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἀπομεμίηται, καὶ ζώσης σαρκὸς ἐν ἀψύχῳ καὶ νεκρῷ ὅλῃ κωφὴν καὶ ἄναυδον εἰκόνα καταγέραπται.

3.10.15 | What would a human body have in common with the mind of God? For I do not even think it is similar to a human. The mind is without body, unformed, and without parts, while the body is the work of mortal men and imitates the nature of a mortal body. It is an image drawn from lifeless matter and dead substance, mute and speechless.

3.10.16 | Ψυχὴ μὲν οὖν λογικὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος καὶ νοῦς ἀπαθής ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει εὗ μοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι εἰκόνα καὶ ὀμοίωσιν ἀποσώζειν θεοῦ, καθ' ὃσον ἄυλος καὶ ἀσώματος νοερά τε καὶ λογικὴ τὴν οὐσίαν συνέστηκεν, ἀρετῆς οὖσα καὶ σοφίας δεκτική.

3.10.16 | The rational soul is immortal, and the mind is without passion. It seems to me that this is rightly called an image and likeness of God, in that it is immaterial and without body, existing as a thinking and rational essence, capable of virtue and wisdom.

3.10.17 | εἰ δή τις εἴη δυνατὸς ψυχῆς ἄγαλμα καὶ μορφὴν ἐν εἰκόνι τεκτήνασθαι,

3.10.17 | If someone could create a statue and form of the soul in an image, they could

δύναιτ' ἀν οὗτος καὶ τι τῶν κρειττόνων· εἰ δὲ ἄμορφος καὶ ἀειδής καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, οὕτε ὅράσει θεωρητὸς οὔτε λόγῳ καὶ ἀκοῇ τὴν οὐσίαν καταληπτὸς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, τίς ἀν μανείη τοσοῦτον ὡς τὸ ἀνδρείκελον ξόανον θεοῦ τοῦ ἀνωτάτω μορφὴν καὶ εἰκόνα φέρειν ἀποφήνασθαι;

also create something greater. But if it is formless, unchanging, and without shape, then the human mind cannot grasp its essence either by sight or by reason and hearing. Who would dare to say that a statue of God could bear the highest form and likeness?

3.10.18 | Θεοῦ μὲν οὖν φύσις ἔξω πάσης θνητῆς ψυχῆς φαντάζεται, νῷ διαυγεῖ καὶ σιγῇ ψυχαῖς κεκαθαρμέναις ἐπινοούμενη· τὸ δέ γε τοῦ ὄρωμένου Δῖός ἐν τῷ δεικήλῳ σχῆμα εἴη ἀν θνητοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν, οὐδὲ τὸν ὅλον ἀνθρωπὸν, μέρος δέ τι τὸ χεῖρον αὐτοῦ μεμιμημένον, ὅτι μηδὲν ἔχνος ζωῆς γαῖ ψυχῆς ἐπάγεται.

3.10.18 | The nature of God is seen as beyond all mortal matter, understood by a clear mind and in silence by purified souls. But the form of the visible Zeus would be a likeness of a mortal man, not the whole human, but rather a part that imitates the lesser, since it brings no trace of life from the soul.

3.10.19 | πῶς οὖν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς καὶ νοῦς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς εἴη ἀν ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ καλκῷ ἢ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐλέφαντι Ζεύς; ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργικος νοῦς πως ποτε αὐτὸς ἦν ἄρα ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς 5 ὁ τοῦ ἔξ Άλκμήνης Ἡρακλέους πατήρ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκ Δῖος μυθευομένων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τὸν θνητὸν βίον κοινῶς ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις καταστρέψαντες τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἀνεξάλειπτα τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς μνημεῖα καταλελοίπασι;

3.10.19 | How could the God above all and the mind that creates everything be the same as Zeus made of bronze or dead ivory? But the creative mind of all things must be different from that Zeus, the father of Heracles from Alcmene and of other men spoken of as coming from Zeus. These men have destroyed mortal life for all humans, leaving behind lasting monuments of their own nature.

3.10.20 | Φοινίκων μὲν οὺν οἶ πρῶτοι θεόλογοι, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ συγγράμματι παρεστήσαμεν, τὸν Δία παῖδα Κρόνου θνητὸν ἀπὸ θνητοῦ γενόμενον, ἀνδρα Φοίνικα τὸ γένος, ἀπεμηνόνευον, Αἴγυπτιοι δὲ ἔξοικειούμενοι τὸν ἀνδρα θνητὸν πάλιν αὐτὸν ὡμολόγουν, κατὰ τοῦτο γε Φοινίξιν ὁμοφωνοῦντες.

3.10.20 | The Phoenicians, as we have shown in the first writing, spoke of Zeus as the son of Cronus, born from a mortal man of Phoenician descent. The Egyptians, on the other hand, accepted this mortal man again, agreeing with the Phoenicians on this point.

3.10.21 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρῆτες τάφον τοῦ Διός παρ' ἐαυτοῖς δεικνύντες τρίτοι ἀν εἰν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες· καὶ Ἀτλάντειοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ τούτου δεδηλωμένοι κατ' οἴκείαν ιστορίαν ἔχοικειούμενοι τὸν Δία πάντες ὅμοι θνητὸν ἀπεφήναντο, πράξεις αὐτοῦ θνητὰς καὶ ἀνθρωπείους, ἀλλ' οὐ σεμνάς τινας ούδε φιλοσόφους, αἰσχρουργίας δὲ ἀπάσης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐμπλεως ἀναγράψαντες.

3.10.21 | But the Cretans, showing the tomb of Zeus among themselves, would also be the third witnesses of the same. The Atlanteans and all those mentioned before, following their own history, all agreed that Zeus was mortal, declaring his actions to be mortal and human, but not any noble or wise deeds, instead writing about all kinds of shameful acts and immorality.

3.10.22 | τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον τοὺς μύθους τρέπειν ἐπηγγελμένοις τοτὲ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς θερμή τις ἦν καὶ πυρώδης δύναμις, τοτὲ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα· νῦν δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς νοῦς ἀναπέφανται.

3.10.22 | To those who promised to turn the myths into something more serious, at times Zeus was a warm and fiery power, and at other times he was the spirit. But now I do not know how the creator mind of all things has been revealed to them.

3.10.23 | πευστέον τοιγαροῦν τίνα ἀν εἴποιεν τὸν τούτου πατέρα καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν προπάτορα· ἐπεὶ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς θεολόγους Ζεὺς Κρόνου παῖς ὅμολογεῖται, καὶ τά γε προκείμενα τού Ὁρφέως ἔπη “ὑπερμένεος Κρονίωνος” ἐμνημόνευσε, Κρόνος δὲ Οὐρανοῦ.

3.10.23 | Therefore, one should ask who they would say is the father of this one and the ancestor of the father. Since according to all the theologians, Zeus is agreed to be the son of Cronus, and the verses of Orpheus mention 'the most mighty son of Cronus,' while Cronus is the son of Uranus.

3.10.24 | δεδόσθω τοίνυν αὐτοῖς εῖναι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς καὶ νοῦς ὁ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας. τίς οὖν ὁ τούτου πατήρ; Κρόνος. τίς δ' ὁ προπάτωρ; Οὐρανός. εἰ δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Ζεὺς ὡς ἀν δημιουργὸς ἀπάντων, χρῆν δή που δευτέρους καταλέγεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένους.

3.10.24 | Let it be said then that Zeus is the god above all and the mind that created everything. So who is his father? Cronus. And who is the ancestor? Uranus. If Zeus is indeed the first creator of all, then it is necessary to name the second ones and those made by him after that.

3.10.25 | εἴτε γάρ χρόνος τις εἴη ὁ Κρόνος Οὐρανοῦ πεφυκὼς γέννημα, εἴτε δὴ ἄμα οὐρανῷ συνυπέστη χρόνος, εἴη τε αὐτὸς ὁ

3.10.25 | For if time is indeed Cronus, born from Uranus, or if time existed together with the sky, then Uranus himself would be

Κρόνου πατήρ Ούρανὸς καὶ χρόνος μετὰ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρό γε τούτων ὁ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιος καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ χρόνου δημιουργὸς θεός. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο ὁ Ζεὺς τρίτος ἐξ Ούρανοῦ.

the father of Cronus and time would come after him. But before these, there is the cause of all things, the god who created both the sky and time. If this is the case, then Zeus could not be the third from Uranus.

3.10.26 | πῶς οὖν παρὰ πᾶσιν Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν Ἐλλησι τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις τρίτος ἐξ Ούρανοῦ γενεαλογεῖται ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς νοῦς; πεφώραται δὴ τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὸ πλάσμα, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον φωραθήσεται ἐξ ὧν ἐπιφέρει λέγων ὡδε

3.10.26 | How then is the creator mind of all things counted as the third from Uranus by all the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, and philosophers? Indeed, the philosopher's creation is revealed, and it will be even more clearly shown from those he mentions, saying this:

## Section 11

3.11.1 | "Τὴν δὲ Ἡραν σύνοικον τῷ Διὶ πεποιήκασιν, τὴν αἱθέριον καὶ ἀέριον δύναμιν Ἡραν προσειπόντες. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ αἱθήρ ἀήρ ὁ λεπτομερέστατος.

3.11.1 | They made Hera a partner to Zeus, calling her the power of the upper air and the atmosphere. For the upper air is the finest form of air.

3.11.2 | Ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἔδήλου τὰ ἔπη τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Δῖός εἶναι τὸν αἱθέρα, νυνὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος τί ποτέ ἔστιν ὁ αἱθήρ διορίζεται, ἀέρα λέγων εἶναι αὐτὸν λεπτομερέστατον σῶμα δὲ ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ὁ αἱθήρ.

3.11.2 | Earlier, it was shown that the upper air is the mind of Zeus. Now, the discussion is about what the upper air is defined as, saying that it is the finest form of air; but the air is a body, and the upper air is much older.

3.11.3 | ὁ δὴ νοῦς ἄρα τοῦ Δῖός ἐλήλεγκται σῶμα τυγχάνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ πάντων λεπτομερέστατον. καὶ πῶς ἀν ταύτον ἐπινοηθείη σῶμα καὶ νοῦς κατὰ διάμετρον ταῖς φύσεσι διεστῶτα;

3.11.3 | Therefore, the mind of Zeus is shown to be a body, even if it is the finest of all. And how could body and mind be thought of as the same when they are different in nature?

3.11.4 | εἴτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν ἐπῶν ἐπιλελησμένος διαρρήδην φησάντων Νοῦς

3.11.4 | Then, I do not know how, having forgotten the words of those who spoke

δέ οὶ ἀψευδὴς, βασιλήιος ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ, ὃ  
δὴ πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις  
ἐστὶν αύδη, οὔτ' ἐνοπὴ, οὔτε κτύπος, οὐδὲ  
μὲν ὅσσα, ἡ λήθει Δῖός οὖας ὑπερμενέος  
Κρονίωνος. δι' ὧν σαφῶς ὁ αἰθήρ νοῦς  
ἀνείρηται ὧν τοῦ Δῖός.

clearly, it is said: 'The mind is indeed a true, royal, imperishable upper air, which surrounds and contains everything; and there is no sound, nor noise, nor any kind of thing that escapes the notice of Zeus, the mighty son of Cronus.' Through these, the upper air is clearly stated to be the mind of Zeus.

3.11.5 | ὁ δὲ τὴν "Ἡραν πάλιν τὴν αἰθέριον  
καὶ ἀέριον δύναμιν εἶναι φησιν. ἔπειτα  
διαιρῶν ἐπιλέγει "Καὶ τοῦ μὲν παντὸς  
ἀέρος ἡ δύναμις "Ἡρα τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ἀέρος κεκλημένη· τοῦ δὲ ὑπὸ σελήνην  
φωτιζομένου καὶ σκοτιζομένου ἀέρος ἡ  
Λητώ σύμβολον· λήθω γὰρ αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ  
τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἀναισθησίαν, καὶ ὅτι  
ψυχαῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην γινομέναις λήθῃ  
ξυνομαρτεῖ τοῦ Θείου· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ  
μήτηρ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἄρτέμιδος, τῶν  
αἵτιων φωτισμοῦ τῇ νυκτὶ.'

3.11.5 | But he says that Hera is the upper and airy power. Then, breaking it down, he adds: 'And the power of all air is named after Hera, coming from the air; but the air that is lit and darkened by the moon is represented by Leto. For I forget her because of the unconsciousness during sleep, and because forgetfulness happens to souls that are born under the moon. For this reason, she is also the mother of Apollo and Artemis, who are the causes of light during the night.'

3.11.6 | Καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης  
μητέρα φησὶν εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀέρα·  
τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν Λητώ. καὶ πᾶς ἀνὸ  
ἀήρ γένοιτο μήτηρ τῶν αἵτιων φωτισμοῦ,  
μᾶλλον αὐτὸς γενομένος ἡ ποιῶν; ἡλιος  
γὰρ καὶ σελήνη ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὸν ἀέρα  
μεταβάλλουσιν.

3.11.6 | And in these things, he says that the air under the moon is the mother of the sun and the moon; for this is Leto. And how could the air become the mother of the causes of light, rather being itself created or creating? For the sun and the moon change the air in different ways at different times.

3.11.7 | πάλιν δὲ προιών ἐξῆς λέγει "Καὶ τὸ  
μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς χθονίας δυνάμεως  
Ἐστία κέκληται, ἣς ἄγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ'  
ἐστίας πυρὸς ἰδρυμένον· καθὸ δὲ γόνιμος ἡ  
δύναμις, σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἴδει  
προμάστου. τὴν δὲ Ἄρεαν προσεῖπον τὴν  
τῆς πετρώδους καὶ ὄρείου γῆς δύναμιν, τὴν  
δὲ Δήμητρα τὴν τῆς πεδινῆς καὶ γονίμου. ἡ

3.11.7 | Then, going on, he says: 'And the ruling power of the earth is called Hestia, whose statue is set on the hearth of fire; and since the power is fertile, they signify her in the form of a woman as a leader. Rhea is named as the power of the rocky and mountainous land, and Demeter is the power of the flat and fertile land. Demeter

Δημήτηρ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει τῇ Ὄρέᾳ, διενήνοχε δὲ, ὅτι αύτὴ κυεῖ τὴν Κόρην ἐκ Δῖος, τουτέστι τὸν κόρον ἐκ τῶν φρυγανωδῶν σπερμάτων. διὸ καὶ κατέστεπται τὸ βρέτας αύτῆς τοῖς στάχυσι, μήκωνές τε περὶ αύτὴν τῆς πολυγονίας σύμβολον."

has everything else the same as Rhea, but it is noted that she bears Persephone from Zeus, that is, the girl from the fruitful seeds. Therefore, her sheaf is tied to the ears of grain, and the poppy around her is a symbol of fertility.'

3.11.8 | Κάνταῦθα πάλιν σκόπει τίνα τρόπον τὴν Ὄρεαν μητέρα θεῶν λεγομένην καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δῖος κάτω που περὶ πέτρας καὶ γῆν καταβέβληκε, καὶ πάντα φύρων τὴν αύτὴν εἶναί φησι τῇ Δήμητρι, πλὴν ὅτι διενήνοχε, καθὸ, φησὶν, ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐκ Δῖος κυεῖ τὴν Κόρην, ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ πεδιάς γῆ τὸν κόρον ἐκ τῶν φρυγανωδῶν σπερμάτων. ίδού σοι πάλιν ὁ Ζεὺς εἰς τὰ φρυγανώδη σπέρματα μεταβέβληται.

3.11.8 | And here again, consider in what way Rhea is called the mother of the gods and how she has somehow fallen down around the rock and the earth, and he says that she is the same as Demeter in everything, except that it is noted that, he says, Demeter bears Persephone from Zeus, just as the flat land produces the girl from the fruitful seeds. Look, Zeus has again transformed into the fruitful seeds.

3.11.9 | τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει λέγων  
“Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰς γῆν βαλλομένων σπερμάτων ἦν τις δύναμις, ἦν ἥλιος περὶ τὸ κάτω ἡμισφαίριον ἴών ἔλκει κατὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς, Κόρη μὲν ἡ δύναμις ἡ σπερματοῦχος, Πλούτων δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ γῆν ἴών ἥλιος καὶ τὸν ἀφανῆ περινοστῶν κόσμον κατὰ τὰς χειμερίους τροπάς· ὃς ἀρπάζειν λέγεται τὴν Κόρην, ἦν ποθεῖ ἡ Δημήτηρ κρυπτομένην ὑπὸ γῆν.

3.11.9 | Next, he adds, saying: 'Since there is a power in the seeds that fall to the ground, which the sun draws down around the lower hemisphere during the winter solstices, the power that produces seeds is called the Maiden, while Pluto is the sun that goes underground and circles the hidden world during the winter solstices; he is said to seize the Maiden, whom Demeter mourns, hidden beneath the earth.'

3.11.10 | τῶν δὲ ἀκροδρύων καὶ ὅλως τῶν φυτευτικῶν ἡ δύναμις Διόνυσος ὄνομάζεται. ὅρα δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας. σύμβολα γὰρ ἡ Κόρη φέρει τῆς προβολῆς τῶν κατὰ τοὺς καρποὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν ἐκφύσεων, ὃ δὲ Διόνυσος κοινὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κόρην ἔχει τὰ κέρατα, ἔστι δὲ θηλύμορφος, μηνύων τὴν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν

3.11.10 | And the power of the fruits and all the plants is called Dionysus. Look also at their images. For the Maiden carries symbols of the growth of the fruits that rise above the ground, while Dionysus shares the horns with the Maiden; he is androgynous, revealing the mixed power of

τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀρρενόθηλυν δύναμιν.

3.11.11 | Πλούτων δὲ ὁ Κόρης ἄρπαξ κυνῆν μὲν ἔχει τοῦ ἀφανοῦς πόλου σύμβολον, τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον τὸ κολοβὸν σημεῖον τῆς τῶν κάτω βασιλείας· ὃ δὲ κύων αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ τὴν κύησιν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τρία διηρημένην, εἰς τὴν καταβολὴν, εἰς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν, εἰς τὴν ἀνάδοσιν. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ τάς κῆρας ἔχειν βορὰν, ὃ δηλοῖ τὰς ψυχὰς, κέκληται κύων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ κυεῖν, ἢ χορηγὸς ὁ Πλούτων, ὅταν ἀρπάσῃ τὴν Κόρην.

3.11.12 | Ἄττις δὲ καὶ Ἀδωνις τῇ τῶν καρπῶν είσιν ἀναλογίᾳ προσήκοντες. ἀλλ’ ὃ μὲν Ἄττις τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ προφαινομένων ἀνθέων καὶ πρὶν τελεσιγονῆσαι διαρρεόντων, — ἐνθεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων ἀποκοπὴν αὐτῷ προσανέθεσαν, μὴ φθασάντων ἐλθεῖν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὴν σπερματικὴν τελείωσιν — ὃ δὲ Ἀδωνις τῆς τόν τελείων καρπῶν ἔκτομῆς σύμβολον.

3.11.13 | ὃ δὲ Σειληνὸς σύμβολον τῆς πνευματικῆς κινήσεως, οὐκ ὀλίγα συμβαλλομένης τῷ παντί. σύμβολα δέ ἔστι τὸ μὲν φάλανθον καὶ στιλπνὸν κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς οὐρανίου περιφορᾶς, ἡ δὲ περικειμένη κόμη τοῖς κάτω μέρεσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπόδειγμα τῆς προσγείου περὶ τὸν ἀέρα παχύτητος.

3.11.14 | ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς δυνάμεως τις μέτοχος ἦν δύναμις, Θέμις μὲν κέκληται ἡ δύναμις, τῷ τὰ τεθειμένα

the fruits.

3.11.11 | Pluto, the kidnapper of the Maiden, has a dog as a symbol of the hidden realm, and the short scepter is a sign of the kingdom below; his dog shows the growth of the fruits divided into three parts: the planting, the receiving, and the raising. For it is not because he has a dog that shows the souls, but because of the act of giving birth, where Pluto is the leader when he seizes the Maiden.

3.11.12 | Attis and Adonis are related to the fruits. Attis represents the flowers that appear in spring and those that fall before they fully bloom—this is why they say he was castrated, as the fruits did not arrive at their full growth. Adonis, on the other hand, is a symbol of the cutting of the perfect fruits.

3.11.13 | Silenus is a symbol of spiritual movement, connecting with everything. The symbols are the ivy and the shining crown on his head, which represent the heavenly circle, while the hair surrounding his lower parts shows the thickness of the air near the earth.

3.11.14 | Since there is a power that shares in prophecy, this power is called Themis, as she speaks about what is established and

καὶ ἐκάστῳ κείμενα λέγειν.

3.11.15 | "Διὰ δὴ πάντων τούτων ἡ περίγειος δύναμις ἔξηγήσεως τυχοῦσα θρησκεύεται, ὡς μὲν παρθένος καὶ Ἐστία ἡ κεντροφόρος, ὡς δὲ τοκὰς ἡ τροφός, ὡς δὲ Ἄρεα ἡ πετροποιὸς καὶ ὄρειος, ὡς δὲ Δημήτηρ ἡ χλοηφόρος, ὡς δὲ Θέμις ἡ χρησμωδὸς, τοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν κατιόντος σπερματικοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸν Πρίαπον ἐκτετυπωμένου· οὗ τὸ μὲν περὶ τοὺς ξηροὺς καρποὺς Κόρη 5 τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ύγρους καὶ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα Διόνυσος καλεῖται, τῆς μὲν Κόρης ὑπὸ Πλούτωνος τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆν ίόντος ἡλίου ἀρπαζομένης κατὰ τὸν σπόρον, τοῦ δὲ Διονύσου τὰ πάθη τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ γῆν μὲν νεωτέρας καὶ καλλιγόνου βλαστάνειν ἀρχομένου, ἐπιμάχου δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄνθην δυνάμεως σύμβολον Ἀττιν ἔχούσης, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν τελεσιουργίαν ἐκτομῆς τὸν Ἀδωνιν,

3.11.16 | καὶ τῆς μὲν πνευματικῆς διὰ πάντων δυνάμεως εἰς Σειληνὸν ἀναπλαττομένης, τῆς δὲ εἰς ἔκτασιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παραγωγῆς εἰς Βάκχην, ὥσπερ αὖ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐρεθιζούσης ὄρμῆς διὰ τῶν Σατύρων. διὰ δὴ τούτων τῶν συμβόλων ἡ περίγειος ἐκκαλύπτεται δύναμις."

3.11.17 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τάδε, ἂ καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐπιτεμόμενος παρατέθειμαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. οὕτω τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τὰ ἀποδεδομένα Κόρη μὲν ἡ τῶν σπορίμων, Διόνυσος δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀκροδρύων δύναμις, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔαρινῶν ἄνθέων ὁ Ἀττις, τῶν δὲ

what is set for each thing.

3.11.15 | Through all these things, the earthly power that leads to understanding is worshiped. As a virgin and as Hestia, the center-bearer; as a mother, the nurturer; as Rhea, the stone-maker and mountain goddess; as Demeter, the one who brings forth grass; and as Themis, the one who speaks prophecies. This is about the seed-like word that comes to her, which is shaped in Priapus. The one related to dry fruits is called Kore, while the one related to wet fruits and the soft fruits is called Dionysus. Kore is taken by Plouton, the one who goes under the earth, during the time of sowing, and Dionysus experiences the powers of growth, starting from the earth, which is younger and more beautiful. The symbol of the power during flowering is Attis, while the symbol during the rituals of cutting is Adonis.

3.11.16 | And the spiritual power is reshaped into Silenus, while the power that extends from them leads to Bacchus, just as the urge that stirs up desires comes through the Satyrs. Through these symbols, the earthly power is revealed.

3.11.17 | Thus, I present these things, which I must explain, so that we do not remain ignorant of the important ideas of the philosophers. Therefore, according to what has been established, Kore is the one of the seeds, Dionysus is the power of the soft fruits, and Attis is the symbol of the

τελείων καρπῶν ὁ Ἀδωνις σύμβολον.

spring flowers, while Adonis is the symbol of the perfect fruits.

3.11.18 | τί δὴ οὺν ταῦτα χρὴ θεοποιεῖν εἰς τροφὰς σωμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζῷων πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ πεποιημένα; τί δὲ θρησκεύειν τὴν περίγειον δύναμιν προσῆκόν ἔστιν ἡμῖν, οἵς φύσις ἔστὶ ψυχῆς οὐρανία λογική τε καὶ ἀθάνατος παρὰ τού παμβασιλέως τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, διανοίας ὅμμασι κεκαθαρμένοις θεωρητική;

3.11.18 | Why then should we make gods out of the food for the bodies of the animals on the earth, which were made by the god of all? And why should we worship the earthly power, when our nature is a rational and immortal soul from the all-powerful god, seen with the eyes of a pure mind?

3.11.19 | τὸν δὲ Σειληνὸν ἀκούων τὴν πνευματικὴν εἶναι κίνησιν, καὶ τὴν διήκουσαν διὰ πάντων δύναμιν, τοτὲ μὲν τὴν οὐράνιον περιφορὰν διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιδεικνύμενον, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀέρα παχύτητα διὰ τῆς λασίας κόμης τοῦ γενείου, πῶς ἄν τις ἀνάσχοιτο τοῦτον μὲν ὄρῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἡξιωμένον σεβασμίας τιμῆς, ὃν ἔχρην πρὸ τῶν πάντων θεοποιεῖν, Ἀδωνιν δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον, τοὺς καρποὺς δηλαδὴ καὶ τὰ ἀκρόδρυα, θεοποιουμένους;

3.11.19 | Hearing about Silenus, who is said to have a spiritual movement and a power that flows through everything, sometimes showing the heavenly orbit through his head, and sometimes the heaviness in the air through the thick hair of his beard, how could anyone think that he deserves no respect or honor, when he should be worshiped before all others, while Adonis and Dionysus, who represent the fruits and soft fruits, are being made into gods?

3.11.20 | τίς δ' ἀν ὑπομείνειε σεμνολογουμένους ἀκούων Σατύρους καὶ Βάκχας, τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀκόλαστα πάθη, εἰ δὴ οἴ μὲν ἐδήλουν τὰς εἰς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐρεθίζουσας ὄρμὰς οἴ Σάτυροι, αἱ δὲ Βάκχαι τὰς εἰς ἔκτασιν τῶν περὶ ταῦτα συμβαινούσας παραγωγάς;

3.11.20 | Who would remain silent while hearing the serious talk about Satyrs and Bacchae, who show the shameful and uncontrolled passions in humans? For the Satyrs reveal the urges that lead to sexual desires, while the Bacchae show the excesses that happen around these things?

3.11.21 | καὶ τί δεῖ κατὰ μέρος ἔκαστον ἀπελέγχειν, ἐπιδραμεῖν δέον ὡς ἀν μηδὲν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀπορρήτων λανθάνῃ, καὶ τὴν τὸν ἐξῆς ἐπιτεμέσθαι φυσιολογίαν, ἥν ἐκτέθειται ὁ δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς, τόνδε

3.11.21 | And why should we examine each part separately? It is necessary to rush in so that nothing hidden escapes us, and to cut into the following explanation of nature, which the mentioned author

έπεξιών τὸν τρόπον

3.11.22 | "Τὴν Τὴν δὲ ὑδροποιὸν ὅλην δύναμιν Ὄκεανὸν προσεῖπον, τὸ σύμβολον αὐτῆς Τηθὺν ὄνομάσαντες. τῆς δὲ ὅλης ἡ μὲν τῶν ποτίμων πεποιημένη Ἀχελῶος αὐτοῖς κέκληται, ἡ δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων Ποσειδῶν, πάλιν τῆς θαλαττοποιοῦ, καθὸ γεννητικὴ, Ἀμφιτρίτης οὕσης. καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν γλυκέων ὑδάτων μερικαὶ δυνάμεις Νύμφαι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων Νηρηίδες κέκληνται.

3.11.23 | τοῦ δ' αὖ πυρὸς τὴν δύναμιν προσειπόντες "Ηφαιστὸν ἀνθρωποειδές μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα πεποιήκασι, πέλον δὲ περιέθεσαν κυάνεον τῆς οὐρανοῦ σύμβολον περιφορὰς, ἐνθα τοῦ πυρός ἔστι τὸ ἀρχοειδές τε καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατον. τὸ δὲ εἰς γῆν κατενεχθὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πῦρ ἀτονώτερον δεόμενόν τε στηρίγματος καὶ βάσεως τῆς ἐφ' ὕλης· διὸ χωλεύει, ὕλης δεόμενον εἰς ὑπέρεισμα.

3.11.24 | καὶ ἡλίου δὲ τὴν τοιάνδε δύναμιν ὑπολαβόντες Ἀπόλλωνα προσεῖπον, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀκτίνων αὐτοῦ πάλσεως. ἐννέα δὲ ἐπάδουσαι αὐτῷ Μοῦσαι, ἡ τε ὑποσελήνιος σφαιραὶ καὶ ἐπτὰ πλανητῶν καὶ μία ἡ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς. περιέθεσαν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν δάφνην, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι πυρὸς πλῆρες τὸ φυτὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεχθὲς δαιμοσι, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι λάλον καιόμενον, εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ προφητεύειν τὸν θεόν.

3.11.25 | καθὸ δὲ ἀπαλεξίκακός ἔστι τῶν ἐπιγείων ὁ ἥλιος, Ἡρακλέα προσεῖπον αὐτὸν, ἐκ τοῦ κλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν

presents, following this method.

3.11.22 | I called the whole power of the water-maker Ocean, naming its symbol Tethys. Of this whole power, the one made of fresh waters is called Achelous, while the one of the sea is Poseidon, again of the sea-maker, since Amphitrite is the one who gives birth to it. And some of the sweet waters are called Nymphs, while those of the sea are called Nereids.

3.11.23 | And again, calling the power of fire Hephaestus, they made a human-like statue of him, and they placed a dark blue symbol of the heavenly circle around it, where the fire is both the original and the purest. But the fire brought down to the earth from the sky is weaker and needs support and a base on the ground; therefore, it is limited, needing the ground to rise above.

3.11.24 | And considering the power of the sun, they called it Apollo, from the brightness of his rays. And nine Muses sing to him, including the moon-like sphere, the seven planets, and one that is the wandering star. They placed a laurel around him, partly because the plant is full of fire and therefore hated by spirits, and partly because it burns when set on fire, representing the god's ability to prophesy.

3.11.25 | And since the sun is a protector against earthly troubles, they called him Heracles, because he cries out to the air as

άέρα ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς είς δύσιν ίόντα. δώδεκα δ' ἄθλους ἐκμοχθεῖν ἐμυθολόγησαν, τῆς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν διαιρέσεως τῶν ζωδίων τὸ σύμβολον ἐπιφημίσαντες· ρόπαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ λεοντῆν περιέθεσαν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀνωμαλίας μήνυμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῷδιον ἐμφανιστικὸν ίσχύος.

he moves from east to west. They told of twelve labors, naming them after the division of the stars in the sky; they placed a club and a lion's skin around him, the club as a sign of his strength and the lion's skin as a symbol of his power among the zodiac.

3.11.26 | τῆς δὲ σωστικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως Ἀσκληπιὸς τὸ σύμβολον· ὃ τὸ μὲν βάκτρον δεδώκασι, τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ὑπερείσεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως, ὃ δὲ ὄφις περισπειρᾶται, τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σωτηρίας φέρων σημεῖον· [καὶ μὴν ὑφιστάντες ἡμῖν τὸν κόσμον οἱ φυσικοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν Ἰλυσπώμενα τῶν ζῴων τῆς παχυτάτης καὶ γεώδους ἥτιάσαντο ούσιας·]  
πνευματικώτατον γάρ τὸ ζῷόν ἔστι καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σῶματος ἀποδύεται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ιάτρικώτατον εἶναι· τῆς γάρ  
όξυδορκίας εὗρε τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μυθεύεται τῆς ἀναβιώσεως είδέναι τινὰ βοτάνην.

3.11.26 | And the symbol of his saving power is Asclepius; they gave him a staff, which represents the relief and rest for the sick, and the snake wraps around it, symbolizing the healing of both body and soul. (And indeed, the natural philosophers, explaining the world, attributed the thick and earthy substances of the animals to the earth.) For the living being is very spiritual and sheds the weakness of the body. It also seems to be very healing; for he found the medicine for the sourness of vinegar and is said to know of a plant for revival.

3.11.27 | τῆς δ' αὖ χορευτικῆς τε καὶ ἔγκυικλίου κινήσεως, καθ' ἣν τοὺς καρποὺς πεπαίνει ἡ πυρὸς δύναμις, Διόνυσος κέκληται ἐτέρως, ἡ τῶν ὑγροποιῶν καρπῶν δύναμις, ἡ παρὰ τὸ περιδινεῖν, ἡ διανύειν τὸν ἥλιον τὴν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιφοράν. ἢ δὲ περὶ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ κόσμου περιπολεῖ καὶ χρόνων ἔστι ποιητικὸς καὶ καιρῶν ὁ ἥλιος, Ήρος κατὰ τοῦτο κέκληται.

3.11.27 | And again, for the dance and circular movement, in which the power of fire nourishes the fruits, he is called Dionysus, the power of the moist fruits, whether from the swirling or from the sun's journey across the sky. And as the sun moves around the hours of the world and is creative of times and seasons, he is called Hora.

3.11.28 | τῆς δ' αὖ γεωργικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, καθ' ἣν αἱ δόσεις τοῦ πλούτου, σύμβολον ὁ Πλούτων. ὅμοίως μέντοι καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, διὸ τῷ Πλούτῳ συνοικίζουσι τὸν Σάραπιν, τοῦ

3.11.28 | And again, for his agricultural power, in which the gifts of wealth come, the symbol is Pluto. Similarly, he also has a destructive power, which is why they associate Serapis with Pluto; they make a

μὲν δεδυκότος ὑπὸ γῆν φωτὸς τὸν πορφυροῦν χιτῶνα ποιούμενοι σύμβολον, τὸ δὲ ἡκρωτηριασμένον σκῆπτρον τῆς κάτω δυνάμεως, τό τε σχῆμα τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ μεταχωρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀφανές.

3.11.29 | ὁ δὲ Κέρβερος τρικέφαλος μὲν, ὅτι τρεῖς αἱ ἄνω χῶραι ἡλίου, ἀνατολὴ, μεσημβρία, δύσις.

3.11.30 | τὴν δὲ σελήνην, παρὰ τὸ σέλας ὑπολαβόντες, Ἀρτεμιν προσηγόρευσαν, οἷον ἀερότεμιν λοχία τε ἡ Ἀρτεμις, καίπερ οὖσα παρθένος, ὅτι ἡ τῆς νουμηνίας δύναμις προσθετικὴ εἰς τὸ τίκτειν.

3.11.31 | ὅπερ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ἐν ἡλίῳ, τοῦτο Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν σελήνῃ· ἔστι γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεως σύμβολον, Ἀθρηνά τις οὖσα.

3.11.32 | Εκάταη δὲ ἡ σελήνη πάλιν, τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν μετασχηματίσεως καὶ κατὰ τοὺς σχηματισμοὺς δυνάμεως· διὸ τρίμορφος ἡ δύναμις, τῆς μὲν νουμηνίας φέρουσα τὴν λευχείμονα καὶ χρυσοσάνδαλον καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἡμένας· ὁ δὲ κάλαθος, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῖς μετεώροις φέρει, τῆς τῶν καρπῶν κατεργασίας, οὓς ἀνατρέφει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς παραύξησιν· τῆς δὲ αὖ πανσελήνου ἡ χαλκοσάνδαλος σύμβολον.

3.11.33 | ἡ καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κλάδου τῆς δάφνης λάβοι ἄν τις αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμπυρον, ἐκ

symbol of the purple robe of the sunken one under the earth, and the mutilated scepter of the lower power, as well as the shape of the hand that moves into the unseen.

3.11.29 | But Cerberus is three-headed because there are three regions of the upper world: the east, the south, and the west.

3.11.30 | And they named the moon Artemis, taking from the brightness, like 'air-bright.' Artemis is also a protector of childbirth, even though she is a virgin, because the power of the new moon adds to the act of giving birth.

3.11.31 | What Apollo is in the sun, Athena is in the moon; for she is a symbol of wisdom, being a kind of gathering.

3.11.32 | Again, Hecate is the moon, because of her transformations and the powers of her shapes; therefore, her power is threefold. The new moon brings the white robe, the golden sandals, and the lit torches. The basket, which she carries in the air, symbolizes the work of the fruits, which she nourishes according to the growth of light. And the full moon is symbolized by the bronze sandals.

3.11.33 | One could take the fire from the branch of the laurel, and from the poppy

δὲ τοῦ μήκωνος τὸ γόνιμον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσοικιζομένων εἰς αὐτὴν ψυχῶν ὡσπερ εἰς πόλιν, ὅτι πόλεως ὁ μήκων σύμβολον. τόξα δὲ φέρει καθάπορ ή Ἀρτεμις διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀδίνων ὄξυτητα.

the seed, and the multitude of souls that gather to her like a city, since the poppy is a symbol of a city. And Artemis carries bows because of the sharpness of childbirth pains.

3.11.34 | πάλιν δ' αὖτις Μοῖραι ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῆς ἀναφέρονται· ἡ μὲν Κλωθὼ ἐπὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν, Λάχεσις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θρεπτικὴν, Ἀτροπος δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ θεοῦ.

3.11.34 | Again, the Fates refer to their powers; Clotho is for birth, Lachesis is for nourishment, and Atropos is for the unavoidable fate of the gods.

3.11.35 | συνοικίζουσι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν καρπῶν γεννητικὴν δύναμιν, ἥπερ ἔστι Δημήτηρ, δύναμιν ἐμποιοῦσαν αὐτῇ. καὶ ἔστι συνεκτικὴ τῆς Κόρης ἡ σελήνη. προσοικίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τε τὴν τῶν κεράτων ἔκφυσιν καὶ διὰ τὸν τῶν νεφῶν τόπον τὸν ὑποκείμενον τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι.

3.11.35 | They also associate with her the generative power of the fruits, which is Demeter, a power that brings her wealth. The moon is also connected to Persephone. They also connect Dionysus because of the growth of the horns and because of the place of the clouds that lies beneath the lower regions.

3.11.36 | τὴν δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου δύναμιν νωχελῆ καὶ βραδεῖαν καὶ ψυχρὰν κατεῖδον, διὸ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου δύναμιν αὐτῷ προσανέθεσαν· ἀποτυποῦσί τε αὐτὸν ἐστῶτα πολιόν, πρὸς ἔμφασιν τοῦ γηράσκειν τὸν χρόνον.

3.11.36 | I saw the power of Cronus as slow, sluggish, and cold, so they assigned to him the power of time. They also depict him as an old man, to show that time ages.

3.11.37 | τῶν δὲ καιρῶν σύμβολα οἱ Κουρῆτες, τὸν χρόνον βουκολοῦντες, ὅτι διὰ τῶν καιρῶν ὁ χρόνος παροδεύει.

3.11.37 | The Curetes symbolize the seasons, shepherding time, because through the seasons, time passes.

3.11.38 | τῶν δὲ Ὡρῶν αἱ μὲν Ολυμπιάδες εἰσὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, αἱ καὶ ἀνοίγουσι τὰς κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πύλας, αἱ δὲ ἐπιχθόνιοι τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κάλαθον ἔχουσι τὸν μὲν τῶν

3.11.38 | The Hours are the Olympian ones of the sun, who also open the gates in the air, while the chthonic ones belong to Demeter. One group holds a basket with

άνθέων σύμβολον τοῦ ἔαρος, τὸν δὲ τῶν σταχύων τοῦ θέρους.

3.11.39 | τοῦ δὲ δὲ "Ἄρεος τὴν δύναμιν καταλαβόντες διάπυρον, πολέμῳ ποιητικὴν καὶ αἰματουργὸν, βλάπτειν τε καὶ ώφελεῖν δυννμένην ἐποίησαν.

3.11.40 | τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστέρα θεωρήσαντες γενεσιουργὸν, ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ γονῆς αἴτιον, γυναικα μὲν ἀνέπλασαν διὰ τὴν γένεσιν, ὡραίαν δὲ, ὅτι καὶ Ἐσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσταται ἀστήρ.

3.11.41 | καὶ Ἔρωτα μὲν παρέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. σκέπει δὲ μαστοὺς καὶ τὸ μόριον, ὅτι γονῆς αἴτια ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἐκθρέψεως. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης, στοιχείου διύγρου καὶ θερμοῦ, πολλὰ κινουμένου καὶ διὰ τὴν συγκίνησιν ἀφριῶντος, τὸ σπερματικὸν αἰνιττόμενος.

3.11.42 | τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦ πάντων ποιητικοῦ τε καὶ ἐρμηνευτικοῦ ὁ Ἐρμῆς παραστατικός. ὁ δὲ ἐντεταμένος Ἐρμῆς δηλοῖ τὴν εύτονίαν, δείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν σπερματικὸν λόγον τὸν διήκοντα διὰ πάντων.

3.11.43 | λοιπὸν δὲ σύνθετος λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἐν ἡλίῳ Ἐρμῆς, Ἐκάτη δὲ ὁ ἐν σελήνῃ, Ἐρμόπαν δὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ παντὶ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ ὁ σπερματικὸς καὶ ποιητικός. σύνθετος δὲ καὶ οἷον μιξέλλην καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις ὁ Ἐρμάνουβις. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐρώσης ἦν

flowers, symbolizing spring, and the other holds ears of grain, symbolizing summer.

3.11.39 | Grasping the power of Ares, which is fiery and creates wars and bloodshed, they made it capable of both harming and helping.

3.11.40 | Seeing the star of Aphrodite as the creator of life and the cause of desire and reproduction, they shaped a woman for the purpose of creation, beautiful like Hesperus, who stands as the most beautiful star in the sky.

3.11.41 | And they placed Eros for the sake of desire. He covers the breasts and the part, since the power is the cause of reproduction and nurturing. And he comes from the sea, an element that is both wet and warm, moving a lot and bubbling up because of the stirring, hinting at the seed.

3.11.42 | Of this speech, which is both poetic and interpretive, Hermes is the representative. The stretched Hermes shows harmony and also points out the seed-like speech that runs through everything.

3.11.43 | Then there is a combined speech: Hermes in the sun, Hecate in the moon, and Hermopan in everything. For the seed-like and poetic is in all things. And Hermanuvius is also combined, like a mix of Greek and Egyptian. Since the speech was of the

δυνάμεως ὁ λόγος, ταύτης ὁ "Ἐρως παραστατικός. διὸ παῖς μὲν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ὁ "Ἐρως, νήπιος δὲ διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμπτώσεις αὐτοῦ.

3.11.44 | τοῦ δὲ παντὸς τὸν Πάνα σύμβολον ἔθεντο, τὰ μὲν κέρατα σύμβολα δόντες ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, τὴν δὲ νεβρίδα τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων, ἥ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ποικιλίας."

3.11.45 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων πάλιν τοιαῦτά φησιν ἔχειν σύμβολα Τὸν δημιουργὸν, ὃν Κνήφ οἱ Αἴγυπτιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀνθρωποειδῆ, τὴν δὲ χροιὰν ἐκ κυανοῦ μέλανος ἔχοντα, κρατοῦντα ζώνην καὶ σκῆπτρον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς πτερὸν βασίλειον περικείμενον, ὅτι λόγος δυσεύρετος καὶ ἔγκεκρυμμένος καὶ οὐ φανὸς, καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιός, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεὺς, καὶ ὅτι νοερῶς κινεῖται· διὸ ἥ τοῦ πτεροῦ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται.

3.11.46 | τὸν δὲ θεὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος προΐεσθαί φασιν ὡδὸν, ἔξ οὖ γεννᾶσθαι θεὸν, ὃν αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι Φθὰ, οἵ δὲ Ἑλληνες Ἡφαιστὸν· ἐρμηνεύειν δὲ τὸ ὡδὸν τὸν κόσμον. ἀφιέρωται δὲ τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ πρόβατον διὰ τὸ τοὺς παλαιοὺς γαλακτοποτεῖν.

3.11.47 | αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ δείκηλον τοιόνδε ἀνέπλασαν· ἀνθρωποειδές ἐστιν ἄγαλμα, τοὺς μὲν πόδας συμβεβήκότας ἔχον, ἄνωθεν δὲ μέχρι ποδῶν ποικίλον ἱμάτιον περιβεβλημένον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς σφαῖραν ἔχει χρυσῆν διὰ τὸ μὴ μεταβαίνειν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀστρων

power of desire, Eros is the representative of this. Therefore, Eros is the child of Hermes, but he is infantile because of his sudden falls into desires.

3.11.44 | They set Pan as a symbol of everything, giving him horns as symbols of the sun and moon, and the fawn skin of the stars in the sky, or of the variety of all things.

3.11.45 | And the Greek symbols are like this; the Egyptians say that their creator has similar symbols. They call him Khnum, who looks like a human, with skin of dark blue, holding a belt and a scepter, and on his head is a royal wing. This is because he is a hard-to-find and hidden word, not visible, and because he gives life, and because he moves with thought; therefore, the nature of the wing is placed on the head.

3.11.46 | They say that this god sends forth an egg from his mouth, from which a god is born, whom they call Phtha, and the Greeks call Hephaestus. The egg means the world. A sheep is offered to this god because the ancients used to make milk from it.

3.11.47 | They made a statue of the world like this: it is human-like, with feet that are joined together, and above the feet, it is covered with a colorful robe. On its head, it has a golden sphere because it does not change, and because of the colorful nature of the stars, and because the world is

ποικίλην φύσιν, καὶ ὅτι σφαιροειδής ὁ κόσμος.

3.11.48 | ἥλιον δὲ σημαίνουσι ποτὲ μὲν δι' ἀνθρώπου ἐπιβεβηκότος πλοίου, τοῦ πλοίου ἐπὶ κροκοδείλου κειμένου. δῆλοῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν πλοῖον τὴν ἐν ὑγρῷ κίνησιν, ὃ δὲ κροκόδειλος πότιμον ὕδωρ, ἐν ᾧ φέρεται ὁ ἥλιος. ἐσήμαινε τοίνυν ὁ ἥλιος δι' ἀέρος ὑγροῦ καὶ γλυκέος τὴν περιπόλησιν ποιεῖσθαι.

3.11.49 | τῆς δὲ οὐρανίας γῆς καὶ τῆς χθονίας τὴν δύναμιν Ἰσιν προσεῖπον διὰ τὴν ἴσοτητα, ἀφ' ἣς τὸ δίκαιον· οὐρανίαν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, χθονίαν δὲ τὴν καρποφόρον, ἐν ᾧ κατοικοῦμεν, λέγουσι.

3.11.50 | τὸ δὲ αὔτὸ δύναται Δημήτηρ παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ Ἰσις παρ' Αἴγυπτοις, καὶ πάλιν Κόρη παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ Διόνυσος, καὶ Ἰσις καὶ Ὀσιρις παρ' Αἴγυπτοις. αὕτη δὲ τρέφουσα καὶ αἰροῦσα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς· ὃ δὲ Ὀσιρις παρ' Αἴγυπτοις τὴν κάρπιμον παρίστησι δύναμιν, ἦν θρήνοις ἀπομειλίσσεσθαι εἰς γῆν ἀφανιζομένην ἐν τῷ σπόρῳ, καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καταναλισκομένην εἰς τροφάς

3.11.51 | λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ποταμίας τοῦ Νείλου δυνάμεως· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν τὴν χθονίαν γῆν σημαίνωσιν, Ὁσιρις ἡ κάρπιμος λαμβάνεται δύναμις, ὅταν δὲ τὴν οὐρανίαν, Ὁσιρίς ἔστιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἔξ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται· πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ἀπομειλισσόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν λήγουσαν καὶ ἀναλισκομένην. ἡ δὲ

spherical.

3.11.48 | They sometimes represent the sun as a man standing on a ship, with the ship resting on a crocodile. The ship shows movement in water, while the crocodile represents the drinkable water in which the sun travels. Thus, the sun signifies making a journey through moist and sweet air.

3.11.49 | They call the power of the heavenly earth and the earthly land Isis because of their equality, from which comes justice. They say that the moon is heavenly, while the fruitful land, where we live, is earthly.

3.11.50 | Demeter is the same as Isis among the Greeks and Egyptians, and again Kore is the same as Dionysus among the Greeks, while Isis and Osiris are the same among the Egyptians. Demeter nourishes and takes care of what is on the earth; Osiris, among the Egyptians, represents the power of fertility, which is celebrated in songs as it disappears into the earth during sowing, and is consumed by us as food.

3.11.51 | The power of the Nile River is also taken as a substitute; when they mean the earthly land, Osiris is seen as the power of fertility, but when they mean the heavenly, Osiris is the Nile, which they believe comes down from the sky. They mourn for him as they see his power fading and being consumed. In the myths, Isis, the Egyptian

έν τοῖς μύθοις μισγομένη τῷ Ὀσίριδι Ἰσις ἡ Αίγυπτία ἔστι γῆ διόπερ ἴσοῦται καὶ κυεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ τοὺς καρπούς· διὸ ἀνὴρ τῆς "Ισιδος" Ὀσιρις καὶ ἀδελφὸς καὶ υἱὸς παραδέδοται."

goddess, is mixed with Osiris as the earth, which is why she is equal, can conceive, and produces the crops. Therefore, Osiris is called the husband, brother, and son of Isis.

## Section 12

3.12.1 | Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν τετίμηται ἄγαλμα, πεπλασμένον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείκελον καὶ καθήμενον, κυανοῦν τε τὴν χροιὰν, κεφαλὴν δὲ κριοῦ κεκτημένον, καὶ βασίλειον, κέρατα τράγεια ἔχον, οἵς ἐπεστὶ κύκλος δισκοειδῆς. κάθηται δὲ, παρακειμένου κεραμέου ἀγγείου, ἐφ' οὐ ἀνθρωπὸν ἀναπλάσσειν. δηλοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ πρόσωπον ἔχειν καὶ αἴγὸς κέρατα τὴν ἐν κριῷ σύνοδον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· τὸ δὲ ἐκ κυανοῦ χρῶμα, ὅτι  
ὑδραγωγὸς ἐν συνόδῳ ἡ σελήνη.

3.12.1 | In the city of Elephantine, there is a statue that is honored, shaped like a man but seated, with a blue color. It has the head of a ram and royal horns like a goat, which have a circular disk on them. It sits beside a clay vessel, on which a person can be formed. It shows that it has the face of a ram and the horns of a goat, representing the union of the sun and the moon. The blue color suggests that the moon is associated with water.

3.12.2 | τὸ δὲ δεύτερον φῶς τῆς σελήνης ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος πόλει καθιέρωται· ἔστι δὲ τούτου σύμβολον ἱερακοπρόσωπος ἀνθρωπὸς ζιβύνῃ χειρούμενος Τυφῶνα ἵπποποτάμῳ είκασμένον. λευκὸν δὲ τῇ χρόᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῆς μὲν λευκότητος τὸ φωτίζεσθαι τὴν σελήνην παραστησάσης, τοῦ δὲ ἱερακείου προσώπου τὸ ἀφ' ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι καὶ πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν. τὸν γὰρ ἱέρακα ἡλίῳ ἀφιεροῦσι· φωτὸς δὲ καὶ πνεύματος ἱέραξ αὐτοῖς σύμβολον διά τε τὴν ὁξυκινησίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὑψος ἀνατρέχειν, ἐνθα τὸ φῶς· ὃ δὲ ἵπποπόταμος τὸν δυτικὸν δηλοῖ πόλον, παρὰ τὸ καταπίνειν εἰς ἐαυτὸν τοὺς περιπολοῦντας.

3.12.2 | The second light of the moon is honored in the city of Apollo. Its symbol is a human figure with the face of a hawk, holding a hippopotamus that is like Typhon. The statue is white, which represents the brightness of the moon, while the hawk's face symbolizes being lit by the sun and receiving spirit. They dedicate the hawk to the sun; for them, the hawk is a symbol of light and spirit because of its quick movements and ability to soar high, where the light is. The hippopotamus represents the western region, as it swallows those who swim around it.

3.12.3 | Θεὸς δὲ τιμᾶται ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὁ

3.12.3 | In this city, the god Horus is

Ὕρος. ἡ δὲ τῆς Είληθυίας πόλις τὸ τρίτον φῶς θεραπεύει τὸ δὲ ξόανον τετύπωται εἰς γῦπα πετομένην, ἥς τὸ πτέρωμα ἐκ σπουδαίων συνέστηκε λίθων. σημαίνει δὲ τὸ μὲν γυποειδὲς αὐτῆς τὴν γεννητικὴν πνευμάτων σελήνην· ἐκ γάρ τοῦ πνεύματος οἴονται συλλαμβάνειν τὸν γῦπα, θηλείας πάσας ἀποφαινόμενοι.

honored. The city of Eileithyia worships the third light; the statue is shaped like a vulture in flight, with feathers made from precious stones. The vulture represents the generative spirit of the moon; for they believe that from the spirit, the vulture conceives, showing all female forms.

3.12.4 | ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' Ἐλευσῖνα μυστηρίοις ὁ μὲν ιεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐνσκευάζεται, δαδοῦχος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡλίου· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βωμῷ εἰς τὴν σελήνην, ὁ δὲ ιεροκῆρυξ Ἐρμοῦ.

3.12.4 | In the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant prepares for the image of the creator, while the torchbearer prepares for the sun. The hierophant stands at the altar for the moon, and the herald is for Hermes.

3.12.5 | καὶ ἄνθρωπος δὲ παρ' Αἴγυπτοις ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς παρείληπται. Ἀναβῖς γάρ ἔστι κώμη Αἴγυπτου, ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύεται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θύεται τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τὰ ιερεῖα καίεται· ὁ δὲ μετ' ὄλιγον φάγοι ἀν τὰ ὄψιν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ παρεσκευασμένα.

3.12.5 | In Egypt, a man is accepted in the sacred places. For Anabis is a village in Egypt, where a man is honored, and sacrifices are made to him, and the offerings are burned on the altars. After a little while, he would eat what has been prepared for him as a man.

3.12.6 | ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται, εἰκόνας δὲ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ σύμβολα ταῦτα θεῶν, δηλοῦ τὸ πολλαχοῦ βοῦς ἀναχθέντας θεοῖς ἐν ταῖς ιερομηνίαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς θεοὺς θρησκείαις βουθυτεῖν. ἡλίῳ μὲν γάρ καὶ σελήνῃ βοῦς ἀνιέρωσαν.

3.12.6 | That no animals are considered gods, but rather images and symbols of the gods, is shown by the many times bulls are offered to the gods during the holy days and in their worship. For they sacrifice bulls to the sun and the moon.

## Section 13

3.13.1 | Ἄλλ' ὁ γε ἡλίῳ ἀνακείμενος ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει, καλούμενος Μνεῦις, βοῶν ἔστι μέγιστος, σφρόδρα μέλας, μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὁ πολὺς μελαίνει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια σώματα. ἔχει δὲ τὴν οὐράν τοῦ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους βοῦς καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ἀνάτριχον,

3.13.1 | But he who lies in the city of Helios, called Mneuis, is the greatest of the bulls, very dark, especially because the great sun darkens human bodies. He has a tail like other bulls and his whole body is hairy, just as the sun makes the opposite pole run. His

καθάπερ ὁ ἥλιος τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πόλω ποιεῖται δρόμον· τούς τε ὄρχεις μεγίστους, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἡμερος γίνεται ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὃ τε ἥλιος σπερμαίνειν λέγεται τὴν φύσιν.

testicles are very large, since desire for pleasure arises from heat, and the sun is said to cause nature to reproduce.

3.13.2 | σελήνη δὲ ταῦρον ἀνέθεσαν, ὃν Ἀπιν ἐπονομάζουσι, μέλανα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους, φέροντα δὲ σημεῖα ἥλιου καὶ σελήνης, ὅτι καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ φῶς ἔξ ἥλιου· ἥλιου δὲ σημεῖον τὸ μέλαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν κάνθαρος· σελήνης δὲ σύμβολον τό τε διχότομον καὶ ἀμφίκυρτον."

3.13.2 | To the moon, they offered a bull, which they call Apis, dark like the others, but carrying signs of the sun and the moon, since the light of the moon comes from the sun. The sign of the sun is the blackness of the body and the beetle under the tongue. The symbols of the moon are both the forked and the curved shape.

3.13.3 | Ταῦτά μοι ἔκ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς γραφῆς ἐπιτετμήσθω, ὡς ἀν μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὅμοῦ καὶ Αἴγυπτιακῆς θεολογίας, ἣς ἀποστάτας ἐαυτὸὺς καὶ φυγάδας διμολογοῦμεν, κρίσει καὶ λογισμῷ σώφρονι καὶ τάδε παραιτησάμενοι.

3.13.3 | Let these things be cut from the writing of the man mentioned above, so that nothing escapes us of the hidden things of Greek and Egyptian theology, of which we admit ourselves to be followers and exiles, having chosen these things with wise judgment and reasoning.

3.13.4 | οὐ γάρ με ἡ ἀλαζῶν ἐκπλήξει φωνὴ, φθέγξομαι οἵς θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, φήσασα. βέβηλοι γοῦν οὐκ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ γε τὰς τοιάσδε αἰσχράς καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς μυθολογίας κανθάρων πέρι καὶ θηρίων ἀλόγων σοφίας θεολόγου νοήματα εἶναι ἀποφηνάμενοι, οἱ, κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον ἀπόστολον, φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν· ὅτι δὴ ἡλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὀμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν."

3.13.4 | For the voice of the boastful will not frighten me, saying, "You who are unholy, do not approach the doors." Indeed, we are not unholy, but those who declare such shameful and improper myths about beetles and irrational beasts to be the thoughts of a wise theologian. They, as the wonderful apostle says, claiming to be wise, have become foolish; for they have changed the glory of the incorruptible god into the likeness of a corruptible man, and of birds and four-footed animals and creeping things.

3.13.5 | ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ τούτων

3.13.5 | But since they have indeed raised

άπόρρητον δὴ καὶ μυστικώτερον λόγον εἰς  
ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις μεταφορικῶς ἀνῆγον,  
ὡστε δοκεῖν μηκέτ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρώμενα μέρη  
τοῦ κόσμου τὴν θεοποιίαν αὐτῶν  
συντείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τινας ἀοράτους καὶ  
ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις, σκεψώμεθα εἰ μὴ καὶ  
οὕτως μίαν χρὴ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν  
ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡγεῖσθαι.

all the secret and more mysterious discourse about these things to incorporeal powers, so that it seems they no longer focus their divinity on the visible parts of the world, but rather on certain unseen and incorporeal powers, let us consider whether we should not wonder at this one divine power, but rather think of many.

3.13.6 | ούδε γάρ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ σχήματα καὶ  
μέρη καὶ μέλη ὑφ' ἐνὶ σώματι  
δεδημιούργηται, τοσαύτας χρῆν ἡμᾶς τὰς  
ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι, ούδὲ τοσούτους  
ποιητὰς καὶ δημιουργοὺς τοῦ σώματος  
νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν τὸ πᾶν σῶμα  
κινεῖν, καὶ μίαν δημιουργὸν δύναμιν τὸ πᾶν  
ζῷον τεκτήνασθαι.

3.13.6 | For since many shapes and parts and members have been created within one body, we should not think that we have so many souls, nor should we consider so many poets and creators of the body, but rather that one soul moves the whole body, and one creative power shapes the whole living being.

3.13.7 | οὕτω δῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος  
κόσμου, ἐνὸς μὲν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς  
σωματικῆς ὕλης συνεστῶτος, εἰς μέρη δὲ  
πλεῖστα διῃρημένου, καὶ μίαν τῶν ὅλων  
φυσικὴν συμπάθειαν ὑποφαίνοντος,  
κρᾶσίν τε καὶ μῖξιν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχείων,  
ἄλλοιωσεις τε καὶ μεταβολὰς αὐτῶν εἰς  
ἐαυτὰ, δλον δὲ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔνα κόσμον καὶ  
μίαν ἀρμονίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, οὐ πολλὰς  
χρῆν ὑποτίθεσθαι δημιουργοὺς δυνάμεις,  
μόνην δὲ θεολογεῖν τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοῦ  
δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν.

3.13.7 | Thus, indeed, in the whole universe, being one and made from one physical substance, while divided into many parts, and showing one natural sympathy of all, with the mixing and blending of the elements within it, and their changes and transformations into themselves, while the whole and all things show one world and one harmony, we should not suppose many creative powers, but rather speak of the one true power of god and the wisdom of god.

3.13.8 | ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰς Αἴγυπτιακὰς  
μυθολογίας πάλιν ἐπὶ ἀσωμάτους  
μεταφέρει δυνάμεις, λαθὼν ὁ σοφώτατος  
αὐτὸς ἐαυτόν. ἀκήκοας γάρ ἐν τοῖς  
πρόσθεν ὅπως τὸν Χαιρήμονα καὶ πλείους  
ἄλλους ὡμοιόγει μηδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῶν  
ὄρωμένων κόσμων ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐν ἀρχῇς τε  
λόγῳ τίθεσθαι τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους· τούτους

3.13.8 | But he also transfers the Egyptian myths to incorporeal powers, hiding himself, the wisest one. For he has heard how Chairemon and many others claimed that nothing else should be thought of before the visible worlds, placing the Egyptians in the beginning of the discourse; for they interpret everything in terms of

γὰρ πάντα είς τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ούδὲν είς  
ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας ἐρμηνεύειν.

the physical and nothing in terms of  
incorporeal and living essences.

3.13.9 | εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν  
όμολογίαν Αἴγυπτίων ἦν τὸ μηδὲν ἀνάγειν  
είς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζώσας ούσιας, πάντα δὲ  
τὰ περὶ θεῶν αὐτοῖς μυθολογούμενα ἐπὶ τὰ  
φυσικὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη μεταφέρειν, τί δὴ  
ἔξ ὑπαρχῆς εὺρεσιλογοῦντες Αἴγυπτίοις τὰ  
μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν οίκεῖα προσγράφετε, ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δυνάμεις ἀσωμάτους φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς  
τὴν ἀναφορὰν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν  
ποιεῖσθαι; καθόλου μὲν οὖν ταῦτα  
αίτιατέον.

3.13.9 | If, then, according to their own  
agreement, the Egyptians did not relate  
anything to incorporeal and living essences,  
but transferred everything about the gods  
to the physical parts of the universe, why  
do you, finding something that is not at all  
theirs, attribute it to the Egyptians,  
claiming that they make their theology  
refer to incorporeal powers? Therefore, all  
these things must be questioned.

3.13.10 | Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος δὲ  
ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς κατηναγκασμένης  
ἀποδόσεως αὐτῶν οὐ μακρᾶς ἀνασκευῆς  
δασθαι. ἵνα γὰρ τὸν Αἴγυπτιακὸν  
παρελθών τις λῆρον καὶ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν  
καὶ ἀδόλεσχον φλυαρίαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν  
σοφῶν Ἑλλήνων μετέλθοι φυσιολογίας, τίς  
ούκ ἀν τῶν εὗ φρονούντων αὐτόθεν  
καταμέμψαιτο τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
παρεξηγεῖσθαι πειρωμένοις;

3.13.10 | And regarding the specific points,  
I think that the examination of their forced  
explanations will not take long to refute.  
For if someone were to pass over the  
Egyptian nonsense and their many empty  
and foolish claims to study the natural  
philosophy of the wise Greeks, who would  
not blame those trying to misunderstand  
such things?

3.13.11 | ἔστω γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς μηκέθ' ἡ  
πυρώδης καὶ αἰθέριος ούσια, ὥσπερ οὖν  
τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐνομίζετο κατὰ τὸν  
Πλούταρχον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνωτάτω νοῦς, ὁ  
τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς, ὁ τὰ πάντα<sup>2</sup>  
ζωογονῶν· πῶς οὖν ἔσται τούτου πατήρ  
μὲν ὁ Κρόνος, ὃν φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον,  
‘Ρέα δὲ μήτηρ, ἦν ὁ ἐρμηνεὺς ἔφησεν εἶναι  
τὴν πετρώδη καὶ ὅρειον δύναμιν; τὴν γὰρ  
‘Ηραν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως τὸν ἄέρα τὸν καὶ  
αἰθέρα προσειπῶν ἀδελφὴν ὅμοιον καὶ  
γυναικά φησιν εἶναι τοῦ κοσμοποιοῦ καὶ

3.13.11 | Let Zeus no longer be the fiery  
and etheric essence, as it was believed by  
the ancients according to Plutarch, but let  
him be the highest mind, the creator of all,  
who gives life to everything. How, then, can  
Cronus, whom they say is time, be the  
father of this being, and Rhea the mother,  
whom the interpreter said is the rocky and  
mountainous power? For I do not  
understand how Hera is called both the air  
and the ether, and is said to be the sister  
and wife of the creator and life-giver of all.

ζωοποιοῦ πάντων νοῦ.

3.13.12 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Λητὼ πάλιν λήθω τις  
καλείσθω, διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ύπνον, ὡς  
φασιν, ἀναισθησίαν, καὶ ὅτι λήθη  
ξυνομαρτεῖ ταῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην γενομέναις  
ψυχαῖς. πῶς ἀν οὖν ἡ λήθη γένοιτ' ἀν ἡλίου  
καὶ σελήνης μήτηρ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ  
Ἄρτεμιδος τῶν Λητοῦς παίδων εἰς ἥλιον καὶ  
σελήνην μετενηγεγένεται;

3.13.12 | But let Leto be called forgetfulness again, because of the unconsciousness during sleep, as they say, and because forgetfulness is said to affect the souls that come under the moon. How, then, could forgetfulness be the mother of the sun and the moon, when Apollo and Artemis, the children of Leto, have been transferred to the sun and the moon?

3.13.13 | τί δὲ χρὴ σέβειν ὡς θεὸν τὴν Ρέαν  
ἢ τὴν Δῆμητρα, εἴ ἡ μὲν τῆς πετρώδους καὶ  
όρείου γῆς, ἡ δὲ τῆς πεδιάδος τὰ σύμβολα  
φέρειν ἔλέγετο; τὴν δὲ Κόρην τὸν κόρον  
ἀλληγοροῦντες τίνι λόγῳ καὶ ταύτην  
οἴονται δεῖν τῇ σεβασμίῳ προσηγορίᾳ  
τιμᾶν;

3.13.13 | What need is there to worship Rhea or Demeter as a goddess, if one is said to carry the symbols of the rocky and mountainous land, while the other carries the symbols of the plain? And why do they think it is necessary to honor Persephone, the maiden, with a respectful title, when they are interpreting her as a symbol of growth?

3.13.14 | τί δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν σπερματοῦχον  
δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀκροδρύων γένεσιν, ἢ  
τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ προφαινομένων ἀνθέων  
καὶ πρὶν τελεσιγονῆσαι διαρρεόντων, ἢ τῆς  
τῶν τελείων καρπῶν ἐκτομῆς τὰ σύμβολα,  
Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀττιν καὶ Ἀδωνινκ  
ἐπονομάζοντας, ὡς θεοὺς χρῆναι σέβειν,  
οὐχὶ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων τὸ ἀνθρώπειον  
γένος προτιμᾶν, ὡς ταῦτα πρὸς χρῆσιν καὶ  
τροφὴν ὃ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς θεὸς  
ὑπεστήσατο;

3.13.14 | What need is there to worship the power that brings forth seeds, and the generation of fruits, or the flowers that appear in spring and bloom before they fully develop, or the symbols of the perfect fruits, calling them Dionysus, Attis, and Adonis as gods? Shouldn't one rather honor the human race, to which the creator god of all has provided these things for use and nourishment?

3.13.15 | Μεταβὰς δὲ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ κατὰ τὸν ὄμοιον τρόπον τῆς  
γενναίας ἀπελέγξεις φυσιολογίας, εὐλόγως  
τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς,

3.13.15 | Then, having moved away from these things, you should also reject the rest in the same way regarding the noble nature, rightly blaming those who say that

φέρε, τὸν ἥλιον αύτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ αὖθις τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ὁμοίως ἀποφανομένοις.

3.13.16 | πῶς γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἂν γένοιτο καὶ υἱὸς, Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλων; πῶς δ' ἂν πάλιν εἰς Ἡρακλέα μετενεχθείη, εἴ δὴ ἐκ θνητῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἄλκμήνης ὁ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτοῖς ὡμολόγηται; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔμμανὴς γένοιτο καὶ σφάξειε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ταῦτα προσαναγέγραπται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ;

3.13.17 | ἄλλὰ τοὺς ἀθλους ἐπιτελοῦντα τοὺς δώδεκα τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν διαιρέσεως τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃν φασι τὸν ἥλιον περιπολεῖν, τὸ σύμβολον φέρειν. τίς οὖν ἔτι γένοιτ' ἂν Εύρυσθεὺς ὁ τῷ ἥλιῳ, ὡσπερ οὖν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, τοὺς ἀθλους ἔκτελεῖν ἐπιτάττων., πῶς δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀναχθεῖεν αἱ πεντήκοντα Θεστίου θυγατέρες καὶ τὸ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων πλῆθος, αἵς τὸν Ἡρακλέα λόγος ἔχει μιγῆναι, ἐξ ᾧ καὶ θνητοὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γεννόμενοι ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν τῶν γενῶν παρέτειναν διαδοχήν; τίς δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ Κένταυρος, οὗ τῷ αἴματι τὸν χιτῶνα μολύνασσα ἡ Δηιάνειρα τὸν ἥλιον, ὡσπερ οὖν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ περιβάλοι ἄν συμφορᾶ;

3.13.18 | ἄλλὰ γὰρ μηκέτ' ἔστω ὁ ἥλιος αὐτοῖς Ἡρακλῆς, ἔστω δ' ὁ Διόνυσος· καὶ τὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; φαίνεται τις ἀν εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ ἡ τοῦτον γεννήσασα, εἴτε Σεμέλη τὶς λέγοιτο εἴτε Περσεφόνη; πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ὑγροὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ

the sun itself is Apollo, and again that Heracles is the same, and once more that Dionysus and Asclepius are the same as well.

3.13.16 | How could the same father be both Asclepius and Apollo as son? And how could he be transferred again to Heracles, if indeed Heracles is said to be born from the mortal woman Alcmene? And how could the sun become mad and kill his own children, since these things are also attributed to Heracles?

3.13.17 | But as for the twelve labors that Heracles completed, they are said to be part of the division of the zodiac in the sky, which the sun is said to circle and bear as a symbol. So who would Eurystheus be, who, like the sun, commands Heracles to complete the labors? How could the fifty daughters of Thestios and the rest of the captured women be raised against the sun, if it is said that Heracles mingled with them, from whom mortal children were born to him, extending the line of generations for a long time? And who would the centaur be, whose blood Deianeira used to stain the sun's cloak, just as she did with Heracles, would he not be involved in the same misfortune?

3.13.18 | But let the sun not be Heracles for them, and let him be Dionysus instead; and what do these things have to do with Dionysus? Someone might say this is reasonable. Who is his mother, whether it is said to be Semele or Persephone? How could Dionysus be the same as the sun and

άκροδρυα βλαστῶσα δύναμις; τί δ' ἀν  
γένοιτο τῶν συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ  
γυναικῶν τὸ πλῆθος; τίς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥλιου,  
ῶσπερ οὖν ἡ τοῦ Διονύσου, Ἀριάδνη; τί δὲ  
μᾶλλον οἶνου, οὐχὶ δὲ σίτου καὶ ὄσπριών  
καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπάντων καρπῶν γένοιτ'  
ἄν χορηγὸς ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τὸν ἥλιον  
μεταγόμενος;

the power that brings forth wet fruits and  
nuts? And what would happen to the many  
women who accompanied him? And who is  
the sun's companion, just as Ariadne is for  
Dionysus? And why would Dionysus be  
more of a giver of wine, not of grain and  
legumes and all the fruits from the earth, if  
he were to be transferred to the sun?

3.13.19 | εἴ δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς αύτοῖς πάλιν  
εἴη ὁ ἥλιος 5 πῶς οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δῖός  
κεραυνοῦται ḥυπαρὰς ἔνεκεν  
αἰσχροκερδείας, κατὰ τὸν Βοιώτιον  
μελοποιὸν Πίνδαρον ὕδε πῶς λέγοντα  
"Ἐτραπεν κάκεινον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ χρυσὸς  
ἐν χερσὶν φανεὶς,... χερσὶ δ' ἄρα Κρονίων  
ῥίψαις δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρνων  
κάθελενώκέως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς  
ἐνέσκηψεν μόρον.

3.13.19 | If the sun is also Asclepius for  
them, how is he struck by Zeus's lightning  
because of filthy greed, according to the  
Boeotian poet Pindar, saying something  
like this: "He was turned into a man by gold  
appearing in his hands... and then the son of  
Cronus quickly threw him down, casting  
away the breath from his chest, and a fiery  
lightning struck him, bringing his fate."

3.13.20 | τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔξ ἥλιου  
Ἀσκληπιάδαι, είς μακρὸν τοῦ βίου  
διαφυλαχθέντες καὶ θνητῶν ἀνδρῶν  
γένεσιν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίαν  
ὑποστησάμενοι; πλὴν ἀλλὰ πάλιν αύτοῖς,  
ῶσπερ διὰ μηχανῆς, τὰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ  
μυθικὰς περὶ θεῶν διηγήσεις  
ἀποφεύγοντιν, είς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ  
τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ἀνατρέχοι ἄν ὁ  
λόγος.

3.13.20 | Who are the Asclepiads from the  
sun, if they are preserved for a long time in  
life and stand close to all human  
generations? But again, just like by a trick,  
they avoid the shameful and mythical  
stories about the gods, and the story would  
run off to the sun and moon and the other  
parts of the world.

3.13.21 | εἴ γε πῦρ μὲν ἦν αύτοῖς ὁ  
Ἡφαιστος καὶ ἡ θερμὴ δύναμις, Ποσειδῶν  
δὲ ἡ ὑγρὰ ούσια, Ἡρα δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ, καὶ γῆ  
πάλιν, ἡ μὲν ὅρειος καὶ πετρώδης Ῥέα, ἡ δὲ  
πεδινὴ καὶ γόνιμος Δημήτηρ, καὶ Κόρη δὲ ἡ  
σπερματοῦχος, καὶ Διόνυσος ἡ φυτευτικὴ  
τῶν ἀκροδρύων δύναμις. καὶ ἥλιος  
Ἄπολλων σὺν τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις, σελήνη

3.13.21 | If fire was Hephaestus for them  
and the warm power, and Poseidon was the  
wet substance, and Hera was the air, and  
the earth was again, the mountainous and  
rocky Rhea, and the flat and fertile  
Demeter, and Persephone was the bearer of  
seeds, and Dionysus was the power that  
brings forth fruits. And the sun was Apollo

δὲ ποτὲ μὲν Ἀρτεμις, ποτὲ δὲ Ἄθηνᾶ, καὶ πάλιν Ἐκάτη καὶ Εἰλήθυια, ούκοῦν πάλιν τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίστην, καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τοῦ παντὸς, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν δημιουργὸν θεολογοῦντες ἀπελέγχονται, λίαν ἐπισφαλῶς καὶ ἐπικινδύνως καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς ίδιας αὐτῶν κεφαλῆς.

3.13.22 | εἰ δὲ μὴ τὰ ὄρώμενα σώματα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων μηδέ γε τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φέρουσι θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰτὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀοράτους δυνάμεις αύτοῦ δὴ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, (ἔνα γὰρ ὅντα θεὸν παντοίαις δυνάμεσι τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιστατεῖν, ἀσωμάτως δὲ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσιν ὅντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα, καὶ τοῦτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων σέβειν φασὶ) τί δῆτα τοιγαροῦν οὐχὶ τὰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀπρεπεῖς περὶ θεῶν μυθολογίας ως ἀνάθεσμους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς παραίτησάμενοι, καὶ αύτάς γε τὰς περὶ τούτων βίβλους, ως δυσσεβῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστα περιεχούσας, ἀφανεῖς ποιήσαντες, τὸν ἔνα καὶ μόνον καὶ ἀόρατον θεὸν γυμνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς αἰσχρᾶς περιπλοκῆς ἀνυμνοῦσι;

3.13.23 | τοῦτο γὰρ δέον ἦν ποιεῖν τοῖς τάληθὲς ἐπεγνωκόσι, μηδὲ κατάγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν εἰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἐμπαθεῖς ἀρρητολογίας τὴν σεβάσμιον τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσρησιν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐν οἰκίσκοις καὶ σκότου μυχοῖς ἀνδρῶν τε οἰκοδομαῖς σφάξ αύτοὺς ἐναποκλείειν, ως ἔνδον εὐρήσοντας τὸν θεόν, μηδὲ ἐν ξοάνοις ἐξ ἀψύχου πεποιημένοις ὕλης τὰς θείας τιμᾶν οἴεσθαι δυνάμεις, μηδὲ μὴν γεώδεσιν ἀτμοῖς αἰμάτων καὶ λύθρου καὶ νεκρόν ζώων αἱμασι κεχαρισμένα τῷ θεῷ πράττειν

along with those named, and the moon was sometimes Artemis, sometimes Athena, and again Hecate and Eileithyia. Therefore, they again deny the creator of all creation, but do not speak of the creator, and this is very uncertain and dangerous and harmful to their own heads.

3.13.22 | If they do not say that the visible bodies of the sun, moon, and stars, nor the sensible parts of the world are made divine, but rather the unseen powers within them, indeed the one who is above all, (for one god fills everything with various powers, and exists through all things, and oversees all, being without body and unseen in all, and moving through all, and they say that it is reasonable to honor this one through what has been revealed), then why do they not reject the shameful and inappropriate myths about the gods as unlawful and impious, and also make the books about these things invisible, since they contain irreverent and immoral content, and instead sing praises to the one and only invisible god plainly, purely, and without any shameful entanglement?

3.13.23 | For it was necessary for those who know the truth to do this, not to bring down and throw into shameful and passionate speech the reverent call of god; but not even to shut themselves away in little houses and dark corners of men's buildings, thinking they would find god inside, nor to believe that they honor divine powers in lifeless statues made from material, nor to think that they are pleasing god by performing rituals with the blood of animals and the remains of dead creatures.

νομίζειν.

3.13.24 | τούτων δὲ ἀπάντων, ὡς ἀν πλάνης δεσμῶν ἀπολυθέντας, χρῆν δήπου τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας ἀφθόνως κοινωνεῖν, μονονουχὶ γυμνώς προκηρύττοντας ἄπασι μὴ τὰ φαινόμενα, τὸν δὲ ἀφανῆ δημιουργὸν τῶν φαινομένων μόνον ἀποθαυμάζειν, καὶ τὰς ἀοράτους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις ἀοράτως καὶ ἀσωμάτως θρησκεύειν, οὐ πῦρ ἄψαντας, οὐδέ γε κριὸν καὶ ταῦρον θυσαμένους, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ στεφάνοις καὶ ξιάνοις καὶ ναῶν οίκοδομαῖς τὸ θεῖον τιμάν οἰμένους, λογισμοῖς δὲ κεκαθαρμένοις καὶ δόγμασιν ὄρθοῖς καὶ ἀληθέσι τοῦτο πράττοντας, ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅμοιώσει.

3.13.24 | Of all these things, as if freed from the bonds of error, it was necessary for the wise and those who study the heavens to share generously with all people the knowledge of nature, not merely proclaiming to everyone the visible things, but only marveling at the unseen creator of the visible things, and worshiping his unseen and bodiless powers in an unseen and bodiless way, not by touching fire, nor by sacrificing a ram or a bull, nor by thinking that they honor the divine with crowns, statues, and the buildings of temples. Instead, they should do this with purified thoughts and correct and true beliefs, in a state of detachment of the soul and by striving to become as virtuous as possible in relation to him.

3.13.25 | ἀλλ' οὐδείς γε πώποτε, οὐ βάρβαρος, οὐχ Ἕλλην, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ταύτης κατῆρξε τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ μόνος ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτήρ· ὃς δὴ τῆς παλαιὰς πλάνης πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀποφυγὴν προκηρύξας τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως εὔρετο τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον τῶν ὅλων θεὸν ἐπιστροφήν τε καὶ εύσεβειαν· οἱ δὲ τηνάλλως σοφοὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀνωτάτω φιλοσοφίαν αὐχήσαντες, ἢ φησιν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος "γνόντες θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν, ἢ εὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἔματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἢ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. φήσαντες γοῦν εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν, καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἔστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας."

3.13.25 | But no one, neither barbarian nor Greek, has ever led all people to this truth except our own savior. He, indeed, proclaimed to all nations the escape from the old error and found for everyone the return and piety toward the true and only god of all. But the so-called wise ones of life, boasting of their highest philosophy, as the divine apostle says, "Although they knew god, they did not honor him as god or give thanks, but became futile in their thoughts, and their foolish hearts were darkened." Claiming to be wise, they became foolish, and they honored and served the creation rather than the creator, who is blessed forever.

## Section 14

3.14.1 | Μετὰ γοῦν τὴν μακρὰν καὶ πολλὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μετὰ τὰς σεμνὰς μετεωρολογίας καὶ φυσιολογίας, ἀνωθέν ποθεν ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοτάτης ἀωρωρείας καταπίπτοντες σὺν τοῖς πλήθεσι κατεσύροντο καὶ τῇ τῶν παλαιῶν πολυθέω πλάνῃ συνεφύροντο, τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοια, διὰ τοῦ θύειν καὶ τοῖς ξοάνοις προσπίπτειν, δοξάζειν ὑποκρινόμενοι, αὔξοντές τε καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον κρατύνοντες τὴν δημώδη τῶν μυθικῶν διηγημάτων περὶ θεῶν ὑπόληψιν.

3.14.2 | πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀν εἶν τοῖς πᾶσι πρόδηλοι σεμνολογούμενοι μὲν ταῖς φυσιολογίαις, καὶ μέχρι λόγων τὰ αἰσχρὰ καλλωπίζοντες τῇ παρατροπῇ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἔργοις δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μυθικὴν συνιστῶντες πλάνην καὶ τὴν πάνδημον δεισιδαιμονίαν; καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν, ὅτε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγράφουσι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν θεοὺς ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν συμφερομένους μυθολογίαις.

3.14.3 | ἄκουε γοῦν ὅπως ὁ Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς περὶ ἐαυτοῦ διδάσκει ὕμνον, ὃν εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἔξεδωκεν, ὁμολογῶν ἐν Δήλῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ Λητοῦς γεγεννῆσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Τρίκκῃ, ὡς καὶ Ἐρμῆς τετέχθαι ὁμολογῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαίας.

3.14.4 | γράφει δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος καὶ ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν ἐμνημόνευσεν ὡδέ πως ἔχόντων "ὦ μέγα πᾶσιν χάρμα βροτοῖσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱερῶν

3.14.1 | After a long and extensive philosophy, and after the serious studies of meteorology and physiology, they fell down from above, as if from the highest heights, and were dragged down with the masses, becoming mixed up with the old error of many gods. They acted like most people, by making sacrifices and bowing down to statues, pretending to honor them, while growing in strength and further reinforcing the common beliefs about the myths of the gods.

3.14.2 | How then could they not be clearly seen by all, while speaking seriously about physiology and decorating the shameful things with words that twist the truth, yet by their actions promoting the mythical error and the widespread superstition? And is it not surprising that they even write down their own gods with the myths that suit them?

3.14.3 | Listen then to how Apollo himself teaches a hymn, which he gave to himself, admitting that he was born on the island of Delos by Leto. And again, Asclepius in Trikka, as Hermes also admits he was born from Maia.

3.14.4 | Porphyry also writes this in his work about philosophy from reason, where he mentions the oracles in this way: "O great joy for all mortals, from the holy mother of the sacred births."

ματέρος ἀγνᾶς προθορῶν τοκετῶν.

3.14.5 | οῖς ἐπιλέγει ἄλλ' ὅτε Λατώδὶς  
ἰερὰ λάζυτο πᾶσαν, ὥροθυνομένων διδύμων  
τοκετῶν ἔνδοθι σηκῶν, ἵστατο μὲν γαῖ',  
ἵστατο δ' ἀὴρ, πάγνυτο νᾶσος, πάγνυτο  
κῦμα· ἀνὰ δ' ἔξεθορες, μάντι  
Λυκωρεῦ, τοξότα Φοῖβε, καὶ  
χρησμολάλων βασιλεῦ τριπόδων.

3.14.5 | To which he adds: "But when Leto was in labor, all the sacred places were shaken, as the twin births were being born inside the groves. The earth stood still, and the air stood still; the island was frozen, and the waves were frozen. And then, the seer Lycoreus, the most skilled archer Phoebus, and the king of the oracle-giving tripods rose up."

3.14.6 | καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς πάλιν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ  
Τρίκης ἔξι ιερῆς ἥκω θεδ̄, ὃν ποτε  
μήτηρ Φοίβω ύπευνηθεῖσα κυεῖ σοφίης  
βασιλῆα, ἕδριν ἴητορίης Ἀσκληπιόν· ἄλλὰ τί  
πεύθῃ;

3.14.6 | And Asclepius again speaks about himself: "I am a god from Trikka, whom once my mother, having been made pregnant by Phoebus, bore as the king of wisdom, Asclepius the healer. But what do you want to know?"

3.14.7 | ὁ δ' Ἔρμῆς φησιν ὡδ' ἔγὼ, ὃν  
καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς, Ἐρμείης  
προβέβηκα, λιπὼν ἀστραῖον ἄνακτα.

3.14.7 | And Hermes says: "I am he whom you call, the son of Zeus and Maia. I have come as Hermes, leaving the starry lord behind."

3.14.8 | καὶ τὸ εἶδος δὲ ἑαυτῶν  
ὑπογράφουσι τοῦ σχήματος, ὡσπερ ὁ Πᾶν  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν χρησμοῖς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τάδε  
λέγει διδάσκων Εὔχομαι βροτὸς γεγώς Πανὶ<sup>1</sup>  
συμφύτῳ θεῶ, δισσοκέρατι,  
δισσόποδι, τραγοσκελεῖ, τρυφῶντι."

3.14.8 | And they describe their own appearance in the shape, just as Pan himself says these things in oracles about himself, teaching: "I pray, being a mortal, to the god Pan, with two horns, two feet, goat-like, enjoying life."

3.14.9 | ταῦτα ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τῆς ἐκ λογίων  
φιλοσοφίας ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ τέθειται.  
οὐκέτ' ἄρα ὁ Πᾶν σύμβολον ἦν τοῦ παντὸς,  
δαίμων δ' ἀν εἴη τις τοιοῦτος οὗος καὶ  
ὑπογέγραπται ὁ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐκδούς·

3.14.9 | These things are set forth by the man who is revealed in the secret teachings of philosophical discourse. Therefore, Pan was no longer a symbol of everything, but such a spirit could be one like the one who

ού γάρ δὴ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος  
ἔχρησε τὰ προκείμενα. τούτου τοιγαροῦν  
τοῦ δαίμονος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ παντὸς τὴν  
εἰκόνα ἐκτυπώσαντες ἄνδρες τὸ  
προγεγραμμένον ἐμιμήσαντο σχῆμα.

3.14.10 | καὶ ὁ Ἐρμῆς δὲ πῶς ἀν νοοῦτο ὁ  
τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητικός τε καὶ  
ἐρμηνευτικὸς λόγος, μητέρα Μαῖαν τὴν  
Ἄτλαντς ὁμολογῶν ἐσχηκέναι, τήν γε περὶ  
αὐτοῦ λεγομένην μυθολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐ  
φυσιολογίαν ἔγκρινας;

3.14.11 | οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς πῶς ἀν  
μετάγοιτο εἰς ἥλιον, πατρίδα τὴν Τρίκκην  
ἐπιγραθόμενος μένος καὶ ἀπὸ θνητῆς  
ὁμολογῶν γεγονέναι μητρός; πῶς δ' ἀν  
ἥλιος ὧν αὐτὸς τοῦ ἥλιου πάλιν υἱὸς  
ἀποφανθείη; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα  
τὸν Φοῖβον οὐκ ἄλλον εἶναι τού ἥλιου  
ἔφυσιολόγησαν.

3.14.12 | ἐξ ἥλιου δὲ καὶ θνητῆς γυναικὸς  
φάναι αὐτὸν πῶς οὐ πάντων  
καταγελαστότατον; ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν  
πατέρα ἥλιον, ὃν δὴ Ἀπόλλωνά φασιν εἶναι,  
πῶς είκὸς ἐν Δήλῳ γεγεννῆσθαι τῇ νήσῳ  
ὑπὸ θνητῆς πάλιν μητρὸς τῆς Λητοῦς;

3.14.13 | ἐνταῦθά μοι τήρει ὀπόσους  
Ἐλληνες θεοὺς γεννητοὺς γυναικῶν  
έθεολόγησαν, εἰς παράθεσιν, εἴ ποτε  
πειρῶντο σκώπτειν τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου  
σωτῆρος γένεσιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ ποιητῶν είσιν  
αἱ φωναὶ, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αἱ  
προκείμεναι σημειώσεις.

gave the oracle; for indeed, not everything and the whole universe spoke about the things at hand. Therefore, men imitated the shape that was written down, not the image of everything.

3.14.10 | And how would Hermes be understood, the creative and interpretive word of all things, acknowledging that his mother is Maia, the daughter of Atlas, regarding the mythology said about him, but not accepting the natural philosophy?

3.14.11 | So how would Asclepius be said to go to the sun, claiming his homeland is Trikka and acknowledging that he was born from a mortal mother? And how could he, being the sun himself, be called the son of the sun again? Since they also claimed that his father, Phoebus, was none other than the sun.

3.14.12 | How could he not be the most laughable of all, being said to come from the sun and a mortal woman? Since even his father, the sun, whom they say is Apollo, how could it be likely that he was born on the island of Delos from a mortal mother, Leto?

3.14.13 | Here, keep track of how many Greek gods they said were born from women, in case they ever try to mock the birth of our savior. And that the voices are not from poets, but rather the signs of the gods themselves.

## Section 15

3.15.1 | Ποιητῶν μὲν οὖν, ὡς φασι, μύθους περὶ θεῶν πλαττομένων, φιλοσόφων δὲ φυσιολογούντων, χρῆν δήπου εἰκότως τῶν μὲν καταφρονεῖν, τοὺς δὲ θαυμάζειν ὡς φιλοσόφους, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ποιητικῶν λήρων τὰς τόν κρειττόνων ἐκδέχεσθαι πιθανολογίας· θεῶν δ' αὖ πάλιν καὶ φιλοσόφων εἰς ἄμιλλαν κατιόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν χρησμοῖς τὰ καθ' ἔαυτοὺς, ὡς ἀν μᾶλλον εἰδότων, ἀκριβῶς διδασκόντων, τῶν δὲ εἰς ἀσυμφώνους καὶ ἀναποδείκτους εὐρεδιογίας τὰς περὶ ὧν μὴ ἴσασιν ὑπονοίας περιτρεπόντων, τίσιν αἱρεῖ λόγος πείθεσθαι; ἢ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐρωτᾶν ἄξιον;

3.15.2 | εἰ δὴ οὖν ἀληθεύσουσιν οἱ θεοὶ κυροῦντες τάς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνθρωποπαθείας, ψευδεῖς ἀν εἶεν οἱ ἀθετοῦντες αὐτάς· εἰ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀληθεῖς αὗται φυσιολογίαι, ψευδεῖς γένοιντ' ἀν αἱ τῶν θεῶν μαρτυρίαι.

3.15.3 | ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἴποι τις ἀν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἵψη που ἐν χρησμοῖς ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅστις εἴη "Ἡλιος, Ὄρος, Ὅσιρις, ἄναξ Διός υἱὸς, Ἀπόλλων, ὁρῶν καὶ καιρῶν ταμίης, ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὅμβρων, ἥος καὶ νυκτὸς πολυαστέρου ἡγία νωμῶν, ζαφλεγέων ἀστρων βασιλεὺς ἡδύθάνατον πῦρ.

3.15.4 | ούκοῦν οἱ αύτοὶ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν μύθοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπονοίαις συμφέρονται, μαχομένοις συνιστάμενοι. εἰ γάρ μητέρας ἐπιγράφονται θνητὰς καὶ πατρίδας τὰς ἐπὶ

3.15.1 | Poets, as they say, create myths about the gods, while philosophers study nature. It is reasonable to look down on the poets and admire the philosophers as wise. And it is better to accept the arguments of the more powerful rather than the nonsense of the poets. But when gods and philosophers compete, those in oracles speak about themselves, as if they know better and teach accurately. Meanwhile, the others twist their arguments into confusing and unproven ideas about things they do not understand. Who should we trust to speak the truth? Is this not worth asking?

3.15.2 | If the gods truly speak about human-like qualities, then those who reject them would be wrong. But if the philosophers' ideas about nature are true, then the testimonies of the gods would be false.

3.15.3 | But even he, someone might say, Apollo once declared in oracles when asked about himself: "I am the Sun, Horus, Osiris, the son of mighty Zeus, Apollo, the steward of seasons and times, of winds and rains, the charioteer of day and the many-starred night, the king of blazing stars and immortal fire."

3.15.4 | So, the myths of the poets and the ideas of the philosophers are connected, as they both argue against each other. If they write about mortal mothers and acknowledge earthly fathers, how could

γῆς ὁμολογοῦσι, πῶς ἂν εἴεν οὕους  
φυσιολογοῦσιν;

they be right about nature?

3.15.5 | ἔστω γάρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἥλιος —  
πάλιν γάρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ  
περιτρέχων αὐτοῖς ἀλώσεται ὁ λόγος —  
πῶς οὖν ἡ Δῆλος, ἡ κατὰ Θάλατταν εἰσέτι  
νῦν προφαινομένη νῆσος, γένοιτ' ἀν τοῦ  
ἥλιου πατρὸς, μήτηρ δὲ ἡ Λητώ; ταυτὶ γάρ  
ἀρτίως ἐκύρουν ως ἀληθῆ γε ὅντα οἱ αὐτοῦ  
χρησμοὶ. πῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἀνδρος  
θνητοῦ τὴν φύσιν γένοιτ' ἀν ὁ ἥλιος πατήρ,  
ἐκ θνητῆς αὐτὸν γυναικὸς πεποιημένος;  
ἀλλὰ παρείσθω ταύτα.

3.15.5 | Let Apollo be the sun—again, the argument will circle back to the same points. How then could Delos, the island still appearing in the sea, be the homeland of the sun, and Leto be his mother? For the oracles of Apollo just recently declared this as true. And how could the sun be the father of Asclepius, a mortal man, if he was made from a mortal woman? But let these things be set aside.

## Section 16

3.16.1 | Τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ  
ἄλλως ἔστιν ἀπελέγχειν. οὐ γάρ δὴ ὁ ἥλιος  
οὐρανόθεν αὐτοῖς καταβάς, ἔπειτα τὸν  
δοχέα πληρώσας, τὸν χρησμὸν  
ἀπεφοίβαζεν· ἐπεὶ οὕτε δυνατὸν οὕτε θέμις  
ἀνάγκαις ἀνθρώπων τὸν τηλικοῦτον  
ὑποτάτεσθαι φωστῆρα· ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ φαῖεν  
τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ θείαν καὶ νοερὰν δύναμιν, ὅτι  
μηδὲ ταύτης γένοιτ' ἀν ποτε δεκτική  
ἀνθρωπεία ψυχή.

3.16.1 | The falsehood of the oracle can be proven in another way. For the sun did not come down from the sky to fill the vessel and then deliver the oracle. It is neither possible nor right for such a powerful light to be subject to human needs. And even if they claimed that there is a divine and intelligent power within it, human souls could never accept such a thing.

3.16.2 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σελήνης. εἰ γάρ τὴν Ἐκάτην αὐτὴν εἶναι  
φήσουσι καί πως ἀνάγκαις ἀνθρώπων  
καθέλκεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦ δοχέως χρᾶν, εἴς  
τε αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἐρωτικὰς διακονίας  
παραλαμβάνεσθαι αὐτὴν ἄρχουσαν τῶν  
πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, είκὸς ἀν εἴη τὴν  
Ἐκάτην ταῦτα πράττειν· ὁ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς  
ὁμολογεῖ συγγραφεὺς, ως κατὰ καιρὸν  
ἀπελέγχομεν.

3.16.2 | The same argument would apply to the moon. For if they say that Hecate is the same and somehow is drawn down by human needs, and that she is used through the vessel, it would be likely that she leads to shameful and erotic services, taking charge of wicked spirits. This is what the same writer agrees with, saying that we will prove this in due time.

3.16.3 | πῶς δὲ ὁ Πλούτων καὶ ὁ Σάραπις εἰς τὸν ἥλιον δυνατοὶ ἀν εῖν  
φυσιολογεῖσθαι, ὅτε τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀποφαίνεται τὸν Σάραπιν εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Πλούτωνι; καὶ χρησμοὺς δὲ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἐγγράρων πῶς ἀν δύναιτο τοῦ ἥλιου αὐτοὺς λέγειν εἶναι;

3.16.4 | ἀλλὰ γάρ ἔξ ἀπάντων τούτων λείπεται μηδὲν μὲν ἀληθὲς φέρειν δομολογεῖν τὰς δηλωθείσας φυσιολογίας, σοφίσματα δ' εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εὑρεσιλογίας.

## Section 17

3.17.1 | Τούς γέ τοι τῶν χρησμῶν ὑπηρέτας ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ φάσκειν δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτῃ τὰ ἀμφότερα παίζοντας, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν συντιθεμένους ταῖς μυθικωτέραις περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπολήψειν ἐπὶ τῇ πανδήμῳ πλάνῃ, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ τῆς φιλοσόφου γοητείας ἐπικυροῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ τούτων ἐπιτριβῇ καὶ φυσιώσει· ὡστε πανταχόθεν ἀλίσκεσθαι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀληθεύειν.

3.17.2 | Τοσούτων ἡμῖν είρημένων καιρὸς ἥδη μεταβάντας τὸ τρίτον εἶδος ἐπελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλήνων θεολογίας, δή φασιν εἶναι πολιτικόν τε καὶ νόμιμον. μάλιστα γάρ ἵκανὸν τοῦτο πρὸς ἔκπληξιν τῶν πολλῶν εἶναι νενόμισται, διά τε τὰ θρυλούμενα μαντεῖα καὶ τὰς διὰ χρησμῶν ἀκέσεις τε καὶ θεραπείας τῶν πεπονθότων σωμάτων, τάς τε κατά τινων ἐπισκήψεις.

3.16.3 | How could Pluto and Sarapis be connected to the sun, when the same person claims that Sarapis is the same as Pluto, the ruler of wicked spirits? And how could the oracles of Sarapis say that they are the sun?

3.16.4 | But indeed, from all these things, it is agreed that nothing true is brought forth by the declared teachings; they are merely clever tricks of wise men and inventions.

3.17.1 | Those who serve the oracles claim that the spirits are truly wicked, playing tricks on humans. Sometimes they mix their tales with more mythical stories for the general public, and at other times they support the tricks of philosophers, using both to deceive and manipulate. Thus, they are caught from all sides and do not speak the truth at all.

3.17.2 | After saying all this, it is now time to move on to the third type of Greek theology, which they say is both political and lawful. This is especially thought to be enough to shock many people, because of the famous prophecies and the treatments and cures for those who are suffering, as well as certain examinations.

3.17.3 | ὃν δὴ καὶ διὰ πείρας ἐλθεῖν φάσκοντες εὗ μάλα πεπείκασιν ἐαυτοὺς μὲν εὔσεβοῦντας εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς δίκαια πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ἀσεβεῖν, τὰς οὕτως ἐμφανεῖς καὶ εὐεργετικὰς δυνάμεις μὴ ταῖς προσηκούσαις θεραπείαις τιμῶντας. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν ἐτέραν λόγου ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντες ὑπαντησωμεν.

3.17.3 | They claim that through experience they have been convinced that they themselves are pious and act justly toward the gods, while we are the ones who commit the greatest impiety, not honoring the clear and beneficial powers with the appropriate treatments. Therefore, let us take up another beginning of discussion in response to this.

## Book Four (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

4.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὸ τρίτον εἶδος τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης, ἀφ' ἣς δυνάμει καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡλευθερώθημεν, ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τούτῳ συγγράμματι τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς καιρὸς ἀπελέγχαι καλεῖ.

4.1.1 | Introduction. The third type of the many-god deception, by which we have been freed through the power and kindness of our redeemer and savior, is called for to be examined in this fourth writing of the Evangelical Preparation.

4.1.2 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ τὸ πᾶν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν εἶδος εἰς τρία γενικώτερον διαιροῦσιν, εἷς τε τὸ μυθικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν τετραγωδημένον, καὶ εἰς τὸ φυσικὸν τὸ δὴ πρὸς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἔφευρημένον, εἰς τε τὸ πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικούμενον ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ πεφυλαγμένον, ταύτων δὲ μέρη δύο ἥδη πρότερον διὰ τῶν πρὸ τούτου συγγραμμάτων ἡμῖν ἔξήπλωται, τό τε ἴστορικὸν, δὴ δὴ μυθικὸν ἀποκαλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ ἐπαναβεβηκὸς τοὺς μύ θους, δὴ φυσικὸν ἡ θεωρητικὸν ἡ ὅπῃ ἄλλῃ χαίρουσι προσαγορεύοντες, καιρὸς ἀν εἴη τὸ τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διελθεῖν. τοῦτο δέ ἔστι τὸ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας συνεστώς, πολιτικὸν αὐτοῖς προσαγορευόμενον· δὲ καὶ

4.1.2 | Since they divide all of their theology into three main types, one being the mythical as told by the poets, another being the natural as discovered by philosophers, and the third being the political, which is claimed in each city and region, two of these parts have already been explained to us in previous writings: the historical, which they call mythical, and the one that revisits the myths, which is natural or theoretical or whatever else they like to call it. Now is the time to discuss the third type. This one is about the cities and regions and is referred to as political; it is especially claimed in relation to the laws, as it shows both the ancient and native qualities and reveals the virtue of the powers being

μάλιστα πρὸς τῶν νόμων διεκδικεῖται, ὡς ἀν παλαιὸν ὅμοῦ καὶ πάτριον καὶ τῆς τῶν θεολογουμένων δυνάμεως αὐτόθεν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑποφαῖνον.

4.1.3 | διατεθρύληται γοῦν αὐτοῖς μαντεῖα καὶ χρησμοὶ, θεραπεῖαι τε καὶ ἀκέσεις παντοίων παθῶν, ἐπισκήψεις τε κατὰ ἀσεβῶν· ὃν δὴ καὶ διὰ πείρας ἐλθεῖν ράσκοντες εὖ μάλα πεπείκασιν ἐαυτοὺς τὰ θεῖα τιμῶντας δίκαια πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ἀσεβεῖν, τὰς οὕτως ἐμφανεῖς καὶ εὐεργετικὰς δυνάμεις ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθεμένους, ἄντικρυς δὲ παρανομοῦντας, δέον σέβειν ἔκαστον τὰ πάτρια, μηδὲ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα, στοιχεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐφέπεσθαι τῇ τῶν προπατόρων εὔσεβείᾳ, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔρωτι καινοτομίας. ταύτῃ γοῦν φασιν ἐπαξίως καὶ θάνατον ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ὥρισθαι τοῖς πλημμελοῦσι τὴν ζημίαν.

4.1.4 | τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἱστορικόν τε ὃν καὶ μυθικὸν τῆς θεολογίας εἶδος ὅπῃ τις βούλεται ποιητῶν τιθέσθω, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ φιλοσόφων τὸ δεύτερον, διὰ τῆς τῶν μύθων φυσικωτέρας ἀλληγορίας ἀπηγγελμένον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὃ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀρχόντων ὡς ἀν παλαιὸν ὅμοῦ καὶ πολιτικὸν τιμητέον τε καὶ φυλακτέον εἶναι νενομοθέτηται, μήτε τις ποιητῶν, φασὶ, μήτε φιλοσόφων κινείτω, τοῖς δ' ἐκ παλαιοῦ κρατήσασι θεσμοῖς ἵν τε ἀγροῖς καὶ πόλεσι μενέτω πᾶς στοιχῶν, νόμοις πατρίοις πειθόμενος.

4.1.5 | πρὸς δὴ οὖν ταῦτα καιρὸς ἀποδοῦναι τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν λόγον, ἀπολογισμόν τε ὑποσχεῖν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος

discussed.

4.1.3 | Indeed, they have oracles and prophecies, cures and treatments for all kinds of ailments, and punishments for the wicked. Through experience, they have convinced themselves that by honoring the divine, they act justly, while we commit the greatest impiety, disregarding such clear and beneficial powers. They argue that each person should honor their ancestral traditions, not disturb the unmovable, and adhere to the piety of their forefathers, avoiding meddling out of a desire for novelty. For this reason, they say that the laws have rightly set death as the penalty for those who commit offenses.

4.1.4 | The first type of theology is historical and mythical, which anyone can set forth as they wish, like the second type from philosophers, which is presented through a more natural allegory of the myths. The third type, which should be honored and protected as ancient and political, is said to be established by the rulers. They claim that no one should disturb it, neither poets nor philosophers, but that everyone should adhere to the ancient laws and remain in the fields and cities, obeying the ancestral laws.

4.1.5 | Therefore, it is time to give an account of our discussion, to provide a summary of the good news of our savior,

ἡμῶν εύαγγελικῆς πραγματείας  
άντικηρυττούσης τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ τοῖς  
τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων νόμοις  
ἀντινομοθετούσης.

which speaks against what has been mentioned and contradicts the laws of all the nations.

4.1.6 | "Οτι μὲν οὗ θεοὶ τὰ ἄψυχα ξόανα προφανές καὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς μυθικῆς αὐτῶν θεολογίας φέρει τινὰ σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ λόγον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δέδεικται συγγράμματι, ὥσπερ οὗν καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ ὅτι μηδὲ τὰ τῆς φυσικωτέρας καὶ φιλοσόφου τῶν μύθων ἐρμηνείας ἀβίαστον αὐτοῖς περιέχει τὴν ἔξήγησιν.

4.1.6 | That indeed, the lifeless statues are not gods, and that there is nothing serious or divine in their mythical theology, has been shown in the first writing. Just as in the second and third, it is shown that even the interpretations of the more natural and philosophical myths do not contain a clear explanation for them.

4.1.7 | τὸ δὴ τρίτον φέρε σκεψώμεθα, τί ποτε χρὴ νομίζειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ξοάνοις ἐμφωλευούσας δυνάμεις, πότερα τὸν τρόπον ἀστείας καὶ ἀγαθὰς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θείας, ἢ τούτων ἀπάντων τὰ ἐναντία.

4.1.7 | Now let us consider the third point: what should we think about the powers that dwell in the statues? Are they good and truly divine in a pleasant way, or are they the opposite of all these things?

4.1.8 | ἄλλος μὲν οὗν τάχα ἀν ἵσως τὸν περὶ τούτων ἐφοδεύων λόγον πλάνην εἶναι τὸ πᾶν καὶ γοήτων ἀνδρῶν τεχνάσματά τε καὶ ἥραδιουργίας ὑπεστήσατο, καθόλου περιγράφων τὴν δόξαν, ὡς μὴ ὅτι θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πονηροῦ δαίμονος εἶναι νομίζειν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ θρυλούμενα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ποιήματα καὶ τὰς τῶν χρησμῶν συνθέσεις οὐκ ἀφυῶν ἀνδρῶν, εὖ μάλα δὲ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐσκευωρημένων πλάσματα τυγχάνειν, μέσω καὶ ἀμφιβόλω συγκείμενα τρόπῳ, πρὸς ἐκάτερά τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως προσδοκωμένων οὐκ ἀφυῶς ἐφαρμόζειν· τὰ δὲ τὸν πολὺν ἀπατῶντα διά τινων τερατειῶν θαύματα φυσικᾶς αἰτίαις ἀνῆφθαι.

4.1.8 | Some might think that the discussion about these things is all a deception, created by the tricks of sorcerers and the cleverness of men. They might argue that the belief in these matters is not about a god, nor even about an evil spirit. For the poems and the collections of oracles are not from wise men, but rather they are well-prepared tricks meant to deceive, mixed together in a confusing way. They do not truly match the expectations of what comes from their outcomes. Instead, the many deceptions that amaze people are explained by natural causes.

4.1.9 | πολλὰ γὰρ εῖναι εῖδη ρίζῶν καὶ βοτανῶν καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν καὶ καὶ λίθων, ξηρῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ύγρῶν παντοίας ὑλῆς δυνάμεων ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει, τὰ μὲν ἀποκρουστικὰ καὶ τινῶν ἀπελαστικά, τὰ δὲ συνάγειν πεθυκότα καὶ ἐφέλκεσθαι, τὰ δὲ διακρίνειν καὶ σκεδαννύναι πυκνοῦν τε καὶ στέλλειν δυνάμενα, ἔτερα δὲ χαλᾶν καὶ ύγραίνειν καὶ ἀραιοῦν, σώζειν τε αὖ πάλιν ἄλλα καὶ ἔτερα κτείνειν, τρέπειν τε διόλου, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐναλλάττειν, καὶ τὸτε μὲν τῇδε μεταποιεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τῇδε, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς πλείω χρόνον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βραχὺν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ πάλιν τὰ μὲν εἰς πλῆθος, τὰ δὲ μέχρις ὀλίγων μόνον ἴσχύειν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τάδε ἡγεῖσθαι, τισὶ δὲ ἔτερα ἐπακολουθεῖν, συντρέχειν τε ἄλλα ἄλλοις καὶ συναύξειν καὶ συμφθείρεσθαι· ναὶ μὴν καὶ ύγιειάς εῖναι τινὰ ποιητικὰ, ίατρικῆς οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἐπιστήμης,, τὰ δὲ νοσοποιὰ τυγχάνειν καὶ δηλητήρια· ἥδη δὲ φυσικαῖς ἀνάγκαις συμβαίνειν τινὰ, καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ συναύξειν καὶ συμφθίνειν, φθίνειν, ζώων τε εῖναι καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ρίζῶν ἀντιπαθείας μυρίας, καὶ πολλὰ θυμιαμάτων καρωτικῶν τε καὶ ὑπνωτικῶν, ἔτέρων δὲ φαντασίας ποιητικῶν· συναίρεσθαι δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς τελίσκεται τὰ γιγνόμενα· ὅργανά τε εῖναι καὶ σκεύη πόρρωθεν αύτοῖς ἐπιτηδείως τῇ τέχνῃ προηντρεπισμένα· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ συνεργοὺς τῆς μαγγανείας παραλαμβάνεσθαι ἔξωθεν, πολυπραγμοῦντας τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου χρείας καὶ ὅν ἦκε τις δεησόμενος· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄδυτα καὶ τοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀβάτους μυχοὺς τῶν Ἱερῶν ἐντὸς ἀποκρύπτειν· καὶ τὸ σκότος δὲ οὐ μικρὰ συνεργεῖν τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑποθέσει· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ὑπόληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὡς θεοῖς προσιόντων αύτοῖς δεισιδαιμονίαν, τήν τε ἐκ προγόνων προκατασχοῦσαν ἐν

4.1.9 | There are many kinds of roots, plants, and fruits, as well as stones, both dry and wet, that have different powers in nature. Some can repel and drive away, while others attract and draw in. Some can separate and scatter, while others can bind and hold together. Some can loosen and moisten, while others can preserve or kill. They can completely change things, and they can shift from one state to another. Sometimes they act for a long time, and sometimes only for a short time. Some can work in large quantities, while others only in small amounts. Some lead to certain results, while others follow different paths. They can work together with each other and combine or destroy one another. Yes, and there are also some that promote health, which are not far from the knowledge of medicine, while others cause sickness and are poisonous. There are also natural necessities that come into play, and they can connect with the moon and influence it, causing decay. There are countless oppositions among animals, plants, and roots, and many kinds of incense that can be stimulating or soothing, as well as others that create illusions. They can also be gathered from different places and locations where events occur. There are tools and equipment that are carefully prepared for these practices. Many also receive help from outside sources of magic, with busy people arriving to meet the needs of each individual and what they seek. Many secrets are hidden in the sacred places that most people cannot access. The darkness plays a significant role in their plans. Also, the prior beliefs and superstitions about how they approach the gods, as well as the traditions passed down from ancestors, shape their views.

αύτοῖς δόξαν.

4.1.10 | προσκείσθω καὶ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡλίθιον τῆς διανοίας, τό τε ἀδρανὲς τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀβασάνιστον του πλήθους, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κακεντρεχὲς τῶν περὶ τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην διατριβὴν τευταζόντων, τό τε τῶν γοήτων ἀπατηλὸν καὶ πανοῦργον τοῦ τρόπου, τοτὲ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκάστω προύπισχνου προυπισχνουμένων καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι θεραπευόντων, τοτὲ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος καταστοχαζομένων, καὶ εἰς ἄδηλον καταμαντευομένων, τήν τε διάνοιαν τῶν χρησμῶν ἀμφιβολίαις ὥρημάτων καὶ ἀσαφείαις ἐπισκοτούντων, ὡς μή τινα συνιέναι τὸ χρησθὲν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀδηλίᾳ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκφεύγειν.

4.1.10 | Let us also consider the foolishness of many people's minds, the laziness of their reasoning, and the untested beliefs of the crowd. On the other hand, there is the terrible and malicious nature of those who engage in this wicked practice. The tricks of sorcerers are deceitful and clever, sometimes promising pleasure to each person and offering hope for good things, while at other times they look to the future with uncertainty and try to predict the unknown. The understanding of oracles is filled with doubts and unclear statements, so that no one truly grasps what is being said. The ambiguity of the words allows them to escape criticism.

4.1.11 | πολλὰ δὲ συμβαίνειν καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶν ἀπάταις καὶ τερατείαις, συμπαραλαμβανομένων τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπωδῶν δή τινων μετά τινος ἀσήμου καὶ βαρβαρικῆς ἐπιτρήσεως, ἵνα δὴ ὑπὸ τούτων σπουδάζεσθαι δοκῇ τὰ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν πρὸς αὐτῶν γιγνόμενα· μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ὄρμασθαι νομιζομένων ἐκπλήττειν αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν χρησμῶν τὰ ποιήματα, εὗ μὲν τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ὥρημάτων κεκαλλωπισμένα, εὗ δὲ τῷ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας ὅγκῳ τετυφωμένα, πολλῷ δὲ καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀνατάσεως κόμπῳ τῷ τε πεπλασμένῳ τύφῳ τῆς θεοφορίας ἐσχηματισμένα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀμφιβόλου φωνῆς τὸν πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπατῶντα λεών.

4.1.11 | Many other deceptions and wonders also happen, often involving certain chants with a strange and foreign influence, so that it seems people are eager for things that have nothing to do with them. Most of all, they shock many, especially those who think they are educated, with the creations of these oracles. These works are beautifully arranged in their wording, impressive in their grand style, and filled with the boastful flair of divine inspiration. Through their ambiguous voices, they almost deceive everyone.

## Section 2

4.2.1 | Ὅσα γοῦν αύτοῖς τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν

4.2.1 | As for those oracles that escape

έκπεφευγε τῶν χρησμῶν, οὐ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν τοῦ μέλλοντος, κατὰ δέ τινα στοχασμὸν ἔξενηγμένα, τούτων μυρία, μᾶλλον δὲτὰ πάντα σχεδὸν, ἥλω πολλάκις τῆς προρρήσεως ἀποπεπτωκότα, ἐναντίως ἡ κατὰ τὸ χρησθὲν τοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων τέλους τὴν ἔκβασιν ἀπειληφότος, εἰ μήποτ’ ἄρα σπανίως ἔν ποτε ἐκ μυρίων συμβάν κατὰ τινα φορὰν συντυχικὴν, ἡ κατὰ τὴν στοχασθεῖσαν τοῦ μέλλοντος προσδοκίαν, τὸν χρησμὸν ἐπαληθεύειν ἐνομίσθη ποιεῖν.

doubt, they do not predict the future based on knowledge, but rather are produced through some kind of guesswork. Many times, or rather almost all the time, they have often failed to match the actual outcome of events, either going against what was said or not aligning with the intended results. Unless, perhaps, it happens rarely that one out of many comes true by chance at some moment, or that the prediction aligns with the expected future, it is thought that the oracle has been fulfilled.

4.2.2 | ὅ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θρυλοῦντας ἀν ιδοις καὶ στήλαις ἐγχαράττοντας καὶ πανταχόσε γῆς βοῶντας, ὅτι μὲν, εἰ τύχοι, τοσοίδε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπεσφάλησαν, μηδαμῇ μηδενὸς ἐθέλοντας μνημονεύειν, ὅτι δὲ τῷδε ἀπὸ μυρίων συνέτυχε τι τῶν χρησθέντων ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιφέροντας· ὡς εἴ τις καὶ ἐπὶ δύο λαγχάνουσιν ἀπὸ μυρίων, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ εἰς ἄπαξ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν συμπεσεῖν ἔτυχε, θαυμάζοι ὡς κατὰ μαντείαν χαῖ πρόγνωσιν ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις συνέβη περιελθεῖν ἀριθμόν.

4.2.2 | This is why you would see people talking a lot and carving inscriptions on stones, shouting everywhere on earth. They would say that if by chance they got the right number, no one would want to remember it. But when something from the many predictions happens to come true, they go around boasting about it. It's like if someone wins a lottery from many tickets, and if by chance they happen to win just once, they would be amazed that both predictions and knowledge led to the same number for both of them.

4.2.3 | οὕτω γὰρ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ μυρίων ἐπὶ μυρίοις χρησθέντων ἄπαξ ποτὲ συμβάν κατὰ τύχην· ὅ καὶ συνιδόντα τὸν μηδὲν στερρὸν ἐν βάθει ψυχῆς κεκτημένον ὑπερεκπλήττεσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον, ὃ πολὺ κρεῖττον ἦν τὸ μὴ ἀφραίνειν συλλογισαμένῳ ὅσοις ἄλλοις θανάτου γεγόνασιν αἴτιοι στάσεως τε καὶ πολέμων οἱ δεδηλωμένοι, σκέψασθαί τε τῶν παλαιῶν τὰς ἱστορίας, καὶ συνιδεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ τηνικάδε ἀρετῆς τι θεῖον ἔργον ἐνεδείξαντο, ὃπηνίκα ἤνθει μὲν τὰ

4.2.3 | For it is true that from many predictions, only one might happen by chance. This makes those who have nothing solid in their souls extremely amazed by the oracle. It would have been much better for them not to be foolish and to think about how many others have caused death, conflict, and wars, as shown in the histories of old. They should see that even the greatest acts of virtue did not show any divine work when the Greeks were flourishing, while the earlier predictions

Ἐλληνικὰ, συνειστήκει δὲ τὰ πρὶν βοώμενα, νῦν δὲ μηκέτ’ ὄντα χρηστήρια, πάσης προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἡξιωμένα πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τῶν δὴ πατρῷοις νόμοις τε καὶ μυστηρίοις σεβόντων τε αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπευόντων.

4.2.4 | καὶ τότε γοῦν μάλιστα τὸ μηδὲν δύνασθαι ἀπηλέγχθησαν ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολέμων συμφοραῖς, ἐν αἷς βοηθεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες οἱ γενναῖοι θεσπιώδοι δι’ ἀμφιβολίας τῶν χρησμῶν ἥλωσαν σοφισάμενοι τοὺς πρόσφυγας, ὡσπερ οὖν κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν ἐπιδείξομεν, παριστῶντες ὅπως καὶ εἰς τὸν κατ’ ἀλλήλων πόλεμον τοὺς χρωμέ νοῦς παρώξυνον, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὡς ἐπλάνων διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν παίζοντες τοὺς ἔρωτῶντας, καὶ ὡς τῷ τῆς ἀσαφείας σκότῳ τὴν σφῶν ἄγνοιαν ἀπεκρύπτοντο.

4.2.5 | σκέψαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πυθόμενος, ὡς καὶ ἀρρώστοις πολλάκις ῥῶσιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑποσχόμενοι, κάπειτα πιστευθέντες ὡς δὴ θεοὶ, καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου ταύτης ἐμπορίας μεγάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰσπραξάμενοι, οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον οἵτινες ἥσαν ἐφωράθησαν, γόητες ἄνδρες, ἀλλ’ οὐ θεοὶ διελεγχθέντες, οὐκ αἰσίας καταστροφῆς τοὺς ἡπατημένους διαλαβούσης.

4.2.6 | τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν συνοίκοις, τοῖς δὴ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν διατρίβουσιν, οἱ θαυμάσιοι μάντεις τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν παρέσχον ἐπικουρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦντας ἀν᾽ ἵδοις αὐτόσε καὶ ἀναπήρους καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα λελωβημένους μυρίους; τί

were shouting. Now, these oracles no longer exist, yet they are still valued with all care and effort by the local people, who respect and honor their ancestral laws and mysteries.

4.2.4 | And then, especially during the disasters of war, it was shown that nothing could be proven. The brave seers, unable to help, were trapped by the uncertainty of the oracles, deceiving the refugees. Just as we will show at the right time, they stirred up the minds of those fighting against each other. They did not even provide clear answers about important matters, and while playing with the questions asked, they misled those who sought guidance through the oracles. They hid their ignorance in the darkness of confusion.

4.2.5 | Consider for yourself, as you learn, how often they promise health, life, and safety to the sick. Then, once believed as if they were gods, they collect large payments from this inspired trade. Those who were most often deceived were not gods but sorcerers. They did not escape the destruction of fate that caught the deceived.

4.2.6 | What is there to say, that even to their own neighbors, who live in the same city, the wonderful seers did not provide help? You would see them with the sick, the disabled, and many others suffering in body. So why then do they offer good hopes

δή ποτε οὖν τοῖς μὲν ἔξω καὶ πόρρωθεν ἔξ  
άλλοισαν ἀφικνουμένοις τὰς χρηστὰς  
ὑπέγραφον ἐλπίδας, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ συνοίκοις, οἷς δὴ πρὸ πάντων  
έχρην, ὡς ἀν οἰκείοις φίλοις καὶ  
συμπολίταις, τὸ ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεῶν  
παρουσίας ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς  
μὲν ξένους ἀγνῶτας ὄντας τῆς ῥᾳδιουργίας  
ῥᾶσαν καὶ ἀπατήσαιεν, οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς  
συνήθεις, ὡς ἀν τῆς τέχνης οὐκ ἀπέίρους,  
συνίστορας δὲ ὄντας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
τελουμένοις παιδιᾶς;

to those who come from far away, but not  
to those who live nearby, whom they  
should help first, like friends and fellow  
citizens? It seems they find it easier to  
deceive strangers who are unaware of their  
tricks, but not those who are familiar with  
their craft and know the games they play.

4.2.7 | οὕτω δὲ τὸ πᾶν οὐ θεῖον, ούδε  
ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπινοίας κρείττον ἦν· ὥστε  
κάν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς, ταῖς δὴ  
ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ παμβασλέως θεοῦ κατὰ  
τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐπαιωρουμέναις, αὐτοῖς  
ἀφιερώμασι καὶ ξοάνοις φθορὰν ἐσχάτην  
καὶ πτώσεις ἀθρόας τοὺς νεώς αὐτῶν  
ὑπομεῖναι.

4.2.7 | So, in all things, it was neither divine  
nor better than human thought. Even in the  
greatest disasters, which were sent down  
from the all-powerful god against the  
wicked, their offerings and statues suffered  
the worst destruction and their temples  
faced total ruin.

4.2.8 | ποῦ γάρ σοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν  
παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν ἔξ αἰῶνος  
βεβοημένον; ποῦ ὁ Πύθιος; ὁ Κλάριος; ποῦ  
καὶ ὁ Δωδωναῖος; τὸ μέν γε Δελφικὸν  
χρηστήριον τρίτον ὑπὸ Θρακῶν  
ἐμπρησθῆναι κατέχει λόγος, ούδεν τοῦ  
μαντείου εἰς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος γνῶσιν,  
ἀλλ' οὔδε τοῦ Πυθίου τὰ οἰκεῖα  
προφυλάξασθαι δεδυνημένου. ταυτὸν δὲ  
παθεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπιτώλιον  
ἰστορεῖται κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Πτολεμαίων  
χρόνους, καθ' οὓς λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῆς  
Ἐστίας ιερὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐμπρησμὸν  
ὑπομεῖναι· ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα τὸ  
μέγα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ὀλυμπικὸν ἄγαλμα,  
τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι, κεραυνῷ πρὸς τοῦ  
θεοῦ βληθὲν ἀναγράφουσι· καὶ ἄλλοτέ  
φασι τὸν νεών τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διός

4.2.8 | Where is the sacred place at Delphi,  
praised by all Greeks since ancient times?  
Where is the Pythian? Where is the Clarian?  
Where is the Dodonean? It is said that the  
Delphic oracle was burned down three  
times by the Thracians, and nothing of the  
oracle remained to know the future, nor  
could the Pythian protect its own. The same  
thing is said to have happened to the  
Capitol in Rome during the time of the  
Ptolemies, when it is said that the temple of  
Hestia also suffered a fire in Rome. Around  
the time of Julius Caesar, it is reported that  
the great statue of the Greeks and the  
Olympic statue, which was in Olympia, was  
struck by lightning from the god. It is also  
said that the temple of Jupiter on the  
Capitol was burned, and that the Pantheon

έμπρησθῆναι· καὶ τό γε Πάνθεον ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ διαφθαρῆναι, τό τε Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δομοίως καταφλεχθῆναι.

was destroyed by lightning, and that the one in Alexandria was similarly set on fire.

4.2.9 | καὶ τούτων παρ' αὐτοῖς "Ελλησιν ἀνάγραπτοι φέρονται μαρτυρίαι. μακρὸς δ' ἀν εἴη λόγος, εἰ μέλλοι τις τὰ καθ' ἔκαστον ἔξαριθμεῖσθαι, παριστάναι πειρώμενος ὅτι μηδὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἱεροῖς ἐπαμῦναι οἱ θαυμαστοὶ χρησμοδόται δυνατοὶ πεφώρανται· οἱ δὲ μηδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν συμφοραῖς γενόμενοι χρήσιμοι σχολῇ γ' ἀν ποτε κᾶν ἄλλοις ἐπαρκέσειαν.

4.2.9 | And among these, there are unwritten testimonies among the Greeks. It would take a long time to list each one if someone were to try to show that the wonderful seers are said to be unable to help even their own sacred places. They are not even useful to themselves in times of disaster, and they would be able to help others only if they had time.

4.2.10 | ἐν δέ τι προσθεὶς τοῖς είρημέμνοις μέγιστον ἀν εἴη καθεωρακῶς κεφάλαιον, ὡς ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἄγαν θεοφόρων, αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν μάλιστα ἱεροφαντῶν θεολόγων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ προφητῶν, πλείους οὐ μόνον πάλαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναγχος καθ' ἡμὰς αὐτοὺς, ἐπὶ τῇ θεοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ βοηθέντες, διὰ βασάνων αἰκίας ἐπὶ τῶν Ἦρωμαϊκῶν δικαστηρίων τὴν τὴν πᾶσαν ἔξέφηναν πλάνην ἀνδρῶν ἀπάταις γίγνεσθαι, γοητείαν τετεχνασμένην τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δομολογήσαντες· οὕτω γε καὶ τὸν πάντα τρόπον τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τὰς μεθόδους τῆς κακοτεχνίας ταῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀφεθείσαις φωναῖς ἐνεγράψαντο.

4.2.10 | And adding one more thing to what has been said, it would be the greatest point to see that even among those who are very god-fearing, especially the most sacred priests and theologians, there are many not only from long ago but also close to our own time, who, helping with this divine wisdom, revealed through tortures and injustices in the Roman courts that the whole thing was a deception created by the tricks of men, admitting that magic was all there was. They also wrote down in their notes the entire way of the construction and the methods of the bad craftsmanship used against them.

4.2.11 | διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ὀλεθρίου πλάνης δίκην ἐκτίσαντες πάντα λόγον ἀνεκάλυψαν, αὐτοῖς ἔργοις τὴν τῶν δηλουμένων ἀπόδειξιν πιστωσάμενοι. διποῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι; μὴ δὴ νόμιζε τῶν ἀπερριμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν τινάς· οἱ μέν γε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης καὶ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ὡρμῶντο, τῶν ἀμφὶ

4.2.11 | Therefore, they also revealed the worth of the destructive deception by uncovering everything, trusting in their own works as proof of what was shown. Who were these people? Do not think they were some of the rejected and hidden ones; rather, they were inspired by this wonderful and noble philosophy, those

τὸν τρίβωνα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὁφρῦν  
ἀνεσπακότων, οἵ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆς  
Ἀντιοχέων ἡλίσκοντο πόλεως, οἱ δὴ  
μάλιστα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ὕβρεσιν ἐν  
τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμῷ λαμπρυνόμενοι ἴσμεν  
δὲ καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον ὅμοιον καὶ προφήτην  
τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς είρημένοις κατὰ τὴν Μίλητον  
ὑπομείναντα.

4.2.12 | Ταῦτα δή τις καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείω  
συνάγων εἴποι ἀν μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι, μηδὲ μὴν  
δαίμονας, τοὺς τῶν κατὰ πόλεις  
χρηστηρίων αίτίους, πλάνην δὲ καὶ ἀπάτην  
ἀνδρῶν γοήτων.

4.2.13 | καὶ ἥσάν γε παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἐλλησιν  
ὅλαι διὰ φιλοσοφίας διαπρεπεῖς αἰρέσεις  
ταύτης προιστάμεναι τῆς δόξης, ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ πάντες οἱ καθεξῆς  
τοῦ Περιπάτου,, κυνικοὶ τε καὶ  
Ἐπικούρειοι, οὓς καὶ μάλιστα ἔγωγε  
έθαύμασσα, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλήνων ἥθεσι  
τραφέντες ἔξετι τε σπαργάνων, παῖς παρὰ  
πατρὸς θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς δηλουμένους  
παρειληφότες, οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτοὶ  
γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὰ  
βιώμενα χρηστήρια καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι  
μεταδιωκόμενα μαντεῖα οὐδὲν φέρειν  
ἀληθὲς ἀπήλεγζαν, ἀνωφελῆ τε εἶναι  
ἀπεφήναντο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιβλαβῆ  
τυγχάνειν

4.2.14 | μυρίων δὲ ὄντων—καὶ διὰ  
πλειόνων τὴν τῶν μαντείων ἀνατροπὴν  
πεποιημένων, ἔξαρκεῖν ἔμοιγε μαρτυρίας  
χάριν τῶν είρημένων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος  
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ᾧ μίαν ἐνὸς τούτων παράθεσιν  
ἀπαντῶσαν πρὸς τὰ Χρυσίππω περὶ

around the marketplace, and others who were from the city of Antioch, especially those who shone brightly in the persecutions against us. We also know that the philosopher and prophet remained the same as those mentioned before in Miletus.

4.2.12 | Someone gathering these things and even more could say that they are not gods, nor even demons, those responsible for the oracles in the cities, but rather a deception and trickery of men who practice magic.

4.2.13 | And indeed, among them, all the Greek schools of thought were led by this philosophy, as those from Aristotle and all the followers of the Peripatetic school, as well as the Cynics and Epicureans, whom I especially admired. They were raised in the customs of the Greeks and, as children of their fathers, accepted the revealed gods. They did not become different in their beliefs, but rather, they showed that the oracles and the prophecies that everyone pursued brought nothing true. They declared that these were useless and even more harmful.

4.2.14 | Since there are countless examples—and many have made the downfall of the oracles clear, I believe that the testimony of those mentioned is enough for now. I will present one of these examples related to Chrysippus about fate,

είμαρμένης άπό τῆς τῶν μαντείων προρρήσεως κατασκευασθέντα. γράφει δ' οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃ συγγραφεὺς, ἀπελέγχων ὅτι κακῶς ἔκ τῶν μαντείων σημειοῦται τὴν εἰμαρμένην, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μαντεῖα διαψεύδονται, καὶ ὅτι σπανίως αὐτοῖς ἔκ συντυχίας ποτέ τινα συμβαίνει, ὅτι τε ἄχρηστος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβής ἡ πρόρρησις. ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἣ φησι κατὰ λέξιν

### Section 3

4.3.1 | “Φέρει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἀπόδειξιν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ βιβλίῳ τοιαύτην τινά. μὴ γὰρ ἀν τὰς τῶν μάντεων προρρήσεις ἀληθεῖς εἶναι φησιν, εἰ μὴ πάντα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης περιείχοντο· ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πολλῆς εὔηθείας μεστόν ἔστιν. ὡς γὰρ ἐναργοῦς ὅντος τοῦ πάσας ἀποβαίνειν τὰς τῶν καλουμένων μάντεων προρρήσεις, ἢ ὡς μᾶλλον ἀν ὑπὸ τινος τούτου συγχωρηθέντος, τοῦ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην, καὶ οὐχὶ ὄμοιώς ἀν ψευδοῦς ῥηθέντος καὶ αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον, λέγω δὲ τὸ μὴ πάντα ἀποβαίνειν τὰ προαγορευθέντα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτῶν ἡ ἐνάργεια δείκνυσιν.

4.3.2 | οὕτω τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἡμῖν Χρύσιππος κεκόμικε, δι' ἄλλήλων κατασκευάζων ἐκάτερα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἔκ τοῦ μαντικὴν εἶναι δεικνύναι βούλεται, τὸ δὲ εἶναι μαντικὴν οὐκ ἀν ἄλλως ἀποδεῖξαι δύναιτο, εἰ μὴ προλάβοι τὸ πάντα συμβαίνειν καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

which was built from the predictions of the oracles. The writer argues against him, showing that the oracle wrongly indicates fate, that in most cases the oracles of the Greeks are proven false, and that they rarely happen to be right by chance. He also states that their predictions are useless and harmful. So listen to what he says word for word.

4.3.1 | And he also brings another proof in the previously mentioned book. For he does not say that the predictions of the oracles are true unless everything is contained within fate. This is full of great foolishness. For if it is clear that all the predictions of the so-called oracles come true, or if it is more likely that, with some allowance for this, everything happens according to fate, then it would not be the same if something false were said. Since the opposite is also true, I mean that not everything comes true from what was predicted, but rather that most of them show their clarity.

4.3.2 | Thus, Chrysippus has presented his proof to us, constructing each part through mutual support. For he wants to show that everything happens according to fate in order to prove that there is such a thing as prophecy. But he could not prove that there is prophecy in any other way unless he first assumes that everything happens according to fate.

4.3.3 | ποῖος δ' ἀν μοχθηρότερος τρόπος ἀποδείξεως τούτου γένοιτο; τὸ γάρ ἀποβαίνειν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν ὡν προλέγουσιν οὶ μάντεις, οὐ τοῦ μαντικὴν ἐπιστήμην εἶναι σημεῖον ἀν εἴη, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχικῶς συμπίπτειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι συμφώνους τὰς ἑκβάσεις ὅπερ οὐδεμίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιστήμην ὑποδείκνυσιν.

4.3.4 | οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξότην ἀν εἴποιμεν ἐπιστήμονα τὸν ἄπαξ ποτὲ τυχόντα τοῦ σκοποῦ, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποτυγχάνοντα, οὐδὲ ἰατρὸν τὸν ἀναιροῦντα τοὺς πλείους τῶν θεραπευομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔνα δέ ποτε διασῶσαι δυνηθέντα· οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐπιστήμην λέγομεν τὴν μὴ πάντα ἢ τά γε πλεῖστα τῶν οίκειων ἔργων κατορθοῦσαν.

4.3.5 | ὅτι δὲ ἀποτυγχάνεται αἱ τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς καλουμένοις μάντεσιν ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος μάρτυς ἀν εἴη, καὶ οὗτοί γε αὐτοὶ οἱ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τέχνην, οὐχὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐαυτοῖς βοηθοῦντες ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον χρείαις, ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ τε ἴδιᾳ ποτὲ χρώμενοι καὶ συμβουλῇ καὶ συνεργείᾳ τῶν ἐν ἐκάστοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπειρίαν κεκτῆσθαι νενομισμένων.

4.3.6 | ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ συνεστάναι τοῦτο, ὃ προειλήφαμεν καλεῖν μαντικὴν, ἐν ἄλλοις ἀποδώσομεν πληρέστερον, παρατιθέμενοι τὰ Ἐπικούρω καὶ περὶ τούτου δοκοῦντα· νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσθήσομεν, ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ἀληθεύειν ποτὲ τοὺς καλουμένους μάντεις ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν οὐκ ἐπιστήμης, ἀλλὰ τυχικῆς αἰτίας ἔργον ἀν εἴη — οὐ γὰρ τὸ μηδεπώποτε τοῦ

4.3.3 | But what could be a more miserable way of proving this? For the fact that something happens according to the clarity of what the oracles say would not be a sign of prophetic knowledge, but rather that the outcomes happen to agree with the predictions by chance. This does not show us any real knowledge.

4.3.4 | For we would not call an archer knowledgeable if he hits the target once by chance but often misses. Nor would we call a doctor knowledgeable if he fails to cure most of his patients but happens to save one. In general, we do not call something knowledge if it does not succeed in all or at least most of its usual tasks.

4.3.5 | That many things often fail for those called seers would be shown by the life of all people. And these same ones who claim to have the art of prophecy do not help themselves in their everyday needs through this, but rather they use their own judgment and advice, and they gain experience from the cooperation of those skilled in each matter.

4.3.6 | But regarding the fact that what we have called prophecy does not exist, we will give a fuller explanation later, referring to Epicurus and what seems to relate to this. For now, we will add this to what has been said: that when those called seers sometimes speak the truth in their predictions, it is not due to knowledge but rather to chance. It is not that they never happen to be right, but rather that they are

προκειμένου τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ πάντοτε, μηδ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, μηδ' ἔξ ἐπιστήμης, ὅταν τις καί ποτε τυγχάνῃ, τύχης ἔργον καλεῖν προειλήφαμεν οἱ διειληφότες τὰς ὑφ' ἔκαστον ὄνομα τεταγμένας ἐναργεῖς ἐννοίας ἐσυντῶν — ἔπειτα εἰ καὶ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ἦν ἀληθὲς τὸ δὴ τὴν μαντικὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀπάντων εἶναι θεωρητικήν τε καὶ προαγορευτικήν, τὸ μὲν πάντα καθ' εἰμαρμένην εἶναι συνήγετο ἀν oὔτως, τὸ μέντοι χρειῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ βιωφελές οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἐδείκνυτο· διὸ καὶ μάλιστα δοκεῖ Χρύσιππος ὑμνεῖν τὴν μαντικήν.

4.3.7 | τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἡμῖν ἦν προμανθάνειν τὰ πάντως ἐσόμενα δυσχερῆ, ἢ οὐδὲ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατὸν ἀν εἴη; τὰ γὰρ καθ' εἰμαρμένην γινόμενα πῶς ἀν τις φυλάξασθαι δύναιτο; ὥστ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἡμῖν τῆς μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πρὸς κακοῦ τινος ἐγίνετο ἀν αὕτη, τὸ προλυπεῖσθαι μάτην παρέχουσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ ταῖς προδηλουμέναις δυσχερείαις κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐσομέναις.

4.3.8 | οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἵσην πάλιν εύφροσύνην τις φήσει παρέχειν τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν τροαγόρευσιν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐχ οὕτως πέψυκεν ἀνθρωπος χαίρειν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσδοκωμένοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ἀνιᾶσθαι. ἄλλως τε καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι περὶ ἐσυτοὺς ἔσεσθαι πρὸν ἀκοῦσαι κατελπίζομεν· τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ μᾶλλον ἀπαντες, ὡς εἴπειν, προσδοκῶμεν, διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν οἰκείωσιν πρὸς αὐτά· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ μείζω τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι κατηλπίκασιν.

not always right, nor mostly so, nor out of knowledge. When someone happens to be right sometimes, we have said that it is the work of chance, as they have taken clear ideas from each situation. Furthermore, even if it were true in theory that prophecy is about all future events, everything would be determined by fate, but its usefulness and benefit would never be shown. This is why Chrysippus seems to praise prophecy the most.

4.3.7 | For what good would it be for us to know all the difficult things that will happen, which we would not even be able to avoid? For how could someone protect themselves from things that happen by fate? Therefore, there is no benefit to us from prophecy; rather, it would lead to some harm, providing only useless sorrow to people about the difficulties that will inevitably come.

4.3.8 | For no one would say that the prediction of future good things brings the same joy, since a person is not naturally inclined to rejoice over expected good things as much as to be saddened by bad ones. Besides, we do not expect much for ourselves until we hear it; but everyone tends to hope more for good things because of a natural connection to them. Many people have even hoped for greater things than what is possible.

4.3.9 | έξ οὖ συμβαίνει τὸ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν προαγόρευσιν μὴ ἐπιτείνειν πάνυ τι τὴν χαρὰν, διὰ τὸ καὶ χωρὶς τῆς προαγορεύσεως ἔκαστον ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ τὰ κρείττω προσδοκᾶν, ἢ ἐπ' ὄλιγον ἐπιτείνειν τῇ δοκούσῃ βεβαιότητι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μειοῦν τὴν χαρὰν, ὅταν ἔλαττω τῶν ἐλπισθέντων ἀκουσθῇ· τὴν δὲ τῶν κακῶν προαγόρευσιν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπόστρεπτον αὐτῶν φύσει, καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐνίοτε προλέγεσθαι, μεγάλως συνταράττειν.

4.3.9 | From this, it follows that the prediction of good things does not greatly increase joy, because each person tends to hope for better things on their own, even without predictions. Or, it may only slightly increase joy with the seeming certainty of the prediction, but often it can even lessen joy when what is hoped for turns out to be less than expected. On the other hand, the prediction of bad things, because they are naturally repulsive, and because they are sometimes predicted beyond what is hoped for, causes great distress.

4.3.10 | ἀλλ' ὅμως εἴ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο συνέβαινε, τό γε ἀχρεῖον ἔσεσθαι τὴν προαγόρευσιν παντί που δῆλον ἀν εἴη. εἴ γάρ φήσει τις σωθήσεσθαι τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς μαντικῆς διὰ τὸ προλέγεσθαι τὸ πάντως ἐσόμενον δυσχερές εἰ μὴ φυλαξαίμεθα, οὐκέτι πάντα δείξει συμβησόμενα καθ' εἰμαρμένην, ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὅντος τοῦ φυλάξασθαί τε καὶ μὴ φυλάξασθαι.

4.3.10 | But even if this were not the case, it would still be clear that the prediction is useless in any way. For if someone says that the usefulness of prophecy is to warn us about the difficult things that will happen unless we take care, it will not show everything that will happen according to fate, since it depends on us whether we take care or not.

4.3.11 | εἴ γάρ καὶ τοῦτο κατηναγκάσθαι φήσει τις, ὡς είς πάντα τὰ ὄντα διατείνειν τὴν εἰμαρμένην, πάλιν τὸ τῆς μαντικῆς χρήσιμον ἀναιρεῖται· φυλαξόμεθα γάρ εἰ καθείμαρται, καὶ οὐ φυλαξόμεθα δῆλον ὡς εἴ μὴ καθείμαρται φυλάξασθαι, καν πάντες οἱ μάντεις τὸ ἐσόμενον προαγορεύωσιν ἡμῖν.

4.3.11 | For if someone were to say that fate governs everything, then the usefulness of prophecy is again taken away. We will take care if it is fated, and it is clear that we will not take care if it is not fated, even if all the prophets predict what will happen to us.

4.3.12 | τὸν γοῦν Οἰδίποδα καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Πριάμου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χρύσιππός φησι πολλὰ μηχανησαμένων τῶν γονέων ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ἵνα τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν προρρηθὲν αὐτοῖς κακὸν

4.3.12 | Indeed, both Oedipus and Alexander, the son of Priam, as well as Chryseippus himself, say that many things were planned by their parents so that they would be killed, in order to protect themselves from the evil that was foretold

φυλάξωνται, μὴ δυνηθῆναι.

to them.

4.3.13 | οὕτως οὐδὲν ὄφελος ούδὲ αύτοῖς τῆς τῶν κακῶν προαγορεύσεως φησιν εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αἴτιαν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ περιουσίας είρήσθω, πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνυπόστατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀχρεῖον τῆς μαντικῆς.”

4.3.13 | Thus, he says that there is no benefit for them from the prediction of evils because of the cause from fate. This should be said out of abundance, not only as being without foundation, but also as being useless for prophecy.

4.3.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ φιλόσοφος. σύ γε μὴν παρὰ σαυτῷ σκέψαι πῶς Ἐλληνες ὄντες, καὶ τὴν Ἐλλήνων σύντροφον παιδείαν ἐκ νέας ἡλικίας κτησάμενοι, τά τε πάτρια περὶ θεῶν πάντων μᾶλλον διεγνωκότες, Ἀριστοτελικοὶ πάντες, Κυνικοί τε καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι, καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἐφρόνησαν τὰ παραπλήσια, τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἐλλησι βιωμένων μαντείων κατεγέλασαν.

4.3.14 | These things, indeed, the philosopher says. But you should consider for yourself how the Greeks, having received the education of the Greeks from a young age, understood the traditions about all the gods more clearly. All were Aristotelian, Cynics, and Epicureans, and those who thought similarly to them laughed at the prophecies that were proclaimed among the Greeks.

4.3.15 | καὶ μὴν, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθῆ τὰ θρυλούμενα περὶ τῆς τῶν χρηστηρίων παραδοξοποιίας, είκὸς ἦν καὶ τούσδε καταπλαγῆναι Ἐλληνας ὄντας, καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἀκριβῶς ἔξεπισταμένους, μηδέν τε τῶν γνωσθῆναι ἀξίων ἐν δευτέρῳ τιθεμένους.

4.3.15 | And indeed, if the stories about the strange nature of oracles were true, it would be likely for these Greeks to be amazed, being Greeks themselves, and knowing their traditions well, and not placing any of the worthy things to be known in a second place.

4.3.16 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα συνάγειν εἰς ἀνασκευὴν τῆς περὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων ὑποθέσεως πλείστη τις ἦν περιουσίᾳ· ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτῃ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν παρόντα μεθοδεῦσαι λόγον, ἀλλ' ἢπερ ὠρμήθημεν ἀρξάμενοι, ἀληθῆ λέγειν δόντες τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προϊσταμένους, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄμολογουμένων, μαντεῖά τε εἶναι ἀληθῆ καὶ πυθόχρηστα θεοπρόπια τὰ δηλούμενα φασκόντων, τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν

4.3.16 | Therefore, gathering these things and others like them to challenge the idea about oracles would require a lot of effort. But it does not seem to me that the current argument should be directed this way. Rather, as we were urged to begin, we should speak the truth about those who lead them, so that from what is agreed upon among them, we may learn that the prophecies are true and the declarations of

δηλουμένων ἔκφρανσιν καταμάθωμεν.

the gods are reliable.

## Section 4

4.4.1 | Οἶμαι δὲ παντί τω εῖναι σαφὲς ὡς ὁ τῶν προκειμένων ἔλεγχος οὐ μικρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγιστον ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον περιέξει μέρος τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ὑποθέσεως. εἰ γὰρ οἱ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πανταχῇ πάντες, Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, δειχθεῖν μὴ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἐπεγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὴ ὅντα ὡς ὅντα δοξάζοντες, ἢ ὑπό τινων μοχθηρῶν καὶ θεομάχων πνεμάτων δαιμόνων τε πονηρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τυφλῶν δίκην ὥδε κάκεῖσε περιηγμένοι, καὶ βυθῷ κακίας πρὸς αὐτῶν καθειλκυσμένοι· καὶ τί γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ δαιμονῶντες;) πῶς οὐ μειζόνως ἀν ὄφθείη τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς οίκονομίας μυστήριον, πάντας πανταχόθεν ἐκ τῆς πατροπαραδότου πλάνης τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων καταδυναστείας διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φωνῆς ἀνακεκλημένους, καὶ τοὺς μέχρις ἐσχατιῶν γῆς οίκοῦντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς ἔξ αἰῶνος κατασχούσης τὸν πάντα βίον ἀπάτης λελυτρωμένους, ὥστε ἔξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο λελύσθαι μὲν καὶ καθηρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ναοῖς καὶ ξοάνοις τὰ πεπαλαιωμένα τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων πλάνης ἰδρύματα, ἵερα δὲ ὅντως σεμνὰ καὶ εύσεβείας διδασκαλεῖα τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ δημιουργῷ τῶν ὅλων ἐν μέσαις πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνὰ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἀνεγγέρθαι, θυσίας τε τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς εὐχαῖς ὁσίων διαθέσει κεκαθαρμένῃ κακίας ἀπάσης, ἐν τε ἀπαθείᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀναλήψει, κατὰ τὰ θεῖα καὶ σωτηριώδη παιδεύματα, ἔξ ἀπάντων δοσμέραι διηνεκῶς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τὰς δὴ καὶ μόνας ἀρεστὰς

4.4.1 | I think it is clear to everyone that the examination of the matters at hand is not small, but rather a very great and necessary part of the good news. For if before the coming of our Savior Jesus Christ, all people, Greeks and non-Greeks, were shown not to know the true god, but either praised what does not exist as if it does, or were led by wicked and god-fighting spirits, evil demons, and were blind, being dragged down into deep wickedness; and what else could this be but being possessed by demons? How much greater would the mystery of the good news appear, calling everyone from the inherited deception of the demons' power through the voice of our Savior, and freeing people living to the ends of the earth from the everlasting deception that has held their whole lives? So that from that time until now, they might be released and cleansed from the old temples and idols of all the nations' deceptions, and truly holy and pious teachings might be raised up to the King of all, the Creator of everything, in cities and villages, by the power and virtue of our Savior throughout the whole world. And the sacrifices of true worship, offered with pure prayers, would be made, cleansed from all wickedness, in a state of peace for the soul and with all virtue, according to divine and saving teachings, to be continually performed every day by all the nations, which are indeed the only pleasing and acceptable sacrifices to the God above all.

οῦσας καὶ προσηνεῖς θυσίας τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων  
θεῷ.

4.4.2 | τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, πῶς οὐκ  
ἄν εἴημεν ἐν ταύτῃ δεδειχότες καὶ ὅτι μετὰ  
σώφρονος λογισμοῦ, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀλογίᾳ  
ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιδόντες, ἀποστάται τῆς  
πατροπαραδότου γεγόναμεν  
δεισιδαιμονίας, κρίσει δικαίᾳ καὶ ἀληθεῖ τὸ  
κρείττον ἀγαπήσαντες, καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ  
ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας ἔρασταὶ γεγενημένοι.  
ἄλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἄλις, ἀπέτον δὲ λοιπὸν  
τῶν προκειμένων.

4.4.2 | With these things being so, how  
could we not show that we are thinking  
with sound judgment and not with  
foolishness? We have become rebels  
against the inherited superstition, loving  
what is better with a just and true  
judgment, and having become lovers of  
true and genuine piety. But enough about  
these things; let us now touch on the  
matters at hand.

## Section 5

4.5.1 | Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν  
έξηκριβωκότες, καθ' ἔτερον παρὰ τοὺς  
προειρημένους ἡμῖν τρόπους, εἰς γένη  
τέτταρα πάντα τὸν λόγον διαιροῦντες,  
πρώτιστα πάντων τὸν πρῶτον  
ἀφορίσαντες θεὸν, εἰδέναι φασὶ τοῦτον  
εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι πρῶτον τε ὄντα καὶ  
πάντων θεῶν πατέρα τε καὶ βασιλέα, μεθ'  
ὅν γένος τὸ θεῶν ὑπάρχειν δεύτερον,  
ἐπόμενον δὲ τὸ δαιμόνων, τὸ δὲ ἡρώων  
τέταρτον· ἂν πάντα τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος  
ἰδέας μετασχόντα πῆ μὲν ἄγειν, πῆ δὲ  
ἄγεσθαι, καὶ φῶς ἄπαν προσαγορεύεσθαι  
τὸ τοιόνδε φωτὸς μετοχῇ· ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
χείρονος ούσίας τὸ κακὸν ἡγεῖσθαι φασι·  
τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι μοχθηρῶν δαιμόνων γένος,  
φίλω μὲν οὐδαμῶς χρώμενον τάγαθῷ,  
δύναμίν γε μὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων φύσει  
κεκτημένον πρώτην, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς  
κρείττοσιν ὁ θεός· πᾶν δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε  
σκότος προσαγορεύεσθαι.

4.5.1 | Those who have carefully examined  
Greek theology, in a different way than  
those mentioned before, divide all things  
into four categories. First of all, they  
identify the first god, claiming that this one  
is the first of all beings and the father and  
king of all gods. After him, they say there is  
a second category of gods, followed by  
demons, and the fourth category is heroes.  
All of these share in the idea of what is  
better, some leading and others being led,  
and all are referred to as light through their  
participation in light. But they also say that  
the essence of what is worse is evil; this is  
the nature of wicked demons, which do not  
in any way relate to what is good, but have  
power in the nature of opposites, just as  
God has in the superior beings. Everything  
of this kind is called darkness.

4.5.2 | ταῦτα τοῦτον διαστειλάμενοι τὸν

4.5.2 | Having made this distinction, they

τρόπον θεοῖς μὲν ούρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἄχρι  
σελήνης αἰθέρα φασὶν ὑποτετάχθαι·  
δαίμοσι δὲ τὰ περὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀέρα,  
ψυχαῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ γῆν καὶ ὑπόγεια.  
τοιούτῳ δ' ἀφορισμῷ κεχρημένοι πρῶτον  
ἀπάντων φασὶ τοὺς οὐρανίους δεῖν καὶ  
αἰθερίους θεοὺς θεραπεύειν· δεύτερον τοὺς  
ἄγαθοὺς δαίμονας· τρίτον τὰς τῶν ἡρώων  
ψυχὰς, τέταρτον τοὺς φαύλους καὶ  
πονηροὺς ἀπομειλίσσεσθαι δαίμονᾶς.

say that the gods are assigned to the heavens and the ether up to the moon; demons are related to what is around the moon and the air, while souls are connected to the earth and what is underground. With this classification, they first say that we should honor the heavenly and ethereal gods; second, the good demons; third, the souls of heroes; and fourth, we should avoid the wicked and evil demons.

4.5.3 | ταῦτα δὲ λόγω διαιροῦντες ἔργῳ  
συγχέουσι τὰ πάντα, μόνας ἀντὶ τῶν  
είρημένων πάντων τὰς πονηρὰς δυνάμεις  
θεραπεύοντες, καὶ ὅλοι ταύταις  
καταδουλούμενοι, ὡς ὁ λόγος προιών  
ἀπελέγξει. πάρεστι γοῦν σοι τὰς διὰ τῶν  
ξοάνων ἐνεργούσας δυνάμεις ὅποιας χρῆν  
ἀποφαίνεσθαι σκοπεῖν, πότερα θεοὺς ἢ  
δαίμονας, καὶ εἴτε φαύλους εἴτε ἄγαθοὺς,  
ἐκ τῶν παρατεθησομένων.

4.5.3 | While they make these distinctions in words, in practice they mix everything together, only honoring the evil powers instead of all those mentioned. And all are enslaved to these, as the argument will later show. Therefore, it is necessary for you to examine the powers that act through the statues, to see whether they are gods or demons, and whether they are wicked or good, based on what will be presented.

4.5.4 | τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῖα λόγια ούδ'  
ὅλως ἄγαθὸν ούδέν' ὄνομάζει δαίμονα,  
πάντας δὲ πονηροὺς εἶναι τοὺς τῆς λήξεως  
ταύτης καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας  
μετειληφότας, ὡς ούδ' ἔτερον θεὸν ἀληθῶς  
καὶ κυρίως πλὴν ἵνα τὸν πάντων αἴτιον·  
τὰς δὲ ἀστείας καὶ ἄγαθὰς δυνάμεις, ἀτε  
τὴν φύσιν γεννητὰς οὕσας καὶ πολλῷ τὸν  
ἀγέν νητον καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιητὴν θεὸν  
ἀφυστερούσας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ τῶν  
δαιμόνων μοχθηροῦ γένους ἀφωρισμένας,  
οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε δαίμονας ἀποκαλεῖν ἀξιοῖ,  
μέσας δὲ οὕσας θεοῦ καὶ δαιμόνων  
εύθυβόλω καὶ μέσῃ προσηγορίᾳ ἀγγέλους  
θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματα λειτουργικὰ, δυνάμεις  
τε θείας καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καί τισιν ἄλλαις  
ἐπωνυμίαις φερωνύμως τοῖς

4.5.4 | For us, divine words do not call any demon truly good, but they consider all of them to be wicked, as they are part of this ending and have taken on this name. They say that there is no other true and rightful god except for the cause of all things. The good and gentle powers, being of a nature that is born and much higher than the wicked demons, are not called gods or demons. Instead, they are referred to as angels of God and ministering spirits, divine powers, and archangels, often named according to their roles. As for demons, if we are to explain their etymology, it is not as the Greeks think, that they are wise and knowledgeable, but rather from the word that means to fear,

έπιτηδεύμασιν αύτῶν ὄνομάζειν εἴωθε,  
τοὺς δὲ δαίμονας, εἰ δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς  
προσήκει τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν ἔξειπεῖν, οὐχ  
ἡπερ Ἐλλησι δοκεῖ παρὰ τὸ δαήμονας εἶναι  
καὶ ἐπιστήμονας, ἀλλ' ἡ παρὰ τὸ δειμαίνειν,  
ὅπερ ἔστι φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκφοβεῖν,  
δαίμονάς τινας προσφυῶς ὄνομάζεσθαι.

4.5.5 | τάς γέ τοι θείας καὶ ἀγαθὰς  
δυνάμεις, ὡσπερ οὖν τοῦ τρόπου, οὐτωσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δὲ καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τῆς δαιμονικῆς  
ἀλλοτρίας τυγχανεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ πάντων ἀν  
εἴη παραλογώτατον τὰς μήτε τὴν  
προαίρεσιν μήτε τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου φύσιν  
ὁμοίας μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπωνυμίας  
ἀξιοῦν.

## Section 6

4.6.1 | Φέρε οὖν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίς ὁ κατ'  
αὐτοὺς τῶν χρηστηρίων τρόπος, ὡς ἀν  
μάθωμεν ποίας χρὴ δυνάμεως αὐτοὺς  
ἀποφήνασθαι, καὶ εἴτε ὄρθῶς αύτῶν  
ἀνεχωρήσαμεν εἴτε καὶ μή. εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμι  
παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν  
δηλουμένων προφέρειν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μηδ'  
ἀνεπίληπτον παρέξω τοῖς φιλεγκλήμοσι<sup>2</sup>  
τὸν λόγον. διόπερ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν  
εἰπὼν αὗθις ταῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀποχρήσομαι  
μαρτυρίαις.

4.6.2 | μυρίων δὲ ὄντων παρ' Ἐλλησι  
λογογράφων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων, πρὸ<sup>3</sup>  
πάντων ἐπιτήδειον είς τὰ προκείμενα  
ἐγκρίνω τὸν δαιμόνων φύλον αύτὸν  
ἔκεινον, ὃς δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονὼς ταῖς καθ'  
ἡμῶν ἐλλαμπρύωεται ψευδηγορίαις.  
μάλιστα γὰρ φιλοσόφων οὗτος τῶν καθ'  
ἡμᾶς δοκεῖ καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ οἵ φησι θεοῖς

which is to be afraid and to frighten, thus  
some are called demons.

4.5.5 | Indeed, the divine and good powers,  
just like their nature, also receive a name  
that is foreign to the term 'demon.' For it  
would be the most unreasonable of all to  
consider them the same and to give them  
the same name, whether in their intention  
or in their nature.

4.6.1 | Come then, let us examine what their  
way of oracles is, so that we may learn  
what kind of power we should reject, and  
whether we have rightly distanced  
ourselves from them or not. If I am to  
present my own criticisms of what is being  
shown, I know well that I will not leave out  
anything that could be challenged by those  
who love to argue. Therefore, I will not say  
anything from my own thoughts but will  
rely on testimonies from outside sources.

4.6.2 | Since there are countless writings  
among the Greeks by both writers and  
philosophers, I especially consider the one  
who is friendly to demons to be suitable for  
our topic, as he shines with false teachings  
about us. For this person seems to have  
interacted with both demons and those he  
calls gods, and he has not only advocated

ώμιληκέναι, ὑπέρ τε τούτων πρεσβεῦσαι,  
καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν  
άκριβέστερον διηρευνηκέναι.

for them but has also investigated their  
matters much more accurately.

4.6.3 | οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε  
“Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας”  
συναγωγὴν ἐποιήσατο χρησμῶν τοῦ τε  
Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν τε καὶ  
ἀγαθῶν δαιμόνων, οὓς μάλιστα  
ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῷ ἤγγιστο ἱκανοὺς εἶναι  
εἴς τε ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τῶν θεολογουμένων  
ἀρετῆς εἴς τε προτροπὴν ἡς αὐτῷ φίλον  
όνομάζειν θεοσοφίας.

4.6.3 | This person, therefore, in what he  
wrote 'On Philosophy from Reason,'  
created a collection of oracles from Apollo  
and the other gods and good demons,  
whom he especially chose and considered  
suitable for both proving the virtue of what  
is being discussed and for encouraging  
what he calls the wisdom of the gods.

4.6.4 | ἐκ δὴ τούτων τοιγαροῦν τῶν  
ἐγκριθέντων καὶ μνήμης ἀξιωθέντων  
λογίων διακρίναι καλὸν τοὺς  
χρησμολόγους, καὶ σκέψασθαι ποίας ποτὲ  
ὄντες τυγχάνουσι δυνάμεως. πρῶτον δὲ  
θεασώμεθα ὅπως τῆς γραφῆς ὁ δηλωθεὶς  
ἀνὴρ ἀρχόμενος ἡμῖν ἀληθεύειν ἐπόμνυται  
λέγων οὕτως

4.6.4 | From these approved writings and  
those deemed worthy of memory, it is good  
to distinguish the oracles and to consider  
what kind of power they have. First, let us  
see how the man mentioned in the text  
begins by swearing to tell the truth, saying  
this:

## Section 7

4.7.1 | "Βέβαιος δὲ καὶ μόνιμος ὁ ἐντεῦθεν  
ώς ἄν ἐκ μόνου βεβαίου τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ  
σωθῆναι ἀρυτόμενος, οἷς δὴ καὶ  
μεταδώσεις μηδὲν ὑφαιρούμενος. ἐπεὶ  
κάγατοὺς θεοὺς μαρτύρομαι ὡς οὐδὲν οὔτε  
προστέθεικα οὕτε ἀφεῖλον τῶν  
χρησθέντων νοημάτων, εἰ μή που λέξιν  
ἡμαρτημένην διώρθωσα, ἢ πρὸς τὸ  
σαφέστερον μεταβέβληκα, ἢ τὸ μέτρον  
ἔλλειπον ἀνεπλήρωσα, ἢ τι τῶν μὴ πρὸς  
τὴν πρόθεσιν συντεινόντων διέγραψα, τὸν  
δὲ νοῦν ἀκραιφνῆ τῶν ῥηθέντων  
διετήρησα, εύλαβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τούτων  
ἀσέβειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας

4.7.1 | Surely, the one who relies solely on  
certain hopes of being saved, without  
taking anything away from them, is  
steadfast and constant. For I testify that I  
have neither added nor taken away  
anything from the meanings of the oracles,  
unless I corrected a mistaken word,  
changed it for clarity, filled in what was  
lacking, or removed anything that did not  
relate to the purpose. But I have kept the  
pure meaning of what was said, being more  
cautious of the impiety that comes from  
these things than of the punishment that  
follows from sacrilege.

τιμωρὸν ἐπομένην δίκην.

4.7.2 | ἔξει δὲ ἡ παροῦσα συναγωγὴ πολλῶν μὲν τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δογμάτων ἀναγραφὴν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ τάληθὲς ἔχειν ἐθέσπισαν· ἐπ' ὄλγον δὲ καὶ τῆς χρηστικῆς ἀψόμεθα πραγματείας, ἵτις πρός τε τὴν θεωρίαν ὄνήσει καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην κάθαρσιν τοῦ βίου. ἦν δ' ἔχει ὀφέλειαν ἡ συναγωγὴ μάλιστα εἰσονται ὅσοιπερ τὴν ἀληθειαν ὡδίναντες ηὔξαντό ποτε τῆς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιφανείας τυχόντες ἀνάπαυσιν λαβεῖν τῆς ἀπορίας διὰ τῶν λεγόντων ἀξιόπιστον διδασκαλίαν." Τοιούτοις χρησάμενος προοιμίοις μαρτύρεται καὶ προκαταγγέλλει μὴ εἰς πολλοὺς ἔκφηναι τὰ λεχθησόμενα, λέγων οὕτως

4.7.2 | "This gathering will contain a record of many teachings about philosophy, as the gods have established the truth. For a short time, we will also touch on practical matters, which will benefit both understanding and the overall cleansing of life. If this gathering is helpful, those who have struggled for the truth will especially know that they can find rest from their confusion through the trustworthy teachings of what is said." Using such introductions, he testifies and warns not to reveal what will be said to many, saying this:

## Section 8

4.8.1 | Σὺ δ' εἴπερ τι καὶ ταῦτα πειρῶ μὴ δημοσιεύειν, μηδ' ἄχρι καὶ τῶν βεβήλων ὢπτειν αὐτὰ δόξης ἔνεκα ἢ κέρδους ἢ τινος ἄλλης οὐκ εὐαγοῦς κολακείας. κίνδυνος γὰρ οὐ σοὶ μόνον τὰς ἐντολὰς παραβαίνοντι ταύτας, ἀλλὰ κάμοὶ ḥαδίως πιστεύσαντι τῷ στέγειν παρ' ἐαυτῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰς εύποιίας. ποιίας. δοτέον δὴ τοῖς τὸν βίον ἐνστησαμένοις πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν."

4.8.1 | But if you try to keep these things from being made public, do not even throw them to the unworthy for the sake of reputation, profit, or any other unholy flattery. For the danger is not only for you who break these commands, but also for me, who easily believes in protecting someone who cannot do good deeds for themselves. Therefore, those who have set their lives toward the salvation of the soul should be given.

4.8.2 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει "Ταῦτά μοι ὡς ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα κρύπτειν ούδε γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ φανερῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐθέσπισαν, ἀλλὰ δι' αἰνιγμάτων."

4.8.2 | And after other things, he adds, 'These things I must hide as more secret than secrets; for the gods have not declared openly about themselves, but through riddles.'

4.8.3 | Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοιαῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀνετείνατο, φέρε λοιπὸν διὰ τῶν ἐνθέων καὶ πυθοχρήστων λογίων σκεψώμεθα ποδαπὰς εἶναι τὰς θεολογουμένας ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις προσήκει λογίζεσθαι· γένοιτο γάρ ἀν καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔλεγχος ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λόγων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

4.8.4 | ὁ δὴ οὗν προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐπέγραψε 'Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας' χρησμοὺς τίθησι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰς διὰ ζώων θυσίας ἐργάζεσθαι παρακελευμένου, καὶ μὴ μόνοις δαίμοσι, μηδὲ μόναις ταῖς περιγείοις δυνάμεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αἰθερίοις καὶ οὐρανίοις ζωοθυτεῖν.

4.8.5 | ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς δαίμονας, ἀλλ’ οὐ θεοὺς εἶναι ὅμιλογῶν ἀπαντας, οἷς 'Ἐλληνες τὰς δι' αἰμάτων καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων σφαγῆς ἐπετέλουν θυσίας, μὴ χρῆναι μηδ' ὅσιον εἶναι θεοῖς ζωοθυτεῖν φησίν.

4.8.6 | ἄκουε τοιγαροῦν τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, δι' ὃν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας συνάγων, πᾶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων χρῆναι θεραπεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς διδάσκει. ὃ καὶ παρατίθεται γράφων ὕδε

4.8.3 | Since the discussion has been raised in this way, let us now consider through the divine and prophetic words what kind of hidden powers are being spoken of in theology; for there could also be a challenge from a man's own words and practices.

4.8.4 | Therefore, the man who has been made clear in these things, to whom he wrote 'On the Philosophy from Words,' places oracles of Apollo, commanding that sacrifices be made through living beings, not only to the lesser spirits or the local powers, but also to the heavenly and celestial beings.

4.8.5 | In other places, he agrees that all the spirits are not gods, to whom the Greeks offered sacrifices of blood and irrational animals; he says it is not necessary nor holy to make sacrifices to the gods through living beings.

4.8.6 | Therefore, listen to his first words, through which he gathers what is about the Philosophy from Words, how Apollo teaches that one should serve the gods. He also presents this by writing as follows.

## Section 9

4.9.1 | "Ἀκολούθως μετὰ τὰ ḥηθέντα περὶ εύσεβείας ἡ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν ἔχρησαν ἀναγράφοιμεν ἀν, ὃν ἐκ μέρους κάν τοῖς περὶ εύσεβείας φθάσαντες

4.9.1 | Following what has been said about piety, we would write down what was said about their service, of which we have partially included in what we have

παρατεθείκαμεν. ᾔστι δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄμα καὶ διαιρεσιν τῆς τῶν θεῶν περιέχων τάξεως,

4.9.2 | ἐργάζευ, φίλε, τήνδε θεόσδοτον ἔς τρίβον ἐλθών, μηδ' ἐπιλήθεο τῶν μακάρων, θυσίας ἑναρίζων πή μὲν ἐπιχθονίοις, πῆ δ' οὐρανίοις, ποτὲ δ' αἴθρης αύτοῖσιν βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἡρός ὑγροπόροιο, ἡδὲ θαλασσαίοις καὶ ὑποχθονίοισιν ἄπασι πάντα γὰρ ἐνδέδεται φύσεως μεστώμασι τῶνδε. ζῷων δ' ὡς θέμις ἔστι τελευτῆσαι καθαγισμοὺς ἄσείσω, δέλτοις δὲ χαράσσετε χρησμὸν ἐμεῖο), τοὺς μὲν ἐπιχθονίοις, τοὺς δ' οὐρανίοις θεοῖσι φαιδρὰ μὲν οὐρανίοις, χθονίοις δ' ἐναλίγκια χροιῇ. τῶν χθονίων διάειρε τριχῇ θυσίας ἑναρίζων, νερτερίων κατάθαπτε, καὶ εἰς βόθρον αἷμα ἵαλλε, χεῦ δὲ μέλι νύμφας τε Διωνύσοι τε δῶρα. ὅσσοι δ' ἀμφὶ γένην πωτώμενοι αἱὲν ἔσαι, τοῖσδε φόνου πλήσας πάντη πυριπληθέα βωμὸνέν πυρὶ βάλλε δέμας θύσας ζῷοι ποτανοῦ, καὶ μέλι φυράσας Δηωΐῳ ἀλφίτῳ ἔνθευ, ἀτμούς τε λιβάνοιο καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἐπίβαλλε. εὗτε δὲ πάρ ψαμάθοισιν ἵης, γλαυκὴν ἄλα χεύαςκὰκ κεφαλῆς θυσίαζε, καὶ εἰς βαθὺ κῦμα θαλάσσης ζῷον ὅλον προίαλλε. τελευτῆσας τάδε πάντας πλατὺν ἡερίων χορὸν ἔρχεο Οὐρανιώνων. ἀστραίοις δῆπειτα καὶ αἴθερίοις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἷμα μὲν ἐκ λαιμῶν κρουνώμασιν ἀμφὶ θυηλάς λιμνάζειν, τὰ δὲ γυῖα θεοῖς ἐν δαιτὶ πονεῖσθαι. ἄκρα Ἡφαίστω δόμεναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάσασθαι, ἀτμοῖσιν λαροῖσιν ἐνιπλήσαντες ἄπαντα ἡέρα ῥευσταλέον· ἐπὶ δ' εὔχας πέμπε θεοῖσιν."

presented about piety. The oracle of Apollo is both a teaching and a division of the order of the gods.

4.9.2 | "Work, friend, as you come to this divine path, and do not forget the blessed ones, offering sacrifices to those on earth, to those in heaven, and sometimes to the bright rulers of the sky and the moist air, and to all those of the sea and the underworld; for everything is filled with the fullness of nature. As it is right for living beings to complete their purifications, you should write down the oracle for me on tablets, for those on earth and for the gods in heaven. Let the heavenly ones be bright, and the earthly ones similar in color. For the earthly ones, divide the sacrifices into three parts, bury the lower parts, and pour blood into the pit, and pour honey and gifts for the nymphs and Dionysus. As many as are always around the earth, fill this altar with blood, full of fire, and throw the body of the sacrificed creature into the fire, and mix honey with the barley flour from Demeter, and sprinkle with the steam of incense and the sacred herbs. When you go by the sands, pour the blue sea from your head as a sacrifice, and throw the whole creature into the deep wave of the sea. After completing all these, go to the wide chorus of the heavenly ones. Then, for the starry ones and the airy ones, let blood from the throats flow around the altars, and let the limbs be served to the gods at the feast. Give the best parts to Hephaestus, and let the rest be shared, filling everything with fragrant steam in the flowing air; and send prayers to the gods."

4.9.3 | Καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα ἐπεξηγεῖται τὸν χρησμὸν ἐρμηνεύων ὡδε "Αἱ δὲ θυσίαι ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν διαίρεσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι. ὅντων γάρ ὑποχθονίων καὶ ἐπιχθονίων θεῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποχθονίων καὶ νερτερίων καλουμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπιχθονίων καὶ χθονίων κληθέντων θεῶν, κοινῶς μὲν τούτοις ἵερεῖα τετράποδα μέλανα θύειν παρακελεύεται, περὶ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς θυσίας ἔξαλλάττει· τοῖς μὲν γάρ ἐπιχθονίοις σφάζειν ἐπὶ βωμῶν, τοῖς. δ' ὑποχθονίοις ἐπὶ βόθρων παρακελεύεται, καὶ μέντοι τοι καὶ θάπτειν τούτοις θύσαντας τὰ σώματα.

4.9.3 | And after a little, he explains the oracle, interpreting it as follows: 'The sacrifices have this manner according to the previously mentioned division of the gods. For there are gods of the underworld and of the earth, with the underworld gods and the lower ones being called one group, and the earth gods and the earthly ones being called another. For these, it is generally commanded to sacrifice black four-footed animals, but the manner of the sacrifice differs: for the earth gods, it is commanded to slay them on altars, while for the underworld gods, it is commanded to do so in pits, and indeed, it is also commanded to bury the bodies after sacrificing them.'

4.9.4 | ὅτι γάρ κοινὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τετράποδα αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπίγαγε ξυνὰ πέλει χθονίων καὶ ὑποχθονίων τάδε μούνων, τετράποδα χθονίοις ἀρνῶν νεοπηγέα γυῖα. τοῖς δὲ ἀερίοις πτηνὰ θύειν παρακελεύεται δὲ λοκαυτοῦντας καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ τ(?)ν βωμῶν περιάγοντας· τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις πτηνὰ μὲν, ζῶντα δὲ ἀφιέναι εἰς τὰ κύματα, μέλανα τὴν χρόαν ὅντα. φησὶ γάρ τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς τὰ πετεινὰ, θαλασσαίοις δὲ κελαινά,

4.9.4 | "For when asked about these common things, he brought forth the following: 'These are the offerings for the earth and underworld gods, four-footed animals, the young limbs of rams for the earth gods.' For the airy gods, it is commanded to sacrifice birds, burning them completely and pouring the blood around the altars; for the sea gods, it is commanded to release living birds into the waves, and those that are black in color. For the gods, the birds are for the sea gods, and the dark ones are for them."

4.9.5 | πᾶσι μὲν λέγων τοῖς θεοῖς πλὴν τῶν χθονίων τὰ πετεινὰ 5 μόνοις δὲ τοῖς θαλασσίοις τὰ κελαινὰ, οὐκοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις λευκά. τοῖς δ' οὐρανίοις καὶ αἰθερίοις τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἱερείων λευκῶν ὅντων ἀφιεροῦν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη ἐσθίειν· ἐκ μόνων γάρ τούτων βρωτέον τέον σοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μή. οὓς δὲ εἴρηκεν ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει

4.9.5 | He says that for all the gods, except for the earth gods, the birds are for the sea gods, and only the dark ones. For the heavenly and ethereal gods, the tips of the white offerings are to be dedicated, while the other parts are to be eaten. For from these alone should you eat, but not from the others. Those he mentioned in the

ούρανίους, τούτους οὓς ἔνταῦθα  
ἀστραίους.

4.9.6 | Ἄρ' οὖν δεήσει ἔξηγήσασθαι τῶν  
θυσιῶν τὰ σύμβολα τῷ εύσυνέτῳ δῆλα;  
τετράποδα μὲν γάρ τοῖς χθονίοις καὶ  
χερσαῖα· τῷ γάρ δόμοιώ χαίρει τὸ δόμοιον.  
χθόνιον δὲ τὸ πρόβατον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
Δήμητρι φίλον, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν  
ἔκφρασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν μεθ'  
ἡλίου λοχεύει. μέλανα δέ· τοιαύτη γάρ ή γῆ  
φύσει σκοτεινή. τρία δέ· τοῦ γάρ  
σωματικοῦ καὶ γεώδους τὰ τρία σύμβολον.

4.9.7 | τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπιχθονίοις ἄνω ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
βωμῶν δεῖ θῦσαι· ἐπὶ γάρ τῆς γῆς  
ἀναστρέφονται· τοῖς δ' ὑποχθονίοις ἐν  
βόθρῳ καὶ ἐν ταφῇ, ἔνθα διατρίβουσι. τὰ  
πτηνὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι πάντα θεῖ. καὶ γάρ  
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀεικίνητον τῆς θαλάσσης, μέλαν  
δέ· διὸ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱερεία πρόσφορα.  
τοῖς δὲ ἀερίοις λευκά· πεφώτισται γάρ καὶ  
ὸ ἀήρ φύσεως ὡν διαφανοῦς. οὐρανίοις δὲ  
καὶ αἰθερίοις τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων κουφότερα,  
ἄπερ ἔστιν ἄκρα, οἷς κοινωνεῖν τῆς θυσίας  
δεῖ. δοτῆρες γάρ οὗτοι ἀγαθῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
τῶν κακῶν κωλυτῆρες.<sup>2</sup> Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας τοῦ  
θαυμαστοῦ θεοσόφου.

division as heavenly, these are the starry  
ones here.

4.9.6 | Then, will it be necessary to explain  
the symbols of the sacrifices clearly to the  
understanding? For the four-footed animals  
are for the earth gods and the land ones; for  
like rejoices in like. The ram is earthly and  
therefore dear to Demeter, and in the  
heavens, it brings forth the fruits from the  
earth with the sun. And the black ones: for  
such is the nature of the earth, dark. And  
three: for the three symbols are of the  
physical and earthly.

4.9.7 | "For the earth gods, it is necessary to  
sacrifice above on the altars; for they turn  
back to the earth. For the underworld gods,  
it is in a pit and in a grave, where they  
dwell. The birds are for the other gods,  
since all are divine. And the water is always  
moving in the sea, and it is dark; therefore,  
such offerings are suitable. For the airy  
gods, the offerings are white; for the air,  
being clear by nature, is bright. For the  
heavenly and ethereal gods, the lighter  
parts of the animals are to be offered,  
which are the tips, to which one should  
share in the sacrifice. For these are givers  
of good things, while the others are  
preventers of evils." Such are the things  
from the wonderful wisdom of the  
philosopher.

## Section 10

4.10.1 | Φέρε δὲ τοῦ αύτοῦ τὰς ἐναντίας  
τούτοις φωνὰς συγκρίνωμεν, ἃς τέθειται  
ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων

4.10.1 | Come, then, let us compare the  
opposite voices of the same, which are set  
forth in what he wrote 'On the Departure of

άποχῆς." ἐνθα δὴ ὁρθῷ λογισμῷ κινούμενος πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὅμολογεῖ μὴ δεῖν τὸ καθόλου μηδὲν μήτε θυμιᾶν μήτε θύειν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ταῖς μετ' αὐτὸν θείαις καὶ οὐρανίαις δυνάμεσιν.

Living Beings.' There, indeed, moving with correct reasoning, he first agrees that it is not right to offer anything at all, neither to burn incense nor to sacrifice to the god above all, nor to the divine and heavenly powers that follow him.

4.10.2 | εἴτα δὲ ἐπεξιών τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπολήψεις ἀνασκευάζει, μὴ χρῆναι φάσκων θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς ταῖς διὰ ζώων θυσίαις χαίροντας. εἶναι γάρ φησι πάντων ἀδικώτατον τὸ ζωοθυτεῖν, καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ μυσαρὸν καὶ βλαβερὸν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲ θεοῖς προσφιλές. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων δῆλος ἀν εἴη τὸν ἔαυτοῦ θεὸν ἀπελέγχων· προστάττειν γὰρ ἀρτίως ἔφησε τὸν χρησμὸν μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὑποχθονίοις καὶ ἐπιχθονίοις θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀερίοις οὐρανίοις τε καὶ αἰθερίοις ζωοθυτεῖν.

4.10.2 | Then, going further, he criticizes the beliefs of many, saying that it is not right to think that the gods enjoy sacrifices made from living beings. For he claims that killing animals is the most unjust of all things, and it is both impious and disgusting, and therefore not pleasing to the gods. By saying this, it would be clear that he is challenging his own god; for he states that the oracle commands not only the underworld and earth gods, but also the airy, heavenly, and ethereal gods to be offered sacrifices of living beings.

4.10.3 | καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ τὸν Θεόφραστον μαρτυρόμενος θεοῖς μὲν οὕ φησιν ἀρμόζειν τὴν διὰ ζώων θυσίαν, δαίμοσι δὲ μόνοις· ὥστε κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοφράστου λόγον δαίμονα εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐ θεὸν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι νενομισμένους θεοὺς, οἵ τὰς διὰ ζώων θυσίας πανδημὶ πάντες ἄρχοντές τε καὶ ἀρχόμενοι κατά τε πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἐκτελοῦσι· τούτους γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλο τι τυγχάνειν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ κατὰ τοὺς είρημένους ἢ δαίμονας.

4.10.3 | And Apollo says such things; but Theophrastus, witnessing, does not say that the sacrifice of living beings is fitting for the gods, but only for the spirits. So according to his and Theophrastus' words, Apollo is a spirit, not a god. Moreover, all the gods that are recognized by all the nations, to whom sacrifices of living beings are commonly made by both rulers and subjects in cities and regions, should be considered as nothing other than spirits according to what has been said.

4.10.4 | εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι φασιν αὐτοὺς, καὶ πῶς, εἴπερ ἀνόσιος ἦν καὶ μυσαρὰ καὶ ἐπιβλαβῆς ἡ δί' αἰμάτων θυσία, ἀγαθοὶ ἀν εἶν οἱ τοῖς τοιοῖσδε χαίροντες; εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ

4.10.4 | But if they say that these beings are good, how can they be good if the sacrifice of blood is impious, disgusting, and harmful? Would those who enjoy such

μόναις ταῖς τοιαύταις δὴ θυσίαις, καθ'  
ὑπερβολὴν δὲ ὡμότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας  
φανεῖν ἀνδροκτασίαις καὶ  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἡδόμενοι, πῶς οὐκ  
ἄντικρυς εἶν ἀν μιαιφόνοι, καὶ πάσης  
ὡμότητος καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας οἰκεῖοι, καὶ  
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πονηροὶ δαίμονες;

sacrifices be good? And if not only these kinds of sacrifices, but also the extreme cruelty and inhumanity shown in killings and human sacrifices, how could they not be seen as murderers, belonging to all that is cruel and inhumane, and nothing other than wicked spirits?

4.10.5 | τούτων δὲ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν  
εἰληφότων οἴμαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῶν  
δηλουμένων ἀναχωρήσεως τὸ εὔλογον  
ἀποδεδόσθαι. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ὅσιον μηδ'  
εύσεβες, μὴ ὅτι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεβασμίαν  
προσηγορίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω τιμὴν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα καταβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ  
μηδὲ τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώποις τὴν βασίλειον  
ἐπιειμένου ἀξίαν λησταῖς καὶ τοιχωρύχοις  
περιτιθέναι.

4.10.5 | Now that we have taken this proof, I think it is reasonable to withdraw from our conclusions. For it is neither holy nor pious to lower the sacred name of the god and the highest honor to wicked spirits, nor to give the royal worth that belongs to humans to thieves and robbers.

4.10.6 | ὅθεν ἡμεῖς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων  
σέβειν δεδιδαγμένοι θεὸν, τιμᾶν τε κατὰ τὸ  
προσῆκον καὶ τὰς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν θεοφιλεῖς τε  
καὶ μακαρίας δυνάμεις, οὐδὲν μὲν γεῶδες  
καὶ νεκρὸν, οὐδὲ λύθρους καὶ αἴματα, οὐδέ  
τι τῆς φθαρτῆς καὶ ψυλικῆς οὐσίας  
ἐπαγόμεθα· νῷ δὲ πάσης κεκαθαριμένῳ  
κακίᾳς καὶ σώματι τὸν ἔξ ἀγνείας καὶ  
σωφροσύνης κόσμον πάσης λαμπρότερον  
ὄντα στολῆς περιβεβλημένῳ, δόγμασί τε  
όρθοῖς καὶ θεοπρεπέσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι  
τούτοις διαθέσει γνησίᾳ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παραδοθεῖσαν εύσεβειαν  
μέχρι καὶ θανάτου φυλάττειν εύχόμεθα.

4.10.6 | Therefore, we only honor the god who is above all, respecting him properly and also the divine and blessed powers around him. We do not bring anything earthly or dead, nor offerings of filth and blood, nor anything from corrupt and material existence. Instead, we offer a mind that is completely cleansed of all evil and a body adorned with purity and self-control, shining brighter than any garment. We follow correct and godly teachings, and in all these things, we sincerely strive to keep the piety handed down to us by our savior until death.

4.10.7 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ἡμῖν  
προδιηρθρωμένων ὥρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς  
ἀποδείξεις τῶν εἱρημένων χωρεῖν. πρῶτα  
δὲ πάντων διελθεῖν εὔλογον δ' ὃν ὁ  
προειρημένος συγγραφεὺς ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε

4.10.7 | But now that we have clarified these points, it is time to move on to the proofs of what has been said. First of all, it is reasonable to go through what the previously mentioned author wrote in his

Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς" μὴ χρῆναί φησι μήτε τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ μήτε ταῖς μετ' αὐτὸν θείαις δυνάμεσι γεῶδες μηδὲν μήτε θυμιᾶν μήτε θύειν· ἀλλότρια γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πρέπουσαν εύσέβειαν.

work 'On the Departure of Living Beings.' He says that one should not offer anything earthly, neither to the god above all nor to the divine powers that follow him, whether in sacrifices or offerings. Such things are foreign to true piety.

## Section 11

4.11.1 | "Θεῷ μὲν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς τις ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔφη, μηδὲν τῶν αἰσθητῶν μήτε θυμιῶντες μήτ' ἐπονομάζοντες· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔνυλον ὃ μὴ τῷ ἀύλῳ εὔθυς ἔστιν ἀκάθαρτον. διὸ οὐδὲ λόγος τούτῳ ὃ κατὰ φωνὴν οἰκεῖος, οὐδὲ ὁ ἔνδον, ὅταν πάθει ψυχῆς ἡ μεμολυσμένος· διὰ δὲ σιγῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθαρῶν ἐννοιῶν θρησκεύομεν αὐτόν. δεῖ ἄρα συναφθέντας καὶ ὁμοιωθέντας αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναγωγὴν θυσίαν ιερὰν προσάγειν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ ὕμνον οὕσαν καὶ ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν. ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θεωρίᾳ ἡ θυσία αὕτη τελεῖται."

4.11.1 | To the god who is above all, as a wise man said, one should not offer anything material, neither sacrifices nor naming things. For nothing physical is clean unless it is pure in spirit. Therefore, neither spoken words nor inner thoughts are suitable when the soul is tainted by suffering. Instead, we worship him through pure silence and clean thoughts about him. Thus, we must unite and align ourselves to offer a sacred sacrifice to the god, which is also a hymn and our salvation. This sacrifice is completed in the detachment of the soul and in the contemplation of the god.

## Section 12

4.12.1 | "Τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑκγόνοις, νοητοῖς δὲθεοῖς, ἥδη καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὑμνωδίαν προσθετέον. ἀπαρχὴ γὰρ ἐκάστῳ ὃν δέδωκεν ἡ θυσία, καὶ δι’ ὧς ἡμῶν τρέφει καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι συνέχει τὴν ούσιαν. ὡς οὖν γεωργὸς δραγμάτων ἀπάρχεται καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἀπαρξώμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐννοιῶν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καλῶν, εὐχαριστοῦντες ὃν ἡμῖν δεδώκασι τὴν θεωρίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν θέας ἀληθινῶς τρέφουσι, συνόντες καὶ φαινόμενοι καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ σωτηρίᾳ ἐπιλάμποντες." Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὗτος. ἀδελφὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ περὶ

4.12.1 | To his offspring, the divine beings that are understood, we should also add a hymn from our words. For each sacrifice is a first offering of what has been given, and it nourishes us and holds our existence together. Just as a farmer offers the first fruits and the best of his harvest, so we will offer to them our good thoughts about them, thanking them for the vision they have given us, and for truly nourishing us through their presence, shining with our own salvation. These things are said by him. His sister and relatives speak about the first and greatest god in 'On Sacrifices,'

τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ θυσιῶν ὃ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδόμενος αὐτὸς ἔκεινος ὃ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος γράφειν τοιάδε λέγεται

## Section 13

4.13.1 | "Οὕτως τοίνυν μάλιστα ἂν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῖτο τοῦ θείου, τυγχάνοι τε αὐτόθεν ἔλεων τε καὶ εύμενοῦς αὐτοῦ παρ' ὄντινα οὖν μόνος ἀνθρώπων, εἰ θεῷ μὲν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἐνί τε ὄντι κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων, μεθ' ὃν γνωρίζεσθαι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναγκαῖον, μὴ θύοι τι τὴν ἀρχὴν, μήτε ἀνάπτοι πῦρ, μήτε καθόλου τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπονομάζοι· (δεῖται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων ἥπερ ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ' ἔστιν ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνίησι γῆ φυτὸν, ἢ τρέφει ζῶον, ἢ ἀηρ, ὃ μὴ πρόσεστί γέ τι μίασμα·) μόνω δὲ χρῶτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῷ κρείττονι λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ τῷ μὴ διὰ στόματος ἰόντι, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ὄντων διὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αἴτοιή τάγαθά· νοῦς δέ ἔστιν οὔτος, ὄργάνου μὴ δεόμενος. ούκοῦν κατὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ θυτέον." Τούτων δὲ ὡδε ἔχόντων θέα δὴ λοιπὸν ὅποια περὶ τοῦ ζωοθυτεῖν ὃ πρότερος ἴστορεῖ συγγραφεὺς, μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου τὸν Θεόφραστον ἀνακαλούμενος·

## Section 14

4.14.1 | "Πόρρω δὲ τῶν περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀπαρχῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προιουσῶν παρανομίας ἡ τῶν δεινοτάτων θυμάτων παράληψις ἐπεισήχθη ὡμότητος πλήρης, ὡς δοκεῖν τὰς πρόσθεν λεχθείσας καθ' ἡμῶν ἀρὰς νῦν τέλος εὐληφέναι,

which is sung by many, and it is said that the Tyanean Apollonius wrote such things.

4.13.1 | Therefore, if anyone is to take the proper care of the divine, I think they should be especially mindful of being gracious and favorable to him, the one who is above all. For it is necessary to know him, the first being we mentioned, who is separate from all, and not to offer any sacrifices, nor light any fire, nor name anything physical. For nothing is needed from the greater beings, just as we do not need anything from the earth that produces plants, or nourishes animals, or from the air, which has no impurity. Instead, one should always approach him with a superior thought, which I mean should not be expressed verbally, and ask the best of the best beings through the best within us. This thought is the mind, which does not need any instrument. Therefore, according to this, one should not sacrifice to the great god who is above all. With these points in mind, the earlier writer tells us about the practice of animal sacrifice, calling upon Theophrastus as a witness to his words.

4.14.1 | Far from the proper offerings for sacrifices, the neglect of the most terrible rituals has been brought in, filled with brutal acts. It seems that the curses we mentioned before have now reached their end, with people being slaughtered and the

σφαξάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς αἰμαξάντων, ἀφ' οὗ λιμῶν τε καὶ πολέμων πειραθέντες αἰμάτων ἥψαντο. τοιγαροῦν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃς φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος, τούτων ἑκατέρων νεμεσῆσαν, ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν πρέπουσαν ἔοικε τιμωρίαν· καθὸ σῖ μὲν ἄθεοι γεγόνασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἵ δὲ κακόφρονες μᾶλλον ἢ κακόθεοι λεχθέντες ἀν ἐν δίκῃ, διὰ τὸ φαύλους καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν βελτίους ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν φύσιν εἶναι τοὺς θεούς. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἄθυτοι φαίνονται γενέσθαι τινὲς, οἱ δὲ κακόθυτοι καὶ παρανόμων ἀψάμενοι θυμάτων."

4.14.2 | Πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς προστίθησι καὶ ταῦτα Ὡν δὴ τοῦτον ἔχοντων τὸν τρόπον, εἴκότως ὁ Θεόφραστος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ θύειν τὰ ἔμψυχα τοὺς τῷ ὄντι εύσεβεῖν ἐθέλοντας, χρώμενος καὶ τοιαύταις ἄλλαις αἰτίαις.

4.14.3 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Καὶ μὴν θύειν δεῖ ἐκεῖνα ἂ θύοντες οὐδένα πημανοῦμεν· οὐδὲν γάρ ὡς τὸ θῦμα ἀβλαβὲς εἶναι χρή πάβι. ἵνα λίγοι τις ὅτι ονχ ἡττον των καρπών καϊ τά ζώα ημιν εις χρήσιν ὁ θεός δέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ονν γε ἐπιθνομένων των ζώων φέρει τινά βλάβην αντοίς, ίντε της ψνχής νοαφιζομένων. ου τέον ονν ταύτα' ή, γαρ θυσία οαία τις ἔντι κατά τοννομα οβίος δῆ ουδείς ος εκ των αλλότριων ἀποδίδωαι χάριτας, καν καρπούς λάβη, καν φυτά μή ἐθέλοντί τος. πώς γαρ ὄντιν αδικούμενων των αφαιρεθέντων; ει δε ούδει καρπών ὁ ἀψάμενος αλλότριων οαίως θύει, τά γε\_τούτων τιμιώτερα παντελώς ονχ ούιον ἀφαιρονμένονς τινών θύειν· το γαρ δεινό ν οντω γίνεται μείζον, ή ψνχή δε πολλω τιμιώτερον τῶν ἔκ γης φνομένων, ην

altars soaked in blood. From this, they have tried bloodshed in times of famine and war. Therefore, the divine, as Theophrastus says, has taken revenge on both sides, and it seems fitting to impose the proper punishment. For some have become godless among humans, while others are more wicked in spirit than in their actions, as they would be judged, believing that the gods are weak and no better than us. Thus, some appear to be without faith, while others, being wicked and unlawful, have engaged in terrible acts.

4.14.2 | Again, the same author adds that, with these points in mind, Theophrastus rightly advises those who truly wish to be pious not to sacrifice living beings, using other reasons as well.

4.14.3 | And he adds, "Indeed, we should not sacrifice those things that do not harm anyone. For nothing is as harmless as the sacrifice itself. Some think that the fruits and animals given to us by the gods are no less valuable, but if we harm the animals, we bring some damage to ourselves, especially if we take away their souls. Therefore, these things are not sacrifices; rather, it is a kind of offering that no one should give from what belongs to others, whether they receive fruits or not. For how can one be just when taking away what belongs to others? If someone sacrifices from the fruits of others, then those things are certainly more valuable than what is taken from someone else. For the terrible act becomes greater, and the soul is much

άφαιρεῖσθαι Ονοντα ζώα ον προαήκεν."

more precious than the things that come from the earth, which, if taken away, harm the animals that have not done wrong."

4.14.4 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Αφεκτέον ἀρα τῶν ζώων ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις." Καὶ πάλιν φησὶ "Τό τοίννυ μη ὄαιον μῆτ' ενδάπανον ον ὕντέον." Καὶ εξῆς ζο

4.14.4 | And he adds, "Therefore, we should refrain from using animals in sacrifices." And again he says, "This is not right, neither in the offering nor in the act."

4.14.5 | "Ωστε καὶ τῶν ζώων εὖ ἀπαρκτέον, αυτά & εοῖς τούτων τινός ε' νεκα δντέον' καὶ γαρ α Ονομεν, τούτων τινός ε' νεκα 9νομεν. αρ' ονν τιμής ἡγήσαιτ' αν τις τνγχάνειν ημών, ηεός, όταν ἀδικοντες εννς δια τής απαρχής φαινώμεθα, ή μάλλον ἀτιμίαν οἴήβαιτ' ἀν τό τοιούτο δραν; ἐν τωδέ γε ύειν ἀναιροντες τά μηδέν ἀδικονντα τῶν ζώων ἀδικήσειν ομολογονμεν' ώστε τιμής μίν ε' νεκα ον 9ντέον τῶν λοιπών ζώων ονδέν' ον μην ονδή τῶν ενεργεβιών χάριν αύτοϊς ἀποδιδόντας. ο γαρ την δικαίαν ἀμοιβη ην τής ενεργεσίας καὶ τής ενποιίας τό αντάξιον ἀποδιδονς ουκ ἔκ τον κακώς τινάς δράν οφείλει ταύτα παρέχειν. ούδεν γάρ μᾶλλον ἀμείβεσθαι δόξει ή κάν εί τὰ τοῦ πέλας ἀρπάσας τις στεφανοίη τινάς, ως χάριν ἀποδιδούς καὶ τιμήν.

4.14.5 | So, if we should refrain from using animals, we must do so for the sake of these things. For we are aware that we should not act unjustly in our offerings. Should anyone think they are gaining honor by doing wrong through the first fruits, or rather, should they believe that such actions bring dishonor? In this way, we agree that by taking away from those animals that have done no wrong, we are not acting unjustly. Therefore, for the sake of honor, we should not take anything from the other animals, nor should we give anything back to them for their services. For one who gives a fair return for the work and the creation should not provide these things from doing something wrong. It would seem no more just to repay than if someone were to steal something from a neighbor and then claim to give them honor or thanks.

4.14.6 | ἀλλ' ούδε χάριν τινός ἔνεκα τῶν ἀγαθῶν. ο γάρ ἀδίκω πράξει τὸ παθεῖν εὺ θηρεύων ὑποπτός ἔστι μηδὲ εὖ παθών χάριν ἔξειν. ώστε ούδε ἐλπιζομένης εύεργεσίας θυτέον ἔστι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ζῷα. καὶ γάρ δὴ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων λάθοι τις ἀν ἵσως τινὰ τοῦτο πράττων, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀμήχανον καὶ λαθεῖν. εί τοίνυν θυτέον μὲν

4.14.6 | But not even for the sake of some good. For one who acts unjustly is suspicious of suffering and will not receive thanks even if they suffer well. Therefore, it is not right to sacrifice animals to the gods in hope of receiving a favor. For indeed, while some humans might escape notice doing this, the gods cannot be deceived or

τούτων τινὸς ἔνεκα, οὐδενὸς δὲ τούτων χάριν αὐτὸ πρακτέον, δῆλον ὡς οὐ θυτέον ἐστὶ τὰ ζῶα τὸ παράπαν τοῖς θεοῖς."

overlooked. So, if we are to sacrifice for the sake of something, it should not be for the sake of any of these things. It is clear that animals should not be sacrificed at all to the gods.

4.14.7 | Καὶ πάλιν ἔπιλέγει Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τε φύσις καὶ πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αἴσθησις δρωμένοις συνηρέσκετο, ταύρων δ' ἀκράτοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο βωμὸς, ἄλλα μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον, θυμὸν ἀπορραίσαντας ἐέδμεναι ἥια γυῖα.' Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα

4.14.7 | And again, he adds: For both nature and the whole sense of the soul in humans are connected to actions. But the altar did not require the unrestrained blood of bulls; this was the greatest filth among humans, as they would tear apart their hearts and let their limbs fall.

4.14.8 | "Οταν γε νέος θεοὺς χαίρειν πολυτελείαις γνῷ, καὶ, ὡς φασι, ταῖς τῶν βιῶν καὶ ἄλλων ζώων θοίναις, πότ' ἀν ἐκὼν σωφρονήσειε; πῶς δὲ κεχαρισμένα θύειν ἡγούμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα οὐκ ἔξεῖναι ἀδικεῖν οίήσεται αὐτῷ μέλλοντι διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔξωνεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν; πεισθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τούτων χρείαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν οἱ θεοὶ, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἥθος ἀποβλέπουσι τῶν προσιόντων, μεγίστην θυσίαν λαμβάνοντες τὴν ὄρθην περὶ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διάληψιν, πῶς οὐ σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ὄσιος ἔσεται;

4.14.8 | When a young person learns to greet the gods with lavish gifts, and, as they say, with the sacrifices of bulls and other animals, when will they willingly act with moderation? How can they think that offering these things to the gods is not unjust, believing that through the sacrifices they will be freed from their wrongdoing? If they are convinced that the gods do not need these things, and that they look to the character of those who approach them, taking the greatest sacrifice as the right understanding of themselves and their actions, how can they not be wise, just, and pious?

4.14.9 | Θεοῖς δὲ ἀρίστη μὲν ἀπαρχὴ νοῦς καθαρὸς καὶ ψυχὴ ἀπαθής· οίκειον δὲ καὶ τὸ μετρίων μὲν ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων, μὴ παρέργως δὲ, ἄλλὰ σὺν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ. ἔοικέναι γὰρ δεῖ τὰς τιμὰς ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν προεδρίαις ὑπαναστάσεσί τε καὶ κατ' κατακλίσεσιν, ἐς ἵν, οὐ συντάξεων

4.14.9 | For the gods, the best offering is a pure mind and an untroubled soul. It is also fitting to offer a moderate amount of other things, not carelessly, but with all eagerness. For honors should be like the good things that come from leadership and gatherings, not from arranged gifts.

δόσεσι.

4.14.10 | Σαφῶς δὴ διὰ τούτων κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς τούτων φιλοσόφους ὡμολογήθη ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον τυθείη ἀν εὐλόγως τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀνόσιον γάρ καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἐπιβλαβὲς εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἀλλότριον τε μύσους, οὐκ ἦν ἄρα θεὸς, οὐδέ τις ἀψευδῆς καὶ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ὃ τὰς δι' αἰμάτων λοιβάς τε καὶ κνίσας μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἰσπραττόμενος χρησμῷδός· δός· οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι πάντες οἵς ὁ χρησμὸς θύειν ζῷα παρεκελεύσατο. πλάνον ἄρα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ πονηρὸν ἄντικρυς δαίμονα χρὴ φάναι τὸν καταψευσάμενον, καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀνειπόντα, καὶ προστάξαντα μὴ μόνον τοῖς χθονίοις καὶ καταχθονίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ αἰθερίοις καὶ ἀστραίοις ζωοθυτεῖν. τίνας οὖν εἴ μὴ θεοὺς τοὺς είρημένους ἀπαντας προσήκοι ἀν ύπολαμβάνειν αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς διηγήσεται διὰ τούτων

4.14.10 | Clearly, through these things, it was agreed among the Greeks and their philosophers that nothing living could reasonably be offered to the gods. For it is both impious and unjust and harmful to do so, not to mention it is foreign to their mysteries. Therefore, there was no god, nor any truthful and good spirit, who would accept offerings of blood and fat, collected in small amounts beforehand, as a prophecy. Nor did those who received the prophecy command to sacrifice living beings. Thus, one must say that the one who deceives and is a trickster is a spirit who lies, and the gods who do not exist are those who are mentioned, commanding not only the chthonic and underworld beings but also the heavenly, ethereal, and starry beings to be sacrificed. So, who else but the gods mentioned would be considered appropriate? The author will explain this again through these points.

## Section 15

4.15.1 | “Οἶδε δὲ ὁ τῆς εύσεβείας φροντίζων ὡς θεοῖς μὲν οὐ θύεται ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν, δαίμοσιν δὲ, ἀλλ’ ἥτοι ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ καὶ φαύλοις· καὶ τίνων ἔστι τὸ θύειν τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἄχρι τινὸς αὐτῶν δεομένων.”

4.15.1 | The one who cares about piety knows that no living thing is sacrificed to the gods, but to spirits, either good ones or even lesser ones. And what is the reason for sacrificing to them, and for those who need them up to a certain point?

4.15.2 | Καὶ αὖθις ἔξῆς φησιν “Οτι δὲ οὐ θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ δαίμοσι τὰς θυσίας τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰμάτων προσῆγον οἱ τὰς ἐν τῷ παντὶ δυνάμεις καταμαθόντες, καὶ τοῦτο πεπίστωται παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεολόγων· καὶ

4.15.2 | And again, he says that the sacrifices made through blood are not for the gods, but for spirits, as those who have learned the powers in the universe have confirmed, and this is accepted by the

μὴν ὅτι τούτων οὶ μὲν κακοποιοὶ, οἱ δὲ  
ἀγαθοὶ οὐκ ἐνοχλήσουσιν ἡμῖνυν."

4.15.3 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δεδηλωμένος. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
τῶν δαιμόνων μόνων ἔφησε τοὺς μὲν  
ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους εἶναι, φέρε πῶς  
ἴδωμεν ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, φαῦλοι  
δὲ οἱ νενομισμένοι αὐτῶν θεοὶ πάντες  
ἀλίσκονται; λάβοις δ' ἀν καὶ τούτου τὴν  
ἀπόδειξιν ὥδε.

4.15.4 | τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὠφελεῖ, βλάπτει δὲ τὸ  
ἐναντίον. εἰ δὲ φανεῖν οἱ κατὰ πάντα  
τόπον ἀνηγορευμένοι εἴτε θεοὶ εἴτε  
δαίμονες, αὐτοὶ δὴ οἱ παρὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς  
βεβοημένοι καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων  
προσκυνούμενοι, ὃ τε Κρόνος καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς,  
Ὕρα τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ οἱ παραπλήσιοι, αἱ  
τε ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις καὶ οἱ δαίμονες οἱ διὰ  
τῶν ξοάνων ἐνεργοῦντες, οὐ μόνον ζώων  
ἀλόγων σφαγαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἀνδροκτασίαις καὶ ἀνθρωποθυσίαις  
χαίροντες, καὶ ταύτῃ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν  
ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων λυμαῖνόμενοι, τίνα  
χείρονα ταύτης βλάβην ἐπινοήσειας;

4.15.5 | εἰ γὰρ ἡ διὰ ζώων ἀλόγων θυσίᾳ  
ἐπάρατος καὶ κακόθυτος πρὸς τῶν  
φιλοσόφων ἐλέχθη, μυσταρά τε καὶ ἄδικος  
καὶ ἀνόσιος καὶ οὐκ ἀβλαβῆς τοῖς Θύουσι,  
καὶ διὰ γε ταῦτα πάνταθεῶν ἀναξία, τί χρὴ  
νομίζειν τὴν δι' ἀνθρώπων σφαγῆς; ἢ  
παντὸς αὕτη γένοιτ' ἀν ἀσεβεστάτη καὶ  
ἀνοσιωτάτη; πῶς οὖν ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσιν,  
οὐχὶ δὲ τοῖς παμμιάροις καὶ πανωλέθροις  
πνεύμασιν είκότως ἀν λεχθείη προσφιλής.,

theologians. Moreover, some of these spirits are harmful, while others are good and will not trouble us.

4.15.3 | These things have been made clear. But since he said that there are only good and lesser spirits, let us see how it is that neither good spirits nor the lesser ones, which are all considered gods, are caught. You could also take this as proof in this way.

4.15.4 | The good helps, but the opposite harms. If those who are called gods or spirits were to appear everywhere, then indeed those who are honored by all, like Cronus and Zeus, Hera and Athena, and others similar, as well as the hidden powers and the spirits that act through the statues, not only rejoice in the sacrifices and offerings of irrational animals, but also in the killings of men and human sacrifices, and in this way they torment the souls of miserable humans, what worse harm could you imagine than this?

4.15.5 | For if the sacrifice of irrational animals is said to be hateful and wicked by the philosophers, foul and unjust and not harmless to those who offer it, and because of all this unworthy of the gods, what should one think of the sacrifice of humans? Wouldn't this be the most impious and unholy of all? How then could it be said to be pleasing to good spirits, rather than to the most foul and destructive ones?

4.15.6 | φέρε οὖν ἐλέγχωμεν καὶ  
ἀποδείξωμεν ὅπόσον ἡ τῆς πολυθέου  
πλάνης λύμη τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς  
διδασκαλίας ἐκράτει. λελύσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν  
καὶ καθηρῆσθαι οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἢ κατὰ τοὺς  
Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνους, φωτὸς δίκην ἥδη  
διαλαμπούσης ἐπὶ πάντα τόπον τῆς τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας.

4.15.7 | οἵς οὐχ ἡμεῖς, ἄλλ' αὐτῶν πάλιν  
τῶν μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούντων  
μαρτυρήσουσιν αἱ φωναὶ διαρρήδην, τῶν  
πρὸ τούτου χρόνων τοσαύτην  
κατηγοροῦσαι μοχθηρίαν ὥστε ἥδη τοὺς  
δεισιδαίμονας πέρα καὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως  
ὅρων χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλεθρίων  
πνευμάτων ἔξοιστρουμένους καὶ  
δαιμονῶντας ἄντικρυς, ὡς καὶ τοῖς τῶν  
φιλτάτων αἴμασι καὶ ἄλλαις μυρίαις  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἰλεοῦσθαι νομίζειν τὰς  
μιαιφόνους δυνάμεις. μείς.

4.15.8 | καί τις πατὴρ τὸν μονογενῆ παῖδα  
καὶ μήτηρ τὴν ἀγαπητὴν θυγατέρα  
προσέθυσεν τῷ δαίμονι, καὶ κατέσφαττον  
οἱ φίλτατοι ὡς τι τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ  
ἄλλοτριών θρεμμάτων τοὺς προσήκοντας,  
ἔθυόν τε τοῖς δὴ θεοῖς κατὰ πόλεις καὶ  
χώρας τοὺς συνοίκους καὶ πολίτας, τὴν  
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ συμπαθῆ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἀνηλεὲς καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἀκονήσαντες, καὶ  
τὸν μανιώδη καὶ δαιμονιακὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς  
ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τρόπον.

4.15.9 | εὕροις δ' ἂν οὖν πάσαν ἔξετάζων  
Ἐλληνικήν τε καὶ βάρβαρον ιστορίαν, ὅπως

4.15.6 | Come then, let us examine and  
show how much the confusion of  
polytheism has troubled the lives of  
humans before the teaching of our Savior  
became known. For it was only during the  
time of Hadrian, when the light of Christ's  
teaching was already shining everywhere,  
that it began to be loosened and removed.

4.15.7 | Indeed, it is not us, but their own  
voices will testify against those who do not  
think like us, declaring openly the great  
wickedness of those earlier times. They  
were so fearful that they would go beyond  
the limits of nature, driven mad by  
destructive spirits and acting like demons,  
believing that the murderous powers could  
be appeased with the blood of the most  
beloved and other countless human  
sacrifices.

4.15.8 | And some father sacrificed his only  
son, and some mother offered her beloved  
daughter to the demon. And the dearest  
ones killed those who belonged to them,  
like some irrational and foreign animals.  
They sacrificed to the gods in cities and  
regions their fellow citizens and neighbors,  
sharpening their nature, which is kind and  
compassionate, to be cruel and inhuman,  
truly showing a mad and demonic way.

4.15.9 | You would find, then, by examining  
both Greek and barbarian history, that

οὶ μὲν υἱεῖς, οἵ δὲ θυγατέρας, οὶ δὲ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν δαιμόνων καθιέρουν θυσίαις. ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τούτων τὸν καὶ πρότερον παρίστημι μάρτυρα ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἐν οἷς τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων θρεμμάτων θυσίαν ὡς ἀνοσίαν καὶ ἀδικωτάτην ἀπηγόρευσε, ταῦτα φάσκοντα πρὸς βῆμα

some sons and some daughters, and even themselves, were offered to the demons in sacrifices. But I also present to you a witness from these same accounts, in which the sacrifice of irrational animals is declared as an impious and most unjust act, saying these things in agreement with the statement.

## Section 16

4.16.1 | “Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ πλήρους οὕσης τῆς ιστορίας λέγομεν, αὐτάρκη καὶ ταῦτα παραστῆσαι. ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ρόδῳ μηνὶ τνιῶνι ἔκτῃ ισταμένου ἄνθρωπος τῷ Κρόνῳ. ὃ δὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ κρατῆσαν ἔθος μετεβλήθη· ἐνα γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθέντων μέχρι τῶν Κρονίων συνεῖχον, ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς προαγαγόντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔξω πυλῶν ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλης ἦδους οἴνου ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον.

4.16.1 | And that we are not speaking of these things simply, but with the full history in mind, is important to show. For a man was sacrificed to Cronus in Rhodes on the sixth day of the month of Tnion. This custom, which had long been established, was changed; for one of those condemned to death was kept until the Kronia festival. When the festival approached, they brought the man outside the gates, right in front of Aristobulus, and after giving him a drink of wine, they killed him.

4.16.2 | ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν Σαλαμῖνι, πρότερον δὲ Κορωνείᾳ ὄνομαζομένῃ, μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ, ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ Ἀγραύλῳ τῇ Κέκροπος καὶ νύμφης Ἀγραύλισος, καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν Διομήδους χρόνων· εἶτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ Διομήδει τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ' ἐνα δὲ περίβολον ὃ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς καὶ ὃ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. ὃ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν· ἐπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἐπαιει κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν πυρὰν ὠλοκαύτιζον.

4.16.2 | In the present Salamis, which was formerly called Coronis, a man was sacrificed to Aphrodite in the month according to the Cypriots, to the Agraulos of Cecryphus and the nymph Agraulis. This custom continued until the times of Diomedes; then it changed, so that at the festival of Diomedes, the man was sacrificed. Under one enclosure were both the temple of Athena and that of Agraulos and Diomedes. The one being sacrificed was led by the youths, circling the altar three times; then the priest struck him in the stomach with a spear, and in this way they burned him on the altar.

4.16.3 | τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεσμὸν Δίφιλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεὺς κατέλυσε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελεύκου χρόνους τοῦ θεολόγου γενόμενος, τὸ ἔθος εἰς βουθυσίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δὲ ὁ δαίμων ἀντ' ἀνθρώπου τὸν βοῦν.

4.16.3 | This custom was abolished by Diphilus, the king of Cyprus, during the times of Seleucus, as he became a theologian, changing the practice to a sacrifice of cattle instead of a human. The demon was then associated with a bull instead of a man.

4.16.4 | οὕτως ἴσάξιόν ἐστι τὸ δρῶμενον. κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἀμωσις, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Μανεθῶς ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀρχαισμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας. ἔθύοντο δὲ τῇ Ἡρᾳ, καὶ ἐδοκιμάζοντο καθάπερ οἱ ζητούμενοι καθαροὶ μόσχοι καὶ συσφραγίζομενοι. ἔθύοντο δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἀνθ' ὧν κηρίνους ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἀμωσις τοὺς ἵσους ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

4.16.4 | Thus, the action is equally valid. Amosis also abolished the law of murder in the city of Helios in Egypt, as Manetho testifies in his work on antiquity and piety. They used to sacrifice to Hera, and they were examined just as pure calves are sought and sealed. They sacrificed for three days; instead of those, Amosis ordered equal offerings of honey cakes to be presented.

4.16.5 | ἔθυον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ωμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρωπὸν διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησιν Εὔελπις ὁ Καρύστιος· ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἀρεὶ θύειν ἀνθρωπὸν.

4.16.5 | They also sacrificed a man in Chios to the Omadios Dionysus, and in Tenedos, as Euhelpis the Carystian says. For Apollodorus says that the Spartans also sacrificed a man to Ares.

4.16.6 | Φοίνικες δὲ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἢ πολέμων, ἢ λοιμῶν, ἢ αύχμῶν, ἔθυον τῶν φιλτάτων τινὰ ἐπιψηφίζοντες Κρόνῳ· καὶ πλήρης γε ἡ Φοινικικὴ ιστορία τῶν θυσάντων, ἥν Σαυχουνιάθων μὲν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώττῃ συνέγραψε, Φίλων δὲ ὁ Βύβλιος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν δι' ὄκτὼ βιβλίων ἡρμήνευσεν.

4.16.6 | The Phoenicians, in times of great disasters, whether from wars, plagues, or droughts, used to sacrifice one of their dearest by voting to Kronos. The Phoenician history is indeed full of sacrifices, which was written by Sanchuniathon in the Phoenician language, and translated into Greek by Philo of Byblos in eight books.

4.16.7 | Ἰστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν

4.16.7 | Istrus says in the Synagogue of the

Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν φησι τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας.  
καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας  
σχεδὸν τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι φησι Πάλλας, ὁ  
ἄριστα περὶ τῶν τοῦ Μίθρα συναγαγών  
μυστηρίων ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ  
αὐτοκράτορος. ἔθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν  
Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ κατ'  
ἔτος παρθένος, νῦν δὲ ἔλαφος.

Cretans that the Curetes used to sacrifice children to Kronos in ancient times. He says that human sacrifices were almost completely abolished by Pallas, who gathered the best information about the mysteries of Mithras during the reign of the emperor Hadrian. For they also used to sacrifice a virgin to Athena in Laodicea in Syria every year, but now they sacrifice a deer instead.

4.16.8 | καὶ μὴν καὶ οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ  
Καρχηδόνιοι ἐποίουν τὴν θυσίαν, ἦν  
Ίφικράτης ἔπαινος. καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς  
Ἀραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἔκαστον ἔθυον παῖδα, ὃν  
ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔθαπτον, ὡς χρῶνται ὡς ξοάνω.

4.16.8 | And indeed, the Carthaginians in Libya used to make sacrifices, which Iphicrates stopped. The Dumatheni of Arabia also used to sacrifice a child every year, whom they buried under an altar, which they used as a statue.

4.16.9 | Φύλαρχος δὲ κοινῶς πάντας τοὺς  
“Ἐλληνας, πρὶν ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἔξιέναι,  
ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν ἴστορεῖ. καὶ παρίημι  
Θρᾷκας καὶ Σκύθας, καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν  
Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Πραξιθέας θυγατέρα  
ἀνεῖλον. ἀλλ’ ἔτι γε νῦν τίς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν  
Μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Διός  
ἐορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἀνθρωπὸν;

4.16.9 | The chieftain tells that all the Greeks, before going out against enemies, used to commit murder. He also mentions the Thracians and Scythians, and how the Athenians killed the daughter of Erechtheus and Praxitheia. But even now, who does not know about the Great City, during the festival of Latarius Zeus, where a man is sacrificed?

4.16.10 | Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν “Αφ’ οὗ μέχρι  
τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μόνον τοῖς  
Λυκαίοις, οὐδ’ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ  
κοινῇ πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ  
κατὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάριν  
μνήμης, ἐμφύλιον ἀεὶ αἷμα ῥαίνουσι πρὸς  
τοὺς βωμούς.”

4.16.10 | And again he says, "From then until now, not only in Arcadia among the Lycaeans, nor in Carthage to Kronos, do all commonly sacrifice humans, but at certain times, for the sake of remembering the law, they always shed blood at the altars."

4.16.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς  
προδηλωθείσης κείσθω γραφῆς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ

4.16.11 | Let these things be taken from the previously mentioned writing. From the

πρώτου συγγράμματος τῆς Φίλωνος  
Φοινικικῆς ἱστορίας παραθήσομαι ταῦτα  
“Ἐθος ἡν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις  
συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων  
φθορᾶς τὸ ἡγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς  
κρατοῦντας ἡ πόλεως ἡ ἔθνους εἰς σφαγὴν  
ἐπιδιδόναι λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι·  
κατεσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς.  
Κρόνος τοίνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοίνικες “Ἄλ  
προσαγορεύουσι, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας,  
καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν εἰς  
τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστέρα καθιερωθεὶς, ἐξ  
ἐπιχωρίας νύμφης Ἀνωβρὲτ λεγομένης υἱὸν  
ἔχων μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τοῦτο Ἱεοὺδ  
ἐκάλουν, τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
καλουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, κινδύνων ἐκ  
πολέμου μεγίστων κατειληφότων τὴν  
χώραν, βασιλικῷ κοσμήσας σχήματι τὸν  
υἱὸν, βωμόν τε κατασκευασάμενος  
κατέθυσε.”

first letter of Philo's Phoenician history, I will present this: "It was a custom among the ancients, in great disasters and dangers, to offer the beloved children of those in power, either of the city or the nation, as a sacrifice to the avenging spirits, instead of the destruction of all. The ones given were secretly killed. Therefore, Kronos, whom the Phoenicians call Hel, ruling over the land, and later after the end of life was honored as a star of Kronos, having a unique son from a local nymph named Anobret, whom they called Jeoud, this only-begotten one is still called that by the Phoenicians. When the land was seized by the greatest dangers of war, he adorned his son in royal form and built an altar to make a sacrifice."

4.16.12 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν  
τρόπον. εἰκότως ἄρα ὁ θαυμάσιος Κλήμης  
ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐλληνας Προτρεπτικῷ, αὐτὰ  
δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενος, τοιάδε καὶ αὐτὸς  
τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολοφύρεται  
λέγων “Φέρ’ οὖν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο προσθῶμεν,  
ὡς ἀπάνθρωποι καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες  
εἴεν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον  
ἐπιχαίροντες τῇ φρενοβλαβείᾳ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίας  
ἀπολαύοντες· νυνὶ μὲν τὰς ἐν σταδίοις  
ἐνόπλους φιλονεικίας, νυνὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν  
πολέμοις ἀναρίθμους φιλοτιμίας ἀφορμὰς  
σφίσιν ἡδονῆς ποριζόμενοι, ὅπως ὅτι  
μάλιστα ἔχοιεν ἀνθρωπείων ἀνέδην  
ἐμφορεῖσθαι φόνων. ἢδη δὲ κατὰ πόλεις  
καὶ ἔθνη, οἰονεὶ λοιμοὶ ἐπισκήψαντες,  
σπονδὰς ἀπήτησαν ἀνημέρους.  
Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ  
Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξε,  
τοσαύτας ὄμοις καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν

4.16.12 | These things indeed had this way. Therefore, it is reasonable that the wonderful Clemes, in his work to the Greeks called "Protrepticus," while criticizing these very things, himself speaks against the deception of humans, saying, "Let us add this, that your gods are inhuman and hateful demons, not only rejoicing in the madness of humans but also enjoying murder. Now they provide pleasures from armed contests in the stadiums and countless sources of ambition in wars, so that they might have the most human bloodshed. Already in cities and nations, like plagues that have come upon them, they demanded sacrifices without delay. Aristomenes of Messene sacrificed three hundred to Zeus Ithomeus, thinking to offer such great and beautiful sacrifices; among them was Theopompus, the noble priest of the Spartans. The Taurians, the

οιόμενος ἐκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος  
ἢν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἵερεῖον  
εὐγενές. Ταῦροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν  
Ταυρικὴν Χερρόνησον κατοικοῦντες, οὓς  
ἄν τῶν ξένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔλωσι, τούτων  
δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπταικότων, αὐτίκα  
μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταθύουσιν Ἀρτέμιδι.  
ταύτας σου τὰς θυσίας Εύριπίδης ἐπὶ  
σκηνῆς τραγῳδεῖ. Μόνιμος δὲ ἴστορεῖ ἐν τῇ  
τῶν θαυμασίων Συναγωγῇ ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς  
Θετταλίας Ἀχαιὸν ἄνθρωπον Πηλεῖ καὶ  
Χείρωνι καταθύεσθαι. Λυκτίους γὰρ —  
Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι —  
Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται  
ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διὶ, καὶ  
Λεσβίους Διονύσω τὴν ὄμοιαν προσάγειν  
θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει. Φωκαεῖς δὲ — οὐδὲ  
γὰρ αὐτοὺς παραπέμψομαι — τούτους  
Πυθοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ ὁμονοίας τῇ  
Ταυροπόλῳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἄνθρωπον  
ὅλοκαυτεῖν ἴστορεῖ. Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττικὸς  
καὶ Μάριος δὲ 'Ρωμαῖος τὰς αὐτῶν  
έθυσάτην θυγατέρας· ὃν δὲ μὲν τῇ  
Φερρεφάττῃ, ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν πρώτῃ  
Τραγῳδουμένων, δὲ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, δὲ  
Μάριος, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τετάρτῃ Ιταλικῶν  
ἴστορεῖ. φιλάνθρωποι γέ εἴ τούτων  
καταφαίνονται οἱ δαίμονες· πᾶς δὲ οὐκ  
ἀνόσιοι ἀναλόγως οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, οἱ μὲν  
σωτῆρες εὐφημούμενοι, οἱ δὲ σωτηρίαν  
αἴτούμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων  
σωτηρίας; καλλιερεῖν γοῦν τοπάζοντες  
αὐτοῖς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λελήθασιν  
ἀποσφάττοντες ἀνθρώπους. οὐ γὰρ οὖν  
παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἱερεῖον γίνεται ὁ φόνος·  
οὐδὲ εἰ Ἀρτέμιδί τις καὶ Διὶ ἐν ἱερῷ δῆθεν  
χωρίω μᾶλλον ἢ ὄργῃ καὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ,  
ἄλλοις δημοίοις δαίμοσιν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς, ἢ ἐν  
δοοῖς ἀποσφάττοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἱερὸν  
ἱερεῖον ἐπιφημίσας· ἀλλὰ φόνος ἔστι καὶ  
ἀνδροκτασία ἡ τοιαύτη θυσία.

people living around the Tauric Chersonese, immediately sacrifice any strangers they capture to Artemis. Euripides portrays these sacrifices on stage. Monimos tells in the "Synagogue of Wonders" in Pellene of Thessaly that a man was sacrificed to Peleus and Chiron. The Lyctians, who are a people of Crete, are shown by Anticleides in the "Nostoi" to sacrifice men to Zeus, and the Lesbians bring a similar sacrifice to Dionysus, saying it is for Dosis. The Phocaeans—nor will I send them away—are recounted by Pythocles in the third book "On Concord" to burn a man wholly to the Tauric Artemis. Erechtheus of Attica and Marius the Roman sacrificed their own daughters; the former to Pherephatta, as Demaratus says in the first "Tragodoumena," and the latter to the averting deities, as Dorothaeus recounts in the fourth "Italics." The demons appear to be humane; but how are the superstitious not unholy, some praised as saviors, while others ask for salvation from the overseeing spirits of salvation? They indeed seem to offer beautiful sacrifices while secretly killing men. For murder does not become sacred in that place; nor if someone sacrifices to Artemis and Zeus in a supposed holy place rather than in anger and greed, like others do to similar demons at altars, or if he kills a man on the roads, calling it a sacred offering; but such a sacrifice is murder and homicide."

4.16.13 | τί δὴ οὖν, ὡς σοφώτατοι τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἀνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν θηρία περιφεύγομεν τὰ ἀνήμερα, κανὸν που περιτύχωμεν ἄρκτῳ, ἢ λέοντι, ἐκτρεπόμεθα, ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἴδων παλίνορσος ἀπέστηοῦρεος ἐν βῆσσῃ, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα, ἄψ τ' ἀνεχώρησε. δαίμονας δ' ὀλεθρίους καὶ ἀλιτηρίους, ἐπιβούλους τε καὶ μισανθρώπους καὶ λυμεῶνας ὅντας προαισθόμενοι καὶ συνιέντες οὐκ ἐντρέπεσθε, οὐδὲ ἀποστρέφεσθε;"

4.16.14 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλήμης. ἔχω δέ σοι καὶ ἄλλον χ παραστῆσαι μάρτυρα τῆς τῶν ἀθέων καὶ ἀπανθρωπων δαιμόνων μιαιφονίας, Διονύσιον τὸν Αλικαρνασσέα, ἄνδρα τῆς Ἀριανῆς ἱστορίας ἀκριβῆ τὴν γραφὴν ἄπασαν ἐκθέμενον. γράφει δ' οὖν καὶ οὗτος τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα αἰτήσαί ποτε ἀνθρωποθυσίας, τοὺς δ' αἰτηθέντας καρπῶν μὲν ἀπάντων καὶ βοσκημάτων τὸ λάχος ἀποθῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι δὲ μὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔθυσαν παντοίαις περιστῆναι συμφοραῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶνον καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀκοῦσαι ὥδε πῃ διεξιόντος

4.16.15 | "Ολίγον δὲ κατέμεινεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων προνοίᾳ. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκοφθορίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐδόκει αὐχμῷ ἡ γῆ κακωθεῖσα ἄρξαι, ἥνικα οὕτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι καρπὸς οὐδεὶς ὠραῖος διέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὡμοὶ κατέρρεον, οὔτε διπόσα σπερμάτων ἀνέντα βλαστοὺς ἀνθήσειν ὡς στάχυος ἀκμῆς μῆς τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἔξεπλήρου χρόνους, οὔτε πόα κτήνεσιν ἐφύετο διαρκής, τῶν τε ναμάτων τὰ μὲν οὐκέτι πίνεσθαι σπουδαῖα ἦν, τὰ δ' ὑπελίμπανε θέρους, τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος

4.16.13 | What then, oh wisest of humans among all animals, do we flee from wild beasts? And if we happen to encounter a bear or a lion, we turn away, as when someone sees a dragon and quickly retreats from the mountain in fear, his limbs trembling, and he runs away. But you do not hesitate or turn away from knowing and understanding that there are destructive and wicked demons, cruel and hateful, who are lurking?

4.16.14 | So much for Clemes. I also have another witness to present to you about the murderous nature of the gods who are atheistic and inhuman, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a man who has laid out the entire history of Rome accurately. He writes that both Zeus and Apollo once demanded human sacrifices, and those who were asked to sacrifice gave the gods a share of all their crops and livestock, but they also sacrificed humans due to various misfortunes. There is nothing unusual in hearing this from the author as he proceeds in this way.

4.16.15 | A little remained in Italy due to the care of the Aborigines. First, the land seemed to begin to suffer from drought, when no fruit remained on the trees, but only raw ones fell down. Neither did any of the seeds that were sown bloom as they should, nor did any grass grow for the livestock. The waters were no longer worth drinking, some dried up in the heat, and others finally ran out. There were also many deaths among the sheep and women; either the embryos were lost, or during

άπεσβέννυτο. ἀδελφὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐγίνετο περὶ προβάτων καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς· ἡ γὰρ ἔξημβλοῦτο τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἢ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους διεφθείρετο, ἔστιν ἂ καὶ τὰς φερούσας συνδιαλυμηνάμενα. εἰ δέ τι διαφύγοι τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὡδίνων κίνδυνον ἀνάπτηρον, ἢ ἀτελές, ἡ διὰ ἄλλην τινὰ τύχην βλαφθὲν, τρέφεσθαι χρηστὸν οὐκ ἦν· ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος τὸ ἐν ἀκμῇ μάλιστα ἐκακοῦτο νόσοις καὶ θανάτοις παρὰ τὰ είκότα συχνοῖς. μαντευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς τίνα θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε πάσχουσι καὶ τί ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς λωφῆσαι τὰ δεινὰ ἔλπις, ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι τυχόντες ὃν ἐβούλοντο οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν ἢ ηὔξαντο, ἀλλὰ προσοφείλουσι τὰ πλείστου ἄξια. οἱ γὰρ Πελασγοὶ, ἀφορίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντων χρημάτων, ηὔξαντο τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Καβείροις καταθύσειν δεκάτας τῶν προσγενησομένων ἀπάντων, τελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς ἔξελόμενοι καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀπάντων τὸ λάχος ἀπέθυσαν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς δὴ κατὰ τούτων μόνων εὐξάμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ Μυρσίλος ὁ Λέσβιος ἴστορηκεν ὀλίγου δεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄνόμασι γράφων οἵς ἔγώ νῦν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ Πελασγοὺς καλεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ Τυρρηνούς· τὴν δ' αἴτιαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἀλλὰ."

4.16.16 | “Ως δὲ ἀπενεχθέντα τὸν χρησμὸν ἔμαθον, οὐκ εἶχον τὰ λεγόμενα συμβαλεῖν. ἀμηχανοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν γεραιτέρων τις λέγει συμβαλὼν τὸ λόγιον, ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς ἡμαρτήκασιν, εἰ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ἔγκαλεῖν· χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἀποδεδόσθαι τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἀπάσας ὄρθως τε καὶ σὺν δίκῃ, ἀνθρώπων δὲ γονῆς τὸ λάχος, χρῆμα παντὸς μάλιστα θεοῖς τιμιώτατον, ὄφείλεσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τούτων λάβοιεν τὴν δικαίαν μοῖραν, τέλος

childbirth they were destroyed, which also harmed those giving birth. If any child escaped the danger of birth, it was either crippled, incomplete, or harmed in some other way, and it was not good for it to be raised. Then the rest of the population, especially those in their prime, suffered greatly from diseases and deaths beyond what was expected. They consulted oracles to find out which gods or demons they had offended and what they should do to relieve their terrible suffering. The god revealed that those who had received what they wanted did not return what they had promised, but instead owed even more. The Pelasgians, having faced a shortage of everything in the land, vowed to Zeus, Apollo, and the Cabiri to offer a tenth of all that would be born. After fulfilling their vow, they offered all the fruits and livestock to the gods, as they had prayed only to them. Myrsilus of Lesbos recorded these things, writing under the same names as I do now, except that he does not call the people Pelasgians, but Tyrrhenians; the reason for this will be explained shortly.

4.16.16 | When they learned of the oracle's message, they could not agree with what was said. One of the older men, struggling to find a solution, spoke up, saying that they had all sinned, if they thought the gods were unjustly accusing them. For they had given all their first fruits to the gods correctly and justly, but they owed the gods a share of human life, which is the most valuable thing of all. If they were to receive their rightful share of these, the matter

έξειν σφίσι τὸ λόγιον. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ὄρθως  
έδοκει λέγεσθαι ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς  
συγκεῖσθαι ὁ λόγος· εἰσηγησαμένου δέ  
τινος τὴν γνώμην τὸν θεὸν ἐπερέσθαι, εἰ  
αὐτῷ φίλον ἀνθρώπων δεκάτας  
ἀπολαμβάνειν, πέμπουσι τὸ δεύτερον  
θεοπρόπους, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν οὕτω  
ποιεῖν.

would come to an end for them. Some thought these words were correct, while others believed the message was made up out of malice. When someone suggested their opinion, the god was asked if he would accept a tenth from humans, and the god replied that this should be done.

4.16.17 | ἐκ δὲ τούτου στάσις αύτοὺς  
καταλαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς  
δεκατεύσεως· καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις οἱ  
προεστηκότες τῶν πόλεων τότε πρῶτον  
ἐταράχθησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος  
δι' ὑποψίας τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐλάμβανεν.  
ἔγινοντο δὲ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ αἱ ἐπαναστάσεις,  
ἄλλ', ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, οἴστρω καὶ θεοβλαβείᾳ  
ἀπελαυνομένων, καὶ πολλὰ ἐφέστια ὅλα  
ἔξηλείφθη μέρους αὐτῶν μεθισταμένου· οὐ  
γὰρ ἐδικαίουν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῖς  
ἔξιοῦσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ  
ἐν τοῖς ἔχθιστοις ὑπομένειν. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ  
οὗτοι μεταστάντες ἔξ Ἰταλίας εἴς τε τὴν  
Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῆς βαρβάρου πολλὴν  
ἐπλανήθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους  
ἔτεροι τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπαθον, καὶ τοῦτο διετέλει  
γινόμενον ἐπὶ ἔτη. οὐ γὰρ ἀνίεσαν οἱ  
δυναστεύοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς  
ἀνδρουμένης ἀεὶ νεότητος ἔξαιρούμενοι  
τὰς ἀπαρχὰς, τοῖς τε θεοῖς τὰ δίκαια  
ὑπουργεῖν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ στασιασμοὺς ἐκ  
τῶν διαλαθόντων δεδιότες. ἦν δὲ πολὺ καὶ  
τὸ πρὸς ἔχθραν σὺν προφάσει εύπρεπεῖ  
ἀπελαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν διαφόρων· ὥστε  
πολλαὶ αἱ ἐπαναστάσεις ἔγινοντο καὶ ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον γῆς τὸ Πελασγικὸν γένος  
διεφορήθη.

4.16.17 | From this, a conflict arose among them about how to give the tenth. The leaders of the cities were the first to be disturbed, and then the rest of the people began to suspect those in charge. There was no order in the uprisings; rather, as was expected, they were driven by anger and fear of the gods, and many homes were destroyed as part of the chaos. Those in power did not allow their closest friends to be left behind, but instead remained with their worst enemies. First, these people, having moved from Italy, wandered greatly into Greece and among the barbarians. After the first group, others experienced the same fate, and this continued for many years. For those in power in the cities, always taking the first fruits, did not give what was right to the gods and feared uprisings from those who had been overlooked. There was also much hostility, disguised as a good reason, among the different groups. As a result, many uprisings happened, and the Pelasgian people were greatly affected across the land.

4.16.18 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶ " Λέγουσι  
δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς

4.16.18 | And after a short time, he says,  
"They also say that the ancient sacrifices to

παλαιούς, ὡσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν προσεσπερίων ἔθνῶν ἀνδροφονοῦσιν, Ἡρακλέα δὲ παῦσαι τὸν νόμον τῆς θυσίας βουληθέντα τόν τε βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Σατορνίῳ καὶ κατάρξασθαι θυμάτων ἀγνῶν ἐπὶ καθαρῷ πυρὶ ἀγιζομένων, ἔνα δὲ μηδὲν ἥ τοις ἀνθρώποις δέους ἐνθύμιον, ὡς πατρίων ἡλογηκόσι θυσιῶν, διδάξαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἀπομειλιττομένους τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μῆνιν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς συμποδίζοντες καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἀκρατεῖς ποιοῦντες ἐρρίπτουν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριος ὦθον, εἴδωλα ποιοῦντας ἀνδρείκελα, κεκοσμημένα τὸν αὐτὸν ἔκείνοις τρόπον, ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἔνα δὴ τὸ τῆς ὄττείας ὃ τι δή ποτε ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἀπάντων ψυχαῖς παραμένον ἔξαιρεθῆ, τὸν εἰκόνων τοῦ παλαιοῦ πάθους ἔτι σωζομένων. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ διετέλουν Ἦρωμαῖοι δρῶντες ἔτι μικρὸν ὑστερὸν ἔαρινῆς ἴσημερίας, ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, διχομήνιδα βουλόμενοι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἥ προθύσαντες ἱερεῖα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ καλούμενοι ποντίφικες, ἱερέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς αἱ τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ διαφυλάττουσαι παρθένοι, στρατηγοί τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν οὓς παρεῖναι ταῖς ἱερουργίαις θέμις, εἴδωλα εἰς μορφὰς ἀνθρώπων είκασμένα, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς γεφύρας βάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ὠθοῦμα τοῦ Τιβέριος, Ἀργείους αύτὰ καλοῦντες."

Cronus are performed, just as in Carthage the city remained for a long time, and among the Celts this still happens today. In some of the neighboring nations, they kill men, but they wanted to stop the law of sacrifice to Heracles and to set up an altar to Saturn and to begin offering pure sacrifices on a clean fire. They should not have anything that causes fear among humans, as they have considered the sacrifices of their ancestors. They teach the local people, who are suffering from the anger of the god, to replace the humans, whom they bind and throw into the river of Tiber, making idols in the shape of men, decorated in the same way as those. They throw them into the river, hoping that whatever was in the souls of all will be removed, and that the images of the old suffering will still be saved. This continued even until my time, with the Romans still acting a little later during the spring equinox, in the month of May, with the so-called images, wanting this to be the day when, having offered the sacrifices according to the laws, the so-called pontiffs, the most distinguished priests, along with the maidens who guard the immortal fire, and the generals and other citizens who are allowed to be present at the rituals, throw idols shaped like men, thirty in number, from the sacred bridge into the flow of the Tiber, calling them Argives."

4.16.19 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος δὲ τὰ δμοια τούτοις ἐν εἰκοστῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ἴστορικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης ἴστορει, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτὴν, ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου, περὶ Καρχηδονίων ὑπὸ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ

4.16.19 | So much for these things. Diodorus also writes similar things in the twentieth book of his Historical Library, after the death of Alexander the Macedonian, during the time of the first Ptolemy, about the Carthaginians being

Σικελίας τυράννου πολιορκουμένων, ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν γράφων "Ηίτιῶντο δὲ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, καθ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις θύοντες τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ τῶν σιῶν τοὺς κρατίστους, ὕστερον ὀνούμενοι λάθρᾳ παῖδας, καὶ θρέψαντες ἔπειτον ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ ζητήσεως γενομένης εὐρέθησάν τινες τῶν καθιερουργημένων ὑποβολιμαῖοι γεγονότες. τούτων δὲ λαβόντες ἔννοιαν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν δρῶντες στρατοπεδεύοντας, ἐδεισιδαιμόνουν ὡς καταλελυκότες τὰς πατρίους τῶν θεῶντιμάς. διορθώσασθαι δὲ τὰς ἀγνοίας σπεύδοντες διακοσίους μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παίδων προκρίναντες ἔθυσαν δημοσίᾳ, ἄλλοι δ' ἐν διαβολαῖς ὄντες ἐκουσίως ἐσαυτοὺς ἔδοσαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες τριακοσίων. ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας ὑπτίας ἐκτεταμένας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὥστε τὸν συντιθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκωλύεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἴς τι χάσμα πλῆρες πυρός."

besieged by Agathocles the tyrant of Sicily. He writes this word for word: "They also said that Cronus was opposed to them, because in earlier times, when they sacrificed to this god, they offered the strongest of their sons, but later, secretly buying children, they raised them and sent them for the sacrifice. When a search was made, some of the established priests were found to have been deceitful. Taking this into account, and seeing the enemies camped by the walls, they feared that they had broken the ancestral honors of the gods. They hurried to correct their mistakes, choosing two hundred of the most distinguished boys to sacrifice publicly, while others, being accused, willingly gave themselves, not fewer than three hundred. Among them was a bronze statue of Cronus, with outstretched arms raised towards the ground, so that the one who was offering the children would be prevented from falling into a pit full of fire."

4.16.20 | Τοιαῦτα δὴ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἱστορίας παρέδωκεν. είκότως ἄρα καὶ ἡ παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφὴ καταμέμφεται τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλώσασι τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς, φάσκουσα "καὶ ἔθυον τοὺς σιὸντος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τοῖς δαιμονίοις· καὶ ἐφονοκτονήθη ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς αἷμασι, καὶ ἐμιάνθη ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν." ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι διὰ τούτων ἀπεληλέγχθαι σαφῶς δαιμονικήν τινα γεγονέναι τὴν παλαιτάτην καὶ πρώτην τῶν ξοάνων ἴδρυσιν, καὶ πάσαν τὴν εἰδωλικὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν θεοποιίαν καὶ δαιμόνων οὐκ ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μοχθηροτάτων καὶ φαύλων ὡς ἐπαληθεύειν τὸ φάσκον ἐν προφητείαις λόγιον "πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια" τό τε ἀποστολικὸν, δι' οὗ

4.16.20 | Such things he has handed down through his own history. Therefore, it is reasonable that the writing among the Hebrews also criticizes those who have been zealous for such things from the circumcision, saying, "And they sacrificed their sons and their daughters to demons; and the land was filled with blood, and it was defiled by their deeds." But I believe that through these things, it is clearly shown that a certain demonic origin was the very first establishment of the idols, and all the idolatry of the nations was not of good gods, but rather of the most wicked and base. This confirms the saying in the prophecies, "All the gods of the nations are demons," and also the apostolic saying,

φησιν ὅτι “Ἄ θύουσι, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ Θεῷ θύουσιν.”

4.16.21 | ή εἴ τί γε ἦν ἀγαθὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταλαχεῖν προσηγορίας, εὔεργετικὸν ἄν ἦν καὶ πάντων σωτήριον, φίλον τε δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονικόν. τοιοῦτον δὲ ὃν πῶς ἀνθρώπων ἔχαιρε σφαγαῖς; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀπεῖργε διὰ χρησμῶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος τοιαῦτα πράττειν; ἢ που χεῖρον ἦν καὶ φαυλότερον ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω γε νόμων τιμωρίαις ἔξαντεις τοὺς μαιφόνους κατέστησαν. οὐ γὰρ θεός τις ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπός, ὁ τῆς ἀνθρωποθυσίας τὴν χρόνιον καὶ μακρὰν παραλύσας νόσον.

4.16.22 | Ὁτι δὲ φαύλων ἦν καὶ πονηρῶν ταῦτα δαιμόνων εἴη ἂν σοι ἔτι μᾶλλον συμφανές, εἰ λογίσαι τὰ τῆς ἐπιρρήτου καὶ ἀκολάστου πορνείας αὐτῶν τῆς ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Φοινίκης είσέτι νῦν ἐπιτελούμενα καὶ παρὰ πλείστοις ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων. μοιχείας γοῦν καὶ φθορᾶς καὶ παρανόμους ἐτέρας μίξεις ἐπὶ τιμῇ θεῶν, ὥσπερ τι χρέος ὀφειλόμενον, χρῆναί φασιν ἐκτελεῖν, καὶ τῆς μοιχιδίου καὶ πορνικῆς πράξεως τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπάρχεσθαι, τῆς ἀκλεοῦς ταύτης καὶ ἀσέμνου ἐμπορίας, ὥσπερ τι χαριστήριον ἀγαθὸν, τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνατιθέντας. ὅμοια γὰρ ταῦτα ταῖς ἀνθρωποθυσίαις.

4.16.23 | εἰ δὴ οὖν οὐδὲ σώφρονος ἀνδρὸς οίκεῖν τὸ χαίρειν φόνοις αἰσχρορρημοσύναις τε καὶ παρανόμοις γυναικῶν μίξεσιν, ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὴν ὥραν ἀπεμπολούσαις, πολλοῦ δεῖ φάναι θεῶν ἥ

which states that "what they sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God."

4.16.21 | Or if there was anything good among them, as for this reason it would also be called a sharing of good things, it would have been beneficial and a salvation for all, a friend of justice and a guardian of humans. Being such, how could it delight in human sacrifices? And how did it not prevent the human race from doing such things through oracles? Surely it was worse and more base than humans, those who, by the punishments of laws, had put to an end the murderous ones. For it was not a god, but a human, who had long and deeply weakened the disease of human sacrifice.

4.16.22 | That these demons were base and wicked would be even more clear to you if you considered the acts of their shameless and immoral prostitution still being carried out in the city of Helios in Phoenicia and by many other people. They say that for the honor of the gods, they must fulfill acts of adultery, destruction, and unlawful mixtures, as if it were a debt owed. They claim to dedicate the fruits of their adulterous and immoral actions to the gods, treating this disgraceful and shameless trade as if it were a good gift, presenting the fruits to them. For these things are similar to human sacrifices.

4.16.23 | If, then, it is not fitting for a sensible man to rejoice in murders and in the shameful and unlawful mixtures with women, who sell themselves for a price, how much less should we say that the gods

δαιμόνων εἶναι ἀγαθῶν τὸ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. εἰ δὲ δὴ λέγοι τις φαύλων μὲν δημολογουμένως εἶναι ταῦτα δαιμόνων, πλὴν ἄλλ’ ἐτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὓς δὴ μάλιστα σέβειν αὐτοὺς οἴα σωτῆρας, πευστέον ποῦ ἄρα ἡσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ σωτῆρες, εἰ δὴ καὶ τούτους ἔσεβον, ὥστε μὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς τοιαῦτα δρῶντας κατὰ τῶν προσφύγων ἀπερύκειν, ποῦ δὲ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, τοὺς βλαπτικοὺς μὴ ἀπελαύνειν καὶ τοῖς θεραπεύουσι συμμαχεῖν; τί δὲ καὶ περιεφρόνουν παρορῶντες τὸ λογικὸν καὶ θεοφιλές ἀνθρώπων γένος τῇ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων ὡμότητι κατατρυχόμενον, οὐχὶ δὲ ἄντικρυς τοῖς πᾶσι προεκήρυττον ἀμεταστρεπτὶ φεύγειν καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι πάντα θεὸν ὄνομαζόμενον ὡς οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλὰ φαῦλον δαίμονα, ὡς τὰ ὡμὰ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα καὶ παράνομα καὶ αἰσχρὰ φίλα τυγχάνει;

4.16.24 | καὶ εἴτε τις ἦν πάλαι πρότερον ἐν Ρόδῳ νενομισμένος θεὸς χαίρων ἀνθρωποθυσίαις, τοῦτον ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς, εἴ τις ἦν ἄρα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπισχὼν, οὐ θεὸν, ἀλλὰ φαῦλον ἡγεῖσθαι δαίμονα τοῖς πάσι προεκήρυξεν, εἴτε ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῇ πρότερον Κορωνείᾳ ὄνομαζομένῃ, ἐν ἡ ἐν μηνὶ κατὰ Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ ἐθύετο ἀνθρωπος, καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς ἀπέφηνεν ἀν ἀλιτήριον εἶναι δαίμονα, παύσας ὡς ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον τὸ γινόμενον;

4.16.25 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας νόμον Ἀμωσις ἔλυσε, πολὺ κρείττονα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὁ ἀληθὴς θεὸς ἐδίδαξεν ἀν γεγονέναι· οὐ γὰρ θεὸς, δαίμων δὲ πάλιν κάκεῖνος ἦν ὁ κατάρχων τῆς

or good demons would accept such things? But if someone were to admit that these are indeed demons of the base kind, yet claim that there are other good ones, whom they regard as saviors, one should ask where those good saviors were if they also worshiped them, so that they did not prevent the wicked from acting in such ways against those seeking refuge. Where were the good demons, who did not drive away those causing harm and did not help their worshipers? And why did they not openly proclaim to all that the rational and god-loving human race was being devoured by the cruelty of the base demons, instead of declaring that all gods named should be avoided and turned away from as not being gods, but rather base demons, who love what is cruel, inhuman, unlawful, and shameful?

4.16.24 | And if there was once a god in Rhodes who delighted in human sacrifices, the true god would declare that this one, if he were to stop such actions, is not a god but a base demon. Whether it was in Salamis, previously called Coroneia, where a man sacrificed to Aphrodite during the month dedicated to the Cyprians, the true god would have declared him to be a wicked demon, stopping what was impious and unlawful.

4.16.25 | And if in the city of Helios in Egypt, Amosis lifted the law of murder, the true god would have taught that man is much greater than that. For he was not a god, but a demon who was the originator of murder. The true god would not have

άνθρωποκτονίας. ούκ ἀν δὲ ὁ ἀληθῆς θεὸς καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἡρας δαίμονα οὐχὶ μιαρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν ἐνομοθέτησεν, ώ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους θύεσθαι παρέστησεν ἡ ἱστορία.

allowed the demon of Hera to be seen as anything but foul, since history shows that on each day, three people were sacrificed to him.

4.16.26 | τί δ' ἀν γένοιτο δαιμονικῶτερον ἀληθῶς θῶς τοῦ καλουμένου Ὦμαδίου Διονύσου. ὡς φασιν ἐν Χίῳ ἄνθρωπον μελιστὶ διασπῶντας θύειν, ἢ τοῦ ἐν Τενέδῳ ὠσαύτως, δὸν καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἰλάσκοντο; ἀπηγόρευσε δ' ἀν ὁ ἀληθῆς θεὸς καὶ τῷ Ἀρει τῷ βροτολοιγῷ καὶ φιλοπολέμῳ δαίμονι θύειν ἄνθρωπον, ἐνομοθέτησε δ' ἀν μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τὰ φίλτατα κατασφάττειν αὐτῷ.

4.16.26 | What could be more demonic than the so-called Omadios Dionysus? They say that in Chios, he was worshiped by sacrificing a man torn apart by bees, or similarly in Tenedos, where they also honored him through human sacrifice. The true god would have forbidden sacrificing a person to Ares, the god of war and slaughter, and would have established laws against killing even one's own or others' dearest ones for him.

4.16.27 | εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ κατ' ἔτος παρθένος, ὡς φασιν, ἐθύετο ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Συρίαν, καὶ ταύτην εἰπεῖν πονηρὸν δαίμονα οὐκ ἀν ἐφυλάξατο ὁ ἀληθῆς θεός· ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ τοῖς ὅμοιοις χαίροντα καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ἔκαστον ἔθυον παῖδα, δὸν καὶ ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔθαπτον.

4.16.27 | And if every year a virgin was sacrificed to Athena in Laodicea in Syria, the true god would not have protected her, calling her a wicked demon. Just like the one in Libya who was honored in similar ways, and the one in Arabia, to whom each year a child was sacrificed, and who was even buried under the altar.

## Section 17

4.17.1 | Τούτους ἄπαντας, καὶ τούς γε αἰσχρορρημονοσύναις καὶ γυναικῶν παρανόμοις διαφθοραῖς τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τῇ προκατειλεγμένῃ μανίᾳ χαίροντας, προεφώνησεν ἀν ὁ ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε καὶ δαίμων μηδαμῶς ἡγεῖσθαι θεούς. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν πώποτε ἡ μόνος ὁ παρ' Ἐβραίοις τιμώμενος, ὡς ἀν μόνος καὶ ἀληθῆς θεὸς, πεποιηκὼς μνημονεύεται.

4.17.1 | The true and good god would have called all of them, including those who delight in shameful practices and the unlawful corruption of women, and those who are happy in other kinds of madness, not to be considered gods at all. But no one, except for the one honored among the Hebrews, is remembered as the only true god.

4.17.2 | μόνος γάρ οὗτος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ θεολόγου Μωυσέως προεκήρυξε τοῖς πᾶσι μὴ σέβειν ὡς ἀγαθοὺς δαιμονας τοὺς φαύλους, ἔμπαλιν δὲ ἀποτρέπεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν, ὡς ἀν πονηρὰ τυγχάνοντας πνεύματα· καὶ μὴν καὶ καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν τούς τε νεώς καὶ τὰς ἀνιέρους καὶ ἀτελέστους θρησκείας, καὶ πάμπαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζειν τὴν ὡς περὶ θεῶν αὐτῶν μνήμην, καὶ τὴν ἀπονεμομένην αὐτοῖς τιμὴν ἐνομιθέτησεν. οὐδὲ γάρ τοὺς φαύλους ἀπομειλίσσεσθαι ὅσιον ἦν τοὺς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μεμελημένους.

4.17.2 | For this one, through the prophet and theologian Moses, proclaimed to everyone not to honor the worthless spirits as good demons, but rather to turn away from them and avoid them, as they are evil spirits. He also ordered the destruction of their temples and altars and their incomplete and false religions, completely erasing the memory of them among people, and he established laws for the honor given to them. It was not even right to show respect to the worthless spirits that were cared for by the good ones.

4.17.3 | εἴτε δὲ Φύλαρχος εἴτε καὶ ὁστισοῦν ἴστορεῖ πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἔξιέναι ἀνθρωποκτονεῖν, καὶ τοῦτον μάρτυρα τῆς Ἑλλήνων δαιμονικῆς ἐπιληψίας μὴ ὄκνει παραλαμβάνειν· μὴ παρίδῃς μηδὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικήν, τοὺς τε Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας, ταῖς αὐταῖς τῶν δαιμόνων ὑπῆχθαι μανίαις ἀποφαίνεσθαι· ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν, εἰ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεγάλου Διῶς ἔορτὰς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαζον.

4.17.3 | Whether it is a leader or anyone else who tells the story of all the Greeks before they went to war to kill people, let him not hesitate to take this as proof of the demonic madness of the Greeks. Do not overlook those in Africa, as well as the Thracians and the Scythians, who act in the same way, showing that they are driven by the same madness of demons. Just like the Athenians and those in the Great City, if indeed they also sacrificed people during the festivals of the Great Zeus.

4.17.4 | ἀλλὰ γάρ συναγαγὼν ὄμοι τὸν πάντων τῶν προειρημένων κατάλογον εὔροις ἀν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν θεοποιίαν τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρωποκτόνοις πνεύμασι καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς δαιμονίοις ἀνακειμένην. εἰ γάρ ἐν Ρόδῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις νήσοις, ἐν τε Ἡλίου πόλει τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐν τε Χίῳ καὶ Τενέδῳ καὶ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Ἀρκαδίᾳ, Φοινίκῃ τε καὶ Λιβύῃ 5 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄπασιν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Αραβίᾳ, καὶ

4.17.4 | But if you gather together the complete list of all those mentioned, you would find that the worship of the nations is based on these same human-killing spirits and evil demons. For in Rhodes, Salamis, and the other islands, in the city of Helios in Egypt, in Chios, Tenedos, Laconia, and Arcadia, in Phoenicia and Libya, and in all these places in Syria and Arabia, and among all the Greeks, especially the most distinguished Athenians, as well as in

παρά γε τοῖς Πανέλλησιν καὶ ἔτι τούτων τοῖς Κορυφαιοτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις, κατά τε Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν καὶ παρὰ Θραξὶ καὶ Σκύθαις ἀποδέδεικται τὰ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀνθρωποκτονίας κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτελούμενα, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παρατείναντα· πῶς οὐκ εὔλόγως τοὺς πάντας εἴποις ἂν τότε τοῖς πονηροῖς δαίμοσι δεδουλῶσθαι, οὐ πρότερόν τε παῦλαν τῶν τοσούτων γενέσθαι τῷ βίῳ κακῶν ἡ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καταλάμψαι διδασκαλίαν; ὅτι δὴ μέχρι τῶν Ἄδριανοῦ χρόνων διαμεῖναι ταῦτα, λελύσθαι δ' ἔξ ἑκείνου παρέστησεν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος. οὗτος δὲ μάλιστα ἦν χρόνος, καθ' ὃν ἡ σωτήριος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἥκμαζε διδασκαλία.

4.17.5 | καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς είπεῖν ὡς τοῖς πονηροῖς δαίμοσιν· αὐτοῖς γάρ μάλιστα τοῖς μεγίστοις θεοῖς ἡ ἱστορία τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἐδήλωσεν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Θύεσθαι γάρ ἔφησε τῇ Ἡρᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Ἀρεὶ καὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Διὶ καὶ τῷ Φοίβῳ, τῷ δὴ σεμνοτάτῳ πάντων καὶ σοφωτάτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι· τούτους δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλους τοὺς μεγίστους θεοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σωτῆρας ἀναγορεύουσιν.

4.17.6 | αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα εἶν αὖτοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες. εἰ γάρ οἴδε τοιαύταις ἀνθρωποθυσίαις καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίαις ἔχαιρον, πῶς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς είκότως τῇ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων μιαιφονίᾳ καταριθμήσειας, εἴτε αὐτοὶ χαίρειν λέγοιντο τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴτε συγχωρεῖν καὶ περιορᾶν ἐτέροις γιγνόμενα;

Carthage, Africa, Thrace, and among the Scythians, it has been shown that demonic human-killing practices were carried out in ancient times and continued until our Savior's time. How could one not reasonably say that all these people were enslaved to evil demons, rather than stopping the many evils in their lives or shining a light on the teachings of our Savior? Indeed, these practices lasted until the time of Hadrian, and the account of history has shown that. This was especially the time when the saving teaching was flourishing among all people.

4.17.5 | And indeed, it is not even possible for them to say that they are serving evil demons; for history has shown that the greatest gods were the ones to whom human sacrifices were made. They claimed to offer sacrifices to Hera and Athena, to Cronus, Ares, and Dionysus, and also to Zeus, who is above all, and to Phoebus, the most revered and wisest Apollo. These are the only greatest gods they call good and saviors.

4.17.6 | So they would indeed be the evil demons. For if these gods took pleasure in such human sacrifices and killings, how could you not reasonably count them among the murderous spirits? Whether they themselves claimed to enjoy such things or allowed others to do them without objection?

4.17.7 | τί γὰρ χρῆν ὅλως ἐπιτρέπειν  
ἀνθρώποις ἵλασκεσθαι τὰ πονηρὰ  
πνεύματα; τί δὲ τοσοῦτον πλανᾶσθαι ὡς  
θεραπεύειν καὶ κολακεύειν τοὺς φαύλους;  
τί δὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς καταδουλοῦσθαι, δέον  
ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας καὶ θεοὺς πορρωτάτω τῆς  
ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆς πᾶν δ τι φαῦλον καὶ  
πονηρὸν δυνάμει κρείττονι καὶ θειοτέρᾳ  
ἀπελαύνειν;

4.17.8 | Ἡ πατὴρ μὲν ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἀν ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
φαύλοις ἀνδράσι φθειρόμενον περιίδοι ἀν  
τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, οὐδὲ τὸν οἰκέτην  
σώφρων δεσπότης ὑπὸ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς  
ἀγόμενον περιόψεται, οὐδέ γε πολέμου  
στρατηγὸς, τοὺς οἰκείους παρὸν  
διασώσασθαι, τοῖς πολεμίοις αἴχμαλώτους  
ἀνήσει, οὐδὲ ποιμὴν τὰ θρέμματα τοῖς  
λύκοις· θεοὶ δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες  
ὑπὸ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς καὶ φαύλοις ἀνήσουσι  
τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος;

4.17.9 | καὶ οἱ τρισμύριοι φύλακες μερόπων  
ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὴ ποιμένες καὶ σωτῆρες,  
βασιλεῖς τε καὶ πατέρες καὶ κύριοι, τοῖς  
ἔχθροῖς καὶ πολεμίοις καὶ ἀγρίοις θηρσὶν  
ἀνηλεῶς οὕτως καὶ ώμῶς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν  
τὰ φύλτατα παραδώσουσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ  
προπολεμήσουσιν ὑπερασπίζοντες τῶν  
προσφύγων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔχθροὺς καὶ  
πονηροὺς δαίμονας τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης  
μακρὰν ὥσπερ τινὰς ἀγρίους καὶ  
ώμοβόρους θῆρας ἀποδιώξουσι, διδάξουσι  
δὲ πάντα ἀνθρωπὸν μυρίων θεῶν καὶ  
δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν πλήθει  
προσωκειωμένων ἐπιθαρσοῦντα, καὶ τοῖς  
οὐ μόνον κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείοσιν καὶ  
μεγίστοις θεοῖς καθωσιωμένον, σμικρὰ,  
μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἐπιστρέψεθαι τῆς τῶν  
πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἀσθενείας;

4.17.7 | For why should people allow  
themselves to be pleased by evil spirits?  
And why should they be so misled as to  
serve and flatter the wicked? And why  
should they be enslaved to the evil ones,  
when they should be striving for what is  
good and divine, far removed from all that  
is base and evil, and seeking to be guided  
by a higher and more divine power?

4.17.8 | Surely a good father would not  
allow his own child to be harmed by  
wicked men, nor would a sensible master  
overlook his servant being taken by  
enemies. And a general would not let his  
own men be captured by the enemy while  
he is present to save them, nor would a  
shepherd allow his flock to be taken by  
wolves. But will the gods and good spirits  
allow the human race to be taken by the  
wicked and base?

4.17.9 | And the countless guardians of  
human beings, who are indeed the  
shepherds and saviors, kings and fathers  
and lords, will not hand over their dearest  
ones to enemies, foes, and wild beasts in  
such a cruel and harsh way. Instead, they  
will defend those who seek refuge and  
drive away the enemies and wicked spirits  
from the human flock, just as one would  
chase away wild and savage beasts. They  
will teach every person to trust in the  
multitude of good gods and spirits that are  
nearby, and they will be devoted not only  
to those who are stronger but also to the  
greater and mightiest gods, so that they  
will not turn back at all from the weakness  
of the wicked spirits.

4.17.10 | ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ἔπραττον,  
συνήργουν δ' ἔμπαλιν τοῖς πονηροῖς αὐτοὶ,  
διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν τὰς προδηλωθείσας  
ἀνιέντες ἀνθρωποθυσίας, χαίροντές τε  
αἰσχρορρημοσύναις ἀπάσαις καὶ ταῖς  
τούτων ἀκολούθοις πράξεσιν, ἔργῳ, φασὶ,  
δῆλον ὡς οὐδέν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ φαύλων  
δαιμόνων τὴν φύσιν διήλλαττον, μᾶλλον δὲ  
μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχον προαιρέσεως  
καὶ γνώμης· καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ  
ὅλως θεός τις ἦν, οὐδέ τις ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ὁ  
πάλαι πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ  
πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας προσκυνούμενος.

4.17.10 | But when they did not do this, they themselves were working against the good, allowing the foretold human sacrifices through the oracles, and they were rejoicing in all the shameful practices and their accompanying actions. It is clear, they say, that they did not change at all the nature of the wicked spirits; rather, they were driven by the same choice and opinion. Furthermore, it can be said that there was not even a single god or any good spirit that was worshipped by all the nations in their cities and lands.

4.17.11 | πῶς γάρ ἀν γένοιτό ποτε τῷ  
ἀγαθῷ τὸ φαῦλον φίλον, εἴ μὴ καὶ φωτὸς  
καὶ σκότους κρᾶσιν δύνασθαι μίαν φαίνη τις  
ἄν γενέσθαι; πόσῳ δὲ κρείττων ὁ παρ'  
ἀνθρώποις λογισμὸς τῶν νενομισμένων  
θεῶν, μηδὲ φαύλοις δαίμοσι χρῆναι θύειν  
παρακελευόμενος; λέγει δ' οὖν ὁ πρόσθεν  
είρημένος συγγραφεὺς, ἐν οἷς ἔφησε μὴ  
δεῖν ζωοθυτεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ φαύλοις δαίμοσι  
θυτέον, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

4.17.11 | For how could the good ever befriend the wicked, if light and darkness could somehow become one? And how much greater is the reasoning of humans than that of the established gods, so that one should not sacrifice to even the wicked spirits? Therefore, the earlier mentioned writer says that it is not necessary to sacrifice living beings, stating that one should not sacrifice to wicked spirits in this way.

## Section 18

4.18.1 | " Διὸ συνετὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ σώφρων  
εύλαβηθήσεται τοιαύταις χρῆσθαι θυσίαις,  
δι' ᾧν ἐπισπάσεται πρὸς ἔαυτὸν τοὺς  
τοιούτους, σπουδάσει δὲ καθαίρειν τὴν  
ψυχὴν παντοίως· καθαρῷ γάρ ψυχῇ οὐκ  
ἐπιτίθενται, διὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἀνόμοιον. εἴ δὲ  
ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τούτου 'ς  
ἀπομελίτεσθαι, οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ταύταις  
γάρ καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ τὰ ἔκτὸς καὶ τὰ  
σωματικὰ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ  
ἐναντία, κακὰ, ὀλιγοστὸν δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ

4.18.1 | Therefore, a wise and sensible person will be careful about using such sacrifices, through which they attract those kinds of spirits to themselves. Instead, they will strive to purify their soul in every way; for a pure soul is not affected by them, due to their difference. And if it is necessary to sacrifice for the cities, it does not concern us; for in those places, wealth and external goods and physical benefits are considered important, while the opposite, which is evil,

τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελούμενον." Τούτοις ἔξῆς  
έπάγει λέγων

is less valued, and little attention is given to the care of the soul. Following this, he continues to say...

## Section 19

4.19.1 | "Ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ δεησόμεθα ὃν οὗτοι παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τε ψυχῆς ἐκ τε τόν ἑκτὸς πάσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμεθα θεῷ μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δόμοιοῦσθαι, ( ὃ γίνεται δι' ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων διηρθρωμένης διαλήψεως καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὰ ζωῆς,) πονηροῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις καὶ δαίμοσι καὶ ὅλως παντὶ τῷ χαίροντι τῷ θνητῷ τε καὶ ὑλικῷ ἀνομοιοῦσθαι.

4.19.1 | But we, as much as we can, will not ask for what these offer, but we will make every effort from the soul and from outside to be like the god and those around him. This happens through a lack of passion and a clear understanding of what truly exists, both in relation to them and in life itself. We aim to be different from wicked humans and spirits, and from everything that delights in the mortal and material.

4.19.2 | Ὡν δὲ ἡμεῖς ὑπογράφομεν φιλόσοφον στάμενον τῶν ἑκτὸς, εἰκότως φαμὲν μὴ ἐνοχλήσειν δαίμοσι, μηδὲ μάντεων δεήσεσθαι, μηδὲ σπλάγχνων ζώων. ὃν γὰρ ἔνεκα αἱ μαντεῖαι, τούτων οὗτος μεμελέτηκεν ἀφίστασθαι. οὕτε γὰρ εἰς γάμον καθίσιν, ἔνα περὶ γάμου τὸν μάντιν ἐνοχλήσῃ· οὐκ εἰς ἐμπορίαν, οὐ περὶ οἴκετου, οὐ περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δοξοκοπίας. περὶ ὃν δὲ ζητεῖ, μάντις μὲν οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζώων μηνύσει τὸ σαφές· αὐτὸς δὲ δι' ἐαυτοῦ, ὡς λέγομεν, προσιών τῷ θεῷ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς αὐτοῦ σπλάγχνοις ἴδρυται, περὶ τοῦ αἰώνιου βίου λήψεται τὰς ὑποθήκας, ὅλος ἔκεī συρρευσας.

4.19.2 | The philosopher we mention stands apart from those outside, and we say that he will not be disturbed by spirits, nor will he ask for the help of seers, or the entrails of animals. For the oracles exist for these reasons, and he has practiced to stay away from them. He does not seek marriage, nor will the seer disturb him about marriage; he does not seek trade, nor matters about household servants, nor about theft and other things that people consider important. As for what he seeks, no seer will help him, nor will the entrails of animals reveal the truth. Instead, he himself, as we say, approaches the god, who is established in his true essence, and he will receive guidance about eternal life, having gathered completely there.

4.19.3 | Σαφέστατα δὴ διὰ τούτων ὁ λόγος ἔξεφηνεν τίνων ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὰς διὰ θυτικῆς ἐρωτήσεις, τάς τε παρὰ

4.19.3 | Clearly, through these things, the argument shows what one should think about oracles and the inquiries made

τοῖς πολλοῖς θαυμαζομένας περὶ τῶν  
ἀδήλων προγνώσεις. ταῦτα γάρ πάντα  
δοξοκοπίας ὄνομάσας ώς ἀν ὑπὸ δαιμόνων  
πονηρῶν ἐνεργούμενα ἀποβάλλει.

through sacrifices, as well as the predictions that many admire about the unknown. For all these things, having been called mere opinions, are cast aside as if they are influenced by wicked spirits.

4.19.4 | τὸν γοῦν περὶ φαύλων δαιμόνων  
διεξιῶν λόγον, καὶ σώφρον τὸν συνετὸν  
ἄνδρα καὶ σώφρονα μή ποτε τούτοις  
ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι, μηδ' ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς  
ἐαυτὸν διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν τοὺς τοιούτους,  
ἔξῆς ἐπισυνάπτει λέγων τὸν φιλόσοφον  
μηδὲ μαντείων δεήσεσθαι, μηδὲ  
σπλάγχνων ζῷων, καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων,  
ώς ἀν τῆς δαιμονικῆς ὅντων κακοτεχνίας.

4.19.4 | The argument about lesser spirits goes on, stating that the wise and temperate man should never give himself over to them, nor should he draw them to himself through sacrifices. Next, it adds that the philosopher should not need oracles, nor the entrails of animals, or similar things, as if to avoid the tricks of wicked spirits.

4.19.5 | εἴ δὴ οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα εὐλαβητέον  
τῷ συνετῷ καὶ σώφρονι τοιαύταις χρῆσθαι  
θυσίαις, δ' ὃν ἐπισπάσεται πρὸς ἐαυτὸν  
τοὺς δαίμονας—αὗται δ' ἡσαν αἱ δὶ'  
αἰμάτων ἐκχύσεως καὶ δὶ' ἀλόγων ζῷων  
σφαγῆς — οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐνδίκως ḥρθείη  
σώφρων καὶ συνετὸς τῶν πάλαι  
ζωοθυτούντων τοῖς δαίμοσι, καὶ πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωποθυτούντων.

4.19.5 | If, then, it is to be taken seriously that the wise and temperate man should avoid using such sacrifices, through which he would draw demons to himself—these being the sacrifices involving the pouring out of blood and the slaughter of irrational animals—no one would justly call a person who does these things wise and temperate, especially more so than those who sacrifice humans.

4.19.6 | ἥλω δὲ τὰ πανταχοῦ πάντα σχεδὸν  
είπειν ἔθνη, πρόσθεν ἡ τὸν ἡμέτερον  
σωτῆρα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀναδειχθῆναι, τοὺς  
φαύλους ἰλεούμενα δαίμονας ταῖς κατὰ  
πάντα τόπον ἐπιτελουμέναις  
ἀνθρωποθυσίαις. οὐδεὶς ἄρα τούτων  
συνετὸς ἦν καὶ σώφρων.

4.19.6 | It is clear that almost all nations, before our savior was revealed to humans, sought the lesser, appeasing demons through human sacrifices performed everywhere. Therefore, no one among them was wise and temperate.

4.19.7 | ὁ μὲν οὖν κοινὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπινος  
λογισμὸς ἐπόμενος ὁρθῷ λόγῳ παντὶ τῷ  
συνετῷ καὶ σώφρονι διαρρήδην

4.19.7 | The common and human reason, following the right logic, clearly proclaims to every wise and temperate person not to

προκηρύττει μὴ χρῆσθαι θυσίαις ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, σπουδάζειν δὲ καθαίρειν τὴν ψυχὴν παντοίως· καθαρῷ γὰρ ψυχῇ μὴ ἐπιτίθεσθαι, διὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἀνόμοιον·

use sacrifices to appease wicked demons, but to strive to purify the soul in every way; for a pure soul cannot be harmed, because it is unlike them.

4.19.8 | ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ( πάλιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τοῦτον παραβλητέον, καὶ δεικτέον ὅσον τοῦ ὄρθοι λείπεται λογισμοῦ,) προστάττει τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι θύειν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ δηλαδὴ φίλοις ὡν αὐτῷ· κακῷ δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον φίλον. τούτου δὲ μάρτυς ὁ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας" ὅπεις ιστορῶν πρὸς λέξιν.

4.19.8 | The god Apollo, who should be compared to humans again, and shown how much he is left from right reasoning, commands the wicked demon to be sacrificed to, as if he were a friend to him; for a bad thing is a friend to what is similar. This is confirmed by what he wrote before in his work "On Philosophy from Reason," as I recount here in detail.

## Section 20

4.20.1 | "Σπεύδοντος γοῦν τοῦ προφήτου αὐτοπτῆσαι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἐπειγομένου ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀδύνατον ἔφη τὸ τοιοῦτον πρὸν λύτρα τῷ πονηρῷ δαίμονι δοῦναι. λέγει δὲ οὕτως λύτρα δίδου γαίης πατρίης οἰκήτορι σεμνῷ, πρῶτα χοάς, μετέπειτα πυρὶ τὸν ἥδ' αἴμα κελαινὸνοῦν παμμέλανός τ' οίων θ' ἄμα λευκὰ ῥέεθρα. καὶ σαφέστερον εἶπε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οἵνον καὶ γάλα βάλλε καὶ ὕδατος ἀγλαὸν εἶδος, καὶ ξύλα καρπὸν ἔχοντα διογνήτων ἀκυλάων· σπλάγχνα δὲ κατθέμενος λιπαροῖς ἄμα νάμασι σπένδε. μετὰ ποίας δὲ εὐχῆς ἔρωτηθεὶς ἤρξατο μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐπλήρωσεν, οὕτως εἰπὼν δαῖμον ἀλιτρονόων ψυχῶν διάδημα λελογχώς, ἡγερίων ὑπένερθε μυχῶν χθονίων τ' ἐγύπερθεν."

4.20.1 | When the prophet was eager to see the divine and Apollo was in a hurry, he said it was impossible to do such a thing before giving a ransom to the wicked demon. He says this: "Give a ransom to the noble inhabitant of the fatherland, first libations, then a fire and dark blood of wine, and the black streams of wine along with white streams." He spoke more clearly about the same things: "Pour wine and milk and beautiful water, and wood that has fruit from the divine trees; and place the entrails with rich streams." When asked about what prayer to use, he began to speak, but did not finish, saying: "Demon, who brings ruin to souls, I have pierced the crown, beneath the airy depths and above the earth."

4.20.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θαυμάσιος θεὸς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πολυπλανὲς δαιμόνιον· τὰ δὲ

4.20.2 | These things, indeed, are from the wonderful god, but more so from the

τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν λογισμοῦ τάναντία,  
καθαίρειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ θυσίαις  
έπισπασθαι τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας,  
παρακελευόμενα· καθαρᾶ γὰρ ψυχῇ μὴ  
έπιτίθεσθαι διὰ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἀνόμοιον. εἰ δὲ  
δὴ συνετὸς εἶναι καὶ σώφρων ἀνὴρ ὁρθῶς  
ἐκρίθη ὁ εὐλαβῆς καὶ μὴ θύων δαίμοσιν, ὁ  
τοῖς πονηροῖς θύειν διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ  
παραινῶν τίς ἀν εὐλόγως καὶ ποδαπὸς  
νομισθείη σὸι καταλείπω σκοπεῖν.

wandering demon; for the opposite of natural reasoning is to purify the soul, but not to attract wicked demons with sacrifices, as he advises. For a pure soul cannot be harmed because it is unlike them. If a wise and temperate man is rightly judged to be careful and does not sacrifice to demons, who would reasonably think that he should sacrifice to the wicked ones based on the oracle? I leave it to you to consider this.

4.20.3 | ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναδραμόντι  
προφανὲς ἔσται ποῖοι τινες ὑπῆρχον τὴν  
τοῦ τρόπου φύσιν οἱ ταῖς ἀνθρωποθυσίαις  
χαίροντες, ἢ οἱ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον  
γένος πάλαι πρότερον καταδεδουλωμένοι.  
εἰ δὲ λέγοι τις μὴ φαῦλον εἶναι τὸν τῆς  
ἀνθρωποθυσίας τρόπον, ὥρα τοῖς νῦν  
καταμέμφεσθαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι μηδεὶς ὅμοίως  
τοῖς πατράσιν εύσεβεῖ.

4.20.3 | From here, it will be clear who existed with the nature of this way, those who rejoice in human sacrifices, or those who have long been enslaved to the entire human race. If someone says that the way of human sacrifice is not base, and that it is performed most rightly by the ancients, it is time to blame all those now, for no one is equally pious as their ancestors.

## Section 21

4.21.1 | Εἴ δ' ἔμφρόνως οἱ καθ' ἡμὰς τῆς  
ἀπηνοῦς καὶ ἀγρίας ὡμότητος τὴν  
ἀποστροφὴν ἐποιήσαντο, τῶν παλαιῶν  
οὐδεὶς ἦν ἄρα σοφὸς, τοὺς πονηροὺς  
δαίμονας ταῖς ἀνθρωποκτονίαις  
μειλισσόμενος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασὶ,  
δῆλον ὡς οὕτε θεοὶ ἀν εἰεν οὕτε δαίμονες  
ἀγαθοὶ οἱ πάλαι πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων  
θεολογούμενοι, πορρωτάτω δὲ τού ἀγαθοῦ  
έξωκισμένοι.

4.21.1 | If those among us have made a rejection of the cruel and savage brutality, then none of the ancients were wise, who were trying to appease the wicked demons with human killings. For even to a blind person, it is clear that neither were the gods nor were the good demons, who were once worshipped by all nations, far removed from goodness.

4.21.2 | διὸ καὶ ἐνδίκως θεομάχοι τινὲς καὶ  
ἀσεβεῖς λεχθεῖν ἀν, τὸν πάντα  
λυμηνάμενοι βίον, ὃν ἔξ αἰῶνος οὐδεὶς ἦ

4.21.2 | Therefore, it is just that some are called god-fighters and impious, since they are ruining all life from ancient times. No

μόνος ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν φυγὴν προεξένησεν, εὐαγγελιζόμενος ὅμοιος πάντας Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους θεραπείαν τῆς πατρικῆς νόσου, καὶ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ παλαιτάτης δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν· ἐφ' ἣν σπεύδειν ὁ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως παρορμᾶ λόγος, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰς ἔξαχουστον βιῶν “πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμὲ, οὗ ἔνεκεν ἔχρισέ με, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέ με, κηρῦξαι αἱχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, ίάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν.” καὶ πάλιν ἔχαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν πεπεδημένους, καὶ ἔξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει.”

one, except our savior and lord Christ of God, has offered escape to all people, announcing together healing from the ancestral sickness for both Greeks and non-Greeks, and freedom from bitter and ancient slavery. For this, the word of the gospel urges us to strive, loudly calling to all, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to heal the brokenhearted.” And again to bring out those bound in chains, and those sitting in darkness from the house of prison.

4.21.3 | ταῦτα γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὰ θεῖα ὡς ἀληθῶς παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἐθέσπιζε λόγια, τὴν ἡμῶν τῶν πάλαι τυφλῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ δαιμόνων πονηρῶν πολυπλόκοις δεσμοῖς πεπεδημένων ἀπολύτρωσιν εὐαγγελιζόμενα. ὅθεν εἰκότως τοὺς τῆς διανοίας ὄφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καταυγασθέντες, σώφρονές τε καὶ εύλαβεῖς βεῖς καὶ συνετοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ πάντων ἐλεύθεροι κακῶν, οὕτε θύσομεν οὕτε δουλεύσομεν τοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν νενομισμένοις θεοῖς, οὐδὴ καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ πρὸν κατετυράννουν· ἀχθέντες δὲ καὶ προσαχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας τῷ μόνῳ καὶ ἀληθεῖ θεῷ, τῷ δὴ καὶ δεσπότῃ καὶ τροφεῖ, σωτῆρί τε καὶ εὐεργέτῃ, καὶ ἔτι ποιητῇ καὶ δημιουργῷ καὶ παμβασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων, μόνον τοῦτον ἀληθῆ θεὸν ἡγησόμεθα, καὶ μόνω τὸ προσῆκον ἀπονεμοῦμεν σέβας, μόνον γεραίροντες καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν εύσεβοῦντες, τες, οὐχ ἢ τοῖς δαίμοσι φίλον, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταπεμφθέντι πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτῆρι

4.21.3 | For these divine words were truly established long ago among the Hebrews, announcing the redemption of our souls, which were blind and bound by the wicked demons with many chains. Therefore, it is fitting that those whose minds have been enlightened by the message of salvation become wise, respectful, and understanding, and free from all evils. We will neither sacrifice nor serve the gods of the nations, who indeed once oppressed us. But being lifted up and brought to the teachings of our savior, we will regard the one true and real God, who is our master and provider, savior and benefactor, and also creator and ruler of all. We will honor only this true God and give him the proper respect, worshiping him alone and being pious only toward him, not as friends of the demons, but as those who have been sent to all people for salvation through his true gospel teachings.

διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς αύτοῦ διδασκαλίας  
παραδέδοται.

4.21.4 | ταύτῃ δὲ θεοσεβοῦντες διώξομεν καὶ ἀπελάσομεν ἐαυτῶν, πολλοῦ δεῖ φοβηθησόμεθα, τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονς μόνας δι' ἀγνείας καὶ καθαροῦ τρόπου βίου τε σώφρονος καὶ παναρέτου, τοῦ δὴ πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διωρισμένου. καθαρᾶ γὰρ μὴ δύνασθαι ψυχῇ πλησιάζειν διὰ τὸ ἀνόμιον ὡμολόγηται ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαντείας καὶ χρησμῶν δεησόμεθα, οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζῷων διερευνήσομεν, οὐδέ τι τῶν διὰ δαιμονικῆς κινήσεως νήσεως ἐνεργουμένων πολυπραγμονήσομεν.

4.21.5 | ὃν γὰρ ἔνεκα ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς σπουδάζεται, τούτων ἡμῖν ἀφίστασθαι μελετᾶν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος διεστείλατο, μόνων δὲ ἔκείνων ἐφίεσθαι προύτρεψε, περὶ ὃν ἀληθῶς μάντις μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ σπλάγχνα ζῷων μηνύσει τὸ σαφὲς, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἐνοικῶν σπλάγχνοις τῶν οἴων τε αὐτὸν δι' ἄκραν ψυχῆς καθαρότητα ἔνδον ἐν ἐαυτοῖς χωρεῖν. περὶ ὃν φησί που ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν "ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι λαός."

4.21.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ θυσιῶν τόπου ἀπελεγκτικὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων μοχθηρίας. ἄκουε δ' οἶα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐθις ὁ τῆς Περὶ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς συγγραφεὺς ἴστορεῖ, διαρρήδην διμολογῶν τοὺς πονηροὺς δαίμονας ἐν σχήμασι πλείοσιν ἐκτυπουμένοις, καὶ παντοίας μορφὰς χαρακτηρίζονται, λανθάνειν καὶ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν

4.21.4 | In this way, while being God-fearing, we will drive away and remove from ourselves the wicked demons, and we must greatly fear them. We will do this through purity and a clean way of life that is wise and virtuous, as determined by our savior. For a pure soul cannot approach what is unclean, and we will not seek out or ask for prophecies or oracles, nor will we investigate the insides of animals, nor will we meddle in anything that is stirred up by demonic activity.

4.21.5 | For the reason that many strive for these things, the word of Christ has instructed us to turn away from them, but it encourages us to pursue only those things. No soothsayer or examination of animal entrails can reveal the truth, but only the word of God, which truly dwells in the purest depths of those who have a completely clean soul. About this, it is said somewhere in the sacred writings, "I will dwell in them, and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

4.21.6 | These things, then, are the clear proof of the wickedness of the demons regarding sacrifices. Listen to what the author of the work on the departure of living beings again tells about the same things, openly admitting that the evil demons take on many forms and shapes to deceive and mislead many people. For he says that they disguise themselves as good

άνθρωπων. ἀγαθῶν γὰρ, φησὶν,  
ὑποδυόμενοι πρόσωπα καὶ  
προσεταιριζόμενοι τὰ πλήθη διὰ τοῦ τὰς  
ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαίειν, τοὺς  
ἀνωτάτω θεοὺς ἔαυτοὺς ἐπιφημίζεσθαι  
βούλονται. τοσοῦτόν τέ φησιν αὐτοὺς  
ἰσχῦσαι ὡς ἀπατῆσαι καὶ τοὺς  
σοφωτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιητὰς καὶ  
φιλοσόφους, οὓς καὶ ὅμοιογεῖ τῆς τοῦ  
πλήθους γεγονέναι διαστροφῆς αἵτίους·  
ὅτι τε ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶσα γοητεία συνέστη, καὶ  
τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνθρώποις δι’ αὐτῶν  
προξενεῖται· ὅπως τε θεοὶ εἶναι βούλονται,  
δαίμονες ὄντες φαῦλοι· καὶ ὡς ἡ  
προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις δοκεῖ θεὸς  
εἶναι ὁ μέγιστος. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Πορφύριος  
πάντα τοῦτον ἴστορεῖ ’τον τρόπον

beings and win over the crowds by igniting their desires, wanting to be praised as higher gods. He claims that they are so powerful that they can deceive even the wisest poets and philosophers of the Greeks, whom he admits are the cause of the crowd's confusion. He says that all magic comes from them, and they bring pleasure to people through their actions. They want to appear as gods while being lowly demons, and their leading power seems to be the greatest god. All of this is reported by Porphyry in this way.

## Section 22

4.22.1 | "Οσαι δὲ ψυχαὶ τοῦ συνεχοῦς πνεύματος οὐ κρατοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ κρατοῦνται, διὰ τοῦτο ἄγονται τε καὶ φέρονται λίαν, ὅταν αἴ τοῦ πνεύματος ὄργαί τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι τὴν ὀρμὴν λάβωσιν· αὗται δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ δαίμονες μὲν καὶ αὐταὶ, κακοεργοὶ δ' ἀν εἰκότως λέγοιντο.

4.22.1 | As for the souls that are not controlled by the continuous spirit, but rather are mostly controlled, they are easily led and carried away whenever the passions and desires of the spirit take hold. These souls could be called demons, and it would be reasonable to say they are evil workers.

4.22.2 | καὶ είσιν οἱ σύμπαντες οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ τῆς ἑναντίας δυνάμεως, ἀόρατοί τε καὶ τελείως ἀναίσθητοι αἰσθήσεσιν ἀνθρωπίναις, οὐ γὰρ στερεὸν σῶμα περιβέβληνται, οὐδὲ μορφὴν πάντες μίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν σχήμασι πλείοσιν· ἔκτυπούμεναι δὲ καὶ χαρακτηρίζουσαι τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν αἱ μορφαὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐπιφαίνονται, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφανεῖς είσιν· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὰς μορφὰς οἵ γε χείρους.

4.22.2 | And these beings, both those and those of the opposing power, are invisible and completely insensible to human senses. For they do not wear a solid body, nor do they all have one form, but they appear in many shapes. Their spirits take on forms that sometimes become visible and at other times are hidden; sometimes they even change their shapes, especially the weaker ones.

4.22.3 | τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἢ μέν ἔστι σωματικὸν; παθητικόν ἔστι καὶ φθαρτόν· τῷ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν οὕτως δεδέσθαι ὥστε τὸ εἶδος αὐτῶν διαμένειν πλείω χρόνον, οὐ μήν ἔστιν αἰώνιον' καὶ γὰρ ἀπορρεῖν αὐτοῦ τι συνεχῶς εἴκος ἔστι καὶ τρέπεσθαι.

4.22.4 | ἐν συμμετρίᾳ μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν φαινομένων, τῶν δὲ κακοποιῶν ἀσύμμετρα, οὕ πλέον τῷ παθητικῷ νέμοντες τὸν περίγειον τόπον οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν κακῶν οὐκ ἐπιχειροῦσι δρᾶν. βίαιον γὰρ ὅλως καὶ ὑπουλον ἔχοντες ἥθος, ἔστερημένον τε τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος δαιμονίου, σφοδρ' καὶ αἰφνιδίους, οἷον ἐνέδρας, ὡς τὸ πολὺ ποιοῦν τὰς ἐμπτώσεις, πὴ μὲν λανθάνειν πειρώμενοι, πὴ δὲ βιαζόμενοι."

4.22.5 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια ποιοῦσι μεταστῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἐθέλοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρθης ἐννοίας τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιστρέψαι. πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς οὕτως ἀνομολόγως καὶ ἀκαταλλήλως γιγνομένοις αὐτοὶ χαίρουσι, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑποδύντες τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν πρόσωπα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπολαύουσι, προσεταιριζόμενοι τὰ πλήθη, διὰ τοῦ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαίειν ἔρωσι καὶ πόθοις πλούτων καὶ δυναστειῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν, κενοδοξίας τε αὖ, ἐξ ὧν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι φύονται καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτων.

4.22.6 | τὸ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ἐπαναβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶνδε, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια

4.22.3 | Is the spirit bodily? It is passive and perishable. However, because it is so bound by the souls, its form can remain for a longer time, but it is not eternal. It is likely to flow away and change continuously.

4.22.4 | In balance, the good beings are like the bodies of those who appear, while the evil doers are unbalanced. They, being more passive, do nothing but commit evil. For they have a nature that is violent and sneaky, lacking the protection of the stronger spirit. They are fierce and sudden, like traps, often causing falls, sometimes trying to remain hidden and other times acting forcefully.

4.22.5 | And from here, it is said that these beings and similar ones want to change us from the right understanding of the gods and turn us back to themselves. For they enjoy all things that arise in such a lawless and unsuitable way, and just as if they were putting on the faces of other gods, they take pleasure in our foolishness. They gather the crowds by igniting the desires of humans with love and longing for wealth, power, and pleasures, as well as vanity, from which conflicts and wars arise along with their related troubles.

4.22.6 | But the most terrible of all is that they rise up from here and persuade others

άναπείθουσι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν,  
μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄριστον θεὸν τούτοις  
τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν ὑπάγειν· ὡς δὴ καὶ  
τεταράχθαι φασὶ πάντ' ἄνω κάτω.  
πεπόνθασι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἴδιῶται μόνον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβόντων  
οὐκ ὀλίγοι.

about the greatest gods, even leading the best god into these crimes. They say that everything is disturbed, turned upside down. And this suffering is not only felt by ordinary people, but also by many who are engaged in philosophy.

4.22.7 | ή δ' αἴτια δι' ἄλληλων γέγονε. καὶ  
γὰρ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων οἱ μὴ ἀποστάντες  
τῆς καινῆς φορᾶς εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς πλήθεσι  
συνέβησαν· καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ πλήθη  
σύμφωνα ταῖς αὐτῶν δόξαις παρὰ τῶν  
δοκούντων σοφῶν ἀκούοντα ἐπερρώσθη  
φρονεῖν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ  
τοιαῦτα.

4.22.7 | The cause has happened through each other. For among those who study philosophy, those who did not turn away from the new ideas joined with the crowds. And again, the crowds, agreeing with their beliefs, became even more convinced by those who seemed wise to think more about such things regarding the gods.

4.22.8 | τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιητικὸν καὶ  
προσεξέκαυσε τὰς ὑπολήψεις τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρῆσθαι φράσει πρὸς  
ἔκπληξιν καὶ γοητείαν πεποιημένη, κήλησίν  
τε ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ πίστιν περὶ τῶν  
ἀδυνατωτάτων δυναμένη, δέον ἐμπεσως  
πεπεῖσθαι ὅτι οὕτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν βλάπτει  
ποτὲ οὕτε τὸ κακὸν ὥφελεῖ. οὐ γὰρ  
θερμότητος, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, τὸ ψύχειν,  
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὐδὲ ψυχρότητος τὸ  
θερμαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὕτως οὐδὲ  
τοῦ δικαίου τὸ βλάπτειν.

4.22.8 | For the poetic has stirred up people's beliefs by using language that causes surprise and enchantment, creating confusion and a belief in the most impossible things. It is necessary to be convinced that neither good ever harms nor evil ever helps. For, as Plato says, it is not cold that causes heat, but its opposite; and it is not heat that causes cold, but its opposite. In the same way, neither does the just harm.

4.22.9 | δικαιότατον δὲ δήπου φύσει  
πάντων τὸ θεῖον, ἐπεὶ ούδε ἄν ἦν θεῖον.  
οὐκοῦν ἀποτετμῆσθαι δεῖ ταύτην τὴν  
δύναμιν καὶ μοῖραν τῶν δαιμόνων τῶν  
ἀγαθοεργῶν. ή γὰρ βλάπτειν πεφυκυῖα τε  
καὶ βουλομένη ἐναντία τῇ ἀγαθοεργῷ· τὰ  
δ' ἐναντία περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄν ποτε  
γένοιτο.”

4.22.9 | The divine is indeed the most just by nature of all things, since it would not even be divine otherwise. Therefore, it is necessary to separate this power and role of the helpful spirits. For to harm is naturally and willingly opposite to being helpful; and opposites regarding the same thing could never happen.

4.22.10 | Καὶ αὖθις "Διὰ μέντοι τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ ἡ πᾶσα γοητεία ἐπιτελεῖται τούτους γάρ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν ἐκτιμῶσιν οἱ τὰ κακὰ διὰ τῶν γοητειῶν διαπραττόμενοι

4.22.11 | πλήρεις γάρ εἰσι πάσης φαντασίας καὶ ἀπατῆσαι ἱκανοὶ διὰ τῆς τερατουργίας. διὰ τούτων φίλτρα καὶ ἔρωτικὰ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ κακοδαίμονες· πᾶσα γάρ ἀκολασία καὶ πλούτων ἐλπὶς καὶ δόξης διὰ τούτων, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἀπάτη.

4.22.12 | τὸ γάρ ψεῦδος τούτοις οίκεῖον· βούλονται γάρ εἶναι θεοὶ καὶ ἡ προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις δοκεῖν θεὸς εἶναι ὁ μέγιστος. οὗτοι οἱ χαίροντες 'λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τέ,' δι' ὧν αὐτῶν τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ σωματικὸν πιαίνεται. ζῇ γάρ τοῦτο ἀτμοῖς καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεσι, ποικίλως διὰ τῶν ποικίλων, καὶ δυναμοῦται ταῖς ἐκ τῶν αἰμάτων καὶ σαρκῶν θυσίαις."

4.22.13 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ἀκηκόαμεν ὅμολογούντων ὅτι μὴ μόνον οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιηταὶ προσεξέκαυσαν τὰς ὑπολήψεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς περὶ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων ὡς περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριβόντων οἱ περὶ θεοὺς δοκοῦντες σπουδαίως ἔχειν, οἱ καὶ αὗτοὶ οὐ θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ πονηροὺς δαίμονας περιέποντες τὰ πλήθη καὶ τοὺς δήμους εἰς τὴν ὄμοιαν πλάνην ἔξετραχήλισαν.

4.22.10 | And again, "Indeed, all magic is accomplished through opposites; for those who do evil through magic especially value these and their leader."

4.22.11 | For they are full of all imagination and are capable of deceiving through magic. Through these, the evil spirits create charms and love potions; for all wickedness and hope for wealth and glory come through these, especially deceit.

4.22.12 | For falsehood is natural to them; for they wish to be gods, and their leader seems to be the greatest god. These who rejoice in offerings and incense, through which their spiritual and physical being is nourished. For this lives on steam and vapors, in various ways through the various offerings, and is empowered by the sacrifices of blood and flesh.

4.22.13 | For because of these, we have heard those agreeing that not only the poets among the Greeks have kindled the beliefs of people about the wicked spirits as if they were gods and good, but also those engaged in philosophy who seem to have a serious view of the gods, who themselves do not have gods, but surround the crowds and the people with the same kind of deception.

4.22.14 | ὡμολόγησε γοῦν σαφῶς ὁ λόγος ὡς ἄρα παρὰ τῶν δοκουντων σοφῶν ἀκούοντα περὶ θεῶν τὰ πλήθη συμφωνα ταῖς αὐτῶν δόξαις ἐπερρώσθη φρονεῖν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὡς περὶ θεῶν περὶ τῶν μοχθηρῶν δαιμόνων. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔξημῶν κατηγορεῖται, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς είδότων.

4.22.15 | ὁ γέ τοι αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς οὐ παρέργως ὅμιλήσας τῇ τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθανούσῃ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ φησὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς δαιμονας βούλεσθαι εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ ἀγαθῶν δόξαν ἔχειν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, τίς τε προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις τυγχάνει ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν διασαφήσει, τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων λέγων εἶναι τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην· ἡ δὲ θεία γραφὴ τὸν βελζεβούλ. ἄκουε δ' ὅπως καὶ περὶ τούτου του γράφει ἐν τοῖς "Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας."

## Section 23

4.23.1 | "Τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς δαιμονας οὐκ εἴκῃ ὑπὸ τὸν Σάραπιν ὑποπτεύομεν, ούδ' ἐκ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ἀναπεισθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μειλίγματα καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀποτρόπαια πρὸς τὸν Πλούτωνα γίνεται, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐδείκνυμεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Πλούτωνι ὁ θεὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα δαιμόνων ἄρχων, καὶ σύμβολα διδοὺς πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἔλασιν.

4.23.2 | οὕτος γοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἱκέταις ἐδήλωσεν ὡς πᾶσι ζῷοις ὅμοιούμενοι προσίασι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ὅθεν καὶ παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξι καὶ ὄλως παρὰ

4.22.14 | The argument has clearly stated that among those who seem wise, the crowds are encouraged to think more about the wicked spirits as if they were gods, according to their beliefs. And this is not accused by us, but by those who know their own matters better than we do.

4.22.15 | The author himself, not casually, speaks about the widespread hidden superstition, saying that the wicked spirits want to be seen as gods and to have a good reputation among people. He will again clarify which power leads them, saying that the rulers of the wicked spirits are Sarapis and Hecate; but the divine scripture mentions Beelzebub. Listen to how he also writes about this in his work "On Philosophy from Reason."

4.23.1 | We do not suspect the wicked spirits under Sarapis without reason, nor just from their symbols, but because their offerings and sacrifices are made to Pluto, as we showed in the first part. The god himself is Pluto, and for this reason, he is especially the ruler of the spirits, giving symbols for their worship.

4.23.2 | This one also showed to the worshippers that all living beings approach humans in a similar way. Therefore, among the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, and

τοῖς τὰ θεῖα σοφοῖς ἴμάντες ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς  
ἐπιρρήσσονται, καὶ ζῷα προσουδίζεται πρὸ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν, ἔξελαυνόντων  
τῶν Ἱερέων τούτους, διὰ τοῦ δοῦναι  
πνεῦμα, ἢ αἷμα ζώων, καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος  
πληγῆς, ἐν τούτων ἀπελθόντων παρουσίᾳ  
του θεοῦ γένηται.

generally among those who are wise about the divine, they are tied with ropes in the temples, and animals are offered before the worship of the gods. The priests drive these away to give spirit or blood of animals, and through the strike of the air, when one of them leaves, the presence of the god is made.

4.23.3 | καὶ οἶκος δὲ πᾶς μεστὸς, καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο προκαθαίρουσι καὶ ἐκβάλλουσι  
τούτους, ὅταν θεὸν κατακαλῶσι. καὶ τὰ  
σώματα τοίνυν μεστὰ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ γὰρ  
μάλιστα ταῖς ποιαῖς τροφαῖς χαίρουσι.  
σιτουμένων γὰρ ἡμῶν προσίασι καὶ  
προφαῖνουσι τῷ σώματι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἱ  
ἀγνεῖαι, οὐ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προηγουμένως,  
ἀλλ' ἐν' οὗτοι ἀποστῶσι. μάλιστα δὲ αἴματι  
χαίρουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις, καὶ  
ἀπολαύουσι τούτων εἰσδύνοντες τοῖς  
χρωμένοις.

4.23.3 | And every house is full, and for this reason, they clean and drive these away whenever they call upon a god. And the bodies are indeed full of these; for they especially enjoy certain kinds of food. When we eat, they approach and reveal themselves to the body, and for this reason, the purifications are not done for the gods first, but when these withdraw. They especially enjoy blood and impurities, and they take pleasure in these by entering into those who are affected.

4.23.4 | ὅλως γὰρ ἡ ἐπίτασις τῆς πρός τι  
ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς  
ὄρεξεως ὄρμὴ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐ σφοδρύνεται  
ἡ ἐκ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας· οἱ καὶ εἰς  
ἀσήμους φθόγγους καὶ φύσας  
ἀναγκάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐμπίπτειν  
ἐμπίπτειν διὰ τῆς συναπολαύσεως τῆς μετ'  
αὐτῶν γιγνομένης.

4.23.4 | For the urge towards a certain desire and the movement of the spirit does not become strong from anywhere else except from their presence. They also force people to fall into silent sounds and breaths through the shared pleasure that happens with them.

4.23.5 | ὅπου γὰρ πνεύματος πλείονος ὀλκὴ  
ἢ τῆς γαστρὸς ἔξ ήδυπαθείας  
πεπληρωμένης, ἢ τῆς προθυμίας δι' ἡδονῆς  
ἐπίτασιν ἐκφυσώσης καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἔξωθεν  
σπώσης, ἐκεῖ παρουσία τῶν τοιούτων  
πνευμάτων πνευμάτων σοι δηλούσθω. ἄχρι  
τούτων τολμᾶ φύσις ἀνθρώπου εὐρίσκειν  
τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς συνεστώσας παγίδας· καὶ

4.23.5 | For where there is a greater pull of the spirit, or where the belly is filled with pleasure, or where the eagerness is driven by delight and much is drawn from outside, there let the presence of such spirits be shown to you. Up to this point, human nature dares to find the traps set around itself; for when the god is mixed in, the

γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅταν εἰσκριθῇ, πολυπλασιάζεται τὸ πνεῦμα.”

spirit multiplies.

4.23.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, ὃν φησιν ἄρχοντα εἶναι τὸν Σάραπιν. καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην δὲ τούτων ἄρχειν δὲ αὐτὸς διδάσκει λέγων οὕτως "Μήποτε οὗτοί εἴσιν ὃν ἄρχει ὁ Σάραπις, καὶ τούτων σύμβολον δὲ τρίκρανος κύων, τουτέστιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, ὕδατι, γῇ, ἀέρι, πονηρὸς δαίμων" οὓς καταπαύει δὲ θεὸς δὲ ἔχων ὑπὸ χεῖρα. ἄρχει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ Ἐκάτη, ὡς συνέχουσα τὸ τρίστοιχον." Καὶ πάλιν φησὶν

4.23.6 | These things are about the wicked demons, of which he says that Sarapis is the leader. He also teaches that Hecate rules over them, saying this: "Perhaps these are the ones over whom Sarapis rules, and the three-headed dog is their symbol, that is, the one in the three elements: water, earth, air, a wicked demon; whom the god who has power over them calms. And Hecate also rules over them, as she holds together the threefold nature." And again he says...

4.23.7 | “Ἐν χρηστήριον ἔτι παραθεὶς, ὅπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἐκάτη πεποίηται, καταπαύσω τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον ἢδ' ἐγώ είμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος, ταυρῶπις, τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνῆς, χρυσοβέλεμνος, Φοίβη ἀπειρολεχῆς, φαεσίμβροτος Εἱλήθυια, τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα· αἰθέρα μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἔειδομένη εἰδώλοις, ἥέρα δ' ἀργεννοῖσι τροχάσμασιν ἀμφικάθημαι· γαῖα δ' ἐμῶν σκυλάκων δνοφερὸν γένος ἡνιοχεύει.'

4.23.7 | One more oracle I will present, which Hecate herself has made: 'I am the daughter of many names, one who hears from the sky, with the face of a bull, three-headed, fierce, with golden arrows, Phoebe of endless words, bright Eileithyia, carrying the threefold nature of the threefold things; I appear in the ether with fiery shapes, and I am surrounded by shining wheels in the air; the earth drives the dark race of my dogs.'

4.23.8 | οἵς ἐπιλέγει ὁ συγγραφεὺς σαφῶς τίνες οἱ σκύλακες· ὅτι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες, περὶ ὃν ἄρτι πεπαύμεθα λέγοντες. τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ταῦτα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ δαίμονας εἶναι πονηροὺς ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐπαγομένους, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς θεολουμένους,, φέρε εἴτι μᾶλλον διὰ πλειόνων κρατύνωμεν.

4.23.8 | The author clearly chooses which dogs he means; that they are wicked demons, about which we have just stopped speaking. So much for these things. As for the demons being truly wicked, bringing nothing good, those worshipped by many, let us strengthen this even more through more examples.

## Book Five (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

5.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Ικανὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ προπαρατεθέντα συστῆσαι ἦν ὅτι μὴ θεοὶ, μηδ' ἀγαθοὶ δαιμονες, πᾶν δὲ τούναντίον ὑπῆρχον οἱ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι κατά τε πόλεις καὶ χώρας ὡς θεοὶ τετιμημένοι· οὐ λυπεῖ δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον βεβαιώσασθαι πλείσι καὶ δαψιλεστέροις ἐλέγχοις τῆς τούτων ἀποδείξεως τὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας προξενηθεῖσαν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐλευθερίαν τῶν πάλαι κακῶν ἐκφαινούσης.

5.1.2 | ἄκουε τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων δόμιλογούντων ἐκλελοιπέναι 'ναι αὐτῶν τὰ χρηστήρια, οὐκ ἄλλοτέ ποτε ἐξ αἰώνος ἢ μετὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς σωτηρίου καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσιν φωτὸς δίκην πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνατειλάσης.

5.1.3 | αὐτίκα γοῦν μάλα ὅσον οὐδέπω παραστήσομεν ὡς ἄρα μετὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θάνατοι τῶν δαιμόνων ἴστορήθησαν καὶ τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ πάλαι βοώμενα χρηστήρια διαλέλοιπεν.

5.1.4 | ἥδη δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἀποδέδεικται ὅτι δὴ παῦλαν κακῶν ούδ' ἄλλοτέ πω πρότερον ἢ μετὰ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν διδασκαλίαν εἰλήφασιν αὖτε πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὡμῶς καὶ ἀνηλεῶς ἐπιτελούμεναι τὸ πρὸν ἀνθρωποθυσίαι· οἵς ἐπὶ τοῦ

5.1.1 | Introduction. It is enough to show that they are not gods, nor good demons, but that the opposite was present among the nations, honored as gods in cities and regions. It does not trouble us to further strengthen this same argument with more and richer proofs of their falsehood, which through the teaching of our Savior has brought freedom to all people from the old evils.

5.1.2 | So listen, then, to the Greeks admitting that their oracles have been left behind, not at any other time in history but after the times of salvation and the teaching of the Gospel, when the knowledge of one, the universal king and creator of all, has risen like light for all people.

5.1.3 | Indeed, we will soon show how after his appearance, the deaths of the demons were recorded, and the marvelous oracles that had long been calling out were left behind.

5.1.4 | It has already been shown before that indeed the end of evils has not happened at any other time except after the teaching of the Gospel. The cruel and merciless practices of human sacrifice that were done among all the nations have come

παρόντος προσθεῖναι καλὸν ὅτι μὴ μόνον  
έξ ἑκείνου τὰ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀπέσβη  
δεισιδαιμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν  
πολυαρχίας.

5.1.5 | σχεδὸν γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόκαι καὶ  
κώμην βασιλεῖς καὶ τυράννους τοπάρχας  
τε καὶ δυνάστας παλαιὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν,  
ἔθναρχίας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας, δι' ἣς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοὺς κατ' ἄλλήλων πολέμους συνεχῶς  
δρμῶντες δηώσεις τε χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων  
πολιορκίας ἀνδραποδισμούς τε καὶ  
αίχμαλωσίας τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ  
παντὸς ἐνήργον, πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων  
δαιμόνων ἐπὶ τὸν κατ' ἄλλήλων πόλεμον  
έξοιστρούμενοι.

5.1.6 | ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων ἐν ὅποιᾳ τότε  
συγχύσει κακῶν συμφορῶν τε ἐπαλλήλων  
ὁ πᾶς ἐνέσχητο βίος καὶ αὐτῷ σοι  
παραλείπω σκοπεῖν.

5.1.7 | τούτων δὴ οὖν ἀθρόως ἀπάντων  
ὅμοι σὺν τῇ πολυθέῳ πλάνῃ ἐκποδῶν  
μεταστάντων οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίαν,  
πῶς οὐ χρὴ τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τῆς ἀληθῶς  
σωτηρίου καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως  
ὑπερθαυμάζειν, δι' ἣς ἀθρόως κατὰ πᾶσαν  
τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένην  
προσευκτήρια καὶ ναοὶ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ  
δημιουργῷ τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ μόνῳ θεῷ ἐν  
τε πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις βαρβάρων τε ἔθνῶν  
ἐν ἔρημίαις ἀφιερωμένα συνέστη, βίβλοι τε  
καὶ ἀναγνώσματα, μαθήματά τε παντοῖα  
διδασκαλίαι, περὶ τῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς καὶ  
τρόκαι που τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ  
θεοσέβειαν παραγγέλματα περιέχουσαι,  
ἀνδράσιν ὅμοι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν εἰς

to an end. It is good to add that not only has  
the fear of demons disappeared from that  
time, but also the many rulers of the  
nations.

5.1.5 | For almost everywhere in every city  
and village, there were kings and tyrants,  
local rulers and powerful leaders. Because  
of these, they were always rushing into  
wars against each other, causing  
destruction of lands and sieges of cities,  
and constantly capturing and enslaving  
nearby people. They were driven by their  
own demons into fighting against one  
another.

5.1.6 | With such things happening, in  
whatever confusion of evils and disasters  
everyone was living, I leave it to you to  
consider.

5.1.7 | Therefore, when all these things  
were gathered together, along with the  
many false beliefs that had been cast out,  
how could we not marvel at the great  
mystery of true salvation and the good  
news? Through this, everywhere in the  
world of humans, prayers and temples  
were dedicated to the all-powerful king and  
creator of all, the one true god, both in  
cities and villages of barbarian nations and  
in wilderness areas. There were also books  
and readings, all kinds of teachings about  
reaching the highest virtue and instructions  
on true worship, which were given to men,  
women, and children to listen to. But  
everything from demons, including oracles

έπήκοον παραδέδονται, νεκρὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ δαιμόνων πάντα χρηστήριά τε καὶ μαντεύματα;

5.1.8 | οὐδέ τις εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνθρώπων μέμηνε νῦν, ἔξ οὐπερ εἰς πάντας φωτὸς δίκην ἔξελαμψεν ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνθεος καὶ εὐαγγελικὴ δύναμις, ὡς τολμᾶν τῷ τοῦ φιλτάτου φόνῳ καὶ ταῖς δι' ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν σφαγαῖς τὰ φονικὰ καὶ φίλαιμα καὶ μισάνθρωπά τε καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα δαιμόνια ἔξιλεοῦσθαι, οἵα πράττειν τοῖς πάλαι σοφοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι δαιμονῶσιν ὡς ἀληθῶς φίλον ἦν.

5.1.9 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τι καὶ ἴσχύειν τοὺς φαύλους δαίμονας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πάροδον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ καθ ἡμᾶς τῶν δαιμόνων προήγορος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῇ τοῦτον που λέγων μαρτυρεῖ τὸν τρόπον

5.1.10 | "Νυνὶ δὲ θαυμάζουσιν είτοσούτων ἔτῶν κατείληφε τὴν πόλιν ἡ νόσος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ μὲν ἐπιδημίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Θεῶν μηκέτ' οὕσης. Ἰησοῦ γάρ τιμωμένου οὐδεμιᾶς τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὥφελείας ἥσθετο."

5.1.11 | Ταῦτα ἥγμασιν αύτοῖς ὁ Πορφύριος. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν δημολογίαν Ἰησοῦ τιμωμένου οὐδεμιᾶς τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὥφελείας ἥσθετο, μηκέτ' οὕσης μήτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐπιδημίας μήτε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, πόθεν δὴ λοιπὸν τὸ ὡς περὶ

and divinations, was now dead.

5.1.8 | No one has ever dared to think that, from where the divine and good news power of our savior has shone like light on all, they could appease the deadly and cruel demons with human sacrifices and killings, as if it were truly pleasing to the wise and powerful of old who were possessed by demons.

5.1.9 | About the fact that the wicked demons can no longer have power or strength after our savior came to humans, even the leader of the demons among us, while speaking of this, testifies to the way things are.

5.1.10 | Now they are amazed that for so many years the city has been left by disease, with Asclepius and the other gods no longer present. For when Jesus was honored, no one noticed any public benefit from the gods.

5.1.11 | These are the words of Porphyry. If, then, according to this agreement, when Jesus was honored, no one noticed any public benefit from the gods, with neither Asclepius present nor the other gods, then where does the belief about the gods and

θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων δόγμα;

heroes come from?

5.1.12 | τί γὰρ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰησοῦ δυνάμεως; εἰ δὴ ὁ μὲν θνητὸς, ὡς ἀν φαῖεν, ἄνθρωπος — τάχα δ' ἀν εἴποιεν ὅτι καὶ πλάνος — οἵ δὲ σωτῆρες καὶ θεοὶ, τί δῆτα τοίνυν πάντες ἀθρόως αὐτῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ πεφεύγασι, τὰ νῦν τῷ θνητῷ, καὶ πᾶσαν ἔξῆς ὑποχείριον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῷ μηκέτ' ὄντι, ὡς ἀν εἴποιεν αὐτοὶ, παραδεδωκότες;

5.1.12 | For why do the things of the gods and those of Asclepius not have power over the strength of Jesus? If indeed the mortal man — as they might say, perhaps a deceiver — is so, then what is it that all of them have fled from Asclepius, turning their backs to the mortal, and have completely surrendered humanity to the one who is no longer present, as they themselves might say?

5.1.13 | ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δόσημέραι διαιωνίζει τιμώμενος, ἄντικρυς τῆς μετὰ θάνατον ζωῆς τὸ ἐναργὲς καὶ ἐνθεον τοῖς οἷοις τε συνορᾶν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.

5.1.13 | But he is honored every day by all the nations even after death, showing clearly the divine and the life after death to those who are able to see it.

5.1.14 | ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ὄν, καὶ, ὡς ἀν τις ὑπολάβοι, μόνος, τὸ πλὴθος τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην θεῶν ἐλαύνει, καὶ τάς γε τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἀθετῶν κρατεῖ, ὡς τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς μηκέτ' εἶναι, μηδ' ἐνεργεῖν, μηδέ πῃ παραφαίνεσθαι, μηδὲ συνήθως ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτι μὴ θεοὶ, δαίμονες δ' ἡσαν πονηροί· μόνου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ καταπέμψαντος αὐτὸν θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων αὔξειν δόσημέραι τὰς τιμάμας, καὶ εἰς μεῖζον ἀρετῆς καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐπιδιδόναι,

5.1.14 | But being one, and as someone might suppose, alone, he drives away the multitude of gods throughout the whole world, and he holds their honors in contempt, as if the gods no longer exist, nor act, nor even appear, and that they are not gods but wicked demons. Yet alone, and by the god who sent him, he increases the honors every day, and gives greater virtue to all of humanity.

5.1.15 | δέον ἔμταλιν τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς, εἰ δή τινες ὄντως ἡσαν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κηδεμόνες, τοῦ μὲν ἄρδην μεταστήσασθαι τὴν πλάνην, εἰ ἄρα τις ἦν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ ὠφελείας ἀφθόνως τοῖς

5.1.15 | It is necessary for the gods, if indeed any were truly guardians of the earth, to completely change the deception, if there was any, and to provide their services and benefits freely to everyone.

πᾶσιν ἐμπαρέχειν.

5.1.16 | νυνὶ δὲ τοῦσδε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπικεχείρηται μὲν πολλάκις, διὰ τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἀρχόντων τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κραταιοτάτην πολεμησάντων διδασκαλίαν ἄπρακτον δ' ὅμως εὔροντο τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως τὸ τέλος, ὑπερνικώσης τοὺς πάντας ἀεὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνθέου δυνάμεως, καὶ πάσας τὰς κατὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας αύτοῦ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἐπαναστάσεις καθαιρούσης, αύτούς τε ἐλαυνούσης, δαίμονας μὲν ἀληθῶς φαύλους ὄντας, ψευδῶς δὲ νενομισμένους εἶναι θεοὺς ἢ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας.

5.1.16 | Now, this has often been attempted by those in power throughout time, to teach the strongest doctrine of our savior; yet, they found the end of their effort fruitless, always being overcome by the divine power of our savior, and destroying all the rebellions of wicked demons against his teaching, driving them away, who are truly worthless spirits, but falsely believed to be gods or good demons.

## Section 2

5.2.1 | Οἵδε γοῦν περίγειοί τινες ὄντ' ἔς καὶ καταχθόνιοι, τόν τε ἐπὶ γῆς βαρὺν καὶ ζοφερὸν ἀέρα περιπολοῦντες, πολοῦντες, καὶ τὸ σκότιον καὶ γεῶδες οἰκητήριον ἔχειν κατακεκριμένοι δι' ἃς ὕστερον ἀποδώσομεν αἴτιας, τάφοις νεκρῶν καὶ μνήμασι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ μυσαρᾷ καὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ ύλῃ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες, αἴμασί τε καὶ λύθροις καὶ παντοίων ζώων σώμασι τῇ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἔξατμιζομένων ἀναδόσει χαίροντες, οἵ τε τούτων ἀρχοντες ἀέριοι τινες ὑπάρχοντες, ἢ καὶ καταχθόνιοι δυνάμεις, ἐπεὶ κατέμαθον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος κάτω που περὶ νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοποιίαν ἵλυσπωμενον, θυσίαις τε καὶ κνίσαῖς ταῖς δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς κεχαρισμέναις διὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐκπονούμενον, ἐγγύθεν ἔφεδροι καὶ συνεργοὶ τῆς πλάνης παρῆσαν, τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοῖς ἐπεντρυφῶντες, καὶ τοὺς ἡλιθίους τὰς ψυχὰς εὐχερῶς ἀπατῶντες κινήσεσί τε

5.2.1 | These beings, some of whom are said to be earthly and some underground, wander through the heavy and dark air on the earth, and they are trapped in a gloomy and earthy dwelling, for which we will later give reasons. They linger around the graves of the dead and the memorials, and in all the filthy and unclean matter, rejoicing in blood and fluids and the bodies of various animals, as well as in the vapors rising from the ground. The rulers of these beings are some airy or underground powers, who, having learned that humanity is somehow seeking divinity around the dead, are especially pleased by the sacrifices and offerings made with great effort. They are close by, assisting the deception, preying on the evils of humans, easily deceiving the foolish souls with movements of statues, which are indeed dedicated in honor of the dead, and through visions from oracles, and the services of bodies, which they secretly

ξοάνων, ἂ δὴ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν κατοιχομένων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀφιέρωται, καὶ ταῖς διὰ χρησμῶν φαντασίαις, θεραπείαις τε σωμάτων, ἂ διὰ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας ἀφανῶς αὐτοὶ λυμαινόμενοι, πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνέσεως ἐλευθέρους παθῶν ἡφίεσαν.

5.2.2 | δι’ ᾧν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον κατὰ κρημνῶν ἔφερον τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας, ὡς αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν ποτὲ μὲν οὐρανίους δυνάμεις καὶ τινας ἀληθῶς θεοὺς, ποτὲ δὲ τὰς τῶν τεθεοποιημένων ἡρώων ψυχάς.

5.2.3 | ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν ἥδη μείζων τις εἶναι καὶ σεμνοτέρα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνομίζετο ἡ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης ὑπόληψις, μεταβανούσης τῆς διανοίας ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐπὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῶν ἐγκρυπτομένων τοῖς ξοάνοις, καὶ τὴν πλάνην κραταιότερον ἐπικυρούσης.

5.2.4 | οὕτω δῆτα λοιπὸν οἱ περίγειοι δαίμονες, οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄέρα κοσμοκράτορες καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ὅ τε ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς κακίας ἐξάρχων, θεῶν οἱ μέγιστοι παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐνομίζοντο· ἡ τε τῶν πάλαι νεκρῶν μνήμη τῆς μείζονος ἡξιοῦτο θεραπείας.

5.2.5 | ᾧν τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ἰδέας οἱ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἀφιερωμένων είκόνων φέρειν ἐδόκουν τύποι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐνθέους καὶ ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες καθυπεκρίνοντο διὰ πολλῆς τερατοποιίας· καὶ αὐτῶν ἥδη τῶν θεραπευόντων καὶ ιερωμένων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον ἀεὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς φαντασίας τῦφον

corrupt through their own actions, while the same beings, through their release from them, grant freedom from passions.

5.2.2 | Because of this, they led the superstitious ones more towards the cliffs, believing that they were sometimes heavenly powers and truly some gods, and at other times the souls of deified heroes.

5.2.3 | From this, the belief in the many gods became greater and more serious for many, as their thinking shifted from what is seen to the hidden things associated with the statues, and the deception gained more power.

5.2.4 | Thus, the surrounding demons, both those who rule the air and the spirits of wickedness, as well as the greatest gods of all, were believed to be in charge of all evil. The memory of the long-dead was considered worthy of greater care.

5.2.5 | The images of bodies were thought to represent the forms of those dedicated in the cities, while the souls and the inner, bodiless powers were deceived by the wicked demons through much trickery. Even those who served and honored them always led away the greater delusion from imagination, and indeed often packaged

άπαγόντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ γοητικαῖς κακοτεχνίαις τὰ πολλὰ συσκευαζόντων, τῆς καὶ τούτων διδασκαλίας αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων τοῖς θεραπεύουσι προκαταρξάντων. οὕδε γοῦν καὶ τῆς ἀρχεκάου γοητείας παντὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ κατέστησαν αἴτιοι, ὡσπεροῦν ὃ πρὸ τούτου διήλεγξε λόγος.

### Section 3

5.3.1 | Τούτων τοιγαροῦν τῶν μοχθηρῶν καὶ περιγείων δαιμόνων, τῶν τε ἀερίων καὶ καταχθονίων πνευμάτων, οὓς κοσμοκράτορας καὶ πνευματικὰ πονηρίας ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἔξουσίας οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι προσαγορεύουσι, τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἀγαθοὺς δαιμόνας ὑποκρινομένων, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς οὐρανίους θεοὺς σχηματιζομένων, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἥρωας μεταμορφουμένων, ἔστι δ' ὅπῃ ἄντικρυς διὰ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς μοχθηρίας τὸ δεῖγμα παραφαινόντων, εἰκότως πολὺς ὃ πλάνος ἀνθρώποις ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπήει, τῶν μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἥρωας καὶ δαιμόνας, ἄλλ' οὐ θεοὺς ὑπάρχειν διμολογούντων, καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς ἐπιφημιζόντων, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους ἐπικαλούντων, πλὴν ἄλλὰ δεῖν φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς φαύλους ἔξιλεοῦσθαι διὰ τὰς ἔξ αὐτῶν βλάβας· ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς θεοποίαν εἰς εἴδη πλείονα καταπίπτειν.

5.3.2 | πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων κατ' οὐρανὸν φωστήρων, οὓς καί φασι δια τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἔστὶ τρέχειν, διά τε τὸ αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ θεωρεῖν τὰ ὄρωμενα, πρώτους θεοὺς ἀνηγορεῦσθαι· δεύτερον τὸ διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν κοινὸν βίον, ὡς φασιν, εὔεργεσίας ἐκτετιμημένον, δὲ δὴ ἔξ ἀνθρώπων γεγεννῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ

many things with magical tricks. Their teachings were also a starting point for the wicked demons who helped those who served them. Thus, they became the cause of the ancient evil magic in all human life, as the previous discussion explained.

5.3.1 | Therefore, these wicked and surrounding demons, both the airy and the underworld spirits, whom the divine words call rulers and powers of wickedness, sometimes pretended to be good demons, at other times took the form of heavenly gods, and again sometimes transformed into heroes. When the evidence of wickedness appeared clearly through their actions, many deceived people believed even more that they were gods, or heroes, or demons, but they did not agree that there were true gods. Some praised the good demons, while others called upon the wicked ones, but they insisted that the wicked should be appeased for the harm they caused. Thus, all of their deification fell into many forms.

5.3.2 | First, those shining lights in the sky, which they say are divine because they move, are believed to be the first gods, as they are the cause of seeing the visible things. Second, due to the benefits provided to common life, as they say, the heroes are honored, who are acknowledged to have come from humans. They refer to those like

όμοιογοῦσι, τοὺς καλουμένους ἥρωας παραφέροντες, ραλέα καὶ Διοσκούρους, Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βαρβάροις ὀμοίους.

5.3.3 | ἐξ ᾧ ἀφορίσαντες καὶ διαστειλάμενοι τὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰσχρότερα μνημονεύμενα τρίτον εἶδος θεοποίας ὑπέθεντο, μυθικὸν αὐτὸν ἐπικαλέσαντες. ὃ δὴ ἐπαισχυνθέντες, καίπερ ἀληθὲς καὶ παλαίτατον τυγχάνον, ἐπὶ τὸ φυσικωτερον, ὡς φασι, μεταβεβλήκασι τροπικωτέραις ἀλληγορίαις, θεωρίας δή τινας εὑρεσιλογήσαντες.

5.3.4 | ἀλλ' οὐδ' είς τοῦτο πλάνης αύτοῖς ἀπήρκει στῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τῶν οίκείων παθῶν τὸ σεβάσμιον καὶ προσκυνητὸν ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καταβαλόντες τέταρτον θεοποίας προσεπενοήσατο τρόπον, οὐδ' ἀντιρρήσεως ἄξιον, τῷ καὶ αὐτὸν προφανές ἐπάυεσθαι τὸ αἰσχος,

5.3.5 | εἰ δή "Ἐρωτα καὶ Αφροδίτην καὶ Πόθον, τὰς αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀκολάστους αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας, θεοὺς ἀνειπόντες, καὶ τὸν μὲν λόγον Ἐρμῆν, μῆν', τὸν δὲ λογισμὸν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαντες, καὶ ταῦτα τῇ οίκείᾳ παρειλήφασι θεολογίᾳ, ὡς καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γιγνομένων πραγμάτων ἀναπλασάμενοι.

5.3.6 | τὰς γὰρ ἐνεργείας τὰς τε πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς τεχνικὰς ἀνειδωλοποιήσαντες θεοῖς ἀπένειμαν, Ἄρει μὲν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὰς πολεμικὰς, Ήφαίστῳ δὲ καὶ τισιν ἐτέροις

Heracles and the Dioscuri, as well as Dionysus and others similar among the barbarians.

5.3.3 | From these, they separated and distinguished the more shameful things related to the same, and they added a third kind of deification, calling it mythical. This, indeed, was considered shameful, and although it was true and very old, they shifted it toward a more natural explanation, as they say, changing it with more metaphorical interpretations, having invented certain theories.

5.3.4 | But even this deception was not enough for them; they also brought down the revered and worshipped name of the god to their own passions, creating a fourth kind of deification. This was not even worthy of opposition, as it clearly stopped the shame itself.

5.3.5 | If indeed they called Eros and Aphrodite and their shameful and unrestrained desires gods, and they assigned the reason to Hermes and the thought to Athena, they included these in their own theology, as they also reshaped the fifth kind of deification from the things that happen among humans.

5.3.6 | For they removed the activities, both the martial and the artistic, from being idols and assigned them to the gods, giving the martial ones to Ares and Athena, and

τὰς τεχνικάς.

the artistic ones to Hephaestus and some others.

5.3.7 | ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἔκτον καὶ ἔβδομον εἶδος αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμονικὸν παρεισήχθη, πολύτροπον ἀληθῶς τυγχάνον καὶ πολύμορφον, τοτὲ μὲν θεοὺς ὑποκρινόμενον, τοτὲ δὲ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων, καὶ μηδὲν μὲν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς συμβαλλόμενον, ἐπιτωθάζον δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν φέρον διὰ τῆς ἀπατηλοῦ πλάνης πάντα τὸν δεισιδαίμονα·

5.3.7 | On top of all this, a sixth and seventh kind of deification was introduced to them, truly varied and many-shaped, sometimes pretending to be gods, sometimes the souls of the dead, and contributing nothing to the virtue of the soul, but always lurking and carrying everything through the deceptive trickery of superstition.

5.3.8 | ὅ καὶ αὐτὸ διόλου φαῦλον ὃν εἰς δύο διελόντες, εἴς τε τὸ βλαπτικὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὠρελοῦν, ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων αὐτοῖς τεθείκασι προσηγορίας.

5.3.8 | This, being completely bad, was divided into two: one for harmful things and one for pleasing things, and they assigned names to both good and bad things.

5.3.9 | ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ μηδ' ἀντιρρήσεως δεόμενα παρεκθεμένους τὸν περὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀκόλουθον συνιδεῖν λόγον· ὃν ἐκ μέρους προθεωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι τὰ λείποντα νῦν ἀποπληρώσομέν.

5.3.9 | Since these things are so, it seems necessary to me to present the part that needs no contradiction about the divine activity. We will now complete what is lacking, having previously considered it in the writing before this.

5.3.10 | φέρ' οὖν ἥδη λοιπὸν ἐπ' αὐτὰς χωρήσωμεν τὰς ἀποδείξεις. Θήσω δὲ πρώτας τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Πλουτάρχου τάρχου γραφῆς, ἣν πεποίηται Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων· ἐνθα περὶ τοῦ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων εἶναι τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι μαντεῖά τε καὶ χρηστήρια τόνδε γράφει τὸν τρόπον

5.3.10 | So let us now proceed to the remaining proofs. I will first present those from the writings of Plutarch, which he composed about the oracles that have been left behind. There, he writes about the divination and oracles of evil spirits among the nations in this way.

## Section 4

5.4.1 | “Εὗ μὲν οῦν λέγουσι καὶ οἱ λέγοντες  
ὅτι Πλάτων’ τὸ ταῖς γεννωμέναις ποιότησιν  
ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον ἔξευρών, ἦν ὅλην  
καλοῦσι, πολλῶν ἀπήλλαξε καὶ μεγάλων  
ἀποριῶν τοὺς φιλοσόφους· ἐμοὶ δὲ  
δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας  
ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ  
θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων θέντες, καὶ τρόπον  
τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς  
ταύτην καὶ συνάπτον ἔξευρόντες, εἴτε  
μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος  
οὗτός ἔστιν, εἴτε Θράκιος ἀπὸ Ὄρφέως, ἢ  
Αίγυπτιος, ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα  
ταῖς ἐκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμιγμένα  
πολλὰ θνητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν  
όργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν  
ὅρῶντες. Ἐλλήνων δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν  
ἐπιφαίνεται κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις χρώμενος  
τοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔστιν ὅτε  
δαίμονας προσαγορεύων. Ἡσίοδος δὲ  
καθαρῶς καὶ διωρισμένως πρῶτον ’τον  
ἔξεθηκε τῶν λογικῶν τέσσαρα γένη· θεοὺς,  
εἴτα δαίμονας, εἴτα ἥρωας, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν,  
ἀνθρώπους. ἔξ ὧν ἔοικε ποιεῖν τὴν  
μεταβολὴν, τοῦ μὲν χρυσοῦ γένους εἰς  
δαίμονας πολλοὺς κάγαθοὺς, τῶν δ'  
ἡμιθέων είς ἥρωας ἀποκριθέντων.”

5.4.2 | Εἴθ’ ἔξῆς φησιν “Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν  
τούτων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς Δημητρίῳ  
διαφέρεσθαι. καὶ γάρ καν πλείων εἴη  
χρόνος, καν ἐλάττων, καν τεταγμένος, καν  
ἄτακτος, ἐν ᾧ μεταλλάττει δαίμονος ψυχὴ  
καὶ ἥρωος βίος, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐφ’ ᾧ  
βιούλεται δεδείξεται μετὰ μαρτύρων  
σοφῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ὅτι φύσεις τινές είσιν  
ῶσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
δεχόμεναι πάθη θνητὰ καὶ μεταβολὰς  
ἀναγκαίας, οὓς δαίμονας ὄρθως ἔχει κατὰ

5.4.1 | Indeed, those who say that Plato  
discovered the element underlying the  
qualities of things, which they call matter,  
are speaking well. He freed many  
philosophers from great difficulties. But it  
seems to me that those who place the  
nature of demons between gods and  
humans solve even more and greater  
problems. They find a way to connect us  
together and unite us, whether this idea  
comes from the magicians around  
Zoroaster, or from the Thracians from  
Orpheus, or from the Egyptians, or from the  
Phrygians, as we can tell by the many  
mortal and sorrowful rituals mixed in both  
their ceremonies. Among the Greeks,  
Homer commonly uses both names and  
refers to the gods when he calls them  
demons. Hesiod, however, clearly and  
distinctly first set forth four kinds of  
rational beings: gods, then demons, then  
heroes, and lastly, humans. From these, it  
seems he makes the change, turning many  
good beings of the golden race into  
demons, while the half-gods are separated  
into heroes.

5.4.2 | Then he says next, "But concerning  
these matters, it is not necessary for us to  
differ from Demetrius. For whether the  
time is longer or shorter, whether it is  
ordered or disordered, in which the soul of  
a demon and the life of a hero change,  
nonetheless, it will be shown with the wise  
and ancient witnesses that there are  
certain natures that, like those in between  
gods and humans, experience mortal  
feelings and necessary changes. These are

νόμον πατέρων ἡγουμένους καὶ οὐνομάζοντας σέβεσθαι." Τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις μὴ θεοὺς, οἵς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὓς δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι· τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι τούτοις, μονονούχῃ δραχμῇ λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν, τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὁσπερ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον.'

the demons, rightly considered according to the law of the fathers, who are to be honored." With these, he adds other points: "It seems to me that to place the oracles not with the gods, from whom it is appropriate to be separated regarding earthly matters, but with demons who serve the gods, is not a bad opinion. But for these demons, taking only a small amount from the verses of Empedocles, to bring forth errors, misfortunes, and divine deceptions, and to suggest endings and deaths just like humans, I consider this bolder and more barbaric."

5.4.3 | Καὶ πάλιν προστίθησι τοῖς είρημένοις ταῦτα "Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ) καὶ τοῦ παθητικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρόν ἐστι λείψανον, ὡς περίττωμα, τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἔνεστιν, ὃν ἵχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχοῦ θυσίαι τε καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσι διεσπαρμέναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν μυστικῶν, ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ διαφάσεις λαβεῖν ἔστι τῆς περὶ δαιμονῶν ἀληθείας, εὔστομά μοι κείσθω καθ' Ἡρόδοτον· ἐօρτὰς δὲ καὶ θυσίας, ὁσπερ ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σχυθρωπάς,, ἐν αἷς ὡμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ νηστεῖαι τε καὶ κοπετοὶ, πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς, μανίαι τε ἀλλαι ὄρυνόμεναι ῥιψαύχενι σὺν κλόνῳ, θεῶν μὲν οὐδενὶ, δαιμόνων δὲ φαύλων ἀποτροπῆς ἔνεκα φήσαιμ' ἀν τελεῖσθαι παραμύθια· καὶ τὰς πάλαι ποιουμένας ἀνθρωποθυσίας οὕτε οὕτε θεοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ προσδέχεσθαι πιθανόν ἐστιν, οὕτε μάτην ἀν ἐδέχοντο βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ, παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ καταρχόμενοι καὶ

5.4.3 | And again, he adds to what has been said, "For there are differences in virtue among humans and demons. The passive and irrational are weak and dim for some, like a leftover, but for others, they are much more intense and hard to extinguish. Their traces and symbols are preserved in many places through sacrifices, rituals, and myths. As for the mysteries, in which the greatest truths about demons can be revealed, let them be spoken clearly according to Herodotus. But for festivals and sacrifices, like the days of misfortune and sorrow, in which there are acts of cannibalism and violent disruptions, fasting and wailing, and again many shameful acts toward the sacred, and other frenzies stirred up by reckless behavior, I would say they are performed not for any gods, but to ward off the lesser demons. And it is neither likely that ancient human sacrifices would require or accept gods, nor would kings and generals foolishly give their own children to be sacrificed. Instead, they would be trying to appease difficult and troubled feelings, filling themselves with unholy things, and some would be driven

σφάττοντες, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶν καὶ δυστρόπων ὄργὰς καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ ἀποπιπλάντες ἀλαδτόρων, ἐνίων δὲ μανικοὺς ἔρωτας, οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων σώμασι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων ὅμιλεῖν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἡρακλῆς Οίχαλίαν ἐποιιόρκει διὰ παρθένον, οὕτω πολλάκις ἴσχυροὶ καὶ βίαιοι δαίμονες ἔξαιτούμενοι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην περιεχομένην σώματι λοιμούς τε πόλεσι καὶ γῆς ἀφορίας ἐπάγουσι, καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ταράττουσιν, ἄχρις οὗ λάβωσι καὶ τύχωσιν οὗ ἔρῶσι.'

by mad desires, unable or unwilling to engage with bodies and through bodies. But just as Heracles besieged Oichalia for a virgin, so too many strong and violent demons, seeking a human soul contained in a body, bring plagues upon cities and lands, stirring up wars and rebellions until they seize and possess what they desire."

5.4.4 | Σαφῶς διὰ τούτων ὁ προδηλωθεὶς φιλόσοφος ὅτι δαίμοσι πονηροῖς τὰ προειρημένα κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπετελεῖτο παρέστησεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες ἡσαν ἐν τούτοις, ὡς φασιν, ἀγαθοὶ τὴν φύσιν ἦ καὶ θεοὶ, τί χρῆν θεραπεύειν τοὺς φαύλους, πρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπελαύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς δέον;

5.4.4 | Clearly, through these things, the philosopher mentioned shows that the previously stated practices were performed for wicked demons in all the cities. But if there were some among these, as they say, good by nature or even gods, why should we serve the lesser ones? Shouldn't we turn away from the bad ones and seek the good?

5.4.5 | εἰ γὰρ δή τινες ἡσαν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοὶ προστάται, τούτοις ἐπιθαρσοῦντας τὸ μηδὲν τῶν χειρόνων χρῆν δήπου φροντίζειν, καὶ διὰ σωφρόνων λόγων τε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δ' αἰσχρορρημοσυνῶν τὰς ἐναντίας ἀποτρέπεσθαι δυνάμεις

5.4.5 | For if indeed there were good leaders among them, then it would be necessary to rely on them for nothing from the wicked, and to turn away through wise words and prayers, but not to be turned away by shameful practices from the opposing powers.

5.4.6 | ὅτε δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, βίᾳ δ' αἰσχρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ καὶ ρήμασιν ἀσέμνοις ὡμοφαγίαις τε καὶ διασπασμοῖς καὶ ἀνθρωποθυσίαις τοῖς πονηροῖς δαίμοσιν ἐκαθικέτευον, πῶς καὶ δυνατὸν ἦν αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα δρῶντας, καὶ τὰ τοῖς φαύλοις κεχαρισμένα διαπραττομένους,

5.4.6 | But when they did nothing of these things, and instead with a shameful and reckless life and indecent words, they offered acts of cannibalism and violent disruptions to the wicked demons, how could they be doing such things and also expect to be favored by the god above all,

τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ, ἢ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θείαις  
δυνάμεσιν, ἢ ὅλως ἀγαθοῖς τισὶ<sup>1</sup>  
προσοικειοῦσθαι;

or by the divine powers under him, or to be associated with any truly good beings?

5.4.7 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι πρόδηλον ὡς ὁ  
τὰ φύλα τοῖς φαύλοις ἐπιτελῶν οὐκ ἄν ποτε  
τῶν ἀγαθῶν γένοιτο προσφιλής. οὐκ ἄρα  
θεοῖς, οὐδ' ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσιν, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς  
φαύλοις ἐλάτρευον οἱ δεδηλωμένοι.

5.4.7 | But it is clear to everyone that one who does what is dear to the wicked cannot ever become dear to the good. Therefore, they do not serve the gods or the good demons, but only the wicked ones, as has been shown.

5.4.8 | ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦτον πιστοῦται τὸν  
λόγον ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς φησι τὰς  
μυθικὰς ὡς περὶ θεῶν διηγήσεις λόγους  
εἶναι τινας περὶ δαιμόνων, τά τε παρ'  
Ἐλλησιν ἀδόμενα γιγαντικά τινα καὶ  
Τιτανικὰ δαιμονικὰ εἶναι διηγήματα, ὡς  
καινοτέραν ὑποβάλλειν διάνοιαν.

5.4.8 | Moreover, Plutarch trusts this statement even more when he says that the mythical stories about the gods are actually accounts about demons. He claims that the tales sung among the Greeks are about certain giant and Titan-like demons, suggesting a new way of thinking.

5.4.9 | μήποτε ἄρα τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ περὶ τῶν  
πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γιγάντων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ  
γραφῇ λεγόμενα, τά τε περὶ τῶν τούτους  
γεγεννηκότων, περὶ ὧν εἴρηται "ἰδόντες δὲ  
οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καλαί είσιν, ἔλαβον ἐαυτοῖς  
γυναῖκας ἐκ πασῶν ὧν ἔξελέξαντο· ἀφ' ὧν  
ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ γίγαντες οἵ ὄνομαστοὶ ἔξ  
αἰῶνος."

5.4.9 | Could it be that the things said about the giants before the flood in the sacred writings are related to those born from them? About which it is said, "And the angels of God saw the daughters of men, that they were beautiful, and they took wives for themselves from all whom they chose; from these were born the giants, the famous ones of old."

5.4.10 | εἴποι γὰρ ἄν τις τούτους ἔκείνους  
εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἔκείνων πνεύματα παρὰ τοῖς  
μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις τεθεοποιημένα, καὶ  
τὰς ἔκείνων μάχας, τάς τε πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
διαστάσεις, καὶ τὸν πολέμους. ταῦτ' εἶναι  
τὰ ὡς περὶ θεῶν μυθευόμενα. λέγει δ' οὖν ὁ  
Πλούταρχος ἐν ᾧ συνέταξε λόγῳ "Περὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰσιν καὶ τὸν Αἴγυπτόν

5.4.10 | For someone might say that these are those giants, and their spirits have been made divine among people after them, along with their battles, their conflicts with each other, and their wars. These are the things that are told as myths about the gods. Plutarch says in his writing "On the Gods of Isis and the Egyptians" these words

θεούς” αύτοῖς ḥήμασι ταῦτα

about them.

## Section 5

5.5.1 | “Βέλτιον οὖν οἱ τὰ περὶ Τυφῶνα καὶ “Οσιριν καὶ Ἰσιν ἱστορούμενα μήτε θεῶν πάθη, μήτε ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων μεγάλων εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὓς καὶ Πλάτων<sup>’</sup> καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἐπόμενοι τοῖς πάλαι θεολόγοις, ἔρρωμενεστέρους ἀνθρώπων λέγουσι γεγονέναι, καὶ πολὺ τῇ δυνάμει τὴν φύσιν ὑπερφέροντας ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐκ ἀμιγὲς οὐδὲ ἄκρατον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῆς φύσει καὶ σώματος αἰσθήσει συνειληχός, ἡδονὴν δεχομένη χομένῃ καὶ πόνον, καὶ ὅσα ταύταις γινόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς πάθη τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον, τοὺς δ’ ἦττον ἐπιταράττει. γίνονται γάρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ καὶ κακίας. τὰ γάρ γιγαντικὰ καὶ Τιτανικὰ παρ’ Ἑλλησιν ἀδόμενα, καὶ πολλαῖς τινες ἀθεσμοὶ πράξεις, καὶ Πυθῶνος ἀντιτάξεις πρὸς Απόλλωνα, φυγαί τε Διονύσου καὶ πλάναι Δήμητρος, οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν Ὁσιριακῶν καὶ Τυφωνικῶν, ὃν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνέδην ἔξεστι μυθολογουμένων ἀκούειν· ὅσα τε μυστικοῖς ἱεροῖς μυθολογουμένων τελεταῖς ἄρρητα διασώζεται καὶ ἀθέατα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅμοιον ἔχει λόγον.”

5.5.2 | Καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων ἐξῆς  
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ δίκας φησὶ διδόναι τοὺς δαίμονας ὃν ἀν ἔξαμάρτωσιν καὶ πλημμελήσωσιν, αἴθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει πόντος δὲ χθονὸς οῦδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαῖα δ’ ἐς αύγαξήλιον ἀκάμαντος· ὁ δ’ αἴθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις ἄλλος δ’ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες· ἄχρις οὖ κολασθέντες αὔθις τὴν κατὰ φύσιν χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἀπολάβωσι.

5.5.1 | Therefore, those who tell the stories about Typhon, Osiris, and Isis do not think they are the sufferings of gods or men, but rather that they are great demons. Plato, Pythagoras, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus, following the ancient theologians, say that they have become stronger than humans and far exceed us in power. However, they do not possess the divine nature purely or completely, but rather they are mixed with the nature of the soul and the senses of the body, experiencing pleasure and pain, and whatever changes happen to them affect some more and some less. For there are differences in virtue and vice among both humans and demons. The giant and Titan-like stories sung among the Greeks, along with many lawless deeds and the conflicts of Python against Apollo, the banishments of Dionysus, and the wanderings of Demeter, leave nothing out of the Osirian and Typhonic tales, which can be heard everywhere in mythology. Also, whatever is preserved in secret rituals and unspeakable ceremonies has a similar meaning to the gods.

5.5.2 | And he continues to say next that Empedocles claims that the demons give justice to those who have sinned and committed wrongs. For they pursue the ether with their strength, but they spit out the earth from the depths of the sea, and the earth reaches to the rays of the unwearied sun. The ether throws them into whirlpools, and one receives them from another, and all of them are hated, until

τούτων δὴ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδελφὰ λέγεσθαί φασι περὶ Τυφῶνος, ὡς δεινὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας είργάσατο, πάντα πράγματα ταράξας, ἐνέπλησε δὲ κακῶν γῆν ὅμοῦ τε πᾶσαν καὶ θάλασσαν, εἴτα δίκην ἔδωκε.”

they are punished and again receive their natural place and order. Indeed, they say that these things and similar ones are told about Typhon, how he caused terrible things out of envy and hostility, disturbing everything, and filled the earth and the sea with evils, and then he was given punishment.

5.5.3 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι συγγράμματι παραθέμενος, καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἔξεργασάμενος τὸν λόγον, τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ ἐν τῷ “Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων τοῦτον ἰστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον” Ἐκεῖνος οὖν τὴν μαντικὴν ἀνῆγεν εἰς δαίμονας, νᾶς, πλεῖστον δὲ Δελφῶν λόγον εἶχε, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐνταῦθα καὶ δρωμένων ιερῶν οὐδενὸς ἀνήκοος ἦν, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνα δαιμόνων ἔφασκεν εἶναι πάθη μεγάλα, καὶ ταῦτα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πυθίαν. τῷ δὲ ἀποκτείναντι μήτε ἐννέα ἔτῶν, μήτε εἰς τὰ Τέμπη γενέσθαι τὴν φυγὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκπεσόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἔτερον κόσμον· ὕστερον δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐνιαυτῶν μεγάλων ἐννέα περιόδοις ἀγνὸν γενόμενον, καὶ Φοῖβον ὡς ἀληθῶς κατελθόντα τὸ χρηστήριον παραλαβεῖν, τέως ὑπὸ Θέμιδος φυλασσόμενον. δὲ ἔχειν καὶ τὰ Τυφωνικὰ καὶ τὰ Τιτανικὰ, δαιμονῶν μάχας γεγονέναι πρὸς δαίμονας, εἴτα φυγὰς τῶν κρατηθέντων, ἢ δίκας ὑπὸ θεοῦ τῶν ἔξαμαρτόντων, οἷα Τυφών τε λέγεται περὶ “Οσιριν ἔξαμαρτεῖν καὶ Κρόνος περὶ Ούρανον” ὃν ἀμαυρότεραι γεγόνασιν αἱ τιμαὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἢ παντάπασιν ἐκλελοίπασι, μεταστάντων εἰς ἔτερον κόσμον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας αὐτῶν Ἀρσαλὸν καὶ Ἀρυτὸν καὶ Τόσιβιν, ἔψυγε, καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὅποιδήποτε—τοῦτο γάρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν

5.5.3 | These things Plutarch presents in the mentioned writing, and by working through many points, he tells similar things in "On the Oracles of the Departed." He claims that the oracle was raised to demons, and he had much to say about the Delphic oracle. He was not unaware of the stories about Dionysus and the sacred rituals performed there, but he said these too were great sufferings of demons, and these are indeed the things concerning the Pythia. To the one who kills, there is neither a nine-year period nor a flight to the Tempe, but rather, having fallen, he goes to another world. Later, after many years, he becomes pure, and Phoebus truly descends to receive the oracle, while it is kept by Themis. He also speaks of the Typhonic and Titan-like battles that happened among demons, and then the flight of those who were captured, or the justice from the god for those who have sinned, such as Typhon being said to have sinned against Osiris and Cronus against Uranus, of which the honors among us have become dimmer or have completely disappeared, having moved to another world. Since I hear about the Solymi, the inhabitants of Lycia, who especially honor Cronus, after killing their leaders Arsalon, Aryton, and Tosius, he fled, and he moved wherever he could—this they cannot say. He was neglected, but those around

— έκεῖνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρσαλὸν σκιρούς θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τάς κατάρας ἐπὶ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἴδιᾳ Λυκίους. τούτοις μὲν οὖν ὅμοια πολλὰ λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν μυθολογουμένων. εἰ δὲ τοῖς νενομισμένοις τῶν θεῶν ὄνόμασι δαίμονάς τινας καλοῦμεν οὐ θαυμαστέον, εἴπεν ὁ ξένος. ὡς γάρ ἔκαστος συντέτακται, καὶ οὐ τῆς δυνάμεως μετείληχεν, ἀπὸ τούτου φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι· καὶ γάρ ήμῶν ὁ μέν τίς ἔστι Δῖος 5 ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἢ Διονύσιος, ἢ Ἐρμαῖος. ἀλλ' ἔνιοι μὲν ὄρθως κατὰ τύχην ἐκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μηδὲν προσηκούσας, ἀλλ' ἐνηλαγμένας ἐκτήσαντο θεῶν παρωνυμίας.”

5.5.4 | Τοσαῦθ' ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς ἐσπούδασε “Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων,” πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ θνήσκειν παριστάς τοὺς δαίμονας, δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν παραθήσομαι.

5.5.5 | τέως δὲ φέρε συλλεξώμεθα ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς φησι, δαιμόνων δυνάμεως τε καὶ ἐνεργείας αὐθίς ὁ τὴν καθ' ήμῶν συσκευὴν πεποιημένος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε “Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ἐκτίθεται μάλιστα γάρ αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ὕσπερ οὖν καὶ πολλάκις μάρτυρι χρήσομαι καὶ ἐλέγχω τῆς περὶ οὓς ὑπολαμβάνουσι θεοὺς πλάνης, ὡς ἀν ἐκ τῶν οίκείων βελῶν καὶ τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι καταισχύνοιντο.

5.5.6 | οὕτως γάρ καὶ γένοιτ' ἀν ήμīν ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς c προσφιλῶν, καὶ δὴ

Arsalon were called shadowy gods, and public and private curses were made against them by the Lycians. Thus, there are many similar things to take from the myths. If we call certain demons by the names of the established gods, it should not be surprising, said the stranger. For each is arranged according to his own, and he who has not shared in the power loves to be called by that name; for among us, one is called Zeus, another Athenian, another Apollonian, or Dionysian, or Hermetic. But some were rightly called by chance, while many were not related at all, but took on the names of the gods as nicknames.

5.5.4 | So much Plutarch discusses in his work "On the Oracles of the Departed," presenting the demons as also dying, which I will also mention at the appropriate time.

5.5.5 | For now, let us gather together all the other things about the power and activity of the good demons, as he says, the one who has made our collection, in which he wrote "On the Philosophy of Reason." For he especially presents many things to him, and now, just as before, I will often use testimony and proof against those who suppose them to be gods, so that they may be shamed as if they were struck by arrows and darts.

5.5.6 | For thus it could also happen to us from those who are dear to the gods, and

καὶ εύσεβῶν νενομισμένων, ἀκριβῶς τε τὸν περὶ τῶν οἰκείων λόγον διηρευνηκότων, ἀνελλιπῆς καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἡ τῶν προκειμένων ἀπόδειξις.

indeed from the pious who are respected, that the proof concerning their own matters, when thoroughly examined, would be complete and unavoidable.

5.5.7 | γράφει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας" ἔνθα μαρτύρεται μὴ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῶν θεῶν ἐκφαίνειν, ἐπομνύμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ παραγγέλλων κρύπτειν καὶ μὴ εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα.

5.5.7 | He writes these things in what he titled "On the Philosophy of Reason," where he testifies that he does not reveal the secrets of the gods, both swearing an oath and instructing to keep them hidden and not to share what will be said with many people.

5.5.8 | τίνα δὲ ᾧν τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸν Πᾶνα Διονύσου φησὶ θεράποντα εἶναι, τοῦτον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄντα δαιμόνων ἐπιφνέντα ποτὲ τοῖς κατ' ἀγρὸν γεωπουοῦσι. τί χρῆν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα παρασχεῖν ἢ πάντως ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς παρουσίαν τοῖς τῆς θεοφανείας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κατηξιωμένοις;

5.5.8 | What were such things? He says that Pan is a servant of Dionysus, and that he was once sent by the good demons to those who farm the land. What need is there for a good being to provide or to show some presence of goodness to those who have been deemed worthy of the appearance of the good?

5.5.9 | ἂρ' οὖν ὑπῆρξεν ἀγαθόν τι τοῖς θεαταῖς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, ἢ κακὸν εἴλήχασι δαίμονα, ἔργῳ τῆς πείρας ἥσθημένοι; φησὶ γοῦν ὁ θαυμάσιος μάρτυς τοὺς τῆς ἀγαθῆς ταύτης θέας ἡξιωμένους ἄθρουν θάνατον ὑπομεῖναι λέγων ὥδε

5.5.9 | Was there then some good thing for those who see the good demon, or did they encounter an evil demon, being aware through the experience of their actions? Indeed, the wonderful witness says that those who have been deemed worthy of this good sight endure death, saying this:

## Section 6

5.6.1 | Ἡδη δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις οἱ μὲν θεράποντές τινων ἀνεδείχθησαν, ὡς ὁ Πᾶν τοῦ Διονύσου· δεδήλωλκε δὲ τοῦτο ὃ ἐν Βραγχίδαις Ἀπόλλων διὰ τούτων. ἐννέα γὰρ εὑρέθησαν ἀποθανόντες· πυνθανομένων οὖν τῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν

5.6.1 | "Now also in other cases, some servants of certain beings have been shown, like Pan of Dionysus. This has been revealed by Apollo in Branchidae through these things. For nine were found dead. Therefore, when those who live in the

οίκούντων τὴν αίτιαν ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς  
χρυσόκερως βλοσυροῦ Διωνύσου  
θεράπων Πὰν, βαίνων ὑλήντα κατ' οὔρεα,  
χειρὶ κραταιῆράβδον ἔχεν, ἐτέρη δὲ λιγὺ<sup>1</sup>  
πνείουσαν ἔμαρπτεσύριγγα γλαφυρὴν,  
Νύμφησι δὲ θυμὸν ἔθελγεν· ὅξὺ δὲ συρίζας  
μέλος ἀνέρας ἐπτοίησεν ὑλοτόμους πάντας,  
θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας δαίμονος  
όρνυμένου κρυερὸν δέμας οἰστρήντος. καί  
νύ κε πάντας ἔμαρψε τέλος κρυεροῦ  
θανάτοιο, εἴ μή οἱ κότον αἰνὸν ἐνὶ<sup>2</sup>  
στήθεσσιν ἔχουσα Ἀρτεμις ἀγροτέρη  
παῦσεν μένεος κρατεροῦ, ἦν καὶ χρὴ  
λίσσεσθ', ἵνα σοι γίγνητ' ἐπαρωγός."

countryside asked the reason, the god spoke: 'The golden-horned servant of gloomy Dionysus, walking through the wooded mountains, held a strong staff in one hand, and in the other, he grasped a sweet-sounding hollow flute, which stirred the hearts of the nymphs. And playing a sharp tune, he amazed all the woodcutters, and they were filled with wonder at the sight of the demon rising with a chilling form. And now he would have struck them all with the end of cold death, if the fierce Artemis, holding a dreadful grudge in her heart, had not stopped his strong desire, whom one must also plead with, so that she may become a helper to you.'"

5.6.2 | Άκήκοας οἶκα τοῦ δαίμονος, οὗ  
φησιν ἀγαθοῦ, τὸ τε σχῆμα καὶ τὰς πράξεις  
ὅτι ἐν Βραγχίδαις ζεῖ Ἀπόλλων· θέα δὴ καὶ  
τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ γενναῖα κατορθώματα, ὡν  
δὴ ἔνεκα τὴν οὐράνιον ἀπολελοιπότες  
διατριβὴν τὴν σὺν ἀνθρώποις  
ἀντικατηλλάξαντο.

5.6.2 | You have heard how the demon, which he calls good, appears and acts, as the stranger Apollo in Branchidae says. Indeed, it is a sight and the noble deeds of the others, for which they have left behind their heavenly life and exchanged it for a life with humans.

5.6.3 | πάντως δήπου χρῆν αύτοὺς  
σωφροσύνης κατάρχειν, καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ  
καὶ ὡφέλιμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποτίθεσθαι.  
οἴ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέν· ἄκουε δ' οἴα  
ἐκφαίνει ὁ τὰ ἀρρητότερα τῶν ἀρρήτων  
διηρευνηκὼς καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀξιωθεὶς  
τῆς γνώσεως.

5.6.3 | Certainly, they should begin with moderation and suggest what is beneficial and useful for humans. But they know nothing of these things. Listen to how he reveals the most hidden of the hidden and has been deemed worthy of knowledge of the unspeakable.

5.6.4 | τοτὲ μὲν οὖν τινὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
τούτων δαιμόνων φησὶν ἐρωτικαῖς  
ἡδυπαθείαις ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ ἐτέρους  
τυμπάνοις καὶ αὐλοῖς καὶ θηλειῶν  
πατάγοις χαίρειν, ἄλλους δὲ αὖ πάλιν  
μάχαις καὶ πολέμοις ἀγάλλεσθαι, καὶ

5.6.4 | At times, he says that some of these good demons serve with sweet passions of love, while at other times, they rejoice with drums, flutes, and the sounds of women. Again, some take delight in battles and wars, and they honor Artemis in hunting

κυνηγεσίοις τὴν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς  
καρποῖς τὴν Δηῶν θρηνεῖν δὲ τὸν Ὀσιριν  
εἰσέτι νῦν τὴν Ἰσιν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
μαντεύεσθαι. τοιαῦται ὡν φασιν ἀγαθῶν  
δαιμόνων αἱ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὥφέλειαι.  
δέχου δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις

and Demeter with the fruits of the earth.  
They also mourn Osiris and still now seek  
prophecies from Isis and Apollo. Such are  
the benefits of these good demons for  
humans. Accept also their proofs.

## Section 7

5.7.1 | οὐδὲν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ποτὲ δία  
μάταιονούδ' ἄκραντον ἔλεξε σοφοῖς Ἐκάτῃ  
θεοφήταις· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παγχράτοιο νόου  
πατρόθεν κατιοῦσααὶεν ἀληθείῃ  
σελαγίζεται, ἀμφὶ δὲ μῆτιςέμπεδος  
ἀρρήκτοισι μένει λογίοις βεβαυῖα. δεσμῷ δ'  
οῦν κλήιζε· θεὴν γὰρ ἄγεις με  
τοσήνδε, ὅσση ψυχῶσαι πανυπέρτατον  
ἥρκεσα κόσμον.

5.7.1 | Nothing among the immortal gods is  
ever said in vain, nor did Hecate speak  
without reason to the wise. But coming  
down from the all-powerful mind of her  
father, she always shines with truth, and  
her wisdom remains fixed in unbreakable  
thoughts. Therefore, call upon her; for you  
bring forth a goddess of such greatness, as  
much as she has the power to give life to  
the highest cosmos.

5.7.2 | καὶ μήποτε διὰ τοῦτο τρίμορφος  
τριμερής τε καὶ ἡ ψυχή. ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν  
θυμοειδὲς, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητιχόν· ὅθεν καὶ  
πρὸς τὰ ἔρωτικὰ καλεῖται. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔμα,  
μήτοι νομίσῃς, τοῦ δὲ προειρημένου  
συγγραφέως ἀκήκοας, οὗ πάλιν ἔστι καὶ  
ταῦτα

5.7.2 | And perhaps because of this, the soul  
is threefold, both tripartite and divided.  
One part is spirited, and the other is  
desiring; hence it is also called related to  
love. These are not mine, nor should you  
think so, but you have heard them from the  
previously mentioned writer, to whom  
these also belong.

5.7.3 | ‘Πάνυ δέ με θράττει πῶς ὡς  
κρείττους παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται  
ὡς χείρους· καὶ δίκαιοιν εἰσθέντεσ διέναι  
ἀξιοῦντες τὸν θεράποντα, τάδικα αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σελευσθέντεσ δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ  
καθαρῷ μὲν μὴ ὅντι ἐξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἀν  
καλοῦντι ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἄγειν εἰς  
παράνομα ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ  
όκνοῦσιν.’

5.7.3 | Indeed, it frightens me how those  
who are stronger command those who are  
weaker. And it is just that they demand the  
servant to endure, while they themselves  
continue to act unjustly. And when  
something pure is not present, they would  
not listen to calls from the pleasures of  
love, yet they do not hesitate to lead those  
who happen to come into unlawful  
pleasures.

5.7.4 | Εὕροις δ' ἀν καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ τὸν Αἴγυπτιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ. ἐν δὲ τῇ προλεχθείσῃ πραγματείᾳ Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας προστίθησι τοῖς εἰρημένοις λέγων ὡδε "Καὶ μὴν ὅ τι ἐκάστῳ ἐπιτέτακται αὐτοὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ὥσπερ ὁ Διδυμᾶς διὰ τούτων ἦν δ' ἡ πεῦσις εἰ δεῖ ὄμόσαι τῷ ἐπαγαγόντι τὸν ὅρκον")

5.7.4 | You would also find these things in the letter to the Egyptian in 'To Anaboe.' In the previously mentioned work 'On Philosophy from Words,' he adds to what has been said, saying this: 'And indeed, whatever is commanded to each person, they have made clear, just as Didymus did through these things. The question was whether one should swear to the one who brings forth the oath.'

5.7.5 | μητέρι μὲν μακάρων μέλεται Τιτηνίδι Ρείηαύλοι καὶ τυπάνων πάταγοι καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος· Παλλάδι δ' εύπήληκι μόθοι καὶ δῆρις Ἐνυοῦς, καὶ βαλίαις σκυλάκεσσι βαθυσκοπέλους ἀνὰ πρῶνας θῆρας ὄρειονόμους ἐλάαν Λητωίδι κούρη· "Ἡρῃ δ' εύκελάδω μαλακὴ χύσις ἡέρος ὑγρῆς· λήια δ' εύαλδῃ κομέειν σταχυητρόφα Δηοῦ·" Ισιδὶ δ' αὖ Φαρή, γονίμοις παρὰ χεύμασι Νείλου, μαστεύειν οἴστροισιν ἐδὼν πόσιν ἀβρὸν "Οσιριν.

5.7.5 | To the mother of the blessed, Rhea, the flutes and the sounds of drums and the gathering of women are dedicated. To Pallas, there are beautiful dances and the struggle of Enyo, and with heavy dogs, they drive the wild beasts through the mountain paths for the daughter of Leto. To Hera, there is a gentle pouring of moist air. The rich harvest is cared for by the grain-giving Demeter. To Isis, again, by the fertile waters of the Nile, they celebrate with sweet scents for her delicate husband Osiris.

5.7.6 | εἰ δὴ οὖν 'αύλοι καὶ τυπάνων πάταγοι καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος' μέλεται τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἀσκητέον δὴ ταῦτα πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀφεμένους, ὅτι μηδὲν σωφροσύνης μηδέ τινος ἄλλης θεοφιλοῦς πράξεως μέλεται τῇ προειρημένῃ, ὡς καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ μόθοι καὶ μάχαι καὶ πόλεμοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰρήνη καὶ τὰ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πράγματα. καὶ τῇ Λητωίδι δὲ κούρῃ, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, μελέσθων αἱ βαλίαι σκυλάκες, διὰ τὸ κατ' ἀγροὺς κυνηγὸν οὖσαν τοῖς θηρσὶ πολεμεῖν, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τὰ κατειλεγμένα. τί οὖν δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλὴ καὶ μαχάριον συντείνοι ἀν βίον; ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ πότερά σοι

5.7.6 | If indeed 'the flutes and the sounds of drums and the gathering of women' are dedicated to the mother of the gods, then we must consider these things as being far from all virtue, since nothing of moderation or any other godly action is dedicated to the previously mentioned goddess, just as to Athena there are dances, battles, and wars, but not peace and the things of peace. And to the daughter of Leto, to Artemis, the heavy dogs are dedicated, because she is a huntress in the fields, fighting against the wild beasts, just as with the others that have been mentioned. So what then would

Θείας εῖναι δοκεῖ φύσεως, ἢ φαύλης καὶ μοχθηροτάτης, τὰ ἔξῆς ἐπιλεγόμενα

these things contribute to a life that is godly and worthy of honor? You should consider whether it seems to you to be of divine nature or of a lowly and wicked kind, based on what follows.

## Section 8

5.8.1 | “Ορθῶς καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Ρόδιος Πυθαγόρας ἀπεφήνατο, ὅτι οὐχ ἥδονται οἱ κιληζόμενοι ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις θεοὶ, ἀνάγκῃ δέ τινι ἀκολουθίᾳς συρόμενοι παραγίνονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἥττον.

5.8.1 | Rightly, the Rhodian Pythagoras declared that the gods do not delight in those who are called upon at sacrifices, but rather they come out of necessity, being dragged along by some following. Some gods come more willingly, while others come less so.

5.8.2 | τιωὲς δὲ καὶ ὕσπερ ἔθος ποιησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν παρουσίας εύμαρέστερον φοιτῶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐάν καὶ φύσει ἀγαθοὶ τυγχάνωσιν· οἱ δὲ, κἄν ἔθος ἔχωσι τοῦ παραγίνεσθαι, βλάβην τινὰ προθυμοῦνται ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐάν ἀμελέστερόν τις δοκῇ ἀναστρέψεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι.

5.8.2 | But those who have made a habit of their own presence come more easily, especially if they are good by nature. On the other hand, those who have a habit of coming may cause some harm, especially if someone seems to be careless in their actions.

5.8.3 | τοῦ γὰρ Πυθαγόρου ταῦτα είρηκότος παρετήρησα ἐκ τῶν λογίων ὡς ἀληθές ἔστι τὸ είρημένον. πάντες γὰρ δι’ ἀνάγκην φασὶν ἀφῆθαι, οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ, ἀλλ’ οἶον, εἰ χρὴ οὕτω φάναι, πειθανάγκην.

5.8.3 | For when Pythagoras said these things, I noted from the arguments that what was said is true. For they all say that they arrive out of necessity, not simply, but rather, if one must say it this way, out of a forced necessity.

5.8.4 | εἴρηται δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῆς Ἐκάτης, δι' ᾧν φησιν ἐπι φαίνειν ἡέριον μετὰ φέγγος ἀπείριτον ἀστεροπληθὲς ἄχραντον πολὺ δῶμα θεοῦ λίπον, ἡδ' ἐπιβαίνω γαίης ζωοτρόφοιο, τεῆς ὑποθημοσύνησι, πειθοῖ τ' ἀρρήτων ἐπέων,

5.8.4 | It has been said before about those things of Hecate, through which she is said to shine forth, 'In the morning with endless light, a pure house full of stars, I left the great home of the goddess, and I step upon the life-giving earth, with her hidden plans,

οῖς δὴ φρένα τέρπεινάθανάτων ἔδάη  
θνητὸς βροτός.

5.8.5 | καὶ πάλιν ἥλυθον εἰσαίουσα τεῆς  
πολυφράδμονος εύχῆς. ἦν θνητῶν φύσις  
εὗρε θεῶν ὑποθημοσύνησι.

5.8.6 | καὶ ἔτι σαφέστερον τίπτε δ' ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
θείοντος ἀπ' αἴθέρος ὕδε  
χατίζωνθειοδάμοις Ἐκάτην με θεήν  
ἐκάλεσσας ἀνάγκαις; καὶ ἔξῆς τοὺς μὲν  
ἀπορρήτοις ἐρύων ἵνγξιν ἀπ'  
αἴθρηςρήιδίως ἀέκοντας ἐπὶ χθόνα δίαν  
ἄγεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μέσους μεσάτοισιν  
ἐπεμβεβαῶτας ἀήταις, νόσφι πυρὸς θείοι,  
πανομφέας ὕσπερ ὄνείρους, εἰσκρίνεις  
μερόπεσσιν, ἀεικέα δαίμονας ἔρδων.

5.8.7 | καὶ πάλιν ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν καθύπερθε  
μετήροι Ούρανίωνεςπερχόμενοι  
κούφαισι μεθ' Ἀρπύαισι φέρονται· ρίμφα  
δὲ θειοδάμοισιν ἐπημύσαντες ἀνάγκαιείς  
χθόν' ἐπειγόμενοι Δηώϊον ἀΐσσουσι, θνητοῖς  
ἔσσομένων ὑποφήτορες. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος  
ἀναγκαζόμενος ἔφη κλῦθι μεν ούκ  
έθέλοντος, ἐπεί μ' ἐπέδησας ἀνάγκῃ.

5.8.8 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ὁ συγγραφεύς  
φησιν "Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπανάγκους ἔαυτῶν  
ἐκδιδόασιν, ὡς δηλώσει ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδοθεὶς περὶ ἔαυτοῦ  
ἐπάναγκος.

5.8.9 | λέγεται δὲ οὕτως οὕνομ' ἀναγκαίης

and by the persuasive words of the  
unspoken, which indeed delight the mind of  
mortals.'

5.8.5 | And again I came, listening to the  
many-wise prayer. This prayer was found  
by mortals through the hidden plans of the  
gods.

5.8.6 | And even more clearly, why do you  
always call down Hecate, goddess of the  
divine, from the ether with necessities?  
And next, you lead those who are unwilling,  
drawn by the unspoken charms from the  
sky, easily to the earth, while those in the  
middle, caught in the winds, are far from  
the divine fire, like dreams, you mix with  
mortal parts, doing shameful deeds.

5.8.7 | And again, those above, the heavenly  
ones, are hurried along with the Harpies.  
They rush down, pushed by the necessities  
of the divine, to the earth, singing to  
Demeter, as they are sent to mortals. And  
again, another, being forced, said, 'Listen to  
me, though I do not want to, since you have  
bound me with necessity.'

5.8.8 | On this, the author says again, 'Since  
they also give up their own necessities, as  
the one from Apollo will show about  
himself.'

5.8.9 | It is said like this: 'This name of

τόδε καρτερὸν ἡδ' ἔτι βριθύ. καὶ ἐπήγαγε

necessity is strong and even heavy.'

5.8.10 | μόλε δ' ἐσσυμένως τοισίδε  
μύθοις, οὓς ἀπ' ἐμῆς κραδίης ἀνάγωιεροῖσι  
τύποις συνθλιβομένου πυρὸς ἀγνοῦ. τολμᾶ  
δὲ φύσις ταῦτα προφαίνειν τῆς σῆς  
γενέθλης, ἅμβροτε Παιάν.

5.8.10 | But I, with great effort, bring forth  
these stories, which I raise from my own  
heart to the sacred forms, crushed by pure  
fire. Nature dares to reveal these things of  
your birth, immortal Paean.

5.8.11 | καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἥεῦμα τὸ  
Φοιβείης ἀπονεύμενον ὑψόθεν  
αἴγλητην οἴη ὑπὸ λιγυρῆ κεκαλυμμένον  
ἡέρος ἀγνοῦ, θελγόμενον μολπαῖσι καὶ  
ἀρρήτοις ἐπέεσσι, κάππεσεν ἀμφὶ κάρηνον  
ἀμωμήτοιο δοχῆος λεπταλέων ὑμένων·  
μαλακὸν δ' ἐνέπλησε χιτῶνα, ἀμβολάδην  
διὰ γαστρὸς ἀνεσύμενον παλίνορσον  
· αὐλοῦ δ' ἐκ βροτέοιο φίλην ἐτεκνώσατο  
φωνὴν."

5.8.11 | And again, Apollo, a stream of light  
from the radiant heights, covered by the  
sweet breath of pure air, enchanted by  
songs and unspoken words, flowed around  
the head of the flawless vessel, filling the  
delicate garment. It was raised through the  
belly and turned back again. From a mortal,  
he gave birth to a beloved voice.

5.8.12 | Τούτοις ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιλέγει "  
Τούτων οὕτε σαφέστερα οὕτε θεϊκώτερα  
καὶ φυσικώτερα γένοιτ' ἄν. πνεῦμα γὰρ τὸ  
κατὶὸν καὶ ἀπόρροια ἐκ τῆς ἐπουρανίου  
δυνάμεως εἰς ὄργανικὸν σῶμα καὶ ἔμψυχον  
εἰσελθοῦσα, βάσει χρωμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, διὰ  
τοῦ στόματος ὡς ὄργάνου φωνὴν  
ἀποδίδωσιν."

5.8.12 | The author chooses these words:  
'None of these can be clearer, more divine,  
or more natural. For the breath that comes  
down and flows from the heavenly power  
enters into an organic and living body,  
resting upon the soul, and through the  
mouth, as an organ, gives forth a voice.'

5.8.13 | Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀναγκάζονται ἱκανὰ  
καὶ ταῦτα παραστῆσαι· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν  
ἀπολυθῆναι, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῆς  
ἀναχωρήσεως κειμένης, μάθοις ἀν' ἐκ  
τούτων

5.8.13 | But that they are forced to present  
enough of these; and that they also claim to  
be freed, since the retreat does not rest  
upon them, you will learn from these  
things.

## Section 9

5.9.1 | “Οτι δὲ σπεύδουσιν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ

5.9.1 | That they hurry to retreat, those

κληθέντες θεοὶ δηλώσει τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
λεγόντων λύετε λοιπὸν ἄνακτα, βροτὸς  
θεὸν οὐκέτι χωρεῖ.

called gods will make clear such things,  
saying, 'Release the lord, for a mortal can  
no longer endure the god.'

5.9.2 | καὶ πάλιν τίπτ' ἐπιδευόμενοι δηρὸν  
βροτὸν αἰκίζεσθε;

5.9.2 | And again, why do you strike and  
torment a mortal who is weak?

5.9.3 | καὶ πάλιν ἔρπε, καὶ ὀτραλέως  
ἐπιέρχεο τόνδε σαώσας.

5.9.3 | And again, go, and boldly approach  
this one you have saved.

5.9.4 | καὶ πῶς ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς χρὴ αὐτὸς  
διδάξει λέγων παύεο δὴ πρόφρων ὄάρων,  
ἀνάπαιε δὲ φῶτα, ῥάμνων ἐκλύων πολιὸν  
τύπον, ἡδ' ἀπὸ γυίων Νειλῷην ὁθόνην  
χερσὶν στιβαραῖς ἀπαείρας.

5.9.4 | And how he himself will teach them  
to be freed, saying, 'Stop your eager cries,  
and give rest to the light, releasing the gray  
form from the limbs, and from the strong  
hands, remove the shroud of Neilos.'

5.9.5 | καὶ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν εἶπεν ὑψίπρωρον  
αἴρε ταρσὸν, ἵσχε βάξιν ἐκ μυχῶν,

5.9.5 | And he said about the release, 'Lift  
the high-footed tarso, hold back the sound  
from the depths.'

5.9.6 | καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπιλεγόμενα. οἵς  
ἐπιφέρει "λαὶ βραδυνόντων ἀπολῦσαι φῆσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σινδόνας ἀμπέτασον, νεφέλην λῦσόν τε  
δοχῆα. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἀπόλυσιν ἔξεδωκε  
τοιαύτην

5.9.6 | And those things added to these. To  
whom he says, 'Release the slow ones,  
cover them with a cloak, and loosen the  
cloud from the vessel.' And again, at  
another time, he gave such a release.

5.9.7 | Ναιάδες Νύμφαι, Μοῦσαι μέγα  
κλείετε Φοῖβον, ἀείδουσαι ὅσαι ἐκατηβόλον  
Ἀπόλλωνα.

5.9.7 | Naiads, Nymphs, sing loudly of  
Phoebus, all of you who sing of Apollo, the  
one with the far-shooting arrows.

5.9.8 | καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτέ φῆσι λύσατέ μοι  
στεφάνους, καί μεν πόδας ὕδατι  
λευκῷ ῥάνατε, καὶ γραμμὰς ἀπαλείψατε,  
καὶ κε μόλοιμι χειρὸς δεξιτερῆς δάφνης

5.9.8 | And again, at another time, he says,  
'Loosen the crowns for me, and wash my  
feet with white water, and wipe away the  
lines, and may I die. Take a branch of laurel

ικλάδον ἄρατε χερσὶ, ψήχετέ τ' ὄφθαλμοὺς  
διδύμους βῖνάς τε προσώπου ἄρατε φῶτα  
γένηθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐταῖροι."

5.9.9 | Οἵς ἔπιλέγει ὁ συγγραφεὺς "Τὰς  
γραμμὰς τοίνυν παρακελεύεται  
ἀπαλείφειν, ἵνα ἀπέλθῃ· ταύτας γὰρ  
κρατεῖν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα τῆς  
ἐνδύσεως, διὰ τὸ φέρειν εἰκονίσματα τῶν  
κειλημένων θεῶν."

5.9.10 | Δεδεῖχθαι σαφῶς ἡγοῦμαι διὰ  
τούτων ὅτι μηδὲν τὸ καθόλου θεοπρεπὲς,  
μήτε μέγα μήτε ἀληθῶς θεῖον, ἔνεστι τοῖς  
εἰς τοσοῦτον ταπεινότητος  
καταπεπτωκόσι πνεύμασιν, ὡς τοῖς  
τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποσύρεσθαι  
καθέλκεσθαί τε οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας  
ἀνάληψιν, ἀλλ' εἴ μόνον τὰ τῆς περιέργου  
γοητείας μετέλθοιέν τε καὶ διαπράξοιντο.

5.9.11 | οὗτ' οὖν ὄρθως δὲ 'Ρόδιος  
Πιθαγόρας οὕθ' ὁ τούτῳ ταύτην  
παρασχὼν τὴν μαρτυρίαν οὕθ' ὀστισοῦν  
ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς προσείποι ἀν εὐλόγως,  
ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας, τοὺς ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ταῦτα γοήτων, οὐ  
κατὰ γνώμην οίκείαν, βίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ  
συρομένους, καὶ μηδὲ τῆς τῶν δεσμῶν  
ἀπολύσεως τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς  
ἔχοντας.

5.9.12 | εἴ γὰρ δὴ ἀβίαστον καὶ  
ἀκατανάγκαστον καὶ πάντων κρείττον τὴν  
φύσιν ἀπαθὲς ὃν καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ θεῖον,  
πῶς ἀν εἶν θεοὶ, μαγγανείαις ταῖς διὰ  
τοιῶνδε σχημάτων καὶ γραμμῶν καὶ τύπων  
στεφάνοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνθεσι καί

from the right hand, and lift up the twin  
eyes and the nose of the face, raising up the  
light from the earth, my companions.'

5.9.9 | To whom the author says,  
'Therefore, he urges to wipe away the lines,  
so that he may depart; for holding onto  
these, and also the other form of the  
clothing, is because it carries images of the  
named gods.'

5.9.10 | I believe it is clear from these  
things that nothing truly divine, neither  
great nor genuinely godlike, exists for  
spirits that have fallen into such lowliness,  
as for those who happen to be human, to be  
drawn and pulled down not through virtue  
and the pursuit of wisdom, but only to  
engage in the tricks of strange  
enchantments and to accomplish them.

5.9.11 | Therefore, neither the Rhodian  
Pythagoras nor anyone providing this  
testimony would reasonably say that any  
human beings are gods, nor even good  
spirits, those among mortal humans, and  
these things are not according to their own  
opinion, but are dragged along by force and  
necessity, having no power over their own  
release from bonds.

5.9.12 | For if the divine is indeed unforced,  
unconstrained, and superior to all, being  
free and without passion, how could they  
be gods, being bound by magic through  
such shapes and lines, and by crowns and  
flowers from the earth, and by certain

τισιν ἄλλοις ἀσήμοις καὶ βαρβάροις ἥχοις τε καὶ φωναῖς κηλούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις χειρούμενοι, καὶ ὡσπερεὶ δεσμοῖς καταδουλούμενοι, ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν αὔτεξούσιον καὶ προαιρετικὴν σώζειν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς δύναμιν;

5.9.13 | πῶς δὲ κᾶν ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες λεχθεῖεν βίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατασπώμενοι; τί γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ἄκοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτεξουσίους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς βοηθείας δεομένοις ἐπιδιδόναι;

5.9.14 | εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποιοῦνται τὴν πάροδον ἀγαθοὶ ὅντες, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἔξ αὐτῶν ψυχῆς ὡφέλεια, χρῆν δήπου προαιρέσει τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι, πρθάνοντας ταῖς εύποιίαις τοὺς δεομένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ περιμένειν ἀνάγκην.

5.9.15 | εἰ δ' οὐ καλὸν ἦν οὐδὲ ὡφελοῦν τὸ πραττόμενον, διὸ μηδὲ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, καὶ πῶς ἀν ἀγαθοὶ εἶεν, τὸ μὴ καλὸν μηδὲ συμφέρον πράττοντες;

5.9.16 | πῶς δὲ θαυμάζεσθαι ἄξιοι καὶ θεραπείαις θεῶν τιμᾶσθαι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι γόνσι τὸν τρόπον πανωλεστάτοις καταδουλούμενοι καὶ τὸ μὴ καλὸν μηδὲ συμφέρον παρὰ γνώμην πράττειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἀγόμενοί τε καὶ καθελκόμενοι, οὐ δι' ἀποδοχὴν σωφροσύνης ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ ἀρετῆς χάριν ἢ τινος μέρους φιλοσοφίας, μεθόδοις δὲ γοήτων ἀπειρημέναις, ἃς ὁ αὐτὸς αῦθις συγγραφεὺς ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν είρημένον

other meaningless and foreign sounds and voices, being controlled by chance among humans, and as if enslaved by bonds, so that they have no power to preserve their own free will and choice?

5.9.13 | But how could they be called good spirits if they are dragged along by force and necessity? For what is the reason for their unwillingness, if they do not give their own free will to those who are in need of help?

5.9.14 | For if they do good while being good themselves, and if there were any benefit to their souls, they should indeed choose to embrace the good, reaching out with their kindness to those in need, and not waiting for necessity.

5.9.15 | But if what is being done is neither good nor helpful, then it should not happen according to their will. And how could they be good if they do not act in ways that are good or beneficial?

5.9.16 | But how can they be worthy of wonder and honored by the services of the gods, when they are enslaved by the ways of sorcerers, suffering the worst fate, and are forced to do what is neither good nor beneficial against their will? They are led and dragged along, not because of the acceptance of human wisdom, nor for the sake of virtue or any part of philosophy, but by the endless methods of sorcerers. The same author, in his letter to the mentioned

Αίγυπτιον ἐπιστολῇ, ὡς ἀν προφήτῃ  
τάληθῇ καὶ ἀπόρρητα κοινούμενος,  
τέθειται, τοὺς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα  
συντελοῦσιν, ἀξιῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
διδαχθῆναι; πυνθάνεται γοῦν ὡδέ πως  
ἀπορῶν καὶ λέγων

Egyptian, sets forth these words, as if sharing the true and secret things with a prophet. Is it reasonable to expect to learn from him about these matters? He indeed asks in this way, being puzzled and speaking.

## Section 10

5.10.1 | “Πάνυ δέ με θράττει πῶς ὡς  
κρείττους παρακαλούμενοι ἐπιτάττονται  
ὡς χείρους, καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀξιοῦντες τὸν  
θεράποντα τὰ ἄδικα αὐτοὶ κελευσθέντες  
δρᾶν ὑπομένουσι· καὶ καθαρῷ μὲν μὴ ὅντι  
ἔξ ἀφροδισίων οὐκ ἀν καλοῦντι  
ὑπακούσαιεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἄγειν εἰς παράνομα  
ἀφροδίσια τοὺς τυχόντας οὐκ ὄκνοῦσι.

5.10.1 | Indeed, I am amazed how those who are better call upon those who are worse, and they think it is just to demand that the one who does wrong should act as they are ordered. And when there is nothing pure, they would not obey if called to something honorable, but they do not hesitate to lead others into unlawful pleasures.

5.10.2 | καὶ ἀπὸ ἔμψυχων μὲν ἀποχῆς  
κελεύουσι δεῖν εἶναι τοὺς ὑποφήτας, ἵνα μὴ  
τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἀτμοῖς χραίνωνται,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτμοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ θυσιῶν μάλιστα  
δελεάζονται, καὶ νεκροῦ μὲν ἀθιγῆ δεῖν  
εἶναι τὸν ἐπόπτην, διὰ νεκρῶν δὲ τὰ πολλὰ  
ζῷων αἱ θεαγωγίαι ἐκτελοῦνται.

5.10.2 | And they say that those who give advice should be free from living beings, so that they are not harmed by the vapors from bodies. But they themselves are most attracted by the vapors from sacrifices. And it is said that the overseer should be untouched by the dead, but many of the divine rituals are performed through the dead animals.

5.10.3 | πολλῷ δὲ τούτων ἀλογώτερον τὸ  
μὴ δαίμονι, εἴ τύχοι, ἢ ψυχῇ τεθνηκότος,  
αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡλίῳ, ἢ σελήνῃ, ἢ τινι  
τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν, ἀνθρωπὸν τῷ τυχόντι  
ὑποχείριον ἀπειλάς προσφέροντα  
ἐκφοβεῖν, ψευδόμενον, ἵν' ἔκεῖνοι  
ἀληθεύσωσι.

5.10.3 | Much more unreasonable is it not to a spirit, if it happens, or to the soul of a dead person, but to the king of the sun, or to the moon, or to any of the things in the sky, to bring a human as a servant to frighten those who happen to be there, lying, so that they may speak the truth.

5.10.4 | τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὅτι τὸν οὐρανὸν

5.10.4 | For to say that one will bring down

προσαράξει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος  
έκφανεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἀπόρρητον  
δείξει, καὶ τὴν βᾶριν στήσει, καὶ τὰ μέλη  
τοῦ Ὁσιρίδος διασκεδάσει τῷ Τυφῶνι, τίνα  
οὐχ ὑπερβολὴν ἐμπληξίας μὲν τῷ  
ἀπειλοῦντι, ἢ μήτε οἴδε μήτε δύναται,  
καταλείπει, ταπεινότητος δὲ τοῖς  
δεδοικόσιν οὕτω κενὸν φόβον καὶ  
πλάσματα, ώς κομιδῇ παῖδες ἀνόητοι;

the sky and reveal the hidden things of Isis,  
and show the secret in Abydos, and raise  
the heavy one, and scatter the limbs of  
Osiris to Typhon, what an extreme threat it  
is to the one who threatens, things that  
neither he knows nor can do, leaving  
behind such an empty fear and falsehood to  
those who are afraid, like foolish children?

5.10.5 | καίτοι καὶ Χαιρήμων ὁ  
ἱερογραμματεὺς ἀναγράφει ταῦτα, ώς καὶ  
παρ’ Αἴγυπτίοις θρυλούμενα, καὶ ταῦτα  
φασιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βιαστικώτατα.

5.10.5 | And indeed, Chairemon the scribe  
writes these things, as they are also  
rumored among the Egyptians, and they  
say that these and such things are very  
forceful.

5.10.6 | αύταὶ δὲ αἱ εὔχαι τίνα ἔχουσι  
λόγον, τὸν ἐξ ἱλύος ἀναφανέντα λέγουσαι,  
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λωτῷ καθήμενον, καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίου  
ναυτιλλόμενον, καὶ καθ’ ὥραν τὰς μορφὰς  
ἀμείβοντα, καὶ κατὰ ζῷδιον  
μετασχηματιζόμενον; οὕτω γάρ φασιν  
αὐτοπτεῖσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὸ ἴδιον  
πάθος τῆς αὐτῶν φαντασίας ἔκείνω  
περιάπτουσιν.

5.10.6 | But what meaning do these prayers  
have, saying that they come from the mud,  
and sitting on the lotus, and sailing on a  
ship, and changing forms every hour, and  
transforming according to the zodiac? For  
they say that they see these things, not  
knowing that their own feelings wrap  
around that.

5.10.7 | εἰ δὲ συμβολικῶς λέγεται ταῦτα,  
τῶν ἔκείνου δυνάμεων ὅντα σύμβολα, τὴν  
ἐρμηνείαν τῶν συμβόλων εἰπάτωσαν.  
δῆλον γὰρ ώς εἰ τοῦ ἡλίου ἦν τὸ πάθος,  
καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐκλείψεσι, πᾶσιν ἀν ὥφθη  
ταυτὸν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι.

5.10.7 | But if these things are said  
symbolically, being symbols of those  
powers, let them explain the meaning of  
the symbols. For it is clear that if it were  
the passion of the sun, just like during  
eclipses, it would appear the same to all  
who gaze at it.

5.10.8 | τί δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄσημα βούλεται  
όνόματα καὶ τῶν ἄσήμων τὰ βάρβαρα πρὸ  
τῶν ἐκάστῳ οίκειών; εἰ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ  
σημαινόμενον ἀφορᾷ τὸ ἀκοῦον, αὐτάρκης

5.10.8 | But what about the names of the  
unmarked things and the foreign names  
before each person's own? For if the sound  
refers to what is meant, the same meaning

ἡ αὐτὴ μένουσα ἔννοια δηλῶσαι, καὶ  
διποιοῦν ὑπάρχῃ, τοῦνομα.

can be expressed clearly, even if there is  
any kind of name.

5.10.9 | οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὁ καλούμενος  
Αἴγυπτιος ἢν τῷ γένει· εἰ δὲ καὶ Αἴγυπτιος,  
ἄλλ’ οὐ τί γε Αἴγυπτίᾳ χρώμενος φωνῇ,  
οὐδ’ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ὅλως χρώμενος. ἡ γάρ  
γοήτων ἡν ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα καὶ  
προκαλύμματα διὰ τῶν ἐπιφημιζομένων  
τῷ θείῳ τῶν περὶ ἡμάς γινομένων παθῶν,  
ἡ λελήθαμεν ἐναντίας ἔννοιάς ἔχοντες περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ θείου ἡ αὐτὸ τῷ ὄντι διάκειται.”

5.10.9 | For he was not really Egyptian by birth. And even if he were Egyptian, he did not use the Egyptian language at all, nor did he use human speech in general. Either all these were tricks and disguises through the things said about the divine events happening to us, or we have misunderstood the opposite ideas about the divine, or it truly is as it seems.

5.10.10 | Ταῦτ’ είπὼν πάλιν ἀπορεῖ πρὸς  
τὸν Αἴγυπτον λέγων Ἐί δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπαθεῖς,  
οἱ δὲ ἐμπαθεῖς, οἵ διὰ τούτων φαλούς  
φασιν ἴστάναι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι  
αἰσχρορρημοσήνας, μάταιοι αἱ θεῶν  
κλήσεις ἔσονται, προσκλήσεις αὐτῶν  
ἐπαγγελόμεναι, καὶ μήνιδος ἐριλάσεις, καὶ  
ἐκθύσεις, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον αἱ λεγόμεναι  
ἀνάγκαι θεῶν. ἀκήλητον γάρ καὶ ἀβίαστον  
καὶ ἀκατανάγκαστον τὸ ἀπαθές.”

5.10.10 | After saying this, he again  
questions the Egyptian, saying, 'But if some  
are without passion and others are full of  
passion, those who claim that through  
these things phalluses stand and create  
shameful words, the calls of the gods will  
be in vain, their invitations will be empty,  
and there will be quarrels of anger, and  
outbursts, and even more so the so-called  
necessities of the gods. For the state of  
being without passion is unforced,  
unpressured, and uncoerced.'

5.10.11 | Καὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Μάτην  
αὐτοῖς ἡ σοφία ἔξήσκηται περὶ δραπέτου  
εὐρέσεως, ἡ χωρίου ὡνῆς, ἡ γάμου, εἰ  
τύχοι, ἡ ἐμπορίας, τὸν θεῖον νοῦν  
ἐνοχλήσασιν. εἰ δ’ οὐ παρεῖται μὲν, οἱ δὲ  
συνόντες περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τάληθέστατα  
λέγουσι, περὶ δὲ εὐδαιμονίας οὐδὲν  
ἀσφαλὲς ούδ’ ἔχεγγυον, οὐκ ἡσαν ἄρα οὔτε  
θεοὶ οὔτ’ ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐκεῖνος ὁ  
λεγόμενος πλάνος.”

5.10.11 | And again he continues, 'Their  
wisdom is in vain regarding the discovery  
of a thief, the purchase of land, marriage, if  
it happens, or trade, as it troubles the  
divine mind. But if it is not present, those  
who are together speak most truly about  
other things, but about happiness, there is  
nothing safe or guaranteed. Therefore,  
there were neither gods nor good spirits,  
but rather that so-called deceiver.'

5.10.12 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ

5.10.12 | Let these things be said up to this

άπὸ ταύτης προκείσθω τῆς Πορφυρίου γραφῆς. καὶ μὴν καὶ διδάσκαλοί γε τῆς κακοτέχνου γοητείας αὐτοὶ δὴ πρῶτοι οἱ γενναῖοι θεοὶ κατέστησαν. πόθεν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ταῦτα παρῆν εἰδέναι ἢ τῶν δαιμόνων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ ἐαυτῶν ἔξειπόντων καὶ τοὺς καταδέσμους τοὺς κατ' ἄλλήλων ἔξηγορευκότων;

5.10.13 | μηδὲ τοῦτον δὲ ἡμέτερον εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἡγοῦ· οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἡμεῖς διμολογοῦμεν οὕτε ἐπίστασθαι οὕτε θέλειν εἰδέναι. πλὴν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἀτοπίας καὶ εἰς ἡμετέραν ὁμοῦ τῆς τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως ἀπολογίαν ὃ τούτων ἡμῖν παρεισήχθω μάρτυς, σοφὸς ὅν ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις, καὶ πάντα ἀκριβῶς τὰ οἰκεῖα εἰδώς τε καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος. ὃ δὴ οὖν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ τῶν λογίων συναγωγῇ ταῦτα λέγει πρὸς λέξιν

## Section 11

5.11.1 | "Οὐ μόνον δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ μεμηνύκασι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ είρημένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴστισι χαίρουσι καὶ κερατοῦνται ὑπηγόρευσαν, καὶ μὴν καὶ τίσιν ἀναγκάζονται, τίνα δὲ δεῖ θύειν, καὶ ἐκ ποίας ἡμέρας ἐκτρέπεσθαι, τό τε σχῆμα τῶν ἀγαγμάτων μάτων ποταπὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ τε ποίοις σχήμασι φαίνονται, ἐν τε ποίοις διατρίβουσι τόποις, καὶ ὅλως ἐν οὐδένι ἔστιν ὃ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐτίμησαν. πολλῶν δ' ὄντων ἢ τούτων ἔστι παραστατικὰ, ὀλίγα ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν παραθησόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτυρον τὸν λόγον καταλείπωμεν. XII. "Οτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτοὶ ὑπέθεντο πῶς χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐκ ποίας ὕλης δηλώσει τὰ τῆς Ἐκάτης ἔχοντα τοῦτον τὸν

point and let this be the beginning of Porphyry's writing. And indeed, the teachers of this wicked sorcery themselves are the first noble gods who established it. For how could humans know these things, unless the spirits themselves spoke about themselves and revealed the bonds they had with each other?

5.10.13 | Let us not consider this speech to be ours. For we agree on none of these things, neither do we claim to know them nor do we wish to know them. But for the purpose of proving the strangeness of these matters and for our common defense against them, let the wise one among us be a witness, knowing everything accurately and explaining it well. Therefore, he himself says these things in the stated collection of arguments.

5.11.1 | They not only revealed their own way of life and the other things mentioned, but they also delight in and boast about those who serve them. Indeed, they are forced to decide whom to sacrifice to, and from which days to turn away, and what kind of offerings to make. They also show what forms they take, in what places they spend their time, and in general, there is nothing that people have honored without learning it from them. Among many things that are representative of them, we will mention a few, so that we do not leave the speech without evidence. XII. As for the statues, they themselves set forth how they should be made and from what material, showing the way of Hecate.

τρόπον

## Section 12

5.12.1 | ἀλλὰ τέλει ξόανον κεκαθαρμένον  
ώς σε διδάξω ·πηγάνου ἔξ ἀγρίοιο δετὰς  
ποίει, ἡδ' ἐπικόσμειζώοισιν λεπτοῖσι  
κατοικιδίοις καλαβώταις 'σμύρνης καὶ  
στύρακος λιβάνοιό τε μίγματα τρίψαστὸν  
κείνοις ζώοισι καὶ αἴθριάσας ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
μήνηναῦξουσαν τέλει, αὐτὸς ἐπευχόμενος  
τήνδ' εύχην.

5.12.1 | But you should make a perfect  
statue that is purified. Create it from wild  
wood, and adorn it with delicate living  
creatures. Grind together mixtures of  
myrrh and storax, and with those living  
creatures, make offerings under the  
growing moon, while you yourself pray this  
prayer.

5.12.2 | Εἶτ' ἔξεδωκεν εύχην, ἔδίδαξέ τε  
πόσους ληπτέον ἀσκαλαβώτας ὅσσαι  
μορφαί μοι, τόσσοις ζώοις σε κελεύω, καὶ  
σφόδρα ταῦτα τελεῖν· δάφνης δέ μοι  
αὐτογενέθλουοϊκου ἐμοῦ χώρημα ποιεῖν;  
καὶ ἀγάλματι πολλόνκείνω ἐπευχόμενος δι'  
ὕπνων τοίαν ἀναθρήσεις. καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε  
ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς ἔξεδωκε τοιοῦτον."

5.12.2 | Then he gave a prayer and taught  
how many offerings should be received. 'As  
many forms as I have, I command you to  
use that many living creatures, and to  
perform these things very carefully. Should  
I make a place for the self-born house of the  
laurel? And praying to that statue, I will  
make such requests through dreams.' And  
again, at another time, he gave a similar  
statue of hers.

## Section 13

5.13.1 | Καὶ περὶ τῶν σχημάτων ὅπως  
φαντάζονται αὐτοὶ μεμηνύκασιν, ἀφ' ὃν  
καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα οὕτω καθιδρύθη. λέγει  
γοῦν ὁ Σάραπις ἴδων τὸν Πάνα περὶ ἐαυτοῦ  
φαιδρὴ μὲν κατὰ δῶμα θεοῦ καταλάμπεται  
αὐγὴ· ἥλθε γάρ, ἡντεβόλησε θεὸς μέγας·  
εἶδεν ἐμεῖοκάρτος ἀμαιμάκετον,  
λαμπηδόνα φλογμοτύραννον, βόστρυχον ἐκ  
κεφαλῆς νεάτης χαροποῖσι μετώποις ἀμφὶς  
ἰαινόμενον πλοχμοῖς θ' ἱεροῖσι γενείου."

5.13.1 | And about the shapes, they have  
revealed how they imagine them, from  
which the statues were established in this  
way. Indeed, Sarapis says, seeing Pan, 'A  
bright light shines down in the god's house;  
for a great god has come and has spoken.  
He saw my unblemished strength, a shining  
flame of fire, a lock of hair from the head of  
a young man with joyful features,  
surrounded by sacred curls of a beard.'

5.13.2 | "Καὶ ὁ Πάν περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ὕμνον

5.13.2 | And Pan taught a hymn about

έδίδαξεν ἔχοντα οὕτως εὔχομαι βροτὸς γεγώςΠανὶ συμφύτῳ θεῷ,δισσοκέρατι, δισσόποδι,τραγοσκελεῖ, τρυφῶντι. καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα.

5.13.3 | καὶ ἡ Ἐκάτη δὲ περὶ ἑαυτῆς οὕτω φησὶν ἥδη μοι σύ γε πάντα ποίει· ξοάνῳ δ' ἄρ' ἐν αὐτῷμορφή μοι πέλεται Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου,εἴμασι παλλεύκοις, περὶ ποσὶ δὲ χρυσοπέδιλος· ἀμφὶ δέ τοι ζώνῃ δολιχοὶ δράκοντες, δράκοντες, ἵχνεσιν ἀχράντοισιν ἐφερπύζοντες, ἄνωθεναύτῃς ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἀρτώμενοι ἐς πόδας ἀκρους,σπειρηδὸν περὶ πᾶσαν ἐλισσόμενοι κατὰ κόσμον.4. Ὡλη δὲ, φησὶν)ἡ Παρίοιο λίθου, ἡ εύξεστου ἐλέφαντος.”

## Section 14

5.14.1 | Ἐμφαίνουσι δὲ πολλαχοῦ οἵ θεοὶ ἄπερ λέγουσι προσημαίνοντες, τῷ ἐκάστου γινώσκειν τὴν τῆς γενέσεως σύστασιν, εἴναι αὐτοὺς, εἰ χρὴ οὕτω φάναι, ἀκρους τε μάγους καὶ ἀκρους γενεθλιαλόγους. καὶ πάλιν ἐν χρησμοῖς ἔφη τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἴπειν “ἰκλήζειν Ἐρμείην ἥδ' Ἕλιον κατὰ ταύτα,ἡμέρῃ Ἡελίου, Μήνην δ' ὅτε τῆσδε παρείη,ἥδε Κρόνον καὶ Ρέαν ἥδ' ἔξείης Ἀφροδίτηνκλήσειν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὗρε μάγων ὅχ' ἀριστοτῆς ἐπταφθόγγου βασιλεὺς, ὃν πάντες ἵσασιν· Ὁστάνην λέγεις εἰπόντων ἐπήγαγεν καὶ σφόδρα καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον ἀεὶ θεὸν ἐπτάκι φωνεῖν.”

5.14.2 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦτα παρατίθησιν “Ἐστι δὲ σύμβολα μὲν τῆς Ἐκάτης κηρὸς τρίχρωμος, ἐκ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος καὶ ἐρυθροῦ συνεστώς, ἔχων τύπον Ἐκάτης φερούσης μάστιγα καὶ λαμπάδα καὶ ξίφος,

himself, saying this: 'I pray as a mortal born to the god Pan, with two horns, two feet, goat-like, enjoying life.' And the following things.

5.13.3 | And Hecate says this about herself: 'You already do everything for me; in the statue, the form of Demeter with beautiful harvests is present, dressed in soft robes, with golden sandals on her feet. Around her, long dragons are coiled, dragons, moving with pure footprints, from above her, reaching from her head to her feet, spiraling around her in a beautiful way. And the material, she says, is either from Parian stone or from fine ivory.'

5.14.1 | They show in many places what the gods say, pointing out that each one knows the nature of their origin, to be, if one must say so, the greatest magicians and the greatest genealogists. And again, in oracles, it is said that Apollo spoke: 'To call Hermes and Helios at the same time, on the day of Helios, and when the Moon is present, and also Cronus and Rhea, and next Aphrodite, with unchanging calls, which the best of the magicians found, the king of the seven-sounding ones, whom everyone knows.' You say that Ostanis brought forth this, and that each god always calls out seven times.

5.14.2 | And he also presents these things: 'There are symbols of Hecate, a three-colored spirit, made of white, black, and red, having the form of Hecate holding a whip, a torch, and a sword, around which a

περὶ ἣν εἰλείσθω δράκων· ούρανοῦ δὲ  
ἀστέρες οἱ θαλάττιοι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν  
πεπατταλευμένοι. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ  
μεμηνύκασι διὰ τούτων. λέγει δὲ ὁ Πᾶν  
τούσδε δ' αὗταί λευκόν, κηρὸν ἐν πυρὸς  
μένειθέντες αἰόλου χρούστελευκός ἔστω καὶ  
μέλας, καὶ τὸ πῦρ φαεσφόρον ἀνθρακός  
πεφλεγμένου, δεῖμα νερτέρων  
κυνῶν γλύμμα δεινὸν Ἐκάτης λαμπάς ἔστω  
πρὸς χέρας, καὶ ξίφος τὸ ποίνιμον, καὶ  
δράκων περισταλήσαμμασιν κόρην  
κρατῶν, δεινὸν ἀμφὶ κρᾶτα θεὶς, αἰόλῃ τε  
κλεὶς ὁμοῦκαὶ τὸ δαιμόνων  
κράτος μάστιγος ψόφος πολύς."

dragon is coiled; the stars of the sky are scattered before the doors. For the gods themselves have revealed these things through them. And Pan says: 'Drive these things away, the spirit remains in the fire, placed in the fiery color; let it be white and black, and the fire shining like burning coal, the fear of the lower dogs, the terrible voice of Hecate. Let there be a torch in the hands, and the sword for punishment, and the dragon wrapped around, holding the maiden tightly, placing a terrible crown around her head, the fiery key together with the power of the spirits, the sound of the whip is great.'

5.14.3 | Διὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν τούτοις  
ὅμοίων ὁ γενναῖος Ἑλλήνων φιλόσοφος, ὁ  
θαυμαστὸς θεολόγος, ὁ τῶν ἀπορρήτων  
μύστης, τὴν ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίαν ὡς  
ἀπόρρητα θεῶν περιέχουσαν λόγια  
παραφαίνει, ἄντικρυς τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ  
δαιμονικῆς ἀληθῶς δυνάμεως ἔξαγορεύων  
τὰς κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἐνέδρας. τί γὰρ ἀν εἴη  
βιωφελές ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς κακοτέχνου  
γοητείας;

5.14.3 | Through these and similar things, the noble philosopher of the Greeks, the wonderful theologian, the initiate of the hidden mysteries, shows that the philosophy from words contains the secret teachings of the gods, revealing directly the truly wicked and demonic power that lays traps for humans. For what could be beneficial for humans from the crafty magic?

5.14.4 | τί δ' ἀν ἔχοι θεοφιλές ἡ τῶν  
ἀψύχων ξοάνων περιεργία; ποίας δ' είκὼν  
ἐνθέου γένοιτ' ἀν δυνάμεως ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε  
σχημάτων μόρφωσις; τί δ' οὐ μᾶλλον  
φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ μαγεύειν καὶ τὰ ἀπειρημένα  
διώκειν συμβουλεύειν ἔχρην, τοῦ κατ'  
ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν τρόπου πρὸς  
εύδαιμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον αὐτάρκους  
τυγχάνοντος; ὃ δὲ ἐπιτείνων τὸν οἰκεῖον  
ἔλεγχον προστίθησι τοῖς είρημένοις καὶ  
ταῦτα

5.14.4 | What could be pleasing to the gods in the curiosity about lifeless statues? What kind of divine power could the shapes of such forms have? And should it not be better to seek wisdom rather than to practice magic and pursue the endless? It would be better to advise on the way of virtue and philosophy towards a happy and blessed life that is self-sufficient. And he, intensifying his own argument, adds these things to what has been said.

## Section 15

5.15.1 | “Οτι δὲ φιλοῦσι τὰ σύμβολα τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ Ἐκάτη παραβάλλουσα πρὸς ἄ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μεμήνυκε διὰ τούτων τίς βροτὸς οὐ πεπόθηκε χαρακτῆρας ὑπάσασθαι χαλκοῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου αἰγλήντος; τίς δὲ τάδ’ οὐ φιλέει, τῶν δὴ καθύπερθεν ἐφεστῶς, εἰς ἓν ἀγειρόμενος εἴρω πολυμοιρέα φωτῶν;

5.15.2 | οὐ μόνον δ’ ὅτι φίλοι οἱ χαρακτῆρες δεδήλωκεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ, ὥπερ ἔφαμεν, αὐτοὶ περιγράφονται, καί εἰσιν οἶνον ἐν Ἱερῷ χωρίῳ τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ εἰκόνι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς ὄχεισθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γῆς Ἱερᾶς ἐδυνήθησαν· Ἱερὰ δὲ ἡ εἰκόνα φέρουσα θεοῦ, ἣς ἀρθείσης λέλυται τὸ κρατοῦν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ θεῖον.”

5.15.3 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡγοῦμαι σαφῶς ἐληλέγχθαι ὡς ἄρα περίγειοί τινες καὶ φιλοπαθεῖς δαίμονες ἥλωσαν αὐτῶν ὅντες οἱ θεοί· διό μοι δοκῶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τὴν ἀποστροφὴν αὐτῶν πεποιῆσθαι.

5.15.4 | ὁρᾶς γοῦν ὡς κρατεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔν τισι γῆς χωρίοις τοὺς κατὰ μαγείαν φασὶ τύπους καὶ τοὺς τοιούσδε χαρακτῆρας, δέον, εἴπερ ἄρα θεῖόν τι ἦν ἀληθῶς, μηδ’ ἀλλαχῆ πῃ ἐπιβαίνειν ἢ ἐν μόνῃ ψυχῇς διανοίᾳ, καὶ ταύτῃ παντὸς ὅπου καὶ πάσης Κηλῆδος κεκαθαρμένη, σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένη.

5.15.1 | That Hecate loves the symbols of the characters, she has shown through what humans love. Who among mortals has not been moved to grasp the characters of shining bronze, gold, and silver? And who does not love these things, standing above, gathering into one the many kinds of lights?

5.15.2 | Not only has she shown that the characters are friends, but also, as we said, they are described themselves, and they are like an image in a sacred place. For they are not meant to be on the earth, but they have been made sacred on the earth. The sacred image carries the god, and when it is lifted, the divine power is released on the earth.

5.15.3 | Because of all these things, I believe it is clear that some earthly and passionate demons have trapped the gods themselves. Therefore, I think it is wise to turn away from them.

5.15.4 | You see, indeed, that to hold them in certain earthly places, they say, are types and such characters through magic. If there is truly something divine, it should not be able to be found anywhere else but in the pure thought of the soul, and in that thought, cleansed of all dirt and every stain, adorned with wisdom, justice, and other virtues.

5.15.5 | τούτων γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ὡς  
ἐν ἀληθῶς ιερῷ χωρίῳ προουποκειμένων,  
εἰκότως ἀν ἐπέλθοι θείου πνεύματος  
παρουσίᾳ ὁύδ' ἀν ἦν ἔτι χρεία τῆς  
κακοτέχνου γοητείας ταῖς είς ὑποδοχὴν  
τοῦ θείου κατὰ τὴν ἐνάρετον καὶ φιλόθεον  
πρᾶξιν προητεπισμέναις ψυχαῖς.

5.15.6 | ὥστε διαρρήδην ἔξ ἀπάντων  
τούτων περιγείους τινὰς ἀλίσκεσθαι,  
φιλοπαθεῖς τε καὶ φιλοσωμάτους ὑπάρχειν  
δαίμονας, περὶ ὃν ἄρτι ἐλέγομεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
ἔξης τούτοις ἄκουε οἶδα ὁ αὐτὸς  
συγγραφεὺς περὶ τοῦ ἐκλεοιπέναι αὐτῶν  
τὰ βιώμενα χρηστήρια ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
τίθησι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

## Section 16

5.16.1 | "Ἄμφι δὲ Πύθω οἱ Κλαρίην τε  
θεοπρόπα Φοίβου αύδήσει φάτις ἡμετέρῃ  
θεμιτώδεσιν ὄμφατις. μύρια μὲν γαίης  
μαντήια θέσκελα νώτωέβλύσθη, πηγαί τε  
καὶ ἄσθματα δινήντα καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀψ  
χθονίοισιν ὑπαὶ κόλποισιν ἔδεκτοάυτὴ  
γαία χανοῦσα, τὰ δ' ὥλεσε μυρίος  
αἰών. μούνω δ' ἡελίω φαεσιμβρότω είσετ'  
ἔασινέν Διδύμων γυάλοις Μυκαλήϊον  
ἔνθεον ὕδωρ, Πυθῶνός τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ  
Παρνάσιον αἴπος, καὶ κραναὴ Κλαρίη,  
τρηχὺ στόμα φοιβάδος ὄμφης. Νίκαεν δὲ  
χρῶν ἔφη Πυθῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναρρῶσαι  
λάλον ὄμφήν· ἥδη γὰρ δολιχοῖσιν  
ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοισιν βέβληται κληῖδας  
ἀμαντεύτοιο σιωπῆς. ὢξατε δ' ὡς ἔθος ἔστι  
θεοπρόπα θύματα Φοίβω.

5.15.5 | For in the soul of a person, as if in a truly sacred place, if there were such things prepared, the presence of the divine spirit would naturally come. There would no longer be a need for the bad tricks of magic for those souls that are ready to receive the divine through good and godly actions.

5.15.6 | Therefore, it is clear that some are caught among all these things, existing as passionate and body-loving demons, about which we have just spoken. But listen further to what the same author says about the abandoned oracles that he places in the same way.

5.16.1 | "About Pytho, the Clarian prophetess of Phoebus will speak our words with sacred oracles. Countless prophecies from the earth have burst forth from its depths, along with springs and swirling mists. Some were received by the earth itself, opening wide, while many were lost over countless ages. But under the shining sun, there is divine water in the caves of Didyma, and the Pythian shrine lies beneath the slopes of Parnassus, along with the rocky Claria, the rough mouth of Phoebus's oracle. But it is said that there is no longer a clear voice to be heard from Pytho. For already, having been dimmed by long time, the key to the oracle's silence has been cast away. But do as is customary for the prophetic offerings to Phoebus."

5.16.2 | Τούτοις κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνταῦθα προσήκει καὶ τὰ Πλουτάρχου προσθεῖναι ἀφ' οὗ πεποίηται δυγγράμματος "Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων χρηστηρίων." Πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου, Μαλλὸν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, περὶ τοῦ μαντείου δίελθε ἡμῖν, ὃ Κλεόμβροτε· μεγάλη γάρ η πάλαι δόξα τῆς ἑκεῖ θεότητος, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔσικεν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι.

5.16.2 | At this time, it is also fitting to add the writings of Plutarch, from which the work 'On the Abandoned Oracles' has been made. But when Ammonius had stopped speaking, I said, 'Let us go over the oracle, Cleombrotus. For the ancient reputation of that divinity is great, but it seems that the present one is fading away.'

5.16.3 | τοῦ δὲ Κλεομβρότου σιωπῶντος καὶ κάτω βλέποντος ὁ Δημήτριος οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἑκεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι καὶ διαπορεῖν, τὴν ἐνταῦθα τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀμαύρωσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ πλὴν ἐνὸς ή δυοῖν ἀπάντων ἔκλεψιν ὄρωντας, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ σκοπεῖν δι' ἣν αἴτιαν οὕτως ἔξησθένηκε.

5.16.3 | While Cleombrotus was silent and looking down, Demetrius said that there was no need to inquire about or be troubled by the oracle there, as the prophecies here are dimming. Rather, he saw that there was an eclipse of all except one or two, but we should look together to understand why this has happened.

5.16.4 | τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅπου γε τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔνεκα χρηστηρίων πολύφωνον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῇ, καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχε μαντικῆς αὐχμὸς τὴν χώραν. ούδαμοῦ γάρ ἄλλαχόθι νῦν ή περὶ Λεβάδειαν ή Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀρύσσασθαι μαντικῆς· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγὴ, τὰ δὲ παντελὴς ἐρημία κατέσχηξ." "Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ καὶ θνήσκειν δ τοὺς αὐτῶν δαίμονας ταῦτά φησι

5.16.4 | "For what else is there to say, where the land of Boeotia, once rich in oracles, now lacks guidance, like streams that have dried up? The area has suffered greatly from a lack of prophecy. For now, Boeotia offers nothing but around Lebadeia to those who seek to draw from divination. As for the others, some are silent, while others are completely deserted." Furthermore, he also says that their spirits are dying.

## Section 17

5.17.1 | "Τὸ μὲν ἔφεστάναι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, εἶπε, μὴ θεοὺς, οὓς ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ τοῖς δαίμοσι

5.17.1 | He said that to stand by the oracles is not to be with gods, who are far removed from earthly matters, but rather with spirits that serve the gods, and I do not think this is a bad thing. But for these

τούτοις, μονονουχὶ δραχμὴν λαμβάνοντας  
έκ τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν Εμπεδοκλέους, ἀμαρτίας  
καὶ ἄτας καὶ πλάνας θεηλάτους ἐπιφέρειν,  
τελευτῶντας δὲ καὶ θανάτους ὡσπερ  
ἀνθρώπων ὑποτίθεσθαι, θρασύτερον  
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βαρβαρικώτερον.

spirits, taking only a small amount from the verses of Empedocles, to bring forth errors, misfortunes, and divine illusions, and to suggest deaths just like those of humans, I consider this to be bolder and more barbaric.

5.17.2 | ἡρώτησεν οὖν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος τὸν Φίλιππον ὅστις εἴη καὶ ὥποθεν ὁ νεανίας.  
πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ  
ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἔφη, λανθάνομεν, ὡς  
Ἡρακλέων, ἐν λόγοις ἀτόποις γεγονότες,  
ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔστι περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων μὴ  
μεγάλαις προσχρησάμενον ἀρχαῖς ἐπὶ τὸ  
εἰκὸς τῇ δόξῃ προελθεῖν.

5.17.2 | Then Cleombrotus asked Philip who he was and where the young man was from. After learning his name and city, he said, "O descendant of Heracles, we are not hidden from you, having become strange in our words, but it is not possible to speak about great matters without using great beginnings to lead to what is likely according to belief."

5.17.3 | σὺ δὲ σεαυτὸν λέληθας ὁ δίδως  
ἀφαιρούμενος. δημολογεῖς γὰρ εἶναι  
δαίμονας, τῷ δὲ μὴ φαύλους ἀξιοῦν εἶναι,  
μηδὲ θηντούς, οὐκέτι δαίμονας φυλάττεις,  
τίνι γὰρ τῶν θεῶν διαφέρουσιν, εἰ καὶ κατ'  
ούσιαν τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τὸ  
ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ἔχουσι;

5.17.3 | But you have forgotten yourself by taking away what you give. For you agree that there are spirits, but you do not think they should be lesser beings or mortals, and so you no longer protect the spirits. For how do they differ from the gods, if they have the immortal essence and the qualities of being unfeeling and without fault?

5.17.4 | πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος  
σιωπῆ διανοούμενου τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ  
Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ φαύλους μὲν δαίμονας οὐκ  
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μόνον, ὡς Ἡρακλέων,  
ἀπέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ  
Ξενοκράτης καὶ Χρύσιππος· ἔτι δὲ  
Δημόκριτος εὐχόμενος εὐλόγχων εἰδώλων  
τυγχάνειν δῆλος ἦν ἔτερα δυστράπελα καὶ  
μοχθηρὰς γινώσκων ἔχοντα προαιρέσεις  
τινὰς καὶ ὄρμάς.

5.17.4 | While Heracles was silently thinking something towards him, Philip said, "O Heracles, it was not only Empedocles who left behind lesser spirits, but also Plato, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus. Moreover, Democritus, wishing to encounter the clear images of idols, clearly knew that there were other troublesome and wicked choices and impulses."

5.17.5 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τοιούτων ἀκήκοα λόγον ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἄφρονος οὐδὲ ἀλαζόνος. Αἰμιλιανοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ἡτορος, οὗ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνιοι διακηκόσιν, Ἐπιθέρσης ἦν πατὴρ, ἐμὸς πολίτης καὶ διδάσκαλος γραμματικῶν.

5.17.5 | I have heard a speech about the death of such men from a man who is neither foolish nor boastful. For it was from Aemilianus the speaker, of whom some of us have heard, that his father was Epitheres, a citizen of mine and a teacher of grammar.

5.17.6 | οὗτος ἔφη ποτὲ πλέων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπιβῆναι νεώς ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα καὶ συχνοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀγούσης· ἐσπέρας δ' ἥδη περὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους ἀποσβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ναῦν διαφερομένην πλησίον γενέσθαι Παξῶν· ἔγρηγορέναι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ πίνειν, ἐπεὶ δεδειπνηκότες ἥσαν· ἔξαίφνης δὲ φωνῆς ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῶν Παξῶν ἀκουσθῆναι, Θαμνοῦν τινὸς βοῆ καλοῦντος, ὥστε θαυμάζειν· ὅ γὰρ Θαμνοῦς Αἴγυπτιος ἦν κυβερνήτης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων γνώριμος πολλοῖς ἀπ' ὄνόματος. δἰς μὲν οὖν κληθέντα σιωπῆσαι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ καλοῦντι, κάκεῖνον ἐπιτείναντα τὴν φωνὴν εἴπειν, ὅπόταν γένη κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, ἀπάγγειλον ὅτι Πάν οἱ μέγας τέθνηκεν.

5.17.6 | He once said that more ships were sailing into Italy, carrying trade goods and many passengers. But by evening, near the Echinades islands, the wind died down and the ship drifted close to Paxos. Most of the crew were awake and drinking, since they had already had dinner. Suddenly, a voice was heard from the island of Paxos, calling out to someone named Thamnous, which caused amazement. For Thamnous was an Egyptian pilot, not well known by many of those on board. When he was called twice, he remained silent, but on the third call, he listened to the one calling him. And when he raised his voice to speak, he said that Pan the great had died.

5.17.7 | τοῦτο ἀκούσαντας ὁ Ἐπιθέρσης ἔφη πάντας ἐκπλαγῆναι, καὶ διδόντας ἐαυτοῖς λόγον, εἴτε ποιῆσαι βέλτιον εἴη τὸ προστεταγμένον, εἴτε μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔὰν, οὕτω γνῶναι τὸν Θαμνοῦν, εἰ μὲν εἴη πνεῦμα, παραπλεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, νηνεμίας δὲ καὶ γαλήνης περὶ τὸν τόπον γενομένης ἀνειπεῖν ἢ κουσεν.

5.17.7 | When Epitheres heard this, he said that everyone was amazed, and they were debating among themselves whether it would be better to follow the orders given or not to meddle. But if they were to know Thamnous, whether he was alive, they should sail quietly, and when calm and peaceful conditions returned to the area, they could report what they had heard.

5.17.8 | ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Παλῶδες, οὔτε πνεύματος ὄντος οὔτε κλύδωνος, ἐκ

5.17.8 | When it happened at Palodes, with neither wind nor wave, seeing Thamnous

πρύμνης βλέποντα τὸν Θαμονῦν πρὸς τὴν γῆν εἰπεῖν, ὃσπερ ἥκουσεν, ὅτι Πᾶν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν, οὐ φθῆναι δὲ παυσάμενον αὐτὸν, καὶ γενέσθαι μέγαν οὐχ ἐνδεῖ, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν στεναγμὸν, ἅμα θαυμασμῷ μεμιγμένον.

from the stern, he said, just as he had heard, that Pan the great had died. But he did not stop there; instead, there arose a great sigh, not from one person, but from many, mixed with amazement.

5.17.9 | οἵα δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρόντων ταχὺ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ σκεδασθῆναι καὶ Θαμνοῦν γενέσθαι μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ Τίβεριου Καίσαρος· οὕτω δὲ πιστεῦσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὸν Τίβεριον ὡστε διαπυνθάνεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν περὶ τοῦ Πανός· εἴκαζειν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας τὸν ἔξ Έρμοῦ καὶ Πηγελόπης γεγενημένον.

5.17.9 | As many people were present, the news quickly spread in Rome, and Thamnous was summoned by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius believed the news so much that he began to inquire and search for information about Pan. Those around him, who loved to talk, often guessed that he was the son of Hermes and Penelope.

5.17.10 | ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος εἶχε τῶν παρόντων ἐνίους μάρτυρας, Αίμιλιανοῦ τοῦ γέροντος ἀκηκοότας ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἑρήμους σποράδας, ὡν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὄνομάζεσθαι· πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ιστορίας καὶ θέας ἔνεκα πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τῶν ἑρήμων, ἔχουσαν οὐ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας, ιεροὺς δὲ καὶ ἀσύλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὄντας.

5.17.10 | Philip had some witnesses among those present, who had heard from the old Aemilianus. Demetrius said that there are many deserted islands around the British Isles, some of which are named after spirits and heroes. He himself sailed there for the sake of history and to see the king's procession to the nearest of the deserted islands, which had not many people living on them, but all were sacred and uninhabited, belonging to the Britons.

5.17.11 | ἀφιγμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ στὶ σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημίας πολλὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ πνεύματα καταρραγῆναι, καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας ὅτι τῶν κρειττόνων τινὸς ἕκλειψις γέγονεν· ὡς γὰρ λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος, φάναι, δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔχει, σβεννύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμψεις εὔμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις

5.17.11 | When he arrived recently, there was great confusion about the weather and many signs appeared, and strong winds blew, and storms fell. After he had calmed down, the islanders said that there had been an eclipse of something greater. For they said, just like a lamp when it is lit has no danger, but when it goes out it is very sad for many, so great souls have pleasant and carefree moments when they shine, but their extinguishing and destruction

μὲν, ὡς νῦν, πνεύματα καὶ χαλάζας  
τρέφουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμικοῖς πάθεσι  
τὸν ἄέρα φαρμάττουσιν.

5.17.12 | ἔκεī μέντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ᾧ  
τὸν Κρόνον καθεῖρχθαι φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ<sup>τοῦ</sup> Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα· δεσμὸν γὰρ  
αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ  
περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὄπαδοὺς καὶ  
θεράποντας.”

5.17.13 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Πλούταρχος.  
ἐπιτηρῆσαι δὲ ἄξιον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ φησι  
τὸν θάνατον γεγονέναι τοῦ δαίμονος.  
οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ Τιβέριον καθ' ὃν ὁ  
ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τὰς σὺν ἀνθρώποις  
πιοιούμενος διατριβάς πᾶν γένος δαιμόνων  
έξελαύνειν τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀναγέγραπται βίου· ὥστε ἥδη τινὰς τῶν  
δαιμόνων γονυπετεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ίκετεύειν  
μὴ τῷ περιμένοντι αὐτοὺς Ταρτάρῳ  
παραδοῦναι.

5.17.14 | ἔχεις οὖν καὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων  
καθαιρέσεως τὸν χρόνον, οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐξ  
αἰῶνος ιστορηθείσης, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῆς  
ἀνθρωποθυσίας τῶν ἔθνῶν τὴν κατάλυσιν  
οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὸ προελθὸν εἰς πάντας  
ἀνθρώπους κήρυγμα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς  
διδασκαλίας γεγενημένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς νεωτέρας ιστορίας  
έληγχθω.

## Section 18

5.18.1 | Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσι γνώριμα  
τυγχάνει τὰ είρημένα, εῦ μοι δοκεῖ  
έντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὰ πᾶσι πρόδηλα τοῖς

often bring storms and hail, and sometimes  
they poison the air with diseases.

5.17.12 | There is indeed one island there,  
where Cronus is kept imprisoned, sleeping  
under the guard of Briarus. For they have  
devised a bond to keep him in sleep. And  
there are many spirits around him who  
serve and attend to him.

5.17.13 | So much for Plutarch. It is worth  
noting the time when he says the death of  
the spirit happened. This was the one  
during Tiberius, by whom our savior drove  
out all kinds of spirits that were mixed with  
humans, as recorded in the life of humans.  
So much so that some of the spirits were  
kneeling before him and begging not to be  
handed over to the one who remains in  
Tartarus.

5.17.14 | So you have the time of the  
removal of the spirits, which has not been  
recorded at any other time in history. Just  
as the end of human sacrifice among the  
nations did not happen at any other time  
than after the preaching of the gospel  
teaching had come to all people. These  
things, then, should be examined by us  
from the more recent history.

5.18.1 | But since what has been said is not  
known to everyone, I think it is good to  
move on to what is clear to all lovers of

φιλολόγοις μεταβῆναι, καὶ τοὺς παλαιτάους τῷ χρόνῳ χρησμοὺς ἔξετάσαι ἀνὰ στόμα πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀδομένους, κάν ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ φοιτῶσι παραδιδομένους.

learning. And to examine the oldest oracles sung by all the Greeks, and those shared in the city gatherings among those who attend for education.

5.18.2 | ἄνωθεν τοίνυν ἀναλαβὼν τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας ἐπίσκεψαι οἴα ὁ Πύθιος Ἀθηναίοις χρᾶ λοιμῷ πιεσθεῖσι διὰ τὴν Ἀνδρόγεω τελευτήν. ἐλοίμωσσον δὲ πάντες Ἀθηναίοι δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς θάνατον, τῆς δ' ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας τυχεῖν ἡξίουν.

5.18.2 | Therefore, taking up the old histories, let us look at how the Pythian oracle spoke to the Athenians who were suffering from a plague because of the death of Androgeos. All the Athenians were afflicted by the plague due to the death of one man, and they believed they deserved help from the gods.

5.18.3 | τί ποτ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ θεὸς παραινεῖ; τάχα πού τις οἴήσεται δικαιοσύνης τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπιμέλεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ἢ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πλημμελήματι, καί τι τῶν δσίων καὶ εύσεβῶν ἔκτελεῖν, ὡς ἀν τῶν θεῶν τούτοις ἴλασκομένων. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἦν ούδέν.

5.18.3 | What then does the savior and god advise them? Perhaps someone might think to take care of justice and kindness, and other virtues, or to repent for their wrongdoing, and to perform some of the holy and pious acts, so that they might be forgiven by the gods. But there was none of this.

5.18.4 | τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέλον ἦν τούτων τοῖς θαυμασίοις θεοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς παμπονήροις δαίμοσι; πάλιν οὖν τὰ αὐτοῖς συγγενῆ καὶ οἰκεῖα, τὰ ἀνηλεῖ καὶ ὥμιλα καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα, λοιμὸν ἐπὶ λοιμῷ φασι καὶ θανάτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

5.18.4 | For what could be pleasing to those wonderful gods, especially to the very harsh spirits? Again, they say that the same things related to them, the cruel, brutal, and inhuman acts, bring plague upon plague and death upon death.

5.18.5 | κελεύει γοῦν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔτους ἐκάστου πέμπειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἴδιων παίδων ἄρρενας ἐνήβους ἐπτὰ καὶ θηλειῶν ἴσαριθμους παρθένους, ἀνθ' ἐνὸς δέκα καὶ τέσσαρας ἀναιτίους καὶ ἀπράγμονας, ούκ εἰς ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος τυθησομένους ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ τῷ Μίνωῃ·

5.18.5 | So Apollo commands them to send every year seven young boys and an equal number of young girls from their own children, instead of one, fourteen innocent and untroubled ones, not just once, but to be sent every year to Crete to Minos. Thus, even up to the time of Socrates, more than

ώστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Σωκράτους χρόνων πλέον ἡ πεντακοσίοις ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὁ δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ ἀπανθωπότατος δασμὸς μνήμην παρ' Ἀθηναῖοις διεφύλαττε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄρα τὸ καὶ Σωκράτει τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου πεποιημένον.

5.18.6 | τίθησι γοῦν ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀπελέγχει τὸν χρησμὸν εῦ μάλα τις τῶν νέων ἀνδρικῷ λογισμῷ γοήτων φωρὰν ἐν οἰκείῳ συγγραμματὶ πεποιημένος οὐ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν φωνωι·, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἄκουε, πρὸς τὸν χρησμῷδὸν ὥδε πως ἀποτεινομένου·

## Section 19

5.19.1 | "Τί δ'; οὐκ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἄνδρόγεων ἀποχτείναντες, κτείναντες, καὶ λοιμώξαντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ, εἴπον ἀν μετανοεῖν; ἢ μὴ λεγόντων, οὐ σὲ προσῆκον ἦν εἴπεν μετανοεῖτέ μᾶλλον ἡ λοιμοῦ καὶ λιμοῦ τέλος ἔσσεται, ἦνπερ ἐαυτῶν σώματ' ἀπὸ κλήρου ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ νέμητε Μίνωι, εἰς ἄλλα διὰν ἀποστέλλοντες, ἀμοιβήντων ἀδίκων ἔργων· οὕτω θεὸς Ἰλαος ἔσται.

5.19.2 | ἐῶ γὰρ τὸ Ἄνδρόγεω μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀποθανόντος ὑμᾶς ἀγανακτεῖν, τῶν δὲ τοσούτων καὶ πανταχόθι καὶ πάντοτε καθεύδειν. καίτοι εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐδαλασσοκράτει τότε ὁ Μίνως, καὶ μέγα ἐδύνατο, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευε, καὶ ἦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δικαιότατος, καὶ νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς, καὶ Ὁμήρω ἐδόκει Δίος μεγάλου εἶναι ὀαριστὴς, καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐν Ἀΐδου

five hundred years later, this terrible and most inhuman tribute was kept in memory by the Athenians. This was indeed what made Socrates postpone his death.

5.18.6 | So someone among the young men, with a manly thought, puts together the oracle very well and challenges it, having made a trap in his own writing, not even listening to his own voice; but do not listen to my words, as the oracle poet is somehow responding like this.

5.19.1 | Why then, did the Athenians, after killing Androgeos, and suffering from a plague because of it, say they would regret it? Or, if they did not say this, was it not fitting to say that they should rather regret it than that there will be an end to plague and famine, if they send away from their lot both male and female bodies to Minos, sending them to the bright sea, as a payment for their unjust deeds? Thus, the god will be favorable.

5.19.2 | Let me allow you to be angry because Androgeos died in Athens, while so many others everywhere and always sleep. And yet, knowing that Minos was powerful at that time, and could do great things, and all of Greece honored him, he was also very just, and a good lawgiver. Homer thought he was a close friend of great Zeus, and after dying, he was a judge in Hades, and you, because of this, are bringing these

δικαστὴς, καὶ σὺ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τάς δίκας ταύτας εἰσεπράττου.

5.19.3 | ἀλλὰ παραλείπω γε οὐδὲν ταῦτα ὑμῶν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς φονεῖς ἔάσαντες τοὺς οὐδὲν αἴτίους πέμπειν ἐκελεύετε ἀποθανουμένους, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα, ὃν ἀναδεικνύναι ἐμέλλετε κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων δικαστὴν, ὃς οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἡπίατατο δικάσαι. καίτοι πόσους ὑμεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τῶν κορῶν δίκαιοι πέμπειν ἔστε Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς ἀδίκως Αυδρόγεω απεκτείνατε;

5.19.4 | 'Ο δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος συγγραφεὺς δόποσοις ὁ Ἀπόλων διὰ τῆς τῶν χρησμῶν ἀμφιβολίας θανάτου αἴτιος τιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀναλαβὼν ἴστορίαν, εύθυνει λέγων οὕτως

## Section 20

5.20.1 | "Ἐπεὶ δέ πως ἐπεμνήσθην τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, φέρε τὰ καθήκοντα διέλθω τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακείδας c διηγήματος. οὕτοι γάρ ποθ' ὠρμημένοι κατὰτὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐσφάλησαν. Ἀριστόμαχος οὖν ὁ Ἀριδαίον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἀριδαῖος ἀποτεθνήκει ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ, ἔρχεται ἀκουσόμενος παρὰ σοῦ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἐπεθύμει δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατήρ.

5.20.2 | σὺ δ' αὐτῷ λέγεις νίκην σοι φαίνουσι θεοὶ δι' ὁδοῦ στενύγρων, καὶ ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὠρμησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ μάχῃ τελευτᾶ. τούτου υἱὸς ὁ Τίμενος κακοδαιμῶν ἦκεν ἐκ κακοδαιμόνων τρίτος σὺ δ' αὐτῷ παρεγγυᾶς ἂ καὶ Ἀριστομάχῳ

cases on his behalf.

5.19.3 | But I will leave all this aside, and that you command to send the killers, who are not at fault, to die, and this against the man whom you were about to reveal as a common judge of men, who did not even wish to judge this. And yet, how many just ones do you think the gods are sending to the Athenians instead of these crows, whom you unjustly killed Androgeos?

5.19.4 | This same writer, who has become the cause of death for those through the uncertainty of the oracles of Apollo, taking up the story about the Heracleidae, speaks clearly like this.

5.20.1 | If I somehow remembered this speech, let me go through the events concerning the Heracleidae. For they, having been eager to invade the Peloponnese through the Isthmus, were caught. Therefore, Aristomachus, the son of Aridaios, since Aridaios had died in the invasion, comes to hear from you about the journey; he desired it just as his father did.

5.20.2 | And you say to him, 'The gods show you victory through the narrow paths,' and he who was eager to attempt to fight at the Isthmus meets his end in battle. The son of this man, the unfortunate Timenos, has come as the third from the unfortunate

τῷ πατρί· καὶ ὅς, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνός σοι, ἔφη,  
πεισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ.

ones; and you give him the same instructions as you did to Aristomachus, his father. And he, but also that one, said to you, having been persuaded, died in the invasion.

5.20.3 | καὶ σὺ ἔφης, οὐ κατὰ γῆν λέγω στενύγρην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν εύρυγάστορα, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, κάκεῖνος ἦει κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, δόξαν ἐμποιήσας ὅτι κατὰ γῆν εἰσίοι, καὶ μέσον στρατοπεδεύεται Ναυάτου καὶ Τυπαίου· καὶ διακοντίζει Κάρνον νον ἵπποτην φυλάνδρου τὸν Αἴτωλὸν, εὐ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ποιῶν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνεκύρησε νόσος πλησίᾳ καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀριστόδημος, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ Τήμενος ἐλθὼν ἀπεμέμφετο τῇ ἀποτυχίᾳ, καὶ ἤκουσεν ὅτι ποιηὴν ἀνεμάξατο τοῦ Θείου ἄγγελου, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐχῆς Ἀπόλλωνι Καρνείῳ ποίημα τὸ διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ λέγον ἄγγελον ἡμέτερον κτείνας ἀνεμάξαο ποιηῆν.

5.20.3 | And you said, 'I do not speak of the narrow path on land, but of the wide-bellied one, since it was difficult to say by the sea.' And that one was going by the sea, creating the impression that they were entering by land, and he camped between Naupatos and Typaios. And he served as a helper to the horseman Karnos, the Aetolian, who, it seems to me, was doing something. And when a disease broke out nearby and Aristodemus died, they retreated again, and Timenos, coming, blamed the failure. And he heard that he had incurred the punishment of the divine messenger, and the offering for the prayer to Apollo Carneios was the saying through the oracle, 'Having killed our messenger, you have incurred punishment.'

5.20.4 | τί οὖν φησιν ὁ Τήμενος; τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ πῶς ὀν ἰλασαίμην ὑμᾶς; εὔχεο Καρνείῳ τελέειν σέβας Ἀπόλλωνι. ὡ μιαρώτατε καὶ ἀναισχυντότατε μάντι· εἴτ' οὐκ ἡπίστασο ὅτι διαμαρτήσεται τῆς στενύγρης ὁ τὴν στενύγρην ἀκούσας; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐπιστάμενος χρᾶς, ἔπειτα περιορᾶς διαμαρτάνοντα.

5.20.4 | What then does Timenos say? What must he do? And how could I appease you? 'Pray to Carneios to complete the offering to Apollo.' O most wretched and shameless seer! Do you not know that the one who hears the narrow path will miss it? Yet, knowing this, you still act, and then you overlook the one who is missing it.

5.20.5 | ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολος ἡ στενύγρη, ὅπως νικήσαντι μὲν αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῆς νίκης, ἥττηθέντι δὲ μηδὲν αἴτιος εἶναι ἥττης, ἔχῃς δὲ ἀποφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν εύρυγάστορα. ἀλλ' ἦκεν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τὴν εύρυγάστορα, καὶ

5.20.5 | But the narrow path is uncertain, so that if you seem to be the cause of victory when you win, you are not the cause of defeat when you lose, and you will have to escape to the wide-bellied one. But

ούκ ἔτυχεν. εὗρηται πάλιν είς ἀποφυγὴν  
Κάρνος ἄγγελος ἀποθανῶν.

a man came to the wide-bellied one and did not succeed. Karnos is found again as a messenger, dying.

5.20.6 | καίτοι πῶς, σα κράτιστε, δὲ  
κηδόμενος οὕτω τοῦ Κάρνου ἄλλοις μὲν  
αὐτὸν θεοφορεῖσθαι ἐκέλευες, ἐαυτῷ δὲ  
οὐ; καὶ δέον σώζειν ἵνα ὅντα Κάρνον, αὐτὸν  
τε περιεῖδες καὶ ἐναποθανόντι αὐτῷ  
‘Ομηρικὴν νόσον ἐνέβαλες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος  
καὶ εὔχας ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἀφηγοῦ;

5.20.6 | And yet, how is it, most powerful one, that you ordered others to carry Karnos as a god, but not for yourself? And it is necessary to save Karnos while he is still alive, yet you both let him be and, as he was dying, you brought a Homeric disease upon him in the crowd and spoke prayers for the disease?

5.20.7 | εἰ δ' εὔχόμενος οὐδὲν ἤνυεν, ἄλλο  
τι ἀν ἔξεύροιτο ἄκος τῷ σῷ σοφίσματι, καὶ  
οὐδέποτ' ἀν ἐλήξατε, οἱ μὲν ἐρωτῶντες, σὺ  
δὲ σοφιζόμενος, ἵνα καὶ νικῶσι καὶ  
ηττωμένοις ἡς ἀφώρατος κακουργῶν.  
ἰκανὸν γὰρ τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία  
παραβουκολῆσαι, ὡς μηδ' εἰ χιλιάκις  
σφαγεῖν ἀπιστεῖν σοι ποιῆσαι.'

5.20.7 | If praying achieves nothing, then you might find some other remedy with your wisdom, and you would never stop, with some asking questions and you thinking, so that you could be both victorious and invisible to the defeated. For the passion and desire are enough to lead astray, so that even if they were sacrificed a thousand times, they would not believe you could do it.

5.20.8 | Τούτοις ἄξιον ἐπισυνάψαι τὰ περὶ  
Κροῖσον. Λυδίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσεν,  
ἄνωθεν ἐκ παλαιῶν είς αὐτὸν ἥκουσαν  
παραλαβών τὴν ἀρχήν εἴτα τι πλέον τῶν  
προγόνων κατορθώσειν ἐλπίσας τοὺς  
θεοὺς εὐδεβεῖν διενοήθη, καὶ διὰ πείρας  
ἐλθὼν ἀπάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλω  
προκρίνει, κατέπειτα κρατῆρι καὶ πλίνθοις  
χρυσαῖς ἀναθημάτων τε μυρίων πλήθει  
κοσμήσας τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐν  
όλιγῳ χρόνῳ πλουσιώτατον ἀπέφηνεν,  
οὐδ' ὅσα πρὸς θυσίας ἔξήρκει παραλιπών  
τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ.

5.20.8 | It is worth adding what is about Croesus. This man ruled Lydia, having received the throne from ancient times. Then, hoping to achieve something more than his ancestors, he thought to honor the gods. And after trying, he chose Apollo at Delphi above all. Then, he adorned the temple with golden offerings, mixing in many vessels and bricks, and in a short time made it the richest in all the land, leaving nothing lacking for sacrifices due to his generosity.

5.20.9 | ἐπειδὴ οὖν τὰ τοσαῦτα προδεδάνειστο τῷ θεῷ, ταῖς τῆς εύσεβείας εἰκότως Λυδὸς ὁ Λυδὸς ἐπιθαρσῶν μεγαλουργίαις στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας διανοεῖται, αὐξῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς μέγα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίᾳ προμηθούμενος.

5.20.9 | Since so much had been dedicated to the god, the Lydian, encouraged by the acts of piety, plans to march against the Persians, thinking to increase his power greatly with the help of the god.

5.20.10 | τί οὖν ὁ θαυμάσιος χρησμωδός; αὐτὸς ἔκεινος ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὁ Πύθιος, ὁ φίλιος, τὸν ἱκέτην, τὸν εὔσεβη, τὸν πρόσφυγα, οὐχ ὅπως τῆς ἀλλοτρίας τυχεῖν ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσεῖν παρασκευάζει, οὕ τι ἐκών, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀποβησομένου· (μὴ γάρ τὸ μέλλον εἰδὼς ὁ θεὸς, ἐπεὶ μὴ θεὸς ἦν μηδέ τις ἀνθρώπου κρείττων δύναμις, ἐπὶ θάτερα σοφιστικῶς τὸν χρησμὸν ἡρμόσατο·) καὶ μονονυχὶ φήσας Κροῖσος Ἀλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει, τὴν ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς τὸν εὔσεβη κατελθοῦσαν τῆς Λυδίας ἀρχὴν, μεγάλην οὖσαν γαῖ πολυχρόνιον, καταστρέψει, τῆς ἄγαν περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς τοῦτον ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεοφιλεῖ τὸν καρπόν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ συγγραφεὺς οἶα οὐκ ἀλόγως διαγαναχτεῖ ἄκουε

5.20.10 | What then is the wonderful oracle? It is that one at Delphi, the Pythian, the beloved, who prepares for the suppliant, the pious, the refugee, not to gain a foreign power, but also to fall from his own. It seems to me that he does this unwillingly, and more out of ignorance of what will happen. (For the god, knowing the future, since he was not a god, nor was there any human power greater, cleverly arranged the oracle.) And in a single night, he says, 'Crossing Halys, Croesus will destroy a great power,' that which had come down from his ancestors to the pious ruler of Lydia, a great land of long duration, he will ruin, giving back to the god-loving the fruit of his great concern for him. On this, the writer seems to be unreasonably angry, listen.

## Section 21

5.21.1 | “Εοικας δὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰ μὲν ὅσα ψάμμου ἄξιά ἔστιν είδέναι, καλὸν δὲ μηδὲν είδέναι. τὸ γοῦν ὄσμὴν ἑς φρένας σὰς ἐλθεῖν κραταιρίνοιο χελώνησ ἐψομένης ψάμμου ἄξιον ἐπίστημά ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀληθὲς μὲν ὃν οὐδ' αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ προσεοικός γε ὅμως τῷ ἀλαζόνι καὶ ἀναιδεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς κενοῖς εἰδήμασι τὴν ὄφρὺν ἐπαίροντι, καὶ τὸ Λύδιον ἀνδράποδον τὸν Κροῖσον πείθοντι μὴ καταφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ·

5.21.1 | It seems that truly, as much as is worth knowing about sand, it is better not to know anything. For the smell of the strong-shelled turtle coming from the sand is worth knowing, but it is not true itself. Still, it resembles the boastful and shameless person who raises his brow over empty knowledge, and it persuades the Lydian slave, Croesus, not to despise it.

5.21.2 | ὃς μετ' ὄλιγον ἐπὶ τῇ πείρᾳ ἤμελλεν ἀνερωτᾶν σε εἰ στρατεύοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ σύμβουλον ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ μανίας καὶ πλεονεξίας. Ὡς οὐκ ὥκνησας εἴπεῖν ὅτι 'Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει.

5.21.3 | ἔκεινο μέντοι εὖ, ὅτι σοι ούδεν ἔμελεν εἴ τι ἄτοπον πείσεται ὑπὸ ἀμφιβόλου χρησμοῦ ἐπαρθεὶς ἐπ' ἄλλοτριαν ἀρχὴν, ούδε' εἰ πικροί τινες ἀνθρωποι καὶ δέον ἐπαινεῖν σε ἐπὶ τῷ τραχηλίσαι μαινόμενον ἀνθρωπὸν, καὶ προσεγκαλοῖεν ὡς ούδε ἰσόρροπον φωνὴν ἀφέντα, ἵνα ὁκνήσειεν καὶ βουλεύσαιτο ὁ Λυδός· ἀλλὰ 'καταλῦσαι' καθ' ἵνα τρόπον ἔστι νοεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ τὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἄλλοτριαν περιποιήσασθαι.

5.21.4 | ὁ μὲν γάρ ἡμίμηδος ἢ ἡμιπέρσης Κῦρος, ἢ ὁ μητρόθεν μὲν ἐκ τυραννικοῦ, πατρόθεν δὲ ἔξιδιωτικοῦ γένους ἡμίονος ὃν ἐν τῷ αἰνίγματι, παρεμφαίνει μὲν τὴν ἔκτυφον μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄμαντιν μαντικὴν, εἴπερ οὐκ ἥδη μὴ οὐ συνήσοντα τοῦ αἰνίγματος ὁ μάντις.

5.21.5 | εἰ δ' οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ πονηρίας ἐπαῖξε, βαβαὶ οἶα τὰ θεῖα παίγνια ἔστιν. εἰ δ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔχρην οὕτω γενέσθαι, ἀνιερώτατος μὲν οὗτος λόγων σοφιστικῶν τί δ' ὅμως, εἰ οὕτως ἔχρην γενέσθαι, σὺ δὲ δύστηνος ἐν Δελφοῖς καθέζῃ τὰ κενὰ καὶ μάταια ἄδων; τί δὲ σοῦ ὄφελος ἡμῖν; τί δὲ μαινόμεθα οἴ πανταχόθεν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ σὲ διώκοντες; τί δὲ

5.21.2 | Who, after a little while, was about to ask you if he should march against the Persians, and to make a plan about his own madness and greed. To whom you did not hesitate to say that 'Crossing Halys, he will destroy a great power.'

5.21.3 | That is good, that you did not care if he would suffer something strange, being led by a doubtful oracle against a foreign power, nor if some bitter people should praise you for choking a madman, and call you as if you had given up a balanced voice, so that the Lydian would hesitate and think. But 'to destroy' in the way it is understood among the Greeks does not mean to fall from his own power, but to gain possession of another's.

5.21.4 | For he is either half-Median or half-Persian, being the son of a tyrant on his mother's side and of a private family on his father's side, and in the riddle, he shows the blinding muse, but also the prophetic muse, if indeed the seer does not understand the riddle.

5.21.5 | If he was not playing out of ignorance, but out of luxury and cunning, alas, what divine games these are! But if not even this, but that it had to happen this way, this is the most impious of clever words. But still, if it had to happen this way, why do you, poor one, sit at Delphi singing empty and vain things? What benefit is this to us? Why are we madly chasing you from

σὺ κνισιᾶς;”

all over the earth? And what is it to you?

5.21.6 | Τοιαῦτα τῆς Οίνομάου παρρησίας τὰ τῆς τῶν γοήτων φωρᾶς, κυνικῆς οὐκ ἀπηλαγμένα πικρίας. ούδε γάρ δαίμονος, μὴ ὅτι θεοῦ, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Πανέλλησι θαυμαζομένους χρησμοὺς εἶναι βούλεται, γοήτων δ' ἄνδρῶν πλάνας καὶ σοφίσματα ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ τῶν πολλῶν ἐσκευωρημένα· ὥν ἐπείπερ ἀπαξ ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο ἐμποδὼν τοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλέγχων ἐπακοῦσαι, καὶ πρώτου γε δι' οὗ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐσευτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἡπατῆσθαι, γράφων ὥδε

5.21.6 | Such are the bold words of Oinomaos, not free from the bitterness of the Cynics. For he does not want the oracles admired by all the Greeks to be from a god, but rather the tricks and cleverness of deceivers among men, prepared to fool the many. Since we have mentioned this once, nothing would prevent us from listening to the accusations of others, especially since he himself claims to be deceived by the Clarian Apollo, writing this way.

## Section 22

5.22.1 | "Ἄλλὰ δὴ ἔδει τι καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς κωμῳδίας μετασχεῖν καὶ μὴ σεμνύνεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἐμπεσόντας εἰς τὴν κοινήν παραπληξίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν εἰ πεῖν, ἢν καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ σοφίας ἐνεπορευσάμεθα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς Κλάριε, παρὰ σοῦ· ἔστιν ἐν Τρηχῖνος αὕτη κῆπος Ἡρακλήιοςπάντ' ἔχων θάλλοντα, πᾶσι δρεπόμενος πανημαδὸν, οὐδ' ὀλιζοῦται, βέβριθε δ' ὑδάτεσιν διηνεκές,

5.22.1 | But indeed, we should also take part in the comedy and not act as if we have not fallen into the common confusion, and if we are to drink, which we have also learned about wisdom from Asia, O Clarius, from you; there is in Trichinos a garden of Heracles, full of all kinds of plants, gathering everything all at once, and it does not lack anything, being constantly heavy with water.

5.22.2 | εἴτ' ἔγώ ἀκούσας ὁ βάκηλος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐψυσθην, καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλήιου κήπου θάλλοντος Ἡσιόδειόν τινα ὄνειροπολῶν ἰδρῶτα διὰ τὴν Τρηχῖνα, καὶ ὥριδίην αὐθις ζωὴν διὰ τὸν θάλλοντα κῆπον.

5.22.2 | Then I, hearing this, was also inspired by Heracles, and while the garden of Heracles was blooming, I dreamed of some Hesiod while sweating through Trichinos, and again I found life easy because of the flourishing garden.

5.22.3 | εἴτα μοι ἐπερομένω εἴ μοι συναίρονται οἱ θεοὶ 5 εἴς τις ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν λέγει, ἐπομνύμενος αὐτοὺς τοὺς

5.22.3 | Then, when I was asked whether the gods gather together with me, one of the many says, swearing by those gods who

συναιρομένους θεοὺς, ἡ μὴν παρὰ σοῦ  
άκηκοέναι αὐτὸ τοῦτο Καλλιστράτῳ  
δεδομένον Ποντικῷ τινὶ ἐμπόρῳ.

5.22.4 | ἔγὼ οὖν ὡς ἥκουσα, πῶς οἴει  
ἡγανάκτησα, ὡς δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
ἀποστερούμενος; ἀλλὰ καίπερ ὅμως  
δυσφορῶν ἀνεσκοπούμην τὸν ἔμπορον, εἴ  
τι κάκεῖνος ἔθαλφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους·  
ἔφαίνετο δὴ οὖν κάκεῖνος πόνον τινὰ  
πονεῖν, καὶ κέρδους ἐφίεσθαι, καὶ βίον τινὰ  
ἡδὺν ἐκ τοῦ κέρδους προσδοκᾶν.

5.22.5 | ὡς δ' ἔφαίνετο ὁ ἔμπορος  
ἐξισούμενος, οὐκέτι τὸν χρησμὸν ἐδεχόμην,  
οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλ' ἀπηξίουν τῶν  
αὐτῶν κοινωνεῖν, εἴς τε τοὺς παρόντας  
πόνους αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὰς ἐν  
έλπidi φάτνας.

5.22.6 | ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ λῃστὴς ἄμοιρος  
ἔφαίνετο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, οὐδ' ὁ στρατιώτης,  
οὐδ' ἔρῶν ἀνὴρ, οὐδ' ἔρῶσα γυνὴ, οὐδὲ  
κόλαξ, οὐδὲ ρήτωρ, οὐδὲ συκοφάντης.  
ἐκάστῳ γάρ ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν  
πόνον, προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ τὴν εύφροσύνην."

5.22.7 | Ταῦτα ἐκθέμενος εὐθὺς  
ἐπισυνάπτει ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐρωτήσας  
καὶ τρίτον οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἔγνω τοὺς  
θαυμασίους, μόνω δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀσαφείας  
σκότῳ τὴν σΦῶν ἄγνοιαν ἐπικρύπτοντας.  
λέγει δ' οὖν

gather together, that indeed I have heard  
this from you, given to Callistratus by some  
merchant from Pontus.

5.22.4 | So when I heard this, how do you  
think I felt angry, since I was being  
deprived of virtue by him? But even though  
I was feeling bad, I was watching the  
merchant to see if he was also being helped  
by Heracles. It seemed that he too was  
suffering some pain, and he was hoping for  
profits, and he was expecting some sweet  
life from those profits.

5.22.5 | As the merchant seemed to be  
getting equal, I no longer accepted the  
oracle, nor Heracles, but I rejected sharing  
in the same things, looking at their present  
struggles and the hopes they had in mind.

5.22.6 | But neither the thief seemed to be  
without the oracle, nor the soldier, nor the  
man in love, nor the woman in love, nor the  
flatterer, nor the speaker, nor the informer.  
For each one desires to lead the pain, but  
hopes for the joy.

5.22.7 | After stating these things, he  
immediately adds that having asked a  
second time and a third, knowing nothing,  
he recognized the wonderful ones, but only  
the darkness of uncertainty was hiding  
their ignorance. And he says therefore,

## Section 23

5.23.1 | "Επεὶ δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας ἥδη πρὸ δόδοῦ ἦν, ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἔδει τοῦ ξεναγωγήσοντος ἐπὶ τὴν σοφίαν, ἅπορος δὲ ἐφαύνετο οὗτος, σὲ ἐδεόμην καὶ τούτου γενέσθαι ἐνδείκτην ἐν τε τοῖσιν εὐπελέεσσιν ἡδ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν χρέος θήσεται, τὸ δ' ἔκτεκμαρθὲν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἔξεται.

5.23.2 | τί φής; εἰ δ' ἀγαλματοποιός τις ἡ ζωγράφος ἐπεθύμουν γενέσθαι καὶ διδασκάλους ἐζήτουν, ἄρα μοι ἥρκει ἀκοῦσαι ἐν τε τοῖσιν εὐπελέεσσιν', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν μαίνεσθαι εἶπον τόν λέγοντα ;

5.23.3 | ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἵσως οὐχ ἱκανὸς εἴ διανοῆσαι, ἀσάφειαν γὰρ ἔχει πολλὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἥθη· ὅπου δέ μοι ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἄμεινον πορεύεσθαι, οὐκέτ' οὕτως ἀφανὲς τῷ θεῷ, ἐκ τανυστρόφοιο λᾶας σφενδόνης ιεὶς ἀνήρχῆνας ἐναρίζειν βολαῖσιν ἀσπέτους ποιηβόρους. τούς δὲ ἀσπέτους ποιηβόρους χῆνας τίς μοι μηνύσει ὅ τι ποτε λέγουσι; τίς δὲ τὴν τανύστροφον σφενδόνην; ὁ Ἀμφιλόχος, ἢ ὁ Δωδωναῖος, ἢ σὺ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰ γενοίμην, οὐκ ἀπάγξῃ που ἀπελθὼν τῇ τανυστρόφῳ σφενδόνῃ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδιανοήτου ποιήματος;"

5.23.4 | Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτων ὅδε ἐληλεγμένων ὥρα συνιδεῖν αὐθις ἄνωθεν ὅπως τοὺς παλαιτάτους χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπελέγχει, τοὺς δὴ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἴστορίαις θαυμαζομένους.

5.23.5 | 'Πολὺς ἦν ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς

5.23.1 | Since the matters of my trade were already on the way, and it was necessary for a man to guide me toward wisdom, this one seemed at a loss. I needed you to be a guide in this, and in those easy things and for the Achaeans, he will place a debt, and what has been determined will not be small.

5.23.2 | What do you say? If someone wanted to become a sculptor or a painter and was looking for teachers, would it be enough for me to hear about those easy things, but I would not be mad at the one speaking?

5.23.3 | But perhaps you are not able to think about this, for human customs have much uncertainty. But where it is better for me to go from Colophon, it is no longer so hidden from the god, a man sending a stone from a long sling to strike down geese with unyielding shots. But who will tell me about those unyielding shots against the geese? And who about the long sling? Am I Amphilochus, or the man from Dodona, or you, if I were in Delphi, would you not somehow strangle me, going away with the long sling along with the incomprehensible poem?

5.23.4 | But indeed, since these things have been said, it is time to look again from above at how the same one examines the oldest oracles at Delphi, which are especially admired in Greek histories.

5.23.5 | There was a large Persian army

ώπλισμένος κατὰ Ἀθηναίων, ούδ' ἦν τις αὐτοῖς ἄλλῃ σωτηρίᾳς ἐλπὶς ἢ μόνος ὁ θεός· οἱ δὴ τοῦτον ὅστις ἦν οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν πάτριον ἀρωγὸν ἐπεκαλοῦντο· ὃ ἐν Δελφῖς Ἀπόλλων οὗτος ἦν.

armed against the Athenians, and there was no other hope of salvation for them except for the god alone. They were calling on him, not knowing who their ancestral helper was; this was Apollo in Delphi.

5.23.6 | τί οὖν ὁ θαυμαστὸς οὐτος;; ἀρά γε τῶν οίκειων ὑπερεμάχει; ἄρα λοιβῆς καὶ κνίσης ἔμέμνητο καὶ ᾗν αὐτῷ συνήθως ἐτέλουν τὰς ἐκατόμβας ἐπιθύοντες; οὐμενοῦν. ἀλλὰ τί φησιν; φεύγειν, καὶ φεύγειν ξύλινον τεῖχος παρασκευασμένους, οὕτω τὸ ναυτικὸν δηλῶν, δι' οὗ μόνου φησὶν αὐτοὺς σωθήσεσθαι τῆς πόλεως ἐμπρησθείσης.

5.23.6 | What then is this wonderful thing? Is he perhaps fighting against his own people? Does he remember the sacrifice and the smoke, and those things that they usually offered to him in their hecatombs? Not at all. But what does he say? To flee, and to prepare a wooden wall, thus showing that only through it does he say they will be saved when the city is burned.

5.23.7 | ὡ μεγάλης θεοῦ βοηθείας. εἴτα πολιορκίαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφιερωμένων προλέγειν δῆθεν προσποιεῖται. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δίχα χρησμοῦ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου προσδοκᾶν ἦν." Εἰκότα δῆτα ποιῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς διαπαίζει πάλιν τὴν Ἑλληνικήν ἀπάτην ἔξελέγχων ἐν τούτοις

5.23.7 | "O great help of the god! Then he pretends to prophesy not only about the siege of the other buildings around the city, but also about those dedicated to the gods. This is different from the oracle, as everyone expects it from the attack of the enemies." Indeed, the author is playfully criticizing the Greek deception in these things.

## Section 24

5.24.1 | "Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἵσως ἐθελοκάκου τινός ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ δεῖ μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν κρίσιν προάγειν τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. καὶ δὴ λεγέσθω τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὡ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; πόλιν φύγετ' ἔσχατα γαίης οὔτε γάρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδος οὔτε τὸ σῶμα, οὐ χέρες, οὐδὲ πόδες νέατοι· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείψειπῦρ τε καὶ ὁξὺς Ἄρης, συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων· πολλὰ δὲ τῇδ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα καὶ κατερείψει πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων

5.24.1 | But such things may perhaps be the work of some willing fool; those things should rather lead to judgment about the Athenians. And indeed let it be said about the Athenians: 'O miserable ones, why do you sit still? Flee the city to the ends of the earth; for neither does the head remain firm nor the body, nor hands, nor young feet. For fire and sharp Ares will strike it down; chasing with a whistling chariot. Many towers will perish here and many

νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει· οὐ που νῦν  
ἰδρῶτι ὥσούμενοι ἐστήκασιν, δείματι  
παλλόμενοι.

temples of the immortals will be destroyed by fierce fire; perhaps now they stand, flowing with sweat, trembling with fear.'

5.24.2 | ίδοὺ δή σοι τὸ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους λόγιον ' ἡπού τι μαντικὸν ἔνεστι; σὺ γὰρ οὕτως ἔθάρρεις αὐτῷ νὴ Δία, φαίνη τις ἄν. εἰ δὲ προσθείης ἂ δεομένων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέγεται, γνωσθήσεται. ίδοὺ δὴ προσκείσθω, οὐδὲ δύναται Πάλλας Δέ' Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι, λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις. . . . σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὔτις ἔπος ἑρέω, ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας· τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων. . . . τεῦχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδιοῖ εύρύοπα Ζεὺς μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὄντει· μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεξὸν ίόντα, νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί ποτε κάντιος ἔσται. ὡ Θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν, ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης.

5.24.2 | Behold, then, the saying about the Athenians. Is there perhaps some prophetic word in it? For you are encouraging him so much, by Zeus, someone might say. But if you add what is needed to help them, it will be known. Behold, let it be said: Pallas cannot appease Zeus of Olympus, though she begs with many words... But I will speak this again to you, having drawn near like iron; for the others are being caught... Zeus will grant a wooden wall to the third-born, wide-thundering, to make it unbreakable, which will benefit you and your children; and do not let you remain in horse-fighting and going forth, turning your back; yet there will still be a time when you will face it. O divine Salamis, you will destroy the children of women, either from Demeter being scattered or coming together.

5.24.3 | ἄξιός τέ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ Διός, ὃ νιὲ τοῦ Διός' ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀδελφέ· ἢ τε σπουδὴ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ ἀντισπουδία ἐπιπρέπει τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς' ὅ τε Ὁλύμπιος οὗτος ὁ τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἔξελεῖν πόλιν ἀσθενῶν, εἴ μὴ ἀπὸ Σούσων ἐπάγοι αὐτῇ τὸν ἄπειρον ἔκεīνον στρατὸν, μέγας τις ἄρα ἦν καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς Κυρείαν ἔχων, καὶ πιθανὸς ἄμα, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην κινῶν ἔθνη τοσαῦτα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μίαν πόλιν ἀνατρέψαι ἀδύνατος ὥν.

5.24.3 | Zeus of Zeus is worthy of you, O son of Zeus, but also Athena of Athena, O sister of Athena. This eagerness and the opposing eagerness are fitting for the father and the daughter, but more so for the gods. This Olympian, who is to take this one city from the weak, unless he brings the endless army from the Susians to it, was indeed great and held the whole Cyrenean land, and at the same time was persuasive, moving so many nations from Asia to Europe, yet in Europe, he is unable to overturn one city.

5.24.4 | καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ τολμηρὸς ἄμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὶ ῥιψοκίνδυνος, οὐκ οἰμώζεις; εἴπον ἀν ἄνθρωποι, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἡ Πάλλας οὐ δύναται Δί' Ὁλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι;) ἡ οὐ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ἐμήνιεν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ξύλοις' κάπειτα σὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἔσωζες, ὁ δὲ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα ἐνεπίμπρα ἐπακτῷ πυρί; οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ κεραυνὸς τηνικαῦτα.

5.24.5 | ἡ μή τι μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς τολμηροί τε ἐσμὲν καὶ ῥιψοκίνδυνοι, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες ὑμῖν οὕτω φληναφεῖν. πῶς δὲ, ὡς μάντι, ὅτι μὲν ἡ θείη Σαλαμίς ἀπολεῖ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἥδεις, πότερα δὲ σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης οὐκέτ' ἥδεις; πῶς δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἥδεις, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα τῶν γυναικῶν εἴποι μὲν ἄν τις εἶναι καὶ τὰ οίκεια, εἴποι δ' ἄν καὶ τὰ πολέμια, αἱσθόμενος τοῦ κακοτεχνήματος;

5.24.6 | περιμένειν δὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ' ἐν γὰρ δεῖ τι τούτων ἀποβήσεσθαι. ἡ γάρ τοι Σαλαμίς ἡ θείη οὐδὲ ἡττωμένων ἀφήρμοσεν ἄν, ως εἰς οἴκτον οὕτως ἐπιφωνούμενη· ἡ τε μέλλουσα τῶν νηῶν μάχη, ἥτοι που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης, καταπέπλασται τῇ ποιητικῇ σεμνολογίᾳ, ἵνα γένηται μάντευμα ἀφώρατον τῷ σοφισμῷ καὶ μὴ εὔθὺς καταφανὲς ἥ, ὅτι ἐν χειμῶνι μάχη ναυτικὴ οὐ συνίσταται.

5.24.7 | ἥδη δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ τραγωδία ἀφανής, οὐδὲ οἱ θεοὶ ἐπεισκυκλούμενοι, ὁ μὲν ἱκετεύων, ὁ δὲ οὐ κατακαμπτόμενος' χρήσιμοι τῷ μέλλοντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου παραδόξῳ ῥοπῇ, ὁ μὲν σωζομένοις, ὁ δ' ἀπολλυμένοις. εἴτε γὰρ σώζοιντο, ίδου ἀι

5.24.4 | And you, bold one, who is also reckless in nothing, do you not lament? People would say, for whom Pallas cannot appease Zeus of Olympus; or did Zeus not care for humans, but for stones and wood? And then you saved the humans, while he burned the buildings with added fire? For at that time, he did not have a thunderbolt.

5.24.5 | Or perhaps we are bold and reckless, not allowing you to talk so foolishly. How is it, O seer, that you know the divine Salamis will destroy the children of women, but you do not know whether it is from Demeter being scattered or coming together? How is it that you do not know this either, that the children of women could be both their own and the enemies', noticing the bad craftsmanship?

5.24.6 | But it is necessary to wait for what will happen, for something must come from these things. For the divine Salamis would not have been lessened, calling out as if to home; the coming battle of the ships, whether from Demeter being scattered or coming together, is wrapped in serious poetry, so that it becomes a prophecy not easily understood by cleverness and not immediately clear, that in a storm, a naval battle does not take place.

5.24.7 | But now neither is the tragedy hidden, nor are the gods surrounding it, one praying and the other not bending down; they are useful for what is to come and for the strange turn of the war, one for those being saved and the other for those

τῆς Παλλάδος λιταὶ προμεμήνυνται, ἵκαναι  
οὖσαι κάμψαι τὴν τοῦ Δῖος ὄργήν· εἴτε καὶ  
μὴ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῷ μάντει  
ἀκατασκεύαστον· οὐ γὰρ δύναται Πάλλας  
τὸν Δία ἔξιλάσασθαι· πρός τε τὰς  
ημικάκους τύχας ὁ τεχνίτης ἐκέρασε τὸ  
λόγιον, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Δῖος τῇ μὲν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
πρόθεσιν ἐκτελέσαντος, τῇ δὲ τὴν δέησιν  
τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ περιφρονήσαντος.

being lost. For if they are saved, look, the prayers of Pallas are remembered, being enough to bend the anger of Zeus; and if not, this is also not impossible for the seer. For Pallas cannot appease Zeus; and regarding the mixed fortunes, the craftsman has mixed the story, so that indeed, Zeus fulfills his own intention, but does not disregard the prayer of his daughter.

5.24.8 | τά τε πυργώματα ὅτι πολλὰ  
ἀπολεῖται, εἰ μετὰ ναρθήκων, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ  
σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς ἐπήγεσαν, τάχα ἀν  
ψεῦδος ἦν, ὅπότε καὶ μετὰ ναρθήκων  
ἔπραξαν ἂν τι πάντως οἷ τοσοῦτοι. ἀλλ'  
έγω, φησὶν, ἔξευρον τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, τὸ  
μόνον ἀπόρθητον. συμβούλευμα σύ γε, ἀλλ'  
οὐ μάντευμα, οὐκ ἀπεοικός τῷ. φεύγειν,  
μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

5.24.8 | "That many towers are destroyed,  
if they fell with wooden beams, but not  
with iron and fire, might be a lie, whenever  
they acted with wooden beams, you know,  
so many. But I, he says, have found the  
wooden wall, the only one that cannot be  
broken. It is advice from you, but not a  
prophecy, not fitting for this. To flee,  
neither to stay, nor to be ashamed to be  
bad."

5.24.9 | ὁ γοῦν ἐπιλυσάμενος ἐκεῖνο τὸ  
αἴνιγμα οὐ χείρων ἦν σου κατιδεῖν, ὅτι ἡ  
τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις πρόφασις ἦν τῷ  
Πέρσῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἔλασις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ταύτην πρώτην τε καὶ ἔξοχωτάτην ἐγένετο,  
ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ἀμαντις αὐτὸς ἔγὼ τοῦτ'  
αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἄν, οὐ μόνον  
τὸν Λυδὸν, ἐκέλευον φεύγειν νῦν  
ἐπιστρέψαντα. ἔτι γάρ ποτε κάντιος ἔσται·  
πολλὴ γὰρ ἱπποσύνη καὶ πεζὸς ἐπέρχεται.

5.24.9 | Certainly, the one who solves that riddle is not worse for you to see, because the city of the Athenians was a reason for the Persian on the way, and the whole movement first and foremost happened for this, since I myself, the seer, noticing this, would also tell the Athenian, not just the Lydian, to flee, turning his back. For there will still be a counterattack; for much cavalry and infantry are approaching.

5.24.10 | ὅτι δὲ ναυσὶν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ'  
ἥπειρον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἔχοντας  
ναυτικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης κατοικοῦντας  
μὴ οὐ πασσυδὶ σκευωρησαμένους καὶ  
τροφὰς ὅσας εἶχον συνεμβαλλομένους  
σώζεσθαι, παραδόντας τοῖς βουλομένοις

5.24.10 | That they are with ships, but not  
on land; for it would be ridiculous for those  
with a navy and living at sea not to have  
prepared supplies and to gather all the food  
they had to save themselves, handing over

τὴν γῆν.”

5.24.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους· ἀσθενῆ δὲ σφόδρα καὶ καταγέλαστα τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἥτοι γάρ πᾶσα, φησὶν, ἡ πόλις πολιορκηθήσεται, ἢ ἀπολωλότα τὸν βασιλέα πενθήσει. τοῦτο δ' ἔξ ἀπαντος εἰκὸς ἦν παντὶ τῷ στοχάζεσθαι, τὸ ἥτοι τόδε ἡ τόδε συμβήσεσθαι.

5.24.12 | ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου θεοῦ ἦν μάντευμα ὅδε πως ἀμφιβάλλειν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ μέλλοντος, βοηθεῖν δέον καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν καιρῷ παραφαίνεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ βαρβάρων νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὡς ἀν οίκειοις φίλοις προξενεῖν· εἴ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο δυνατὸς ἦν, κāν τὸ μὴ παθεῖν αύτοὺς, μηδ' ἀλῶναι παρέχειν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅπως αύτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἥττης περιστῆσεται γινώσκει. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα οἶά φησιν ὁ ἔλεγχος ἄκουε

the land to those who wanted it.

5.24.11 | These things are about the Athenians; but the matters concerning the Spartans are very weak and laughable. For he says that the whole city will be besieged, or the king will mourn for the lost. This was likely for everyone to consider, that either this or that would happen.

5.24.12 | But surely it was not a prophecy from a god to be uncertain about the future, and it was necessary for a savior of the Greeks to appear in time, especially to bring victory over the enemies and barbarians to the Greeks as if they were dear friends. And if this was not possible, then at least to prevent them from suffering or being captured. But he does not know even this, nor how to protect them from the consequences of defeat. Therefore, listen to what the argument says about these things.

## Section 25

5.25.1 | “Αλλ' οὐ δεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις, φήσεις, ταύτὸν παραινεῖν. ἀληθῆ λέγεις. οὐ γάρ ἡπίστασο, ὃ σοφιστὰ, οἱ χωρήσει τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ὕσπερ τὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. ἐδεδοίκεις οὖν μὴ σὺ μὲν κελεύσῃς αύτοὺς φεύγειν, κἄπειτα οἱ μὲν φεύγοιεν, οἵ δὲ μὴ ἐπέλθοιεν.

5.25.2 | ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδει τι λέγειν, οὕτως εἶπας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμὸν, ὡ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εύρυχόροιο, ἡ μέγα ἄστυ

5.25.1 | But you will say that it is not right to advise the Spartans the same way. You speak the truth. For you do not know, oh wise one, how the matters of Sparta will go like those of Attica. Therefore, you are afraid that if you command them to flee, some will escape, while others will not come.

5.25.2 | Since you had to say something, you spoke to the Spartans, 'Oh citizens of spacious Sparta, either the great city will be

έρικυδες ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδησιπέρσεται,  
ἡ τὸ μὲν οὐχὶ, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ  
γενέθλησπενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον  
Λακεδαίμονος οὗρος.

destroyed by the men of Persia, or it will not; but from the lineage of Heracles, the king will mourn for the fallen boundary of Lacedaimon.'

5.25.3 | πάλιν ὁ ἀμαντευτότατος  
σύνδεσμος. ἀλλ' ἐῶμεν αὐτὸν, ως μὴ δἰς  
περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοι ἐπιπηδῶντες ἐπαχθεῖς  
ἄμα καὶ ἄποροι δοκῶμεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
ἐπισκοπῶμεν.

5.25.3 | Again, the most uncertain connection. But let us leave it, so that we do not seem to be burdensome and at a loss by jumping on the same thing twice. Instead, let us look at the other matters.

5.25.4 | είς σὲ μὲν ἀπέβλεπον ἄπαντες ἐν  
τηλικούτῳ κινδύνῳ, σὺ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν  
μελλόντων μηνυτής καὶ τῶν ποιητέων  
ἥσθα σύμβουλος. καὶ σὲ μὲν ἔκεινοι πιστὸν,  
σὺ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέπεισο ἡλιθίους εἶναι, καὶ ὁ  
καθεστώς καιρὸς ὅτι ἱκανὸς ἦν ἄγειν καὶ  
τραχηλίζειν τοὺς ἀβελτέρους οὐ μόνον εἰς  
Δέλφικά καὶ Δωδωναῖα σοφιστήρια, ἀλλ'  
ἥδη καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρνιθομαντεῖα καὶ  
ἀλευρομαντεῖα καὶ τοὺς ἔγγαστριψύθους.

5.25.4 | Everyone was looking to you in such great danger, and you were both a messenger of what was to come and an advisor to the poets. They trusted you, but you made them seem foolish, and the situation was such that it was enough to lead and confuse the less skilled not only to the Delphic and Dodonian oracles, but also to the bird and flour divinations and the ventriloquists.

5.25.5 | πιστοὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ θεοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τηνικαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ αἱ γαλαῖ καὶ αἱ  
κορῶναι καὶ τὰ καθύπνια παραπταίσματα  
οὕκουν ἄδηλον ὅτι οὔτ' ἀνάμφοτερα  
μᾶλλον ἐδέξαντο ἢ τὸ ἔτερον οὔτ' ἀν τὸ  
μεῖζον ἀντὶ τοῦ μείονος, μεῖον δὲ εἶναι ἔνα  
ἀντὶ πάνττων πεσεῖν τὸν βασιλέα.

5.25.5 | The gods were not only trustworthy at that time, but also the heifers and the crows and the dreams that come in sleep. It is clear that they would not have accepted both more or the other, nor would they have taken the greater instead of the lesser. The lesser would be for the king to fall instead of all.

5.25.6 | μετὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως πιπτούσης  
οὐδεμίᾳ οὐδ' αὐτῷ ἀποφυγή· εἰ δ' αὐτὸς  
ἄλλῃ πῃ τάττοιτο, τάχα ἀν τι καὶ  
παράδοξον γένοιτο. λείπεται δὴ τοὺς ταῦτα  
λογιζομένους τὸν μὲν βασιλέα πέμψαι  
προσπολεμήσοντα, αὐτοὺς δὲ οἴκοι

5.25.6 | After the city falls, there is no escape for anyone, not even for him. But if he were to go somewhere else, something strange might happen. So, it remains to send the king to fight, while they stay at home, waiting outside of danger.

μένοντας ἔξω κινδύνων καραδοκεῖν.

5.25.7 | τῷ μὲν οὖν μετ' ὄλγων ἐναντίῳ  
ἰσταμένῳ πρὸς τὸν ἄπειρον ὅχλον ὅλεθρος  
προφανῆς, ἡ δὲ Σπάρτη ἀνοχὰς εἶχε τοῦ  
φόβου καὶ παραδόξους ἐλπίδας. μηδὲν δὲ  
ἡττον ἀφώρατον εἶναι τὸ σόφισμα καὶ  
διαφυγούσης καὶ ἀλούσης.

5.25.8 | τί δή ποτε; ὅτι οὐκ εἴρητο μὰ Δία εἰ  
ὅ βασιλεὺς ἀποθάνοι, ἡ πόλις σωθήσεται,  
ἄλλ' ὅτι ἡ μόνος ἀπολεῖται ἡ ἡ σύμπασα  
πόλις· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἀνεύθυνον, καὶ  
μόνου αὐτοῦ ἀπολουμένου καὶ μὴ μόνου.  
οὗτος δὲ τύφου καὶ ἀφροσύνης καρπός. ”  
Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ. οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ  
παρελθεῖν καὶ ἄπειρ Κνιδίοις ἔχρησε πάλιν  
εύχομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.  
συμμαχίαν αἴτοῦσιν. ”

5.25.7 | Therefore, after a little while,  
destruction was clear for the one standing  
against the endless crowd, while Sparta had  
delays from fear and strange hopes. Yet, it  
was no less impossible to escape, whether  
one fled or was caught.

5.25.8 | What then? Was it not said by Zeus  
that if the king dies, the city will be saved,  
but that either he alone will be destroyed  
or the whole city? This is beyond anyone's  
control, whether he is alone or not. This is  
the fruit of madness and foolishness. But  
that is that. It is also not worth passing over  
what the people of Cnidus prayed for again,  
asking for help from the god.

## Section 26

5.26.1 | Ὡς Ἐπαθον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κνίδιοι τούτῳ  
προσεοικός Ἀρπάγου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
στρατεύσαντος. τὸν γὰρ ἴσθμὸν τὸν αὐτόθι  
διακόπτειν ἐπιχειροῦντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
νησοποιεῖν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ ἔργου  
εἶχοντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντα ἡ ἐργασία,  
ἀπαγορεύοντες ἥδη ἔχρωντο.

5.26.1 | But the people of Cnidus suffered  
because of this, just like when Harpagus  
campaigned against them. For they tried to  
cut off the isthmus there and turn the city  
into an island. At first, they had control of  
the work, but when the effort met with  
resistance, they were already using it as an  
excuse to stop.

5.26.2 | σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶπας Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ  
πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὄρύσσετε· Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε  
νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο, καὶ οἱ βλάκες  
ἐπείσθησαν καὶ ἀποτραπόμενοι  
παρέδωκαν ἐαυτοὺς τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ. τὸ δὲ  
ῥᾳδιούργημα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν βέβαιος  
ἀποφυγὴ ὄρυξασι, τούτου μὲν ἐπαυσας· ὡς

5.26.2 | But you said to them, 'Do not fortify  
the isthmus or dig it up; for Zeus has made  
it an island, if he wanted to.' And the fools  
were convinced and, turning away,  
surrendered themselves to Harpagus. This  
was an easy task. For since there was no  
safe escape by digging, you stopped that.

δὲ μὴ κελεύων ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἐπαγγέλλῃ τὴν ἀποφυγήν.

But when you do not command them to hold on to the work, you promise them escape.

5.26.3 | τούτῳ δὲ οὐ τὸ λῶον εἶναι μὴ ὄρύξασι προσετίθεις, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐ δοκεῖ τῷ Διὶ αὐτὴν νῆσον εἶναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀποτροπῇ ἀμφότερα ἴσόρροπα, ἐν δὲ τῇ προτροπῇ τὸ διαφεύξεσθαι προεῖχεν· οὗ δὴ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν τῷ σοφιστῇ τὸ ἀνατρέπειν. οὕτως τε οὐδὲν εἴπων ὃν ἔνεκα ἤσαν ἀφιγμένοι ἀπέπεμψας οἰομένους ἀκηκοέναι τι.”

5.26.3 | But you add that it is not better for them not to dig, but that it does not seem to Zeus that it is an island. In the warning, both sides were balanced, but in the encouragement, the chance to escape was favored. Therefore, it was safe for the wise one to turn things around. Thus, without saying anything about why they had come, you sent them away thinking they had heard something.

5.26.4 | Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἀδρανὲς τῶν τε χρώντων καὶ τῶν χρωμένων ἀπελέγχειν αὐταρκῶς, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἦν ἔνθεον ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις.

5.26.4 | I believe that this proves the inactivity of both those who are using and those who are being used, and that there is nothing true or divine to be found in what is being shown.

5.26.5 | τὸ δὲ κακότροπον τοῦ ἥθους εἴτε τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων εἴτε τῶν τὰ μαντεῖα καθυποκρινομένων ἀνδρῶν ἵδοις ἀν, εἰ μάθοις ὡς καὶ εἰς τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἡρέθιζον, εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας δέον αὐτοὺς εἶναι βραβευτάς.

5.26.5 | But you would see the bad nature of either the wicked spirits or the men pretending to give prophecies, if you learn that those who are using them were stirred up against each other, while they should be champions of peace and friendship.

5.26.6 | τοτὲ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμονίους ὡς ἀν οίκείους καὶ φίλους ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς πάλιν κατὰ Μεσσηνίων παροξύνει, τοτὲ δ' αὖ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων χρᾶ, εἰ πάλιν οὗτοι δι' ἀνθρωποθυσίας ἲλάσοιντο τοὺς δαίμονας. ἄκουε δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων

5.26.6 | Sometimes, the one at Delphi stirs up the Spartans as if they were his own people and friends against the Messenians, and at other times, he uses the Messenians against the Spartans, if these people try to appease the spirits through human sacrifice. Also, listen to what is said about these matters.

## Section 27

5.27.1 | “Επικρινεῖ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ σοφία παροῦσα τῇ μαντικῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει αὐτῇ ὡς ἔτυχε διαλέγεσθαι, ἅτε δὴ τῶν πάντων ἀναψαμένη τὰ πείσματα καὶ ἐπιθεμένη τὰ πρεσβεῖα, οὐδ' ἐφήσει ματαίω δόντι τῷ Πυθίῳ χρᾶν οὕτε τούτοις οὕτε Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ Μεσσηνίων καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἣς εἶχον Μεσσήνιοι ἀπάτη νικήσαντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτη σε μάχης μόνον ἔργ' ἐφέπειν χερὶ Φοῖβος ἄνωγεν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτη μὲν ἔχει γαῖαν Μεσσηνίδα λαός 'ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς τέχναις τις ἀλώσεται αἰσπερ ὑπῆρξεν.

5.27.2 | εἰρήνης μᾶλλον μεμνῆσθαι κελεύει καὶ ὀλιγοδείας καὶ αὐταρκείας. οἱ δέ που τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις κατακοσμούμενοι ἥκον ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας καὶ δόξης κενῆς ἐρησόμενοι, ὡς μὴ δοκοῖεν Μεσσηνίων μάχῃ λείπεσθαι, ἐν νόμοις καρτερικοῖς τεθράφθαι δοκοῦντες.

5.27.3 | εἰ δέ γε οὗτοι οὐδὲν καρτερικοῖς ἥσαν νόμοις οὕτω τεθραμμένοι, ἐκαρτέρουν ἀνέπι τοῖς ὀλίγοις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνέπι μάχης αὐτοῖς ἔδει, οὐδὲ διπλῶν καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀποπληξίας.

5.27.4 | ταῦτα Λακεδαιμονίοις κατὰ Μεσσηνίων, πάλιν δ' αὖ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα ' σὺ γάρ καὶ Μεσσηνίοις κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ μόνον Λακεδαιμονίοις κατὰ Μεσσηνίων χρησμῷδεῖς παρθένον Αἴπυτίδα κλῆρος καλεῖ, ἥντινα δοίης δαίμοσι νερτερίοις, καί

5.27.1 | Wisdom will judge such things present to prophecy, and it will not allow it to speak as it happens, since it has taken up all the tests and is applying the rules. It will not let the Pythia speak in vain, either for these people or for the Spartans about the Messenians and the land, which the Messenians held by tricking the Spartans. Phoebus commands not only to bring forth deeds of battle, but also that the Messenian people hold the land by trickery, and that someone will be caught by the same arts as before.

5.27.2 | It commands to remember peace more, as well as moderation and self-sufficiency. But those who are governed by Lycurgus's laws came under greed and empty glory, so that they would not seem to be left behind in the battle against the Messenians, believing they were raised in strong laws.

5.27.3 | But if they were indeed raised in such strong laws, they would have been strong in the few things, and they would not have needed anything for battle, nor for weapons and the rest of the dangers.

5.27.4 | These things are for the Spartans against the Messenians, and again for the Messenians against the Spartans. For you also, against the Spartans, the oracle speaks: 'You call the maiden Aipytiada, whom you should give to the lower gods, and you might save Ithome.'

κεν σώσειας Ἰθώμην.

5.27.5 | τὰ γὰρ παρευρήματα οὐ δέχομαι,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἦν καθαρὸν ἐκ γένους Αἴπύτου τὸ  
ἱερεῖον, ὅθεν ἀτέλεστα Μεσσηνίοις εἶναι.  
τοιοῦτος γὰρ εἰ οἶος ταράττειν." Τὰ μὲν δὴ  
τῆς παλαιᾶς ἴστορίας τοιαῦτα. μυρία δ'  
ἔστι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τούτοις συνιδεῖν ὅμοια,  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἀρχόντων τοτὲ μὲν εἰς  
ἀπράκτους πολέμους διὰ τῆς τῶν χρησμῶν  
συμβουλίας ὀρμώντων, τοτὲ δὲ  
σφαλλομένων ἐκ τῆς τῶν χρησθέντων  
ἀδηλίας, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἐκ τῆς  
αὐτόθεν τῶν λογίων ἀπάτης.

5.27.5 | For I do not accept the offerings,  
because the priesthood from the lineage of  
Aipyrtus was not pure, and therefore it was  
incomplete for the Messenians. For such a  
person is capable of causing disturbance.  
These are the things from ancient history.  
And there are many similar things for us to  
see, from ancient times and up to our own,  
where those in power sometimes lead to  
unsuccessful wars through the advice of  
oracles, and sometimes fail because of the  
unclear messages given, and at other times  
are misled by the very deceptions of the  
words.

5.27.6 | τί δεῖ δὲ λέγειν, ὡς ποτε ἐν ταῖς  
μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς, ἥτοι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς  
έχθροὺς παρατάξεων, ἢ τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
σωματικαῖς ἀρρωστίαις κινδύνων, τῆς τῶν  
νενομισμένων θεῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ  
θεραπείας ούδεν ὕναντο.

5.27.6 | What is there to say, that at times  
of the greatest disasters, whether in battles  
against enemies or in dangers from  
physical illnesses, they received no help or  
support from the established gods?

5.27.7 | τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς  
αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἐκπίπτει, οἷα  
καὶ τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἴστορίας συνίστησιν.

5.27.7 | Such things always fall away from  
them, as also those from ancient history  
show.

5.27.8 | ἀλλ' ἔπει τῶν μάλιστα παρὰ  
"Ἐλλησι θρυλουμένων τοῦ Πυθίου χρησμῶν  
εἰς τις ἦν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Λυκοῦργον, ὃ  
προσιόντι ἡ Πυθία ἐπεφώνησε τὸ  
βοώμενον ἐκεῖνο, ἥκεις, ὁ Λυκόεργε, ἐμόν  
ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν, Ζηνὶ φίλοις καὶ πᾶσιν  
'Ολύμπια δώματ·' ἔχουσι· δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν  
μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ  
μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι· ὁ Λυκόεργε, ἥκεις  
εύνομίην διζήμενος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοιδώσω ,

5.27.8 | But since one of the most famous  
oracles among the Greeks was the one from  
Pythia to Lycurgus, when Pythia called out  
to him as he approached that sacred place,  
'You have come, O Lycurgus, to my rich  
temple, dear to Zeus and all the Olympian  
gods; they have; I will either prophesy to  
you as a god or as a man; but I hope even  
more for a god, O Lycurgus, you come  
seeking good order; but I will give you...'

καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπιλεγόμενα· φέρε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίνα ποτὲ συνεῖδεν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἔλεγχος ἐποπτεύσωμεν.  
γράφει δὲ ᾧδε

and the things that go along with this; let us also consider what the revealed proof has seen. It is written like this.

## Section 28

5.28.1 | "Ἄλλὰ σὺ τὸν Τυρταῖον προκαθηγεμόνα καὶ σκοπὸν ἐλθόντα ποτὲ ὡς σὲ ἥκειν ἔφης ἵκε κούλης Λακεδαίμονος Ζηνὶ φίλον καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι, δίζεσθαί τε εἰ θεὸν αὐτὸν μαντεύσῃ, ἢ ἀνθρωπὸν, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν, ὅτι ἥλθεν εύνομίην αἴτήσων.

5.28.1 | But you, as the leader and guide of Tyrtaeus, once came saying that you had come from hollow Laconia, dear to Zeus and all the Olympian gods; and you were to inquire whether he would prophesy as a god or as a man, but I hope even more for a god, since he came asking for good order.

5.28.2 | καὶ πῶς, εἴ θεὸς, οὐκ ἡπίστατο νόμον πολιτικὸν ὃ φίλος τοῦ Δῆσος καὶ πάντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ οὐ δίχα θεοῦ ἴσως τὰ τοιαῦτα εὑρίσκεται, ἂ δέδεικται τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ φωνῆς, φέρε ἴδωμεν τὴν θείαν φωνὴν, καὶ ἂ ἐδίδαξας τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἥκεις εύνομίην διζήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοιδώσω.

5.28.2 | And how, if he is a god, did the friend of Zeus and all the Olympians not know the political law? But since such things are perhaps found even without a god, which have been shown by the most divine voice of a goddess, come, let us see the divine voice, and what you taught Lycurgus: 'You come seeking good order; but I will give you...'

5.28.3 | δὸς, εἴποιμι ἀν ἔγώ· οὐδεμίαν γάρ πω δόσιν οὐδενὶ ἐπηγγείλω τοιαύτην. ὡς ἀν μαντείησιν ὑποσχέσιάς τε καὶ ὅρκους, καὶ δίκας ἀλλήλοισι καὶ ἀλλοδαποῖσι διδῶτε, ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς πρεσβηγενέας τιμῶντες, Τυνδαρίδας δ' ἐποιζόμενοι, Μενέλαον τε καὶ ἄλλους ἀθανάτους ἥρωας, οἵ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίη, οὕτω δή χ' ὑμῶν περιφείδοιτ' εύρυοπα Ζεύς.

5.28.3 | Give, I would say; for I have promised no one such a gift. As long as you will prophesy with promises and oaths, and give justice to one another and to foreigners, honoring the elders with purity and cleanliness, and looking upon the Tyndarids, Menelaus and the other immortal heroes, who dwell in Laconia, thus may loud-voiced Zeus protect you.

5.28.4 | Ἀπολλον, διδασκαλίας καὶ παρεγγυήσεως θείας· καὶ οὐ μακρός ἔνεκα

5.28.4 | Apollon, of divine teaching and prophecy; and not far for this journey, nor

τούτων ὁ στόλος, οὐδὲ ὅπως εἰς Δελφοὺς  
έκ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰς  
Ὑπερβορέους αὐτοὺς, ὅθεν ἀφῆθαι  
λέγουσι κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀστερίας ἄλλης  
μάντεως οἴκητὰς Δήλοιο θυώδεος ἡδ'  
ἰερῆας.

5.28.5 | δοκεῖ δέ μοι ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὗτος  
οὐκ ἔσχηκέναι τιθὴν, οὐδὲ σύνθωκος  
πρεσβυτέρων οὐδέποτε κεκαθικέναι, παρ'  
ῶν καὶ παρ' ἣς εἶχε καλλίω τούτων  
ἀκοῦσαι καὶ σοφώτερα.

5.28.6 | τάχα δέ πού τι προσθήσεις, ἔάν σε  
λιπαρῇ ὁ Λυκοῦργος εἰπεῖν τι σαφές. εἰ οἱ  
μὲν εὖ ἥγοιντο, οἱ δ' ἔποιντο, ούκέτι φήσω  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι συνθώκου τοῦτο, καὶ  
ἀξιώσω τὸν Λυκοπυργὸν μὴ ἀποκαμεῖν εἴ̄  
τι δύναιτο πολιτικὸν παρὰ σοῦ δίδαγμα  
ἀναλαβών ἀπιέναι εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.

5.28.7 | είσὶν ὁδοὶ δύο πλεῖστον ἀπ'  
ἄλλήλων ἀπέχουσαι, ἡ μὲν ἐλευθερίας εἰς  
τίμιον οἴκον ἄγουσα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ δουλείας  
φυκτὸν δόμον ἡμερίοισι 'καὶ τὴν μὲν διά τ'  
ἀνδροσύνης ἴερῆς θ' ὀμονοίας ἔστι περᾶν,  
ἢν δὴ λαοῖς ἡγεῖσθε κέλευθον, τὴν δὲ διὰ  
στυγερῆς Ἱρίδος καὶ ἀνάλκιδος  
ἄτηςείσαφικάνουσι. . . , τὴν δὲ πεφυλάχθαι.

5.28.8 | μάλιστα ἀνδρείους εἶναι κελεύεις  
τοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τῶν δειλῶν πολλάκις  
ἡκούσαμεν ' ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀμόφρονας ' τοῦτο  
οὐ παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν μόνων, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ  
παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν στασιαζόντων. Ὅστε  
ιούτου μὲν τοῦ παρεγγυήματος ἀφίεμέν σε.

to Delphi from Peloponnesus, nor even to the Hyperboreans themselves, from where they say they arrived according to the oracle of another seer, the dwellers of Delos who offer sacrifices and serve as priests.

5.28.5 | It seems to me that this Lycurgus has not held a position of authority, nor has he ever been among the elders, from whom he could have heard better and wiser things.

5.28.6 | Perhaps there will be some additions, if Lycurgus wishes to say something clear. If some lead well and others follow, I will no longer say that this is the same position of authority, and I will encourage Lycurgus not to give up if he can take up a political teaching from you and go to Sparta.

5.28.7 | There are two paths that are mostly far from each other, one leading to a noble home of freedom, the other to a wretched house of slavery. The first can be crossed through the sacred unity of manliness, which indeed you lead the people to follow. The second leads through hateful strife and weak ruin.

5.28.8 | You often urge to be brave; we have heard this many times from the cowardly, but also from those who agree with each other. This is not only from the wise, but even from those who cause strife. So, we let you go from this promise.

5.28.9 | καίτοι μάντις ὧν ούκ ἔγνως ἡμᾶς πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν εἰληφότας αὐτὸν, οὕτε τῆς δάφνης ἐμφαγόντων οὕτε τὸ Κασταλίας ὕδωρ πιόντων, ούδ' ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τὴν ὄφρύν ποτε ἀνασπασάντων;

5.28.9 | And yet, being a seer, you have not recognized us many times, even when many have received it, neither those who ate from the laurel nor those who drank the water of Castalia, nor those who ever lifted their brow in wisdom?

5.28.10 | λέγ' οὖν περὶ ἀνδρείας, λέγε περὶ ἑλευθερίας, λέγε περὶ ὁμοφροσύνης, τίνα τρόπον ἔγγινεται ταῦτα πόλει, καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ούκ είδότας κέλευε ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς λαοῖς τῆς κελεύθου ταύτης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἥγοι. καλὴ μὲν γὰρ, ἀλλ' ἀπορος ἡμῖν καὶ φοβερά. "Τούτοις προστίθησι λέγων

5.28.10 | Then speak about bravery, speak about freedom, speak about unity. How do these come to a city? And do not lead us, who do not know, to believe in this path; instead, lead yourself. For it is beautiful, but it is difficult and frightening for us.

## Section 29

5.29.1 | Σὺ δὲ καὶ περὶ γάμου ἔτοιμος λέγειν Ἀργεος ἵπποβότου πῶλον λάβε κυανοχαίτου.

5.29.1 | But you are also ready to speak about marriage. Take the horse of Argos, the one with the blue mane.

5.29.2 | περὶ δὲ παίδων Ἡετίων, οὐ τίς σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔοντα λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὄλοοιτροχον.

5.29.2 | But about children, no one honors you, even though you are precious. The wolf will give birth, and it will bear a deadly offspring.

5.29.3 | περὶ δὲ ἀποικίας στέλλει ἐπὶ χρυσείους ἄνδρας πολυεθνέα λαὸν, ὅμοις μὲν χαλκὸν προφέρων, χερσὶν δὲ σίδηρον.

5.29.3 | But about colonies, send forth golden men, a diverse people. They carry bronze on their shoulders and iron in their hands.

5.29.4 | περὶ δὲ κενῆς δόξης γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν οὔδας ἄμεινον ἵπποι Θρηίκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ γυναικεῖς, ἄνδρες θ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς

5.29.4 | But about empty glory, the Pelasgian land is better than all the earth. Thracian horses, and Spartan women, and men who drink the water of beautiful

Άρεθούσης.

5.29.5 | καί μοι δοκεῖς ούδὲν τόν τερατοσκόπων καλουμένων κρείττων εἶναι, ἀλλ' ούδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγυρτῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ούδὲν ἔγωγε ἔθαύμασ, εἰς μισθοῦ τραχηλίζουσι, σοῦ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς μισθοῦ τραχηλίζονται.

5.29.6 | εἴθ' ὁ μὲν Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος ούδετερον ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτήσαντα πότερον γαμήσει ἢ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετανοήσει ἀμφότερα· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα παίδων οὐκ εὖ ἔφη αὐτὸν ποιήσειν, ὃς ἔάσας ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅπως, εἴσοι παῖδες γένοιντο, ἄριστα αὐτοῖς χρῶτο, τούτου μὲν ούδενα λόγον ἐποιήσατο, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον ἐσκοπεῖτο, πῶς ἀν αὐτῷ γένοιντο.

5.29.7 | ἐτέρου δὲ ἀποδημεῖν ἐγνωκότος διὰ τὸ κακῶς ἔχειν αὐτὸν οἴκοι οὐκ ἔφη ὥρθῶς αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθαι· τὴν μὲν γάρ πατρίδα αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν ἄπεισι, τὴν δὲ ἀμαθίαν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ ἄγων, ἥτις αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ δυσαρεστεῖν ποιήσει καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἐνθάδε. καὶ οὐχ ὅπότε ἡρωτᾶτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόκλητος ἐπὶ τὰς τοιάσδε συνουσίας ίών·

Arethusa.

5.29.5 | And it seems to me that you are not better than those called wonder-workers, nor than the other tricksters and sophists. But I did not marvel at any of them, if they are paid for their necks, but for you, of the god and of men, if they are paid for their necks.

5.29.6 | Then Socrates did not answer the one who asked whether he would marry or not, but that he would regret both. And to the one wanting children, he did not say that he would do well, who, having allowed him to try, if he had children, would use them best. He made no argument about this, but only considered how it might happen for him.

5.29.7 | But when another was known to be away because he was doing badly at home, he said that it was not right for him to plan. For he was leaving his homeland behind and taking his ignorance with him, which would make him unpleasant to those there just as to those here. And he was not only asked when he was questioned, but also went willingly to such gatherings.

## Section 30

5.30.1 | εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι τὰς μετέπειταοίκῳ ἐνὶ σκιερῷ Διονύσῳ χρῆσθαι ίητρῷ. Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ καύματος ἐνοχλουμένοις ἰατρικὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ μαντικὸν.

5.30.1 | Twenty for the dog and twenty for the later use, to be used in the shady house of Dionysus by a doctor. For the Athenians troubled by the heat, it is medical, but not prophetic.

5.30.2 | Ἐργῖνε Κλυμένοιο πάι  
Πρεσβωνιάδας, ὅψ' ἥλθες γενεὴν διζήμενος  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπησίστοβοῇ γέροντι νέαν  
ποτίβαλλε κορώνην. γέροντι νέαν  
συνοικεῖν, εἰ παίδων ἐπιθυμεῖ, οὐ μάντεως  
ούδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ φύσιν ἐπισταμένου. ἀλλ'  
ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοὺς βλᾶκας ἔξιστησι. ”

5.30.2 | Come, Erginus, son of Clemenos,  
you have come seeking a lineage. But still,  
throw a young crown to the old man in the  
fire. To live with a young man, if he desires  
children, is not a matter of prophecy, but of  
knowing nature. But desire makes the  
foolish go astray.

## Section 31

5.31.1 | Διόπερ σοι καὶ νάρθηκα παραινῶ  
έπ' αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, εἴ μὴ πείθοις  
μανθάνειν ἄντὶ τῶν καταπτύστων  
έρωτημάτων ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θείου  
φοιτητηρίου· ἡ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ  
ἀποβαλόντι τὴν ούσιαν ἐν πολιτικῇ  
φλυαρίᾳ καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἥκοντι πρὸς σὲ  
λέγειν Ἀντίοχ', εἰς Θάσον ἐλθὲ, καὶ οὕκει  
εὐικλέα νῆσον· δὅς ἐκείνως ἀν μᾶλλον ὕνατο  
άκούσας, Ἀντίοχ', εἰς ξοῦν ἐλθὲ, καὶ ἐν  
πενίᾳ μὴ ὁδύρου.

5.31.1 | Therefore, I advise you to take the  
staff, unless you are persuaded to learn  
something worthy of the divine school  
instead of the shameful questions. Or, to  
Antiochus the Parian, who has lost his  
wealth in political nonsense and has come  
to you in sorrow, he says, 'Antiochus, come  
to Thasos and live on the famous island.' He  
would rather have heard that, Antiochus,  
come to your senses and do not grieve in  
poverty.

5.31.2 | ἡ τοῖς ἥκουσι Κρητῶν Φαιστοῦ καὶ  
Τάρρας ναέται, Δίου τε πολύρρου, Πυθωον  
κέλομαι τελέειν Φοίβοιο  
καθαρμὸνεύαγέοντας, ὅπως Κρήτην  
καταναιετάητε, ὅλβον μὴ πατρίοισι νόμοις,  
καὶ Ζῆνα σέβοντες.

5.31.2 | Or to those who come from Crete,  
from Phaistos and Tarra, and from the  
much-flowing river of Dio, I urge to  
complete the purification of Phoebus,  
bringing good news, so that you may settle  
in Crete, not with the blessings of ancestral  
laws, and honoring Zeus.

5.31.3 | οἵς ἀκοῦσαι ἐκεῖνο κρεῖττον ἥν  
λήρους καὶ μανίας ναέται, πολλοῦ θ' ἄμα  
τύφουοίκεῖν τελέειν κέλομαι λήροιο  
καθαρμὸνεύαγέοντας, ὅπως σοφίαν  
καταναιετάητε, ὅλβον μὴ πατρίοισι νόμοις,  
Θείοις δὲ σέβοντες. ὡς μὴ μᾶλλον τῆς  
Κρήτης σὺν καθαρμοῦ προσδέῃ, Ὁρφικούς  
τινας ἡ Ἐπιμενιδείους καθαρμοὺς

5.31.3 | To hear that is better than madness  
and folly, and I urge to complete the  
purification of madness, bringing good  
news, so that you may gain wisdom, not  
with the blessings of ancestral laws, but  
honoring the divine. As you do not need  
more purification from Crete, imagining

φανταζόμενος.

some Orphic or Epimenidean purifications.

## Section 32

5.32.1 | Διὰ τί δὲ, (6 σοφώτατε, Χαρίλαος καὶ Ἀρχέλαος οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς, εἴ κεν ἐπικτήτου μοίρης λάχος Ἀπόλλωνι ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς, ποιώ δὲ καὶ ἄλλω λέγεις Ἀπόλλωνι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτῷ σοι, ὃ ἀναίσχυντε μάντι, ὡς μή τίς σοι αὐτῷ ἐπιπλήξειν, ἅτε κακῶς οὕτω συνδιαιρουμένω τοῖς λῃσταῖς.”

5.32.1 | Why then, most wise, do you say that Charilaus and Archelaus, the kings of the Spartans, if they receive half of the share of Apollo, will have much better? And what do you say to Apollo about another matter? For it is not for you, shameless seer, that no one might strike you, since you are so badly divided among the robbers.

5.32.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ᾖδε ἔχέτω. φέρε δὲ τούτοις προσθῶμεν καὶ δί' ὃν αὐθίς ὁ Ἀπόλλων θαυμάζει τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον, ἄνδρα παντοίαις κατὰ γυναικῶν αἰσχρορρημοσύναις καὶ ἀρρητολογίαις, ἃς οὐδέ' ἀκοῦσαί τις σώφρων ἀνὴρ ὑπομείνειν ἀν, ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ποιήμασι κεχρημένον' καὶ τὸν Εύριπίδην τῆς μὲν Σωκράτους διατριβῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐκπεσόντα, εἰσέτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς θυμέλης τραγῳδούμενον· καὶ ‘Ομηρον ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὃν ὁ γενναῖος Πλάτων’ ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς κατ’ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τοὺς νέους λυμαινομένων λόγων ποιητὴν γεγενημένον. ἐφ' οἵς πάλιν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς τὸν χρησμῷδὸν θεὸν ᾖδε πικάσ σκώπτει

5.32.2 | Let these things be as they are. But let us also add why Apollo marvels at Archilochus, a man known for his shameful words and secret talk about women, which no sensible man would endure hearing, used in his own poems. And Euripides, who has fallen away from the teachings and philosophy of Socrates, still now is performing tragedy in the midst of the storm. And Homer, whom the noble Plato drives out of his own city as completely useless, but also as a poet who corrupts the youth with his words. On these matters, the previously mentioned god of prophecy mocks in this way.

## Section 33

5.33.1 | “Αθάνατός σοι παῖς καὶ ἀοίδιμος, ὦ Τελεσίκλεις, ἔσσετ’ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἦν Ἀρχίλοχος.

5.33.1 | ‘Immortal and famous is your child, O Telecleides, he will be among men.’ And the child was Archilochus.

5.33.2 | ἔσται σοι κοῦρος, Μνησαρχίδῃ,  
όντινα πάντες ἀνθρωποι τίσουσι, καὶ ἐς  
κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὄρούσει, καὶ στεφέων ἱερῶν  
γλυκερὴν χάριν ἀμφιβαλεῖται.

5.33.2 | There will be a boy for you,  
Mnesearchus, whom all men will honor,  
and he will rise to noble fame, and he will  
be surrounded by the sweet grace of sacred  
crowns.

5.33.3 | ὁ δὲ κοῦρος ἦν Εὐριπίδης. “Ομηρος  
δὲ σοὶ ζωὴ δοιὰς μοίρας λάχεν, ἢ μὲν  
ἀμαυρῶνή εἰλίων δισσῶν, ἢ δ’ ἀθανάτοις  
ἰσόμοιρος, ζῶν καὶ ἀποφθίμενος. καὶ διὰ  
ταῦτα ἥκουεν ὅλβιε καὶ δύσδαιμον, ἔφυς  
γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέροισι.

5.33.3 | And the boy was Euripides. But  
Homer received the life of two fates, one of  
dim suns, the other equal to the immortals,  
living and perishing. And because of this, he  
was called both blessed and wretched, for  
he was born to both.

5.33.4 | λέγει δὲ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλά τις  
διατεινάμενός ποτε, ὅτι αὐτὸν οὐ χρὴ  
ἀνθρώπων θεὸν ὅντα δυηπαθέων  
ἀλεγίζειν. ἄγε οὖν, ὃ θεὲ, μὴ περιίδης μηδ'  
ἡμᾶς. ἐπιθυμοῦμεν γὰρ, εἴ μή τι ἀδικοῦμεν,  
οἵ μὲν Κλεοῦς ἐσθλοῦ, οἵ δὲ στεφάνων  
ἱερῶν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς θεοὺς ισομοιρίας, οἱ δὲ  
αὐτῆς ἀθανασίας.

5.33.4 | But no man says, but rather  
someone who once stretched out, that it is  
not right for him, being a god among men,  
to be troubled by two fates. Come then, O  
god, do not overlook us. For we desire, if  
we are not doing something wrong, some of  
noble Cleos, some of sacred crowns, some  
equal shares with the gods, and some of the  
same immortality.

5.33.5 | τί ποτ’ οὖν ἦν τοῦτο δί’ ὁ σοι  
Ἄρχιλοχος ἔδοξεν ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;  
μὴ φθονήσῃς, ὃ φιλανθρωπότατε θεῶν,  
μηδ’ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἄνω ὁδοῦ. τί  
πράττειν κελεύεις ἡμᾶς; ἢ δηλαδὴ τὰ  
Ἄρχιλόχου, εἴ μέλλοιμεν ἄξιοι φανεῖσθαι  
τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστίας,

5.33.5 | What then was this for which  
Archilochus seemed worthy of the  
heavens? Do not be envious, O most loving  
god, nor of other men on the upward path.  
What do you command us to do? Or rather,  
the things of Archilochus, if we are to be  
shown worthy of your hearth,

5.33.6 | λοιδορῆσαι μὲν πικρῶς τὰς οὐκ  
ἐθελούσας ἡμῖν γαμεῖσθαι, ἄψασθαι δὲ καὶ  
τῶν κιναίδων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἄλλων πονηρῶν  
πολὺ πονηρότεροί είσιν· οὐχὶ δίχα μέτρου,  
αὕτη γὰρ διάλεκτος καὶ θεῶν, ὥσπερ οὖν  
καὶ θείων ἀνδρῶν, ὥσπερ Ἀρχιλόχου.

5.33.6 | To bitterly insult those who do not  
wish to marry us, but to touch the  
courtesans, since they are much worse than  
the other wicked ones; not without  
measure, for this is the language of the  
gods, just as it is for divine men, just like

Archilochus.

5.33.7 | καὶ οὐδὲν ἶσως θαυμαστόν. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν εὗ μὲν οἴκος οἰκεῖται, εὗ δὲ ἴδιωτης βίος, πόλεις δὲ δημοφρόνως καὶ ἔθνη εύνόμως συνεστᾶσιν.

5.33.7 | And perhaps nothing surprising. For because of the greatness in these things, the household is well-managed, the private life is good, and the cities and nations are united in goodwill.

5.33.8 | οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄρα σοι καὶ Μουσῶν θεράπων ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ ὁ φουεὺς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄξιος εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς θεοὺς εἰσόδου, οὐδὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν φωνῆς, ἄνδρα φωνάεντα ἀποκτείνας.

5.33.8 | Therefore, it did not seem unreasonable to you that he was a servant of the Muses, and his breath was not worthy of entering among you, the gods, nor of your voice, after killing a man who spoke.

5.33.9 | οὕκουν ἄδικος ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἀπειλὴ, οὐδ' ἄκαιρος ἡ Πυθία τιμωροῦσα Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ καὶ κελεύουσα ἔξιέναι τοῦ ναοῦ τὸν ἐναγῆ 'Μουσάων γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε θεράποντα.

5.33.9 | Therefore, the threat against Archias is not unjust, nor is the Pythia acting inappropriately by punishing Archilochus, who has long been dead, and ordering the one who is sacrificed to leave the temple. For he killed a servant of the Muses.

5.33.10 | οὕκουν ἔμοιγ' ἔφρανης ἐπαμύνων τῷ ποιητῇ ἀπρεπής εἶναι· ἐμεμιήμην γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ποιητοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν τοῦ Εὐριπίδου στεφάνων, καίτοι ἀπορῶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἐπιθυμῶν οὐχ ὅτι ἐστεφανοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἦν τὰ στέφη ταῦτα Ἱερά· οὐδ' ὅτι αὐτοῦ κλέος ὄρουσεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐσθλὸν ἦν τοῦτο.

5.33.10 | Therefore, it did not seem to me that you were being disrespectful to the poet. For I remembered both the other poet and the sacred crowns of Euripides, and although I was confused and wanted to hear, it was not about what he was crowned for, but how these crowns were sacred; nor was it that his fame was rising, but how good this was.

5.33.11 | ἐκροταλίζετο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅχλοις, οἴδα, καὶ τυράννοις ἥρεσκε, καὶ τοῦτο οἴδα· καὶ ἔργον ἐπετήδευεν, ἐφ' ὃ

5.33.11 | For he was admired among the crowds, I know, and he pleased the tyrants, and I know this too; and he practiced a

ούχ ὅπως αύτὸς ἔθαυμάζετο ὁ ἑραστὴς,  
ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις, ὅτι  
μόνη τραγῳδοὺς ἤνεγκεν.

work, not for how he himself was admired,  
but already the city of the Athenians,  
because it alone produced tragedians.

5.33.12 | εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ κρότος ἱκανὸς κριτὴς  
καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τράπεζα, οὐδὲν ἔτι  
λέγω, βλέπων ἐν ἀκροπόλει δειπνοῦντα  
τὸν Εύριπίδην καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄμα καὶ  
τὸν Μακεδόνων δῆμον ἐπιψφοῦντα ’ εἰ δὲ  
καὶ δίχα τούτων ἔστι τις καὶ θεῶν ψῆφος,  
καὶ αὕτη πιστή, καὶ οὐχ ἥττων τῆς τῶν  
τυράννων, οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν ὄχλων, φέρε,  
φράσον σὸν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τίνι τῶν καλῶν  
ἥνεγκατε ὑμεῖς οἱ θεοὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
Εύριπίδου ψῆφον, ἵνα σπεύσωμεν καὶ  
διώξωμεν τὸν οὐρανὸν κατὰ πόδας τῶν  
ὑμετέρων ἐπαίνων.

5.33.12 | If, then, the applause is a sufficient  
judge and the table in the Acropolis, I say  
nothing more, seeing Euripides dining in  
the Acropolis and the people of the  
Athenians together with the Macedonians  
praising him; but if there is also a vote from  
the gods, and this is trustworthy, and not  
less than that of the tyrants or the crowds,  
come, tell us for which of the beautiful  
things you gods have brought the vote in  
favor of Euripides, so that we may hurry  
and chase the sky under your praises.

5.33.13 | οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ είσὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτοιμοι  
κωμῳδεῖσθαι καὶ Σαβαῖοι καὶ Λυκάμβαι,  
πρὸς δέ γε τὸ τραγῳδεῖσθαι οὐκ ἄν οὐδὲ  
νῦν ἐνσταί οὔτε ὁ Θυέστης οὔτε ὁ  
Οἰδίπους οὔτε ὁ Φινεὺς ἔκεινος, οὐδ’ ἄν,  
οἶμαι, φθονήσαιεν οὐδενὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντι  
φιλίας τῆς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄν μοι  
δοκοῦσιν ἔκεινοι, εἰ ἥσθοντο ὅτι ἔσσοιτό τις  
Εύριπίδης 5 ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ διασκευάσαι  
αὐτοὺς γενόμενος θεοφιλῆς, ἐμελῆσαι ἄν  
τῶν κακῶν ἔκείνων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ  
κρείττονα φρονεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ μετροποιεῖν  
τραπέσθαι·

5.33.13 | For indeed, there are now also  
ready to perform comedy both the Sabines  
and the Lycomidae, but as for tragedy,  
neither Thyestes nor Oedipus nor that  
Phineas would stand there now, nor would  
they, I think, envy anyone desiring the  
friendship of the gods; but they themselves  
seem to me, if they sensed that there was  
someone like Euripides, a man who became  
beloved by the gods through his skill, they  
would have composed those evils, and not  
aimed for something better, but to be  
measured in their performances.

5.33.14 | καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων εἴ  
τὰ ὄνόματα ὅγκου πλήρη ἥκουν, χρῆσθαι  
τούτοις είς τὴν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
δόδοιπορίαν, ἵν ἐλθόντες καθίζοιντο ἐν τῷ  
Ὀλύμπῳ μετὰ τῶν πυκτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διός  
αὐλῆς· ταῦτα γὰρ λέγει ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς

5.33.14 | And if the people before us heard  
names full of weight, they would use these  
for their journey to the sky, so that, having  
arrived, they would sit in Olympus with the  
athletes in the grove of Zeus; for this is  
what the poet in Delphi says.

ποιητής.

5.33.15 | φέρε καὶ τὴν Ὄμήρου τοῦ ὄλβίου  
ἴδωμεν ἐρώτησιν, ἦν τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾶ· ἥπου  
γάρ τις οὐρανίᾳ ἦν καὶ ἱκανὴ τὸν θεὸν  
ἐκκαλέσασθαι· οὐ γάρ ἀν οὕτω ῥᾷδίως ὁ  
θεὸς ὄλβιον μὲν ἐπεφώνησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ  
ὄλβιῷ ῥῆσιν ἀπένειμε πατρίδα δίζηαι·  
μητρὶς δέ τοι, οὐ πατρίς ἔστι· Μίνωος δ' ἀπὸ  
γῆς, οὔτε σχεδὸν οὕτ' ἀπὸ τηλοῦ, ἐν τῇ σοι  
μοῖρ' ἔστι τελευτῆσαι βιότοιο, εὗτ' ἀν ἀπὸ  
γλώσσης παίδων μὴ γνῶς  
ἐπακούσας ἄξυντον πολλοῖσι λόγοις  
εἰρημένον ὅμνον.

5.33.15 | Come, let us also see the question  
of Homer the blessed, which asks the god;  
for surely it was heavenly and fitting to call  
upon the god. For the god would not have  
so easily called out the blessed one, and in  
the blessed saying, he assigned a homeland:  
'For your mother is not from your father's  
land; from the land of Minos, neither near  
nor far, there is your fate to end your life,  
whenever you hear the words of children  
without knowing, listening to the  
uncountable hymns spoken.'

5.33.16 | δεινὸν γάρ, ὡς σοφώτατε ἀνδρῶν,  
μᾶλλον δὲ θεῶν, εἴ μήτε ὅπου τῆς γῆς  
ἔξεθορε τῆς μητρὸς εἰδείη ὄλβιος βιος μήτε  
ὅπου καταμύσας κείσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ὥμην  
ἴσον Ὅμηρόν τε ὅντα περὶ τούτων  
προσιέναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἵνα τῶν κανθάρων,  
καὶ τὸν θεὸν μὴ μᾶλλον ἀν Ὅμήρῳ  
ἀφηγήσασθαι περὶ τοιούτων ἀγνοημάτων  
ἡ κανθάρῳ.

5.33.16 | For it is terrible, as you are the  
wisest of men, and even more so of the  
gods, if the blessed life of someone should  
not rise from anywhere on this earth, nor  
where he will lie down after death. And I  
thought that even Homer, being such,  
would approach the god about these things,  
and that the god would not tell him more  
about such unknowns than about a beetle.

5.33.17 | οἶον εἴ καὶ κάνθαρός τις γεννηθεὶς  
οὐκ ἐνεβίωσε ούδε· ἐνεγήρασεν ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ  
κοπρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἔχθρῳ ἀνέμῳ περιέτυχε, καὶ  
κανθαρίῳ δαίμονι σκληρῷ, ὃς αὐτὸν  
μετέωρον ἄρας βίᾳ ἀπήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τινα  
ἄλλην γῆν καὶ ἄλλην κοπρίαν, κακπειτα  
έλθων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνηρώτα ἥτις ἄρα ποτὲ  
αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ πατρώα κοπρία, καὶ ἥτις αὐτὸν  
γῆ δέξεται ἀποθανόντα. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν.

5.33.17 | Just as if a beetle were born and  
did not live or grow old in that dung, but  
was caught by a hostile wind, and by a  
harsh beetle spirit, which violently lifted it  
up and carried it to another land and  
another dung. Then, coming to Delphi, it  
asked which was its ancestral dung, and  
which land would receive it after death.  
These things are indeed about the poets.

## Section 34

5.34.1 | Έπειδή δὲ οὐ μόνους ποιητὰς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ πύκτας καὶ ἀθλητὰς ὁ θαυμάσιος θεὸς διὰ τῶν οἰκείων χρησμῶν ἔξεθέωσεν, εἴκοτως μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπελέγχειν ὁ δεδηλωμένος τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν

5.34.1 | But since the marvelous god has already honored not only poets, but also orators and athletes through his own oracles, it seems reasonable to me that he also refutes these things with these words.

5.34.2 | Ὡς είδὼς ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ ξυνιεὶς καὶ μὴ λαλέοντος ἀκούων. εἴθε ὕφελες τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα πάντα ἀγνοεῖν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ πυκτικὴ τῆς λακτιστικῆς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπηθανάτους, ἢ μηδὲ Κλεομήδην πύκτην Ἀστυπαλαιέα, λέγων οὕτως ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαλαιεὺς, ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ὡς οὐκέτι θνητὸν ἐόντα.

5.34.2 | O, knowing the number of sand and the measures of the sea, and understanding the deaf and hearing the silent. Would that you could ignore all such things, but know this: that the skill of the boxer is no different from that of the wrestler, whether it makes the donkeys immortal or not, nor even Cleomedes, the boxer from Astypalaea, saying thus: 'Cleomedes of Astypalaea, the last of the heroes, whom they honor with sacrifices as no longer being mortal.'

5.34.3 | διὰ τί γάρ, ὡς πάτριε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔξηγητὰ, ὡς σε καλεῖ Πλάτων', ἔθέωσας τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον; ἢ ὅτι Ὁλυμπίασι πληγῇ μιᾷ πατάξας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνέῳξε τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐλάβετο τοῦ πνεύμονος;

5.34.3 | For what reason, O fatherland of the Greeks, as Plato calls you, have you honored this man? Is it because, striking his opponent with a single blow in the Olympics, he opened his side and, reaching in, took hold of his lung?

5.34.4 | Ἄπολλον, ἀξιοθέου ἔργου· ἢ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι προστιμηθεὶς τεσσάρων ταλάντων ζημίαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀχθηδόνος καὶ βαρυθυμίας ἐνήρεισε τὸν θυμὸν τοῖς ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ παισὶ, τὸν κίονα ὑφελκύσας, ὃς ἀνεῖχε τὴν στέγην; Ἐρ', ὡς θεοποιὲ, διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ὁ Κλεομήδης τιμητέος ἐστίν;

5.34.4 | Apollon, worthy of honor; or is it not only that, but also because, being fined four talents, he did not suffer this, but instead, under the burden of grief and sadness, he stirred the spirit of the boys in the school, pulling down the pillar that supported the roof? Is it, O god-made man, for these reasons that Cleomedes is to be honored by you?

5.34.5 | ἢ κάκεῖνο προσθήσεις, τὸ ἔτερον δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκείνου ἀνδρείας ἄμα καὶ

5.34.5 | Or will you add this, the other proof of his bravery and love for the gods, that

θεοφιλίας, ὅτι δὴ ἐμβάς εἰς ἱερὸν κιβώτιον καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπαγόμενος ἄληπτος ἐγένετο τοῖς διώκουσι, πειρωμένοις αὐτὸν ἔξελκύσαι,. Ὡς Κλεόμηδες, ἄρα ἥρως οὐκέτι θνητὸς, οἴα τὰ μηχανήματα ὑπὲρ ἀθανασίας ἔξεῦρες.

indeed, having entered the sacred box and bringing the drink, he became untouchable to those pursuing him, who were trying to pull him out? O Cleomedes, is it not true that the hero is no longer mortal, since you discovered the devices for immortality?

5.34.6 | ἥσθοντο γοῦν εύθέως οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀγαθουργίας καὶ ἀνηρείψαντό σε, ὕσπερ οἵτοι Ομῆρος τὸν Γανυμήδην· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, σὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσχύῃ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τῇ χρήσει τῇ ἀγαθῇ.

5.34.6 | Indeed, the gods immediately noticed your goodness and took you away, just like Homer's Ganymede. But the former was taken for his beauty, while you were taken for your strength and the good use of your power.

5.34.7 | εἴθε οὖν, ὡς μάντι, ὡς ἔφην, ἔάσας τὴν ψάμμον καὶ τὴν ἄλμην ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἔξεμαθες ὃπόσου ἄξιόν ἔστιν ἡ πυκτική, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς πύκτας ὄνους θεοὺς ἐνόμιζες καὶ τοὺς ὄνάγρους τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους· καὶ ἦν ἂν τι οἰκεῖον λόγιον ἐπ' ἀποθανόντι ὄνάγρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ πύκτῃ ἔξοχος ἀθανάτων ὄνος ἄγριος, οὐ Κλεομήδης, ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶθ' ὡς ουκέτι θνητὸν ἔοντα.

5.34.7 | Therefore, I wish, O seer, as I said, that you learned instead of sand and salt how much the dense is worth, so that you might think of the dense as gods and the best of the gods as the wild ones. And if there were any fitting words for a dead wild one, it would be more so than for your dense one: 'the outstanding wild one of the immortals, not Cleomedes, whom you honor with sacrifices as no longer mortal.'

5.34.8 | μὴ γὰρ δὴ θαυμάσῃς εί καὶ ὄναγρος ἐπιδικάσεται ἀθανασίας, ἵκανῶς τὰ θεῖα παρεσκευασμένος· καὶ ἀκούσας μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπειλῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Κλεομήδην πατάξας εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβῆναι·

5.34.8 | Do not be surprised if even a wild one claims immortality, being sufficiently prepared by the divine. And upon hearing this, do not hold back, but threaten to throw Cleomedes himself into the abyss, and not allow him to rise to the heavens.

5.34.9 | εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιώτερος αὐτῶν τῶν θείων δώρων, ἄτε μήτε αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἔτοιμος ὁν μάχεσθαι, καν εί σιδηροῖς χρῶτο τοῖς ἴμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Θασίῳ πύκτῃ ἄμα ἀμφοτέροις, ὑπὲρ οῦ τοῦ

5.34.9 | For he is more worthy of those divine gifts, since he is ready to fight not only for himself, even if he used iron for his straps, but also for the Thasian dense one together with both of them, over whom the

άνδριάντος ἔχαλέπηναν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὴν Θασίων γῆν ἄφορον είργάσαντο.

5.34.10 | πιστεύομεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλὰ θεῷ τῷ αὐτῷ. ἐξ ὧν ἔγω καὶ πάνυ κατενόησα ὅτι θεῖόν τι ἄρα ἦν ἐπιτήδευμα ἡ πυκτική, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ οἰομένους εἶναι σοφοὺς ἐλελήθει, ἵν' ἀφέμενοι τοῦ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ εἶναι ἥσκουν τὰ τοῦ Θασίου πύκτου· ὡς ἀθανασίαν μὲν, ὡσπερ Κλεομήδει, οὐκ ἔδωκαν, ἐφίλησαν δὲ μεγάλως οἱ θεοί.

5.34.11 | οὕτω καὶ ὁ χάλκεος αύτοῦ ἀνδριάς ἔδειξε τι ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων είκόνας, ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ μαστιγοῦντι ἔχθρῳ, κατά τινα, ὡς ἔοικε, δαιμονίαν μέριμναν.

5.34.12 | ἀλλ' οἱ ἄφρονες Θάσιοι καὶ θείων ἀπειροι πραγμάτων ἡγανάκτησάν τε καὶ ἄγος ἐπεκάλεσαν τῷ ἀνδριάντι, καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξαντο, καὶ καταδῦσαι ἐτόλμησαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

5.34.13 | οὐ μὴν διέφυγόν γε οἱ Θάσιοι, ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ ἔδειξαν ἡλίκον κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτολμήθη, λιμὸν ἐπιπέμψαντες τὸν τῆς θείας δίκης διάκονον, ὃς ἐδίδαξε μόλις αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν θεῶν βουλεύματα, ὃ τε φιλανθρωπότατος θεῶν σὺ τῷ οίκειῷ τρόπῳ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψάς λέγων εἰς πάτρην φυγάδας κατάγων Δήμητρ' ἀπαμήσεις.

gods were angry and made the land of Thasos barren.

5.34.10 | We believe that this is not a human matter, but the work of the same god. From this, I clearly understood that the dense was indeed a divine practice, while many who thought themselves wise were deceived, so that, leaving behind being good and noble, they practiced the ways of the Thasian dense one. To him, the gods did not grant immortality, like they did to Cleomedes, but they greatly loved him.

5.34.11 | Thus, his bronze statue showed something beyond the images of other people, being struck down by the enemy who was whipping him, as if, it seems, there was a divine concern.

5.34.12 | But the foolish Thasians, being inexperienced in divine matters, became angry and called a curse upon the statue, and they sought justice, and they dared to plunge into the sea.

5.34.13 | Indeed, the Thasians did not escape, but the gods showed how great an evil they dared, sending famine as the messenger of divine justice, who barely taught them the plans of the gods. And the most compassionate of the gods sent them help in their own way, saying that they would bring Demeter back to her homeland.

5.34.14 | ἀλλ' οἱ ἀβέλτεροι πάλιν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνθρώπους ὥστο δτὶ δεῖ αὐτοὺς κατακαλεῖν· κακῶς εἰδότες. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέλει τοῖς ἀφιλανθρωποτάτοις θεοῖς ἀνθρώπων κατακαλουμένων ὅσον περ ἀνδριάντων; ἀμέλει οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὡφελήθη ἡ γῆ ὥστε παύσασθαι νοσοῦσα, εἴ μὴ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἐπισταμένων τις τὸν θεῖον νοῦν συνῆκε φυγάδα εἶναι τὸν καταπεποντωμένον ἀνδριάντα. καὶ ἦν οὕτως. ἄμα γὰρ ἀνεστάθη καὶ εύθὺς ἡ μὲν γῆ ἀνέθαλλεν, οἱ δὲ ἐκόμων Δήμητρι λοιπόν.

5.34.15 | πῶς οὖν οὐ τεκμήρια ταῦτα είσιν ἐναργῆ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἀθλητικῆς, δτὶ ἔστι θεοτίμητος; καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πεντάθλου ἀνδριάντι ὑβρισμένω ἐμήνισαν οἱ θεοὶ, καὶ Λοκροὶ ἐπείνησαν διὰ τοῦτο, ὡσπερ Θάσιοι, ἔως αὐτοὺς ίάσατο λόγιον σὸν ἔχον οὕτως ἐν τιμῇ τὸν ἄτιμον ἔχων τότε γῆν ἀναρώσεις.

5.34.16 | οὐδὲ γὰρ Λοκροὶ ἥσθοντο θείας διανοίας πρότερον ἢ σὲ αὐτοῖς τούτου πρόξενον γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' Εύθυνκλέα τὸν πένταθλον ἐνέβαλον εἰς εἰρκτὴν, αἵτιασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι εἰληφέναι δῶρα· καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανόντος καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας ἐξύβριζον, ἔως οἱ θεοὶ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι τῶν γινομένων ἐπαφῆκαν αὐτοῖς τὸν κράτιστον λιμόν· καν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ διώλοντο ἄν, εἴ μὴ ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἥλθε βοήθεια, λέγουσα δτὶ δεῖ αὐτοὺς τιμᾶν ἄνδρας πεφατνευμένους, οὓς οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν οὐχ ἡττον ἢ οὓς οἱ ἀλφιτοποιοὶ πιαίνουσι βοῦς, δι' ὃν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀνθρωποι ἐνίοτε θύοντες πείθουσιν ' οὐχ ἡττον ἵσως,

5.34.14 | But the more foolish ones thought that they should call back the fleeing people, not knowing any better. For what do the most unkind gods care about humans being called back as much as statues? The earth was not helped at all by this, so that it would stop suffering, unless someone wise and knowledgeable understood that the statue that had fallen was a refugee. And it was so. For as soon as it stood up, the earth immediately began to bloom again, and the people honored Demeter from then on.

5.34.15 | How then are these clear signs of divine honor, showing that it is worthy of worship? For the gods also punished the statue of the athlete who was insulted, and the Locrians praised it for this reason, just like the Thasians, until they were healed by your words, having honored the dishonored one, then you will ask the earth.

5.34.16 | For the Locrians did not realize divine thoughts until you became their cause. But they threw Euthykle, the pentathlete, into prison, blaming him for receiving gifts in his homeland. And not only this, but even after he died, they insulted him in the statues, until the gods, not being able to endure what was happening, left them with the greatest famine. And they would have been completely destroyed by the famine if help had not come from you, saying that they should honor the men who are honored, whom the gods love no less than those whom the barley producers fatten with cattle, through whom sometimes people

άλλα καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον παχέων βιῶν οἱ παχεῖς ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνουσιν ὑμᾶς οὕτως ὡστε ἐνίστε ὅλῃ πόλει καὶ ὅλῳ ἔθνει ὀργίζεσθαι, ἐνὸς ἡ δυσοῦν ἀδικούντων ταῦτα τὰ θρέμματα.

sacrifice to you. Perhaps not less, but much more, the fat people make you happy, so that sometimes the whole city and the whole nation become angry over one or two people doing these wrongs.

5.34.17 | ως δὴ ὥφελες, ᾗ μάντι, ἀλείπτης ἡμῖν ἀντὶ μάντεως γενέσθαι, σθα, ἡ καὶ μάντις ἄμα καὶ ἀλείπτης, ἵν ὥσπερ χρηστήριον Δελφικὸν, οὕτω καὶ γυμναστήριον. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀλλότριον ἦν ἀγῶνος Πυθικοῦ Πυθικὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ γυμναστήριον.' Τούτοις ἐπισυνάψω καὶ ἄ φησιν ἀπελέγχων ὡς καὶ τοὺς τυράννους κολακεύειν εἰώθασιν οἵ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος.

5.34.17 | As you helped, oh seer, may you be a healer for us instead of a seer, or even both a seer and a healer, so that it may be like the oracle at Delphi, just as it is a gymnasium. For it was not strange for the Pythian games to be both Pythian and a gymnasium. With these, I will also add what he says, proving that those who flatter tyrants are the ones about whom the story speaks.

## Section 35

5.35.1 | "οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Αἴακίδης, βασιλεὺς κλεινοῦ Κορίνθου. ούκοῦν καὶ οὶ τύραννοι, οὐ μόνον οἵ τῶν τυράννων ἐπίβουλοι, Κύψελος, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ Κορίνθῳ πῆματα τεύξει, καὶ Μελάνιππος ὁ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ τῇ Γελώων πόλει τεύξας.

5.35.1 | This man, who is coming down to my house, is Cypselus, the son of Aiakides, the famous king of Corinth. So, the tyrants, not only those who are plotting against the tyrants, Cypselus, who will bring many troubles to Corinth, and Melanippus, who will bring many good things to the city of Gela.

5.35.2 | πῶς δ' εἰ Κύψελος ὅλβιος, ᾗ κακόδαιμον, οὐ καὶ Φαλαρὶς ὅλβιός, δόμότροπος ὧν Κυψέλω; ὡστ' ἂν ἐκείνως ἄμεινον εἶναι ὑμῖν εύδαιμων Φαλαρὶς καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφυ, θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐν ἀνθρώποις διχονοίας.

5.35.2 | How is it that Cypselus is blessed, oh wicked one, and Phalaris is also blessed, being a contemporary of Cypselus? So, it seems that Phalaris and Melanippus are happier than you, divine leaders among men, in their divisions.

5.35.3 | ἤκουσα δέ σου καὶ διαλελυμένον χρησμὸν περὶ τοῦ Θαλάριδος, ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ τιμῶντα, ὅτι λαβών ἐπιβουλεύοντας

5.35.3 | I heard your prophecy about Thalaris, praising and honoring him, that he defeated those who plotted against him,

ηκίσατο μὲν, καρτεροῦντας δὲ ἀγάμενος ἀφῆκε ' Λοξίας καὶ Ζεὺς πατήρ ἀναβολὴν ἐψηφίσαντο θανάτου Φαλαρίδι, ἀνθ' ὃν ἡμέρως Χαρίτωνι καὶ Μελανίππω προσηνέχθη. ἀλλ' εὗ γε καὶ μόλις ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἔδειξας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς, ὅτι κάλλιστόν τι ἔστιν ἡ ζωή. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄπασι καὶ τόδε προσκείσθω

but left those who were strong. Loxias and father Zeus voted for a delay of death for Phalaris, for which he was brought to the Charites and Melanippus. But you have shown us well and with difficulty about death and life, that life is indeed the most beautiful thing. Let this also be added to all these things.

## Section 36

5.36.1 | ἀλλά κε Μηθύμνης ναέταις πολὺ λώιον ἔσται φαλληνὸν τιμῶσι Διωνύσοιο κάρηνον. Θύουσι γάρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ τελετὰς ἄγουσιν οὐ μόνον φαλληνοῖς Διωνύσοιο καρήνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιθίνοις καὶ χαλκέοις καὶ χρυσέοις, καὶ οὐ μόνον φαλληνοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Διονυσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις παμπόλλοις Ἡσιοδείοις θεοῖς.

5.36.1 | But the people of Methymna will honor the phallus much more than the head of Dionysus. For the cities offer sacrifices and hold festivals not only for the phallus of Dionysus, but also for stone, bronze, and golden ones, and not only for the phallus, but also for the Dionysian gods and many other Hesiodic gods.

5.36.2 | τρὶς γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς μύριοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυνθοτείρῃ, οὐκ ἀθάνατοι, ἀλλὰ λίθινοι καὶ ξύλινοι δεσπόται ἀνθρώπων· οἱ εἰ ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὔνομίν ἐφεώρων, οὐκ ἀν τοσοῦτος ἥρθη λῆρος, ὡστε καὶ ἥδη καὶ μέχρις ὑμῶν κεχωρηκέναι τὸ κακὸν, ἐπιδιαβάν καὶ εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπὸν, ὅθι, φασὶ, θεῶν ἴδος ἀσφαλὲς αἱεί.

5.36.2 | For truly, there are countless thousands on the fertile earth, not immortal, but stone and wooden masters of men; who, if they were to see the arrogance and good order of men, would not have such great nonsense, so that even now and until you, the evil has already passed, crossing over into Olympus, where, they say, the form of the gods is always safe.

5.36.3 | καίτοι εἰ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν, οὐκ ἀν ἦν ἐπιβατὸν λήρω, ούδ' ἀν εἴς τις τῶν Ὀλυμπίων εἰς τοῦτο ἥλθε παρανοίας ὥστ' ἐλάινον κορμὸν θεῶσαι ' δὸν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι σαγήνης ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς λίνοις ἀνείλκυσαν, καὶ δἰς, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τρὶς καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σαγηνεύοντες ἀνθρωποι, καὶ ἔξ ἐκείνου εἰς τὸ Λιβυκὸν ἔξοκείλαντες, ούδ' εἴς τὴν γῆν ἔξω

5.36.3 | And yet, if it were safe, there would not be a foolish nonsense, nor would any of the Olympians come to this madness, so that they would 'make a body of clay' which the people of Methymna pulled up entangled in nets, and twice, if you want, and three times and more, people would be fishing in the same way, and from there they would have cast it out into Libya, nor

έκβαλόντες αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν, μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, ἔτι αὐτοῖς ἐνεπλάκη τοῖς λίνοις.

5.36.4 | ἀλλ' ἔξ ἄκρου κεφαλοειδῆς ὁ κορμὸς ('Ἀπολλόν, ξένου κατασκευάσματος) τί ποτ' οὖν ἔπραττεν ἐν τῷ πελάγει; ἀπορήσαι ἄν τις. τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἦ ἐκάθητο, νὴ Δία, ἀναμένων ἔως ἀνθρωποι μαινόμενοι, οὐ γὰρ φήσω ὅτι καὶ θεοὶ, ἐγκυρήσαντες αὐτῷ, ού διοπετὲς, ἀλλὰ ποσειδωνοπετὲς ἡγήσωνται, καπεικτα εἰς ἄστυ ἀπαγάγωσιν, ὕσπερ τινὰ ἀγαθὴν τύχην, κακὴν οῦσαν ὡς ἀληθῶς, οὐ τύχην, ἀλλὰ τυφεδόνα; ἢ οὔκ ἥρκει ἄρα αὐτοῖς οἴκοθεν διολλύουσα, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐπέρρωσέ τε καὶ προσεπέτεινε θεοπληξίας, ὡς ἄν τις εἶποι, ἐκ Δελφῶν μετάπεμπτος ἐπιθήκη.'

5.36.5 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Οἰνόμαος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὰ είρημένα μεταβάς αὐθῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίαν τοῦ τὴν συσκευὴν καθ' ἡμῶν πεποιημένου, ἀνάγνωθι ἐκ τῶν περὶ εἰμαρμένης τοῦ Πυθίου χρησμῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ σοὶ θείας ἀλλότριος ὡν δυνάμεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ περὶ τῶν θρυλουμένων χρηστηρίων ὑποπεσεῖται λόγος.

would they have thrown it out to the land outside; for, by Dionysus, it would not have been entangled in the nets any longer.

5.36.4 | But from the top, the body is head-shaped (Apollo, a strange creation); what then was it doing in the sea? Someone might wonder. For what else was it doing, by Zeus, but sitting there, waiting until the madmen came, for I will not say that even the gods, having come to him, would not consider him heavenly, but rather sea-like, and they would lead him back to the city, just like some good fortune, which is truly a bad one, not fortune, but a misfortune? Or was it not enough for them to be flowing away from home, but it itself grew strong and added to the divine terror, as someone might say, sent from Delphi as a gift.

5.36.5 | So much for Oinomaos. But after what has been said, having moved again to the philosophy of the wise, which was made for us, read from the oracles of the Pythian about fate, if you are not also a stranger to divine power, the talk about the famous oracles will fall upon you even more.

## Book Six. (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

6.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τοῦ περὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τρόπου διὰ τῶν προδιηνυσμένων αὐτάρκως ἡμῖν ἀπεληλεγμένου, καὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς

6.praef.1 | Introduction. Since we have sufficiently discussed the nature of the oracles through what has been previously stated, and since the divine power of our savior has been shown through his good

αύτοῦ διδασκαλίας τὸ θεοπρεπὲς ἄμα καὶ βιωφελὲς ἐπιδεδιγμένης, ὅτι δὴ διὰ μόνης αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐ δι' ἄλλης, τῶν ἔξ αἰῶνος τὸν πάντα βίον ἐπισκοτισάντων τε καὶ λυμηναμένων δαιμονικῶν φαντασμάτων ἐλευθερία πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἀνθρώποις, φέρε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ εἰμαρμένης ψευδοδιοξουμένων αύτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπευθύνωμεν λόγον, ὡς ἀν μὴ διὰ μόνης τῆς τοῦ τρόπου μοχθηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν οὐκ ὁρθῶς ούδε ἀληθῶς αὐτοῖς δοξαζομένων, φαῦλοι καὶ ἀδρανεῖς ὅντες οἱ τὰ χρηστήρια κινεῖν νενομισμένοι δαίμονες δειχθεῖεν.

teaching as both godly and beneficial, it is clear that only through this, and not through anything else, has there been freedom for all people from the demonic illusions that have darkened and troubled life throughout all ages. Let us also turn our attention to the false beliefs about fate, so that we may not only address the wickedness of the nature of the oracles, but also the incorrect and untrue beliefs held by those who are weak and inactive, who are thought to move the oracles.

6.praef.2 | σκέψαι δ' οὖν εἴ μὴ καὶ σοὶ θείας ἀλλότριος ὃν δυνάμεως ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποπεσεῖται λόγος, ἔκ τε ὃν παραθήσομαι ἀνατρεπτικῶν τοῦ περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν τὰς μαντείας ποιεῖσθαι λέγονται.

6.praef.2 | So consider whether the discussion about these things will also come to you, even if you are a stranger to divine power. I will present from both the overturning ideas about fate and from the nature itself, according to which the oracles are said to be made.

6.praef.3 | οὐ γὰρ δὴ δυνάμει κρείττονι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν προειληφέναι φασὶν αὐτοὺς, ἐκ θεωρίας δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων κινήσεως ὅμοιώς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα καταστοχάζεσθαι. οὕτως ούδεν δύνασθαι οὔτ' ὀφελεῖν οὔτε τι τὸ παράπαν ἐνεργεῖν αὐτοὺς, εἴ μὴ τὰ καθ' εἰμαρμένην, φασί. τούτων δὲ ἔλεγχος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων προήγορος, ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας" ὥδε λέγων πρὸς λέξιν

6.praef.3 | For they say that knowledge of future things is not taken from a greater power, but that people can also predict the future from observing the movements of the stars. Thus, they cannot help or do anything at all unless it is according to fate, they claim. The proof of this is found in the writings of the leading demons, in which he wrote "On Philosophy from Reason," saying this word for word.

## Section 1

6.1.1 | “Ἄ γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ θεοὶ, εἴπερ τὰ μεμοιραμένα γινώσκοντες λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ

6.1.1 | For what the gods say, if they speak knowing what is fated, they show it from

τῆς τῶν ἄστρων φορᾶς δηλοῦσιν, καὶ τοῦτο σχεδὸν πάντες ἔξεφηναν οἱ ἀψευδεῖς τῶν θεῶν."

6.1.2 | Εἶθ' ἐξῆς ὑποβάς φησιν "Ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων τί τέξεται ἡ γυνὴ, ἐκ τῶν ἄστρων εἴπεν ὅτι θῆλυ, ἐκ τοῦ σπορίμου ἐπιγνούς χρόνου. λέγει δ' οὕτως ἐκφύεται γαίηθεν ὀδῶν, ὅθι λείμακες ὅμβρουδιψοσύνη κατέμαρψαν ὅλον πόμα μητέρος αυτῆς, ἐνδον ὄρινομένης χρόνου ἄρκιον· οὐ τι δὲ κοῦρον, ἀλλὰ κόρην· Φοίβη γάρ ἐῦσκοπος ἥροσεν ἀγνήν Κύπριν, ἐπειγομένην θῆλυν γόνον, ὡς φίλε, σεῖο.

6.1.3 | ίδοὺ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπορίμου, ὅτι σελήνη ἐπὶ Αφροδίτην ἐφέρετο, εἴπεν ὅτι θῆλυ γεννηθήσεται. καὶ Ι. ""^ γὰρ λέγουσιν οἱ θεοὶ, εἴπερ τὰ μεμοιραμήν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐκεῖθεν προλέγουσιν. ἐπάκουουσον γὰρ ἡ μάλα μιν κακὸς ἴδις ἐνὶ στέρνοισι δαμάζει, πνεύμονος ἀλγινόεσσαν ὑπερβλύζων κακότητα.

6.1.4 | καὶ ἐξῆς, οἵς ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα δὲ Μοιράων νόος ἤγαγεν, ἡδὲ κελαινήνεις ἔριν ἐστήριξε, κακηπελίησι δαμάζειν, ὑψιπόλοιο Κρόνοιο κακὴν ὑπ' ἀταρπὸν ιόντος.

6.1.5 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἀλλά σε μόρσιμον ἡμαρ ἀναπλῆσαι βιότοιο ἀλγινόεις βροτολοιγὸς ἐπισπέρχων Κρόνῳ ἄντασπεύσατο, σῆς δὲ θέμειλον ἀπὸ

the movement of the stars, and this has been declared by almost all the truthful gods.

6.1.2 | Then he goes on to say, "When Apollo was asked what the woman would give birth to, he said from the stars that it would be a girl, knowing the time of conception. He says this: 'From the earth, along the paths where the meadows were soaked with the rain, she caught all the drink of her mother, while the time was just right for her to be born. It is not a boy, but a girl; for Phoebus, the good seer, has announced a pure daughter of Cyprus, hurrying to give birth to a female child, dear friend.'"

6.1.3 | Look, and from the time of conception, since the moon was bringing forth to Aphrodite, it was said that a girl would be born. And they say, 'For the gods speak, if they predict what is fated and the diseases that come from there. For listen, a very bad poison is troubling her in her chest, causing painful suffering in her lungs.'

6.1.4 | And next, she says that the mind of the Fates led these things, and she set a dark cloud into conflict, troubling with evil storms, under the high throne of Cronus, as a bad fate came upon her.

6.1.5 | And after other things, she hurried to fill your destined day with a painful fate, rushing towards Cronus, and she understood from your mind: for this

φρενὸς ἡίστωσε τοῦνεκα καὶ πατέρος  
θεοειδέος ἱερὸν ἥτορφευγέμεναι  
κακοεργὸν ἐπηπείλησεν Ἀρηα.

6.1.6 | ταῦτα μὲν ὅτι ούδε ἐκ θείας αὐτῶν  
δυνάμεως μαντεύονται, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἄστρων  
ἐπιτηρήσεως κατὰ τοὺς μαθηματικῶν  
λόγους, ὡς μηδὲν ἐν τούτῳ διαφέρειν  
ἀνθρώπων μηδέ τι κρεῖττον καὶ φύσεως  
θειοτέρας ἔργον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

6.1.7 | θέα δ' ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιροῦσιν,  
ἰν, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἑκτὸς καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῷ  
τῶν ἄστρων ἀνατιθέντες φορᾶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τὰς ἡμετέρας προαιρέσεις.

reason, the sacred heart of your godlike  
father was threatened by the evil deeds of  
Ares.

6.1.6 | These things are not predicted even  
from their divine power, but from the  
observation of the stars according to the  
teachings of mathematics, as nothing in this  
differs from humans, nor does anything  
show a greater work of nature that is more  
divine.

6.1.7 | But as they also take away what is in  
our control, they do not only place the  
things outside and those not in our control  
under the influence of the stars, but also  
our own choices.

## Section 2

6.2.1 | "Οὐτως καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων περὶ τινος,  
ἄμα καὶ ἡ τὴν περὶ στρατιὰν προθυμίαν  
ἀφηγούμενος πόθεν αὐτῷ γίνεται, ἔφη  
"Αρεα κραιπνὸν ἔχει γενεθλήιον, ὃς μιν  
όρινει, οὐδέ εἰ ταρχύσει. Ζῆνός γὰρ ἐπέχρας  
βουλὴ, οὐκ οὐδος ἄρειον ἀπ' Ἀρεος εύθὺς  
όρέξει. καὶ πάλιν ἐπ' ἄλλου εὐχαίτης  
ἐπέκειτο Κρόνος, στυγεροῖσι δὲ  
κέντροις ἄλγυνεν παιδὸς Ταλαοῦ  
δυσπέμφελον ἡῶ.

6.2.2 | εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τὴν εἰμαρμένην οἱ  
γενναῖοι θεοὶ πεφρίκασιν ὡς ὀμολογεῖν  
μηδὲ κεραυνουμένοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
δύνασθαι ἐπαμύνειν. πολλὴ ἄρα γένοιτ' ἀν  
ἔλπις ἀνθρώποις εύχομένοις τυχεῖν  
βοηθείας παρὰ τῶν μηδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς

6.2.1 | So Apollo, while telling about  
something, also explained where his  
eagerness for battle comes from. He said  
that Ares has a fierce birth, who stirs him  
up, and he will not hold him back; for Zeus  
has a plan, or he will immediately bring  
great glory from Ares." And again, on  
another occasion, Kronos was waiting for a  
prayer, and with terrible stings, he caused  
pain to the child of Talaus, who was hard to  
send away at dawn.

6.2.2 | The noble gods have been so  
frightened by fate that they cannot even  
help those who are struck by lightning  
among their sacred ones. Therefore, there  
would be much hope for humans praying to  
receive help from those who cannot even

έπαρήγειν δυνατῶν. τί δὲ χρὴ λοιπὸν εύσεβεῖν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν καὶ θεραπεύειν, μηδὲν οἶους τε καθόλου μηδὲ ἐαυτοῖς ἐπαρκεῖν; ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἡ φησιν ὁ χρησμός·

### Section 3

6.3.1 | Οὕτω καὶ ναῶν μοῖραι καὶ Ἱερῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ Ἱερὸν μεμοίρατο κεραυνωθῆναι, ὡς φησιν ὡς ζαθέντης γεγαῶτες Ἐριχθονίοιο γενέθλης, ἔτλητ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ ἐμὴν ἐρεεινέμεν ὄμφην, διππόθι δημοθῇ περικαλλέος ἔδρανα σηκοῦ. κλύτε δαφνηρεφέων μυχάτων ἄπο θέσκελον ὄμφήν. εὗτ' ἀν ἄνω πνείοντες ὑπηρέιοι κελάδοντες τετρίβωνται πατάγοισιν ἐναντία δηριόωντες —κρυμὸς δ' αὖ περὶ κόσμον ἀπείρονα νήνεμος ἔσται —μηδὲ διεξερύγησιν ἔχῃ κεκακωμένος αἱθήρ, αἱθαλόεις περὶ γαῖαν, ὅπη τύχεν, ἔκπεσε πυρσός τὸν μὲν δὴ θῆρές τε κατ' οὔρεα δειμαίνοντες φεύγουσιν πυμάτοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν, οὐδὲ μένουσιν εἰσιδέειν ὕσσοισι καταιβάσιον Δίος ἔγχος. τοῦ μὲν καὶ νηοὶ μακάρων καὶ δένδρεα μακράλιβάτων τ' ὄρέων κορυφαὶ νῆές τ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ δάμνανται ζαπύροις πωτήμασιν ἐμπελάοντος 'καὶ δ' αὐτὴ πληγεῖσα Ποσειδάνος ἐταίρη πολλάκις ἥχήεσσ' ἀναχάζεται Ἀμφιτρίτη. ὑμεῖς οὖν καὶ ἄτλητον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλγος ἔχοντες, τέτλατε Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα δήνεα θυμῷ ταῖσι γὰρ Οὐρανίδαο Δίος κατένευσε κάρηνον, ὅττι κε διγνήσωσι μένειν ἀσάλευτον ἀτράκτοις. αἴσα γὰρ ἦν δολιχοῖσι χρόνοις περικαλλέα σηκὸν πυρσῶν αἰώρησι διπετέεσσι δαμῆναι.

6.3.2 | εἰ δὴ οὖν Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις καὶ τῶν

aid themselves. So why should one still be pious and worship the gods, and serve them, when they are not able to help themselves at all? Listen then to what the oracle says:

6.3.1 | Thus, the fates of temples and sacred places, and even the temple of Apollo himself, have been destined to be struck by lightning, as the saying goes: 'O you who have been born from Erichthonius, you dared to come and speak my voice, wherever the beautiful seat may be destroyed. Listen to the divine voice from the laurel-covered depths. Whenever the winds blow from above, echoing below, they clash with loud noises, while a hidden, endless calm will be around the world. And the troubled sky will not be able to escape the ruined air, smoky around the earth, wherever a fire may fall. The beasts, fearing, flee to the mountain tops under cover, and do not stay to see the deadly thunderbolt of Zeus. For both the temples of the blessed and the tall trees of the high mountains and the ships in the sea are destroyed by the fierce waves of the storm. And even Amphitrite, struck, often cries out with a loud voice. Therefore, you, holding unbearable pain in your hearts, have endured the unmeasured fates in your spirit; for Zeus, the son of Uranus, nodded his head, that they may remain unshaken by the storms. For fate may allow the beautiful seat to be destroyed by the long-lasting flames that fall from the sky.'

6.3.2 | If indeed the temples of the fates and

σεβασμίων θεῶν οἱ ναοὶ, τά τε ἱερὰ αὐτῶν δώματα δάμναται ζαπύροις πωτήμασι, τίς ἀν ἔτι λείποιτο ἐλπὶς θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς τῶν πεπρωμένων ἀποφυγῆς; εἴ δὲ καὶ μηδεμίᾳ ἐκ θεῶν ὑπάρχοι βοήθεια, δεῖ δὲ ἔξ ἄπαντος τετλάναι Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα δήνεα θυμῷ, τίς ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ματαία σπουδή; εἴποι ἄν τις.

the sacred gods are destroyed by fierce waves, what hope is left for mortal humans to escape their fate? And if there is no help from the gods at all, then everyone must endure the unmeasured fates in their spirit. What is the point of striving for the gods in vain? Someone might say.

6.3.3 | τί δὲ δεῖ λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων γέρας τοῖς μηδὲ τούτων ἀξίοις ἀπονέμειν, εἴ κατ' οὐδὲν ἥμας ὠφελεῖν δύνανται; ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρας οἵεσθαι χρῆν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ὠμολόγουν αἰτίαν.

6.3.3 | What is the point of offering sacrifices and gifts to those who do not deserve them, if they cannot help us at all? Since they are not even thought to be givers of good things, but rather they share the blame for the bad things.

6.3.4 | εἴ γὰρ πέπρωται ἀνθρώποις εἴτε τι ἀγαθὸν εἴτε τι καὶ ἐναντίον, ἔσται ἔξ ἀνάγκης καὶ παρέσται τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένων καὶ μὴ τῶν θεῶν. μόνην ἅρα τὴν ἀνάγκην θεραπευτέον, σμικρὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μηδὲν φροντίσαντας τῶν θεῶν, μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε εὔεργετεῖν δυναμένων.

6.3.4 | For if it is destined for humans to receive either something good or something bad, it will happen out of necessity, regardless of the wishes of the gods. Therefore, we should only serve necessity, which is small, especially since the gods do not care at all, being unable to either help or harm us.

6.3.5 | εἴ δὲ δὴ τῶν Μοιρῶν μόνος ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων ἐπιστατεῖ θεὸς, καὶ μόνος καὶ τούτων ὑπάρχει κύριος, ταῖσι γὰρ Οὐρανίδαο φησὶ) Διός κατένευσε κάρηνον, ὅττι κε δινήσωσι μένειν ἀσάλευτον ἀτράκτοις, τί δὴ οὐχὶ πάντα ὑπερθέμενος τὸν παμβασιλέα καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης δεσπότην μόνον θεὸν εἶναι δύολογεῖς, καὶ μόνον ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρα καὶ σωτῆρα; ὅτι δὴ μόνῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἂ φήσις Μοιράων ἀμετάτροπα δήνεα τρέπειν καὶ μεταλλάττειν ῥάδιον· ὡς μήτ' ἀνάγκῃ μήτε εἰμαρμένῃ τὸν τῷ παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ καθωσιωμένον καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν

6.3.5 | If indeed the Fates are the only god who oversees everything, and they alone are the masters of these things, then why do we not agree that the all-powerful god is the only one who controls fate and is the giver and savior of good things? Because it is only he who can easily change the unchangeable decrees of the Fates. So, neither necessity nor fate should serve the god who is honored by all, but rather he should be free and unbound by any ties to the divine and saving powers. But the true word shows such things, while the opposite

εύσεβοῦντα δουλεύειν, οἵα δὲ ἐλεύθερον καὶ παντὸς ἀφειμένον δεσμοῦ ταῖς ἐνθέοις καὶ σωτηριώδεσιν οίκονομίαις ἀκωλύτως ἔφεπεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀληθῆς τοιαῦτα προφαίνει λόγος, ὁ δ' ἔμπαλιν ὅρα διὰ τίνων φησὶ τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης λύεσθαι.

## Section 4

6.4.1 | Δεηθέντος γάρ τινος καταδέξασθαι θεὸν, εἴπὼν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἀνεπιτήδειός ἐστι διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ φύσεως καταδεδέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποτροπιασμοὺς ὑπαγορεύσας, ἐπάγει ῥιπῇ δαιμονίη γάρ ἄλις ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀλκήσασι γοναῖς, ἃς χρή σε φυγεῖν τοίαισι μαγείαις.

6.4.2 | δι' ὃν καὶ σαφῶς δεδήλωται ὅτι ἡ μαγεία ἐν τῷ λύειν τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης παρὰ θεῶν ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ὄπωσοῦν ταύτην παρατρέπειν. "

6.4.3 | Ταῦτά σοι ὁ Πορφύριος, οὐκ ἔγώ. ὁ τοίνυν μαγείαις παραινῶν λύειν τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης πῶς αὐτὸς θεὸς ὃν τὰ πεπρωμένα κατὰ τοῦ ἴδιου ναοῦ κεραυνῷ πιμπραμένου μὴ ἔλυσεν; ὁ δὲ δὴ μαγεύειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν παρορμῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴη δῆλος ὅποῖος ὃν τυγχάνει τὸν τρόπον; ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ψεύδεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὁ αὐτὸς ὄμολογεῖ.

## Section 5

6.5.1 | “Αλλ’ ἥδη καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς φορὰς τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων συμβάσεις ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὐ

says why the bonds of fate can be broken.

6.4.1 | When someone asks a god to receive them, the god replies that it is inappropriate because they are bound by nature. And for this reason, the god brings about terrible things, for a divine force has rushed in with great strength, which you must escape with such magic.

6.4.2 | Through these things, it is clearly shown that magic was given by the gods to change whatever is determined by fate.

6.4.3 | These things are said to you by Porphyry, not by me. How can a god, while advising to use magic to change what is determined by fate, not himself change what is destined when his own temple is being struck by lightning? And yet, urging to practice magic but not to think deeply, how could it not be clear what kind of person he is? In all these matters, he also admits to deceiving the gods.

6.5.1 | But already, the exact knowledge of the movement and the agreements from these things is hard for humans to

μόνον τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τισι τῶν  
δαιμονίων ὅθεν καὶ ψεύδονται περὶ  
πολλῶν ἐρωτηθέντες.”

understand, and not only for them, but also for some of the spirits, from which they also lie when asked about many things.

6.5.2 | Τούτοις αὖθις ἐπιλέγει “Καὶ τὸ  
περιέχον ἀναγκάζον ψευδῆ γίνεσθαι τὰ  
μαντεῖα, οὐ τοὺς παρόντας ἐκόντας  
προστιθέναι τὸ ψεῦδος. πολλάκις γοῦν  
προλέγουσιν ὅτι ψεύσονται· οἱ δὲ μένουσι  
καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκάζουσι διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν.

6.5.2 | These things again suggest that what is contained forces the oracles to become false, not adding the lie willingly to those present. Indeed, they often say that they will lie; but they remain and are forced to speak because of their ignorance.

6.5.3 | εἶπε γοῦν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ποτὲ, τοιαύτης  
οὖσης τῆς καταστάσεως, ὡς ἔδειξαμεν,  
πονηρᾶς τοῦ περιέχοντος, κλεῖε βίην  
κάρτος τε λόγων· ψευδηγόρα λέξω. καὶ ὅτι  
ταῦτα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἄπερ ἔφαμεν δηλώσει  
τὰ ὡς λόγια.

6.5.3 | Indeed, Apollo once said, in such a situation as we have shown, of the evil of what is contained, 'shut the strength and power of words; I will speak falsehoods.' And that these things are true, as we have said, will be shown by the words.

6.5.4 | ἔφη γοῦν τις κληθεὶς τῶν θεῶν  
στήμερον οὐκ ἐπέοικε λέγειν ἄστρων ὀδὸν  
ἰρήν· ἔδρανα μαντοσύνης γάρ ἐν ἄστρασι  
νῦν πεπέδηται. καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Πέφηνεν ἄρα  
πόθεν πολλάκις τὸ ψεῦδος συνίσταται.”

6.5.4 | Someone called from the gods said, 'Today it is not fitting to speak of the sacred path of the stars; for the seats of prophecy are now bound in the stars.' And it adds, 'So it has been revealed from where the falsehood often arises.'

## Section 6

6.6.1 | Ἄρά σοι πέπαυται λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς  
ἀμφιβόλου γνώμης, ὅτι μηδέν τι ἦν θεῖον ἐν  
τοῖς τῶν θεῶν χρησμοῖς, πῶς γάρ ποτε τὸ  
θεῖον ψεύσαιτ' ἀν, τὴν φύσιν δὲ  
ἀψευδέστατον, εἴ γε ἀψευδές τὸ θεῖον; πῶς  
δὲ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ταῖς ψευδολογίαις  
ἀπατήσειέ ποτε τοὺς χρωμένους; πῶς δ' ἀν  
εἴη κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῇ τῶν ἄστρων  
φορᾶ πεπεδημένον;

6.6.1 | Therefore, it is clear to you that the opinions of the uncertain are no longer valid, since there is nothing divine in the oracles of the gods. For how could the divine ever lie, being the most truthful by nature, if indeed the divine is truthful? And how could a good spirit deceive those who seek guidance with false words? And how could it be better for a person to be bound by the influence of the stars?

6.6.2 | θνητὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ βραχεῖαν  
ἀρετῆς σπουδὴν εἰσενεγκάμενος οὕποτ' ἀν  
ψεύσαιτο, τάληθὲς προτιμᾶν προθέμενος,  
οὐδ' εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην ούδ' ἄστρων  
φορὰν αἴτιάσαιτο ψευσάμενος· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ  
τῷ σώματι πῦρ τις ἡ σίδηρον προσφέροι,  
διαφθείρειν ἔξαναγκάζων τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐλευθεροστομῶν  
ἀντιφθέγξεται, ἵτω μὲν πῦρ, ἵτω δὲ  
φάσγανα· τέμνε, κάταιθε σάρκας,  
έμπλησθήτι μουτίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα·  
πρόσθε γὰρ κάτωγῆς εῖσιν ἄστρα, γῆ δ'  
ἄνεισ' ἐς οὐρανὸν, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ'  
ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

6.6.3 | τὸ δέ γε λαοπλάνον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν  
δαιμόνιον σκήπτεται τοὺς ἄφρονας  
σοφιζόμενον, ἐν ἐν οἷς ἀν τῆς τοῦ  
μέλλοντος προρρήσεως ἀποπίπτοι  
καταφυγὴν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀλογίας τὴν  
εἰμαρμένην πορίζοιτο.

6.6.4 | πάντα δ' εἰμαρμένης διὰ τῶν  
χρησμῶν ἀναρτήσας ὁ δαίμων, καὶ τὸ ἐφ'  
ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοπροαιρέτου κινήσεως  
ἀνελῶν, λῶν, ἀνάγκῃ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
καταδουλώσας, θέα εἰς οἶνον κακῶν  
δογμάτων ὅλεθρον τοὺς αὐτῷ πειθομένους  
καταβέβληκεν.

6.6.5 | εἰ γὰρ ἄστροις καὶ εἰμαρμένῃ οὐ  
μόνα τὰ ἔκτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κατὰ λογισμὸν  
προθυμίας ἀναθετέον, καὶ τις ἀπαραίτητος  
ἀνάγκη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἐκβιάζεται  
γνώμας, οἰχήσεται σοι φιλοσοφία,  
οἰχήσεται χαὶ εύσέβεια· οὐδέ τις ἦν τοῖς  
σπουδαίοις ἔπαινος ἀρετῆς, οὐδέ τις

6.6.2 | A mortal man, having made a brief  
effort for virtue, would never lie, choosing  
to prefer the truth, nor would he blame fate  
or the influence of the stars for lying. But if  
someone were to bring fire or iron against  
his body, forcing him to destroy the true  
word, he would still respond freely, saying,  
'Let fire come, let daggers come; cut me,  
burn my flesh, let me be filled with dark  
blood; for the stars go down beneath the  
earth, and the earth rises to the sky, before  
a word of deceit meets you from me.'

6.6.3 | But the deceiving and misleading  
spirit tricks the foolish, so that wherever he  
falls into the predictions of the future, he  
provides for him a refuge of irrationality  
that is destined.

6.6.4 | But the spirit, having arranged  
everything according to fate through the  
oracles, and having lifted what is in our  
control from our own free choice, has  
enslaved even this by necessity, and has  
cast those who obey him into a spectacle of  
destruction from such evil beliefs.

6.6.5 | For if the stars and fate do not only  
control external things, but also set the  
desires based on reasoning, and if an  
unavoidable necessity forces human  
opinions, then philosophy will escape you,  
and piety will escape you; there will be no  
praise for the serious-minded virtue, nor

θεοφιλία, ούδε τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει πόνων καρπὸς ἐπάξιος, ἀνάγκης καὶ εἰμαρμένης τὴν αἵτιαν πάντων ἀναδεδεγμένης.

6.6.6 | οὐ δὴ οὗν προσήκει καταμέμφεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν βίον πλημμελοῦσιν, ούδέ γε τοῖς ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἐπιρρητοτάτοις, ἀλλ' ούδὲ τοὺς σπουδαίους θαυμάζειν· ταύτη δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, οἰχήσεται καὶ τὸ μέγα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κλέος, οὐκ αὐτοπροαιρέτου μελέτης καὶ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων ἀνάγκης ἀπηωρημένον.

6.6.7 | ὅρα οὖν εἰς οἷον κακῶν δογμάτων βυθὸν οἱ θαυμάσιοι θεοὶ καταβεβλήκασι, καὶ σκέψαι ὡς εἰς ἀσωτίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ ἄλλα μυρία κακὰ παρορμᾶ καὶ προτρέπει τοутὶ τὸ δόγμα, ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ παντὸς βίου ἀθρόως κατεργαζόμενον.

6.6.8 | εἴ γοῦν τις αὐτόθεν πιστεύσειε τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς τῶν θεῶν χρησμοῖς, ὅτι τε τὸ ἀληθεύειν καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀπαραιτήτου εἰμαρμένης, καὶ τὸ θέλειν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τῶν πρακτέων ὄρμᾶν, καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν τὰ τοιάδε, πῶς οὐκ ἀν ἔθελήσειεν ἀμελεῖν καὶ καταρραφθυμεῖν ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς μὴ ἄνευ καμάτων καὶ πόνων καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίας κατορθοῦσθαι δυναμένοις;

6.6.9 | εἴ γὰρ ἔξ εἰμαρμένης τόδε τι γενήσεσθαι νομίζοι, εἴτε πονοίημεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ σπουδάζοιμεν εἴτε καὶ μὴ, πῶς οὐκ ἀν τις ἔθελήσειε τὸ ἥπαν αἰρεῖσθαι, παρεὶς ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἀμελῶν, ὡς ἔξ

any love for the divine, nor any worthy fruit from the efforts in practice, since all things are bound by the cause of necessity and fate.

6.6.6 | Therefore, it is not right to blame those who fail in life, nor even the impious and most reckless, nor to admire the serious-minded; for, as I said, the great glory of philosophy will also escape, not from self-chosen practice and effort, but from the necessity of the stars.

6.6.7 | Look then at what a depth of evil beliefs the marvelous gods have cast down into, and consider how this doctrine urges and leads to ruin, injustice, and many other countless evils, bringing about a complete overturning of all life.

6.6.8 | If someone were to believe the marvelous oracles of the gods, that both telling the truth and lying were not our own actions, but rather the result of unavoidable fate, and that wanting to go to war or to do anything else comes from this, while not wanting such things, how could they not choose to be careless and give up in all things that cannot be achieved without effort, pain, and our own willingness?

6.6.9 | For if someone thinks that something will happen because of fate, whether we work hard for it or not, how could they not choose the easier path, giving up on themselves and being careless,

είμαρμένης καὶ ἀνάγκης γενησομένου τοῦ πραχθησομένου;

since what will happen is determined by fate and necessity?

6.6.10 | ὅθεν καὶ λεγόντῶν ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι ἄρα πραχθήσεται τοῦτο, εἴ γε εἴμαρταί μοι, καὶ τί με χρὴ παρέχειν ἐμαυτῷ πράγματα;

6.6.10 | From this, many say that this will happen, if fate allows it for me, and why should I provide myself with anything?

6.6.11 | εἰ γὰρ ὃ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ὁρμῶν οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως οίκείας τοῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ελαυνόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀνάγκης, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὃ ἐπὶ ληστείαν καὶ τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἥτοι ἀνοσιουργίας καὶ ἀκολασίας ἡ κοσμίους καὶ σώφρονας ἐπιτηδεύσεις τοῦτο γὰρ ἀν εἴη ἀκόλουθον τῷ περὶ εἴμαρμένης λόγῳ.

6.6.11 | For if someone going to war does not act out of their own choice, but is driven by outside necessity, it is clear that the same applies to those who commit robbery, grave robbing, or other wicked and reckless acts, or to those who engage in proper and moderate activities; for this would follow the argument about fate.

6.6.12 | πῶς οὖν ὃ ταῦτα μὴ ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἡγούμενος ἐγχειρεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἀνάγκης προσέξοι ἄν ποτε τῷ νουθετοῦντι καὶ διδάσκοντι σκοντι μὴ ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδιδόναι ἔκδοτον τοῖς προειρημένοις ;

6.6.12 | How then could someone who does not think these things come from themselves ever pay attention to the one advising and teaching, and not give themselves over to those mentioned before?

6.6.13 | εἴποι γὰρ ἀν πρὸς τὸν νουθετοῦντα ὡς καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τισὸν εἴρηται, τί με, ὡς ἀνθρωπε, νουθετεῖς; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ δήπου ἔστιν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ, τὸ μεταβάλλειν βάλλειν τὴν προαίρεσιν· ἡ γὰρ εἴμαρμένη προκατεί ληφε.

6.6.13 | For someone might say to the one advising them, 'Why are you advising me, oh man? These things do not apply to me; it is not in my power to change my choice; for fate has already taken hold of me.'

6.6.14 | τί οὖν δεῖ συντετάσθαι πρὸς ἂ οὐδὲ προθυμεῖσθαι δυνήσομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο καθείμαρταί μοι; προθυμήσομαι δὲ, εἴ καθείμαρται, καὶ ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διδασκαλίας ὑπὸ τῆς εἴμαρμένης ἀγόμενος. τί οὖν μάτην

6.6.14 | What then should I strive for if I cannot even want to? Unless this too is fated for me? I would strive if it is fated, and I would be led by fate without your teaching. So why do you trouble yourself in

σεαυτῷ ἐνοχλεῖς;

vain?

6.6.15 | ἀλλ' εί το σὲ παραινεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν φήσεις κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐπιτελεῖδθαι εἰς τὸ παραινεῖν καὶ πείθειν ἐμὲ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ κάν τούτῳ τί χρὴ σπουδάζειν; ἀργὴ γάρ καὶ ἀνωφελῆς ἡ παραίνεσις. εἰ γὰρ εἴμαρταί μοι, φιλοπονήσω' εἰ δὲ μὴ εἴμαρται, ματαίαν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν ἀμφοτέρους συμβήσεται.

6.6.16 | πῶς δὲ οὐ μᾶλλον ἀπορρᾳθυμῶν εἴποι ἀν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὃ ταύτην ἔχων τὴν δόξαν, ἄγε μηδαμῶς φιλοπονήσω, μηδὲ μάτην ἐνοχλήσω ἐμαυτῷ· γενήσεται γάρ τὸ εἴμαρτὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· κης' ὃ δὲ περὶ τι σπουδάζων, ἢ διδάσκων ἢ προτρέιτες τρέπων ἐαυτὸν ἢ ἄλλον καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ μὴ, τὸ τε ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς θοῦθοιντααα θοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἐναργῶς ἐλέγχεται τὸ μὲν ἔργον καταλιπών τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τού αύτεξουσίου, τὸ δὲ τῆς εἴμαρμένης ὅνομα αύτῷ συνάπτων μόνον;

6.6.17 | ὥσπερ εί τις τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσιν, ἵς κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν ἄριστα διοικεῖται τὸ ζῶον, τῷ τοῦ κακοῦ προσαγορεύοι ὀνόματι. οὕτω γάρ ἐπεὶ ἐναργῶς ἐαυτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα μὴ βιαζομένων ὑπ' ἄλλης τινὸς αἵτιας ἐν τῷ παιδεύειν τοὺς νιεῖς καὶ μαστίζειν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀμαρτήσαντας, καὶ ἐν τῷ τόδε τι βούλεσθαι καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι, ἀλλ' αύτοτελῶς ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας ἔχουσίας σίας εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας κινήσεις ἀφικνουμένων, ἀμαρτάνοι ἀν ὃ ταῦτα λέγων γίνεσθαι καθ' εἴμαρμένην, πρὸς τὸ παραλύειν τάς τε

6.6.15 | But if you say that both advising and teaching you do out of necessity to advise and persuade me about such things, then what is the point of striving in this? For advising is lazy and useless. If it is fated for me, I will work hard; but if it is not fated, then both of us will be wasting our effort.

6.6.16 | How could someone who holds this belief not become lazy and say to himself, 'Come, I will not work hard at all, nor will I trouble myself in vain; for fate will happen out of necessity'? But the one who strives for something, whether teaching or encouraging himself or another, is changing himself and the act of being persuaded or not, and both making mistakes and not making mistakes, and also giving praise or blame. How is it not clearly shown that he is leaving aside the work that is in our control and only attaching the name of fate to himself?

6.6.17 | Just as if someone were to call the nature of the good by the name of the bad, which governs the creature best in its presence. For we clearly feel that we are not being forced by some other cause when we educate our sons and punish our servants for their mistakes, and when we want or do not want something. But rather, we are moving into such actions from our own power. The one who says these things would be making a mistake if he claims they happen by fate, as this weakens both

ήμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίας καὶ τὰς εἰς ἄλλους γινομένας παρακλήσεις καὶ νουθετήσεις, ἐξ ὧν δρῶμεν μάλιστα κατορθούμενα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα.

our own willingness and the encouragement and advice we give to others, from which we see that human affairs are most often successful.

6.6.18 | καὶ μὴν καὶ νόμους ἀνατρέποι ἂν οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοὺς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώποις κειμένους. τί γὰρ δεῖ προστάττειν ἡ ἀπαγορεύειν τοῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρας ἀνάγκης κατεσχημένοις; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας δεήσει κολάζειν μὴ παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἴτιαν ἡμαρτηκότας, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰ κάλλιστα πράττουσι τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν, ὃν ἐκάτερον πολλὴν αἴτιαν παρέσχηκεν εἰς ἀναστολὴν ἀδικίας καὶ εἰς εὔποιίας ἐτοιμότητα.

6.6.18 | And indeed, this argument would overturn the laws that are set for the benefit of people. For what is the point of commanding or forbidding those who are under some other necessity? Nor will it be necessary to punish those who make mistakes for the same reason they have erred, nor to award honors to those who do the best actions, since each of them has provided a strong reason for stopping injustice and for being ready to do good.

6.6.19 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὔσεβειαν ἀνατρέποι ἂν ἥδε ἡ δόξα, εἴ γε μηδὲν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς, μηδὲ μὴν αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶνδε χρησμῷδοι, δοὶ, μήτ' εὐχομένοις μήτ' εὐσεβοῦσι συμβάλλονται εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκαις πεπεδημένοις.

6.6.19 | But this belief would also overturn our piety toward the divine, if indeed the god has nothing to do with us, nor do those who give oracles know anything of these matters, whether for those who pray or for those who are pious, since they are bound by the necessities of fate.

6.6.20 | τὸ δὲ δίκην ἀψύχων λέγειν κινεῖσθαι ἡμάς, τῆδε καὶ τῆδε ὑπό τινος ἔξωθεν δυνάμεως νευροσπαστουμένους, εἰς τὸ ἐπάναγκες θέλεισαν τάδε πρᾶξαι, καὶ ἐλέσθαι παρὰ προαίρεσιν ἔτερα, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴη ἀναιδὲς καὶ ἀναισχυντότατον, ἐπείπερ ἐναργῶς αἰσθανόμεθα ἐαυτῶν ἡμετέρᾳ ὄρμῃ καὶ κινήσει τάδε τινὰ προθυμουμένων, καὶ ἀμελούντων, πάλιν ἐαυτῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, καὶ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν αἴτιαν κατορθούντων ἡ μὴ κατορθούντων, καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου βιαζομένων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκουσίω γνώμῃ αἰρουμένων, τὰ δὲ φευγόντων καὶ

6.6.20 | But to say that we are moved by lifeless things, being pulled by some outside force, to do these actions against our will, and to choose other things apart from our own choices, how could that not be shameless and utterly disgraceful? For we clearly feel that we ourselves are eager to do certain things and are indifferent to others, and we recognize that we are responsible for our own actions, whether we succeed or fail, and that we are not being forced by any other cause, but rather some things we choose willingly, while others we avoid and reject based on our

παραιτουμένων ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
προαιρέσεως;

6.6.21 | οὕτ' ὁ δὲ ἄρα ἐναργὴς ἦν ὁ τοῦ  
αὐθεκουσίου λόγος ὥστε ὅμοιώς τὸ ἀλγεῖν  
καὶ τὸ ἥδεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τόδε τι ὀρᾶν, καὶ  
τόδ' ἀκούειν, οὐ συλλογισμῷ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείᾳ  
καταλαμβανομένων, συναισθέσθαι ἐαυτῶν  
ἔξι ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλῆς  
ὄρμώντων, καὶ τάδε τινὰ αἰρουμένων, τινὰ  
δὲ ἀποστρεφομένων, ὥστε ἔξι ἄπαντος τὸ  
ἐλεύθερον καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν  
λογικῆς καὶ νοερὰς φύσεως ἐνδίκως  
ὅμολογεῖσθαι.

6.6.22 | εἴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ προαιρέσιν μυρία  
συμβαίνοντα ἡμῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων ταράττεο. διαιρετέον ἐνταῦθα  
τὴν τῶν ἐν οἷς ἐσμὲν φύσιν, καὶ τὸν λόγον,  
καθ' ὃν τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν γίνεται,  
ἐπιθεωρητέον. οὕτω γάρ καὶ τούτων τὸ  
αἴτιον οὕτις ἄλογος ἀναδέξεται εἰμαρμένη,  
λόγος δὲ πάλιν ἄλλος τῆς τῶν ὅλων  
προνοίας ἀπηρτημένος. φέρ' οὖν  
ἐπιμενλῶς τὸ πρόβλημα ἐπισκεψώμεθα.

6.6.23 | Πάντα μὲν ἀθρόως ἐκ θεοῦ  
προνοίας εἶναί τε καὶ διοικεῖσθαι οἱ τῆς  
ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας θεσμοὶ διαγορεύουσιν.

6.6.24 | ἥδη δὲ κατ' εἶδος ἴδιως ἔκαστα τῶν  
γιγνομένων τὰ μὲν ἔξει, τὰ δὲ φύσει, τὰ δὲ  
ὄρμῇ καὶ φαντασίᾳ, τὰ δὲ λογισμῷ καὶ  
οίκείᾳ κρίσει τε καὶ προαιρέσει κινούμενα,  
καὶ ἄλλα μὲν κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον  
γιγνόμενα, ἔτερα δὲ κατ' ἐπισυμβεβηκότα  
τοῖς προηγουμένως γεγονόσι, ποικίλην καὶ

own preferences.

6.6.21 | Thus, the argument for free will  
was so clear that both feeling pain and  
feeling pleasure, as well as seeing and  
hearing something, are not understood  
through reasoning, but through direct  
experience. We feel ourselves acting based  
on our own will, choosing some things and  
turning away from others, so that it is right  
to acknowledge the freedom and self-  
determination of our rational and thinking  
nature.

6.6.22 | But if many things happen to us  
beyond our choices, we should be troubled.  
Here, we need to separate the nature of our  
situation and examine the reasoning  
behind what is not in our control. For no  
one who is reasonable will accept that  
these things are simply fate, while another  
reasoning is connected to the overall plan  
of the universe. So, let us carefully consider  
the problem.

6.6.23 | All things are said to be both  
provided for and governed by the care of  
the gods, according to the principles of true  
piety.

6.6.24 | Now, in terms of types, each of the  
things that come to be can be classified:  
some exist by nature, some by impulse and  
imagination, some are moved by reasoning  
and personal judgment or choice. Some  
things happen according to a previous  
reasoning, while others occur due to events

πολύτροπον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς συνεστήσατο διακόσμησιν, ἐκάστῳ γένει τῶν ὄντων ίδιαν καὶ ἀφωρισμένην τινὰ φύσεως κατασκευὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἴτίου διανείμαντος.

6.6.25 | σχολῇ μὲν οὖν τις τὸν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διεξέλθοι λόγον, τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου ḥῶν ἀν καταμάθοι ὡδε

6.6.26 | ἐπεὶ μὴ μονογενὲς χρῆμα μηδ' ἐκ μιᾶς συνεστώς φύσεως τυγχάνει ὃν ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ἐκ δυοῖν δὲ ἐναντίων εἰληχε τὴν σύνοδον, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, τοῦ μὲν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ὄργανου τῇ ψυχῇ δεδεμένου, τῆς δὲ νοερᾶς οὐσίας κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον ὑποστάσης λόγον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀλόγου, τῆς δὲ λογικῆς τυγχανούσης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν φθαρτοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἀφθάρτου, καὶ θατέρου θνητοῦ, θατέρας δὲ ἀθανάτου, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς θηρσὶ μὲν ἀλόγοις ἀδελφὸν φέρειν τὸ σῶμα, ψυχὴν δὲ τῇ λογικῇ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει συγγενῆ ταύτῃ τοι εἰκὸς τὸ διφυὲς τουτὶ βλάστημα, διττῆς ἄτε φύσεως κεκοινωνηκός, διττῷ καὶ διαφόρῳ τὸ ζῆν ἀπευθύνειν τρόπῳ, τοτὲ μὲν φύσει σώματος δουλεῦον, τοτὲ δὲ τῇ θειοτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσπαζόμενον ἔλευθερίαν· ὡς καὶ δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεύθερον, τοιαύτην τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' οὓς οἶδε λόγους αὐτὸς, κεκληρωμένον ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἐπιμιξίαν.

6.6.27 | εἴ δὴ οὖν τις τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἦτοι τοῦ σώματος ἢ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, εἰμαρμένης ὄντος χρώμενος, ὑπ' αἰτίαν ἀνάγκης καταβάλλοι, διαμάρτοι ἀν τῆς οἰκείας

that have happened before. This creates a diverse and complex arrangement of everything, with each kind of being having its own specific and defined nature, which is distributed by the cause of all things.

6.6.25 | Therefore, someone might go through the discussion about other things at leisure, but they could more easily learn about free will here.

6.6.26 | Since a person is not a single kind of thing, but has a union of two opposing natures, body and soul, the body is connected to the soul through a physical organ, while the soul exists according to the previous reasoning. One part is irrational, while the other is rational; one part is mortal, while the other is immortal. Thus, we carry the body as a brother that is irrational, while the soul is related to the rational and immortal nature. This dual nature is likely a result of having two different natures, leading to two different ways of living: sometimes living according to the nature of the body, and at other times embracing freedom through the divine part. This means that the same person can be both a slave and free, having such a condition from the divine, through which they know the mixture of soul and body.

6.6.27 | If someone uses the term 'fate' regarding either the body or the soul and claims it is due to necessity, they would miss the true meaning of the term. For if

προσηγορίας. εἰ γὰρ εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκη τις  
ἢν ἀκώλυτος, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν τῷ σώματι καὶ  
τῇ ψυχῇ κατὰ φύσιν προσόντων  
παραποδίζεται, μυρία τε ἔξωθεν ἄλλα  
συναντᾶ παρὰ φύσιν κατά τι συμβεβηκός  
καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι παρεπόμενα,  
επόμενα, πῶς ἀν εἴη ταύτὸν εἰμαρμένη καὶ  
φύσις;

there were an unstoppable necessity of fate, many things that naturally belong to the body and soul would be hindered, and countless other things would happen against nature due to certain events affecting both the soul and body. How could fate and nature be the same?

6.6.28 | εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράλλακτόν φασιν εἶναι  
τὴν εἰξιμαρμένην, καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τι παρ'  
αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι (ἀνάγνην, γὰρ εἴναι  
ἀπαραίτητον) πολλὰ δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, παρὰ τὰ  
κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι  
συμβαίνει, οὐκ ἀν ὄρθως τις ὄνομάζοι  
ταύτὸν εἶναι λέγων εἰμαρμένην καὶ φύσιν.

6.6.28 | For if they say that fate is unchangeable and that nothing can happen outside of it (for it is said to be unavoidable), then many things, as I mentioned, occur against nature in both the soul and body. In that case, no one could correctly say that fate and nature are the same.

6.6.29 | γένοιτ' ἀν οὓν τῶν ὅντων ἐν ἡμῖν  
τὰ μὲν κατὰ λογισμὸν καὶ προαίρεσιν τὴν  
ἔφ' ἡμῖν γιγνόμενα, οἷα τὰ κατὰ φύσιν  
ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰ  
δὲ τούτοις μὲν συμβεβηκότα, ψυχῇ λέγω  
καὶ σώματι, ἐτέροις δὲ συντελούμενα κατὰ  
φύσιν ἀλλ' οὕτε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἔφ' ἡμῖν  
οὕτε τοῦ σώματος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, οὐδὲ μὴν  
τῶν ἔξωθεν τὸ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ἐνδίκως  
ἄν τις ἀποστεροίη τὸν αἴτιον.

6.6.29 | Therefore, among the things that exist within us, some happen according to reason and choice, like those that are natural to the soul, while others are natural to the body. Some of these occur as events related to the soul and body, while others happen naturally in different ways. But neither the actions of the soul that depend on us nor the natural actions of the body, nor even those that happen from outside events, would justly take away the responsibility from the cause.

6.6.30 | θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων καὶ τῶν  
ἔφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ  
κατὰ συμβεβηκός δημιουργὸς ὁν  
ἀποπέφανται. καθόλου γὰρ περὶ πάντων  
ἀκουστέον τῆς θείας γραφῆς, τὸ "αὐτὸς  
εἴπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο,  
καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν" ἀποφηναμένης.

6.6.30 | For God is the creator of all things, including those that depend on us, those that are natural, and those that happen by chance. In general, we should listen to the divine scripture, which says, 'He said, and they came to be; He commanded, and they were created.'

6.6.31 | εἰ δὴ οὖν βουλομένοις ποτέ τινα ἔτερα παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην συμβαίνει, ὑπομνηστέον αύτοὺς ὡς ἄρα τοῦτ' ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ διττὸν καὶ ἔτερογενὲς τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν συμπλοκῆς, λέγω δὴ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, παρ' ὃ καὶ ψυχῆς οὐσίᾳ, τὴν φύσιν οὗσα νοερὰ καὶ λογικὴ, ἐν νηπιάζοντι κατὰ φύσιν σώματι παρὰ φύσιν αὐτὴν χώραν ἀλόγου μετεύληφε· καὶ νοῦς ὃ φρονήσεως οἰκεῖος ἀφράινει πολλάκις κατά τι συμβεβηκός, παρατραπεὶς ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσαις φέρει σώματος ἀρρωστίαις.

6.6.32 | πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γήρας ἐπελθὸν σώματι κατὰ φύσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν κατορθωμάτων τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεστέρησε, τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς τὸ λογικὸν παρὰ φύσιν ἀμβλῦναν.

6.6.33 | αἰκίαι δ' αὕτη πάλιν καὶ ἀλγηδόνες σώματι πηρώσεις τε ἐπισυμβᾶσαι πάρα φύσιν, τὸ αὐθεκούσιον τῆς ψυχῆς παρὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός ἔξενίκησαν, ἐνδούσης ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπλοκήν ὡς ἀλίσκεσθαι δεσμὸν ἄφυκτον ἐμποδὼν προβεβλῆσθαι τῷ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐλευθέρῳ τοτὲ μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ ἔκτὸς ἐπισυμβαίνοντα.

6.6.34 | ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῖν προαιρέσεως εἰς τοσοῦτον ἥκον ἀρετῆς καὶ ἰσχύος ὡς ἀντιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τολμῶν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπισυμβαίνουσιν.

6.6.31 | If, then, when people want something different from our opinion, they should be reminded that this is the dual and different nature of the conflict within us, meaning the soul and body. The essence of the soul, being rational and logical, is in a body that is naturally childish, which has taken on a place that is irrational. And the mind, which belongs to reason, often becomes confused by some chance event, especially when it is affected by overwhelming illnesses of the body.

6.6.32 | Often, old age comes upon the body and takes away the ability to think clearly, which is a natural result of the peak of life, dulling the rational part of the mind of the intelligent soul.

6.6.33 | Again, injuries and pains that happen to the body, which are against nature, have conquered the free will of the soul due to these events. The pains bind the soul tightly, preventing it from being free at times because of the nature of the body, and at other times because of outside events.

6.6.34 | There was, then, the power of our own choice to reach such a level of virtue and strength that we can stand against many challenges and oppose both the nature of the body and outside events.

6.6.35 | ή μέν γε τοῦ σώματος φύσις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων δόρμην τὸν ἄνδρα καλεῖ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ λόγῳ σώφρονι χαλινὸν ἐμβαλοῦσα τῷ πάθει κρείττων καθίσταται τῆς τοῦ σώματος φύσεως· καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ ῥιγοῦν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσαναγκάζουσα ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν θεραπείας τε καὶ πληρώσεις παρακαλεῖ, ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις λόγοις σώφροσιν ἀναπεισθεῖσα, καί τινας ἀσκητικὰς προτροπὰς αὐθεκουσίως ἀγαπήσασα, πολυημέροις ἀσιτίαις καὶ καρτερίαις παρακρούεται τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν, ἀρετῇ λογισμοῦ κρίνασα τοῦτο καὶ ἐλομένη.

6.6.36 | καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἡ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν πάσαις ἡδοναῖς χαίρει καὶ τῇ λείᾳ τῶν σωμάτων κινήσει, ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὸν ἐπίπονον καὶ τραχὺν ἡσπάσατο βίον.

6.6.37 | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπέντες “μετίλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι.

6.6.38 | οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τῇ φύσει οὐ κατὰ πάντα ἐνδίδωσιν ὁ λογισμὸς, κρατεῖ δὲ ἐν πλείστοις, ὡς καὶ κρατεῖται, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸς ἄγει, τοτὲ δὲ αὐτὸς ἄγεται, τᾶι, ὡς καὶ πρὸ ὥρας ἔσθ' ὅπῃ χερσὶν ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ σώματος, ὅτε τὸ ζῆν αὐτῷ μὴ λυσιτελὲς κριθεῖται.

6.6.39 | εἴ μὲν οὖν πρὸς μόνην τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ὁ πᾶς ἄγων ἦν αὐτῷ, μέτριος ἀν ἦν οὗτος ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν

6.6.35 | The nature of the body calls a man toward desires, but the soul, using wise reasoning, places a restraint on passion and becomes stronger than the body's nature. Again, the body urges one to eat, drink, and feel cold, pushing toward natural needs and satisfactions. But the choice, persuaded by wise words and loving some practices of self-discipline, counters the body's nature with long periods of fasting and endurance, having judged and chosen this through the virtue of thought.

6.6.36 | And again, the body delights in all natural pleasures and the movement of the senses, but the choice of virtue embraces a hard and rough life with desire.

6.6.37 | There are those who have turned to the worse, changing natural use into unnatural, working out shameful acts among men.

6.6.38 | Thus, reason does not always give in to nature; it often prevails, just as it is sometimes overcome. At times, it leads, and at other times, it is led, as when one tries to free the body, especially when living is judged not to be beneficial.

6.6.39 | If the struggle was only against the natural condition of the body, it would be moderate. But since god has placed him in

καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βίον ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ μεταξὺ πολλῶν καταβέβληται, ὡς μετὰ θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ιόβολων, ἐν μέσῳ τε πυρὸς καὶ ὑδατος ἀέρος τε τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἄπαι παρηλλαγμένων καὶ διαφόρων φύσεων τὰς διατριβὰς πεποιῆσθαι, εἰκότως αὐτῷ ἡ διαμάχη καὶ ἡ ἔνστασις οὐ πρὸς τὴν οἴκείαν ἐστὶ καὶ συνημμένην αὐτῷ μόνον φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς μυρία τὰ ἔκτὸς συμβεβηκότα, ὃν ἐν μέσῳ ζῇ ὁ τὸν θνητὸν βίον διεξάγων, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα καρτερῶς ἀντέχειν.

the midst of many things, like wild animals and poisonous creatures, surrounded by fire, water, and air, and among all these different natures, it is reasonable that his conflict and resistance are not only against the natural condition of the body but also against countless external events, which he faces while living a mortal life, so that he must endure these things with strength.

6.6.40 | πολλαὶ γοῦν ἥδη καὶ τοιόνδε τροφῶν φύσεις καὶ τοιαίδε συγκράσεις τοῦ περιέχοντος, κρυμῶν τε ἐπιφοραὶ καὶ φλοιγμῶν ἐκκαύσεις, πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα κατά τινας οἴκείους λόγους φυσικῶς μὲν κινούμενα, συμβατικῶς δὲ ἡμῖν προσπίπτοντα τάραχον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτεξουσίω διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπλοκὴν παρέσχηκε, τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων φύσεως τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφορὰς οὐχ ὑπομενούσης, κρατουμένης δὲ καὶ νικωμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἔκτὸς κατὰ φύσιν οἴκείαν ἐπιτελουμένων.

6.6.40 | Indeed, there are many kinds of food and mixtures of what surrounds us, hidden dangers and burning flames, and many other things that move according to their own nature but cause us disturbance by chance, due to our free will. This is because of the conflict with the body, which does not endure the pressures from outside, while being controlled and defeated by those things that happen naturally from outside.

6.6.41 | πάλιν τε αὖ, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν ποιούμεθα τὰς διατριβὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἵσης ἡμῖν λαχόντες ούσιας τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἴδιας ἔξουσίας ἀποφέρονται, ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ σφῶν χρώμενοι προαιρέσει, ταύτῃ πάλιν εἰκότως καὶ ταῖς ἔτερων γνώμαις ὑποκεισόμεθα, τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔκείνων αὐτεξουσίου ὕδε πως ἡμῖν κατὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν χρωμένου.

6.6.41 | Again, since we share our experiences with many men, and they also have the same substances as us, they take away from their own free will. Using their freedom, they choose, and in this way, we are naturally subject to the opinions of others, while that same free will affects us in relation to the body or concerning the soul.

6.6.42 | ὥσπερ γάρ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν

6.6.42 | For just as the nature of our body is

φύσις νικᾶται πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν προσπιπτόντων, οὕτως ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ προαίρεσις ὑπὸ μυρίων ἔξωθεν ἐνοχλουμένη προαιρέσεων, αύτεξουσίω γνώμῃ πεισθεῖσα, ἐαυτὴν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπιδίδωσι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν βελτίων, τοτὲ δὲ χείρων ἀποτελεῖται. οἶδε γὰρ συνουσίᾳ φαύλῃ κακύνειν, ὡσπερ αὖ τούναντίον ποιεῖν ἀμείνους τῶν καλῶν ὄμιλία.  
“φθείρουσι γὰρ ἥθη χρηστὰ ὄμιλίαι κακαί,  
ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ σώζουσι βελτιοῦσαι τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν αἱ συνουσίαι.

often defeated by outside forces, so too is our choice disturbed by countless outside influences. When persuaded by free will, it gives itself over to these external pressures, sometimes becoming better and sometimes worse. For a bad company can corrupt good character, just as good company can improve the good qualities.

6.6.43 | καὶ λόγοις μὲν ἡ λογικὴ τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπισυμβαινόντων ὕδε πως καὶ τῇδε φέρεται ἴσχύει δὲ πάλιν οἰκεία καὶ λογικῆς ούσίας ἀρετὴ, καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ θεοειδῆ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυται, ὅτε πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔκτὸς ἀντέχουσα, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐλευθέρω φρονήματι ὑπερνικῶσα, πρὸς οὐδὲν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ὑφιεμένη, φιλοσοφεῖν παρεσκεύασται. ὅτε μὴν ὀλιγωρεῖ, ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων τὰ χείριστα διατίθεται, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ βελτιοῦται τῆς ἔξωθεν τυγχάνουσα ἐπιμελείας.

6.6.43 | And in words, the rational power of the soul is affected by outside events in this way. But again, the virtue of its own rational essence is strong, and it shows a divine and godlike power when it stands firm against all that is external, overcoming everything with a free spirit, not yielding to any of its own virtues. It prepares to engage in philosophy. However, when it becomes careless, it is placed under the worst influences, just as it can improve through the care it receives from outside.

6.6.44 | τί χρὴ λέγειν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς καὶ φοραὶ καὶ ἀφορίαι τοιῶνδε ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, κατά τινα περίπτωσιν οἰκείως τῇ τοῦ παντὸς διοικήσει συντελούμεναι, εὐ τε καὶ ὥρθῶς ἔχουσαι τῷ παντὶ, πλείστην δῆσην τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν παντοίας κινήσεως περιουσίαν ἀπειργάσαντο;

6.6.44 | What should we say about these things, since both the movements and the conditions of such souls and bodies, in some way, are naturally connected to the overall order of the universe? They both exist and are rightly aligned with the whole, having the greatest abundance of various movements that are directed towards us.

6.6.45 | πᾶσιν δὲ καθόλου τοῖς οὖσι, τοῖς τε παρ' ἡμᾶς γινομένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν

6.6.45 | And for all things in general, both those that exist with us and those that arise

ἡμετέραν αίτιαν, καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἐπιοῦσι, τοῖς τε φυσικῶς ἐνεργουμένοις, μία παναλκής καὶ παντοδύναμος ἐπιστατεῖ ἡ διὰ πάντων ἐπιπορευομένη τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια, ἥ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα θειοτέροις ἡμῖν τε ἀρρήτοις οἰκονομεῖ λόγοις, εὐηνίως τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶσα, πολλά τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὸ προσῆκον τοῖς καιροῖς μετασκευάζουσα, συνεργοῦσά τε καὶ συμπράττουσα τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἑκτὸς πάλιν συμβαίνουσι τὴν δέουσαν τάξιν ἀπονέμουσα.

6.6.46 | Τούτων είς τρία τοῦτον διηρημένων τὸν τρόπον, εἷς τε τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν γινόμενα, τά τε κατὰ συμβεβηκός, πάντων δὲ ἐφ' ἔνα λόγον τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ βουλῆς ἀνακεφαλαιουμένων, οὐδαμοῦ μὲν ὁ περὶ εἰμαρμένης χώραν ἔξει λόγος.

6.6.47 | γένοιτο δ' ἂν ἡμῖν εὐρημένη καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπορουμένη τῆς κακίας πηγὴ, ἐν οὐδενὶ μὲν χώραν ἔχουσα τῶν κατὰ φύσιν, οὔτ' ἐν σώμασιν οὔτ' ἐν οὐσίαις, πολλοῦ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ συμβεβηκός ἔξωθεν ἐπιγινομένοις· εὐρεθείη δ' ἂν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοπροαιρέτῳ κινήσει, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ οὐχ ὅτε κατὰ φύσιν ὀδεύουσα τὴν εύθειαν βαδίζει, ἀλλ' ὅτε τῆς βασιλικῆς ἑκστᾶσα οἴκειᾳ γνώμῃ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν τρέπεται, αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς καθεστῶσα κυρίᾳ

6.6.48 | ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γέρας ἔξαίρετον παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τυγχάνει, τῆς οἴκειας ὄρμῆς τὸ κριτήριον είς ἐαυτὴν ἀναδεδεγμένην· νόμος δὲ θεῖος

from our own cause, as well as those that come from outside by chance, and those that operate naturally, there is one all-powerful and all-sufficient guidance from the divine providence that moves through everything. This providence organizes most things with divine and mysterious reasons, gently governing all, and often rearranging natural events according to the appropriate times, working together with us and also distributing the necessary order to those outside.

6.6.46 | Of these, when we divide them into three ways, there are those that depend on us, those that happen by nature, and those that occur by chance. All of these can be summarized under one reason that comes from the will of the divine. There is no discussion about the place of fate.

6.6.47 | Let it be found that the source of evil, which many struggle with, has no place in anything that happens by nature, neither in bodies nor in essences. It is much more present in those things that arise from chance. But it could be found only in the free choice of the soul itself, and in this case, it does not follow the natural path when it goes straight, but when it turns away from the natural order and follows its own judgment, it becomes the master of itself.

6.6.48 | Since this honor is a special gift from the divine, it is free and self-governing. The judgment of its own impulse is directed toward itself. A divine

αύτῇ συνεζευγμένος κατὰ φύσιν,  
λαμπτῆρος καὶ φωστῆρος δίκην, ἐπιφωνεῖ  
ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχῶν αύτῇ καὶ λέγων, 'Οσῷ  
βασιλικῇ πορεύσῃ, οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς δεξιὰ  
οὐδὲ ἀριστερά· βασιλικὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸν  
όρθον λόγον πορείαν εἶναι διδάσκων.

6.6.49 | τοῦτον γάρ ἀπάσῃ ψυχῇ φυσικὸν  
νόμον βοηθὸν αύτῇ καὶ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τῶν  
πρακτέων ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς  
ὑπεστήσατο, διὰ μὲν τοῦ νόμου τὴν  
εὐθεῖαν αύτῇ παραδείξας ὅδὸν, διὰ δὲ τῆς  
αύτῇ δεδωρημένης αύτεξουσίου  
έλευθερίας τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων Ἱρεσιν  
ἐπαίνου καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίαν ἀποφήνας  
γερῶν τε καὶ μειζόνων ἐπάθλων τῶν ἐπὶ  
τοῖς κατορθουμένοις, ὅτι μὴ βεβιασμένως,  
γνώμῃ δὲ αύτεξουσίῳ κατώρθου, παρὸν  
καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐλέσθαι· ὡς ἔμπαλιν τὴν  
τὰ χειρίστα ἐλομένην ψόγου καὶ τιμωρίας  
εἶναι ἀξίαν, ἄτε οἰκείᾳ κινήσει τοῦ μὲν κατὰ  
φύσιν νόμου παραμελήσασαν, κακίας δὲ  
ἀρχὴν καὶ πηγὴν ἀπογεννήσασαν, φαύλως  
τε ἐαυτῇ κεχρημένην οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἔξωθεν  
ἀνάγκης, ἀλλ' ἔξ έλευθέρας γνώμης καὶ  
κρίσεως.

6.6.50 | αἵτια δὴ τοῦ ἐλομένου, θεὸς  
ἀναίτιος. οὕτε γάρ φύσιν φαύλην ὁ θεὸς  
είργασατο, ούδε· γε ψυχῆς ούσιαν ἀγαθῶ  
γάρ ούδεν πλὴν ἀγαθὰ δημιουργεῖν θέμις.  
ἀγαθὸν δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι κατὰ φύσιν. ψυχῇ δὲ  
πάσῃ λογικῇ κατὰ φύσιν πάρεστι τὸ  
αύτεξούσιον ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν  
αἱρέσει γεγενημένον.

6.6.51 | φαύλως δὲ ὅτε πράττει, οὐ τὴν

law, joined to it by nature, shines brightly  
like a light, echoing within and saying, 'As  
long as you walk in a royal way, do not turn  
to the right or to the left.' It teaches that the  
royal path is the one according to the right  
reason.

6.6.49 | For every soul, the creator of all has  
established a natural law as a helper and  
ally in actions. Through this law, it shows  
the straight path, and through the freedom  
given to it, it earns praise and worthiness  
for choosing what is better. It receives  
honors and greater rewards for achieving  
things not by force, but by its own free  
choice, being able to choose the opposite as  
well. Thus, choosing the worst deserves  
blame and punishment, since it neglects the  
natural law and brings forth the source of  
evil. It uses itself poorly, not because of any  
outside force, but from its own free will and  
judgment.

6.6.50 | The cause of what is chosen is  
indeed without blame, for god is not  
responsible. For god did not create a bad  
nature, nor the essence of the soul. It is  
right for a good being to create only good  
things. Everything that is good is in  
accordance with nature. In every rational  
soul, the ability to choose freely is a good  
thing, and this comes from the choice of  
good.

6.6.51 | When it acts poorly, one should not

φύσιν αίτιατέον. ού γάρ κατὰ φύσιν, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεται τὸ φαῦλον,  
προαιρέσεως ὅν, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσεως ἔργον. ὃ  
γάρ παρήν δύναμις τῆς τάγαθοῦ αἰρέσεως,  
ὅτε μὴ τοῦτο εἴλετο, ἐκῶν δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον  
ἀπεστράφη τού χείρονος μεταποιηθεὶς, τίς  
ἄν τούτῳ τόπος ἀποφυγῆς λείποιτο τῆς  
οίκείας αἴτιω καταστάντι νόσου, τοῦ τε  
συμφύτου νόμου σωτῆρος οἶα καὶ ίατροῦ  
παραμελήσαντι;

blame nature. For what is bad does not happen according to nature, but against it. It is a matter of choice, not a result of nature. When the power of choosing good is present, if one does not choose it and willingly turns away from what is better, who could escape the blame for their own choice, just like someone neglecting the natural law of healing?

6.6.52 | ὁ δὴ τούτων ἀπάντων μηδένα λόγον ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκης τε καὶ ἄστρων φορᾶς ἀναρτῶν τὰ πάντα, τῆς τε τῶν πλημμελουμένων ἀνθρώποις ἀτοπίας μὴ ἔξ ἡμῶν εἶναι φάσκων τὰ αἴτια, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τὰ πάντα κινούστης δυνάμεως, πῶς οὐκ ἀνόσιον καὶ δυσσεβῆ λογισμὸν είσφέροι ἄν;

6.6.52 | Indeed, anyone who makes no account of all these things and blames everything on necessity and the influence of the stars, claiming that the causes of human wrongdoing are not from us but from the power that moves everything, how could they not bring forth an impious and disrespectful thought?

6.6.53 | εἴτε γάρ αὐτόματον καὶ ἀπρονόητον θείη τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φορὰν, ἐλέγχοιτ' ἂν ὡς αὐτόθεν ἄθεος, πρὸς τῷ καὶ ἀβλεπτεῖν περὶ τὴν πάνσοφον ἀρμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων διάταξιν εὗ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν δὲ αἰῶνος κίνησιν ἀνακυκλουμένην· εἴτε θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπιστατεῖν τε πᾶσι καὶ πανσόφῳ λόγῳ διοικεῖν ὁμολογήσει, οὐδὲ οὕτω τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ἐκπέφευγε τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀμαρτανομένων τοὺς μὲν πλημμελοῦντας ἀπολύει, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων ἔξ οίκείας γνώμης διαπεπραγμένους, ἀνάγει δὲ τὴν αἴτιαν τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καθόλου πρόνοιαν, ἀνάγκην αὐτὴν καὶ εἰμαρμένην ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἰσχρουργίας καὶ ἀρρητοποιίας ὡμότητός τε καὶ μιαιφονίας αἴτιαν εἶναι λέγων.

6.6.53 | For if one were to say that the movement of everything is automatic and mindless, they would be shown to be godless, since they ignore the wise harmony and the good order of the universe that has been moving for ages. If they acknowledge that there is a divine providence that oversees and governs everything with wisdom, they still do not escape the charge of disrespect, because they let those who err among humans go free, claiming that none of the wrongs are done from their own choice. Instead, they shift the blame for evils onto the overall providence, calling it necessity and fate, and they say that all the shameful actions and terrible deeds of humans are due to this.

6.6.54 | καὶ τίς ἀν εἴη τούτου δυσσεβὴς ἄλλος, τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εἰσάγων ἐπάναγκες ἐκβιαζόμενον τόνδε μὲν οὐκ ἔθέλοντα ἀσεβεῖν τοῦτο πράττειν, καὶ ἄθεον εἶναι κατ’ ἀνάγκην, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν βλάσφημον, τόνδε δὲ, ὃν αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν ἄρρενα συνεστήσατο, πάσχειν παρὰ φύσιν τὰ θηλεῖῶν οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, κατηναγκασμένον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλον ἀνδροφόνον γίνεσθαι μὴ παρὰ τὴν οίκείαν γνώμην, ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης δὲ ἐλαυνόμενον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μηδ’ εὐλόγως ἐπιμέμφεσθαι τοῖς πλημμελοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι μηδὲ ἀμαρτήματα ταῦτ’ εἶναι ἡγεῖσθαι, ἢ τῶν κακῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι;

6.6.55 | εἴτε γὰρ αὐτὸς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιπαρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα ὄρῶν καὶ πάντα ἀκούων ταῦτα πράττειν ἀναγκάζει, εἴτε τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φορὰν ῥᾶν καὶ τὴν τοιάνδε τῶν ἀστρων κίνησιν αὐτὸς τούτων ποιητικὴν καὶ ἀναγκαστικὴν ὑπεστήσατο, ὃ τὸ τοιόνδε συστήσας ὅργανον, καὶ τὴν τῶν θηρωμένων παγίδα μηχανησάμενος, εἴη ἀν αὐτὸς ὃ καὶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων αἴτιος.

6.6.56 | εἴτ’ οὖν αὐτὸς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, εἴτ’ οὖν πάλιν αὐτὸς διά τινος ἄλλης πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμηχανημένης ἀνάγκης τοὺς οὓς ἔθέλοντας τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖς περιβάλλει, αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος, ὃ πάντων κακῶν ποιητικός, καὶ οὐκέτ’ ἀν ἐν δίκῃ ἡμαρτηκώς ὃ ἄνθρωπος λέγοιτο, ἀλλ’ ὃ τούτου ποιητὴς θεός.

6.6.54 | And who could be more disrespectful than one who claims that the god of all, the creator and maker of everything, is forced against his will to make someone act wickedly, and that he is godless by necessity? This person would also be blasphemous toward himself, since he says that the one who created nature as male suffers things contrary to nature, not by choice, but being compelled by the god himself to become another man, not according to his own will. Thus, they would not even be able to reasonably blame those who err, nor would they consider these actions to be wrong, or declare that the god is the creator of all evils.

6.6.55 | For if he himself, seeing everything and hearing everything, forces all to act in this way, or if he has made the movement of everything and the motion of the stars to be necessary and compelling, then he who created such a mechanism and set the trap for the caught would indeed be the cause of those who are trapped.

6.6.56 | Whether he himself is acting on his own, or whether he is using some other necessity he has created to force those who do not want to do these evil things, he would be the one, and no one else, who creates all evils. Then, the person would no longer be considered to have sinned justly, but the god who made this would be.

6.6.57 | καὶ τίς ἀν τούτου γένοιτο ἔτερος λόγων ἀσεβέστερος; ὁ δὴ οὐν εἰμαρμένην εἰσάγων ἄντικρυς θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔξωθεῖ, ὥσπερ ὁ τὸν θεὸν ἐφιστὰς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνέλοι ἀν τὸν περὶ εἰμαρμένης λόγον. ἦ γὰρ ταύτὸν ἀν εἴη ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἰμαρμένη, ἦ θάτερον διεστῶς ἑτέρου. ταύτὸν μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο.

6.6.58 | εἰ γὰρ τὴν εἰμαρμένην εἰρμόν τινα αἱτίων εἶναι φασιν ἀπ' αἰδῶνος ἀπαραβάτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως ἐκ τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων ἀστρων φορᾶς καθήκοντα, πῶς οὐ πρότερα ἀν εἴη τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰ σωματικὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ οὐράνια συνέστηκεν, ὧν τὴν εἰμαρμένην συμβεβηκός τι σύμπτωμα λέγοι ἀν τις εἰκότως;

6.6.59 | καὶ πῶς ἀν ταύτὸν εἴη τὸ συμβεβηκός τοῖς στοιχείοις τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ, εί δὴ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχα καὶ ἄλογα κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπιθεωρεῖται φύσιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔξω σωμάτων αὐτοζωὴ καὶ σοφίᾳ τυγχάνει ὧν, τῆς ἔξ αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας τοῖς τε κατὰ μέρος στοιχείοις καὶ τῇ τῶν ὅλων διακοσμήσει τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν δωρούμενος; οὐ ταύτὸν ἄρα θεὸς καὶ εἰμαρμένη.

6.6.60 | εἰ δὲ δὴ ἔτερον, πότερον κρεῖττον; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τοῦ θεοῦ κάλλιον, οὐδέ τι δυναμικώτερον. ούκοῦν κρατήσει καὶ περιέσται τοῦ χείρονος, ἦ συγχωρῶν κακοποιῶ τυγχανούσῃ τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ αὐτὸς ἀν ἐφέλκοιτο τὴν αἰτίαν, δις δυνατὸς ὧν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν κακοποιὸν ἀνάγκην οὐκ

6.6.57 | And who could be more disrespectful than this? For he introduces fate directly against god and pushes aside the care of god, just as one who places god above all would remove the argument about fate. Either god and fate would be the same, or they would be different from each other. Therefore, they could not be the same.

6.6.58 | For if they say that fate is a certain chain of causes that has been unchanging and unbreakable since the beginning, coming from the movements of the heavenly stars, how could the physical elements, from which the heavens are made, not come before fate? Wouldn't it be reasonable for someone to say that fate is a certain accident that happens to these elements?

6.6.59 | And how could what happens to the elements be the same as god, if the elements are lifeless and irrational by their own nature, while god exists outside of bodies, having life and wisdom? Isn't god the one who gives enjoyment to the individual elements and to the arrangement of the whole through creation? Therefore, god and fate are not the same.

6.6.60 | But if they are different, which is better? Nothing is more beautiful than god, nor is anything more powerful. Therefore, would god not overcome what is worse, or would he allow evil to happen through fate? If he is powerful enough to stop evil necessity but does not, then he himself

έπεσχεν, ἀνῆκε δ' ἄφετον ἐπὶ λύμῃ καὶ διαφθορῇ τῶν ἀπάντων, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦτο εἰργάσατο, εἴ δὴ πάντων καὶ αὐτῆς εἰμαρμένης ποιητής καὶ δημιουργὸς είσάγοιτο.

would be responsible for the destruction and ruin of everything. Rather, he would be the creator and maker of all, including fate itself.

6.6.61 | εἰ δ' ούδεις αύτῷ λόγος τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διατάξεως, ἀθέων αὐθις ἀνακύψειεν ἀν φωνὴ, πρὸς ἣν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀποκλειστέον, τῆς ἐνθέου προνοίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἐναργῶς ἀποφαινούσης ἔαυτὴν ἔκ τε τῶν καθόλου πανσόφων καὶ τεχνικῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔκ τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀναμφιλόγως τὴν ἐλευθέραν καὶ αύτεξούσιον τῆς λογικῆς ψχῆς χῆς δύναμιν παραδεικνυμένων.

6.6.61 | But if no reason for the order of everything arises, then a voice would again break forth, which must be shut out from hearing. This voice would clearly show the divine providence and power, revealing itself through both the wise and skilled results in general and through our own actions, clearly demonstrating the freedom and self-determination of the rational soul.

6.6.62 | καθ' ἣν καίτοι μυρίων ἔξωθεν ἐμποδὼν τῇ τε τοῦ σώματος φύσει ταῖς τε κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁρμαῖς κατά τι συμβεβηκὸς προσπιπτόντων, ὅμως πρὸς ἄπαντα τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἀντέχει, ἄμαχον καὶ ἀήττητον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῶν καλῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιδεικνύμενον.

6.6.62 | In which, although there are countless obstacles from the nature of the body and from the choices that happen to us, the freedom of the soul's virtue still stands firm. It is invincible and undefeated, showing our ability to choose what is good.

6.6.63 | τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ὡς παρὸν καιρὸς τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας ἔργοις αὐτοῖς παρεστήσατο ὅτι γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ψόφοι καὶ κενὰ ὥρματα πάρεστί σοι τὸν τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἀγῶνα ἐπιβλέψαι, καὶ συνιδεῖν τοὺς προαιρέσει αὐθεκουσίω τοὺς πόνους τῶν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ἀθλῶν ἀναδεδεγμένους, οὓς καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων οίκουμένης μυρία πλήθη Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἐνεδείξατο, πάσας μὲν προθύμως τὰς κατὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπομείναντα αἰκίας, πᾶν δὲ βασάνων εἶδος φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ

6.6.63 | This especially shows us the present time of our savior's teachings through their actions. For these are not empty words, but they allow you to observe the struggle of the pious and to see those who willingly endure the hardships of the contests for piety. Many crowds of Greeks and non-Greeks have shown this throughout the whole world, all of them eagerly enduring the sufferings of the body, while every kind of torment passed by with a cheerful face. Finally, they welcomed the release of the soul from the body in various

διελθόντα, καὶ τέλος πολυτρόποις σχήμασι  
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς  
ἀσπαστῶς καταδεξάμενα.

6.6.64 | καὶ μὴν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα λόγος  
ἐπιτρέψειν ἄν τὴν εἰμαρμένην αἴτιᾶσθαι.  
ποῦ γάρ σοι ἔξ αἰῶνος τοιούσδε ἀθλητὰς  
εύσεβείας ἥνεγκεν ἡ τῶν ἄστρων φορά; ἢ  
πότε ὃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος πρὸ τῆς τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους  
καταβληθείσης διδασκαλίας τοιόνδε  
προβέβληται καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων  
οίκουμένης ἀγῶνα;

6.6.65 | ποῦ δὲ τοιωνδὶ λόγων διδασκάλιον,  
δεισιδαίμονος μὲν πλάνης ἀναιρετικὸν,  
ἐνὸς δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ γνώσεως  
διδακτικὸν, ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, "Ἐλλησι τε  
καὶ βαρβάροις, ὃ πᾶς αἱών ἥνεγκε;

6.6.66 | τίς δὲ τῶν ἔξ αἰῶνος ἀοιδίμων  
σοφῶν, βάρβαρος ἢ Ἐλλην, τοιᾶσδε ποτε  
ἥξιώθη εἰμαρμένης ὡς εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα  
κόσμον διαφανῆ καταστῆσαι τὸν ὑπὸ<sup>τοῦ</sup>  
αὐτοῦ προβληθέντα λόγον, γνωσθέντα τε  
μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐσχατιῶν, καὶ θεοῦ δόξαν  
παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῷ καθωσιωμένοις  
κτήσασθαι;

6.6.67 | εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔξ αἰῶνος νος οὕτ' ἦν  
οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε ἀκοαῖς ἥκουσται, οὐκ ἦν  
ἄρα εἰρμὸς αἴτιῶν καὶ ἀνάγκη τὸ τούτων  
αἴτιον. πάλαι γάρ ἄν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ἀνακυκλήσεως καὶ περιφορᾶς τῶν ἄστρων  
οὐδεὶς ἦν φθόνος καὶ ἄλλους τῆς αὐτῆς  
τυχεῖν γενέσεως τε καὶ εἰμαρμένης

forms.

6.6.64 | And indeed, no one here would  
allow fate to be blamed. For when has the  
movement of the stars brought forth such  
athletes of piety? Or when did human life,  
before the teachings of our savior were  
spread to all people, show such a contest  
throughout the whole world?

6.6.65 | Where has there been such  
teaching of words, one that removes the  
fear of false beliefs and teaches knowledge  
of the one God to all people, both Greeks  
and non-Greeks, throughout all time?

6.6.66 | Who among the wise singers of old,  
whether barbarian or Greek, was ever  
honored to make known such a clear  
teaching to the whole world, a teaching that  
was revealed even to the ends of the earth,  
and to gain the glory of God for those who  
were devoted to him?

6.6.67 | If these things have neither existed  
nor happened throughout time, nor have  
been heard of, then there was no chain of  
causes and no necessity for their cause. For  
long ago, through the same cycle and  
movement of the stars, there was no envy  
that others might share in the same  
creation and fate.

6.6.68 | ἐκ ποίας δὲ ἄρα εἰμαρμένης ὁ μὲν  
ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ θεὸς ἐπιφανεὶς καθ' ὅλης  
τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνηγόρευται, οἱ δὲ πάλαι  
νενομισμένοι παρά τε "Ἐλλησι καὶ  
βαρβάροις θεοὶ καθήρηνται, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως  
καθήρηνται ἡ διὰ τῆς τοῦ νέου θεοῦ  
διδασκαλίας;

6.6.69 | ποίᾳ δ' αὐτῶν εἰμαρμένη θεὸν  
δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
κατήγγειλεν, εἰμαρμένην δὲ μὴ εἶναι φάναι  
ἔξηνάγκασε; καὶ πῶς ἡ εἰμαρμένη μὴ εἶναι  
ἐκαυτὴν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν ἐβιάσατο; τί  
δὲ οἴ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εύσεβοῦς  
ἔνεκα διδασκαλίας παντοίους ἄθλους  
ἔκπαλαι ἡγωνισμένοι, καὶ εἰσέτι δεῦρο  
διαθλοῦντες;

6.6.70 | μιᾶς ἄρα καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτυχον  
μοίρας, ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὶ λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ  
δουλωθῆναι, μίαν τε γνώμην καὶ  
προαίρεσιν ἐνδεξασθαι, καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν  
μίαν, ἔνα τε καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι  
βίον, καὶ λόγον ἀγαπήσαι τὸν αὐτὸν, τάς τε  
αὐτὰς ἀγαπητικῶς ὑπομεῖναι πάθας δι'  
ἔνστασιν εύσεβείας.

6.6.71 | καὶ τίς ἀν ὄρθος τοῦτο  
συγχωρήσει λόγος, νέους κατὰ ταύτο καὶ  
πρεσβύτας, καὶ πᾶν μέτρον ἡλικίας,  
ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν γένη, φύσεις τε  
βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν, οἰκετῶν ὄμοιον καὶ  
έλευθερίων, λογίων τε καὶ παιδείας  
ἀμετόχων, ούκ ἐν γωνίᾳ γῆς ούδ' ὑπὸ<sup>τοῖσδε</sup> γενομένων τοῖς ἀστροῖς, καθ' ὅλης  
δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης, εἰμαρμένης

6.6.68 | From what fate then has our savior  
god appeared and been proclaimed  
throughout the whole world, while the  
gods that were once honored by both  
Greeks and barbarians have been rejected,  
and they were rejected in no other way  
than through the teaching of the new god?

6.6.69 | What fate then has proclaimed a  
creator god to all people, and how did it  
force them to say that fate does not exist?  
And how did fate insist on not being able to  
speak and think for itself? What do you  
think about the various struggles that have  
been fought for the sake of our savior's  
pious teaching, and still continue to be  
fought today?

6.6.70 | Therefore, they have shared one  
and the same fate, so that through one  
teaching and doctrine they have been  
enslaved, showing one mind and choice,  
and having one virtue of the soul, and  
embracing one and the same way of life,  
and loving the same word, and enduring  
the same loving feelings through the  
struggle for piety.

6.6.71 | And who would rightly agree with  
this, that young and old, and all ages, both  
males and females, and the different kinds  
of barbarian men, both slaves and free, and  
those without education and learning, are  
not in some corner of the earth or under  
these stars, but throughout the whole  
inhabited world of humans, by the  
necessity of fate, are said to be forced to

άνάγκη φάναι βεβιασμένους τόνδε τινὰ τῶν πατρώων ἀπάντων προτιμῆσαι λόγον, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ θάνατον ἀσπάσασθαι, τά τε περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας εὗ μάλα δόγματα παιδεύεσθαι, καὶ φιλοσοφίαν οὐ τὴν ἐν λόγοις, τὴν δὲ δι' ἔργων προτιμῆσαι;

6.6.72 | ταῦτα γὰρ ἀν εἴη τὰ καὶ τυφλῷ δῆλα, ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης, μαθήσεως δὲ καὶ διδασκαλίας οίκεῖα τυγχάνει, αὐθεκουσίου γνώμης καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐλευθέρας ἐναργῆ τυγχάνοντα παραδείγματα.

6.6.73 | γένοιτο δ' ἀν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ προβλήματος παραστατικὰ μυρία, ὃν τὰ πολλὰ παρεὶς, αὐτὸς μὲν τοῖς είρημένους ἀρκεσθήσομαι, σοὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν ἀνάγνωσμα τῶν σεπτῶν σου φιλοσόφων καταλείψω σκοπεῖν, ὡς ἀν μάθης ὅσον ἄρα τῶν χρησμῶδῶν σου θεῶν σοφώτερος ἦν καὶ βελτίων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ τοὺς θαυμασίους χρησμοὺς ψευδεῖς ἀπελέγχων καὶ τὸν Πύθιον αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχρησε περὶ εἰμαρμένης ἐπιρραπίζων.

6.6.74 | ἄκουε δ' οῦν αὐθις τοῦ τὴν τῶν γοήτων φωράν τὸ οίκεῖον ἐπονομάσαντος σύγγραμμα, ὡς εὗ μάλα νεανικῷ φρονήματι τὸν πλάνον τῶν πολλῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπανορθοῦται, δι' ὃν γράφει τάδε κατὰ λέξιν

prefer this certain teaching of all their ancestors, and to embrace the death for piety of the one god above all, and to be well taught about the immortality of the soul, and to prefer a philosophy not just in words, but in actions?

6.6.72 | For these things would be clear even to a blind person, that there is no necessity, and that learning and teaching belong to them, as they are clear examples of free choice and voluntary decision.

6.6.73 | But there could also be countless other examples of the problem, of which I have mentioned many. I will be satisfied with what has been said, but I will leave you to consider your own reading of your seven philosophers, so that you may learn how much wiser and better the man was who exposed the marvelous oracles as false, and who challenged the Pythian oracle itself on what it declared about fate.

6.6.74 | Listen again to the work of the one who followed the way of the prophets, how it corrects the many deceivers with a youthful spirit, and even the very Apollo himself, through which he writes the following exactly.

## Section 7

6.7.1 | "Σὲ οῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς καθῆσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον, μηδ' εἰ βούλοιο, σιωπᾶν. ὁ δ'

6.7.1 | So you cannot sit in Delphi, even if you want to, and you must be silent. But

Ἄπόλλων ἄρα ὁ τοῦ Διός υἱὸς νυνὶ  
βούλεται, οὐχ ὅτι βούλεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑπ'  
ἀνάγκης εἰς τὸ βουληθῆναι τέτακται.

6.7.2 | δοκῶ δέ μοι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα παρεὶς,  
ἐπειδὴ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως  
ὑπῆχθην, οίκειόν τι καὶ ἀξιοζήτητον  
ζητήσειν πρᾶγμα. ἀπόλωλε γάρ, τό γ ἐπὶ  
τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου,  
ἀπόλωλεν, εἴτε οἰακά τις αὐτὸς εἴτε ἔρμα  
εἴτε κρηπῖδα ὄνομάζων χαίρει, τῇς  
ἡμετέρας ζωῆς ἡ ἔξουσία, ἢν ἡμεῖς μὲν  
αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων  
τιθέμεθα, Δημόχριτος δέ γε, εἰ μή τι  
ήπάτημαι, καὶ Χρύσιππος, ὃ μὲν δοῦλον, ὃ  
δὲ ἡμίδουλον ἐπινοεῖ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιδεῖξαι.

6.7.3 | ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν λόγος τοσοῦτος,  
ὅσον ἂν τις ἀξιώσειν ἀνθρωπος ὥν  
ἀνθρωπίνοις· εἰ δ' ἥδη καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῶν  
καταστρατεύεται, παπαῖ, οἴα πεισόμεθα.

6.7.4 | ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκὸς, οὐδὲ δίκαιον, ἀπὸ  
γοῦν τούτων τεκμαριομένοις ἡμῖν ἔχθρε  
περικτιόνεσσι, φύλ' ἀθανάτοισι  
θεοῖσιν, εἴσω τὸ προβόλαιον ἔχων  
πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο.

6.7.5 | τί γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀργεῖος, εἰ  
βουλοίμην, ἔξεστί μοι, καὶ δύναμαι, εἴ μοι  
δόξειν, ἥσθαι καὶ πεφυλάχθαι; ἔξεστιν,  
εἴποις ἂν, καὶ δύνασαι· ἢ πᾶς ἂν σοι τοῦτ'  
έγὼ προσέταττον;

6.7.6 | Χείρωνος φίλε τέκνον ἀγακλειτοῖο

Apollo, the son of Zeus, now wants to speak, not because he wishes to, but because he is forced to.

6.7.2 | I think that, having set aside everything else, since I do not know how I was led to this argument, I will seek something familiar and worth asking about. For it has perished, that which is among the wise, from human life; whether someone calls it a little boat, or a cart, or a shoe, the power of our life, which we set as the ruler of the most necessary things, while Democritus, if I am not mistaken, and Chrysippus, one thinking of a slave and the other of a half-slave, both aim to show the most beautiful of human things.

6.7.3 | But the discussion of these things is as much as any human would value them. But if the divine is already attacking us, oh dear, how shall we be persuaded?

6.7.4 | But it is neither likely nor just, based on these things, for us, enemies of the surrounding land, to be safe inside, having the protective barrier of the divine friends, the immortal gods.

6.7.5 | For what, says the Argive, if I wanted to, is it possible for me, and can I, if it seems good to me, to sit and be protected? It is possible, you might say, and you can; or how could I have commanded this to you?

6.7.6 | Dear child of the famous Chiron,

Κάρυστε, Πήλιον ἐκπρολιπών Εύβοίας  
ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι, ἔνθ' ἵερὰν χώραν κτίζειν σοι  
θέσφατόν ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἴθι. μηκέτι μέλλε.

having left the peak of Euboea, you are to arrive at the sacred land, where it is destined for you to establish a holy place. But go now. Do not delay any longer.

6.7.7 | Ἡ γὰρ ως ἀληθῶς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ τί<sup>1</sup>  
ἔστιν, ὡς Ἀπολλον, καὶ βουληθῆναι Πήλιον  
ἐκπρολιπεῖν κύριός εἰμι ἐγώ; καὶ μὴν  
ἥκουν παρὰ πολλῶν καὶ σοφῶν ὅτι εἴ μοι  
πέπρωται Εύβοίας ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι καὶ ἵερὰν  
χώραν ῥᾶν κτίζειν, καὶ ἔξομαι καὶ καθιῶ,  
εἴτε λέγοις εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἴτε βουλοίμην εἴτε  
μή. εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ βουληθῆναι ὅ τι μοι  
ἀνάγκη ἔστι καὶ εἰ μὴ βουλοίμην  
βουληθῆναι, ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὡς Ἀπολλον,  
πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερος.

6.7.7 | Is it truly the case, oh Apollo, that I am allowed to leave the peak of Pelion? And indeed, I have heard from many wise people that if it is my fate to arrive at the peak of Euboea and to establish a sacred land, I will both have and sit there, whether you say so or not, and whether I want to or not. But if I must and if I am forced to want what I need, even if I do not wish to want it, you, oh Apollo, should be trusted as more just.

6.7.8 | ἔοικα δή σοι μᾶλλον προσέξειν.  
ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεσος, ως σε  
κελεύωντας ἐν Ἡερίῃ κτίζειν εύδείελον  
ἄστυ. Ἀγγέλω, νὴ Δία, φήσει τάχα που τις  
τετυφωμένος, ἢ σὲ ἐλέγχων,) κάν μὴ  
κελεύσης πέπρωται γάρ. καὶ ἔστι Θάσος  
μὲν ἡ Ἡερία νῆσος· ἥξουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν  
Παρίοι, Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ  
φράσαντος ὅτι ἡ νῆσος αὕτη πρὶν Ἡερία  
ἐκαλεῖτο. σὺ οὖν, δεινὸς γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν,  
οὐκ ἀνέξῃ, οἴμαι, αὐτοῦ οὔτως ὄντος  
ἀχαρίστου καὶ θρασέος, δς, εἰ μὴ σὺ  
μηνῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐβουλήθης, οὐκ ἄν ποτε  
ἡγγειλεν, ούδ' ἀν Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
Παρίους ἔξενάγησεν, ούδ' ἀν οἱ Παρίοι  
Θάσον ὕκησαν.

6.7.8 | It seems to me that I should pay more attention to you. Tell the Parian people, oh Telecleus, that I command you to build a beautiful city on the island of Euboea. I swear by Zeus, someone will soon say something, either accusing you or not, even if you do not command it, for it is fated. And Thasos is indeed the island of Euboea; the Parian people will come to it, as Archilochus, my son, said that this island was called Euboea before. So you, being fierce and bold, I think you will not endure this, since he is so ungrateful and daring, who, if you had not wished to inform him, would never have announced it, nor would Archilochus, his son, have led the Parian people away, nor would the Parian people have settled in Thasos.

6.7.9 | οὐκ οἶδ' οὖν εί σὺ λέγεις μὲν ταῦτα,  
οὐκ οἰσθα δὲ ἀ λέγεις. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σχολὴν  
ἄγειν ἔοικαμεν καὶ μακρὰ διαλέγεσθαι, ὃ δὲ

6.7.9 | I do not know if you say these things, but you do not know what you are saying. But since we seem to be taking our time

λόγος ού πάρεργος, ἐκεῖνό μοι λέγε· ἵσως γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρκεῖ)

and talking for a long while, and the conversation is not pointless, tell me that thing; for perhaps even a little from many will be enough.

6.7.10 | ἄρα γέ τί ἔσμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ;  
φαίης ἄν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅπόθεν ἴσμεν; τῷ ποτ'  
ἄρα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἐκρίναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἄλλο  
ἰκανὸν οὕτως ὡς ἡ συναίσθησίς τε καὶ  
ἀντίληψις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν;

6.7.10 | Are we anything, you and I? You might say so. But from where do we know this? By what means did we decide to know this? Or is there nothing else sufficient except for our own perception and understanding?

6.7.11 | τί δ'; δτι ζῶά ἔσμεν πῶς ποτ' ἄρα  
ἐξεύρομεν; πῶς δ' δτι καὶ ζώων, ὡς μὲν ἄν  
ἐγώ εἴποιμι, ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁ  
μὲν γόης, ὁ δὲ γόητος ἀπελεγκτής· ὡς δ' ἄν  
σὺ, ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ θεός, καὶ ὁ μὲν  
μάντις, ὁ δὲ συκοφάντης; καὶ ἔστω γέ σοι  
οὕτως ἔχον, ἔάνπερ ἔγωγε ἀλῶ.

6.7.11 | What then? How did we discover that we are living beings? And how do we know that among living beings, as I might say, there are humans, and among humans, one is a sorcerer and another is a critic? And as you might say, one is a human, another is a god, and one is a seer, while another is a false accuser? And let it be so for you, if I happen to be caught.

6.7.12 | πῶς δ' δτι διαλεγόμεθα ἐν τῷ  
παρόντι ἐγνώκαμεν; τί φῆς; ἄρ' οὐκ ὄρθως  
ἐκρίναμεν τὴν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντίληψιν τῷ  
πάντων ἐγγυτάτῳ πράγματι αὐτῷ; δῆλον  
δτι. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλο αὐτοῦ οὕτε ἀνώτερον  
οὕτε πρεσβύτερον οὕτε πιστότερον.

6.7.12 | But how did we know that we are talking in the present? What do you say? Did we not correctly judge our own understanding by the closest thing to all things? It is clear that we did. For there was nothing else that was higher, older, or more trustworthy.

6.7.13 | ἐπεὶ εί μὴ οὕτως ἔξει, μήτε ἄρα ὡς  
σέ τις είς Δελφοὺς παραγενέσθω λοιπὸν  
ὄνομα Ἀλκμαίων, ἀπεκτονώς τὴν μητέρα,  
καὶ οἴκοθεν ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ οἴκαδε  
ἐπιθυμῶν. οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν οὕτ' εί ἔστι τι  
αὐτὸς τὸ παράπαν, οὕτε εί οἴκοθεν  
ἐλαύνεται, οὕτ' εί οἴκαδε ἐπιθυμεῖ· ἀλλ' εί  
καὶ μαίνεται ὁ Ἀλκμαίων καὶ ὑπονοεῖ τὰ μὴ

6.7.13 | If it is not so, then let no one go to Delphi with the name Alcmaeon, having killed his mother, and being driven from home and wishing to return home. For he does not know whether he exists at all, nor whether he is being driven from home, nor whether he wishes to return home. But if Alcmaeon is indeed mad and suspects what

σόντα, ὃ γε Πύθιος οὐ μαίνεται. μηδὲ λέγε  
οὕτως νόστον δίζηαι πατρίνην ἐς γαῖαν  
ὶκέσθαιΑμφιαρηάδη. ούδὲ γὰρ σὺ οἴσθά  
πω εἰ̄ σέ τις ἔρωτῷ̄ Ἀμφιαρηάδης, ούδ' εἰ̄  
σὺ τὶ εἴ̄ ὁ ἔρωτώμενος, καὶ λέγειν ᾔχων περὶ  
ῶν τις ἔρωτῷ̄.

is not real, the Pythian does not go mad. Do not say that you seek to return to your fatherland, Amphiarus. For you do not even know if someone asks you about Amphiarus, nor do you know what you are, the one being asked, and you have the ability to speak about what someone asks.

6.7.14 | μηδὲ Χρύσιππος ἄρα ὁ τὴν  
ἡμιδουλείαν είσαγων, ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστιν αὐτὸ<sup>ν</sup>  
τοῦτο οὐκ είδως, ἀπαντάτω εἰς τὴν Στοὰν,  
μηδ' οἱέσθω ἀπαντήσεσθαι τοὺς βλέννους  
έκείνους ως αὐτὸν ἀκουσομένους τὸν  
Οὔτιν' μηδὲ διατεινέσθω περὶ μηδενὸς  
καταστὰς πρὸς μὲν Ἀρκεσίλαον παρόντα,  
πρὸς δὲ Ἐπίκουρον οὐ παρόντα.

6.7.14 | Let not Chrysippus, who introduces half-slavery, go to the Stoa, not knowing what this is at all, and let him not think that those fools will hear him speaking about the One. And let him not insist on anything while he is present with Arcesilaus, but not present with Epicurus.

6.7.15 | τί γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος, τί δὲ ὁ  
Ἐπίκουρος, ἢ τί ἡ Στοὰ, ἢ τί οἱ νέοι, ἢ τίς ὁ  
Οὔτιν, οὐτ οἶδεν οὕτε οἷος εἰδέναι ' πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
γάρ· πρότερον οὐδ' εἰ̄ αὐτός τί ἐστιν οἶδεν.

6.7.15 | For what is Arcesilaus, and what is Epicurus, or what is the Stoa, or what are the young men, or who is the One? He knows neither this nor how to know it, for he does not even know what he himself is.

6.7.16 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε οὕτε ὑμεῖς οὕτε  
ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ λέγοι τις ταῦτα' οὐ γάρ  
εἶναι πιστότερον μέτρον οὐ λέγω ' οὐδ' εἰ̄  
δοκεῖ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ εἶναι, τούτῳ γ' ἀν  
παρισωθείη ' ἢ παρισωθείη μὲν ἀν,  
ὑπερβάλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἄν.

6.7.16 | But neither you nor Democritus will endure if someone says these things. For there is no more trustworthy measure than what I say. And even if it seems that there are other things, this would be added to it, but it could not surpass it.

6.7.17 | οὐκοῦν, φήσειν ἄν τις, ὡ<sup>ν</sup>  
Δημόκριτε, καὶ σὺ, ὡ Χρύσιππε, καὶ σὺ, ὡ  
μάντι, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτεῖτε εἴ̄ τις ἐθελήσαι  
παρελέσθαι τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀντίληψιν —  
οὐ γάρ ἔτι τὰς πολλὰς ἔκείνας βίβλους  
εἶναι — φέρε καὶ ἡμεῖς  
ἀνταγανακτήσωμεν.

6.7.17 | Therefore, someone might say, O Democritus, and you, O Chrysippus, and you, O seer, since you are upset if someone wants to take away your own understanding— for those many books no longer exist— come, let us also be upset.

6.7.18 | τί δή ποτε; ἐνθα μὲν ἀν ὑμῖν δοκῇ,  
ἔσται τοῦτο καὶ πιστότατον καὶ  
πρεσβύτατον, τατὸν, ἐνθα δ' ἀν μὴ δοκῇ,  
έκεī καταδυναστεύσει τι λεληθός αὐτοῦ  
εἰμαρμένη πεπρωμένη, διαφορὰν ἐκάστῳ  
ὑμῶν ἔχουσα, τῷ μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
τῶν μικρῶν ἔκείνων σωμάτων τῶν  
φερομένων κάτω καὶ ἀναπαλλομένων ἄνω  
καὶ περιπλεκομένων καὶ διαλυομένων καὶ  
διισταμένων καὶ παρατιθεμένων ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης;

6.7.19 | ίδοὺ γὰρ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
ἀντειλήμμεθα, τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν  
αὐθαιρέτων καὶ βιαίων. οὐ λέληθε δὲ ἡμᾶς  
ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βαδίζειν καὶ τοῦ  
ἄγεσθαι, ούδὲ ὅσον τοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ  
ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

6.7.20 | ὃν δὲ ἔνεκα ταῦτα προσήνεγκα τῷ  
λόγῳ; δτι σε ἐκπέφευγεν, ὡ μάντι, ὃν  
κύριοι ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὃ τὰ πάντα είδως  
ταῦτά γε ούκ ἀν είδείης, ὃν τὰ πείσματα  
ἀνῆπται ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας βουλήσεως.

6.7.21 | αὕτη δέ γε ἐφαίνετο ούκ όλιγων  
οῦσα πραγμάτων ἀρχή ὃν δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ, ἦτις  
ἥν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αίτια, ἐκπέφευγεν, ἡ  
πού γε τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν είδείη ἀν οὗτος.

6.7.22 | ἀναίσχυντος δηλαδὴ ὁ Λαίω  
προμαντευόμενος ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ ὁ  
φύς. ἥμελλε γάρ που ὁ φὺς κύριος ἔσεσθαι

6.7.18 | What then? Wherever it seems to you, this will be the most trustworthy and the oldest. But where it does not seem so, there some hidden fate will dominate, having a difference for each of you: for one from the divine, for another from those small bodies that are carried down and rising up, twisting and breaking apart, and separating and being placed there by necessity.

6.7.19 | For look, in what way we have taken hold of ourselves, this is also true for those within us who are self-determined and forceful. It has not escaped us how much there is between walking and being led, nor how much there is between choosing and being compelled.

6.7.20 | Why then did I bring these things to the argument? Because you, O seer, have escaped from what we are masters of, and the one who knows everything would not know these things, from which the trials arise from our own will.

6.7.21 | This seemed to be the beginning of not a few things, but the beginning, which was the cause of what came after, has escaped him, or he would know what comes after the beginning.

6.7.22 | Shameless indeed was Laius, foretelling that he would be killed by his own son. For it was destined that the son

τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βουλήσεως, καὶ οὕτε τις  
Ἄπόλλων οὕτε τις αύτοῦ ὑπέρτερος  
έξικνεῖσθαι ἵκανὸς οὐδεμιᾷ δυνάμει ὃν οὐκ  
ἔστιν οὕτε ὑπαρξίς οὕτε γενέσεως ἀνάγκη

would be the master of his own will, and neither Apollo nor anyone greater than him could reach him with any power, for there is neither necessity of existence nor of coming into being.

6.7.23 | ἔκεινο γὰρ δὴ τὸ  
καταγελαστότατον ἀπάντων, τὸ μίγμα καὶ  
ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τι  
εἶναι, καὶ εἰρμὸν οὐδὲν ἥττον εἶναι.  
προσεοικέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ  
σοφώτεροι, τῷ Εύριπιδείῳ λόγῳ '

6.7.23 | For that is indeed the most laughable of all things, the mixture and the coming together of what is and is not among humans, and it is no less a connection. For it resembles, as the wiser ones say, the words of Euripides.

6.7.24 | τεκνῶσαι μὲν γὰρ ἔθελήσαι τὸν  
Λάϊον, κύριον εἶναι τὸν Λάϊον, καὶ τοῦτο  
ἐκπεφυγέναι τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ὅφιν  
τεκνώσαντι δ' αὐτῷ ἔπειναι ἀνάγκην  
ἀφυκτον ὑπὸ τοῦ φύντος αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν  
' οὕτως οὖν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μελλοντὶ ἀνάγκην  
παρέχειν τῷ μάντει τὴν τοῦ γενησομένου  
προαίσθησιν.

6.7.24 | For Laius wished to have children, to be the master, and to escape the Apollo's serpent. But after he had children, it was unavoidable that he would die by the hand of his own son. Thus, he provided the seer with the knowledge of what would happen in the future.

6.7.25 | ἦν δέ που καὶ ὁ φὺς τῆς ἴδιας  
βουλήσεως κύριος, ὥσπερ ὁ φύσας, καὶ ὡς  
ἔκεινος τοῦ τεκνῶσαι καὶ μὴ, οὕτως οὕτος  
τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ μή. τοιαῦτα δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ  
μαντεύματα πάντα· καὶ ὁ Εύριπίδειος  
Ἀπόλλων τοῦτ' ἔκεινο ἦν ὃ ἔλεγεν, τὸ καὶ  
πᾶς σὸς οἴκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.

6.7.25 | And indeed, the nature of his own will was master, just like the one who created it. As that one had the choice to have children or not, so this one had the choice to kill or not. All your prophecies are like this. And the Apollo of Euripides said this: that your whole house would be filled with blood.

6.7.26 | ὅτι πήρωσις μὲν ἔσται αὐτοχειρίᾳ  
τοῦ φύντος ἐπὶ γάμῳ μητρὸς καὶ τυραννίδι,  
ἢν παρέλαβεν ἐπ' αἰνίγματος λύσει, παίδων  
δὲ ἀλληλοκτόνοι σφαγαὶ ἐπὶ φυγῇ μὲν ἐκ  
τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου  
πλεονεξίᾳ, καὶ γάμῳ τοῦ φυγάδος ἐν Ἀργεί,  
καὶ στόλῳ στρατηγῶν ἐπτὰ καταγελάστων

6.7.26 | That there will be a fulfillment by the hand of the one born, at the marriage of his mother and the tyranny she received as a riddle's answer. And there will be mutual killings of children, with one fleeing from the other, and the other seeking more, and a marriage of the fugitive in Argos, and a

καὶ συμβολῆς ὧν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ  
έξουσίας διαιρουμένων πῶς ἀν εἴη σοι  
έξεπίστασθαι) ἢ ὃ εἰρμὸς συνδεῖν δύναιτο;

band of seven laughing leaders and their agreement. How could you know about many rulers and powers being divided, or whether the fate could bind them together?

6.7.27 | εἰ γὰρ αὐτοῦ κύριος ὧν μὴ  
έβουλήθη τυραννεῖν ὁ Οἰδίπους, ἢ τοῦτο  
βουληθεὶς καὶ πράξας γαμεῖν τὴν Ἰοκάστην  
οὐ προείλετο, ἢ γήμας μὴ ἔτετύφωτο μηδ'  
ἢν δύσθυμος καὶ δυσάρεστος, πῶς ἀν τὰ  
καθ' ἔκαστα ἐπράχθη; πῶς δ' ἀν τῶν  
όφθαλμῶν ἥψατο; πῶς δ' ἀν τοῖς παισὶν  
ἐπηράσατο τὴν Εύριπίδου καὶ τὴν σὴν  
ἀράν;

6.7.27 | For if Oedipus, being his own master, did not wish to rule, or if he desired this and married Iocasta without knowing, or if, after marrying, he was not blinded or was not unhappy and unpleasant, how could each thing have happened? How could he have touched his eyes? How could he have harmed the children with the curse of Euripides and yours?

6.7.28 | τά τε ἔξῆς τούτων τίνα ἀν τρόπον  
έγεγόνει, μὴ πρότερον αίτιῶν γιγνομένων ἢ  
σὺ τὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων λέγειν ἡδύνασο;  
πάλιν δ' αὖ εἰ συμβάντες οἱ παῖδες ἄμα  
έβασίλευον, ἢ εἰ συνθέμενοι παρὰ μέρος  
ἔμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς συγκειμένοις, ἢ εἰ ὁ  
ἀπελαθεὶς ἔγνω μὴ εἰς Ἀργος, ἀλλ' εἰς  
Λιβύην ἢ εἰς Περραιβοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἢ  
εἰσελθών ἐπὶ τὸ Αργὸς ἔγνω ταριχοπωλεῖν,  
καὶ μὴ πλουσίαν λαβεῖν γυναῖκα,

6.7.28 | What way could these things happen, without first being caused, or how could you speak about what is to come? Again, if the children came together and ruled at the same time, or if they stayed apart by chance on what was laid out, or if the one who fled knew not to go to Argos, but to Libya or to Perrhaibia, or if he entered Argos and knew to sell fish, and not to take a wealthy wife?

6.7.29 | ἀλλὰ χερνῆτίν τινα ἢ καπηλιν, ἢ εἰ ὁ  
Ἄδραστος μὴ ἔδωκε τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ, ἢ  
εἰ ὁ μὲν ἔδωκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπεθύμησε τῆς  
οἴκαδε δόδοι, ἢ εἰ ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκράτησεν  
ἐαυτοῦ ἢ εἰ μὴ προσέσχεν αὐτῷ δεομένων  
συμμαχίας ὁ Ἄδραστος, ἢ εἰ τῷ Ἄδραστῷ  
μήτε ὁ Ἀμφιάραος μήτε ὁ Τυδεὺς μηδὲ τῶν  
ἄλλων ταξιάρχων ἔκαστος ἡκολούθουν, ἢ  
εἰ οἱ μὲν συνηκολούθουν, ὁ δὲ ἔλθων οὐκ  
έμάχετο τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ' ἢ συμβάσας  
έβασίλευσεν ἄμα αὐτῷ ἢ μὴ βουλομένῳ  
ἀνεχώρησε, πεισθεὶς Εύριπίδῃ λέγοντι  
ἀσύνετα δ' ἦλθες καὶ σὺ πορθήσων

6.7.29 | But whether it was some kind of fish market or if Adrastus did not give his daughter to him, or if one gave her and the other did not desire the way home, or if, wanting her, he controlled himself, or if Adrastus did not pay attention to him asking for help, or if neither Amphiaraus nor Tydeus nor any of the other leaders followed him, or if some followed but he who came did not fight with his brother, but either came to rule together with him or, not wanting to, withdrew, persuaded by Euripides saying, 'You came without

πάτραν,

understanding and will plunder your homeland.'

6.7.30 | ή εί οῦτος μὲν μὴ, ὁ δ' ἔτερος, τῶν Εύριπιδείων ἀκούσας σοφιστευμάτων ἐκείνων τῶν ἄλλων εἴθ' ἥλιος μὲν νῦν τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνέξῃ δωμάτων ἔχειν ἵσον; πῶς ἀν συστάντες ἐμάχοντο καὶ Λαῖου πᾶν δῶμα ἔβη δι' αἵματος;

6.7.30 | Or if this one did not, but the other, having heard those clever sayings of Euripides, said, 'Then the sun and night serve mortals, but you cannot bear to have equal homes?' How could they come together and fight, and all of Laius' house be filled with blood?

6.7.31 | ἀλλὰ μὴν, φήσεις, γέγονε ταῦτα. γέγονεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ ποίᾳ δόδῷ εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν τούτων εἴδησιν; ἡ οὐχ ὅρᾶς ὡς πυκνὰ διακέκοφε τὸ ὄλον δρᾶμα ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς τὸ δρᾶμα συμπληροῦσι δύναμις; οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἦν βούλει ὑπόθεσιν λαβών διατεμῶ τὸν εἰρμὸν ὑμῶν, ἀποφανῶ τε ἀδύνατον ὄντα.

6.7.31 | But indeed, you will say, these things have happened. They have happened; but by what path did you enter into their knowledge? Or do you not see how the whole play is closely woven together by the power that fills the drama among us? Thus, also, taking whatever plot you want, I will cut your argument and show it to be impossible.

6.7.32 | ἀλλὰ σὺ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἔσχατα εἰδέναι λέγεις, ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις ἐκ διακοπῆς εἰρμοῦ δυνάμεως ὅλη συντέτακται.

6.7.32 | But you say that you know the very end of the plot, but the plot is entirely made up of the power of the connections that have been cut.

6.7.33 | ἡ ὅ λέγω οὐ συνίης; ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ὑπόθεσιν, ὡς μάντι, τὰ ζῶα ἡ ὀλίγας πολλάκις ἀρχὰς ποιούμενα, ἡ πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ. αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ ἀεὶ τὰ μέχρις αὐτῶν διακόψασαι αὐτὰ ἄλλα προάγουσι πράγματα· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ σοῦτον προχωρεῖν δύναται, ἐφ' ὅσον ἀν μὴ ἄλλη ποθὲν ἐπιστᾶσα ἀρχὴ τὰ μετ' αὐτὴν μὴ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ἄλλ' ἐαυτῇ κελεύσῃ.

6.7.33 | Or do you not understand what I am saying? But in each plot, oh seer, the living beings often create few or many beginnings, or many within it. And the beginnings always cut off what comes after them and lead to other things; and they can only progress to a certain point, as long as no other beginning from anywhere else commands what comes after it not to follow what is before, but to follow its own order.

6.7.34 | εἴη δ' ἄν ἀρχὴ καὶ ὅνος καὶ κύων καὶ ψύλλα. οὐ γὰρ παραιρήσει ούδε τῆς ψύλλης, λης, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τὴν ἔξουσίαν· ἀλλ' ὁρμήσει τινὰ ίδιαν ὁρμὴν ἡ ψύλλα, ἥ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν ἐνίστε συμπλακεῖσα ἀρχὴν ἐαυτὴν παρέχεται τινος ὁδοῦ. σὺ δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ αἴσθῃ τῷ γένει τούτῳ.

6.7.35 | Τρηχῖν' ἔξειλες πόλιν Ἡραικλέος θείοιο, ὦ Λοκρέ· σοὶ δὲ Ζεὺς ἄλλας δῶκ' ἥδ' ἔτι δώσει. τί φής; οὐ γὰρ ἐπέπρωτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔξαιρεθῆναι αὐτήν; καὶ τί αἴτιοι ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀνάγκη; οὐ δέκαια ποιεῖς, ὦ Ἀπολλον, οὐδ' ὁρθῶς ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἡμῖν.

6.7.36 | ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς οὗτος, ἡ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνάγκης ἀνάγκη, τί ἡμᾶς τίννυται, ἀλλ' οὐκ, εἴπερ ἄρα, ἐαυτὸν, ὅτι τοιαύτην κατέδειξεν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην; τί δὲ καὶ ἀπειλεῖ ἡμῖν; ἡ τί ἡμεῖς, ὡς ὅντες τούτου κύριοι, λιμώττομεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡτοι ἀνοιγισθήσεται πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ οὕτως ὀπότερον δ' ἄν ἵ, τοῦτο πέπρωται.

6.7.37 | λῆξον δὴ, ὦ Ζεῦ λιμοποιὲ, τοῦ θυμοῦ· ἔσται γὰρ ὃ πέπρωται, καὶ τοῦτο προστέτακται ποιεῖν ὁ σὸς εἰρμός· ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον οὐδέν ἐσμεν. παῦσαι δὲ καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ἀπολλον, μάταια χρησμῶδῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ὃ δεῖ, ἔσται, καν σὺ σιωπᾶς. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἀπολλον, τί πάθωμεν, οὐδὲν ὅντες αἴτιοι τῆς ὑμετέρας νομοθετήσεως, τουτέστιν ἀναγκοθετήσεως; τί δ' ἡμῖν καὶ

6.7.34 | Let there be a beginning with a donkey, a dog, and a flea. For the flea will not give up its power, by Apollo, but will start its own unique movement, which sometimes gets mixed up with human affairs and presents its own beginning along some path. But you, using this, do not notice its nature.

6.7.35 | You have taken away the city of divine Heracles, oh Locrian; but Zeus has given you other gifts and will still give more. What do you say? For it was not destined to be taken away by you. And what are we to blame, except for your own necessity? You do not act justly, oh Apollo, nor do you rightly blame those who have done nothing wrong to us.

6.7.36 | But this Zeus, the necessity of your necessity, what does he intend for us, unless, if at all, he shows that such a necessity exists? And what does he threaten us with? Or what are we, as being masters of this, suffering from hunger? But it will either be revealed to us or not; whichever it is, this is what is destined.

6.7.37 | Stop, oh Zeus who brings hunger, your anger; for what is destined will happen, and this is what your fate has ordered. But we are nothing in relation to this. And you too, oh Apollo, stop your pointless prophecies; for what must be will be, even if you are silent. But we, oh Zeus and Apollo, what should we suffer, being in no way responsible for your laws, that is,

ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἄταις, ἃς αύτοὶ ἔχειν δίκαιοί  
έστε ὑπὲρ ὃν ἡμεῖς ἡναγκάσθημεν;

for your necessity? And what do we have to do with your wrongs, which you have the right to hold against us for what we have been forced to endure?

6.7.38 | Οίταιοι, μὴ σπεύδετ' ἀτασθαλίησι  
νόιοι. ἀλλ' οὐ σπεύδομεν, ὅτι "Ἄπολλον, ἀλλ'  
ἔλαυνόμεθα, ούδε ἀτασθαλίαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ  
ὑμετέρᾳ ἀνάγκῃ.

6.7.39 | τὸν δὲ Λυκοῦργον ἐκεῖνον πῶς, ὅτι  
"Ἄπολλον, ἐπαινεῖς, δος οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθὸς, οὕτε  
ἐκὼν οὕθ' ἐλόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἄκων; εἴπερ που  
καὶ γίνεται τις ἀγαθὸς ἄκων. ἔοικε δὲ ὁ νῦν  
ποιεῖτε, ὡς εἴ τις τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τὰ  
σώματα ἐπαινοίη καὶ γεραίροι, τοὺς δὲ  
αἰσχροὺς ψέγοι καὶ κολάζοι.

6.7.38 | Oitaians, do not rush with reckless thoughts." "But we do not rush, oh Apollo; rather, we are being driven, not by recklessness, but by your necessity.

6.7.40 | δίκαια γάρ εἴποιεν ἀν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ  
πονηροὶ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπετρέψατε ἡμῖν, ὅτι θεοὶ,  
ἀγαθοῖς γίνεσθαι, οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
έβιάσασθε εἶναι πονηρούς; οἵτε ἀγαθοὶ, εἴ  
έξηγκωνισμένοι περιπατοῖεν, οὐκ  
ἐπιτρέψει τις αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ φήσει, ὅτι  
Χρύσιππέ τε καὶ Κλέανθες καὶ ὅσοι τούτου  
τοῦ χοροῦ, ὑμεῖς γάρ πεποίησθε εἶναι  
ἀγαθοὶ;) ἐγὼ μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐπαινῶ, ὑμᾶς δὲ  
τοὺς ἐναρέτους οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.

6.7.40 | For the wicked could rightly say to you, oh gods, that you did not allow us to become good, and not only that, but you even forced us to be wicked. The good, if they were to walk in a contest, no one would allow them, but they would say, 'Oh Chrysippus and Cleanthes and all those of this chorus, for you have been made to be good.' I indeed praise virtue, but I do not praise you who are wicked.

6.7.41 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον, ὃν σὺ  
πολλὰ, ὅτι Χρύσιππε, ἐβλασφήμησας, ἐγὼ τό  
γε ἐπὶ σοὶ ἀφίημι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. τί γάρ  
πάθη δος οὐχ ἐκὼν ἦν μαλακὸς ούδε ἄδικος,  
ὡσπερ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐλοιδόρησας;

6.7.41 | But even Epicurus, whom you have blasphemed a lot, oh Chrysippus, I indeed leave the accusations against you. For what has he suffered who was not soft or unjust against his will, as you have often insulted him?

6.7.42 | εύτάκτων θνητῶν βιοτῇ θεοὶ ἥλαιοι είσιν, εύσεβέων θ' αγίας θυσίας τιμάς τε δέχονται. δοκεῖτε δέ μοι οὐκ ἀν ταῦτα λέγειν, μὴ πεπεισμένοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄκοντες, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι χωροῦσιν ἐφ' ἂ χωροῦσιν. ἢ δ' ἀν βουληθῶσιν, οὕτε θεὸς οὕτε ἄνθρωπος σοφιστής, οὕτω προεληλεγμένων, τολμήσει λέγειν ὅτι ὑποτέτακται · ἡ λόγους μὲν οὐκέτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα, σκῦτος δέ τι τῶν εύτόνων λαβόντες, ὡς ἐπ' ἀνάγωγον παῖδα, τὰς πλευρὰς εὗ μάλα καταξανοῦμεν αὐτοῦ.'

6.7.42 | The gods are gracious to the well-ordered lives of mortals, and they accept the honorable sacrifices of the pious. But it seems to me that you would not say these things, not believing that they move willingly, but that they move for what they want. And whatever they wish, neither god nor wise man would dare to say that it is imposed upon them. Or we will no longer make arguments against him, but taking something of the easy things, like for a child who is being raised, we will very well cut open his sides.

6.7.43 | Τοσαῦτα πρὸς τὸν χρησμῷδὸν ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἀπετείνατο. σὺ δ' ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τῷ τοιῷδε χαίρεις, λαβῶν ἀνάγνωθι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων περὶ εἰμαρμένης οὐ μόνον τῶν προπαρατεθέντων χρησμῶν ἀνατρεπτικὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καθόλου περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπινοουμένων.

6.7.43 | So much was the answer that Oinomaos gave to the prophet. But if you do not rejoice in such a way, take and read what the other philosophers say about fate, not only the refutations of the previously given prophecies, but also the general ideas about the doctrine being thought out.

6.7.44 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ μὴ μόνον ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἴδιῶται, ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ μέγα φρονήσαντες πλείους κατεσύρησαν ὅμοσε τῷ δόγματι, ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἀναγκαίως τὰς αὐτῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς σφάς αὐτοὺς ἀντιρρήσεις ἐκθέσθαι εἰς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ προβλήματος διάσκεψιν. πρῶτα δὴ οὖν σοι παραναγνώσομαι ἀπὸ τῶν Διογενιανοῦ τὰ περὶ εἰμαρμένης, ὡδέ πως τῷ Χρυσίππῳ ἀντειρημένα

6.7.44 | Since not only the uneducated and common people, but also many who have greatly thought about education and philosophy have gathered together on this doctrine, I believe it is necessary to present their objections to themselves for a careful examination of the issue. Therefore, I will first read to you from Diogenes about fate, in this way opposing Chrysippus.

## Section 8

6.8.1 | "Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄπασι παραθέσθαι καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα Χρυσίππῳ τῷ στωικῷ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε. οὕτος

6.8.1 | It is also worth presenting all the things that seem to be from Chrysippus the Stoic about this argument. For he, in the

γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης βιβλίῳ  
βουλόμενος δεικνύαι τὸ δὴ πάνθ' ὑπὸ τῆς  
ἀνάγκης καὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης κατειλῆφθαι,  
μαρτυρίοις ἄλλοις τέ τισι χρῆται καὶ τοῖς  
οὐτωσὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ λεγομένοις  
ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν κήραμφέχανε στυγερή, ἥπερ  
λάχε γεινόμενόν περ.

6.8.2 | καὶ ὕστερον αὗτε τὰ πείσεται ἀσσα  
οἱ αἴσαγεινομένω ἐπένησε λίνω, ὅτε μιν  
τέκε μήτηρ· καὶ Μοῖραν δ' οὕτινά φημι  
πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν. οὐ θεωρῶν  
ὅτι τὰ ἄλλαχοῦ πάλιν παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ  
λεγόμενα τούτοις ἄντικρυς ἡναντίωται, οἵ  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ χρῆται,  
βουλόμενος συνιστᾶν τὸ καὶ παρ' ἡμάς  
πολλὰ γίνεσθαι, οἷον τὸ αὐτοὶ γὰρ  
σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὅλοντο. καὶ τὸ ὡ  
πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ  
αἰτιώνται. ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ ἔμμεναι,  
οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ  
μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσι.

6.8.3 | ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ πάντα  
γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἡναντίωται. οὐ  
μὴν ούδ' ἐκεῖνο συνιδεῖν ἡδυνήθη, τὸ  
μηδαμῶς τὸν Ὅμηρον μηδ' ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς  
ἔπεσι συμμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῦ τῷ δόγματι. οὐ  
γὰρ τὸ πάντα γίνεσθαι καθ' εἰμαρμένην,  
ἄλλὰ μᾶλλον τό τινα κατ' ἐκείνην  
συμβαίνειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑποβάλλων  
εὐρεθήσεται.

6.8.4 | τὸ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν κήραμφέχανε  
στυγερή, ἥτις λάχε γεινόμενόν περ, οὐχ ὅτι  
πάντα κατὰ τὴν κῆρα συμβαίνει λέγοιτο  
ἀν, ἄλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεθνήξεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὡς  
ἀληθῶς παντὶ γεννητῷ ζώῳ θανεῖν

first book On Fate, wanting to show that indeed everything is taken by necessity and fate, uses other testimonies and those said by Homer the poet: 'But for me, grim fate has seized me, which has fallen upon me.'

6.8.2 | And later, again, he will experience all the things that fate has brought upon him, when his mother gave birth to him. And I say that no man can escape fate. I do not see that the other things said by the poet are directly opposed to these, which he himself uses in the second book, wanting to show that many things happen among us, such as 'for they perished by their own reckless actions.' And the line 'Oh, how mortals blame the gods!' For they say that evil comes from us, but they themselves suffer pains beyond measure because of their own reckless actions.

6.8.3 | For these things and such things are opposed to everything happening by fate. But he could not even see that Homer does not support his doctrine in those lines. For it is not that everything happens by fate, but rather that something happens according to it, which will be found by suggesting from those things.

6.8.4 | For the line 'But for me, grim fate has seized me, which has fallen upon me,' would not suggest that everything happens according to fate, but rather that the very act of dying happens. For indeed, it is truly

καθείμαρται.

6.8.5 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὕστερον αὗτε τὰ πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ αἰσαγεινομένω ἐπένησε λίνω, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ, τὸ αὐτὸ βούλεται. οὐ γάρ ὅτι πάντα αὐτῷ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα καθ' εἰμαρμένην συμβήσεται λέγει, ἀλλ' ὅτι κατ' ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ τινὰ συμβήσεται. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἄσσα διαστολὴ τί ποτε ἔτερον ἢ τοῦτο σημαίνει; πολλὰ δὲ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἡμῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἐπίκειται.

6.8.6 | καὶ τὸ Μοῖραν δ' οὕτινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν, ἄριστα εἴρηται. τίς γάρ ἂν δύναιτο τὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην παντὶ ζώῳ συγκυροῦντα διαφυγεῖν; ὥστ' οὐχ ὅπως σύμψηφον ἀν ἔχοι τὸν "Ομηρον Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πάντα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίνεσθαι νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιούμενον, εἴ γε ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὅτι πολλὰ γίνεται παρ' ἡμᾶς σαφῶς καὶ πολλάκις εἴρηκε, τὸ δ' ὅτι κατὰ ἀνάγκην πάντα συμβαίνει, οὐδαμοῦ ḥητῶς λέγων ἀν εὐρεθείη.

6.8.7 | καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ μὲν, ἄτε οὐ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡμῖν τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ὑπισχνουμένω, ἀλλὰ μιμουμένω πάθη τε καὶ ἥθη καὶ δόξας παντοίας ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμόττον ἀν εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν πολλάκις · φιλοσόφῳ δὲ οὕτε τὰ ἐναντία λέγειν οὕτε ποιητῇ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χρῆσθαι μάρτυρι

6.8.8 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι "Τεκμήριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἰσχυρὸν φέρειν Χρύσιππος οἴεται τῆς ἐν ἄπασιν εἰμαρμένης τὴν θέσιν τῶν

destined for every living being to die.

6.8.5 | But also the line 'Later, he will experience all the things that fate has brought upon him, when his mother gave birth to him,' wants to say the same thing. For it does not say that everything will happen to him according to fate, but that something will happen to him by necessity. For what else does the word 'all' mean other than this? Many things indeed come to us by necessity, even if not everything.

6.8.6 | And I say that no man can escape fate, as has been said very well. For who could avoid the things that happen by necessity to every living being? So, it would not be right for Chrysippus to think that Homer believes everything happens according to fate, but rather the opposite. For while that person has clearly said many times that many things happen to us, he has never stated that everything happens by necessity.

6.8.7 | And for the poet, since he does not promise us the truth about the nature of things, but rather imitates the feelings, behaviors, and various opinions of people, it would be fitting for him to say many opposite things. But for a philosopher, neither is it right to say opposite things, nor should he use this as evidence like a poet.

6.8.8 | And he also says, 'Chrysippus thinks that there is another strong proof regarding the position of such names in

τοιούτων όνομάτων. τήν τε γὰρ πεπρωμένην πεπερασμένην τινά φησιν εἶναι καὶ συντετελεσμένην διοίκησιν, τήν τε εἰμαρμένην, εύρομένην τινὰ εἴτε ἐκ θεοῦ βουλήσεως εἴτε ἔξ ἣς δή ποτε αίτιας.

everything that is fated. For he says that fate is a certain limit that is determined and completed, and that it is fated, whether it comes from the will of the gods or from some cause that has happened before.'

6.8.9 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Μοίρας ὀνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεμερίσθαι καὶ κατανενεμῆσθαι τινα ἡμῶν ἐκάστω. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ χρεὼν είρησθαι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ καθῆκον κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην. τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν Μοιρῶν τοὺς τρεῖς ὑποβάλλει χρόνους ἐν οἷς κυκλεῖται τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' ὧν ἐπιτελεῖται.

6.8.9 | But the Fates are named from the idea of dividing and distributing something to each of us. In this way, what is necessary is said to be imposed and appropriate according to fate. He also suggests that the number of the Fates is three, in which everything is cycled and through which everything is completed.

6.8.10 | καὶ Λάχεσιν μὲν κεκλῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ λαγχάνειν ἐκάστῳ τὸ πεπρωμένον, "Ἄτροπον δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάθετον τοῦ μερισμοῦ, Κλωθὼ δὲ παρὰ τὸ συγκεκλώσθαι καὶ συνείρεσθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν τεταγμένην τινὰ εἶναι διέξοδον. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια φλυαρῶν ἀποδεικνύναι τὴν ἐπασιν ἀνάγκην νομίξει.

6.8.10 | And they are called Lachesis because of the idea of assigning to each person what is fated, Atropos because of the unchangeable and unalterable nature of the division, and Clotho because of the idea of spinning and weaving everything together, and that one of them has a certain path laid out. For these things and similar ideas are thought to show the necessity that exists in everything.

6.8.11 | ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἔπεισιν εἴ τοιαῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἥσθάνετο τῆς ματαιολογίας τῆς ἐσαυτοῦ. ἔστω γὰρ ταύταις ταῖς ἐννοίαις κεχρημένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐτυμολογεῖ, τὰ ὄνόματα τεθεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκκείμενα, δοξάζοντας τὰ πάντα κατειληφέναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην, καὶ ἀμεταθέτους εἶναι τὰς ἔξ αἰῶνος προκατειλημμένας ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ούσι τε καὶ γινομένοις αἴτιας.

6.8.11 | I wonder if, while saying such things, he did not realize his own foolishness. Let people be guided by these ideas, as he himself explains, that the names given are established, believing that everything is taken by fate, and that the causes which have been determined from eternity are unchangeable in all beings and events.

6.8.12 | τί οὖν ἀκολουθεῖς, ὡ Χρύσιππε,

6.8.12 | What then do you follow, O

πάσαις ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαις, καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ σοι περὶ οὐδενὸς φαίνεται διεψευσμένη, ἀλλὰ πάντες τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσὶ θεωρητικοί;

6.8.13 | πῶς οὖν οὐδένα φήσις ἀνθρωπον, ὃς οὐχὶ μαίνεσθαι σοι δοκεῖ κατ' ισον Ὁρέτη τε καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι, πλὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ; ἵνα δὲ ἡ δύο μόνους φήσις σοφοὺς γεγονέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους δι' ἀφροσύνην ἐπ' ἵσης τοῖς προειρημένοις μεμηνέναι;

6.8.14 | πῶς δὲ ἀνασκευάζεις αὐτῶν τὰς δόξας ἔκείνας ώς διημαρτημένας, οἷον τὰς περὶ πλούτου καὶ δόξης καὶ τυραννίδος καθόλου τε ἡδονῆς, ἅπερ ἀγαθὰ νενομίκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι; πῶς δὲ τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἡμαρτῆσθαι φήσις ἄπαντας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας; ἡ διὰ τί πλῆθος τοσοῦτον βιβλίων συνέγραψας, εἴ περ μηδενὸς εἶχον οἱ ἀνθρωποι δόξας διημαρτημένας;

6.8.15 | οὐ γάρ, ὅταν μὲν ταύτα σοὶ δοξάζωσιν, ὥρθως φρονεῖν αὐτοὺς φήσομεν, ὅταν δὲ διάφορα, μαίνεσθαι.

6.8.16 | πρῶτον μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ σὺ φήσις σοφὸν εἶναι σεαυτὸν, μήτι γε ἡμεῖς, ἵνα κριτήριον ποιῶμεθα τοῦ καλῶς ποτὲ ἔκείνους φρονεῖν τὸ τῇ σῇ δόξῃ συνδραμεῖν· ἔπειτ', εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀληθὲς τί λέγειν ἔχρην μαίνεσθαι πάντας ἐπ' ἵσης, καὶ οὐχὶ καθὸ μὲν ἐφαίνοντο ταυτὰ σοὶ δοξάζοντες κατὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν, ώς ὥρθοῦ τινὸς ἔπειλημμένους, καθὸ δὲ

Chrysippus, in all the beliefs of people, and does nothing seem to you to be proven wrong, but are all of them thinkers of the truth?

6.8.13 | How then do you say that no person, who does not seem to you to be mad like Oretas and Alcmaeon, is wise except for the wise one? And do you say that only two have become wise, while the others are equally mad as those mentioned before?

6.8.14 | How do you refute their beliefs as mistaken, such as those about wealth, honor, and tyranny, and all pleasure, which most people consider good? How do you say that all the established laws and governments have been wrong? Or why have you written so many books if people had mistaken beliefs about nothing?

6.8.15 | For when they think the same things as you, we will say that they think correctly; but when they think differently, they are mad.

6.8.16 | First of all, you do not say that you are wise, nor do we, so that we can judge whether they think correctly by agreeing with your opinion. Then, if this were true, why should we say that everyone is mad equally? Shouldn't we praise those who seem to think the same as you, as if they are grasping something correct, while considering those who disagree to be

διεφώνουν ἀμαρτάνειν αύτοὺς  
ὑπολαμβάνειν;

wrong?

6.8.17 | μαρτύριον μέντοι τῆς ἀληθείας  
ἰκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ἔκείνοις οὐδὲ  
οὕτως ἔχρην φύσει, καὶ μὴ μαίνεσθαι  
καθάπερ σὺ οἶει, ἀλλὰ πολύ γε  
ἀφεστηκέναι σοφίας πᾶς ἄν τις  
ὅμοιογήσειε.

6.8.17 | However, one should not consider  
what seems true to them as enough proof  
of the truth, and they should not be thought  
to be mad as you believe, but rather,  
anyone would agree that they have greatly  
strayed from wisdom.

6.8.18 | γελοίως οὖν καὶ σὺ χρήσῃ μάρτυσι  
τούτοις διὰ τῆς θέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὓς  
οὐδὲν ἄν κατά γε σύνεσιν σεαυτοῦ φέρεις  
διαφέρειν, εἴ μὴ ἄρα τοὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς  
θεμένους ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα σοφοὺς εἶναι  
συμβέβηκεν, ὅπερ οὐδαμῶς δεῖξαι δυνήσῃ.

6.8.18 | Therefore, you will use these  
names as proof in a silly way, since you  
would not say that they differ from your  
own understanding at all, unless it happens  
that those who first established these  
names are wise, which you cannot prove at  
all.

6.8.19 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεδόσθω σοι τοῦθ' οὕτως  
ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα ἔκεīνα τίθεσθαι ὡς  
σὺ βούλει τὰς σημασίας ἔχοντα, καὶ μὴ  
κατὰ δόξας ψευδεῖς τὸ τοιοῦτον γεγονέναι·  
ποῦ τοίνυν δι' αὐτῶν σημαίνεται τὰ πάντα  
ἀπαξαπλῶς καθ' εἰμαρμένην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ,  
εἴ ἄρα, ταῦτα μόνα ὃν ἔστιν εἰμαρμένη;

6.8.19 | But let it be accepted by you that  
this is how it is, and those names should be  
placed as you wish, holding their meanings,  
and not falsely based on opinions. So,  
where then is it shown that everything is  
simply determined by fate through them,  
and not, if that is the case, that these are the  
only things that are determined by fate?

6.8.20 | ὁ τε γὰρ τῶν Μοιρῶν ἀριθμὸς καὶ  
τὰ ὄνόματα αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τῆς Κλωθοῦς  
ἄτρακτος, καὶ τὸ ἐπειλημένον αὐτῷ νῆμα,  
καὶ τὸ ἐπίκλωσμα τούτου, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
τοιαῦτα λέγεται ἐν ἔκείνοις, ἐνδείκνυται τὸ  
ἀπαράβατον καὶ ἔξ αἰῶνος καθῆγον τῶν  
αἰτιῶν, ὅσα οὐτωσὶ κατηνάγκασται  
γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλως ἔχειν κεκώλυται.

6.8.20 | For the number of the Fates, their  
names, the spindle of Clotho, the thread  
that is wound on it, and its twist, and all  
other similar things that are said about  
them, show the unchangeable and eternal  
nature of the causes, how many things  
must happen this way, and how many  
others are prevented from being otherwise.

6.8.21 | πολλὰ δ' ἀν εἴη τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ οὐχ οὕτω γίνεται, τούτων τισὶ μὲν οἱ ἀνθρωποι θεοὺς διοικητὰς καὶ δημιουργοὺς ἐπεφήμισαν, τινῶν δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἴτιους ὑπέλαβον, ἄλλων δὲ αὖ πάλιν τὴν φύσιν, ἄλλων τὴν τύχην.

6.8.21 | But there would be many such things; for those things that do not happen this way, some people have called the gods as rulers and creators, while others have thought of us as the causes, and others again have considered nature, and others fate.

6.8.22 | Ἡς τὸ εὔμετάβολον καὶ ἄστατον καὶ νῦν μὲν οὕτω, νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχον ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰδωλοποιήσαντες τὸ ποιὸν τοῦτο σύμπτωμα τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκῦαν τὴν τύχην ἔδειξαν.

6.8.22 | Of which the changeable and unstable nature, now this way and now that way, wanting to show, they have made an idol of this kind of chance event in things, and they have shown fate as if it were a ball rolling.

6.8.23 | ή οὐχὶ δεδόξασται παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ταῦτα; καὶ γὰρ εἴ ποτε συνταράττουσι τὰ αἴτια, καὶ ὅσα μὲν καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἡ κατὰ τύχην γίνεται, ταῦτα ἐκ θείας δυνάμεως γίνεσθαι νομίζουσιν, ὅσα δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς, ταῦτα καθ' εἰμαρμένην, ἄλλ' ὅτι γε πάντα τὰ αἴτια ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν εἶναι δοξάζουσι παντί που δῆλον.

6.8.23 | Or is it not believed by people that these things are so? For whenever they mix up the causes, they think that whatever happens by fate or by chance comes from a divine power, but whatever comes from us, they consider to be by fate. However, it is clear that they believe all these causes to exist in what is.

6.8.24 | ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολήψεις, οὐδὲ τὰς θέσεις τῶν τοιούτων ὄνομάτων συμμαρτυρεῖν τῇ Χρυσίππου δόξῃ συμβέβηκε.”

6.8.24 | Therefore, neither the opinions of people nor the beliefs about such names have happened to support the view of Chrysippus.

6.8.25 | Τούτοις ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης βιβλίῳ τοιαύταις τισὶν ἀποδείξεσιν κέχρηται, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ λύειν πειρᾶται τὰ ἀκολουθεῖν δοκοῦντα ἀτοπα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πάντα κατηναγκάσθαι λέγοντι, ἀπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐτίθεμεν· οἶον τὸ ἀναιρεῖσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προθυμίαν περὶ ψόγους τε καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ

6.8.25 | Next, he chooses to say, 'In the first book about fate, he has used certain proofs; in the second, he tries to explain the things that seem strange to the argument that everything is forced to happen, which we also set out at the beginning. For example, the idea of removing our own willingness regarding blame and praise and encouragement, and everything else that

προτροπὰς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὴν  
ἡμετέραν αἴτιαν γινόμενα φαίνεται.

seems to happen beyond our own cause.'

6.8.26 | φησὶν οὖν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τὸ  
μὲν ἔξημῶν πολλὰ γίνεσθαι δῆλον εἶναι,  
οὐδὲν δὲ ἡττον συγκαθειμάρθαι καὶ ταῦτα  
τῇ τῶν ὅλων διοικήσει.

6.8.26 | He says, therefore, in the second  
book, that it is clear that many things  
happen from us, but it is no less important  
to connect these to the overall  
arrangement.

6.8.27 | κέχρηταί τε παραδείγμασι  
ιοιούτοις τισί. τὸ γάρ μὴ ἀπολεῖσθαι, φησὶ,  
θοίματιον οὐχ ἀπλῶς καθείμαρτο, ἀλλὰ  
μετὰ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν  
πολεμίων σωθήσεσθαι τόνδε τινὰ μετὰ τοῦ  
φεύγειν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ τὸ  
γενέσθαι παῖδας μετὰ τοῦ βούλεσθαι  
κοινωνεῖν γυναικί.

6.8.27 | It is used as examples of such kinds.  
For he says that not being destroyed is not  
simply arranged, but along with being  
protected, and that being saved from  
enemies happens with fleeing from them;  
and that having children happens with the  
desire to share with a woman.

6.8.28 | ὥσπερ γάρ, φησὶν, λέγοντός τινος  
Ἡγῆσαρχον τὸν πύκτην ἔξελεύσεσθαι τοῦ  
ἀγῶνος πάντως ἄπληκτον, ἀτόπως ἂν τις  
ἡξίου καθιέντα τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἡγῆσαρχον  
μάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ ἄπληκτον αὐτὸν  
καθείμαρτο ἀπελθεῖν, τού τὴν ἀπόφασιν  
ποιησαμένου διὰ τὴν περιττοτέραν  
τάνθρωπου πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλήττεσθαι  
φυλακὴν τοῦτο εἰπόντος, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἔχει.

6.8.28 | For just as he says, if someone were  
to say that Hegesarchus, the boxer, would  
leave the contest completely unharmed, it  
would be strange for anyone to think that  
Hegesarchus should fight with his hands  
down, since it was arranged for him to  
leave unharmed. This was decided because  
of the extra protection for a person not to  
be harmed. It is the same with other cases.

6.8.29 | πολλὰ γάρ μὴ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι  
χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ἡμᾶς βούλεσθαι καὶ  
ἐκτενεστάτην γε περὶ αὐτὰ προθυμίαν τε  
καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσφέρεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ  
τούτου, φησὶν, αὐτὰ γενέσθαι καθείμαρτο.

6.8.29 | For many things cannot happen  
without both us wanting them and bringing  
great eagerness and effort to them, since  
after this, he says, they were arranged to  
happen.

6.8.30 | πάλιν οὖν κάνταῦθα θαυμάσειέ τις

6.8.30 | Again, someone would marvel at

ἄν τάνθρωπου τὸ ἀθεώρητον καὶ  
ἀνεπιλόγιστον, καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς  
τῶν ἰδίων λόγων ἀνακολουθίας. οἶμαι γὰρ  
ὅτι καθάπερ τὸ καλούμενον γλυκὺν τῷ  
καλούμενῷ πικρῷ συμβέβηκεν  
ἐναντιώτατον εῖναι, τῷ τε λευκῷ τῷ μέλαν  
καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ τῷ θερμὸν, οὐτωσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ  
παρ' ἡμᾶς τῷ καθ' εἰμαρμένην, εἴ γε καθ'  
εἰμαρμένην μὲν ἔκεινα καλεῖν προείληφεν  
ὅσα καὶ ἐκόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκόντων  
πάντως γίνεται, παρ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ  
σπουδάζειν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἐπὶ τέλος  
ἔρχεται, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀμελεῖν καὶ ἥψθυμεῖν  
οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖται.

the unseen and unconsidered nature of humans, as well as the actions and the connection of their own words. For I think that just as what is called sweet is often the opposite of what is called bitter, and white is opposite to black, and cold is opposite to hot, so too what we have is opposite to what is arranged. If indeed those things that happen are called arranged, then everything happens either willingly or unwillingly, while what comes from our effort and action leads to success, or what comes from neglect and laziness does not achieve anything.

6.8.31 | ἐὰν τοίνυν ἐκ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ἐμὲ  
θοιμάτιον φυλάττειν ἔκεινο σώζηται, καὶ  
ἐκ τοῦ βούλεσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν τὰ  
τέκνα γίγνηται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βούλεσθαι  
φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν  
ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς  
τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνδρείως φυλάττεσθαι  
τε αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιβολὰς τὸ  
ἄπληκτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι,  
πῶς τὸ καθ' εἰμαρμένην ἐνταῦθα  
σωθήσεται;

6.8.31 | If then, from effort, I am saved by keeping that safe, and from wanting, a mother draws her children close, and from wanting, one escapes enemies by not dying at their hands, and from fighting, one bravely defends against the opponent's attacks to avoid being struck in the contest, how will what is arranged be saved here?

6.8.32 | εἴ μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἔκεινην ταῦτα  
συμβαίνει, παρ' ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἄν λέγοιτο  
συμβαίνειν, εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἄν κατ'  
ἔκεινην δηλαδὴ, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι  
συνδραμεῖν ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις.

6.8.32 | For if these things happen according to that, they would not be said to happen by us. But if they happen by us, then they would not happen according to that, because these things cannot run together with each other.

6.8.33 | ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς μὲν ἔσται, φησὶ,  
περιειλημμένου μέντοι τοῦ παρ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ  
τῆς εἰμαρμένης, καὶ πῶς, εἴποιμ' ἄν,  
περιειλημμένου; εἴ γε καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν  
θοιμάτιον καὶ τὸ μὴ φυλάττειν ἀπὸ τῆς

6.8.33 | But it will be by us, he says, while being surrounded by what is arranged. And how, I would say, is it surrounded? If indeed both keeping safe and not keeping safe happened outside of my control. For in

έξουσίας ἔγίνετο τῆς ἐμῆς. οὕτω γάρ καὶ τοῦ σώζεσθαι τοῦτο δηλονότι κύριος ἀν εἴην ἔγώ.

6.8.34 | καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς διαστολῆς, ἣν ποιεῖται Χρύσιππος, δῆλον γίνεται τὸ ἀπολελύσθαι τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὴν παρ' ἡμᾶς αἴτιαν. καθείμαρται γάρ, φησὶ, σωθῆναι θοιμάτιον, εἰ φυλάττοις αὐτὸν, καὶ παῖδας ἔσεσθαι, εἰ καὶ σὺ βουληθείης, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ ἀν ἔσεσθαι τι τούτων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης προκατειλημμένων οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑποτιμήσεσι τοιαύταις χρησαίμεθα.

6.8.35 | οὐκ οὖν φαμὲν τεθνήξεσθαι πάντα ἀνθρωπον εἰ τόδε τι γένοιτο, μὴ τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ εἰ μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τεθνήξεσθαι, κάν ὅτιοῦν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν καθόλου γίγνοιτο· ἢ μὴ ἀλγηδόνος ἔσεσθαι δεκτικὸν ἀνθρωπόν τινα, κάν ταδὶ πράττῃ, ἄλλὰ πάντ' ἀνθρωπον ἀλγηδόνος εἶναι δεκτικὸν, ἐάν τε βούληται ἔάν τε μή· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα οὔτωσὶ καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ἔχειν καθείμαρται.

6.8.36 | ὥστε εἰ τὸ γενέσθαι τόδε τι ἀναγκαῖόν ἔστιν, εἰ βουληθείμεν ήμεῖς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐχὶ, φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ ἡμάς βουληθῆναι τε καὶ μὴ βουληθῆναι ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας αἴτιας προκατείχετο, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτεξούσιον·

6.8.37 | εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκατανάγκαστον ἦν, καὶ τὸ γενέσθαι τόδε τι δῆλον ὡς ἀπ' αἰῶνος οὐ προκατείχετο, εἰ μή τι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βούλεσθαι φυλάττειν θοιμάτιον, ἢ μὴ

this way, I would clearly be the master of being saved.

6.8.34 | And from this distinction made by Chrysippus, it becomes clear that the cause of being lost is outside of our control. For he says, it is arranged to be saved if you keep it safe, and there will be children if you also wish for that, but otherwise, none of these things would happen. And regarding those things that are already determined by fate, we would never use such things as excuses.

6.8.35 | Therefore, we do not say that every person would die if this were to happen, nor that they would not die if it did not happen, but simply that they would die, even if anything were to happen to prevent them from dying at all. Or that a person could be free from pain, even if they do these things, but rather that every person is subject to pain, whether they want to be or not. And all other things are arranged in this way and not otherwise.

6.8.36 | So if it is necessary for this to happen, if we were to want it, otherwise not, it is clear that our wanting and not wanting is not held back by any other cause, but it was in our own power.

6.8.37 | But if this were unavoidable, and if it is clear that this must happen from the beginning, unless something also keeps the wanting itself safe, or not wanting, it would

βούλεσθαι, παρά τινα εἰμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ αἴτιαν ἔξωθεν ἀναγκαίαν ἐγίνετο.

6.8.38 | ἀλλ' οὕτω τέλεον ἡ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἔξουσιαστικὴ δύναμις ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ οὐκέτι σώζοιτο ἂν θούματιον παρὰ τὴν αἴτιαν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἡ ἀπολλύοιτο· διὸ καὶ εἴην ἀν ἑγώ καὶ ἀπολλυμένου τούτου κατὰ λόγον ἀνεπιτίμητος, (ἄλλη γὰρ αὐτό τις ἀπώλλυεν αἴτια) καὶ σωζομένου πάλιν οὐδαμῶς ἐπαινούμενος, ὅτι μηδὲ τοῦτο είργαζόμην ἑγώ. σὺ δὲ ὡς σῶσαι πάντα δυνάμενος οὕτ' ὡς ἀνετείνου τῷ λόγῳ.

6.8.39 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ. συνήφθω δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Αφροδισιέως, ἀνδρὸς εὗ μάλα διαφανοῦς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εἰμαρμέωης τοιαῖσδ' ἔχρήσατο φωναῖς εἰς ἀνασκευὴν τοῦ δόγματος

happen because of some fate and a necessary cause from outside.

6.8.38 | But in this way, our power is completely taken away, and it would no longer save anything because of my cause, or it would perish; therefore, I would be blamed for this destruction according to reason, since another cause would have destroyed it. And if it were saved again, I would not be praised at all, because I did not do this. But you, being able to save everything, would be praised as if you were the one who did it.

6.8.39 | These things were said by the man who was made clear. I also connect these with the ideas from Alexander of Aphrodesius, a man very well known in philosophical discussions, who himself used such expressions in his work on fate to challenge the doctrine.

## Section 9

6.9.1 | “Διαιρεῖται δὲ τὰ τόν γινομένων αἴτια εἰς τρόπους αἱτιῶν τέσσαρας, καθὼς ὁ Θεῖος Ἀριστοτέλης δέδειχε· τῶν γὰρ αἱτίων τὰ μὲν ἔστι ποιητικὰ, τὰ δὲ ὕλης ἐπέχοντα λόγον · ἔστι δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος αἴτια· παρὰ δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ταύτας αἱτίας ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον καὶ τέλος, οὗ χάριν τὸ γινόμενον γίνεται.

6.9.2 | καὶ τοσαῦται μὲν αἱ τῶν αἱτίων διαφοραί· ὅ τι γὰρ ἀν αἴτιον ἡ τινὸς ὑπό τι τούτων τῶν αἱτιῶν ὃν εὑρεθήσεται. καὶ

6.9.1 | The causes of things that come into being are divided into four types of causes, as the divine Aristotle showed. For among the causes, some are productive, while others are material and have a reason. There is also a cause according to the form. Besides these three causes, there is also a cause and an end, for the sake of which the thing comes into being.

6.9.2 | And there are as many differences among the causes. For whatever cause there may be, it will be found to belong to

γὰρ εί μὴ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα τοσούτων αἰτίων δεῖται, ἀλλὰ τά γε πλείστων δεόμενα ούχ ὑπερβαίνει τὸν είρημένον ἀριθμόν.

6.9.3 | γνωριμωτέρα δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἡ διαφορὰ γένοιτο, εἴ ἐπὶ παραδείγματός τινος τῶν γινομένων ὀραθείη. ἴστω δὴ ἐπ' ἀνδριάντος ἡμῖν ἡ τῶν αἰτίων δεικνυμένη διαίρεσις. τοῦ δὴ ἀνδριάντος ὡς μὲν ποιητικὸν αἴτιον ὁ ποιήσας τεχνίτης, ὃν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν καλοῦμεν, ὡς δὲ ὥλη ὁ ὑποκείμενος χαλκὸς, ἢ λίθος, ἢ ὅ τι ἂν ἦ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου σχηματιζόμενον κατὰ τὴν τέχνην· αἴτιον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ γεγονέναι τε καὶ εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

6.9.4 | ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ τούτῳ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος αἴτιον· διὸ εἶδός ἔστι δισκεῦον, ἢ ἀκοντίζον, ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὠρισμένου σχήματος.

6.9.5 | οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς τοῦ ἀνδριάντος γενέσεως αἴτια, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς τῶν αἰτίων τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ δεύτερον τὸ τέλος, οὐ χάριν γέγονε, τουτέστιν, ἢ τιμῇ τινος, ἢ εἰς θεὸν εὔσέβειά τις. ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας οὐδ' ἀν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἀνδριάτης ἐγένετο.

6.9.6 | ὅντων τοίνυν τορούτων τῶν αἰτίων καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφορὰν ἔχοντων γνώριμον, τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς αἴτιοις δικαίως ἀν καταριθμοῦμεν, ἀναλογίαν σώζουσαν πρὸς

one of these causes. And even if not everything that comes into being needs so many causes, most things do not exceed the number mentioned.

6.9.3 | The difference among them would be clearer if we looked at an example of things that come into being. Let us consider the division of causes in the case of a statue. For that statue, the productive cause is the craftsman who made it, whom we call a sculptor. The material cause is the bronze, or stone, or whatever material is shaped by the craftsman according to his art. For this too is a cause of the statue's coming into being and existence.

6.9.4 | And there is also the form that comes from the material shaped by the craftsman, which is a cause of the statue itself. Therefore, the form is either a figure of a discus thrower, or a javelin thrower, or some other specific shape.

6.9.5 | Not only are these the causes of the statue's coming into being, but there is also a second cause related to its purpose, for which it was made. This means either for the honor of someone or for some act of devotion to a god. For without such a purpose, the statue would not even have come into existence.

6.9.6 | Since these causes exist and have a clear difference from one another, we could rightly count the necessary causes among the creative causes. This would show a relationship that helps us understand what

τὰ γινόμενα κατ' αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος δημιουργῷ τέχνῃ.”

6.9.7 | “Τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἀκόλουθον ἀν εἴη περὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν αίτιών ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον· οὕτω γάρ ἔσται γνώριμον εἴτε πάντων τῶν γιγνομένων χρὴ τὴν εἰμαρμένην αίτιασθαι εἴτε δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ παρὰ τήνδε συγχωρεῖν, ὡς οὓσι ποιητικοῖς τινῶν αίτιοις.

6.9.8 | ἀπάντων δὴ τῶν γιγνομένων Ἀριστοτέλης ποιούμενος τὴν διαιρέσιν τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τιωδός χάριν γίγνεσθαι λέγει, σκοπόν τινα καὶ τέλος τῶν γιγνομένων προκείμενον ἔχοντος τοῦ ποιοῦντος αὐτὰ, τὰ δὲ οὐδενὸς, ὅσα οὐ κατὰ πρόθεσίν τινα τοῦ ποιοῦντος γίγνεται, ούδ’ ἐπὶ τέλος ὡρισμένον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν, τοιαῦτα οἷόν ἔστι καρφῶν τε τινῶν διακρατήσεις καὶ περιστροφαὶ, καὶ τριχῶν ἐπαφαί τε καὶ ἐκτάσεις, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοίως γίνεται.

6.9.9 | ὅτι μὲν γάρ γίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ γνώριμον· ού μὴν ἔχει τὴν κατὰ τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν οὐ χάριν αίτιαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γινόμενα ἀσκόπως καὶ ἀπλῶς γινόμενα οὐδεμίαν εὔλογον ἔχει διαιρεσιν ·

6.9.10 | τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τι τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχόντων καί τινος γιγνομένων χάριν τὰ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον γίγνεται. τὰ τε γάρ φύσιν αίτιαν ἔχοντα τῆς γενέσεως κατά τινας ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τάξιν ὡρισμένην πρόσεισιν ἐπὶ τι τέλος, ἐν ᾧ γιγνόμενα τοῦ

happens in the art of the statue's creator.

6.9.7 | With this in mind, it would be appropriate to speak about the creative causes. For it will be clear whether we should attribute the necessary cause to all that comes into being or if we should also allow it for some others, as there are certain creative causes.

6.9.8 | Aristotle, when making the division of all that comes into being, says that some things exist for the sake of something, having a certain purpose and end set by the creator. But others, which come into being without any intention from the creator and do not have a specific end, are like the growths of certain plants and their twists, and the branching and extensions of hairs, and anything else that happens in a similar way.

6.9.9 | It is clear that these things come into being. However, they do not have a cause based on purpose or for the sake of something. Therefore, things that come into being in this way, without intention and simply, do not have any reasonable division.

6.9.10 | Things that have a reference to something and come into being for a purpose are either natural or based on reason. For those that are natural have a cause for their coming into being according to certain numbers and a defined order,

γίγνεσθαι παύονται, εί μή τι αύτοῖς ἐνστὰν  
έμποδὼν γίγνοιτο τῇ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῶν  
έπι τὸ προκείμενον ὁδῷ.

moving toward a specific end, where they stop coming into being, unless something stands in their way according to their natural path.

6.9.11 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ λόγον γιγνόμενα  
ἔχει τι τέλος. ούδὲν γάρ ὡς ἔτυχε τῶν κατὰ  
λόγον γιγνομένων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινα  
σκοπὸν ἡ ἀναφορὰ πᾶσιν αύτοῖς.

6.9.11 | But even things that come into being based on reason have some kind of end. Nothing that comes into being based on reason happens by chance, but everything has a purpose for which it is directed.

6.9.12 | ἔστι δὲ κατὰ λόγον γιγνόμενα ὅσα  
ὑπὸ τῶν ποιούντων αὐτὰ γίγνεται  
λογιζομένων τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ  
συντιθέντων καθ' ὃν ἂν τρόπον γένοιτο.  
οὕτω γίγνεται τά τε κατὰ τὰς τέχνας  
γιγνόμενα πάντα καὶ τὰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν .

6.9.12 | Things that come into being based on reason are those that are made by creators who think about them and arrange them in whatever way they can. In this way, everything that comes into being through skills and those that come from choices happen.

6.9.13 | ἀ διαφέρει τῶν γιγνομένων φύσει  
τῷ τὰ μὲν φύσει γιγνόμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν  
τὴν ἀρχήν τε καὶ τὰς αἴτιας τῆς τουαύτης  
γενέσεως, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἡ φύσις], καὶ  
γίγνεσθαι μὲν κατὰ τάξιν τινὰ, οὐ μὴν τῆς  
ποιούσης αὐτὰ φύσεως ὄμοίως ταῖς  
τέχναις λογισμῷ περὶ αὐτῶν χρωμένης.

6.9.13 | Things that differ from those that come into being by nature have their beginning and causes for such a generation within themselves, for this is how nature works. They come into being in a certain order, but not in the same way as those made by creators who use reasoning about them.

6.9.14 | τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα κατὰ τέχνην τε καὶ  
προαίρεσιν ἔξωθεν ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς  
κινήσεως καὶ τὴν αἴτιαν τὴν ποιοῦσαν, ἀλλ'  
οὐκ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ὁ  
τοῦ ποιοῦντος ἡγεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν  
λογισμός.

6.9.14 | Things that come into being through skill and choice have their source of movement and their cause from outside themselves, not within them. The reasoning of the creator guides their generation.

6.9.15 | τρίτον δέ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἔνεκά του γιγνομένοις καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τύχης τε καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γίγνεσθαι πεπιστευμένα, ταύτῃ τῶν προηγουμένως ἔνεκά του γιγνομένων διαφέροντα, ἢ ἐπ' ἔκείνων μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ τέλους χάριν γίγνεται, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὰ μὲν γιγνόμενα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους ἄλλου χάριν γίγνεται, ἀπαντῷ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλου χάριν γιγνομένοις, ὡς τέλος, τὸ αὐτομάτως τε καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης γίγνεσθαι λεγόμενον.”

6.9.16 | “Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων καὶ πάντων τῶν γιγνομένων εἰς τούτους τοὺς τρόπους νενεμημένων ἀκόλουθον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰδεῖν ἐν τίνι τῶν ποιητικῶν αἰτίων χρὴ τιθέναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην.

6.9.17 | Ἄρα γε ἐν τοῖς ούδενὸς γιγνομένοις χάριν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν παντάπασιν ἄλογον; ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τέλους τινὸς τῷ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὄνόματι χρώμεθα, καθ' εἰμαρμένην τε αὐτὸ λέγοντες γεγονέναι· διὸ ἐν τοῖς ἔνεκά του γινομένοις ἀναγκαῖον τιθέναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην.”

6.9.18 | Ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ḥήμασιν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ διελὼν διὰ πλειόνων ἔξῆς συνίστησιν, ούδ' ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἢ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν γινόμενα· μὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ λογισμὸν ἡμέτερον καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐπιτελουμένοις τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκην ἐπιθεωρεῖσθαι

6.9.19 | φησὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πλεῖστα ἐμποδίζεσθαι συμβαίνειν, ἢ καὶ καλεῖσθαι παρὰ φύσιν, ὕσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν

6.9.15 | Third, there are things that come into being for the sake of something else, which are believed to happen by chance or automatically. These differ from the previously mentioned things, as in those cases, things happen for the sake of their end. But in these cases, things happen for the sake of something else before reaching their end, and they are also generated for the sake of something else, as what is called happening automatically or by chance.

6.9.16 | With these things arranged in this way and all things coming into being in these ways, it is necessary to see in which of the creative causes one should place fate.

6.9.17 | Is there really anything that comes into being for no reason? Or is this completely unreasonable? For we always refer to something with the name of fate when it comes to an end, saying that it has happened by fate. Therefore, it is necessary to place fate among those things that come into being for the sake of something else.

6.9.18 | With these words, the man who has been made clear explains in more detail, saying that fate is nothing other than what happens according to nature. For we should not look for the necessity of fate in things that are done according to our reasoning and skill.

6.9.19 | It is said that many things that happen according to nature are prevented from occurring, which are also called

τέχνην τὰ παρὰ τὴν τέχνην λέγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ὅλως παρὰ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν γίγνεται τινα, γένοιτ' ἀν καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην, εἴπερ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν ταῦτά ἔστι τὰ καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

unnatural, just as in the things done according to skill, those that are said to be against skill. But if something happens entirely against nature, then it could also happen against fate, if those things according to nature are indeed those things according to fate.

6.9.20 | “Ορῶμεν γοῦν, φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ τοιόνδε ἢ τοιόνδε εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ἐν νόσοις καὶ φθοραῖς ἀκολούθως τῇ φυσικῇ συστάσει γίνεται, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πάντων, οὐδὲ ἔξ ἀνάγκης. ἵκαναὶ γάρ ἐκκροῦσαι πολλάκις τὴν τοιάνδε ἔξιν ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ βίων ὑπαλλαγαὶ καὶ προστάξεις ἰατρῶν καὶ συμβουλίαι θεῶν.

6.9.20 | Indeed, he says, we see that the body can have this or that nature in diseases and decay, following its natural structure, but not in the same way for everything, nor necessarily. For many times, enough care, changes in lifestyle, doctors' orders, and advice from the gods can prevent such a condition.

6.9.21 | κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εὔροι τις ἀν παρὰ τὴν φυσικὴν κατασκευὴν διαφόρους ἐν ἐκάστῳ προαιρέσεις καὶ πράξεις καὶ βίους ἔξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἀπὸ μαθημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ λόγων κρειττόνων βελτιουμένων ....

6.9.21 | In the same way, one could find different choices and actions in each person's soul that go beyond its natural structure, resulting from practice, learning, and better reasoning.

6.9.22 | εἰπόντος γοῦν ποτὲ τοῦ φυσιογνώμονος περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἄτοπά τινα καὶ πλεῖστον ἀφεοτῶτα τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς κατὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην καταγελωμένου, οὐδὲν εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐσφάλθαι τὸν Ζώπυρον· ἦν γάρ ἀν τοιοῦτος, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἀσκησιν ἀμείνων τῆς φύσεως ἐγένετο.

6.9.22 | Once, when the physiognomist spoke about Socrates the philosopher, he made some strange and mostly wrong claims about his choices in life. And when those around Socrates laughed at this, Socrates did not say that Zopyrus was mistaken; for he was such a person, as far as nature goes, if he had not become better than his nature through the practice of philosophy.

6.9.23 | Καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἃ καὶ μηδέν φησι διαφέρειν τῶν καθ' εἰμαρμένην. “Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης τοιαῦτα,

6.9.23 | And these things are according to nature, which he says do not differ from those that happen by fate. But those things

ὅταν ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν γενομένῳ τινὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἀπαντήσῃ οὐχί χάριν ἐγένετο, ἄλλο δέ τι ὅπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν ούδε ἡλπίζετο. Θησαυρόν τε γάρ φησιν ἀπὸ τύχης εὐρηκέναι τινὰ, ὅταν ἄλλου χάριν ὁρύσσων, ἄλλὰ μὴ τοῦ Θησαυρὸν εὐρεῖν, θησαυρῷ περιπέσῃ · καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπὸ τύχης κεκομίσθαι τινὰ λέγουσιν, ὅταν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προελθῶν ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν ἀργύριον ἔχοντι περιπεσὼν τῷ χρεώστῃ τὸ ὄφειλόμενον λάβῃ · καὶ ὃ ἵππος δὲ αὐτομάτως τισὶ λέγεται σεσῶσθαι, ὅταν τροφῆς μὲν ἐλπίδι, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς χάριν, ἀποφύγῃ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὸν, ἀπαντήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ φυγῇ καὶ τῷ δρόμῳ τὸ τοῖς δεσπόταις περιπεσεῖν.

that happen by chance, when something does not meet the one for whom it happened, are different from what one did not even hope for. For example, he says that someone finds a treasure by chance when digging for something else, but does not find the treasure itself; he falls into the treasure. And they say that someone has received silver by chance when, going to the market, he accidentally comes across someone who has silver and receives what he owes. And a horse is said to save itself automatically when, hoping for food or for someone else's sake, it escapes from those holding it, and in its flight and running, it happens to fall into the hands of its masters.

6.9.24 | ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων ούδὲ ταῦτα ἀν εἴη καθ' εἰμαρμένην. καὶ ἄδηλα δέ ἐστι τινα αἴτια ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ, ἢ κατά τινας ἀντιπαθείας γίνεσθαι πεπίστευται, ἀγνοούμενης τῆς αἵτιας δλ' ἦν γίνεται. δοποῖα περιάπτα τινα ποιεῖν προείληπται, ούδεμίαν εὔλογον καὶ πιθανὴν αἵτιαν τοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔχοντα· ἔτι δὲ ἐπαοιδαὶ, καὶ τοιαῦταί τινες μαγγανεῖται. τούτων γάρ δομολογεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἄδηλος εἶναι ἢ αἵτια· διὸ καὶ ἀναιτιολόγητα λέγουσιν αὐτά.

6.9.24 | When these things are so, even these would not be by fate. And there are some causes that are unclear to human reasoning, which are believed to happen due to certain oppositions, while the cause for them is unknown. When certain accidents are expected to happen, there is no reasonable and believable cause for them to occur. Moreover, there are charms and certain magical tricks. For these, everyone agrees that the cause is unclear; therefore, they say these things happen without a known reason.

6.9.25 | πολλὰ δ' εἶναι παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐνδεχομένως καὶ ὄποτερα ἔτυχε γινόμενα, ἢ ούδὲ ταῦτ' ἀν εἴη καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

6.9.25 | There are many things besides these, and possibly even more that happen, which would also not be by fate.

6.9.26 | λέγεται δὲ ἐνδεχομένως γίνεσθαι ταῦτα ἐφ' ὃν καὶ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι χώραν ἔχει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄποτερα ἔτυχε

6.9.26 | It is said that these things can happen in such a way that even the absence of them has a place, as what happens is

λεγόμενον ποιεῖ γνώριμον· οἶον τὸ κινῆσαι τι τῶν ἐαυτοῦ μερῶν, καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν τοῦ τραχήλου περιστροφὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ δακτύλου ἔκτασιν καὶ τὸ ἐπᾶραι τὰ βλέφαρα, καὶ τὸν καθεζόμενον στῆσαι, καὶ τὸν κινούμενον ἡρεμῆσαι, καὶ τὸν λαλοῦντα σιγῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ μυρίων εὔροι τις ἀν δύναμίν τινα ἐνυπάρχουσαν τῶν ἐναντίων δεκτικὴν, ἢ οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο ἔξ εἰμαρμένης· τὰ γὰρ ἔξ αὐτῆς οὐ δέχεται τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἔστι τὸ ἐναντίον.”

6.9.27 | “Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ είς μάτην αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει· ἦν δ’ ἀν είς μάτην βουλευτικὸς, εἰ ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἐπραττε τὰ πραττόμενα ἀλλ’ ἐναργῶς φαίνεται τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὃ ἄνθρωπος μόνος τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔχων πλέον, τὸ μὴ δημοίως ἐκείνοις ταῖς φαντασίαις ἐπεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν τῶν προσπιπτόντων κριτὴν τὸν λόγον· ὃ χρώμενος, εἰ μὲν ἔξεταζόμενα τὰ φαντασθέντα οἴᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφάνη καὶ ἔστι, συγκατατίθεται τῇ φαντασίᾳ, καὶ οὕτω μέτεισιν αὐτά· εἰ δὲ ἄλλοια φαίνεται, ούκέτι ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς προλήψεως, ἐλέγχαντος αὐτὰ τοῦ λόγου, διὰ τὸ συμβουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.”

6.9.28 | “Βουλευόμεθα γοῦν περὶ μόνων ὧν δυνάμεθα πράττειν· εἰ δέ ποτε μὴ βουλευσάμενοι πράττοιμεν, πολλάκις μετανοοῦμεν καὶ μεμφόμεθα ἐαυτοῖς τῆς ἀβουλίας· ἀλλὰ κἀν ἄλλους ἴδωμεν ἀβούλως πράττοντας, ἐπικαλοῦμεν ὡς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀξιοῦμέν τε συμβούλοις τοῖσδε χρῆσθαι, ως ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὅντων τῶν τοιούτων.”

6.9.29 | “Οτι δὲ ψεῦδος ἦν αὐτῶν ὃ περὶ

made known. For example, moving parts of oneself, the turning of the neck, the stretching of a finger, lifting the eyelids, making a seated person stand, calming a moving person, silencing a speaking person, and one might find countless abilities that are receptive to opposites, which would not happen by fate; for those that come from fate do not accept what is opposite to them.

6.9.27 | But even the ability to deliberate is not without purpose for a person. It would be pointless to deliberate if one acted out of necessity. Clearly, among all other animals, only humans have this extra ability from nature: they do not just follow their instincts but have the power to judge what comes to them. Using this ability, if they examine the things they imagine and find the beginning of them, they agree with their imagination and thus engage with them. But if something else appears, they no longer stay with that initial thought, as they analyze it with reason, because they deliberate about these things.

6.9.28 | We deliberate only about the things we can do. And if we ever act without deliberating, we often regret it and blame ourselves for our lack of thought. But even when we see others acting thoughtlessly, we call them out for making mistakes, and we think they should use reason, since we ourselves are capable of such things.

6.9.29 | That the talk about fate was false is

εὶμαρμένης λόγος, ἵκανὸν μαρτύριον τὸ μηδ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς προστάτας αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις, καὶ γὰρ καὶ προτρέπειν καὶ διδάσκειν ἐπαγγέλλονται, καὶ μανθάνειν καὶ παιδεύεσθαι συμβουλεύουσιν, ἐπιτιμῶσί τε καὶ ἐπιπλήττουσι τοῖς οὐ τὰ προσήκοντα δρῶσιν, ὡς κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἴδιαν ἀμαρτάνουσιν.

6.9.30 | ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα καταλείπουσι, δι’ ὧν ἀξιοῦσι παιδεύεσθαι τοὺς νέους. ἐπαύσαντο δ’ ἀν τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φιλοτιμίας, εἰ προσέσχον δτι καὶ συγγνώμης ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἀμαρτάνοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐκουσίως πλημμελοῦντας κολάσεως, ὡς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δηλονότι τοῦ τε ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ τοῦ μὴ κειμένου.

6.9.31 | ὥστε καὶ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξ εἱμαρμένης ἀνάγκην, συνίστασθαι δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν τὸ αὐτεξούσιον· μετὰ τού πλεῖστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ μὴ ἔφ’ ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τύχης, ἔτερα ὄντα καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης λόγον, καθὼς προδέδεικται.”

6.9.32 | Τούτων ἡμῖν ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐπιτετμημένων, τῷ πολὺν εἶναι τὸν περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου λόγον ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς δόγμασιν· ὡς καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων συνέδραμον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι φωναὶ, τοῖς μὲν καθ’ ἡμᾶς θείοις γράμμασιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦσαι, τὰς δὲ περὶ εἱμαρμένης οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν χρησμῶδῶν θεῶν τὰς δόξας ψευδεῖς οὕσας ἀπελέγχουσαι) καὶ

shown clearly by the fact that even their own followers cannot be convinced by what they say. They claim to encourage and teach, and they advise learning and education. They also criticize and punish those who do not act appropriately, as if they are making mistakes by their own choice.

6.9.30 | But they also leave behind many writings, through which they believe young people should be educated. They would stop their pride in their words if they noticed that they grant forgiveness to those who make mistakes unintentionally, while they punish those who err intentionally, clearly showing that they recognize the difference between the two.

6.9.31 | So, according to them, the necessity of fate is also removed, and it is natural for us to have free will. Along with this, there are many things that are not in our control, just like those that are natural and those that come by chance, which are different from the reasoning of fate, as has been shown before.

6.9.32 | From these many writings, we have a strong discussion about free will in our teachings. The voices of philosophers support this, confirming the divine writings related to us, while also proving that the ideas about fate are false, not only according to many people but also according to the remarkable oracles of the gods. Some oracles have been rejected by the brave, while others have been opposed

τῶν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γενναίους χρησμοὺς κυνικώτερον ἀποταθέντων, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς φιλοσόφους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς γνωρίμων ἀντειρημένων, ὡρα καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀστρολογίας πρὸς τοὺς Χαλδαίζοντας τῶν τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην γοητείαν ὡς ἐν μέρει μαθήματος ἐπαγγελλομένων τοὺς λόγους ἐπισκέψασθαι· παραθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶνδε τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐξ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπ' ἄκρον δὲ τῆς Χαλδαιικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἑληλακότος. Βαρδησάνης ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἔταίρους διαλόγοις τάδε πῃ μνημονεύεται φάναι

by the wise philosophers who know them well. Now, I will also present evidence from a man of Syria, who has reached the highest level of Chaldean knowledge. His name is Bardisanes, and he is mentioned in discussions with his companions.

## Section 10

6.10.1 | “Κατὰ φύσιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται, ἀκμάζει, γεννᾷ, ἐσθίει, πίνει, κοιμᾶται, γηρά, ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τοῦτο παντὸς ἄνθρωπου καὶ παντός ἀλόγου ζώου.

6.10.1 | According to nature, a person is born, grows, gives birth, eats, drinks, sleeps, ages, and dies, and this is true for every human and every living animal.

6.10.2 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῷα ψυχικὰ ὄντα καὶ διόλου κατὰ συμπλοκὴν γεγενημένα διόλου σχεδὸν κατὰ φύσιν φέρεται. λέων σαρκοφαγεῖ καὶ ἀμύνεται ἀδικηθεὶς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες οἱ λέοντες σαρκοφαγοῦσι καὶ ἀμύνονται· καὶ ἀμνάδες χορτοφαγοῦσι καὶ κρεῶν οὐχ ἄπτονται καὶ ἀδικούμεναι οὐκ ἀμύνονται · καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος πάσης ἀμνάδος.

6.10.2 | And the other living beings are sentient creatures and are entirely formed by their connections, almost entirely according to nature. A lion eats flesh and defends itself when wronged, and for this reason, all lions eat flesh and defend themselves. But lambs are herbivores and do not touch meat, and when wronged, they do not defend themselves; and the same is true for every lamb.

6.10.3 | σκορπίος γῆν ἐσθίει καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας ἀδικεῖ, κέντρῳ ἰοβόλῳ πλήσσων· καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ κακία πάντων σκορπίων. μύρμηξ κατὰ φύσιν οἶδε χειμῶνος παρουσίαν καὶ δι' ὅλης θερείας κάμινων ἀποτίθεται ἐαυτῷ τροφάς · καὶ

6.10.3 | A scorpion eats the earth and harms those who have not wronged it, striking with its poisonous sting; and this same wickedness is true for all scorpions. An ant knows the coming of winter by nature and works hard all summer to store

όμοιώς πάντες μύρμηκες έργαξονται.

food for itself; and all ants work in the same way.

6.10.4 | μέλισσα μέλι γεωργεῖ, ἔξ οῦ καὶ τρέφεται· καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ γεωργία πάσαις μελίσσαις. καὶ ἦν πολλὰ εἴδη ἐκθέσθαι ήμιν τῶν ζώων, ἄτινα τῆς φύσεως μὴ δυνάμενα ἐκστῆναι πολὺν θαυμασμὸν παρασχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐδύνατο,

6.10.4 | A bee gathers honey, from which it also feeds; and this same gathering is true for all bees. And there were many kinds of animals that could have given you great wonder, which nature cannot easily explain.

6.10.5 | ἀλλ' αὐτάρκη ἡγησάμην ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσασθαι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα κατὰ τὴν κοινότητα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν κατὰ φύσιν δοθεῖσαν ἐκάστῳ ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἡδέως φέρεται, ἄνθρωποι δὲ μόνοι, τὸ ἔξαίρετον ἔχοντες τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτου προφερόμενον λόγον, κατὰ μὲν τὴν κοινότητα ἔπονται τῇ φύσει, ὡς προεῖπον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔξαίρετον οὐ κατὰ φύσιν πολιτεύονται.

6.10.5 | But I thought it sufficient to make the proof from what is nearby, that other animals are carried along by nature according to their common traits and differences, but humans alone, having the special gift of reason and the speech that comes from it, follow nature in their common traits, as I said before, but do not live according to nature in their special qualities.

6.10.6 | οὐδὲ γάρ μία βρῶσις ἢ τῶν ἀπάντων · ἄλλοι μὲν γάρ κατὰ τοὺς λέοντας τρέφονται, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀμνάδας, οὐχ ἐν ἔχοντες σχῆμα φορημάτων, οὐκ ἔθος ἐν, οὐχ εἰς νόμος πολιτείας ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐ μία κίνησις ἐπιθυμίας τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔκαστος τῶν ἄνθρωπων κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν θέλησιν αἱρεῖται ἐαυτῷ βίον, τὸν πλησίον μὴ μιμούμενος, πλὴν ἐν οἷς βούλεται.

6.10.6 | For there is not one kind of food for all; some are fed according to lions, while others are fed according to lambs, having no single form of living, no one custom, no law of society among them, and no one desire for things. But each person chooses a life for themselves according to their own wishes, not imitating their neighbor, except in what they want.

6.10.7 | τὸ γάρ ἔλευθερον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὑπόκειται δουλείᾳ, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐκῶν δουλεύσει, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἔλευθερίας αὐτοῦ ἔστι, τὸ δύνασθαι δουλεύειν ἐκόντα.

6.10.7 | For true freedom does not depend on slavery, and if someone willingly becomes a slave, this is still part of their freedom, the ability to choose to be a slave.

6.10.8 | πόσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀλαναίων, ὡς τὰ ἄγρια ζῷα, κρεοβοροῦσιν ἄρτου μὴ γευόμενοι, καὶ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν; ἄλλοι λοὶ κρεῶν οὐ γεύονται, ὡς τὰ ἥμερα ζῷα· ἄλλοι ἰχθυοφαγοῦσι μόνον· ἔτεροι δὲ ἰχθύων οὐ γεύονται, οὐδ' ἀν λιμώσσωσιν. οἱ μὲν ὑδροποτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ οἴνοποτοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ σικερατίζουσι.

6.10.8 | How many people, especially among the Alans, eat meat like wild animals, not tasting bread, and not because they lack it, but because they do not want it? Some do not taste meat at all, like tame animals; others eat only fish; while some do not even taste fish, even if they are starving. Some drink water, others drink wine, and some drink strong drinks.

6.10.9 | καὶ ἀπλῶς πολλὴ διαφορὰ βρωμάτων καὶ πομάτων ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, ποτῆτι, μέχρι καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ὄπωρῶν βρώσει διαφερόμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μὲν, ὡς σκορπίοι καὶ ὡς ἀσπίδες, μὴ ἀδικηθέντες ἀδικοῦσιν· οἵ δὲ, ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἀδικούμενοι ἀμύνονται· ἔτεροι δὲ ὡς λύκοι ἀρπάζουσι καὶ ὡς γαλαῖ κλέπτουσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ ὡς ἀμνάδες καὶ μηκάδες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοιοπαθῶν ἐλαύνονται καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι· καὶ οἵ μὲν λέγονται ἀγαθοὶ, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ, οἵ δὲ δίκαιοι.

6.10.9 | And there is a great difference in foods and drinks among people, even in the way they eat vegetables and fruits. But some, like scorpions and shields, do wrong without being wronged; others, like wild animals, defend themselves when they are wronged; some, like wolves, seize what they want and steal like jackals; while others, like lambs and kids, are pushed around by those similar to them and do not wrong those who wrong them. And some are called good, others bad, and some just.

6.10.10 | ὅθεν ἔστι νοεῖν μὴ πάντως κατὰ φύσιν ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν· ποίαν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐροῦμεν φύσιν;) ἀλλὰ πῆ μὲν φέρεται κατὰ φύσιν, πῆ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν. διὸ τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὸν ψόγον καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ἔχει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει τὴν ἀνεγκλησίαν οὐ κατὰ ἔλεος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγον.'

6.10.10 | Therefore, we must understand that a person is not always led by nature. For what do we call his nature? Some things come from nature, while others come from choice. That is why praise, blame, and punishment are based on choices, while what comes from nature is beyond fault, not because of mercy, but because of reason.

6.10.11 | Καὶ ἔξῆς φησι "Νόμους ἔθεντο διαφόρους οἵ ἀνθρωποι ἐν ἐκάστῃ χώρᾳ, τινὰς γεγραμμένους, τινὰς δὲ ἀγράφους· ἔξ

6.10.11 | And next he says, 'People have made different laws in each place, some written and some unwritten. From these, I

ῶν διηγήσομαι, ώς οἶδα καὶ ὡν μέμνημαι,  
ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀρχῆς.

will tell what I know and remember,  
starting from the beginning of the world.'

6.10.12 | νόμος ἔστι παρὰ Σήραις μηδένα φρονεύειν, μήτε πορνεύειν μήτε κλέπτειω μήτε ξόανα προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ χώρᾳ οὐ ναὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, οὐ γυναῖκα πορνι κήν, οὐ μοιχαλίδα ὄνομαζομένην, οὐ κλέπτην ἐλκόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην, οὐκ ἀνδροφόνον, οὐ πεφονευμένον.

6.10.12 | There is a law among the Scythians that no one should kill, commit adultery, steal, or worship statues. And in that great land, there is no temple to see, no woman called a prostitute, no adulteress, no thief being dragged to trial, no murderer, and no one who has been killed.

6.10.13 | οὐδενὸς γὰρ τὸ αὔτεξούσιον ἤναγκασεν ὁ τοῦ πυριλαμπέος Ἀρεος ἀστὴρ μεσουρανῶν ἄνδρα σιδήρῳ ἀνελεῖν, οὐ Κύπρις σὺν Ἀρει τυχοῦσα ἀλλοτρίᾳ γυναικὶ μιγῆναι τινα παρ' ἐκείνοις, πάντως πάσῃ ἡμέρᾳ μεσουρανοῦντος τοῦ Ἀρεος, καὶ πάσῃ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ γεννωμένων τῶν Σηρῶν.

6.10.13 | For no one was forced by the shining star of war to kill a man with iron, nor did the goddess of love, together with Ares, mix with a foreign woman among them, while the star of Ares was in the middle of the sky, and at every hour and every day, the Scythians were being born.

6.10.14 | παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Βάκτροις εἰσὶ χιλιάδες πολλαὶ τῶν λεγομένων Βραχμάνων, οἵτινες κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν προγόνων καὶ νόμων οὕτε φονεύουσιν οὕτε ξόανα σέβονται, οὐκ ἐμψύχου γεύονται, οὐ μεθύσκονταί ποτε, οἴνου καὶ σίκερος μὴ γευόμενοι, οὐ κακίᾳ τινὶ κοινωνοῦσι προσέχοντες τῷ θεῷ, τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν φονευόντων καὶ ἐταιρευόσι τοιναὶ μεθυσκομένων καὶ σεβομένων ξόανα, καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν καθ' εἰμαρμένην φερομένων.

6.10.14 | Among the Indians and Bactrians, there are many thousands of those called Brahmins, who, according to the traditions of their ancestors and laws, neither kill nor worship statues, do not taste living beings, and never get drunk, not tasting wine or strong drink. They do not share in any evil, paying attention to the god, while the other Indians kill, engage in relationships, get drunk, and worship statues, and almost everything happens according to fate.

6.10.15 | ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κλίματι τῆς Ἰνδίας φυλὴ τις Ἰνδῶν, οἵτινες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας ξένους ἀγρεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐσθίουσι· καὶ οὕτε οἱ ἀγαθοποιοὶ τῶν ἀστρων κεκωλύκασι τούτους μὴ

6.10.15 | There is in the same region of India a tribe of Indians who hunt and sacrifice any foreigners that fall into their hands, and neither the good stars have prevented them from killing or committing

μιαιφονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀθεμιτογαμεῖν, οὕτε οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἡνάγκασαν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας κακουργεῖν.

6.10.16 | παρὰ Πέρσαις νόμος ἦν γαμεῖν τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς καὶ τὰς μητέρας, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ κλίματι ἐκείνῳ τούτους τοὺς ἀνοσίους γάμους οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν τῆς Περσίδος ἔξεδήμησαν, οἵτινες καλοῦνται Μαγουσαῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀθεμιστίαν διαπράττονται, παραδιδόντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἔθη τοῖς τέκνοις κατὰ διαδοχήν.

6.10.17 | ἔξ ᾧ εἰσι μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ ἐν Μηδίᾳ καὶ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ καὶ ἐν Γαλατίᾳ. καὶ οὐ δήπου Κύπρις ἐν ὄροις καὶ οἴκοις Κρόνου, σὺν Κρόνῳ ἐφομαρτοῦντος τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πάντων γενέσειν εὐρίσκετο.

6.10.18 | παρὰ Γήλοις νόμος ἐστὶ τὰς γυναῖκας γεωργεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργατικὰ πράσσειν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν οἵς ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, μήτε καλεῖσθαι τινα μοιχαλίδα, τῷ πάσας ἐργατικὰς εἶναι, καὶ πᾶσι κοινωνεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ξένοις.

6.10.19 | καὶ οὕτε μυρίζονται Γήλισσαι γυναῖκες οὕθ' ἴματια βαπτὰ φοροῦσιν, ἀνυπόδητοι δέ εἰσι πᾶσαι, καίτοι τῶν Γήλων ἀνδρῶν κοσμουμένων ἐν φορήμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ἐν διαφόροις χρώμασι, καὶ χρυσοφορούντων καὶ μυριζομένων, καὶ οὐ κατά τινα ἄλλην μαλακίαν, εἰσὶ γάρ

unlawful marriages, nor have the bad ones forced the Brahmins to do evil.

6.10.16 | Among the Persians, there was a law to marry daughters, sisters, and mothers. And not only in that land and region did the Persians practice these impious marriages, but also those of them who traveled outside Persia, who are called Magi, commit the same wrongdoing, passing down the same laws and customs to their children by inheritance.

6.10.17 | From these, there are still many in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia. And surely, Cyprus was found within the borders and homes of Cronus, along with Cronus being associated with Ares, in the origins of all things.

6.10.18 | Among the Gauls, there is a law for women to farm, build, and do all kinds of work. They can share whatever they want and cannot be blamed by men, nor can anyone be called an adulteress, since they all are workers and share with everyone, especially with strangers.

6.10.19 | And the women of the Gauls do not wear perfume nor do they wear dyed garments; all of them are barefoot. Meanwhile, the men of the Gauls are dressed in soft clothing of various colors, wearing gold and smelling sweet, but they are not soft in any other way, for they are

άνδρεῖοι καὶ πολεμικώτατοι καὶ  
κυνηγετικώτατοι.

6.10.20 | καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν Γήλων  
γυναῖκες ἔλαχον ἐν Αἴγοκέρωτι ἢ ἐν  
Ὕδρηχόῳ κακοδαιμονοῦσαν τὴν Κύπριν,  
οὐδ’ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν πάντες ἔχουσιν ἐν  
Κριῷ σὺν Ἀρεὶ τὴν Παφίνην, ἐνθα τοὺς  
ἀνδρείους καὶ σπατάλους οἱ Χαλδαῖζοντες  
λέγουσι.

6.10.21 | παρὰ Βάκτροις αἱ γυναῖκες παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
κόσμῳ διαφέροντι καὶ παντὶ μύρῳ  
χρῶνται, ὑπηρετούμεναι ὑπὸ παιδίσκων  
καὶ νεανίσκων μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες,  
προερχόμεναι μετὰ πολλῆς φραντασίας  
ἔφιπποι, κοσμοῦσαι πολλῷ χρυσῷ καὶ  
λίθοις βαρυτίμοις τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ οὐ  
σωφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀδιαφόρως κοινωνοῦσιν  
τοῖς δούλοις καὶ τοῖς ξένοις, ἀδειαν ἔχουσαι  
τοιαύτην, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μὴ  
έγκαλούμεναι σχεδὸν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν.

6.10.22 | καὶ οὐ πάντως ἐν πάσῃ γενέσει  
τῶν ἐν Βακτρίᾳ γυναικῶν μεσουρανεῖ μετὰ  
Διὸς καὶ Ἀρεος ἐν ἴδιοις ὅροις ἢ φιλόγελως  
Ἀφροδίτη. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ὀσροηνῇ  
οὐ μόνον αἱ μοιχαλίδες φονεύονται, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ αἱ ὑποπτευόμεναι οὐκ ἀφίενται  
ἀτιμώρητοι.

6.10.23 | παρὰ Πάρθοις καὶ Ἀρμενίοις οἱ  
φονεῖς ἀναιροῦνται ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν  
δικαστῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ’ αἷμα τῶν  
φονευθέντων. καὶ ἔαν τις φονεύσῃ γυναῖκα  
αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἄτεκνον, ἢ ἀδελφὴν  
ἄγαμον, ἢ υἱὸν, ἢ θυγατέρα, οὐκ ἔγκαλεῖται  
ὑπό του, νόμου τοιούτου ὑπάρχοντος ἐν

brave, very warlike, and very skilled in  
hunting.

6.10.20 | And not all the women of the  
Gauls are found in Capricorn or in  
Aquarius, suffering under the influence of  
Cyprus, nor do all their men have the  
Paphian goddess in Aries with Ares, where  
the Chaldeans say the brave and daring  
ones are.

6.10.21 | Among the Bactrians, the women  
use all kinds of adornment and every kind  
of perfume, being served by young boys  
and young men more than the men  
themselves. They come out riding horses  
with much show, decorating their horses  
with a lot of gold and very valuable stones,  
and they are not modest, but carelessly  
share with slaves and strangers, having  
such freedom, and they are almost in  
control of the men without being blamed.

6.10.22 | And not always in every  
generation of the women in Bactria does  
the laughing Aphrodite shine with Zeus and  
Ares in her own limits. But in Arabia and  
Osroene, not only do the adulteresses get  
killed, but even those suspected are not left  
unpunished.

6.10.23 | Among the Parthians and  
Armenians, murderers are sometimes  
killed by the judges, and sometimes by the  
relatives of the murdered. And if someone  
kills his own wife, or a childless brother, or  
an unmarried sister, or a son, or a daughter,  
he is not accused under such a law that

ταῖς χώραις ἔκείναις· παρ' Ἔλλησι δὲ καὶ  
‘Ρωμαίοις μείζονι τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβάλλονται οἱ  
τῶν συγγενῶν φονευταί.

exists in those lands. But among the Greeks and Romans, murderers of relatives face a greater punishment.

6.10.24 | ἐν Ἀτροις ὁ κλέπτων τι ὄβολοῦ  
ἀξιον λιθάζεται, παρὰ Βάκτροις ὁ ὀλίγα  
κλέπτων ἐμπτύεται, παρὰ ‘Ρωμαίοις  
πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται· τοιοῦτοι γάρ οἱ νόμοι.

6.10.24 | In Atropatene, a thief who steals something worth a single obol is stoned. Among the Bactrians, a thief who steals a little is spat upon. Among the Romans, he is beaten with rods; such are their laws.

6.10.25 | ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι  
τοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς, ὁ  
λοιδορούμενος ὡς φονεὺς, ἢ ὡς κλέπτης,  
οὐ πάνυ ἀγανακτεῖ, ὁ δὲ ὡς ἀρσενοκοίτης  
λοιδορούμενος ἐσαυτὸν ἐκδικεῖ μέχρι καὶ  
φόνου· παρ' Ἔλλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ  
έρωμένους ἔχοντες οὐ ψέγονται.

6.10.25 | From the Euphrates River to the Ocean, towards the east, the one insulted as a murderer or as a thief does not get very angry, but the one insulted as a man who sleeps with men takes revenge on himself even to the point of murder. Among the Greeks, however, even the wise do not blame those who have lovers.

6.10.26 | ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνατολῇ ὑβριζόμενοι,  
ἐὰν γνωσθῶσιν, ὑπὸ ἀδελφῶν, ἢ πατέρων,  
καὶ συγγενῶν φονεύονται, καὶ ταφῆς  
προδίλου οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται.

6.10.26 | In the same east, if those who are insulted are recognized, they are killed by their brothers, or fathers, and relatives, and they are not given a proper burial.

6.10.27 | παρὰ δὲ Γάλλοις οἵ νέοι  
γαμοῦνται μετὰ παρρησίας, οὐ ψόγον  
τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
νόμον. καὶ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν  
Γαλλίᾳ οὕτως ἀθέως ὑβριζομένους λαχεῖν  
ἐν ταῖς γενέσεσι Φωσφόρον μεθ' Ἐρμοῦ ἐν  
οἴκοις Κρόνου καὶ ὄροις Ἄρεος δύνοντα.

6.10.27 | Among the Gauls, young men marry openly, not considering this a shame because of their law. And it is not possible for all those in Gaul who are insulted in this way to receive in their generations the light-bringer with Hermes in the homes of Cronus and at the boundaries of Ares.

6.10.28 | ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ πολλοὶ ἄνδρες μίαν  
γυναῖκα ἔχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθίᾳ πολλαὶ  
γυναῖκες ἔνα ἄνδρα, καὶ πᾶσαι  
σωφρονοῦσι πειθόμεναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν

6.10.28 | In Britain, many men have one wife, but in Parthia, many women have one man, and all are sensible, obeying him according to the law.

νόμον.

6.10.29 | αῖ δὲ Άμαζόνες πάσαι ἄνδρας οὐκ  
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἅπαξ τοῦ  
ἔτους περὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἴσημερίαν  
ὑπερβαίνουσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους  
κοινωνοῦσι τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, ἐορτήν  
τινα ταύτην ἡγουμένοις· ἔξ ὕπον  
συλλαμβάνουσαι ὑποστρέφουσι, καὶ  
ἀναγκαίως ἐν ἐνὶ καιρῷ κυίσκουσι κατὰ  
τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν  
γεννωμένους ἄρρενας ρίπτουσι, τὰς δὲ  
θηλείας ἀνατρέφουσι· πολεμικάί τέ εἰσι,  
καὶ γυμνασίων προνοούμεναι.

6.10.29 | Indeed, the Amazons do not have men, but like wild animals, once a year around the spring equinox, they cross their own borders to join with those nearby, considering this a kind of festival. From these meetings, they become pregnant and, as nature requires, they give birth at a certain time. They throw away the male babies but raise the female ones. They are warriors and take care to train in physical exercises.

6.10.30 | Ἐρμῆς μετὰ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν οἴκοις  
Ἐρμοῦ ποιεῖ πλάστας καὶ ξωγράφους καὶ  
τραπεζίτας, ἐν οἴκοις δὲ Ἀφροδίτης  
μυρεψοὺς, ἥ φωνασκοὺς, καὶ ὑποκριτὰς  
ποιημάτων.

6.10.30 | Hermes makes statues and paintings and table decorations in the homes of Hermes, while in the homes of Aphrodite, there are perfume makers, singers, and actors of poems.

6.10.31 | καὶ παρὰ Ταηνοῖς καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς  
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ Λιβύῃ, καὶ παρὰ  
Μαύροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παρὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ  
Ὥκεανοῦ Νομάσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔξωτέρᾳ  
Γερμανίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ Σαρματίᾳ, καὶ  
ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξ ἀρκτικῶν  
μερῶν τού Πόντου ἔθνεσι, καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ  
Ἀλανίᾳ καὶ Αλβανίᾳ καὶ Ὄτηνῃ καὶ Σαυνίᾳ  
καὶ ἐν Χρυσῇ οὐκ ἔστιν ιδεῖν οὐ τραπεζίτην,  
οὐ πλάστην, οὐ ςωγράφον, οὐκ  
ἀρχιτέκτονα, οὐ γεωμέτρην, οὐ φώνασκον,  
οὐχ ὑποκριτὴν ποιημάτων ἀλλ' ἔστερηται ὁ  
τῆς τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης  
ἐνεργείας τρόπος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τούτῳ  
τῆς οἰκουμένης.

6.10.31 | And among the Taenoi, the Saracens, in Upper Libya, among the Moors, and those near the mouth of the Ocean, in Outer Germania, in Upper Sarmatia, in Scythia, and in all the nations from the northern parts of the sea, and throughout all Alania, Albania, Othena, and Saunia, there is no one to see who makes tables, statues, paintings, architects, surveyors, singers, or actors of poems. The way of the work of Hermes and Aphrodite is lacking in all this part of the world.

6.10.32 | οἱ Μῆδοι πάντες τοῖς μετὰ

6.10.32 | The Medes, all of them, feed their

σπουδῆς τρεφομένοις κυσὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς  
ἔτι ἐμπνέοντας παραβάλλουσι, καὶ οὐ  
πάντες σὸν τῇ μήνῃ τὸν Ἀρεα ἐφημερινῆς  
γενέσεως ἐν Καρκίνῳ ὑπὸ γῆν ἔχουσιν.

6.10.33 | Ίνδοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καίουσι, μεθ'  
ῶν συγκαίουσιν ἐκούσας τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ  
οὐ δήπου πᾶσαι αἱ καιόμεναι ζῶσαι Ίνδῶν  
γυναῖκες ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἐπὶ νυκτερινῆς  
γενέσεως σὸν Ἀρει τὸν ἥλιον ἐν Λέοντι  
δρίοις Ἀρεοῖς.

6.10.34 | Γερμανῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀγχονιμαίω  
μόρῳ ἀποθνήσκουσι, καὶ οὐ πάντως τὸ  
πλῆθος τῶν Γερμανῶν τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὴν  
ῷραν μεσολαβουμένας ὑπὸ Κρόνου καὶ  
Ἀρεος ἔχει.

6.10.35 | παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ πάσῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ  
παντὶ τρόπῳ τῆς γενέσεως γεννῶνται  
ἄνθρωποι· κρατεῖ δὲ ἐν ἐκάστῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων νόμος καὶ ἔθος διὰ τὸ  
αύτεξούσιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ οὐκ  
ἀναγκάζει ἡ γένεσις τοὺς Σῆρας μὴ  
θέλοντας φονεύειν, ἢ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας  
κρεοφαγεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀθεμίτως μὴ  
γαμεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Ίνδοὺς μὴ καίεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς  
Μήδους μὴ ἐσθίεσθαι ὑπὸ κυνῶν, ἢ τοὺς  
Πάρθους μὴ πολυγαμεῖν, ἢ τὰς ἐν τῇ  
Μεσοποταμίᾳ γυναῖκας μὴ σωφρονεῖν, ἢ  
τοὺς Ἑλληνας μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι γυμνοῖς τοῖς  
σώμασιν, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κρατεῖν, ἢ  
τοὺς Γάλλους μὴ γαμεῖσθαι, ἢ τὰ ἄλλα  
βάρβαρα ἔθνη ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
λεγομέναις Μούσαις κοινωνεῖν· ἀλλ', ὡς  
προεῖπον, ἔκαστον ἔθνος καὶ ἔκαστος τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων χρῆται τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὡς  
βούλεται καὶ ὅτε βούλεται, καὶ δουλεύει τῇ  
γενέσει καὶ τῇ φύσει δι' ἣν περίκειται

dogs with the dead who are still breathing,  
and not all of them have Ares, the god of  
war, born from the earth in Carcino,  
together with the moon.

6.10.33 | The Indians burn their dead, and  
with them, they burn the living women  
willingly. And surely not all the women  
who are burned alive have Ares, the god of  
war, under the earth during the night, along  
with the sun in the boundaries of Leo.

6.10.34 | Most of the Germans die by  
hanging, and not all of the German people  
have the moon and the hour intervening  
under Cronus and Ares.

6.10.35 | People are born in every nation,  
on every day, and in every way of  
generation. In each part of humanity, law  
and custom hold power because of the free  
will of people. And birth does not force the  
Scythians to kill unwillingly, or the  
Brahmins to eat meat, or the Persians to  
marry unlawfully, or the Indians to be  
burned, or the Medes to be eaten by dogs,  
or the Parthians to have many wives, or the  
women in Mesopotamia to be modest, or  
the Greeks not to exercise their bodies  
naked, or the Romans not to be strong, or  
the Gauls not to marry, or the other  
barbarian nations to share in what the  
Greeks call the Muses. But, as I said before,  
each nation and each person uses their own  
freedom as they wish and when they wish,  
and they are bound by birth and nature,  
which surround their bodies, some as they

σάρκα, πῃ μὲν ώς βούλεται, πῃ δὲ ώς μὴ βούλεται.

6.10.36 | πανταχῇ γὰρ καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει είσὶ πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἑρωμένοι καὶ νοσοῦντες, ἔκαστος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ κλήρους." "Ταῦτα, ὡς Βαρδησάνη, ἄκρως ἡμᾶς πέπεικε, φημὶ αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἀστρονόμοι φασὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην μεμερίσθαι εἰς ἑπτὰ κλίματα, καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκάστου κλίματος ἵνα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων · καὶ τοὺς διαφόρους νόμους μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τεθεικέναι ἐαυτοῖς. ἀλλ' ἐκάστου ἄρχοντος πλεονάζειν τὸ θέλημα ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ χώρᾳ, δὸν νόμον νενομίκασιν οἱ κρατούμενοι"

6.10.37 | "Απεκρίνατο, οὐκ ἀληθῆς ἡ διάκρισις αὕτη, ὡς Φίλιππε. εἴ γὰρ καὶ διήρηται ἡ οἰκουμένη εἰς μέρη ἑπτὰ, ἀλλ' οὖν γε ἐν μιᾷ μερίδι εὐρίσκομεν πολλὰς διαφορὰς νόμων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑπτὰ νόμοι είσὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας, οὐδὲ δώδεκα κατὰ τὰ ζώδια, οὐδὲ τριάκοντα ἔξι κατὰ τοὺς δεκανοὺς, ἀλλὰ μυρίοι.

6.10.38 | μνημονεύειν τε ὁφείλετε ὅν προεῖπον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ κλίματι καὶ ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰνδῶν είσιν ἀωθρωποφάγοι Ἰνδοὶ, καί είσιν οἱ ἐμψύχων ἀπεχόμενοι· καὶ ὅτι οἱ Μαγουσαῖοι οὐκ ἐν Πέρσιδι μόνῃ τὰς θυγατέρας γαμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει, ὅπου ἂν οἰκήσωσι, τοὺς τῶν προγόνων φυλάσσοντες νόμους καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτῶν τὰς τελετάς.

6.10.39 | ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη

wish, and some as they do not wish.

6.10.36 | For everywhere and in every nation, there are rich and poor, rulers and the ruled, strong and sick, each according to their own lot of birth." "These things, O Bardisane, have greatly convinced us, I say to him. The astronomers say that this earth is divided into seven regions, and that each region is ruled by one of the seven stars; and that the different laws are not set by the people themselves. But the will of each ruler prevails in their own land, according to the laws that those in power have established.

6.10.37 | He answered, 'This distinction is not true, O Philip. For even if the world is divided into seven parts, we still find many differences in laws within one part. There are not just seven laws according to the seven stars, nor twelve according to the zodiac, nor thirty-six according to the decans, but countless laws.'

6.10.38 | You should remember what I have said, that even in one region and in one land of the Indians, there are man-eating Indians, and there are those who stay away from living beings. And that the Magusaeans do not only marry their daughters in Persia, but also in every nation, wherever they may live, keeping the laws of their ancestors and the rituals of their mysteries.

6.10.39 | But we have also mentioned many

κατελέξαμεν, τά τε ὅντα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ δύσει, καὶ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἄρκτῳ, τουτέστιν ἐν διαφόροις κλίμασι, μὴ μετέχοντα Ἐρμαικῆς ἐπιστήμης.

6.10.40 | πόσοι, νομίζετε, ἄνδρες σοφοὶ παρήγαγον τοὺς κακῶς κειμένους νόμους; πόσοι δὲ νόμοι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας κατελύθησαν; πόσοι βασιλεῖς κρατήσαντες ἔθνῶν παρήγαγον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν νόμους καὶ ἔθεντο τοὺς ἰδίους; καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀστέρων ἀπώλεσε τὸ ἕδιον κλίμα.

6.10.41 | χθὲς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀραβίας κρατήσαντες τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων νόμους ἥλλαξαν· ἔπειται γὰρ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον πεῖσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπίστους ἐκθήσομαι ὑμῖν.

6.10.42 | Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες οἱ διὰ Μώσεως δεξάμενοι νόμον τοὺς γεννωμένους ἀρρενας παῖδας ἐν τῇ ὄγδῃ ἡμέρᾳ αἰμάσσουσι περιτέμνοντες, οὐκ ἀστέρος παρουσίαν ἀναμένοντες, οὐ κλίματος ἔξουσίαν ἐντρεπόμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἀγόμενοι ἀλλ' εἴτε ἐν Συρίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν, εἴτε ἐν Γαλλίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ἢ ἐν Παρθίᾳ, ἢ ἀνῶσι, τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν.

6.10.43 | ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ γένεσιν· οὐ γὰρ δύνανται πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μίαν γένεσιν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν ἐπτὰ πάντες ὅπου ἀνῶσιν ἀργοῦσιν ἐκ παντὸς ἔργου, καὶ οὕτε διδεύουσιν οὕτε πυρὶ χρῶνται, οὕτε ἀναγκάζει ἡ γένεσις Ἰουδαῖον οὐ κτίσαι οἶκον, οὐ καταλῦσαι, οὐκ ἐργάσασθαι, οὐ πωλῆσαι, οὐκ

barbarian nations, those that exist in the south and west, as well as in the east and north, that is, in different regions, not sharing in the knowledge of Hermes.

6.10.40 | How many, do you think, wise men have created the badly made laws? How many laws have been destroyed by confusion? How many kings, ruling over nations, have created the laws before them and set their own? And none of the stars has lost its own region.

6.10.41 | Yesterday, the Romans, having control over Arabia, changed the laws of the barbarians; for free will follows free will. I will show you what can persuade even the unbelievers.

6.10.42 | All the Jews who accept the law through Moses circumcise the male children on the eighth day, not waiting for the presence of a star, not fearing the authority of the region, and not being led by the law of a foreign land. Whether they are in Syria, or in Gaul, or in Italy, or in Greece, or in Parthia, wherever they are, they do this.

6.10.43 | This is not according to their kind; for not all Jews can have one kind. But for seven days, wherever they are, they rest from all work, and they neither travel nor use fire. The nature of being a Jew does not force them to build a house, to tear one down, to work, to sell, or to buy on the days of the Sabbath, even though on the same

άγοράσαι ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ σαββάτου,  
καίτοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ γεννώντων  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ γεννωμένων καὶ νοσούντων  
καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων.

6.10.44 | ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκέτι ἔστι τοῦ  
αὐτεξουσίου. ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
Οσροηνῇ ἀπεκόπτοντο πολλοὶ τῇ Πέᾳ, καὶ  
ἐν τούτῳ μιᾶ ῥοπῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος  
ἔκελευσε τῶν ἀποκοπτομένων τὰ αἰδοῖα  
ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκ τότε  
οὐδεὶς ἀπεκόψατο ἐν τῇ Οσροηνῇ.

6.10.45 | τί δὲ ἐροῦμεν περὶ τῆς τῶν  
Χριστιανῶν αἱρέσεως, ἡς ἡμεῖς οἱ δοξασταὶ  
πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ἀνέστημεν  
κλίμασιν, ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει καὶ κλίματι, οἵτινες  
πολλοὶ ὄντες ἐνὶ ὄνδματι κεκλήμεθα;

6.10.46 | καὶ οὕτε οὗτοι ἐν Παρθίᾳ Χριστιανοὶ  
πολυγαμόῦσι, Πάρθοι τυγχάνοντες, οὕθ' οἵ  
ἐν Μηδίᾳ κυσὶ προτιθέασι τοὺς νεκροὺς,  
οὐχ οἱ ἐν Περσίδι γαμοῦσι τὰς θυγατέρας  
αὐτῶν, Πέρσαι ὄντες, παρὰ Βάκτροις καὶ  
Γήλοις φθείρουσι τοὺς γάμους, οὐχ οἱ ἐν  
Αἴγυπτῳ θρησκεύουσι τὸν Ἀπιν ἢ τὸν κύνα  
ἢ τὸν τράγον ἢ αἴλουρον, ἀλλ' ὅπου εἰσὶν,  
οὕτε ὑπὸ τῶν κρκῶς κειμένων νόμων καὶ  
ἐθῶν νικῶνται οὕθ' ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχων  
πρυτανευομένη γένεσις αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζει  
τοῖς ἀπειρημένοις κακοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
διδασκάλου αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι, νόσω δὲ καὶ  
πενίᾳ καὶ πάθεσι καὶ ταῖς νομιζομέναις  
ἀτιμίαις ὑπόκεινται.

6.10.47 | ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐλεύθερος ἡμῶν  
ἀνθρωπος δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται, καν  
ἀναγκασθῆ ἀνθίσταται τοῖς ἀναγάξουσιν,

day, Jews are being born, giving birth,  
getting sick, and dying.

6.10.44 | For this is no longer about free  
will. In Syria and in Osroene, many were  
being circumcised by the river, and at that  
moment, King Abgar ordered the genitals  
and hands of those being circumcised to be  
cut off, and since then, no one has been  
circumcised in Osroene.

6.10.45 | What shall we say about the belief  
of the Christians, of which we are many  
who are honored and have risen in  
different regions, in every nation and place,  
who are many and are called by one name?

6.10.46 | And neither do the Christians in  
Parthia practice polygamy, being Parthians,  
nor do those in Media offer dogs to the  
dead, nor do the Persians marry their  
daughters, being Persians, nor do those in  
Bactria and Gela destroy marriages, nor do  
those in Egypt worship Apis or the dog or  
the goat or the cat. But wherever they are,  
they are not overcome by the strict laws  
and customs, nor are they forced by the  
ruling authorities to engage in the wicked  
practices taught by their teacher, but they  
are subject to sickness, poverty, suffering,  
and the dishonors that are commonly  
accepted.

6.10.47 | For just as our free man is not  
forced to be a slave, and if he is forced, he  
resists those who compel him, so too can

ούτως ούδε ὁ φαινόμενος ἡμῶν δοῦλος  
ἄνθρωπος τῆς ὑποταγῆς ἐκφεύγειν ḥαδίως  
δύναται.

6.10.48 | εἰ γὰρ πάντα ἔδυνάμεθα, ἡμεῖς ἀν  
ἡμεν τὸ πᾶν, ὥστε εἰ μηδὲν ἔδυνάμεθα,  
ἄλλων ἡμεν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὄργανα, καὶ οὐχ  
ἐαυτῶν. Θεοῦ δ' ἐπινεύσαντος πάντα<sup>1</sup>  
δυνατὰ καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστα · τῇ γὰρ ἐκείνου  
βουλήσει οὐδὲν ἀντιστῆναι δύναται. καὶ  
γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθίστασθαι, αὐτοῦ  
χρηστοῦ ὄντος, καὶ συγχωροῦντος ἐκάστη<sup>2</sup>  
φύσει ἔχειν τὴν ἴδιότητα καὶ τὸ  
αὐτεξούσιον τοῦ θελήματος, ἀνθίσταται."

6.10.49 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Σύρος. ἐνὸς δὲ ἔτι  
μνησθεὶς περιγράψω τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν γραμμάτων  
αὐταρκῶς παρατέθειται, λείπει δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ  
τῶν ιερῶν γραμμάτων, ὃν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα  
ἡμῖν δεῖ εἰς τὴν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς  
Ἀποδείξεως Προπαρασκευὴν, εὗ ἀν ἔχοι καὶ  
τάδε ἐποπτεῦσαι, ὡς ἀν κατὰ μηδὲν ὁ  
λόγος ἔλλείποι τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα  
θεωρουμένων.

6.10.50 | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τάδε σοι σαφῆ  
καταστήσω. οὐ μὴν οἶός τ' ἀν εἴης γυμνῶν  
ἐπαίειν τῶν ιερῶν λογίων τὰ πολλὰ  
συνεσκιασμένως προενηγμένων. διόπερ  
ἔγω σοι τὸν ἐρμηνέα τούτων  
παραστήσομαι· σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ τοῖς κρείττοσι  
βασκαίνεις, οἶσθά που τὸν ἄνδρα, Χριστοῦ  
μὲν θιάσοις εἰσέτι δεῦρο χορεύοντα δι' ὃν  
ἀπολέλοιπε πόνων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς  
ἀγνῶτα δι' ἥν ἐπιδέδεικται καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
τῶνδε μαθήματα φιλοτιμίαν. σκέψαι δ' οὖν  
ὅσα τε καὶ ὡποῖα ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν

our seeming slave easily escape from  
submission.

6.10.48 | For if we could do everything, we  
would be everything, so that if we could do  
nothing, we would be the tools of others, as  
I said before, and not our own. But with the  
will of God, everything is possible and  
unhindered; for nothing can resist His will.  
And even those things that seem to resist,  
when He is good and allows each nature to  
have its own identity and free will, they  
resist.

6.10.49 | Thus much also about the Syrian.  
But since I have mentioned one more, I will  
write about the matter. For while the things  
from outside writings are presented  
sufficiently, the things from the sacred  
writings are lacking, of which we especially  
need for the preparation of the Evangelical  
Proof. It would be good to also examine  
these, so that the discussion does not leave  
out anything considered regarding the  
problem.

6.10.50 | From this, I will clearly present  
these things to you. Indeed, it is not  
possible for you to walk through the sacred  
teachings that have been mostly obscured.  
Therefore, I will introduce you to the  
interpreter of these matters; and you, if you  
do not envy those who are better, surely  
know the man, who dances here still among  
the followers of Christ, for whom he has left  
behind his labors, and certainly not to  
those outside who are unknown for which  
he has shown and has ambition towards

Ἐξηγητικοῖς θαυμάσιος Ὀριγένης περὶ τῆς προκειμένης ὑποθέσεως διείληφε, καὶ ὅπως ἐφώδευσε τὸν περὶ εἰμαρμένης λόγον.

these teachings. Consider then how many and what wonderful things Origen has explained in his Commentaries on Genesis regarding the proposed subject, and how he has illuminated the discussion about fate.

## Section 11

6.11.1 | "Περὶ τοῦ εἰς σημεῖα γεγονέναι τοὺς φωστήρας, οὐκ ἄλλους ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀστρων τυγχάνοντας, τῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἔστι διαλαβεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἐθνῶν τῶν τῆς Χριστοῦ πίστεως ἀλλοτρίων σφαλλομένων εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης τόπον, τῇ τῶν καλουμένων πλανωμένων ἀστέρων ἐπιπλοκῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ζωδιακῷ πάντων αὐτοῖς νομιζομένων συμβαίνειν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν περὶ ἔκαστον ἀνθρώπου, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀλόγων ζώων, ἀλλὰ γάρ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν πεπιστευκέναι ὑπολαμβανομένων περισπωμένων μὴ ἄρα ἡνάγκασται τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα καὶ ἀμήχανον ἄλλως γενέσθαι ἢ ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες κατὰ διαφόρους σχηματισμοὺς ἐπιτελοῦσιν.

6.11.1 | About the lights that have come to be as signs, not just the sun, moon, and stars, which are very necessary to understand, not only for the nations that are strangers to the faith of Christ, but also for those who fall into the place concerning fate, due to the influence of the so-called wandering stars on those believed to be in the zodiac, affecting both those on earth and each individual person, perhaps even irrational animals. But many who believe may not be forced by the matters of humans, and it is impossible for them to happen in any other way than as the stars complete their various shapes.

6.11.2 | ἔπειται δὲ τοῖς ταῦτα δογματίζουσιν ἐξ ὅλων τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρεῖν· διόπερ καὶ ἔπαινον καὶ ψόγον, καὶ πράξεις ἀποδέκτας πάλιν τε αὖ ψεκτάς.

6.11.2 | Next, for those who teach these things, it is up to us to reject them; therefore, there is both praise and blame, and actions that are acceptable and again those that are to be criticized.

6.11.3 | ἄπερ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὰ τῆς κεκηρυγμένης τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσεως οἴχεται, καὶ ἀπειλαὶ πρὸς τοὺς ημαριηχότας, ὡς κολασθησομένους· τιμαί τε αὖ πρὸς τοὺς τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκότας καὶ μακαριότητες· οὐδὲν γάρ ἔτι τούτων

6.11.3 | If this is the case, the matters of God's declared judgment are hidden, and threats are directed at those who are disobedient, as if they will be punished. There are also honors for those who have given themselves to those who are better

εύλογως ἔσται γενόμενον.

and blessings; for nothing of these will reasonably come to be anymore.

6.11.4 | καὶ εἰ τὰ ἀκόλουθά τις ἐαυτῷ ἐφ' οῖς δογματίζει βλέποι, καὶ ἡ πίστις ἔσται ματαία, ἢ τε Χριστοῦ ἐπιδημία οὐδὲν ἀνύουσα, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν οἰκονομία, κάματοί τε ἀποστόλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ συστῆσαι τὰς διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας·

6.11.4 | And if someone looks at the things that follow according to what they teach, then faith will be in vain, and the presence of Christ will achieve nothing, and all the work through the law and the prophets, as well as the efforts of the apostles to establish the churches of God through Christ.

6.11.5 | εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ Χριστὸς, κατὰ τοὺς οὕτω τολμῶντας ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς τῶν ἀστρων κινήσεως τῷ γένεσιν ἀνειληφέναι γενόμενος, πάντα πεποιήκοι τε καὶ πάθοι, οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων αὐτῷ τὰς παραδόξους δυνάμεις δωρησαμένου. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀστέρων. οῖς ἀθέοις καὶ ἀσεβέσι τυγχάνουσι λόγοις ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τὸ τοὺς πιστεύοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἀγομένους πιστεύειν εἰς θεὸν λέγεσθαι.

6.11.5 | If, then, Christ is under the necessity of the movement of the stars, having been taken by birth, he would have done and suffered everything, not having received the strange powers from God and the Father of all. But from the stars. To those who are atheists and impious, words follow, and they believe that those who are led by the stars are said to believe in God.

6.11.6 | πυθοίμεθα δ' ἂν αὐτῶν τί ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος τοιοῦτον ἐποίει κόσμον, ἵν οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ὄντες τὰ γυναικῶν πάσχωσιν, οὐδαμῶς ἐαυτοῖς αἴτιοι τῆς ἀσελγείας γεγενημένοι, ἔτεροι δὲ ἀγρίων ζώων κατάστασιν εἰληφότες, τῷ τὴν φορὰν τοῦ παντὸς τοιούτους αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι, διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν οὕτω κεκοσμηκέναι τὸ πᾶν, ἐπιδιδόσιν ἐαυτοὺς ὡμοτάτοις καὶ σφόδρα ἀπανθρώποις πράγμασιν, ἀνδροφονίαις καὶ πειρατείαις;

6.11.6 | Should we ask what God wants by creating such a world, where some men suffer the things of women, having in no way become responsible for their own shame, while others, having taken the nature of wild animals, are made such by the movement of everything, because God has arranged the whole creation this way, they give themselves to the most savage and inhumane acts, like murder and piracy?

6.11.7 | καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀμαρτανομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μυρίων ὅσων

6.11.7 | And what should we say about the things happening among humans and the sins committed by them, with countless

τυγχανόντων, οὕστινας οἱ τῶν προϊστάμενοι προϊστάμενοι τούτων λόγων ἀπολύοντες παντὸς ἐγκλήματος τῷ θεῷ προσγράφουσι πάντων τῶν κακός καὶ ψεκτῶς πραττομένων τὴν αίτιαν;

events occurring, for which those in charge of these matters blame God for all the wrongs and shameful actions done by everyone?

6.11.8 | “Ἐὰν δέ τινες αύτῶν, ὡς ἀπολογούμενοι περὶ θεοῦ, ἔτερον μὲν εἶναι λέγωσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν, οὐδενὸς τούτων ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν, τῷ δὲ δημιουργῷ πάντων τὰ τοιαῦτα προσάπτωσι, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ὁ βούλονται δυνήσονται ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι ἔστι δίκαιος. πῶς γάρ ἀν δ τοσούτων κακῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πατήρ εὐλόγως· χρηματίζοι δίκαιος;

6.11.8 | If some of them, while defending God, say that the good one is different and has no part in these things, but they attach such things to the creator of all, first of all, they cannot prove that he is just. For how could a father of so many evils be just?

6.11.9 | δεύτερον δὲ περὶ ἑαυτῶν τί ποτε φήσουσιν ἔξεταστέον, πότερον ὑπόκεινται τῇ φορᾷ τῶν ἀστέρων, ἢ ἡλευθέρωνται, καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τυγχάνοντες οὐδὲν ἐνεργούμενον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖθεν. εἴ μὲν γάρ φήσουσιν ὑποκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀστροῖς, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ ἀστρα τὸ νοῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἔχαριστο, καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑποβεβληκὼς ἔσται διὰ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κινήσεως τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ἀναπεπλασμένου θεοῦ, ὅπερ οὐ βούλονται.

6.11.9 | Secondly, they must examine what they will say about themselves, whether they are subject to the influence of the stars, or if they are free, and in their lives, they have nothing from there that acts upon them. For if they say they are subject to the stars, it is clear that the stars have given them the ability to think this, and the creator will be seen as having influenced them through the movement of all things, which they do not want.

6.11.10 | εἰ δὲ ἀποκρινοῦνται ὅτι ἔξω τῶν νόμων τυγχάνουσι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἵνα μὴ ἀπόφασις ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναπόδεικτος, πειραθήτωσαν ἡμᾶς προσάγειν ἀναγκαστικώτερον, διαφορὰν παριστάντες νοῦ τινὸς ὑποκειμένου γενέσει καὶ εἰμαρμένῃ καὶ ἐτέρου ἀπὸ τούτων ἐλευθέρου. δῆλον γάρ ἔστι τοὺς τοιούτους ὅτι λόγον ἀπαιτηθέντες διδόναι αὐτοῖς

6.11.10 | But if they reply that they are outside the laws of the creator regarding the stars, so that what they say is not left unproven, let them try to bring us to a stronger conclusion, presenting a difference between some kind of underlying nature and fate, and another that is free from these. For it is clear that such people, when asked for an explanation, will not be able to provide one

ούδαμῶς δυνήσονται.

at all.

6.11.11 | πρὸς δὲ τοῖς είρημένοις καὶ εύχαι παρέλκουσι μάτην παραλαμβανόμεναι. εἰ γὰρ κατηνάγκασται τάδε τινὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες ποιοῦσιν, οὐδὲν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τούτων πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐπιπλοκὴν δύναται γενέσθαι, θεὸν ἀλογίστως ἀξιοῦμεν τάδε τινὰ ἡμῖν δωρήσασθαι.

6.11.11 | Moreover, the prayers that are mentioned are taken in vain. For if certain things must happen, and the stars cause them, then nothing can happen beyond their interaction with each other. We are foolish to expect that a god would grant us anything.

6.11.12 | καὶ τί ἐπὶ πλεῖον μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον δεῖ, παριστάντα τὸ ἀσεβὲς τοῦ κατημαξευμένου ἀβασανίστως παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περὶ εἰμαρμένης τόπου; αὐτάρκη γὰρ εἰς ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τὰ είρημένα.”

6.11.12 | And what more is there to say, showing the impiety of those who are blindly convinced by many about the place of fate? For it is enough to refer to what has been said.

6.11.13 | “Πόθεν δὲ ἔξετάζοντες τὸ ‘ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα οἱ φωστῆρες’ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐληλύθαμεν ἐαυτοὺς ὑπομνήσωμεν. οἱ μανθάνοντες περὶ τινῶν ἀληθῆ, ἢτοι αὐτόπται τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι, ἀποφαίνονται τάδε τινὰ ὑγιῶς, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν πεπονθότων ἢ ἐνηργηκότων θεασάμενοι, ἢ ἀπαγγελόντων τῶν οὐδαμῶς αἰτίων τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀκούσαντες τάδε τινὰ γινώσκουσιν

6.11.13 | From where, then, should we examine the statement 'let there be signs from the lights'? For this is what we have come to remind ourselves. Those who learn about certain truths, either by being eyewitnesses of events or by observing the experiences and actions of those affected, or by hearing reports from those who are not at all responsible for what has happened, know these things.

6.11.14 | (ὑπεξῆρήσθω δὲ νῦν τοῦ λόγου τὸ δύνασθαι τοὺς δεδρακότας ἢ πεπονθότας, διηγουμένους ἢ δεδράκασιν ἢ πεπόνθασιν, ἐνάγειν εἰς γνῶσιν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὸν μὴ παρατευχηκότα).

6.11.14 | Let us now remove from the discussion the ability of those who have acted or suffered, to explain what they have done or experienced, in order to bring knowledge of what has happened to the one who has not encountered it.

6.11.15 | ἐὰν οὖν ὁ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ

6.11.15 | If, then, the student does not

μηδαμῶς αἵτίου τῶν γινομένων τὸ τάδε τινὰ τοῖσδε γεγονέναι ἡ συμβήσεσθαι μὴ διακρίνῃ ὅτι οὐ πάντως ὁ διδάσκων περὶ τινος ὡς γενομένου ἡ ἐσομένου αἴτιός ἔστι τοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιόνδε τι τυγχάνειν, οἱήσεται τὸν παραστήσαντα περὶ τοῦ τάδε τινὰ γεγονέναι, ἡ τάδε τινὰ ἔσεσθαι, πεποιηκέναι ἡ ποιήσειν τὰ περὶ ὃν διδάσκει, οἱήσεται δὲ δηλονότι ἐσφαλμένως.

distinguish that what has happened or will happen is not always caused by the teacher discussing it as if it has occurred or will occur, he will mistakenly believe that the one presenting this information has caused what has happened or will happen, and he will clearly be wrong.

6.11.16 | ὡς εἴ τις ἔντυχὼν προφητικῆ βίβλῳ προδηλούσῃ τὰ περὶ Ἰούδαν τὸν προδότην νομίσαι, μαθὼν τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὅρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτελούμενον, τὴν βίβλον αἵτιαν εἶναι τόδε τι γεγονέναι ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου μεμάθηκε τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα πραχθησόμενα ὕστερον· ἡ πάλιν μὴ τὴν βίβλον ὑπολάβοι εἶναι αἵτιαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον γράψαντα αὐτὴν, ἡ τὸν ἐνεργήσαντα φέρε εἰπεῖν τὸν θεόν.

6.11.16 | As if someone, encountering a prophetic book, were to think that it clearly shows the things about Judas the traitor, learning about what will happen and seeing it come to pass, would consider the book to be the cause of what has happened later, since he learned from the book about what Judas will do in the future; or again, he might not think the book is the cause, but rather the first person who wrote it, or he might say that it is the one who acted, namely, God.

6.11.17 | ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα προφητευομένων αὐταὶ αἱ λέξεις ἔξεταζόμεναι ἐμφαίνουσι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν μὴ γεγονέναι τῆς τοῦ Ἰούδα προδοσίας, ἀλλὰ μόνον δεδηλωκέναι προεγνωκότα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τούτου κακίας πραχθησόμενα παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἵτιαν,

6.11.17 | Just as the words concerning the prophecies about Judas show that God is not the creator of Judas's betrayal, but only has revealed that he knew beforehand what would happen because of Judas's wickedness.

6.11.18 | οὕτως εἴ τις ἔμβαθύναι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προειδέναι τὰ πάντα τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἷς οἶον ἐτύπωσε τῆς ἐαυτοῦ προγνώσεως τοὺς λόγους, κατανοήσαι ἀν ὅτι οὔτε ὁ προγνοὺς πάντως αἴτιος τῶν προεγνωσμένων οὔτε τὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν λόγων τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ προεγνωκότος

6.11.18 | In this way, if someone were to deeply understand the idea that God knows everything and that those who speak according to his own foreknowledge, they would realize that neither the one who knows beforehand is the cause of what has been known beforehand, nor are the words

δεξάμενα.”

6.11.19 | “Οτι μὲν οὖν ἔκαστον τῶν ἐσομένων πρὸ πολλοῦ οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς γενησόμενον, καὶ χωρὶς μὲν γραφῆς αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς περὶ θεοῦ δῆλον τῷ συνιέντι ἀξίωμα δυνάμεως νοῦ θεοῦ.

6.11.20 | εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν τοῦτο παραστήσαι, πλήρεις μὲν εἰσιν αἱ προφητεῖαι τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σωσάνναν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ γινώσκοντος τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, οὕτω λέγουσαν “ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης, ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, σὺ ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ψευδῆ μου κατεμαρτύρησαν οὗτοι.”

6.11.21 | σαφέστατα δὲ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Βασιλεῶν καὶ ὄνομα βασιλεύοντος καὶ πράξεις ἀνεγράφησαν πρὸ πλειόνων ἑτῶν τοῦ γεμέσθαι προφητεύμενα οὕτως ‘καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἱεροβοάμ ἐορτὴν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ὄγδῳ, ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς, κατὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν τὴν ἐν γῇ Ἰούδᾳ. καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ ἐν Βαιθὴλ, ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν αἵς ἐποίησεν.’ εἴτα μετ’ ὀλίγα ‘καὶ ἴδοὺ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξ Ἰούδα παρεγένετο ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ἐν Βαιθὴλ, καὶ Ἱεροβοάμ εἰστήκει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐπιθῆσαι· καὶ ἐπεκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου, καὶ εἶπε, θυσιαστήριον, θυσιαστήριον, τάδε λέγει κύριος, ἴδού υἱὸς τίκτεται τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβὶδ, Ἰωσίας ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ θύσει ἐπὶ σὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τῶν ἐπιθυόντων ἐπὶ σὲ,

that express the foreknowledge of what has been known.

6.11.19 | That indeed God knows each of the future events long before they happen, and apart from writing, it is clear to anyone who understands that this is a truth about the power of God's mind.

6.11.20 | But if it is necessary to show this also from the scriptures, the prophecies are full of such examples, and regarding Susanna, it is clear that God knows everything before it happens, as it says: 'The eternal God, the knower of hidden things, who knows all things before they happen, you know that these have falsely testified against me.'

6.11.21 | It is very clear in the third book of Kings that both the name of the king and his actions were recorded many years before the prophesied events happened. It says, 'And Jeroboam made a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like the feast that is in the land of Judah. And he went up to the altar in Bethel, which he had made in the high places he had made.' Then, shortly after, it says, 'And behold, a man of God came from Judah by the word of the Lord to Bethel, and Jeroboam stood by the altar to burn incense. And he cried out against the altar by the word of the Lord, and said, "Altar, altar, thus says the Lord: Behold, a son shall be born to the house of David, Josiah is his name, and he shall sacrifice on you the priests of the high places who burn incense

καὶ ὄστᾶ ἀνθρώπων καύσει ἐπὶ σέ. καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκείνῃ τέρας, λέγων, 'τοῦτο τὸ τέρας ὃ ἐλάλησε κύριος λέγων, οὐδοὺ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὥργυνται, καὶ ἐκχυθήσεται ἡ πιότης ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῷ. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα δηλοῦται ὅτι καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔρραγη καὶ ἔξεχύθη ἡ πιότης ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατὰ τὸ τέρας ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου.

on you, and human bones shall be burned on you." And he gave a sign that day, saying, "This is the sign which the Lord has spoken: Behold, the altar shall be split apart, and the ashes that are on it shall be poured out." And shortly after, it is shown that the altar was indeed split apart and the ashes were poured out from the altar according to the sign that the man of God gave by the word of the Lord.'

6.11.22 | καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ, γενομένῳ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, μεθ' ἣν αἰχμαλωσίαν ὕστερόν ποτε γίνεται Κύρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς συνεργήσας τῇ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ ναοῦ, γενομένῃ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους "Ἐσδρα, ταῦτα περὶ ὄνομαστὶ προφητεύεται οὕτω λέγει κύριος ὃ θεὸς τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ, οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω, ἀνοίξω ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ Θύρας, καὶ πόλεις οὐ συγκλεισθήσονται. ἔγὼ ἔμπροσθέν σου πορεύσομαι, καὶ ὅρη ὅμαλιῶ, θύρας χαλκὰς συντρίψω, καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνθλάσω · καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινούς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι, ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι ἔγὼ κύριος ὃ θεὸς, ὃ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου, θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ. ἐνεκεν τοῦ παιδός μου Ἰακὼβ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου, ἔγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὄνόματί μου, καὶ προσδέξομαι σε.

6.11.22 | And in Isaiah, written long before the captivity to Babylon, after which Cyrus, the king of the Persians, later helps in the rebuilding of the temple during the time of Ezra, these things are prophesied by name. It says, 'Thus says the Lord to my anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have held, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the armor of kings; I will open before him the doors, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before you and make the rough places smooth; I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut through the bars of iron. I will give you the treasures of darkness, hidden riches of secret places, that you may know that I, the Lord, who call you by your name, am the God of Israel. For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I have called you by your name; I have named you, though you do not know me.'

6.11.23 | σαφῶς γάρ καὶ ἐκ τούτων δεδίλωται ὅτι διὰ τὸν λαὸν ὃν εὐηργέτησεν, ὃ κύριος ὃ θεὸς μὴ γινώσκοντι αὐτῷ τὴν καθ' Ἐβραίους θεοσέβειαν ἐδωρήσατο ἔθνῶν πλειόνων ἄρξαι. καὶ ἔστι ταῦτα μαθεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἑλληνῶν ληνῶν τῶν ἀναγραψάντων τὰ

6.11.23 | For it is clearly shown from these things that for the people whom he has blessed, the Lord God has given the knowledge of true worship according to the Hebrews to many nations. And these things can also be learned from Greek writings that have recorded what was prophesied

περὶ τὸν προφητευθέντα Κῦρον.

6.11.24 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ,  
Βαβυλωνίων βασιλευόντων τότε, τῷ  
Ναβουχοδονόσορ δείκνυνται αἱ ἑσόμεναι  
βασιλεῖαι μετ' αὐτόν. δείκνυνται δὲ διὰ τῆς  
εἰκόνος, χρυσίου μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίων  
ἀρχῆς ὄνομαζομένης, ἀργυρίου δὲ τῆς  
Περσῶν, χαλκοῦ δὲ τῆς Μακεδόνων,  
σιδῆρου δὲ τῆς Ρωμαίων.

6.11.25 | καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ προφήτῃ τὰ  
περὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τοὺς  
τέσσαρας διαδόχους Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
Μακεδόνων βασιλέως, καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν  
τῆς Αἴγυπτου ἄρχαντα, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον  
Λαγῶν, οὕτω προφητεύεται καὶ ἵδον  
τράγος αἰγῶν ἥρχετο ἀπὸ λιβδὸς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ τῷ τράγῳ  
κέρας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν. καὶ ἥλθεν  
ἔως τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντος, οὗ  
εἶδον ἐστῶτος ἐνώπιον τού Ούβαλ, καὶ  
ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἴσχύος  
αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν φθάνοντα ἔως τοῦ  
κριοῦ, καὶ ἔξηγρωθῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ  
ἔπαισε τὸν κριόν, καὶ συνέτριψεν  
ἀμφότερα τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν  
ἴσχυς τῷ κριῷ στῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ  
συνεπάτησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ  
ἔξαιρούμενος τὸν κριόν ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ.  
καὶ ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν ἐμεγαλύνθη ἔως  
σφόδρα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴσχυσαι αὐτὸν  
συνετρίβῃ τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγα, καὶ  
ἀνέβῃ ἔτερα κέρατα ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ εἰς  
τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ  
ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐξῆλθεν κέρας ἐν ἴσχυρὸν, καὶ  
ἐμεγαλύνθη περισσῶς πρὸς τὸν νότον καὶ

about Cyrus.

6.11.24 | And also in Daniel, when the Babylonians were ruling, the future kingdoms after him are shown to Nebuchadnezzar. They are shown through a statue, with the head of gold representing the Babylonian kingdom, the chest and arms of silver representing the Persians, the belly and thighs of bronze representing the Macedonians, and the legs of iron representing the Romans.

6.11.25 | And again in the same prophet, there are prophecies about Darius and Alexander, and the four successors of Alexander the king of the Macedonians, and Ptolemy, who ruled Egypt, called Lagus. It is prophesied that I saw a goat coming from the west over the face of all the earth. And the goat had a horn between its eyes. And it came as far as the ram that had the horns, which I saw standing in front of the river, and it ran at him with all its strength. And I saw it reach the ram, and it became furious with him and struck the ram, and broke both his horns, and there was no strength for the ram to stand before him, and he threw him to the ground, and trampled on him, and there was no one to rescue the ram from his hand. And the goat grew very great. And when he became strong, the large horn was broken, and four other horns came up under it toward the four winds of heaven, and from one of them came forth a single strong horn, and it grew exceedingly toward the south and the west.

τὴν δύσιν.

6.11.26 | τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητείας, οἷον τόπον γενέσεως αὐτοῦ Βηθλεέμ, καὶ τόπον ἀνατροφῆς αὐτοῦ Νάζαρα, καὶ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ τεράστια ἄ ἐποίησε, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὑπὸ Ἰούδα τοῦ εἰς ἀποστολὴν κεκλημένου προεδόθη; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα σημεῖά ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προγνώσεως.

6.11.27 | ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ, ὅταν, φησὶν, ἰδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἥγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς. προεῖπε γὰρ τὸ ὕστερον συμβεβηκός τὸ τέλος τῆς κατασκαφῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ.”

6.11.28 | “Ἄποδεδειγμένου τοίνυν ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ προγνώστην εἶναι τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἀκαίρως, ἵνα διηγησώμεθα πῶς οἱ ἀστέρες γίνονται εἰς σημεῖα, νοητέον τοὺς ἀστέρας οὕτω τετάχθαι κινεῖσθαι, ἐναντιοφορούντων τῶν καλουμένων πλανωμένων τοῖς ἀπλανέσιν, ἵνα σημεῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ τῶν ἀστέρων πάντων τῶν περὶ ἔκαστον γινομένων καὶ τῶν καθόλου λαμβάνοντες γινώσκωσιν, οὐχὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολλῷ γὰρ μεῖζον ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον τὸ δύνασθαι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐκλαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως τῶν ἀστέρων τὰ περὶ ἔκαστου τῶν ὅ τι ποτε οὖν ἐνεργούντων ἡ πασχόντων,) ἀλλ' αἱ δυνάμεις, ἃς ἀναγκαῖον διὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, ὡς κατὰ δύναμιν διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς δείξομεν.

6.11.29 | συνέντες δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἔκ τινων

6.11.26 | What more should be said about the prophecies concerning Christ, such as his birthplace being Bethlehem, and his upbringing in Nazareth, and his flight into Egypt, and the great miracles he performed, and how he was betrayed by Judas, who was called to be an apostle? For all these are signs of God's foreknowledge.

6.11.27 | But the Savior himself says, when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then you will know that its desolation is near. For he foretold what would happen later, the end of the destruction of Jerusalem.

6.11.28 | Therefore, since it has been proven to us that God is a foreknower, let us explain how the stars become signs. It should be understood that the stars are arranged and move in such a way, opposite to those called wandering stars, so that signs can be known from the shapes of all the stars that occur around each one. People do not know this, for it is much greater than human understanding to truly grasp from the movement of the stars what happens to each of them, whether they are acting or suffering. But the powers, which must know many of these things, will be shown according to their ability in what follows.

6.11.29 | And when people come together

τηρήσεων, ἢ καὶ ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἀγγέλων τὴν ἴδιαν τάξιν παραβεβηκότων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐπιτριβῇ διδαξάντων περὶ τούτων τινὰ, ώρήθησαν τοὺς ἀφ' ὧν τὰ σημεῖα οἴονται λαμβάνειν αἰτίους ὑπάρχειν τούτων, ἢ σημαίνειν ὁ λόγος φησι· περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπιμελέστερον εὐθέως διαληψόμεθα.

from certain observations, or even from the teachings of angels, they have gone beyond their own order. And while teaching about these things concerning our kind, they believed that those from whom they think the signs come must have causes for them, as the word suggests. About these things, we will discuss more carefully and in summary according to our ability.

6.11.30 | προκείσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα τὰ προβλήματα. (ἀ) Πῶς, προγνώστου ὄντος ἔξ αἰῶνος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τῶν ὑφ' ἐκάστου πράττεσθαι νομίζομένων, τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν σώζεται · (β') καὶ τίνα τρόπον οἱ ἀστέρες οὐκ είσι ποιητικοὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σημαντικοὶ δὲ μόνον· (γ') καὶ ὅτι ἀνθρωποί τὴν περὶ τούτων γνῶσιν ἀκριβῶς ἔχειν οὐ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεσιν ἀνθρώπων κρείττοι τὰ σημεῖα ἔκκειται. (δ') τίς γὰρ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ τὰ σημεῖα τὸν θεὸν πεποιηκέναι εἰς γνῶσιν τῶν δυνάμεων, τέταρτον ἔξετασθήσεται.

6.11.30 | Therefore, these problems will be presented: (a) How, since God has been a foreknower from eternity about what each person is believed to do, is what is in our power saved; (b) and in what way the stars are not creators of what happens among humans, but only signs; (c) and that people cannot have exact knowledge about these things, but the signs depend on powers greater than humans; (d) for what is the reason that God has made the signs for the knowledge of the powers, will be examined fourth.

6.11.31 | καὶ τοίνυν ἵδωμεν τὸ πρῶτον, ὅπερ εὐλαβηθέντες πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱόμενοι κατηναγκάσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μηδαμῶς σώζεσθαι εἰ ὁ θεὸς προγνώσκει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀσεβὲς δόγμα ἐτόλμησαν ἀναδέξασθαι μαλλον ἢ προσέσθαι τὸ, ὡς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, ἔνδοξον μὲν περὶ θεοῦ, ἀναιροῦν δὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔπαινον καὶ ψύγον, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀποδεκτὸν τῶν τε κακιῶν ψεκτόν.

6.11.31 | And so, let us first see what many of the Greeks, being cautious, believed: that if God foreknows the future, then things are forced to happen and what is in our power is not saved at all. They dared to accept a disrespectful belief rather than agree with what those people say is honorable about God, while denying what is in our power. Because of this, they received both praise and blame, and they accepted the good qualities but rejected the bad ones.

6.11.32 | καί φασιν, εἴ ἔξ αἰῶνος ἔγνω ὁ θεὸς τόνδε τινὰ ἀδικήσειν καὶ τάδε ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἀψευδής δὲ ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ

6.11.32 | And they say, if God has known from eternity that this person will commit an injustice and will do these wrongs, then

θεοῦ, καὶ πάντως ἔσται ἀδικος ποιήσων τάδε τὰ ἀδικήματα ὃ τοιοῦτος εἶναι προεωραμένος, καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ ἀδικήσειν αὐτὸν· εἰ δὲ ἀμήχανον μὴ ἀδικήσειν αὐτὸν, κατηνάγκασται τὸ ἀδικήσειν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀδύνατον ἔσται ἄλλο τι πρᾶξαι αὐτὸν ἥ σπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω. εἰ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἄλλο τι πρᾶξαι αὐτὸν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἀδύνατον μὴ ποιήσας ψεκτός ἔστι, μάτην αἴτιώμεθα τοὺς ἀδίκους

God's knowledge is true, and such a person will certainly be unjust for doing these wrongs, and it is impossible for him not to commit injustice. If it is impossible for him not to commit injustice, then he is forced to do wrong, and it will be impossible for him to do anything else but what God has known. But if it is impossible for him to do anything else, then no one who cannot avoid doing wrong is blameworthy, and we blame the unjust in vain.

6.11.33 | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐπέρχονται καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀμαρτήματα, εἴτα ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα κατορθώματα· καὶ φασιν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ τὸν θεὸν τὰ μέλλοντα προεγνωκέναι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν σώζεσθαι.

6.11.33 | But from the unjust and their wrongdoings, other sins also arise, and then from the opposite side, what is considered to be good deeds. And they say that if God has foreknown the future, then it is impossible for what is in our power to be saved.

6.11.34 | πρὸς οὓς λεκτέον ὅτι ἐπιβάλλων ὃ θεὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς κοσμοποιίας, οὐδενὸς ἀναιτίως γινομένου, ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ νῷ ἔκαστον τῶν ἐσομένων ὅρῶν ὅτι ἐπεὶ τόδε γέγονε τόδε ἔπειται, ἐὰν δὲ γένηται τόδε τὸ ἐπόμενον τόδε ἀκολουθεῖ οὗ ὑποστάντος τόδε ἔσται· καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τέλους τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιπορευθεὶς οἶδεν ἂ ἔσται, οὐ πάντως ἐκάστῳ τῶν γινωσκομένων αἴτιος τοῦ αὐτὸῦ συμβῆναι τυγχάνων.

6.11.34 | To those who must be addressed, it is said that when God created the world, nothing happened without reason. He observes each future event with his mind, knowing that when this happens, that will follow. And if this next thing happens, then this will follow. By understanding this, he knows what will happen until the end of things, but he is not the cause of each individual event occurring.

6.11.35 | ὥσπερ γάρ εἴ τις ὅρῶν τινὰ διὰ μὲν ἀμαθίαν προπετῇ, διὰ δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν ἀλογίστως ἐπιβαίνοντα ὁδοῦ ὄλισθηρᾶς, καὶ καταλάβοι πεσεῖσθαι ὄλισθήσαντα, οὐχὶ αἴτιος τοῦ ὄλισθου ἐκείνῳ γίνεται, οὕτω νοητέον τὸν θεὸν προεωρακότα ὃποιος ἔσται ἔκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι

6.11.35 | For example, if someone sees another person acting foolishly and carelessly on a slippery road, and then they fall, that person is not the cause of their own fall. In the same way, we should understand that God, knowing what each person will be like and the reasons for their actions, sees that they will make these

καθορᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ἀμαρτήσεται τάδε, ἢ  
κατορθώσει τάδε.

6.11.36 | καὶ εἴ χρὴ λέγειν οὐ τὴν  
πρόγνωσιν αἴτιαν τῶν γινομένων, (οὐ γὰρ  
ἐφάπτεται τοῦ προεγνωσμένου  
ἀμαρτησμένου ὁ θεὸς, ὅταν ἀμαρτάνῃ,) ἀλλὰ παραδοξότερον μὲν, ἀληθὲς δὲ  
ἔροῦμεν, τὸ ἐσόμενον αἴτιον τοῦ τοιάνδε  
εἶναι τὴν περὶ αύτοῦ πρόγνωσιν.

6.11.37 | οὐ γὰρ ἔπει ἔγνωσται γίνεται,  
ἀλλ' ἔπει γίνεσθαι ἔμελλεν ἔγνωσται.  
διαστολῆς δὲ δεῖται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ 'πάντως  
ἔσται' οὕτω τις ἐρμηνεύει, ὡς ἀνάγκην  
εἶναι γενέσθαι τὸ προεγνωσμένον, οὐ  
διδόαμεν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἔροῦμεν, ἔπει  
προέγνωσται Ἰούδαν προδότην γενέσθαι,  
ὅτι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἦν Ἰούδαν προδότην  
γενέσθαι.

6.11.38 | ἐν γοῦν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα  
προφητείαις μέμψεις καὶ κατηγορίαι τοῦ  
Ἰούδα ἀναγεγραμμέναι είσι, παντί τῳ  
παριστῶσαι τὸ ψεκτὸν αὐτοῦ. οὐκ ἀν δὲ  
ψόγος αὐτῷ προσήπτετο, εἰ ἐπάναγκες  
προδότης ἦν, καὶ μὴ ἐνεδέχετο αὐτὸν  
ὅμοιον τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις γενέσθαι.

6.11.39 | ὅρα δὲ εἴ μὴ ταῦτα δηλοῦται δι'  
ῶν παραθησόμεθα ḥρητῶν οὕτως ἔχοντων  
μηδὲ γενηθήτω οἰκτίρμων τοῖς ὄρφανοῖς  
αὐτοῦ, ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθη ποιῆσαι ἔλεος  
καὶ κατεδίωξεν ἄνθρωπον πένητα καὶ  
πτωχὸν, καὶ κατανευγμένον τῇ καρδίᾳ  
τοῦ θανατῶσαι· καὶ ἡγάπησε κατάραν, καὶ  
ἥξει αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἡθέλησεν εὐλογίαν, καὶ

mistakes or succeed in these things.

6.11.36 | And if we must say that  
foreknowledge is not the cause of what  
happens (for God does not touch the one  
who is foreseen to sin when they sin), we  
will say something more strange but true:  
that the cause of such things is the  
foreknowledge about that person.

6.11.37 | For it is not because something is  
known that it happens, but because it was  
going to happen, it is known. There needs  
to be a distinction. If someone interprets 'it  
will certainly happen' as meaning that what  
is foreseen must happen, we do not agree  
with them. For we will not say that since  
Judas was foreseen to be a traitor, it was  
necessary for Judas to become a traitor.

6.11.38 | In the prophecies about Judas,  
there are accusations and criticisms  
written against Judas, showing his  
blameworthiness. There would not be  
blame placed on him if he had to be a  
traitor, and he could not be considered the  
same as the other apostles.

6.11.39 | See if these things are not shown  
clearly by the statements we will present.  
Let there be no pity for his orphans, instead  
of showing mercy for those he did not  
remember. And he pursued a poor and  
needy man, and he was deeply troubled in  
his heart to kill him. And he loved a curse,  
and it will come upon him, and he did not

μακρυνθήσεται ἀπ' αύτοῦ."

6.11.40 | "Εἴ δέ τις διηγήσεται τὸ πάντως ἔσται, κατὰ τὸ σημαίνειν αὐτὸ λέγων ὅτι ἔσται μὲν τάδε τινὰ, ἐνεδέχετο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθὲς συγχωροῦμεν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ θεὸν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ψεύσασθαι, ἐνδέχεται δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι φρονῆσαι τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι.

6.11.41 | σαφέστερον δὲ τοῦτο ἔροῦμεν οὕτως· εἰ ἐνδέχεται Ἰούδαν εἶναι ἀπόστολον ὁμοίως Πέτρῳ, ἐνδέχεται τὸν θεὸν νοῆσαι περὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὅτι μενεῖ ἀπόστολος ὁμοίως Πέτρῳ· εἰ ἐνδέχεται Ἰούδαν προδότην γενέσθαι, ἐνδέχεται τὸν θεὸν φρονῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι προδότης ἔσται.

6.11.42 | εἰ δὲ προδότης ἔσται Ἰούδας, ὁ θεὸς τῇ προγνώσει αὐτοῦ τῶν προειρημένων ἐνδεχομένων δύο, ἐνδεχομένου τοῦ εἶναι ἐνὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ ἀληθὲς προγινώσκων, προγνώσεται τὸν Ἰούδαν προδότην γενέσθαι· τὸ δὲ περὶ οὗ ἡ γνῶσις ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἑτέρως γενέσθαι· καὶ λέγοι ἄν ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐνδέχεται μὲν τόνδε τόδε ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον· ἐνδεχομένων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων οἶδα ὅτι τάδε ποιήσει.

6.11.43 | οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ, ὁ θεὸς εἴποι ἄν, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τόνδε τινὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πτῆναι, οὕτω χρησμὸν, φέρε εἰπεῖν, περὶ τινος διδοὺς ἔρει ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τόνδε σωφρονῆσαι· δύναμις μὲν γὰρ πάντη οὐκ

want a blessing, and he will be far from it.

6.11.40 | If someone explains that everything will happen, saying that certain things will happen but could also happen differently, we agree that this is true. For it is not possible for god to lie, but it is possible to think about things that might happen or might not happen.

6.11.41 | We will say this more clearly: if it is possible for Judas to be an apostle like Peter, then it is possible for god to think about Judas remaining an apostle like Peter. If it is possible for Judas to become a traitor, then it is possible for god to think about him being a traitor.

6.11.42 | If Judas will be a traitor, god, with his foreknowledge of the two possible outcomes, knowing the truth about one of them, will foresee that Judas will become a traitor. But the knowledge about which could also happen differently: god's knowledge could say that this person might do this, but also the opposite. Knowing both possibilities, I know that he will do these things.

6.11.43 | For just as god might say, it is not possible for this person to fall, so a prophecy could say that it is not possible for this person to be wise. For there is no power at all in a person to fall, but there is

ἔστι τοῦ πτῆναι οὐδαμῶς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,  
δύναμις δέ ἔστι τοῦ σωφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ  
ἀκολαστῆσαι.

6.11.44 | ὃν ἀμφοτέρων δυνάμεων  
ὑπαρχουσῶν, ὃ μὴ προσέχων λόγοις  
ἐπιτρεπτικοῖς καὶ παιδευτικοῖς ἔαυτὸν  
ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ χειρίστῃ· κρείττονι δὲ ὁ  
ζητήσας τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ βιῶσαι  
βεβουλημένος κατ' αὐτό. οὐ ζητεῖ δὲ ὅδε  
μὲν τάληθη, ἐπεὶ ἐπιρρέπει ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν  
ὅδε δὲ ἔξετάζει περὶ αὐτῶν, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ<sup>τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ λόγου</sup>  
προτρεπτικοῦ.

6.11.45 | πάλιν δ' αὗτος δὲ μὲν αἰρεῖται τὴν  
ἡδονὴν, οὐχὶ οὐ δυνάμενος ἀντιβλέπειν  
αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγωνιζόμενος· ὅδε δὲ  
καταφρονεῖ αὐτῆς, τὸ ἄσχημον ὄρῶν τὸ ἐν  
αὐτῇ πολλάκις τυγχάνον.

6.11.46 | ὅτι μέντοι γε ἡ πρόγνωσις τοῦ  
Θεοῦ οὐκ ἀνάγκην ἔπιτιθησι τοῖς περὶ ὃν  
κατείληφε, πρὸς τοῖς είρημένοις καὶ τοῦτο  
λελέξεται, ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τῶν γραφῶν ὁ  
Θεὸς κελεύει τοῖς προφήταις κηρύσσειν  
μετάνοιαν, οὐ προσποιησάμενος τὸ  
ἐγνωκέναι πότερον οἱ ἀκούσαντες  
ἐπιστρέψουσιν, ἢ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν  
ἔαυτῶν ἔμμενοῦσιν· ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ  
λέγεται “ἴσως ἀκούσονται καὶ  
μετανοήσουσιν.”

6.11.47 | οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν ὁ Θεὸς πότερον  
ἀκούσουσιν, ἢ οὖν, φησὶν “ἴσως ἀκούσονται  
καὶ μετανοήσουσιν,” ἀλλ' οἰονεὶ τὸ  
ἰσοστάσιον τῶν δυνάμεων γενέσθαι  
δεικνὺς ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων, ἵνα μὴ

power to be wise and to be reckless.

6.11.44 | Of these two powers that exist,  
the one who does not pay attention to  
encouraging and teaching words gives  
himself over to the worst. But the one who  
seeks the truth and is determined to live by  
it is better. This person does not seek the  
truth because he is drawn to pleasure;  
instead, he examines these things,  
influenced by common ideas and  
persuasive speech.

6.11.45 | Again, this person chooses  
pleasure, not being able to look away from  
it, but also not struggling against it. But this  
other person scorns pleasure, often seeing  
the shameful things that are in it.

6.11.46 | Indeed, the foreknowledge of god  
does not force those about whom it has  
been said. To what has been mentioned,  
this will also be added: that in many places  
in the scriptures, god commands the  
prophets to preach repentance, not  
pretending to know whether those who  
hear will turn back or remain stuck in their  
sins. Just as it is said in Jeremiah, 'Perhaps  
they will listen and repent.'

6.11.47 | For god does not know whether  
they will listen or not, as it is said, 'Perhaps  
they will listen and repent.' Instead, he  
shows the balance of powers through what  
is said, so that his foreknowledge does not

προκατηγγελμένη ἡ πρόγνωσις αύτοῦ καταπεσεῖν ποιήσῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, δόξαν ἀνάγκης παριστᾶσα, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι, καὶ οἰονεὶ καὶ αὕτη αἵτια γένηται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

make those who hear fall into despair, presenting the idea of necessity, as if there is no chance for them to turn back, and this becomes a reason for their sins.

6.11.48 | ἡ πάλιν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν τὸ προεγνωσμένον καλὸν δυναμένοις ἐν τῷ ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ ἀντιτείνειν πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἀρετῇ βιῶσαι αἵτια γένηται ἡ πρόγνωσις ἐκλύσεως, οὐκέτι εὔτόνως ισταμένοις κατὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὡς πάντως ἐσομένου τοῦ προειρημένου. καὶ οὕτω γάρ οἶον ἐμπόδιον γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ πρόγνωσις τοῦ ἐσομένου καλοῦ.

6.11.48 | Or again, for those who do not know what has been foreseen, if they are able to struggle and resist evil by living in virtue, foreknowledge may become a cause of weakness, no longer allowing them to stand firmly against sin, as if what has been said will certainly happen. And thus, foreknowledge of the good that is to come could become a kind of obstacle.

6.11.49 | πάντα γοῦν χρησίμως ὁ θεὸς τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οίκονομῶν εὐλόγως ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἑτύφλωσεν. ἡ γὰρ γνῶσις αὐτῶν ἀνήκε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθλεῖν κατὰ τῆς κακίας, ἐπέτρεψε δ' ἂν δόξασα κατειλῆφθαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀντιπαλαίσαντας ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ τάχιον αὐτῇ ὑποχειρίους γενέσθαι.

6.11.49 | Indeed, god wisely arranges everything in the world for our benefit and has blinded us to what is to come. For this knowledge would have kept us from struggling against evil, but it would have allowed us to think we were captured, so that we would not resist sin and would quickly become its slaves.

6.11.50 | Ἄμα δὲ καὶ μαχόμενον ἐγίνετο τῷ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι τινὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐληλυθέναι εἰς τόνδε τινὰ, ὅτι πάντως ἔσται ἀγαθός. πρὸς οὓς γάρ ἔχομεν καὶ σφοδρότητος καὶ τάσεως πλείονος χρεία πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι · προκαταληφθεῖσα δὲ ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ πάντως καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι ὑπεκλύει τὴν ἀσκησιν. διόπερ συμφερόντως οὐκ ἴσμεν οὔτε εἰ ἀγαθοὶ οὔτε εἰ πονηροὶ ἔσομεθα.'

6.11.50 | But at the same time, while we are fighting to become good and virtuous, we have come to believe that what has been foreseen will certainly happen, that we will always be good. For we need more strength and effort to become good and virtuous. But if we already know that everything will be good, it takes away our effort. Therefore, it is better that we do not know whether we will be good or evil.

6.11.51 | "Επεὶ δὲ εἱρήκαμεν ὅτι

6.11.51 | Since we have said that god has

ἀπετύφλωσεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ὁ θεός, ζητούμενόν τι ῥητὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐξόδου ὅρα εἰ δυνάμεθα οὕτω σαφηνίσαι τις ἐποίησε δύσκωφον καὶ κωφὸν, καὶ βλέποντα καὶ τυφλόν; οὐκ ἔγω κύριος ὁ θεός; ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τυφλὸν καὶ βλέποντα πεποιηκώς ἡ· βλέποντα μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἐνεστηκότα, τυφλὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα. τὸ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ δυσκῶφου καὶ κωφοῦ οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ διηγήσασθαι.

6.11.52 | ὅτι μέντοι γε πολλῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν αἴτια πλεῖστα τόν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅμοιογήσομεν· ὃν μὴ γενομένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἄν τάδε τινὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐπράττετο. πράττεται δὲ τάδε τινὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθα τοῖσδε τοῖς προγενομένοις οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐνδεχομένου τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προγενομένοις καὶ ἔτερα πρᾶξαι παρ' ἂ πράττομεν.

6.11.53 | εἰ δέ τις ζητεῖ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀπολελυμένον εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς, ὡστε μὴ διὰ τάδε τινὰ συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖσθαι τάδε, ἐπιλέλησται κόσμου μέρος ὃν καὶ ἐμπειριεχόμενος ἀνθρώπων κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος.

6.11.54 | μετρίως μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ οἴμαι δ' ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, τὸ τὴν πρόγνωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι καταναγκαστικὴν τῶν προεγνωσμένων πάντως. "Φέρε δὲ ἀγωνισώμεθα καὶ περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἀστέρας μηδαμῶς εἶναι ποιητικοὺς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σημαντικοὺς δὲ μόνον.

blinded us to what is to come, we are looking for something clear from Exodus to see if we can explain how someone can be both blind and deaf, yet able to see. Am I not the lord god? So that I have made both blind and seeing; seeing what is present, but blind to what is to come. For the matter of the deaf and dumb is not to be explained in the present time.

6.11.52 | Indeed, many of the causes that affect us are not in our control, and we will agree on this. If those things that are not in our control did not happen, then none of the things that are in our control would take place. But some of the things that are in our control follow from those things that are not in our control, allowing us to act differently from what we are currently doing.

6.11.53 | If someone seeks to have complete control over everything, so that we choose these things not because of certain events that have happened to us, they will forget that they are part of the world and included in human society and what surrounds it.

6.11.54 | Therefore, I think it has been shown briefly that the foreknowledge of god is not a force that makes everything predetermined. 'But let us strive to say that the stars are not at all creative for humans, but only significant.'

6.11.55 | σαφὲς δὴ ὅτι εἴ ὅδε τις ὁ σχηματισμὸς τῶν ἀστέρων ποιητικὸς νομίζοιτο τῶνδε τινῶν τῶν γινομένων περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον · ἔστω γὰρ περὶ τούτου νῦν ζητεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον·) οὐκ ἀν ὁ σήμερον, φέρε εἰπεῖν, γενόμενος σχηματισμὸς περὶ τόνδε δύναται νοεῖσθαι πεποιηκέναι τὰ παρεληλυθότα περὶ ἔτερον ἢ καὶ περὶ ἔτερους· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ποιοῦν πρεσβύτερον τοῦ πεποιημένου.

6.11.56 | ὅσον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων, πρεσβύτερα τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ προλέγεσθαι νομίζεται περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

6.11.57 | ἐπαγγέλλονται γὰρ τόνδε τινὰ τρόπον, τὴν ὡραν λαβόντες τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καταλαμβάνειν πῶς ἔκαστος τῶν πλανωμένων κατὰ κάθετον, ἢ τῆσδε τῆς μοίρας τοῦ ζωδίου, ἢ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεπτῶν, καὶ ποῖος ἀστὴρ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κατὰ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὁρίζοντος, ποῖος τε κατὰ τοῦ δυτικοῦ καὶ τίς κατὰ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος καὶ τίς κατὰ τοῦ ἀντιμεσουρανήματος.

6.11.58 | καὶ ἐπὰν θῶσι τοὺς ἀστέρας, οὓς νομίζουσιν ἐαυτοῖς ἐσχηματικέναι, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ δεῖνος γενέσεως ἐσχηματισμένους οὐτωσὶ, τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀποτέξεως τοῦ περὶ οὗ σκοποῦσιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ μέλλοντα ἔξετάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς σπορᾶς τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος γεγενημένα, περὶ πατρὸς, ποταπὸς ὃν τυγχάνει, πλούσιος ἢ πένης, ὀλόκληρος τὸ

6.11.55 | It is clear that if someone thinks the arrangement of the stars is creative for certain events concerning humans, let us now seek to discuss this. The arrangement that happens today, it can be said, cannot be thought to have caused what has happened regarding anything or anyone else; for everything that creates is older than what has been created.

6.11.56 | As far as the teachings of those who promise such things, it is believed that they are older than the arrangement concerning humans.

6.11.57 | For they promise in this way, taking the moment of this person, to determine how each of the wandering stars relates to this fate of the zodiac, or to the details within it, and which star of the zodiac was rising in the east, which in the west, and which at the midheaven, and which at the lower midheaven.

6.11.58 | And when they place the stars, which they believe have taken shape for them, according to the time of a certain person's birth, they examine not only the future events but also the past events and those before the birth and the planting of the person in question, regarding the father, what kind he happens to be, whether rich or poor, whole in body or sickly, of better or worse character, a

σῶμα ἢ σεσινωμένος, τὸ δῆθος βελτίων ἢ χείρων, ἀκτήμων ἢ πολυκτήμων, τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἢ τήνδε ἔχων. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφῶν, ἐὰν τύχωσιν ὄντες.

landowner or a landless person, having this action or that. The same goes for the mother and for older siblings, if they happen to exist.

6.11.59 | ἔστω δὲ ἡμάς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος προσίεσθαι αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐν τόπῳ ἀληθῆ, περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὕστερον δεῖξομεν ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει. πευσώμεθα τοίνυν τῶν ὑπολαμβανόντων κατηναγκάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστρων τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα τίνα τρόπον ὁ σήμερον σχηματισμὸς ὁ τοιόσδε δύναται πεποιηκέναι τὰ πρεσβύτερα.

6.11.59 | Let us then approach the present and find the truths in the place, about which we will later show that it is not so. Let us inquire, then, from those who assume that the stars compel the affairs of humans, in what way today's arrangement can have created the earlier ones.

6.11.60 | εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον, καθ' ὃ δὴ ὅ τι εὐρίσκεται τὸ περὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ χρόνου ἀληθὲς, σαφὲς τὸ μὴ πεποιηκέναι τοὺς ἀστέρας οὕτωσὶ κινουμένους ἐν οὐρανῷ τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ γενόμενα πρὸ τοῦ οὕτως ἔχειν αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, τάχα ὁ προσιέμενος ἀληθεύειν αὐτοὺς. ἐπιστήσας τοῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων λεγομένοις, ἐρεῖ.ἀληθεύειν οὐ τῷ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀλλὰ τῷ σημαίνειν μόνον.

6.11.60 | For if this is impossible, then whatever is found about the truths of the past must clearly show that the stars do not move in the sky to cause what has happened and what has come before to be as they are now. But if this is true, perhaps the one approaching them speaks the truth. Having considered what is said about the future, he will say: to speak the truth is not to create the stars, but only to signify.

6.11.61 | ἐὰν δέ τις φάσκῃ τὰ μὲν παρεληλυθότα μὴ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀστέρας, ἀλλὰ ἄλλους μὲν σχηματισμοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἐκείνων γεγέσεως αἵτίους γενομέναι, τὸν δὲ νῦν σχηματισμὸν σεσημαγκέναι μόνον, τὰ μέντοι μέλλοντα δηλοῦσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστηκότος σχηματισμοῦ τῆς τοῦ δεῖνος γενέσεως, παραστησάτω τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων δύνασθαι δεῖξαι ὅτι τάδε μὲν νενόηται ἀληθῆ, ὡς ἀπὸ ποιούντων, τάδε δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ σημαινόντων

6.11.61 | But if someone claims that the stars do not create what has happened, but that other arrangements have caused those events, and that the current arrangement only signifies, then let them show the difference: that what is understood as true comes from creators, while what is understood as only signifying comes from the stars.

μόνον.

6.11.62 | μὴ ἔχοντες δὲ δοῦναι τὴν διαφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως συγγαταθήσονται μηδὲν τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὡς προειρήκαμεν, εἴ ἄρα, σημαίνεσθαι· ὡς εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων τις ἐλάμβανε τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ διά τινος λόγου προφητικοῦ.

6.11.63 | ὥσπερ γάρ προαπεδείξαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν λυπεῖ τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν λόγον τὸ τὸν θεὸν είδέναι τὰ πραχθησόμενα ἐκάστῳ, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ σημεῖα, ἀ ἔταξεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σημαίνειν, ἐμποδίζει τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ παραπλησίως βιβλίω περιέχοντι τὰ μέλλοντα προφητικῶς ὡς πᾶς ούρανὸς δύναται, οἷονεὶ βίβλος ὃν θεοῦ, περιέχειν τὰ μέλλοντα.

6.11.64 | διόπερ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ δύναται οὕτω νοεῖσθαι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ἀνέγνων γάρ ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τοῦ ούρανοῦ ὅσα συμβήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν.' τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰλιγήσεται ὡς ούρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον' τοὺς λόγους τοὺς περιεχομένους σημαντικὸν τῶν ἐσομένων δηλοῦ ἀπαρτισθησομένους καὶ, ἐν' οὕτως εἴπω, πληρωθησομένους, ὥσπερ λέγονται αἱ προφητεῖαι πεπληρώσθαι τῷ ἐκβεβηκέναι.

6.11.65 | καὶ οὕτως ἔσται εἰς σημεῖα τὰ ἄστρα γεγονότα, κατὰ τὴν λέγουσαν φωνὴν 'ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα.' ὁ δὲ Ἱερεμίας ἐπιστρέψαντος ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς καὶ περιαιρῶν φόβον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς νομιζομένοις

6.11.62 | If they do not understand the difference, they will wisely agree that nothing concerning humans comes from the stars, but as we have said before, if it is to signify; as if no one were to receive what has happened and what will happen from the stars, but rather from the mind of the divine through some prophetic word.

6.11.63 | For just as we have shown before that knowing what will happen does not trouble the one concerning our actions, so too the signs that the divine has set to signify do not hinder our actions. Rather, in a similar way, the whole sky can contain what will happen prophetically, as if it were a book of God, holding the future.

6.11.64 | Therefore, in the prayer of Joseph, what is said by Jacob can be understood this way: 'For I have read on the tablets of heaven what will happen to you and your sons.' Perhaps the sky will also be rolled up like a book, revealing the significant words of what is to come, which will be completed and, in this way, fulfilled, just as prophecies are said to be fulfilled when they come to pass.

6.11.65 | And so the stars will be for signs, according to the saying, 'Let them be for signs.' But Jeremiah, turning us back to ourselves and removing the fear about what is thought to be signified, perhaps

σημαίνεσθαι, τάχα δὲ καὶ  
ύπολαμβαωμένοις ἐκεῖθεν ἔρχεσθαι,  
φησὶν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μὴ  
φοβεῖσθε.”

even what is believed to come from there,  
says, 'Do not be afraid of the signs of  
heaven.'

6.11.66 | “Ιδνμεν καὶ δεύτερον ἐπιχείρημα,  
πᾶς οὐ δύνανται οἱ ἀστέρες εἶναι  
ποιητικοὶ, ἀλλ', εἰ ἄρα, σημαντικοὶ. ἀπὸ  
πλείστων γὰρ ὅσων γενέσεων ἔστι λαβεῖν  
τὰ περὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου · (τοῦτο δὲ καθ'  
ὑπόθεσιν λέγομεν, συγχωροῦντες τὸ  
ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπ'  
ἀνθρώπων δύνασθαι') φέρε γὰρ εἴπειν,  
περὶ τοῦ τόνδε πείσεσθαι τόδε καὶ  
τεθνήξεσθαι περιπεσόντα λησταῖς καὶ  
ἀναιρεθέντα φησὶ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν ἀπό  
τε τῆς ἴδιας αὐτοῦ γενέσεως, κἄν τύχη  
ἔχων ἀδελφοὺς πλείονας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστου  
αὐτῶν.

6.11.66 | We see a second attempt, how the stars cannot be creative, but rather, if anything, they are significant. For from many generations, it is possible to take what is about one person; (we say this by assumption, allowing that their knowledge can be taken up by humans). For it can be said that regarding this person, it is possible to know that he will suffer this and die, having fallen to robbers and being killed, based on his own lineage, even if he has the chance of having more brothers, from each of them.

6.11.67 | περιέχειν γὰρ οἴονται τὴν  
ἐκάστου γένεσιν, ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ ληστῶν  
τεθνηξόμενον, ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς  
καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὴν τῆς γαμετῆς καὶ  
τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ τῶν  
φιλτάτων, τάχα δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν  
ἀναιρούντων.

6.11.67 | For they believe that each person's lineage includes a brother who will die by robbers, as well as the lineage of the father, the mother, the wife, and their sons, and the servants and the dearest ones, perhaps even those who will kill them.

6.11.68 | πᾶς οὖν δυνατὸν τὸν τοσαύταις  
γενέσεσιν, ἔνα αὐτοῖς τοῦτο συγχωρηθῆ,   
έμπεριεχόμενον γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
σχηματισμοῦ τῶν ἀστέρων τῆσδε μᾶλλον  
τῆς γενέσεως ἢ τῶνδε; ἀπίθανον γὰρ καὶ τὸ  
φάσκειν τὸν σχηματισμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ  
τοῦδε τινος γενέσει ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι,  
τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶνδε γενέσει μὴ πεποιηκέναι,  
ἀλλὰ σεσημασμέναι μόνον.

6.11.68 | How then is it possible that with so many lineages, one can allow this to happen to them, being influenced by the arrangement of the stars more than by their own lineage or those of others? For it is unlikely to say that the arrangement in this person's lineage has caused these things, while in the lineages of others it has not caused anything, but only marked them.

6.11.69 | ήλίθιον γάρ τὸ εἴπεῖν ὅτι ἡ πάντων γένεσις περιεῖχε καθ' ἔκαστον ποιητικὸν τοῦ τόνδε ἀναιρεθῆναι· ὥστε ἐν γενέσεσιν, καθ' ὑπόθεσιν λέγω, πεντήκοντα περιέχεσθαι τὸ τόνδε τινὰ ἀναιρεθῆναι. οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅπως δυνήσονται σῶσαι τὸ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ σχεδὸν πάντων τοιόνδε εἶναι τὸν σχηματισμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως, ὡς ὀκταήμερον αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν περιτομὴν, ἀκρωτηριαζομένους καὶ ἐλκουμένους καὶ φλεγμονῆς περιπεσουμένους καὶ τραύμασι, καὶ ἂμα τῇ εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσόδῳ ἰατρῶν δεομένους· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰσμαηλίταις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν τοιόνδε ὡς πάντας περιτέμνεσθαι τρισκαιδεκαετεῖς. τοῦτο γάρ ιστόρηται περὶ αὐτῶν.

6.11.70 | καὶ πάλιν τῶνδέ τινων τῶν ἐν Αἴθιοψι τοῖσδε τὰς κόγχας τῶν γονάτων περιαιρεῖρθαι καὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν μαστῶν. πῶς γάρ ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν οἵ ἀστέρες τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; οἷμαι ὅτι εἱ ἐπιστήσαιμεν οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ στῆσαι δυνησόμεθά τι ἀληθὲς εἴπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν.

6.11.71 | τοσούτων δὲ φερομένων ὄδῶν προγνωστικῶν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἔξωκειλαν οἵ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τὸ τὴν μὲν οἰώνιστικὴν καὶ τὴν θυτικὴν μὴ λέγειν περιέχειν τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ σημαίνειν μόνον, καὶ τὴν γενεθλιαλογικήν.

6.11.72 | εἰ γάρ ἐπιγινώσκεται, (ίνα καὶ χαρισώμεθα τὸ γινώσκεσθαι,) γίνεται δὲ

6.11.69 | For it is foolish to say that the lineage of all people includes a creative force that leads to this person being killed. So, in lineages, I say by assumption, there could be fifty that include this person being killed. I do not know how they can save those in Judea, almost all of whom have such a fate at birth, as they receive circumcision on the eighth day, being mutilated and suffering from wounds and inflammation, while at the same time needing doctors for their life. And those among the Ishmaelites in Arabia are all said to be circumcised at thirteen years old. For this is what is reported about them.

6.11.70 | And again, some of those in Ethiopia remove the shells from their knees, and the Amazons remove one of their breasts. How can the stars cause these things to happen to these peoples? I think that if we knew, we would not even be able to stand and say anything true about them.

6.11.71 | With so many predictive paths being offered, I do not understand how people could avoid discussing the omens and the sacrifices that cause these things, but only point them out, and no longer consider the natal astrology.

6.11.72 | For if it is understood, (so that we may also be granted the understanding,) it

έκειθεν ὅθεν ἡ γνῶσις λαμβάνεται, τί μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰωνῶν ἔσται τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν οἰωνῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχνων τῶν θυομένων; τί δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν σπλάγχνων τῶν θυομένων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν διαττόντων ἀστέρων; ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκέσει εἰς ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ ποιητικούς εῖναι τοὺς ἀστέρας τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων.”

6.11.73 | “Οπερ δὲ συγκεχωρήκαμεν, οὐ γάρ ἐλύπει τὸν λόγον, ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δυναμένων καταλαμβάνειν τοὺς οὐρανίους σχηματισμοὺς, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα, καὶ ὃν ἔστι σημεῖα, τοῦτο φέρε νῦν ἔξετάσωμεν εἰς ἀληθές ἔστι.

6.11.74 | φασὶ τοίνυν οἶ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν γενεθλιαλογίαν ἀληθῶς καταλαμβάνειν εἰδέναι οὐ μόνον τὸ κατὰ πόστου δωδεκατημορίου ἔστιν ὁ καλούμενος ἀστὴρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ποίας μοίρας τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ, οἴ δὲ ἀκριβέστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποίου ἔξηκοστοῦ τοῦ ἔξηκοστοῦ, καὶ τοῦτό φασι δεῖν ποιεῖν ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν πλανωμένων, ἔξετάζοντα τὴν σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς.

6.11.75 | πάλιν αὖ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ὁρίζοντος δεήσει, φασὶν, ἵδειν οὐ μόνον τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ποῖον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μοῖραν καὶ τὸ ἔξηκοστὸν τῆς μοίρας, τὸ πρῶτον ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἔξηκοστόν.

6.11.76 | πῶς τοίνυν τῆς ὥρας πλατεῖ λόγῳ

happens from where knowledge is received, what is more likely to cause events, from the stars or from the omens, and more from the omens or from the entrails of the sacrificed animals? And what is more from the entrails of the sacrificed animals than from the wandering stars? These things, then, for the present, will be enough to deny that the stars have a creative role in human affairs.

6.11.73 | What we have agreed upon does not weaken the argument, as humans are able to understand the heavenly formations and the signs, and what those signs are. Let us now examine whether this is true.

6.11.74 | Therefore, those skilled in these matters say that to truly understand what is related to natal astrology, one must know not only which star is called the ruler of the twelfth house, but also which parts of the twelfth house and which of the sixth house. The more precise ones also consider which parts of the sixth house, and they say this must be done for each of the wandering stars, examining their relationship to the fixed stars.

6.11.75 | Again, they say it is necessary to look at the eastern horizon, not only to see which of the twelve houses was there, but also to know the part and the sixth house of that part, whether it is the first or the second sixth.

6.11.76 | How then can someone take the

ῆμισυ δωδεκατημορίου περιεχούσης δύναται τις λαβεῖν τὸ ἔξηκοστὸν, μὴ ἔχων τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν ὥρῶν, ὡστε, φέρε εἰπεῖν, εἰδέναι ὅτι γεγέννηται ὁ δεῖνα ὥρα τετάρτη καὶ ἡμίσει ὥρας, καὶ τετάρτω, ὄγδοω, καὶ ἐκκαιδεκάτω, καὶ δυοτριακοστῷ;

sixth house when half of the twelve houses is covered by the hour, without having the ratio of the division of the hours? For example, can one know that a certain person was born at the fourth hour and a half, and at the fourth, eighth, and sixteenth, and the twenty-second?

6.11.77 | παρὰ πολὺ γάρ φασι παραλλάττειν τὰ σημαινόμενα παρὰ τὴν ἀγνωσίαν οὐ τῆς ὅλης ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ποστημορίου αὐτῆς. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς διδύμοις γεννωμένοις πολλάκις τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ ἀκαριαῖον ὥρας ἔστι, καὶ πολλαὶ παραλλαγαὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαντῶσιν, ὡς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, παρὰ τὴν αἵτιαν τῆς σχέσεως τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ τὸ μόριον τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου τὸ παρὰ τὸν ὄρίζοντα, οὐ καταλαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν νομιζομένων τὴν ὥραν τετηρηκένα.

6.11.77 | For they say that the meanings often differ greatly because of ignorance, not only of the whole hour but also of its position. In fact, for those born under twins, there is often a momentary and immediate hour, and many variations of events and actions happen to them, as they say, regardless of the reason for the relationship of the stars, and the part of the twelve houses that is by the horizon, which is not recognized by those who keep the hour.

6.11.78 | οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται λέγειν ὅτι τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦδε τῆς γενέσεως πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε ἔστιν ὥρας τριακοστόν. ἀλλ' ἔστω συγκεχωρημένον αὐτοῖς τόδε κατὰ τὸ ἔκλαβεῖν τὴν ὥραν. φέρεται δὴ θεώρημα ἀποδεικνύον τὸν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον ὁμοίως τοῖς πλανωμένοις φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ ἀνατολᾶς δι' ἐκατὸν ἑτῶν μοῖραν μίαν, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἐναλλάττειν τὴν θέσιν τῶν δωδεκατημορίων ἑτέρου μὲν τυγχάνοντος τοῦ νοητοῦ δωδεκατημορίου, ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ ὡσανεὶ μορφώματος. τὰ δὲ ἀποτελέσματα φασὶν εὑρίσκεσθαι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ μορφώματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωδίου, ὅπερ οὐ πάνυ τι δυνατὸν καταλαμβάνεσθαι.

6.11.78 | For no one can say that the time between this birth and that hour is thirty. But let this be allowed to them according to how they understand the hour. It is said that the theory shows the zodiac circle similarly moving from the west to the east over a hundred years by one part, and this changes the position of the twelve houses over a long time, with one being the sensible house and the other being the apparent form. They say that the results are found not from the form, but from the sensible zodiac, which cannot be fully grasped.

6.11.79 | ἔστω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συγκεχωρημένον, τὸ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τὸ νοητὸν δωδεκατημόριον, ἡ δύνασθαι ἐκ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ δωδεκατημορίου λαμβάνεσθαι τὸ ἀληθές· ἀλλὰ τίν γε σύγκρασιν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένην τῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς τυγχανόντων καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅμοιουσιν οὐχ οἷοί τε σώσαι κάτα πάν, ἀμαυρουμένου τοῦ δηλουμένου, φέρε εἴπεν, χείρονος, ἀπὸ τοῦδε διὰ τὸ ἐπιβλέπεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κρείττονος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἡ τοσόνδε ἀμαυρουμένου. πολλάκις πάλιν τῆς ἀμαυρώσεως τῆς τοῦ χείρονος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβλέψεως τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἐμποδιζομένης, ἐκ τοῦ ἔτερον οὐτωσὶ ἐσχηματίσθαι, χειρόνων ὅντα σημαντικόν.

6.11.80 | καὶ οἵμαι ἐπιστήσαντά τινα τοῖς τόποις ἀπογνῶναι τὴν περὶ τούτων κατάληψιν, οὐδαμῶς ἀνθρώποις ἐκκειμένην, ἀλλ', εἰ ἄρα, μέχρι τοῦ σημανθῆναι μόνον φθάνουσαν.

6.11.81 | εἰ δέ τις ἐν πείρᾳ γεγένηται τῶν πραγμάτων, μᾶλλον εἴσεται τὸ ἐν τῷ στοχάζεσθαι ἀποπτωτικὸν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν συγγραψαμένων ἢπερ νομιζόμενον ἐπιτευκτικόν. καὶ Ἡσαΐας γοῦν, ὡς οὐ δυναμένων τούτων εὐρίσκεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, φησὶ πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα τῶν Χαλδαίων τῶν ταῦτα μάλιστα παρὰ πάντας ἐπαγγελλομένων 'στήτωσαν δὴ καὶ σωσάτωσάν σε οἱ ἀστρολόγοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀναγγειλάτωσάν σοι τί μέλλει ἐπὶ σὲ ἔρχεσθαι.' διὰ γὰρ τούτων διδασκόμεθα μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς πάνυ περὶ ταῦτα φιλομαθεῖς προδηλοῦν ἢ βεβούληται κύριος ἐκάστῳ ἔθνει ἐπαγγεῖν."

6.11.79 | Let it also be allowed that the sensible zodiac can be understood, or that the true can be taken from the sensible zodiac. But they themselves will agree that the combination of those in these forms cannot be preserved completely, as the clarity is dimmed, so to speak, by the worse one, because it is seen by the stronger one, and to such an extent that it is dimmed. Often again, the dimming of the worse one is hindered by the sight of the stronger one, and from the other, it is shaped in this way, being significant of the worse.

6.11.80 | And I think that some, having reached certain places, have given up understanding about these things, not at all left to humans, but if at all, only reaching until it is marked.

6.11.81 | And if someone has experienced the matters, they will know better what is in the thinking of those who speak and of those who have written than what is believed to be achievable. And indeed, Isaiah, since these things cannot be found by humans, says to the daughter of the Chaldeans, who especially promise these things to everyone, 'Let the astrologers of the heavens stand and save you; let them announce to you what is about to come upon you.' For through these, we are taught that those who are very eager to learn about these things cannot clearly show what the Lord wishes to bring upon each nation.

6.11.82 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῖν οὗτος εἰς δύο τὰ μέγιστα συναιρεῖται λόγος, εἷς τε τὸ μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν χρᾶν νενομισμένους καὶ εἰς τὸ μηδὲ ἀγαθοὺς δαίμονας, τούναντίον δὲ γόητάς τινας καὶ πλάνους καὶ ἀπατεῶνας, ἐπ' ὄλεθρῳ καὶ διαστροφῇ τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας τὴν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλάνην τήν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν περὶ εἰμαρμένης προβεβλημένους.

6.11.83 | ἀφ' ἣς μηδενὸς τῶν ἔξ αἰῶνος πλὴν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὸ πάντα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος λελυτρωμένου, εἰκότως ἡμῖν ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς τὰ παρόντα πάντα διὰ σπουδῆς γέγονεν, ὡς ἀν ἔργῳ μάθοιμεν ἐκ τίνων προγόνων φύντες καὶ οἴᾳ τὸ πρὶν ἀπάτη συνεχομένων, ἔξ δόποσῆς τε καὶ πηλίκης ἀνανεύσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἀβλεψίας τε καὶ ἀθεότητος τὴν ἴασιν τῆς μακράς καὶ πολυχρονίου δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ μόνης τῆς σωτηρίου Εὐαγγελικῆς εὐράμεθα διδασκαλίας.

6.11.82 | Such is the man who has been revealed. But indeed, this whole matter is summed up for us in two main points: first, that those who are considered gods in the city are not gods, and second, that there are no good demons, but rather certain sorcerers, deceivers, and frauds, leading to the destruction and corruption of true piety towards humans, as well as the other deception and that concerning fate.

6.11.83 | From which, no one of the human race has been redeemed except Jesus our Savior, it is fitting for us that in the beginnings of the Gospel Preparation, all these things have come to pass through diligence, so that we might learn from certain ancestors and how the earlier deception continued. From which, both we and all human life, having turned away from ignorance and godlessness, have found the healing of the long-lasting and many-year demonic influence through the teaching of the saving Gospel.

## Book Seven (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ)

### Section 1

7.1.1 | Ἐβραίων πέρι λοιπὸν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ εὐσεβείας, ἦν τῶν πατρίων ἀπάντων προτετιμήκαμεν, τὸν τοῦ βίου τρόπον ὑπογράψαι καιρός.

7.1.2 | ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἀλόγῳ, κεκριμένῳ δὲ καὶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ τῆς διεψευσμένης

7.1.1 | Now it is time to write about the Hebrews and their philosophy and piety, which we have honored above all the traditions of our ancestors.

7.1.2 | Since we have formed a reasoned and sensible understanding, not irrational,

όμοιū πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων θεολογίας τὴν ἀπόλειψιν Πεποιημένοι συνέστημεν, ὡρα λοιπὸν τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιλύσασθαι, τὴν αἵτιαν ἀποδιδόντας τῆς τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν λόγων μεταποιήσεως.

to dismiss the false teachings of all Greeks and non-Greeks together, it is now time to address the second part, giving the reason for the transformation of the Hebrew writings.

7.1.3 | Τὸ μὲν οὖν μὴ φέρειν τινὰ μέμψιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων τοῦ συμφέροντος μετάληψιν ἐπὶ τῆς δεούσης σχολῆς παραστήσομεν, πάντα τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ αὐτοῖς γε τοῖς βιωμένοις αὐτῶν φιλοσόφοις τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλως κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς λυσιτελοῦντα χρείαις, παρά βαρβάρων ἐβκευωρήβθαι ἐπιδείζοντες· τὸ δὲ μηδέν πω μηδ' ὅλως παρά τισιν εύρηβθαι τῶν ἔθνῶν, οἷον τὸ παρ' Ἐβραίων ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν πεπορισμένον, ὥδε ἀν γένοιτο πρόδηλον.

7.1.3 | We will show that no one can blame us for taking what is useful from the barbarians, as we present the necessary study. We will teach all the philosophical lessons to the Greeks and even to their own philosophers, which are beneficial for common needs and political matters, while demonstrating that we have not taken anything at all from any of the nations, such as the good things we have gained from the Hebrews, which will become clear.

## Section 2

7.2.1 | Οἱ μεν δὴ λοιποί πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἄνωθεν ἐκ πρώτης τον βίον σνστάσεως καὶ εἰς τὸν χρόνον μόνῃ τῇ τῶν σωμάτων προσανασχόντες αἰσθήσει τῷ μηδέν περί τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ψυχῆς διειληφέναι πλέον τε οὐδὲν τῶν ὄρωμένων ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν ἡγησάμενοι, τὸ καλόν καὶ συμφέρον καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν τῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἀνέθηκαν ἡδονῆ· μόνην τε ταύτην, ὡς τὸ μόνον οῦσαν ἀγαθὸν καὶ προσηνές καὶ ἡδὺ πρὸς ἀπόλανσίν τε εὔδαιμονος βίου αὐτάρκη, περισπονδαστὸν ὑποθέμενοι θεῶν μεγίστην ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ τεθειάκασιν, οὐδὲ τῆς ζωῆς αν της, εἰ μὴ μετέχοι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἡδονῆς, ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ ζῆν οὐ διὰ τὸ ζῆν, διὰ δὲ τὲ ἡδέως ζῆν ἀσπαζόμενοι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἴδιοις εὐξάμενοι παιβίν ὡς μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρεῖναι.

7.2.1 | The other people, indeed, think that life begins only with the body and that nothing about the soul exists beyond what can be seen. They believe that the good and beneficial are only found in the pleasures of the body. They consider this pleasure to be the only true good, pleasant, and essential for a happy and self-sufficient life. They assume that the greatest gods agree with this view, and they do not care about life itself unless it includes the pleasures of the body. They seek to live not just to exist, but to live happily, believing that this is the only good that can be present in their lives.

7.2.2 | ἐνθεν οὶ μὲν τὰ χορηγὰ τῆς ἑνσάρκον ζωῆς ἥλιον εἶναι καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας ὑποτοπάβαντες, καί πως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ φωτὸς καταπλαγέντες πρώτους θεὺς ἀνηγόρευσαν, μόνους αἴτιους τῶν ὅλων εἶναι ἀποφηνάμενοι· οἵ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς καρποὺς τὴν τε ὑγρὰν καὶ ἔηρὰν καὶ θερμὴν ούσιαν τά τε λοιπά τοῦ κόσμου μέρη, δι' ᾧν αὐτοῖς τὰ σώματα τρεφόμενά τε καὶ πιαινόμενα τὴν ἑνσάρκον δόμοῦ ζωήν τε καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐθηρᾶτο, θεῶν πάλιν προσηγορίᾳ τετιμήκασιν· οἱ δὲ πολὺ πρότερον τούτων γυμνῇ καὶ ἀκαλύπτῳ κεφαλῇ τὰ σφέτερα πάθη καὶ τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῶν ἡδονὴν, ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον καὶ ἀφροδίτην, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν κρατεῖν εἰπόντες ἀπεθέωσαν· οἵ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἡδέων χορηγούς τε καὶ εὐρετὰς αὐτοῖς γενομένους ἄνδρας τυράννους τινὰς καὶ δυνάστας, δι' ἃς ἔτυχον ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐπαθείας, ζῶντάς τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν ἐθεοποίησαν· οἱ δὲ μοχθηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ δαιμόνων γενόμενοι παραπαίγνια ἔτι μειζόνως τὸ παθητικὸν αὐτῶν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς συνηγήσαν, τὰ ἡδέα καὶ παρὰ τούτων διὰ τῆς νενομισμένης αὐτῶν θεραπείας ἐκπορίζοντες· οἵ δὲ μηδενὸς τούτων ἀνασχόμενοι τὸ ἄθεον ὡς πολὺ κρεῖττον τῆς τοιᾶσδε θεολογίας εἰσηγήσαντο· οἵ δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἀπάντων ἀναιδέστεροι τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ τρισευδαίμονα βίον ούδ' ἄλλον εἶναι ἢ τὸν ἡδὺν ἀπεφήναντο, τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἡδονὴν δρισάμενοι.

7.2.3 | ταύτῃ δ' οὓν τὸ πάντων ανθρώπων γένος, ὡς ἀν δεσποίνη πικρῷ καὶ χαλεπωτάτῃ, ἡδονῇ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ αἰσχρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ δαίμονι, καταδεδουλιομένον παντοίαις ἐνεφύρετο ταλαιπωρίαις. αὕτη

7.2.2 | From this, some people considered the sun, moon, and stars to be the sources of physical life and, amazed by the light, called them the first gods, claiming they were the only causes of everything. Others honored the fruits of the earth, both wet and dry, and the warm essence, along with the other parts of the world, which nourish and strengthen their bodies, as gods. Still, others, much earlier, openly acknowledged their passions and their goddess of pleasure, love, desire, and Aphrodite, claiming these gods had power over them. They viewed certain men, who were the givers and discoverers of pleasures, as tyrants and rulers, through whom they found happiness, and even after death, they made them into gods. Those who became spirits of evil and demons increased the more passive part of their souls, seeking pleasures through their established practices. They rejected all of this and proposed that atheism was much better than such theology. Some, even more shameless than these, declared that the life of a philosopher, which they saw as the most blessed, was nothing other than a life of pleasure, defining pleasure as the ultimate good.

7.2.3 | Thus, the whole race of humans, as if enslaved to a bitter and harsh mistress, the goddess of pleasure, and even more to a shameful and uncontrolled demon, is overwhelmed by all kinds of suffering. For

γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἵερὸν  
ἀπόστολον, μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν  
χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ·  
δόμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες, ἀφέντες ἀφέντες  
τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας,  
έξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὄρεξι αὐτῶν εἰς  
ἄλληλους, ἄρρεωες ἐν ἄρρεσι τὴν  
ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν  
ἀντιμισθίαν, ἥν ἔδει, τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν  
ἐαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες.

7.2.4 | ταύτῃ καὶ "Ελληνες καὶ βάρβαροι,  
σοφοί τε καὶ ίδιωται, χαμαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
γαστέρᾳ πεσόντες, ὡς θεῷ τῇ ἡδονῇ  
προσεκύνησαν, πρηνεῖς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
ἐρπετῶν δίκην καταβαλόντες, ἀμαχον καὶ  
ἀπαραίτητον θεὸν ταύτην ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ  
ἔστερξαν· ἐν τε ώδαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις, ἐν τε  
Θεῶν ἐօρταῖς, ἐν τε ταῖς πανδήμοις Θέαις,  
μόνης τῆς αἴσχρᾶς σχρᾶς καὶ ἀκολάστου  
ἡδονῆς τὰ ὅργια καὶ τὰς ἀσέμνους τελετὰς  
μυούμενοί τε καὶ τελοῦντες, ὡς εἴ καί τι  
ἄλλο, καὶ τόδε καλῶς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνηρῆσθαι.  
"ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας ἐπίνοια είδώλων."

7.2.5 | καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
έθνῶν θεολογίας τοσαύτην εἰλήφει, ὡς ἐν  
βραχεῖ φάναι, τὴν πολυτροπίαν, μιᾶς μὲν  
ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀκαθάρτου καὶ μιαρᾶς ἡδονῆς  
ἀνημμένα, ὕδρας δὲ πολυαυχένου καὶ  
πολυκεφάλου τρόπον εἰς πολλὰς καὶ  
ποικίλας διαιρέσεις τε καὶ τομὰς  
έξενηνεγμένα.

7.2.6 | ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τοσαύτην ἔτυχον  
προβεβλημένοι τὴν πλάνην, είκότα δὴ  
αὐτοῖς ἡδονῇ θεῷ καὶ κακῷ δαίμονι  
χρωμένοις ἐπὶ κακοῖς κακὰ συνηγείρετο,

their women, as the sacred apostle said,  
have changed the natural use of femininity  
into something unnatural. Similarly, the  
men, abandoning the natural use of  
femininity, have burned with desire for one  
another, committing shameful acts among  
themselves, and receiving the punishment  
they deserve for their deception within  
themselves.

7.2.4 | In this way, both Greeks and  
barbarians, wise and ordinary people, lying  
on the ground and fallen on their bellies,  
worshiped the goddess of pleasure,  
throwing themselves down like reptiles.  
They considered her an invincible and  
unavoidable goddess and honored her. In  
songs and hymns, at festivals of the gods,  
and in public celebrations, they performed  
the rituals and shameless ceremonies of  
this shameful and uncontrolled pleasure, as  
if to say that this was good for them. "For  
the beginning of fornication is the  
invention of idols."

7.2.5 | And concerning the theology of  
other nations, it has taken such a form, as  
to say briefly, the many shapes of one  
source of unclean and filthy pleasure, like a  
many-headed and many-necked hydra, has  
been divided into many and various parts  
and sections.

7.2.6 | Since they have fallen into such a  
great deception, it is fitting that they, using  
a goddess of pleasure and an evil demon,  
gathered evil upon evil. They were caught

γυναικομανίαις καὶ ἀρρένων φθοραῖς μητρογαμίαις τε καὶ θυγατρομιξίαις τὸν πάντα καταφυρομένοις βίον, καὶ τὴν ἄγριον καὶ θηριώδη φύσιν ὑπερβολῇ φαυλότητος νενικηκόσι. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ τρόπος τῶν παλαιῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ τῆς διεψευσμένης αὐτῶν θεολογίας, διὰ τῶν συνηγμένων ἡμῖν Ελληνικῶν λογογράφων τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀποδέδεικται.

### Section 3

7.3.1 | Εἴ δὴ οὖν συνῶπταί σοι ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν βίος, ἄθρει δὴ λοιπὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ μόνους παῖδας Ἐβραίων ἐν τοσούτοις τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀπιόντας.

7.3.2 | οἵδε γάρ πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἄνωθεν ἐκ πρώτης τοῦ βίου καταβολῆς λογικῆς θεωρίᾳ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀναθέντες, καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς φυσιολογίᾳ εὔσεβῶς ἐπιστήσαντες, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ, ἐξ ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν συνεστῶς κατεμάνθανον, ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας, οὐ θεοὺς, ἔργα δὲ εἶναι θεοῦ διελογίσαντο, τὴν φύσιν τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας οὐ μόνον ἀλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄψυχον εἶναι, καθ' ὅσον ἡρώδης καὶ φθαρτὴ οὕσα τυγχάνει, συννοήσαντες, κάπειτα λογισάμενοι ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε τὴν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου διάταξιν, εὖ καὶ σοφῶς ἡρμοσμένην, ἔμπλεων τε ζῷων ἐμψύχων λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων ὑπάρχουσαν, αὐτόματον ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὴν αἴτιαν, οὐδέ γε τῶν ἐμψύχων τὴν ποιητικὴν ἀρχὴν ἄψυχον ὑπολαμβάνειν, οὐδέ' ἀλογον τὴν τῶν λογικῶν δημιουργόν.

up in women's madness and the destruction of men, in mother-son marriages and father-daughter unions, leading a life full of chaos, and they have been defeated by their wild and beastly nature through extreme wickedness. Such was the way of the ancient nations and their false theology, as shown to us by Greek writers and philosophers in the earlier texts.

7.3.1 | If, then, the life of the ancients is clear to you, consider only in your mind the Hebrew children going in the opposite direction in such matters.

7.3.2 | For these were the first and only people among all humans who, from the very beginning of life, raised their minds with logical thought. They also studied the nature of the universe with piety. First, they learned about the elements of bodies: earth, water, air, and fire, from which everything is made. They understood the sun, the moon, and the stars, not as gods, but as works of God. They realized that the nature of physical substance is not only without reason but also lifeless, since it is fluid and perishable. Then, they reasoned that the order of the entire universe is well and wisely arranged, full of living beings, both rational and irrational. They believed that the cause of this order is automatic, and they did not think that the creative principle of living beings is lifeless or that the creator of rational beings is without reason.

7.3.3 | ἐπεὶ δὲ μηδὲ ξύλων καὶ λίθων αὐτόματός ποτ' ἀν οίκοδομίᾳ συσταίη, ούδε γε ἐσθῆς ὑφάντου δίχα συντελεσθείη, ούδε πόλλεις καὶ πολιτεῖαι νόμων ἔκτὸς καὶ ἀρχοντικῆς διατάξεως, ούδε ἔκτὸς κυβερνήτου ναῦς, ούδε τὸ ρυμικρότατον τέχνης ὄργανον ὑποσταίη ἀν μὴ διὰ τεχνίτου, ούδ' εύόρμου ποτὲ ναῦς λιμένος τύχοι μὴ οὐχὶ σὺν ἀγαθῷ κυβερνήτῃ· ούδ' ἡ τῶν καθόλου στοιχείων ἄρα φύσις, ἄψυχος οὖσα καὶ ἀλογος, τῷ καθ' ἐαυτὴν λόγῳ δίχα τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας λόγου ποτὲ καὶ ζωῆς ἀνθέξεται. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοηθέντες οἱ τῆς Ἐβραίων εύσεβείας πατέρες, ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ καλλονῆς κτισμάτων νῷ κεκαθαρμένω καὶ ψυχῆς διαυγέσιν ὅμμασι τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν θεὸν ἐσεβάσθησαν.

## Section 4

7.4.1 | Κάπειτα μέρος οὐ μικρὸν τοῦ παντὸς σφάς αὐτοὺς εἶναι συναισθόμενοι τὸ μέν τι αὐτῶν τίμιον εἶναι ἡγήσαντο, (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ ψυχὴν νενοημένον,) τὸ δὲ τούτου χώραν περιβολῆς ἐπέχειν · τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ δὴ τοῦτον διελόμενοι τὸν τρόπον τὴν πᾶσαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου ζωῆς φροντίδα καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσηγέκαντο.

7.4.2 | τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ προσφιλές εἶναι λογισάμενοι, ὃς που τὴν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων κρατεῖν οὐ ἥωμη σώματος ὡς ἀρετῇ ψυχῆς ἐδωρήσατο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων εἶναι ἄψυχα, οἷα λίθους καὶ ξύλα, τὰ δὲ ζωτικῆς δυνάμεως μέτοχα,

7.3.3 | Since not even wood and stone could build anything by themselves, nor could clothing be made without weaving, nor could many cities and laws exist without proper order, nor could a ship sail without a skilled captain, nor could even the smallest tool of art exist without a craftsman, nor could a well-built ship ever reach the harbor without a good helmsman; therefore, the nature of the basic elements, being lifeless and without reason, could never follow its own logic apart from the highest wisdom of God. Having thought about these things, the fathers of Hebrew piety, with a pure mind and clear vision, honored the creator God of all things for his greatness and beauty in creation.

7.4.1 | Then, realizing that they were a significant part of the whole, they thought that one part of themselves was precious (this being the true human, understood in terms of the soul), while the other part was the body that surrounds it. So, considering this, they brought their attention and effort to the care of the inner life of a person.

7.4.2 | Thinking that this was pleasing to the creator God of all things, who gave humans a nature that is not ruled by the strength of the body but by the virtue of the soul; for some things, like stones and wood, are lifeless, while others, like plants from the earth, share in life, and others, like

οῖα τὰ ἀπὸ γῆς βλαρτήματα, τὰ δὲ  
αἰσθήσεως ὄρμῆς τε φανταστικῆς  
μεμοιραμένα, οῖα ζώων τὰ ἄλογα· πάντα δὲ  
ταῦτα ἐνὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει πρὸς  
ὑπηρεσίαν δουλοῦσθαι, οὐ δύμῃ σώματος  
καὶ ίσχύι· κατηναγκασμένα, λογισμῷ δὲ καὶ  
ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ἢ τὸ κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
γῆς ἀρχικόν τε καὶ βασιλικὸν γέρας ἄνωθεν  
παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἴτίου συγκεχωρῆσθαι  
κατειλήφασιν’)

7.4.3 | ἐνθεν ὄρμώμενοι σῶμα μὲν καὶ τὰ  
σωμάτων ἡδεῖα οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων  
ἐπὶ γῆς θρεμμάτων προτιμᾶν διενοήθησαν,  
τὸ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρχον, ὡς ἀν τοῦ πάντων  
ἄρχοντος οἰκεῖον, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λογικόν  
τε καὶ νοερὸν, θεῖόν τε καὶ ἐπιστημονικὸν  
ὡς ἀν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν  
φέρον, μόνον διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον.

7.4.4 | εἶτα μηδὲν ἄλλο τι ἐνθυμηθέντες  
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τοῦ πάντων ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦ  
θεοῦ, τέλος ἀπάσης εύδαιμονίας τὴν αὐτοῦ  
γνῶσίν τε καὶ φιλίαν εἶναι ἀπερφήναντο, ὅτι  
καὶ αὐτῆς ζωῆς καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ  
τῶν τούτοις ἀναγκαίων μόνος αὐτὸς  
ἀνηπται τὴν αἴτιαν.

7.4.5 | τούτῳ δὴ οὗν σφᾶς ὅλους αύτῷ  
σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ φέροντες ἀνατεθείκασι,  
τεθείκασι, τὸν πάντα αύτῶν βίον ἐπ' αύτὸν  
ἀναρτησάμενοι, καὶ μόνω προσέχειν, ἄλλῳ  
δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ὄρωμένων ἀξιώσαντες.

7.4.6 | οὕτω δὴ φιλόθεοι δμοῦ καὶ

animals, have senses and desires. All these things are meant to serve humanity, not through the strength of the body, but through reasoning and the virtue of the soul, which is seen as the highest and royal gift from the cause of all things.

7.4.3 | From this, they decided not to value the body and its pleasures more than other living things on earth. Instead, they recognized the ruling part within them, which is connected to the ruler of all, and the rational and thinking part of the soul, which is divine and knowledgeable, as reflecting the likeness of the highest God. They held this understanding only through their effort and care.

7.4.4 | Then, thinking of nothing else as good except the good giver God of all good things, they declared that the end of all happiness is his knowledge and love, because he alone is the cause of life, soul, body, and all that is necessary for them.

7.4.5 | So, they dedicated themselves completely to him, bringing their whole body and soul to him. They hung their entire life on him and focused only on him, not valuing anything else among the things they could see.

7.4.6 | Thus, they truly appeared as lovers

θεοφιλεῖς ἀναφανέντες θεραπευταί τινες  
σὸντως καὶ Ἱερεῖς τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ  
ἀπεφάνθησαν, ἥ καὶ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ  
βασιλικὸν Ἱεράτευμά τε θεοῦ καὶ ἔθνος  
ἄγιον προσαγορευθῆναι ἡξιώθησαν,  
σπέρμα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ταύτης εὔσεβείας καὶ  
τοῖς ὄψιγόνοις αὐτῶν ἀπολελοιπότες.

of God and friends of God, some as servants and priests of the Most High God. They were considered a chosen and royal priesthood and a holy nation, leaving behind a legacy of true piety for their descendants.

7.4.7 | Ἄρ' οὖν λογισμῷ σοι δοχοῦμεν  
τούσδε τῶν Ἑλληνιχῶν προτετιμηκέναι,  
καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Φοινίκων τε καὶ Αἴγυπτίων  
θεῶν τῶν τε περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δυσφήμων  
ἀτοπημάτων τὰς παρ' Ἐβραίοις περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
εὔσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διηγήσεις ἀποδέξασθαι;

7.4.7 | So, should we think that these Greeks are preferred over the Phoenician and Egyptian gods, and that we should accept the stories from the Hebrews about pious men instead of the shameful actions of their gods?

## Section 5

7.5.1 | Θέα δ' οὖν ἔτι είς ὅσον θεοφιλοῦς  
ἀρετῆς προελθεῖν φασι τοὺς δηλουμένους.  
ἀποδεξάμενον τὸ θεῖον τῆς τε ἄλλης τοῦ  
βίου εὔσεβείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας τῆς τε περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτὸν θεραπείας τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἥδη καὶ  
θειοτέρων χρησμῶν θεοφανειῶν τε αὐτοὺς  
καὶ ἀγγελικῶν ὄπτασιῶν ἡξίουν, τὰ  
ἐνδέοντα τῇ θνητῇ φύσει ταῖς τῶν  
πρακτέων ὑποθήκαις ἐπιδιορθούμενον,  
δογμάτων τε καὶ μαθημάτων αὐτοῖς  
θεοπρεπῶν τὴν γνῶσιν ἀποκαλύπτον, ὡς  
μηκέτι συλλογισμοῖς, μηδὲ εἰκασίαις,  
ἐκλάμψει δὲ αὐτῆς ἀληθείας φωτίζεσθαι  
τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν, ὥστε ἥδη  
θεοφορουμένους τὴν τῶν μέλλοντων  
ἔσεσθαι ὡς παρόντων ἐπιθεωρεῖν  
κατάληψιν, καὶ τὰ καθόλου συμβησόμενα  
τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει θεσπίζειν.

7.5.1 | So, they say that the divine nature leads those who are shown to a greater love of virtue. Accepting the divine as well as the piety and philosophy of life, they also deserve visions of divine oracles and angelic appearances. They correct what is lacking in human nature with practical advice, revealing to them knowledge of divine teachings and studies. This way, they will no longer be misled by thoughts or guesses, but will be enlightened by the light of truth in their minds. Thus, they will already be able to see the future as if it were present, and they will be able to predict what will happen to humanity as a whole.

7.5.2 | τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἐβραίων ἀρετῆς τὰ  
πολυύμνητα καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοφιλῆ  
περιέχει λόγια, ἀ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ

7.5.2 | Such are the highly praised virtues of the Hebrews, which truly contain words that are beloved by God. We have preferred

πατρίων μύθων τε καὶ λήρων  
προτετιμήκαμεν' οἱ μέν γε περὶ θεῶν τὰ  
αἰσχρότατα περιεῖχον, οἱ δὲ περὶ θεοφιλῶν  
ἀνδρῶν τὰς εύσεβεῖς διδασκαλίας.

these over the Greek and native myths and nonsense. The former contained the most shameful stories about the gods, while the latter taught the pious teachings about godly men.

## Section 6

7.6.1 | Ταῦτα δὲ πάλαι πρότερον πρὶν ἦ καὶ  
Μωσέα καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ὑποστῆναι  
έξ ἔτι μακροῦ αἰώνος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων  
προπάτοριν ἐγνωρίζετο. καὶ γάρ οῦν καὶ  
τοῦτο διαφθρῶσαι καλὸν, ὡς ὁ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς  
οὐκ ἦν πω τότε, ἀλλ' Ἐβραῖοι μὲν οἱ  
δηλούμενοι ὅμοι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ καὶ τὸν  
τρόπον ὑπῆρχον, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ οὕτ' ἥσάν πω  
οὕτ' ἔχρημάτιζον.

7.6.1 | These things were known long before Moses and the Jewish people came into being, from a time far back among the ancestors of the Jews. It is good to clarify this, as Judaism did not exist then. The Hebrews, who are mentioned, had a common name and way of life, but the Jews did not yet exist nor were they called by that name.

7.6.2 | Ἐβραίων δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ  
διάφορον γνοίης ἀν ὥδε ώδε· τὴν μὲν  
προσηγορίαν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα, ἔξ οὗ  
τῆς φυλῆς τὸ Ἰουδαίων μακροῖς ὕστερον  
χρόνοις βασίλειον συνέστη, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἐβερ (προπάτωρ δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ οὗτος ἦν)  
ἐπεγράφοντο.

7.6.2 | You can understand the difference between Hebrews and Jews like this: the name "Jews" comes from Judah, from which the kingdom of the Jews was formed many years later. The name "Hebrews" comes from Eber, who was an ancestor of Abraham.

7.6.3 | προτερεῖν τε Ἰουδαίων Ἐβραίους  
διδάσκουσιν οἱ ἱεροὶ λόγοι. τὸν δὲ τῆς  
εύσεβείας τρόπον Ἰουδαίοις μὲν πρῶτον  
πρῶτον ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς νομοθεσίας  
Μωσέα, σαββάτου τινὸς παραδόντα  
ἡμέραν, καὶ ταύτης πλείστην ὅσην  
φυλακὴν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν σχολῆς τῶν ἱερῶν  
λόγων, βρωτέων τε καὶ οὐ βρωτέων ζῷων  
διαστολὴν, ἐօρτάς τε ἐτησίους, καί τινας  
σωμάτων καθαρμοὺς, ἄλλης τε μακρᾶς  
περιόδου κατά τινα σύμβολα θειότερον  
ἐπιτελουμένης. Ἐβραῖοι δὲ πρεσβύτεροι  
Μωσέως γενόμενοι τοῖς χρόνοις, πάσης τῆς

7.6.3 | The sacred writings teach that the Hebrews came before the Jews. The way of piety for the Jews began first with the laws of Moses, who set aside a day of rest, and this served as a great reminder for studying the sacred writings. It included rules about clean and unclean animals, yearly festivals, and certain purifications of the body, all done according to divine symbols over a long period. The Hebrews, who lived before Moses, were aware of all the laws given through him and established a free and unburdened way of piety. They lived

διὰ Μωσέως νομοθεσίας ἀνεπήκοοι ὅντες,  
έλευθερον καὶ ἀνειμένον εύσεβείας  
κατώρθουν τρόπον, βίῳ μὲν τῷ κατὰ  
φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι, ὡς μηδὲν νόμων  
δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀρξόντων αὐτῶν δι' ἄκραν  
ψυχῆς ἀπάθειαν, γνῶσιν δὲ ἀληθῆ τῶν περὶ  
θεοῦ δογμάτων ἀνειληφέναι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
τῶνδε τοῦτον εἰρημένων τὸν τρόπον, ὥρα  
καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἐλθεῖν.

## Section 7

7.7.1 | Ό τοίνυν μέγας θεόλογος Μωσῆς  
Ἐβραῖος ὃν ἔξ Ἐβραίων, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, εὗ  
τε τὰ πάτρια ἔξεπιστάμενος, ὡς ἐν  
προοιμίοις τῶν Ἱερῶν νόμων τοὺς τῶν  
προπατόρων Ἐβραίων βίους μνήμαις  
ἀνεξαλείπτοις παραδέδωκεν, ὃν τε  
ἀγαθῶν οὗτοι παρὰ θεοῦ ἡξιοῦντο, καὶ αὖ  
πάλιν ἄλλων ἀθέων τε καὶ ἀσεβῶν  
τρόπους τε καὶ τιμωρίας, ἀναγκαῖον  
ἡγησάμενος ὑπάρξειν τοῦτο τοῖς μέλλουσι  
τοὺς αὐτοῦ νόμους παιδεύεσθαι μάθημα  
εἴς τε ἀποφυγὴν τῆς τῶν φαύλων  
διμοιοτροπίας καὶ εἰς προτροπὴν τοῦ τῶν  
εὔδεβῶν βίου.

7.7.2 | χρῆν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι δὴ  
φθάσαντες, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐγγράφων αὐτοῦ  
νόμων, πλείους ἥδη τῶν προπατόρων  
όρθοῖς λογισμοῖς θεοσεβείας ἀρετῇ  
κατεκοσμήθησαν· οἵ καὶ φίλοι θεοῦ καὶ  
προφῆται χρηματίσαντες αἰώνιας ἔτυχον  
παρ' αὐτῷ μνήμης, ὃν μηδὲ ἀλλοτρίους τὸ  
γένος εἶναι τούτους, οἵ τοὺς νόμους  
διετάττετο.

7.7.3 | διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆναι αὐτοὺς,  
ἀπογόνους θεοφιλῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν

naturally, without needing the laws of their  
rulers, having a calm soul, and they  
understood the true teachings about God.  
But after mentioning these things, it is also  
time to come to the writings.

7.7.1 | So, the great theologian Moses, being  
a Hebrew from the Hebrews, knew well the  
traditions of his people. In the  
introductions to the sacred laws, he handed  
down lasting memories of the lives of the  
Hebrew ancestors. He showed what good  
things they received from God and also  
mentioned the ways of the wicked and the  
punishments they faced. He thought it  
necessary for future generations to learn  
his laws as a lesson to avoid the ways of the  
wicked and to encourage a life of piety.

7.7.2 | It is also important to know that  
even before his written laws, many of the  
ancestors were already adorned with the  
virtue of piety through right thinking. They  
became friends of God and were called  
prophets, receiving eternal remembrance  
from him. These ancestors were not  
strangers to their lineage, to whom the  
laws were given.

7.7.3 | Therefore, it is even more necessary  
for them, being descendants of God-loving

φύντας, τῆς τῶν προπατόρων εύσεβείας ζηλωτὰς ἀναδειχθῆναι, σπεῦσαί τε τῶν Ἱσων τοῖς γεννήσασι παρὰ θεοῦ τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποναρικῆσαι, μηδ' ἀποκνῆσαι ὡς ἐπ' ἀδυνάτοις τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδος ἑαυτοὺς ἀπογνόντας·

and righteous men, to show zeal for the piety of their ancestors. They should hurry to receive the same blessings from God as their forefathers did, and not become lazy or give up, thinking that they cannot achieve the hope of the good.

7.7.4 | δυνατὰ γάρ εἶναι καὶ τοῖς οἴκείοις αὐτῶν προπάτορσιν ἐντελῶς κατωρθωμένα· ὃν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τοῖς τὰ θεῖα παιδευομένοις παρεδίδου, τοὺς βίους καταλέγων τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ τὴν ἴδιαζουσαν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ ἐν εἰκόσι γραφής διατυπούμενος.

7.7.4 | For it is possible for their own ancestors to have been completely successful. They also handed down the examples of those being taught about the divine, recounting the lives of the ancients and describing the unique virtue of each one, just as if writing in a picture.

## Section 8

7.8.1 | Καὶ τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ διὰ βραχέων ἐπιδραμεῖν τὴν ἱστορίαν. πρὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, ὥσπερ ἡ αὐτοῦ Μώσεως περιέχει γραφή· δεῖ δέ που, ὡς οἴμαι, μὴ ἄλλοθεν ἢ πάλιν οἴκοθεν τὰ Ἑβραίων πάτρια διασκοπῆσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Αἴγυπτία παρ' Αἴγυπτίων καὶ τὰ Φοινίκων παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐμανθάνομεν, ὡς αὖ πάλιν τὰ Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις διαφανῶν, τά τε φιλοσόφων παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἀπείρων φιλοσοφίας· πόθεν δὲ ἄλλοθεν προσήκοι ἀν καὶ τὰ ίατρικῆς ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιστημόνων πυνθάνεσθαι; οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἥγοῦμαι δεῖν καὶ τὰ Ἑβραίων ἐκ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις λογίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἀποδέχεσθαι)

7.8.1 | And there is nothing to prevent us from quickly exploring the history of these things. Before the flood, as the writing of Moses contains, it seems necessary to examine the traditions of the Hebrews, since we have learned about the Egyptians from the Egyptians and about the Phoenicians from their own people. Likewise, we have learned about the Greeks from those among them who are clear, and the philosophers from the philosophers, but not from those who know nothing of philosophy. Where else would it be appropriate to learn about medicine or from the experts? Therefore, I believe we should also take the writings of the Hebrews from the Hebrews themselves, and not accept them from elsewhere.

7.8.2 | ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ παρὰ τούτοις κατέχει λόγος, ἀνωθεν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐκ πρώτης ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως καὶ εἰς τὰς

7.8.2 | As the account among these people holds, before the flood, from the first generation of humans and into the

έξῆς διαδοχάς θεοφιλεῖς τινες ἄνδρες γεγόνασι καὶ δίκαιοι πλείους· ὃν ὁ μὲν ‘ῆλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ.’

following generations, there were some men who were loving of God and many who were righteous. Among them, one hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.

7.8.3 | τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ τὸ μηδένα πλὴν τῶν ἀπάντων τὸν δημιουργὸν δεσπότην ὁμοῦ καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγράψασθαι. πεπεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ποιητικῇ δυνάμει εὖ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τὸ πᾶν διατεθεικέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότου δίκην, ὡς ἀν μεγάλης πόλεως, τοῦ σύμπαντος κυριεύειν, οἰκονομεῖν τε καὶ οἰκοδεσποτεῖν ὁμοῦ καὶ κύριον ὄντα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ θεόν.

7.8.3 | This shows that no one, except for all, has written about the creator, the master, and the God of all together. For he is believed not only to have created everything well and arranged it in the universe, but also to rule like a master, as one would in a great city, overseeing and managing everything, being both lord and king and God.

7.8.4 | οὐ τὴν ὡς κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἔννοιάν τε καὶ προσηγορίαν πρῶτος ὁ δηλούμενος θεοφιλὴς ἐν νῷ βαλλόμενος βαλλόμενος, ἀντὶ πάσης ὑπάρξεως καὶ προσηγορίας καὶ περιουσίας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ “ῆλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτον ἐαυτῷ θησαυρὸν ἀγαθῶν ψυχῆς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματος πεπορισμένος.

7.8.4 | The first man, who is called loving of God, sought the idea and name of the Lord and God, instead of all existence, name, and wealth, but rather instead of all good things. He hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God, having gathered for himself a treasure of good things for both soul and body.

7.8.5 | παρ' ὁ πρῶτος ἀληθὴς ἄνθρωπος χρηματίσαι παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἀναγέγραπται. κέκληται δ' οὗν Ἐνὼς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς ἄνθρωπος, εὐθυβόλω προσωνυμίᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον φασὶν ἀληθῆ προσήκειν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ὄνομάζειν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τὸν θεοῦ γνώσεως καὶ εύσεβείας ἐπήβολον, τὸν ἀληθῶς γνωστικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ εύσεβη.

7.8.5 | The first true man is said to have been mentioned among the Hebrews. He is called Enoch, which means "the true man," with a name that suggests wisdom. For they say that no other man is considered true or is named as such, except for the one who is devoted to the knowledge and piety of God, who is truly wise and pious.

7.8.6 | ὅτι δὴ τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους τοιούτους, θρεμμάτων κατ' οὐδὲν ἀλόγων διαφέροντας, οἷα ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ ἡδονὴν πρηνεῖς καταβεβλημένους

7.8.6 | The Hebrew scripture teaches that those who are not like this, who are no different from animals, are more like beasts than humans. They are described as being

καταβεβλημένους, θῆρας μᾶλλον ἢ  
άνθρωπους ἢ Ἐβραίων ἀποκαλεῖν διδάσκει  
γραφὴ, κυριολεκτεῖν εἴθισμένη τὰς  
προσηγορίας.

completely focused on their bellies and pleasures, as if they are fallen creatures. The writing is accustomed to using these names literally.

7.8.7 | παρ' ὅ τοὺς τοιούσδε τοτὲ μὲν  
λύκους καὶ κύνας, τοτὲ δὲ σύας φορυτῷ  
χρωμένους καὶ χαίροντας, καὶ πάλιν  
ἐρπετὰ καὶ ὄφεις, τοῖς τῆς κακίας  
πολυτρόποις ἐμφερῶς εἴδεσι,  
προσαγορεύειν εἴωθεν.

7.8.7 | For these people, sometimes they are called wolves and dogs, and at other times pigs, dressed up and enjoying themselves. Again, they are compared to creeping things and snakes, resembling the many forms of wickedness. This is how they are usually addressed.

7.8.8 | εἰ δὲ καί ποτε τὸν κοινὸν καὶ πολὺν  
ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτὸν χρεών  
διασημῆναι, πάλιν οίκειά καὶ προσφυεῖ  
χρωμένη προσηγορίᾳ τὸν πάντα ἄνθρωπον  
τῇ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐπωνυμίᾳ σημαίνει, ὅτι δὴ  
τοῦτο τῷ προγόνῳ καὶ πάντων ἄνθρωπων  
προπάτορι κύριον εἶναι καὶ προσφυές  
ὄνομα, τὸν γηγενῆ δηλοῦν κατὰ τὴν εἰς  
Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν μετάληψιν μετάληψιν,  
ὑποφαίνει.

7.8.8 | If ever there is a need to signify the common and many people, the whole human race is again referred to by the name of Adam. This shows that this name is a proper and fitting name for the ancestor and father of all humans, indicating the native people according to the Greek language.

7.8.9 | ὁ γέ τοι Ἐνὼς πρῶτος θεοφιλῶν  
παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἴστόρηται, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος  
ἥλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν παριστάς λογικὸν  
ὄντως καὶ γνωστικὸν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον  
εύσεβείας ἐπιστημονικόν· ὃν τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον θεογνωσίας ἀληθοῦς, τὸ δὲ  
δεύτερον τῆς εἰς τὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα θεὸν  
έλπιδος γένοιτ' ἀν ἀποδεικτικόν.

7.8.9 | Indeed, Enoch is the first among the God-loving people of the Hebrews, since he was the first to hope to call upon the name of the Lord God. This name represents a rational and knowledgeable understanding of the divine and the science of piety. The first part is true knowledge of God, and the second part could serve as proof of hope in the God who is to be known.

7.8.10 | τὸ γὰρ μὴ παραμελεῖν μηδ' ἐν  
δευτέρῳ τίθεσθαι τὰ τῆς θείας ἐπιγνώσεως  
ἐπιγνώσεως, ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐλπίζειν  
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ

7.8.10 | For not to neglect or place the knowledge of the divine second, but always and forever to hope to call upon the name of the Lord God—this would be like a

μὲν ὡς οίκετῶν δεσπότου, τὸ δ' ὡς ἔλεω καὶ  
ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη τὸ πάντων  
τρισμακάριον τέλος.

7.8.11 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὖν ὁ παρ' Εβραίοις  
είσηκται πρῶτος καὶ ἀληθῆς ἄνθρωπος,  
οὐχ ὁ γηγενής ἐπίκλην Ἀδὰμ δι' ἐντολῆς  
Θεοῦ παράβασιν τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων  
ἐκπεσών λήξεως, ἀλλ' ὁ θεοφιλων  
πρώτιστος, ὃς ἥλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ  
ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

7.8.12 | κρίναντες οὖν καὶ αύτοὶ λογισμῷ  
σώφρονι τὸ τοιόνδε ζηλοῦν ἡγαπήσαμεν,  
καὶ ἀπεδεξάμεθα ὡς λυσιτελῆ καὶ  
ώφελιμωτάτην ἡμῖν τὴν τοῦ λόγου  
διήγησιν, εύχὴν Θέμενοι κατ' ἵσα τῇ τοῦ  
δηλωθέντος εἰκόνι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τῶν  
ἀπάντων δημιουργοῦ τε καὶ δεσπότου  
μετὰ βεβαίας καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος  
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.

7.8.13 | ἀλλὰ γάρ μετὰ τὸν είρημένον ἄλλος  
εύηρέστησε τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκετο,  
ὡς φησι Μωσῆς, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ  
Θεὸς δι' ἄκραν ἀρετῆς τελείωσιν.  
δυσεύρετος γάρ ὅ γε σοφὸς ἀληθῶς.

7.8.14 | οὗτος δ' ἀν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῷ θεῷ τέλειος,  
ὁ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν διατριβῆς  
μετατεθειμένος. ὅ γάρ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἀγορὰς  
καὶ δικαστήρια καπηλείας τε καὶ ἐμπορίας  
γαῖ τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον μεταδιώκων,  
ώθούμενός τε καὶ ώθῶν, μέσος ἐν αὐτῷ  
κακίας βυθῷ καταπίνεται· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ Θεοῦ  
ληφθεὶς καὶ τῶν τῆδε ἐκεῖσε  
μετατεθειμένος ἀφανῆς μὲν καὶ ἀνεύρετος

servant to a master and like a humble and  
good father. This would be the most  
blessed end for all.

7.8.11 | Thus, the first and true man among  
the Hebrews is not the earthly one called  
Adam, who fell from the command of God  
due to disobedience, but the first among  
the God-loving, who hoped to call upon the  
name of the Lord God.

7.8.12 | Therefore, we have also judged  
wisely to love this kind of teaching, and we  
have shown that the story of the word is  
useful and beneficial for us. We set our  
prayer equal to the name of the creator and  
master of all, hoping with certainty and  
goodness to call upon it.

7.8.13 | But after the one mentioned,  
another was pleasing to the Lord, and he  
was not found, as Moses says, because God  
took him away for the sake of perfect  
virtue. For truly, he is hard to find, the wise  
one.

7.8.14 | This one would be the perfect one  
in God, who has been removed from the  
many distractions. For the one who is not  
like this, chasing after markets and courts,  
and the businesses of trade and commerce,  
is pushed and pushing, and is swallowed up  
in the deep of wickedness. But the one  
taken by God, and moved from here to  
there, is unknown and not found by people,

ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ δὲ φίλος γεγονώς, ὑπὸ θεοῦ εὑρηται.

7.8.15 | τοῦτον Ἐνὼχ Ἐβραίοις ὄνομάζειν φίλον χάριν δὲ θεοῦ σημαίνοι ἀν τοῦνομα. καὶ ταύτης τοιγαροῦν ὡς ἀγαθῆς εἰκόνος τὸν βίον ζηλοῦν μακάριον εἶναι ἡγησάμεθα.

7.8.16 | τρίτος μετὰ τούτους πάλιν ἄλλος ἀνθρωπος δίκαιος πεφηνώς ὁ Νῶε ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται. τεκμήρια δὲ καὶ τῆς τούτου δικαιοσύνης εἴη ἀν τάδε. πολὺς αὐχμὸς καὶ γνόφος ἀλέκτου κακίας τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατειλήφει γένος, οὕτω πάντων ἀνὰ στόμα θρυλούμενοι γίγαντες τὰς εἰς δεῦρο βωμένας θεομαχίας ἀθέοις καὶ δυσσεβέσιν ἐγχειρήμασιν ἀπειργάζοντο· ἥδη δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς τούτων γενέσεως αἴτιοι, εἴτε τινὸς κρείττονος μοίρας ἡ κατὰ θηντῶν φύσιν ὑπάρξαντες, εἴθ' ὅπωσοῦν κατεσκευασμένοι, τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις περιέργου διδασκαλίας ἀπάρξαντες, γοητείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κακοτρόπου μαγγανείας ἐπιτεχνήματα λέγονται παραδοῦναι τῷ βίῳ, ὥστε πὰν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος μιᾶς ὑπὸ ψῆφον γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῷ δίκης.

7.8.17 | καὶ δὴ πάντων ἐνὶ νεύματι διαφθείρεσθαι μελλόντων, μόνος εῖς οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν δηλούμενος δίκαιος ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις εὑρηται. πάντων δῆτα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κατακλυσμῷ διολλυμένων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς ὑδάτων ἀθρόᾳ πλημμύρᾳ τῶν προτέρων κακῶν ἀποκαθαιρομένης ὁ θεοφιλὸς σὺν παισὶν ἄμα καὶ γυναιξὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ ζώπυρον σπέρμα παραδοξότατον πρὸς τοῦ

but has become a friend of God, and is found by God.

7.8.15 | This one is called Enoch by the Hebrews, meaning "friend." And so, it would signify the grace of God. Therefore, we have considered that to live a life like this is truly blessed.

7.8.16 | A third man, Noah, is shown to be righteous in his generation. The signs of his righteousness would be these: a great drought and darkness of wickedness have seized the whole race of people. They, being called giants by all, were engaged in godless and impious acts against the divine. And now, those responsible for this generation, whether by some greater fate or by the nature of mortals, are said to have prepared themselves in such a way that they have turned to strange teachings among people, giving over to sorcery and other wicked tricks, so that all of humanity has become one under a judgment from God.

7.8.17 | And indeed, when all are about to be destroyed by a single nod, this one man, who is now shown to us, is found righteous in his generation along with his family. Truly, all those on earth were swept away by the flood, and the waters of the earth, gathering in a great flood, were cleansing away the earlier evils. The one beloved by God, along with his children and wives, is preserved as a most remarkable seed for

θεοῦ τετήρηται.

7.8.18 | γένοιτο δ' ἀν καὶ οὕτος ἀρχέτυπος εἰκὼν, ζῶσα καὶ ἔμψυχος, τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοις ὑπόδειγμα τρόπον θεοφιλούς παρεσχημένος.

7.8.19 | Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τοιοίδε· οἵ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπ' εὔσεβείᾳ διαπρεπεῖς ἄλλοι πάλιν, ὃν τὴν μνῆμην τὰ ιερὰ διασώζει λόγια. τούτων τις ιερεὺς ἀνείρηται τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ, βασιλεὺς δίκαιος τῇ Ἑβραίων προσηγορίᾳ χρηματίσας.

7.8.20 | τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν οὐδὲ εἷς σώματος περιτομῆς λόγος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν Μώσεως Ἰουδαϊκῶν παραγγελμάτων παραγγελμάτων διόπερ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ Ἰουδαίους φάναι δίκαιον, οὐδέ γε Ἐλληνας, ὅτι μηδὲ πλείους θεοὺς ὁμοίως Ἐλλησιν ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡγοῦντο. Ἐβραῖοι δ' ἀν κυριώτερον ἐπικληθεῖν, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἐβερ, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον παρὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τῆς προσηγορίας.

7.8.21 | περατικοὶ γάρ τινες ἐρμηνεύονται, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ διάβασίν τε καὶ θεωρίαν στειλάμενοι. φυσικοῖς γάρ τοι λογισμοῖς καὶ νόμοις ἀγράφοις τὴν ὄρθην τῆς ἀρετῆς διευθύναντες πορείαν, καὶ πέραν τῶν σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πάνσοφον καὶ θεοσεβῆ βίον διαβεβηκότες ἀναγράφονται.

life after this.

7.8.18 | May this one also be a prototype, living and alive, serving as a model for those born from him, provided in a way that is beloved by God.

7.8.19 | And those before the flood were like this; but those after him were again distinguished by their piety, of whom the sacred writings preserve the memory. One of these is named a priest of the Most High God, a just king known by the title of the Hebrews.

7.8.20 | For all of these, there was not even one word about the circumcision of the body, nor about the commandments of Moses or the Jewish laws. Therefore, they cannot be called just Jews, nor even Greeks, since they did not believe in more gods like the Greeks or other nations. The Hebrews would be called more correctly, either from Eber, or even more from the meaning of the name.

7.8.21 | For some are called "passers-by," having been sent from here to the knowledge and contemplation of the God of all. For they have directed the right path of virtue with natural reasoning and unwritten laws, and having gone beyond the pleasures of the flesh, they are recorded as having entered into a wise and god-fearing life.

7.8.22 | ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἡμῖν ἄπασι καὶ ὁ βοῶμενος τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους γε νάρχης Ἀβραὰμ καταριθμείσθω, ὃ μαρτυρεῖ τὰ λόγια δικαιοσύνην, οὐ τὴν ἐκ νόμου πάλιν Μωσέως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἦν πω τότε, (μετὰ γοῦν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐβδόμη γενεᾶ Μωσῆς ἀναπέφρηνε) πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ εὔσεβὴς, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, ἀνείρηται, τοῖς ἄνωθεν δεδηλωμένοις παραπλησίως.

7.8.22 | In these matters, let us count Abraham, the leader of the whole nation, who is testified to by the words of righteousness, not the righteousness from the law of Moses, since there was not yet a law at that time (after all, Moses was revealed in the seventeenth generation after Abraham). But he too is called just and pious, just like anyone else mentioned above.

7.8.23 | λέγει δ' οὖν ἡ γραφὴ "καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην." πατέρα δὴ πολλῶν ἔθνῶν ὁ θεῖος χρησμὸς τοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προαγορεύει, διαρρήδην τε εὐλογηθήσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ φησι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς φυλὰς, ἀντικρυς τὰ νῦν καθ' ἡμὰς συντελούμενα θεσπίζων.

7.8.23 | The scripture says, "And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness." The divine oracle declares that he will be the father of many nations, and it clearly says that all the nations of the earth and all the tribes will be blessed in him, directly establishing what is now being fulfilled among us.

7.8.24 | ἀλλ' ὅ γε Ἀβραὰμ ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τελείωσιν, οὐ διὰ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου, διὰ δὲ πίστεως κατωρθωμένης αὐτῷ, μετά γε τὰς ἀναγράπτους θεοφανείας, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γήρᾳ μέλλων γνησίου παιδὸς χρηματίζειν πατήρ, πρῶτος ἀπάντων κατὰ χρησμὸν τὸ σῶμα περιτέμνεται, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἔξ αὐτοῦ γεννωμένοις ἐπιτελεῖν παραδούς, εἴτε εἰς ἔμφανῇ σημείωσιν τῆς τῶν ἔξ αὐτοῦ παίδων πολυπληθίας, εἴτε καὶ ὡς ἔχοιεν οἱ παῖδες πάτριον γνώρισμα, ἵτοι βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸν τῶν προγόνων ζῆλον, ἥ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς ἀπολειπόμενοι, εἴτε καθ' ἑτέρας οἰασδηποτοῦν αἵτιας, ἀς οὐ νῦν σχολὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν.

7.8.24 | But Abraham, after being made perfect in righteousness, not through the law of Moses, but through the faith that was established in him, was told in his old age that he would be the father of a legitimate son. First of all, according to the oracle, he is to be circumcised in the flesh, and he passes this on to his descendants, whether as a clear sign of the many children that will come from him, or so that the children would have a family mark, either living according to the zeal of their ancestors or falling short of their virtues, or for other reasons that we do not have time to discuss now.

7.8.25 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος εἰς

7.8.25 | So this one is also set as an

μίμησιν ἔκκειμενος. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ἰσαὰκ τῆς πατρώας ὁμοῦ θεογνωσίας τε καὶ θεοφιλίας διάδοχος ἀναδείκνυται, κλήρων ἀπάντων τοῦτον κάλλιστόν τε καὶ τρισμακάριον τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεδεγμένος. μιᾶς τοῦτον γαμετῇ τὰ θεῖά φασι συνελθόντα λόγια μιᾶς χρήσασθαι παιδοποιίᾳ· καθ' ἦν διδύμου γονῆς ἀποδειχθεὶς πατὴρ εἰς τοῦτο περιγράψασθαι τὴν πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν δομιλίαν ὑπερβολῇ σωφροσύνης λέγεται.

7.8.26 | ἐνταῦθα σοι καὶ Ἰακωβ, ὁ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ, εἰσήχθω, διώνυμός τις γεγονὼς ἀνὴρ παρὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀρετῶν διαλλάττουσαν προκοπήν. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἔγγυμναζόμενος τοῖς πρακτικοῖς ἥθεσί τε καὶ βίοις τῶν ὑπὲρ εὔσεβείας πόνων ἀπεπειρᾶτο, Ἰακὼβ αὐτῷ ὄνομα ἦν, ἀσκητὴν δὲ καὶ ἀθλητὴν ἡ προσηγορία δηλοῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεταληφθεῖσα φωνήν.

7.8.27 | ὅτε δὲ λοιπὸν τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἀπολαβὼν στέφεται, ἥδη τε τῶν κατὰ θεωρίαν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύει, τηνικαῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦνομα μεταβάλλει ὁ χρηματίζων θεὸς, ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοπτίας αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν, καὶ τῶν θειοτέρων γερῶν τε καὶ τιμῶν τὰς ἀμοιβὰς διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας δωρούμενος.

7.8.28 | λέγει δ' οὗν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ χρησμὸς "οὐκέτι κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἰακὼβ, ἀλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός," τὸν ὀρατικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θεωρητικὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὑποφαίνοντος ὑποφαίνοντος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦνομα

example. After him, Isaac is shown to be the heir of the father's knowledge of God and love for God, receiving the best and most blessed part of his father's inheritance. It is said that he used the divine words when he married one woman for the purpose of having children; in which he was revealed as the father of twins, and it is said that he had an extraordinary relationship with his wife, marked by great self-control.

7.8.26 | Here too, Jacob, who is also called Israel, is introduced as a man who was a champion of the virtues of his family. When he was training in the practical ways and lives of those who strive for piety, he was called Jacob. The name shows that he was a seeker and a wrestler, a title that was later translated into Greek.

7.8.27 | When he then receives the victory crowns against his opponents, he already enjoys the good things that come from contemplation. At that time, the speaking God also changes his name, honoring him with a vision of God and rewarding him with divine gifts and honors through this new name.

7.8.28 | Then the oracle says to him, "You will no longer be called Jacob, but your name will be Israel, because you have struggled with God and with men and have prevailed." This shows the man who sees and understands God, as the name that has been changed means a person who sees

μεταβληθὲν σημαίνει ἄνθρωπον ὁρῶντα θεόν.

7.8.29 | τοιόσδε μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἔξ οῦ τὸ δωδεκάφυλον τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ὑπέστη γένος. μυρία δ' ἄν λεχθείη περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς φιλοσόμου καρτερίας τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσκήσεως, τὰ μὲν πρὸς λέξιν θεωρούμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀλληγορούμενα· περὶ ὧν εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, ἀτὰρ καὶ ήμīν ἐν οἷς ἐπραγματευσάμεθα περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαιδίας. τοιοίδε μὲν οὖν καὶ οὕτοι.

7.8.30 | "Ἐχω σοι παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλον εἰπεῖν, Ἰὼβ ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρὶ, ὃν τὰ ιερὰ μαρτυρεῖ λόγια γεγονέναι ἄνθρωπον ἄμεμπτον, ἀληθινὸν, δίκαιον, θεοσεβῆ, ἀπεχόμενον ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος· οὗτός γέ τοι ούδεν προσήκων τῷ Ἰουδαίων γένει ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εύσεβείας κατορθώμασι μεμαρτύρηται.

7.8.31 | οἱ γε μὴν τοῦ Ἰακὼβ παῖδες, τὴν πάτριον θεογνωσίαν τε καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἡγαπηκότες, τὴν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραίων φήμην ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης προηγον, ὥστε ἥδη καὶ πάσης Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνάψασθαι.

7.8.32 | ὁ γάρ τοι Ἰωσὴφ τοῖς σωφροσύνης προαναστεφθεὶς βραβείοις, κάπειτα τὴν Αἴγυπτίων ὑποδεξάμενος ἡγεμονίαν, τὸν θεοφιλῆ τῶν Ἐβραίων διέδειξε τρόπον, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ζηλοῦν δι' εὐχῆς πεποιήμεθα, δοῦλον αὐτὸν ἐξ οίκειων ἐπιβουλῆς γεγενημένον καὶ δοῦλον Αἴγυπτίου ἀνδρός.

God.

7.8.29 | This man is the one from whom the twelve tribes of the Jewish nation came. Many things could be said about the lives of these men and their strong philosophy, endurance, and practices. Some things can be understood literally, while others are interpreted through hints and allegories. About these matters, others have spoken, but we too have engaged in discussions about the many children of the ancient men. Such are these men as well.

7.8.30 | I have another man to tell you about, named Job, of whom the sacred writings testify that he was a blameless man, true, just, God-fearing, and keeping away from all evil. This man is not related to the Jewish lineage, but he is well-known for all his acts of piety.

7.8.31 | The sons of Jacob, who loved the ancestral knowledge of God and piety, advanced the reputation of the Hebrews to great glory, so much so that they even began to rise to power in all of Egypt.

7.8.32 | For Joseph, praised for his wisdom, later received leadership among the Egyptians. He showed the God-loving way of the Hebrews, which we also strive to imitate through prayer, having been made a servant from his own family's betrayal and a servant of an Egyptian man.

7.8.33 | τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς ὠραιότητα καὶ ῥώμην σώματος αὐτῷ καὶ εύμορφίαν ηύτυχητο παρίημι, εἴ καὶ τὰ λόγια κάλλους αὐτὸν ὡρα πάντων διενεγκεῖν ἀναγράφει· τὰ δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς πῶς ἄν τις ἀναγράψειε, κατ’ ἀξίαν τῆς τάνδρος ἀρετῆς τὸν ἔπαινον διελθεῖν προηρημένος;

7.8.34 | φύσει μὲν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι λόγος τὸ ἐλευθέριον γνώρισμα, τοῦ τε τρόπου τὸ εὔγενες ἐπανθοῦν τῷ προσώπῳ· τοῖς δὲ εύσεβείας διαπρέπουσι κόσμοις διαφερόντως ἔξήσκητο ἔξήσκητο, ὡς ἐν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ φρονήσει τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλάμπειν, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ εύσεβείᾳ τοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων θεοῦ, ἦν οἱ γεννήσαντες ἐκ σπαργάνων λέγονται αὐτοῦ τῇ ψυχῇ καταβεβληκέναι.

7.8.35 | ἐπιμανείσῃ δ' οὖν αὐτῷ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου γαμετῇ, εἰς ἀκολάστους τε καὶ ἔρωτικὰς ὁμιλίας ἄτε νέον τὸ σῶμα κατασύρειν πειρωμένη, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγοις ἀπατᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρούσῃ, εἴτα δὲ ἱκεσίαις ἀντιβολούσῃ, καὶ τέλος βιαιότερον χεῖρας ἐπάγειν τολμώσῃ, ἀναιδέσι τε ἥδη καὶ ἀναισχύντοις περιπλοκαῖς χρωμένη, τῆς τῶν πατέρων εύσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὁ ἥρως τὴν μνήμην ἀναπεμπασάμενος, καὶ τὸν θεοσεβῆ καὶ ἀληθῶς Ἐβραῖον ἔργοις ὅμοῦ καὶ λόγοις ἀποδείξας, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον γύναιον διασείεται, κραταιοτέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ παραλλάξας· ὥσπερ δέ τινος δεινοῦ καὶ λελυττηκότος θηρὸς ἀποδράς φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίζεται.

7.8.33 | As for all the other things that he was fortunate in, like beauty, strength, and good looks, I will leave those aside, even though his words describe him as the most beautiful of all. But how can someone write about the soul? How can one express the praise of a man according to his worth and virtue?

7.8.34 | By nature, he had the gift of free speech, and his noble character shone through his face. But he was also adorned with a different kind of beauty, one that came from piety, as he displayed wisdom, justice, and courage in his soul. Even more importantly, he had knowledge and reverence for the God of all, which those who gave him life are said to have instilled in his soul from his very beginnings.

7.8.35 | Then, when his master's wife became obsessed with him, trying to pull him into immoral and lustful relationships, she first attempted to deceive him with words. Then she tried to persuade him with pleas, and finally, she boldly laid hands on him. But the hero, remembering the teachings of his pious ancestors, showed himself to be truly God-fearing and a genuine Hebrew, both in actions and words. He rejected the shameful and immoral woman, using his stronger hand to push her away, just as a terrified and frantic beast escapes to find safety.

7.8.36 | κάπειτα αύτὸς πρὸς ἐαυτὸν σώφρονι λογισμῷ τοιάδε ἐπιλογίζεται, καὶ φησιν “εἴ ὁ κύριός μου δι’ ἔμὲ οὐδὲν γινώσκει τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ δέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ πῶς ποιήσω τὸ πονηρὸν ἥῆμα τὸ μέγα τοῦτο, καὶ ἀμαρτήσομαι ἐναντίον τοῦ Θεοῦ;” ἐφ’ οὓς οἶσα νικηφόρον τοῖς ἀρετῆς βραβείοις ἀναστέψας αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς τὴν κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῆς Αἴγυπτου βασιλείαν τε καὶ ἡγεμονίαν παραδίδωσι πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος Εβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, οὐχὶ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος, δtti μηδὲ ἦν πω τὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα θεοφιλέσι καὶ τρισμακαρίοις ἀνείληπται.

7.8.37 | Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς είρημένους Ἑβραίους, ἐπειδὴ εἰς πολυανθρωπίαν ἐπεδίδου τὸ τῶν ἀπογόνων γένος, ἥδη τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔθνος συνεστώς ἐπλεόναζέν τε ὀσημέραι καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς εὔσεβοῦς ἀγωγῆς τῶν πρόπαλαι θεοφιλῶν προπατόρων κατὰ σμικρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔξησθένει καὶ ἀπημβλύνετο, τὰ δὲ τῆς παρ’ Αἴγυπτίοις διατριβῆς τοσοῦτον τῆς τῶν δηλουμένων κατίσχε πληθύος ὡς τῆς μὲν πατρίου ἀρετῆς εἰς λήθην ἔλθεῖν, τῇ δὲ παρ’ Αἴγυπτίοις ὁμοιοτροπίᾳ τοὺς βίους περιενεχθῆναι, ὡς κατὰ μηδὲν Αἴγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον διαφέρειν δοκεῖν.

7.8.38 | ἐνταῦθα δῆτα αὐτοῖς τοιοῖσδε ἀποτελεσθεῖσιν ὃ τῶν προπατόρων θεὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ νομοθέτην ἐκπέμπει Μωσέα, τὰς διὰ χρησμῶν τῶν πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν πιστούμενος ἐπαγγελίας· κάπειτα δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀνάγραπτα θαύματα καὶ τὰς παραδόξους θεοσημίας ἐπιτελέσας τὸν

7.8.36 | Then he thought to himself with a wise mind, saying, "If my master knows nothing of what is in his house and has given everything he has into my hands, how can I do this great evil and sin against God?" For these reasons, the God of all, who crowns those who are victorious in virtue, would grant him the kingdom and leadership over his master and all of Egypt. But this man is also a Hebrew from Hebrews, not just a Jew, because he is especially favored among those who are beloved by God and truly blessed.

7.8.37 | After the aforementioned Hebrews, since the descendants were increasing in number, the nation of the Jews also grew and multiplied day by day. The teachings of their pious ancestors began to fade away and weaken among them, while the influence of living among the Egyptians became so strong that the memory of their ancestral virtues was forgotten. They started to live in a way that seemed no different from the Egyptians.

7.8.38 | At that time, the God of their ancestors sent Moses as a leader and lawgiver to them, believing in the promises made through oracles to their forefathers. Then, through him, the written miracles and the wondrous signs were performed, establishing a law that matched the

ἀρμόδιον τοῖς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἥθεσι  
προβάλλεται νόμον·

7.8.39 | οἱ μὴ ζηλώσαντες τὴν πάτριον  
ἀρετὴν δι' ἀβελτερίαν, οἷα δὴ τὰς ψυχὰς  
ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ νενοσηλευμένοι, τὴν  
κατάλληλον παρελάμβανον πολιτείαν, τὰ  
μὲν προφανῶς ἐκ τοῦ προδήλου  
διαταττομένου Μώσεως, τὰ δὲ δι'  
ὑπονοιῶν αἰνιττομένου, σύμβολά τε καὶ  
σκιάς, ἀλλ' οὐ γυμνὴν ἀλήθειαν φυλάττειν  
αύτοῖς καὶ περιέπειν ὑποθεμένου.

7.8.40 | καὶ δὴ τὸ Ἰουδαίων πολίτευμα  
ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἀρξάμενον  
μέχρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ταῖς τῶν οίκειῶν  
προφητῶν ἀκολούθως φωναῖς διαρκεῖ, ὅτι  
δὴ καὶ τοῦτο Μωσέως ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
μετέπειτα προφητῶν θέσπισμα, μὴ  
πρότερον ἐκλιπεῖν τὰ Μωσέως νόμιμά τε  
καὶ διατάγματα ἢ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φανῆναι,  
τὰ τῆς καινῆς δηλαδὴ διαθήχης, τῆς διὰ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι  
κατηγγελμένης ἀ καὶ ὡδε τέλους ἔτυχεν, ἢ  
καὶ ἀναπεφώνηται.

7.8.41 | Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν τῶν πρὸ Μώσεως  
Ἐβραίων βίον ἐν ὀλίγῳ διεληλύθαμεν, καὶ  
τὸν γε τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς εύσεβείας  
χαρακτῆρα παρεστήσαμεν, ὥρα καὶ τὸν  
δογματικὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἀπό τε τῆς  
Μώσεως γραφῆς καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν  
προφητῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι.

character of those who were listening.

7.8.39 | Those who did not strive for their ancestral virtue due to carelessness, like souls filled with passion and suffering, accepted a way of life that was suitable for them. Some of it was clearly laid out by Moses, while other parts were hinted at through suggestions, symbols, and shadows, but they did not hold onto the pure truth that was being presented to them.

7.8.40 | And indeed, the way of life of the Jews began from Moses and continues until the coming of our Savior, Jesus Christ, following the voices of their own prophets. This means that the laws and commands of Moses and those of the later prophets would not pass away before the appearance of Christ, which is the new covenant announced to all nations through our Savior. This is also what has been fulfilled here, as it has been proclaimed.

7.8.41 | But since we have briefly covered the life of the Hebrews before Moses and have presented the character of their piety, it is now time to look at their teachings from the writings of Moses and the prophets who came after him.

## Section 9

7.9.1 | Πρῶτος δ' οὖν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ θαυμάσιος θεόλογος τε καὶ νομοθέτης, πολιτείαν εύσεβείᾳ προσήκουσαν διὰ τῆς οἰκείας γραφῆς τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει προκαταβαλλόμενος, οὐ τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πεπατημένοις ώήθη δεῖν χρήσασθαι προοιμίοις τῶν λόγων, προλαβὼν δὲ πάντα νόμον προστακτικὸν τῶν ποιητέων καὶ τῶν οὐ ποιητέων ἀπαγορευτικὸν, τάς τε δημοτελεῖς καὶ πολιτικὰς περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους συμβολαίων διατάξεις, ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίου θεολογίας δεῖν ὥστε τὴν καταρχὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς διδασκαλίας, οὐδὲ ἐτέραν μάθησιν οἰκείαν νόμοις εύσεβείᾳ προσήκουσιν ἡγησάμενος, ἢ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκ προπατόρων εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν θεολογίαν.

7.9.1 | First of all, that wonderful theologian and lawgiver, starting with the writings of his own people, laid down a way of life suitable for the Jews based on piety. He did not think it necessary to use common and misleading introductions to his words. Instead, he anticipated all the laws that were meant to guide the poets and those who were not poets, as well as the public and political regulations about how people should interact with each other. He believed that the foundation of his teachings should come from the ancestral theology, and he did not consider any other teachings that were suitable for piety, except for the theology that came down from the ancestors to him.

7.9.2 | ἄρχεται τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ θεοῦ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῆς τῶν προγόνων Ἐβραίων θεολογίας, οὐχ ἢ φίλον Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν ἢν ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς πλῆθος καταβάλλουσι τὴν σεβάσμιον προστηγορίαν, θεούς τε ὄρωμένους μὲν τοὺς κατ' οὐρανὸν φωστῆρας νομίζουσιν, ἀφανεῖς δὲ καὶ ἀοράτους, ἥτοι τοὺς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων κατοιχομένους, ἢ καὶ τοὺς χθονίους καὶ ἀερίους δαίμονας, κατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν ἀπεληλεγμένα.

7.9.2 | Therefore, it begins from God according to the ancestral theology of the Hebrew ancestors, not as the Egyptians and Phoenicians did, who attributed the sacred name to many gods. They believed in visible gods, like the heavenly bodies, and also in hidden and unseen ones, either those that come from humans or the chthonic and aerial spirits, as we have previously discussed.

7.9.3 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντων αίτίου ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὀρατῶν δημιουργοῦ τὴν καταρχὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου πεποιημένος νομοθέτην τοῦτον εἴναι διδάσκει τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως, ὡσπερ μιᾶς τινὸς μεγαλοπόλεως τοῦ κόσμου βασιλέα καταστήσας.

7.9.3 | But indeed, he teaches that the lawgiver, who is the creator of all things, both visible and invisible, is the one who made the beginning of all things. He established him as the king of the universe, just like a ruler of a great city.

7.9.4 | παιδεύει τοιγαροῦν ἀρχόμενος

7.9.4 | Therefore, he teaches that he should

τοῦτον ἡγεῖσθαι μὴ μόνον τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ σμικρὸν ὑστερὸν διαταχθησομένων ἀνθρώποις νόμων αύθέντην εἶναι καὶ κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν ὅλων.

## Section 10

7.10.1 | Βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου παριστᾶ· νεύματι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ δυνάμει τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ούσιωσιν γεγονέναι, νόμοις δὲ καὶ ὅροις πάλιν αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ καὶ τάξει τὸν σύμπαντα διακυβερνᾶσθαι αἰῶνα.

7.10.2 | λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ νόμῳ θεοῦ πρῶτον ἀπάντων οὐρανὸν ἐστερεῶσθαι, καὶ γῆς τὸ βαρὺ καὶ στερέμνιον παρὰ τὴν οίκείαν φύσιν τοῖς λεπτομερεστέροις τῶν στοιχείων θαυμασίως ἐπαιωρεῖσθαι· λόγῳ δὲ καὶ νόμῳ θείῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ήμέρας τὸν ἀμοιβαῖον ἀνακυκλεῖσθαι δρόμον, λόγῳ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ αὐτὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων χορείαν ἐν πρέποντι κόσμῳ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔξανύειν πορείαν, νόμῳ δὲ τοῦ παμβασιλέως τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν ἐνιαυτοῦ τε κύκλους καὶ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας τῇ παναρμονίᾳ τοῦ παντὸς ἀποπληροῦσθαι συμφωνίᾳ, νόμῳ θεοῦ χειμῶνα μὲν ὑποχωρεῖν ἔαρι, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ἄγχιστα τῶν ὥρῶν τροπαῖς, καὶ θαλάττης δὲ βυθοὺς ταῖς χειμαδίοις πλημμυρίσιν ἐπικυματίζοντας νόμῳ θείῳ τοῖς οίκείοις ἐναποκεκλεῖσθαι πελάγεσιν, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ὅρους τῶν Ἱερῶν νόμων ὑπερβαίνειν τολμᾶν, καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ούσιαν ὄμβριοις νάμασι καὶ νιφετοῖς νόμῳ θείῳ πάλιν συμμέτρως ἐπιχορηγούμενοις ἀρδομένην τὴν γῆν μυρία γένη φυτῶν τε

be regarded not only as the master and lord of the laws that will be given to people later, but also of all things in nature.

7.10.1 | For he presents him as the king and lawgiver of the whole universe. By his will and power, all things have come into being, and by his laws and boundaries, the entire universe is governed in order and arrangement throughout time.

7.10.2 | By the word and law of god, first of all, the heavens are established, and the heavy and solid earth is wonderfully lifted by the lightest of the elements according to its own nature. By the divine word and law, the cycle of night and day is turned around, and by the word of god and law, the sun and moon, along with the movement of the other stars, follow their proper paths in an orderly way. By the law of the all-powerful king, the changes and shifts of seasons complete the yearly cycles and the seasonal hours in perfect harmony of the whole. By the law of god, winter retreats for spring, and this happens with the closest changes of the seasons. The depths of the sea are stirred by winter floods, and by the divine law, they are confined to their own waters, so that not even the boundaries of the sacred laws dare to be crossed. The dry land, nourished by the rains and snows that are also measured by divine law, gives rise to countless kinds of plants and animals.

καὶ ζώων ἀναδιδόναι·

7.10.3 | ἐνί τε λόγῳ, τὴν παμμήτορα τῶν  
ὅλων φύσιν, προστάγματι θεοῦ  
δεδουλωμένην, νόμοις θείοις ὑπείκειν καὶ  
τῇ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ βουλῇ· μὴ γὰρ  
εἰκῇ, μηδ' ὡς ἔτυχε, μηδ' αὐτομάτῳ καὶ  
ἀλόγῳ φορῷ συνεστάναι τὸν τηλικοῦτον  
διάκοσμον, μηδ' ἀναιτίου φύσεως ἔργον  
τυγχάνειν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ περικαλλὲς  
τεχνούργημα, ἀλλ' εἶναι μὲν ποίημα τοῦ  
πανσόφου τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιτέκτονος, τοῦ δὲ  
αὐτοῦ λόγοις καὶ νόμοις ἱεροῖς  
διακυβερνᾶσθαι.

7.10.4 | ἔνθεν ἀρξάμενος ὁ προφήτης, καὶ  
πρὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπων νομοθεσίας τοὺς περὶ  
τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως προστάξας νόμους,  
πρώτιστα πάντων προσέχειν τῷ  
παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἀπορρᾳθυμεῖν  
αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων παρεκελεύσατο, ὅτι δὴ  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλιος οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος γῆ  
τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄπαντα, ὅσα τε ἔργα  
φύσεως εἶναι νενόμισται. ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ  
καὶ διατάξειν ἱεροῖς τε νόμοις καὶ λόγοις  
δουλεύει.

7.10.5 | διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆναι τὸ  
ἀνθρώπειον γένος, οὐ συμκρὸν μέρος  
τύγχανον του παντος, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον  
τοῖς θείοις προσανέχειν διατάγμασι, μηδ'  
ἐλαττοῦσθαι τῶν κατὰ μέρος στοιχείων. γῆ  
μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ νομοθετῆσαι τὸν φήσαντα  
“βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου,  
σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος, καὶ ξύλον  
κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν” τὴν δὲ, ἅμα  
λόγῳ τὸ εὐπειθὲς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τῷ νόμῳ,  
οὕπω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τῆς θείας παραμελῆσαι

7.10.3 | In one word, the all-nurturing  
nature of everything is bound by the  
command of god, obeying divine laws and  
the will of the all-leading god. For it is not  
by chance, nor randomly, nor by an  
automatic and irrational force that such a  
great and beautiful order exists. This great  
and beautiful creation is not the work of a  
mindless nature, but is a masterpiece of the  
all-wise architect of everything, governed  
by his sacred words and laws.

7.10.4 | Then the prophet began, and before  
the laws for humans, he commanded the  
laws concerning the nature of everything.  
First of all, he urged all to pay attention to  
the all-powerful god and not to lose heart  
regarding his laws. For indeed, both the sun  
and the heavens, the earth and everything  
on it, as well as all the works of nature, are  
believed to be under his commands and  
sacred laws.

7.10.5 | Therefore, it is even more  
necessary for the human race, which is not  
a small part of everything, to follow the  
divine commands closely and not to be  
lessened in their elemental parts. For in the  
beginning, the earth was commanded to  
“let the earth bring forth grass, plants  
yielding seed according to their kind, and  
trees bearing fruit.” And at the same time,  
by the word, it shows obedience to the law,  
not yet neglecting the divine order up to

διατάξεως.

this point.

7.10.6 | οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν ούσίαν; φήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ "έξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσων, καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ," ἃμα λόγῳ τοῦργον ἀποδοῦναι, ὅρᾶσθαι τε εἰσέτι δεῦρο τῷ νόμῳ παρέχουσαν τὸ πειθήνιον.

7.10.6 | So also with the watery substance; when god said, "Let the waters bring forth living creatures that creep, and birds that fly above the earth," it was at the same time showing that the work was done according to the law, still providing obedience to the command.

7.10.7 | εἴ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες, τοῦ θείου νόμου καὶ αὐτοῖς διωρισμένου τοὺς οἰκείους ἀποδιδόναι δρόμους, εἶναί τε καὶ εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς, οὐ παραμελοῦσι τῆς νομοθεσίας, τίς ἂν ἔτι σοι λείποιτο συγγνώμης ἀποφυγὴ, τῶν θείων κατολιγωροῦντι νομῶν;

7.10.7 | If indeed the sun, the moon, and the stars are also assigned their own paths by the divine law, and they serve as signs for seasons, days, and years, they do not neglect the law. Who then would have any excuse to avoid responsibility for ignoring the divine laws?

7.10.8 | Ταῦτα προπαιδεύσας ὁ θαυμάσιος ἡμᾶς τε ἐ İlē καὶ τῆς οἰκείας θεογνωσίας τε καὶ εύσεβείας εἰκότως ζηλωτὰς κατεστήσατο, ὅτι μηδὲν τούτοις ὅμοιον παρὰ τοῖς τῶν προδηλωθέντων ἔθνῶν θεολόγοις εὐρεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.

7.10.8 | Having taught these things, the wonderful one set us up as examples of true knowledge of god and piety, because we cannot find anything similar among the theologians of the nations that have been revealed before.

7.10.9 | μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην θεολογίαν μέτεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον δόγμα φυσικὸν δόμοῦ καὶ φιλόσοφον. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν περὶ θεοῦ γνῶσιν, τὴν τε περὶ τῶν ὅλων διακόσμησιν, τάξει πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὸ καὶ τῇ φύσει δεύτερον· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι δὴ μετὰ θεοῦ γνῶσιν ἀναγκαῖον γνῶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν, διόπερ ἔξῆς παιδεύει τί ἀνθρωπος καὶ τί τὸ προάγον αὐτὸν εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ εύσεβειαν θεοῦ, τίς τε ἡ κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον ἀνθρώπου ζωή. διελόμενος δῆτα τὸν περὶ

7.10.9 | After the first theology, one moves on to the second doctrine, which is natural and philosophical. After gaining knowledge about god and the arrangement of all things, one proceeds to understand the nature of humans. This is because, after knowing god, it is necessary to know oneself. Therefore, it teaches what a person is and what leads them to the knowledge and piety of god, as well as what human life is according to what has been said before. Examining the discussion about the soul

ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος λόγον ἐν ψυχῇ μὲν δρίζεται τὸν ἀληθῆ ἄνθρωπον, νοερᾶς οὐσίας καὶ ἀσωμάτου καὶ λογικῆς μέτοχον, ὡς ἀν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ δεδημιουργημένον· σῶμα δὲ γεῶδες εἶναι περίβλημα ψυχῆς· τρίτον δὲ τούτοις προστίθησι προστίθησι, πνοὴν ζωῆς, ἐνωτικήν τινα καὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθέντος τῷ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ πεποιημένω συναπτικήν δύναμιν.

and body, the true human is defined as a rational essence that is immaterial and shares in the divine image. The body is seen as an earthly covering for the soul. Additionally, a third element is added: the breath of life, which is a unifying force connecting the earthly being made in the image of god.

7.10.10 | καὶ τὴν πρώτην γε τοῦ δηλουμένου ἀνδρὸς διατριβὴν ἐν τρισμακαρίῳ θεοῦ παραδείσῳ, ἀθανάτων καὶ αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν ἔμπλεω, γεγονέναι ἴστορεῖ· νόμῳ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτον ὅμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ παντὸς ὑποβληθέντα δι' ἀπροσεξίαν καὶ τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς παράβασιν τῆς τριποθήτου στερηθῆναι ζωῆς.

7.10.10 | It is also told that the first man lived in the blessed paradise of god, full of immortal and eternal goods. But by the law of god, he was similarly subjected to the same beginnings of all things, and through carelessness and breaking the divine command, he was deprived of the life of the threefold nature.

7.10.11 | Ταῦτά τοι ὁ Μώσης ἐν προοιμίοις τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων φιλοσοφεῖ, μονονουχὶ προκηρύττων μὴ παραμελεῖν τῆς οἰκείας ἀξίας καὶ ἡς ἐτύχομεν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀφομοιώσεως, ἐξ ἡς ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον τῆς ψυχῆς προσκεκληρῶσθαι.

7.10.11 | Moses philosophizes in the introductions of the sacred laws, especially warning not to neglect one's own worth and the way we are made similar to the divine. From this, we are also called to the immortality of the soul.

7.10.12 | μὴ γὰρ δὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι βασιλέως ἀφανίζεσθαι εἰκόνα· εἶναι δὲ ἀρχέτυπον καὶ ἀληθῆ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων εἰκόνα τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον, αὐτοσοφίαν τυγχάνοντα καὶ αὐτοζωὴν καὶ φῶς καὶ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ εἴ τι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν τις ἐπινοήσειεν· εἰκόνα δὲ εἰκόνος τὸν ἀνθρώπειον νοῦν, παρ' ὃ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονέναι ἀνωμολόγηται.

7.10.12 | For it is not right for the image of a king to be hidden. The true and original image of god is his word, which is wisdom, life, light, and truth. And if someone thinks of anything beautiful and good, the human mind is an image of that image, by which it is said to have been made in the image of god.

7.10.13 | ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ταῦτα εἶναι ὥετο Προπαιδεύεσθαι τοὺς μέλλοντας ιεροῖς

7.10.13 | It is necessary, he thought, for those who are about to offer sacred laws to

προσανέχειν νόμοις, μνημονεύειν τε τί τὸ  
άπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς γῆν αὖθις  
ἀναλυθησόμενον, καὶ τί τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κρεῖττον  
καὶ θεῷ ἐμφερὲς, ὅπως τε χρῆν ἐκατέρῳ  
τῶν εἰρημένων δι προσφέρεσθαι, μηδὲ  
ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα  
τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, μηδέ γε αὐτὸν  
ῥυπαίνειν αἰσχραῖς καὶ παρανόμοις  
πράξει, φέρειν δὲ διὰ παντὸς τῆς πρώτης  
καὶ τρισμακαρίας ἐκείνης διατριβῆς τε καὶ  
ζωῆς τὸν πόθον, καὶ σπεύδειν  
παλινδρομεῖν παλινδρομεῖν, εύχην  
ποιουμένους τῆς πρώτης καὶ τρισμακαρίου  
ζωῆς τε καὶ ἀξίας τυχεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ  
παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐνθένδε ἥδη ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἐκεῖσε ἀποδημίαν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλως δυνατὸν  
βεβήλοις καὶ μὴ κεκαθαρμένοις τῶν ἱερῶν  
ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνειν, ὃν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος δι'  
ἀπροσεξίαν, θείας καταφρονήσας ἐντολῆς,  
ἀποπέπτωκεν.

remember what is taken from the earth and will return to the earth, and what is greater and similar to god within us. Each of the mentioned ones should offer themselves, and not insult or disrespect the human being made in the image of god, nor stain themselves with shameful and unlawful actions. They should always carry the desire for that first and most blessed life and existence, and strive to return to it, making a prayer to attain that first and most blessed life and worth. But they should also prepare themselves here for the journey there, since it is not possible for the unclean and those not purified to enter those sacred places, from which the first man, through carelessness and despising the divine command, fell away.

7.10.14 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἱεροφάντης  
προστίθησιν ἄλλο συνεκτικώτατον δόγμα,  
μὴ ἀμφιγνοεῖν διδάσκων ὅτι δὴ πάρεστί τις  
ἐκάστῳ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἔφεδρος,  
βάσκανος καὶ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς  
ἄνθρωπων ἀρχῆθεν ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας.

7.10.14 | On these matters, the hierophant adds another teaching that is more binding, instructing not to doubt that there is indeed a wicked spirit present for each person, a slanderer and a hater, who is a threat to the salvation of humanity from the very beginning.

7.10.15 | δράκοντα δὲ τοῦτον καὶ ὄφιν  
όνομάζει, μέλανά τε καὶ σκότους οἰκεῖον,  
ἴοῦ τε καὶ κακίας πλήρη· ὃν καὶ φησι  
φθόνῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐνθέου ζωῆς  
ὑποσκελίζειν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν καὶ ὑποσύρειν  
ἔκαστον τῶν τῷ θεῷ προσανεχόντων  
πειρᾶσθαι· τούτου δ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ τοὺς  
προπάτορας ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους τῆς  
θειοτέρας λήξεως ἐκπεσεῖν· διὸ καὶ χρῆναι  
διὰ παντὸς ἐγρηγορέναι πρὸς τὰς τοῦ  
δηλωθέντος κακοτέχνους ἥραδιουργίας.

7.10.15 | This dragon and serpent is called dark and dwelling in shadows, full of poison and evil. It is said to trip up our divine life with envy, even now, and to drag down each of those who attempt to offer themselves to god. Because of this, our ancestors fell away from the higher divine state, so it is necessary to always be alert against the wicked tricks of this mentioned spirit.

7.10.16 | καὶ τί χρὴ ταῦτα προλαμβάνειν, δέον ἥδη ποτὲ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγγράφων ἔκαστα διελθεῖν τῶν διηγορευμένων; ἀρξώμεθα δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ θεοῦ, βοηθὸν αὐτὸν ἐν πρώτοις διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι.

## Section 11

7.11.1 | Τὴν μὲν δὴ τῆς θεολογίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ποιητικῆς τε καὶ δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως ἀρχόμενος ὁ κατ' αὐτοὺς λόγος παρίστησιν, οὐ συλλογισμοῖς οὐδὲ πιθανολογίαις πιθανολογίαις, δογματικῶτερον δὲ καὶ διδασκαλικῶτερον ἐπιθειάζων τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι· ὑφ' οὐ Θεοφορούμενος ὥδε πως ὁ Μωσῆς ἀπήρξατο τῆς θεολογίας, "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν."

7.11.2 | εἶτά φησιν "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς." καὶ πάλιν "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτω στερέωμα, καὶ ἐγένετο." καὶ πάλιν "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βιτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὄμοιότητα, καὶ πᾶν ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπὸν, οὐ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο." καὶ αὖθις "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα, καὶ εἰς καιροὺς, καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς, καὶ ἐγένετο." καὶ πάλιν "εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἔξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἐρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν κατὰ γένος, καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ γένος, καὶ ἐγένετο." καὶ πάλιν "ἔξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ τετράποδα καὶ ἐρπετὰ καὶ θηρία τῆς γῆς

7.10.16 | And what is the need to anticipate these things? It is already necessary to go through each of the writings that have been told. Let us begin first from god, calling upon him as our helper through our savior.

7.11.1 | The beginning of theology starts from the creative and making power of the one who made all things. This teaching presents itself not through reasoning or arguments, but more as a doctrine and teaching inspired by the holy spirit. It is in this way that Moses, being guided by god, began his theology, saying, "In the beginning, god made the heaven and the earth."

7.11.2 | Then he says, "God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light." And again, "God said, 'Let there be a firmament,' and it was so." And again, "God said, 'Let the earth bring forth grass, plants that produce seeds according to their kinds, and trees that bear fruit, whose seed is in itself, according to their kinds upon the earth,' and it was so." And again, "God said, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to shine upon the earth, and let them be for signs, for seasons, for days, and for years,' and it was so." And again, "God said, 'Let the waters bring forth living creatures according to their kinds, and all the birds of the air according to their kinds,' and it was so." And again, "Let the earth bring forth living creatures, both livestock and creeping things and beasts of the earth according to their kinds,' and it

κατὰ γένος, καὶ ἐγένετο."

7.11.3 | ἐν δὴ τούτοις φάσκουσα ἡ γραφὴ "εἶπεν ὁ θεός" τὸ θεῖον νεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὡδί πως γενέσθαι τὰ ὅντα βουληθῆναι τὸν θεὸν παρίστησιν, οὐ μὴν δὲ φωνῇ καὶ συλλαβαῖς φάναι αὐτὸν ἐπινοεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνακεφαλαιούμενος "αὕτη" φησὶν "ἢ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ἦ ημέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς."

7.11.4 | τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ καθ' Ἐβραίους θεολογία, λόγω θεοῦ δημιουργικῷ τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι παιδεύουσα. ἔπειτα δὲ, οὐχ ᾧδε ἔρημον ὡς ὄρφανὸν ὑπὸ πατρὸς καταλειφθέντα τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ συστησαμένου διδάσκει, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας αὐτὸν διοικεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ μόνον δημιουργὸν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων καὶ ποιητὴν τὸν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ διοικητὴν καὶ βασιλέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα, ἥλιῳ αὐτῷ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ δι' αἰώνος ἐπιστατοῦντα, μεγάλῳ τε ὄφθαλμῷ καὶ ἐνθέῳ δυνάμει πάντ' ἐφορῶντα, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν οὐρανίοις τε καὶ ἐπιγείοις ἐπιπαρόντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ διατάττοντά τε καὶ διοικοῦντα.

7.11.5 | ὡσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει καὶ οἴ μετὰ ταῦτα προφῆται, ἀκόλουθα καὶ αὐτοὶ θειάζοντες, τοτὲ μὲν ἀνεφώνουν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου λέγοντες προσώπου "θεός ἐγγίζων ἐγώ είμι, λέγει κύριος, καὶ οὐχὶ θεός πόρρωθεν. εἴ ποιήσει τι ἄνθρωπος ἐν κρυφαίοις, κάγὼ οὐ γνώσομαι αὐτό αὐτό; οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ;

was so."

7.11.3 | In these words, the scripture says, "God said," showing that the divine spirit and the will of god brought things into being. It is not necessary to think of him as speaking with voice and sounds, but rather, summarizing the whole account, it says, "This is the book of the creation of heaven and earth, when god made the heaven and the earth and all that is in them."

7.11.4 | Such is the theology according to the Hebrews, teaching that all things were created by the word of god. Furthermore, it does not teach that the whole world was left like an orphan by its father, but rather that it is always governed by the care of god. This shows that god is not only the creator and maker of all things, but also the savior, ruler, king, and leader, overseeing the sun, moon, stars, and the entire universe and world throughout the ages. With a great eye and divine power, he watches over everything, being present to all heavenly and earthly beings, and arranging and governing all things in the world.

7.11.5 | Just as the prophets after these things spoke without care, they also declared divine things. At times, they would proclaim from the divine presence, saying, "I am god, drawing near," says the lord, "and not god far away. If a person does something in secret, will I not know it? Am I not the one who fills heaven and earth?"

λέγει κύριος,"

7.11.6 | τοτὲ δὲ ὥδε πη θεολογοῦντες "τίς ἐμέτρησε τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί; τίς ἔστησε τὰ ὅρη 'στ' σταθμῷ καὶ τὰς νάπας ζυγῷ; τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, καὶ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;" καὶ πάλιν "ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖν." καὶ αὖθις ἀναβλέψατε εἰς ὑψος τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἵδετε τίς κατέδειξε ταῦτα πάντα." καὶ ἐξῆς "κύριος κύριος ὁ Θεός ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ πήξας αὐτὸν, ὁ στερεώσας τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ διδοὺς πνοὴν τῷ λαῷ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ πνεῦμα τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτὴν, ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ Θεός." καὶ ἐξῆς "ἔξετεινα ἔξετεινα τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνος, καὶ ἔστερέωσα τὴν γῆν· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ Θεός, οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ἐμοῦ."

7.11.7 | καὶ πάλιν ' οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς, θεοὶ, οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, ἀπολέσθωσαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. κύριος ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἴσχυί αὐτοῦ ἀνώρθωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ ἔξετεινε τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ ἀνήγαγε νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, ἀστραπὰς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν ἀνέμους ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ. ἐμωράνθη πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γνώσεως."

7.11.8 | καὶ πάλιν ' ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ κρθβῶ; ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, σὺ ἔκει εἴ̣ ἐὰν στρώσω εἰς τὸν

says the lord.

7.11.6 | Then, speaking of god, they ask, "Who measured the water in his hand, and the heavens with a span, and all the earth with a measure? Who set the mountains with a scale and the hills with weights? Who has known the mind of the lord, and who has become his counselor?" And again, "He who made the heavens like a curtain, and stretched them out like a tent to live in." And once more, "Lift up your eyes on high and see who created all these things." And next, "The lord, the lord, the god who made the heavens and established them, who strengthened the earth and what is in it, and gave breath to the people on it, and spirit to those who walk on it, I am the lord, the god." And next, "I alone stretched out the heavens, and I strengthened the earth; I am the lord, there is no one but me."

7.11.7 | And again, you will say to them, "Gods who did not make the heavens and the earth, let them be destroyed from the face of the earth and beneath the heavens." The lord who made the earth by his power established the world by his wisdom, and by his understanding stretched out the heavens. He brings up clouds from the ends of the earth, makes lightning for rain, and brings forth winds from his treasures. Every person has become foolish because of knowledge.

7.11.8 | And again, "Where can I go from your spirit, and where can I hide from your presence? If I go up to the heavens, you are there; if I make my bed in the grave, you

ἄδην, πάρει. εί τοι άναλάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ' ὅρθον, καὶ κατασκηνώσαιμι εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου δύνησει με. με."

7.11.9 | Άλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τῶν μετὰ Μωσέα θεολόγων, τῶν δὴ καὶ Ἐβραίων, τυγχάνει, συνῳδὰ τοῖς παλαιτάτοις προπάτορσι θεολογούντων· τῶν δέ γε πρὸ Μώσεως θεοφιλῶν καὶ τρισμακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, τῶν δὴ καὶ πρώτων Ἐβραίων, αύτοῦ τε πρώτου πάντων Ἀβραὰμ, ὃς καὶ προπάτωρ τοῦ παντὸς Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀνείρηται, ἄκουε.

7.11.10 | “εἶπε εἶπε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς βασιλέα Σοδόμων, ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψίστον, ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.” καὶ πρό γε τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ είσάγεται ὁ Μελχισεδὲκ ἵερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εύλογῶν τούτοις τοῖς ὅμασιν“εύλογημένος Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ, ὃς παρέδωκε τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποχειρίους σοι· καὶ εύλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς, ὃς ἔκτισε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.”

7.11.11 | ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ λόγος τὸν Ἀβραὰμ είσάγει τῷ οἰκείῳ τοιάδε προσδιαλεγόμενον “θὲς θὲς τὴν χεῖρά σου ὑπὸ τὸν μηρὸν μου, καὶ ἔξορκιῶ σε κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τὸν θεὸν τῆς γῆς.” καὶ ἐπιλέγει “κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς γῆς, ὃς ἔλαβέ με ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἣς ἐγεννήθην.”

are there. If I take the wings of the morning and settle at the farthest part of the sea, even there your hand will lead me."

7.11.9 | But these things, and those similar to them, are found among the theologians after Moses, who are also the Hebrews, and they agree with the very ancient forefathers who spoke of God. And indeed, those who were before Moses, the beloved and most blessed men, including the first Hebrews, especially the first of all, Abraham, who is also called the forefather of the whole Jewish nation, listen.

7.11.10 | Abraham said to the king of Sodom, 'I raise my hand to the God Most High, who created the heavens and the earth.' And before Abraham, Melchizedek, priest of God Most High, came in and blessed Abraham with these words: 'Blessed be Abraham by God Most High, who has delivered your enemies into your hand; and blessed be God, who created the heavens and the earth.'

7.11.11 | Moreover, the word introduces Abraham speaking to his own, saying this: "Place your hand under my thigh, and I make you swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth." And he adds, "The Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, who took me from my father's house and from the land of my birth."

7.11.12 | ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν Μωσέαθεοφανείᾳ, πυθομένῳ τῷ Μωσεῖ, τίνα χρὴ τὸν θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, φησὶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἐγώ εἴμι ὁ ὥν· οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ὥν ἀπέσταλκε με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.”

7.11.13 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μυρίων ὅσων τῆς Ἐβραίων θεολογίας ἔκκεισθω. ἂρ' οὖν ἄξιον ἐν συγκρίσει παραβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὰς τῶν σοφῶν Ἑλλήνων θεολογίας, τῶν μὲν μηδ' ὄλως εἶναι θεὸν ἀποφηναμένων, τῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας εἶναι φασκόντων, οὓς καὶ μύδρους τυγχάνειν διαπύρους, ἥλων καὶ πετάλων δίκην ἐμπεπηγότας τῷ οὐρανῷ, τῶν δὲ πῦρ εἶναι τεχνικὸν δόδῷ βαδίζον, καὶ τῶν μὲν μὴ προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διοικεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον, φύσει δέ τινι ἀλόγῳ, τῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν οὐράνια μόνα ὑπὸ θεοῦ διοικεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ πάλιν ἀγέννητον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, καὶ μηδ' ὄλως ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι, αὐτομάτως δὲ καὶ συντυχικῶς ὑφεστάναι, τῶν δὲ ἔξ ἀτόμων καὶ λεπτῶν σωμάτων ἀψύχων τινῶν καὶ ἀλόγων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σύστασην γεγονέναι;

7.11.14 | ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις λογίων περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ ὡς ἐν βραχέσι τοιαῦτα· συνιδεῖν δὲ ἔπειται καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν γενητῶν ἀρχῆς Ἐβραίοις πεφιλοσοφημένα.

## Section 12

7.12.1 | Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀπάντων τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι ἀπεφήνατο,

7.11.12 | In all these things, during the theophany to Moses, when Moses was asking whom he should say is God, the oracle says, "I am who I am; thus you shall say to the children of Israel, 'I am has sent me to you.'"

7.11.13 | These things, then, should be set apart from the countless ideas of Hebrew theology. Is it not worth comparing them to the theologies of the wise Greeks? Some of them do not even declare that there is a god at all, while others say that the stars are gods, which they happen to consider as many and fiery, stuck in the sky like nails and petals. Some say that fire is a technical path, and that the world is not governed by the providence of a god, but by some irrational nature. Others claim that only the heavenly things are governed by a god, but not the things on earth, and again that the world is ungenerated and not at all created by a god, but rather that it exists automatically and by chance. And what about those who say that everything came from atoms and fine, lifeless, and irrational bodies?

7.11.14 | But the ideas from the writings of the Hebrews about the god of all things are like this in brief: it follows that we should also consider what the Hebrews have philosophized about the origin of created things after the god of all.

7.12.1 | Thales of Miletus declared that the beginning of all things is water,

Άναξιμένης δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Ἡράκλειτος τὸ πῦρ, Πυθαγόρας ἀριθμούς, Ἐπίκουρος ἄμα Δημοκρίτω σώματα ἄτομα, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα. Ἰδωμεν τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὰ παρ' Εβραίοις λόγια.

Anaximenes said it is air, Heraclitus said it is fire, Pythagoras said it is numbers, and Epicurus along with Democritus said it is atom bodies. Empedocles spoke of the four elements. Therefore, let us also look at the writings of the Hebrews.

7.12.2 | μετὰ τὴν ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγένητον τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων οὐσίαν, ἄμικτον οὖσαν καὶ ἐπέκεινα πάσης καταλήψεως, δευτέραν οὐσίαν καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων πρώτην τε ὑποστᾶσαν κάκ τοῦ πρώτου αἵτιον γεγενημένην, εἰσάγουσι, λόγον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν αὐτὴν προσαγορεύοντες.

7.12.2 | After the uncreated and eternal existence of the god of all things, which is mixed with nothing and beyond all understanding, they introduce a second existence and divine power, the first cause of all created things, which has come from the first cause itself. They call this existence reason, wisdom, and the power of god.

7.12.3 | τοῦτο δὲ πρῶτος διδάσκει λέγων Ἱὼβ "ἢ δὲ σοφία πόθεν εὐρέθη; ποῖος δὲ τόπος ἔστι τῆς ἐπιστήμης; οὐκ οἶδε βροτὸς ὁδὸν αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ μὴν εὐρέθη ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀκηκόαμεν δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ κλέος. ὁ κύριος συνέστησεν αὐτῆς τὴν ὁδὸν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἶδε τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς.

7.12.3 | The first teaches this, saying in Job, "But where does wisdom come from? Where is the place of understanding? Mortal man does not know its way, nor has it been found among humans, but we have heard of its fame. The lord established its way, and he alone knows its place."

7.12.4 | καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ δέ που ἐν ψαλμῷ δίαιται, ἐτέρῳ προσειπὼν τὴν σοφίαν ὄνόματι, φησὶ "τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν," τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργὸν λόγον θεοῦ τοῦτον ἐνευφημήσας τὸν τρόπον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς Σολομῶν ὥδε πῃ ἐξ αὐτῆς προσωποποιεῖ τῆς σοφίας λέγων "ἐγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλὴν καὶ γνῶσιν, καὶ ἔννοιαν ἐγὼ ἐπεκαλεσάμην. δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην."

7.12.4 | And David, in his psalms, also speaks of wisdom by name, saying, "By the word of the lord, the heavens were made," praising the word of god, the creator of all things. Moreover, Solomon, his son, personifies wisdom, saying, "I, wisdom, dwell with counsel and knowledge, and I call for understanding. Through me, kings reign, and rulers write justice."

7.12.5 | καὶ πάλιν "κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν

7.12.5 | And again, "The lord created me as

οδῶν αύτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αύτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ  
αἰώνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν  
γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀβύσσους  
γενέσθαι, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ  
πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με, ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζε  
τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς  
ἀσφαλεῖς ἔτιθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν,  
ἥμην σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἐγὼ ἥμην ἦ  
προσέχαιρε καθ' ἡμέραν, ηύφραινόμην δὲ  
ἐνώπιον αύτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτε  
ηύφραινετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας."

the beginning of his ways for his works.  
Before the ages, he established me, at the  
beginning, before he made the earth, before  
the depths were formed, before the  
mountains were set, before all the hills, I  
was brought forth, when he prepared the  
heavens, I was there with him, arranging  
things. I was daily his delight, rejoicing  
before him at all times, when he delighted  
in the inhabited world."

7.12.6 | ταῦτα Σολομῶν ἐν Παροιμίαις. καὶ  
ταῦτα δέ πῃ ἔξ αὐτοῦ λέγεται τοῦ  
προσώπου "τί δέ ἐστιν σοφία, καὶ πῶς  
ἔγενετο, ἀπαγγελῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψω  
ὑμῖν μυστήρια, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως  
ἔξιχνιάσω." οἵς ἔξης ἐπιλέγει "ἔστι γάρ αὕτη  
πνεῦμα νοερὸν, ἄγιον, μονογενὲς,  
πολυμερὲς, λεπτόν, εὐκίνητον, τρανὸν,  
ἀμόλυντον, παντοδύναμον,  
παντεπίσκοπον, καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν  
πνευμάτων, νοερῶν, καθαρῶν,  
λεπτοτάτων.

7.12.6 | These things Solomon says in  
Proverbs. And he also speaks of wisdom,  
saying, "What is wisdom, and how did it  
come to be? I will tell you, and I will not  
hide mysteries from you, but I will trace it  
from the beginning of creation." He then  
adds, "For it is a spirit that is intelligent,  
holy, unique, diverse, subtle, mobile, clear,  
unblemished, all-powerful, all-seeing, and it  
moves through all spirits, intelligent, pure,  
and most subtle."

7.12.7 | πάσης γάρ κινήσεως  
κινητικῶτερον σοφία, διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ  
διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. ἀτμὶς γάρ  
ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀπόρροια  
τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἱλικρινῆς:  
διὸ οὐδὲν μεμολυσμένον εἰς αὔτην  
παρεμπίπτει. ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἔστι φωτὸς  
ἀιδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ  
θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ είκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος  
αύτοῦ. διατείνει δὲ ἀπὸ πέρατος ἐπὶ πέρας  
εύρωστως, καὶ διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα χρηστῶς."

7.12.7 | For wisdom is the most active of all  
movements, and it extends and moves  
through everything because of its purity. It  
is a breath of the power of god and a  
genuine outflow of the glory of the  
almighty; therefore, nothing polluted  
comes near it. It is a reflection of eternal  
light, and a spotless mirror of god's activity,  
and an image of his goodness. It stretches  
strongly from one end to the other and  
governs all things well.

7.12.8 | καὶ δὴ τόνδε τὸν ἔνθεον λόγον  
διαφόρως ἡ θεία γραφὴ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς

7.12.8 | And indeed, the divine scripture  
introduces this inspired word differently,

έπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίᾳ  
πεπεμμένον εἰσάγει. αὐτὸν δ' οὖν καὶ τῷ  
Ἀβραὰμ Μωσεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
θεοφιλέσι προφήταις φῆναι ἐαυτὸν, καὶ  
χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ παιδεῦσαί τε καὶ  
θεσπίσαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἴστορεῖ, ὅπηνίκα  
θεὸν καὶ κύριον ὥφθαί τε καὶ εἰς λόγους  
τῶν προφητῶν ἔλθεῖν μνημονεύει.

sent by the father for the salvation of humanity. It was said to Abraham, Moses, and the other beloved prophets, and it taught many things through oracles and foretold what was to come, whenever god and lord were seen and remembered in the words of the prophets.

7.12.9 | τοῦτον καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἔλθεῖν  
ἀνθρώποις, οἷα νοσούντων σωτῆρα καὶ  
ψυχῶν ἰατρὸν πρὸς τοῦ μείζονος  
ἀπεσταλμένον ἀλεσταλμένον, ὡδὲ πῃ  
θεσπίζει ἀπέστευλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
ιάσατο αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ  
τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.' καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτέ  
φησιν ὡς τάχους δραμεῖται ὁ λόγος  
αὐτοῦ." ἐνθεν καὶ ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία  
τὸ προφητικὸν καὶ πάτριον ἀνανεουμένη  
δόγμα ταύτῃ πῃ διασαφεῖ τὴν θεολογίαν  
"ἐν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς  
τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. οὗτος ἦν ἐν  
ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ  
ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν Ὁ  
γέγονεν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ  
φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

7.12.9 | He sent this word to all people to come to knowledge, like a savior for the sick and a healer of souls, sent by the greater one. Thus, he proclaims that he sent his word, healed them, and rescued them from their corruptions. And again, at another time, it says that his word runs swiftly. From this, the evangelical teaching renews the prophetic and ancestral doctrine, explaining theology: "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with god, and the word was god. He was in the beginning with god. All things were made through him, and without him, nothing was made that has been made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men."

7.12.10 | είκότως δῆτα τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι  
καὶ Μώσης ὁ πάνσοφος, ἀρχόμενος τῆς  
κατ' αὐτὸν κοσμογονίας, ἐν τῇ  
προαποδοθείσῃ ἀρχῇ, πεποιηκέναι τὸν  
θεόν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν φησίν· αὐτῷ  
τε εἰσάγει, ὡς ἀν οἰκείῳ καὶ πρωτογόνῳ  
αὐτοῦ λόγῳ λόγῳ, κοινολογούμενον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δημιουργίας τὸν θεόν ἐν  
οἷς γράφει καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσωμεν  
ἀνθρωπὸν κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ'  
ὅμοιώσιν."

7.12.10 | It is indeed fitting that the wise Moses, starting with the creation of the world according to him, says that god made the heaven and the earth in the beginning that was given beforehand. He introduces god as if he were speaking to his own word, which is shared in the creation of humanity, where he writes and says, "Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness."

7.12.11 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ ψαλμωδὸς ἡνίττετο, ὅπηνίκα περὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἴτίου διεξιῶν “αὐτὸς” φησὶν “εἶπε, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν” ἄντικρυς τὴν τοῦ πρώτου πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον, ὡς ἀν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν υἱὸν, διάταξίν τε καὶ παρακέλευσιν ὑφιστάμενος πάντη γὰρ δῆπουθεν δῆλον ὡς πᾶς ὁ λέγων τι ἐτέρῳ λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἐντελλόμενος ἐτέρῳ παῖρ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐντέλλεται.

7.12.12 | διαρρήδην δ' αὖ πάλιν Μώσης ἄμφω δυοῖν μνημονεύων κυρίων, πατρὸς δηλαδὴ καὶ υἱοῦ, ὡδέ πῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τιμωρίας ἴστορεῖ λέγων “καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.”

7.12.13 | οἵσι συμφώνως καὶ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων ἔφησεν “εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἵως ἀν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. καὶ προιών τὴν κρύφιον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπόρρητον αὐτοῦ γενεσιοναργίαν ἡνίξατο, φάσκων ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε.”

7.12.14 | ἔνα δὲ μὴ σοφίζεσθαί με ταῦτα νομίσῃς, ἐρμηνέα σοι τῆς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ διανοίας Ἐβραῖον ἄνδρα παραστήσω παραστήσω, τὰ οἰκεῖα πατρόθεν ἀκριβοῦντα καὶ παρὰ διδασκάλων τὸ δόγμα μεμαθηκότα μεμαθηκότα, εἰ δή σοι τοιοῦτος ὁ Φίλων. ἐπάκουουσον οὖν καὶ τοῦδε, ὅπως τὰς θείας ἐρμηνεύει φωνάς·

7.12.11 | This is also hinted at by the psalmist, when discussing the first cause, saying, "He said, and they were created; he commanded, and they were formed." He directly connects the first cause to the second cause, as a father to a son, establishing both command and instruction. For it is clear that anyone who speaks to another is speaking from themselves, and the one giving a command is commanding from within themselves.

7.12.12 | Moreover, Moses again clearly mentions both lords, namely the father and the son, when he tells about the punishment of the wicked, saying, "And the lord rained down sulfur and fire from the lord upon Sodom and Gomorrah."

7.12.13 | In agreement with this, David also sang, saying, "The lord said to my lord, 'Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet.'" And he hinted at the hidden and secret nature of his origin, saying, "From the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten you."

7.12.14 | But do not think that I am being wise about these things; I will present to you an interpreter of the understanding in the scripture, a Hebrew man, who is precise about his own teachings from his father and has learned the doctrine from the teachers, if indeed this is the kind of person Philo is. Therefore, listen to this as well, how he interprets the divine words.

## Section 13

7.13.1 | “Διὰ τί ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου θεοῦ φησι τὸ ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ; παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς τούτῳ κεχρησμῷδηται. Θνητὸν γάρ οὐδὲν ἀπεικονισθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πατέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θεὸν, ὃς ἔστιν ἐκείνου λόγος.

7.13.2 | ἔδει γὰρ τὸν λογικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ τύπον ὑπὸ θείου λόγου χαραχθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεὸς κρείσσων ἔστιν ἢ πάσα λογικὴ φύσις· τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ τινὶ ἔξαιρέτῳ καθεστῶτι ἴδεᾳ οὐδὲν θέμις ἢ γεννητὸν ἔξομοιοῦσθαι.

7.13.3 | Ταῦτα ἔκ τοῦ πρώτου μοι κείσθω τῶν Φίλωνος Ζητημάτων καὶ Λύσεων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γεωργίας προτέρῳ καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον τοῦτον ὄνομάζει τὸν τρόπον. ‘Ταῦτα Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην, νόμον προστησάμενος τὸν ὄρθον αὐτοῦ λόγον καὶ πρωτόγονον υἱὸν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἡς ἱερὰς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἵᾳ τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος, διαδέξεται.’

7.13.4 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς τάδε γράφει πρὸς λέξιν ‘Τὰς Τὰς δυστροπίας οὖν εἴ τις ἀποδιδράσκειν βούλεται τὰς ἐν τοῖς διαπορηθεῖσι, λεγέτω μετὰ παρρησίας ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνύλων κραταιὸν οὕτως ὡς τὸν κόσμον ἀχθοφορεῖν ἰσχῦσαι. λόγος δ' ὁ ἀιδιός θεοῦ τοῦ αἰώνιου τὸ ὄχυρώτατον καὶ

7.13.1 | Why does he say that he made man in the image of another god, and not in his own? This is said very wisely and completely. For nothing mortal could be represented in relation to the highest and father of all, but only in relation to the second god, who is the word of that one.

7.13.2 | For the rational type in the human soul must be marked by the divine word, since the god before the word is greater than any rational nature. And in the idea that is beyond the word, in the best and most special state, it is not right for anything created to be made similar.

7.13.3 | Let these things be taken from the first of Philo's Questions and Solutions. He himself in the earlier work On Agriculture calls this way the first-born son of god, the word. "Indeed, all these things the shepherd and king god leads according to justice, having established the right word and first-born son, who will take care of this sacred flock, like a steward of a great king."

7.13.4 | And in the second work, he again writes these things word for word: "If anyone wishes to escape the difficulties in the troubled matters, let him say boldly that nothing of the created can be strong enough to bear the weight of the world. But the eternal word of god is the strongest and most secure foundation of all."

βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων ἔστιν.

7.13.5 | οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεὶς δολιχεύει τὸν φύσεως ἀγήτητον δρόμον, συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγων. δεσμὸν γάρ αὐτὸν ἄρρηκτον τοῦ παντὸς ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει πατήρ.

7.13.6 | εἰκότως οὕν οὐδὲ γῆ πᾶσα διαλυθήσεται πρὸς παντὸς ὕδατος, ὅπερ αὐτῆς οἱ κόλποι κεχωρήκασιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἀέρος σβεσθήσεται πῦρ, οὐδὲ ἔμπαλιν ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀὴρ ἀναφλεχθήσεται, τοῦ θείου λόγου μεθόριον τάττοντος αὐτὸν φωνῆν στοιχείων ἀφώνων, ἵνα τὸ ὅλον ὕσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγγράμμου μουσικῆς συνηχήσῃ, τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειλὰς πειθοῖ τῇ συνόδῳ μεσιτεύοντός τε καὶ διαιτῶντος.”

7.13.7 | Ταῦτα ὁ Φίλων. καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἄλλος Ἐβραίων σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαίων ἀκμάσας ἡγεμονίαν, κυροῖ τὸ δόγμα ως πάτριον, αὐτῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων προσφωνῶν ἐρμηνείαν, ἐν τῇ τάδε φησί

7.13.5 | This one, placed from the middle to the ends and from the ends to the middle, twists the invincible path of nature, gathering all the parts and tightening them. For the father who created all made him an unbreakable bond of everything.

7.13.6 | Therefore, it is not surprising that no land will be dissolved by any water, which its bays have separated, nor will fire be extinguished by air, nor will air be set on fire by fire. The divine word sets a boundary, calling forth the elements without voice, so that the whole may be harmonized like a written music, with the threats of opposites being persuaded by the joining together and the one who mediates and sustains.

7.13.7 | These things are by Philo. And another wise man of the Hebrews, Aristobulus, during the height of the Ptolemaic rule, confirms the teaching as traditional, addressing Ptolemy with the interpretation of the sacred laws, in which he says the following.

## Section 14

7.14.1 | “Μεταφέροιτο δ' ἀν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας· τὸ γάρ πὰν φῶς ἔστιν ἔξ αὐτῆς. διὸ καὶ τινες είρήκασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ὄντες τοῦ Περιπάτου λαμπτῆρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν. ἀκολουθοῦντες γάρ αὐτῇ συνεχῶς, ἀτάραχοι καταστήσονται δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου. σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ κάλλιον

7.14.1 | Let the same be said about wisdom: for all light comes from it. Therefore, some who are from the school of the Peripatetics have said that it has a rank. For those who follow it continuously will be untroubled throughout their whole life. More clearly and beautifully than our ancestors,

τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις εἶπε Σολομῶν,  
πρὸ διαβάσαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆς αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν· τὸ δὲ  
σύμφωνόν ἔστι τῷ προειρημένῳ.”

someone said, Solomon, that it exists before heaven and earth; and it agrees with what has been said before.

7.14.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦδε καὶ παῖδες Ἐβραίων  
πεφιλοσοφήκασιν ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ οὗτος λόγων εἴη ἀνὸς θεοπρεπέστατος, δυνάμει θεοῦ λογικῆς καὶ πανσόφων, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνατιθεὶς τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως ἥτοις ἀψύχοις καὶ ἀλόγοις στοιχείοις;

7.14.2 | These things and such things about this have been philosophized by the Hebrew children. Is it not true that this teaching would be the most divine, by the power of a rational and all-wise god, more so than by wisdom itself and the word of god, when it sets the beginning of the whole creation rather than by the lifeless and irrational elements?

7.14.3 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς.  
σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἂν περὶ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν συστάσεως, τῶν μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν, ἐκδιδάσκουσι.

7.14.3 | But such things are among the Hebrews, including those about the beginning of all things. Let us also consider what they teach about the creation of rational beings, which comes after the first beginning.

## Section 15

7.15.1 | Μετὰ τὴν ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγέννητον τοῦ θεοῦ παμβασιλέως ούσιαν, τὴν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἥτις ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένην ἀρχὴν, πρωτότοκόν τε οὖσαν καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βουλῆς, πρὸς αὐτόν τε ἀπεικονισμένην διδάσκουσι.

7.15.1 | After the uncreated and eternal being of the all-powerful god, they teach about the beginning that is born only from the father, being both the firstborn and a helper of the father's will, and that is represented in relation to him.

7.15.2 | ταύτην δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενητῶν ἀπάντων πρωτεύειν, παρ' ὃ καὶ εἰκόνα θεοῦ αὐτὴν, καὶ θεοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν, καὶ θεοῦ λόγον, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως κυρίου, μεγάλης τε βουλῆς ἄγγελον ἀποκαλεῖν εἰώθασι.

7.15.2 | They are accustomed to call this one the leader of all created beings after these, as well as the image of god, and the power of god, and the wisdom of god, and the word of god, yes, indeed, and the chief commander of the lord's power, and the angel of the great counsel.

7.15.3 | τὰς δὲ μετὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς δυνάμεις οὐ λεκτὰς εἶναι ἀνθρώπου φύσει, τοῦ τε πλήθους ἔνεκα τῆς τε κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς, πλὴν ὅσον ἐπιβάλλειν δυνατὸν τοῖς παραδείγμασιν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀναλογίας, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ οὐρανοῦ ἔνδον ὑφ' ἐσυτῷ τὰ σύμπαντα περιειληφότος.

7.15.4 | "ἄλλη γὰρ δόξα ἡλίου καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων" φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· ἀστέρα γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρειν ἐν δόξῃ.

7.15.5 | ταύτη πη τοιγαροῦν καὶ τὸν ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοεραῖς οὐσίαις κόσμον χρὴ νοεῖν, τὰ πάντα μὲν ἀθρώας ἀπολαβούσης τῆς ἀνεκφράστου καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθους δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, δευτερευούσης δὲ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τῆς δημιουργικῆς ὄμοιος καὶ φωτιστικῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θείου λόγου. διὸ καὶ φῶς ἀληθινὸν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον Ἐβραίοις φίλοιν αὐτὸν ὄνομάζειν.

7.15.6 | τρίτης δὲ ἦδη μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν οὐσίαν ἐν χώρᾳ σελήνης καθισταμένης τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ βασιλικῇ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ καταλέγουσιν, εἰς ἀρχὴν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενητῶν, λέγω δὲ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ χορηγίας ἐπιδεομένων, καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητοῦ κατατεταγμένου.

7.15.3 | After this beginning, the intellectual and rational powers are said not to be expressible in human nature, due to the multitude and the difference in forms, except as much as can be imposed on the examples from the analogy of visible things, like the sun and the moon and the stars, and indeed the whole universe contained within itself.

7.15.4 | "For there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars," says the divine apostle; for one star differs from another in glory.

7.15.5 | Therefore, in this way, one must think of the world in the incorporeal and intellectual beings, with everything receiving together the unspeakable and infinite power of god, the creator of all, while the creative and enlightening power of the divine word comes second after the father. That is why it is called the true light and the sun of righteousness, a name dear to the Hebrews.

7.15.6 | But after the second being, the third is established in the realm of the moon, which is the holy spirit. This spirit is also said to have the first and royal authority and honor of the creator of all, as the beginning of those that come after it, meaning those that have descended and are in need of its support, and it is arranged in relation to the creator of all.

7.15.7 | ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, τρίτην ἐπέχον τὴν τάξιν, τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κρείττονων δυνάμεων ἐπιχορηγεῖ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνει παρ' ἐτέρου [του ἥ παρὰ θεοῦ λόγου,] τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἀνωτέρω καὶ κρείττονος, ὃν δὴ δευτερεύειν ἔφαμεν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ ἀγεννήτου φύσεως θεοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως· παρ' οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὁ θεὸς λόγος, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀενάου πηγῆς θεότητα ἀναβλυστανούσης ἀρυτόμενος, τοῖς πᾶσιν διμοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, μᾶλλον ἀπάντων αὐτῷ προσεχεῖ καὶ ἐγγυτάτω ὅντι, ταῖς τε μετὰ τοῦτο νοεραῖς καὶ θείαις δυνάμεσιν ἀθρόως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως τῶν τοῦ οίκείου φωτὸς μαρμαρυγῶν μεταδίδωσι.

7.15.8 | τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἀγένητον ἀρχὴν, ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων οὖσαν πηγὴν, θεότητός τε καὶ ζωῆς ὄμοιού καὶ φωτὸς καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς αἴτιαν, καὶ πρώτην γε οὖσαν τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρχῶν ἀρχὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πρώτου καὶ πάσης ῥητῆς τε καὶ καταληπτῆς ἐπινοίας ἐπέκεινα, τὰ μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ ἐν ἀρρήτοις δυνάμεσι περιείληφε τῷ πρώτῳ γεννήματι κοινωνεῖν μόνῳ, ὡς ἀν μόνως οἴω τε χωρεῖν καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐκ ἐφικτὴν οὐδὲ χωρητὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν.

7.15.9 | τὰ δ' ἐν μέρει τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἀξίοις διὰ τῆς τοῦ δευτέρου διακονίας τε καὶ μεσιτείας κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστω ἐφικτὸν ἐμπαρέχειν· ὧν. τὰ τέλεια καὶ ἄκρως ἄγια τῷ τρίτῳ μὲν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἀρχοντὶ δὲ καὶ ἡγουμένῳ τῶν μετέπειτα, διὰ τοῦ νιοῦ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικομιζομένῳ, δεδωρῆσθαι.

7.15.7 | But this third being, holding the third rank, provides support to those who have descended from the greater powers within it. It also takes hold from another source, that is, from the divine word, which is indeed higher and greater. We said that it comes second to the highest and most noble nature of god, the king of all. From this source, the divine word itself is also supported, and like a fountain of ever-flowing divinity, it pours out to all, especially to the holy spirit, being closer to it than to all others. It freely and without hesitation shares the intellectual and divine powers that follow, along with the shining rays of the familiar light.

7.15.8 | The uncreated beginning of all things, which is the source of all good, is both divinity and the cause of life, light, and all virtue. It is indeed the first of the first and the beginning of beginnings, and it goes beyond every first and every clear and graspable thought. All that is contained within the unspeakable powers is shared only with the first creation, as it alone can receive and accept the abundance of goodness from the father, which cannot be reached or contained by others.

7.15.9 | The things that are in part are provided to those who are worthy through the service and mediation of the second being, according to what is possible for each. Among these, the perfect and most holy things are given to the third being from itself, and to the ruler and leader of those that come after, through the son, who

receives what is brought from the father.

7.15.10 | ἐνθεν οὶ πάντες Ἐβραίων θεόλογοι, μετὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ σοφίαν 5 τὴν τρίτην καὶ ἀγίαν δύναμιν, ἄγιον πνεῦμα προσειπόντες ἀποθειάζουσιν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἐφωτίζοντο θεοφορούμενοι.

7.15.11 | ἔξῆς δὲ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ ἀστέρα φασὶν ἀστέρος διαφέρειν ἐν δόξῃ. Θνητῇ μὲν οὖν φύσει οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν ἀστρων δυνατὸν εὑρεῖν, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν τὰ Ἐβραίων φασὶ λόγια καὶ τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν στρατιὰς τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας μὴ ἵνα γνοεῖν. διὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς λέγεσθαι "ὁ ὁ ἀριθμῶν πλήθη ἀστρων καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα καλῶν."

7.15.12 | οὕτω δὴ μετὰ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν ἐπινοούμενων ἀστρων, φωτὸς νοεροῦ δυνάμει τε καὶ οὐσίᾳ διαπρεπόντων, πολλή τις καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπερινόητος διαφορὰ τυγχάνει, ἀναρίθμητά τε φῦλα καὶ γένη, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τῷ τῶν ὅλων ποιητῇ.

7.15.13 | διὸ καὶ τὸ καταληπτὸν αὐτῶν μόνῳ τῷ θεῷ παριστάς τις θεολόγων φησὶ "μύριαι μυριάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες παρειστήκεισαν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ" διὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δηλῶν τὸ τῷ θεῷ καταληπτὸν αὐτῶν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τὸ ἡμῖν ἄπειρον· παρ' ὃ καὶ εἰώθαμεν ὄνομάζειν καθ' ὑπερβολῆς ἔμφασιν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρα μυρία.

7.15.10 | From this, all the Hebrew theologians, after the god above all and after his firstborn wisdom, call the third and holy power the holy spirit, by which those who are filled with god are also enlightened.

7.15.11 | Next, they say that stars differ in glory in heaven, the sun, and the moon. For mortal nature, it is not possible to find a number of stars, except that the all-sovereign god is said by the Hebrews to know the words and the multitude of the heavenly host and their names. Therefore, among them, it is said, "the number of the multitude of stars and all their names is beautiful."

7.15.12 | Thus, after the first powers that are in the incorporeal beings are thought of as stars, which excel in the essence and power of light, there is a great and incomprehensible difference for us, with countless kinds and races, but not even to the creator of all.

7.15.13 | Therefore, some theologians say that the visible ones serve the one god, "myriads of myriads ministered to him and thousands of thousands stood before him." This shows the number of what is visible to god, while the quantity is infinite for us; for this reason, we are accustomed to call the many and the infinite "myriad" in an exaggerated way.

7.15.14 | ἄλλος δέ τις προφήτης περὶ τῆς ούσίας αὐτῶν διεξιών ὥδέ πως τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ἀπάντων θεολογεῖ, φάσκων κύριε ὁ θεός μου μου, ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθης σφόδρα, ἔξομολόγησιν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσω, ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὡς ἴμάτιον, ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν· ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

7.15.15 | μή τοι νομίσῃς τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν θνητοῦ καὶ γεώδους πυρὸς ούσίας μετέχειν τὰ δηλούμενα, μηδέ γε τῶν ἔξ ἀλόγου φύσεως ἀέρος πνευμάτων· ἀλλ' οὗτον περ καὶ αὐτὸν ὄνομάζουσι τὸν θεὸν, ἀσώματον μὲν καὶ ἄῤῥον καὶ αὐτόνουν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον ὅντα τὴν φύσιν, τροπικώτερον δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ προσηγορίαις θνηταῖς ἀκοαῖς καταλλήλοις ὄνομαζόμενον, ἀγγέλους δῆτα καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, καὶ πνεύματα καὶ θείας δυνάμεις καὶ στρατιὰς οὐρανίους, ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἔχουσίας καὶ θρόνους καὶ κυριότητας, ὡς ἀν μυρίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἀστέρας τε καὶ φωστῆρας, τὰς νοερὰς καὶ λογικὰς ούσίας οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι προσειπόντες, ἄρχειν ἀπάντων καὶ ἐπιστατεῖν τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης φασὶν ἥλιον, καὶ τὸ τούτου σύζυγον ἄγιον πνεῦμα.

7.15.16 | τὰ δὲ πάντα ἀθρόως αὐτῷ υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, νοερά τε ζῷα καὶ λογικά, σὺν καὶ τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένοις, οὐρανὸν τε αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅσα ἔνδον οὗτος ἐν αὐτῷ περιλαβὼν ἔχει, μόνω τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ, τῷ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι παμβασιλεῖ καὶ πανηγεμόνι καὶ αἰτίω τῶν ὅλων, ὡς ἀν δημιουργῷ πάντων

7.15.14 | Another prophet, discussing their essence, speaks of the creator of all, saying, "Lord, my god, how greatly you have been magnified! You have clothed yourself in grandeur and majesty, wrapping yourself in light like a garment, stretching out the heavens like a curtain; you who make your angels spirits and your ministers a flame of fire."

7.15.15 | Do not think that the things we describe share in the essence of our mortal and earthly fire, nor of the spirits that come from the nature of air. But they call god himself incorporeal and immaterial, beyond understanding and beyond all reason, having a nature that is more like spirit, fire, and light. He is also named by other mortal terms that fit, such as angels and archangels, spirits, divine powers, and heavenly hosts, as well as authorities, powers, thrones, and dominions. They say that he rules over all and watches over the sun of justice, along with its holy companion, the holy spirit, like countless stars and shining lights, which the divine words refer to as rational and intelligent beings.

7.15.16 | But all things, both rational and intelligent beings, along with those that appear in heaven, the heavens themselves, and all that is contained within them, belong to the one god above all, who rules through all and is in all, the universal king and cause of everything. As the creator of all, the maker and caretaker, and savior, the

ποιητῇ τε καὶ φροντιστῇ καὶ σωτῆρι, τὸν πρέποντα ὑμον καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν θεολογίαν ἡ θεία καὶ προφητικὴ γραφὴ νέμειν παρακελεύεται, φάσκουσα

divine and prophetic scripture commands that the fitting hymn and appropriate theology be given, saying,

7.15.17 | “αίνεῖτε τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ ἀστρα καὶ τὸ φῶς, αίνεῖτε αὐτὸν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. ἔστησεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, προστάγματα ἔθετο, καὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται.”

7.15.17 | Praise god from the heavens, praise him in the highest places. Praise him, all his angels; praise him, all his powers. Praise him, sun and moon; praise him, all the stars and light. Praise him, you heavens of heavens, and let the waters above the heavens praise the name of the lord. For he spoke, and they came to be; he commanded, and they were created. He set them in place forever and ever; he gave them commands, and they will not pass away.

7.15.18 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἑβραίων δόγματα, ἃ τῆς Ἑλλήνων πολυθέου καὶ δαιμονικῆς πλάνης προτετιμήκαμεν, θείας μὲν δυνάμεις ὑπηρετικὰς τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ καὶ λειτουργικὰς είδότες, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον τιμῶντες, μόνον δὲ θεὸν δημολογοῦντες, καὶ μόνον ἔκεινον σέβοντες, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς, καὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄπαντα, τά τε ἐπέκεινα οὐρανοῦ σέβειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν καὶ θεολογεῖν ἐδιδάχθη· ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ μονογενῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτότοκος τῶν ὅλων ἡ πάντων ἀρχὴ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον σέβειν ἡμῖν παρακελεύεται.

7.15.18 | Such are the teachings from the Hebrews, which we have noted in contrast to the Greeks' belief in many gods and their demonic error. Knowing that divine powers serve the universal king god and honor him as they should, we confess only one god and worship only him. This is the god whom heaven and all that is in heaven, as well as what is beyond the heavens, are taught to honor, praise, and speak of. For even he, the only-begotten of god and firstborn of all, teaches us to regard his father as the true god and to worship only him.

## Section 16

7.16.1 | Ἔπεται καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐναντίας δυνάμεως τίνα ποτὲ τὰ Ἑβραίων λόγια παραδίδωσιν ἐπισκέψασθαι. τὰς μὲν οὖν

7.16.1 | It follows that we should also consider what the Hebrew writings say about the opposing powers. The divine

θείας δυνάμεις, νεύματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῷ σύμπαντι ἐφεστώσας κόσμῳ, τά τε λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα, διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν βασιλείαν, τούς τε ἱεροὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους, πᾶσάν τε τὴν διάκονον τῶν ἀγαθῶν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, φωτεινὴν οὖσαν, καὶ πάντων ὑπηρέτιν τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ θεοῦ δωρουμένων ἀγαθῶν, τὸν παμβασιλέα πάντων δορυφορεῖν θεὸν, κᾱπειτα τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν δίκην ἀστρων, τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ τὸ σύζυγον αὐτῷ ἄγιον πνεῦμα περιπολεῖν, τῆς τε τούτων χορηγίας τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολαύειν· διὸ καὶ φωστῆρσι τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν εἰκότως παραβάλλεσθαι·

powers, having been set in place by the father's command over the whole world, and the ministering spirits sent for service to those who will inherit the kingdom, as well as the holy angels of god and archangels, all the good spiritual beings that are bright and serve all the good gifts given to humans by god, surround the universal king of all. Then, like stars in the heavens, the sun of righteousness and its holy spirit accompany him, enjoying the supply of light from these. Therefore, it is fitting to compare them to the lights in the heavens.

7.16.2 | τὴν δὲ ἐκ τούτων παρατετραμμένην, καὶ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων χορείας δι' οίκείαν φαυλότητα στερομένην, σκότος τε ἀντὶ φωτὸς ἀλλαξαμένην, ἔμπαλιν ἢ τὰ πρῶτα, ταῖς ἀρμοττούσαις τῇ τοῦ τρόπου μοχθηρίᾳ προσηγορίαις ὄνομάζει.

7.16.2 | But the one that has been turned away from these, and is deprived of the better company because of its own weakness, has changed from light to darkness. It is named with terms that fit its wicked way of life, rather than the original state.

7.16.3 | τὸν γοῦν κατάρξαντα τῆς πτώσεως, αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐτέροις τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων ἀποστασίας γενόμενον αἴτιον, ὃς ἂν διόλου χαμαὶ τῆς τῶν θειοτέρων εύσεβείας ἐκπεπτωκότα, καὶ κακίας μὲν ίοῦ καὶ δυσσεβείας αὐτὸν αὐτῷ δημιουργὸν ὑποστάντα, σκότους δὲ καὶ ἀλογίας ποιητὴν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αύθεκουσίου ἀναχωρήσεως γεγονότα, δράκοντα καὶ ὄφιν ὅθιν, μέλανά τε καὶ ἐρπυστικὸν ἐρπυστικὸν, ίοῦ θανατηφόρου γεννητικὸν, θῆρά τε ἄγριον, καὶ ἀνθρωποβόρον λέοντα, καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἐν ἐρπετοῖς βασιλίσκον ἀποκαλεῖν εἴωθεν.

7.16.3 | The one who caused the fall, becoming the reason for his own and others' rebellion against the better beings, has fallen completely from the divine goodness. He has become a source of evil and impiety, having turned away from the light of his own creator. He has become a maker of darkness and irrationality, like a dragon and a serpent, dark and creeping, a deadly offspring of poison, a wild beast, and a man-eating lion. He is often called the basilisk among the creeping creatures.

7.16.4 | ὑπόθεσιν δ' αύτῷ φασιν οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι γεγονέναι τῆς ἀποπτώσεως μανίαν φρενῶν καὶ διανοίας ἔκστασιν, ὡδέ πως ὅμοῦ τὴν πτῶσιν αύτοῦ καὶ τὴν φρενοβλάβειαν διηγούμενοι "πῶς πῶς ἔξεπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἐωσφόρος, ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων; συνετρίβῃ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ ἀποστέλλων πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. σὺ δὲ εἶπας ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν ἀστρῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ."

7.16.5 | καὶ πάλιν 'τάδε λέγει κύριος, ἀνθ' ὃν ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία σου, καὶ εἶπας,, θεός είμι ἐγὼ, κατοικίαν θεοῦ κατώκηκα.' καὶ αὗθις "σὺ ἀποσφράγισμα ὅμοιώσεως, καὶ στέφανος κάλλους, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγενήθης, πάντα λίθον χρηστὸν ἐνδέδεσαι" καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

7.16.6 | οἵς ἐπιλέγει ἐν ὅρει ἀγίῳ θεοῦ ἐγενήθης, ἐν μέσῳ λίθων πυρίνων ἐγεννήθης, ἄμωμος σὺ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις σου, ἀφ' ἣς ἡμέρας σὺ ἐκτίσθης, ἔως εὐρέθη τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐν σοί. ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία σου ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει σου, διεφθάρη ἡ ἐπιστήμη σου μετὰ τοὺς κάλλους σου, διὰ πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν σου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔρριψά σε."

7.16.7 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ἄντικρυς τὴν μετὰ τῶν θειοτέρων δυνάμεων προτέραν τοῦ δηλουμένου διατριβὴν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων δι' οἰκείαν μεγαλαυχίαν καὶ θεομαχίαν ἀπόπτωσιν μεμαθήκαμεν

7.16.4 | The divine writings say that the cause of the fall was madness of mind and a loss of reason. They tell the story of his fall and his insanity, saying, "How, how has the morning star fallen from heaven? He who rises early has been crushed to the ground, he who sent to all the nations. But you said in your mind, 'I will ascend to heaven; I will place my throne above the stars of heaven; I will be like the Most High.'"

7.16.5 | And again, "This says the Lord: Because your heart was lifted up, and you said, 'I am a god, I have made my dwelling place like that of a god.'" And again, "You were a seal of perfection and a crown of beauty; you became in the delight of the paradise of God, and you were adorned with every precious stone." And so on.

7.16.6 | You were chosen in the holy mountain of God; you were born among fiery stones. You were perfect in your days, from the day you were created, until wrongdoing was found in you. Your heart was lifted up because of your beauty; your wisdom was corrupted by your splendor. Because of the multitude of your sins, I cast you to the ground.

7.16.7 | Because of these things, we have learned about the fall from the higher powers and the downfall due to pride and rebellion against God. There is another kind of sin that is similar to this, which,

μυρίον δέ ἔστιν ἄλλο γένος ὑπὸ τούτω τοῖς παραπλησίοις ἔνοχον πλημμελήμασιν, ὃ τῆς δυσσεβείας χάριν τῆς τῶν εύσεβῶν ἀποπεσὸν λήξεως, ἀντὶ τῆς πάλαι φωτοειδοῦς καὶ θειοτέρας περιβολῆς τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν μακαρίοις καὶ ἀγγελικοῖς χοροῖς διατριβῆς τὸν ἐφαρμόζοντα τοῖς δυσσεβέσι χῶρον, κρίσει δικαίᾳ καὶ ἀποφάσει τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ, Τάρταρον οίκεῖν, ὃν ἄβυσσον οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ σκότος οὐ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν θείων λογίων δηλούμενον, ἀντικατηλλάξατο

because of its wickedness, has fallen from the company of the righteous. Instead of the former glorious and divine surroundings in the kingdoms of honor and in the blessed and angelic gatherings, it is assigned to the place of the wicked. By the just judgment and decree of the great God, it is to dwell in Tartarus, which the divine words call the abyss, and not the darkness we know, but the darkness indicated by the divine words, has been exchanged.

7.16.8 | ὃν βραχύ τι καὶ μικρὸν ἀπόσπασμα, γυμνασίου χάριν τῶν εύσεβείας ἀθλητῶν, ἀμφὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἀέρα καταλειφθὲν, τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολυθέου πλάνης κατ' οὐδὲν ἀθεότητος διαφερούστης συναίτιον γέγονε.

7.16.8 | This is a brief and small excerpt, for the sake of the athletes of piety, about the earth and the air left under the moon. It has become a cause of the great deception among humans, which shows no difference from atheism.

7.16.9 | τέθειται δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἡ θεία γραφὴ προσφυεῖς τάς προσηγορίας, γυμνότερον μὲν, ὅτε πνεύματα πονηρὰ καὶ δαίμονας, ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἔχουσίας, καὶ κοσμοκράτορας, καὶ πνευματικὰ πονηρίας ἐπονομάζει· συμβολικῶς δὲ, ὅτε τὸν θεοφιλῆ παρορμῆ μηδὲν δεδίττεσθαι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων δαιμόνων στῖφος, δι' ὃν φησιν "ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ, καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα."

7.16.9 | The divine scripture also applies these names to them, more openly when it speaks of evil spirits and demons, rulers and authorities, and world powers, as well as spiritual wickedness. Symbolically, when it encourages the God-loving person not to fear the army of enemy demons, it says, "You will tread upon the shield and the basilisk, and you will trample the lion and the dragon."

7.16.10 | δεῖγμα δὲ τούτων τῆς θεοεχθρίας τὸ θέλειν σφάς αὐτοὺς θεοὺς ἀναγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τάς ἐπὶ θεῷ τιμὰς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ὑφαρπάζειν, μαντείαις τε πειρᾶσθαι καὶ χρησμοῖς, ὕσπερ τισὶ θελγήτροις καὶ προβολίοις, τοὺς εύχερεῖς δελεάζειν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων

7.16.10 | An example of their hatred for God is their desire to call themselves gods and to steal the honors due to God for themselves. They try to use oracles and prophecies, like those who are charming and deceptive, to lure the easy to deceive. They pull people away from the true God

θεὸν ἀνανεύσεως ἀποσπάντινον ἀποσπάντινον,  
κατασύρειν ἐπὶ τὸν πανώλεθρον τῆς  
δυσσεβοῦς καὶ ἀθέου δεισιδαιμονίας  
βυθόν· διὸ προτροπάδην φεύγειν αὐτῶν  
τὰς ἀπάτας μόνοις Ἐβραίοις ἄνωθεν ἔξ  
αἰῶνος ἐσπουδάζετο. διαρρήδην  
παιδεύουσιν ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν  
δαιμόνια.

and drag them down into the destruction of wicked and godless superstition. For this reason, the Jewish people have been warned since ancient times to flee from their deceptions. They clearly teach that all the gods of the nations are demons.

7.16.11 | νυνὶ δὲ, σὺν θεῷ φάναι, διὰ τῆς  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελικῆς  
διδασκαλίας πάντα τὰ πανταχόθεν τῆς  
οἰκουμένης ἔθνη, δεσμῶν δαιμονικῶν  
ἀπηλαγμένα, τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖ, ὃν δὴ καὶ  
μόνον ὑπάρχειν σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ  
θεὸν τῶν ὅλων μεμαθήκαμεν.

7.16.11 | Now, with God's help, through the teaching of our Savior's gospel, all the nations of the world, freed from demonic bonds, praise God, whom we have learned is the only Savior, King, and God of all.

## Section 17

7.17.1 | Κάνταῦθα πάλιν ἡ μὲν τῶν  
Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ζωογονία  
αὐτόματον εἰσῆγε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων  
ζώων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν γένεσιν, μίαν  
καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως φύσιν συντυχικῶς  
ἀπὸ γῆς προελθεῖν διαγράφουσα, κατ'  
ούδεν τε τὴν ἄλογον διαφέρειν τῆς λογικῆς  
ψυχῆς τε καὶ οὐσίας ὑποτιθεμένη.

7.17.1 | Here again, the creation of the Phoenicians and Egyptians brings forth all living things on earth, both animals and humans, as if automatically. They describe that all come from the same nature, arising from the earth, and they suggest that there is no real difference between the irrational and the rational soul and essence.

7.17.2 | ταῦτα γοῦν ἐδήλουν αἱ  
προπαρατεθεῖσαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
συγγραφέων λέξεις. παῖδες δὲ πάλιν  
Ἐβραίων εἰκότως ἡμῖν προτετίμηνται, τὰ  
περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἀνθρώπων συστάσεως  
παγκάλως καὶ σοφῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς  
διειληφότες,

7.17.2 | Indeed, the words of the writers they have presented clearly show this. The children of the Hebrews are rightly preferred by us, as they have comprehensively, wisely, and truthfully covered the topic of the first creation of humans.

7.17.3 | ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ μέν τι φασὶ<sup>1</sup>  
θεῖον εἶναι καὶ ἀθάνατον, ἀσαρκόν τε τὴν

7.17.3 | They say that among us, some things are divine and immortal, having a

φύσιν καὶ ἀσώματον, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ τυγχάνειν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν γεγενημένον, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔργον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ τύχης οὐδ' αὐτομάτου φύσεως, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἵτιου, κρίσει θείᾳ βεβουλημένου μηδὲ τὰ κατὰ γῆν νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς ούσίας ἀμοιρεῖν, ὅπως διὰ πάντων αὐτῷ οὐρανίων τε καὶ αἱθερίων τῶν τε ἐπὶ γῆς λογικῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θειότητος ἀντιληπτικῶν ὃ προσήκων ὑμνος ἀναπέμποιτο.

7.17.4 | οὕτω δ' οὖν περιέχει τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν." καὶ πάλιν "καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἔπλασε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἐβραῖος ἐρμηνεύει Φίλων, ταῖς ἐκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς ἔτι καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγων

## Section 18

7.18.1 | "Αλλ' οἴ μὲν ἄλλοι, τῆς αἱθερίου φύσεως τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν μοῖραν εἴπόντες εἶναι, συγγένειαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς αἱθέρα συνῆψαν. ὃ δὲ μέγας Μώσης ούδενὶ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἶδος ὡμοίωσεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν αὐτὴν τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀοράτου πνεύματος ἔκεινου δόκιμον εἶναι νόμισμα, σημειωθὲν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγῖδι θεοῦ, ἥς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἔστιν ὁ ἀίδιος "ἐνέπνευσε ἐνέπνευσε γὰρ" φησὶν ὁ θεὸς "εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ζῶσαν", ὥστε ἀνάγκη πρὸς

nature that is incorporeal and immaterial. This also means that a true human is made in the image and likeness of God, and that he is a work of God, not the result of chance or automatic nature. It is by the divine will of the cause of all things that he does not lack the rational and logical essence of what is on earth, so that through all things, both heavenly and ethereal, and the rational beings on earth, the fitting hymn of his divinity may be offered up.

7.17.4 | Thus, the Hebrew writings say, "And God said, 'Let us make man in our image and likeness.' And God made man; in the image of God he made him." And again, "And God took dust from the ground and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." And these things are explained by the Hebrew interpreter Philo, who also adds these words.

7.18.1 | But some say that our mind is a part of the ethereal nature and connect the human to the ether. But the great Moses did not compare the essence of the rational soul to anything, but said that it is a true token of that divine and invisible spirit, marked and stamped with the seal of God, whose character is the eternal 'He breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' Therefore, it is necessary for the one who sends to be reflected in the one who receives.

τὸν ἔκπεμποντα τὸν δεχόμενον  
ἀπεικονίζεσθαι.

7.18.2 | διὸ καὶ λέγεται κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν κατ' εἰκόνα τινὸς τῶν γεγονότων. ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἦν τῆς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ αἵτίου λόγον ἀπεικονισθείσης ἀπεικονισθείσης, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεγερθὲν πρὸς τὴν καθαρωτάτην τοῦ παντὸς μοῖραν, οὐρανὸν, τὰς ὄψεις ἀνατεῖναι.”

7.18.3 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτος. εἰκότως δῆτα καὶ ἡ θεία γραφὴ οὐχ ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπόν φησι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς προελθεῖν ἐνὶ κελεύσματι τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἀναπτῆναι πάλιν αὐτοῦ νεύματι· μόνον δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζῷων τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αύτοὺς, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὅμοιώσιν τὴν ψυχὴν γεγονέναι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρᾶσθαι ἀρχικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν τὴν φύσιν, μόνον τε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι λογικὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν καὶ κριτικὸν καὶ νομοθετικὸν, τεχνῶν τε καὶ ἐπιστημῶν καταληπτικόν· εἶναι γὰρ μόνην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴν νοερὰν καὶ λογικὴν οὐσίαν, ἣς μὴ μετεῖναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ γῆς ζῷοις.

7.18.4 | διὸ τὰ μὲν θητεύειν καὶ χώραν οἴκετῶν παρέχειν ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ, οἷα δεσπότην καὶ ἡγεμόνα δουλοῦσθαι καὶ ὑποτάττειν τὰ ῥώμη μὲν σώματος πολὺ κρείττονα, μείονα δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν στερήσει.

7.18.2 | Therefore, it is said that man was made in the image of God, not in the image of any created thing. Thus, it follows that the human soul is reflected according to the original reason of the cause, and the body is raised toward the purest part of all, the heavens, to lift up its sights.

7.18.3 | These things are so. Indeed, the divine scripture does not say that man was made like other animals; for some were made from the earth by a single command of the all-powerful God, and others arose from the watery substance by his will. But only of the creatures on earth, the most beloved to God, we ourselves were made in the image of God and according to his likeness in our soul. For this reason, we see that our nature is original and royal, being the only rational, creative, critical, and law-giving being among those on earth, capable of arts and sciences; for only the soul in humans is a rational and logical essence, which is not shared with other living creatures on earth.

7.18.4 | Therefore, some provide for humans to serve and to give a place for servants, while humans, like a master and leader, should be served and have authority over those who are much stronger in body but lesser in their rational essence.

7.18.5 | τοῦτον μὲν οὖν κατ' εἰκόνα φασὶ θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὄμοιώσιν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μετά τινος διαφερούσης ὑπεροχῆς ὑποστῆναι. διὸ καὶ θεοῦ ἐννοίας εἰς φαντασίαν ίέναι, σοφίας τε καὶ δικαιούσης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀντιλήψεις ποιεῖσθαι, δρόμους τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων ἡμερῶν τε καὶ ὥρῶν κύκλους ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι δυνατῶς ἔχειν, τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἄνω συγγενείας χάριν, ἣν θνητῶν μόνος ἀνθρωπος ἐπιδείκνυται.

7.18.6 | τὸ δὲ τούτῳ περιπεπλασμένον ἔξωθεν ἐτερογενὲς μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ γηγενὲς, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ θεοῦ ἔργον ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποστρέφον. διὸ καὶ χρῆναι τούτου μὲν ὅσα καὶ ἀλόγου θρέμματος τὸν δεσπότην ἡχθισμένου φροντίζειν φροντίζειν, ἄγειν τε πράως αὐτὸ, καὶ τρέφειν οἴα δοῦλον, πρὸς ἀνθρωπείου βίου διακονίαν εὗ προσηνωμένον, τὸν δ' εἴσω δεσπότην, ὡς ἀν εύγενῃ καὶ θεοῦ συγγενῇ τὴν φύσιν, ἐλευθερίοις τρόποις τιμᾶν, ἄτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πάντων αίτιου τετιμημένον.

7.18.7 | λέγει δ' οὖν τὰ λόγια ὡς ἄρα τὴν πρώτην ἀνθρώπου φύσιν δυνάμεσι θείαις καὶ ὄμοιώσει θεοῦ κοσμήσας ὁ παμβασιλεὺς ἀρμόδιον οἵς ἐδωρήσατο τὴν πρώτην ἀπεκλήρωσε διατριβὴν τοῦ βίου ἐν ἀγαθῶν παραδείσῳ, δείσω, χορείαις συγκαταλέξας θείαις.

7.18.8 | καὶ τὸν μὲν τάδε ἐν ἀρχαῖς οἵα πανάγαθον αὐτῷ δεδωρῆσθαι πατέρα, τὸν δ' αὐθεκουσίῳ αἰρέσει τῶν κρειττόνων

7.18.5 | They say that this one was made in the image of God and according to his likeness, with some difference in superiority. For this reason, humans can have thoughts of God, and they can grasp wisdom, justice, and all virtues. They are able to count the paths of the sun, moon, and stars, and the cycles of days and hours, thanks to their connection to the higher things, which only humans among mortals can show.

7.18.6 | The outer part of this being is made of a different substance and is earthly, but it is also a work of God, taken from the earth and returning to it. Therefore, it is necessary for this part, which is like an irrational creature, to be cared for by the master, to be led gently, and to be fed like a servant, in order to serve the needs of human life well. But the inner master, being noble and of divine nature, should be honored in free ways, since it is connected to the cause of all things.

7.18.7 | He says that the great king, having adorned the first nature of humans with divine powers and the likeness of God, granted them a harmonious existence. He removed them from the first dwelling of life in a paradise of good things, having placed them among divine dances.

7.18.8 | And he says that in the beginning, he was given a father who was all-good, but he fell away by his own choice from the

ἀποπεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν θνητὸν χῶρον  
ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι θείας ἐντολῆς  
όλιγωρίᾳ.

7.18.9 | διὸ καὶ μάλιστα προσήκειν  
εύσεβείας ἐν πρώτοις ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ  
πρώτως πλημμεληθὲν δευτέροις αἰσίοις  
ἐπιδιορθοῦσθαι, σπεύδειν τε ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
οίκείων ἀναδρομήν τε καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν.  
εἶναι γὰρ τέλος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως οὐχ  
ἄδει ἐπὶ γῆς εἰς φθορὰν καταστρέφον καὶ  
ἀπώλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖθεν ὅθεν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος  
ἀπέσφηλε.

7.18.10 | διὸ χρῆναι τὸ καθαρὸν αὖθις καὶ  
τὸ θεοείκελον ἀνακτήσασθαι τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν  
νοερᾶς οὐσίας, ἐφ' ἣν προθυμητέον ἀνιέναι  
παντὶ σθένει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εύσεβείας  
καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελομένοις.

7.18.11 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπου  
φύσεως Ἐβραίοις πεφιλοσοφημένα  
ἀννωθεν, πρὶν ἦ καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους  
παρελθεῖν Ἑλληνας· οἱ χθιζοί τινες καὶ  
κομιδῇ νέοι ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνακύψαντες, τὰ τε  
βαρβάρων ὑποσυλᾶν διανοηθέντες  
διανοηθέντες, καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις οὐκ  
ἀπέσχοντο, ὡς προιών ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα  
μάλα ἐπιδείξει.

7.18.12 | ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν  
δογμάτων ἕδιον ἦν τὸ ἴνα τῶν ἀπάντων  
ποιητὴν νομίζεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν,  
αὐτῆς τε τῆς ὑποκειμένης τοῖς σώμασιν  
οὐσίας, ἦν ὅλην προσαγορεύουσιν  
Ἑλληνες· τούτῳ δὲ μυρίοι βαρβάρων ὅμοι  
καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἔξ ἐναντίας ἔστησαν, οἵ μὲν  
κακίας πηγὴν τὴν ὅλην εἶναι ἀποφηνάμενοι

greater ones, and he exchanged the mortal  
place for divine commands with neglect.

7.18.9 | Therefore, it is especially fitting to  
strive for piety at first, and to correct the  
first wrongdoing with second chances, and  
to hurry back to the restoration of one's  
own. For the purpose of human nature is  
not to be destroyed and lost here on earth,  
but to return to where the first one fell  
away.

7.18.10 | Therefore, it is necessary to  
regain the pure and divine-like part of our  
thinking essence, for which we should  
eagerly strive with all our strength, paying  
attention to piety and virtue for all people.

7.18.11 | Such things about human nature  
have been deeply studied by the Hebrews  
from above, even before the Greeks came to  
humans. Some young men from yesterday,  
having emerged from the earth, thought  
about the ideas of the barbarians and did  
not shy away from those of the Hebrews, as  
the discourse will soon show clearly.

7.18.12 | But since it was unique to the  
Hebrew teachings to consider the one God  
as the creator of all things, and the  
substance underlying the bodies, which the  
Greeks call matter; many barbarians and  
Greeks stood in opposition to this. Some  
claimed that matter is the source of evil and  
exists without a cause, while others said

ἀγέννητόν τε ὑπάρχειν, οἵ δὲ τῇ μὲν οίκείᾳ φύσει ἄποιον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμει τὸν κόσμον αύταῖς ποιότησι προσειληφέναι, δεικτέον ὡς πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡ Ἐβραίων ἐπέχει δόξα, μετ' ἀποδείξεως λογικῆς παρισταμένη τῷ προβλήματι, καὶ τὸν ἐναντίον λογισμοῖς ὄρθοῖς ἀποσκευαζομένη λόγον.

that matter is formless and ugly, but that the world was shaped by the power of God. It should be shown that the Hebrew view is much better, as it stands with logical proof to the problem, and it refutes opposing arguments with sound reasoning.

7.18.13 | Θήσω δὲ φωνὰς τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ δόγμα διηκριβωκότων, καὶ πρώτου γε Διονυσίου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Σαβέλλιον αὐτῷ γεγυμνασμένων τάδε περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου γράφει

7.18.13 | I will set forth the voices of those who have accurately explained the doctrine before us, and first of all Dionysius, who writes the following about the subject in the first of his writings Against Sabellius.

## Section 19

7.19.1 | “Ούδ' ἔκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὅσιοι οἱ τὴν ὕλην ὡς ἀγέννητον ὑποχείριον εἰς διακόσμησιν διδόντες τῷ θεῷ παθητὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ τρεπτὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εἴκειν ταῖς θεοποιήτοις ἀλλοιώσεσι.

7.19.1 | For those who consider matter as uncreated and submissive to God for decoration are not holy, since they believe that it is changeable and subject to the divine transformations.

7.19.2 | καὶ πόθεν γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ τὸ τε ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον διασαφείτωσαν. ἐκατέρου γὰρ δεῖ τινα ἐπινοῆσαι κρείττονα, ὃ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ἐννοῆσι αἱ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. τό τε γὰρ ἀγέννητον, ὅμοιον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λεγόμενον, καὶ ἔτερον νοούμενον παρ' ἐκατερον, πόθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο;

7.19.2 | And from where do both God and matter have the similar and the dissimilar? For each must have something greater imagined, which you cannot think of as lawful regarding God. For the uncreated, which is said to be similar in both, and the other understood by each, from where did it come to be in them?

7.19.3 | εἴ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀγέννητόν ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ούσια ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀν εἴποι τις, ἡ ἀγεννησία, οὐκ ἀν ἀγέννητον εἴη ἡ ὕλη οὐ γὰρ ταύτον ἐστιν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ὁ θεός· εἰ δὲ ἐκάτερον μὲν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ὁ θεός, πρόσεστι δὲ ἀμφοτέροις τὸ

7.19.3 | If God is uncreated, and his essence is, as someone might say, ungenerated, then matter would not be uncreated; for matter and God are not the same. But if each is what it is, which is matter and God, and the uncreated is present to both, it is

ἀγέννητον, δῆλον ὡς ἔτερόν ἐστιν  
ἐκατέρου, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πρεσβύτερόν τε  
καὶ ἀνωτέρω.

7.19.4 | ἀνατρεπτικὴ δὲ παντελῶς καὶ τοῦ  
ταῦτα συνυπάρχειν συνυπάρχειν, μᾶλλον  
δὲ τοῦτο ἔτερον αὐτῶν τὴν ὕλην ἐφ'  
ἐσαυτῆς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐναντίας ἔξεως  
διαφορά.

7.19.5 | εἰπάτωσαν γὰρ τὴν αἴτίαν, δι' ἣν,  
ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων ἀγεννήτων, ὃ μὲν θεὸς  
ἀπαθής, ἄτρεπτος, ἀκίνητος, ἐργαστικὸς, ἡ  
δὲ τὰ ἐναντία παθητὴ, τρεπτὴ, ἀστατος,  
μεταποιουμένη.

7.19.6 | καὶ πῶς ἤρμοσαν καὶ συνέδραμον  
συνέδραμον; πότερον κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὕλης  
φύσιν ἔξοικειώσας ἐσαυτὸν ἐτεχνίτευσεν  
αὐτὴν ὁ θεός; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ἄτοπον  
δομοίως ἀνθρώποις χρυσοχοεῖν καὶ  
λιθουργεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας,  
ὅσας αἱ ὕλαι μορφοῦσθαι λαὶ τυποῦσθαι  
δύνανται, χειροκμητεῖν τὸν θεόν.

7.19.7 | εἰ δὲ οἵαν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο κατὰ τὴν  
ἐσαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐποίωσε τὴν ὕλην, τὸ  
πολύμορφον καὶ παμποίκιλον τῆς  
δημιουργίας ἐσαυτοῦ σχῆμα καὶ τύπον  
ἐνσφραγιζόμενος αὐτῆμ, καὶ εὕφημος καὶ  
ἀληθής οὗτος ὁ λόγος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν  
ὑπόστασιν τῶν ὅλων τὸν θεὸν ἀγέννητον  
εἶναι κρατύνει.

7.19.8 | τῷ γὰρ εἶναι ἀγέννητον ἄμα καὶ τό

clear that it is different for each, and older  
and higher than both.

7.19.4 | But it is completely contradictory  
for these to coexist, especially for matter to  
exist on its own, and for there to be a  
difference in the state of opposition.

7.19.5 | For let them state the reason, by  
which, while both are ungenerated, God is  
impassible, unchanging, unmoving, and  
active, while matter is the opposite:  
passive, changeable, unstable, and  
undergoing transformation.

7.19.6 | And how did they fit together and  
come together? Did God shape matter  
according to its nature? But this is equally  
strange as for humans to work with gold  
and stone, and in other crafts, to shape and  
mold matter, while trying to manipulate  
God.

7.19.7 | But if he shaped matter as he  
wished according to his own wisdom,  
impressing the form and pattern of his  
creation upon it, then this saying is both  
fitting and true, and it also confirms that  
God is ungenerated, the foundation of all  
things.

7.19.8 | For being ungenerated is also

πως εῖναι προσῆψε. πολὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ’ οὐ νῦν ἡμῖν πρόκειται· συγκρίσει δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀθεωτάτους πολυθέους εὑφημότεροι οὗτοι.” Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Διονυσίου καὶ τῶν Ὄριγένους δὲ ἄκουε

connected to how it exists. There is indeed much to say about this, but it is not for us to discuss now; in comparison to the unseen many gods, these ideas are more fitting. Therefore, listen to these things from Dionysius and Origen.

## Section 20

7.20.1 | “Εἰ δέ τινι προσκόπτει διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους τεχνίτας μὴ δύνασθαι παραδέξασθαι τὸν θεὸν χωρὶς ὅλης ἀγεννήτου ὑποκειμένης κατασκευάζειν τὰ ὄντα, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς χωρὶς χαλκοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον ποιῆσαι δύναται, μηδὲ τέκτων χωρὶς ξύλων, μηδὲ οἰκοδόμος χωρὶς λίθων, ζητητέον πρὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ δυνάμεως θεοῦ, εἰ θελήσας ὑποστῆσαι ὃ τι βούλεται ὁ θεὸς, τῆς θελήσεως αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορουμένης οὐδὲ ἀτονούσης, οὐ δύναται ὑποστῆσαι ὃ βούλεται.

7.20.1 | If someone argues that God cannot create beings without the underlying ungenerated matter because of human craftsmen, since a sculptor cannot make his own work without bronze, nor a carpenter without wood, nor a builder without stones, one should consider the power of God. If God wishes to establish whatever he wants, his will is neither lacking nor weak; he cannot establish what he wants.

7.20.2 | Ὡ γὰρ λόγω τὰς ποιότητας, (κατὰ πάντας πρόνοιαν εἰσάγοντας τῷ ἴδιῳ λόγῳ,) οὐκ οὕσας ὡς βούλεται εἰς διακόσμησιν τοῦ παντὸς ὑφίστησι τῇ ἀφάτῳ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ, τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὅσης χρήζει ἱκανή ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ βούλησις ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι.

7.20.2 | For by this reasoning, the qualities, introducing all providence through their own logic, do not exist as they wish for the decoration of the whole. He establishes them with his own unchanging power and wisdom. By this reasoning, the essence that is needed for his will to create is sufficient.

7.20.3 | ἀπορήσομεν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς οὓς βουλομένους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτοῖς εύτυχηκέναι τὸν θεὸν, ἀγέννητον εὐρόντα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἦν εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγέννητον αὐτῷ ὑποβεβληκός ἦν, οὐδὲν ἔργον δυνατὸς ἦν ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ’ ἔμενεν οὐ δημιουργός, οὐ πατὴρ πατὴρ, οὐκ εὔεργέτης, οὐκ ἀγαθός, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν εὐλόγως λεγομένων περὶ θεοῦ.

7.20.3 | For we will be puzzled by those who do not want things to be this way, if it does not follow that God, having found the ungenerated essence, is fortunate. If he had not been supported by the ungenerated, he would not have been able to create anything at all, but would have remained neither a creator, nor a father, nor a benefactor, nor good, nor anything else that

is rightly said about God.

7.20.4 | πόθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ μετρεῖν τῆς ὑποκειμένης οὐσίας τὸ τοσόνδε, ὡς διαρκέσαι τῇ τηλικούτου κόσμου ὑποστάσει; οἰονεὶ γὰρ πρόνοιά τις πρεσβυτέρα θεοῦ ἀναγκαίως τὴν ὕλην ἔσται ὑποβεβληκῦα τῷ Θεῷ, προνοούμενη τοῦ τὴν τέχνην τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν αὔτῷ μὴ κενοπαθῆσαι, οὐκ οὕσης οὐσίας, ἢ διμιλῆσαι δυνάμενος κατεκόσμησε τὸ τηλικοῦτον κόσμου κάλλος.

7.20.5 | πόθεν δὲ καὶ δεκτικὴ γεγένηται πάσης ἡς βούλεται ὁ θεὸς ποιότητος, μὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔαυτῷ τοσαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην ποιήσαντος ὅποιαν ἔχειν ἐβούλετο;

7.20.6 | καθ' ὑπόθεσιν γοῦν ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸ ἀγέννητον εἶναι τὴν ὕλην ταῦτα ἐροῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦτο βουλομένους, ὅτι εἴ προνοίας οὐχ ὑποβαλλούσης τὴν οὐσίαν τῷ Θεῷ τοιαύτη γεγένηται, εἴ πρόνοια ἡν ὑφεστῶσα, τί ἀν πλέον πεποιήκει τοῦ αὐτομάτου;

7.20.7 | καὶ εἰ αὐτὸς, μὴ οὕσης ὕλης, ἐβούλετο κατασκευάσαι αὐτὴν, τί ἀν πλέον ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ θειότης αὐτοῦ πεποιήκει τοῦ ἐξ ἀγεννήτου ὑποστάντος ὑποστάντος; εἴ γὰρ εὐρίσκεται ταύτὸν γενόμενον ἀν ὑπὸ τῆς προνοίας, ὅπερ καὶ χωρὶς προνοίας ὑπέστη, διὰ τί οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἀθετήσομεν τὸν δημιουργὸν καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην;

7.20.4 | From where does the measure of the underlying essence come, so that it can last in such a state of the world? For some kind of providence, necessarily older than God, will have the matter supported by God, taking care that the skill that exists in him does not suffer from emptiness, since there is no essence with which he could associate to adorn the beauty of such a world.

7.20.5 | From where has there come to be a receptacle for all the qualities that God wants, if God himself did not create such a quality for himself that he would want to have?

7.20.6 | According to our assumption, we will say these things to those who want this, that if the essence has come to be such without providence supporting it to God, if there was a providence present, what more would it have done than what happens by itself?

7.20.7 | And if he himself wanted to create it without any material existing, what more would his wisdom and divinity have done than what has come to be from the uncreated? For if the same thing can be found to have come to be by providence, which also existed without providence, why should we not also reject the creator and the craftsman in relation to the world?

7.20.8 | ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου εἴπεῖν οὕτω τεχνικῶς κατεσκευασμένου τὸ χωρὶς τεχνίτου σοφοῦ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον γεγονέναι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ τὴν ὑλὴν τοσαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην καὶ οὕτως εἰκτικὴν τῷ τεχνίτῃ λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑφεστηκέναι ἀγεννήτως ἐπ' ἵσης ἔστιν ἄλογον.

7.20.9 | πρὸς μέντοι γε τοὺς παραβάλλοντας ὅτι ούδεὶς δημιουργὸς χωρὶς ὑλῆς ποιεῖ λεκτέον ὅτι ἀνομοίως παραβάλλουσι. πρόνοια γὰρ παντὶ τεχνίτῃ ὑποβάλλει τὴν ὑλὴν ἀπὸ προτέρας τέχνης, ἥ θείας ἥ ἀνθρωπίνης, ἐρχομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκέσει πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι “ἥ δὲ γιγ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος” οἰομένους ἀγέννητον εἶναι τὴν σωματικὴν φύσιν.” Τοσαῦτα καὶ οὗτος. καὶ ὁ Ἐβραῖος δὲ Φίλων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς προνοίας ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ὑλῆς διέξεισι

7.20.8 | For just as it is unreasonable to say that such a well-crafted world came to be without a wise craftsman, so it is also unreasonable to say that the material is of such a nature and so suitable to the craftsman by the reason of God, existing uncreated and equally.

7.20.9 | However, for those who argue that no creator makes anything without material, they are comparing things inappropriately. For providence provides the material to every craftsman from earlier art, whether divine or human, as it comes into being. Therefore, this will be enough for the present against those who, because it is said 'the earth was invisible and unformed,' think that the physical nature is uncreated. So much for this. And the Hebrew Philo also discusses these things about the material in his work on providence.

## Section 21

7.21.1 | 'Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς ούσίας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως, ἔκεινο λεκτέον. ἐστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὑλῆς, ὡς μήτ' ἐνδέοι μήθ' ὑπερβάλλοι. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἦν τιοτὶ μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅπότε τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὑλαις αὔταρκες σταθμήσασθαι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἴσοτητας ἀνευρηκότα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἰκανοῦ.

7.21.1 | About the amount of substance, if it has indeed come to be, that should be discussed. God thought of a self-sufficient material for the creation of the world, so that it would neither lack anything nor exceed what is needed. For it would be unreasonable for craftsmen, whenever they create something, especially luxurious items, to measure the self-sufficiency of the material, while not considering the numbers, measures, and the equalities within them as sufficient.

7.21.2 | λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας ὅτι οὕτ' ἐλάττονος οὔτε πλείονος ούσιας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευὴν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀνέγένετο τέλειος, οὐδὲ ἐν πάσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρος, εὐ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας ούσιας ἀπετελέσθη. πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἴδιον, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανήν ἵδεῖν ὕλην.

7.21.2 | I will speak boldly that neither less nor more substance was needed for the creation of the world, since it would not have become perfect, nor complete in all its parts, if it had been created from imperfect substance. For it is the mark of a wise craftsman to see the sufficient material before starting any creation.

7.21.3 | ἄνθρωπος μὲν ούν κάν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέροι, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῆ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατῶτο ἀνίσως περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὕλης, ὅπότε τεχνιτεύοι, τοτὲ μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονι προστιθέναι, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν ὃ δὲ πηγή τις ὧν ἐπιστημῶν ἐνδέον ἥ περιττεῦον οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὑποβάλλεσθαι, μέτροις ἄτε χρώμενος εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ὑπερφυῶς πεπονημένοις ἄπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς.

7.21.3 | Even if a person might have knowledge different from others, they cannot completely escape the nature of mortal error. They might be misled about the amount of material when they are crafting, sometimes thinking they need to add less, and other times thinking they need to take away excess. But a source of knowledge would not lack anything or have excess, since it would use measures that are carefully prepared and praised for their accuracy.

7.21.4 | ὃ δὲ βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν οὐκ ἀν φθάνοι καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν αἴτια τιθέμενος, ὡς ἄμεινον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει τινὸς ἥ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὕλαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σοφιστείας μὲν ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν, σοφίας δὲ ἔκαστα διερευνᾶν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει.

7.21.4 | But someone who wants to act differently would not succeed and would blame the works of all craftsmen, thinking that something would improve the creation by adding or reducing materials. For it is the work of sophistry to invent clever ideas, but it is the work of wisdom to investigate each thing in nature.

7.21.5 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Φύλωνος τοῦτον ἔχέτω τὸν τρόπον. Μαξίμῳ δὲ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατριβῆς οὐκ ἀσήμῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ λόγος οἰκεῖος συγγέγραπται ὁ Περὶ τῆς ὕλης. ἔξ οῦ μοι δοκῶ μέτρια χρησίμως παραθήσεσθαι εἰς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ προβλήματος ἔλεγχον.

7.21.5 | And let this be the way of Philon. But for Maximos, a man of Christ's teachings, a fitting work has been written about material. From this, I think I will usefully present a moderate approach for a precise examination of the problem.

## Section 22

7.22.1 | “Οτι μὲν ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν ἀγέννητα δύο ἄμα ούδε σὲ ἀγνοεῖν νομίζω, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δοκεῖς προλαβών τοῦτο προστεθεικέναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πάντως ἔξ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἔτερον δεῖν λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεὸς ἢ αὖ πάλιν ὅτι ἀμέριστος αὐτῆς τυγχάνει.

7.22.2 | εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡνῶσθαι τις αὐτὸν εἴπειν ἔθέλοι, ἐν τὸ ἀγέννητον λέξει· ἐκάτερον γὰρ τούτων μέρος ἔσται τοῦ πλησίον· ἀλλήλων δὲ μέρη τυγχάνοντα ούκ ἔσται ἀγέννητα δύο, ὡς ούδε διάφορα μέρη κατακερματιζόμενα είς πολλὰ γεννητὰ, ἀλλ’ ἡ ὡς ὁ λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ) ἐν τι γεννητὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυμερὲς πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι φαμέν. οὕτως ἀνάγκη, εἰ μὴ κεχώρισται τῆς ὕλης ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τὸ ἀγέννητον εἶναι λέγειν.

7.22.3 | εἰ δὲ κεχωρίσθαι φήσει τις, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τι τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπερ καὶ τὸν χωρισμὸν αὐτῶν δείκνυσιν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐν διαστάσει ἔξετάζεσθαι τι ἀπό τινος, ούκ ὅντος ἐτέρου καθ’ ὃ ἡ διάστασις ἐκατέρου γίνεται· ὅπερ οὐ μέχρι τούτου ἴσταται καὶ μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστων δσων.

7.22.4 | ὃν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν δύο ἀγεννήτων εἴπομεν λόγον, τοῦτον ἔξ ἀνάγκης ὄμοιώς προχωρεῖν, εἰ τὰ ἀγέννητα δοθείη τρία. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐροίμην ἂν εἰ κεχώρισται

7.22.1 | I think you do not ignore that it is impossible for two ungenerated things to exist at the same time. Even if you seem to have added this to the argument first, it must be said that one of them necessarily has to be different, either because God is separated from matter, or again because He is indivisible from it.

7.22.2 | If someone wants to say that they are united, they will say that there is one ungenerated thing. For each of these will be a part of the other. But since they are parts of each other, there cannot be two ungenerated things, just as there cannot be different parts divided into many generated things. Rather, as the argument requires, we say that man is generated in many ways from God. Thus, it is necessary, if God is not separated from matter, to say that He is in the ungenerated.

7.22.3 | But if someone says that they are separated, it is necessary for there to be something in between both, which shows their separation. For it is impossible to examine something in a distance from something else, if there is no other thing by which the distance of each is measured. This does not stop at just this one thing, but also applies to many things.

7.22.4 | For the argument we make about the two ungenerated things must also apply if three ungenerated things are given. For I would ask whether they are separated

άλλήλων, ἢ αὖ πάλιν ἔκαστον ἥνωται τῷ πλησίον.

7.22.5 | εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡνῶσθαι τις εἴπεῖν ἐθέλοι, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκούσει τῷ πρώτῳ λόγον· εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν κεχωρίσθαι, οὐ φεύξεται τὴν ἔξ ἀνάγκης τοῦ χωρίζοντος ὑπόστασιν."

7.22.6 | "Αν δὲ ἄρα τις καὶ τρίτον εἶναι λέξῃ λόγον ὡς ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀγεννήτων λέγεσθαι, τουτέστι τὸ μήτε κεχωρίσθαι τῆς ὕλης τὸν θεὸν μήτ' αὖ πάλιν ὡς ἐν μέρει ἡνῶσθαι, εἶναι δὲ καθάπερ ἐν τόπῳ τῇ ὕλῃ τὸν θεὸν, ἢ καὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐν τῷ θεῷ, τὸ συνέχον ἀκουέτω, ὅτι ἐὰν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὕλην εἴπωμεν, ἔξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν καὶ χωρητὸν λέγειν δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τῆς ὕλης περιγραφόμενον.

7.22.7 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁμοίως αὐτὸν τῇ ὕλῃ ἀτάκτως φέρεσθαι, μὴ ἵστασθαι τε μηδὲ μένειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἀνάγκη, τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φερομένου. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐν χειροσι γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν εἴπεῖν ἀνάγκη. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ποτὲ ἄκοσμος ἡ ὕλη, ἐκόσμησε δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον τρέψαι προαιρούμενος, ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε ἐν ἄκοσμήτοις ἦν ὁ θεός.

7.22.8 | δικαίως δ' ἀν καὶ τοῦτον ἐρούμην τὸν λόγον, πότερον ἐπλήρους τὴν ὕλην ὁ θεός, ἢ ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς ὕλης ἦν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τῆς ὕλης εἴπεῖν τις ἐθέλοι τὸν θεὸν, πλεῖστον ὅσον μικρότερον τῆς ὕλης

from each other, or again if each one is united with the other.

7.22.5 | If someone wants to say that they are united, they will hear the same argument as the first one. But if they say again that they are separated, they cannot escape the necessary existence of what separates them.

7.22.6 | But if someone speaks of a third thing as fitting to be said about the ungenerated, that is, that neither is the god separated from the matter nor is it united with it in parts, but rather that the god is in the matter as if in a place, or that the matter is in the god, let it be heard that if we say the matter is in the place of the god, it is necessary to also say that the god is in a place and is defined in relation to the matter.

7.22.7 | But indeed, it is also necessary for the god to be carried along with the matter without standing still or remaining by itself, since it is in something that is always changing. Moreover, it is necessary to say that the god has also become something in the hands of others. For if the matter was once chaotic, and it was arranged to become better by choice, there was a time when the god was in the chaotic.

7.22.8 | Rightly, then, I would ask this question: did the god fill the matter completely, or was he in some part of the matter? If someone wants to say that the god was in some part of the matter, they

λέγει, εί δὴ μέρος αὐτῆς ὅλον ἔχώρησεν αὐτόν· εἰ δ' ἐν πάσῃ εἶναι λέγοι τῇ ὕλῃ, πῶς ταύτην ἐδημιούργει φραστέον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἡ συστολήν τινα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγειν, ἵς γενομένης ἐδημιούργει ἑκεῖνο ἀφ' οὗ ὑπερχώρησεν, ἡ καὶ ἐαυτὸν τῇ ὕλῃ συνδημιουργεῖν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὑποχωρήσεως τόπον.

are saying that he is much smaller than the matter, since if he filled a part of it, he would have left the whole. But if they say that he is in all the matter, how could he have created it? For it is necessary to either say that there was some contraction of the god, which allowed him to create from what he withdrew, or that he is also creating himself together with the matter, without having a place to withdraw.

7.22.9 | εἰ δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἐν τῷ θεῷ εἶναι τις λέξει, ὁμοίως ἔξετάζειν δεῖ πότερον ὡς διισταμένου αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀέρι ζῷων ὑπάρχει γένη, διαιρουμένου καὶ μεριζομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν γινομένων ἐν αὐτῷ, ἡ ὡς ἐν τόπῳ, τουτέστιν ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ ὕδωρ.

7.22.9 | But if someone says that the matter is in the god, it is necessary to examine whether it is separated from itself. Just as there are kinds of living things in the air, which are divided and spread out into a space for what comes to be in it, or as in a place, that is, like water in the earth.

7.22.10 | εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴποιμεν ὡς ἐν ἀέρι, μεριστὸν ἀνάγκη τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν· εἰ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἣν δὲ ἄτακτος ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἀκόσμητος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔχουσα καὶ κακὰ, τὸν θεὸν λέγειν ἀνάγκη τόπον εἶναι τῶν ἀκοσμήτων καὶ τῶν κακῶν. ὅπερ οὐκ εὕφημον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπισφαλὲς δὲ μᾶλλον. ὕλην γὰρ εἶναι θέλεις, ἵνα μὴ τῶν κακῶν ποιητὴν εἴπῃς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦτο φεύγειν προαιρούμενος δοχεῖον αὐτὸν τῶν κακῶν εἶναι λέγεις.”

7.22.10 | For if we say that, like in the air, the god must be seen as divided. But if we say that, like water in the earth, the matter was chaotic and unformed, and also having evil qualities, it is necessary to say that the god has a place for the unformed and the evil. This does not seem right to me, and it is more uncertain. For if you want to say that the matter exists, you are saying that the god is a creator of evils, and you are trying to avoid saying that he is a container of evils.

7.22.11 | “Εἴ μὲν οὖν τὴν ὕλην ἐκ τῶν ὑποστάτων γενητῶν ὑπονοεῖν ἀγέννητον ὑπάρχειν ἔλεγες, πολὺν ἀν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐποιησάμην λόγον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν ἀγέννητον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν κακῶν γένεσιν αἵτιαν ἔφησθα εἶναι τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπονοίας, διὰ

7.22.11 | If you were to say that the matter exists as something ungenerated from the generated things, I would have much to say about it to prove that it is impossible for it to exist as ungenerated. But since you said that the cause of evils is this kind of assumption, I think I should go to the

τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξετασιν τούτων ἔρχεσθαί μοι δοκῶ. φανεροῦ γάρ γενομένου τοῦ λόγου καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἔστι τὰ κακὰ καὶ ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἔστιν ἀναίτιον τῶν κακῶν εἰπεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕλην αὐτῷ ὑποτιθέναι, τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόνοιαν ἀναιρεῖσθαί μοι δοκεῖ.

examination of these things. For it is clear from the argument how evils exist and that it is not possible to say that the god is without cause for evils if you suggest that the matter is something he has.

7.22.12 | Φήσ τοίνυν ἄποιον ὕλην συνυπάρχειν τῷ θεῷ, ἐξ ἣς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ἐδημιούργησεν. Οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.12 | You say, then, that there is a matter that exists alongside the god, from which he created this world. This seems right to me.

7.22.13 | ούκοῦν εί̄ ἄποιος ἐτύγχανεν ἡ̄ ὕλη, γέγονε δὲ κόσμος πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ αἱ̄ ποιότητες, τῶν ποιοτήτων ποιητὴς γέγονεν ὁ θεός. Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.13 | So if the matter were separate, and the world came into being from the god, then in the world are the qualities, and the god became the creator of those qualities. This is how it is.

7.22.14 | Ἐπεὶ δέ σου καὶ λέγοντος ἔμπροσθεν ἥκουνον ὡς ἀδύνατον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γίνεσθεί τι, πρὸς τὴν ἔρώτησιν ἀπόκριναι τὴν ἐμήν· δοκεῖ σοι τὰς τοῦ κόσμου ποιότητας μὴ ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ποιοτήτων γεγονέναι; Δοκεῖ. Ἔτερον δέ τι παρὰ τὰς ούσιας ὑπάρχειν αὐτάς; Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.14 | Since I heard you say before that it is impossible for something to come from nothing, I will answer your question. Do you think that the qualities of the world did not come from underlying qualities? It seems so. Is there something else that exists apart from the substances? This is how it is.

7.22.15 | Εἴ μὲν οὖν μήτε ἐξ ὑποκειμένων ποιοτήτων τὰς ποιότητας ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ θεὸς μήτε ἐκ τῶν ούσιῶν, τῷ μηδὲ ούσιας αὐτὰς εἶναι, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι εἰπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. ὅθεν περιττῶς ἐδόκεις μοι λέγειν ἀδύνατον εἶναι δοξάξειν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγονέναι τι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

7.22.15 | If then the god did not create the qualities from underlying qualities or from substances, and since they are not substances, it must be said that they came into being from nothing by the god. Therefore, it seems to me that you are unnecessarily saying it is impossible to think that something came from nothing in relation to the god.

7.22.16 | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ τούτου λόγος ὡδεῖς ἔχετω. καὶ γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν θεωροῦμεν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ποιοῦντάς τινα, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν ἐν τινι, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων τὸ παράδειγμα λάβωμεν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ποιοῦσι πόλεις οὐκ ἐκ πόλεων καὶ ναοὺς ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐκ ναῶν.

7.22.17 | εἰ δ', ὅτι τούτοις ούσιαι ὑπόκεινται, οἵει ἐξ ὄντων αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ποιεῖν, σφάλλῃ τῷ λόγῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ούσια ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα τὴν πόλιν, ἢ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς ναοὺς, ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τὴν ούσιαν τέχνη· ἡ δὲ τέχνη οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένης τινὸς ἐν ταῖς ούσιαις τέχνης γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐκ ούσης ἐν αὐταῖς γίνεται.

7.22.18 | ἀπαντήσειν δέ μοι δοκεῖς οὕτω τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι ὁ τεχνίτης ἐξ ἣς ἔχει τέχνης τὴν ἐν τῇ ούσιᾳ τέχνην ποιεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι τοῦτ' εὖ ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔκ τινος ὑποκειμένης τέχνης γίνεται. οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς οὔσαν δοῦναι τὴν τέχνην· τῶν γὰρ συμβεβηκότων ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν τότε τὸ εἶναι λαμβανόντων, ὀπόταν ἐν ούσιᾳ γίνωνται.

7.22.19 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπός καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἔσται· ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἀνθρωπός [7]. ὅθεν τὰς τέχνας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους πεφυκέναι γίνεσθαι λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον. εἴ τοινυν τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐδείξαμεν, πῶς οὐχὶ προσῆκε τὸν θεὸν μὴ μόνον ποιότητας

7.22.16 | But let the discussion about this go on like this. For we see people creating something from nothing, even if it seems that they are making it from something, like when we take the example of architects. They create cities not from cities, and temples not from temples.

7.22.17 | If you think that these things are based on substances and that they are made from what exists, you are mistaken. For the substance does not create the city, nor does it create the temples; rather, it is the skill related to the substance. And this skill does not come from some underlying thing in the substances, but comes from what does not exist within them.

7.22.18 | It seems to me that you will respond to this argument by saying that the craftsman creates the skill in the substance from the skill he has. But I think it is good to say that this is not the case for humans either; skill does not come from some underlying craft. For it is not possible for the skill to exist on its own; it depends on the circumstances and the things that exist at that time when it comes into being in the substance.

7.22.19 | For a person can exist even without architecture, but architecture cannot exist unless there is a person first. Therefore, it is necessary to say that the crafts come into being from what does not exist into humans. If we have shown that this is the case for humans, how is it not

έξ ούκ ὅντων φάναι δύνασθαι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίας; τῷ γάρ δυνατὸν φανῆναι γίνεσθαί τι ἔξ ούκ ὅντων τὸ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας οὕτως ἔχειν δείκνυται.

fitting to say that the divine can create not only qualities from what does not exist but also substances? For it is shown that it is possible for something to come into being from what does not exist, and that is how substances are.

7.22.20 | ἐπεὶ δὲ πόθος ἔστι σοι περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν γενέσεως ζητεῖν, ἐπὶ τὸν τούτων ἑλεύσομαι λόγον, καὶ σου βραχέα πυθέσθαι βούλομαι. τὰ κακὰ πότερον ούσιαι σοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἢ ποιότητες ούσιῶν; Ποιότητας ούσιῶν εὖ ἔχειν λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.20 | Since you have a desire to seek the origin of evils, I will turn to that topic, and I want to explain it to you briefly. Do you think that evils are substances or qualities of substances? I think it is better to say they are qualities of substances.

7.22.21 | Ἡ δὲ ὥλη ἄποιος ἦν καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.. Οὕτω προλαβὼν ἔξεπον τῷ λόγῳ. Ούκοῦν εἴ τὰ κακὰ ποιότητες ὑπάρχουσιν ούσιῶν, ἡ δὲ ὥλη ἄποιος ἦν, τῶν δὲ ποιοτήτων ποιητὴν εἶπας τὸν θεὸν εἶναι, ἔσται καὶ τῶν κακῶν δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός. ὅτε τοίνυν οὐδ' οὕτως ἀναίτιον τῶν κακῶν δυνατὸν εἴπειν τὸν θεὸν, ὥλην αὐτῷ προσάπτειν περιττὸν εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. εἰ δέ τι πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχεις, ἄρχου τοῦ λόγου.

7.22.21 | But the matter was without form and unshaped. Thus, having anticipated, I spoke in this way. Therefore, if evils are qualities that exist in substances, and the matter was without form, and you said that the divine is the creator of qualities, then the divine will also be the creator of evils. So, it is not possible to say that the divine is completely innocent of evils; it seems unnecessary to attach matter to it. If you have anything to say about this, please begin.

7.22.22 | εἰ μὲν ἐκ φιλονεικίας ἡμῖν ἡ ζήτησις ἐγίνετο, οὐκ ἀν δεύτερον περὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡξίουν ὀρίζεσθαι ' ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ὀφελείας τὴν ἔξέτασιν ποιούμεθα τῶν λόγων, ἀνωθεν περὶ τούτων ὀρίζεσθαι ἀξιῶ συγχωρεῖν. Τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ σοι φανερὰν εἶναι δοκῶ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σπουδὴν, ὅτι οὐ πιθανῶς είπων ψεῦδος νικῆσαι θέλω, ἀλλὰ δειχθῆναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς ἔξετάσεως, καὶ σὲ

7.22.22 | If our inquiry arose from rivalry, we would not consider a second definition of evils. But since we are examining these matters more for the sake of friendship and the benefit to others, I think it is right to allow a discussion about them. I believe my intention has been clear to you for a long time, and my seriousness in these discussions shows that I do not want to win by saying something false, but to reveal the truth through careful examination. I also

δὲ οὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι· ὅθεν  
οἴω τρόπῳ χρώμενος νομίζεις δύνασθαι τὸ  
ἀληθὲς εὐρεῖν, τούτῳ χρῆσαι μηδὲν  
δυσωπούμενος, οὐ γάρ σεαυτὸν ὡφελήσεις  
μόνον χρησάμενος τῷ κρείττονι, ἀλλὰ  
πάντως κάμε περὶ ᾧ ἀγνοῶ.

know that you feel the same way.  
Therefore, however you think you can find  
the truth, use that method without  
hesitation. For by using what is better, you  
will not only benefit yourself but also help  
me in what I do not know.

7.22.23 | Σαφῶς παραστῆναι μοι δοκεῖς καὶ  
τὰ κακὰ ούσιας ὑπάρχειν τινάς· οὐδὲ γάρ  
έκτὸς ούσιῶν αὐτὰ ὄντα βλέπω. ἐπεὶ  
τοίνυν, ὡ οὗτος, καὶ τὰ κακὰ ούσιας εἶναι  
λέγεις, ἀνάγκη τὸν τῆς ούσιας ἔξετάζειν  
λόγον. δοκεῖ σοι τὴν ούσιαν σωματικήν  
τινα σύστασιν είναι; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.23 | It seems to me that you clearly  
believe that evils exist in substances. For I  
do not see them existing outside of  
substances. Therefore, since you say that  
evils are in substances, it is necessary to  
examine the nature of substances. Do you  
think that substance has some kind of  
physical composition? I think so.

7.22.24 | Ἡ δὲ σωματικὴ σύστασις αὐτῇ ἐφ'  
ἐκαυτῆς ὑπάρχει οὐ δεομένη τινὸς, οῦ  
γενομένου τὸ εἶναι λήψεται; Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.24 | But the physical composition itself  
exists on its own and does not need  
anything else to exist. Is that how it is?

7.22.25 | Δοκεῖ δέ σοι τὰ κακὰ ἐνεργείας  
εἶναι τινος; Οὕτω μοι φαίνεται.

7.22.25 | Do you think that evils are a kind  
of activity? It seems that way to me.

7.22.26 | Αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι τότε τὸ εἶναι  
λαμβάνουσιν, ὅπόταν ὁ ἐνεργῶν παρῇ;  
Οὕτως ἔχει.

7.22.26 | Then activities take on existence  
when the one acting is present? That is how  
it is.

7.22.27 | Οὐκ ὄντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος,  
οὐδ' ὅπερ ἐνεργεῖ ἔσται ποτέ; Οὐκ ἔσται.

7.22.27 | If the one acting is not present,  
will what is being acted upon ever exist? It  
will not exist.

7.22.28 | Οὐκοῦν εί ἡ ούσια σωματική τις  
ἔστι σύστασις, αὕτη δὲ οὐ δεῖται τινος, ἐν ὁ  
γενομένη τὸ εἶναι λήψεται, τὰ δὲ κακὰ  
ἐνέργειαι ὑπάρχουσί τινος, αἱ δὲ ἐνέργειαι

7.22.28 | Therefore, if existence is a kind of  
physical composition, and this does not  
depend on anything else, then what comes  
into being will take on existence. But evils

δέονταί τινος, ἐνῷ γενόμεναι τὸ εἶναι λαμβάνουσιν, οὐκ ἔσονται ούσιαι τὰ κακά.

7.22.29 | εἰ δὲ ούσιαι τὰ κακὰ, κακὸν δὲ ὁ φόνος, ούσια ἔσται ὁ φόνος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ φόνος ἐνέργεια ὑπάρχει τινὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρα ούσια ὁ φόνος. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐνέργοιαντα ούσιαν εἶναι θέλεις, σύμφημι κάγω. οἶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ φονεὺς, καθ' ὃν μὲν λόγον ἄνθρωπός ἔστιν ὑπάρχει ούσια· ὁ δὲ ὃν ποιεῖ φόνος οὐκ ἔστιν ούσια, ἀλλ' ἔργον τῆς ούσιας.

7.22.30 | λέγομεν δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν κακὸν διὰ τὸ φονεύειν, ποτὲ δ' αὖ πάλιν διὰ τὸ εὔεργετεῖν ἀγαθόν. καὶ προσπλέκεται ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα τῇ ούσιᾳ ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ, ἅτινα οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτή· οὕτε γάρ ὁ φόνος ἔστιν ἡ ούσια οὕτ' αὖ πάλιν ἡ μοιχεία οὕτε τι τῶν ὄμοιών κακῶν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς γραμματικῆς ὁ γραμματικὸς λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ρήτορικῆς ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ιατρικῆς ὁ ιατρὸς, τῆς ούσιας οὕτ' ιατρικῆς οὕσης οὕτε μὴν ρήτορικῆς οὕτε γραμματικῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῇ τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβανούσης, ἀφ' ὧν οὕτ' ὡς ὄνομάζεσθαι δοκεῖ, ούδ' ὀπότερον αὐτῶν οὕσα, ὄμοιώς μοι φαίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι κακῶν τὴν ούσιαν ὄνομα προσλαβάνειν, ούδ' ὀπότερον οὕσαν αὐτῶν.

7.22.31 | καί μοι ὄμοιώς ἐπινόησον, εἴ τινα ἔτερον ἀναπλάττεις ἐν τῷ νῷ τῶν κακῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον, ὡς κάκεῖνος, καθὸ

are activities that depend on something, in which they take on existence when they come into being; evils will not be existences.

7.22.29 | If evils are existences, then murder is an existence. But murder is an activity that depends on something; therefore, murder is not an existence. If you want the acting things to be existences, I agree. For example, a person who kills is a human being, and in that sense, there is existence. But what he does, murder, is not an existence, but rather a work of existence.

7.22.30 | We say that a person is sometimes bad because he kills, and sometimes good because he helps. These names are added to existence based on what happens to it, which is not existence itself. For murder is not existence, nor is adultery, or any similar evils. Just as a person is called a grammarian because of grammar, a rhetor because of rhetoric, and a physician because of medicine, the names do not come from the existence of medicine or rhetoric or grammar, but from what happens to them. Therefore, it seems to me that calling the existence of evils based on what seems to be evil is the same, regardless of whether they are considered to exist.

7.22.31 | And similarly, consider if you think of someone else as the cause of evils for people, just as he does, since he acts and

έν τούτοις ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὑποβάλλει ποιεῖν τὰ κακὰ, ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς κακὸς ἐξ ὧν ποιεῖ. διὰ τοῦτο γάρ κάκεῖνος κακὸς εἶναι λέγεται, ὅτι τῶν κακῶν ἔστι ποιητής. ἀ δέ τις ποιεῖ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸς, ἀλλ' αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ κακὸς λέγεσθαι λαμβάνει.

7.22.32 | εἰ γάρ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν εἴποιμεν ἂ ποιεῖ, ποιεῖ δὲ φόνους καὶ μοιχείας καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια, αὐτὸς ἔσται ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔστιν αὐτὸς, ταῦτα δ' ὅτε γίνεται τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει, οὐ γινόμενα δὲ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι παύεται, γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἔσονται τούτων οἱ ἀνθρωποι ποιηταὶ, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ μηκέτ' εἶναι αἴτιοι.

7.22.33 | εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ φήσ, ἐξ ὧν ποιεῖ τὸ κακὸς εἶναι ἔχει, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν ἡ ούσια. κακὸν δὲ εἴπομεν λέγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τῇ ούσιᾳ, ἄτινα οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ούσια, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὁ ἰατρός.

7.22.34 | εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐνεργεῖ ἔκαστος ὑπάρχει κακὸς, ἀ δὲ ἐνεργεῖ ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι λαμβάνει, ἥρξατο κάκεῖνος εἶναι κακὸς, ἥρξατο δὲ καὶ ταντὶ τὰ κακά. εἰ δὲ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἔσται ἀνάρχως κακὸς, οὐδὲ ἀγέννητα τὰ κακὰ τῷ γεννητὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι φάναι.

leads others to do evil, he is also bad because of what he does. That is why he is said to be bad, because he is a creator of evils. But what someone does is not who he is; rather, it is his actions that lead to him being called bad.

7.22.32 | For if we say that he exists because of what he does, and he does murders, adultery, theft, and things like these, then he will be those things. But if he is those things, and they exist when they happen, then when they are not happening, he stops being those things. These actions happen in relation to people, and those people will be the creators of these actions, and they are the cause of both being and not being.

7.22.33 | But if you say these are his actions, from which he has the name 'bad,' it is not from what his essence is. We say that something is called bad based on what happens to its essence, which is not its essence, just as a physician is called so because of medicine.

7.22.34 | But if each person exists as bad based on what they do, and what they do takes the beginning of being, then that person started to be bad, and they also started to do bad things. But if this is the case, then they will not be bad without a beginning, nor will bad things be said to exist without something that brings them into being.

7.22.35 | Τὸν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον, ὡς φίλε,  
λόγον ἱκανῶς μοι πεποιηκέναι δοκεῖς· ἐξ ὧν  
γάρ προύλαβες τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκ τούτων  
συνάγειν ἔδοξας καλῶς. ὡς ἀληθῶς γάρ, εἴ  
ἄποιος ἔτυγχανεν ἡ ὕλη, τῶν δὲ ποιοτήτων  
δημιουργὸς ὑπάρχει ὁ θεός, ποιότητες δὲ  
τὰ κακὰ, τῶν κακῶν ἔσται ποιητὴς ὁ θεός.

7.22.35 | You seem to have made a good argument to the other person, my friend; for from what you took up in your speech, you seemed to gather well from those things. For truly, if matter happened to be without form, then the creator is god, and the qualities are the bad things. So, god will be the creator of the bad things.

7.22.36 | οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὡς λόγος πρὸς  
ἔκεινον είρήσθω καλῶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ ψεῦδος  
δοκεῖ τὴν ὕλην ἄποιον εἶναι λέγειν· οὐδὲ  
γάρ ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν περὶ ἡστινοσοῦν ούσιας  
ὡς ἔστιν ἄποιος. καὶ γάρ ἐνῷ ἄποιον εἶναι  
λέγει, τὴν ποιότητα αὐτῆς μηνύει, ὅποια  
ἔστιν ἡ ὕλη διαγραφόμενος, ὅπερ ἔστιν  
ποιότητος εἶδος.

7.22.36 | Let this argument be said well to that person. But to me, it seems false to say that matter is without form; for it is not possible to speak about any substance as if it is formless. For when it says that something is formless, it reveals its quality, describing what kind of matter it is, which is a kind of quality.

7.22.37 | ὅθεν, εἴ σοι φίλον ἔστιν, ἀνωθεν  
ἔχου πρὸς ἐμὲ τοῦ λόγου. ἐμοὶ γάρ ἡ ὕλη  
ἀνάρχως ποιότητας ἔχειν δοκεῖ. οὕτως γάρ  
καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀπορροίας αὐτῆς εἶναι  
λέγω, ἐνα τῶν κακῶν ὡς μὲν θεός ἀναίτιος ἡ,  
τούτων δὲ ἀπάντων ἡ ὕλη αἴτια.

7.22.37 | Therefore, if it is dear to you, hold the argument above me. For to me, matter seems to have qualities without a beginning. For in this way, I say that the bad things come from that source; god is not responsible for one of the bad things, but matter is the cause of all these.

7.22.38 | Τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν τὴν σὴν  
ἀποδέχομαι, ὡς φίλε, καί σου τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
λόγοις σπουδὴν ἐπαινῶ. προσῆκε γάρ ὡς  
ἀληθῶς ἔκαστον τῶν φιλομαθῶν μὴ ἀπλῶς  
καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς  
λεγομένοις, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῇ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
ἔξέτασιν τῶν λόγων. οὐδὲ γάρ εἴ δὲ  
προσζητῶν παρὰ λόγον ὄρισάμενος  
ἀφορμὴν παρέσχε τῷ προσδιαλεγομένῳ  
συνάγειν ὡς ἔθέλει, τοῦτο καὶ τὸν  
ἀκροατὴν πείσιε, ἀλλ' εἴ τι δοκεῖ δυνατὸν  
εἶναι λέγεσθαι καλῶς, τοῦτο λέξει· παρ' ὧν  
δυοῖν θάτερον ἔσται· ἡ γάρ καὶ πρὸς ὃ

7.22.38 | I accept your eagerness, my friend, and I praise your seriousness in your words. For it is fitting that truly each of those who love to learn should not simply agree with what is said, but should carefully examine the arguments. For even if the one seeking a discussion provides a reason for the one he is talking to to gather as he wishes, this will not persuade the listener; but if something seems possible to be said well, he will say that. Among these two, one will be true: either he will be helped by what he hears, or he will refute

κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἀκούσας τέλεον  
ώφεληθήσεται, ἢ τὸν προσδιαλεγόμενον  
έλέγξει οὐ τάληθῆ λέγοντα.

7.22.39 | Οὐ δοκεῖς δέ μοι δεόντως  
είρηκέναι τὴν ὥλην ἄνωθεν ποιότητας  
ἔχειν. εἴ γάρ τοῦθ' οὕτως ᔁχει, τίνος ἔσται  
ποιητὴς ὁ θεός; εἴτε γάρ ούσίας ἐροῦμεν,  
προεῖναι ταύτας φαμέν· εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν  
ποιότητας, καὶ ταύτας ὑπάρχειν.

7.22.40 | ούκοῦν ούσίας τε οὕσης καὶ  
ποιοτήτων περιττὸν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ  
δημιουργὸν λέγειν τὸν θεόν. Ἱνα δὲ μὴ  
έμαυτῷ κατασκευάζειν τινὰ δόξω λόγον,  
ἀπόκριναι νῦν ἐρωτώμενος, τίνι τρόπῳ  
δημιουργὸν εἶναι φήσ τὸν θεόν; πότερον  
ὅτι τὰς ούσίας ἔτρεψεν εἰς τὸ μηκέθ'  
ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνας αἴπερ ἡσάν ποτε, ἀλλ'  
ἐτέρας παρ' αὐτὰς γενέσθαι, ἢ ὅτι τὰς μὲν  
ούσίας ἐφύλαξεν ἐκείνας αἴπερ ἡσαν πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τούτου, τὰς δὲ ποιότητας ἔτρεψεν αὐτῶν;

7.22.41 | Οὕ τι μοι δοκεῖ ἀλλαγήν τινα  
ούσιῶν γεγονέναι καὶ γάρ ἄτοπον τοῦτο  
λέγειν μοι φαίνεται τροπὴν δέ τινα τῶν  
ποιοτήτων γεγονέναι φημὶ, καθ' ἃς  
δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγω τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὕσπερ  
εἴ τύχοι λέγειν ἐκ λίθων οίκιαν γεγονέναι,  
ἐφ' ᾧν οὐκ ἔστιν είπειν ὡς ούκέτι λίθοι  
μένουσι τῇ ούσίᾳ, οίκια γενόμενοι οἱ λίθοι

7.22.42 | τῇ γάρ ποιότητι τῆς σὺν θέσεως  
τὴν οίκιαν γεγονέναι φημὶ, τραπείσης  
δηλονότι τῆς προτέρας τῶν λίθων

the one he is discussing with by saying  
what is not true.

7.22.39 | You do not seem to me to have  
rightly said that matter has qualities  
without a beginning. For if this is so, what  
kind of creator would god be? For if we are  
talking about substances, we say that these  
come first; or if we are talking about  
qualities, these must also exist.

7.22.40 | Therefore, it seems unnecessary  
for me to call god a creator of both  
substances and qualities. But so that I do  
not seem to be making up an opinion for  
myself, I will ask you now: in what way do  
you say that god is a creator? Do you mean  
that he changed the substances so that they  
no longer exist as they once did, but instead  
made other ones from them? Or do you  
mean that he preserved those substances  
that existed before and changed their  
qualities?

7.22.41 | It does not seem to me that there  
has been any change in substances, for this  
seems strange to say. I say that there has  
been some change in qualities, in which I  
call god a creator. It is like saying that a  
house has been made from stones, where it  
cannot be said that the stones no longer  
exist as substances, since those stones have  
become a house.

7.22.42 | For I say that the house has come  
into being from the quality of the  
arrangement, clearly changing the previous

ποιότητος), οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τὸν θεὸν, ὑπομενούσης τῆς οὐσίας, τροπήν τινα τῶν ποιοτήτων αὐτῆς πεποιηκέναι, καθ' ἣν τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι λέγω.

quality of the stones. In the same way, it seems to me that god has made some change in the qualities of the substance, while the substance itself remains. This is how I say that the creation of this world has come from god.

7.22.43 | Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τροπήν τινα τῶν ποιοτήτων πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι φήσ, ἀπόκριναί μοι βραχέα πυθέσθαι προαιρουμένῳ. λέγε δὴ εἰ δύοις καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ τὰ κακὰ ποιότητας εἶναι τῶν οὐσιῶν; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.43 | Since you say that there has been some change in the qualities from god, please answer me briefly. Tell me if you also think that the bad qualities belong to the substances in the same way?" "I think so.

7.22.44 | Ἀνωθεν δὲ ἥσαν αἱ ποιότητες αὗται ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, ἢ ἀρχὴν ἔσχον τοῦ εἶναι; Συνεῖναί φημι ἀγεννήτως τῇ ὕλῃ ταυτασὶ τὰς ποιότητας.

7.22.44 | Did these qualities exist in the matter from the beginning, or did they come to be later? I say that these qualities are connected to the matter in a natural way.

7.22.45 | Οὐχὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν φήσ τροπήν τινα τῶν ποιοτήτων πεποιηκέναι; Τοῦτο φημι.

7.22.45 | Don't you say that god has made some change in the qualities? I say this.

7.22.46 | Πότερον οὖν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον; Εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.46 | Then is it a change for the better or for the worse? It seems to me that it is a change for the better.

7.22.47 | Οὐκοῦν εἴ ποιότητες τῆς ὕλης τὰ κακὰ, τὰς δὲ ποιότητας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον ἔτρεψεν ὁ θεὸς, πόθεν τὰ κακὰ ζητεῖν ἀνάγκη; οὐ γὰρ ἔμειναν αἱ ποιότητες ὅποιαί ποτ' ἥσαν τῇ φύσει. ἢ, εἰ μὲν πρότερον οὐκ ἥσαν ποιότητες κακαὶ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τραπῆναι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς πρώτας τοιαύτας περὶ τὴν ὕλην γεγονέναι ποιότητας φήσ, αἴτιος ἔσται τῶν κακῶν ὁ

7.22.47 | Therefore, if the qualities of matter are bad, and god has turned the qualities to the better, why is there a need to seek the bad? For the qualities did not remain as they were by nature. Or, if there were not bad qualities before, and if the first qualities became such because of the change towards god, then god will be responsible for the bad, having turned the

Θεὸς, τρέψας τὰς οὐκ οῦσας ποιότητας  
κακάς εἰς τὸ εἶναι κακάς

7.22.48 | ἡ τὰς μὲν κακάς ποιότητας είς τὸ  
κρεῖττον οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τρέψαι τὸν θεὸν, τὰς  
δὲ λοιπὰς καὶ μόνας, ὅσαι ἀδιάφοροι  
ἔτυγχανον τῆς διακοσμήσεως ἔνεκα, πρὸς  
τοῦ θεοῦ τετράφθαι λέγεις; Οὕτως ἄνωθεν  
ἔσχον ἐγώ.

7.22.49 | Πῶς τοίνυν αύτὸν τὰς τῶν  
φαύλων ποιότητας ὡς εἶχον  
καταλελοιπέναι λέγεις; πότερον δυνάμενον  
μὲν κάκείνας ἀνελεῖν, οὐ βουληθέντα δὲ, ἡ  
τὸ δύνασθαι μὴ ἔχοντα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
δυνάμενον λέξεις, οὐ βουληθέντα δὲ, αύτὸν  
αἴτιον τούτων είπειν ἀνάγκη, ὅτι  
δυνάμενος ποιήσαι μὴ εἶναι κακά,  
συνεχώρησεν αύτὰ μένειν ὡς ἦν, καὶ  
μάλιστα ὅτε δημιουργεῖν τὴν ὕλην ἤρξατο.

7.22.50 | εἰ γὰρ μηδ' ὅλως ἔμελεν αύτῷ τῆς  
ὕλης, οὐκ ἂν αἴτιος ἦν ὁν συνεχώρει  
μένειν ἔπει τὸ δέ μέρος μέν τι αύτῆς  
έδημιούργει, μέρος δέ τι οὔτως εἴα,  
δυνάμενος κάκεῖνα τρέπειν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον,  
αἴτιαν όφλισκάνειν ἄξιος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,  
καταλιπὼν μέρος ὕλης εἶναι πονηρὸν ἐπ'  
όλεθρῳ θρῷ οὖς έδημιούργησε μέρους.

7.22.51 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατὰ  
τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἡδικῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ, τοῦθ'  
ὅπερ κατεσκεύασε τῆς ὕλης μέρος  
ἀντιλαμβανόμενον ταῦν τῶν κακῶν. εἰ  
γάρ τις ἔξετάζοι ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ πράγματα,  
χαλεπώτερον νῦν εὐρήσει τὴν ὕλην  
πεπονθυῖαν τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας. πρὶν

non-existent bad qualities into being bad.

7.22.48 | Or do you not think that god can  
turn the bad qualities to the better, but you  
say that the other qualities, which were  
indifferent for the sake of order, have been  
turned towards god? This is how I have  
understood it.

7.22.49 | How then do you say that he has  
left the qualities of the bad as they were? Is  
it because he could remove them but chose  
not to, or is it that he cannot remove them?  
For if you say he could but did not want to,  
it is necessary to say that he is responsible  
for this, since he could have made the bad  
not exist but allowed them to remain as  
they were, especially when he began to  
create matter.

7.22.50 | For if he did not care at all about  
matter, he would not be responsible for  
what has remained. But since he created  
part of it and allowed part of it to remain as  
it was, while being able to turn those  
qualities to the better, he seems to me to be  
worthy of blame for leaving part of the  
matter to be bad, leading to destruction of  
what he created.

7.22.51 | But indeed, it seems to me that  
the greatest wrong has been done in this  
part, which he made from matter that now  
holds onto the bad qualities. For if someone  
were to examine things closely, they would  
find that matter now suffers more from  
disorder than before. For before it was

γὰρ αὐτὴν διακριθῆναι τὸ μηδὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῶν κακῶν παρῆν αὐτῇ· νυνὶ δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς αἴσθησιν λαμβάνει τῶν κακῶν.

7.22.52 | καί μοι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου τὸ παράδειγμα λάβε. πρὶν γὰρ είκονισθῇ καὶ ζῶν γένηται τῇ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τέχνῃ, τὸ μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κακῶν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εἶχεν· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρωπος γίνεται, καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ προσπελάζοντος κακοῦ προσλαμβάνει, καὶ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῆς ὕλης πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονέναι λέγεις, εὐρίσκεται μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ χείρονι προσγενόμενον αὐτῇ.

7.22.53 | εἰ δ' ἔκ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ἀνελεῖν τὰ κακὰ τὸ μὴ πεπαῦσθαι λέγεις, ἀδύνατον τὸν θεὸν φήσεις ὑπάρχειν. τὸ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦτοι τῷ φύσει ἀσθενῆ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν ἔσται, ἢ τῷ νικᾶσθαι τῷ φόβῳ δεδουλωμένον πρός τινος κρείττονος.

7.22.54 | εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν θεὸν φύσει ἀσθενῆ ὄντα τολμήσεις είπεῖν, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς κινδυνεύειν μοι δοκεῖς· εἰ δὲ τῷ νικᾶσθαι φόβῳ πρός του μείζονος, μείζονα ἔσται τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κακὰ, νικῶντα τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμήν· ὅπερ ἄτοπον εἶναι μοι λέγειν περὶ θεοῦ δοκεῖ.

7.22.55 | διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ταῦτ' ἔσονται θεοὶ, νικᾶν κατὰ τὸν λόγον τὸν σὸν δυνάμενα τὸν θεὸν, εἴπερ θεὸν ἐκεῖνό φαμεν ὃ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔξουσίαν ἔχει;

separated, it did not even sense the bad qualities; but now each part of it perceives the bad.

7.22.52 | And take the example of a human. Before it is shaped and becomes a living being by the skill of the creator, it had no awareness of the bad qualities by nature. But once a human is made by god, it begins to perceive the approaching bad, and this, which you say is for the benefit of matter from god, is found more often to be connected to the worse.

7.22.53 | But if you say that god cannot remove the bad because he does not stop, you will say that god does not exist. And the impossible will either be because he is weak by nature, or because he is enslaved by fear to something greater.

7.22.54 | If you dare to say that god is weak by nature, it seems to me you are risking the safety of that belief. But if he is overcome by fear of something greater, then the bad would be greater than god, overcoming his own will. This seems to me to be an odd thing to say about god.

7.22.55 | For why would these things not be more true of gods, if they can overcome god according to your reasoning, if we say that god is the one who has power over all?

7.22.56 | Βραχέα δέ σου καὶ περὶ τῆς ὕλης αὐτῆς πυθέσθαι βούλομαι· καί μοι φέρων λέγε, πότερον ἀπλῆ τις ἦν ἡ ὕλη, ἢ σύνθετος γὰρ διαφορὰ τῶν γεγονότων εἰς τοιαύτην με περιίστησιν ἔξετασιν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου. εἴ γὰρ ἀπλῆ τις ἐτύγχανεν ἡ ὕλη καὶ μονοειδής, σύνθετος δὲ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων οὐσιῶν τε καὶ κράσεων τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει \* \* \* τὸ γὰρ σύνθετον ἀπλῶν τινων μίξιν μηνύει.

7.22.57 | εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν ὕλην σύνθετον λέγειν ἔθέλοις, πάντως ἐξ ἀπλῶν τινων συντεθεῖσθαι φήσεις. εἴ δὲ ἐξ ἀπλῶν συνετέθη, ἦν ποτε καθ' ἐαυτὰ τὰ ἀπλὰ, ὃν συντεθέντων γέγονεν ἡ ὕλη, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ γεννητὴ οὕσα δείκνυται.

7.22.58 | εἴ γὰρ σύνθετος ἡ ὕλη, τὰ δὲ σύνθετα ἐξ ἀπλῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει, ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε ἡ ὕλη οὐκ ἦν, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰ ἀπλᾶ συνελθεῖν εἰ δὲ ἦν ποτε καιρὸς ὅτε ἡ ὕλη οὐκ ἦν, οὐκ ἦν δέ ποτε καῖρος ὅτε τὸ ἀγέννητον οὐκ ἦν, οὐκ ἔσται ἀγέννητος ἡ ὕλη.

7.22.59 | τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρα ἔσται πολλὰ τὰ ἀγέννητα. εἴ γὰρ ἦν ἀγέννητος ὁ θεός καὶ τὰ ἀπλὰ ἐξ ὃν ἡ ὕλη συνετέθη, οὐκ ἔσται δύο μόνα τὰ ἀγέννητα. δοκεῖ δέ σοι μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ ἀντικεῖσθαι; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.56 | But I want to ask you briefly about this very matter. Tell me, is the substance simple or is it complex? For the difference in what has happened surrounds me with an examination of this reasoning. For if the substance is simple and uniform, but the world is complex, made up of different essences and mixtures, then the complex reveals a mixture of simple things.

7.22.57 | But if you want to say again that the substance is complex, you will certainly say it is made up of simple things. If it is made up of simple things, then at one time those simple things existed by themselves, from which the substance was formed, and from which it shows that it is also generated.

7.22.58 | For if the substance is complex, and the complex is made up of simple things, then there was a time when the substance did not exist, that is, before the simple things came together. But if there was ever a time when the substance did not exist, then there was never a time when the ungenerated did not exist, and the substance will not be ungenerated.

7.22.59 | Then there will be many ungenerated things. For if god was ungenerated and the simple things from which the substance was formed, there will not be just two ungenerated things. Do you think that nothing of the existing things stands against itself? I think so.

7.22.60 | Άντικειται δὲ τῷ πυρὶ τὸ ὕδωρ;  
Άντικεῖσθαί μοι φαίνεται. Ὄμοίως δὲ καὶ  
τῷ φωτὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ ψυχρῷ τὸ  
Θερμόν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῷ ξηρῷ τὸ  
Ύγρόν; Οὕτως ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖ.

7.22.61 | Οὐκοῦν εἴ μηδὲν τῶν ὄντων αύτὸν  
έαυτῷ ἀντίκειται, οὐκ ἔσονται ὑλὴ μία,  
οὐδὲ μὴν ἐξ ὑλῆς μᾶς. ὅμοιον δέ τινα  
τούτῳ λόγον πάλιν πυθέσθαι σου  
βούλομαι. δοκεῖ σοι τὰ μέρη μὴ ἀναιρετικὰ  
τυγχάνειν ἀλλήλων; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.62 | Εἶναι δὲ τῆς ὑλῆς μέρη τό τε πῦρ  
καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπά;  
Οὕτως ἔχει. Τί δέ; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι  
ἀνατρεπτικὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ,  
τοῦ δὲ σκότους τὸ φῶς, καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα τοι  
τοις παραπλήσια; Δοκεῖ.

7.22.63 | Οὐκοῦν εἴ τὰ μέρη οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἀλλήλων ἀναιρετικὰ, οὐκ ἔσται ἀλλήλων  
μέρη· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλήλων μέρη, οὐκ  
ἔσονται ὑλὴς μᾶς. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' αύτὰ  
ἔσονται ὑλὴ τῷ μηδέν τι τῶν ὄντων αύτὸν  
έαυτοῦ ἀναιρετικὸν ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ  
ἀντικειμένον λόγον.

7.22.64 | οὐδὲ γάρ ἔστι τι αὐτῷ  
ἀντικείμενον· τὰ γάρ ἀντικείμενα ἐτέροις  
ἀντικεῖσθαι πεφυκεν. οἷον τὸ λευκὸν αύτὸν  
έαυτῷ οὐκ ἀντίκειται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλαν  
ἀντικείμενον λέγεται καὶ τὸ φῶς ὄμοίως  
έαυτῷ μὴ ἀντικεῖσθαι δείκνυται, πρὸς δὲ  
τὸ σκότος οὕτως ἔχον φαίνεται, καὶ ἄλλα

7.22.60 | Is water opposed to fire? It seems  
to me that it is. Similarly, darkness is  
opposed to light, and cold is opposed to  
heat, and also dry is opposed to wet. It  
seems to me that this is how it is.

7.22.61 | Therefore, if nothing of the  
existing things stands against itself, there  
will not be one substance, nor from one  
substance. I want to ask you again a similar  
question. Do you think that the parts do not  
negate each other? I think so.

7.22.62 | Are the parts of substance fire and  
water, and also the others? It is so. And  
what about this? Does it not seem to you  
that water is destructive of fire, light is  
destructive of darkness, and the other  
things that are similar? It seems so.

7.22.63 | Therefore, if the parts are not  
destructive of each other, there will not be  
parts of each other. And if there are not  
parts of each other, there will not be one  
substance. But also, they will not be  
substance if nothing of the existing things  
has something that is destructive of itself  
according to the reasoning of opposites.

7.22.64 | "For nothing is opposed to itself;  
for opposites are naturally opposed to  
others. For example, white does not oppose  
itself, but is said to be opposed to black,  
and light is shown not to oppose itself, but  
it seems to be so in relation to darkness.  
And many other things are the same way.

γοῦν ὁμοίως πλεῖστα ὅσα εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ὑλὴ μία τις ἦν, οὐκ ἀν αὐτὴν αὐτῇ ἀντέκειτο. οὕτω δὲ τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἔχόντων τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν ὑλὴν δείκνυται." Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ προδηλωθεὶς συγγραφεύς. αὐτάρκη δὲ περιγραφὴν εὐληφότος τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ τὸν ὅγδοον τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς μεταβάντες, τὰ λείποντα τῷ προκειμένῳ σκέμματι, σύμμαχον ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν θεὸν, ἀναπληρώσομεν

Therefore, if there were one substance, it would not oppose itself. Thus, it is shown that the absence of opposites means there is no substance." So much is stated by the author. And since the description has been taken, moving on to the eighth of the Evangelical Preparation, calling upon God as an ally, we will fill in what remains for the present discussion.

## Book Eight (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ)

### Section 1

8.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τοὺς βίους τῶν παλαιῶν Ἐβραίων, τόν δὴ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπαληθευσάντων θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν, πρόσθεν ἡ Μωσέα φανῆναι πάσης ἀρετῆς βραβείοις ἀναδησαμένων, τά τε θεοσεβῆ δόγματά τε καὶ παιδεύματα, καὶ προσέτι τὰς παναληθεῖς καὶ εὔσεβεῖς αὐτῶν θεολογίας, ὧν εἰς ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἐλθεῖν ὡμολογήκαμεν, διελθὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου) μέτειμι νῦν ἀκολούθῳ τῇ τάξει χρώμενος ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Μωσέα πολιτείαν, δεύτερον ἐπέχουσαν εύσεβείας μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον βαθμὸν, τὸν δὴ καὶ μόνῳ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει νενομιθετημένον.

8.1.1 | Introduction. The lives of the ancient Hebrews, especially those who were godly men and confirmed the truth, were tied to the rewards of virtue before Moses appeared. They established both pious teachings and education, as well as their true and devout theology, which we have agreed to pursue with love and desire. Now, having gone through what came before, I will follow the order and move on to the way of life according to Moses, which holds a second level of piety after that first stage, which was established only for the Jewish nation.

8.1.2 | ὡς γὰρ μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν, ἥν ἀρμόδια τὰ διὰ Μώσεως, οὐδὲ δυνατὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, λέγω δὲ τοῖς πόρρω που τῆς Ἰουδαίας γῆς οίκοῦσιν "Ἐλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, φυλάττεσθαι κατὰ τὸν οἴκεῖον καιρὸν ἀποδείξομεν.

8.1.2 | For the laws given through Moses were suitable only for the Jews, and not for the other nations in the world. I mean those who live far from the land of Judea, both Greeks and non-Greeks. We will show that they should be observed according to their proper time.

8.1.3 | νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τούτου, λέγω δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Μωσέα βίου, τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔμαῖς φωναῖς, αὐτῶν δὲ μόνων πάλιν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ. τῇ πατρίῳ δεδοκιμασμένοις παιδεύσει, παραθήσομαι· καὶ γάρ μοι προσήκειν ἡγοῦμαι ταύτη, ἥπερ καὶ ἡρξάμην, διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐκάστω τὰς τῶν ἀποδείξεων μαρτυρίας παρέχειν.

8.1.4 | ὥσπερ οὖν Φοίνικας καὶ Αἴγυπτίους καὶ Ἑλληνας τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν γνωρίμων κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν χώραν μάρτυρας ἀνεκαλούμην, ταύτῃ μοι καὶ τούσδε ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς δοκεῖ ἐπιτηδείως εἰσποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τὰ ὄθνεῖα νομίζεσθαι κατασχεδιάζειν.

8.1.5 | Πρὶν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως εἰς Ἑλληνας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς παρῆλθε λόγια, καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος συνέστη τῆς τῶν πεπιστευμένων αὐτοῖς θείων γραφῶν ἐρμηνείας, δι' ὅσων τε καὶ ὀποίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δι' ὀπόσης βασιλικῆς σπουδῆς τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν μεταβολῆς ἔτυχε, τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡγοῦμαι εἰς φανερὸν θέσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ ἀσυμβούλου μοι γενησομένης καὶ τῆς τούτων ἐκθέσεως ἐξ τὴν τῆς γενησομένης Προπαρασκευῆς ἀπόδειξιν.

8.1.6 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ ὅσον οὕπω τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν βιωφελοῦς κηρύξεως ἔμελλεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς εἰς πάντας ἐκλάμπειν ἀνθρώπους, λόγος τε οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἔρει τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας τόν τε βίον τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας αὐτῶν μαθήματα, τῇ πατρίῳ αὐτῶν φωνῇ ἔξ αἰώνος μακροῦ κεκαλυμμένα, ἥδη ποτὲ εἰς

8.1.3 | Now, regarding the way of life according to Moses, I will not speak in my own words, but will present the views of those men who have been tested in their own traditions. I believe it is fitting for me to do this, just as I began, by providing the testimonies of each of their own proofs.

8.1.4 | Just as I called upon the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Greeks for witnesses from their own lands, I believe that this present time is also suitable for bringing in these examples. However, we should not consider ourselves to be outsiders in this matter.

8.1.5 | Before coming to this point, I will discuss how the words that relate to the Greeks were presented, and what the method was for interpreting the divine writings that they trusted. I will explain through which men and with what royal effort the Greek language was changed. I think it is necessary to make these things clear to those who encounter them, as it will not be without value for understanding the explanation of these matters in the preparation for what is to come.

8.1.6 | Since the time when the message of our Savior was about to shine forth to all people during the Roman rule, the words that spoke of him did not just happen by chance. They drew from the prophecies about him, the lives of the ancient God-loving Hebrews, and their teachings of piety, which had been hidden in their native language for a long time. These were

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, οἵς τὶ τῆς θεογνωσίας  
ἔμελλε προξενεῖσθαι, παρελθεῖν· θεὸς  
αὐτὸς ὁ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος,  
προλαβὼν τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἀνθεὸς τῇ  
προγνώσει, τὰς περὶ τοῦ πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν  
ἀναφανησομένου σωτῆρος, διδασκάλου τε  
εύσεβείας ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ πᾶσι  
τοῖς ὑφ' ἥλιον ἔθνεσι καταστησομένου,  
προρρήσεις ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰς  
φῶς τε ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς μεταβληθείσας  
δημοσίαις τε βιβλιοθήκαις ἀνατεθείσας  
διοικεῖται, βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω τοῦτο  
πρᾶξαι κατὰ νοῦν ἐμβαλὼν, εἰς  
προπαρασκευὴν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς τῶν ἔθνῶν  
ἀπάντων ὅσον οὕπω μελλούσης ἐξ αὐτῶν  
ἔσεσθαι μεταλήψεως.

to be revealed to all nations, to whom some knowledge of God was to be given. God himself is the cause of these good things, having anticipated the future with divine foreknowledge. The Savior of all people was not to be revealed for a long time, nor was a single teacher of piety, the one God over all, to be established among all the nations under the sun. Predictions were to be revealed to everyone, coming to light and being made clear, as they were placed in public libraries. King Ptolemy was to take action regarding this, as it seems, in preparation for the future reception of all nations, which had not yet come.

8.1.7 | ὃν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἄλλως ἐτύχομεν παρὰ  
Ἰουδαίων, ἀποκρυψάντων ἀν τὰ παρ'  
αὐτοῖς λόγια διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φθόνον,  
τούτων ἐκ τῆς θεόθεν οἰκονομηθείσης  
ἐρμηνείας ἡξιώθημεν πρὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ τε συνέσει καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ παιδείᾳ  
δεδοκιμασμένων ἀνδρῶν μεταβληθέντων.

8.1.7 | For we would not have received these things from the Jews, who would have hidden their words from us out of jealousy. Instead, we were deemed worthy of this interpretation, arranged by God, through the writings of those men who were tested in both understanding and their native education.

8.1.8 | γράφει δὲ ταῦτα Ἀρισταῖος, ἀνὴρ  
λόγιος μὲν ἄλλως, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ  
παρατυχών τοῖς πραχθεῖσι κατὰ τὸν  
δεύτερον Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν ἐπικληθέντα  
Φιλάδελφον, καθ' ὃν τὰ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν  
Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν, διὰ σπουδῆς τοῦ  
βασιλέως γενόμενα, τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βιβλιοθηκῶν ἡξιώθη.  
ἐπακοῦσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καιρὸς, τόνδε πρὸς  
λέξιν ἰστοροῦντος τὸν τρόπον

8.1.8 | These things are written by Aristaeus, a learned man in many ways, who also happened to be involved in what was done during the reign of the second Ptolemy, called Philadelphus. Under him, the interpretation of the Jewish writings was made with the king's great effort, and he was deemed worthy of the libraries in Alexandria. At the right time, he tells this story in his own words.

## Section 2

8.2.1 | "Κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔχρηματίσθη πολλὰ διάφορα πρὸς τὸ συναγαγεῖν ἄπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία, καὶ ποιούμενος ἀγορασμοὺς καὶ μεταγραφὰς ἐπὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν ὅσον ἐφ' ἔαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσιν.

8.2.2 | παρόντων οὖν ἡμῶν ἐρωτηθεὶς πόσαι τινὲς μυριάδες τυγχάνουσι βιβλίων, εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ τὰς εἴκοσι, βασιλεῦ· σπουδάσω δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πρὸς τὸ πληρωθῆναι πεντήκοντα μυριάδας τὰ λοιπά. προσήγγελται δέ μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα μεταγραφῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς παρὰ σοὶ βιβλιοθήκης εῖναι.

8.2.3 | τί τὸ κωλῦον οὖν, εἶπεν, ἔστι σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; πάντα γάρ ἀποτέτακταί σοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ὃ δὲ Δημήτριος εἶπεν, ἐρμηνείας προσδεῖται· χαρακτῆρσι γάρ ίδιοις κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χρῶνται, καθάπερ Αἴγυπτιοι τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων θέσει, καθὸ καὶ φωνὴν ίδίαν ἔχουσιν. ὑπολαμβάνονται δὲ Συριακῇ χρῆσθαι· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἔτερος τρόπος.

8.2.4 | μεταλαβὼν δὲ ἔκαστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε γραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τὰ προειρημένα τελείωσιν λάβῃ." Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει

8.2.5 | "Ως δὲ κατεπράχθη ταῦτα, τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκδοῦναι περὶ τῆς

8.2.1 | Demetrius of Phalerum, appointed over the king's library, was involved in many different tasks to gather all the books of the known world. By making purchases and copies, he brought to completion the king's intention as much as he could.

8.2.2 | So, when we were present, he was asked how many thousands of books there were. He said, "More than twenty, O king; but I will work hard in a short time to reach fifty thousand more." It has also been reported to me that the Jewish laws are worthy of being copied and should be part of your library.

8.2.3 | Then what is stopping you from doing this?" he said. "For everything you need has been arranged for you." Demetrius replied, "I need translations; for they use their own characters in Judea, just as the Egyptians use their own writing system, since they also have their own language. It is thought that they use Syriac, but that is not the case; it is a different way.

8.2.4 | After receiving this, the king said to write to the high priest of the Jews, so that he may complete what was mentioned before. And he added other things.

8.2.5 | When these things were done, he ordered Demetrius to publish everything

τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς πάντα γὰρ διὰ προσταγμάτων καὶ μεγάλης ἀκριβείας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις διώκετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπερριμένως οὐδὲ εἰκῇ. διόπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐκδόσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀντίγραφα κατακεχώρικα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου κατασκευὴν, διὰ τὸ μεγαλομερείᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ διαφέρειν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν. τῆς δὲ ἐκδόσεώς ἔστιν ἀντίγραφον τόδε·

### Section 3

8.3.1 | Βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ παρὰ Δημητρίου.  
Προστάξαντός σου, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης βιβλίων, ὅπως ἐπισυναχθῇ καὶ τὰ διαπεπτωκότα τύχῃ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς, πεποιημένος οὐ παρέργως τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιμέλειαν προσαναφέρω σοι

8.3.2 | τὰ δὲ τοῦ νόμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων βιβλία σὺν ἑτέροις ὄλιγοις τισὶν ἀπολείπει τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἐβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα· ἀμελέστερον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδότων προσαναφέρεται· προνοίας γὰρ βασιλικῆς οὐ τετύχηκε.

8.3.3 | δέον δὲ ἔτι καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν παρὰ σοὶ διηκριβωμένα, διὰ τὸ καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν εἶναι καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἀν οὖσαν θείαν. διὸ πόρρω γεγόνασιν οἵ τε συγγραφεῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν πλῆθος τῆς ἐπιμνήσεως τῶν προειρημένων βιβλίων, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων ἀνδρῶν, διὰ τὸ ἀγνήν τινα καὶ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρίαν, ὡς φησιν Ἐκαταῖος

about the recording of the Jewish books, for all was managed by orders and great accuracy for these kings, and nothing was left out or done carelessly. Therefore, both the copies of the publication and the letters were carefully arranged, as well as the number of those sent, and the preparation of each one, because each of them differed in size and skill. Here is a copy of the publication:

8.3.1 | To the great king from Demetrios.  
Since you ordered, O king, about the books that were left out for the completion of the library, so that what has fallen may be gathered and receive the necessary repairs, I have taken care to mention this to you without any neglect.

8.3.2 | The books of the law of the Jews are left out along with a few others, for they are written in Hebrew letters and language. They have been neglected and are not marked as they should be, as those who know have mentioned. For they have not received royal attention.

8.3.3 | It is also necessary that these things be accurately recorded by you, because this legislation is more philosophical and complete, as it is divine. Therefore, both the writers and poets have gone far, as well as the many historians, in mentioning the previously mentioned books and the men who have lived according to them, because the ideas in them are pure and serious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says.

ό Άβδηρίτης.

8.3.4 | έὰν οὖν φαίνηται, βασιλεῦ, γραφήσεται πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχιερέα ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς μάλιστα καλῶς βεβιωκότας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας, ἐμπείρους τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐαυτῶν, ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἔξ, ὅπως τὸ σύμφωνον ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων ὄνων ἔξετάσαντες, καὶ λαβόντες τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀκριβὲς, ἀξίως καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως, θῶμεν εὔσήμως. εύτύχει διὰ παντός.'

8.3.5 | Τῆς δὲ ἑκδόσεως ταύτης γενομένης ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς γραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον περὶ τούτων, σημάναντας καὶ τὴν γενομένην ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ εἰς κατασκευὴν κρατήρων τε καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ τραπέζης καὶ σπονδείων χρυσίου μὲν ὀλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ λίθων ἰκανόν τι πλῆθος.

8.3.6 | ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς χρηματοφύλακας τοῖς τεχνίταις ὃν ἀν προαιρῶνται τὴν ἑκλογὴν διδόναι, καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τάλαντα ἐκατόν. δηλώσομεν δέ σοι περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς, ὡς ἀν τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀντίγραφα διέλθωμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴ τὸν τύπον ἔχουσα τοῦτον

8.3.4 | If it seems good, O king, a letter will be sent to the high priest in Jerusalem to send the best and oldest men, experienced in their law, six from each tribe, so that after examining the agreement from the majority, and having taken the accurate interpretation, we may present it properly, both in regard to the matters and your choice. May you always be successful.

8.3.5 | When this decree was made, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar about these matters, mentioning also the release of the captives that had taken place. He also provided for the preparation of bowls and cups and a table and libation vessels, giving fifty talents of gold and seventy talents of silver, along with a considerable amount of stones.

8.3.6 | He ordered the treasurers to give the craftsmen whatever they choose for the selection, and for sacrifices and other things, a total of one hundred talents. We will inform you about the preparations, so that we may go through the copies of the letters. The king's letter had this form.

## Section 4

8.4.1 | 'Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀρχιερεῖς Ἐλεαξάρῳ χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι. Ἐπεὶ συμβαίνει πλείονας τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν

8.4.1 | King Ptolemy sends greetings and good health to High Priest Eleazar. Since many of the Jews are settling in our land,

ἡμετέραν χώραν κατωκίσθαι, γενηθέντας  
άναρπάστους ἐκ τῶν Ιεροσολύμων ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
Περσῶν, καθ' ὃν ἐπεκράτουν χρόνον, ἔτι  
δὲ καὶ συνεληλυθέναι τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν εἰς  
τὴν Αἴγυπτον αίχμαλώτους, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ  
πλείονας εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν σύνταγμα  
κατεχώρισεν ἐπὶ μείζοις μισθοφορίαις,  
δόμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προόντας κρίνας  
πιστοὺς, φρούρια κτίσας, ἀπέδωκεν  
αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ἔθνος  
φόβον ἔχῃ διὰ τούτων· καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ  
παραλαβόντες τὴν βασιλείαν  
φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι,  
πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς σοὶς πολίταις, ὑπὲρ  
δέκα μυριάδας αίχμαλώτων  
ήλευθερώκαμεν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι  
τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀργυρικήν τιμὴν,  
διορθούμενοι καὶ εἴ τι κακῶς ἐπράχθη διὰ  
τὰς τῶν ὄχλων ὄρμᾶς, διειληφότες  
εὔσεβῶς τοῦτο πράσσειν, καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ  
Θεῷ χαριστικὸν ἀνατιθέντες, ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν  
βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξῃ τῇ κρατίστῃ  
παρ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην διατετήρηκεν·  
εἴς τε τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους  
ταῖς ἡλικίαις τετάχαμεν, τοὺς δὲ  
δυναμένους καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ τῆς  
περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πίστεως ἀξίους ἐπικρίνων  
κατέστησα.

8.4.2 | βουλομένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ  
χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν  
οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα,  
προηρήμεθα τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν  
μεθερμηνευθῆναι γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐκ  
τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν Ἐβραικῶν λεγομένων  
γραμμάτων, ἐν ὑπάρχῃ καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἡμῖν  
ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλικοῖς  
βιβλίοις.

8.4.3 | καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ τῆς

having been taken from Jerusalem by the  
Persians, during the time they were in  
control, and also having been brought to  
Egypt as captives by our ancestors, from  
whom we have freed many into military  
service with greater pay, we have also  
given back those we judged to be  
trustworthy, having built fortifications for  
them, so that the Egyptian nation may have  
fear because of these. And we, having  
received the kingdom, strive to be more  
humane to all, especially to your citizens.  
We have freed over ten thousand captives,  
giving those in power the proper silver  
payment, correcting any wrongs done  
because of the crowds' actions, and having  
taken care to do this piously, we dedicate it  
to the greatest god, who has preserved our  
kingdom in peace and glory throughout the  
whole world. We have assigned the  
strongest young men to the army, and  
those capable and worthy of being around  
us and of trust in the palace we have  
appointed.

8.4.2 | We also wish to grant you and all the  
Jews throughout the world, and those who  
come after, that your law be translated into  
Greek letters from the Hebrew writings you  
have. This will also be kept with us in the  
library along with the other royal books.

8.4.3 | Therefore, you will do well and

ήμετέρας σπουδῆς ἀξίως , ἐπιλέξας ἄνδρας καλῶς βεβιωκότας , πρεσβυτέρους , ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας τοῦ νόμου , καὶ δυνατοὺς ἐρμηνεῦσαι , ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἔξ , ὅπως ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων τὸ σύμφωνον εὐρεθῇ , διὰ τὸ περὶ μειζόνων εἶναι τὴν σκέψιν . οἱόμεθα γάρ ἐπιτελεσθέντος τούτου μεγάλην ἀτοίσεσθαι δόξαν .

worthy of our effort by choosing men who have lived good lives, elders with experience of the law, and able to translate, six from each tribe, so that a consensus may be found from the majority, because the matter is of great importance. For we believe that when this is accomplished, it will bring great honor.

8.4.4 | ἀπεστάλκαμεν δὲ περὶ τούτων Ἀνδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ Ἀρισταῖον , τιμωμένους παρ' ἡμῖν , διαλεξομένους σοι καὶ κομίζοντας ἀπαρχὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναθημάτων καὶ εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν . γράφε δὲ καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλῃ· κεχαρισμένος γάρ ἔσῃ καὶ φιλίας ἀξιόν τι πράξεις· ὡς ἐπιτελεσθησομένων τὴν ταχίστην περὶ ὧν ἂν αἰρῃ . ἔρρωσο .’ Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν ἐνδεχομένως ὁ Ἐξάκαρπς οὕτως

8.4.4 | We have sent Andrew, the chief bodyguard, and Aristaios, honored by us, to speak with you and bring first fruits for the temple offerings and sacrifices, along with one hundred talents of silver. Also, write to us about whatever you wish; you will be granted favors and will be worthy of friendship. This will be done as quickly as possible regarding whatever you choose. Farewell.

## Section 5

8.5.1 | Ἐλεάζαρος ἀρχιερεὺς βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ , φίλῳ γνησίῳ , χαίρειν . Εἴ αὐτός τε ἔρρωσαι καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἀρσινόη , ἡ ἀδελφὴ , καὶ τὰ τέκνα , καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ὡς βουλόμεθα , καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν . λαβόντες τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν , μεγάλως ἔχάρημεν διὰ τὴν προαίρεσίν σου καὶ τὴν καλὴν βουλὴν , καὶ συναγαγόντες τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος παρανέγνωμεν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς , ἐν εἰδῶσιν ἦν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εὔσέβειαν

8.5.1 | Eleazar, the high priest, to King Ptolemy, my true friend, greetings. If you are well, and Queen Arsinoe, your sister, and the children, may they be well, as we wish, and we ourselves are healthy. After receiving your letter, we were very happy because of your good intentions and kind purpose. We gathered all the people and read it to them, so they know the piety you have towards our god.

8.5.2 | ἐπεδείξαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς φιάλας , ἃς ἀπέστειλας , χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα , κρατῆρας πέντε , καὶ τράπεζαν

8.5.2 | We showed the bowls that you sent, twenty gold and thirty silver, five mixing bowls, and a table for offerings, and for the

είς άνάθεσιν, καὶ εἰς προσαγωγὴν θυσιῶν,  
καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὰς ὡν ἀν προσδέηται τὸ  
ἱερὸν, ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατὸν, ἅπερ  
ἐκόμισεν Ἀνδρέας τῶν τετιμημένων μένων  
παρὰ σοὶ καὶ Ἀρισταῖος, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ  
ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς  
σῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἄξιοι κατὰ  
πάντα

bringing of sacrifices, and for the needs of  
the temple, one hundred talents of silver,  
which Andrew and Aristaios, the honored  
men from you, brought. They are good and  
noble men, distinguished in education and  
worthy in all respects of your leadership  
and justice.

8.5.3 | οὶ καὶ μετέδωκαν ἡμῖν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ,  
πρὸς ἃ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκόασιν  
ἀρμόζοντα τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι. πάντα γὰρ  
ὅσα σοι συμφέρει, καὶ εἴ παρὰ φύσιν ἔστιν,  
ὑπακουσόμεθα. τοῦτο γὰρ φιλίας καὶ  
ἀγαπήσεως ἔστι σημεῖον. μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ  
ἀνεπίληστα τοὺς πολίτας ἡμῶν κατὰ  
πολλοὺς τρόπους εὔεργέτηκας.

8.5.3 | They also gave us what you sent,  
which fits well with your matters. For we  
will obey everything that is good for you,  
even if it goes against nature. This is a sign  
of friendship and love. For you have greatly  
and consistently benefited our citizens in  
many ways.

8.5.4 | εὐθέως οὖν προσηγάγομεν ὑπὲρ σοῦ  
θυσίας καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων  
καὶ τῶν φίλων, καὶ ηὕξατο πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος,  
ἵνα σοι γένηται καθὼς προαιρῆ διὰ παντὸς,  
καὶ διασώζῃ σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ  
μετὰ δόξης ὁ κυριεύων ἀπάντων θεός.

8.5.4 | Therefore, we immediately offered  
sacrifices for you, your sister, your  
children, and your friends, and the whole  
crowd prayed that it may happen for you as  
you choose forever, and that the lord of all  
gods may keep your kingdom safe in peace  
and glory.

8.5.5 | καὶ ὅπως γένηται συμφερόντως καὶ  
μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου νόμου  
μεταγραφὴ, παρόντων πάντων,  
ἐπελεξάμην ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς,  
πρεσβυτέρους, ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἕξ, οὓς  
καὶ ἀπεστάλκαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον.  
καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, βασιλεῦ δίκαιε,  
προστάξας ὡς ἀνὴρ μεταγραφὴ γένηται  
τῶν βιβλίων, ἔνα πάλιν ἀποκατασταθῶσι  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς οἱ ἄνδρες. ἔρωσο.”

8.5.5 | And so that the transfer of the holy  
law may happen properly and safely, I  
chose good and noble men, elders, six from  
each tribe, whom we also sent with the law.  
Therefore, you will do well, just king, by  
ordering that the transfer of the books be  
done, so that the men may safely return to  
us again. Farewell.

8.5.6 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς, πολλὰ διὰ μέσου περὶ

8.5.6 | After this, having spoken much

τῆς προτεθείσης είπών πραγματείας , μετὰ τὴν τῶν γραφῶν ἐρμηνείαν ἐπιφέρει αὐτοῖς βήμασι "Καθὼς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη ταῦτα τὰ τεύχη , στάντες οἱ Ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἐρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι , καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος, οἱ τε ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους, εἶπον, ἐπεὶ καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως διηρμήνευται καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἀκριβῶς , καλῶς ἔχον ἑστὶν, ἵνα διαμένῃ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ μὴ γένηται μηδεμίᾳ διασκευή. πάντων δὲ ἐπιφωνησάντων τοῖς εἰρημένοις , ἐκέλευσαν 'σαν ἐπαρᾶσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις διασκευάσει προστιθεὶς ἥ μεταφέρων τι τὸ σύνολον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἥ ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν , καλῶς τοῦτο πράσσοντες , ἵνα διὰ παντὸς ἀέναα μένοντα φυλάσσηται.

about the proposed matters, he adds to them the interpretation of the writings with these words: 'As these texts were read, the priests and the elders of the interpreters, along with those from the government, and the leaders of the people, said, since it is interpreted well and piously and accurately in every way, it is good that these things remain as they are, and that there be no alteration. And when all shouted in agreement with these words, they commanded to be lifted up, as is their custom, if anyone should alter or add anything to the whole of the written texts or make any removals, let this be done well, so that it may always be kept unchanged.'

8.5.7 | προσφωνηθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλως ἔχάρη· τὴν γὰρ πρόθεσιν ἦν εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔδοξε τετελειῶσθαι. παρανεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα , καὶ λίαν ἔξεθαύμασε τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου διάνοιαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶπε, πῶς τηλικούτων κούτων πραγμάτων συντετελεσμένων οὐδεὶς ἐπέβα βάλετο τῶν ἴστορικῶν οὐδὲ ποιητῶν ἐπιμνησθῆναι; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη, διὰ τὸ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν νομοθεσίαν. καὶ διὰ θεοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πληγέντες τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστησαν

8.5.7 | And when these things were addressed to the king, he was greatly pleased; for it seemed that the intention he had was being fulfilled safely. And everything was read to him, and he greatly admired the mind of the lawgiver, and he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that among such significant matters, no one from the historians or poets has mentioned anything?' And he replied, 'Because the legislation is serious. And it has come from God, and some who were imposed upon by God, having been struck by the imposition, withdrew.'

8.5.8 | καὶ γὰρ ἔφησεν ἀκηκοέναι Θεοπόμπου, διότι μέλλων τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τού νόμου προσιστορεῖν, ταραχὴν λάβοι τῆς διανοίας πλέον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄνεσιν ἔξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν σαφὲς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τίνος χάριν τὸ συμβαῖνόν

8.5.8 | And he said that he had heard from Theopompus, because someone was about to interpret some of the previously explained things more uncertainly from the law, he would take a disturbance of the mind for more than thirty days, and then, with ease, he would make peace with God,

έστι· δι' ὄνείρου δὲ σημανθέντος ὅτι τὰ θεῖα βούλεται περιεργασάμενος εἰς κοινοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκφέρειν, ἀποσχόμενον οὕτως ἀποκαταστῆναι.

so that it would be clear to him for what reason this was happening. And through a dream, it was indicated that the divine wanted to reveal things to common people, so that he might be restored in this way.

8.5.9 | καὶ παρὰ Θεοδέκτου δὲ τοῦ τῶν τῶν τραγῳδῶν ποιητοῦ μετέλαβον ἑγὼ διότι παραφέρειν μέλλοντός τι τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ πρός τι δρᾶμα τὰς ὄψεις ἀπεγλαυκώθη, καὶ λαβὼν ὑπόνοιαν ὅτι διὰ ταύτης αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἔξιλασάμενος σάμενος τὸν θεόν, ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἀποκατέστη

8.5.9 | And I received from Theodectes, the poet of tragedies, because he was about to bring something from what was written in the book to a certain drama, his expressions were made clear, and having taken the hint that it had happened to him for the same reason, he made peace with God, and after many days, he was restored.

8.5.10 | μεταλαβὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καθὼς προεῖπον, περὶ τούτων τὰ περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου προσκυνήσας ἐκέλευσε μεγάλην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων καὶ συντηρεῖσθαι ἀγνῶς.”

8.5.10 | And the king, having received this, as I said before, regarding these things about Demetrius, ordered that great care be taken of the books and that they be kept pure.

8.5.11 | Ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δηλωθέντος ἐπιτετμήσθωλ γραφῆς. φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς κατὰ Μωσέα νομοθεσίας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν θεασώμεθα. πρῶτα δὲ θήσω Φίλωνος τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἣν πεποίηνται Μώσεως ἡγουμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ὃν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἐνθα τὸν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς πρὸς κατηγόρους αὐτῶν, ποιούμενος λόγον ταῦτα φησιν

8.5.11 | Let us take these things from the writing that has been revealed. Come now, let us also consider the constitution of the law according to Moses from what is clear among the men. First, I will present Philo's account of the journey of the Jews from Egypt, which he describes under the leadership of Moses, starting from the first writing of the Hypotheticals, where he speaks about the Jews, as if addressing their accusers, saying these things.

## Section 6

8.6.1 | “Τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν αὐτοῖς πρόγονον ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἀναστῆναι τοῦτον ἐξ Αἴγυπτου μετωκισμένον ἀπὸ

8.6.1 | Their ancient ancestor was from the Chaldeans, and this people arose, having migrated from Egypt long ago from Syria,

Συρίας τὸ πάλαι, μυριάσι τε ἀμυθήτοις πλήθοντα, καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὕσης ἱκανῆς, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων ἐντεθραμμένον μεγάλως, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ. Θεοῦ διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἡττον εἰς πόθον κατὰ δαίμονα ἐμπεσόντας τῆς πατρίου καὶ ἀρχαίας γῆς· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόγονον ἑκεῖνον αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἴτε τῷ θεῷ δὴ δόξαν εἴτε προνοίᾳ τινὶ, πάντων εύδαιμονῆσαι μάλιστα, ὡς ἀπ' ἑκείνου μέχρις εἰς τὸ παρὸν τὸ τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ διαμένειν, κάπι τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς πολυανδρίαν.'

8.6.2 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν "Ἄνήρ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖτο τῆς τε ἔξόδου καὶ τῆς πορείας εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰς βούλει, διάφορος· οὗτῳ καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ πανουργίας, ἔξ οὐ τόν γε λαὸν ἄπαντα ἐν ἀνυδρίᾳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν συμπάντων οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς διεσώσατο, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ κειμένων ἔθνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀστασιάστους αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα εύπειθεῖς διεφύλαξε.

8.6.3 | καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὄλιγον δήπου χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδὲν οἰκίαν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃ συμμεῖναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθηνίας εἰκός ἐστιν. καὶ οὐ δίψος, οὐ λιμὸς, οὐ φθορὰ σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐκ ἀγνοια τῶν συμβησομένων, ἐπὶ τὸν γόητα ἑκεῖνον ἐπῆρε τοὺς ἔξαπατωμένους καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαούς.

growing in countless numbers, and the land was not sufficient for them. Moreover, they were greatly raised in youthful thoughts, and at the same time, through visions and dreams, God was showing them an exit, and they were no less driven by desire to return to their ancestral and ancient land.

Therefore, after their ancestor came to Egypt, whether by the will of God or some kind of providence, they were especially blessed, so that from him until now, both the nation has come to be and remains, and they have greatly exceeded in population.

8.6.2 | And shortly after, he says, 'Indeed, a man led them out and on their journey to none of the many, if you wish, was different; thus he also mocked the sorcerer and the clever speaker. However, through a beautiful kind of magic and cunning, he not only saved the entire people from thirst, hunger, and ignorance of the roads, and from the complete lack of resources, but also kept them stable among themselves and most obedient to himself, just as in all prosperity and in the guidance of the nations that lay between.'

8.6.3 | And these things certainly lasted a long time, but it was such that no household could share in harmony with all prosperity. And there was no thirst, no hunger, no decay of bodies, no fear about what was to come, no ignorance of what would happen, that did not raise the deceived and ruined people against that sorcerer.

8.6.4 | καίτοι τί βιούλει, φῶμεν ἐκείνω τινὰ εῖναι τοσαύτην τέχνην, ἢ δεινότητα λόγων, ἢ σύνεσιν, ὡς τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὅλεθρον ἄπαντας ἀγόντων ἐπικρατεῖν; ἢ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀμαθῶς οὐδὲ δυσκόλως, ἀλλ' εὐπειθῶς καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἀπρονοήτως ἔχειν· ἢ τούτους μὲν ὡς μάλιστα κακοὺς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τὰς δυσκολίας αὐτῶν πραύνειν, καὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἐπιστατεῖν. ὅπερ γάρ σοι μάλιστα ἀν ἐκ τούτων ἀληθὲς εἶναι δόξῃ, πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ζήλου περὶ αὐτῶν συμπάντων ἴσχύειν φαίνεται.

8.6.5 | καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἔξοδου δὴ ταῦτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἥλθον, ὅπως μέν ποτε ἄρα Ἱδρύθησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔσχον ἐν ταῖς Ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται· οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε δικαιῶ μᾶλλον καθ' ἵστορίαν ἢ κατά τινα λογισμὸν περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα διεξελθεῖν

8.6.6 | πότερον γάρ ποτε βιούλει τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι περιόντας, καίπερ εἰς τέλος κεκακωμένους, ὅμως δ' ἴσχύοντας, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας, εἴτα κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν τὴν χώραν, Σύρους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Φοίνικας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκείνων γῇ μαχομένους νικῶντας· ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγους ὑποθώμεθα, καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτοις καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τόν τε νεών οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ τἄλλα εἰς εύσέβειαν καὶ ἀγιστείαν

8.6.4 | And yet, what do you want? Is it to say that he had such skill, or a power of words, or understanding, that he could dominate so many and such strange people, leading them all to destruction? For either he did not understand the natures of the people under him in a foolish or difficult way, but rather easily and with a good sense of what was to come; or he thought them to be very bad, while calming their difficulties by the god, overseeing both the present and the future. Whatever you might think is most true from these things, it seems to have strength in praise, honor, and zeal for all of them.

8.6.5 | And these things are indeed about the departure. But when they came to this land, how they were established and held the territory is shown in the sacred records. Yet I would rather explain these things according to history than through some reasoning about what is likely.

8.6.6 | Do you want to say whether, with the number of bodies still remaining, even though they were finally defeated, they were still strong and held their weapons in hand, then they took the land by force, defeating the Syrians and Phoenicians who were fighting in their own land? Or should we suppose that they were utterly defeated and cowardly, and completely few in number, lacking the means for war, yet they managed to take the land from those who were willing, and then immediately built the temple and established everything for worship and holiness?

καταστήσασθαι;

8.6.7 | δηλοῦ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτοὺς ἀνωμολογῆσθαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς. ἔχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔξαίφνης ἥλθον ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενοι.

8.6.7 | For it shows that they seemed to be most beloved by the gods and to have sworn oaths even against their enemies. For the enemies were there out of necessity, having suddenly come to the land as if to take it away.

8.6.8 | παρὰ τούς τοῖς δ' οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εύτυχία τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς, ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εύνομίας καὶ εύπειθείας αὐτῶν, ἢ τῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εύσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἔκεινον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς· θεὶς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν ὡς ὅ τι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἔκεινῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς.

8.6.8 | Therefore, how could those who receive honor and respect not seem to surpass others in good fortune? And what should we say about the second or third things related to them? Should it be about their good order and obedience, or about their holiness, justice, and piety? But that man, whoever he was, who once was the lawgiver for them, was so greatly admired that whatever he thought seemed wonderful to them.

8.6.9 | εἴτε οὗν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἃπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειόνων ἔτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὀπόσα, πλέον δ' οὗν ἢ δισχίλια ἔτη, μηδὲ ὥημά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κἄν μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θᾶττον ἢ τοῖς ἔκεινου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντίᾳ πεισθῆναι."

8.6.9 | Whether he himself was wise or received guidance from a spirit, he directed all of this to the god. And after many years had passed, I cannot say exactly how many, but certainly more than two thousand years, not even a single word of what he wrote has been moved, and even if countless people were to die, they would rather endure that than be persuaded against his laws and customs.

8.6.10 | Ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ἐπιτέμνεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ιουδαίων ἔθνει πολιτείαν, γράφων οὕτως

8.6.10 | Having said these things, he cuts off the government that was established among the Jewish people based on the laws of Moses, writing in this way.

## Section 7

8.7.1 | "Ἄρα τι τούτων ἡ τούτοις προσόμοιον παρ' ἔκείνοις ἐστὶ, πρᾶον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ τιθασὸν, καὶ δικῶν ἐπαγωγὰς καὶ σκῆψεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ τιμήσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμήσεις ἔχον; οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ δῆλα ἐὰν παιδεραστῆς, ἐὰν μοιχεύῃς, ἐὰν βιάσῃ παῖδα, ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε) ἀλλὰ κἀνθ θήλειαν ὁμοίως ἐὰν σαυτὸν καταπορνεύῃς, ἐὰν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αἰσχρόν τι πάθης, ἢ δοκῆς, ἢ μέλλης, θάνατος ἡ ζημία.

8.7.1 | Is there something similar to these things among those people, that seems gentle and orderly, and has rules, practices, delays, honors, and again, lower honors? Nothing at all—everything is simple and clear. If you engage in pederasty, if you commit adultery, if you force a child, whether male or female, do not even speak of it. Likewise, if you corrupt yourself, if you suffer something shameful for your age, or if you think you might, the penalty is death.

8.7.2 | ἐὰν είς δοῦλον σῶμα, ἐὰν είς ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίζῃς, ἐὰν δεσμοῖς συνέχῃς, ἐὰν ἀπάγων πωλῆς, ἐὰν βέβηλα, ἐὰν ἵερὰ παρακλέπτης, ἐὰν ἀσεβῆς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ῥήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν, (Ὕλεως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων ἐννοίας γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἄξιον λέγειν,) ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἢ εὐεργέτην σαυτοῦ, θάνατος ὁμοίως, καὶ οὗτος οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ' ὁ τυχών, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καταλευσθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον, ὡς οὐ χείρονα ἀσεβείας πράξαντα.

8.7.2 | If you abuse a slave's body, if you insult a free person, if you hold someone in chains, if you sell someone who has been taken, if you commit sacrilege, not only by action but also by any words that happen to come up, whether against a god (may the god be merciful to us and to the thoughts about these things, which is not even worth mentioning), or against a father or mother, or your benefactor, the penalty is death. This is not a common penalty for anyone, but only for the one who speaks, as if he has committed a greater act of impiety.

8.7.3 | ἄλλα δ' αὖ πάλιν, ὅποιά τινα, γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν, πρὸς ὑβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς 5 πρὸς εύπειθειαν δ' ἐν ἄπασ·ι γονεῖς ἄρχειν, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πολυωρίᾳ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ κτημάτων ἵνα ἔκαστον κύριον εἶναι, μὴ θεόν γε ἐπιφημίσαντα αὐτοῖς, μηδ' ὡς τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα ἀνίησιν εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνον ὑποσχέσθαι προσπέσοι, ψαῦσαι καὶ θιγεῖν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπάντων

8.7.3 | But again, in other matters, what kind of women are enslaved to men? There is no insult, but there is complete obedience. Parents should rule, for the safety and abundance of their own possessions, so that each one can be a master, not calling upon a god for help, nor thinking that these things are given to the god. If they only promise in words, they should not touch or lay hands on them, but

ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι.

immediately be shut off from all.

8.7.4 | μή μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν, μηδ' ἀποσυλᾶν ἐτέρων ἀναθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προσπεσόν τι καὶ λαθὸν αὐτὸν ὅμιλα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει εἴποντα δὲ πάντων στέρεσθαι, μεταγινώσκοντι δὲ ἦ· ἐπανορθουμένῳ τὰ λελεγμένα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι.

8.7.4 | Do not take what belongs to the gods, nor steal from others who have dedicated things, but also from your own, just as I said. If someone falls and accidentally speaks a word about a dedication, they should be deprived of everything. If they change their mind or try to correct what has been said, they should be stripped of their soul.

8.7.5 | καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὃν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἔὰν ἐπιφῆμισῃ τροφὴν· γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ιερὰν εἶναι, τροφῆς ἀνέχειν· ἔὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ, ἔὰν ἄρχων τῷ ὑπηκόῳ, ταύτον. καὶ ἔκλυσις δὲ ἐπιφῆμισθέντων ἡ μὲν τελειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη, τοῦ ιερέως ἀποφήσαντος· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριος οὗτος δέξασθαι· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῶν μᾶλλον ἀεὶ κυρίων δσία ἔλεων τὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνειν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐπάναγκες τὴν ἀνάθεσιν δέχεσθαι.

8.7.5 | And in other matters, the same rule applies if someone dedicates food: a man should be a priest for a woman, and he should take care of the food. If a father to a son, or a ruler to a servant, it is the same. And the release from those who have been dedicated is the most complete and greatest when the priest has rejected it; for this is accepted by the god as lord. And after this, it is also holy to show favor to the god from those who are always more in charge, as if there is no need to accept the dedication.

8.7.6 | μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἔθῶν καὶ νομίμων, κάν τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτοῖς. ἂ τις παθεῖν ἔχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν· ἂ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασιάς, μηδ' ἐκ ληνοῦ, μηδ' ἐξ ἄλωνος· μὴ θημῶνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἥ μικρὸν ἀπλῶς μηδέν· μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν· μὴ μάτα ὑδάτων ἀποκλείειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ πηροῖς τροφὴν ἐρανίζουσι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐαγῶς ἀνέχειν.

8.7.6 | There are countless other things related to these, as well as to unwritten customs and laws, and even in those laws themselves. If someone hates to suffer, they should not do it to others. What they have not dedicated, they should not take away, whether from a garden, a wine press, or a threshing floor. They should not take anything, large or small, from a storehouse. They should not be jealous when someone asks for grain. They should not block the waters in vain, but they should generously provide food to the poor and the disabled

as an offering to the god.

8.7.7 | μὴ ταφῆς νεκρὸν ἔξείργειν , ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆς ὅσον γε εἰς τὴν δσίαν προσεπιβάλλειν· μὴ θήκας , μὴ μνήματα ὅλως κατοιχομένων κινεῖν· μὴ δεσμά, μὴ κακὸν μηδὲν πλέον τῷ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν· μὴ γονὴν ἀνδρῶν ἐκτέμνοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίοις καὶ ἄλλαις μηχαναῖς ἀμβλοῦν· μὴ ζώοις ἔμπαλιν ἡ κατέδειξεν εἴτ' οὖν ὁ θεός, εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης, προσφέρεσθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δουλοῦν·

8.7.7 | Do not disturb a dead body during burial, but also add to the sacred ground as much as possible. Do not move tombs or memorials that are already established. Do not bring any chains or harm to those in need. Do not cut off the lineage of men, nor prevent women from having children through other means. Do not offer animals, whether the god has shown this or a lawgiver has. Do not destroy seeds, and do not enslave what is born.

8.7.8 | μὴ ζυγὸν ἄδικον ἀνθυποβάλλειν, μὴ χοίνικα ἄμετρον, μὴ νόμισμα ἄδικον· μὴ φίλων ἀπόρρητα ἐν ἔχθρᾳ φαίνειν· ποῦ δὴ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν τὰ Βουζύγια ἑκεῖνα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὅρα. μὴ παίδων διοικίζειν γονέας, μηδ' ἀν αἰχμαλώτους ἔχης· μὴ γυναικα ἀνδρὸς, καὶ νομίμως ἐωνημένος ἥς δεσπότης.

8.7.8 | Do not impose an unfair weight, do not use an excessive measure, do not use an unjust coin. Do not reveal secrets of friends in times of enmity. What then do we have to do with those offerings to the god? Look at other things related to this. Do not manage the parents of children, even if you have captives. Do not take a wife from another man, even if you are a lawful master.

8.7.9 | ἡ που σεμνότερα καὶ μείζω ταῦτα, ἄλλα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα. μὴ νεοττιάν φησι κατοικίδιον ἐρημοῦν, μὴ ζώων ἱκεσίαν, οἶα ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφεγόντων ἀναιρεῖν· μὴ εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἥττόν ἔστιν. οὐδενὸς ἄξια ταῦτά γε εἴποις ἀν· ἀλλ' ὅ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἔστι μέγας, καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἴτιος , καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι, c καὶ ἀράι κατά τε ἔξωλείας , καὶ ὁ θεός ἐπόπτης τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ τιμωρὸς ἀπανταχοῦ.

8.7.9 | These things are indeed more serious and greater, while others are small and happen by chance. Do not abandon a nest of young birds, do not harm animals seeking refuge, like when they are fleeing. If something like this is weaker, it is not worth mentioning. These things are truly important, for there is a great law about them, and it is responsible for all care. There are great curses and threats regarding destruction, and the god watches over such matters and punishes everywhere.

8.7.10 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν ‘Ολην δὲ ἡμέραν τύχοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλάς.. καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ’ ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, (καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ’ ἐπτά, κρατοῦντος, ὡς καὶ εἰκὸς ἀεὶ, τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβήλους ἔθους,) μηδὲν ἀν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων, οὐ θαυμάζεις;

8.7.11 | ἄρ’ οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκρατείας ἔστιν. ὡς ἔξι ἵσου καὶ δρᾶν τι πονοῦντας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἴσχύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εἴ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλ’ εἴ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος ὡήθη δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης, αὐτοὺς μὴ τἄλλα μόνον ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἔθῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχειν.

8.7.12 | τί οὖν ἐποίησε ταῖς ἐββόμαις ταύταις ἡμέραις; αὐτοὺς εἰς ταύτὸν ἡξίου συνάγεσθαι καὶ καθεζομένους μετ’ ἀλλήλων σὺν αἵδοι καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ μηδένα ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν.

8.7.13 | καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ’ ἀλλήλων, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σιωπῇ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπιφημίσαι τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις νομίζεται ’ τῶν ιερέων δέ τις ὁ παρών, ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἴς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς ιεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς, καὶ καθ’ ἔκαστον ἐξηγεῖται μέχρι σχεδὸν δείλης ὄψιας· κάκι τοῦδε ἀπολύονται τῶν τε νόμων τῶν ιερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εύσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες.

8.7.10 | And after a short time, he says, 'It may happen all day, but not even for one, but many. And these do not follow one another directly, but come in intervals (and there are seven of these, as is usual according to the common customs), you would not dare to break any of the commands, would you not be amazed?'

8.7.11 | Is this not about self-control for them, not just for practice? As if to act and endure equally strong from the work, if it is necessary? Certainly not. But if the lawgiver thought it necessary for them to be capable not only of doing other things but also of not doing them in the same way, but also to have a strong grasp of the ancestral laws and customs.

8.7.12 | What then did he do with these seven days? He thought it right for them to gather together in the same place and to sit with one another with respect and order, so that no one would be ignorant of the laws.

8.7.13 | And indeed, they always come together and meet with one another, some remaining silent, except if someone thinks it right to add something to the laws being read. One of the priests present, or an elder, reads the sacred laws to them and explains each one until nearly the evening twilight; and from this, they leave having a strong understanding of the sacred laws and having greatly devoted themselves to piety.

8.7.14 | ἀρά σοι οὐ δοκεῖ ταῦτα παντὸς σπουδάσματος μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ θεσμωδοὺς ἔρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, καὶ μὴ διερωτῶντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν νόμων ῥᾳδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅντινα αὐτῶν κινεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυνθάνῃ, προχείρως ἔχει καὶ ῥἀδίως εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἀνὴρ γυναικὶ, καὶ παισὶ πατήρ, καὶ δούλοις δεσπότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους παραδιδόναι.

8.7.15 | καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε ἔτους τοῦ ἑβδόμου ῥάδιον ὡσαύτως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ταύτὸν ἶσως. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις ἐκείναις ἡμέραις, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀργὴν ἀφιᾶσιν εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα αὖθις, εὐθενείας χάριν. πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρειν αὐτὴν ἀνάπταυλαν λαβοῦσαν, εἴτα δὲ εἰς νέωτα γεωργεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἐργασίας κατεξάνθαι.

8.7.16 | ταυτὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἀν ἵδοις συμβαῖνον εἰς ῥώμην· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ὑγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινας ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἰατροὺς προστάττοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ δύμοιοειδὲς ἀεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπ' ἔργων, βλάπτειν ἔοικε.

8.7.17 | σημεῖον δέ· τὴν γὰρ γῆν αὐτὴν εἴ τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἔξεργάσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ ἑβδομόν ἔτος τουτὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν πάντων συμπαραχωρήσειν ὅλων, οὐκ ἀν οὐδαμῶς δέξαιντο. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν πόνων ἀνέχειν οἴονται δεῖν μόνοι· (καίτοι κάν εἰ τοῦτ'

8.7.14 | Do you not think that these things are more necessary for them than any other effort? Therefore, they do not come together for practical matters, and without questioning themselves out of ignorance of the laws, they act carelessly. But whoever you move to ask about the ancestral customs, he is ready and quick to speak. A man to his wife, a father to his children, and a master to his slaves seems capable of teaching the laws.

8.7.15 | And indeed, it is easy to speak about the seventh year, but perhaps not the same. For they do not stop their work as they did in those seven days, but they leave the land fallow for the future, for the sake of rest. For it makes a big difference to take a break and then to farm again in a new way, and not to wear themselves out with constant work.

8.7.16 | You would see the same thing happening with the bodies when it comes to strength. For doctors do not only recommend breaks and some rest from work for health. Continuous and uniform effort, especially in work, seems to cause harm.

8.7.17 | Here is a sign: if someone were to promise them that they could work the land much more than before the seventh year and that all the crops would come together, they would not accept it at all. For they do not think they should bear the pains alone; (and even if they did this, it

έποιουν, ούδεν ἀν θαυμαστὸν ἦν·) ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσίν τινα καὶ ῥᾳστώνην, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐτέραν τῆς αὐθις ἐπιμελείας καὶ γεωργίας, λαβεῖν.

8.7.18 | ἐπεὶ τί ἔκώλυε πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προεκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὸν ἔκείνων φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἀλλ', ὡσπερ ἔφην, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ούδεν τῶν τοιούτων, προνοίᾳ, μοι δοκεῖ, τῆς χώρας, ἐκδέχονται.

8.7.19 | τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον. ἐπεὶ γάρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἔκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς ούκ οἴονται δεῖν συλλέγειν ούδ' ἀποτίθεσθαι, μὴ ἐκ τῶν οίκειών πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς· ἀλλ', ἄτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἐπ' αὐτομάτου τῆς γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε δόδοιπόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι.

8.7.20 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλις σοι. τὸ γάρ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις ἥδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς στῆσαι, ταῦτα οὐκ ἀν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἵσως πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ φυσιόλογων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκοώς περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἥντιν' ἅρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρός τε τὴν τῶν συμπάντων καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύ.σιν. οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἐβδόμης λόγος.

8.7.21 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Φίλων. ὅμοια δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰώσηπος ἴστορεῖ ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὃν πεποίηται Περὶ τῆς τῶν

would not be surprising). But they want some rest and ease from the land, to take up a new beginning of care and farming again.

8.7.18 | For what was stopping her from giving it to God in the past year and collecting the payment from those working the land? But, as I said, in no way do they expect any of these things, it seems to me, from the care of the land.

8.7.19 | And this is a great sign of their kindness. For since they endure the work of that year, they do not think they should gather or store the crops, not taking away from their own efforts. But, since God has provided for them, they allow those who want or need it, including travelers and others, to use the land freely.

8.7.20 | And I have said enough about these things. For you would not ask me to establish the law for them regarding the seventh year, since you have likely heard many times from many doctors, naturalists, and philosophers about this, which has power over both all of nature and indeed over human nature. This is the teaching about the seventh year.

8.7.21 | Philo says so much. Josephus tells similar things in his second book about the antiquity of the Jews, writing in the same

Ίουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος, τοῦτον γράφων  
καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τρόπον

way.

## Section 8

8.8.1 | "Τίς δ' ἦν ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας  
τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῆς δικαιοτάτης περὶ τοῦ  
θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχῶν πάρεστιν ἔξ αὐτῶν  
κατανοεῖν τῶν νόμων ἀντιπαραβάλλοντας  
ἥδη γὰρ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον

8.8.1 | Who was it that most successfully  
established the laws and achieved the  
truest faith about God, so that one can  
understand the laws by comparing them?  
For it is already time to speak about these  
things.

8.8.2 | ούκοῦν ἄπειροι μὲν αἱ κατὰ μέρος  
τῶν ἔθων καὶ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοῖς ἄπασιν  
ἀνθρώποις διαφοραὶ, κεφαλαιωδῶς ἀν  
ἐπίοι τίς.

8.8.2 | Surely there are countless  
differences in customs and laws among all  
people, which someone could summarize.

8.8.3 | οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς  
δόλιγων δυναστείαις, ἄλλοι δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσιν  
ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἔξουσίαν τῶν  
πολιτευμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς  
μὲν τούτων οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν ἄπειδεν, ὡς δ' ἂν  
τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον θεοκρατίαν  
ἀπέδειξε τὸ πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ  
τὸ κράτος ἀναθεὶς, καὶ πείσας εἰς ἑκεῖνον  
ἄπαντας ἀφορᾶν ὡς αἴτιον μὲν ἀπάντων  
ὄντα τῶν αγαθῶν, ἀ κοινῇ τε πᾶσιν  
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅσων ἔτυχον αὐτὸὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δεηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις· λαθεῖν δὲ τὴν  
ἑκείνου γνώμην οὐκ ἐνὸν οὕτε τι τῶν  
πραττομένων οὐδὲν οὕθ' ὃν ἂν τις παρ'  
αὐτῷ διανοηθείη.

8.8.3 | For some have given power to  
monarchies, others to the rule of a few, and  
still others to the majority. But our  
lawgiver did not turn away from any of  
these. As someone might say, he forcefully  
showed that the government is a theocracy,  
placing the beginning and power in God,  
and convincing everyone to look to Him as  
the cause of all good things, which exist for  
all people and for whatever they have  
asked for in times of need. And it is  
impossible to misunderstand His opinion,  
whether in actions or in anything that  
someone might think about Him.

8.8.4 | ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἀγέννητον  
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον ἀναλοιώτον,  
πάσης ἴδεας θνητῆς κάλλει διαφέροντα,  
φέροντα, καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώμιον,

8.8.4 | But he revealed Him as uncreated  
and unchanging through all time, different  
in beauty from all mortal ideas, known to  
us in power, but unknown in essence.

όποιος δὲ κατ' ούσιαν ἔστιν ἄγνωστον.

8.8.5 | ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὅτι μὲν ἐδιδάσκωσαν, ἐκείνου τὰς ἀρχὰς παρασχόντος, ἂν νῦν λέγειν· ὅτι δέ ἔστι καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι σφόδρα μεμαρτυρήκασι· καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων' οἵ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἄπαντες οὕτω φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες.

8.8.6 | ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὄλγους φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλήθη δόξαις κατειλημμένα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἔξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης, ἀτε δὴ τὰ ἔργα παρέχων τοῖς νόμοις σύμφωνα, οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔξ οἰκείων ἀεὶ γενησομένοις τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνητον.

8.8.7 | αίτιον δ', ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων πολὺ διήνεγκεν. οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἐποίησε τὴν εὔσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης μέρη τε ἄλλα καὶ συνεῖδεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατέστησε λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐν ἄπασι συμφωνίᾳν.

8.8.8 | ἄπασαι γὰρ αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εὔσέβειαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναφοράν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ'

8.8.5 | The wisest among the Greeks think these things about God: that He is uncreated, as Josephus taught, who provided the beginnings of this idea. They also strongly testify that there are things beautiful and fitting to the nature and greatness of God. For both Pythagoras and Anaxagoras and Plato, along with those philosophers who came after him from the Stoa, all seem to have thought this way about the nature of God.

8.8.6 | But those who philosophize among the few did not dare to bring forth the truth of the doctrine, being caught up in popular opinions. But our lawgiver, since he provided works in harmony with the laws, not only convinced those of his own time, but also instilled an unchanging faith about God in those who would always come after them.

8.8.7 | The reason is that the way of the lawgiver greatly contributed to the usefulness of all things. For he did not make piety just a part of virtue, but he recognized and established it along with other parts. I mean justice, temperance, endurance, and harmony among the citizens in all things.

8.8.8 | For all actions, activities, and words have reference to our piety towards God. For none of these things was left unexamined or undefined.

άόριστον παρέλιπεν.

8.8.9 | δύο μὲν γάρ είσιν ἀπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἡθικὰ κατασκευῆς, ὃν δὲ μὲν λόγω διδασκαλικὸς, δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἡθῶν οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐκάστοις ἐλόμενοι τὸν ἔτερον παρέλιπον οἶνον Λακεδαμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Κρῆτες ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες ἀ μὲν χρὴ πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέταττον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔθιζεν ὠλιγώρουν.

8.8.9 | There are two ways of education and the formation of character. One is through teaching by words, and the other is through the practice of habits. Therefore, some lawmakers separated these two, choosing one method for themselves and leaving the other behind. For example, the Spartans and Cretans educated by laws, not by words, while the Athenians and almost all other Greeks commanded what should or should not be done through laws, but they paid little attention to forming habits through actions.

8.8.10 | ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἄμφω ταῦτα συνήρμοσε κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· οὕτε γὰρ κωφὴν ἀπέλιπε τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν ἀσκησιν οὕτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ἀπρακτὸν εἴασεν, ἀλλ' εύθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος μένος τροφῆς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἐκάστων διαιτῆς οὐδὲν οὔδε τῶν βραχυτάτων αύτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι τῶν χρησιμένων κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σιτίων ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνησάντων τῆς διαιτῆς, ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τοῦμπαλιν ἀναπαύσεως ὅρον ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ἐν' ὕσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ζῶντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτάνωμεν.

8.8.10 | Our lawgiver combined both of these with great care. For he did not leave the practice of habits silent, nor did he allow the teaching from the law to be ineffective. But starting from the very beginning, he established rules about food and the household life of each person, leaving nothing to the free choice of those who use them. He also set guidelines about what foods to avoid and what to offer, as well as rules for sharing meals, and he established limits for both work and rest. He made the law a standard, so that while living under this father and master, we would not err either by choice or by ignorance.

8.8.11 | οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένοις, οὐδὲ

8.8.11 | For he did not leave the understanding of ignorance unvalued, but he showed that the law is the most beautiful and necessary education. Not just

δὶς ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν· ὃ δὴ πάντες ἔοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπεῖν.

once for those who hear it, nor twice or many times, but every seventh day, after finishing other tasks, he commanded that they gather to hear the law and learn it thoroughly. Indeed, all lawmakers seem to have neglected this.

8.8.12 | καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ζῆν νόμους ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς ούδ' ἵσασιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔξαμαρτάνωσι, τότε παρ' ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν ὅτι τὸν νόμον παραβεβήκασιν. οἴ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς διοικοῦντες ὅμολογοῦσι τὴν ἄγνοιαν· ἐπιστάτας γὰρ παρακαθίστανται τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οίκονομίας τοὺς ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχνούμενους.

8.8.12 | And so, most people are so far from living according to their own laws that they hardly even know them. But when they make a mistake, then they learn from others that they have broken the law. Those who hold the greatest and most important positions among them admit their ignorance. For they rely on experts who promise to have experience with the laws.

8.8.13 | ἡμῶν δ' ὀντινοῦν τις ἔλοιτο, τοὺς νόμους ἥπτον ἀν τις εἶποι πάντας ἢ τοῦνομα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ. τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εύθὺς αίσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμέ— νοῦς. καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δ' ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

8.8.13 | If anyone among us were to choose, it would be easier for someone to name all the laws than to name their own. Therefore, from the very first moment of awareness, we learn them as if they are engraved in our souls. And while it is rare for someone to break them, it is impossible to escape punishment.

8.8.14 | "Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὄμονοιαν ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίηκε. τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἄλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλίστην ἐν ἥθεσιν ἀνθρώπων συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ.

8.8.14 | This first of all has created a wonderful unity among us. For having the same belief about the divine and not differing in life and customs brings about the best agreement in the character of people.

8.8.15 | παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ μόνοις οὕτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεται τοὺς ἄλλήλοις ὑπεναντίους, ὅποια πολλὰ παρ' ἐτέροις·

8.8.15 | For among us alone, there will be no opposing views about the divine, unlike many others. It is not only the opinions of

ούχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων γὰρ μόνον τὸ κατὰ τὸ προσπεσὸν ἐκάστῳ λέγεται πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρά τισι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀποτετόλμηται, τῶν μὲν τὴν ὅλην τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἀναιρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικεχειρηκότων, ἄλλων δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν πρόνοιαν ἀφαιρουμένων) οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν βίων ὄψεται διαφορὰν, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μὲν ἔργα πάντων παρ' ἡμῖν, εἰς δ' ὁ λόγος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνῶν περὶ θεοῦ, πάντα λέγων ἔκεινον ἐφορᾶν.

8.8.16 | καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὅτι δεῖ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τέλοις ἔχειν τὴν εὔσέβειαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προσφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὐρετὰς ἔργ' ὧν ἦ λόγων ἄνδρας παρασχεῖν, ἐντεῦθεν συμβέβηκεν.

8.8.17 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐμμένειν καλὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα τολμῶσι ταῦτα παραβαίνειν σοφίας δεινότητα μαρτυροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούναντίον μίαν εἶναι καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὑπειλήφαμεν, τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπεναντίον μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε διανοηθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομοθετηθεῖσιν.

8.8.18 | ὅπερ είκότως ἀν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ κάλλιστα τὸν νόμον τεθῆναι. τὰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον αἱ πεῖραι δεόμεναι διορθώσεως ἐλέγχουσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθῆναι τὸν νόμον κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν οὐδ' εύσεβες ἦν ἔτι

the common people that speak about what happens to each person, but also some philosophers who have dared to deny the whole nature of the divine with their words, while others remove the care for humans from it. In our way of life, there is no difference in practices, but all of us share common actions, and there is one belief that agrees with the law about the divine, saying that it watches over everything.

8.8.16 | And indeed, concerning the practices of life, it must be that all other things have the end goal of piety, and one would hear this from women and servants as well. Therefore, the accusation brought against us by some is that we do not provide men who create new works or words, and this has happened because of that.

8.8.17 | For the others think it is good to cling to none of their traditions, and those who dare to break them show the greatness of their wisdom. But we, on the contrary, have taken the view that there is one understanding and virtue, which is to not act or even think anything completely opposite to what was established by the original laws.

8.8.18 | Which would rightly be a proof that the law is set down beautifully. For those not following this way are shown to need correction; but for us who are persuaded that the law was established from the beginning according to the will of the

τοῦτο μὴ φυλάττειν.

8.8.19 | τί γὰρ αύτοῦ τις ἀν μετακινήσειν.  
ἢ τί κάλλιον ἔξεῦρεν, ἢ τί παρ' ἐτέρων ὡς  
ἀμεινον μετήνεγκεν; ἄρα γε τὴν ὅλην  
κατάστασιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος; καὶ τίς ἀν  
καλλίων ἢ δικαιοτέρα γένοιτο τῆς τὸν θεὸν  
μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων ἡγεῖσθαι  
πεποιημένης, τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι δὲ κοινῇ μὲν τὰ  
μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης, τῷ δὲ  
πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν πεπιστευκύιας τὴν  
τῶν ἄλλων Ἱερέων ἡγεμονίαν;

8.8.20 | οὓς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον ούδέ τισιν  
ἄλλαις προύχοντας πλεονεξίαις τὸ πρῶτον  
εύθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἔταξεν,  
ἄλλ’ ὅσοι τῶν μετ’ αύτοῦ πειθοῦ τε καὶ  
σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τούτοις  
τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν θεραπείαν ἐνεχείρισεν.

8.8.21 | τοῦτο δ’ ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀκριβῆς ἐπιμέλεια·  
καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν  
ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν  
κατεγνωσμένων οἱ Ἱερεῖς ἔτάχθησαν.”

8.8.22 | “Τίς ἀν οὓς ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης  
ὅσιωτέρα; τίς δὲ τιμὴ θεῷ μᾶλλον  
ἀρμόζουσα; παντὸς μὲν τοῦ πλήθους  
κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εύσεβειαν,  
ἔξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Ἱερέων  
πεπιστευμένων, ὡσπερ δὲ τελετὴ ἐστι τῆς  
ὅλης πολιτείας οἰκονομουμένης.

8.8.23 | ἀ γὰρ ὄλιγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν  
ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι φυλάττειν οὐ

divine, it is not even pious to not keep it.

8.8.19 | For what could anyone change  
about it? Or what better thing has been  
found, or what has been brought from  
others that is better? Is it about the whole  
system of government? And who could be  
more beautiful or just than one who  
believes that the divine is the leader of all,  
allowing the priests to manage the greatest  
matters in common, while the high priest  
has authority over the other priests?

8.8.20 | Those who are not in power  
because of wealth or any other greed, the  
lawgiver placed first in honor, but those  
who were different from others in  
obedience and self-control, he entrusted  
with the service to the divine.

8.8.21 | This was also the careful attention  
to the law and other practices; for the  
priests were appointed as overseers of all,  
judges of disputes, and punishers of those  
found guilty.

8.8.22 | Who then could be a more holy  
leader of this? And what honor could be  
more fitting for the divine? When all the  
people are prepared for piety, the care of  
the priests, who are trusted, is special, just  
as the ceremony is the management of the  
whole community.

8.8.23 | For what others cannot keep for  
just a few days, focusing on mysteries and

δύνανται, μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς  
έπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς  
καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς  
διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰώνος.

8.8.24 | τίνες οὖν είσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ  
προαγορεύσεις; ἀπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι.  
πρώτη δὲ ἡγεῖται ἡ περὶ θεοῦ λέγουσα, θεὸς  
ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελῆς καὶ μακάριος,  
αὐτὸς ἐσαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ  
μέση καὶ τέλος πάντων οὗτος· ἔργοις μὲν  
καὶ χάρισιν ἐναργῆς καὶ παντὸς  
οὐτινοσοῦν φανερώτερος, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ  
μέγεθος ἡμῖν ἀφανέστατος.

8.8.25 | πᾶσα μὲν ὅλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν  
τούτου, κάνῃ πολυτελῆς, ἄτιμος· πᾶσα δὲ  
τέχνη πρὸς μιμήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἄτεχνος·  
οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὕτ' εἴδομεν οὕτ' ἐπινοοῦμεν  
οὕτ' εἰκάζειν ἔστιν ὅσιον.

8.8.26 | ἔργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ, φῶς,  
οὐρανὸν, γῆν, ἥλιον. καὶ σελήνην, ὕδατα,  
ζῷων γενέσεις, καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα ὁ  
θεὸς ἐποίησεν, οὐ χερσὶν, οὐ πόνοις, οὐ  
τινων ἔργασμάνων ἐπιδεηθεὶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ  
καλὰ θελήσαντος καλῶς ἦν εύθὺς  
γεγονότα.

8.8.27 | τούτῳ δεῖ πάντας ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ  
θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετὴν·  
τρόπος γάρ θεοῦ θεραπείας οὗτος  
δοσιώτατος.

8.8.28 | εῖς ναὸς ἐνὸς θεοῦ, (φίλον γάρ ἀεὶ

rituals, we preserve with great joy and  
unwavering purpose throughout all time.

8.8.24 | What then are the prophecies and  
proclamations? They are simple and  
recognizable. The first speaks about the  
divine, saying that god holds the universe,  
is complete and blessed, self-sufficient for  
itself and all, the beginning, middle, and  
end of everything. In works and gifts, god is  
clear and more visible than anything, but in  
form and size, god is most hidden to us.

8.8.25 | Every material thing is worthless  
compared to the image of that one, even if  
it is luxurious. Every art that tries to imitate  
is without skill. There is nothing similar  
that we have seen, thought of, or can  
imagine that is holy.

8.8.26 | We see the works of that one: light,  
the sky, the earth, the sun, and the moon,  
waters, the births of animals, and the  
growth of fruits. God made these, not with  
hands, not through labor, nor needing  
anyone to work, but simply by wanting it,  
they came into being beautifully at once.

8.8.27 | Everyone must follow this one and  
serve him by practicing virtue; for this is  
the most holy way to serve God.

8.8.28 | There is one temple of one God, for

παντὶ τὸ ὅμοιον,) κοινὸς ἀπάντων, κοινοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάντων. τοῦτον θεραπεύουσι μὲν διὰ παντὸς οἱ Ἱερεῖς· ἡγεῖται δὲ τούτων ὁ πρῶτος ἀεὶ κατὰ γένος, οὗτος μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τοὺς νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κολάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος ὑφέξει δίκην, ὡς εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀσεβῶν.

everything similar is always dear to all. This temple is common to everyone, the common God of all. The priests serve this temple always; the first among them leads by lineage. This one will offer sacrifices to God with the other priests, keep the laws, judge about disputes, and punish those who are found guilty. Anyone who does not obey him will face judgment, as if he is being disrespectful to God.

8.8.29 | θύομεν τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς πλήρωσιν ἐαυτοῖς καὶ μέθην, (άβούλητα γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τάδε, καὶ πρόφασις ἀν ὕβρεως γένοιτο καὶ πολυτελείας;) ἀλλὰ σώφρονας, εὔτάκτους, εύσταλεῖς, ὅπως μάλιστα θύοντες σωφρονῶσι. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι σωτηρίας, εἴθ' ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν· (ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ γεγόναμεν) καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἰδίου μάλιστα εἴη θεῷ κεχαρισμένος.

8.8.29 | We offer sacrifices not for our own fullness and drunkenness, for these things are foolish to God, and they could be a reason for arrogance and extravagance; but we offer them wisely, orderly, and properly, so that we may sacrifice with self-control. And at the sacrifices, we must first pray for the common salvation, then for ourselves; for we have become part of a community. And the one who is preferred should especially be grateful to God for what is his own.

8.8.30 | παράκλησις δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἔστω διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ δέησις, οὐχ ὅπως διδῷ τὰ ἀγαθά· (δέδωκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκῶν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον κατατέθεικεν) ἀλλ' ὅπως δέχεσθαι δυνώμεθα καὶ λαβόντες φυλάττωμεν.

8.8.30 | Let the appeal to God be through prayer and supplication, not so that he gives good things; for he has willingly given and placed them in the midst of all. But rather, let us be able to receive and, having received, keep them safe.

8.8.31 | ἀγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις διήρηκεν ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ κήδους, ἀπὸ λέχους, ἀπὸ κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα. καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων, ἂ μακρὸν ἀν εἴη νῦν γράφειν."

8.8.31 | The law has separated purity at the sacrifices from mourning, from bed, and from relations with a woman. And from many other things, which would take a long time to write about now.

8.8.32 | "Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς

8.8.32 | This is the teaching about God and

έκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ήμιν ἔστιν· ὁ δ'  
αύτὸς ἄμα καὶ νόμος. τίνες δὲ οἱ περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
γάμων νόμοι; μίξιν μόνην οἶδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν  
κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ ταύτην,  
εἰ μέλλοι τέκνων ἔνεκα γίνεσθαι· τὴν δὲ  
πρὸς ἄρρενα ἀρρένων ἔστιγηκε, καὶ  
θάνατος τὸ ἐπιτίμιον εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε.

his service for us; the same is the law. But what are the laws about marriage? The law knows only the natural union with a woman, and this is for the sake of having children. But the union with a male is forbidden, and death is the punishment if anyone attempts it.

8.8.33 | γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει μὴ προικὶ<sup>2</sup>  
προσέχοντας, μηδὲ βιαίοις ἀρπαγαῖς, μηδ'  
αὖ δόλῳ καὶ δι' ἀπάτης πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ  
μνηστεύειν εἴτ'. παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου,  
καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν ἐπιτήδειον. γυνὴ<sup>3</sup>  
χείρων, φησὶν, ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα·  
τοιγαροῦν ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν, ἀλλ'  
ἵνα ἄρχηται· θεὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κράτος ἔδωκε.

8.8.33 | Marriage should not be based on a dowry, nor by forceful seizure, nor by trickery and deceit. Instead, let there be betrothal either by the will of the giver or according to family ties. A woman is said to be inferior to a man in all things; therefore, she should obey, not in a way that leads to insult, but so that he may lead. For God has given power to the man.

8.8.34 | ταύτῃ συνεῖναι δεῖ τὸν γῆμαντα  
μόνῃ· τὸ δὲ τὴν ἄλλου πειρὰν ἀνόσιον. εἰ δέ  
τις τοῦτο πράξειεν, οὐδεμίᾳ θανάτου  
παραίτησις· οὕτε εἰ βιάσαιτο παρθένον  
ἐτέρῳ συνωμολογημένην οὕτ' εἰ πείσαι  
γεγαμημένην.

8.8.34 | The one who is married must be with his own wife only; trying to be with another is wrong. If anyone does this, there is no escape from death. This is true whether he forces a virgin who is promised to another or if he tries to persuade a married woman.

8.8.35 | τέκνα τρέφειν ἅπαντα προσέταξε.  
καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀπεῖπε μήτ' ἀμβλοῦν τὸ  
σπαρὲν μήτε διαφθείρειν, ἀλλὰ ἦν φανεῖη,  
τεκνοκτόνος ἀν εἴη ψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ  
τὸ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα.

8.8.35 | All children must be raised. And he told women not to harm the seed or destroy it, but if it becomes clear, a woman who causes the death of a child would lose her own soul and reduce the family line.

8.8.36 | τοιγαροῦν ούδ' εἴ τις ἐπὶ λέχους  
φθορὰν παρέλθοι, καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε  
προσήκει. καὶ μετὰ τὴν νόμιμον συνουσίαν  
ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀπολούεσθαι, ψυχῆς  
ἔχειν τοῦτο μερισμὸν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν  
ὑπέλαβε. καὶ γὰρ ἐμφυομένη σώμασι

8.8.36 | Therefore, if anyone causes harm while on the bed, they should be considered unclean. After the lawful union of a man and a woman, they must wash, as the soul has a share in another place. For it suffers when it is mixed with bodies, and

κακοπαθεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὖ πάλιν θανάτῳ διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἀγνείας ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔταξεν.

8.8.37 | οὐ μὴν ούδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων γενέσεσιν ἐπέτρεψεν εύωχίαν συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις ποιεῖσθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρονα τὴν ἀρχὴν εύθὺς τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε, καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσε τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι, τὰς μὲν ἵνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆψιν ἀγνοίας ἔχωσι.

8.8.38 | τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προενόησεν ὄσίας, οὐ πολυτελείας ἐνταφίων, ούδὲ κατασκευαῖς μνημείων ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κηδείαν ἔταξε τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἐπιτελεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς παριοῦσι θαπτομένου τινὸς καὶ προσελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρεσθαι νόμιμον ἐποίησε. καθαίρειν δὲ κελεύει καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους, ἕνα πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρὸς εἶναι τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος.

8.8.39 | γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξε καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν χάριτας, ἀλλ' εἰς δτιοῦν ἐλλείποντα, λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι.

8.8.40 | καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς νέους φησὶν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός.

then again, it is separated by death. This is why he set rules for purity in all such matters.

8.8.37 | Indeed, he did not allow feasting and drunkenness during the upbringing of children, but he set a wise beginning for their nourishment. He ordered that they be taught letters related to the laws and to know the deeds of their ancestors, so that they might imitate them and, by doing so, neither break the rules nor have an excuse of ignorance.

8.8.38 | He thought about the proper way to honor the dead, not with expensive funerals or grand tombs, but he ordered that the closest family members carry out the burial rites. He made it lawful for all who pass by to attend the burial and to join in the mourning. He also commanded that both the house and the residents be cleansed from mourning, so that no one would seem pure if they had committed a murder.

8.8.39 | He established the honor of parents after the second honor given to the gods, and he did not allow anyone to repay the kindnesses received from them, but he said that whatever is lacking will be given back.

8.8.40 | And he says that young people should honor all elders, since the oldest is the god.

8.8.41 | κρύπτειν ούδεν ἔᾶ πρὸς φίλους, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσαν· κἀν συμβῆ τις ἔχθρα, τούτων ἀπόρρητα λέγειν κεκώλυκε.

8.8.41 | He does not allow hiding anything from friends, for friendship is not real if it does not trust completely. And if someone has a conflict, he has forbidden them to speak of these secrets.

8.8.42 | δικάζων εἰ δῶρά τις λάβοι , θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορων ἱκέτην, βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν, ὑπεύθυνος. ὃ μὴ κατέθηκέ τις, οὐκ ἀναιρήσεται. τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ούδενὸς ἄψεται. δανείσας τόκον οὐ λήψεται. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνέχει κοινωνίαν.”

8.8.42 | When judging if someone has received a gift, the penalty is death. If a suppliant is seen, they must help them, being responsible. What no one has given will not be taken away. No one will touch anything that belongs to others. If someone borrows, they will not take interest. These things and many similar ones hold our community together.

8.8.43 | Πῶς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλοφύλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόνησεν ὃ νομοθέτης ἄξιον ἰδεῖν· φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος ὅπως μήτε τὰ οἴκεια διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων προαιρουμένοις.

8.8.43 | How the lawgiver thought about fairness towards outsiders is worth seeing. For it will be clear that he planned very well so that we neither destroy our own things nor envy those who choose to share in our own.

8.8.44 | ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ θέλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες, δέχεται φιλοφρόνως, οὐ τῷ γένει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου νομίζων εἶναι τὴν οἰκειότητα· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ παρέργου προσιόντας ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ οὐκ ἥθελησε.

8.8.44 | For those who want to live under the same laws as us, he welcomes them kindly, not just because of their race, but also considering their choice of life as a sign of belonging. But he did not want those who come by chance to mix with the community.

8.8.45 | τἄλλα δὲ προείρηκεν ὃν ἡ μετάδοσίς ἔστιν ἀναγκαία· πάσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ, ὕδωρ, τροφὴν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν, ἄταφον μὴ περιορᾶν.

8.8.45 | Other things he has mentioned are necessary for sharing: to provide fire, water, and food to those in need, to close the roads, and not to overlook the unburied.

8.8.46 | ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κριθέντας εἶναι· οὐ γάρ ἐξ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν, οὐδὲ κόπτειν ἥμερα δένδρα συγκεχώρηκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας, καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόμησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὕβρις ἀπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ γυναικῶν.

8.8.46 | He also decided that there should be fairness towards enemies. For he does not allow their land to be burned, nor does he permit cutting down cultivated trees. He also forbade looting the dead in battle, and he planned for the treatment of prisoners, so that their mistreatment would be avoided, especially for women.

8.8.47 | ουτως δὲ πόρρωθεν ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ἐσπούδασεν ὥστε οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀφῆκε τούτων χρήσιν τὴν νενομισμένην, πᾶσαν δ' ἐτέραν ἐκώλυσεν. ἂ δ' ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἀπεῖπεν ἀνελεῖν· οὐδὲ νεοτοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαίρειν· φείδεσθαι δὲ κάν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῶν ἔργαζόμενον ζώων καὶ μὴ φονεύειν."

8.8.47 | In this way, he worked hard to teach us gentleness and kindness, so that he did not look down on even the irrational animals. He allowed only the use of them that is customary, but he forbade any other use. And when they came seeking refuge at homes, he refused to allow them to be killed. He also did not permit the young to be taken from their parents. He urged to spare working animals in war and not to kill them.

8.8.48 | "Οὕτω πανταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὖ κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τιμωρητικοὺς τάξας, οὐκ ἄνευ προφάσεως. ζημίᾳ γάρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παραβαινόντων ὁ θάνατος, ἀν μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἀν βιάσηται κόρην, ἀν ἄρρενι τολμήσῃ πεῖραν προσφέρειν, ἀν ὑπομείνῃ παθεῖν ὁ πειρασθείς.

8.8.48 | In this way, he considered everything related to fairness, using the previously mentioned laws for teaching, while setting up punishments for those who break them, not without reason. For most offenders, the penalty is death: if someone commits adultery, if someone forces a girl, if someone dares to approach a boy, or if someone endures harm after being tempted.

8.8.49 | ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δούλοις ὄμοιώς ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων, ἦν τις κακουργήσειν, ἢ σταθμῶν, ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλω γενομένης, κἄν ὑφέληταί τις ἀλλότριον, κάν ὃ μὴ

8.8.49 | The law is also strict regarding slaves. But also concerning measures, if someone commits a crime, or about weights, or about unfair dealings and deceit, if someone takes something that

κατέθηκεν ἀνέληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις,  
οὐχ οἶαι παρ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον.  
περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἀδικίας, ἡ τῆς εἰς τὸν  
Θεὸν ἀσεβείας, κανὸν μέλλῃ τις, εὐθὺς  
ἀπόλλυται.

does not belong to them, or if they take something they did not deposit, there are punishments for all these, which are harsher than those from others. For regarding the injustice towards parents, or the disrespect towards the gods, if someone is about to do this, they will be destroyed immediately.

8.8.50 | τοῖς μέντοι γε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους  
πάντα πράττουσι γέρας ἔστιν οὐκ  
ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ χρυσὸς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ  
κοτίνου στέφανος, ἢ σελίνου, καὶ τοιαύτη  
τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔκαστος αὐτῷ  
τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν πεπίστευκε,  
(τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεύσαντος, τοῦ  
δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν παρεσχηκότος,) ὅτι  
τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασιν, κανὸν εἴ  
δει θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, προθύμως  
ἀποθανεῖν, ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς γενέσθαι τε  
πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ  
περιτροπῆς."

8.8.50 | For those who act according to the laws, the reward is not silver, nor gold, nor a crown of wild olive or parsley, nor any such announcement. Instead, each person believes in their own conscience as a witness, (with the lawgiver having prophesied this, and the god having given strong faith), that for those who protect the laws, even if they must die for them, they willingly die. The god has granted that they may be reborn and receive a better life in turn.

8.8.51 | "Ωκνουν δ' ἀν ἔγώ νῦν ταῦτα  
γράφειν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἄπασιν ἦν  
φανερὸν ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἥδη τῶν  
ἡμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ὅπῃμα φθέγξασθαι  
παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίως  
προείλοντο. καίτοι γε εἴ μὴ συμβεβήκει  
γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος ἄπασιν  
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχειν, κανὸν φανερῷ κεῖσθαι  
τὴν ἔθελούσιον ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις  
ἀκολουθίαν, ἀλλά τις ἡ συγγράψαι λέγων  
αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἢ που  
περιτυχεῖν ἔξω τῆς γινωσκομένης γῆς  
ἔφασκεν ἀνθρώποις, τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχουσι  
δόξαν οὕτω σεμνὴν περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
τοιούτοις δὲ νόμοις πολὺν αἰῶνα βεβαίως  
ἐμμεμενηκόσι, πάντας ἀν οἷμαι θαυμάσαι  
διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς μεταβολάς·

8.8.51 | I would hesitate to write these things now, if it were not clear from the actions of many of our people that they have often chosen to endure everything rather than speak a word against the law. And yet, if it had not happened that our nation is known to all people, and that our willingness to follow the laws is evident, someone might say that they themselves read this among the Greeks, or perhaps claim that outside the known world, people say such things about the god, having such a serious opinion about him, and that with such laws they have firmly lasted for a long time. I think everyone would be amazed at their constant changes. They neglect to write something similar about the

άμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παραπλήσιον είς πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις.

8.8.52 | καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπω φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐπραγματεύσαντο· Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίου διενεγκών, καὶ δυνάμει λόγων καὶ πειθῆ πάντας ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ μικροῦ δεῖν χλευαζόμενος καὶ κωμῳδούμενος διατελεῖ.

8.8.53 | καίτοι τάκείνου σκώπτων συχνῶς τις ἄν εὗροι ῥᾶσον καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἔγγιον συνηθείας. αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγηκεν ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅχλων ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἔξενεγκεῖν.

8.8.54 | ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Πλάτωνος λόγους τινὲς εἶναι κενοὺς νομίζουσι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἔξουσίαν κεκαλλιγραφημέωντος. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκοῦργον τεθαυμάκασι, καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἄπαντες ὑμνοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔκείνου νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεκαρτέρησαν.

8.8.55 | ὁκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν δημολογείσθω τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς εἶναι, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἔκείνων χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίους 'σαν τοῖς πλείσιν ἡ δισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας' καὶ προσέτι

government and laws, claiming that those who attempted to create such wonderful laws are accused of taking on impossible tasks.

8.8.52 | And I leave aside the other philosophers, those who have dealt with such matters in their writings; but Plato is admired among the Greeks, as he has shown a serious way of life, and with the power of his words and persuasion, he has raised everyone who has engaged in philosophy. Yet, he is mocked and ridiculed by those who claim that political matters are of little importance.

8.8.53 | And yet, while mocking him, one would often find it easier to point out the habits of the many. Plato himself admitted that it was not safe to present the true opinion about the god to the madness of the crowds.

8.8.54 | But some think that the words of Plato are empty, written with great skill. Most of all, they have admired the lawgiver Lycurgus, and everyone praises Sparta, saying that they have endured the most because of his laws.

8.8.55 | Therefore, let it be agreed that obeying the laws is a sign of virtue. The Spartans, admiring their own time, were more than two thousand years ahead of our government. And they should also consider that as long as the Spartans had their

λογιζέσθωσαν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν, ὅσον  
έφ' ἐαυτῶν χρόνον εἶχον τὴν ἑλευθερίαν,  
ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν,  
έπει μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐγένοντο  
μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάντων  
ἔξελάθοντο τῶν νόμων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τύχαις  
μυρίαις γεγονότες, διὰ τάς τῶν  
βασιλευσάντων τῆς Ἀσίας μεταβολὰς, οὐδ'  
ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν δεινῶν τοὺς νόμους  
προύδομεν."

8.8.56 | Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ Ἰώσηπος περὶ τῆς  
κατὰ Μωσέα Ἰουδαίων πολιτείας, περὶ δὲ  
τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τεθεῖσι νόμοις  
ἐπεσκιασμένης καὶ ἀλληγορικῆς θεωρίας  
πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τὰς  
Ἐλεαζάρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου διηγήσεις,  
ἀνδρῶν τὸ μὲν Ἐβραίων ἀνέκαθεν, τὸν δὲ  
χρόνον κατὰ τοὺς Πτολεμαίων χρόνους  
διαπρεψάντων.

8.8.57 | ὃν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ τῷ τῆς  
ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀξιώματι τετιμημένος μικρῷ  
πρότερον ἡμῖν ἐδηλοῦτο, ὃς δὴ τοῖς παρὰ  
βασιλέως ὡς αὐτὸν ἥκουσι πρεσβείας  
ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα μεταβολῆς τὸν τρόπον  
ὑποτυπούμενος τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις  
ἀλληγορουμένης ἴδεας, τοιαύτην πεποίηται  
τοῦ λόγου τὴν διδασκαλίαν

## Section 9

8.9.1 | "Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι διὰ βραχέων  
τῶν ὑποδειχθέντων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ δι'  
ἡμῶν ἐπιζητηθέντα· νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς  
πολλοῖς περιεργίαν ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
νομοθεσίᾳ, λέγω δὲ περὶ τε βρωτῶν καὶ

freedom, they carefully protected their laws. But when changes in fortune happened to them, they almost completely forgot all their laws. We, however, have experienced countless changes due to the shifts of the rulers of Asia, and even in the worst times, we did not abandon our laws.

8.8.56 | These things are what Josephus says about the government of the Jews according to Moses. But regarding the laws he set down, which are shadowed and have many allegorical interpretations, I think the accounts of Eleazar and Aristobulus are enough. One was a man from the Hebrews from ancient times, and the other was prominent during the time of the Ptolemies.

8.8.57 | Eleazar, who was honored with the rank of high priest, showed us a little while ago that he was sent as an ambassador by the king. He was sent because of the changes in the Hebrew teachings to Greece, and he was explaining the allegorical ideas found in the sacred laws. He has created such a teaching of the word.

8.9.1 | It is worth mentioning briefly some of the things he pointed out regarding what we have been seeking. Many people think that there is some unnecessary detail in the laws. I am talking about food and drinks

ποτῶν καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀκαθάρτων εἶναι κνωδάλων.

8.9.2 | πυνθανομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν διὰ τί, μιᾶς καταβολῆς οὕσης, τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα νομίζεται πρὸς βρῶσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφήν· (δεισιδαιμόνως γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τούτοις πάλιν δεισιδαιμόνως·) πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτως ἐνήρξατο·

8.9.3 | Θεωρεῖς, ἔφη, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς καὶ τὰς ὄμιλίας, οἵον ἐνεργάζονται πρᾶγμα, διότι κακοῖς ὄμιλοσαντες διαστροφὰς ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν ἀνθρώποι, καὶ ταλαίπωροι δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν εἰσίν· ἐὰν δὲ σοφοῖς καὶ φρονίμοις συζῶσιν, ἔξ ἀγνοίας ἐπανορθώσεως εἰς τὸν βίον ἔτυχον.

8.9.4 | διαστειλάμενος οὖν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης πρῶτον ὁ νομοθέτης ἡμῶν καὶ διδάξας ἔκαστα περὶ τούτων, οὐκ ἀπαγορευτικῶς μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικτικῶς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας προδήλους καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένας ἐπιπομπὰς τοῖς αἴτοις.

8.9.5 | προυπέδειξε γὰρ πρῶτον πάντων ὅτι μόνος ὁ θεός ἔστι καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, πεπληρωμένου παντὸς τόπου τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς γενομένων ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κρυφίως, ἀλλ' ὅσα ποιεῖ τις αὐτῷ φανερὰ καθέστηκε καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι.

and what is considered unclean, like certain plants.

8.9.2 | When we asked why, since there is one source, some things are considered unclean for eating, while others are unclean just by touch, it seems that most of the laws are based on superstition. And within these, again, there is a sense of superstition. He began to explain these things in this way.

8.9.3 | You see," he said, "the behaviors and conversations work in a certain way. When people associate with bad company, they get caught up in bad habits, and they suffer throughout their lives. But if they live with wise and sensible people, they find a way to improve their lives out of ignorance.

8.9.4 | Therefore, our lawgiver first set out the things of piety and justice, teaching each of these not just in a way that forbids, but also in a way that shows examples. He revealed the harms and the punishments from the gods for those who are guilty.

8.9.5 | For he first showed that there is only one god, and through everything, his power becomes clear. His authority fills every place, and nothing escapes him of what happens on earth by people in secret. Instead, whatever someone does is made clear to him, along with what is going to happen.

8.9.6 | ταῦτ' οὖν ἔξεργαζόμενος ἀκριβῶς καὶ πρόδηλα θεὶς ἔδειξεν ὅτι καὶ ἐὰν ἐννοηθῇ τις κακίαν ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἀν λάθοι, μὴ ὅτι καὶ πράξας, δι' ὅλης τῆς νομοθεσίας τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνατόν ἐνδεικνύμενος.

8.9.6 | Therefore, by working these things out carefully and clearly, he showed that even if someone thinks about doing something bad, they will not escape notice. This is not just because of their actions, but because throughout all the laws, he shows the power of god.

8.9.7 | ποιησάμενος οὗν τὴν καταρχὴν ταύτην, καὶ δεῖξας ὅτι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ' ἡμάς ἄνθρωποι πολλοὺς θεοὺς εἴναι ωμίζουσιν, αὐτὸὶ δυναμικώτεροι πολλῷ καθεστῶτες ὥν σέβονται ματαίως. ἀγάλματα γὰρ ποιήσαντες ἐκ λίθων ἢ ξύλων εἰκόνας φασὶν εἴναι τῶν ἔξευρόντων τι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον, οἵς προσκυνοῦσι, παρὰ πόδας ἔχοντες τὴν ἀναισθησίαν.

8.9.7 | Having established this foundation, and showing that all the other people among us believe there are many gods, they themselves are much stronger than those they worship in vain. For having made statues from stone or wood, they say these are images of those who found something useful for their lives, to whom they bow down, while they have no awareness at their feet.

8.9.8 | εἴτε γὰρ κατ' ἕκεῖνό τις θείη, κατὰ τὴν ἔξεύρεσιν, παντελῶς ἀνόητον. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ κτίσει λαβόντες τινὰ συνέθηκαν καὶ προσυπέδειχαν εὐχρηστοτάτην τὴν κατασκευὴν σκευὴν αὐτῶν, οὐ ποιήσαντες αὐτοί· διὸ κενὸν καὶ μάταιον τοὺς ὄμοιούς ἀποθεοῦν.

8.9.8 | For if someone were to call upon a god based on their discovery, it is completely foolish. For taking something from creation, they gathered it together and showed that their own creation is very useful, but they did not make it themselves. Therefore, it is empty and vain to deify those like them.

8.9.9 | καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν εὐρετικώτεροι καὶ πολυμαθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὶν είσι πολλοὶ, καὶ οὐκ ἀν φθάνοιεν αὐτοὺς προσκυνοῦντες.

8.9.9 | And even now, there are many who are more inventive and more knowledgeable than the people before, and they would not reach them by bowing down.

8.9.10 | καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ ταῦτα διαπλάσαντες καὶ μυθοποιήσαντες τῶν

8.9.10 | And those who have shaped and created these things believe that the wisest

Ἐλλήνων οὶ σοφώτατοι καθεστάναι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολυματαίων τί δεῖ λέγειν, Αίγυπτίων τε καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων, οἵτινες ἐπὶ θηρία καὶ τῶν ἐρπετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κνωδάλων τὴν ἀπέρεισιν πεποίηνται, καὶ ταῦτα προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ θύουσι τούτοις καὶ ζῶσι καὶ τελευτήσασι;

of the Greeks have established them. For what is there to say about the others, like the Egyptians and those nearby, who have made their gods mostly from wild animals and reptiles, and they worship these, and they sacrifice to them, and they live and die for them?

8.9.11 | συνθεωρήσας τοιγαροῦν ἔκαστα σοφὸς ὁν δὲ νομοθέτης, καὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἀπάντων, περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν, ὅπως μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν ἐπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδὲν, ἀγνοὶ καθεστῶτες κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, ἀπολελυμένοι ματαίων δοξῶν, τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν.

8.9.11 | Therefore, being wise, the lawgiver, who was prepared by god for the knowledge of all things, surrounded us with unchanging laws and iron walls, so that we would not mix with any of the other nations in any way, remaining pure in body and soul, freed from empty beliefs, honoring the one god and powerful being throughout all creation.

8.9.12 | ὅθεν Αἴγυπτίων οἱ καθηγεμόνες Ἱερεῖς ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς πολλὰ καὶ μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ προσονομάζουσιν ἡμᾶς· ὃ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, εἰ μή τις σέβεται τὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν θεόν· ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἀνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης· ἡ γὰρ πᾶσα διάθεσις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καταφεύγει.

8.9.12 | Therefore, the Egyptian priests, who are leaders, have become deeply involved in many things and call us by the name of god; this is not true for others, unless someone truly honors the true god. But they are people of food and drink and shelter; for their whole way of life depends on these things.

8.9.13 | τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν ἡ σκέψις αὐτοῖς ἔστι. ὅπως οὖν μηδενὶ συναλισγόμενοι μηδὲ ὄμιλοῦντες φαύλῳ διαστροφάς λαμβάνοιμεν, πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς περιέφραξαν ἀγνείαις, καὶ διὰ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἀφῆς καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὄράσεως νομικῆς.

8.9.13 | But among us, none of these things are considered; rather, their focus is on the power of god throughout all of life. Therefore, so that we do not mix with anyone or engage in foolish distractions, we have been surrounded by purities from all sides, and through food, drink, touch, hearing, and lawful sight.

8.9.14 | τὸ γὰρ καθόλου πάντα πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον ὅμοια καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ μιᾶς δυνάμεως οἰκονομούμενα, καὶ καθ' ἓν ἔκαστα ἔχει λόγον βαθὺν, ἀφ' ᾧ ἀπεχόμεθα κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ οἵ συγχρώμεθα.

8.9.15 | χάριν δὲ ὑποδείγματος ἐν ᾧ δεύτερον ἐπιδραμών σοι σημανῶ. μὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον εἰσέλθης, ὅτι μυιῶν καὶ γαλῆς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων χάριν περιεργίας ποιούμενος ἐνομοθέτει ταῦτα Μωσῆς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀγνήν ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τρόπων ἔξαρτισμὸν, δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκεν σεμνῶς πάντα ἀνατέτακται.

8.9.16 | τῶν γὰρ πετεινῶν οἵ χρώμεθα πάντα ἡμερα καθέστηκε, καὶ διαφέρει καθαριότητι, πυροῖς καὶ ὄσπριοις χρώμενα πρὸς τροφὴν, οἷον περιστεραὶ, τρυγόνες, ἄττακοί, πέρδικες, ἔτι δὲ χῆνες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα· περὶ ᾧ δὲ ἀπηγόρευται πετεινῶν, εὐρήσεις ἄγριά τε καὶ σαρκοφάγα, καὶ καταδυναστεύοντα τῇ περὶ αὐτὰ δυνάμει τὰ λοιπὰ, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἔχοντα τὴν δαπάνησιν τῶν προειρημένων ἡμέρων μετὰ ἀδικίας. οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρνας καὶ ἔριφους ἀρπάζουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δὲ ἀδικοῦσι, νεκρούς τε καὶ ζῶντας.

8.9.17 | παράσημον οὖν ἔθετο διὰ τούτων, ἀκάθαρτα προσονομάσας, ὅτι δέον ἐστὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, οἵς ἡ νομοθεσία διατέτακται, δικαιοσύνῃ συγχρῆσθαι καὶ μηδένα καταδυναστεύειν πεποιθότας ἴσχυι τῇ ἐαυτῶν, μηδ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐκ δικαιοτάτου βίου διακυβερνᾶν, ὡς τὰ τῶν

8.9.14 | For everything in the whole universe is arranged according to natural reason, governed by a single power, and each thing has a deep reason of its own, from which we keep away according to its use and with which we interact.

8.9.15 | For the sake of an example, I will point out one or two things to you. Do not enter into the fallen reasoning that Moses established these things out of curiosity about flies and cats or such creatures, but rather for a pure examination and the improvement of ways, all things are arranged with seriousness for the sake of justice.

8.9.16 | For all the birds that we use, everything is arranged as tame, and they differ in cleanliness. Those used for food include grains and legumes, such as doves, quails, partridges, and also geese and other similar ones. But regarding the birds that are forbidden, you will find both wild and flesh-eating ones, which dominate the others by their power, and their food comes at the cost of the mentioned days with injustice. Not only these, but they also seize lambs and kids, and they commit wrongs against humans, both the dead and the living.

8.9.17 | Therefore, he set a sign through these things, calling them unclean, because it is necessary according to the soul, for those to whom the law is directed, to use justice and not to dominate anyone with their own power. They should not take anything away, but govern from a just life,

προειρημένων πετεινῶν ἥμερα ζῶα τὰ φυόμενα τῶν ὄσπριών ἐπὶ γῆς δαπανᾶ καὶ οὐ καταδυναστεύει πρὸς τὴν ἐπαναίρεσιν οὕτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὕτε τῶν συγγενικῶν.

8.9.18 | διὰ τούτων οὖν παρέδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης σημειοῦσθαι τοῖς συνετοῖς εἰ.ναι δικαίους τε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖν βίᾳ, μηδὲ τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ίσχύι πεποιθότας ἐτέρους καταδυναστεύειν.

8.9.19 | ὅπου γάρ ούδ' ἄψασθαι καθῆκε τῶν προειρημένων διὰ τὴν περὶ ἔκαστα διάθεσιν, πῶς οὐ φυλακτέον παντάπασι τοὺς τρόπους είς τοῦτο κατακλασθῆναι ;

8.9.20 | πάντα οὖν τὰ συγχωρηθέντα ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν τροπολογῶν ἐκτέθεικε. τὸ γάρ διχηλεύειν καὶ διαστέλλειν ὀπλῆς ὄνυχας σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦ διαστέλλειν ἔκαστα τῶν πράξεων ἐπὶ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον.

8.9.21 | ἡ γὰρ ίσχὺς τῶν ὅλων σωμάτων μετὰ ἐνεργείας ἀπέρεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὕμους ἔχει καὶ τὰ σκέλη. μετὰ διαστολῆς οὖν ἄπαντα ἐπιτελεῖν πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἀναγκάζει τῷ σημειοῦσθαι διὰ τούτων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διότι παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους διεστάλμεθα.

8.9.22 | οἱ γὰρ πλείονες τῶν λοιπῶν

just as the tame animals of the previously mentioned birds consume the plants of the earth and do not dominate over the fallen ones or their relatives.

8.9.18 | Through these things, the lawgiver handed down that those who are wise should be marked as just and should not do anything by force, nor with their own power, believing that they can dominate others.

8.9.19 | For where he did not even allow touching of the previously mentioned things because of the arrangement concerning each one, how should all ways be guarded to prevent them from being completely broken?

8.9.20 | Therefore, all the things allowed concerning these and the changes of the animals have been set out. For to have two mouths and to distinguish the kinds of claws is a sign of distinguishing each of the actions for what is good.

8.9.21 | For the strength of all bodies, along with energy, rests on the shoulders and the legs. Therefore, with distinction, it forces everything to be completed for justice, marked by these things, and also because we are distinguished from all people.

8.9.22 | For most of the others, they pollute

έαυτοὺς μολύνουσιν ἐπιμισγόμενοι,  
συντελοῦντες μεγάλην ἀδικίαν, καὶ χῶραι  
καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι ἐπὶ τούτοις σεμνύνονται.  
οὐ μόνον γὰρ πρὸς ἄρρενας προσάγουσιν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκούσας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας  
μολύνουσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων  
διεστάλμεθα.

themselves by mixing in, committing great injustice, and all the places and cities honor these things. For they not only bring this to males, but also to mothers, and even pollute daughters. But we are distinguished from these.

8.9.23 | περὶ ὃν δέ ἐστιν ὁ προειρημένος  
τῆς διαστολῆς τρόπος, περὶ τοῦτον καὶ τὸν  
τῆς μνήμης εἶναι κεχαρακτήρικε. πάντα  
γὰρ ὅσα διχῆλεῖ καὶ μηρυκισμὸν ἀνάγει,  
σαφῶς τοῖς νοοῦσιν ἐκτίθεται τὸ τῆς  
μνήμης. ἡ γὰρ ἀναμηρύκισις οὐδὲν ἔτερον  
ἄλλ' ἡ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ συστάσεως ὑπόμνησίς  
ἐστι.

8.9.23 | About which there is the mentioned way of distinction, concerning this, it has been marked as the character of memory. For everything that has two mouths and brings up chewing clearly shows the nature of memory to those who think. For chewing is nothing other than a reminder of life and composition.

8.9.24 | τὸ γὰρ ζῆν διὰ τῆς τροφῆς  
συνεστάναι νομίζει. διὸ παρακελεύεται διὰ  
τῆς γραφῆς λέγων οὕτως μνείᾳ μνησθήσῃ  
κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐν σοὶ τὰ  
μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά.”

8.9.24 | For living is thought to be supported by food. Therefore, it is urged through writing, saying, 'Thus you will remember the Lord your God, who has done great and wonderful things in you.'

8.9.25 | κατανοούμενα γὰρ ἔνδοξα  
φαίνεται, πρῶτα μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος  
σύμπτησις καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς διοίκησις καὶ ἡ  
περὶ ἔκαστον μέρος διαστολὴ, πολλῷ δὲ  
μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων διακόσμησις,  
διανοίας ἐνέργημα, καὶ κίνησις ἀόρατος, ἢ  
τε ὀξύτης τοῦ πρὸς ἔκαστόν τι πράσσειν,  
καὶ τεχνῶν εὑρεσις, ἀπέρατον περιέχει  
τρόπον.

8.9.25 | For the glorious things that are understood appear first as the unity of the body, the management of food, and the distinction of each part. But much more so is the adornment of the senses, the activity of the mind, and the invisible movement, along with the sharpness to act on each thing, and the discovery of arts, which contains endless ways.

8.9.26 | διὸ παρακελεύεται μνείαν ἔχειν, ὡς  
συντηρεῖται τὰ προειρημένα συνεχόμενα  
Θείᾳ δυνάμει. πάντα γὰρ τόπον καὶ χρόνον  
ῷρικε, πρὸς τὸ διὰ παντὸς μνημονεύειν τοῦ  
κρατοῦντος Θεοῦ, συντηροῦντας καὶ τὰς

8.9.26 | Therefore, it is urged to have remembrance, as the previously mentioned things are maintained by divine power. For everything has its place and time, so that one may always remember the ruling God,

άρχας καὶ μεσότητας καὶ τελευτάς.

who sustains both the beginnings and the middle and the ends.

8.9.27 | καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀπαρξαμένους εὐθέως τότε συγχρῆσθαι κελεύει. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων παράσημον ἡμῖν μνείας δέδωκεν· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἰκήσεων διὰ τὸ σκεπάζεσθαι] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ θυρῶν προστέταχεν ἡμῖν τιθέναι τὰ λόγια, πρὸς τὸ μνείαν εἶναι θεοῦ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν δὲ διαρρήδην τὸ σημεῖον κελεύει περιηφθαι, σαφῶς ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιτελεῖν δεῖ, μνήμην ἔχοντας τῆς ἑαυτῶν κατασκευῆς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν περὶ θεοῦ φόβον.

8.9.27 | For even when we begin to eat and drink, it immediately commands us to use them. And indeed, it has given us a reminder from our clothing; likewise, it has ordered us to place words on the gates and doors of cities and homes, so that there may be a remembrance of God. And on our hands, it clearly commands that the sign be placed, showing that every action must be done with justice, keeping in mind our own creation, and above all, the fear of God.

8.9.28 | κελεύει δὲ καὶ κοιταζομένους καὶ διανισταμένους καὶ πορευομένους μελετᾶν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευὰς, οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαλήψει θεωροῦντας τὴν κίνησιν καὶ τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἑαυτῶν, ὅταν εἰς ὕπνον ἔρχωνται, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ὡς θεία τίς ἔστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος ἡ τούτων μετάθεσις.

8.9.28 | It commands those who are lying down, getting up, and going to reflect on the works of God, not only in words but also by observing their own movement and thoughts, when they are about to sleep, and the waking up as something divine and beyond understanding is their change.

8.9.29 | Δέδεικται δέ σοι καὶ τὸ περισσὸν τῆς λογίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν διαστολὴν καὶ μνείαν, ὡς ἔξεθέμεθα τὴν διχηλίαν καὶ τὸν μηρυκισμόν. οὐ γὰρ εἴκῃ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐμπεσὸν εἰς ψυχὴν νενομιθέτηται, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν καὶ σημείωσιν ὄρθοῦ λόγου.

8.9.29 | It has been shown to you also the excess of reasoning about distinction and remembrance, as we have set forth the duality and the murmuring. For it is not without reason that it has been established in the soul, but towards truth and the indication of correct reasoning.

8.9.30 | διατάξας γὰρ ἐπὶ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀφὰς ἔκαστα κελεύει μηδὲν εἴκῃ μήτε πράσσειν μήτε ἀκούειν μήτε τῇ τοῦ λόγου δυναστείᾳ

8.9.30 | For having arranged everything about food and drink and the things related to touch, it commands that nothing be done carelessly, nor to act, nor to listen, nor to be led by the power of speech towards

συγχρωμένος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν τρέπεσθαι.

injustice.

8.9.31 | καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κνωδάλων δὲ ταύτὸν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. κακοποιητικὸς γὰρ ὁ τρόπος ἔστι καὶ γαλῆς καὶ μυῶν καὶ τῶν τούτοις δόμοιών, ὅσα διηγόρευται. πάντα γὰρ λυμαίνονται καὶ κακοποιοῦσι μύες, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν τροφὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ παντελῶς ἄχρηστον γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι ἀν δή ποτ' οὖν ἐπιβάλληται κακοποιεῖν.

8.9.31 | And it is the same to find with the pests. For the way is harmful, both for weasels and mice and those similar to them, as much as is told. For all of them corrupt and do harm to mice, not only for their own food, but also to make anything that is thrown at a person completely useless.

8.9.32 | τό τε τῆς γαλῆς γένος ἴδιάζον ἔστι· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ προειρημένου ἔχει λυμαντικὸν κατάστημα. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὥτων συλλαμβάνει, τεκνοποιεῖ δὲ τῷ στόματι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀκάθαρτός ἔστιν. ὅσα γὰρ δι' ἀκοῆς λαβόντες, ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ σωματοποιήσαντες κακοῖς ἐτέρους ἐνεκύλισαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν τε οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπετέλεσαν, μιανθέντες αὐτοὶ παντάπασι τῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας μολυσμῷ.

8.9.32 | The nature of the weasel is unique; for it has a corrupt way of life separate from what was mentioned before. For it catches through its ears, and it reproduces through its mouth. And for this reason, such a way is unclean for humans. For whatever they take in through hearing, they turn into harmful words and spread filth, becoming completely polluted by the stain of wickedness.

8.9.33 | καλῶς δὲ ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀναιρεῖ, καθὼς μεταλαμβάνομεν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα, τοὺς ἐμφανιστὰς οἴομαί σε λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ αἱκίαις καὶ θανάτοις ἐπαλγέσιν αὐτοὺς παραβάλλει συνεχῶς. τούτους γὰρ καὶ λέγω· ἐπαγρύπνησις γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλειαν ἀνόσιος. ὃ δὲ νόμος ἡμῶν κελεύει μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ κακοποιεῖν μηδένα.

8.9.33 | The king of you does well by removing such people, as we share. But I said that I think you are talking about those who are visible; for he continually compares them to tortures and deadly pains. For these are the ones I speak of; for being watchful leads to the ruin of people in a wicked way. And our law commands that no one should do harm, either by word or by deed.

8.9.34 | καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν ὅσον ἐπὶ βραχὺ διεξελθεῖν, προσυποδείξαντά σοι διότι πάντα κεκανόνισται πρὸς

8.9.34 | And about these things, then, as briefly as possible, I point out to you that everything is arranged for justice and

δικαιοσύνην καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς οὐδὲ μυθωδῶς, ἀλλ’ ἔνα δι’ ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀσκῶμεν δικαιοσύνην πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ.

nothing is set down without purpose in the writing, nor in a fanciful way, but we should practice justice towards all people in all of life and in our actions, remembering the god who rules.

8.9.35 | περὶ βρωτῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων, ἐρπετῶν καὶ κνωδάλων, ὁ πᾶς λόγος ἀνατείνει πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναναστροφὴν δικαίαν.

8.9.35 | Concerning food and the unclean, creeping things and insects, the whole discussion leads to justice and the fair treatment of people.

8.9.36 | ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἐνόμιζε περὶ ἐκάστων ἀπολελογῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῶν προσφερομένων ἔλεγε μόσχων καὶ κριῶν καὶ χιμάρων ὅτι δεῖ ταῦτ’ ἐκ βουκολίων καὶ ποιμνίων λαμβάνοντας ἡμέρᾳ κατασκευάζειν καὶ μηδὲν ἄγριον, ὅπως οἱ προσφέροντες τὰς θυσίας μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἔσαντοις συνιστορῶσι, σημειώσει κεχρημένοι τοῦ διατάξαντος.

8.9.36 | I thought it was good to discuss each matter; for he also said about the offerings of bulls, rams, and goats that these should be taken from herds and flocks, using tame animals and nothing wild, so that those who bring the sacrifices do not present anything proud about themselves, having noted the instructions of the one who ordered it.

8.9.37 | τῆς γὰρ ἔσαντοῦ ψυχῆς τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν προσφορὰν ποιεῖται ὁ τὴν θυσίαν προσάγων. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν νομίζω τὰ τῆς ὀμιλίας ἄξια λόγου καθεστάναι, διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ νόμου, ἥν προήμαι διασαφῆσαι σοι, Φιλόκρατες, δι’ ἥν ἔχεις φιλομάθειαν.”

8.9.37 | For the one who brings the sacrifice offers the gift of his own soul in every way. And concerning these things, I think it is worth discussing the matters of the community, because of the seriousness of the law, which I have explained to you, Philocrates, for which you have a love of learning.

8.9.38 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῖς ἡκουσιν ὡς αὐτὸν Ἐλλησι περὶ τῆς ἀλληγορουμένης ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς νόμοις ἴδεας διεστείλατο, ὡς ἀν μέλλουσι ταῖς ἐκδοθησομέναις περιτεύξεσθαι τῶν γραφῶν ἐρμηνείαις. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ τῆς κατ’ Ἀριστοτέλην φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τῇ πατρίῳ μετειληχώς, (όποια περὶ τῶν ἐν

8.9.38 | These things the high priest explained to those present, as he himself had interpreted the allegorical ideas in the sacred laws to the Greeks, so that they might be prepared for the interpretations of the writings that would be published. Aristobulus, who had taken part in the philosophy of Aristotle, (which discusses

ταῖς Ἱεραῖς βίβλοις φερομένων ὡς περὶ θεοῦ μελῶν διῆλθεν ἐπακοῦσαι καιρός· οὗτος δ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου μνημονεύει·) ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα συγγράμματι τοῦτον καὶ αὐτὸς διασαφεῖ τὸν τρόπον

the matters mentioned in the sacred books as relating to God, and it was timely to listen to this; this is the same person who is mentioned at the beginning of the second book of the Maccabees) also explains this method in a letter to King Ptolemy.

## Section 10

8.10.1 | “Πλὴν ἱκανῶς εἰρημένων πρὸς τὰ προκείμενα ζητήματα ἐπεφώνησας καὶ σὺ, βασιλεῦ, διότι σημαίνεται διὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ παρ’ ἡμῖν καὶ χεῖρες καὶ βραχίων καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ πόδες καὶ περίπατος ἐπὶ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως· ἂ τεύξεται λόγου καθήκοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀντιδοξήσει τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδέν.

8.10.1 | However, after enough has been said about the matters at hand, you also called out, O king, because the law among us signifies both hands and arms and face and feet and walking in the divine power; which will produce a fitting explanation and will not contradict what has been previously stated by us.

8.10.2 | παρακαλέσαι δέ σε βούλομαι πρὸς τὸ φυσικῶς λαμβάνειν τὰς ἔκδοχὰς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἔννοιαν περὶ θεοῦ κρατεῖν, καὶ μὴ ἔκπίπτειν εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ ἀνθρώπινον κατάστημα.

8.10.2 | I want to encourage you to understand the interpretations in a natural way and to hold on to the appropriate idea about God, and not to fall into a mythical and human-like condition.

8.10.3 | πολλαχῶς γὰρ ὃ βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νομοθέτης ἡμῶν Μωσῆς, ἐφ' ἐτέρων πραγμάτων λόγους ποιούμενος, λέγω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, φυσικὰς διαθέσεις ἀπαγγέλλει καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων κατασκευάς.

8.10.3 | For in many ways, our lawgiver Moses wants to say different things, making statements about other matters. I mean that according to the appearance, he announces natural conditions and the arrangements of great things.

8.10.4 | οἵς μὲν οὖν πάρεστι τὸ καλῶς νοεῖν θαυμάζουσι τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν σοφίαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα, καθ' ὃ καὶ προφήτης ἀνακεκήρυκται· ὃν είσιν οἱ προειρημένοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ πλείονες ἔτεροι καὶ ποιηταὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότες,

8.10.4 | Those who are able to think well admire the wisdom about him and the divine spirit, according to which he has also been declared a prophet. Among them are the philosophers mentioned before and many other poets who have taken great

καθὸ καὶ θαυμάζονται.

8.10.5 | τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετέχουσι δυνάμεως καὶ συνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῷ γραπτῷ μόνον προσκειμένοις, οὐ φαίνεται μεγαλεῖόν τι διασαφῶν.

8.10.6 | ἄρξομαι δὲ λαμβάνειν καθ' ἔκαστον σημαινόμενον καθ' ὅσον ἀν ώ δυνατός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τεύξομαι τάληθοῦς, μηδὲ πείσω, μὴ τῷ νομοθέτῃ προσάψυξ τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ διαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ἔκείνῳ νενοημένα.

8.10.7 | χεῖρες μὲν οὖν νοοῦνται προδήλως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κοινότερον. ὅταν γάρ δυνάμενις ἔξαποστέλλῃς σὺ βασιλεὺς ὧν, βουλόμενός τι κατεργάσασθαι, λέγομεν, μεγάλην χεῖρα ἔχει ὁ βασιλεὺς, φερομένων τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐπὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἦν ἔχεις.

8.10.8 | ἐπισημαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν λέγων ὁ Μώσης οὕτως “ἐν χειρὶ κραταὶ ἔξήγαγεν ὁ Θεός σε ἐξ Αἴγυπτου.” καὶ πάλιν “ἀποστελῶ, φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς, τὴν χεῖρά μου, καὶ πατάξω τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους.” καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν κτηνῶν θανάτου φησὶ τῷ Φαραὼ ὁ Μώσης “ἴδοὺ χεὶρ κυρίου ἔσται ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσί σου καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις θάνατος μέγας.” ὥστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμεως νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γάρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἴσχυν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

inspiration from him, which is why they are amazed.

8.10.5 | But to those who do not share in power and understanding, but only cling to the written text, nothing great seems to be explained.

8.10.6 | I will begin to take each meaning as far as I am able. But if I do not find the truth, do not blame the lawgiver for my lack of understanding, but rather blame me for not being able to separate what he has meant.

8.10.7 | Hands are understood clearly and more commonly among us. For when you, being a king, send out power to accomplish something, we say that the king has a great hand, as those who hear are drawn to the power you have.

8.10.8 | This is also pointed out in our laws, as Moses says, 'God brought you out of Egypt with a mighty hand.' And again, 'I will send my hand,' says God, 'and I will strike the Egyptians.' And concerning the death of the animals, Moses says to Pharaoh, 'Behold, the hand of the Lord will be upon your livestock and upon all that is in the fields, a great death.' Thus, hands are understood as a sign of God's power. For it is also understood that all the strength of humans and their actions are in their hands.

8.10.9 | διόπερ καλῶς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον μετενήνοχε, λέγων τὰς συντελείας χεῖρας εἶναι θεοῦ. στάσις δὲ θεία καλῶς ἀν λέγοιτο κατὰ τὸ μεγαλεῖον ἡ τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευή.

8.10.10 | καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ θεὸς, καὶ πάνθ' ὑποτέτακται, καὶ στάσιν εἴληφεν· ὥστε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλαμβάνειν ἀκίνητα εἶναι ταῦτα. λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὐδέποτε γέγονεν οὐρανὸς γῆ, γῆ δ' οὐρανὸς, οὐδ' ἥλιος σελήνη λάμπουσα, οὐδὲ σελήνη πάλιν ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ποταμοὶ θάλασσα, οὐδὲ θάλασσα ποταμοί.

8.10.11 | καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων ὁ αὐτός ἔστι λόγος. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔσται θηρίον, οὐδὲ θηρίον ἄνθρωπος. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ταύτον ὑπάρχει φυτῶν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀμετάβλητα μέν ἔστι, τὰς αὐτὰς δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τροπὰς λαμβάνει καὶ φθοράς.

8.10.12 | ἡ στάσις οὖν ἡ θεία κατὰ ταῦτα ἀν λέγοιτο, πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῷ θεῷ. λέγεται δὲ κατάβασις ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος θεία γεγονέναι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ νόμου, καθ' ὃν ἐνομοθέτει καιρὸν, ἵνα πάντες θεωρήσωσι τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. κατάβασις γὰρ αὕτη σαφῆς ἔστι· καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἀν τις ἔξηγήσαιτο, βουλόμενος συντηρεῖν τὸν περὶ θεοῦ λόγον.

8.10.13 | δηλοῦται γὰρ ὡς τὸ ὅρος ἐκαίετο πυρὶ, καθώς φησιν ἡ νομοθεσία, διὰ τὸ τὸν

8.10.9 | For this reason, the lawgiver rightly refers to the hands as divine, saying that they are the works of God. And the divine order of the world could rightly be called great.

8.10.10 | For indeed, God is over all, and everything is under His authority, and He has established order. Thus, it causes humans to be still and unmoving. I say this, that the sky has never become earth, nor has the earth become sky, nor has the shining sun ever become the moon, nor has the moon ever become the sun again, nor have rivers become the sea, nor has the sea become rivers.

8.10.11 | And again, the same principle applies to animals. For a human will not become a beast, nor will a beast become a human. And the same is true for plants and other living things; they are unchanging, yet they undergo the same changes and decay.

8.10.12 | The divine order, therefore, could be called a standing still, with everything being subject to God. It is said that there is a descent to the mountain, which has come about through the writing of the law, by which He established a time, so that all may see the action of God. For this descent is clear; and concerning these things, one could explain it in this way, wishing to maintain the discussion about God.

8.10.13 | For it is shown that the mountain was burning with fire, as the law says,

Θεὸν καταβεβηκέναι σαλπίγγων τε φωνὰς καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἀνυποστάτως εἶναι.

because God had descended with the sound of trumpets and the fire was burning without interruption.

8.10.14 | τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς πλήθους μυριάδων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐκατὸν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀφηλίκων, ἐκκλησιαῖομένων κυκλόθεν τοῦ ὄρους, οὐκ ἔλασσον ἡμερῶν πέντε οὕσης τῆς περιόδου περὶ αὐτὸν, κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ὁράσεως πᾶσιν αύτοῖς κυκλόθεν, ὡς ἡσαν παρεμβεβληκότες, τὸ πῦρ φλεγόμενον ἔθεωρεῖτο·

8.10.14 | For from the whole crowd of myriads, there were no less than a hundred, besides those who were not counted, gathering all around the mountain. For no less than five days was the period around it, and everywhere in sight, they all saw the fire burning as they were set in position.

8.10.15 | ὥστε τὴν κατάβασιν μὴ τοπικὴν εἶναι· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ θεός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν παρὰ πάντα θαυμάσιον ὑπάρχουσαν, διὰ τὸ πάντα ἀναλίσκειν, οὐκ ἀν ἔδειξε φλεγομένην ἀνυποστάτως, μηδὲν ἔξαναλίσκουσαν, εἰ μὴ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυναμικὸν αὐτῇ προσείη.

8.10.15 | So the descent is not local; for God is everywhere. But the power of the fire is wonderfully present, because it consumes everything. It would not have shown itself burning without interruption, consuming nothing, if it were not for the power from God that was with it.

8.10.16 | τῶν γὰρ φυομένων ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔκεινῳ ἀναλισκομένων σφοδρῶς οὐδὲν ἔξανάλωσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔμεινε τῶν ἀπάντων ἡ χλόη πυρὸς ἄθικτος, σαλπίγγων τε φωναὶ σφοδρότερον συνηκούοντο σὺν τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀστραπῆδὸν ἔκφάνσει, μὴ προκειμένων ὄργάνων τοιούτων, μηδὲ τοῦ φωνήσαντος, ἀλλὰ θείᾳ κατασκευῇ γινομένων πάντων.

8.10.16 | For the plants growing on that mountain were being consumed fiercely, yet nothing was destroyed. The green of all things remained untouched, and the sounds of trumpets were heard more loudly along with the flashing appearance of the fire, without any instruments being present, nor any voice, but everything was happening through a divine arrangement.

8.10.17 | ὥστε σαφὲς εἶναι διὰ ταῦτα τὴν κατάβασιν τὴν θείαν γεγονέναι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς συνορῶντας ἔκφαντικῶς ἔκαστα καταλαμβάνειν, μήτε τὸ πῦρ κεκαυκός, ὡς προείρηται, μηδὲν μήτε τάς τῶν σαλπίγγων φωνὰς δι' ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας ἡ κατασκευῆς ὄργάνων γίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν

8.10.17 | So it is clear from these things that the divine descent has happened, because those who were present clearly perceived each thing, neither the fire being burned, as was said before, nor the sounds of the trumpets being made by human effort or the use of instruments. But God

άνευ τινὸς δεικνύναι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ διὰ  
πάντων μεγαλειότητα.'

8.10.18 | Ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
διεληλήθαμεν τά τε τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων  
παραγγέλματα τόν τε τρόπον τῆς  
ἀλληγορουμένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰδέας, ἔξῆς ἀν  
εἴη καὶ τόδε ἐπισημήνασθαι, ὡς τὸ πᾶν  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος εἰς δύο τμήματα διῃρηται,  
καὶ τὴν μὲν πληθὺν ταῖς τῶν νόμων κατὰ  
τὴν ῥήτην διάνοιαν παρηγγελμέναις  
ὑποθήκαις ὑπῆγε, τὸ δ' ἔτερον τῶν ἐν ἔξει  
τάγμα ταύτης μὲν ἡφίει, θειοτέρᾳ δέ τινι  
καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπαναβεβηκούσι  
φιλοσοφίᾳ προσέχειν ἡξίου, θεωρίᾳ τε τῶν  
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κατὰ διάνοιαν  
σημαινομένων.

8.10.19 | ἦν δὲ τοῦτο φιλοσόφων Ἰουδαίων  
γένος, ὃν τὴν τοῦ βίου ἄσκησιν καὶ τῶν  
ἔξωθεν κατεπλάγησαν μυρίοι, τῶν δ'  
οίκείων οἵ περιφανέστατοι καὶ μνήμης  
ἀλήστου τούτους ἡξίωσαν, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ  
Φίλων καὶ ἔτεροι πλείους ὅν τὰ πολλὰ  
παρείς, δείγματος αὐτὸ μόνον ἔνεκα, τῇ  
τοῦ Φίλωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος  
ἀρκεσθήσομαι μαρτυρίᾳ, ἦν περὶ τῶν  
δηλουμένων κατὰ πολλὰ τῶν οίκείων  
ὑπομνημάτων τέθειται. τούτων δ' ἀπὸ τῆς  
Ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογίας λαβὼν σύ γε  
ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα

## Section 11

8.11.1 | Μυρίους δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ  
ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἤλειψεν ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup>  
κοινωνίαν, οἱ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἐσσαῖοι,  
παρὰ τὴν ὀσιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς  
προσηγοΜθρίους ρίας ἀξιωθέντες. οίκοῦσι

showed His greatness through everything  
without any sign.

8.10.18 | This is what Aristobulus says.  
Since we have discussed the  
commandments of the sacred laws and the  
way they interpret ideas, it should also be  
noted that the whole Jewish nation is  
divided into two parts. One part follows the  
laws according to their clear meaning,  
while the other part, having been  
influenced by a certain higher philosophy,  
is thought to be more inclined to the many  
ideas in the laws as understood in their  
meaning.

8.10.19 | There was a group of Jewish  
philosophers, whose way of life amazed  
many outsiders, and among their own, the  
most famous and unforgettable were  
Josephus, Philo, and many others. Of these,  
I will only refer to the testimony of Philo  
regarding the present matter, which he has  
set forth in many of his own writings. From  
this, you should read these things taken  
from his 'On Behalf of the Jews'.

8.11.1 | Our lawgiver has anointed many of  
the known ones for community, who are  
called Essenes, and I think they have been  
honored for their holiness. They live in  
many cities of Judea, as well as in many

δὲ πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας , πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὅμιλους.

8.11.2 | ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει, γένος γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται) διὰ δὲ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ὕμερον.

8.11.3 | Ἐσσαίων γοῦν κομιδῇ νήπιος οὐδεὶς ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος, ἡ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τά γε τούτων ἀβέβαια ἥθη τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἄτ' ἐλεῖ συννεωτερίζονται· τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίναντες ἥδη, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιρροῆς ἐπικλυζόμενοι, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἀψευδῇ δὲ καὶ μόνην ὅντως ἐλευθερίαν καρπούμενοι.

8.11.4 | μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. Ἅδιον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπομένει κτήσασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐκ οἰκίαν, οὐκ ἀνδράποδον, οὐ χωρίον, οὐ βοσκήματα, οὐχ ὅσα ἄλλα παρασκευαὶ καὶ χορηγίαι πλούτου· πάντα δ' εἰς μέσον ἀθρόᾳ καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὠφέλειαν.

8.11.5 | οἴκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταύτῳ, κατὰ θιάσους ἐταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι διατελοῦσιν.

8.11.6 | ἄλλ' ἔτερων ἔτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἷς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ κρυμὸν , οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὅσα ἀέρος

villages and large, populated gatherings.

8.11.2 | Their choice is not based on race, for race is not written in voluntary matters, but rather on a desire for virtue and kindness.

8.11.3 | Among the Essenes, there is no one who is a child or a young person, since their ways are not uncertain due to age. But there are complete men who have already moved into old age, no longer influenced by the desires of the body, nor led by passions, enjoying true and only freedom.

8.11.4 | Their way of life is a witness to their freedom. No one among them holds on to anything as their own—not a house, not a slave, not a piece of land, not livestock, nor any other supplies or resources of wealth. Instead, they put everything together and share in the benefit of all.

8.11.5 | They live together in groups, organized into fellowships and communal meals, and they continue to work for the common good.

8.11.6 | But others have different activities, which they pursue tirelessly, not hiding, not in secret, nor making excuses about the

νεωτερίσματα προφασιζόμενοι· πρὸν δ'  
ἡλιον ἀνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι,  
δυομένου μόλις ἐπανίασι χαίροντες, οὐχ  
ἢ ττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἔξεταζομένων  
ἀγῶσιν.

air or new things. Before the sun rises, they turn to their usual tasks, and when the day is almost over, they return, happy, no less than those who are tested in athletic competitions.

8.11.7 | ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἄττ' ἀν  
ἐπιτηδεύσωσιν εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ  
ἡδίω ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα, καὶ  
πολυχρονιώτερα τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσεσι, μὴ  
συναφηβῶντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμῇ.

8.11.7 | For they believe that whatever they practice is more beneficial and more pleasant for the soul and body than athletic training, and that it lasts longer than those in competitions, without being tied to the peak of physical strength.

8.11.8 | εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηπόνοι,  
τῶν περὶ σπορὰν καὶ γεωργίαν  
ἐπιστήμονες, οἱ δ' ἀγελάρχαι, παντοδαπῶν  
θρεμμάτων ἡγεμόνες, ἔνιοι δὲ σμήνη  
μελιττῶν ἐπιτροπεύουσιν.

8.11.8 | For among them, some are farmers, experts in planting and agriculture; others are leaders of various kinds of livestock, and some oversee the care of bees.

8.11.9 | ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ  
τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὃν αἱ  
ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν, οὐδὲν  
ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν  
ἀνυπαίτιον.

8.11.9 | But others are craftsmen, so that they do not have to suffer anything from necessary needs, not delaying anything that is needed for their livelihood.

8.11.10 | ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὕτως διαφερόντων  
ἔκαστοι τὸν μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόσαι  
τῷ χειροτονηθέντι ταμίᾳ· λαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος  
αὐτίκα τάπιτήδεις ὠνεῖται, καὶ παρέχει  
τροφὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ τάλλα ὃν δὲ  
ἀνθρώπινος βίος χρειώδης.

8.11.10 | From these very different people, each one receives their pay and gives it to the elected treasurer. And that person immediately buys the necessary supplies and provides abundant food and other things needed for human life.

8.11.11 | οἵ δ' ὁμοδίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι  
καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
ἀσμενίζοντες, ὀλιγοδεείας ἐρασταὶ,  
πολυτέλειαν ὡς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος νόσον

8.11.11 | Those who share the same table and are friends enjoy each day together, loving simplicity and avoiding excess, as it is a sickness of the soul and body.

έκτρεπόμενοι.

8.11.12 | κοινὴ δ' οὐ τράπεζα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἔστι. πρόκεινται γὰρ χειμῶνι μὲν στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δὲ ἔξωμίδες εὔτελεῖς, ὡς εύμαρῶς ἔξειναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἦν ἀνέθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἀπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων ἔμπαλιν ἐνὸς ὑπείληπται.

8.11.13 | καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀσθενήσειν, ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσηλεύεται, θεραπευόμενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φροντίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβῦται κάνει τύχοιεν ἄτεκνοι, καθάπερ οὐ πολύπαιδες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα εὕπαιδες, ἐν εὐτυχεστάτῳ καὶ λιπαρωτάτῳ γήρᾳ τὸν βίον εἰώθασι καταλύειν, ὑπὸ τοσούτων προνομίας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τιμῆς, ἐκουσίω γνώμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ φύσεως ἀνάγκῃ θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντων.

8.11.14 | ἔτι τοίνυν ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔμελλε διαλύειν ὀξυδερκέστερον ἰδόντες γάμον παρητήσαντο μετὰ καὶ τοῦ διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, διότι φίλαυτον ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ζηλότυπον οὐ μετρίως καὶ δεινὸν ἀνδρὸς ἥθη παλεῦσαι καὶ συνεχέσι γοητείαις ὑπάγεσθαι.

8.11.15 | μελετήσασά γὰρ θῶπας λόγους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπόκρισιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ὄψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς ὅταν δελεάσῃ, διηπατημένων οἰα ὑπηκόων, τὸν ἡγεμόνα

8.11.12 | They do not only share a common table, but also their clothing. For in winter, they have thick cloaks, and in summer, simple tunics, so that anyone who wants can easily take whichever they wish, since everything belongs to all and all is held by one.

8.11.13 | And if any of them becomes ill, they are cared for from the common resources, being treated with the attention and care of all. The elders, even if they happen to be childless, just like those with few children, but also very fortunate in having many children, are used to living their lives in the happiest and most comfortable old age, deserving of such privileges and honor, being cared for by choice rather than by the necessity of nature.

8.11.14 | Furthermore, what would most likely break up their community, they wisely avoided by rejecting marriage and practicing self-control in a different way. For among the Essenes, no one takes a wife, because a woman is naturally self-loving and jealous, and it is dangerous for a man to struggle with her character and be subject to constant temptations.

8.11.15 | For by studying flattering words and other forms of deception, just like on a stage, when sights and sounds entice, those who are easily led are tricked, and the

νοῦν φενακίζει.

leader's mind is deceived.

8.11.16 | παιδες δ' εί γένοιντο, φρονήματος ὑποπλησθεῖσα καὶ παρρησίας, ὅσα κατ' είρωνείαν πρότερον ὑπούλως ὑπηνίττετο, ταῦτα ἀπ' εύτολμοτέρου θράσους ἐκλαλεῖ καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσα βιάζεται πράττειν, ὃν ἔκαστον κοινωνίας ἔχθρον.

8.11.16 | But if children were to be born, filled with understanding and boldness, they would openly speak out what had been hinted at before with irony, and with greater courage and shamelessness, they would act on those things, each of which is an enemy of the community.

8.11.17 | ὁ γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς φίλτροις ἐνδεθεὶς ἡ τέκνων ἀνάγκῃ φύσεως προκηδόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἄλλους ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔτερος γέγονε λεληθὼς ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος.

8.11.17 | For he who is bound by the charms of a woman or concerned about the needs of children is no longer the same person; instead, he has become a different man, unknowingly a slave instead of being free.

8.11.18 | οὕτως γοῦν ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν περιμάχητος, ὥστ' οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἀγάμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας τεθήπασι, καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον σεμνοποιοῦσι.

8.11.18 | Indeed, their life is so full of struggle that not only private citizens but even great kings are captivated by it, and their dignity is made even more serious by honors and rewards.

8.11.19 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου κείσθω συγγράμματος· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὰ οὕτως ἔχοντα παραθήσομαι

8.11.19 | Let these things be set down from the mentioned writing; but from the work 'On the Importance of Being Free,' I will add what relates to these matters.

## Section 12

8.12.1 | "εστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ καλοκαγαθίας οὐ' κ ἄγονος, ἦν πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται.

8.12.1 | There is also in Palestine, Syria, a place of goodness and beauty, which is not barren, where a large part belongs to the very numerous people of the Jews.

8.12.2 | λέγονται δέ τινες παρ' αύτοῖς ὄνομα Ἐσσαῖοι, πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τετρακισχιλίους, κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπω διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς, παρώνυμοι ὀσιότητος, ἐπειδὴ κάν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγόνασιν, οὐ ζῷα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' Ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς ἐαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες.

8.12.3 | οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἴκουσι τὰς πόλεις ἔκτρεπόμενοι, διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροθήεις ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων, ὡς ἀπὸ ἀέρος φθοροποιοῦ νόσον, ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχαῖς ἀνίατον.

8.12.4 | ὃν οἱ μὲν γεωπονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τέχνας μετιόντες, ὅσαι συνεργάτιδες εἰρήνης, ἐαυτούς τε καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὡφελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν θησαυροφυλακοῦντες, οὐδὲ ἀποτομάς γῆς μεγάλας κτώμενοι δι' ἐπιθυμίαν προσόδων, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρείας ἐκπορίζοντες.

8.12.5 | μόνοι γὰρ ἔξ ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀκτήμονες αὐτοὶ γεγονότες, ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ πλέον ἢ ἐνδείᾳ εὔτυχίας) πλουσιώτατοι νομίζονται, τὴν ὀλιγοδέειαν καὶ εύκολίαν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν, κρίνοντες περιουσίαν.

8.12.6 | βελῶν, ἢ ἀκόντων, ἢ ξιφιδίων, ἢ κράνους, ἢ θώρακος, ἢ ἀσπίδος, οὐδένα παρ' αύτοῖς ἀν εὑροις δημιουργὸν, οὐδὲ συνόλως ὀπλοποιὸν, ἢ μηχανοποιὸν, ἢ τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύοντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσα κατ' εἰρήνην εύόλισθα είς κακίαν

8.12.2 | There are some among them called Essenes, a group of more than four thousand. In my opinion, they do not speak a pure form of Greek, but their name is associated with holiness, since they are especially devoted to God. They do not sacrifice animals, but they strive to prepare their own minds in a sacred manner.

8.12.3 | These people, first of all, live in villages, avoiding the cities because of the wickedness of those who participate in politics. They know from experience that it is like a disease that destroys, bringing an incurable affliction to the souls.

8.12.4 | Some of them are farmers, while others practice crafts that are helpful for peace. They benefit themselves and those around them, not hoarding silver and gold, nor acquiring large plots of land out of greed for profit, but providing only what is necessary for their daily needs.

8.12.5 | For they alone, almost out of all people, have become free from money and property. They are considered the richest, whether in abundance or in lack of fortune, judging wealth by their simplicity and ease.

8.12.6 | Whether of arrows, or spears, or swords, or helmets, or shields, you would find no maker among them, nor any armorer or engineer, or anyone engaged in war. They do not even have what leads to wrongdoing in peace; for they know

έμπορίας γάρ ή καπηλείας ή ναυκληρίας ούδ' ὄναρ ἵσασι, τὰς είς πλεονεξίαν ἀφορμὰς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι.

8.12.7 | δούλος τε παρ' αύτοῖς οὐδὲ εἶς ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἑλεύθεροι πάντες, ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις· καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν δεσποτῶν οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων ἴστητα λυμαίνομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως ἀναιρούντων, ή πάντας ὅμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ θρέψασα μητρὸς τρόπον ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους, οὐ λεγομένους, ἀλλ' ὄντας ὄντως ἀπειργάσατο.

8.12.8 | ὃν τὴν συγγένειαν ἢ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρευημερήσασα διέσεισεν, ἀντ' οἰκειότητος ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη.

8.12.9 | φιλοσοφίας τε τὸ μὲν λογικὸν, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον είς κτῆσιν ἀρετῆς, λογοθήραις, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν, ὡς μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, μετεωρολέσχαις ἀπολιπόντες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ήθικὸν εῦ μάλα διαπονοῦσιν, ἀλείπταις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρῷοις νόμοις, οὓς ἀμήχανον ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπινοήσαι ψυχὴν ἄνευ κατακωχῆς ἐνθέου.

8.12.10 | τούτους ἀναδιδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις διαφερόντως. Ἱερὰ γάρ η ἐβδόμη νενόμισται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἕργων, είς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαὶ, καθ' ἥλικίας ἐν

nothing of trade, or retail, or shipping, avoiding all opportunities for greed.

8.12.7 | There is not even one slave among them, but all are free, helping each other. They judge their masters not only as unjust oppressors but also as impious, who destroy the natural law. They believe that nature has made all people equally, raising them like true brothers, not just in name, but truly as such.

8.12.8 | The harmful greed has shaken their kinship, replacing closeness with distance and turning friendship into hatred.

8.12.9 | In philosophy, the logical part is not necessary for gaining virtue, as it is just words. The natural part, being greater than human nature, is left to those who speak of the heavens, except for what it says about the existence of a god and the creation of everything. The ethical part, however, they work on very well, using the ancient laws, which it is impossible for a human mind to think of without divine inspiration.

8.12.10 | They are taught these things not only at other times but especially on the seventh day. The seventh is considered sacred, during which, leaving behind other tasks, they go to holy places called gatherings. Young people sit in order by

τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις νέοι καθέζονται,  
μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος ἔχοντες  
ἀκροατικῶς. εἷς μὲν τις τὰς βίβλους  
ἀναγινώσκει λαβὼν, ἔτερος δὲ τῶν  
έμπειροτάτων ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθών  
ἀναδιδάσκει· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα διὰ  
συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ'  
αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται.

age under the elders, listening respectfully. One person reads the books, while another, one of the most experienced, teaches whatever is not known. Most of their teachings are discussed through symbols, following an ancient style.

8.12.11 | παιδεύονται δὲ εύσέβειαν,  
δοσιότητα, δικαιοσύνην, οἰκονομίαν,  
πολιτείαν, καὶ ἐπιστήμην τῶν πρὸς  
ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ  
ἀδιαφόρων, αἱρέσεις ὡν χρὴ καὶ φυγὰς  
τῶν ἐναντίων, νόμοις καὶ κανόσι τριτοῖς  
χρώμενοι, τῷ τε φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ  
φιλανθρώπῳ.

8.12.11 | They are educated in piety, holiness, justice, economy, citizenship, and knowledge of the truth about good and evil, as well as things that do not matter. They learn to choose what is right and to avoid the opposite, using laws and rules that are third in importance, with a love for the divine, for virtue, and for humanity.

8.12.12 | τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα  
μυρία παρέχει ἡ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον  
συνεχής καὶ ἐπάλληλος ἀγνεία, τὸ  
ἀνώμοτον, τὸ ἀψευδὲς, τὸ πάντων μὲν  
ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς νομίζειν  
εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· τοῦ δὲ φιλαρέτου τὸ  
ἀφιλοχρήματον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον, τὸ  
ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἐγκρατὲς, τὸ καρτερικὸν,  
ἔτι δὲ ὀλιγοδέειαν, ἀφέλειαν, εὔκολίαν, τὸ  
ἄτυφον, τὸ νόμιμον, τὸ εύσταθὲς, καὶ ὅσα  
τούτοις ὅμοιότροπα· τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου  
δείγματα εὔνοια, ἵστης, ἡ παντὸς λόγου  
κρείττων κοινωνία, περὶ ἣς οὐκ ἄκαιρον  
βραχέα είπειν.

8.12.12 | Therefore, the signs of love for the divine are many, provided by a life of continuous and repeated purity, the unbreakable, the truthful, which is the cause of all good things, and the belief that the divine is not the cause of any evil. The signs of love for virtue include being free from greed, being humble, being free from desire, being self-controlled, being patient, and also having simplicity, freedom from excess, ease, being untroubled, being lawful, being stable, and anything similar to these. The signs of love for humanity are goodwill, equality, and a community that is better than any words can express, which is worth mentioning briefly.

8.12.13 | πρῶτον τοίνυν οὐδενὸς οἰκία τίς  
έστιν ἴδια, ἢν οὐχὶ πάντων εἶναι κοινὴν  
συμβέβηκε. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατὰ θιάσους  
συνοικεῖν ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν

8.12.13 | First of all, there is no house that belongs to just one person, which has not happened to be common to all. For it is arranged to live together in groups, and

άφικνουμένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων.

those coming from outside join those who are like them.

8.12.14 | εἴτ' ἔστι ταμεῖον ἐν πάντων καὶ δαπάναι· καὶ κοιναὶ μὲν ἐσθῆτες, κοιναὶ δὲ τροφαὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένων. τὸ γὰρ διμωρόφιον, ἡ διμοδίαιτον, ἡ διμοτράπεζον, οὐκ ἄν τις εὔροι παρ' ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἕργω βεβαιούμενον, καὶ μήποτ' είκότως·

8.12.14 | Then there is one treasury for all and shared expenses. Both clothing and food are common in communal meals. For one would not find anything more firmly established among others than living together, whether in the same house, sharing the same meals, or at the same table, and it would not be unreasonable.

8.12.15 | ὅσα γὰρ ἄν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἔργασάμενοι λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἵδια φυλάττουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προτιθέντες κοινὴν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι χρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάζουσιν ὡφέλειαν· οἵ τε νοσοῦντες οὐχ ὅτι πορίζειν ἀδυνατοῦσιν ἀμελοῦνται, πρὸς τὰς νοσηλείας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοίμῳ, ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἔξ αφθονωτέρων ἀναλίσκειν.

8.12.15 | For whatever they earn in a day as wages, they do not keep it for themselves, but instead place it in a common fund for those who want to use it, preparing benefits from it. Those who are sick do not neglect to provide for their needs, as they have access to shared resources for their care, so that they can spend freely without worry.

8.12.16 | αἰδώς δ' ἔστι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φροντὶς, οἴα γονέων ὑπὸ γνησίων παίδων, χερσὶ καὶ διανοίαις μυρίαις ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ γηροτροφουμένων. τοιούτους η δίχα περιεργίας Ἑλληνικῶν ὄνομάτων ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργίζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα προτιθεῖσα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις, ἔξ ὧν η ἀδούλωτος ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται.

8.12.16 | Respect for elders and care, like that of parents for their legitimate children, is shown in many ways with abundance in all aspects of life. Philosophy, through its careful study of Greek names, shapes such people into athletes of virtue, presenting exercises of commendable actions, from which true freedom is secured.

8.12.17 | σημεῖον δὲ, πολλῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπαναστάντων τῇ χώρᾳ δυναστῶν, καὶ φύσεσι καὶ προαιρέσεσι χρησαμένων διαφερούσαις, οἱ μὲν γὰρ είς τὸ ἀτίθασον ἀγριότητα θηρίων ἔκνικῆσαι

8.12.17 | Moreover, there are signs of many times when rulers have risen up against the land, using different natures and choices. Some, striving to overcome the wildness of beasts, left nothing untouched in their

σπουδάσαντες, ούδεν παραλιπόντες τῶν εἰς ὡμότητα, τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγεληδὸν ἰερεύοντες, ἡ καὶ ζῶντας ἔτι μαγείρων τρόπον κατὰ μέρη καὶ μέλη καεουργοῦντες, ἄχρι τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπομεῖναι συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐφορώσης δίκης, οὐκ ἔπαύσαντο·’

cruelty, treating their subjects like a herd of animals. Others, even while still alive, cooked them in parts and pieces, until they faced the same misfortunes under the watchful eye of human justice, and they did not stop.

8.12.18 | οἵ δὲ τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ λελυττηκός εἰς ἑτέρας εἴδος κακίας μεθαρμοσάμενοι, πικρίαν ἀλεκτον ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἡσυχῇ διαλαλοῦντες, ἡρεμαιοτέρας φωνῆς ὑποκρίσει βαρύμηνι ἥθος ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, κυνῶν ιοβόλων τρόπον προσσαίνοντες, ἀνιάτων γενόμενοι κακῶν αἴτιοι, κατὰ πόλεις μνημεῖα τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀσεβείας καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἀπέλιπον τὰς τῶν πεπονθότων ἀλήστους συμφοράς.

8.12.18 | They have turned to another kind of evil, stirring up bitterness without remedy, speaking quietly, showing a heavy character with a false tone, resembling the barking of rabid dogs. They have become the cause of unhealable troubles, leaving behind in the cities monuments of their own wickedness and hatred, the lasting misfortunes of those who have suffered.

8.12.19 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτε τῶν σφόδρα ὡμοθύμων οὕτε τῶν πάνυ δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων ἵσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν Ἐσσαίων ἡ Ὁσίων ὅμιλον αἴτιασσαθαῖ πάντες δ' ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας γενόμενοι καθάπερ αὐτονόμοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ἐκ φύσεως προσηνέχθησαν, ἄδοντες αὐτῶν τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὴν παντὸς λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, ἡ βίου τελείου καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμονός ἐστι σαφέστατον δεῖγμα.”

8.12.19 | But indeed, neither those who are very cruel nor those who are very deceitful and treacherous have been able to blame the group of Essenes or the group of the Holy. All have become weaker than the goodness of true men, as if they were naturally free and independent. They sang praises of their shared meals and the superior fellowship of all kinds of speech, which is the clearest proof of a complete and very happy life.

8.12.20 | Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλοσόφου παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀσκήσεως τε καὶ πολιτείας διὰ τῶνδε προκείσθω· τὰ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου, ὃν δὴ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους οἱ θεῖοι διηγόρευον νόμοι, τέθειται προλαβὼν ὁ

8.12.20 | Let the teachings of the philosopher about the practice and way of life among the Jews be set forth through these things. But the matters of the rest of life, which the divine laws narrated to the majority of the whole nation, have been

λόγος.

8.12.21 | τί δῆτα λείπεται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ καὶ τὰ τῆς τῶν νέων θεολογίας σύμφωνα ταῖς τῶν προπατόρων εύσεβείαις παραστήσασθαι, ὡς ἀν καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐντελὴς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἀποδεδομένος εἴη;

8.12.22 | ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου γραφῆς λόγια πρόκειται διὰ τοῦ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματος, φέρ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὰ τῆς διανοίας τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις σοφῶν ἐπαθρήσωμεν, ὡς ἀν μάθοιμεν ὅποιοί τινες καὶ ἐν τῇ θεολογίᾳ κάν τῇ περὶ λόγους ἀρετῇ παῖδες Ἐβραίων γεγόνασι. πάλιν οὖν τὸν Φίλωνα παριτέον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Εἰς τὸν Νόμον

addressed first by the discourse.

8.12.21 | What then is left to say about these things, or to present the agreements of the theology of the young with the piety of the ancestors, so that the discourse may be fully given to us in this discussion?

8.12.22 | Since the words of the inspired scripture are presented through this previous writing, let us now examine the thoughts of the wise among the Jews, so that we may learn what kind of children the Hebrews have become in both theology and the virtue of speech. Again, let us refer to Philo from the first of his works 'On the Law'.

## Section 13

8.13.1 | "Τινὲς γὰρ τὸν κόσμον μᾶλλον ἡ τὸν κοσμοποιὸν θαυμάσαντες τὸν μὲν ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀίδιον ἀπεφήναντο, τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὴν ἀπραξίαν ἀνάγγως καταψευσάμενοι, δέον ἔμπαλιν τούτου τὰς δυνάμεις ὡς ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καταπλαγῆναι, τὸν δὲ μὴ πλέον ἀποσεμνῦναι τού μετρίου.

8.13.2 | Μώσης δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα καὶ χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἔγνω διότι ἀναγκαιότατόν ἐστιν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ μὲν ἴναι δραστήριον \* \* ὃ τῶν ὅλων νοῦς ἐστιν εἱλικρινέστατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος, κρείττων ἡ ἐπιστήμη, καὶ κρείττων ἡ αὐτὸ

8.13.1 | For some, marveling more at the world than at the creator of the world, declared the uncreated and eternal to be God, greatly misrepresenting the inactivity of God. They should rather be amazed at his powers as the creator and father, and not treat the moderate as if it were unworthy.

8.13.2 | Moses, having reached the peak of philosophy and learned the most connected and important things about nature through oracles, understood that it is absolutely necessary for what exists to have a driving force. The mind of all things is the truest and most pure, greater than knowledge, and greater than goodness and beauty

τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ καλόν· τὸ δὲ παθητικὸν ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κινηθὲν δὲ καὶ μετασχηματισθὲν καὶ ψυχωθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ μετέβαλεν εἰς τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον τόνδε τὸν κόσμον· ὃν οὗτοι φάσκοντες ἀγέννητον λελήθασι τὸ ὡφελιμώτατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν εἰς εὔσέβειαν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, τὴν πρόνοιαν.

itself. The passive, lifeless, and unchanging comes from it, but when moved, transformed, and animated by the mind, it became this most perfect work, the world. Those who claim it is uncreated overlook the most useful and necessary aspect of piety, which is providence.

8.13.3 | τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γεγονότος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν αἱρεῖ λόγος. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐκγόνων καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν δημιουργηθέντων στοχάζεται τῆς διαμονῆς, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπιζήμια μηχανῇ πάσῃ διωθεῖται, ὅσα δὲ ὡφέλιμα καὶ λυσιτελῇ πάντα τρόπον ἐκπορίζειν ἐπιποθεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ γεγονὸς οἰκείωσις οὐδεμίᾳ τῷ μὴ πεποιηκότι.

8.13.3 | For the one who has come into being, the father and creator is chosen by reason to take care of it. The father of offspring and creator of created things considers their well-being. He removes everything harmful by any means and desires to provide everything useful and beneficial in every way. But for what does not exist, there is no connection to what has not been made.

8.13.4 | περιμάχητον δὲ δόγμα καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἐν πόλει κατασκευάζειν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸν ἔφορον, ἢ βραβευτὴν, ἢ δικαστὴν οὐκ ἔχοντι, ὑφ' οὗ πάντα οἰκονομεῖσθαι καὶ πρυτανεύεσθαι θέμις.

8.13.4 | But it is a foolish and useless belief to think that this world is built without a ruler, like a city without a governor, or a judge, or an overseer. Without such a figure, it is not right for everything to be organized and managed.

8.13.5 | ἀλλ' ὁ γε μέγας Μωσῆς ἀλλοτριώτατον τοῦ ὄρατοῦ νομίσας εἶναι τὸ ἀγέννητον, (πᾶν γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητὸν ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολαῖς οὐδέ ποτε κατὰ ταύτα ὃν) τῷ μὲν ἀοράτῳ καὶ νοητῷ προσένειμεν, ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενῆ, ἀιδιότητα, τῷ δ' αἰσθητῷ γένεσιν τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα ἐπεφήμισεν.

8.13.5 | But the great Moses believed that the uncreated is completely different from the visible (for everything that can be sensed is always changing and never remains the same). He assigned the name of eternity to the invisible and intelligible, as to a brother and relative, while he gave the name of creation to the sensible.

8.13.6 | ἐπεὶ οὖν ὄρατός τε καὶ αἰσθητὸς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἀναγκαίως ἂν εἴη καὶ

8.13.6 | Since this world is both visible and sensible, it must necessarily be created.

γεννητὸς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοῦ, μάλα σεμνῶς θεολογήσας.

8.13.7 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι κεῖσθαι τὸ πᾶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ προνοίας νεανικώτατα διέξεισι, τὰς τῶν ἀθέων ἀντιθέσεις προτάξας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔξῆς ἀποκρινάμενος. καὶ τούτων δὲ, εἴ καὶ μακρότερα δόξειεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα τὰ πλείστα συντεμών ἐκθήσομαι. κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον 'τὸν τρόπον

## Section 14

8.14.1 | “πρόνοιαν Πρόνοιαν εἶναι λέγεις ἐν τοσαύτῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχῇ καὶ συγχύσει; τί γάρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διατέτακται; τί μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀταξίας γέμει καὶ φορᾶς; ἢ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακίστοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἄφθονα ἐπικωμάζει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλοῦτος, εύδοξία, τιμαὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν· ἡγεμονία πάλιν, ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, κάλλος, ἰσχὺς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διὰ τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην σώματος εύμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες εἰσὶν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἄδοξοι, ταπεινοί;”

8.14.2 | Ταῦτα εἰς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ μυρίᾳ ἄλλα πλείω τούτων εἰπὼν ἔξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεὸς, ὡμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὄσα δεσπότης ἀνημέρου ἀρχῆς ἔργα ἐπιτετηδευκώς, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἥμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημένος

Therefore, he wrote about its creation not from a distance, but with great seriousness, speaking of divine matters.

8.13.7 | These things are about the world being created. The same man also discusses how everything is governed by providence in his work 'On Providence,' presenting the arguments of the atheists and responding to them one by one. And even if these may seem longer, I will summarize the most necessary parts. He structures this argument in this way.

8.14.1 | Do you say that providence exists in such a confusion and disorder of things? For what is arranged in human life? Does it not seem full of chaos and burden? Or do you alone not see that the very worst and most wicked people are given an abundance of good things, like wealth, fame, and honors among the masses? Again, leadership, health, sensitivity, beauty, strength, and unrestrained enjoyment of pleasures, both through great wealth and through the most peaceful condition of the body? But those who are lovers of wisdom and all virtue are mostly poor, unknown, without fame, and humble?

8.14.2 | After saying these things and many others for the purpose of refutation, he goes on to answer the objections. God is not a tyrant, acting with cruelty and violence like a master of a lawless rule, but rather a king who rules gently and lawfully,

ήγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν τε καὶ κόσμον βραβεύει.

8.14.3 | βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πρόσρησις οἰκειοτέρα πατρός. ὃ γάρ ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, τοῦτο βασιλεὺς μὲν πρὸς πόλιν, πρὸς δὲ κόσμον ὁ θεὸς, δύο κάλλιστα φύσεως θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἀδιαλύτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμοσάμενος, τὸ ηγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ.

8.14.4 | καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀσώτων υἱέων οὐ περιορῶσιν οὶ τοκέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας οἴκτον λαμβάνοντες περιέπουσι καὶ τημελοῦσι, νομίζοντες ἔχθρῶν ἀσπόνδων ἔργον εἶναι κακοπραγίαις ἐπεμβαίνειν, φίλων δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν ἐπελαφρίζειν τὰ πταίσματα·

8.14.5 | πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς σώφροσιν ἐπιδαψιλευόμενοι χαρίζονται, σαφῶς είδότες ὡς ἔκείνοις μὲν ἄφθονος εἰς εύποριαν ἀφορμὴ πάρεστιν ἡ σωφροσύνη, τοῖς δ' ἐλπὶς μία οἶ γονεῖς, ἡς εἰ σφαλεῖν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων·

8.14.6 | τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ θεὸς, λογικῆς συνέσεως πατὴρ ὁν, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν λογισμοῦ μεμοιραμένων κήδεται, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίως ζώντων, ἅμα μὲν καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων, ἡς ὄπαδὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θεῖον περιπολεῖν οἶκον.”

rewarding the entire universe and world with justice.

8.14.3 | But for a king, there is no closer relationship than that of a father. Just as parents have a bond with their children, so a king has with his city, and God has with the world. He unites these two beautiful aspects of nature, the ruling and the caring, in an unbreakable and stable connection.

8.14.4 | Just as parents do not overlook their wayward sons, but instead, feeling pity for their misfortune, they embrace and care for them, thinking it is the work of enemies to interfere with their wrongdoings, while they lighten the faults of friends and relatives.

8.14.5 | Often, they give more help to these wayward sons than to the sensible ones, clearly knowing that for the sensible, self-control provides a rich opportunity for success. But for those who stray, if they fail, their parents will be in trouble and will lack the necessities.

8.14.6 | In the same way, God, being the father of reason, cares for all those who have reason. He also provides for those who live wrongly, giving them time to correct themselves, while not exceeding his kind nature, from which virtue and kindness have come, worthy of the divine to dwell in.

8.14.7 | Ἔνα μὲν δὴ λόγον τοῦτον, ὡ ψυχὴ, δέξαι τέως αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, ἔτερον δὲ συνῳδὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αὐτῷ τοιόνδε μὴ τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς εύδαιμονά τινα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἄν πουσιώτερος μὲν ἢ Κροίσου, Λυγκέως δ' ὄξυωπέστερος, ἀνδρειότερος δὲ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου Μίλωνος, καλλίων δὲ Γανυμήδους, ὃν δὲν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οίνοχοεύειν, κάλλεος εἴνεκα οὗ.

8.14.8 | τὸν γοῦν ἕδιον δαίμονα, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ νοῦν, μυρίων ὅσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτος, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφοσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἀν εἶναι ποτε δύναιτο εύδαιμων, κάνοι πολλοὶ σφαλλόμενοι κρίσεως ἀληθοῦς νομίζωσι, δεκασθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ διδύμου, τύφου καὶ κενῆς δόξης, δεινῶν παλεῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀνερματίστους ψυχὰς, περὶ ἀκηραίνει γένος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων.

8.14.9 | εἰ μέντοι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅμμα τείνας βουληθείης περιαθρῆσαι θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ, τρανοτέραν τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοῦ λαβὼν φαντασίαν, γελάσῃ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἂ τέως ἐθαύμαζες. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ τῶν κρειττόνων τιμᾶται τὰ χειρόνα, τὴν ἔκείνων κληρονομοῦντα τάξιν· ἐπιφανέντων δὲ ὑποστέλλει, δευτερείοις ἀθλῶν ἀρκούμενα.

8.14.10 | καταπλαγεὶς οὖν τὸ θεοεδὲς ἔκεινο ἀγαθόν τε καὶ καλὸν, πάντως

8.14.7 | Accept this one saying, O soul, as a deposit for yourself. And do not ever think that it is a lie about the truth, that some of the worthless are considered happy, even if one is richer than Croesus, sharper-eyed than Lynceus, braver than Milo of Croton, or more beautiful than Ganymede, whom the gods took to serve wine to Zeus, for the sake of beauty.

8.14.8 | Surely, if one dismisses their own spirit, I mean their own mind, as a servant of countless masters like love, desire, pleasure, fear, sorrow, carelessness, immorality, cowardice, and injustice, they could never be happy, even if many, misled by false judgment, think they are happy, caught by the double evil of ignorance and empty reputation, struggling against terrible things and leading astray unanchored souls, which most people are consumed by.

8.14.9 | If, however, you stretch the eye of the soul and wish to see the care of the god, as it is possible for human thought, you will take a clearer image of the good towards the truth and laugh at the things we have, which you once admired. For always, in the absence of better things, the worse are honored, inheriting their rank; but when the better appear, they withdraw, content with second-place prizes.

8.14.10 | Therefore, being amazed by that divine good and beautiful thing, you will

έννοήσεις ὅτι παρὰ θεῷ τῶν είρημένων πρότερον οὐδὲν καθ' ἔαυτὸν τῆς ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀργύρου μέταλλα καὶ χρυσοῦ γῆς ἔστιν ἡ φαυλοτάτη μοῖρα, τῆς πρὸς κἀρ πῶν ἀνειμένης γένεσιν ὅλως καὶ τῷ παντὶ λειπομένῃ.

certainly understand that nothing among the mentioned things is worthy of the good fate from the god, because the metals of silver and gold are the lowest fate, lacking in the whole nature of what is truly good and missing from everything.

8.14.11 | οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' ὅμοιον τροφῆς, ἵς ἄνευ ζῆν ἀδύνατον, εύπορίᾳ χρημάτων. μία τούτων ἔστι βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμὸς, ὡς τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται· θησαυροὺς γάρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικαταλάξαιτ' ἃν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἄσμενος.

8.14.11 | For there is nothing like food, without which it is impossible to live, compared to the abundance of money. One of these is the clearest test of hunger, which proves what is necessary and useful for the truth; for someone would gladly exchange all treasures everywhere for a brief supply of food.

8.14.12 | ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία μυρίῳ φορᾶς ἀκατασχέτω πλήθει ὥνεισα κατὰ πόλεις ἀναχέηται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφῶντες ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἴστασθαι, κόρον δὲ ὑβριστὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεσιν ἐπαποδύντες, ἅπασι, παρ' ὧν ἢν τι κερδανεῖν ἐπελπέσωμεν, κονιόμεθα καθάπερ τυφλοὶ, μηκέτι τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέποντες ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ὅτι γῆς είσιν ὅγκοι, περὶ ὧν ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης συντχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος πόλεμος.

8.14.12 | But when the abundance of necessities flows down into the cities in countless and uncontrolled ways, we do not consider it worth standing only on the good things of nature; instead, we make a greedy leader of our life, thinking that wealth in silver and gold will bring us profit. We are covered in dust, like the blind, no longer seeing with our minds because of our love for money, not realizing that these are just piles of earth, around which there is constant and unending war.

8.14.13 | ἐσθῆτές γε μὴν προβάτων είσιν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταί πού φασιν, ἀνθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημιουργὸν τέχνην ὑφαντῶν ἔπαινος. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ, τὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀδπαξόηνος, ἴστω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαῦλος ὡν· τὸ γάρ ὅμοιον χαίρει τῷ ὁμοίῳ·

8.14.13 | Indeed, there are garments of sheep, as the poets say, flowers, and praise of the art of weavers. But if someone thinks highly of their reputation, having accepted the approval of the worthless, let them know that they themselves are worthless; for like rejoices in like.

8.14.14 | εύχέσθω δὲ καθαρσίων μεταλαχών ίαθῆναι τὰ ὕτα, δι' ὃν αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχῇ νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι. μαθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπ' εύτονίᾳ πεφύσηνται μὴ ὑψαυχενεῖν, ἀπιδόντες εἰς τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ἀτιθάσων ζώων ἀμυθήτους ἀγέλας, αἷς ισχὺς καὶ ῥώμη συγγεγένηται. τῶν γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἔστιν ἐπὶ θηρίων ἀρεταῖς, καὶ ταῦτα σεμνύνεσθαι. μένον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα σεμνύνεσθαι.

8.14.15 | διὰ τί δ' ἂν τις εὗ φρονῶν ἐπὶ σώματος εύμορφίᾳ ἀγάλλοιτο, ἢν βραχὺς καιρὸς ἔσβεσε, πρὶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀνθῆσαι, τὴν ἀπατηλὴν αὐτῆς ἀκμὴν ἀμαυρώσας, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις περιμάχητα καλλιγράφων ἔργα καὶ πλαστῶν καὶ ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν, ἐν τε ζωγραφήμασι καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι καὶ ὑφασμάτων ποικιλίαις, ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην εὔδοκιμοῦντα;

8.14.16 | τούτων οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ούδεν παρὰ θεῷ τῆς ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται. καὶ τί θανμάξομεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ θεῷ; ούδε γὰρ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς θεοφιλέσι, παρ' οἷς τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ τετίμηται, φύσεως μὲν εύμοίρου λαχοῦσι, μελέτῃ δὲ μετ' ἀσκήσεως τὴν φύσιν ἐπικομίσασιν, ὃν ἡ ἄνοθος φιλοσοφία δημιουργός.

8.14.17 | ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, ούδε τοὺς ίατροὺς ἐμιμήσαντο τὸ δοῦλον ψυχῆς σῶμα θεραπεύοντας οἵ τὴν δέσποιναν

8.14.14 | Let those who have been made pure pray to be healed in their ears, through which great diseases fall upon the soul. And let those who are born in ease learn not to be arrogant, looking away from the countless herds of wild animals, in which strength and power are found. For the strangest virtues are found in wild beasts, and these are to be honored. Let a person be honored by these.

8.14.15 | Why should someone who thinks well of themselves take pride in the beauty of their body, which fades in a short time, before it has fully bloomed, dimming its deceptive peak? And seeing this, among lifeless things, they admire the beautiful works of skilled artists, both in paintings and statues, and in the varied fabrics, thriving in each city of Greece and among the barbarians?

8.14.16 | Therefore, as I said, nothing is valued by the god of good fortune. And what will we admire if not from the gods? For neither among the beloved of the gods, among whom good and beautiful things are honored according to the truth, do those who receive a fortunate nature, through study and practice, improve their nature, of which the highest philosophy is the creator.

8.14.17 | But those who cared for false education did not imitate the doctors who heal the servant body of the soul, pretending to heal the mistress. For when

έπιφράσκοντες ίᾶσθαι. έκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ,  
έπειδάν τις εύτυχής νοσήσῃ, κάν δὲ μέγας ἦ  
βασιλεὺς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα,  
τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικώντιδας,  
γραφὰς, ἄργυρον, χρυσὸν, ἀσημόν,  
ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων  
πλῆθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων ἀοίδιμον  
κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν  
φίλων ἢ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει  
θεραπείαν ἔχαντες, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων,  
ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τῶν περὶ  
αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὕθ' ὅτι κλῖναι  
λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες,  
οὕθ' ὅτι ἀσαχνούφεις ἢ λινορραφούμεναι  
στρωμναὶ, οὕθ' ὅτι ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι  
διάφοροι· προσέτι δὲ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν  
χλαίνας ἀπαμφιάσαντες ἀπτονται χειρῶν  
καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζοῦντες ἀκριβοῦσι  
τοὺς παλμοὺς, εἴ σωτήριοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ  
τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀναστείλαντες εἴ  
περιπληθής ἐσθ' ἡ γαστὴρ ἔξετάξουσιν, εἴ  
πεπυρωμένος ὁ θώραξ, εἴ ἄτακτα ἡ καρδία  
πηδᾷ· κάπειτα τὴν οἰκείαν προσφέρουσι  
θεραπείαν.

8.14.18 | ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους  
ἰατρικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας ἐπιτηδεύειν  
ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος ψυχῆς,  
καταφρονεῖν μὲν ἀπάντων ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ  
δόξαι τυφλορλαστοῦδιν, εἴσω δὲ  
προσιόντας ἀπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἴ  
ὑπ' ὄργης ἀνισοταχεῖς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν  
κεκινημένοι παλμοὶ· ἀπτεσθαι καὶ γλώττης,  
εἴ τραχεῖα καὶ κακήγορος, εἴ πεπορνευκυῖα  
καὶ ἀταμίευτος· ἀπτεσθαι καὶ γαστρὸς, εἴ  
ἀπλήστω σχήματι ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ  
συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ  
ἀρρεστημάτων, εἴ κεκράσθαι δοκεῖ,  
διερευνᾶν ἔκαστον, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι  
τῶν προσφόρων εἴς τὸ σώζειν.

someone becomes ill, even if they are a great king, they go beyond everything around them: the men's quarters, the women's quarters, the writings, silver, gold, the countless things, whether from cups or fabrics, the glorious treasures of kings, and even the household crowd, and the friends or relatives, all rushing to bring healing, including the bodyguards, reaching all the way to the bed. They ignore what is around the body, neither marveling at the stone and gold beds, nor at the soft or linen sheets, nor at the different kinds of clothing. Furthermore, they wrap the cloaks around themselves, touching the arms and pressing the veins to check the pulses, if they are safe. Often, they even lift the tunics to see if the stomach is swollen, if the chest is burning, if the heart is beating wildly; and then they offer their own treatment.

8.14.18 | And the philosophers should also practice medicine, acknowledging the nature of the royal soul, despising all things that are empty opinions of blind chance. They should approach and touch the mind, to see if, under anger, the pulses are uneven and moving against nature. They should touch the tongue, to check if it is rough and accusatory, if it has been corrupted and is unrestrained. They should touch the stomach, to see if it is driven by an insatiable desire. And they should examine all the passions, diseases, and conditions, to understand if they seem to be mixed, investigating each one, so that they do not miss the remedies for healing.

8.14.19 | νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔξω περιαυγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἄτε νοητὸν φῶς ἴδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λόγισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυνηθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτὸν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τεθαυμακότες, προσεκύνουν.

8.14.20 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ὑπερβολὴ μανίας χρωμάτων κριταῖς χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς ἢ κωφοῖς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν φθόγγων, οὕτω καὶ φαύλοις ἀνδράσι τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν πεπήρωνται, ἵς βαθὺ σκότος ἀφροσύνη κατέχεεν.

8.14.21 | εἴτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν εἰ Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διετέλεσαν, ἀνθρωποι μηδὲν πώποτε τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ὅσα ἢ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρημάτων ἢ παρὰ βασιλέων δωρεὰς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρῆν] λαβεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἔνεκα τοῦ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν ἡγεῖσθαι, περὶ ἣν πονούμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἥλογουν;

8.14.22 | τίς δ' οὐκ ἀν ἀλογήσαι νόθων ἔνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἰ δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες, ὃν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὑρεῖν εὔπορον, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, τί τὴν

8.14.19 | But now, under the brightness of those outside, unable to see the intelligible light, they wander and remain lost forever. They could not reach the king's reasoning, and barely made it to the gates, and they worshipped those at the doors of virtue, marveling at wealth, fame, health, and their relatives.

8.14.20 | But just as it is absurd for blind or deaf judges to use colors or musical sounds, so it is for foolish men regarding the truths of good things. For these men have lost the most important part of themselves, their understanding, which is held down by deep darkness and foolishness.

8.14.21 | Then now we wonder if Socrates and such-and-such a serious person lived in poverty, men who never engaged in making a living, but also did not accept great gifts from wealthy friends or kings, considering only the good and beautiful as the true possession of virtue, for which they struggled while others talked about all the other goods.

8.14.22 | Who would not think poorly of the illegitimate because of the care of the legitimate? If they share in the mortal body and are filled with human troubles, and live among so many unjust people, of whom it is hard to even find a count, why do we blame

φύσιν αίτιώμεθα, δέον τὴν τῶν ἐπιθεμένων  
κακίζειν ώμότητα;

nature, when we should criticize the  
cruelty of those who attack?

8.14.23 | καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένηντο  
λοιμικῷ, πάντως ὥφειλον νοσῆσαι·  
καταστάσεως δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ή οὐχ  
ἡττον, φθιροποιός ἔστιν ἡ κακία. ὡς δ'  
διόπταν ὑετοῦ μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν  
σοφὸν, εἰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοι,  
καταβρέχεσθαι, βορέου δὲ ψυχροῦ  
καταπνέοντος ῥύγει πιέζεσθαι [καὶ ψύχει],  
θέρους δ' ἀκμάζοντος ἀλεαίνεσθαι, (ταῖς  
γὰρ ἐτησίοις τροπαῖς τὰ σώματα  
συμπάσχειν νόμος φύσεως) τὸν αὐτὸν  
τρόπον τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις  
ἐνοικοῦντα, ἐνθα φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ  
ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρόν, ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς  
ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαῖον.

8.14.23 | For if they were born in the air  
during a plague, they should certainly be  
sick; and in a situation of plague, just as  
much, evil is destructive. Just as when it is  
raining, the wise man, if he lives outdoors,  
must get wet, and when the cold north  
wind blows, he must be pressed by the  
chill, and when summer is at its peak, he  
must be scorched (for it is the law of nature  
that bodies suffer from the yearly changes),  
in the same way, those living in such places,  
where murders happen and other nations  
suffer, must necessarily change their  
honors from such things.

8.14.24 | ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ' οἵς δεινοῖς  
ἡδίκησε καὶ ἡσέβησε, χορηγὸς ἀπήντνσε,  
χείρων μὲν ἡ τοῦ βίου βαρυδαιμονία·  
πρόσθες δ' ὡς ὑπὸ μεγάλου βασιλέως  
έκολάζετο καὶ προσηλοῦτο, χρησμὸν  
έκπιπλάς, οἴδα, ἔφη, κάμαυτὸν οὐ πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
πολλοῦ ἡωρῆσθαι δόξαντα ὑπὸ μὲν ἡλίου  
ἀλείφεσθαι, λούεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Δῖος, αἴ γὰρ  
διὰ συμβόλων αἰνιγματώδεις αὗται φάσεις,  
ἀδηλούμεναι τὸ πάλαι, τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων  
ἀριδηλοτάτην ἐλάμβανον πίστιν.

8.14.24 | Since indeed for Polycrates, who  
committed terrible acts and was impious,  
the sponsor was present, the heaviness of  
life is worse; but as he was being held and  
attached by a great king, he was giving a  
prophecy, I know, he said, that not long ago  
he thought he was being washed by the sun  
and being cleansed by Zeus. Ah, for through  
events these puzzling statements, which  
have long been unclear, were receiving the  
clearest trust through deeds.

8.14.25 | οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἔξ ἀρχῆς βίον, ἐλελήθει  
πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος.  
αἱ τοῦ γὰρ φοβούμενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλῆθος  
τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς  
ἔξεριστάμενος δτι εὔνους μὲν ἦν οὐδεὶς,  
ἔχθροὶ δὲ πάντες δυσπραξίᾳ ἀμείλικτοι.”

8.14.25 | Not only at the end, but  
throughout all of life from the beginning,  
the soul was hanging before the body. For  
always fearing and trembling at the crowd  
of attackers, he was terrified, clearly  
realizing that no one was friendly, but all  
enemies were relentless in their

misfortune.

8.14.26 | "Τῆς δὲ ἀνηνύτου καὶ συνεχοῦς Διονυσίου εὐλαβείας μάρτυρες οἱ τὰ Σικελικὰ συγγράψαντες, οἵ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τὴν θυμηρεστάτην ὑποπτὸν εἶχε γυναῖκα σημεῖον δέ· τὴν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἴσοδον, δι' ἣς φοιτήσειν ἔμελλεν ὡς αὐτὸν, ἐκέλευσε στορεσθῆναι σανίσιν, ἵνα μὴ λάθῃ ποτὲ παρεισερπύσασα, ψόφῳ δὲ καὶ κτύπῳ τῆς ἐπιβάσεως προμηνύῃ τὴν ἄφιξιν· εἴτ' οὐκ ἀνείμονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι γυμνήν, ἢ μὴ θέμις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὀρᾶσθαι, παρέρχεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ συνεχὲς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδάφους εἰς τάφρου γεωργικῆς εὔρος καὶ βάθος διακοπηναι, κατὰ δέος μή τι πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀφανῶς ἐρικρύτηται, κρύπτηται, ὅπερ ἡ ἄλμασιν ἡ μακραῖς διαβάσεσιν ἔμελλε διελέγχεσθαι.

8.14.26 | Those who wrote the Sicilian accounts are witnesses of the unbroken and continuous caution of Dionysius. They say that he had a very suspicious wife as a sign; at the entrance to the house, through which he was about to enter, he ordered that it be covered with boards, so that she would not slip in unnoticed, and that the noise and banging of the entrance would announce his arrival. Then, not only was she not to be alone, but she was also to pass by all the parts of the house naked, which is not right for men to see. In addition to this, the continuous ground along the road was to be cut into the width and depth of an agricultural ditch, out of fear that something might be secretly hidden for an attack, which would be discovered either by jumps or by long crossings.

8.14.27 | πόσων ἄρα κακῶν ὁ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ γυναικὸς. ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὥφειλε πιστεύειν, μεστὸς ἦν; ἀλλὰ γάρ ἐώκει τοῖς δι' ἀπορρῶγος ὅρους ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἀριδηλοτέρας κατανοῆσαι κρημνοβατοῦσιν, οἵ μόλις φθάνοντες ἄχρι προνενευκότος αὐχένος οὕτ' ἀναχωρεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, πρὸς τὸ λειπόμενον ὑψος ἀπειρηκότες, οὕτε καταβαίνειν θαρροῦσι, πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν χασμάτων ἴλιγγιῶντες.

8.14.27 | How many troubles does the one who watches and schemes over a woman face? Should he trust anyone else, was he full of doubt? For it is like those who, through a steep mountain, try to understand the clear signs in the sky, who, barely reaching the neck they were aiming for, can neither retreat nor go down, having given up on the remaining height, and they do not dare to descend, dizzy at the sight of the chasms.

8.14.28 | ἐρασθεὶς γάρ, ὡς θείου πράγματος καὶ περιμαχήτου, τυραννίδος οὕτε μένειν οὕτε ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι μὲν γάρ αλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα,

8.14.28 | For having fallen in love, he thought that neither staying nor escaping from the tyranny was safe, as it was a matter of divine importance and great struggle. For while he stayed, countless

βουλομένω δ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ὃ περὶ τοῦ  
ζῆν ἐπεκρέματο κίνδυνος, ὡπλισμένων, εἰ  
καὶ μὴ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλά τοι ταῖς  
διανοίαις κατ' αὐτοῦ.

8.14.29 | δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὃ πρὸς τὸν  
μακαρίζοντα τὸν τῶν τυράννων βίον φασὶ<sup>1</sup>  
χρήσασθαι Διονύσιον. καλέσας γὰρ αὐτὸν  
ἐπὶ λαμπροτάτου καὶ πολυτελεστάτου  
δείπνου παρασκευὴν, ἐκ μηρίνθου πάνυ  
λεπτῆς προσέταξεν ἡκονημένον  
ὑπεραιωρηθῆναι πέλεκυν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
κατακλιθεὶς εἶδεν αἴφνιδιον, οὕτ'  
ἔξαναστῆναι θαρρῶν διὰ τὸν τύραννον,  
οὕτ' ἀπολαῦσαι τινος τῶν  
παρεσκευασμένοιν διὰ δέος οἴός τε ὅν,  
ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων ἀλογήσας ἡδονῶν,  
ἀνατείνας τὸν αύχένα καὶ τὰς ὄψεις  
έκαραδόκει τὸν οίκεῖον ὄλεθρον.

8.14.30 | συνεὶς δ' ὁ Διονύσιος, ἄρ' ἥδη  
κατανοεῖς, ἔφη, τὸν ἀοίδιμον καὶ  
περιμάχητον ἡμῶν βίον; ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος,  
εἰ μὴ βούλοιτό τις ἐαυτὸν φενακίζειν,  
ἐπειδὴ περιέχει παμπληθεῖς μὲν χορηγίας,  
ἀπόλαυσιν δ' οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ, φόβους δ'  
ἐπαλλήλους καὶ κινδύνους ἀνηκέστους καὶ  
νόσον ἐρπηνώδους καὶ φθινάδος  
χαλεπωτέραν, ἀθεράπευτον ἀεὶ φέρουσαν  
ὄλεθρον.

8.14.31 | οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνεξετάστων  
ὑπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς φανερότητος  
ἀπατώμενοι ταύτὸν πεπόνθασι τοῖς  
ἀγκιστρευομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν είδεχθῶν  
ἐταιρίδων, ἃ τὴν δυσμορφίαν ἐσθῆτι καὶ  
χρυσῷ καὶ ταῖς τῆς ὄψεως ὑπογραφαῖς  
ἐπισκιάζοντα, γνησίου κάλλους ἀπορίᾳ,  
νόθον ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ τὸν θεωμένων

evils flowed over him, and when he wanted  
to escape, the danger of living pressed  
down on him, armed, even if not with  
bodies, but with thoughts against him.

8.14.29 | It also shows the deed for which  
they say Dionysius used to serve the life of  
the tyrants. For having called him to a very  
splendid and luxurious dinner, he ordered  
that a very thin axe be sharpened from a  
leg of lamb. But when he was reclining, he  
suddenly saw that he could neither rise up  
in courage because of the tyrant, nor enjoy  
any of the prepared dishes because of the  
fear he felt, being a man who had  
disregarded pleasures that were abundant  
and rich, and looking up, he expected his  
own destruction.

8.14.30 | And Dionysius, understanding,  
said, 'Do you already see the famous and  
great struggle of our life? For it is such,  
unless someone wants to deceive himself,  
since it is full of countless resources, but  
has no enjoyment of anything good, and it  
brings repeated fears and unending  
dangers, along with a creeping sickness and  
a more difficult decline, always carrying an  
incurable destruction.'

8.14.31 | But many of those who are  
unexamined, deceived by the bright  
appearance, suffer the same as those who  
are caught by the ugly companions, which  
overshadow the ugliness with clothing and  
gold and the features of the face, lacking  
true beauty, creating a false image in the

δημιουργεῖ.

eyes of those who look.

8.14.32 | τοιαύτης γέμουσι βαρυδαιμονίας οἱ λίαν εύτυχεῖς, ἃς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτὸὶ δικάσαντες παρ' ἐαυτοῖς οὐ στέγουσιν ^ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἵ τὰ ἀρρωστήματα ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐκλαλοῦντες ἀφιᾶσι τὰς ἐκ πάθους ἀψευδεστάτας φωνὰς, ἐπὶ συνούσιᾳ τιμωριῶν καὶ παρουσῶν καὶ προσδοκωμένων ζῶντες, καθάπερ τῶν θρεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς Ἱερουργίαν πιαινόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγῆναι τυγχάνει διὰ πολύκρεων εύωχίαν.

8.14.32 | Those who are very fortunate are filled with such heavy misery, which they themselves judge to be excessive but do not shelter within themselves. Instead, like those who, forced by illness, let out the most truthful cries from their suffering, they live in a mixture of punishments, both present and expected, just like livestock being fattened for sacrifice. For these things are often cared for with great attention in order to be slaughtered for a rich feast.

8.14.33 | είσὶ δὲ οἵ καὶ περὶ χρημάτων ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἀδήλους, ἀλλὰ φανερὰς ἔδοσαν δίκας, ὃν τὰ πλήθη καταλέγεσθαι περιττὸς πόνος, ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν ἔργον παράδειγμα πάντων ἐστάναι. λέγεται τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραφότων τὸν Ἱερὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Φωκίδι, νόμου κειμένου τὸν Ἱερόσυλον κατακρημνίζεσθαι ἢ καταποντοῦσθαι ἢ καταπίμπρασθαι, τρεῖς συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἱερὸν, Φιλόμηλον καὶ Ὄνομαρχον καὶ Φάύλλον, διανείμασθαι τὰς τιμωρίας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόφου τραχέος καὶ λιθώδους ἡραγείραγείσης πέτρας κατακρημνισθῆναι τε καὶ καταλευσθῆναι τὸν δὲ, ἀφηνιάσαντος τοῦ κομίζοντος ἵππου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καταβάντος, ἐπιδραμόντος τοῦ πελάγους, εἰς ἄχανῇ βυθὸν αὐτῷ ζῷῳ καταδῦναι· Φάύλλον δὲ φθινάδι νόσῳ (διττὸς γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος) συντακῆναι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐν Ἀβαις Ἱερῷ συνεμπρησθέντα ἀπολέσθαι.

8.14.33 | There are some who are not unclear about money matters, but have given clear judgments, for which the effort to list the details is excessive. It is enough for one example to stand for all. It is said that the sacred war in Phocis, where a law was set to destroy the sacred site, either by being thrown down, sunk, or burned, involved three men who seized the sanctuary at Delphi: Philomelos, Onomarchos, and Phayllos, who divided the punishments. One was to be thrown down a steep and rocky cliff, another, after the horse carrying him was released and he went down to the sea, was to be swept away by the waves into a vast depth; Phayllos was to die from a wasting disease (for there are two accounts about him), or to perish in the fire at the sanctuary in Abai.

8.14.34 | ταῦτα γὰρ φιλονείκοτατον λέγειν

8.14.34 | For these things, it is most

άποβῆναι κατὰ τύχην. εἰ μὲν γάρ τινες ἡ ἐν διαφέρουσι καιροῖς ἡ ἐτέραις ἐκολάσθησαν τιμωρίαις, εἴκὸς ἦν τὸ ἄστατον τῆς τύχης προφασίζεσθαι πάντων δ' ἀθρόως καὶ ὑφ' ἔνα καιρὸν καὶ μὴ ἐτέραις τιμωρίαις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς περιεχομέναις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κολασθέντων εὕλογον φάσκειν ὅτι θεοῦ δικάσαντος ἐάλωσαν."

contentious to say that they happened by chance. If some were punished at different times or in different ways, it would be reasonable to claim that the randomness of fate was to blame. But when all were punished together at one time and not in different ways, but by the punishments laid out in the laws, it makes sense to say that they were caught by the judgment of a god.

8.14.35 | "Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων βιαίων, καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπαναστάντων, καὶ δουλωσαμένων οὐ μόνον δήμους ἐτέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρίδας τὰς ἐαυτῶν, ἀτιμώρητοι διετέλεσαν, θαυμαστὸν οὔδέν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος δικάζει καὶ θεός, διότι τὰ μὲν φανερὰ ἡμεῖς ἔρευνῶμεν, ὃ δὲ ἄχρι μυχῶν ψυχῆς εἰσδυόμενος ἀψοφητὶ, καθάπερ ἐν ἡλίῳ λαμπρὰν διάνοιαν αύγάζει, ἀπαυτίσχων μὲν τὰ περιάπτα, οἵς ἐγκατείληπται, γυμνὰ δὲ περιαθρῶν τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ διαγινώσκων εὔθὺς τά τε παράσημα καὶ δόκιμα.

8.14.35 | If some of those left behind were violent, and when the masses rose up and enslaved not only other communities but also their own homelands, it is not surprising that they went unpunished. For first, a human judges differently than a god, because we investigate the obvious, while a god penetrates to the depths of the soul, shining a bright light on the mind, revealing the hidden things that have been covered, and laying bare the intentions, quickly distinguishing both the signs and the worthiness.

8.14.36 | μηδέποτ' οὖν τὸ οίκετον δικαστήριον τοῦ θείου προκρίναντες ἀψευδέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ εύβουλότερον εἶναι φῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα, κακιῶν ὃ βαρύτατος ἐπιτειχισμὸς, ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἔξαπάτη, δικαιότης δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια, αἷς ἔκαστον βραβεύομενον ἐπαινετῶς ἔξορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

8.14.36 | Therefore, we should never consider the divine court to be more truthful and wiser than our own. For it is not right. In one place, there are many things that lead to mistakes: deceptive senses, harmful passions, and the heaviest fortification of evils. But in another place, there is nothing that deceives; instead, there is justice and truth, where everything is naturally corrected and praised.

8.14.37 | ἔπειτ', ᾧ γενναῖε, μὴ νομίσῃς ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐπίκαιρον εἶναι τυραννίδα.. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κόλασις ἀλυσιτελὲς, ἀλλὰ

8.14.37 | Then, noble one, do not think that tyranny is without purpose. For punishment is not without purpose either;

τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ  
ώφελιμώτερον ἢ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οὗ χάριν ἐν  
ἄπασι μὲν τοῖς ὄρθῶς γραφεῖσι  
παρείληπται νόμοις· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
πάντων ἐπαινοῦνται. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν δήμῳ  
τύραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.

it gives justice to the good, whether it is more useful or not needed at all. For this reason, in all the laws that are written correctly, they are included. Those who write them are praised by all. What is tyranny in a community is punishment in the law.

8.14.38 | ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις  
δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς,  
ἀφθονίᾳ δ' ἀφροσύνῃ ἐπιπολάσῃ,  
τηνικαῦτα ὁ θεὸς, ὡσπερ ῥεῦμα χειμάρρου  
τὴν φορᾶν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεῦσαι  
γλιχόμενος, ἵνα καθαρῇ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν,  
ἰσχὺν καὶ κράτος δίδωσι τοῖς τὰς φύσεις  
ἀρχικοῖς.

8.14.38 | When a terrible lack and scarcity of virtue seizes the cities, and an abundance of foolishness overwhelms them, then the god, like a rushing stream of a winter flood, removes the flow of evil, so that our kind may be cleansed. He gives strength and power to those who have the original natures.

8.14.39 | ὡμῆς γὰρ δίχα ψυχῆς οὐ  
καθαίρεται κακία. καὶ ὅνπερ τρόπον αἱ  
πόλεις ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνοις καὶ προδόταις καὶ  
θεοσύλαις δημίους ἀνατρέφοντιν, οὐ τὴν  
γνώμην ἀποδεχόμεναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ  
τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας χρήσιμον ἔξετάζουσαι,  
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως  
τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου κηδεμῶν οἴα  
δημοκοίνους ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυράννους ταῖς  
πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἀν αἴσθηται βίαν, ἀδικίαν,  
ἀσέβειαν, τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ πλημμύροντα,  
ὅπως ἡδη ποτὲ στάντα λωφήσῃ.

8.14.39 | For evil is not removed without the soul. And in the way that cities raise up public enemies, like murderers, traitors, and those who commit sacrilege, they do not accept the opinions of men, but examine the usefulness of service. In the same way, the guardian of this great city of the world places tyrants over the cities, where violence, injustice, and impiety are felt, flooding them with other evils, so that they may stand and be swept away.

8.14.40 | τηνικαῦτα καὶ τοὺς αἴτίους, ὡς ἐκ  
δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ψυχῆς  
ὑπηρετήσαντας, ἐφ' ἄπασιν, ὡσπερ τινὰς  
κορυφαίους, ἀξιοῦ μετέρχεσθαι. καθάπερ  
γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν  
παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλώσῃ, τελευταῖον  
αὐτὴν ἐπινέμεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ  
ἐπὶ τοῖς πλήθεσι δυναστείας εἰληφότες,  
ὅταν δαπανήσαντες τὰς πόλεις κενὰς

8.14.40 | Then, those responsible, as if they have served from a difficult and merciless soul, are deemed worthy to be punished, like some leaders. For just as the power of fire, when it consumes material, ultimately turns back upon itself, in the same way, those who have taken hold of the masses of tyranny, when they have wasted the cities and left them empty of men, are judged and

άνδρῶν ἔργάσωνται, τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων  
τίνοντες δίκας ἐπιδιαφθείρονται.

8.14.41 | καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν εἰ διὰ  
τυράννων ὁ θεὸς κακίαν ἀναχυθεῖσαν ἐν  
πόλεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ ἔθνεσιν  
ἀποδιοπομπεῖται; πολλάκις γάρ μὴ  
χρώμενος ύρηρέταις ἄλλοις αὐτὸς δι'  
ἐκαυτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔργάζεται, λιμὸν ἐπάγων ἢ  
λοιμὸν ἢ σεισμὸν καὶ ὅσ' ἢ ἄλλα θεήλατα,  
οἵς ὅμιλοι μεγάλοι καὶ πολύνθρωποι καθ'  
ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ πολλὴ  
μοῖρα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐρημοῦται διὰ  
προμήθειαν ἀρετῆς."

8.14.42 | "Ικανῶς μὲν οὖν εἴς γε τὰ  
παρόντα περὶ τοῦ μή τινα τῶν φαύλων  
εὔδαιμονεῖν, ὡς οἶμαι, λέλεκται· δι' οὗ  
μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸ εἴναι πρόνοιαν εἰ δὲ  
μηδέπω πέπεισαι, τὸν ἔθ' ὑποικουροῦντα  
ένδοιασμὸν εἰπὲ θαρρῶν· ἀμφότεροι γάρ ἢ  
τάληθὲς ἔχει συνδιαπορήσαντες εἰσόμεθα."

8.14.43 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα πάλιν φησίν  
"Ἄνέμων καὶ ὑετῶν φορὰς οὐκέπι λύμη  
τῶν πλεόντων, ὡς ἐνόμιζες, ἢ  
γεωργούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὥφελείᾳ τοῦ  
παντὸς ἡμῶν γένους ὁ θεὸς εἰργάζετο.  
Ὕδασι μὲν γάρ τὴν γῆν καθαίρει, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ<sup>το</sup>  
δελήνην ἄπαντα χῶρον πνεύμασιν  
ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ζῶα καὶ φυτὰ τρέφει καὶ  
αὔξει καὶ τελειοῖ.

8.14.44 | εἰ δὲ τοὺς μὴ ἐν καιρῷ πλωτῆρας  
ἢ γεωπόνους ἔστιν ὅτε βλάπτει, θαυμαστὸν  
οὐδέν βραχὺ γάρ οὗτοι μέρος, ἢ δ'

destroyed for the sake of all.

8.14.41 | And why do we marvel if through  
tyrants the god drives away evil that has  
poured out in cities, lands, and nations? For  
often, without using others, he himself  
works this, bringing famine, plague, or  
earthquake, and all other divine things, by  
which large groups of people are destroyed  
every day, and a great part of the world is  
left desolate because of the neglect of  
virtue.

8.14.42 | Indeed, it has been said enough  
about the present situation regarding  
whether any of the wicked can be happy, as  
I think. For this is where the need for  
foresight is most evident. But if you are not  
yet convinced, say to the one who is  
hesitating to be brave: for both of us,  
having shared in the search for the truth,  
will come to know it.

8.14.43 | And again he says, 'The god does  
not bring storms and rains for the harm of  
the many, as you thought, or for the  
farmers, but for the benefit of all our kind.'  
For he cleanses the earth with water and  
fills every place under the sky with breath.  
And he nourishes, grows, and perfects both  
animals and plants.

8.14.44 | But if there are times when he  
harms those who are not sailors or farmers,  
it is nothing surprising. For these are a

έπιμέλεια τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους. ὡσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἄλειμμα τίθεται μὲν ἐπ' ὥφελείᾳ, πολλάκις δ' ὁ γυμνασιάρχος ἔνεκα πολιτικῶν χρειῶν ὥρας τῆς ἐν ἔθει μετέθηκε τὴν τάξιν, δι' ἣς ὑστέρησαν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλειφομένων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεός, οἷα πόλεως τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελούμενος κόσμου, θέρη χειμαίνοντα καὶ χειμῶνας ἐαρίζοντας εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ὥφελείᾳ, κανέν εἰ ναύκληροί τινες ἢ γῆς ἐργάται μέλλοιεν ταῖς τούτων ἀνωμαλίαις ξημιοῦσθαι. μιοῦσθαι.

8.14.45 | τὰς οὖν τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὰς, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος ἐπάγῃ καὶ συνέστηκεν, είδως ἀναγκαίτατον ἔργον, ἀκωλύτους παρέχεται· πάχναι δὲ καὶ χιόνες καὶ ὅσα ὅμοιότροπα ἀέρος ἐπακολουθεῖ καταψύξει, καὶ πάλιν προσαράξει καὶ παρατρίψει νεφῶν, ἀστραπαί τε καὶ βρονταί· ὧν οὐδὲν ἵσως κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὑετοὶ καὶ πνεύματα ζωῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ αὔξησεως τοῖς περὶ γῆν αἴτια, ὧν ταῦτα ἐπακολουθήματα.

8.14.46 | οἶα, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολλάκις ἀνειμένας ποιουμένου δαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὕδατος ἐλαίω καταιονούμενοί τινες τῶν ἀρειροκάλων ροκάλων εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὃ δ' ὄλισθηρότατος αὐτίκα γίνεται πηλὸς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὸν ὄλισθον προμηθείᾳ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου γεγονέναι, παρηκολουθηκέναι δὲ ἄλλως τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χορηγιῶν ταῦτα.

8.14.47 | Ἱρις δὲ καὶ ἄλως καὶ ὅσα ὅμοιότροπα πάλιν ἐστὶν αὐγῶν

small part, while the care is for all of humankind. Just as in the gymnasium, the oil is applied for benefit, but often the gymnastic trainer changes the order for the needs of the city, causing some who are being oiled to miss out. In the same way, the god, caring for the order of the whole world, is accustomed to bring summer during winter and spring during summer for the benefit of all, even if some sailors or workers of the land might suffer from these irregularities.

8.14.45 | Therefore, knowing the necessary changes of the elements, from which the world is made and formed, he provides them without hindrance. For snow and frost and whatever else follows the air brings cold, and again he brings together and stirs up clouds, along with lightning and thunder. None of these things happen by chance, but rain and winds are the causes of life, nourishment, and growth for those on the earth, of which these are the results.

8.14.46 | Just as, when the gymnastic trainer often spends money on his ambitions, some of the beautiful athletes, instead of water, sprinkle oil on the ground, and it immediately becomes very slippery mud. But no one who thinks clearly would say that the mud and the slipperiness came from the trainer's planning; rather, these things are simply a result of the abundance of the supplies.

8.14.47 | The rainbow and the halo, along with whatever else is similar, are results of

έγκιρναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν  
έπακολουθήματα, ούκ ἔργα φύσεως  
προηγούμενα, φυσικοῖς δ' ἐπισυμβαίνοντα  
ἔργοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρέχει τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα  
χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις·  
νηνεμίας γάρ καὶ πνεύματα, εύδίας τε καὶ  
χειμῶνας ἀπὸ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενοι  
προλέγουσι.

the rays mixed with the clouds, not works  
that come before nature, but rather events  
that happen alongside natural processes.  
However, these also provide a necessary  
need for those who are wiser, for calm  
weather and winds, along with fair weather  
and storms, can be predicted from these.

8.14.48 | τὰς κατὰ πόλιν στοάς ούχ ὄρᾶς;  
τούτων αἱ πλείους πρὸς μεσημβρίαν  
νενευκασιν, ὑπὲρ του τοὺς  
έμπεριπατοῦντας χειμῶνι μὲν ἀλεαίνεσθαι,  
θέρους δὲ καταπνεῖσθαι. παρακολουθῇ δέ  
τι καὶ ἔτερον, ὃ μὴ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ  
κατεσκευακότος ἐπιγίνεται. τί δὲ τοῦτ'  
ἔστιν; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπίπτουσαι  
σκιαὶ τὰ μέτρα διασημαίνουσι ταῖς ὥραις.

8.14.48 | Do you not see the porticoes in  
the city? Most of them are directed towards  
the south, so that those walking there can  
be sheltered from the winter and can catch  
the breeze in the summer. There is also  
something else that does not follow the  
plan of the builder. What is this? The  
shadows that fall from the feet mark the  
hours.

8.14.49 | καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πῦρ φύσεως  
ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον, ἐπακολούθημα δὲ  
τούτου καπνός ἀλλ' ὅμως παρέχεται τινα  
ώφέλειαν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτός, ἐν γοῦν ταῖς  
μεθημεριναῖς πυρσείαις, ἡνίκα τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τῶν ἡλιακῶν καταλαμπόμενον αύγῶν  
έξαμαυροῦται, καπνῷ μηνύεται πολεμίων  
ἔφοδος.

8.14.49 | Fire is indeed the most necessary  
work of nature, and smoke follows it, but it  
also provides some benefit at times. For  
example, during the midday fires, when the  
fire is dimmed by the rays of the sun, the  
smoke signals an attack by enemies.

8.14.50 | οἵος γ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱριδος,  
τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκλείψεων ὁ λόγος·  
θείαις γάρ φύσεσιν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης  
ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἐκλείψεις· αἱ δὲ μηνύματά  
εἰσιν ἡ βασιλέων τελευτῆς, ἡ πόλεων  
φθοδᾶς· ὃ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἤνιξατο γενομένης  
ἐκλείψεως διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν είρημένων.

8.14.50 | Just as there is a reason for the  
rainbow, so there is also a reason for  
eclipses. For the eclipses follow the divine  
natures of the sun and moon. They are  
signs of either the end of kings or the  
downfall of cities; this is what Pindar  
hinted at regarding the eclipse mentioned  
before.

8.14.51 | ὃ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος τῆς

8.14.51 | But the circle of milk has changed

μὲν αὐτῆς ούσιας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροῖς  
μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ' εἴπερ ἔστι,  
μὴ ἀποκνείτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν  
εἰώθότες. ὡφελιμώτατον γάρ ή εὔρεσις,  
ἥδιστον δὲ καὶ κα αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἢ  
ζήτησις.

from the same substance to other stars. If there is a reason for this, let those who are used to exploring nature not be discouraged. For the discovery is very useful, and the search itself is also the sweetest for those who love to learn.

8.14.52 | ὥσπερ οὖν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη  
προνοίᾳ γεγόνασιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ  
πάντα, καν ἡμεῖς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις τε  
καὶ δυνάμεις ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες  
ἡσυχάζωμεν.

8.14.52 | Just as the sun and moon have come into being by design, so everything in the sky has a purpose. Even if we cannot trace the nature and powers of each one, let us remain calm.

8.14.53 | σεισμοί τε καὶ λοιφοὶ καὶ  
κεραυνῶν βολαὶ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λέγεται  
μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα, πρὸς δὲ ἀλήθειαν οὐκ  
ἔστι, θεός γάρ οὐδενὸς αἴτιος κακοῦ  
τοπαράπαν) ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν στοιχείων  
μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὐ  
προηγούμενα ἔργα φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπομενα  
μένα τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις καὶ τοῖς  
προηγουμένοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα.

8.14.53 | Earthquakes, plagues, and strikes of lightning, and all such things, are said to be divine. But in truth, no god is the cause of any evil at all. Rather, these things are born from changes in the elements, not from the earlier works of nature, but following the necessary and preceding events.

8.14.54 | εἰ δέ τινες τῶν χαριεστέρων  
συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλάβης,  
οὐκ αἴτιατέον τὴν διοίκησιν. πρῶτον μὲν  
γάρ οὐκ εἴ τινες ἀγαθοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν  
νομίζονται, καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ  
τὰ θεοῦ κριτήρια τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν πάντων ἀκριβέστερα  
δεύτερον δὲ τὸ προμηθὲς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν  
κόσμῳ συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἀγαπᾷ,  
καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις καὶ  
στραταρχίαις Χίαις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ  
στρατόπεδα, οὐκ τινα τῶν ἡμελημένων καὶ  
ἀφανῶν ἔνα τὸν προστυχόντα.

8.14.54 | If some of the more graceful things share in the harm from these, the administration should not be blamed. First, if some are thought to be good among us, and they are true, since the judgments of the divine are more precise than all human understanding. Second, the foresight loves to look upon the most connected things in the world, just as in kingdoms and armies, concerning the cities and the camps, not caring for any of the neglected and hidden ones that happen to come along.

8.14.55 | λέγουσι δέ τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς

8.14.55 | Some say that, just as it is

τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κάν ταῖς λοιμώδεσι νόσοις παραπόλυσθαί τινας τῶν μὴ ὑπαιτίων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν οἱ ἄλλοι σωφρονίζωνται, δίχα τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἐμφερομένους ἀέρι νοσώδει νοσεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν νηὶ χειμαζομένους κινδυνεύειν νεύειν ἔξισου.

8.14.56 | τὰ δ' ἄλκιμα τῶν θηρίων γέγονεν, οὐ γὰρ ὑποσιωπητέον, εἴ καὶ τῷ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν εἶναι προλαβὼν τὴν ἀπολογίαν διέσυρες) ἀσκήσεως ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας. τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς θῆραι συγκροτοῦσι καὶ νευροῦσιν εὖ μάλα τὰ σώματα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθίζουσιν ἔχθρῶν ἔξαπιναίας ἐφόδους τῷ καρτερῷ τῆς ἡρώμης ἀλογεῖν.

8.14.57 | τοῖς δὲ τὰς φύσεις είρηνικοῖς ἔξεστιν οὐ μόνον τειχῶν ἔντὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμευομένοις, ἀποζῆν ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονωτάτας ἡμέρων ἀγέλας· ἐπειδὴ σῦς καὶ λέοντες καὶ ὄσα ὁμοιότροπα, ἐκουσίᾳ φύσει χρώμενα, μακρὰν ἄστεος ἀπελήλαται τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς.

8.14.58 | εἰ δέ τινες ὑπὸ ῥἀθυμίας ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ταῖς καταδύσεσι τῶν θηρίων ἀδεῶς ἐνδιαιτῶνται, τῶν συμβαινόντων ἐαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἰτιάσθωσαν, διότι φυλάξασθαι παρὸν ὠλιγώρησαν. ἦδη γοῦν καὶ ἐν ἴπποδρομίαις εἴδόν τινας εἴξαντας ἀλογιστίᾳ, οἱ, δέον

considered lawful to punish relatives in cases of tyrannicide for the greatness of the punishment, in the same way, during deadly diseases, some who are not guilty may also be swept away, so that the others may be warned from afar. This is not necessary for those who are affected by the sickly air to suffer, just as those in a ship caught in a storm are equally at risk.

8.14.56 | The brave things of the beasts have come to be, for it should not be kept quiet, even if it is terrible to say, you have torn apart the defense for the sake of training for the military contests. For the exercises and the constant training strengthen and greatly improve the bodies, and they prepare the souls of the bodies for sudden attacks from enemies, to be unthinking in the endurance of strength.

8.14.57 | For those with peaceful natures, it is possible not only to live safely within walls but also in sheltered places, without fear of attack, enjoying the richest days of abundance. Since pigs and lions and all similar creatures, using their natural instincts, have moved far from the city, loving to suffer nothing from human threats.

8.14.58 | But if some, out of laziness, live unarmed and unprepared, fearlessly among the attacks of wild animals, let them not blame their nature for what happens to them, since they neglected to guard themselves. Indeed, I have seen some at horse races who, acting thoughtlessly,

έγκαθέζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν μέσῳ στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ρύμης τῶν τεθρίππων ἀνωσθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς κατηλοήθησαν, ἀνοίας τάπιχειρα εὐράμενοι.”

stood in the middle when they should have taken their seats and watched properly, and were lifted up by the rush of the horses, crushed underfoot and by the wheels, finding themselves in a state of ignorance.

8.14.59 | “Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη τὰ λεχθέντα. τῶν δ’ ἐρπετῶν τὰ ιοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον. ζωογονεῖται γάρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα ίκμὰς μεταβάλῃ πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἔνια δὲ καὶ σῆψις ἐψύχωσεν, ὡς ἔλμινθας μὲν ἡ περὶ τροφὴν, φθεῖρας δ’ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ιδρώτων. ὅσα δ’ ἔξ οἰκείας ὅλης κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικὴν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοιαν.

8.14.59 | Therefore, it is necessary to use what has been said about these things. The poisonous creatures have come about not by design, but as a result of following, as I mentioned earlier. For life is created when the existing moisture changes to a warmer state. Some are also brought to life by decay, as worms are from food, and lice from sweat. Whatever comes from its own material, having a natural seed and a preceding origin, is rightly said to have a purpose.

8.14.60 | ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑκείνων διττοὺς λόγους ὡς ἐπ’ ὀφελείᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὓς οὐκ ἀνέπικρυψαίμην. ἦν δ’ ὁ μὲν ἔτερος τοιόσδε· πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ιατρικῶν ἔφασάν τινες τὰ ιοβόλα συνεργεῖν καὶ τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ἀδεῖ καταχρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημόνως, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων εὔπορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχόντων ἀπροσδοκήτῳ σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ίδεῖν τοὺς μὴ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς λῶς ιατρεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων καταχρωμένους ἐκάστοις οὐ παρέργως.

8.14.60 | I also heard two opinions about those things that have been beneficial to humans, which I would not want to hide. One was this: some said that the poisonous creatures help with many medical practices and those who study the art, using their knowledge wisely to provide remedies, especially in cases where there is unexpected danger. And even now, we can see those who do not carelessly or thoughtlessly try to heal, using the mixtures of medicines appropriately for each situation.

8.14.61 | ὃ δ’ ἔτερος λόγος οὐκ ιατρικὸς, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε. τῷ γάρ θεῷ ταῦτ’ ἔφασκεν ηύτρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ὡς δτρατηγοῖς

8.14.61 | The other opinion was not medical, but philosophical, it seems. For they said that these things are meant by the god to serve as punishments for those who

τηγοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ὕστριχας ἡ σίδηρον· οὐ  
χάριν ἡρεμοῦντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον  
ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
κατακριθεῖσιν, ὃν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ  
ἀδωροδοκήτῳ δικαστηρίῳ ἔαυτῆς  
κατέγνω θάνατον.

sin, like whips or iron for leaders and commanders. They do not allow the other time to be calm, but stir up strength against those who are condemned, whose nature has judged itself to death in the court that does not accept bribes.

8.14.62 | τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις  
πεφωλευκέναι μᾶλλον ἐστὶ μὲν ψεῦδος·  
ἔξω γὰρ ἄστεος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις  
θεωρεῖται, φεύγοντα ὡς δεσπότην τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ', εἰ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν,  
ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. ἐν γὰρ μυχοῖς σεσώρευται  
φορυτὸς καὶ σκυβάλων πλῆθος, οἵς  
εἰσδύεσθαι φιλεῖ δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν κνῖσαν  
όλκὸν ἔχειν δύναμιν.

8.14.62 | What is hidden in the houses is more of a lie; for outside the city, in the fields and deserts, it is seen that humans flee as if from a master. However, even if it is true, it has some meaning. For in the corners, there is a gathering of dirt and a multitude of filth, which, if one wishes to enter, has the power to carry the smell away.

8.14.63 | εἰ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες ἡμῖν  
συνδιαιτῶνται θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν τῆς γὰρ  
τούτων θήρας ἀπεχόμεθα. σωτηρίας δὲ  
πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυται, τῶν δὲ πρὸς  
ἀπόλαυσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοδίαιτον διὰ τὰς ἔξ  
ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλὰς, πλὴν παρ' οἷς ἡ τῶν  
τοιούτων χπῆδις σις ἀπηγόρευται νόμῳ.

8.14.63 | If swallows live with us, it is nothing surprising; for we keep away from their hunting. But the desire for safety is found not only in rational souls but also in irrational ones. As for enjoyment, there is nothing similar because of the plots against us, except among those for whom the law has forbidden such things.

8.14.64 | τῆς Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις  
ἐστὶν Ἀσκάλων ὄνομα· γενόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ,  
καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶν ιερὸν  
ἐστελλόμην, εὔξόμενός τε καὶ θύσων,  
ἀμήχανόν τι πελειάδων πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῶν  
τριόδων καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην  
έθεασάμην. πυνθανομένῳ δέ μοι τὴν αἴτιαν  
ἔφασαν οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι συλλαμβάνειν·  
ἀπειρῆσθαι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι  
τὴν χρῆσιν. οὕτως ἡμέρωται τὸ ζῶον ὑπ'  
ἀδείας ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπωρόφιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ὅμοτράπεζον ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς

8.14.64 | There is a city by the sea in Syria called Ascalon. While I was there, as I was being sent to the ancestral temple, praying and making sacrifices, I saw a great number of the Pleiades over the threes and around each house. When I asked about the reason, they said it was not lawful to gather them; for it has been forbidden to the inhabitants for a long time. Thus, the animal is tamed by freedom, so that it not only becomes a shelter but also always sits at the same table and shares in the offerings.

έκεχειρίαις ἔντσυφαῖν.

8.14.65 | ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ δὲ καὶ  
θαυμασιώτερον ἴδεῖν ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ  
ἀνθρωποβόρον καὶ θηρίων ἀργαλεώτατον  
ὸ κροκόδειλος, γεννώμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος  
ἐν τῷ Ἱερωτάτῳ Νείλῳ εἶλω, τῆς ὡφελείας,  
καίτοι βύθιος ὅν, ἐπαισθάνεται. παρ' οἷς  
μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶται πληθύνει μάλιστα, παρὰ δὲ  
τοῖς λυμαινομένοις οὐδ' ὄναρ φαίνεται· ὡς  
τῶν πλεόντων ὅπου μὲν καὶ τοὺς πάνυ  
θρασεῖς μηδ' ἄκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθιέναι  
δάκτυλον, ἀγεληδὸν ἐπιφοιτώντων ὅπου  
δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄγαν δειλοὺς ἔξαλλομένους  
νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιάς.

8.14.65 | In Egypt, it is even more amazing to see. For the crocodile, which is the most dangerous to humans and wild animals, is born and raised in the most sacred Nile. Despite being deep in the water, it is aware of what is happening. In some places, it is honored and increases greatly, but among those who are harmed, it does not even appear in dreams. For the boldest people dare to stretch out a finger, while the very fearful run away with their children.

8.14.66 | χώρα δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
γένος αὐτῶν ἔστι πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα  
σποράς καὶ γεωπόνων ἀνδρῶν ἥμερος  
καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ  
ὄντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς 'Ἐλλάδος δ' οὐ  
κατηγορητέον ὡς λυπρὰς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ  
γὰρ κάν ταύτῃ τὸ βαθύγειον. εἰ δ' ἡ  
βάρβαρος διαφέρει ταῖς εὐκαρπίαις,  
πλεονεκτεῖ μὲν τροφαῖς, ἐλαττοῦται δὲ τοῖς  
τρεφομένοις, ὃν χάριν αἱ τροφαὶ μόνη γὰρ  
ἡ Ἐλλάς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν  
οὐράνιον καὶ βλάστημα θεῖον  
ήκριβωμένον, λογισμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα  
οίκειούμενον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ δ' αἴτιον·  
λεπτότητι ἀέρος ἡ διάνοια πέφυκεν  
ἀκονᾶσθαι.

8.14.66 | The land of the Cyclopes, since their race is a creation of myth, does not produce tame crops like those of farmers, just as nothing comes from what does not exist. As for Greece, it should not be accused of being barren and unproductive; for even here, the depths of the earth are rich. If the barbarian land differs in its abundance of food, it has more to eat but less for those who are fed. Because of this, Greece alone truly produces humans, with a heavenly plant and divine growth, giving rise to knowledge that is well-formed. The reason is that the thinness of the air makes the mind sharp.

8.14.67 | διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἄπο  
σκοποῦ φησιν' αὐγὴ ξηρὴ, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη  
καὶ ἀρίστη." τεκμηριώσαιτο δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ  
τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας καὶ ὀλιγοδεεῖς  
συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ  
σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἥκιστα φρονίμους,

8.14.67 | For this reason, Heraclitus says, "Dry light is the wisest and best soul." One could also prove that those who are sober and have little are more understanding, while those who are always filled with drink and food are the least wise, as if they

ἄτε βαπτιζομένου τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ.

8.14.68 | διὸ κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ἔρνη μὲν ταῖς εύτροφίαις καὶ στελέχῃ περιμήκιστα, καὶ ζῷων ἀλόγων σφόδρα τὰ γονιμώτατα, νοῦν δ' ἥκιστα γεννᾷ. διότι τὸ ὑψωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ, αἱ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπάλληλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις κατεκράτησαν.

8.14.69 | ἰχθύων δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθων καὶ χερσαίων γένη ζῷων οὐκ ἔστιν ἔγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ' ἡδονὴν παρακαλούσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν ἐκάστῳ μέρει, φῦναι ζῷων ἴδεας ἀπάντων· οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμῆσαι τὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρῆμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων.

8.14.70 | διὸ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἵ λόγος ἔγκρατείας ἀπαξαπάντων ἀπέχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστη ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῶν είρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταὶ, νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἵς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στεῖλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψασι τὴν χρῆσιν ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων.

8.14.71 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ὥδα καὶ κρόκος καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία πρὸς ὑγίειαν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν γέγονεν. ἄπλετοι γὰρ τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὄσμῶν

are being submerged by the thoughts that come to them.

8.14.68 | For this reason, in the barbarian land, there are rich crops and very tall plants, but it produces the least understanding among the irrational animals. This is because the rising from the air has been taken over by the constant and continuous vapors of the earth and water.

8.14.69 | For fish, birds, and land animals, there are no natural urges that call for pleasure, but there is a terrible blame for our own lack of self-control. It was necessary for the completion of the whole, so that a world could be formed in each part, to create the forms of all animals. However, it is not necessary to urge the most closely related thing to wisdom, which is humans, to seek enjoyment, as they turn into the wildness of beasts.

8.14.70 | For this reason, even now, those who are far from the teachings of self-control enjoy the sweetest pleasures from green vegetables and the fruits of trees. But for those who think that the wildness mentioned above is natural, teachers, wise ones, and lawmakers have been set up in the cities, who care to limit the excess of desires, not allowing the unrestricted use of everything for all.

8.14.71 | If roses, saffron, and the other variety of flowers have come about for health, they are not for pleasure. For their powers are abundant, and by themselves,

ώφελοισιν, εύωδίας πάντας  
άναπιπλᾶσαι, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς  
ἰατρικαῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων. ἔνια  
γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεις  
ἀριδηλοτέρας παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζώουν  
γένεσιν ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ίδιᾳ  
ἐκατέρου μὴ πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἄμφω  
συνελθόντα.

through their scents, they benefit everyone by filling them with sweet fragrances, and even more so in the medical mixtures of medicines. For some, when their own powers are mixed together, provide clearer effects, just as the mixing of male and female in the generation of animals creates something that neither is alone can produce, when both come together.

8.14.72 | ταῦτ' ἀναγκαίως λέλεκται πρὸς  
τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ διαπορηθέντων,  
ἴκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα τοῖς  
μὴ φιλονείκως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν  
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.  
"

8.14.72 | These things have been necessarily said regarding the other matters you have questioned, to provide enough confidence for those who do not argue about the care of human affairs by the divine.

8.14.73 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δηλωθέντος  
ἐπετεμόμην ἀνδρὸς, δόμοῦ μὲν δεικνὺς οἶοι  
καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νέους γεγόνασιν Ἐβραίων  
παῖδες, δόμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς αὐτῶν  
περὶ θεοῦ διαλήψεως, τά τε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς  
προπάτορας ὁμοφωνίας ἐμφανῆ καθιστάς.  
ἥδη δ' ἐντεῦθεν μεταβῆναι καιρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὰς τῶν ἔξωθεν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν  
μαρτυρίας.

8.14.73 | So, I have taken these things from what has been stated about a man, showing how the children of the Hebrews have become like this among the young, and also their pious understanding of God, making clear their agreement with their ancestors. Now it is time to move on to the testimonies from outside about the same things.

## Book Nine (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ENATON)

### Section 1

9.1.1 | Καὶ τῆς τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις λογίων  
ἀποδοχῆς οὐκ ἀσυλλογίστως ἡμῖν, κρίσει  
δὲ καὶ διανοίᾳ ἔξητασμένῃ γεγενημένης,  
ἐπειδὴ συνῶπται τὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως, ὥρα  
συνιδεῖν ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων οἵ μάλιστα  
διαφανεῖς τῶν καθ' Ἐβραίους οὐκ ἄπειροι  
γεγόνασι πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' οἵ μὲν καὶ τῷ

9.1.1 | And regarding the acceptance of the writings from the Hebrews, it is not without careful thought and judgment that we examine them. Since the proofs are clear, it is time to see that the Greeks, especially those who are most knowledgeable about the Hebrews, are not

βίῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῖς φερομέναις ἴστορικαῖς διηγήσεσιν ἀλήθειαν ἐπεμαρτύρησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς δογματικῆς ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἐφήψαντο θεολογίας.

9.1.2 | πρῶτα δὲ τὰ πρῶτα παραθήσομαι, δεικνὺς ὅσοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ἐπ' ὄνόματος Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἐβραίων τῆς τε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀδκουμένης φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν τῶν προπατόρων ἴστορίας ἔμνημόνευσαν.

9.1.3 | ἄρξεται δέ μοι ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν βίου, ὡς ἀν μάθοις ὅτι μὴ ἐκτὸς σώφρονος λογισμοῦ τὴν τῶν δηλουμένων φιλοσοφίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων προτετιμήκαμεν.

9.1.4 | ἀκόλουθα γοῦν τοῖς προεξητασμένοις ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡθικῆς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι συνασκήσεως, οὐ μόνον αὖ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἱεραὶ βίβλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων οἵ μάλιστα διαφανεῖς καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς βεβοημένοι μαρτυροῦσι. καὶ δὴ λαβών ἀνάγνωθι τὰ Θεοφράστου ἐν τοῖς Πορφυρίῳ γραφεῖσι Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς κείμενα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

## Section 2

9.2.1 | "Καίτοι Σύρων μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῆς θυσίαν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος, ζωθυτούντων, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς τρόπον τις κελεύοι θύειν, ἀποσταίμεν ἀν τῆς πράξεως. οὐ γὰρ

ignorant of these matters. Some have confirmed the truth through the historical accounts they have received, while others have also adhered to their theology in a similar way.

9.1.2 | First, I will present the first things, showing how many of the Greek writers mentioned the Jews and Hebrews, as well as their ancient philosophy and the history of their ancestors.

9.1.3 | But my discussion will begin with the lives of men, so that you may learn that we have valued the philosophy of the Greeks, which is clearly shown, not outside of sound reasoning.

9.1.4 | Therefore, following what has been explained in the previous writing, both the sacred books among them and the works of the philosophers among the Greeks, which are most clear and have been confirmed by us, show that they also practice moral training. And indeed, take and read the writings of Theophrastus in the texts of Porphyry about the separation of living beings, in this way.

9.2.1 | And yet, Theophrastus says that the Jews, due to their ancient custom of sacrifice, even now, if someone were to command us to sacrifice in the same way, we would withdraw from the act. For they

έστιώμεείν, νοὶ τῶν τυθέντων,  
δόλοκαυτοῦντες δὲ ταῦτα νυκτὸς, καὶ κατ'  
αύτῶν πολὺ μέλι καὶ οἶνον λείβοντες,  
ἀνήλισκον λισκον τὴν θυσίαν θᾶττον, ἵνα  
τοῦ δεινοῦ μηδ' ὁ πανόπτης γένοιτο  
θεατής.

do not eat, those who are being sacrificed,  
but they burn these things at night, and  
they pour out much honey and wine over  
them, quickly consuming the sacrifice, so  
that not even the all-seeing one would  
become a witness.

9.2.2 | καὶ τοῦτο δρῶσι νηστεύοντες τὰς  
άνὰ μέσον τούτων ἡμέρας· κατὰ δὲ πάντα  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἅτε φιλόσοφοι τὸ γένος  
όντες, περὶ τοῦ θείου μὲν ἀλλήλοις λαλοῦσι,  
τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς τῶν ἀστρων ποιοῦνται τὴν  
θεωρίαν, βλέποντες εἰς αὐτὰ, καὶ διὰ τῶν  
εὐχῶν θεοκλυτοῦντες. κατήρξαντο γάρ  
οὗτοι πρῶτοι τῶν τε λοιπῶν ζώων καὶ  
σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀνάγκῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιθυμίᾳ  
τοῦτο πράξαντες·

9.2.2 | And they do this while fasting on the  
days in between; during all this time, since  
they are philosophers by nature, they talk  
to each other about the divine, and at night  
they observe the stars, looking at them and  
calling upon the gods through their  
prayers. For these people were the first  
among the other living beings and  
themselves, acting out of necessity and not  
out of desire.

### Section 3

9.3.1 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ὑποθέσεως τοιαῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν  
ἰστορεῖ ὁ Πορφύριος Εἰδί τοίνυν οἱ Ἐσσαῖοι  
Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν τὸ γένος, φιλάλληλοι δὲ καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων πλέον.

9.3.1 | And in the fourth part of the same  
discussion, Porphyry tells such things  
about them. Therefore, the Essenes are  
Jews by race, but they are friendly to others  
as well.

9.3.2 | οὗτοι τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς ὡς κακίαν  
ἀποστρέφονται, τὴν δὲ ἔγκράτειαν καὶ τὸ  
μὴ τοῖς πάθεσιν ὑποπίπτειν ἀρετὴν  
ὑπολαμβάνουσι. καὶ γάμου μὲν αὐτοῖς  
ὑπεροψία, τοὺς δ' ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας  
ἐκλαμβάνοντες ἀπαλοὺς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ  
μαθήματα συγγενεῖς ἥγοῦνται καὶ τοῖς  
ἥθεσιν ἐαυτῶν ἐντυποῦσι, τὸν μὲν γάμον  
καὶ τὴν ἔξ αύτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ  
ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν  
ἀσελγείας φυλαττόμενοι καταφρονηταὶ δὲ  
πλούτου καὶ θαυμάσιον παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ  
κοινωνικὸν, οὐδ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν κτήσει τινὰ

9.3.2 | They turn away from pleasures as if  
they were evil, but they consider self-  
control and not giving in to passions as a  
virtue. They look down on marriage, but  
they take in the children of others,  
believing that those who are still young and  
related to them are suitable for learning,  
and they shape them according to their  
own customs. They do not reject marriage  
and its continuation, but they guard against  
the immoral behavior of women. They  
despise wealth and find their community  
life remarkable, and there is no way to find

παρ' αύτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα.

anything among them that stands out in possession.

9.3.3 | νόμος γὰρ τοὺς είς τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἄπασι μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μήθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου, τῶν δὲ ἐκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμιγμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῖς ἄπασιν οὐσίαν εἶναι.

9.3.3 | For there is a law that those who join the community must give up their possessions to the group, so that in all things neither the shame of poverty appears nor the pride of wealth. The belongings of each person are mixed together, so that there is one shared property as if they were all brothers.

9.3.4 | κηλῖδα δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοῦλαιον, κάνναν ἀλειφθῆ τις ἄκων, σμήχεται τὸ σῶμα· τὸ γὰρ αὐχμεῖν ἐν καλῷ τίθενται, λευχειμονεῖν τε διὰ παντός.

9.3.4 | They consider oil to be a stain, and even if someone is anointed against their will, their body becomes unclean. For they believe that being moist is a bad thing, and they always avoid being pale.

9.3.5 | χειροτονητοὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ καὶ ἀδιαίρετοι πρὸς ἀπάντων εἰς τάς χρείας ἔκαστοι. μία δ' οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστῃ μετοικοῦσι πολλοὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἥκουσιν αἱρετισταῖς ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ πρῶτον ἰδόντες εἰσίασιν ὡς πρὸς συνήθεις· διὸ οὐδὲν ἐπικομιζόμενοι ἀποδημοῦσιν ἀναλωμάτων ἔνεκα.

9.3.5 | The elected leaders of the community are responsible for everyone's needs, and they are not divided among themselves. There is not one city for them, but many people live in each place, and those who come from elsewhere are welcomed as guests. When they first arrive, they are treated as if they are among friends. Therefore, they do not bring anything with them when they travel, because they do not need to spend money.

9.3.6 | οὕτε δὲ ἔσθῆτα οὕτε ύποδήματα ἀμείβουσι, πρὶν διαρραγῆναι πρότερον παντάπασιν, ἢ δαπανηθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ. ούδ' ἀγοράζουσί τι, ούδὲ πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χρήζοντι διδοὺς ἔκαστος τὰ παρ' ἔαυτῷ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου χρήσιμον ἀντικομίζεται· καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἀκώλυτος ἡ

9.3.6 | They do not change their clothes or shoes until they are completely worn out or used up over time. They do not buy anything, nor do they sell, but each person gives what they have to whoever needs it, and they receive what they need in return. Without any exchange, they freely share

μετάληψις αύτοῖς παρ' ὅν ἀν ἔθέλωσι.”

9.3.7 | “Πρός γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον ἴδιως εὔσεβεῖς. πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγγονται τῶν βεβήλων,, πατρίους δέ τινας εἰς αὐτὸν εύχας ὁσπερ ίκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι. μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄς ἔκαστοι τέχνας ἵσασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ἀφεῖνται, καὶ μέχρι πέμπτης ὥρας ἐργασάμενοι συντόνως, ἐπειτα πάλιν εἰς ἔν αἴθροιζονται χωρίον, ζωσάμενοί τε δικεπάσμαδιν οὕτως ἀπολούονται τὸ σῶμα ψυχροῖς ὕδασι· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀγνείαν εἰς ἴδιον οἰκημα συνίασιν, ἐν ᾧ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐτεροδόξων ἐπιτέτραπται παρελθεῖν.

9.3.8 | αύτοὶ δὲ καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἄγιον τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον. καθεσθέντων δὲ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ὃ μὲν σιτοποιὸς ἐν τάξει παρατίθησιν ἄρτους, ὃ δὲ μάγειρος ἐν ἀγγεῖον ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐδέσματος ἐκάστῳ. προκατεύχεται δὲ ὃ ιερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς, ἀγνῆς οὐσῆς καὶ καθαρὰς, καὶ γεύσασθαι τινα πρὶν τῆς εύχῆς ἀθέμιτον· ἀριστοποιησαμένοις δὲ ἐπεύχεται πάλιν, ἀρχόμενοί τε καὶ παυόμενοι γεραίρουσι τὸν θεόν.

9.3.9 | ἐπειθ' ὡς ιερὰς καταθέμενοι τὰς ἐσθῆτας πάλιν ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπονται μέχρι δεύτης. δειπνοῦσι δ' ὑποστρέψαντες στρέψαντες ὁμοίως, συγκαθεζομένων τῶν ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν αύτοῖς παρόντες.

9.3.10 | οὕτε δὲ κραυγή ποτε τὸν οἶκον οὕτε θόρυβος μιαίνει· τὰς δὲ λαλιὰς ἐν

with anyone they want.

9.3.7 | They are especially respectful towards the divine. Before they can look at the sun, they do not speak anything unholy, but they offer some prayers to it as if begging for it to rise. After this, each person is allowed to practice the skills they know under the leaders, and they work hard until the fifth hour. Then, they gather together in one place, and after wrapping themselves in cloths, they wash their bodies with cold water. After this purification, they go to their own homes, where no one from outside is allowed to enter.

9.3.8 | They come together clean, as if entering a holy place for a meal. Once they are seated in peace, the baker places the loaves in order, and the cook serves each person one dish from a single pot. The priest offers a prayer for the food, which is pure and clean, and it is not allowed to taste anything before the prayer. After they have eaten, he prays again, both at the beginning and the end, honoring the god.

9.3.9 | Then, after laying aside their sacred garments, they turn back to work until evening. When they return to dine, they sit down together in the same way, with the guests joining them if they happen to be present.

9.3.10 | Neither shouting nor noise ever pollutes the house. They allow their

τάξει παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς  
ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριόν τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν  
ἔνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίνεται. τούτου δὲ  
αἴτιον ἡ διηνεκής νῆψις καὶ τὸ μετρεῖσθαι  
παρ' αὐτοῖς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν μέχρι  
κόρου."

9.3.11 | Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν οὐκ  
εύθὺς ἡ πάροδος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἔνιαυτὸν ἔξω  
μένοντι τὴν αὐτὴν ὑποτίθενται δίαιταν,  
ἀξινάριόν τε καὶ περίζωμα δόντες καὶ  
λευκὴν ἑσθῆτα. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
χρόνῳ πεῖραν ἐγκρατείας δῶ, πρόσεισι μὲν  
ἔγγιον τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ καθαρώτερον τῶν  
πρὸς ἀγνείαν ὑδάτων μεταλαμβάνει,

9.3.12 | παραλαμβάνεται δὲ εἰς τὰς  
συμβιώσεις οὐδέπω· μετὰ γὰρ τὴς  
καρτερίας ἐπίδειξιν δυσὶν ἄλλοις ἔτεσι τὸ  
ῆθος δοκιμάζεται, καὶ φανεὶς ἄξιος, οὕτως  
εἰς τὸν ὅμιλον ἐγκρίνεται.

9.3.13 | πρὶν δὲ τῆς κοινῆς ἄψασθαι  
τροφῆς, ὅρκους αὐτοῖς ὅμνυσι φρικώδεις·  
πρῶτον μὲν εὔσεβήσειν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπειτα τὰ  
πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξειν, καὶ μήτε  
κατὰ γνώμην βλάψειν τινὰ μήτ' ἔξ  
έριτάυματος, μισήσειν δ' ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους  
καὶ συναδικεῖσθαι τοῖς δικαίοις· τὸ πιστὸν  
πᾶσι μὲν παρέξειν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς  
κρατοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ δίχα θεοῦ περιγίγνεσθαι  
τινὶ τὸ ἄρχειν. κἄν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ,  
μηδεπώποτε ἔξυβρίσαι εἰς τὴν ἔξουσίαν,  
μηδὲ ἑσθῆτι, ἢ τινι πλέονι κόσμῳ τοὺς  
ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερλαμπρύνεσθαι· τὴν  
ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπᾶν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς  
ψευδομένους προβάλλεσθαι· χεῖρας  
κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνοσίου κέρδους  
καθαρὰν φυλάξειν, καὶ μήτε κρύψειν τι

conversations to flow in order, and the silence inside seems like a frightening mystery to those outside. The reason for this is their constant sobriety and the way they measure their food and drink until they are satisfied.

9.3.11 | For those who desire the way of life, the path is not immediate, but they remain outside for a year, following the same diet, receiving a knife and a belt, and a white garment. When during this time they show self-control, they approach the diet more closely and receive purer water for their cleanliness.

9.3.12 | They are not yet accepted into the community. For after showing endurance, their character is tested for two more years, and if they prove worthy, they are then admitted into the group.

9.3.13 | Before they share in the common food, they swear terrible oaths to them. First, they will honor the divine, then they will keep justice towards people, and they will not harm anyone either by intention or by accident. They will always hate the unjust and side with the just. They will provide trust to all, especially to those in power, for no one should rule without the support of the divine. Even if they themselves are in charge, they must never abuse their authority, nor should they elevate those under them with clothing or any other outward show. They will always love the truth and expose those who lie. They will keep their hands free from theft and their souls pure from unjust gain, and

τοὺς αἱρετιστὰς μήθ’ ἐτέροις αύτῶν τι  
μηνύσειν, καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τις βιάζηται.

they will not hide anything from their fellow initiates nor reveal anything to others, even if someone is forced to do so until death.

9.3.14 | πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅμνυσι μηδενὶ μὲν  
μεταδοῦναι τῶν δογμάτων ἐτέρως ἢ ὡς  
αὐτὸς παρέλαβεν, ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ ληστείας,  
καὶ συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τά τε τῆς  
αἱρέσεως αύτῶν βιβλία καὶ τὰ τῶν  
ἀγγέλων ὄνόματα.

9.3.14 | In addition to these, they swear not to share any of the teachings with anyone else, except as they themselves received them. They will reject theft and will keep safe both the books of their group and the names of the angels.

9.3.15 | τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ὄρκοι· οἵ δὲ ἀλόντες  
καὶ ἐκβληθέντες κακῷ μόρῳ φθείρονται.  
τοῖς γὰρ ὄρκοις καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐνδεδεμένοι  
οὐδὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τροφῆς δύ<sup>ν</sup>  
νανται μεταλαμβάνειν, ποηφαγοῦντες δὲ  
καὶ λιμῷ διαφθειρόμενοι ἀπόλλυνται.

9.3.15 | Such are the oaths. But those who are caught and expelled in a bad way are destroyed. For those bound by the oaths and the rules cannot partake of the food shared with others, and by eating poorly and being consumed by hunger, they perish.

9.3.16 | διὸ δὴ πολλοὺς ἐλεήσαντες ἐν ταῖς  
ἐσχάταις ἀνάγκαις ἀνέλαβον, ἱκανὴν  
τιμωρίαν δεδωκέναι νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς  
ἀμαρτήμασι τὴν μέχρι θανάτου βάσανον.”

9.3.16 | Therefore, having shown mercy to many in their greatest needs, they believed that they had given enough punishment for the wrongdoings, which was a torment until death.

9.3.17 | “Τὴν δὲ σκαλίδα διδόασι τοῖς  
μέλλουσιν αἱρετισταῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
ἄλλως οὐ θακεύουσιν ἢ βόθρον ὄρυξαντες  
εἰς βάθος ποδιαῖον, περικαλύψαντες  
θοίματίω, ὡς μὴ ταῖς αὔγαῖς ἐνυβρίζειν τοῦ  
θεοῦ.

9.3.17 | They give the ladder to those who are about to be chosen, since they themselves do not hide in any other way than by digging a deep pit, covering it with cloth, so that it does not insult the rays of the god.

9.3.18 | τοσαύτη δ’ ἔστιν αύτῶν ἡ λιτότης ἡ  
περὶ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ ἡ ὄλιγότης ὡς ἐν τῇ  
ἐβδομάδι μὴ δεῖσθαι κενώσεως, ἦν τηρεῖν

9.3.18 | Such is their simplicity regarding their diet and their scarcity, that in the seventh day they do not fear emptiness,

είώθασιν είς ὕμνους τῷ θεῷ καὶ εἰς  
ἀνάπαυσιν.

which they are used to keeping for hymns  
to the god and for rest.

9.3.19 | ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ταύτης  
τοσαύτην πεποίηνται καρτερίαν, ὡς  
στρεβλούμενοι μένοι καὶ λυγιζόμενοι καὶ  
καόμενοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὀδεύοντες τῶν  
βασανιστηρίων ὄργάνων, ἵν' ἢ  
βλασφημήσωσι τὸν νομοθέτην, ἢ φάγωσί<sup>τι</sup> τῶν ἀσυνήσυδέτερον οὐδέτερον  
ὑπομένειν.

9.3.19 | From this practice, they have  
gained such strength that, being twisted,  
bent, and burned, and going through all the  
instruments of torture, they either  
blaspheme the lawgiver or endure to eat  
something that is neither familiar nor  
acceptable.

9.3.20 | διέδειξαν δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ πρὸς  
ρωμαίους πολέμῳ. ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ κολακεῦσαι  
τοὺς αἰκιζομένους, ἢ δακρύσαι ὑπομένουσι,  
μειδῶντες δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀληγδόσι, καὶ  
κατειρωνευόμενοι τῶν τὰς βασάνους  
προσφερόντων, εὕθυμοι τὰς ψυχὰς  
ήφιεσαν, ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ  
ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα, φθαρτὰ  
μὲν εἶναι τὰ δώματα, μάτα, καὶ τὴν ὅλην οὐ  
μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους  
ἀεὶ διαμένειν· καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ  
λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἱθέρος, ρύμῃ  
φυσικῇ κατασρωμένας, ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀνεθῶσι  
τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἵον δὴ μακρᾶς  
δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένας, τότε χαίρειν καὶ  
μετεώρους φέρεσθαι.

9.3.20 | They showed this in the war  
against the Romans. For they do not even  
flatter those being tortured, nor do they  
shed tears while enduring, but smiling in  
their pains, and mocking those who bring  
the tortures, they freely let their souls go,  
as if they were being taken up again. For  
this glory is strong among them, that their  
bodies are perishable, and their material is  
not lasting, but their souls remain immortal  
forever. And when they are released from  
the bonds of the flesh, as if freed from long  
slavery, then they rejoice and are carried  
away.

9.3.21 | ἀπὸ δὴ τῆς τοιαύτης διαίτης καὶ  
τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εύσέβειαν  
ἀσκήσεως εἰκότως ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ, οἱ καὶ  
τὰ μέλλοντα προγινώσκουσιν, ὡς ἀν  
βίβλοις Ἱεραῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἀγνείαις καὶ  
προφητῶν ἀροφθέγμασιν  
ἐμπαιδιστριβούμενοι· σπάνιον δὲ, εἴ ἐν ταῖς  
προαγορεύσεσιν ἀστοχοῦσι."

9.3.21 | From such a way of life and their  
practice of truth and piety, many among  
them, who also foresee what is to come, are  
grounded in sacred books and various  
purities and the sayings of prophets. But it  
is rare if they miss the mark in their  
predictions.

9.3.22 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πορφύριος, ἐκ παλαιῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῇ τῶν δηλουμένων ἀνδρῶν εύσεβείᾳ τε ὅμοι καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν σπουδασθέντων αὐτῷ Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχῆς ἐμαρτύρησεν.

## Section 4

9.4.1 | Ἐκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος ἄμα καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἱκανώτατος, ἴδιαν βίβλον ἀναθεὶς τῇ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἱστορίᾳ, πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν διέξεισιν, ἀφ' ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκέσει παρατεθέντα ταῦτα

9.4.2 | “Ἐστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ πολλὰ ὄχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κῶμαι· μία δὲ ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ πόλις ὄχυρά, πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἥν οίκουσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα.

9.4.3 | ἐνταῦθα δέ ἔστι κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθινος, μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὗρος δὲ πήχεων ἑκατὸν, ἔχων διπλᾶς πύλας, ἐν ᾧ βωμός ἔστι τετράγωνος, ἀτμήτων συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων οὕτω συγκείμενος· πλευρὰν δὲ ἐκάστην εἴκοσι πήχεων, ὕψος δωδεκάπτηχον.

9.4.4 | καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν οἴκημα μέγα, οὗ βωμός ἔστι καὶ λυχνίον· ἀμφότερα χρυσᾶ, δύο τάλαντα τὴν διλκήν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων φῶς ἔστιν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας. ἄγαλμα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὔδ' ἀνάθημα τοπαράπαν, οὐδὲ φύτευμα παντελῶς, οὐδὲ οἶον ἀλσῶδες, ἢ τι

9.3.22 | These things Porphyry, from ancient writings, as is likely, testified in the fourth book of those studied by him about the piety and philosophy of the revealed men regarding the separation of living beings.

9.4.1 | Hecataeus of Abdera, a philosopher and very capable in his actions, wrote a special book on the history of the Jews, in which he discusses many things about them. From this, what is presented here will be enough for the present.

9.4.2 | Indeed, among the Jews, there are many strongholds throughout the land and villages; but Jerusalem is a strong city, with a perimeter of fifty stadia, in which live about twelve myriads of people, and they call it Jerusalem.

9.4.3 | Here, in the middle of the city, there is a stone enclosure, about five times long and one hundred cubits wide, having double gates. Inside it, there is a square altar made of gathered stones, arranged in this way; each side is twenty cubits, and its height is twelve cubits.

9.4.4 | And beside it, there is a large building, where there is an altar and a lampstand; both are made of gold and weigh two talents. On top of these, there is an everlasting light for both nights and days. There is no statue or offering at all, nor any kind of plant, or anything like a

τοιοῦτον.

grove, or anything of that sort.

9.4.5 | διατρίβουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας Ἱερεῖς, ἀγνείας τινὰς ἀγνεύοντες, καὶ τοπαράπαν οἶνον οὐ πίνοντες ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ."

9.4.5 | And in it, both nights and days, priests spend time, observing certain purities, and they do not drink any wine at all in the temple.

9.4.6 | Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑποβάς ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεστρατεύσαντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ, μεμαρτύρηκεν. οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖν φησιν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενομένοις, τοῦτο παραθήσομαι. λέγει δὲ οὕτως

9.4.6 | After saying this, he mentioned that they had also fought alongside King Alexander, and after that, he testified about his successors. He claims that he himself encountered a Jewish man during the campaign, and I will present this. He says this:

9.4.7 | "Ἐμοῦ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑρυθρὰν θάλασσαν βαδίζοντος συνηκολούθει τις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπεμπόντων ἡμάς ἱππέων Ἰουδαίων ὄνομα Μοσόμαμος, ἄνθρωπος ἱκανὸς κατὰ ψυχὴν, εὔρωστος, καὶ τοξότης ὑπὸ δὴ πάντων ὁμολογούμενος καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄριστος.

9.4.7 | While I was walking to the Red Sea, a certain man named Mosomamos accompanied me with the other Jewish horsemen. He was a strong man, well-built, and he was recognized by both Greeks and non-Greeks as the best archer.

9.4.8 | οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, βαδιζόντων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ μάντεως τινος ὄρνιθενομένου, καὶ πάντας ἐπισχεῖν ἀξιοῦντος, ἥρωτησε διὰ τί προσμένουσι· δείξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄρνιθα, καὶ φήσαντος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ μένη, προσμένειν συμφέρει πᾶσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀναστὰς εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν πέτηται, προάγειν, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅπισθεν, ἀναχωρεῖν αὐθις· σιωπήσας καὶ ἐλκύσας τὸ τόξον ἔβαλε, καὶ τὸν ὄρνιθα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν.

9.4.8 | This man, while many were walking along the road and a certain seer was observing birds and asking everyone to wait, asked why they were waiting. When the seer showed him the bird and said that if it stayed, it was good for everyone to wait, but if it flew forward, they should move on, and if it flew back, they should retreat, he became silent. Then he drew his bow and shot the bird, killing it.

9.4.9 | ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καὶ

9.4.9 | When the seer and some others

τινων ἄλλων καὶ καταρωμένων αύτῷ, Τί μαίνεσθε, ἔφη, κακαδαίμονες; εἴτα τὸν ὅρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, Πῶς γάρ οὗτος, ἔφη, τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν οὐ προι’δὼν, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πορείας ἡμῖν ἀν τι ὑγιεὶς ἀνήγγειλεν; εἰ γάρ ἡδύνατο προγινώσκειν τὸ μέλλον, εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὐκ ἀν ἥλθε, φοβούμενος μὴ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνη Μοσόμαμος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐκαταῖος.

## Section 5

9.5.1 | "Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ Ὅπνου βιβλίῳ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ φιλοδόφῳ τοιόνδε τινὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀνατίθησι λόγον, ὡδε πρὸς ῥῆμα γράφων,

9.5.2 | Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μακρὸν ἀν εἴη λέγειν ὅσα δὲ ἔχει τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμασιότητά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοίως διελθεῖν οὐ χεῖρον. Σαφῶς δ' ἴσθι, εἶπεν, Ὑπεροχίδη, θαυμαστὸν ὄνείροις ἵσα σοι δόξω λέγειν.

9.5.3 | καὶ ὁ Ὑρεσοχίδης εὐλαβούμενος, Δι’ αὐτὸν γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ ζητοῦμεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντες.

9.5.4 | Οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, κατὰ τὸ τῶν ῥήτορικῶν παράγγελμα, γένος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διέλθωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπειθῶμεν τοῖς τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν διδασκάλοις.

9.5.5 | Λέγε, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης, οὕτως εἰ

were angry and cursed him, he said, 'Why are you so upset, you unlucky ones?' Then, taking the bird in his hands, he said, 'How could this one, not knowing his own safety, announce anything healthy about our journey? For if he could foresee the future, he would not have come to this place, fearing that Mosomamos the Jew would kill him with an arrow.' And this is what Hecataeus said.

9.5.1 | Clearchus the Peripatetic philosopher, in the first book On Sleep, presents a certain account about the Jews to Aristotle the philosopher, writing something like this:

9.5.2 | But it would take a long time to say many things. However, it is not worse to go through some of the wonders and philosophy of those people. Clearly know this," he said, "Hyperochides, I think it is wonderful to speak to you about dreams.

9.5.3 | And Hyperochides, being cautious, said, "For this reason, we all seek to hear this."

9.5.4 | Well then," said Aristotle, "according to the teaching of the rhetoricians, let us first go through his kind, so that we do not disobey the teachers of the speeches.

9.5.5 | Speak," said Hyperochides, "if it

δοκεῖ.

seems so.

9.5.6 | Κεῖνος τούνυν τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ίουδαῖος, ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας, οὗτοι δ' είσιν ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσόφων· καλοῦνται δὲ, ὡς φασιν, οἵ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς Καλανοί, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις Ίουδαῖοι, τοῦνομα λαβόντες ἄπο του τόπου. προσαγορεύεται γάρ ὃν κατοικοῦσι τόπον Ίουδαία· τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἔστιν, Τερουσαλὴμ γάρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν.

9.5.6 | That one, then, was a Jew from Coele-Syria; these are descendants of the philosophers in India. They are called, as they say, the philosophers: among the Indians, Kalanoi, and among the Syrians, Jews, taking their name from that place. For they are called Jews because they live in a place called Judea; but the name of their city is very twisted, for they call it Jerusalem.

9.5.7 | οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιξενούμενός τε πολλοῖς κάκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων εἰς τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ὑποκαταβαίνων Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τότε διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, παραβαλῶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἄνθρωπος, ἐντυγχάνει ἡμῖν τε καί τισιν ἐτέροις τῶν σχολαστικῶν, πειρώμενος αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας. ὡς δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ συνωκείωτο, παρεδίδου τι μᾶλλον ὃν εἶχε. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος.

9.5.7 | This man, then, was Greek, not only in language but also in spirit, as he was often a guest of many and came down from the higher places to the coastal areas. And while we were discussing Asia, a man came across us in those same places, meeting with us and some others of the scholars, trying to learn from their wisdom. As he was familiar with many in education, he shared something more of what he had. These things also came from Clearchus.

## Section 6

9.6.1 | Τούτου δὲ μνημονεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος Κλήμης μῆτρας ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Στρωματεῖ, δι' ὃν ταῦτά φησι

9.6.1 | Our Clement also mentions this man in the first Stromateis, where he says these things.

9.6.2 | Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς εἰδέναι φησί τινα Ίουδαῖον, ὃς Ἀριστοτέλει συνεγένετο." Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει

9.6.2 | "Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a certain Jew who was a contemporary of Aristotle." And he adds other things.

9.6.3 | "Νουμᾶς δὲ ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Πυθαγόρειος μὲν ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Μώσεως ὀφεληθεὶς διεκώλυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζωόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίους κτίζειν.

9.6.3 | Numas, the king of the Romans, was a Pythagorean, and being helped by the teachings of Moses, he prevented the Romans from making images of God that looked like humans or animals.

9.6.4 | ἐν γοῦν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς οίκοδομούμενοι ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν οὕτε πλαστὸν οὕτε μὴν γραπτὸν ἐροιήσαντο. ἐπεδείκνυτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ Νουμᾶς δι' ἐπικρύψεως ὡς οὐκ ἐφάψασθαι τοῦ βελτίστου δυνατὸν γλώττη, μόνω δὲ τῷ νῷ. "Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ἔξῆς ὑποβὰς τάδε φησί

9.6.4 | In the first one hundred and seventy years, they built no temples, neither statues nor paintings. For Numas showed them, through secrecy, that it was not possible to touch the best with words, but only with the mind. Moreover, after this, he says the following.

9.6.5 | "Φανερώτατα δὲ Μεγασθενῆς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὁ Σελεύκῳ τῷ Νικάνορι συμβεβιωκὼς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὥδε γράφει· ἅπαντα μέντοι τὰ περὶ φύσεως εἰρημένα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις λέγεται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος φιλοσοφοῦσι, τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς δοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Βραχμάνων, τὰ δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων Ἰουδαίων."

9.6.5 | Most clearly, Megasthenes, the writer who lived with Seleucus Nicanor, writes this in the third book of the Indica: 'All things about nature that have been mentioned by the ancients are also said by those who study philosophy outside of Greece; some by the Indians through the Brahmins, and others in Syria by those called Jews.'

9.6.6 | "Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Κλήμης Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ περιπατητικοῦ καὶ Νουμηνίου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου μνημονεύει μονεύει λέγων "Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Φιλομήτορα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· Κατηκολούθηκε δὲ ὁ Πλάτων' τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ, καὶ φανερός ἐστι περιειργασμένος ἔκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λεγομένων.

9.6.6 | Moreover, Clement mentions Aristobulus the Peripatetic and Numenius the Pythagorean, saying: 'Aristobulus writes in the first of his works to Philometor, word for word: Plato was influenced by our laws, and it is clear that he carefully worked through each of the things said in it.'

9.6.7 | διηρμήνευται δὲ πρὸ Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἑτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἔξ Aίγυπτου

9.6.7 | It is explained before Demetrius by others, before the rule of Alexander and the Persians, both about the departure of our

έξαγωγήν τῶν Ἐβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις.

9.6.8 | ὥστε εύδηλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά· γέγονε γάρ πολυμαθής· καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετεωέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν.

9.6.9 | Νουμήνιος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς φιλόσοφος ἄντικρυς γράφει τί γάρ ἔστι Πλάτων' ἢ Μώσης ἀττικίζων; Ταῦτα ὁ Κλήμης.

## Section 7

9.7.1 | Καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ φιλοσόφου, τοῦ Νουμηνίου λέγω, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Περὶ τάγαθου τάδε παραθήσομαι "Εἰς δὲ τοῦτο δεήσει εἰπόντα καὶ σημηνάμενον ταῖς μαρτυρίαις ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἀναχωρήσασθαι καὶ ξυνδήσασθαι τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, ἐρικαλέσασθαι δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εύδοκιμοῦντα, προσφερόμενον αὐτῶν τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ δόγματα, τάς τε ιδρύσεις συντελουμένας Πλάτωνι ὀμολογουμένως, δόποσας Βσαχμᾶνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Μάγοι καὶ Αἴγυπτοι διέθεντο Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶνδες.

## Section 8

9.8.1 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ βίβλῳ Μώσεως ὁ αὐτὸς τάδε λέγων μνημονεύει "Τὰ δ' ἔξῆς Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς Αἴγυπτοι

citizens, the Hebrews, from Egypt, and the appearance of all the events to them, and the control of the land, and the explanation of the whole law.

9.6.8 | Therefore, it is clear that the philosopher mentioned has taken in many things; for he has become very learned, just as Pythagoras took many things from us into his own teachings.

9.6.9 | Numenius the Pythagorean philosopher writes directly: 'What is Plato or Moses speaking in Attic?' This is what Clement says.

9.7.1 | And from the first book 'On the Good' of the Pythagorean philosopher, I, speaking of Numenius, will present the following: 'In this, it will be necessary to say and indicate that the testimonies of Plato should be withdrawn and connected with the words of Pythagoras, and that the nations that are honored should be called, offering their rituals and teachings, with the foundations being completed according to Plato, as many as the Bactrians, Jews, Magi, and Egyptians have handed down.' This is what I have to say about these things.

9.8.1 | And in the third book of Moses, the same one says the following: 'And after this, the Egyptian scribes, Jannes and

ιερογραμματεῖς, ἄνδρες οὐδενὸς ἥττους μαγεῦσαι κριθέντες εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔξελαυνομένων ἐξ Αἴγυπτου.

9.8.2 | Μουσαίω γοῦν τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔξηγησαμένῳ, ἀνδρὶ γενομένῳ θεῷ εὕξασθαι δυνατωτάτῳ, οἱ παραστῆναι ἀξιωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τῶν Αίγυπτίων οὗτοι ἦσαν, τῶν τε συμφορῶν ἃς ὁ Μουσαῖος ἐπῆγε τῇ Αἴγυπτῳ, τὰς νεανικωτάτας αὐτῶν ἐπιλύεσθαι ὥφθησαν δυνατοί.'

9.8.3 | Διὰ δὴ τούτων ὁ Νουμήνιος καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Μώσεως ἐπιελī-σθεῖσι παραδόξοις θαύμασι καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ ὡς θεοφιλεῖ γενομένῳ μαρτυρεῖ.

## Section 9

9.9.1 | "Τοῦ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ Χοιρίος ἀρχαῖος γενόμενος ποιητὴς μέμνηται, καὶ ὡς συνεστράτευσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγει δὲ οὕτως τῶν δ' ὅπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι, γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες, ωκουν δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὅρεσι, πλατέῃ παρὰ λίμνῃ, αύχμαλέοι κεφαλάς, τροχοκουράδες· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεντίππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπον ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

9.9.2 | δῆλον δ' ἔστιν ὅτι περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ ταῦτ' εἴρητο ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλησι Σολύμοις ὄνομαζομένοις ὅρεσι κεῖσθαι, πλησίον δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, πλατυτάτην οὖσαν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ μείζονα

Jambres, who were men judged to be no less than magicians, opposed the Jews as they were leaving Egypt.'

9.8.2 | Indeed, in the account of the Jews given by Moses, he prayed to the most powerful God. Those who were deemed worthy to stand by him were from the multitude of the Egyptians. They were seen to be strong enough to deal with the disasters that Moses brought upon Egypt, freeing their youngest ones.

9.8.3 | Because of these things, Numenius also testifies that those under Moses were involved in strange wonders and that he himself became beloved by God.

9.9.1 | Chorilus, an ancient poet of the Jewish nation, also mentions how they campaigned with King Xerxes against Greece. He says this: 'Behind them passed a wonderful race to be seen, releasing a Phoenician tongue from their mouths, and they lived in the mountains of Solyma, wide by a lake, with heads captured, wheel-like.' But above them, they wore horse-like faces covered with smoke.

9.9.2 | It is clear that these things were said about the Jews, as he also mentions that Jerusalem is located in the mountains called Solyma by the Greeks, and that the Lake Asphaltitis is nearby, being the widest and largest of all the lakes in Syria,

πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λιμνῶν." Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτος.

according to the poet. These things are indeed what he said.

## Section 10

9.10.1 | Ό δὲ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας αὐτὸν εἰσάγει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεὸν τῷ Εβραίων γένει μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ συνέσει βιωμένων ἔθνῶν σοφίαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα.

9.10.1 | But Porphyry introduces his own god in the first part of his work on philosophy, showing wisdom alongside the other nations that call out for understanding among the Hebrews.

9.10.2 | λέγει δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων δι' οὗ ἔκτιθεται χρησμοῦ τάδε. ἐκκειμένων δὲ ἔτι περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπάγει, οἷς προσέχειν δεῖ, ἀτε μεστοῖς οὓσι πάσης θεοσοφίας αἴπεινή μὲν ὄδος μακάρων, τρηχεῖά τε πολλὸν, χαλκοδέτοις τὰ πρῶτα διοιγομένη πυλεῶσιν ἀτραπιτοὶ δὲ ἔασιν ἀθέσφατοι ἔγγεγαυῖαι, ἃς πρῶτοι μερόπων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πρῆξιν ἔφηνανοι τὸ καλὸν πίνοντες ὕδωρ Νειλώτιδος αἴης· πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὄδοις μακάρων ἐδάησαν, Ἀσσύριοι Λυδοί τε καὶ Εβραίων γένος ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα. οἷς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐπιλέγει

9.10.2 | "And Apollo, who is with him, says these things through a prophecy. After discussing the sacrifices, he adds what should be focused on, as they are full of all wisdom: 'The path of the blessed is high and rough, opening first at the gates of bronze; the ways are countless and unfathomable, which the first mortals revealed for endless deeds, those who drink the beautiful water of the Nile; many paths of the blessed have been traveled by Assyrians, Lydians, and men of the Hebrew race,' and what follows from these things, which the author chooses."

9.10.3 | "Χαλκόδετος γὰρ ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς ὄδος, αἴπεινή τε καὶ τραχεῖα, ἃς πολλὰς ἀτραποὺς βάρβαροι μὲν ἔξεῦρον, Ἑλληνες δὲ ἐπλανήθησαν, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες ἥδη καὶ διέφθειραν. τὴν δὲ εὔρεσιν Αἴγυπτίοις ὁ θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις, Ἀσσύριοι γὰρ οὗτοι) Λυδοῖς τε καὶ Εβραίοις.

9.10.3 | For the path to the gods is made of bronze, both high and rough, which many paths the barbarians have found, while the Greeks have wandered off, and those in power have already destroyed. The god testified to the discovery among the Egyptians, as well as the Phoenicians and Chaldeans, for these are Assyrians, Lydians, and Hebrews.

9.10.4 | ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χρησμῷ φησιν ὁ Ἀπόλλων, μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι

9.10.4 | Moreover, in another prophecy, Apollo says, 'Only the Chaldeans have

σοφίαν λάχον, ἡδ' ἄρ  
Ἐβραῖοι, αὐτογένεθλον ἄνακτα  
σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς.

9.10.5 | καὶ πάλιν ἔρωτηθεὶς, τίνι λόγῳ  
πολλοὺς λέγουσιν ούρανοὺς, ἔχρησε τάδε  
εἰς ἐν παντὶ πέλει κόσμου κύκλος, ἀλλὰ σὺν  
ἐπτάζωναισιν πεφόρηται εἰς ἀστερόεντα  
κέλευθα, ἃς δὴ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ ἀριζήλωτοι  
βραζοιούρανίας ὄνομηναν, ἐς ἐβδόματον  
δρόμον ἔρπειν.

9.10.6 | Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ  
Ἐβραίων προσηγορίας τῆς τε παρ' αὐτοῖς  
πάλαι διαπρεπούσης εύσεβείας τε καὶ  
φιλοσοφίας ἐκκείσθω ταῦτα, περὶ δὲ τῆς  
πατρίου αὐτῶν ἴστορίας θέα ὀπόσοι  
συνεφώνησαν·

9.10.7 | Μώσεως ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς  
ἀσχαιολογίαις λογίαις κατακλυσμὸν  
ἰστορήσαντος, καὶ ὡς ὁ παρ' Ἐβραίοις  
ὄνομαζόμενος Νῶε ἐν λάρνακι ξύλου  
πεποιημένῃ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων  
διασέσωσται, Βηρωσσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος, καὶ  
Ιερώνυμος ὁ Αἴγυπτιος, Νικόλαος τε ὁ  
Δαμασκηνὸς ἴστορικὸν συγγραφεῖς, ὅπως  
τῶν αὐτῶν ἐμνημόνευσαν, Ἰώσηπος ἐν τῇ  
πρώτῃ τῆς Αρχαιολογίας τοῦτον  
παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον

## Section 11

9.11.1 | "Τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ τούτου καὶ  
τῆς λάρνακος νάκος μέμνηνται πάντες οἱ  
τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἴστορίας ἀναγεγραφότες,  
ῶν ἔστι καὶ Βηρωσσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος.  
διηγούμενος γάρ τὰ περὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν

obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews,  
honoring their own god, the self-born lord,  
with purity.'

9.10.5 | And again, when asked why they  
say there are many heavens, he gave this  
answer: 'In the whole universe, there is one  
circle, but it is carried with seven zones  
into the starry paths, which the Chaldeans  
and the famous Brahmins named heavenly,  
moving in a sevenfold course.'

9.10.6 | Now, let these things be said about  
the name of the Jews and Hebrews, and  
about their long-standing reputation for  
piety and philosophy. As for their ancestral  
history, let those who agree speak.

9.10.7 | Moses, in his writings about the  
whole world, recorded the flood, and how  
Noah, known among the Hebrews, was  
saved in an ark made of wood with his  
family. Berossus the Chaldean, and Jerome  
the Egyptian, and Nicholas of Damascus,  
historical writers, mentioned the same  
things. Josephus, in the first book of his  
Antiquities, presents this account.

9.11.1 | All those who have written about  
foreign histories remember this flood and  
the ark, including Berossus the Chaldean.  
For when he tells about the flood, he

οὕτω που διέξεισται

explains it like this:

9.11.2 | λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὅρε τόν Κορδυαίων ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι, καὶ κομίζειν τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιροῦντας, χρῶνται δὲ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς.

9.11.2 | It is said that part of the ship is still in Armenia, near the mountain of the Gordyæans, and that some people take away pieces of it. The people mostly use what is brought from it for their terrible fears.

9.11.3 | μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικήν συγγραψάμενος, καὶ Μνασέας δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι λοὶ πλείους, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ ἕκτῃ βίβλῳ ιστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν, λέγων γῶν οὕτως ·

9.11.3 | Jerome the Egyptian also remembers these things, he who wrote about the ancient history of the Phoenicians, as well as Manasseh and many others. Nicholas of Damascus also tells about them in the ninety-sixth book, saying this:

9.11.4 | ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα μέγα ὅρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισωθῆναι, καὶ τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὄχούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὄκεται, καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. γένοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος ὅντινα καὶ Μώσης ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης." Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ιώσηπος.

9.11.4 | "There is a great mountain beyond Minyas, called Baris, where many people are said to have escaped during the flood. Some are said to have rested on a raft at the peak, and the remains of the wood are said to have survived for a long time. This is what the lawgiver of the Jews, Moses, wrote about." This is what Josephus says.

## Section 12

9.12.1 | Ἐγὼ δέ σοι τὰ Μηδικὰ καὶ Ἀσσύρια διελθών θῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀβυδηνοῦ γραφῆς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἴδιοσίας τάσδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραθήσομαι τὰς λέξεις

9.12.1 | But I will go through the Medes and Assyrians and will show you these words of the man from the writing of Abydenus about the same history.

9.12.2 | "Μεθ' ὃν ἄλλοι τε ἥρξαν καὶ Σείσιθρος, ὡς δὴ Κρόνος προσημαίνει μὲν

9.12.2 | After him, others ruled, including Seisithros, to whom Cronus foretold that

ἔσεσθαι πλῆθος ὅμβρων Δεσίου πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα, κελεύει δὲ πᾶν ὃ τι γραμμάτων ἢν ἔχόμενον ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει τῇ ἐν Σιππάροισιν ἀποκρύψαι.

there would be a great flood on the fifth day of the month Desius. He ordered that all writings kept in the city of Helios in Sippar be hidden.

9.12.3 | Σείσιθρος δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας εὐθέως ἐπ' Ἀρμενίης ἀνέπλωε, καὶ παραυτίκα μιν κατελάμβανε τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ. τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐπεὶ τε ὕων ἐκόπασε, μετήει τῶν ὄρνιθων πείρην ποιεύμενος, εἴ̄ κου γῆν ἴδοιεν τοῦ ὑδατος ἐκδῦσαν.

9.12.3 | Seisithros, having completed these things, immediately sailed to Armenia, and soon he was caught by the things from the god. On the third day, when the rain stopped, he sent out birds to see if they could find land that the water had receded from.

9.12.4 | αἱ δὲ ἐκδεχομένου σφέας πελάγεος ἀχανέος ἀπορέουσαι ὅκη κατορμίσονται παρὰ τὸν Σείσιθρον ὄπισω κομίζονται, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆσιν ἔτεραι.

9.12.4 | But while they were waiting, they were troubled by the vast sea, wondering where they would land near Seisithros. They were also being carried back by other waves.

9.12.5 | ὡς δὲ τῇσι τρίτηοιν εύτύχεεν, ἀπίκατο γὰρ δὴ πηλοῦ κατάπλεοι τοὺς ταρσοὺς, θεοί μιν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουσιν· τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν Ἀρμενίῃ περιάπτα ξύλων ἀλεξιφάρμακα τοῖσιν ἐπιχωρίοισι παρείχετο.” Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὗτος.

9.12.5 | When the third day came, he was lucky, for indeed the mud covered the feet of the birds. The gods were hiding him from men. The ship was in Armenia, surrounded by protective wood that was provided by the local people.

## Section 13

9.13.1 | Πάλιν δὲ Μώσεως τοὺς πρώτους φύντας ἀνθρώπων μακροβίους γεγονέναι φήσαντος, μάρτυρας καὶ τούτου παρατίθεται τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς ὥδε λέγων ὁ Ἰώσηπος

9.13.1 | Again, when Moses said that the first humans were long-lived, the Greek writers are added as witnesses to this saying, as Josephus states here.

9.13.2 | “Μηδεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν ἄζωμεν

9.13.2 | Let no one, comparing the present life and the shortness of the years we live,

συμβαλών τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδῆ νομιζέτω τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα, τῷ μηδὲ νῦν τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμαιρόμενος μηδ' ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μῆκος τῆς ζωῆς ἀφῆθαι.

9.13.3 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειοτέὸς πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὕσας, είχότως ἔζων πλῆθος τοσούτων ἐτῶν.

9.13.4 | ἔπειτα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ δι' εὔχρηστίαν ὡν ἐπενόουν, ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας, εἰς πλείονα ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ἅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν ἔξακοσίους ἐνιαυτούς· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς πληροῦται.

9.13.5 | μαρτυροῦσι δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ πάντες οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραψάμενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μάνεθως ὁ τὴν τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν ποιησάμενος ἀναγραφὴν καὶ Βηρωσσὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαικὰ συναγαγὼν καὶ Μόλος καὶ Ἔστιαῖος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἴγυπτιος Ἱερώνυμος, οἵ τε τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι, συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἔμοι λεγομένοις· Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἔφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἴστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἐτη χίλια. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὡς ἀν ἐκάστοις ἢ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπείτωσαν."

think that what is said about the ancients is false, since no one now can extend life so much, nor can those people reach that length of life.

9.13.3 | For those who are beloved by the gods, and who are made by the god himself, and because their food is suitable for a longer time, they lived many years without difficulty.

9.13.4 | Then, because of their virtue and usefulness, which they practiced in astrology and geometry, the god granted them to live longer, although it was not certain that they would not live six hundred years; for because of these things, the great year is fulfilled.

9.13.5 | All those who have written about ancient history, both among the Greeks and the non-Greeks, bear witness to my words. For Manetho, who made the record of the Egyptians, and Berossus, who gathered the Chaldean writings, and Molos and Hestiaeus, along with the Egyptian Hieronymus, who wrote about the Phoenicians, agree with what I say. Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, along with Ephorus and Nicolaus, also tell of the ancients living for a thousand years. Therefore, let each person consider these things as they wish.

## Section 14

9.14.1 | Πάλιν Μωσέως περὶ τῆς τοῦ πύργου κατασκευῆς καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώττης εἰς πολλὰς συνεχύθησαν θησαν διαλέκτους ἴστορήσαντος, ἐν τῇ λεχθείσῃ Περὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραφῇ ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δηλωθεὶς συγγραφεὺς τὰ ὅμοια μαρτυρεῖ λέγων ὥδε

9.14.2 | “Ἐντὶ δ’ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ γῆς ἀνασχόντας, ἥρμη τε καὶ μεγέθει χαυνωθέντας καὶ δὴ θεῶν καταφρονήσαντας ἀμείνονας εἶναι, τύρσιν ἥλιβατον ἀείρειν, ἵνα νῦν Βαβυλών ἔστιν· ἥδη τε ἄσσον εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θεοῖσι βωθέοντας ἀνατρέψαι περὶ αὐτοῖσι τὸ μηχάνημα· τοῦ δὴ τὰ ἑρείπια λέγεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα. τέως δὲ ὅντας ὅμογλώσσους ἐκ θεῶν πολύθροον φωνὴν ἐνείκασθαι, μετὰ δὲ Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Τιτῆνι συστῆναι πόλεμον.

9.14.3 | “Ο δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸν πύργον ὠκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλὼν καλεῖται, διὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον πρῶτον ἐναργοῦς. Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν σύγχυσιν Βαβέλ καλοῦσι.”

## Section 15

9.15.1 | “Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα, λέγουσα οὕτως ‘πάντων ὁμοφώνων ὅντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον ὠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι’ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον, καὶ ἴδιαν ἐκάστω φωνὴν ἔδωκαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν.’ περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ

9.14.1 | Again, concerning the building of the tower and how from one language many were mixed into different dialects, the writer who spoke about the Assyrians shortly before shows the same thing, saying this:

9.14.2 | Indeed, those who say that the first people, having come from the earth, became strong and great, and then despised the gods, are better off. They raised a tower to reach the heavens, so that now it is Babylon. It is already closer to the sky, and the winds are turned by the gods around it. Therefore, the ruins are called Babylon. At first, they were all speaking the same language and had a loud voice from the gods, but later, with Cronus and Titan, they waged war.

9.14.3 | But the place where they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion about the language that was first clear. For the Hebrews call the confusion Babel.

9.15.1 | About this tower and the different languages of the people, the Sibyl also remembers, saying that when all the people spoke the same language, some built a very tall tower to reach the sky. But the gods sent winds and overturned the tower, and gave each person their own language. For this reason, the city came to be called Babylon. Also, about the plain called Shinar in the Babylonian land, Hestiaeus mentions,

λεγόμενον Σενναάρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρᾳ μνημονεύει Ἐστιαῖος, λέγων οὕτως “τῶν Ἱερέων τοὺς διασωθέντας, τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου Δῖος Ἱερώματα λαβόντας, εἰς Σενναάρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐλθεῖν σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ὄμογλωσσίας, τὰς συνοικίας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἔκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοῦσαν.”

saying that the surviving priests, having taken the sacred things of Enyalius (the god of war), went to Shinar of Babylon. From there, they scattered because of the different languages, creating communities everywhere, and each took the land that they encountered.

## Section 16

9.16.1 | πάλιν Μώσεως τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἐβραίων προπάτορα Ἀβραάμ ίστορίαν εἰς πλάτος ἐκθεμένου, μαρτυρεῖν τυρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ιστορικοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος λέγει διὰ τούτων

9.16.1 | Again, Moses tells the story of the Hebrew ancestor Abraham in detail. Josephus also says that he is a witness to this and to the historians from outside.

9.16.2 | "Μνημονεύει δὲ ἡμῶν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀβραάμου Βηρωσσός, οὐκ ὄνομάζων, λέγων δὲ οὕτως οατρὸς μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος."

9.16.2 | Beeros mentions our father Abraham, not naming him, but saying that after the flood, there was a righteous and great man among the Chaldeans in the tenth generation, who was experienced in heavenly matters.

9.16.3 | Ἐκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθῆναι πλεῖόν τι πεποίβιβσίος ἦκε· βιβλίον γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέλιπε. λιπε.

9.16.3 | Hecataeus is also very confident that he should be mentioned more. For he wrote a book about him and left it behind.

9.16.4 | Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ιστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως "Ἀβραάμης ἐβασίλευε Δαμάσκου, ἐπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος, Χαλδαίων λεγομένης, μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἔξαναστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώσυν ρας, σὺν τῷ σφρετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν λεγομένην, νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν μετώκησε, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες, περὶ ὃν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ

9.16.4 | Nicolaus of Damascus says in the fourth book of his histories: 'Abraham ruled in Damascus, having come as a newcomer with an army from the land above Babylon, called Chaldea. After not much time, he left that place and, with his own people, moved into what was then called Canaan, now called Judea. And those who came from him increased in number, about which I will tell more in another

διέξειμι τὰ ιστορούμενα."

9.16.5 | τοῦ τε Ἀβραάμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται, καὶ κώμη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δείκνυται Ἀβραάμου οἴκησις λεγομένη. μένη. λιμοῦ δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν Χαναναίαν καταλαβόντος, Ἀβραμος Αίγυπτίους εύδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος διαίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος, τῆς τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξων καὶ τῶν ιερέων ἀκροατής ἐσόμενος, ὃν λέγοιεν περὶ θεῶν· ἡ γὰρ κρείσσοις εὐρεθεῖσι κατακολουθήσειν, ἡ μεταχοδμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, αὐτὸς ἄμεινον φρονῶν."

9.16.6 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει "Καὶ συνῆν Αίγυπτίων τοῖς λογιωτάτοις, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιθανεστέραν συνέβη γενέσθαι.

9.16.7 | τῶν γὰρ Αίγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων ἔθεσι, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἄλλήλοις ἐκφαυλιζόντων νόμιμα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἔχόντων τῶν πρὸς ἄλλήλους, συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις, καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἴδιων, κενοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἀληθὲς ἔχοντας ἀπέφαινε.

9.16.8 | θαυμασθεὶς οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος, καὶ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ οἱ νοῆσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεῖσαι λέγων περὶ ὃν ἀν ἐπιχειρήσεις διδάσκειν, τὴν τε ἀριθμητικὴν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρολογίαν παραδίδωσι. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβραάμου παρουσίας Αίγυπτιοι τούτων εἶχον ἀμαθῶς. ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ

account.'

9.16.5 | The name of Abraham is still honored in Damascus, and a village is shown there called Abraham's dwelling. After some time, when he had taken over Canaan, Abraham learned that the Egyptians were prospering and was eager to divide with them, sharing in their abundance and becoming a listener to their priests, who spoke about the gods. For he thought it better to either follow those who were found to be superior or to lead them toward what is better, thinking himself wiser.

9.16.6 | Then he adds, 'And he associated with the most learned Egyptians, and from this, both his virtue and his reputation became even more remarkable.'

9.16.7 | For the Egyptians, who were pleased with different customs and who criticized each other's laws, were unfriendly toward one another. By engaging with each of them and examining the words they spoke about their own matters, he showed that they were empty and had no truth.

9.16.8 | "Therefore, being admired by them in their gatherings as the wisest, and being a remarkable man not only for understanding but also for persuading by speaking about whatever he attempted to teach, he offered them arithmetic and passed on knowledge about astrology. For before Abraham's arrival, the Egyptians

ταῦτ' ἔφοίτησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅθεν ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 'Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

were ignorant of these things. For these came from the Chaldeans into Egypt, from where he also came to the Greeks." This is what Josephus says.

## Section 17

9.17.1 | Συνάδει δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πολυΐστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν καὶ πολυμαθῆς ἀνὴρ, τοῖς τε μὴ πάρεργον τὸν ἀπὸ παιδείας καρπὸν πεποιημένοις "Ἐλλησι γνωριμῶτατος, ὃς ἐν τῇ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων συντάξει τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τοῦτον ἴστορεῖ κατὰ λέξιν τὸν τρόπον

9.17.1 | Also agreeing with these is Polyhistor Alexander, who was a very learned man and well-known among the Greeks for the fruits of education. In his work 'On the Jews,' he tells the story of this Abraham word for word.

9.17.2 | "Εύπόλεμος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀδσυρίας συρίας φησὶ πόλιν Βαβυλῶνα πρῶτον μὲν κτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διασωθέντων ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς γίγαντας, οίκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἴστορούμενον πύργον.

9.17.2 | Euhemerus, in his work 'On the Jews,' says that the city of Babylon was first built by those who survived the flood; and that they were giants, who built the tower that is being told about.

9.17.3 | πεσόντος δὲ τούτου ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας τοὺς γίγαντας διασπαρῆναι καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν. δεκάτῃ δὲ γενεᾶ, φησὸν, ἐν πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνῃ, ἥν τινας λέγειν πόλιν Ούρίην· εἶναι δὲ μεθερμηνευομένην Χαλδαίων πόλιν) ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῃ γενέσθαι Ἀβραὰμ γενεᾶ, εὐγενείᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβεβήκοτά, ὃν δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ Χαλδαικὴν εύρειν, ἐπί τε τὴν εύσέβειαν ὀρμήσαντα εύαρεστῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

9.17.3 | When he fell, by the power of god, the giants were scattered all over the earth. In the tenth generation, he says, in the city of Babylonia called Camarina, which some say is the city of Ur; and it is translated as a city of the Chaldeans. In the thirteenth generation, Abraham was born, surpassing all in nobility and wisdom. He was the one who discovered astrology and Chaldean knowledge, and he was driven by piety to please god.

9.17.4 | τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Φοινίκην ἐλθόντα κατοικῆσαι, καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διδάξαντα τοὺς Φοίνικας

9.17.4 | After this, by the commands of god, he went to Phoenicia and settled there, teaching the Phoenicians about the paths of the sun and moon and everything else to

εύαρεστῆσαι τῷ Βασιλεῖ αύτῶν. Ὅστερον δὲ Ἀρμενίους ἐπιστρατεῦσαι τοῖς Φοίνιξι· νικησάντων δὲ καὶ αἱχμαλωτισαμένων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ οἰκετῶν βοηθήσαντα ἐγκρατῇ γενέσθαι τῶν αἱχμαλωτισαμένων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αἱχμαλωτίσαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.

please their king. Later, he gathered the Armenians to fight alongside the Phoenicians. After they won and captured his cousin Abraham, he helped to free the captives and took the children and women of the enemies as prisoners.

9.17.5 | πρέσβεων δὲ παραγενομένων πρὸς αύτὸν ὅπως χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπολυτρώσῃ ταῦτα, μὴ προελέσθαι τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐπεμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς τροφὰς λαβόντα τῶν νεανίσκων ἀποδοῦναι τὰ αἱχμάλωτα, ξενισθῆναι τε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πόλεως ἱερὸν Αρυαριζὸν, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνεύομενον ὄρος ὑψίστου ·

9.17.5 | When the ambassadors came to him to ask for money to free the captives, he did not want to interfere with the unfortunate ones. Instead, he took the food from the young men to give back to the captives. He was also hosted by a city called Aryarix, which is translated as 'the mountain of the Most High.'

9.17.6 | παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Μελχισεδὴκ ἱερέως ὅντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντος λαβεῖν δῶρα. λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀπαλλαγῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον πανοικίᾳ, κάκεῖ κατοικεῖν, τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἴγυπτίων γῆμαι, φάντος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν εἶναι.

9.17.6 | From Melchizedek, who was a priest of god and king, he received gifts. When there was a famine, Abraham went to Egypt with his whole household and settled there. He also let the king of the Egyptians marry his wife, claiming she was his sister.

9.17.7 | περισσότερον δ' ἴστόρησεν ὅτι οὐκ ἡδύνατο αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι συνέβη φθείρεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὸν οἶκον. μάντεις δὲ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος τοῦτο φάναι, μὴ εἶναι χήραν τὴν γυναῖκα· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Αἴγυπτίων οὕτως ἐπιγνῶναι ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνδρί.

9.17.7 | He told more that he could not be with her as a relative, and that it happened that his people and household were destroyed. When he called for seers, they said that the woman was not barren. The king of the Egyptians then realized that she was Abraham's wife and gave her back to her husband.

9.17.8 | συζήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν Ἡλιούπολει τοῖς Αἴγυπτίων ἵερεῦσι πολλὰ μεταδιδάξαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι,

9.17.8 | While Abraham was in Heliopolis, he taught the Egyptian priests many things, including astrology and other subjects. They claimed that the Babylonians

φάμενον Βαβυλωνίους ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸν εὑρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ εὑρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἐνώχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὑρηκέναι πρῶτον τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἴγυπτίους.

9.17.9 | Βαβυλωνίους γὰρ λέγειν πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναὰν, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων, τούτου δὲ Χοὺμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἀσβολον, πατέρα δὲ Αἴθιόπων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Μεστάειμ, στραεὶμ, πατέρα Αἴγυπτίων· “Ἐλληνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἀτλαντα εὑρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν” εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ τοῦ δὲ Ἐνώχ γενέσθαι υἱὸν Μαθουσάλαν, ὃν πάντα δι’ ἀγγέλων θεοῦ γνῶναι, καὶ ἡμὰς οὕτως ἐπιγνῶναι.”

## Section 18

9.18.1 | “Ἄρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ίουδαϊκοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ίουδαίους ὄνομάζεσθαι Ἐρμιοὺθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν Ίουδαῖοι· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἐβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου. τοῦτον δέ φησι πανοικίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέα Φαρεθώνην, καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν αὐτὸν διδάξαι· μείναντα δὲ ἔτη ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τόπους· τῶν δὲ τούτων συνελθόντων πολλοὺς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καταμεῖναι διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας.

9.18.2 | ἐν δὲ ἀδεσπότοις εὑρομεν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀναφέροντα εἰς τοὺς γίγαντας, τούτους δὲ οίκουντας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι,

discovered these things, and they traced the discovery back to Enoch, saying that he was the first to find astrology, not the Egyptians.

9.17.9 | They say that the Babylonians were the first to have Bel, who is Kronos. From him came Bel and Canaan, and Canaan was the father of the Phoenicians. From him came Choum, who the Greeks call Asbolon, the father of the Ethiopians, and the brother of Mesthaeim, the father of the Egyptians. The Greeks say that Atlas discovered astrology, and that Atlas is the same as Enoch. Enoch had a son named Methuselah, who knew everything through angels of god, and thus we also come to know.

9.18.1 | Artapanus says in the Jewish writings that the Jews are called Hermiouh, which is translated into Greek as Jews. They are also called Hebrews from Abraham. He says that he came to Egypt with his whole family to the Egyptian king Pharao, and he taught him astrology. After staying there for twenty years, he returned to the regions of Syria. Many of those who came with him stayed in Egypt because of the happiness of the land.

9.18.2 | In the unowned writings, we find that Abraham was referring to the giants, who lived in Babylon and were destroyed by the gods because of their wickedness.

ῶν ἔνα Βῆλον ἐκφεύγοντα τὸν θάνατον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατοικῆσαι, πύργον τε κατασκευάσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ διαιτᾶσθαι, ὃν δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Βήλου Βῆλον ὄνομασθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἀβραμόν τὴν ἀστρολογικὴν ἐπιστήμην παιδευθέντα πρῶτον μὲν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ τοὺς Φοινικαὶς ἀστρολογίαν διδάξαι, ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραγενέσθαι.

## Section 19

9.19.1 | "Ο Ό δὲ τὴν συσκευὴν τὴν κατὰ Ίουδαίων γράψας Μολὼν κατὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν περιλειφθέντα ἄνθρωπον μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν, ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἔξελαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἕγχωρίων· διανύσαντα δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν τῆς Συρίας οὖσαν ἔρημον.

9.19.2 | μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς γενεὰς Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ὃν δὴ μεθερμηνεύεσθαι πατρὸς φίλον ὃν δὴ σοφὸν γενόμενον τὴν ἔρημίαν μεταδιώκειν· λαβόντα δὲ δύο γυναῖκας, τὴν μὲν ἐντοπίαν, συγγενῆ, τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτίαν, θεράπαιναν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αἴγυπτίας γεννῆσαι υἱοὺς ιβ', οὓς δὴ εἰς Ἀραβίαν ἀπαλλαγέντας διελέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ πρώτους βασιλεῦσαι τῶν Ἕγχωρίων· ὅθεν ἔως καθ' ἡμὰς δώδεκα εἶναι βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων ὄμωνύμους ἐκείνοις.

9.19.3 | ἐκ δὲ τῆς γαμετῆς υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Ἰνα, ὃν Ἐλληνιστὶ Γέλωτα ὄνομασθῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀβραὰμ γήρα τελευτῆσαι, Γέλωτος δὲ καὶ γυναικός Ἕγχωρίου υἱοὺς ἔνδεκα γενέσθαι, καὶ δωδέκατον Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τρίτον

One of them, Bel, escaped death and settled in Babylon, where he built a tower to live in, which was named after him, Bel.

Abraham, having been taught the science of astrology, first went to Phoenicia to teach the Phoenicians astrology, and later came to Egypt.

9.19.1 | He who wrote the account according to the Jews, Molon, says that after the flood, the man who was left went away from Armenia with his sons, driven out by the locals. After crossing the land in between, he came to the mountainous and deserted region of Syria.

9.19.2 | After three generations, Abraham was born, who is interpreted as a beloved son of his father. He became wise and pursued the wilderness. He took two wives, one local and related, and the other an Egyptian servant. From the Egyptian, he had twelve sons, who went to Arabia and settled the land, becoming the first kings of the locals. Therefore, even to our time, there are twelve kings of the Arabs who share the same name as those.

9.19.3 | From the wife, a son was born to him, who is called Gelotas in Greek. Abraham died in old age, but Gelotas had eleven sons with a local woman, and the twelfth was Joseph, and from him came the third, Moses.

Μωσῆν.”

9.19.4 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Πολυΐστωρ 'οἶς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφερει λέγων Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ προστάξαι Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν ὀλοκαρπῶσαι αύτῷ. τὸν δὲ ἀναγαγόντα τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος πυρὰν νῆσαι καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι τὸν Ἰσαάκ· σφάζειν δὲ μέλλοντα κωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου, κριὸν αύτῷ πρὸς τὴν κάρπωσιν παραστήσαντος' τὸν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν μὲν παῖδα καθελεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς, τὸν δὲ κριὸν καρπῶσαι."

## Section 20

9.20.1 | "Φησὶ δὲ περὶ τούτου καὶ Φίλων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἔκλυον ἀρχεγόνοισι τὸ μυρίον ὡς ποτε Θεσμοῖς Ἀβραὰμ κλυτοηχές ὑπέρτερον ἄμματι δεσμῶν παμφαὲς πλήμυρε, μεγαυχήτοισι λογισμοῖς, θειοφιλή θέληγτρα. λιπόντι γὰρ ἀγλαὸν ἔρκος αἰνοφύτων, ἔκκαυμα βριήπυος αἰνετὸς ἵσχων, ἀθάνατον ποίησεν ἐήν φάτιν, ἐξ ὅτ' ἔκεινου ἔκγονος αἴνογόνοιο πολύμνιον ἔλλαχε κῦδος, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς οἶς μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπιφέρει ἄρτι χερὸς θηκτοῖο ξιφηφόρον ἐντύνοντο κλήμματι, καὶ σφαράγιο παρακλιδὸν ἀθροισθέντος, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἐν χείρεσσι κερασφόρον ὥπασε κριόν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα."

9.20.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς προειρημένης τοῦ πολυΐστα γραφῆς. καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει διὰ τούτων "Λέγεται δὲ ὡς οὗτος ὁ Ἀφροὴν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν αὐτὴν, καὶ οἱ υἱῶνοὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ

9.19.4 | Polyhistor says this, adding other things. Not long after, God commanded Abraham to offer his son Isaac as a whole burnt offering. He took the boy to the mountain to prepare a fire and place Isaac on it. Just as he was about to sacrifice him, an angel stopped him and provided a ram for the offering instead. Abraham then removed the boy from the fire and offered the ram.

9.20.1 | Philo also speaks about this in the first of his works about Jerusalem, saying that the great multitude heard how, according to the laws, Abraham was called to a glorious sacrifice, greater than any bonds. He was filled with proud thoughts and divine love. For when he left behind the beautiful enclosure of terrible plants, he held a mighty fire that was worthy of praise, creating his own immortal fame, since from him came a descendant who received great honor. And then, shortly after, he mentions how, just as someone was preparing to draw a sword, he was stopped, and instead, he offered a ram with horns in his hands.

9.20.2 | These things are indeed from the previously mentioned writing of Polyhistor. Josephus also mentions in the first book of his Antiquities that it is said this man, having campaigned in Africa, took control of Libya, and his sons, settling there, named the land after him, calling it Africa.

τοῦ ἐκείνου ὄνόματος μάτος Ἀφρικὰ  
προσηγόρευσαν.

9.20.3 | μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ  
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυΐστωρ λέγων οὕτως·  
Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὃ προφήτης, ὁ καὶ  
Μαλχάς, ἴστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς  
καὶ Μώσης ἴστόρηκεν ὃ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν,  
ὅτι ἐκ Χεττούρας Ἄ βραάμῳ ἐγένοντο  
παῖδες ἱκανοί· λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ  
ὄνόλεγεται μάτα, ὄνομάζων τρεῖς, Ἀφέρ,  
Ἄσοὺρ, Ἀφραν.

9.20.4 | καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσοὺρ μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν,  
ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο, "Ἀφρα τε καὶ Ἀφέρ, πόλιν  
τε Ἀφράν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικὰ  
ὄνομασθηναι. τούτους δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ  
συστρατεῦσαι τεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ  
Ἀνταῖον' γῆμαντα δὲ τὴν Ἀφρά θυγατέρα  
Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἶ'  
Διόδωρον. τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σοφωνᾶν,  
ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σοφὰς λέγεσθαι."  
Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις  
τοσαῦτα παρακείσθω.

9.20.3 | Alexander Polyhistor bears witness  
to me in this way: Cleodemus the prophet,  
who is also called Malchas, tells the history  
of the Jews, just as Moses, their lawgiver,  
recorded. He says that from Hethura,  
Abraham had many children. He also  
mentions their names, saying there were  
three: Apher, Asour, and Afran.

9.20.4 | "And from Asour came Assyria, and  
from the two, Afran and Apher, the city  
Afran and the land called Africa. These men  
were said to have campaigned with  
Hercules in Libya, and Hercules, having  
married the daughter of Afran, fathered a  
son named Diodorus. From him came  
Sophon, from whom the barbarians are  
called Sophas." So let these things about  
Abraham be set down briefly.

## Section 21

9.21.1 | Ἀπίωμεν δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν  
Πολυΐστορα "Δημήτριός φησι τὸν Ἰακώβ  
γενόμενον ἐτῶν ἑβσομήκοντα πέντε  
φυγεῖν εἰς Χαρράν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας,  
ἀποσταλέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων διὰ τὴν  
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν κρυψίαν ἔχθραν Ἡσαῦ,  
διὰ τὸ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὸν πατέρα δοκοῦντα  
εἶναι τὸν Ἡσαῦ, καὶ ὅπως λάβῃ ἐκεῖθεν  
γυναῖκα.

9.21.2 | ἀφορμῆσαι οὖν τὸν Ἰακώβ εἰς

9.21.1 | Let us return again to Polyhistor.  
Demetrius says that Jacob, having lived for  
eighty-five years, fled to Harran in  
Mesopotamia, sent by his parents because  
of the secret hatred against his brother  
Esau, since their father seemed to bless  
Esau, and so that he might take a wife from  
there.

9.21.2 | Therefore, Jacob set out for Harran

Χαρρὰν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, τὸν μὲν πατέρα καταλιπόντα Ἰσαὰκ ἑτῶν ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ, αὐτὸν δὲ ὄντα ἑτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτά

in Mesopotamia, leaving behind his father Isaac, who was one hundred thirty-seven years old, while Jacob himself was seventy-seven years old.

9.21.3 | διατρίψαντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἔκεī ἐπτὰ ἔτη λαβάν τοῦ μητρώου δύο θυγατέρας γῆμαι, Λείαν καὶ Ραχὴλ, ὄντα ἑτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσάρων· καὶ γενέσθαι ἐν ἐπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις αὐτῷ παιδία ιβ· ὡγδόῳ μὲν ἔτει μηνὶ δεκάτῳ Ῥουβίν· καὶ τῷ ἔτει δὲ τῷ δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἔκτῳ Λευίν· τῷ δὲ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ τετάρτῳ Ἰούδαν. Ραχὴλ τε μὴ τίκτουσαν ζηλῶσαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν, καὶ παρακοιαύτῳ τῷ Ἰακὼβ τὴν ἐαυτῆς παιδίσκην Ζελφάν, τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ὡς καὶ Βάλλαν συλλαβεῖν τὸν Νεφθαλείμ, τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ πέμπτῳ καὶ τεκεῖν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ δευτέρῳ υἱὸν, ὃν ὑπὸ Λείας Γάδ ὄνομασθῆναι· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου ἔτερον τεκεῖν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι ὑπὸ Λείας Ἀσήρ.

9.21.3 | After spending seven years there, he took two daughters of his mother, Leah and Rachel, when he was eighty-four years old. In those seven years, he had twelve children. In the eighth year, in the tenth month, he had Reuben. In the ninth year, in the eighth month, he had Simeon. In the tenth year, in the sixth month, he had Levi. In the eleventh year, in the fourth month, he had Judah. Rachel, not having children, envied her sister and gave her maid-servant Bilhah to Jacob. In the same time, Bilhah bore Naphtali in the eleventh year, in the fifth month, and in the twelfth year, in the second month, she had a son, whom Leah named Gad. And in the same year and month, Leah also had another son, whom she named Asher.

9.21.4 | καὶ Λείαν πάλιν ἀντὶ τῶν μῆλων τῶν μανδραγόρου, ἢ Ῥουβίν εἰσενεγκεῖν παρὰ Ραχὴλ, συλλαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτῆς Ζελφάν, τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ τρίτῳ, καὶ τεκεῖν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους μηνὸς δωδεκάτου υἱὸν, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ θέσθαι Ἰσσαχάρ.

9.21.4 | And Leah, in exchange for the mandrake roots that Reuben brought to Rachel, became pregnant. At the same time, her maid-servant Zilpah bore a son in the twelfth year, in the third month, and in that same year, in the twelfth month, Leah had another son, whom she named Issachar.

9.21.5 | καὶ πάλιν Λείαν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ δεκάτῳ υἱὸν ἄλλον τεκεῖν, ὡς ὄνομα Ζαβουλῶν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ ὡγδόῳ τεκεῖν υἱὸν ὄνομα Δάν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ραχὴλ λαβεῖν ἐν γαστρὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ὡς καὶ

9.21.5 | And again, in the thirteenth year, Leah had another son, whom she named Zebulun. In the same year, in the eighth month of the fourteenth year, she had a son named Dan. At that time, Rachel also became pregnant and gave birth to a

Λείαν τεκεῖν θυγατέρα Δεῖναν, καὶ τεκεῖν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεγάτῳ ἔτει μηνὶ ὄγδοῳ υἱὸν, ὃν ὀνομασθῆναι Ἰωσὴφ, ὡστε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ ἔτεσι τοῖς παρὰ λαβὰν δώδεκα παιδία.

9.21.6 | θέλοντα δὲ τὸν Ιακὼβ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰς Χαναὰν ἀπιέναι, ἀξιωθέντα ὑπὸ λαβὰν ἄλλα ἵτη ἔξι μεῖναι, ὡστε τὰ πάντα αὐτὸν μεῖναι ἐν Χαρρὰν παρὰ λαβὰν ἔτη εἴκοσι.

9.21.7 | πορευομένω δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Χαναὰν ἄγγελον τοῦ θεοῦ παλαῖσαι, καὶ ἄψασθαι τοῦ πλάτους τοῦ μηροῦ τοῦ Ιακὼβ, τὸν δὲ ναρκήσαντα ἐπισκάζειν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἐσθίεσθαι τῶν κτηνῶν τὸ ἐν τοῖς μηροῖς νεῦρον. καὶ φάναι αὐτῷ τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦδε μηκέτι Ιακὼβ, ἀλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ὀνομασθήσεσθαι.

9.21.8 | καὶ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς Χαναὰν γῆς εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν Σικίμων, ἔχοντα παιδία ρούσιν ἔτῶν ιβ' μηνῶν δυοῖν, Συμεῶνα ἔτῶν ἴα μηνῶν τεσσάρων, Λευὶν ἔτῶν δέκα μηνῶν ἔξι, Ιούσαν ἔτῶν θ' μηνῶν ὀκτώ, Νεφθαλείμ ἔτῶν ὀκτώ μηνῶν δέκα, Γὰδ ἔτῶν ὀκτώ μηνῶν δέκα, Ἀσὴρ ἔτῶν ὀκτώ, Ἰσσαχάρ ἔτῶν ὀκτώ, Ζαβουλὼν ἔτῶν ἐπτὰ μηνῶν δυοῖν, Δεῖναν ἔτῶν ἔξι μηνῶν τεσσάρων, Ἰωσὴφ ἔτῶν ἔξι μηνῶν τεσσάρων.

9.21.9 | παροικῆσαι δὲ Ἰσραὴλ παρὰ Ἐμμὼρ ἔτη δέκα, καὶ φθαρῆναι τὴν Ἰσραὴλ θυγατέρα Δεῖναν ὑπὸ Συχὲμ τοῦ Ἐμμὼρ

daughter named Dinah. In the eighth month of the fourteenth year, she had a son named Joseph. So, in the seven years that he worked, he had twelve children.

9.21.6 | But Jacob wanted to go to his father in Canaan. After being asked to stay six more years, he ended up staying in Haran with Laban for a total of twenty years.

9.21.7 | While he was going to Canaan, an angel of God wrestled with him and touched the socket of Jacob's hip, making it go out of joint. Because of this, he did not eat the tendon that is on the hip joint. The angel said to him that from now on he would no longer be called Jacob, but Israel.

9.21.8 | And he came to the land of Canaan to another city, Shechem. He had children: Reuben was twelve years and two months old, Simeon was eleven years and four months old, Levi was ten years and six months old, Judah was eight years and eight months old, Naphtali was eight years and ten months old, Gad was eight years and ten months old, Asher was eight years old, Issachar was eight years old, Zebulun was seven years and two months old, Dinah was six years and four months old, and Joseph was six years and four months old.

9.21.9 | And Israel lived by Hamor for ten years, and Dinah, the daughter of Israel, was harmed by Shechem, the son of Hamor,

υιοῦ, ἔτῶν οὕσαν δεκαὲξ μηνῶν τεσσάρων. ἔξαλλομένους δὲ τοὺς Ἰσραὴλ υἱοὺς, Συμεὼνα μὲν ὄντα ἔτῶν εἴκοσι ἐνὸς μηνῶν τεσσάρων, Λευὶν δὲ ἔτῶν εἴκοσι μηνῶν ἔξ, ἀποκτεῖναι τόν τε Ἐμμώρ καὶ Συχὲμ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρσενας διὰ τὴν Δεῖνας φθοράν· Ἰακὼβ δὲ τότε εἶναι ἔτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπτά.

being sixteen years and four months old. The sons of Israel were angry; Simeon was twenty-one years and four months old, Levi was twenty-six years old. They killed both Hamor and his son Shechem and all the men because of the harm done to Dinah. At that time, Jacob was one hundred seven years old.

9.21.10 | ἐλθόντα δ' οὗν αὐτὸν εἰς Λουζὰ τῆς Βαιθὴλ, φάναι τὸν θεὸν μηκέτι Ἰακὼβ, ἀλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομάζεσθαι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Χαφραθὰ, ἐνθεν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Εφραθὰ, ἦν εἶναι Βηθλεὲμ, καὶ γεννῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ Βενιαμὶν, καὶ τελευτήσαι Ῥαχὴλ, τεκοῦσαν τὸν Βενιαμὶν, συμβιῶσαι δ' αὐτῇ τὸν Ἰακὼβ ἔτη εἴκοσι τρία.

9.21.10 | When he came to Luz, which is Bethel, God said that he would no longer be called Jacob, but Israel. From there, he went to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem, and there he gave birth to Benjamin. Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin, and Jacob lived with her for twenty-three years.

9.21.11 | αὐτόθεν δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὸν Ἰακὼβ εἰς Μαμβρὶ τῆς Χεβρῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα. εἶναι δὲ τότε Ἰωσὴφ ἔτῶν δεκαεπτά, καὶ πραθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ μεῖναι ἔτη δεκατρία, ὡστ' εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔτῶν τριάκοντα, Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἔτῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτῆσαι τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἔτει ἐνὶ ἐμπροσθεν, ἔτῶν ὄντα ἑκατὸν ὄγδοήκοντα.

9.21.11 | From there, Jacob went to Mamre, which is Hebron, to Isaac his father. At that time, Joseph was seventeen years old, and he was sold into Egypt, where he stayed in prison for thirteen years, so he was thirty years old. Jacob was one hundred ten years old, and during that time, Isaac died one year earlier, being one hundred eighty years old.

9.21.12 | κρίναντα δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἄρξαι Αἴγύπτου ἔτη ἐπτά, ἐν οἷς καὶ συνοικῆσαι Ἀσενὲθ, Πεντεφρή τοῦ Ἡλιουπόλεως ἱερέως Θυγατρὶ, καὶ γεννῆσαι Μανασσῆν καὶ Ἐφραΐμ· καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπιγενέσθαι ἔτη β'.

9.21.12 | When the king judged Joseph, the dreams began in Egypt for seven years, during which he married Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of Heliopolis, and he had Manasseh and Ephraim. Then a famine came that lasted for five years.

9.21.13 | τὸν δὲ Ἰωσὴφ ἔτη ἐννέα εύτυχήσαντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ πέμψαι, διὰ τὸ ποιμένα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς

9.21.13 | Joseph was nine years successful without sending to his father, because he was a shepherd along with his brothers.

εῖναι· ἐπονείσιστον δὲ Αἴγυπτίοις εῖναι τὸ ποιμαίνειν· δτι δὲ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔπειρψεν αὐτὸν δεδηλωκέναι. ἐλθόντων γάρ αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν φάναι αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν κληθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρωτῶνται τί διαπράσσονται, λέγειν κτηνοτρόφους αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

Being a shepherd was very disliked by the Egyptians. For this reason, he did not send to let him know. When his relatives came, they said to them, if they were called by the king and asked what they did, to say they were herdsmen.

9.21.14 | διαπορεῖσθαι δὲ διὰ τί ποτε ὁ Ἰωσὴφ Βενιαμὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου πενταπλασίονα μερίδα ἔδωκε, μὴ δυναμένου αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα καταναλῶσαι κρέα. τοῦτο οὖν αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Λείας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι υἱοὺς ἐπτὰ, ἐκ Ραχὴλ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ δύο· διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Βενιαμὶν πέντε μερίδας παραθεῖναι, καὶ αὐτὸν λαβεῖν δύο· γενέσθαι οὖν ἐπτὰ, ὅσας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Λείας υἱοὺς λαβεῖν.

9.21.14 | People wondered why Joseph gave Benjamin five times as much food as the others, since he could not eat that much meat. He did this because he had seven sons from Leah, his father's wife, and two from Rachel, his mother. For this reason, he gave Benjamin five portions and took two for himself. So there were seven, the same number as the sons from Leah.

9.21.15 | ὠσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰς στολὰς δοῦναι ἐκάστῳ διπλᾶς, τῷ δὲ Βενιαμὶν πέντε καὶ τριακοσίους χρυσοῦς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δὲ ἀποστεῖλαι κατὰ ταύτα, ὥστε τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς εῖναι ἵσον.

9.21.15 | Likewise, he gave each one double the clothing, but to Benjamin he gave five changes of clothes and three hundred pieces of gold. He also sent the same amount to his father, so that the house of his mother would be equal.

9.21.16 | οἰκῆσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν, ἀφ' οὗ ἐκλεγῆναι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τῶν ἑθνῶν καὶ μετελθεῖν εἰς Χαναὰν, Ἀβραὰμ ἐτῶν εἴκοσι πέντε, Ἰσαὰκ ἐτῶν ἑξήκοντα, Ἰακὼβ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, γίνεσθαι τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν σιέ.

9.21.16 | They lived in the land of Canaan, from which Abraham was chosen from the nations and moved to Canaan. Abraham was twenty-five years old, Isaac was sixty years old, and Jacob was one hundred thirty years old. So, all the years they lived in the land of Canaan were one hundred sixty years.

9.21.17 | καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει λιμοῦ οὕσης ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ἰακὼβ,

9.21.17 | In the third year of the famine in Egypt, Jacob went to Egypt when he was

σόντα ἑτῶν ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα, 'Ρουβὶν ἑτῶν μέ, Συμεὼν ἑτῶν μδ', Λευὶν ἑτῶν μγ', Ιούδαν ἑτῶν μβ' μηνῶν τριῶν, Ἀσὴρ ἑτῶν μ' μηνῶν ὀκτώ, Νεφθαλεὶμ ἑτῶν μὰ μηνῶν 'ς, Γὰδ ἑτῶν μὰ μηνῶν γ', Ζαβουλὼν ἑτῶν μ', Δεῖναν ἑτῶν 'λθ', Βενιαμὶν ἑτῶν κη.

one hundred thirty years old. Reuben was thirty years old, Simeon was twenty-six, Levi was twenty-three, Judah was twelve years and three months, Asher was ten years and eight months, Naphtali was nine years and six months, Gad was seven years and three months, Zebulun was six years old, Dinah was six years old, and Benjamin was twenty years old.

9.21.18 | τὸν δὲ Ἰωσήφ φησι γενέσθαι ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἔτη 'λθ'. εἶναι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἵως τοῦ είσελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ συγγενεῖς ἔτη ιγχκδ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἵως τῆς Ἰακώβ παρουσίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἵτη ἔτη 'ἀφ' οὐ δὲ ἐκλεγῆναι γῆναι Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τῶν ἔθνῶν καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Χαρρὰν εἰς Χαναὰν ἔως εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς περὶ Ἰακώβ ἐλθεῖν ἔτη σιέ.

9.21.18 | Joseph was said to be thirty years old in Egypt. From Adam to the time the relatives of Joseph entered Egypt, there were four hundred thirty years. From the flood to Jacob's arrival in Egypt, there were two hundred fifty years. From the time Abraham was chosen from the nations and moved from Haran to Canaan until those around Jacob came to Egypt, there were sixty years.

9.21.19 | Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐκ Χαρρὰν πρὸς Λάβαν ἐλθεῖν, ἑτῶν ὅντα π', καὶ γεννῆσαι Λευὶν· Λευὶν δὲ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι ἔτη ιζ', ἀφ' οὗ ἐκ Χαναὰν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸν ἑτῶν ξ', καὶ γεννῆσαι Κλάθ· τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ ἔτει ὡς γενέσθαι Κλάθ, τελευτῆσαι Ἰακώβ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, εύλογήσαντα τοὺς Ἰωσήφ υἱοὺς, ὅντα ἑτῶν ρμζ', καταλιπόντα Ἰωσήφ ἑτῶν νς'. Λευὶν δὲ γενόμενον ἑτῶν ρλζ' τελευτῆσαι, Κλάθ δὲ ὅντα ἑτῶν μ' γεννῆσαι Ἀμρὰμ, δὸν ἑτῶν εἶναι ιδ' ἐν ὧ τελευτῆσαι Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ὅντα ρι' ἑτῶν Κλάθ δὲ γενόμενον ἑτῶν ἐκατὸν λγ' τελευτῆσαι. Ἀμρὰμ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ θείου θυγατέρα Ἰωχαβέτ, καὶ ὅντα ἐνιαυτῶν οε' γεννῆσαι Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωσῆν· γεννῆσαι δὲ Μωσῆν τὸν Ἀμρὰμ ὅντα ἑτῶν οή, καὶ γενόμενον Ἀμρὰμ ἑτῶν ρλζ' τελευτῆσαι."

9.21.19 | Jacob came from Haran to Laban when he was seventy years old and had Levi. Levi was in Egypt for seventeen years, so when he came from Canaan to Egypt, he was eighty-seven years old and had Klath. In the same year that Klath was born, Jacob died in Egypt after blessing the sons of Joseph, who were seventeen years old, leaving Joseph at thirty-six years old. Levi, when he was one hundred thirty-seven years old, died, and Klath, when he was sixty years old, had Amram, who was thirty-three years old when Joseph died in Egypt at one hundred ten years old. Klath, when he was one hundred sixty years old, died. Amram took a wife, the daughter of his uncle, Jochebed, and when he was thirty-three years old, he had Aaron and Moses. Moses was born when Amram was

Ταῦτά μοι κείσθω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυΐστορος γραφής. ἔξῆς δ' ἐπισυνήφθω καὶ τάδε

eighty-three years old, and Amram died at one hundred thirty-seven years old. These things are written from the account of Alexander Polyhistor. I will also add these things.

## Section 22

9.22.1 | "Τὰ δὲ Σίκιμά φησι Θεόδοτος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ Σικιμίου τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ὄνομασίαν τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν κεῖσθαι δ' αὐτήν φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἰουδαίων οὕτως, ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔην ἀγαθή τε καὶ αἰγινόμος καὶ ὑδρηλή, ούδὲ μὲν ἔσκεν ὀδός δολιχὴ πόλιν είσαφικέσθαι ἀγρόθεν οὐδέ ποτε δρία λαχνήνετα πονεῦσιν. ἔξ αυτῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι δύ' οὕρεα φαίνετ' ἐρυμνὰ, ποίης τε πλήθοντα καὶ ὕλης· τῶν δὲ μεσηγὺάτραπιτὸς τέτμηται, ἀραιῇ, [αύλῶπις·] ἐν δ' ἐτέρῳ θιήδ' ἵερῃ Σικίμων καταφαίνεται, ἵερὸν ἄστυ, νέρθεν ὑπὸ ρίζῃ δεδμημένον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος λισσὸν ὑπώρειαν, ὑπὸ δ' ἔδραμεν αἴπυθεν ἔρκος.

9.22.1 | Theodotus says that the name "Sikima" comes from Sikimius the Hermit, for he founded the city. He says that it is located in the area of the Jews like this: "It was a good place, rich in water, and there was no long road leading into the city from the countryside. Nor did any thick forest cause trouble. From it, two strong mountains appear nearby, full of trees and woods. In the middle, there is a narrow path, thin and winding. On the other side, the sacred city of Sikima appears, a holy city, built under the roots, and around it is a wall with a deep foundation, and a steep barrier runs beneath it."

9.22.2 | ὕστερον δέ φησιν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἐβραίων κατασχεθῆναι, δυναστεύοντος Ἐμμώρ· τὸν γὰρ Ἐμμώρ υἱὸν γεννῆσαι Συχέμ. φησὶ δὲ ἐνθένδε, ξένε, ποιμενόθι πόλιν ἥλυθ' Ἱακώβεύρεῖαν Σικίμων· ἐπὶ δ' ἀνδράσι τοῖσιν ἔτησιν ἀρχὸς Ἐμώρ σὺν παιδὶ Συχέμ, μάλ' ἀτειρέε φῶτε.

9.22.2 | Later, he says that it was taken by the Hebrews while Hemmor was in power, for Hemmor was the father of Sychem. He says, "From here, stranger, Jacob came to the wide city of Sikima. And there, the leader was Hemmor along with his son Sychem, very strong men."

9.22.3 | εἶτα περὶ Ἱακώβ καὶ τὴν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν αύτοῦ παρουσίαν, καὶ τὸν τῶν δύο γυναικῶν γάμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν τὴν ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ἐπὶ τὰ Σίκιμα, εἰς δ' Ἱακώβ Συρίην κτηνοτρόφον ἵκτο, καὶ εύρυψεῖθρον

9.22.3 | Then he speaks about Jacob and his journey to Mesopotamia, the marriage to his two wives, the birth of his children, and the journey from Mesopotamia to Sikima. He says, "Jacob came to the land of Syria, where there is a wide river, the flowing

Εύφρηταο λίπεν ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος  
· ἥλυθε γὰρ κάκεῦθι λιπῶν δριμεῖαν  
ἐνιπήναύτοκασιγνήτοιο · πρόφρων  
ὺπέδεκτο δόμονδελαβάν, ὃς οὶ ἔην μὲν  
ἀνεψιὸς, ἀλλὰ τότ' οἰοσῆνασσεν Συρίης,  
νειηγενὲς αἴμα λελογχώς. τῷ δὲ γάμον  
κούρης μὲν ὑπέσχετο καὶ  
κατένευσεν ὅπλοτάτης· οὐ μὴν τελέθειν  
ἐπεμαίετο πάμπαν, ἀλλὰ δόλον τολύπευσε,  
καὶ εἰς λέχος ἀνέρι πέμπελείαν, ἦ οἱ ἔην  
προγενεστέρη. ούδε μιν ἔμπησέλλαθεν, ἀλλ'  
ἐνόησε κακορραφίην, καὶ ἔδεκτοπαῖδ'  
ἔτέρην, ἀμφοῖν δ' ἐμίγη σὺν ὀμαίμοσιν  
ἡσι. τῷ δ' νιεῖς ἐγένοντο νόω πεπνυμένοι  
αἰνῶς ἔνδεκα, καὶ κούρη Δεῖνα περικαλλὲς  
ἔχουσαεῖδος, ἐπίτρεπτον δὲ δέμας καὶ  
ἀμύμονα θυμόν.

9.22.4 | ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Εύφρατου φησὶ τὸν  
Ἰακὼβ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Σίκιμα πρὸς Ἐμμώρ·  
τὸν δ' ὑποδέξασθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ μέρος τι τῆς  
χώραις δοῦναι. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν Ἱαχὼβ  
γεωμορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ νιοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔνδεκα τὸν  
ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ποιμαίνειν, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα  
Δεῖναν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐριουργεῖν· καὶ  
τὴν Δεῖναν παρθένον θένον οὕσαν εἰς τὰ  
Σίκιμα ἐλθεῖν πανηγύρεως οὕσης  
βουλομένην θεάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν· Συχὲμ δὲ  
τὸν τοῦ Ἐμμώρ υἱὸν ἰδόντα ἔρασθηναι  
αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀρπάσαντα ὡς ἐαυτὸν  
διακομίσαι καὶ φθεῖραι αὐτήν.

9.22.5 | αὗθις δὲ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐλθόντα  
πρὸς τὸν Ἱακὼβ αἵτεν αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμου  
κοινωνίαν· τὸν δὲ οὐ φάναι δώσειν, πρὶν ἂν  
ἡ πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὰ Σίκιμα  
περιτεμνομένους Ἰουδαίσαι· τὸν δὲ Ἐμμώρ  
φάναι πείσειν αὐτούς. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ  
δεῖν περιτέμνεσθαι τέμνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὁ  
Ἰακὼβ

Euphrates. He went there, leaving behind a strong bond with his brother, and he received a home from his relative, who was a cousin but ruled alone over Syria, a man of noble blood. He promised to marry his daughter and agreed to it. However, he was not able to complete it fully, but he made a plan and sent Leah, who was older than him, to the man. Yet he did not forget her, but he noticed a bad situation and accepted another child, and both were mixed with their relatives. From him, there were eleven sons born, and a beautiful daughter named Dinah, who had a lovely appearance and a strong spirit."

9.22.4 | From the Euphrates, he says that Jacob came to Sikima to meet Hemmor. Hemmor welcomed him and gave him part of the land. Jacob himself worked the land, while his eleven sons took care of the sheep, and he made plans for his daughter Dinah and his wives. Dinah, being a young girl, wanted to go to Sikima to see the city during a festival. When Sychem, the son of Hemmor, saw her, he fell in love with her and took her away to harm her.

9.22.5 | Then Sychem came back with his father to ask Jacob for her hand in marriage. But Jacob said he would not give her to him until all the men living in Sikima were circumcised. Hemmor said he would convince them. Jacob spoke about the need for them to be circumcised.

9.22.6 | οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεμιτόν γε τόδ'  
Ἐβραίοισι τέτυκται, γαμβροὺς ἄλλοθεν εἴς  
γε νυοὺς ἀγέμεν ποτὶ δῶμα, ἀλλ' ὅστις  
γενεῆς ἔξεύχεται εἶναι ὁμοίης.

9.22.6 | For this is not right for the Hebrews, to bring in husbands from elsewhere to their home, but whoever wishes to marry must be of the same family.

9.22.7 | εῖτα ὑποβάς περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς, δὅς  
ποθ' ἐῆς πάτρης ἔξήγαγε δῖον  
Ἄβραὰμ, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν κέλετ' ἀνέρα  
παντὶ σὺν οἴκωσάρκ' ἀποσυλῆσαι πόσθης  
ἄπο, καὶ ἢ' ἐτέλεσσεν· ἀστεμφὲς δὲ  
τέτυκται, ἐπεὶ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔειπε.

9.22.7 | Then, speaking about circumcision, he said that it was Abraham, the glorious one, who first brought it from his homeland. He himself was commanded from heaven to remove the flesh from every man in his household, and he did it. It was established without question, since god himself said it.

9.22.8 | ποσευθέτος πορευθέντος οὗν εἰς  
τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Ἐμμώρ καὶ τοὺς  
ὑποτασσομένους παρακαλοῦντος  
περιτέμνεσθαι, ἔνα τῶν Ἰακὼβ υἱῶν τὸ  
ὄνομα Συμεὼνα διαγνῶναι τόν τε Ἐμμώρ  
καὶ τὸν Συχὲμ ἀνελεῖν, τὴν ὕβριν τῆς  
ἀδελφῆς μὴ βουληθέντα πολιτικῶς  
ἐνεγκεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ διαγνόντα Λευὶν τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ κοινώσασθαι· λαβόντα δ' αὐτὸν  
συγκάταινον ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρορμῆσαι  
λόγιον προφερόμενον τὸν θεὸν ἀνελεῖν  
φάμενον τοῖς Ἀβραὰμ ἀπογόνοις δέκα ἔθνη  
δώσειν.

9.22.8 | So, when he went straight into the city of Hemmor and urged those under him to be circumcised, one of Jacob's sons, named Simeon, decided to kill Hemmor and Sychem. He did not want to bear the insult to his sister in a civil way. After realizing this, he shared his plan with his brother Levi. Taking him along, they encouraged each other to carry out the action, saying that god would give the descendants of Abraham ten nations.

9.22.9 | φησὶ δὲ οὕτως ὁ Συμεὼν πρὸς τὸν  
Λευὶν εὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ μῆθόν γε πεπυσμένος εἴμι  
θεοῖο· δώσειν γάρ ποτ' ἔφησε δέκ' ἔθνεα  
παισὶν Ἀβραὰμ. τὸν δὲ θεὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον  
τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλεῖν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν Σικίμοις  
ἀσεβεῖς εῖναι. φησὶ δέ βλάπτε θεὸς Σικίμων  
οἰκήτορας, οὐ γὰρ ἔτιονείς αὐτοὺς ὅστις κε  
μόλη κακός, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός· οὐδὲ δίκας

9.22.9 | Simeon said this to Levi: "For I have learned a story from god; he said that he would give ten nations to the children of Abraham." And god put this thought in their minds because the people in Shechem were wicked. He said, "God will harm the inhabitants of Shechem, for no one among them will be good or bad. They did not give

έδίκαζον άνα πτόλιν ούδε θέμιστας· λοίγια δ' ὠρώρει τοῖσιν μεμελημένα ἔργα.

justice in the city, nor did they uphold the law. Terrible things are coming for those who have done evil deeds."

9.22.10 | τὸν οὖν Λευὶν καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καθωπλισμένους ἐλθεῖν, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἐντ' χάνοντας ἀναιρεῖν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐμμώρ καὶ τὸν Συχὲμ φονεῦσαι.

9.22.11 | λέγει δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἀντῶν οὕτως ὡς τότε δὴ Συμεὼν μὲν μῷρ ὥρουσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, πλῆξε τέ οἱ κεφαλὴν, δειρήν δ' ἔλεν ἐν χερὶ λαιῆ, λεῦψε δ' ἔτι σπαίρουσαν, ἐπεὶ πόνος ἄλλος ὥρωρει τόφρα δὲ καὶ Λευὶν μένος ἄσχετος ἔλλαβε χαίτηγούνων ἀπτόμενον Συχὲμ, ἀσπετα μαργήναντα. ἤλασε δὲ κληῖδα μέσην δῦ δὲ ξίφος οξὺσπλάγχνα διὰ στέρνων, λίπε δὲ ψυχὴ δέμας εύθυς. πυθομένους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους ἀδελφοὺς τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπορθῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀναρρυσαμένους μετὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἰς τὴν πατρῷαν ἔπαυλιν διακομίσαι·"

9.22.10 | So, Levi and Simeon went into the city armed. First, they killed those who were in the streets, and then they also murdered Hemmor and Sychem.

9.22.11 | It says about their killing like this: At that time, Simeon rushed at him and struck his head. He grabbed his throat with his left hand and left it still bleeding, since another struggle was coming. Meanwhile, Levi took hold of the hair of Sychem's chin, pulling it hard. He drove a sword into his chest, and his soul left his body immediately. The other brothers, hearing about their actions, helped them, sacked the city, and brought their sister back home along with the captives.

## Section 23

9.23.1 | Τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Πολυιστορος γραφῆς ἐπισυνήφθω "Ἄρταπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῷ Ἀβραὰμ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπόγονον γενέσθαι, υἱὸν δὲ Ἰακώβου· συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλευθῆναι· πσοϊδόμενον δὲ τὴν ἐπισύστασιν δεηθῆναι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτὸν διακομίσαι· τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἐντυγχανόμενον

9.23.1 | These things and the following about Joseph are taken from the same writing of Polyhistor. "Artapanus says that Joseph was a descendant of Abraham and the son of Jacob. He was wise and clever compared to the other brothers, and they plotted against him. While he was being sold, the neighbors, the Arabs, prayed to take him to Egypt. The kings of the Arabs are said to be descendants of Israel, sons of Abraham, and Isaac's brothers."

ποιῆσαι· εἶναι γάρ τοὺς τῶν Ἀράβων  
βασιλεῖς ἀπογόνους Ἰσραὴλ, υἱὸὺς τοῦ  
Ἀβραὰμ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἀδελφούς.

9.23.2 | ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ συσταθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ διοικητὴν τῆς ὅλης γενέσθαι χώρας. καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αίγυπτίων γεωμορούντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἔλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κσεισσόνων σόνων ἀδικουμένων, τοῦτον πρῶτον τήν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὅροις διασημήνασθαι, καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωργήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι, καίτινας τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρώσαι.

9.23.3 | τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μέτρα εὑρεῖν, καὶ μεγάλως αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αίγυπτίων διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαπηθῆναι. γῆμαι δ' αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπολίτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἣς γεννῆσαι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τόν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὑπαρξιν, καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ πόλει Καισάν, καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἴγυπτῳ.

9.23.4 | τούτους δέ φησι καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀθως καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαι τοὺς Ἐσμιούθ ὄνομαζομένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τελευτῆσαι τόν τε Ἰωσὴφ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αίγυπτίων. τὸν οὖν Ἰωσὴφ κρατοῦντα τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὸν ἐπτὰ σῖτον, γενόμενον κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἄπλετον, παραθέσθαι, καὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτου δεσπότην γενέσθαι.'

9.23.2 | When he arrived in Egypt and was established with the king, he became the governor of the whole land. Before this, the Egyptians were farming carelessly because the land was undivided, and the smaller farmers were being wronged by the larger ones. He was the first to divide the land and mark it with boundaries, making a lot of land suitable for farming, and he set aside some of the fields for the priests.

9.23.3 | He also found a way to measure land, and because of this, he was greatly loved by the Egyptians. He married Asenath, the daughter of a priest from Heliopolis, and they had children together. After this, his father and brothers came to him, bringing a lot of wealth, and they settled in the city of Caisan, while the Syrians increased in Egypt.

9.23.4 | He says that they also built the temple of the Esmioi at Athos and at Heliopolis. After this, both Joseph and the king of the Egyptians died. During the seven years that Joseph ruled Egypt, there was an abundance of grain, and he became the master of Egypt.

## Section 24

9.24.1 | "Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ταῖς ιεραῖς βίβλοις καὶ Φίλων ἐν τῇ ἴδ' τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα, λέγων οὕτως τοῖσιν ἔδος μακαριστὸν ὅλης μέγας ἔκτισεν ἄκτωρύψιστος, καὶ πρόσθεν ἀφ' Ἀβραάμοι καὶ Ἰσάκ, Ἰακὼβ εὐτέκνοιο τόκος Ἰωσήφ, ὃς ὀνείρωνθεσπιστὴς, σκηπτοῦχος ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ θρόνοισι, δινεύσας λαθραῖα χρόνου πλημμυρίδι μοίρης, καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ."

9.24.1 | It is testified by the sacred writings and by Philo in his works about Jerusalem, saying this: 'The highest creator built a blessed dwelling for all, and before Abraham and Isaac, the fruitful offspring of Jacob, Joseph, who was a dream interpreter, held the scepter on the throne in Egypt, having secretly navigated through the flood of time.' And so on. These things are also about Joseph.

## Section 25

9.25.1 | "Ἄκουε δὲ οἶα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰώβ ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ· Ἀριστέας δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἡσαῦ γήμαντα Βασσάραν ἐν Ἐδώμ γεννῆσαι Ἰώβ· κατοικεῖν δὲ τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Αύσίτιδι χώρᾳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας.

9.25.1 | Listen to what is said about Job. Aristeas says in his work about the Jews that Esau married Basemath in Edom and that Job was born. This Job lived in the region of Ausitida, near the borders of Idumea and Arabia.

9.25.2 | γενέσθαι δ' αὐτὸν δίκαιον καὶ πολύκτηνον· κτήσασθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν πρόβατα μὲν ἐπτακισχίλια, καμήλους δὲ τρισχιλίας, ζεύγη βοῶν πεντακόσια, ὄνους θηλείας νομάδας πεντακοσίας· εἶχε δὲ καὶ γεωργίας ἰκανάς.

9.25.2 | He became a just man and had many animals. For he owned seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred pairs of oxen, and five hundred female donkeys. He also had enough farmland.

9.25.3 | τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰώβ πρότερον Ιωβὰβ ὄνομάζεσθαι. πειράζοντα δ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν ἔμμειναι, μεγάλαις δὲ περιβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἀτυχίαις, πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τούς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς βοῦς ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀπελαθῆναι, εἴτα τὰ πρόβατα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντος κατακαῆναι σὺν τοῖς ποιμέσι· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὰς καμήλους ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀπελαθῆναι· εἴτα τὰ

9.25.3 | This Job was previously called Jobab. God tested him and surrounded him with great misfortunes. First, his donkeys and oxen were taken away by robbers. Then, the sheep were burned up by fire that fell from the sky along with the shepherds. Not long after, the camels were also taken away by robbers. Then, his children died when the house fell down.

τέκνα αύτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, πεσούσης τῆς οἰκίας· αὐθημερὸν δὲ αύτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐλκῶσαι.

9.25.4 | φαύλως δὲ αύτοῦ διακειμένου ἔλθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν Ἐλίφραν τὸν Θαιδιακειμένου μανιτῶν βασιλέα καὶ Βαλδὰδ τὸν Σαυχαίων τύραννον καὶ Σωφάρ τὸν Μινναίων βασιλέα, ἔλθεῖν δὲ καὶ Ἐλιοῦν τὸν Βαραχιὴλ τὸν Ζωβίτην. παρακαλούμενον δὲ φάναι καὶ χωρὶς παρακλήσεως ἐμμενεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τῇ εύσεβείᾳ καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς. τὸν δὲ θεόν ἀγασθέντα τὴν εὑψυχίαν αύτοῦ τῆς τε νόσου αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι καὶ πολλῶν κύριον ὑπάρξεων ποιῆσαι." Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁ Πολυhistoρ.

## Section 26

9.26.1 | Καὶ περὶ Μώσεως δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν πλεῖστα παρατίθεται, ὃν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι ἄξιον Εύπόλεμος δέ φησι τὸν Μωσῆν πρῶτον σοφὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ γράμματα παραδοῦναι τοῖς Ιουδαίοις πρῶτον, παρὰ δὲ Ιουδαίων Φοίνικας παραλαβεῖν, "Ἐλληνας δὲ παρὰ Φοινίκων, νόμους τε πρῶτον γράψαι Μωσῆν τοῖς Ιουδαίοις."

## Section 27

9.27.1 | "Ἄρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ίουδαίων, Ἀβραὰμ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αύτοῦ Μεμψασθενὼθ, ὄμοιώς δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἴγυπτίων, τὴν δυναστείαν παραλαβεῖν τὸν υἱὸν αύτοῦ Παλμανώθην.

And on the same day, his body was covered with sores.

9.25.4 | "While he was in this bad condition, Eliphaz the Temanite, king of the Manites, and Baldad the Shuhite, a tyrant, and Zophar the Naamathite, a king, came to visit him. Also, Elihu the Barachel the Buzite came. They urged him to remain strong in his faith and in the face of great troubles. God admired his courage and freed him from his illness and made him lord over many things." This is what Polyhistor says about these matters.

9.26.1 | And about Moses, the same author again presents many things. Eupolemus says that Moses was the first to become wise and to give letters to the Jews. He received them from the Phoenicians, and the Greeks received them from the Phoenicians. Also, Moses was the first to write laws for the Jews.

9.27.1 | Artapanus says in his work about the Jews that when Abraham died and his son Mempsasthenes died, the son of the king of the Egyptians, Palmanothes, took over the rule.

9.27.2 | τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φαύλως προσφέρεσθαι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Κεσσάν οἴκοδομῆσαι, τό τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἱερὸν καθιδρύσασθαι, εἶτα τὸν ἐν Ἡλιούπολει ναὸν κατασκευάσαι.

9.27.3 | τοῦτον δὲ γεννῆσαι θυγατέρα Μέρριν, ἣν Χενεφρῆ τινι κατεγγυῆσαι, τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν τόπων βασιλεύοντι· πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἴγυπτου βασιλεύειν· ταύτην δὲ στεῖραν ὑπάρχουσαν ὑποβαλέσθαι τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδίον, τοῦτο δὲ Μώϋσον ὄνομάσαι· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸν ἀνδρωθέντα Μουσαῖον προσαγορευθῆναι.

9.27.4 | γενέσθαι δὲ τὸν Μώϋσον τοῦτον Ὀρφέως διδάσκαλον· ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὔχρηστα παραδοῦναι· καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα καὶ μηχανᾶς πρὸς τὰς λιθοθεσίας, καὶ τὰ Αἴγυπτία ὅπλα, καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ ὑδρευτικὰ καὶ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔξευρεῖν· ἔτι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς λς νομοὺς διελεῖν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νομῶν ἀποτάξαι τὸν θεὸν σεφθήσεσθαι, τά τε ἱερὰ γράμματα τοῖς Ἱερεῦσιν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ αἴλουρους καὶ κύνας καὶ ἵβεις· ἀπονεῖμαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἱερεῦσιν ἔξαίρετον χώραν.

9.27.5 | ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιῆσαι χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρῷ διαφυλάξαι· πρότερον γὰρ ἀδιατάκτους ὄντας τοὺς ὄχλους ποτὲ μὲν ἐκβάλλειν, ποτὲ δὲ καθιστάνειν βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἐνιάκις δὲ ἄλλους.

9.27.2 | But he was poorly received by the Jews. First, he built the city of Kessa and established a temple there, and then he constructed the temple in Heliopolis.

9.27.3 | He had a daughter named Merrin, whom he betrothed to a certain Kenefre, who ruled over the lands around Memphis. For at that time, many were ruling in Egypt. This daughter was said to have given birth to a child by one of the Jews, and this child was named Moses. When he grew up, the Greeks called him Musaeus.

9.27.4 | Moses became the teacher of Orpheus. When he grew up, he handed down many useful things to people. He discovered boats and tools for stone work, Egyptian weapons, and devices for irrigation and warfare, as well as philosophy. He also divided the city into laws and assigned each law to a god to be honored. He provided the sacred writings to the priests, and there were also cats, dogs, and ibises. He gave the priests a special place.

9.27.5 | He did all these things to ensure that the rule of Kenefre would be secure. For before, the crowds were unruly, sometimes being driven out and sometimes being made kings, often the same people, but sometimes others.

9.27.6 | διὰ ταῦτα οὖν τὸν Μώϋσον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱερέων ἰσοθέου τιμῆς καταξιωθέντα προσαγορευθῆναι Ἐρμῆν, διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν.

9.27.7 | τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν ὁρῶντα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Μωϋσού φθονῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' εὐλόγῳ αἵτιᾳ τινὶ ἀνελεῖν. καὶ δή ποτε τῶν Αἴθιόπων ἐπιστρατευσαμένων τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Χενεφρῆν ὑπολαβόντα εὐρηκέναι καιρὸν εὕθετον πέμψαι τὸν Μώϋσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως· τὸ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν αὐτῷ συστῆσαι πλῆθος, ὑπολαβόντα ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσθένειαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι.

9.27.8 | τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐρμοπολίτην ὄνομαζόμενον νομὸν, ἔχοντα περὶ δέκα μυριάδας γεωργῶν, αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι· πέμψαι δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς προκαθεδουμένους τῆς χώρας, οὓς δὴ πλεοκεκτεῖν ἐπιφανῶς κατὰ τὰς μάχας· λέγειν δὲ φησιν Ἡλιούπολίτας τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἔτη δέκα.

9.27.9 | τοὺς οὓς περὶ τὸν Μώϋσον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς στρατιᾶς πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ κτίσαι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰβῖν ἐν αὐτῇ καθιερῶσαι, διὰ τὸ ταύτην τὰ βλάπτοντα ζῶα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρεῖν. προσαγορεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐρμού πόλιν.

9.27.10 | οὕτω δὴ τοὺς Αἴθιόπας, καίπερ ὅντας πολεμίους, στέρξαι τὸν Μώϋσον ὥστε καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν τῶν αἰδοίων παρ'

9.27.6 | Because of these things, Moses was loved by the crowds and honored by the priests with the title of Hermes, due to his interpretation of the sacred writings.

9.27.7 | Seeing the goodness of Moses, Kenefre became jealous of him and sought to kill him for some favorable reason. And indeed, when the Ethiopians were marching against Egypt, Kenefre found a good opportunity to send Moses against them as a general with an army. He also gathered a large number of farmers, thinking that he could easily get rid of Moses because of the weakness of the soldiers against the enemies.

9.27.8 | When Moses arrived at the district called Hermopolis, with about ten thousand farmers, he set up camp there. He sent generals who were already in charge of the land, who were indeed very famous in battles. He said that the people of Heliopolis had been fighting this war for ten years.

9.27.9 | So those around Moses, because of the size of the army, decided to build a city in that place and to establish the ibis in it, because this bird destroys the creatures that harm people. They named it the city of Hermes.

9.27.10 | In this way, the Ethiopians, even though they were enemies, admired Moses so much that they even learned about the

έκεινου μαθεῖν· οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἱερεῖς ἄπαντας.

circumcision of the private parts from him. Not only these, but all the priests as well.

9.27.11 | τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν, λυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου, λόγω μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποδέξασθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύειν. παρελόμενον γοῦν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄχλους τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς Αἰθιοπίας πέμψαι προφυλακῆς χάριν, τοῖς δὲ προστάξαι τὸν ἐν Διός πόλει ναὸν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου κατεσκευασμένον καθαιρεῖν, ἔτερον δὲ λίθινον κατασκευάσαι τὸ πλησίον ὄρος λατομήσαντας ἕταξαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιστάτην Ναχέρωτα.

9.27.11 | When the war was over, they accepted Kenefren in words but plotted against him in actions. While he was passing by, they sent some of the crowds to the borders of Ethiopia for protection, and they ordered others to tear down the temple in the city of Dios that was built of baked bricks, and to construct another one from stone using the nearby mountain. They appointed Naherot as the overseer of the building.

9.27.12 | τὸν δὲ ἐλθόντα μετὰ Μωύσου εἰς Μέμφιν πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἔστιν εὔχρηστον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· τὸν δὲ φάναι γένος τῶν βοῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀροῦσθαι· τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν, προσαγορεύσαντα ταῦρον Ἀπιν, κελεῦσαι Ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄχλους καθιδρύσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ζῷα τὰ καθιερωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωύσου κελεύειν ἔκει φέροντας θάπτειν, κατακρύπτειν θέλοντα τὰ τοῦ Μωύσου ἐπινοήματα.

9.27.12 | When he came with Moses to Memphis, he asked him if there was anything else useful for people. Moses said there was a breed of cattle, because they plow the land. Then Kenefren, calling a bull Apis, ordered the crowds to establish a temple for it, and he commanded them to bring the animals dedicated by Moses there to bury them, wanting to hide the inventions of Moses.

9.27.13 | ἀποξενωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ὀρκωμοτῆσαι τοὺς φίλους μὴ ἔξαγγελαι τῷ Μωύσῳ τὴν ἐπισυνισταμένην αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας αὐτόν.

9.27.13 | After the Egyptians had exiled him, they made the friends swear not to reveal to Moses the plot that was being formed against him and to support those who would kill him.

9.27.14 | μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούσαντος ὄνειδίσαι τὸν Χενεφρῆν Χανεθώθην, τὸν μάλιστα προσαγορευόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ ὄνειδισθέντα ὑποσχέσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν,

9.27.14 | When no one obeyed, they insulted Kenefren, who was especially called by him. The one who was insulted promised to take revenge when the time

λαβόντα καιρόν.

9.27.15 | ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς  
Μέρριδος τελευτησάσης ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν  
Χενεφρὴν τῷ τε Μωϋσῷ καὶ τῷ Χανεθώθῃ  
τὸ σῶμα διακομίσαντας εἰς τοὺς ὑπέρ  
Αἴγυπτον τόπους θάψαι, ὑπολαβόντα τὸν  
Μώϋσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Χανεθώθ  
ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι.

9.27.16 | πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν  
ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ Μωϋσῷ τῶν συνειδότων  
έξαγγελαί τινα' τὸν δὲ φυλάσσοντα αὐτὸν  
τὴν μὲν Μέρριν θάψαι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν καὶ  
τὴν ἐκείνῳ πόλιν Μερόην  
προσαγορεῦσαι. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τὴν Μέρριν  
ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ  
τὴν Ἰσιν.

9.27.17 | Ἀάρωνα δὲ τὸν τοῦ Μωϋσοῦ  
ἀδελφὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιγνόντα  
συμβουλεῦσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν  
Ἀραβίαν τὸν δὲ πεισθέντα, ἀπὸ Μέμφεως  
τὸν Νεῦλον διαπλεύσαντα, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι  
εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν.

9.27.18 | τὸν δὲ Χανεθώθην πυθόμενον τοῦ  
Μωϋσού τὴν φυγὴν ἐνεδρεύειν ὡς  
ἀναιρήσοντα· ἴδοντα δὲ ἐρχόμενον  
σπάσασθαι τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ  
Μώϋσον προκαταταχήσαντα τὴν τε χεῖρα  
κατασχεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπασάμενον τὸ ξίφος  
φονεῦσαι τὸν Χανεθώθην.

9.27.19 | διεκδρᾶναι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ  
'Ραγουήλω τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι

was right.

9.27.15 | At this time, when Merridis had died, Kenefren promised to take the body to both Moses and Chanephoth to bury it in the lands beyond Egypt, believing that Moses would be killed by Chanephoth.

9.27.16 | While they were going, some of those who knew about the plot against Moses reported it. The one who was guarding him buried Merris and named the river and the city there Meröe. This Merris was honored by the locals no less than Isis.

9.27.17 | Aaron, the brother of Moses, learned about the plot and advised his brother to flee to Arabia. After being convinced, he crossed the Nile from Memphis and escaped to Arabia.

9.27.18 | Chanephoth learned about Moses' flight and set an ambush to kill him. When he saw Moses coming, he drew his sword against him. But Moses, having anticipated this, seized his hand and, after taking the sword from him, killed Chanephoth.

9.27.19 | Moses went to Arabia and married the daughter of Raguel, the ruler of

συμβιοῦν, λαβόντα τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα· τὸν δὲ Ὑραγουῆλον βούλεσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους, κατάγειν βουλόμενον τὸν Μώϋσον, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν τῇ τε θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ κατασκευάσαι· τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἀποκωλῦσαι, στοχαζόμενον τῶν ὅμιφύλων· τὸν δὲ Ὑραγουῆλον διακωλύοντα στρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀραψὶ προστάξαι ληστεύειν τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

the area. Raguel wanted to lead an army against the Egyptians and wanted to bring Moses along, planning to establish power for his daughter and son-in-law. But Moses was reluctant, thinking about his own people. Raguel, however, urged him to lead an army to raid Egypt.

9.27.20 | ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν Χενεφρῆν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλεφαντιάσαντα μεταλλάξαι· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πάθει περιπεσεῖν διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προστάξαι σινδόνας ἀμφιέννυσθαι, ἔρεαν δ' ἐσθῆτα μὴ ἀμπέχεσθαι, ὅπως ὅντες ἐπίσημοι κολάζωνται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

9.27.20 | At the same time, Chenephren, the first of all men to wear elephant tusks, fell into this trouble because he ordered the Jews to wear tunics and not to wear any other clothing, so that they would be marked and punished by him.

9.27.21 | τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον εὔχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ἥδη ποτὲ τοὺς λαοὺς παῦσαι τῶν κακοπαθειῶν. Ἰλασκομένου δ' αὐτοῦ αἱφνιδίως φησὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πῦρ ἀναφθῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο κάεσθαι, μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἄλλης τινὸς ξυλείας οὕσης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον δείσαντα τὸ γεγονός φεύγειν· φωνὴν δ' αὐτῷ θείαν είπεῖν στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διασώσαντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγαγεῖν πατρίδα.

9.27.21 | Moses prayed to God to put an end to the people's suffering. While he was praying, suddenly fire appeared from the ground and burned, with neither wood nor any other kind of fuel present in the area. Moses, afraid of what had happened, fled. Then a divine voice told him to lead an army against Egypt and to bring the Jews back to their ancient homeland.

9.27.22 | τὸν δὲ θαρρήσαντα δύναμιν πολεμίαν ἐπάγειν διαγγῆναι τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις. πρῶτον δὲ πρὸς Ἀάρωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐλθεῖν· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Αἴγυπτίων πυθόμενον τὴν τοῦ Μωϋσού παρουσίαν καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι ἐφ' ὅ τι ἤκοι· τὸν δὲ φάναι, διότι προστάσσειν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότην ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς

9.27.22 | He, gaining courage, decided to lead an army against the Egyptians. First, he went to his brother Aaron. When the king of the Egyptians learned of Moses' arrival, he called for him and asked why he had come. Moses said that he was ordered by the ruler of the world to free the Jews.

Ιουδαίους.

9.27.23 | τὸν δὲ πυθόμενον εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτὸν καθεῖρξαι. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης τάς τε θύρας πάσας αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ τῶν φυλάκων οὓς μὲν τελευτῆσαι, τινὰς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου παρεθῆναι, τά τε ὅπλα κατεαγῆαι.

9.27.24 | ἔξελθόντα δὲ τὸν Μώϋσον ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐλθεῖν· εὐρόντα δὲ ἀνεῳγμένας τὰς θύρας εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἐνθάδε τῶν φυλάκων παρειμένων τὸν βασιλέα ἔξεγεῖραι. τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι κελεῦσαι τῷ Μωϋσῷ τὸ τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτὸν θεοῦ εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, διαχλευάσαντα αὐτόν·

9.27.25 | τὸν δὲ προσκύψαντα πρὸς τὸ οὗς εἴπειν, ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πεσεῖν ἄφωνον, διακρατηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωϋσού πάλιν ἀναβιῶσαι·

9.27.26 | γράψαντα δὲ τοῦνομα εἰς δέλτον κατασφραγίσασθαι· τῶν δὲ Ἱερέων τὸν ἐκφαυλίσαντα ἐν τῇ πινακίδι τὰ γεγραμμένα μετὰ σπασμοῦ τὸν βίον ἐκλιμπάνειν·

9.27.27 | εἴπειν τε τὸν βασιλέα σημεῖόν τι αὐτῷ ποιήσαι· τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἦν εἶχε βάρδον ἐκβαλόντα ὄφιν ποιῆσαι· πτοηθέντων δὲ πάντων, ἐπιλαβόμενον τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀνελέσθαι, καὶ πάλιν βάρδον ποιῆσαι·

9.27.23 | When the king learned this, he had Moses thrown into prison. But at night, all the doors of the prison suddenly opened by themselves, and some of the guards died while others were asleep. The weapons also fell to the ground.

9.27.24 | After Moses came out, he went to the palace. Finding the doors open, he entered and woke up the guards. The king, surprised by what had happened, ordered Moses to tell him the name of the god who had sent him, mocking him.

9.27.25 | When Moses leaned in to speak in his ear, the king suddenly fell silent. After being held by Moses, he came back to life again.

9.27.26 | After writing down the name, they sealed it on a tablet. The priests, having been disturbed, were losing their lives because of what was written on the board.

9.27.27 | He told the king to make a sign for him. Then Moses threw down the staff he had and turned it into a snake. When everyone was frightened, he grabbed its tail and made it a staff again.

9.27.28 | προελθόντα δὲ μικρὸν τὸν Νεῖλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαι' τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν πολύχουν γενόμενον κατακλύζειν ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον· ἀπὸ τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι· συναγαγόν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποζέσαι καὶ τὰ ποτάμια διαφθεῖραι ζῷα, τοὺς τε λαοὺς διὰ τὴν δίψαν φθείρεσθαι.

9.27.29 | τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, τούτων γενομένων τῶν τεράτων, φάναι μετὰ μῆνα τοὺς λαοὺς ἀπολύσειν, ἐὰν ἀποκαταστήσῃ τὸν ποταμόν· τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον πάλιν τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαντα τὸ ὕδωρ συστεῦλαι τὸ ῥεῦμα.

9.27.30 | τούτου δὲ γενομένου τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς Ἱερεῖς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν καλέσαι, καὶ φάναι αὐτοὺς ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ τὰ Ἱερὰ κατασκάψειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τερατουργήσωσί τι. τοὺς δὲ τότε διά τινων μαγγάνων καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν δράκοντα ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν μεταχρῶσαι.

9.27.31 | τὸν δὲ βασιλέα φρονηματισθέντα ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, πάσῃ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ κολάσει καταικίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ταῦτα ὄρωντα ἄλλα τε σημεῖα ποιήσαι καὶ πατάξαντα τὴν γῆν τῇ ῥάβδῳ ζῷόν τι πτηνὸν ἀνεῖναι λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους, πάντα τε ἔξελκωθῆναι τὰ σώματα. τῶν δὲ ἱατρῶν μὴ δυναμένων ιᾶσθαι τοὺς κάμνοντας, οὕτω πάλιν ἀνέσεως τυχεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

9.27.32 | πάλιν τε τὸν Μώϋσον βάτραχον διὰ τῆς ῥάβδου ἀνεῖναι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

9.27.28 | After going a little further, he struck the Nile with the staff, and the river became very full and flooded all of Egypt. From that time on, it was known as his descent. He gathered the water to dry it up and destroyed the rivers, causing the people to perish from thirst.

9.27.29 | When these wonders happened, the king said that after a month he would free the people if he restored the river. Then Moses struck the water again with the staff to stop the flow.

9.27.30 | After this happened, the king called the priests from Memphis and said that he would destroy them and tear down the temples if they did not perform some wonders themselves. Then, through some magicians and sorcerers, they made a dragon and changed the river.

9.27.31 | When the king was troubled by what had happened, he punished the Jews with all kinds of punishment and torture. But Moses, seeing this, performed other signs and struck the ground with the staff, causing some bird-like creature to rise up and harm the Egyptians, and all their bodies were affected. Since the doctors could not heal the sick, the Jews were able to find relief again.

9.27.32 | Again, Moses raised a frog with the staff, and along with that, locusts and

άκριδας καὶ σκνίφας. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους τὴν ῥάβδον ἀνατιθέναι εἰς πᾶν ἱερὸν, ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν εἶναι Ἰσιν, παιομένην δὲ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τὰ τέρατα ἀνεῖναι.

gnats. Because of this, the Egyptians raised the staff in every temple, and also to Isis, since the land belonged to Isis, and they were being harmed by the creatures raised with the staff.

9.27.33 | τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι ἀφρονουμένου τὸν Μώϋσον χάλαζάν τε καὶ σεισμοὺς διὰ νυκτὸς ἀποτελέσαι, ὥστε τοὺς τὸν σεισμὸν φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῆς χαλάζης ἀναιρεῖσθαι, τούς τε τὴν χάλαζαν ἐκκλίνοντας ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν διαφθείρεσθαι. συμπεσεῖν δὲ τότε τὰς μὲν οἰκίας πάσας τῶν τε ναῶν τοὺς πλείστους.

9.27.33 | While the king was still being foolish, Moses caused hail and earthquakes to happen at night, so that those fleeing from the earthquake were killed by the hail, and those trying to escape the hail were destroyed by the earthquakes. At that time, all the houses and most of the temples collapsed.

9.27.34 | τελευταῖον τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπολῦσαι ἄπολὺς τοὺς δὲ χρησαμένους παρὰ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων πολλὰ μὲν ἔκπωματα, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ ἴματισμὸν ἄλλην τε παμπληθῆ γάζαν, διαβάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ποταμοὺς, καὶ διαβάντας ἰκανὸν τόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν τριταίους ἐλθεῖν θάλασσαν.

9.27.34 | Finally, after such disasters had fallen upon the king, he let the Jews go. Those who had been used by the Egyptians received many valuables, a good amount of clothing, and a great deal of wealth. Crossing the rivers in Arabia, they traveled a sufficient distance to reach the Red Sea on the third day.

9.27.35 | Μεμφίτας μὲν οὖν λέγειν ἔμπειρον ὅντα τὸν Μώϋσον τῆς χώρας τὴν ἄμπωτιν τηρήσαντα διὰ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος περαιῶσαι. Ἡλιουπολίτας δὲ λέγειν ἐπικαταδραμεῖν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἄμα] καὶ τοῖς καθιερωμένοις ζῷοις, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕκαρξιν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῶν Αἴγυπτίων χρησαμένους διακομίζειν.

9.27.35 | It is said that Moses, being experienced in the land, managed to lead the people through the dry land of the sea during the low tide. It is also said that the king rushed after them with a great force, along with the sacred animals, because he wanted to bring back the Jews who had been used by the Egyptians.

9.27.36 | τῷ δὲ Μωϋσῷ θείαν φωνὴν γενέσθαι πατάξαι τὴν θάλασσαν τῇ ῥάβδῳ καὶ διαστῆναι. τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἀκούσαντα ἐπιθιγεῖν τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν νᾶμα διαστῆναι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διὰ

9.27.36 | Then, it is said that a divine voice came to Moses, telling him to strike the sea with his staff and to part it. When Moses heard this, he touched the water with the staff, and so the water was divided,

ξηρᾶς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι.

allowing the people to travel on dry ground.

9.27.37 | συνεμβάντων δ' ἐ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων καὶ διωκόντων φησὶ πῦρ αύτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐκλάμψαι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν πάλιν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπικλύσαι· τοὺς δὲ Αἴγυπτίους ὑπό τε τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος πάντας διαφθαρῆναι· τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους διαφυγόντας τὸν κίνδυνον τεσσαράκοντα ἵτη ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ διατρῆψαι, βρέχοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίμονος ὅμοιον ἐλύμῳ, χιόνι παραπλήσιον τὴν χρόαν. γεγονέναι δέ φησι τὸν Μώϋσον μακρὸν, πυρρακῆ, πολιὸν, κομήτην, ἀξιωματικόν. ταῦτα δὲ πρᾶξαι περὶ ἔτη ὄγδοήκοντα ἑννέα.

9.27.37 | It is said that while the Egyptians were pursuing them, fire shone on them from the front, and the sea closed back over the path. All the Egyptians were destroyed by the fire and the flood, but the Jews, having escaped danger, spent forty years in the wilderness, with a substance from God that was like dew, similar in appearance to snow. It is also said that Moses became tall, with red hair, gray hair, and a long beard, and that he was in this state for eighty-nine years.

## Section 28

9.28.1 | "Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Μώϋσον ἐκτεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς τὸ ἔλος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρὸς ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τραφῆναι ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἐζεκιῆλος ὁ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητὴς, ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Ἰακὼβ παραγενομένων εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς Ἰωσήφ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως, τὸν Μώϋσον παρεισάγων λέγοντα ἀφ' οὗ δ' Ἰακὼβ γῆν λιπῶν Χαναναίαν κατῆλθ' ἔχων Αἴγυπτον ἐπτάκις δέκαψυχὰς σὺν αὐτῷ, κάπεγέννησεν πολὺν λαὸν κακῶς πράσσοντα καὶ τεθλιμμένον, ἐς ἄχρι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον κακούμενον κακῶν ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυναστείας χερός. ἴδων γὰρ ἡμῶν γέννων ἄλις ηὔξημένην δόλον καθ' ἡμῶν πολὺν ἐμηχανήσατο βασιλεὺς Φαραὼ, τοὺς μὲν ἐν πλινθεύμασι νοίκοδομίας τε βάρεσιν αἰκίζων βροτοὺς, πόλεις τ' ἐπύργου, σφῶν ἔκατι δυσμόρων. ἐπειτα κηρύσσει μὲν Ἐβραίων γένειτάρσενικὰ ῥίπτειν ποταμὸν

9.28.1 | About the story of how Moses was hidden by his mother in the marsh and was found and raised by the king's daughter, Ezekiel the poet of tragedies also tells. He begins the story from those who came with Jacob to Egypt with Joseph. He says that when Moses was brought in, he said: "From when Jacob left the land of Canaan, he came down to Egypt with seventy souls. He gave birth to a large people who were suffering and oppressed, up until this time, being harmed by men and the power of rulers. For seeing our race growing greatly, Pharaoh the king devised a plan against us. He forced some of us into brick-making and heavy labor to build cities for their own misfortune. Then he proclaimed that all male Hebrew children should be thrown into the river. At that time, the mother who gave birth to me hid me for three months, as she said. Not being able to hide me any

ές βαθύρροον.ένταῦθα μήτηρ ἡ τεκοῦσ' ἔκρυπτέ μετρεῖς μῆνας, ὡς ἔφασκεν. οὐ λαθοῦσα δὲνπεξέθηκε, κόσμον ἀμφιθεῖσά μοι,παρ' ἄκρα ποταμοῦ, λάσιον, εἰς ἔλος δασύ.Μαριὰμ δ' ἀδελφή μου κατώπτευεν πέλας·κάπειτα θυγάτηρ βασιλέως ἄβραις ὅμοικατῆλθε λουτροῖς χρῶτα φαιδρῦναι νέον·ίδοῦσα δ' εύθὺς καὶ λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο,ἔγνω δ' Ἐβραῖον ὄντα· καὶ λέγει τάδεΜαριὰμ ἀδελφὴ προσδραμοῦσα βασιλίδι,θέλεις τροφόν σοι παιδὶ τῷδ' εὔρω ταχὺνέκ 'Ἐβραίων;' ή δ' ἐπέσπευσεν κόρην·μιολοῦσα δ' εἶπε μητρὶ, καὶ παρῆν ταχὺαύτῇ τε μήτηρ κἄλαβέν μ' ἑς ἀγκάλας.εἶπεν δὲ θυγάτηρ βασιλέως 'τοῦτον, γύναι,τρόφευε, κάγὼ μισθὸν ἀποδώσω σέθεν.ὄνομα δὲ Μωσῆν ὀνόμαζε, τοῦ χάρινγράς ἀνεῖλε ποταμίας ἀπ' ἥρονος. τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει καὶ περὶ τούτων ὁ Ἐζεκιῆλος ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεισάγων λέγοντα ένι δὲ καιρὸς νηπίων παρῆλθέ μοι,ἥγεν με μήτηρ βασιλίδος πρὸς δώματα,ἄπαντα μυθεύσασα, καὶ λέξασά μοιγένος πατρῶον καὶ θεοῦ δωρήματα.ἔως μὲν οὖν τὸν παιδὸς εἶχομεν χρόνον,τροφαῖσι βασιλικαῖσι καὶ παιδεύμασινἀπανθ' ὑπισχνεῖθ', ὡς ἀπὸ σπλάγχνων ἐῶν·ἐπεὶ δὲ πλήρης κόλπος ἡμερῶν παρῆν,ἔξῆλθον οἴκων βασιλικῶν, πρὸς ἔργα γάρθυμός μ' ἄνωγε καὶ τέχνασμα βασιλέως;)ὸρῶ δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρας ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ,τὸν μὲν γεγῶθ' Ἐβραῖον, δὸν δ' Αἴγυπτιον.ίδων δ' ἐρήμους καὶ παρόντα μηδέναέρρυσάμην ἀδελφὸν, δὸν δ' ἔκτειν' ἔγω,ἔκρυψα δ' ἄμμῳ τοῦτον, ὥστε μὴ εἰσιδεῖντερόν τιν' ἡμάς κάποιγμνῶσαι φόνον.τῇ 'παύριον δὲ πάλιν ίδων ἄνδρας δύο,μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς συγγενεῖς, πατουμένους,λέγω 'τί τύπτεις ἀσθενέστερον σέθεν;' ὃ δ' εἶπεν 'ἡμῖν τίς σ' ἀπέστειλεν κριτὴν,ἢ πιστάτην ἐνταῦθα; μὴ κτενεῖς σύ με,ώσπερ τὸν ἔχθες ἄνδρα; 'καὶ δείσας ἔγω ἔλεξα 'πῶς ἐγένετο συμφανὲς

longer, she placed me in a basket, setting me among the reeds by the riverbank. My sister Miriam watched nearby. Then the king's daughter came down to bathe and saw me. Immediately, she took me and recognized that I was a Hebrew. And my sister ran to the princess, saying, 'Do you want me to find a Hebrew woman to nurse this child for you?' The princess hurriedly agreed, and my mother quickly came and took me into her arms. The king's daughter said, 'Take care of this child, and I will pay you for it.' I was named Moses, because I was drawn out of the water." Ezekiel also adds more about these things in his tragedy, saying that Moses said: "In my childhood, my mother brought me to the palace, telling all sorts of stories, and she spoke to me about my family and the gifts of God. As long as I was a child, I was promised royal care and education, as if from her own heart. But when the time of my childhood was complete, I left the royal house, for my spirit urged me to the work of a king. I first saw men fighting, one being Hebrew and the other Egyptian. Seeing no one around, I struck down the Egyptian and hid him in the sand, so that no one would see what I had done. The next day, I saw two men, who were actually relatives, fighting. I said, 'Why do you strike your brother?' And one said, 'Who made you a ruler or judge over us? Do you want to kill me like you killed the Egyptian yesterday?' And fearing, I said, 'How did this become known?' And all this was quickly reported to the king. Pharaoh sought to take my life, and I, hearing this, fled away, and now I wander in a foreign land." Then about the daughters of Reuel, he says: "I saw seven maidens." When he asked them who they were, Sephora said: "The whole land of Libya is ruled, stranger, by tribes of various

τόδε;’ καὶ πάντα βασιλεῖ ταῦτ’ ἀπήγγειλεν ταχύ· ζητεῖ δὲ Φαραὼ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν λαβεῖν· ἔγώ δ’ ἀκούσας ἐκποδῶν μεθίσταμαι, καὶ νῦν πλανῶμαι γῆν ἐπ’ ἄλλοτέρμονα. εἶτα περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ῥαγουὴλ θυγατέρων οὕτως ἐπιβάλλει, δῶρο δὲ ταύτας ἐπτὰ παρθένους τινάς. ἔρωτήσαντός τε αὐτὰς τίνες εἴησαν αἱ παρθένοι φησὶν ἡ Σεπφώρα Λιβύη μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα κλήζεται, ξένε, οίκοῦσι δ’ αὐτὴν φῦλα παντοίων γενῶν, Αἴθιοπες ἄνδρες μέλανες· ἄρχων δ’ ἐστὶ γῆζεῖς καὶ τύραννος καὶ στρατηλάτης μόνος. ἄρχει δὲ πόλεως τῆσδε καὶ κρίνει βροτοὺς ιερεὺς, ὃς ἐστ’ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τούτων πατήρ. εἶτα περὶ τοῦ ποτισμοῦ τῶν θρεμμάτων διελθών περὶ τοῦ τῆς Σεπφώρας ἐπιβάλλει γάμου, δι’ ἀμοιβαίων παρεισάγων τόν τε Χούμ καὶ τὴν Σεπφώραν λέγοντας, Σ. ὅμως κατειπεῖν χρήσε, Σεπφώρα, τάδε. Χ. ξένῳ πατήρ με τῷδ’ ἔδωκεν εύνέτιν.”

## Section 29

9.29.1 | “Δημήτριος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ Αίγυπτου καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς πρὸς τὸν μηνύσαντα τὸν τελευτήσαντα ὄμοιώς τῷ τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον γράψαντι ἴστόρησε· φυγεῖν μέντοι γε τὸν Μωσῆν εἰς Μαδιὰν, καὶ συνοικῆσαι ἐκεῖ τῇ Ἰοθὸρ θυγατρὶ Σεπφώρᾳ, ἥν εἶναι, ὃσα στοχάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνομάτων, τῶν γενομένων ἐκ Χεττούρας, τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένους, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεζὰν τοῦ γενομένου Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ Χεττούρας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεζὰν γενέσθαι Δαδὰν, ἐκ δὲ Δαδὰν γουὴλ, ἐκ δὲ Ῥαγουὴλ Ἰοθὸρ καὶ Ἀβὰβ,, ἐκ δὲ τον Ἰοθὸρ Σεπφώραν, ἥν γήμαι Μωσῆν.

9.29.2 | καὶ τὰς γενεὰς δὲ συμφωνεῖν· τὸν γὰρ Μωσῆν εἶναι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἔβδομον, τὴν

kinds, black men from Ethiopia. But there is one ruler of the land, a tyrant and a single general. He rules this city and judges men, a priest who is the father of both me and these." Then, after discussing the watering of the flocks, he speaks of the marriage of Sepphora, bringing in both Choum and Sepphora, saying: "You must speak, Sepphora, these things." Choum said: "My father gave me to this stranger as a wife."

9.29.1 | Demetrius tells about the killing of the Egyptian and the conflict with the one who reported it, just like the one who wrote the sacred book. He says that Moses fled to Midian and married the daughter of Jethro, Sepphora. It is said that she is from the line of Chetura, the family of Abraham, from Jezer, who was born to Abraham from Chetura. From Jezer came Dadam, from Dadam came Guel, and from Raguel came Jethro and Abab. And from Jethro came Sepphora, whom Moses married.

9.29.2 | And the generations agree: for Moses is said to be the seventh from

δὲ Σεπφώραν ἔκτην. συνοικουντος γὰρ ἥδη τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, ἀφ' οὗ Μωσῆν εἶναι, γῆμαι Ἀβραὰμ τὴν Χεττούραν ὄντα ἑτῶν ρι, καὶ γεννῆσαι Ἰσαὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς δεύτερον· τὸν δὲ Ἰσαὰκ, ὄντα ἑτῶν ἑκατὸν, γεννῆσαι. ὡστε μὲν ἑτῶν ὕστερον γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰσαὰρ, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Σεπφώραν γεγενεάλογῆσθαι.

Abraham, and Sephora the sixth. When Isaac was already living, from whom Moses is descended, Abraham married Keturah when he was 175 years old, and had Isaac as his second child with her. Isaac, being 100 years old, had children. So, 75 years later, Isaac was born, from whom Sephora is said to be descended.

9.29.3 | οὐδὲν οὖν ἀντιπίπτει τὸν Μωσῆν καὶ τὴν Σεπφώραν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι χρόνους. κατοικεῖν δ' αὐτοὺς Μαδιὰμ πόλιν, ἦν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀβραὰμ παίδων ὄνομασθῆναι. φησὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐπὶ κατοικίαν πέμψαι· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἄαρὼν καὶ Μαριὰμ εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀσηρῷ Μωσῆν Αἴθιοπίδα γῆμαι γυναῖκα.

9.29.3 | Nothing prevents Moses and Sephora from being born in the same time period. They lived in the city of Midian, which is said to be named after one of Abraham's children. For it is said that Abraham sent his children to the east to settle. For this reason, Aaron and Miriam also said that Moses married a woman from Ethiopia.

9.29.4 | λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ Ἐζεκιήλος ἐν τῇ Ἐξαγωγῇ, προσπαρειληφως τὸν ὄνειρον τὸν ὑπὸ Μώσεως μὲν ἐωραμένον, ὑπὸ δὲ πενθεροῦ διακεκριμένον. λέγει δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Μώσης δι' ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν πενθερὸν οὕτω πως

9.29.4 | Ezekiel also speaks about these things in the Exodus, mentioning the dream seen by Moses, which is separated from that of his father-in-law. Moses himself says this through mutual respect towards his father-in-law.

9.29.5 | ἔδοξ' ὅρους κατ' ἄκρα Σιναίου θρόνονμέγαν τιν' εἶναι μέχρις οὐρανοῦ πτυχὸς, ἐν ᾧ καθῆσθαι φῶτα γενναῖον τιναδιάδημ' ἔχοντα, καὶ μέγα σκῆπτρον χερὶεύωνύμῳ μάλιστα. δεξιᾷ δέ μοι ἔνευσε, κάγὼ πρόσθεν ἐστάθην θρόνου. σκῆπτρον δέ μοι παρέδωκε, κείς θρόνον μέγανεῖπεν καθῆσθαι· βασιλικὸν δ' ἔδωκέ μοι διάδημα, καύτὸς ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται. • ἔγὼ δ' ἐσεῖδον γῆν ἄπασαν ἔγκυκλον, κανερθε γαίας καξύπερθεν οὐρανοῦ, καί μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρὸς γούνατα ἐπιπτ', ἔγὼ δὲ πάντας ἡριθμησάμην, κάμοι παρῆγεν ὡς

9.29.5 | I saw a great throne on the peak of Sinai. It seemed to reach up to the sky, where a noble light was sitting, wearing a crown and holding a large scepter in his hand. He nodded to me with his right hand, and I stood before the throne. He handed me the scepter and told me to sit on the great throne. He gave me a royal crown, and he himself was separated from the thrones. Then I saw the whole earth surrounding me, like the surface of the earth beneath the sky. A multitude of stars fell to my knees, and I counted them all, and

παρεμβολὴ βροτῶν. εἴτ' ἐμφοβηθεὶς  
έξανίσταμ' ἔξ ύπνου.

9.29.6 | ὁ δὲ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄνειρον  
ἐπικρίνει οὕτως ὡς ξένε, καλόν σοι τοῦτ'  
ἐσήμηνεν θεός· ζώοιν δ' ὅταν σοι ταῦτα  
συμβαίνῃ ποτέ. ἄρα γε μέγαν τιν'  
έξαναστήσεις θρόνον, καύτὸς βραβεύσεις  
καὶ καθηγήσῃ βροτῶν. τὸ δ' εἰσθεᾶσθαι γῆν  
ὅλην τ' οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὰ ὑπένερθεν χύπερ  
ούρανὸν θεοῦ, ὅψει τά τ' ὄντα τά τε προτοῦ  
τά θ' ὕστερον.

9.29.7 | περὶ δὲ τῆς καιομένης βάτου καὶ  
τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Φαραὼ  
πάλιν παρεισάγει δι' ἀμοιβαίων τὸν Μωσῆν  
τῷ θεῷ διαλεγόμενον. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Μώσης ἔα  
τί μοι σημεῖον ἔκ βάτου τόδε, τεράστιόν τε  
καὶ βροτοῖς ἀπιστίᾳ; ἂφνω βάτος μὲν  
καίεται πολλῷ πυρὶ, αὐτοῦ δὲ χλωρὸν πᾶν  
μένει τὸ βλαστάνον. τί δή; προελθὼν  
ὅψομαι τεράστιον μέγιστον • οὐ γὰρ πίστιν  
ἀνθρώποις φέρει.

9.29.8 | εἴτα ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσομιλεῖ  
ἐπίσχεις, ὡς φέριστε, μὴ προσεγγίσῃς, Μωσῆ,  
πρὶν ἡ τῶν σῶν ποδῶν λῦσαι δέσιν ἀγία  
γὰρ ἡς σὺ γῆς ἐφέστηκας πέλει 'ο δ' ἐκ  
βάτου σοι θεῖος ἐκλάμπει λόγος  
• θάρσησον, ὡς παῖ, καὶ λόγων ἄκου'  
ἔμῶν' ἰδεῖν γὰρ ὅψιν τὴν ἐμὴν  
ἀμήχανον θνητὸν γεγῶτα, τῶν λόγων δ'  
ἔξεστί σοι ἐμῶν ἀκούειν, τῶν ἔκατ'  
έλήλυθα. ἔγὼ θεὸς σῶν, ὃν λέγεις,  
γεννητόρων, Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Ἰσαὰκ κ'  
Ἰακώβου τρίτου μνησθεὶς δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔτ'  
ἔμῶν δωρημάτων πάρειμι σῶσαι λαὸν  
Ἐβραίων ἐμὸν, ἴδων κάκωσιν καὶ πόνον

it appeared to me like a camp of mortals.  
Then, feeling afraid, I woke up from my  
sleep.

9.29.6 | But his father-in-law interprets the dream like this: "O stranger, this is what the god has shown you: when these things happen to you, will you raise up a great throne? Will you yourself judge and lead mortals? You will see the whole inhabited earth, and what is beneath and above the sky of the god, and you will see both what exists now and what will come later."

9.29.7 | About the burning bush and his mission to Pharaoh, he again brings in Moses talking to the god. Moses says, "Why is this sign from the bush for me, so amazing and unbelievable to mortals? The bush is burning with a great fire, but the green part remains alive. Why is that? If I go closer, I will see something very great; for it does not bring faith to humans."

9.29.8 | Then the god speaks to him, "Stop, O most honored one, do not come closer, Moses, before you take off your sandals from your feet; for the land on which you stand is holy. The divine word shines forth from the bush to you. Be brave, O child, and listen to my words; for you cannot see my face as a mortal. But you can hear my words, for I have come for each one. I am the god of your ancestors, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Remembering them and my gifts, I am here to save my people, the Hebrews, seeing their suffering and pain as my servants. But go and tell my words, first

δούλων ἐμῶν.άλλ' ἔρπε καὶ σήμαινε τοῖς  
έμοῖς λόγοις,πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν  
Ἐβραίοις ὅμοι,ἔπειτα βασιλεῖ, τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
τεταγμένα,ὅπως σὺ λαὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἔξαγοις  
χθονός.

9.29.9 | εἴτα ὑποβάς τινα ἀμοιβαῖα αὐτὸς ὁ  
Μώσης λέγει οὐκ εὔλογος πέφυκα, γλῶσσα  
δ' ἔστι μουδύσφραστος, ίσχνόφωνος, ὥστε  
μὴ λόγουςέμοὺς γενέσθαι βασιλέως  
ἐναντίον.

9.29.10 | εἴτα πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ  
ἀποκρίνεται Αάρωνα πέμψον σὸν  
κασίγνητον ταχὺ,ῷ πάντα λέξεις τάξ ἐμοῦ  
λελεγμένα,καύτὸς λαλήσει βασιλέως  
ἐναντίον,σὺ μὲν πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὃ δὲ λαβὼν  
σέθεν πάρα.

9.29.11 | περὶ δὲ τῆς ῥάβδου καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων τεράτων οὕτω δι' ἀμοιβαίων εἵρηκε,  
Θ. τί δ' ἐν χεροῖν σοὶ τοῦτ' ἔχεις; λέξον  
τάχος.Μ. ῥάβδον τετραπόδων καὶ βροτῶν  
κολάστριαν.Θ. ῥῆψον πρὸς οὓδας,  
κάποχώρησον ταχύ.δράκων γάρ ἔσται  
φοβερὸς, ὥστε θαυμάσαι.Μ. ἴδοὺ βέβληται  
δέσποιθ', Ὕλεως γενοῦ·ώς φοβερὸς, ώς  
πέλωρος· οἴκτειρον σύ με,πέφρικ' ἴδων,  
μέλη δὲ σώματος τρέμει.Θ. μηδὲν φοβηθῆς,  
χεῖρα δ' ἔκτείνας Μεούραν, πάλιν δὲ  
ῥάβδος ἔσσεθ' ὕσπερ ἦν.ἔνθες δὲ χείρ εἰς  
κόλπον, ἔξενεγκέ τε.ἴδοὺ τὸ ταχθὲν,  
γέγονεν ὕσπερεὶ χιών.ἔνθες πάλιν δ' εἰς  
κόλπον, ἔσται δ' ὕσπερ ην."

to all the Hebrews together, then to the king, what I have commanded, so that you may lead my people out of the earth."

9.29.9 | Then Moses replies with some hesitation, I am not a good speaker; my tongue is hard to understand and weak, so my words will not be suitable before the king.

9.29.10 | Then the god answers him, Send your brother Aaron quickly, to whom you will say all the things I have spoken. He will speak before the king, while you will be with us, and he will take your place.

9.29.11 | About the staff and the other signs, this is how the conversation went:  
God: "What do you have in your hands?  
Speak quickly." Moses: "A staff for herding animals and a tool for punishing people."  
God: "Throw it to the ground and step back quickly." For it will become a frightening serpent, so that you will be amazed. Moses: "Look, I have thrown it! Lord, be merciful to me; it is so frightening and huge. Have pity on me, seeing this, for my body trembles."  
God: "Do not be afraid; stretch out your hand to it. The staff will return to its form as it was." Now put your hand into your cloak and take it out. Look, what has been commanded has become like snow. Now put it back into your cloak, and it will be as it was.

9.29.12 | τούτοις ἐπάγει, μετά τινα τὰ μεταξὺ αὐτῷ είρημέωα, λέγων "Ταῦτα δέ φησιν οὕτω καὶ Ἐζεκιῆλος ἐν τῇ Ἐξαγωγῇ λέγων, περὶ μὲν τῶν σημείων τὸν θεὸν παρεισάγων λέγοντα οὕτως ἐν τῇδε ὢβδῳ πάντα ποιήσεις κακά 'πρωτὸν μὲν αἷμα ποτάμιον ῥυήσεται, πηγαί τε πᾶσαι χυδάτων συστήματα •βατράχων τε πλῆθος καὶ σκνίπας ἐμβαλῶ χθονί. ἔπειτα τέφραν οἵς καμιναίαν πάσω, ἀναβλύσει δείν' ἐν βροτοῖς ἔλκῃ πικρά. κυνόμυια δ' ἥξει, καὶ βροτοὺς Αἴγυπτιών πολλοὺς κακώσει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔσται πάλιν λοιμὸς, θανοῦνται δ' οἵς ἔνεστι καρδίασκληρά· πικρανῶ δ' ούρανόν· χάλαζα νῦν σὺν πυρὶ πεσεῖται, καὶ νεκροὺς θήσει βροτούς. καρποί τ' ὄλοινται, τετραπόδων τε σώματα· σκότος δὲ θήσω τρεῖς ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὅλας, ἀκρίδας τε πέμψω. καὶ περισσά βρώματα ἄπαντ' ἀναλώσουσι καὶ καρποῦ χλόην. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις τέκν' ἀποκτενὼ βροτῶν πρωτόγονα. παύσω δ' ὕβριν ανθρώπων κακῶν. Φαραὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς πείσετ' οὐδὲν ὃν λέγω, πλὴν τέκνον αὐτοῦ πρωτόγονον ἔξει νεκρόν· καὶ τότε φοβηθεὶς λαὸν ἐκπέμψει ταχύ· πρὸς τοῖσδε λέξεις πᾶσιν Ἐβραίοις ὅμοιον μείς ὅδ' ὑμῖν πρῶτος ἐνιαυτοῦ πέλει· ἐν τῷδε ἀπάξω λαὸν εἰς ἄλλην χθόνα, εἰς ἣν ὑπέστην πατράσιν Ἐβραίών γένους. ἔλεξεις δὲ λαῷ παντὶ, μηνὸς οὐ λέγω διχομηνίᾳ, τὸ πάσχα θύσαντας θεῷ τῇ πρόσθε νυκτὶ, αἴματι ψαῦσαι θύρας, ὅπως παρέλθῃ σῆμα δεινὸς ἄγγελος. ὑμεῖς δὲ νυκτὸς ὅπτὰ δαίσεσθε κρέα. σπουδῇ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκβαλεῖ πρόπαντ' ὄχλον. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃτ' ἀποτρέχειν, δώσω χάριν λαῷ, γυνή τε παρὰ γυναικὸς λήψεται σκεύη, κόσμον τε πάνθ', δὸν ἀνθρωπος φέρει, χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἡδὲ καὶ στολὰς, ἵνα ἀνθ' ὃν ἔπραξαν μισθὸν ἀποδῶσιν βροτοῖς. ὅταν δ' ἐς ἴδιον χῶρον εἰσέλθῃ, ὅπως ἀφ' ἡσπερ ἥοῦς ἐφύγετ', Αἴγυπτου δ' ἀποέπτὰ διοδοιποροῦντες ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν, πάντες

9.29.12 | He continues, after saying some things in between to him, saying, "This is what Ezekiel says in the Exodus, speaking about the signs, bringing in God, saying this: 'With this staff, you will do all these bad things. First, the river will turn to blood, and all the springs will become sources of filth. I will send a multitude of frogs and gnats upon the land. Then, ashes from the furnace will rise, and there will be terrible sores among the people. The dogfly will come and harm many of the Egyptians. After this, there will be a plague, and those with hard hearts will die. The sky will rain down hail with fire, and it will kill many people. The crops will be destroyed, and the bodies of animals will die. I will bring darkness for three whole days, and I will send locusts. All the excess food will be consumed, and the green of the crops will be gone. On top of all this, I will kill the firstborn of the people. I will stop the pride of wicked men. Pharaoh, the king, will not listen to anything I say, except that his firstborn will be dead. Then, afraid, he will send the people away quickly. To these, he will say to all the Hebrews together, 'This month will be the first of the year for you. In this month, I will lead the people to another land, to the land where the ancestors of the Hebrews came from.' And you will say to all the people, in the month I mention, during the Passover, you will sacrifice to God at night, touching the doors with blood, so that the terrible angel will pass by. But at night, you will roast the meat.' The king will hurry to send out all the people. When he is about to let them go, I will give favor to the people, and each woman will take from her neighbor gold and silver and clothing, so that they will repay the people for what they have done. When you enter your own land, just as you

τοσαύτας ἡμέρας ἔτος κάταάζυμ' ἔδεσθε,  
καὶ θεῷ λατρεύσετε, τὰ πρωτότευκτα ζῶα  
θύοντες θεῷ, ὅσ' ἀν τέκωσι παρθένοι  
πρώτως τέκνατάρσενικά, διανοίγοντα  
μήτρας μητέρων.

9.29.13 | καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης  
ἔορτῆς φησὶν ἐπεξεργαζόνενον  
ἀκριβέστερον είρηκέναι ἀωδρῶν Ἐβραίων  
τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς λαβώνκατὰ συγγενείας  
πρόβατα καὶ μόσκους βιώναμωμα δεκάτῃ·  
καὶ φυλαχθήτω μέχριτετράς ἑριλάμψει  
δεκάδι, καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρανθύσαντες, ὅπτὰ  
πάντα σὺν τοῖς ἔνδοιθενούτῳ φάγεσθε  
ταῦτα· περιεζωσμένοι, καὶ κοῦλα ποσὶν  
ὑποδέδεσθε, καὶ χερὶβακτηρίαν ἔχοντες. ἐν  
σπουδῇ τε γαρ βασιλεὺς κελεύσει πάντας  
ἐκβαλεῖν κθονός· κεκλήσεται δὲ πᾶς. ὅταν  
θύσητε δὲ, δεσμην λαβόντες χερσὶν  
ύστατου κόμισίς εἶμα βάψαι, καὶ θιγεῖν  
σταθμῶν δυοῖν, ὅπως παρέλθῃ θάωατος  
Ἐβραίων ἄποταύτην δ' ἔορτήν δεσπότη  
τηρήσετε, ἔφθ' ἡμέρας ἄζυμα· κού  
βρωθήσεται ξύμη. κακῶν γὰρ τῶνδ'  
ἀραλλαγήσεται, καὶ τοῦδε μηνὸς ἔξοδον  
διδῆ θεός· ἀρκή δὲ μηνῶν καὶ κρόνων οὗτος  
πέλει."

9.29.14 | πάλιν μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει "Φηδὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δὲ καὶ Ἐξεκιῆλος ἐν τῷ δράματι τῷ  
ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐξαγωγὴ, παρεισάγων  
ἄγγελον λέγοντα τήν τε τῶν Ἐβραίων  
διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἴγυπτίων φθορὰν  
οὕτως ὡς γὰρ σὺν ὅχλῳ τῷδ' ἀφώριμησεν  
δόμιων βασιλεὺς Φαραὼ μυρίων ὅπλων  
μέτα, ἵππου τε τάσης καρμάτων  
τετραόρων, καὶ προστάταισι καὶ  
παραστάταις ομοῦ, ἦν φρικτὸς ἀνδρῶν

fled from Egypt, you will eat unleavened bread for seven days, and you will serve God, sacrificing the firstborn animals, as many as the young women bear first."<sup>2</sup>

9.29.13 | And again, about this same feast, he says that it should be explained more clearly: "On the fourteenth day of this month, the Hebrews will take lambs and young goats according to their families. They must be without blemish. And it must be kept until the fourteenth day, and in the evening, after sacrificing, you will roast everything with what is inside. You will eat it this way: with your belts fastened, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand. For in haste, the king will command everyone to be sent out of the land. When you sacrifice, take a bunch of hyssop in your hands and dip it in the blood, and touch the doorposts of the two houses, so that the terrible angel will pass by the Hebrews. You will keep this feast for your Lord, as a feast of unleavened bread for seven days. No leavened bread will be eaten. For this is the day of the departure from the bad things, and God will give you this month as the beginning of the months."

9.29.14 | Again, he chooses to say, "Indeed, Ezekiel in the drama titled Exodus, bringing in an angel, speaks about the situation of the Hebrews and the destruction of the Egyptians like this: As the king Pharaoh set out with a crowd of many weapons, with horses and chariots, and with commanders and officers together, there was a terrifying crowd of men arranged. The foot soldiers were in the middle, and the cavalry were

έκτεταγμένων ὄχλος. πεζοὶ μὲν ἐν μέσοισι καὶ φαλαγγικοὶ διεκδρομάς ἔχοντες ἄρμασιν τόπους· ἵππεῖς δ' ἔταξε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ εὐωνύμωνέκ δεξιῶν δὲ ράντας Αἴγυπτου δτρατοῦ· τὸν πάντας δ' ἀριθμὸν ἡρόμην ἐγὼ στρατοῦ· μυριάδες ἥσαν ἐκατὸν τύανδρου μεω. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἐβραίων οὐμὸς ἤντησεν στρατὸς, οἱ μὲν παρ' ἀκτὴν πλησίον βεβλημένοι ἐρυθρὰς θαλάσσης ἥσαν ἡθροισμένοι· οἱ μὲν τέκνοισι νηπίοις δίδουν βορὰν, ὅμιοῦ τε καὶ δάμαρσιν, ἐμπονοὶ κόπω ἕτην τε πολλὰ, καὶ δόμων ἀποσκευὴ, αύτοὶ δ' ἀνοπλοὶ πάντες εἰς μάχην χέρας ἰδόντες ἡμᾶς ἡλάλαξαν ἐνδακρυνφωνὴν, πρὸς αἰθέρα τ' ἐτάθησαν ἀθρόοι, θεὸν πατρῷον. ἦν πολὺς δ' ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος. ἡμᾶς δὲ χάρμα πάντας εἶχεν ἐν μέρει. ἐπειθ' ὑπ' αὐτοὺς θήκαμεν παρεμβολὴν, Βεελζεφών τις κλήζεται πόλις βροτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιτᾶν ἥλιος δυσμαῖς προσῆν, ἐπέσχομεν, θέλοντες ὅρθριον μάχην, πεποιθότες λαοῖσι καὶ φρικτοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐπειτα θείων ἄρχεται τεραστίων θαυμάστ' ἴδεσθαι. καί τις ἔξαιφνης μέγας τῦλος νεφώδης ἐστάθη πρὸ γῆς μέγας· παρεμβολῆς ἡμῶν τε χέβραιών μέσος. κάπειθ' ὁ κείνων ἡγεμών Μώσης, λαβὼν ῥάβδον θεοῦ, τῇ δὴ πρὶν Αἴγυπτω κακάσημεῖα καὶ τεράστι· ἔξεμήσατο 'έτυψ' ἐρυθρᾶς νῶτα κάσχισεν μέσον βάθος θαλάσσης· οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ὠρουσαν ὥκεις ἀλμυρᾶς δι' ἀτραποῦ. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὡχόμεσθα συντόμως κατ' ἔχοντος αὐτῶν· νυκτὸς εἰσεκύρσαμεν βοηδρομοῦντες· ἀρμάτων δ' ἄφνωούκ ἐστρέφοντο, δέσμιοι δ' ὡς ἡρμοσαν. ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δὲ φέγγος ὡς πυρὸς μέγας φθῆ τι ἡμῖν· ὡς μὲν εἰκάζειν, παρήναυτοῖς ἀρωγὸς δὲ θεός. ὡς δ' ἡδη πέραν ἥσαν θαλάσσης, κῦμα δ' ἐρροίβδει μέγας νεγγυς ἡμῶν· καί τις ἡλάλαξ' ἴδων, φεύγωμεν οἴκοι πρόσθεν ὑψίστου χέρας· οἵς μὲν γάρ ἐστ' ἀρωγὸς, ἡμῖν δ'

stationed on the left and right sides of the Egyptian army. I asked about the total number of the army; there were thousands, a hundred thousand men. When the army met the Hebrews, those who were near the shore were gathered by the Red Sea. Some were feeding their little children, along with their wives, tired from labor. There were many animals and supplies from their homes, and they themselves were all unarmed, seeing us, they cried out with a loud voice, calling to their father God. There was a large crowd of men. We had joy in our hearts. Then we set up our camp, and there was a city called Beelzebub among the people. When the sun of the Titan was setting, we stopped, wanting to fight in the morning, trusting in the people and their terrifying weapons. Then, it began to show great wonders. Suddenly, a huge cloud pillar stood before the land. It was in the middle of our camp and the Hebrews. Then their leader Moses, taking the staff of God, struck the Red Sea and divided the depths of the sea; and all of them rushed through the salty water on dry ground. We followed closely in their footsteps, shouting at night. Suddenly, the chariots did not turn back, and the captives were joined together. From heaven, a great light appeared to us like fire; it seemed that God was with them. When they were already beyond the sea, a great wave rushed near us, and someone cried out, 'Let us flee home before the hand of the Most High! For he is their helper, but for us miserable ones, he brings destruction.' And the path of the Red Sea was closed, and the army was destroyed."

άθλιοις δλεθρον ξρδει· καὶ συνεκλύσθη πόροςέρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης καὶ στρατὸν διώλεσε.”

9.29.15 | καὶ πάλιν μετ' ὄλγα ” Ἐκεῖθεν ἥλθον ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὡς αὐτός τε ὁ Δημήτριος λέγει καὶ συμφώνως τούτῳ ἡ Ἱερὰ βίβλος. μὴ ἔχοντα δὲ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖ γλυκὺ, ἀλλὰ πικρὸν, τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντος ξύλον τι ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν, καὶ γενέσθαι γλυκὺ τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐλειμ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ εὐρεῖν ἐκεῖ δώδεκα μὲν πηγὰς ὑδάτων, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ στελέχη φοινίκων. περὶ τούτων καὶ τοῦ φανέντος ὄρνεου Ἐζεκιῆλος ἐν τῇ Ἐξαγωγῇ παρεισάγει τινὰ λέγοντα τῷ Μώσῃ περὶ μὲν τῶν φοινίκων καὶ τῶν δώδεκα πηγῶν οὕτως

9.29.15 | And again, after a little, he says, "From there, they traveled for three days, as Demetrius says and the holy book agrees. Not having sweet water there, but bitter, God told them to throw a certain piece of wood into the spring, and the water became sweet. From there, they came to Elim and found there twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees. About these things and the bird that appeared, Ezekiel in the Exodus introduces someone speaking to Moses about the palm trees and the twelve springs like this:"

9.29.16 | κράτιστε Μωσῆ, πρόσχες, οἶνον εὔρομεντόπον πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇδέ γ' εύαεῖ νάπτη. ἔστιν γάρ, ὡς που καὶ σὺ τυγχάνεις ὅρων, ἐκεῖ. τόθεν δὲ φέγγοις ἔξέλαμψε νιν, κατ' εύφρόνην σημεῖον ὡς στῦλος πυρός. ἐνταῦθα λειμῶν' εὔρομεν κατάσκιον, ὑγράς τε λιβάδας· δαψιλής χῶρος βαθὺς, πηγὰς ἀφύσσων δώδεκ' ἐκ μιᾶς πέτρας· στελέχη δ' ἔρυμνὰ πολλὰ φοινίκων πέλει ἔγκαρπα, δεκάκις ἐπτὰ, καὶ ἐπίρρυτος πέφυκε χλοίη θρέμμασιν χορτάσματα. εἴτα ὑποβάς περὶ τοῦ φανέντος ὄρνεου διεξέρχεται ἔτερον δὲ πρὸς τοῖσδ' εἴδομεν ζῶν ξένον, θαυμαστὸν, οἶνον οὐδέπω ὥρακέ τις, διπλοῦν γάρ ἦν τὸ μῆκος ἀετοῦ σχεδὸν, πτεροῖσι ποικίλοισιν ἥδε χρώμασι. στῆθος μὲν αὐτοῦ πορφυροῦν ἐφαίνετο, σκέλη δὲ μιλτόχρωτα, καὶ κατ' αὐχένακροκωτίνοις μαλλοῖσιν εύτρεπίζετο. κάρα δὲ κοττοῖς ἡμέροις παρεμφερὲς, καὶ μηλίνη μὲν τῇ κόρῃ προσέβλεπεκύκλω· κόρη δὲ κόκκος ὡς

9.29.16 | "Most powerful Moses, pay attention to what we have found. There is a place near this very spot that is pleasant. For there, as you might happen to see, a light shone forth, like a pillar of fire. Here we found a shady meadow and moist pastures; a rich and deep area, with twelve springs flowing from a single rock. There are many clusters of palm trees, seventy in number, and lush green grass grows thickly around them." Then, going on about the bird that appeared, he continues, "We saw another strange creature, wonderful, like none we had seen before. Its length was almost double that of an eagle, with colorful wings and colors. Its chest appeared purple, its legs were a reddish color, and its neck was adorned with golden feathers. Its head was similar to that of a domestic bird, and it looked around like a young girl; the young girl seemed like a grain of corn. It had the most beautiful

έφαίνετο· φωνὴν δὲ πάντων εἶχεν  
έκπρεπεστάτην. βασικλεὺς δὲ πάντων  
όρνέων ἔφαίνετο, ως ἡν νοῆσαι. πάντα γὰρ  
τὰ πτήν' ὅμοιοπισθεν αὐτοῦ δειλιῶντ'  
ἔπεσσυτο, αύτὸς δὲ πρόσθεν, ταῦρος ὡς  
γαυρούμενος, ἔβαινε κραιπνὸν βῆμα  
βαστάζων ποδός· καὶ μετὰ βραχέα  
“Ἐπιζητεῖν δέ τινα πῶς οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ὅπλα  
ἔσχον ἀνοπλοι ἔξελθόντες. ἔφασαν γὰρ  
τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν ἔξελθόντας καὶ  
θυσιάσαντας πάλιν ἀνακάμψειν. φαίνεται  
οὖν τοὺς μὴ κατακλυσθέντας τοῖς ἐκείνων  
ὅπλοις χρήσασθαι.”

## Section 30

9.30.1 | “Εύπόλεμος δέ φησιν ἐν τινι περὶ  
τῆς Ἡλίου προφητείας Μωσῆν  
προφητεῦσαι ἔτη μ'. εἴτα Ἰησοῦν, τὸν τοῦ  
Ναοῦ νιὸν, ἔτη λ': βιώσαι δ' αὐτὸν ἑτη τὸ πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τοῖς ρ., πῆξαί τε τὴν Ἱερὰν σκηνὴν ἐν Σηλοῖ.

9.30.2 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προφήτην γενέσθαι  
Σαμουήλ. εἴτα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει ὑπὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
Σαμουήλ Σαοῦλον βασιλέα αἵρεθῆναι,  
ἄρξαντα δὲ ἔτη κα τελευτῆσαι.

9.30.3 | εἴτα Δαβὶδ τὸν τούτου νιὸν  
δυναστεῦσαι, δὸν καταστρέψασθαι Σύρους,  
τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην οίκουντας  
ποταμὸν, καὶ τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
Γαλαδηνῇ Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Φοίνικας.  
στρατεῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίους  
καὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας καὶ  
Ἰτουραίους καὶ Ναβαταίους καὶ  
Ναβδαίους.

9.30.4 | αὕθις δὲ ἐπιστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ

voice of all. It appeared to be the king of all birds, as if to be understood. For all the birds, frightened, gathered behind it, while it walked proudly in front, like a bull, taking bold steps." And after a short time, "But how did the Israelites go out unarmed? They said that after three days of travel and making sacrifices, they turned back. So it seems that those who were not drowned used their weapons."

9.30.1 | Eu polemos says in a certain place about the prophecy of Elijah that Moses prophesied for 40 years; then Joshua, the son of Nun, for 30 years. He lived for 110 years and set up the holy tent in Shiloh.

9.30.2 | After these things, Samuel became a prophet. Then, by the will of God, Saul was chosen as king by Samuel, and he ruled for a number of years before he died.

9.30.3 | Then David, his son, became powerful. He defeated the Syrians who lived by the Euphrates River, as well as the Commageneans and the Assyrians in Gilead, and the Phoenicians. He also waged war against the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Itureans, Nabataeans, and Nabdaean people.

9.30.4 | Again, he waged war against Suron,

Σούρωνα βασιλέα Τυροῦ καὶ Φοινίκης, οὓς καὶ ἀναγκάσαι φόρους Ἰουδαίοις ὑποτελεῖν· πρός τε Ούαφρην τὸν Αἴγυπτιον βασιλέα φιλίαν συνθέσθαι.

the king of Tyre and Phoenicia, and forced them to pay tribute to the Jews. He also made an alliance with Wafrin, the king of the Egyptians.

9.30.5 | βουλόμενόν τε τὸν Δαβὶδ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ ἀξιοῦν τὸν θεὸν τόπον αὐτῷ δείξαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· ἐνθα δὴ ἄγγελον αὐτῷ ὄφθηναι ἐστῶτα ἐπάνω τοῦ τόπου, οὗ τὸν βωμὸν ἰδρῦσθαι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν μὴ ἰδρῦσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν, διὰ τὸ αἷματι ἀνθρωπίνῳ πεφύρθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη πεπολεμηκέναι.

9.30.5 | David wanted to build a temple for God and asked God to show him the place for the altar. There, an angel appeared to him standing above the place where the altar would be built in Jerusalem, and commanded him not to build the temple because he had shed human blood and had fought many years.

9.30.6 | εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα Διαναθάν· προστάξαι τε αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὅπως τῷ υἱῷ ἐπιτρέψῃ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν· αὐτὸν δὲ εὔτρεπίζειν τὰ πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀνήκοντα, χρυσίον, ἀργύριον, χαλκὸν, λίθους, ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα καὶ κέδρινα.

9.30.6 | His name was Dyanathan. He was commanded to let his son take on the building of the temple. He himself prepared everything needed for the construction: gold, silver, bronze, stones, and cypress and cedar wood.

9.30.7 | ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ πλοῖα ναυπηγήσασθαι ἐν Ἀϊλάνοις πόλει τῆς Ἰραβίας, καὶ πέμψαι μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ούρφην νῆσον, κειμένην ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, μέταλλα χρυσικὰ ἔχουσαν· καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖθεν μετακομίσαι τοὺς μεταλλευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

9.30.7 | When David heard this, he ordered ships to be built in the city of Ailana in Arabia, and to send miners to the island of Orphe, which is located in the Red Sea, to get gold and bring the gold back from there to Judah.

9.30.8 | βασιλεύσαντα δὲ τὸν Δαβὶδ ἔτη μ' Σολομῶνι τῷ υἱῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοῦναι, ὅντι ἑτῶν ιβ., ἐνώπιον Ἡλεί τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ιβ. φυλάρχων, καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸν τε χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ λίθον καὶ ξύλα κυπαρίσσινα καὶ κέδρινα. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι, Σολομῶνα δὲ βασιλεύειν, καὶ γράψαι πρὸς

9.30.8 | After David had reigned for seven years, he handed over the rule to his son Solomon, who was twelve years old, in front of Eli the high priest and the twelve leaders of the tribes. He gave him the gold, silver, bronze, stones, and cypress and cedar wood. David died, and Solomon became king. He wrote a signed letter to

Ούαφρην τὸν Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα τὴν  
ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν.”

the king of Egypt, Wafrē.

## Section 31

9.31.1 | "Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Ούαφρῇ  
βασιλεῖ Αἴγυπτου φίλῳ πατρικῷ χαίρειν.  
Γίνοωσκέ με παρειληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν  
παρὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ  
μεγίστου, καὶ ἐπίτεταχότος ἐμοὶ  
οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ, ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν· ἅμα δέ σοι γράψαι  
ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λαῶν, οἱ  
παραστήσονταί μοι μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι  
πάντα κατὰ τὴν χρείαν, καθότι  
ἐπιτέτακται."

9.31.1 | King Solomon sends greetings to  
Wafrē, king of Egypt, my dear friend. I want  
you to know that I have received the  
kingdom from my father David through the  
will of the great God, and I have been  
commanded to build a temple for God, who  
created the heaven and the earth. At the  
same time, I am sending you a request for  
the people from you who will help me until  
everything is completed as needed, as it has  
been commanded.

## Section 32

9.32.1 | "Βασιλεὺς Ούαφρῆς Σολομῶνι  
βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ χαίρειν. Αμα τῷ ἀναγνῶναι  
τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν σφόδρα δρᾶ  
έχάρην, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἡμέραν ἥγαγον ἐγώ  
τε καὶ ἡ δύναμίς μου πᾶσα ἐπὶ τῷ  
παρειληφέναι σε τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ  
χρηστοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένου ὑπὸ  
τηλικούτου θεοῦ. περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφεις μοι  
περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν,  
ἀπέσταλκά σοι μυριάδας ὁκτὼ, ὃν καὶ τὰ  
πλήθη ἔξ ὧν είσι διασεσάφηκά σοι· ἐκ μὲν  
τοῦ Σεβριθίτου νομοῦ μυρίους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
Μενδησίου καὶ Σεβεννύτου δισμυρίους·  
Βουσιρίτου, Λεοντοπολίτου καὶ Ἀθριβίτου  
ἀνὰ μυρίους. φρόντισον δὲ καὶ τὰ δέοντα  
αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅπως εύτακτῇ, καὶ ἔνα  
ἀποκατασταθῶσιν είς τὴν ἴδιαν, ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ  
τῆς χρείας γενόμενοι.

9.32.1 | King Wafrē sends greetings to the  
great king Solomon. As soon as I read your  
letter, I was very happy, and I and all my  
power celebrated the day you received the  
kingdom from a good and trusted man,  
chosen by such a God. About what you  
wrote me concerning the people from us, I  
have sent you eight thousand men, and I  
have also sent you the details about them.  
From the Sebirithite law, I sent thousands,  
and from the Mendisians and Sebennytus,  
two thousand; from Busiris, Leontopolis,  
and Athribis, a thousand each. Take care of  
their needs and everything else so that they  
are well organized and can return to their  
own, as they become necessary.

## Section 33

9.33.1 | "Βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Σούρων τῷ βασιλεῖ Τυροῦ καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ Φοινίκης φίλῳ πατρικῷ χαίρειν. Γίνωσκέ με παρειληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς, διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου, καὶ ἐπιτεταχότος μοι οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱερὸν τῷ Θεῷ, δὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἀποστεῖλαί μοι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ λαῶν, οἵ συμπαραστήσονται ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χρείαν, καθότι μοι ἐπιτέτακται. γέγραφα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σαμαρεῖτιν καὶ Μωαβῖτιν καὶ Ἀμμανῖτιν καὶ Γαλαδῖτιν χορηγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δέοντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ μῆνα, κόρους σίτου μυρίους· ὃ δὲ κόρος ἐστὶν ἀρταβῶν ἔξι· καὶ οὕνου κόρους μυρίους· ὃ δὲ κόρος τοῦ οὕνου ἐστὶ μέτρα δέκα. τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χορηγήθησται αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἵερεῖα δὲ εἰς κρεοφαγίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας.'

9.33.1 | King Solomon sends greetings to Huram, king of Tyre and Sidon, my dear friend. I want you to know that I have received the kingdom from my father David through the will of the great God, and I have been commanded to build a temple for God, who created the heaven and the earth. At the same time, I am sending you a request for the people from you who will help us until the needs of God are fulfilled, as it has been commanded to me. I have also written to the Galileans, Samaritans, Moabites, Ammonites, and Gileadites to provide them with what they need from the land each month, thousands of measures of grain; one measure is ten artabas. And thousands of measures of wine; one measure of wine is ten measures. The oil and other supplies will be provided to them from Judah, and priests will be sent from Arabia for sacrifices.

## Section 34

9.34.1 | "Σούρων Σολομῶνι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ χαίρειν. Εὔλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς, δὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, δὸς εἴλετο ἄνθρωπον χρηστὸν ἐκ χρηστοῦ ἀνδρός. ἅμα τῷ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν σφόδρα ἔχάρην, καὶ εὐλόγησα τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρειληφέναι σὲ τὴν βασιλείαν.

9.34.1 | Huram sends greetings to the great king Solomon. Blessed is the God who created the heaven and the earth, who chose a good man from a good man. As soon as I read your letter, I was very happy, and I blessed God for your receiving the kingdom.

9.34.2 | περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφεις μοι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς παρὰ ἡμῖν ἀπέσταλκά σοι Τυρίων καὶ Φοινίκων ὀκτακισμυρίους, καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονά σοι ἀπέσταλκα ἄνθρωπον Τύριον, ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας, ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Δαβίδ. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσῃς

9.34.2 | About what you wrote me concerning the people from us, I have sent you eighty thousand Tyrians and Phoenicians, and I have sent you a master builder, a man from Tyre, from the mother of Judah, from the tribe of David. For

τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων, καὶ  
ἀρχιτεκτονίαν, ὑφηγήσεται σοι καὶ  
ποιήσει.

9.34.3 | περὶ δὲ τῶν δεόντων καὶ  
ἀποστελλομένων σοι παίδων καλῶς  
ποιήσεις ἐπιστείλας τοῖς κατὰ τόπον  
ἐπάρχοις, ὅπως χορηγῆται τὰ δέοντα.”

9.34.4 | ” Διελθὼν δὲ Σολομῶν, ἔχων τοὺς  
πατρικοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τοῦ  
Λιβάνου μετὰ τῶν Σιδωνίων καὶ Τυρίων,  
μετήνεγκε τὰ ξύλα τὰ προκεκομένα ὑπὸ  
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς  
Ίόππην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πεζῇ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.  
καὶ ἀρξασθαι οἴκοδομεῖν τὸ ιερὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
ὅντα ἐτῶν ιγ' ἐργάζεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ  
προειρημένα, καὶ φυλὰς ιβ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
παρέχειν ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάσι τὰ δέοντα  
πάντα, κατὰ μῆνα φυλὴν μίαν, θεμελιῶσαί  
τε τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μῆκος πηχῶν 'ξ,  
πλάτος πηχῶν 'ξ, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τῆς  
οἴκοδομῆς καὶ τῶν θεμελίων πηχῶν· οὕτω  
γάρ αὐτῷ προστάξαι Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην  
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

9.34.5 | οἴκοδομεῖν δὲ ἐναλλάξ δόμον  
λίθινον καὶ ἔνδεσμον κυπαρίσσινον,  
πελεκίνοις χαλκοῖς ταλαντιαίοις  
καταλαμβάνοντας τοὺς βόδομους. οὕτω δ'  
αὐτὸν οἴκοδομήσαντα ξυλῶσαι ἔξωθεν  
κεδρίνοις ξύλοις καὶ κυπαρισσίνοις, ὥστε  
τὴν λιθίνην οἴκοδομὴν μὴ φαίνεσθαι·  
χρυσῶσαί τε τὸν ναὸν ἔσωθεν χωννύντα  
πλινθία χρυσᾶ πενταπήχη, καὶ προστιθέναι  
προσηλοῦντα ἥλοις ἀργυροῖς, ταλαντιαίοις  
τὴν ὄλκὴν, μαστοειδέσι τὸν ḥυθμὸν,

anything you may ask him about all things  
under heaven, he will guide you and do it.

9.34.3 | About the things needed and the  
children being sent to you, you will do well  
to write to the local governors, so that what  
is needed may be provided.

9.34.4 | Then Solomon, having his father's  
friends on the mountain of Lebanon with  
the Sidonians and Tyrians, brought the  
timber that his father had prepared by sea  
to Joppa, and from there he went on foot to  
Jerusalem. And he began to build the  
temple of God, being thirteen years old. He  
had the nations mentioned before work,  
and he provided twelve thousand men  
from the Jews for the sixteen thousand  
needed, one tribe each month. He also laid  
the foundation of the temple of God, its  
length being sixty cubits, its width being  
twenty cubits, and the width of the building  
and the foundations being ten cubits. For so  
Nathan, the prophet of God, had  
commanded him.

9.34.5 | He built the house with alternating  
stone and cedar wood, using bronze tools  
that weighed talents to shape the stones.  
So, having built it, he covered it outside  
with cedar wood and cypress wood, so that  
the stone structure would not be visible. He  
also gold-plated the temple inside with gold  
bricks that were five handbreadths thick,  
and added silver nails that weighed talents  
to hold it together, with the style being  
masterful, and the number being four.

τέσσαρσι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν.

9.34.6 | οὕτω δ' αὐτὸν χρυσῶσαι ἀπὸ ἐδάφους ἔως τῆς ὄροφῆς, τὸ τε ὄρόφωμα ποιῆσαι ἐκ φατνωμάτων χρυσῶν, τὸ δὲ δῶμα ποιῆσαι χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ κεραμίδων χαλκῶν, χαλκὸν χωνεύσαντα, καὶ τοῦτον καταχέαντα. ποιήσαι δὲ δύο στύλους χαλκοῦς, καὶ καταχρυσῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσίῳ ἀδόλῳ, δακτύλῳ τὸ πάχος.

9.34.7 | εἶναι δὲ τοὺς στύλους τῷ ναῷ ἴσομεγέθεις, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κύκλῳ ἔκαστον κίονα πηχῶν δέκα· στῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ οἴκου δὲν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς, δέκα τάλαντα ἐκάστην στῆν ὀλκὴν ἀγούσας, ὑπόδειγμα λαβόντα τὴν ὑπὸ Μώσεως ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τεθεῖσαν.

9.34.8 | στῆσαι δ' ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τοῦ σηκοῦ τὰς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὰς δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων. ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λύχνου 'ς χρυσοῦς ὁ, ὥστε καίεσθαι ἐφ' ἐκάστης λυχνίας ἐπτά. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ κατακοσμῆσαι χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ· καὶ καταστεγάσαι φατνώμασι κεδρίνοις καὶ κυπαρισσίνοις.

9.34.9 | ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν μέρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν, καὶ στύλους αὐτῇ ὑποστῆσαι χαλκοῦς μῆ. κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ λουτῆρα χαλκοῦν, μῆκος πηχῶν κ' καὶ πλάτος πηχῶν κ', τὸ δὲ ὑψος πηχῶν ἐ. ποιῆσαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ στεφάνην πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἔξω ὑπερέχουσαν πῆχυν ἔνα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τούς τε πόδας προσκλύζεσθαι καὶ

9.34.6 | Thus, he gold-plated it from the floor to the ceiling, making the ceiling from golden panels, and he made the room from bronze tiles, melting the bronze and pouring it. He also made two bronze pillars and covered them with pure gold, the thickness being the width of a finger.

9.34.7 | The pillars in the temple were the same size, each one being ten cubits wide. They stood in the house, one on the right and one on the left. He also made golden lampstands, each weighing ten talents, using the design that Moses had set in the tabernacle of the testimony.

9.34.8 | He placed the lampstands on each side of the sanctuary, some on the right and some on the left. He also made a golden lamp, so that seven lamps would burn on each lampstand. He built the doors of the temple and decorated them with gold and silver. He also covered them with cedar and cypress panels.

9.34.9 | He also made a colonnade on the north side of the temple and set up bronze pillars for it. He constructed a bronze basin, twenty cubits long and twenty cubits wide, and its height was five cubits. He made a rim around it that extended one cubit above the base, so that the priests could wash their hands and feet while standing on it. He also made twelve bronze bases for

τὰς χεῖρας νίπτεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας·  
ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς βάσεις τοῦ λουτῆρος  
τορευτὰς χωνευτὰς δώδεκα, καὶ τῷ ὕψει  
ἀνδρομήκεις, καὶ στῆσαι ἐξ ὑστέρου μέρους  
ὑπὸ τὸν λουτῆρα, ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ  
θυσιαστηρίου.

9.34.10 | ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ βάσιν χαλκῆν τῷ  
ὕψει πηχῶν δυοῖν, κατὰ τὸν λουτῆρα, ἵνα  
ἔφεστήκῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅταν  
προσεύχηται, ὅπως ὀπτάνηται τῷ λαῷ τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ  
θυσιαστήριον πηχῶν κε ἐπὶ πήχεις κ', τὸ δὲ  
ὕψος πηχῶν ἴβ.

9.34.11 | ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ δακτυλίους δύο  
χαλκοῦς λυσιδωτοὺς, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοὺς  
ἐπὶ μηχανημάτων ὑπερεχόντων τῷ ὕψει  
τὸν ναὸν πήχεις κ', καὶ σκιάζειν ἐπάνω  
παντὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ προσκρεμάσαι  
ἐκάστη δίκτυι· κώδωνας χαλκοῦς  
ταλαντιαίους τετρακοσίους· καὶ ποιῆσαι  
ὅλας τὰς δίκτυας πρὸς τὸ ψιφεῖν τοὺς  
κώδωνας καὶ ἀποσοβεῖν τὰ ὅρνεα, ὅπως μὴ  
καθίζῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, μηδὲ νοσσεύῃ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
φατνώμασι τῶν πυλῶν καὶ στοῶν καὶ  
μοιλύνῃ τοῖς ἀποπατήμασι τὸ ἱερόν.

9.34.12 | περιβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα  
τὴν πόλιν τείχεσι καὶ πύργοις καὶ τάφροις·  
οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ βασίλεια ἐαυτῷ.

9.34.13 | προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ  
ἀνάκτορον πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὸν Σολομῶνος,  
ὑστερὸν δὲ παρεφθαρμένως τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἱερουσαλήμ ὄνομασθῆναι, ὑπὸ  
δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φερωνύμιας Ἱεροσόλυμα

the basin, and they were tall, and he placed  
them on the back side under the basin, to  
the right of the altar.

9.34.10 | He also made a bronze base two  
cubits high, on which the king would stand  
when he prayed, so that he could be seen  
by the people of Judah. He built the altar,  
which was ten cubits long and ten cubits  
wide, and its height was twelve cubits.

9.34.11 | He also made two bronze bells  
that hung from machines that were higher  
than the temple, twenty cubits high, and  
they shaded the whole sanctuary. He  
attached nets to each bell, with four  
hundred bronze clappers. He made all the  
nets to make noise with the clappers and to  
scare away the birds, so that they would  
not settle on the sanctuary or nest on the  
doorways and colonnades and make the  
holy place unclean.

9.34.12 | He surrounded Jerusalem with  
walls, towers, and a ditch. He also built a  
palace for himself.

9.34.13 | The palace was first called the  
holy place of Solomon, and later, when the  
city was damaged, it was named Jerusalem.  
By the Greeks, it was famously called  
Jerusalem.

λέγεσθαι.

9.34.14 | συντελέσαντα δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τειχίσαντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Σηλώμ, καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν προσαγαγεῖν βοῦς χιλίους. λαβόντα δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον στήριον καὶ τὰ σκεύη, ἃ ἐποίησε Μώσης, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ θεῖναι.

9.34.14 | After finishing the temple and surrounding the city with walls, he went to Shiloh and offered a thousand bulls as a whole burnt offering to God. He took the tent, the altar, and the items that Moses made, and brought them to Jerusalem to place them in the house.

9.34.15 | καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη ἔκει κατατίθεσθαι, καθὼς προστάξαι αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην.

9.34.15 | And he placed the ark, the golden altar, the lampstand, the table, and the other items there, as the prophet had commanded him.

9.34.16 | προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν μυρίαν, πρόβατα δισχίλια, μόσχους τρισχιλίους πεντακοσίους. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν χρυσίον, τὸ εἰς τοὺς δύο στύλους καὶ τὸν ναὸν καταχρησθὲν, εἶναι τάλαντα μυριάδων υἱὸντος δὲ τοὺς ἥλους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα χίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα δύο· χαλκοῦ δὲ εἰς τοὺς κίονας καὶ τὸν λουτῆρα καὶ τὴν στοὰν τάλαντα μυρία ὁκτακισχίλια πεντήκοντα.

9.34.16 | And he offered to God a sacrifice of many, two thousand sheep, and three thousand five hundred bulls. The total gold used for the two pillars and the temple was ten thousand talents, and the silver for the nails and the other work was one thousand two hundred thirty-two talents. For the bronze used for the columns, the basin, and the porch, it was ten thousand eight hundred fifty talents.

9.34.17 | ἀποπέμψαι δὲ τὸν Σολομῶνα καὶ τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἐκάστους εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν, ἐκάστῳ χρυσοῦ σίκλους δόντα δέκα· τὸ δὲ τάλαντον εἶναι σίκλον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Αἴγυπτου βασιλεῖ Οὐαφρῇ ἔλαίου μετρητὰς μυρίους, φοινικοβαλάνων ἀρτάβας χιλίας, μέλιτος δὲ ἀγγεῖα ἐκατὸν, καὶ ἀρώματα πέμψαι·

9.34.17 | And he sent away Solomon and the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, giving each ten gold shekels; a talent was one shekel. To the king of Egypt, Wafre, he sent many measures of oil, a thousand baths of palm oil, a hundred jars of honey, and he also sent perfumes.

9.34.18 | τῷ δὲ Σούρωνι εἰς Τυρὸν πέμψαι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα, τὸν ἐν Τυρῷ ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ τοῦ Δῖός.

9.34.19 | Θεόφιλος δέ φησι τὸν περισσεύσαντα χρυσὸν τὸν Σολομῶνα τῷ Τυρίων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι· τὸν δὲ εἰκόνα τῆς θυγατρὸς ζῶον δόλοσώματον κατασκευάσαι, καὶ ἔλυτρον τῷ ἀνδριάντι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα περιθεῖναι.

9.34.20 | ποιῆσαι δέ φησιν ὁ Εὐπόλεμος τὸν Σολομῶνα καὶ ἀσπίδας χρυσᾶς χιλίας, ᾧν ἐκάστην πεντακοσίων εἶναι χρυσῶν. βιῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη πεντήκοντα δύο, ᾧν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βασιλεῦσαι ἔτη μ'.

## Section 35

9.35.1 | "Τιμοχάρης δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντιόχου τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἔχειν σταδίους μ' εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν δυσάλωτον, πάντοθεν ἀπορρῶξι περικλειομένην φάραγξιν. ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὕδασι καταρρεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τῶν ἀπορρεόντων ὑδάτων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄρδεσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἄνυδρον εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μ' σταδίων πάλιν κάθυδρον ὑπάρχειν."

## Section 36

9.36.1 | "Ο δὲ τῆς Συρίας σχοινομέτρησιν γράψας ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φησὶ κεῖσθαι Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπὶ με, τεώρου τε καὶ τραχέος τόπου· ὡκοδομῆσθαι δὲ τινὰ μὲν μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἀπὸ λίθου ξεστοῦ, τὰ δὲ πλείονα

9.34.18 | And he sent the golden column to Suron in Tyre, the one that stands in the temple of Zeus in Tyre.

9.34.19 | Theophilus says that Solomon sent the leftover gold to the king of Tyre; and he made a statue of the daughter, a full-body image, and he placed a ransom on the golden column.

9.34.20 | Europolemus says that Solomon made a thousand golden shields, each worth five hundred gold pieces. He lived for fifty-two years, of which he ruled in peace for forty years.

9.35.1 | Timokhares says that in the writings about Antioch, Jerusalem has a perimeter of five hundred stadia; and it is hard to capture, surrounded by cliffs on all sides. The whole city is flooded with water, so that even the gardens are watered by the flowing waters from the city. But the area between the city and forty stadia away is dry, and from the five hundred stadia, there is again a low area.

9.36.1 | The writer of the geography of Syria says that Jerusalem is located on a high and rough place. Some parts of the wall are built from smooth stone, but most are made from gravel. The perimeter of the

άπὸ χάλικος· καὶ ἔχειν τὴν περίμετρον τὴν πόλιν σταδίων κῆ, ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ πηγὴν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ὅδωρ δαψιλές ἀναβλύζουσαν."

city is twenty-seven stadia, and there is also a spring in the area with abundant flowing water.

## Section 37

9.37.1 | Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Φίλων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἱεροσολύμων κρήνην εἶναι, ταύτην δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι ξηραίνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ θέρει πληροῦσθαι. λέγει δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ οὕτως νηχόμενος δ' ἐφύπερθε τὸ θαυμηστατὸν ἄλλοι δέρκηθρον σὺν ἀοιδᾷ μεγιστούχῳ λοετροῖς ἡματοῖς ἐμπίπλησι βαθὺν ὥρον ἔξανιείσης, καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

9.37.1 | Philo says that there is a spring in Jerusalem, which dries up in the winter and fills up in the summer. He speaks in the first part like this: 'Flowing above is the most amazing sight, with songs of the greatest beauty filling the deep stream that flows out.'

9.37.2 | οἵς πάλιν ὑποβάς περὶ τῆς πληρώσεως ἐπιλέγει ὥεῦμα γὰρ ὑψιφάεννον, ἐν ὑετίοις νιφετοῖσινέμενον, πολυγηθές, ὑπέρ πύργοισιν ὅροισιστρωφᾶται, καὶ ξηρὰ πέδω κεκονιμένα, κρήνητηλεφαῇ δείκνυσιν ὑπέρτατα θάμβεα λαῶν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα.

9.37.2 | Again, he adds about the filling: 'For the high-flowing stream, in the rainy snowy season, is abundant, flowing over the towers of the mountains, and it shows the dry ground covered with dust, revealing the distant wonders of the people.'

9.37.3 | εἴτα πάλιν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κρήνης κρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀποχετεύσεως διέξεισιν οὕτως αἴπù δ' ἄρ ἐκπτύουσι διὰ χθονὸς ὑδροχόοισισωλῆνες, καὶ ὅσ' ἀ ἄλλα τούτοις ἔπεται." Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυίστορος.

9.37.3 | "Then he goes on about the spring of the high priest and the outflow like this: 'Deeply do the water-bearing pipes pour out through the ground,' and whatever else follows these." This is what comes from Alexander the Polyhistor.

## Section 38

9.38.1 | Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ὑδάτων καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταῖος ἐν τῷ γραφέντι αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ Περὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν

9.38.1 | About the waters in Jerusalem, Aristaios also writes in his book On the Interpretation of the Jewish Law, telling

Ιουδαίων νόμου ταῦτα ἴστορεῖ

these things.

9.38.2 | “Ο δὲ οἶκος ἀποβλέπει πρὸς ἡῶ, τὰ δ’ ὅπισθια αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔδαφος λιθόστρωτον καθέστηκε καὶ κλίματα πρὸς τοὺς καθήκοντας τόπους ἔχει τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιρροῆς ἔνεκεν, ἥ γίνεται διὰ τὴν σμῆξιν τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν αἰμάτων· πολλαὶ γὰρ μυριάδες κτηνῶν προσάγονται κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡμέρας.

9.38.2 | But the house looks toward the east, while its back faces the west. The whole ground is paved with stones, and it has vines in the places where the waters flow, because of the mixture of the blood from the sacrifices; for many thousands of animals are brought during the festival days.

9.38.3 | Ὅδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ὡς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυρρύτου φυσικῶς ἐπιρρεούσης, ἔτι δὲ θαυμασίων καὶ ἀδιηγήτων ὑποδοχείων ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὸ γῆν, καθὼς ἐπέφραινον, πέντε σταδίων κυκλόθεν τῆς κατὰ τὸ ιερὸν καταβολῆς, καὶ ἐκ τούτων σύριγγας ἀναρίθμους, καθ’ ἕκαστον μέρος ἐσυνταῖς συναπτόντων τῶν ὢρυμάτων· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μεμολιβδῶσθαι κατ’ ἔδαφους καὶ τῶν τοίχων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κεχύσθαι πολὺ πλῆθος κονιάσεως, ἐνεργῶς γεγενημένων ἀπάντων.”

9.38.3 | There is a hidden source of water, as if a spring inside is flowing abundantly. There are also wonderful and indescribable reservoirs under the ground, as it seems, within a circle of five stadia around the foundation of the temple. From these, countless pipes connect to each part, carrying the waters. All of this is covered with lead underground and on the walls, and on top of this, a large amount of dust has been poured, all of which has been actively created.

## Section 39

9.39.1 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τῆς Ἱερεμίου προφητείας τοῦ Πολυίστορος μνήμην πεποιημένου, ἡμᾶς ἀποσιωπῆσαι ταύτην πάντων ἂν εἴη παραλογώτατον. κείσθω τοίνυν καὶ αὕτη

9.39.1 | On these things, and remembering the prophecy of Jeremiah the Multitude of Stories, it would be most unreasonable for us to remain silent about this. Let this also be said.

9.39.2 | “Εἶτα Ἰωναχείμ· ἐπὶ τούτου προφητεῦσαι Ἱερεμίαν τὸν προφήτην. τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποσταλέντα καταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους θυσιάζοντας

9.39.2 | Then came Jehoiakim; on this, the prophet Jeremiah prophesied. He was sent by god to catch the Jews sacrificing to the golden idol, which is named Baal.

είδώλω χρυσῷ, ὃ εἶναι ὄνομα Βάαλ.

9.39.3 | τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀτυχίαν δηλῶσαι. τὸν δὲ Ἰωναχεὶμ ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλέσθαι κατακαῦσαι· τὸν δὲ φάναι τοῖς ξύλοις τούτοις Βαβυλωνίοις ὄψοποιήσειν, καὶ σκάψειν τάς τοῦ Τίγριδος καὶ Εύφρατου διώρυχας αἰχμαλωτισθέντας.

9.39.4 | τὸν δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα ἀκούσαντα Ναβουχοδονόσορ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ιερεμίου προμαντευθέντα παρακαλέσαι Ἀστιβάρην τὸν Μῆδῶν βασιλέα συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ.

9.39.5 | παραλαβόντα δὲ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Μῆδους, καὶ συναγαγόντα πεζῶν μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, ἵππεων δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα, καὶ πεζῶν ἄρματα μυρία, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Γαλιλαίαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτιδι οίκοῦντας Ἰουδαίους· αὖθις δὲ τὰ Ιεροσόλυμα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα Ἰωναχεὶμ ζωγρῆσαι· τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐκλέξαντας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀποστείλαι, χωρὶς τῆς καβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πλακῶν ταύτην δὲ τὸν Ιερεμίαν κατασχεῖν.”

## Section 40

9.40.1 | Τούτοις ἐπισυνάψαι ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονόσορ γεγενημένης “Συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορ τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἔκυρίευσε καὶ τὴν

9.39.3 | He showed them their future misfortune. While Jehoiakim was still alive, he would be burned. And he said that these wooden things would be made into food by the Babylonians, and they would dig the canals of the Tigris and Euphrates that had been captured.

9.39.4 | When the king of the Babylonians, Nebuchadnezzar, heard what had been foretold by Jeremiah, he called for Astyages, the king of the Medes, to join him in battle.

9.39.5 | After gathering the Babylonians and Medes, he assembled eighteen thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, and a thousand chariots. First, he destroyed Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews living in Gilead. Then he took Jerusalem and captured the Jewish king Jehoiakim. He took the gold, silver, and bronze from the temple to send to Babylon, except for the holy things and the tablets in it. These he took possession of from Jeremiah.

9.40.1 | It is also necessary to add what happened to the Jews during their captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. After joining forces with the rebel, Nebuchadnezzar defeated him and took control of the land, making it

χώραν ἔξαῦθις ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν  
έποιήσατο.

9.40.2 | τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ συνέβη  
Ναβοπαλασάρω, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν  
ἀρρωστήσαντι, ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ πόλει  
μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον, ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κά·  
αίσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τὴν  
τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Ναβουχοδονόσορος,  
καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς  
αἰχμαλώτους Ίουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων  
καὶ Σύρων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔθνῶν  
συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς τὴν  
Βαβυλωνίαν παρεγένετο.”

9.40.3 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι  
“Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ  
ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους  
ἔμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετήλλαξε τὸν  
βίον, βεβασιλευκώς ἔτη μγ, τῆς δὲ  
βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ  
Εύιλμαλούρουχος.

9.40.4 | οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων  
ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ  
Νηριγλισάρου, ἀνηρέθη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη β.

9.40.5 | μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον  
διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας  
αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δ.  
τούτου υἱὸς Χαβαεσσοαρᾶχος ἐκυρίευσε  
μὲν τῆς βασιλείας, παῖς ὧν, μῆνας ἔννέα·  
ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐκφαίνειν  
κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη.

once again part of his kingdom.

9.40.2 | At this time, Nebopolassar, his father, fell ill in the city of Babylon. After ruling for many years, he changed his life. Soon after, Nebuchadnezzar learned of his father's death. He arranged matters in Egypt and the rest of the land, and gathered the captured Jews, Phoenicians, and Syrians from the nations in Egypt. Then he went to Babylon with some of his friends.

9.40.3 | And later, it is said, 'After Nebuchadnezzar began to build the mentioned wall, he fell ill and changed his life, having ruled for 23 years. After that, his son Evil-Merodach became king.'

9.40.4 | This man, taking charge of affairs unlawfully and shamelessly, was plotted against by his brother Neriglissar, who had his sister. He was killed after ruling for 2 years.

9.40.5 | After this man was killed, Neriglissar, who had plotted against him, took over the rule and reigned for 4 years. His son, Awel-Marduk, became king as a child for 9 months. But he was plotted against and, because he showed many bad qualities, he was beaten to death by his

friends.

9.40.6 | ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὅντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως.

9.40.6 | After he was killed, those who had plotted against him came together and gave the kingdom to a certain Nabonidus, who was from Babylon and part of the same group.

9.40.7 | ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἔξ ὁπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. οὕσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει προσελήλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Πέρσεως μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν βασιλείαν ἄπασαν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.

9.40.7 | During his rule, the walls of the Babylonian city were built with baked bricks and asphalt. In the 17th year of his reign, Cyrus came from Persia with a great army and, after defeating the rest of the kingdom, he marched against Babylon.

9.40.8 | αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ, ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡσσηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ φυγῶν ὀλιγοστὸς, συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνων πόλιν.

9.40.8 | But Nabonidus, noticing his attack, went out to meet him with his army and set up for battle. After being defeated in the fight, he fled with a small group and took refuge in the city of Borsippa.

9.40.9 | Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος, καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀνέξευξεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον, ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον.

9.40.9 | When Cyrus took Babylon, he arranged for the outer city walls to be destroyed because the city seemed very strong and hard to capture. He then turned his attention to Borsippa, planning to besiege Nabonidus.

9.40.10 | τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντος αὐτὸν πρότερον, χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἔξεπεμψεν ἐκ

9.40.10 | But since Nabonidus did not withstand the siege and surrendered himself first, Cyrus acted kindly and gave him a place to live in Carmania, sending him away from Babylon. Therefore,

τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον."

9.40.11 | Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ’ ἡμῖν ναὸν ἡρήμωσε, καὶ ἣν ἀφανῆς ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντήκοντα. δευτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει, τῶν Θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων, δεκάτῳ πάλιν τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἔτελέσθη." Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

## Section 41

9.41.1 | Εὗρον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀβυδηνοῦ περὶ Ἀσσυρίων γραφῇ περὶ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ ταῦτα "Μεγασθένης δέ φησι Ναβουκοδρόσορον Ἡρακλέους ἀλκιμώτερον γεγονότα ἐπί τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίην στρατεῦσαι· ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενον ἀπόδασμον αὐτέων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου κατοικίσαι.

9.41.2 | μετὰ δὲ, λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων, ὡς ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια κατασχεθεὶ τεῷ ὅτεῳ δὴ, φθεγξάμενος δὲ εἶπεν, οὗτος ἐγὼ Ναβουκοδρόσορος, ὡς Βαβυλώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγέλλω συμφορὴν, τὴν δὲ Βῆλος ἐμὸς πρόγονος ἡ τε βασίλεια Βῆλτις ἀποτρέψαι Μοίρας πεῖσαι ἀσθενοῦσιν.

9.41.3 | ἥξει Πέρσης ἡμίονος, τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δάίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν· ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην. οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον

Nabonidus spent the rest of his life in that land.

9.40.11 | "These things agree with the truth in our books. For it is written in them that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and it was hidden for fifty years. But in the second year of Cyrus's reign, after the foundations were laid, it was completed in the tenth year of Darius's reign." This is what Josephus says.

9.41.1 | I also found in the writings of Abydenus about the Assyrians concerning Nebuchadnezzar these things: 'Megasthenes says that Nebuchadnezzar became stronger than Hercules and campaigned in both Libya and Iberia; after conquering these places, he settled some of them to the right of the Pontus.'

9.41.2 | Later, it is said that he went up to the royal palace of the Chaldeans, and when he spoke to the god, he said, 'I am Nebuchadnezzar, O Babylonians, I announce to you a future disaster, which both Bel, my ancestor, and the queen Belitis will try to turn away from you, but they are weak against fate.'

9.41.3 | A Persian horse will come, needing your gods as allies; it will bring slavery. The Medes will be responsible for this, boasting of their Assyrian pride. Oh, if only it could

αὔχημα. ώς εἴθε μιν, πρόσθεν ἢ δοῦναι τοὺς πολιήτας, Χάρυβδίν τινα ἢ θάλασσαν εἰς δεξαμενὴν ἀϊστῶσαι πρόρριζον· ἢ μιν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς στραφέντα φέρεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, ἵνα οὕτε ἀστεα ούτε πάτος ἀνθρώπων, θῆρες δὲ νομὸν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅρνιθες πλάζονται, ἐν τε πέτρῃσι καὶ χαράδρῃσι μοῦνον ἀλώμενον· ἐμέ τε πρὶν εἰς νόον βαλέσθαι ταῦτα τέλεος ἀμείνονος κυρῆσαι.

be sent away before it gives the citizens over to slavery, either into a whirlpool or a sea that pulls them down; or if it could be led away through the desert, where there are neither cities nor paths of men, but wild beasts roam and birds fly, and only in rocks and ravines can they be caught; and may I reach this goal before being struck down.

9.41.4 | ὁ μὲν θεσπίσας παραχρῆμα ἡφάνιστο· ὁ δέ οἱ παῖς Ἀμιλμαρούδοκος ἐβασίλευε. τὸν δ' ὁ κηδεστής ἀποκτείνας Ἰγλισάρης λείπει παῖδα Λαβασσοάρασκον. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος βιαίῳ μόρῳ, Ναβαννίδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν. τὸν δὲ Κῦρος, ἐλὼν Βαβυλῶνα, Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίῃ δωρέεται.”

9.41.4 | The one who had prophesied suddenly disappeared; his son, Amilmarodocus, became king. But the caretaker killed him, leaving behind a child named Labassuaraskon. After this child died a violent death, they showed Nabannidochus as king, but he had no connection to them. Then Cyrus, having taken Babylon, was given the rule of Carmania.

9.41.5 | Καὶ περὶ τοῦ κτίσαι δὲ τὸν Ναβοθχοδονόσορ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ὁ αὐτὸς ταῦτα γράφει “Λέγεται Λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλεομένην. Βῆλον δέ σφεα παῦσαι, χώρην ḥὴν ἐκάστω ἀπονείμαντα, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τείχει περιβαλεῖν τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἴκνευμένῳ ἀφανισθῆναι.

9.41.5 | And about the founding of Babylon by Nabothcodonosor, he writes this: 'It is said that everything began from water, called the sea. And Bel stopped them, assigning each a place, and surrounding Babylon with walls; but in time, it would disappear.'

9.41.6 | τειχίσαι δὲ αὕθις Ναβουχοδονόσορον τὸ μέχρι τῆς Μακεδονίων ἀρχῆς διαμεῖναν ἐὸν χαλκόπυλον.' Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει

9.41.6 | Then again, Nabuchodonosor built walls that remained until the beginning of the Macedonians, being made of bronze. And he adds other things.

9.41.7 | "Ναβουχοδονόσορος δὲ διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν Βαβυλῶνα μὲν

9.41.7 | Nabuchodonosor, having taken over the rule, built Babylon with a triple

έτείχισε τριπλῷ περιβόλῳ ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρῃσι, τὸν τε Ἀρμακάλην ποταμὸν ἔξήγαγεν, ἔόντα κέρας Εύφρήτεω, τὸν τε Ἀκράκανον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Σιππαρηνῶν πόλιος λάκκον ὄρυξάμενος, περίμετρον μὲν τεσσαράκοντα παρασαγγέων, βάθος δ' ὄργυιέων εἴκοσι, πύλας ἐπέστησεν, τὰς ἀνοίγοντες ἄρδεσκον τὸ πεδίον· καλέουσι δ' αὐτὰς ἔχετο γνώμονας.

9.41.8 | ἐπετείχισε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν, καὶ Τερηδόνα πόλιν ἔκτισεν κατὰ τὰς Ἀράβων εἰσβολάς· τά τε βασιλήι·α δένδροις ἥσκησε, κρεμαστοὺς παραδείσους ὄνομάσας.”

9.41.9 | Καὶ ταῦτα δέ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης κείσθω γραφῆς, διὰ τὸ φέρεσθαι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δανιὴλ προφητείᾳ ὡς ἄρα Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι περιπατῶν, μέγα φρανήσας, ἀπηυθαδίσατο εἰπὼν, οὐχ αὕτη ἔστι Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἦν ἐγώ ὁ κοκόμησα εἰς οἶκον βασιλείας, ἐν τῷ κράτει τῆς ἴσχύος μου, εἰς τιμὴν τῆς δόξης μου; ὅτε ἔτι τοῦ λόγου ἐπὶ στόματος ὅντος αὐτοῦ, τὰ τῆς μετελθούσης καταστροφῆς αὐτῷ γέγονε.”

## Section 42

9.42.1 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτάρκως περὶ τῶνδε. προσκείσθω δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίων Ἀρχαιότητος Ἰωσήπου, ἐνθα μυρίων συγγραφέων αὐτολεξεὶ παραθεὶς φωνὰς ταῦτα ἐπιλέγει

wall in fifteen days. He also diverted the river Armachales, which is a branch of the Euphrates, and the river Acrakanon. Above the city of Sippar, he dug a ditch, which was forty parasangs around and twenty orgyiae deep. He set up gates that, when opened, watered the plain; they are called the 'water-keepers'.

9.41.8 | He also built a harbor by the Red Sea and founded the city of Teridona to protect against the invasions of the Arabs. He shaped royal gardens with trees, calling them 'hanging gardens'.

9.41.9 | And let these things be from the written account that has been made clear, because it is said in the prophecy of Daniel that while Nabuchodonosor was walking in the palace of his kingdom in Babylon, he spoke proudly, saying, 'Is this not Babylon the great, which I have built as a royal house by the strength of my power, for the honor of my glory?' At the moment he was still speaking, the destruction that was to come upon him happened.

9.42.1 | Therefore, these things are enough for us about these matters. But let us also consider everything from the Antiquities of the Jews by Josephus, where he presents the words of many writers exactly as they are.

9.42.2 | "Ἄρκοῦσι δ' ὅμως είς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἴ τε Σύρων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ, πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων συγγραφεῖς, ἔτι δὲ πρὺς τοῖς είρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἐρμογένης, Εὐήμερύς τε καὶ Κόμων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις,) οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν μεμνημονεύκασιν.

9.42.3 | οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν είρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ιεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον· κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἄπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, ὑπὲρ οὖ τανῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. οἵς συγγινώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνήν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν."

9.42.4 | Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος. ὅτῳ δὲ φίλον τοῖς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος λόγοις ἐντυχεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πλείστας ἀνεύροι συμφώνους ταῖς ἐκτεθείσαις μαρτυρίας. καὶ πολὺς δὲ ἄλλος μαρτύρων ἡμῖν ὅχλος παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων συγγραφέων ἐπιρρεῖ, τὴν ὅμοιαν τοῖς τεθεῖσι ψῆφον ἐπισφραγίζομένων, ὃν τὰς φωνὰς, λόγου προνοούμενοι συμμετρίας, τοῖς φιλομαθέσι ζητεῖν τε καὶ διερευνᾶν ἀπολείψαντες ἐπὶ τὴν λείπουσαν αὐτοὶ μεταβησόμεθα ἐπαγγελίαν.

9.42.2 | However, the writings of the Syrians, Chaldeans, and Phoenicians are enough to prove the ancient history, along with so many Greek writers. Additionally, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Eumelus, Comon, Zopyrion, and many others perhaps (for I have not encountered all their books) have not forgotten to mention us.

9.42.3 | Most of the men mentioned have made mistakes about the truth of the original events, as they did not come across our sacred books. However, all of them have testified together about ancient history, which is what I intended to discuss now. But Demetrius of Phalerum, Philo the Elder, and Eupolemus did not stray far from the truth. They are worth listening to, for they did not follow our writings with complete accuracy.

9.42.4 | These things are also found in Josephus. Anyone who is interested in the words about the ancient history of the Jews would find many agreements with the testimonies presented. And there is also a large crowd of witnesses, both old and new writers, who support the same view, whose voices, considering the balance of their arguments, we leave for those who love to learn to seek and explore, while we ourselves will move on to the remaining promise.

## Book Ten (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

10.1.1 | Τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις τὴν καθ'  
Ἐβραίουσ φιλοσοφίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς  
προτετιμήκαμεν, ὅποίοις τε λογισμοῖς τὰς  
παρὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἱερὰς βίβλους  
ἀπεδεξάμεθα προδιειληφότες, κάπειτα καὶ  
αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἐλληνας μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τοὺς  
ἀνδρας, μνημονεῦσαι δὲ ὄνομαστὶ, καὶ τὸν  
βίον καταπλαγῆναι, τῆς τε βασιλικῆς  
μητροπόλεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς αὐτῶν  
ἰστορίας πολὺν πεποιῆσθαι λόγον  
παραστήσαντες, φέρε ἐπιθεωρήσωμεν,, ὡς  
οὐ μόνον τῶνδε γραφὴς ἡξίωσαν τὴν  
μνήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτοῖς  
διδασκαλίας τε καὶ μαθήσεως ἐν τισι τόν  
εἰς βελτίωσιν ψυχῆς συντεινόντων  
δογμάτων ζηλωταὶ κατέστησαν.

10.1.1 | What words have we chosen to compare the Hebrew philosophy with the Greek? With what reasoning have we accepted the sacred books from the men? And then, we should not ignore the Greeks, but rather remember them by name, and be amazed by their lives, having presented a great account of both the royal capital and their other history. Let us examine this, as not only have these writings earned remembrance, but also among them, some have become followers of teachings and learning that aim to improve the soul.

10.1.2 | ὡς μὲν οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν  
μαθημάτων ἄλλοιθεν ἄλλοις τῶν  
θαυμαστῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς βαρβάρους  
ἐκπειριών συνελέξατο, γεωμετρίαν,  
ἀριθμητικὴν, μουσικὴν, ἀστρονομίαν,  
ἰατρικὴν, αὐτά τε τὰ πρῶτα τῆς  
γραμματικῆς στοιχεῖα, μυρίας τε ἄλλας  
τεχνικὰς καὶ βιωφελεῖς ἐπιτηδεύσεις,  
αὐτίκα μάλα παραστήσω.

10.1.2 | As for the other subjects, one of the wonderful Greeks gathered together the knowledge of the barbarians, covering geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy, medicine, and even the basic elements of grammar, along with countless other useful skills and practices. I will present these right away.

10.1.3 | ὡσπερ οὖν τὴν περὶ πλειόνων θεῶν  
δόξαν, τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ  
προσέτι τὰς ιστορίας καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς περὶ  
θεῶν διηγήσεις, τῶν τε μύθων τὰς  
ἄλληγορουμένας φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὴν  
λοιπὴν δεισιδαίμονα πλάνην, παρὰ  
βαρβάρων εἰλῆφθαι αὐτοῖς φθάσας ὁ  
λόγος ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπηνίκα τὰ πάντα τοὺς  
Ἐλληνας, γῆν πολλὴν πλανηθέντας, οὐκ

10.1.3 | Just as the opinion about many gods, the mysteries, the rituals, and also the histories and mythical stories about the gods, along with the allegorical interpretations of myths and the remaining superstitious beliefs, were taken from the barbarians, the argument has shown this. Whenever all the Greeks, having wandered through much land, not without effort,

άταλαιπώρως μὲν, ἐξ ἑράνου δὲ τῶν παρὰ  
βαρβάροις μαθημάτων, τὴν οἰκείαν  
ὑποστήσασθαι θεολογίαν ἔφωράσαμεν·

10.1.4 | ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ εύσεβείας ἐνὸς τοῦ  
ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ, τά τε περὶ τῶν μάλιστα  
ζητουμένων εἰς ψυχῆς ὀφέλειαν  
δογμάτων, ἂ δὴ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα γένοιτ  
ἄν τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγων, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν  
εἴεν ἀν ἡ παρὰ μόνων Ἐβραίων  
πεπορισμένοι, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν  
ἀποδειχθήσεται.

10.1.5 | ἡ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, συνενεχθηναι δὲ  
φαίη τις αὐτοὺς φυσικαῖς ὑποκινηθέντας  
ἐννοίαις, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμῶν ἄν εἴη, εἰ τὰ  
μὴ μόνοις Ἐβραίοις ἄνωθεν ἐξ αἰῶνος ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
θεολόγων προφητῶν ἀνδρῶν  
παραδεδομένα, ἄλλὰ τὰ καὶ τισιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
πᾶσιν, αὐτοῖς δέ γε ὅν μέγα κλέος καθ'  
Ελλάδα, καὶ φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς  
ἔξητασμένα, ζηλοῦν προειλόμεθα.

10.1.6 | τούτους δ' ἄν εὔροις ἀριθμῷ μὲν  
ὄντας ληπτοὺς, ὅτι καὶ πάντα χαλεπά  
φασιν εἶναι τὰ καλὰ, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ  
πρωτείοις τῶν παρ' Ἐλλησι φιλοσόφων  
τετιμημένους, ὡς διὰ τὴν πολλὴν  
εύδοκίμησιν τῇ δόξῃ τοὺς ὁμοίους  
καλύπτειν.

10.1.7 | οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ τὰ παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις δόγματα δυνατὸν εἶναί φαμεν  
ἐσκευωρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὅτε μὴ μόνον τὰ  
λοιπὰ τῶν μαθημάτων Αἴγυπτίους καὶ  
Χαλδαίους τά τε ἄλλα τῶν βαρβάρων

gathered together the teachings from the  
barbarians, we have established our own  
theology.

10.1.4 | But as for the beliefs about the  
piety of one god above all, and the  
teachings that are most sought after for the  
benefit of the soul, which would indeed be  
the most connected of the philosophical  
arguments, they would not come from  
anywhere else but from the Hebrews alone,  
and this will not be proven to be far-  
fetched.

10.1.5 | If this is not the case, someone  
might say that they were influenced by  
natural ideas, and this would be true for us  
if the teachings were not only handed down  
by the Hebrews from ancient times through  
prophetic theologians, but also by others,  
even if not to everyone. Yet, we certainly  
seek after those teachings which have great  
fame in Greece and have been examined  
through the studies of philosophers.

10.1.6 | You would find that they are few in  
number, as they say that all beautiful things  
are difficult. However, they are honored  
above all by the philosophers among the  
Greeks, because due to their great  
reputation, they overshadow those who are  
similar.

10.1.7 | It is not surprising if we say that  
the teachings among the Hebrews could be  
influenced by them, since not only do the  
other subjects come from the Egyptians  
and Chaldeans, but even now they are still

έθνῶν συνίστανται ἀποσυλήσαντες, ἀλλ' εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν ἀλλίσκονται τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν συγγράμμασι φιλοτιμίας ἀποστεροῦντες ἀλλήλους.

10.1.8 | τὰς γοῦν τῶν πέλας ὁ καθ' εῖς αὐτῶν λέξεις ὅμοιοι καὶ διανοίας καὶ ὄλας λόγων συντάξεις ὑποκλέψας, ὡς ἐπ' οἴκειοις πόνοις ἐσεμνύνατο. μηδὲ τοῦτον ὑπολάβης ἔμὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον· αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν πανσόφων ἀκούσῃ πάλιν τῆς ἐν λόγοις κλοπῆς ἀλλήλους ἀπελεγχόντων.

10.1.9 | τοῦτο δέ γε αὐτὸ, ἐπείπερ ἄπαξ ὠρμήθημεν, ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον ἀπάντων συνιδεῖν εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ τῶν δηλουμένων τρόπου. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡμέτερος Κλήμης ἐν ἕκτῳ Στρωματεῖ τὴν περὶ τούτου σύστασιν εἰς πλάτος ἀπηύθυνε. τούτου δέ μοι πρώτου λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰς τοιάσδε φωνάς

## Section 2

10.2.1 | “Παραστήσαντες δὲ τὴν ἔμφασιν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπινοίας ἐκ τῆς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δεδομένης ἀληθείας περιαυγασθεῖσαν, καθ' ὃ σημαινόμενον διήκειν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν κλοπὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκδεχόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀπεδείξαμεν, φέρε μάρτυρας τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτῶν παραστήσωμεν Ἑλληνας.

10.2.2 | οἱ γὰρ τὰ οἰκεῖα οὕτως ἄντικρυς παρ' ἀλλήλων ὑφαιρούμενοι βεβαιοῦσι μὲν τὸ κλέπται εἶναι, σφετερίζεσθαι δὲ ὅμως

competing with each other, depriving one another of their own honor in their writings.

10.1.8 | Indeed, each of them has borrowed words, thoughts, and the whole structure of speech from those nearby, as if they were honoring their own efforts. Do not think that this is my own idea; for you will hear from those very wise ones that they are accusing each other of stealing in their writings.

10.1.9 | Now, since we have begun this, it is necessary first of all to look into the way of what is being said. Our Clement, then, in the sixth book of the Stromata, has presented the discussion about this in detail. So, first take this and read these kinds of statements.

10.2.1 | Having presented the meaning of Greek thought, which has been brightly revealed to us through writings, we have shown how they accept the theft of truth, unless it is harsh to say so. Let us bring forth witnesses of this theft by presenting the Greeks themselves.

10.2.2 | For those who take from each other so openly are sure that they are thieves, but they still secretly share the truth from us

καὶ ἄκοντες τὴν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀλήθειαν εἰς τοὺς ὅμοφύλους λάθρᾳ διαδείκνυνται. εἰ γὰρ μηδὲ ἔσωτῶν, σχολῇ γ’ ἀν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀφέζονται.

10.2.3 | καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σιωπήσομαι δόγματα, αύτῶν δημολογούντων ἐγγράφως τῶν τὰς αἱρέσεις διανενημένων, ὡς μὴ ἀχάριτοι εὐρεθεῖεν, παρὰ Σωκράτους εἰληφέναι τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων· ὄλιγοις δὲ τῶν καθωμιλημένων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εύδοκίμων ἀνδρῶν χρησάμενος μαρτυρίοις, τὸ κλεπτικὸν διελέγχας αύτῶν εἶδος, διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις καταχρώμενος, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τρέψομαι.”

10.2.4 | Ταῦθ’ ὡς ἐν προοιμίοις φήσας τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἐξῆς ἐπάγει, παντοίαις κεχρημένοις ἀποδείξει, καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς ποιητὰς τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὅμοίων κειλοφέναι διὰ παραθέσεως τῶν ἐκάστου φωνῶν εύθύνει.

10.2.5 | εἴθ’ ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα. “Ως μηδὲ ἄμιορον τήν τε φιλοσοφίαν τήν τε ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὴν ḥητορικὴν τοῦ ὅμοίου ἐλέγχου περιίδωμεν, καὶ τούτων ὄλιγα παραθέσθαι εὔλογον.”

10.2.6 | Εἴτ' ἀκολούθως Ὀρφέως, Ἡρακλείτου, Πλάτωνος, τωνος, Πυθαγόρου, Ἡροδότου, Θεοπόμπου, Θουκυδίδου, κυδίδου, Δημοσθένους, Αίσχίνου, Λυσίου, Ἰσοκράτους, μυρίων ἄλλων παρατίθησιν, ὃν περιττὸν ἐμὲ καταλέγειν τὰς φωνὰς, προκειμένης τῆς τάνδρος γραφῆς, ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν είρημένων ταῦτα

with their own kind. For if they do not even keep their own, they would still freely take from what is ours.

10.2.3 | And I will be silent about the teachings of philosophy, since they themselves agree that the beliefs are written down, so that they are not found to be ungrateful. The most important teachings were taken from Socrates. And using the testimonies of a few well-regarded men among the Greeks, I will examine the nature of their theft, using different times as examples, and I will turn to what comes next.

10.2.4 | Having said these things in the introduction, he now brings forth the arguments that follow, using all kinds of proofs. He also shows that the first poets have borrowed from their equals by comparing the voices of each.

10.2.5 | Then he goes on to say this: 'Let us not overlook philosophy, history, or rhetoric in the same way, and it is reasonable to present a few examples of these.'

10.2.6 | Then he follows with Orpheus, Heraclitus, Plato, Thucydides, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Theopompus, and many others, including Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, and Isocrates. It is unnecessary for me to list their voices, since the writings of these men are available, in which he again says these things after the arguments of those

πάλιν φησίν

10.2.7 | "Αὶ μὲν οὖν ἴδει κατὰ διάνοιαν Ἑλληνιμῆς κλοπῆς εἰς ὑπόδειγμα ἐναργὲς τῷ διορᾶν δυναμένω τοιαίδε οὖσαι ἄλις ἔστωσάν. ἥδη δὲ οὐ τὰς διανοίας μόνον καὶ τὰς λέξεις ὑφελόμενοι καὶ παραξάσαντες ἐφωράθησαν, ὡς δειχθήσονται, αύτοτελῶς δὲ τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἔξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ Εύγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ Περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον.

10.2.8 | Αὕθις δὲ τούτοις ἐπαγαγών πλείστας ἀποδείξεις τοῦ λόγου πάλιν τελευτῶν προστίθησι τάδε Ἐπιλείψει με ὁ βίος, εἴ καθ' ἔκαστον ἐπεξιέναι πειρώμην τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διελέγχων φίλαυτον κλοπὴν, καὶ ὡς σφετερίζονται τὴν εὔρεσιν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλλίστων δογμάτων, ἦν παρ' ἡμῶν εἰλήφασιν.

10.2.9 | ἥδη δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑφαιρούμενοι τὰ δόγματα παρὰ τὸν βαρβάρων διελέγχονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι ἀπομιμούμενοι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἅνωθεν ἐκ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως διὰ τῶν ἀγίως βεβιωκότων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιστροφὴν παραδόξως ἐνεργούμενα, Ἑλληνικῆς μυθολογίᾳ τερατευόμενοι.

10.2.10 | καὶ δὴ πευσόμεθα παρ' αύτῶν ἥτοι ἀληθῆ ταῦτά ἔστιν, ἢντι ἰστοροῦσιν, ἢ ψευδῆ. Ψευδῆ μὲν ούκ ἀν φήσαιεν· οὐ γάρ ἀν καταψηφίσαιντο ἐσαυτῶν ἐκόντες τὴν μεγίστην εὐήθειαν, τὸ ψευδῆ συγγράφειν ἀληθῆ δ' εἶναι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅμολογήσαιεν.

mentioned.

10.2.7 | Therefore, the ideas of Greek theft are enough to serve as a clear example for those able to see. But now, it is not just the thoughts and words that have been taken and mixed together, as will be shown, but they have also taken others' works as if they were their own, just like Eugammons of Cyrene took the whole book 'On the Thesprotians' from Musaeus.

10.2.8 | Again, after bringing many proofs of the argument, he concludes by adding these words: 'Life will leave me if I try to examine each case, arguing against the selfish theft of Greek ideas, and how they claim the discovery of the finest doctrines that they have taken from us.'

10.2.9 | Now, they are not only taking doctrines from the barbarians, but also imitating what comes from us. From above, through divine power, they act strangely in their return to us, while they are busy with Greek mythology.

10.2.10 | And so, we will ask them whether these things they tell are true or false. They would not say they are false; for they would not willingly vote against themselves for the greatest foolishness, which is to write falsehoods. But they would have to admit

that they are true.

10.2.11 | καὶ πῶς ἔτι ἄπιστα αύτοῖς καταφαίνεται τὰ διὰ Μώσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν τεραστίως ἐπιδεδιγμένα; πάντων γάρ ἀνθρώπων ὁ παντοκράτωρ κηδόμενος θεὸς τοὺς μὲν ἐντολαῖς, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς, ἔστι δ' οὓς σημείοις τεραστίοις, ἐνίους δὲ ἡπίαις ἐπαγγελίαις ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

10.2.11 | And how can what is shown through Moses and the other prophets seem unbelievable to them? For the all-powerful God cares for all people, some with commands, others with threats, and there are those whom he turns toward salvation with great signs and gentle promises.

10.2.12 | πλὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐχμοῦ ποτὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολυχρονίως φθείροντος καὶ ἐπεχούσης ἀγονίας καρπῶν, οἱ καταλειφθέντες, φασὶ, διὰ λιμὸν ἵκέται παραγενόμενοι εἰς Δελφοὺς ἥροντο τὴν Πυθίαν πῶς ἀν ἀπαλλαγεῖεν τοῦ δεινοῦ. μίαν δ' αύτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἴ χρήσαιντο τῇ Αίακοῦ εὔχῃ.

10.2.12 | But the Greeks, once suffering from a long drought that ruined Greece and brought a lack of crops, those who were left said that they came as suppliants to Delphi and asked the Pythia how they could be freed from their terrible situation. And she gave them one answer for relief from their misfortune, if they would pray to Aiacus.

10.2.13 | πεισθεὶς οὖν αύτοῖς Αἴακὸς, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅρος, τὰς καθαρὰς χεῖρας ἔκτείνας τείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν, κοινὸν ἐπικαλέσας πατέρα τὸν θεὸν, ηὗξατο οἰκτεῖραι αὐτὸν τετρυχωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

10.2.13 | Therefore, Aiacus, convinced by them, went up to the Greek mountain, stretching out his clean hands toward heaven, calling upon the common father, the god, and he prayed for him to have pity on Greece, which was worn out.

10.2.14 | ἄμα δὲ εὔχομένου βροντὴ ἔξαίσιος ἐπεκτύπει, καὶ πᾶς ὁ πέριξ ἀήρ ἐνεφοῦτο· λάβροι δὲ καὶ συνεχεῖς ὅμβροι καταρραγέντες ὅλην ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χώραν. ἐντεῦθεν ἄφθονος καὶ πλουσία τελεσφορεῖται εὐκαρπία, ταῖς Αίακοῦ γεωργηθεῖσα εύχαις.

10.2.14 | While he was praying, a sudden thunderclap struck, and all the air around was filled. Then heavy and continuous rains fell and filled the whole land. From this, abundant and rich harvests were produced, thanks to the prayers of Aiacus.

10.2.15 | καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο, φησὶ, Σαμουὴλ

10.2.15 | "And Samuel called upon the Lord,

τὸν κύριον, καὶ ἔδωκε κύριος φωνὰς καὶ  
ὑετὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θερισμοῦ. ὅρᾶς ὅτι ὁ  
βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους διὰ τῶν  
ὑποτεταγμένων δυνάμεων εἰς ἐστι θεός;"  
καὶ τὰ ἔξῆς.

and the Lord gave voices and rain on the day of harvest. Do you see that the one who rains on both the righteous and the unrighteous through the subordinate powers is one God?" And the things that follow.

10.2.16 | Τούτοις μυρία συνάψας ὁ Κλήμης  
κλέπτας γεγονέναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
ἀναμφιλέκτοις ἐλέγχοις κατεφώρασεν. εἱ  
δέ σοι μὴ πιστὸς οὗτος, ἄτε τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς  
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βάρβαρον ὄμοιώς ἡμῖν  
προτετιμηκώς φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ δὴ ἔάσθω,  
καίπερ οὐκ, οίκειας φωναῖς, ταῖς δ' αὐτῶν  
Ἑλλήνων ἀπευθύνας τὸν λόγον. τί δ' ἀν  
εἴποις, εἰ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μάθοις  
τῶν γενναίων σου φιλοσόφων; δέχου δῆτα  
καὶ τούτων τὰς μαρτυρίας. Πορφυρίου ἀπὸ  
τοῦ ἀ τῆς φιλολόγου ἀκροάσεως.

10.2.16 | "With these many arguments, Clement clearly showed that the Greeks had become thieves. If this is not trustworthy for you, since he also preferred the barbarian philosophy to the Greek one, let him be, even though he does not speak in familiar words, but addresses the Greeks in their own language. What would you say if you learned similar things from your noble philosophers? Indeed, accept the testimonies of these as well." From Porphyry, based on the listening of the lover of learning.

### Section 3

10.3.1 | "Τὰ Πλατώνεια ἐστιῶν ἡμὰς  
Λογγῖνος Ἀθήνησι κέκληκεν ἄλλους τε  
πολλοὺς καὶ Νικαγόραν τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ  
Μαϊώρα, Ἀπολλώνιόν τε τὸν γραμματκὸν,  
καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν γεωμέτρην, Προσήνην  
τε τὸν περιπατητικὸν καὶ τὸν Στωϊκὸν  
Καλλιέτην.

10.3.1 | The Platonic gatherings have called us, Longinus, to Athens, along with many others, including Nicagoras the sophist, and Maior, Apollonius the grammarian, and Demetrius the geometer, and Prosenes the Peripatetic, and Calliates the Stoic.

10.3.2 | μεθ' ᾧν ἔβδομος αὔτὸς  
κατακλινεὶς, τοῦ δείπνου προκόπτοντος,  
καί τινος ζήτης ἔως περὶ Ἐφόρου ἐν τοῖς  
ἄλλοις γενομένης, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἵφη, τίς ὁ  
περὶ Ἐφόρου θόρυβος. ἥσαν δ' οἱ  
ζητοῦντες Καύστριός τε καὶ Μάξιμος· ὁ μὲν  
γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοπόμπου προυτίθει, ὁ δὲ  
Καύστριος κλέπτην ἀπεκάλει.

10.3.2 | With them, as the dinner was progressing, I myself, lying down as the seventh, heard some discussion about Ephorus among the others. Let us hear, he said, what the commotion is about Ephorus. The ones seeking were Caustrius and Maximus; for one was presenting him and Theopompus, while the other called

Caustrius a thief.

10.3.3 | καὶ τί γὰρ Ἐφόρου ἴδιον, ἔφη, ἐκ τῶν Δαιμάχου καὶ Καλλισθένους καὶ Ἀναξιμένους αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὄλους μετατιθέντος στίχους;

10.3.3 | And what is unique about Ephorus, he said, compared to Daimachus, Callisthenes, and Anaximenes, when he has changed all three thousand lines with his own words?

10.3.4 | πρὸς ὃν ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀπολλώνιος ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ ἔγνως ὅτι καὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον, ὃν σὺ προτιμᾶς, κατείληφε τουτὶ τὸ πάθος, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ τῶν Περὶ Φιλίππου ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ μεταγράφαντα αὐτοῖς ὄνόμασιν ἐκεῖνα, ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

10.3.4 | To this, the grammarian Apollonius said, for you do not know that even Theopompus, whom you prefer, has left behind this same flaw. In the eleventh of the works about Philip, translated from Isocrates, the Areopagite, he has changed those names, saying that neither good nor evil happens to people by itself, and what follows.

10.3.5 | καίτοι ὑπερφρονεῖ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην  
^ καὶ νενικῆσθαι ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ λέγει κατὰ τὸν  
ἐπὶ Μαυσωλῷ ἀγῶνα τὸν διδάσκαλον.  
πραγμάτων δ' ὑφαίρεσιν πεποίηται,  
μεταθείς τὰς ἄλλων ἄλλοις, ἵνα καὶ  
ψεύστης ἀλῷ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

10.3.5 | And yet he is arrogant about Isocrates and claims to have been defeated by himself, according to the contest about Mausolus, the teacher. He has made a web of matters, changing what belongs to others to others, so that he might also be caught as a liar in this way.

10.3.6 | Ανδρωνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Τρίποδι περὶ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοψόφου τὰ περὶ τὰς προρρήσεις ἱστορηκότος, εἰπόντος 'σ ως διψήσας ποτὲ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ καὶ ἐκ τινος ψέατος ἀνιψήσας καὶ πιὼν προεῖπεν Λας εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμὸς, καὶ ἔτερά τινα τούτοις ἐπαγα:ών ἐπιλέγει,

10.3.6 | For in Tripolis, concerning Pythagoras the philosopher, it is told that once, being thirsty in Metapontum, and having been stirred by some lie, he drank and predicted that on the third day there would be an earthquake, and he added some other things to these.

10.3.7 | ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦ Ἀνδρῶνος περὶ Πυταγόρου ἱστορηκότος πάντα ὑφείλετο

10.3.7 | Therefore, Theopompus took away all these things told by Andron about

Θεόπομπος. εἰ μψ περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων, τάχα ἀν καὶ ἔτεροι ἡπίσΜντο.περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον, ταῦτα καὶ αύτὸς εἰπών νῦν δὲ τὴν κλοπὴν δήλην πεποίκεν ἡ τοῦ ὄνόμαψι; μετάθεσις. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αύτοῖς, ἔτερον δ' ὄνομα μετενήνοχε 'Φερεκύδην ύστο τὸν Σύριον πεποίκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα.

Pythagoras. If he were speaking about Pythagoras, perhaps others would have also heard about him and said: having said these things himself, now he has clearly committed theft of the name. For he has changed the names while using the same matters; he has made these things as if they were spoken by Pherecydes the Syrian.

10.3.8 | οὐ μόγον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὄνόματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει. τό τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς πρ., ρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀνδρωιος ḥηθὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ εἰρῆσθαι φησὶν ὁ Θεόπομπος, τό τε περὶ τὸ πλοῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῆς Σικελίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου φησὶ θεωρηθῆναι· καὶ τὴν Συβάρεας ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνης μετέθηκεν.

10.3.8 | Not only does he hide the theft with this name, but he also changes the places. For Theopompus says that the prediction about the earthquake in Metapontum, spoken by Andron, is said to have been made in Syria, and that the story about the ship was not from Megara in Sicily, but was said to have been seen from Samos; and he has moved the capture of Sybaris to Messene.

10.3.9 | ἵνα δί τι δοκῇ λέγειν περιττὸν, καὶ τοῦ ξένου προστέθεικε τούνομα, Περίλαον αύτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέλέγων. κάγὼ, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, τοῖς Ελληνικοῖς ἐντυγχάνων αύτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος αύτὸν μετατιθέντα κατείληφα, καὶ τὸ δεινὸν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

10.3.9 | To show that he speaks unnecessarily, he added the name of a stranger, saying that he is called Perilaus. And I, says Nicagoras, having come across many things of Xenophon, have found that he has changed much of Xenophon, and what is terrible is that it is for the worse.

10.3.10 | τὰ γοῦν περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον συνόδου δι' Απολλοφ ἄνους τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἀμφοῦν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐνσπόνδους διαλέξεις, ἃς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ξενοφῶν ἀνέγραψε πάνυ χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταθεὶς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἀργά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποίκε καὶ ἄπρακτα.

10.3.10 | At least the things about the meeting of Pharnabazus with Agesilaus through Apollophanes of Cyzicus, and the discussions they had with each other, which Xenophon wrote very charmingly and appropriately in the fourth book, Theopompus has moved into the eleventh of the Greeks and made them dull, lifeless, and ineffective.

10.3.11 | λόγου γάρ δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τὴν κλοπὴν ἔξεργασίαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ ἐπιδείνυσθαι σπουδάζων βραδὺνί καὶ μέλλων καὶ ἀναβαλομένῳ ἐσικώς φαίνεται, καὶ τὸ ἔμψυχον καὶ ἐνεργὸν τὸ Ξενοφῶντος διαφθείρω7.

10.3.12 | 'Ταῦτ' είπόντος τοῦ Νικαγόρου ὁ Ἀπολ ὡῶνιος, Καὶ τί θαυμάζομεν, ἔφη, εἰ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἐφόρου τὸ τῆς κλοπῆς πάθος ἥψατο, ἀργοτέρῳ οὕτως ἀνδρῶν, ὅπου γε καὶ Μένανδρος τῆς ἀρροστίας ταύτης ἐπλήσθη, ὃν ἡρέμα μὲν ἤλεγχε διὰ τι ἄγαν αὐτὸν φιλεῖν Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς παραλλήλοις αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔκλεψεν αλογαῖς; Λατīνος δὲ ἔξ βιβλίοις, ἀ ἐπέγραψε Περὶ τῶν οὐκ ἰδίων Μενάνδρου, τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ 'τον κλοπῶν ἔξεφηνε·

10.3.13 | καθάπερ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Φλόστρατος Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Σοφοκλέους κλοπῆς πραγματείαν κατεβάλετο. Καικίλιος δὲ, ὡς τι μέγα πεφωρακώς, Σλον δρᾶμα ἔξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἀντιφάνους, τον Οίωοιώνιστήν, μεταγράψαι φησὶ τὸν Μένανδρον εἰς τὸν Δεισιδαίμονα.

10.3.14 | ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς κλέπτας ἔδοξεν, οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως, ὑμῖν, φησὶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀγαγεῖν, μηνύώ καύτὸς Ὑπερείδην τὸν καλὸν πολλὰ παρὰ Δημοσθένους κεκλοφότα ἐν τε τῷ πρὸς Διώγδαν λόγῳ κάν τῷ περὶ τῶν Εύβούλου δωρεῶν.

10.3.15 | καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἔτερος παρὰ τοῦ ἔτερου μετέθηκε πρόδηλον·

10.3.11 | For he seems to be slow and hesitant, trying to put power into his words and to show off because of the theft, as if he is delaying and putting things off. He destroys the lively and active nature of Xenophon.

10.3.12 | When Nicagoras said this, Apollonius replied, 'And why should we be surprised if Theopompus and Ephorus were touched by the passion of theft, being such slow men? Even Menander was filled with this kind of sickness, whom Aristophanes quietly criticized for loving him too much in his parallels and in what he stole without reason. The Latin writer, in six books that he titled About Menander's Non-Personal Works, revealed the extent of his thefts.'

10.3.13 | Just as the Alexandrian Phlostratus wrote a work about the theft of Sophocles. And Caecilius, as if he had discovered something great, says that he translated the entire play of Antiphanes, the Oionian, into the Deisidaimon of Menander.

10.3.14 | But when it seemed to the thieves, I don't know how, he says to you, to bring him into the middle, I myself reveal that Hyperides, the handsome one, has stolen many things from Demosthenes, both in the speech against Diogdas and in the one about the gifts of Eubulus.

10.3.15 | And that one has clearly taken from the other; while they were

συγχρονούντων δ' αύτῶν, ἡμῶν μὲν ἀν εἴη  
ἔρλον, φησὶν, *co* Ἀπολλώνιε, ἐκ τῶν χρόνων  
ἀνιχνεῦσαι τὸν κλέπτην'. ἔγὼ δὲ ὑποπτεύω  
μὲν τὸν ὑφηρημένον εἶναι τὸν Ὑπερείδην·  
ἀδήλου δὲ ὄντος ὀπότερος ἄγαμαι μὲν  
Δημοσθένην, εἰ λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑπερείδου  
πρὸς δέον διώρθωσε· μέμφομαι δὲ τὸν  
Ὑπερείδην, εἰ λαβὼν παρὰ Δημοσθένους  
πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον διέστρεψε."

contemporaries, he says, 'It would be possible for us to trace the thief, Apollonius, through the times.' But I suspect that the one who was taken from was Hyperides. And since it is unclear which one it is, I admire Demosthenes, if he corrected what he received from Hyperides to the better. But I blame Hyperides, if he twisted what he received from Demosthenes to the worse.

10.3.16 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησί "Καὶ τί ὑμῖν λέγω ὡς τὰ Βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα Ἐλλανίκου ἐκ τῶν Προδότου καὶ Δαμάστου συνῆκται; ή ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πολλὰ Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μιλησίου κατὰ λέξιν μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Περιηγήσεως, βραχέα παραποιήσας, τὰ τοῦ φοίνικος ὄρνέου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποταμίου Ἰππου καὶ τῆς θήρας τῶν κροκοδείλων; ;

10.3.16 | And after a short time, he says, 'And what do I tell you about how the barbarian laws are collected from Hellanicus, Prodotus, and Damastus? Or how Herodotus, in the second book, has brought over many things word for word from Hecataeus of Miletus, slightly altering them, about the bird of the phoenix and about the river horse and the hunting of crocodiles?'

10.3.17 | ή ὡς τὰ περὶ βασάνων είρημένα παρ' Ἰσαίω ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Κύλωνος κιλῆρου καὶ παρὰ Ἰσοκράτει ἐν τῷ Τραπεζιτικῷ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δημοσθένει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ὄνήτορος ἔξούλης σχεδὸν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν εἴρηται; ή ὡς Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ κατὰ Κλεομέδοντος αἰκίας πολλὰ μετενήνοχεν αὐτοῖς ὄνόμασιν ἐκ τοῦ Δημοσθένους κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας;

10.3.17 | Or how the things said about tortures are found in Isaeus in the speech about the lot of Cylon, and in Isocrates in the work on the Table, and in Demosthenes in the speech against Onetor, almost in the same words? Or how Deinarchus in the first speech against Cleomedon has brought over many names from Demosthenes in the speech against Conon?

10.3.18 | ή Ἡσιόδου οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληίζετ' ἄμεινοντῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ'  
αὗτε κακῆς οὐ βίγιον ἄλλο, ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν Σιμωνίδης ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ μετηνεγκε λαβὼν οὕτως γυναικὸς οὐδὲν χρῆμ' ἀνὴρ ληίζεται ἄμεινον ἐσθλῆς, οὐδὲ

10.3.18 | Or from Hesiod: 'For no man takes better from a good woman, but from a bad one, he does not take anything worse.' Simonides has taken this idea in the eleventh, saying: 'No man takes better from a good woman, nor anything worse from a

ρίγιον κακῆς. Εύριπίδης δὲ ἐν Μελανίππῃ τῇ δεσμώτιδι τῆς μὲν κακῆς κάκιον οὐδὲν γίνεται γυναικός, ἐσθλῆς δ' οὐδὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πέφυκ' ἄμεινον· διαφέρουσι δ' αἱ φύσεις.

bad one.' Euripides, in Melanippe the captive, says: 'Nothing worse comes from a bad woman, and nothing better comes from a good one; they are different by nature.'

10.3.19 | τοῦ δὲ Εύριπίδου είπόντος γυναῖκές ἔσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν,  
Θεοδέκτης ἐν Ἀλκμαίωνι φησι σαφῆς μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσιν ὑμνεῖται λόγος, ὃς οὐδέν έστιν ἀθλιώτερον φυτὸν γυναικός. οὕτος οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἔκειθεν εἴληφεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς λέξεσιν αὐταῖς συγκέχρηται· καὶ ἡθέλησεν αὐτὸν πανούργως παροιμιακὸν μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγομένῳ συγκεχρῆσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν εἴληφέναι παρὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος.

10.3.19 | When Euripides says, 'Women are the most miserable plant,' Theodectes in Alcmaeon says, 'A clear saying among mortals is that nothing is more miserable than a woman.' This not only takes the idea from there, but also uses the same words; and he wants it to be more like a proverb, as if it is said by many, rather than seeming to be taken from the one who gave birth to it.

10.3.20 | ὁ δ' Ἀντίμαχος τὰ Ὁμήρου κλέπτων παραδιορθοῖ Ὁμήρου γάρ είπρντος "Ιδεώ θ' δς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀντίμαχος λέγει "Ιδεώ θ' δς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων ἦν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Λυκόφρων ἐπαινεῖ τὴν μετάθεσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτῆς ἐστηριγμένου τοῦ στίχου.

10.3.20 | But Antimachus steals from Homer and makes corrections. For when Homer says, 'Idaeus, who was the best of the men on earth,' Antimachus says, 'Idaeus, who was the best of the men on earth.' And Lycophron praises the change, saying that it supports the line.

10.3.21 | τὸ γάρ τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης σιγῶ, Ὁμήρου κωμῳδηθέντος ὑπὸ Κρατίνου διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι ἐν τῷ τὸν δ' ἀπαί "ειβόμενο, δπερ οὕτω πεπατημένον οὐκ ὕκνησεν Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεῖναι.

10.3.21 | For when 'the lord Diomedes spoke in reply' is said, I am silent, since it was made fun of by Cratinus because of the excess in 'the lord Diomedes speaking in reply,' which Antimachus did not hesitate to change, even though it was so misused.

10.3.22 | τοῦ δὲ λαῶν οῖσιν ἄνασσε, πατὴρ δ' ὡς ἥπιος ἦεν, Ὁμηρικοῦ ὄντος, καὶ πάλιν ἀλλαχοῦ που λεγομένου, οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας, ὁ Ἀντίμαχος μεταθεὶς ἡμιστίχια πεποίηκε

10.3.22 | But 'he ruled over the people, and the father was gentle' is from Homer, and again said somewhere else. And when 'they strengthened the phalanx from both sides' is mentioned, Antimachus changed it and

λαῶν οῖσιν ἄνασσον ἐκαρτύνοντο  
φάλαγγας.

10.3.23 | ἀλλ' ἔνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κλοπῆς  
ἄλλους αίτιώμενος κλέπτης ἀλῶ, τοὺς  
πραγματευσαμένους τὰ περὶ τούτων  
μηνύσω. Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἔστι δύο Περὶ τῆς  
Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς, Ἀλκαῖος δὲ, ὁ τῶν  
λοιδόρων ίάμβῶν καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων  
ποιητὴς, παρώδηκε Ἐφόρου κλοπὰς  
ἔξελέγχων, Πολλίωνος δὲ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς  
Σωτηρίδαν Περὶ τῆς Κτησίου κλοπῆς, τοῦ δ'  
αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ τῆς Προδότου κλοπῆς ἔστι  
βιβλίον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰχνευταί  
πολλὰ περὶ Θεοπόμπου λέγεται, Ἀρητάδου  
τέ ἔστι Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως προγματεία, ἔξ  
ῶν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔστι γνῶναι."

10.3.24 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα "Καὶ ὁ Προσήνης,  
Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, ἔφη, κλέπτας  
ἐφωράσατε" ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ ἥρως  
Πλάτων, οὗ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἐορτὴν σήμερον  
πανηγυρίζομεν, πολλοῖς καταχρῆται τῶν  
πρὸ αὐτοῦ, αἰδοῦμαι γὰρ τῷ τῆς κλοπῆς  
όνόματι ἐπὶ τούτου χρῆσθαι, οὐκέτι  
κατειλήφατε.

10.3.25 | τί λέγεις; ἔφη ὁ Καλλιέτης. οὐ  
λέγω μόνον, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πίστιν τῷ  
λόγῳ παρέχω. σπάνια δὲ τὰ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ  
Πλάτωνος γεγονότων βιβλία, ἐπεὶ ἵσως  
πλείους ἃν τις ἐφώρασε τοῦ φιλοσόφου  
κλοπάς. ἔγὼ δ' οὖν, ἦ κατὰ τύχην  
περιπέπτωκα, Πρωταγόρου τὸν Περὶ τοῦ  
ὅντος ἀναγινώσκων λόγον, πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ  
δὲ εἰσάγοντας τοιαύταις αὐτὸν εὐρίσκω  
χρώμενον ἀπαντήσεσιν· ἐσπούδασα γὰρ  
αὐταῖς λέξεις τὰ ὢντα μνημονεύειν."

made it half a line: 'they strengthened the  
phalanx of the people.'

10.3.23 | But I will not be a thief myself,  
accusing others of theft; I will reveal those  
who have dealt with these matters. There  
are two works by Lysimachus about the  
theft of Ephorus, and Alcaeus, the poet of  
mocking iambs and epigrams, has  
overlooked 'the thefts of Ephorus' while  
criticizing them. There is also a letter from  
Pollion to Soteridas about the theft of  
Ctesias, and the same author has a book  
about the theft of the traitor. In the book  
titled 'Trackers,' many things are said  
about Theopompus. There is also a work by  
Aretaeus about joint ventures, from which  
many such things can be known.

10.3.24 | And after other things, 'And  
Prosenes said, you have caught the other  
thieves; but this hero Plato, whose festival  
we celebrate today, uses many things from  
before him. I am ashamed to use the name  
of theft in relation to him; you have not yet  
captured him.'

10.3.25 | "What are you saying?" said  
Calliates. "I am not only speaking," he says,  
"but I also provide trust in the argument.  
The books of those before Plato are rare,  
since perhaps more people have accused  
the philosopher of thefts. But I, by chance,  
happened to be reading Protagoras' work  
about being, and I find him using such  
expressions against those who introduce  
the one being. For I have made an effort to  
remember the things said in those words."

Καὶ ταῦτ' είπὼν διὰ πλειόνων τίθησι τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

And after saying this, he presents more evidence.

10.3.26 | ἀλλ' ὅποιος μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραζέων ὁ τρόπος, ὅτι τε ούδε τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐφείσαντο ἐλέγχου, ἀρκεῖν ἀπὸ μυρίων ἡγοῦμαι τὰ είρημένα. μένα. ἔτι δὲ εἰς προπαρασκευὴν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν λόγων ἐπιρρεύσης εἰς Ἕλληνας ὥφελείας εῦ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαίως καθόλου πᾶσαν ἀποδεῖξαι τὴν βιωμένην Ἑλλήνων παιδείαν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν, τά τε πρῶτα αὐτῶν μαθήματα, καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀπὸ βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς συμπεφορημένα, ὡς ἂν μηκέθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμφοιτό τις αὐτῶν, ὅτι δὴ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σεμνῶν προτετιμήκαμεν.

10.3.26 | But what kind of method do the Greek writers have, since they did not spare themselves from criticism? I think what has been said is enough from countless examples. Furthermore, for the preparation of the benefits that flow from the Hebrew words into the Greeks, it seems good and necessary to me to demonstrate fully the praised education and philosophy of the Greeks, their first teachings, and the serious knowledge of logic that they have received from the barbarians, so that no one may blame us anymore, saying that we have preferred the piety and philosophy of the serious ones among the barbarians.

## Section 4

10.4.1 | Ὅτι μὴ ἄνευ λόγου σώφρονος δεύτερα θέθέμενοι τὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας τὴν παρ' Ἐβραίοις θεολογίαν προτετιμήκαμεν γνοίης ἀν, μαθὼν ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ δὴ μάλιστα ὄρθοτερον φιλοσοφίας ἀψάμενοι, καί τι πλέον καὶ μεῖζον τῆς πανδήμου περὶ θεῶν ἀκοῆς διανοηθέντες, οὐδέτερα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις προκειρωμένων ἐφεῦρον ἀληθῆ δόγματα.

10.4.1 | That we have preferred the theology of the Hebrews over the second parts of Greek philosophy without good reason, you would know if you learned that even among the Greeks, those who grasped philosophy most correctly, and thought something greater and more significant than the general beliefs about the gods, did not discover any true doctrines that were established by the Hebrews.

10.4.2 | οἵ μὲν γὰρ ἀλληνάλλως ποικίλαις ψευδοδοξίαις ἀπαχθέντες εἰς βυθὸν ἀδολεσχίαις περιετράπησαν, οἱ δέ γε ποσῶς εὐγνώμονι λογισμῷ κεχρημένοι, ἐν οἷς τῆς τάληθοῦς ἐφήψαντο καταλήψεως, ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἐβραίων κοινωνοὶ πεφήνασι

10.4.2 | For some, having been led into a deep pit of empty talk by various false beliefs, have turned away. But others, using a more thoughtful reasoning, have grasped the truth. In this way, they have shared in the teachings of the Hebrews.

διδασκαλίας.

10.4.3 | είκος γοῦν πολυμαθεῖς γεγονότας ^ τά τε τῶν ἔθνῶν νόμιμά τε καὶ μαθήματα περιεργότερον ἔξητακότας, καὶ τὴν τῶν δηλουμένων μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι φιλοσοφίαν ^ νεωτέρους μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀπάντων οὐχ Ἑβραίων μόνον, οὐδέ γε Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ^ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἐλλήνων φύντας.

10.4.3 | It is likely that those who have become very learned, having examined more carefully the customs and teachings of the nations, and who are not ignorant of the philosophy of the revealed truths, are not only younger in time than all, but also not just the Hebrews, nor the Phoenicians and Egyptians, but even the ancient Greeks themselves.

10.4.4 | οἵς τὰ μὲν ἐκ Φοινίκης Κάδμος ὁ Ἀγήνορος ^ τὰ δ' ἐξ Αἴγυπτου περὶ θεῶν, ἥ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ^ μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς, ξοάνων τε ἰδρύσεις, καὶ ὕμνους, ὡδάς τε καὶ ἐπῳδὰς, ἥτοι Θράκιος Ὁρφεὺς, ἥ καὶ τις ἔτερος ἥ βάρβαρος, τῆς πλάνης ἀρχηγοὶ γενόμενοι, συνεστήσαντο· τούτων γὰρ οὐδένας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀν δημολογήσαιεν Ελληνες παλαιοτέρους είδεναι.

10.4.4 | Some things come from Phoenicia, like Cadmus the son of Agenor, and others from Egypt about the gods, or from other places, such as mysteries and rituals, the setting up of statues, and hymns, songs, and chants. Either Thracian Orpheus or some other foreigner became the founders of these false beliefs. For none of these would even agree that the ancient Greeks knew them.

10.4.5 | πρῶτον γοῦν ἀπάντων Ὁρφέα, εἶτα δὲ Λίνον, κάπειτα Μουσαῖον, ἀμφὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ γενομένους ἥ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡκμακέναι φασίν. ἀλλὰ κατά γε τούτους πλέον οὐδὲν τῆς Φοινίκων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων πολυπλανοῦς θεολογίας παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐπολιτεύετο.

10.4.5 | First of all, they mention Orpheus, then Linus, and after that Musaeus, saying that they arose around the time of the Trojan War or shortly before it. But according to these, nothing of the confusing theology of the Phoenicians and Egyptians was practiced among the Greeks.

10.4.6 | καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι, κατὰ πάσας χώρας τε καὶ πόλεις, ἵν τε ἱεροῖς καὶ μυστηρίοις, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια παρεψυλάττετο. πολὺς γοῦν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ προδηλωθεὶς περὶ θεῶν ἐκράτει λόγος· νεώ τε περικαλλεῖς, παντοίοις ἀγάλμασι καὶ ἀναθήμασι

10.4.6 | And indeed, among the other nations, in all the regions and cities, the same things and those similar to them were carefully preserved in sacred places and mysteries. Certainly, the well-known teachings about the gods had great power among all. Beautiful temples, adorned with

κεκοσμημένοι, παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔξήσκηντο·  
άταρ δὴ καὶ ξόανα παντοίας ὕλης εἰς πᾶσαν  
θνητῶν ζώων ἰδέαν τετυπωμένα  
φιλοκάλως ἔξειργαστο.

various statues and offerings, were built everywhere. Moreover, statues made from all kinds of materials were skillfully crafted in the forms of all mortal creatures.

10.4.7 | καὶ μὴν καὶ μαντείων πλείστη τις  
ἡν καὶ ἄφθονος παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι περιουσίᾳ.  
σεμνός γε μήν τις καὶ μέγας θεὸς παρὰ τοῖς  
Ἐλλησι διαφερόντως τὸ τηνικάδε μάλιστα  
ἡν ἀκμάζων, ὁ Πύθιος καὶ ὁ Κλάριος καὶ ὁ  
Δωδωναῖος· εἴτα δὲ Ἀμφιάρεως καὶ  
Ἀμφίλοχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίος ἄλλος  
ἐπιρρέων χρησμῶδῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ποιητῶν τε  
καὶ ῥαψῳδῶν ὅχλος.

10.4.7 | And indeed, there was a great abundance of oracles among all. A certain revered and great god was especially honored among the Greeks, namely Pythian, Clarian, and Dodonian. Then there were also Amphiaraus and Amphilochus, and besides them, countless other seers who were more numerous than poets and rhapsodes.

10.4.8 | ὃν μακροῖς ποθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις  
Ἐλληνας παρελθοῦσα φιλοσοφία, μηδὲν  
τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων παρὰ τοῖς  
προπάτορσιν εύροῦσα, τὰ μὲν σεμνὰ καὶ  
παλαιὰ τῆς πατρόθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἡκούσης  
θεολογίας, αὐτά τε τὰ θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρὰ  
πᾶσι βιώμενα, θεῖά τε καὶ χρηστήρια, ἔργω  
περιττὰ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ κατελάμβανε.

10.4.8 | In later times, philosophy came to the Greeks, finding nothing that belonged to their ancestors. It took the serious and ancient teachings from their forefathers, along with the marvelous things that were praised by all, divine and beneficial, and it focused on works that were excessive and useless.

10.4.9 | διὸ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς δεύτερον  
ἀνεβάλλετο, ὡς ἀν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν  
τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἀληθῶν εὔρεσιν  
λυσιτελεῖν δυνάμενα, τὰ δὲ ὄθνεῖα λοιπὸν  
καὶ βάρβαρα, οἵα τις γυμνὴ καὶ οἰκείων  
πτωχεύουσα λόγων τε καὶ μαθημάτων,  
περιήει διερευνωμένη, τά τε χρήσιμα  
πανταχόθεν ἐαυτῇ πορίζουσα συνάγουσά  
τε καὶ ἐρανιζομένη, ὅ τι ποτὲ παρ' ἐκάστοις  
εύροι τῶν ἔθνῶν.

10.4.9 | Therefore, these things were pushed aside for a second time, as they were not able to help in finding what was necessary and true. The foreign and barbaric things, like a naked person suffering from a lack of familiar words and knowledge, wandered around seeking, gathering and collecting useful things from everywhere, trying to find whatever they could from each of the nations.

10.4.10 | οὐ γάρ οὖν μόνα τὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς  
θεολογίας λείποντα κατεμάνθανε τοῖς  
Ἐλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλῶν τεχνῶν τε

10.4.10 | For the Greeks did not only learn about the true teachings of theology, but also the most useful things from other arts

καὶ ἐπιστημῶν τὰς βιωφελεστάτας.  
συνομολογοῦσί γε τοι Ἕλληνες αύτοὶ, μετά  
γε ὄρφέα Λίνον τε καὶ Μουσαῖον, οἵ δὴ  
πάντων μάλιστα θεολόγων παλαιότατοί τε  
καὶ πρῶτοι κατῆρξαν αὐτοῖς τῆς πολυθέου  
πλάνης, τοὺς ἐπτὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σοφίᾳ θαυμασθῆναι, οὓς δὴ καὶ  
ἐπονομάσαι σοφούς. ἀμφὶ Κῦρον δὲ οὕδε  
τὸν Περσῶν ἥκμασαν βασιλέα.

and sciences. The Greeks themselves agree, especially after Orpheus, Linus, and Musaeus, who were indeed the oldest and first theologians among them, starting the great confusion of many gods. They admired the seven wise men among them, who were also called wise. Around this time, Cyrus, the king of the Persians, was flourishing.

10.4.11 | οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ χρόνος, ἐνῷ τῶν  
παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητῶν οἱ πάντων  
ἔστατοι προεφήτευον, τῶν μὲν Τρωϊκῶν  
ἔστερον ἔτεσι πλέον ἡ ἐξακοσίοις, τῆς δὲ  
Μώσεως ἡλικίας οὐκ ἔλαττον ἡ χιλίοις  
πεντακοσίοις γενόμενοι. τοῦτο δέ σοι τὰς  
τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὰς μικρὸν ὕστερον  
διιόντι καταφανὲς ἔσται.

10.4.11 | This was the time when the last of the prophets among the Hebrews were prophesying, more than six hundred years after the Trojan War, and not less than one thousand five hundred years after the time of Moses. This will become clear to you a little later as you go through the records of the years.

10.4.12 | ἐνταῦθά που νέοι τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ  
ἐπτὰ γενόμενοι σοφοὶ ἐπὶ κατορθώσει  
μνημονεύονται ἀγωγῆς τῆς ἡθικωτέρας,  
ῶν πλέον οὐδὲν τῶν βιωμένων  
ἀποφθεγμάτων μνημονεύεται ὄψὲ δέ τι,  
καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς χρόνοις ὑποβεβηκότες, οἱ  
παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλόσοφοι διαπρέψαι  
μνημονεύονται.

10.4.12 | At this time, seven wise men are remembered for their achievements in moral guidance, but nothing of the loud sayings is mentioned anymore. Later on, as time went on, the philosophers among the Greeks are noted for their accomplishments.

10.4.13 | ὃν Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος  
Φερεκύδου γνώριμος, τὸ "φιλοσοφίαν"  
ἀνευρὼν ὄνομα, ὡς μέν τινες, Σάμιος, ὡς δ'  
ἔτεροι φασι, Τυρρηνὸς ἦν τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν  
Σύριον ἢ Τύριον εἶναι λέγουσιν· ὥστε σε  
βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἕλληνα γεγονέναι  
ὅμοιογενῖν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν φιλοσόφων,  
ἀνὰ στόμα πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀδόμενον.

10.4.13 | Among them, Pythagoras is the first known from Pherecydes, who discovered the name 'philosophy.' Some say he was from Samos, while others claim he was from Tyrrhenia. Some even say he was Syrian or Tyrian, so it is agreed that the first of the philosophers was a foreigner, not a Greek, as sung by the mouths of all Greeks.

10.4.14 | καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην δὲ Σύριον ἀναγράφουσιν, ὃ μαθητεῦσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν φασίν. οὐ μόνω δὲ τούτῳ συγγενέσθαι ὁ Πυθαγόρας λέγεται, διατριψαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Περσῶν μάγοις, καὶ τοῖς Αἴγυπτίων δὲ προφήταις μαθητεῦσαι, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἐβραίων οἱ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος φαίνονται τὴν μετοικίαν πεποιημένοι.

10.4.14 | They also write that Pherecydes was a Syrian, from whom they say Pythagoras learned. It is said that Pythagoras did not only study with him, but also spent time with the Magi of Persia and learned from the prophets of Egypt, during the time when some Hebrews were moving to Egypt and others to Babylon.

10.4.15 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ δηλούμενος τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις σοφὰ πολυπραγμονῶν ἐπῆλθε Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Περσῶν, τοῖς τε μάγοις καὶ τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι μαθητευόμενος· ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Βραχμάνων ἴστροηται· Ἰνδῶν δέ είσιν οὗτοι φιλόσοφοι·) καὶ παρ' ὧν μὲν ἀστρολογέαν, παρ' ὧν δὲ γεωμετρίαν, ἀριθμητικήν τε παρ' ἐτέρων καὶ μουσικήν, καὶ ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλων συλλεξάμενος, μόνον παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσχεν οὐδὲν, πενέᾳ σοφίας καὶ ἀπορίᾳ συνοικούντων·

10.4.15 | But indeed, he who is shown to have learned wise things from each group came to Babylon and Egypt and all of Persia, studying with the Magi and the priests. It is said that he also heard from the Brahmins, who are Indian philosophers. From some of them, he learned astrology, from others geometry, and from others arithmetic and music, collecting many things from different sources, but he had nothing from the wise Greeks, living in poverty of wisdom and confusion.

10.4.16 | ἔμπαλιν δ' οὖν τῶν ἔξωθεν αύτῷ πεπορισμένων αἴτιος αύτὸς τῆς μαθήσεως κατέστη τοῖς Ἑλλησιν.

10.4.16 | Therefore, he himself became the cause of the learning that was gained from outside sources for the Greeks.

10.4.17 | Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόρας τοιοῦτος. πρώτη δ' ἐκ τῆς τούτου διαδοχῆς ἡ κιληθεῖσα Ἰταλικὴ φιλοσοφία συνέστη, τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐκ τῆς κατὰ Ἰταλίαν διατριβῆς ἀξιωθεῖσα· μεθ' ἦν ἡ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἐνὸς Ἰωνικὴ προσαγορευθεῖσα· κάπειτα ἡ Ἐλεατικὴ, Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον πατέρα ἐπιγραψαμένη.

10.4.17 | Thus, this is Pythagoras. The first philosophy that came from his teachings is called Italic philosophy, named after the study in Italy. After this came the Ionian philosophy, named after Thales, one of the seven wise men. Then there was the Eleatic philosophy, named after Xenophanes of Colophon.

10.4.18 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς τινες

10.4.18 | But Thales, as some historians

ιστοροῦσι, Φοῖνιξ ἦν, ὡς δέ τινες  
ύπειλήφασι, Μιλήσιος· Αἴγυπτίων δὲ καὶ  
οὗτος λέγεται τοῖς προφήταις  
συμβεβληκέναι.

say, was a Phoenician, while others claim he was from Miletus. This one is also said to have connected with the Egyptian prophets.

10.4.19 | Σόλωνα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπτὰ  
σοφῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ λόγος Ἀθηναίοις  
νομοθετῆσαι, Αἴγυπτίοις ὁμοίως φησὶν ὁ  
Πλάτων' προσεσχηκέναι, ὅπηνίκα πάλιν  
ῷκουν Ἐβραῖοι τὴν Αἴγυπτον. εἰσάγει γοῦν  
αὐτὸν ἐν Τιμαίῳ πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου  
παιδευόμενον, ἐν οἷς φησὶν ὁ Αἴγυπτιος  
πρὸς αὐτὸν “ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων Ἐλληνες ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
παῖδες ἔστε, γέρων δὲ Ἐλλήνων οὐδὲ εῖς,  
οὐδὲ ἔστι παρ' ὑμῖν χρόνῳ πολιὸν μάθημα.”

10.4.19 | Solon, one of the seven wise men, is said to have been a lawmaker for the Athenians. Plato also claims that he connected with the Egyptians when the Hebrews were living in Egypt again. In the Timaeus, he introduces him being educated by a foreigner, where the Egyptian says to him, 'O Solon, you Greeks are always children, and there is not one old man among the Greeks, nor is there a wise lesson among you in time.'

10.4.20 | καὶ οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πλάτων' τοῖς ἐν  
Ίταλίᾳ Πυθαγορείοις σχολάσας οὐ μόνη τῇ  
παρὰ τούτοις ἡρκέσθη διατριβῇ, λέγεται δὲ  
ἀπᾶραι εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τῇ τούτων  
φιλοσοφίᾳ πλεῖστον ἀναθεῖναι χρόνον.  
τοῦτό τοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς βαρβάροις  
πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἴδιων λόγων μαρτυρεῖ, εὖ  
μοι δοκεῖ ποιῶν, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα  
ἐμπορεύεσθαι εἰς φιλοσοφίαν παρὰ τῶν  
βαρβάρων εὐγνωμόνως οὐκ  
ἀπαρνούμενος.

10.4.20 | And Plato, after studying with the Pythagoreans in Italy, is said not to have been satisfied with just their teachings. He is also said to have gone to Egypt and spent a lot of time with their philosophy. He himself often testifies to many of his own ideas among the foreigners, and I think he does this well, not denying that the best ideas in philosophy come from the foreigners.

10.4.21 | ἀκοῦσαι δ' οὐν αὐτοῦ πολλαχοῦ  
μὲν πάρεστιν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ ἐν  
Ἐπινομίδι, Σύρων ὁμοῦ καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ὥδε  
πῃ μνημονεύοντος “Τούτου δὲ αἴτιος ὁ  
πρῶτος ταῦτα κατιδών, βάρβαρος ὢν.  
παλαιὸς γὰρ δὴ τόπος ἔθρεψε τοὺς  
πρώτους ταῦτα ἐννοήσαντας διὰ τὸ κάλλος  
τῆς θερινῆς ὥρας, ἦν Αἴγυπτός τε Συρία θ'  
ἰκανῶς κέκτηται. ὅθεν καὶ πανταχόσε καὶ  
δεῦρο ἔξήκει, βεβασανισένα χρόνῳ

10.4.21 | You can hear many things from him in various places, but also in the Epinomis, where he mentions together the Syrians and the Egyptians, saying, 'The first cause of this was a foreigner who saw it. For indeed, an ancient place raised the first people who thought of this because of the beauty of the summer season, which both Egypt and Syria have in abundance. From there, it has spread everywhere and even

μυριετεῖ τε καὶ ἀπείρῳ.

10.4.22 | Καὶ ὑποβὰς ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει  
Λάβωμεν δὴ ὡς ὅ τι περ Ἑλληνες  
βαρβάρων παραλάβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς  
τέλος ἀπεργάζονται."

10.4.23 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. καὶ Δημόκριτος  
δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς Βαβυλωνίων λόγους  
ἡθικοὺς πεποιῆσθαι λέγεται. καί που  
σεμνυνόμενος περὶ ἐαυτοῦ φησιν "Ἐγὼ δὲ  
τῶν κατ' ἔμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων πλείστην γῆν  
ἐπεπλανησάμην, ἵστορέων τὰ μήκιστα, καὶ  
ἀέρας τε καὶ γαίας πλείστας εἶδον, καὶ  
λογίων ἀνδρῶν πλείστων ἐπήκουσα, καὶ  
γραμμέων συνθέσιος μετ' ἀποδείξεως  
ούδεις κώ με παρήλλαξεν, οὕτε Αἴγυπτίων  
οἵ καλεόμενοι Ἀρπεδονάπται, οἵς ἐπὶ  
πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔτεα ὄγδώκοντα ἐπὶ ξένης  
έγενήθην."

10.4.24 | Ἐπῆλθε γάρ καὶ οὗτος Βαβυλῶνά  
τε καὶ τὴν Πέρσιδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον, τοῖς τε  
Αἴγυπτίοις καὶ τοῖς ιερεῦσι μαθητεύων.

10.4.25 | τί δ' εἴ σοι καταλέγοιμι  
Ἡράκλειτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνων, δι'  
ῶν ἀπελέγχεται ἡ παρ' Ἑλλησι πολιτεία  
τὸν μακρὸν αἰῶνα πτωχεύουσα καὶ γυμνὴ  
παντὸς μαθήματος ἀπολειφθεῖσα;

10.4.26 | ιεροῖς μὲν οὖν θεῶν, ἀγάλμασί τε  
καὶ ἀφιδρύμασι, μαντείαις τε καὶ χρησμοῖς,  
καὶ τῷ πολλῷ τύφῳ τῶν λαοπλάνων  
δαιμόνων ἐκαλλωπίζετο, σοφίας δὲ

here, having been tested for a long time and  
in countless ways.'

10.4.22 | And going on from there, he adds,  
'Let us take this as true: whatever the  
Greeks receive from the foreigners, they  
make it better in the end.'

10.4.23 | These are the words of Plato. And  
Democritus is said to have made ethical  
teachings from the Babylonians even  
earlier. And somewhere, boasting about  
himself, he says, 'I have traveled the  
greatest land of men concerning myself,  
exploring the longest histories, and I have  
seen the greatest airs and lands, and I have  
listened to many wise men, and no one has  
changed my writings with proof, neither  
the Egyptians, whom they call the  
Arpedonapti, among whom I was born for  
eighty years in a foreign land.'

10.4.24 | For this one also went to Babylon,  
Persia, and Egypt, learning from the  
Egyptians and the priests.

10.4.25 | What if I were to mention  
Heraclitus and the other Greeks, through  
whom the Greek city-state is shown to be  
poor and lacking in all knowledge for a long  
time?

10.4.26 | Indeed, it was adorned with the  
sacred things of the gods, with statues and  
offerings, with prophecies and oracles, and  
with the great blindness of the deceiving

άληθοῦς καὶ μαθήματος βιωφελοῦς εἰς τὸ παντελές ἔχήρευεν.

10.4.27 | οὐδέ τι πρὸς ἀγαθῶν λόγων εὕρεσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄχρηστα χρηστήρια συνεβάλλετο, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ὁ θαυμαστὸς Πύθιος εἰς φιλοσοφίαν αὐτοὺς τοπαράπαν ὡφέλει, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος θεῶν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀναγκαῖον τινὸς ἐπιτήδευσιν συνήργει· ἀλώμενοι δὲ ὥδε κάκεῖσε καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπαντα περιτρέχοντες ἀλλοτρίοις πτίλοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐφαίδρυνον κατὰ τὸν μῆθον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἥδη τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοσοφίαν ἐξ ἑράνου συστῆναι.

10.4.28 | ἄλλα γὰρ παρ’ ἄλλων ἀποματτόμενοι μαθήματα γεωμετρίαν μὲν παρ’ Αἴγυπτίων ἔσχον, ἀστρολογίαν δὲ παρὰ Χαλδαίων, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἔτερα παρ’ ἑτέρων· οὐδὲν δὲ παρά τισιν ἄλλοις οἷόν τινες αὐτῶν τὸ παρ’ Ἐβραίοις ἀγαθὸν εὕροντο.

10.4.29 | τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἡ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσις καὶ ἡ τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν κατάγνωσις, ἦν μικρὸν ὅσον ὁ λόγος προιών ἐπιδείξει.

10.4.30 | τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐπισημαίνεται, ὡς οὐ μόνης ἐστέρηντο τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεολογίας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφίᾳ λυστελούντων μαθημάτων, καὶ οὐδὲ μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

spirits, but it completely lacked true wisdom and useful knowledge.

10.4.27 | Nor did they find anything useful in good words, but even the wonderful Pythian did not help them at all in philosophy, nor did any other god assist them in any necessary practice. Instead, wandering here and there and running around their whole life, they were supported by foreign wings according to the myth, so that they had to piece together all philosophy from begging.

10.4.28 | For they learned different subjects from different people: they got geometry from the Egyptians, astrology from the Chaldeans, and again other things from others. But from some others, they found nothing good from the Hebrews.

10.4.29 | This was the knowledge of the god of all things and the understanding of the local gods, which the speech will show in a little while.

10.4.30 | At this point, it is pointed out that those who encountered this were not only lacking the true theology of the ancient Greeks, but also the useful subjects of philosophy, and not just these, but also the common and political practices.

10.4.31 | ήγοῦμαι δέ μοι τήνδε  
συμβαλεῖσθαι τὴν σημείωσιν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν  
τοῦ προκειμένου σκοποῦ, εἴ δὴ πρόκειται  
τὸν ἀπολογισμὸν ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ μὴ ἀλόγως  
ἡμᾶς τὴν παρ' Ἐβραίοις θεολογίαν καὶ τὴν,  
ώς ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, βάρβαρον τῆς  
Ἐλληνικῆς προτετιμηκέναι φιλοσοφίας.

10.4.32 | εἰ γοῦν ὄφθεῖν αὐτοὶ πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
πρότερον τὰ πάντα παρὰ βαρβάρων  
ἐσκευωρημένοι, μηδὲν δὲ μηδ' ὅλως παρὰ  
τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν  
ἀφελημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν  
ἐνδίκως ἐπιμεμψάμενοι, καί τινες διὰ  
ταῦτα ἀθεότητα μᾶλλον τῆς τῶν θεῶν  
θεραπείας προτετιμηκότες, τί χρὴ λοιπὸν  
ἡμᾶς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι  
καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τὸ κρεῖττον ἀγαπήσαντες,  
μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μόνον ἀληθὲς εὐρόντες καὶ  
ἀπειληφότες τοῦ ψεύδους ἀνεχωρήσαμεν,  
οὕτε εἰς ἄθεον λογισμὸν τοῖς σοφοῖς  
Ἐλλήνων ὅμοιώς περιτραπέντες, οὕτε  
πάλιν τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς παραπλησίως  
φιλοσόφοις ἀμαμίξ τὴν πλάνην τὴν  
πολύθεον τῇ γνώσει τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ  
φύραντες, ούδέ γε τὸ ψεῦδος ἄμα τῷ  
ἀληθεῖ συγχέαντες;

10.4.33 | ἀλλὰ μήπω ταῦτα, ἔκεινα δέ μοι  
πρῶτον δίελθε, δι' ὃν Ἐλληνες τὰ πάντα  
σεσυληκέναι βαρβάρους, οὐ μόνα τὰ  
φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς  
καὶ βιωφελεῖς εὐρέσεις ἀπελέγχονται.

10.4.31 | I think that this sign should be included as proof of the purpose at hand, if indeed it is necessary to explain why we should not unreasonably accept the theology of the Hebrews and the philosophy that they themselves claim is inferior to the Greek.

10.4.32 | If indeed they had seen everything prepared by the barbarians long before, and had gained nothing at all from their own gods in philosophy, but instead justly blamed their gods, and some preferred atheism over the worship of the gods, then why should we be blamed? Shouldn't we rather accept and praise the fact that, having loved what is better and found the only truth, we turned away from falsehood? We are neither led into atheism like the wise Greeks, nor do we mix with the marvelous philosophers who deceive with their polytheism while knowing the nature of the god above all, nor do we confuse truth with falsehood?

10.4.33 | But first, do not go over these things; instead, explain to me how the Greeks have completely taken everything from the barbarians, not only the philosophical teachings but also the common and useful discoveries.

## Section 5

10.5.1 | Πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν ὁ τὰ κοινὰ  
γράμματα, αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς

10.5.1 | First of all, Cadmus introduced the common letters, which are indeed the first

γραμματικῆς στοιχεῖα, Ὅλησιν εἰσηγησάμενος Κάδμος, τὸ γένος Φοῖνιξ ἦν, δόθεν καὶ Φοινικήια τὰ γράμματά τινες τῶν παλαιὸν ἐπικεκλήκασιν.

10.5.2 | εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Σύρους γράμματα ἐπινοῆσαι πρώτους λέγουσι. Σύροι δ' ἀν εἴεν καὶ Ἐβραῖοι τὴν γείτονα Φοινίκης καὶ αὐτὴν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Φοινίκην, μετέπειτα δὲ Ἰουδαίαν, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Παλαιστίνην ὄνομαζομένην, οἰκήσαντες, ὃν καὶ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀλλοτρία φαίνεται ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων φωνῇ.

10.5.3 | ἔκαστον γοῦν τόν στοιχείων παρ' αὐτοῖς κατά τινος σημαντικῆς διανοίας τὴν προσηγορίαν φέρει, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔνεστιν εὺρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλησι· διὸ καὶ μάλιστα μὴ ὄντα ἴδια Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογεῖται.

10.5.4 | ἔστι δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' Ἐβραίοις στοιχεῖα δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὃν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστιν Ἀλφ', ὃ μεταληφθὲν φθὲν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν λέγοιτ' ἀν μάθησις· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Βῆθ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται οἴκου· τὸ τρίτον Γίμελ, ὃ ἔστι πλήρωσις· τὸ τέταρτον Δὲλθ, ὃ σημαίνει δέλτων· τὸ πέμπτον Ἡ, ὃ ἔστιν αὔτη. ὁμοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα ἀπαρτίζει τοιαύτην τινὰ διάνοιαν, μάθησις οὕκου, πλήρωσις δέλτων αὕτη.

10.5.5 | εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτά ἔστι στοιχεῖον ἔκτον, λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς Ούαῦ, ὃ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπειτα Ζαΐ, ὃ ἔστι ζῆ· μεθ' ὃ Ἡθ', ὃ ἔστιν ὃ ζῶν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ὅλον, ἐν αὐτῇ ζῆ ὃ ζῶν.

elements of grammar, to the Greeks. He was of Phoenician descent, and for this reason, some of the ancient letters have been called Phoenician.

10.5.2 | There are some who say that the Syrians were the first to invent letters. The Syrians, along with the Hebrews, lived next to Phoenicia. The old Phoenicia later became known as Judea, and in our time, it is called Palestine. From these people, the sounds of the Greek letters seem to be most closely related.

10.5.3 | Each of the letters from them carries a certain meaningful name, which cannot be found among the Greeks. Therefore, it is mostly agreed that these are not originally Greek.

10.5.4 | There are a total of twenty-two letters among the Hebrews. The first is Aleph, which, when changed into the Greek sound, could be called 'learning.' The second is Beth, which means 'house.' The third is Gimel, which means 'fullness.' The fourth is Daleth, which means 'door.' The fifth is He, which means 'this.' Together, they create a certain idea: 'learning of the house, fullness of the door, this.'

10.5.5 | Then after these, there is a sixth letter, called Vav, which means 'in it.' Next is Zayin, which means 'living.' After that is He, which means 'the living,' in which the whole lives; in it, the living lives.

10.5.6 | μετὰ ταῦτα στοιχεῖον ἔνατον τὸ Τὴθ, ὃ ἔστι καλή· ἐπειτα Ἰῶθ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀρχή· ὅμοιος τὰ δύο καλὴ ἀρχῆ. ἐπὶ τούτοις Χάφ, ὃ ἔστιν ὅμως· ἐπειτα Λάβδ, ὃ ἔστι μάθε· τὸ ὄλον ὅμως μάθε.

10.5.6 | After these, there is the ninth letter, called Teth, which means 'good.' Next is Yodh, which is translated as 'beginning.' Together, these two mean 'good beginning.' Following these is Kaph, which means 'yet.' Then comes Lamed, which means 'learning.' The whole means 'yet learning.'

10.5.7 | μετὰ ταῦτα τρισκαιδέκατον στοιχεῖόν ἔστι τὸ Μήμ', ὃ ἔστιν ἔξ αὐτῶν· ἐπειτα Νοῦν, ὃ ἔστιν αἰώνια. εἶτα Σάμχ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται βοήθεια, ἐν ᾧ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔξ αὐτῶν αἰώνια βοήθεια.

10.5.7 | After these, there is the thirteenth letter, called Mem, which means 'from them.' Next is Nun, which means 'eternal.' Then comes Samekh, which is translated as 'help,' in which the eternal help is from them.

10.5.8 | ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ Ἀϊν, ὃ μεταληφθὲν σημαίνει πηγὴν, ἥ ὁφθαλμόν· ἐπειτα τὸ Φῆ στόμα. εἴθ' ἔξης τὸ Σάδη δικαιοσύνη· ὃν ἡ διάνοια ἔστι, πηγὴ, ἥ καὶ ὁφθαλμός, καὶ στόμα δικαιοσύνης.

10.5.8 | Following these is the letter Ayin, which means 'spring' or 'eye.' Next is Pe, which means 'mouth.' Then comes Tsadi, which means 'righteousness.' From these, the understanding is that there is a spring or an eye, and a mouth of righteousness.

10.5.9 | μετὰ ταῦτα στοιχεῖόν ἔστι Κῶφ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται κλῆσις· ἐπειτα Ρῆς, ὃ ἔστι κεφαλή. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Σὲν, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὁδόντες· ἐπὶ πάσι τὸ κβ' στοιχεῖον καλεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὃ δηλοῖ σημεῖα. ἔχοι δ' ἂν ἡ διάνοια, κλῆσις κεφαλῆς καὶ ὁδόντων σημεῖα.

10.5.9 | After these is the letter Qoph, which is translated as 'calling.' Next is Resh, which means 'head.' Then comes Shin, which means 'teeth.' In addition, the twenty-second letter is called by them 'which shows signs.' The understanding would be a calling of the head and signs of the teeth.

10.5.10 | καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἐβραίοις τοιάδε τίς ἔστιν ἡ τῶν στοιχείων μετάφρασις καὶ ἐρμηνεία, λόγου διάνοιαν ἀπαρτίζουσα τῇ τῶν στοιχείων μαθήσει τε καὶ ἐπαγγελίᾳ προσήκουσαν. τὸ ὅμοιον δ' οὐκ ἀν εὑροις

10.5.10 | And among the Hebrews, this is the translation and explanation of the letters, which gives understanding related to the study and promise of the letters. But you would not find the same among the

παρ' Ἕλλησιν, ὅθεν, ὡς ἔφην, ὁμολογεῖν  
ἀνάγκη μὴ ὄντα οἰκεῖα Ἑλλήνων,  
παραπεποιημένα δὲ ἄντικρυς ἀπὸ τῆς  
βαρβάρου φωνῆς.

Greeks, where, as I said, it is necessary to agree that they do not belong to the Greeks, but are rather made up from the foreign language.

10.5.11 | καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς δὲ ἐλέγχεται τῆς καθ'  
ἐκαστον στοιχεῖον ἐπωνυμίας, τί γὰρ τοῦ  
Ἄλφ' τὸ Ἄλφα διενήνοχεν; ἢ τοῦ Βῆθ τὸ  
Βῆτα; ἢ τοῦ Γάμμα τὸ Γίμελ; ἢ τοῦ Δέλθ τὸ  
Δέλτα; ἢ τοῦ Η τὸ Ε; ἢ τοῦ Ζαΐ τὸ Ζῆτα; ἢ  
τοῦ Τὴθ τὸ Θῆτα; καὶ ὅσα τούτοις  
παραπλήσια.

10.5.11 | And from this, the naming of each letter is examined. For what does the letter Aleph have to do with Alpha? Or what about Beth and Beta? Or Gamma and Gimel? Or Daleth and Delta? Or He and E? Or Zayin and Zeta? Or Teth and Theta? And as many similar ones as these.

10.5.12 | ὥστε ἀναμφίλεκτον εἶναι τὸ μὴ  
Ἕλληνων οἰκείας εἶναι τὰς τοιάσδε φωνάς·  
Ἐβραίων ἄρα 5 παρ' οἷς καὶ σημαῖνόν τι  
ἐκαστον αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυται. παρὰ δὲ  
τούτοις πρώτοις ἀρχάμενα προῆλθεν εἷς τε  
ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
μοι περὶ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων είρήσθω.  
τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ήμīν ὑποθέσεως ἔφαψάμενος  
καὶ ὁ Κλήμης ἐπάκουουσον ἄ φησιν·

10.5.12 | So it is clear that these sounds do not belong to the Greeks; rather, they belong to the Hebrews, among whom each of them shows some meaning. From these, it first came to others and then to the Greeks. Thus, let this be said about the first letters. And touching on the same topic, listen to what Clement says.

## Section 6

10.6.1 | Ἱατρικὴν δὲ Απιν Αἴγυπτιον, μετὰ  
δὲ ταῦτα Ἀσκληπιὸν αύξησαι τὴν τέχνην  
ἰστοροῦσιν. Ἀτλας δὲ ὁ Λίβυς πρῶτος ναῦν  
ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔπλευσε.

10.6.1 | They say that Apis brought Egyptian medicine, and after that, Asclepius increased the art. And Atlas the Libyan was the first to build a ship and sailed the sea.

10.6.2 | καὶ ἀστρολογίαν δὲ πρῶτοι είς  
ἀνθρώπους ἔξηνεγκαν Αἴγυπτοι, ὁμοίως  
δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ Κᾶρας τὴν δι'  
ἀστέρων πρόγνωσιν ἐπινενοηκέναι  
λέγουσι. πτήσεις δὲ ὄρνιθων παρεφύλαξαν  
πρῶτοι Φρύγες.

10.6.2 | And the Egyptians were the first to bring astrology to people, and the Chaldeans did the same. The Carians say that they invented the knowledge of predictions through the stars. And the Phrygians were the first to observe the flights of birds.

10.6.3 | καὶ θυτικὴν ἡκρίβωσαν Τοῦσκοι,  
Ἴταλίας γείτονες. Ἰσαυροὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀραβεῖς  
έξεπόνησαν τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν, ὥσπερ  
ἀμέλει. Τελμησεῖς τὴν δί’ ὄνείρων μαντικήν.

10.6.3 | And the Tusci, neighbors of Italy, perfected divination. The Isaurians and Arabs developed the art of omens, just as the Telmessians did the divination through dreams.

10.6.4 | Τυρρηναῖοι δὲ σάλπιγγα  
ἐπενόησαν καὶ Φρύγες αὐλόν· Φρύγες γὰρ  
ἥστην Ὄλυμπός τε καὶ Μαρσύας. λύχνους  
τε αὖ καίειν πρῶτοι κατέδειξαν Αἴγυπτοι,  
καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς ιβ' μῆνας διεῖλον καὶ  
ἱεροῖς γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι ἐκώλυσαν, μηδὲ  
εἰς ιερὰ εἰσιέναι ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀλούτους  
ἐνομοθέτησαν.

10.6.4 | The Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet and the Phrygians the flute; for the Phrygians were at Olympus and Marsyas. The Egyptians were the first to show how to light lamps, and they divided the year into twelve months. They also forbade women from mixing in sacred places and made laws that women should not enter the temples during their monthly periods.

10.6.5 | γεωμετρίας τε αὖ εὑρεταὶ οἵ αὐτ' οἱ  
γεγόνασι. Κέλμις τε καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ  
τῶν Ἰδαίων Δάκτυλοι πρῶτοι ἐν Κύπρῳ  
σίδηρον εὗρον. Δέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὗρε  
χαλκοῦ κρᾶσιν, ώς δὲ Ἡσίοδος, Σκύθης.

10.6.5 | And the inventors of geometry are those who have come from there. Kelmis and Damnamenes, of the Idaians, were the first to find iron in Cyprus. Another Idaian, Delas, discovered the mixture of bronze, as Hesiod says, a Scythian.

10.6.6 | ναὶ μὴν Θρᾷκες πρῶτοι τὴν  
καλουμένην ἄρπην εὗρον, ἔστι δὲ μάχαιρα  
καμπύλη, καὶ πρῶτοι πέλταις ἐπὶ τῶν  
ἵππων ἔχρήσαντο. δόμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ  
τὴν καλουμένην πέλτην ἔξευρον. εὗρον. ἔτι  
φασὶ Τουσκανοὺς τὴν πλαστικὴν  
ἐπινοησαι. Ἰτανόν τε, Σαυνίτης οὗτος ἦν,  
πρῶτον θυρεὸν κατασκευάσαι.

10.6.6 | Yes, the Thracians were the first to find the instrument called the harp, which is a curved sword, and they were the first to use shields on horses. Similarly, the Illyrians discovered the shield called the pelta. They also say that the Tuscans invented sculpture; this man, Hitanos, was the first to make a shield.

10.6.7 | Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Φοῖνιξ λιθοτομίαν τε  
έξεῦρε καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸ  
Πάγγαιον ὅρος ἐπενόησεν. ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἄλλο  
ἔθνος Καππαδόκιι πρῶτοι εὗρον τὴν

10.6.7 | Cadmus, the Phoenician, discovered stone cutting and invented gold mining around Mount Pangaion. Already, another nation, the Cappadocians, were the

νάβλαν καλουμένην, ὃν τρόπον κοὶ τὸ δίχορδον Ἀσσύριοι.

first to find the instrument called the lyre, which is similar to the two-stringed instrument of the Assyrians.

10.6.8 | Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ πρῶτοι τετρήρη κατεσκεύασαν, ἐναυπήγησε δ' αὐτὴν ὁ σπορος αύτόχθων. Μήδειά τε, ἡ Αἴγτου ἡ Κολχὶς πρώτη τριχῶν βαφὴν ἐπενόησε.

10.6.8 | The Carthaginians were the first to build a trireme, and it was created by a native of the land. Medea, the Colchian daughter of Aeëtes, was the first to invent the dye for hair.

10.6.9 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Νώροπες ἔθνος δ' ἐστὶ Παιονικὸν, νῦν δὲ Νωρικὸν καλοῦνται) κατειργάσαντο χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον ἐκάθηραν πρῶτοι. Ἄμυκος τε ὁ Βεβρύκων βασιλεὺς ἴμάντας πυκτικοὺς εὗρε.

10.6.9 | But also the Noropes, a Paeonian people (now called Noric), were the first to work with bronze and to refine iron. Amykos, the king of the Bebrycians, discovered strong straps.

10.6.10 | περί τε μουσικὴν "Ολυμπος ὁ Μυσὸς τὴν Λύδιον ἀρμονίαν ἐφιλοτέχνησεν· οἵ τε Τρωγλοδύται καλούμενοι σαμβύκην εὗρον, ὅργανον μουσικόν.

10.6.10 | About music, Olympus the Mysian created the Lydian harmony; and the Troglodytes, as they are called, found the sambuke, a musical instrument.

10.6.11 | φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πλαγίαν σύριγγα Σάτυρον εὑρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα· τρίχορδον δὲ ὄμοιώς καὶ τὴν διάτονον ἀρμονίαν "Υαγνιν τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Φρύγα· κρούματα δὲ "Ολυμπὸν ὄμοιώς τὸν Φρύγα, καθάπερ Φρύγιον ἀρμονίαν καὶ μιξοφρύγιον καὶ μιξολύδιον Μαρσύαν τῆς αὐτῆς ὅντα τοῖς προειρημένοις χώρας· καὶ τὴν Δώριον Θάμυριν ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Θρᾶκα.

10.6.11 | They say that the Phrygian invented the side flute, and also the three-stringed and the diatonic harmony was created by Hyagnis, who was also Phrygian. The Phrygian Olympus invented rhythms, just as Marsyas, who was from the same region, created Phrygian harmony, mixed Phrygian, and mixed Lydian. And Thamyris, the Thracian, invented the Doric.

10.6.12 | Πέρσας τε πρώτους ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπήνην καὶ κλίνην καὶ ὑποπόδιον ἐργάσασθαι τούς τε Σιδωνίους τρίκροτον ναῦν κατασκευάσαι. Σικελοί τε οἱ πρὸς τῇ

10.6.12 | We first heard that the Persians invented the cart, the couch, and the footstool, and that the Sidonians built the three-banked ship. The Sicilians, who are

Ίταλίᾳ πρῶτοι φόρμιγγα εὗρον ού πολὺ τῆς κιθάρας λειπομένην καὶ κρόταλα ἐπενόησαν.

near Italy, were the first to find the lyre, which is not much different from the guitar, and they invented the castanets.

10.6.13 | ἐπί τε Σεμιράμεως βασιλίδος Ἀσσυρίων τὰ βύσσινα ἴματια εὐρῆσθαι Ἰστοροῦσι. καὶ πρώτην ἐπιστολὰς συντάξαι "Ἄτοσσαν, τὴν Περσῶν βασιλεύσασαν, φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος.

10.6.13 | They say that under the rule of Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians, the silk garments were invented. And Hellanicus says that Atossa, who ruled the Persians, was the first to compose letters.

10.6.14 | Σκάμμων μὲν οὖν ὁ Μιτυληναῖος καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἐρέσιος Κύδιππός τε ὁ Μαντινεὺς, ἔτι τε Ἀντιφάνης καὶ Ἀριστόδημος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ Φιλοστέφανος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Στράτων ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ εὐρημάτων ταῦτα ἴστορησαν παρεθέμην δὲ αὐτῶν ὅλιγα εἰς σύστασιν τῆς παρὰ βαρβάροις εὐρετικῆς καὶ βιωφελοῦς φύσεως, παρ' Ἑλληνες τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὡφέληνται."

10.6.14 | Therefore, Skammos from Mytilene, Theophrastus from Eresus, Kydippos from Mantinea, and also Antiphanes, Aristodemus, and Aristotle, along with Philostefanos, and Straton the Peripatetic, wrote about these things in their works on inventions. I have included a few of their ideas about the useful and beneficial nature of inventions among the barbarians, which the Greeks benefit from.

10.6.15 | Ταῦτα ὥρμασιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης ἐν Στρωματεῦσι. τοῖς δ' είρημένοις δοκῶ μοι εὖ ἔχειν ἐπισυνάψαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωσήπου τοῦ Ἐβραίου γραφῆς, ἢν Περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος ἐν δυσὶν ἐπραγματεύσατο βιβλίοις, περὶ τοῦ νέους γεγονέναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ παρὰ βαρβάρων ὡφελῆσθαι, διάφωνά τε ἐαυτοῖς γεγραφέναι συμβαλεῖται γοῦν καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τῶν εὐρημένων ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν πίστωσιν. ἄκουε τοίνυν οὐαὶ καὶ οὗτος γράφει πρὸς λέξιν

10.6.15 | These things are said by Clement in the Stromateis. I think it is good to add what comes from the writings of Josephus the Hebrew, who wrote in two books about the antiquity of the Jews, concerning how the Greeks came to be new and how they benefited from the barbarians. It seems that these writings also contribute to the accurate and certain belief about the things mentioned. Therefore, listen to what he writes next.

## Section 7

10.7.1 | Πρῶτον οὖν ἐπέρχεται μοι πάνυ

10.7.1 | First of all, it amazes me that those

Θαυμάζειν τοὺς οίομένους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων ἔργων μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν.

who think they should only pay attention to the ancient works of the Greeks and ask them for the truth, do not trust us and other people.

10.7.2 | πᾶν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούναντίον ὅρῳ συμβεβηκός, εἴ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαίαις δόξαις ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἄπαντα νέα καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρώην, ὡς ἀν εἴποι τις, εὔροι γεγονότα· λέγω δὲ τὰς κτίσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφάς· πάντων δὲ νεωτάτη σχεδόν ἔστι παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἡ περὶ τοῦ συγγράφειν τὰς ἴστορίας ἐπιμέλεια.

10.7.2 | For I see the opposite to be true, if one must not follow empty opinions, but rather take the just things from them. For everything among the Greeks is new, as if one could say, it has just happened yesterday or recently. I mean the founding of cities, the inventions of arts, and the records of laws. And the most recent among them is their care for writing histories.

10.7.3 | τὰ μέντοι παρ’ Αἴγυπτοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν—έω γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν—αύτοὶ δήπουθεν ὅμολογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ μονιμωτάτην ἔχειν τῆς μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν.

10.7.3 | However, the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phoenicians—let us now allow ourselves to be counted among them—certainly agree that they have the oldest and most lasting tradition of memory.

10.7.4 | καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἄπαντες οἴκοῦσιν ἥκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος φθοραῖς ὑποκειμένους, καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἄμνηστον τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς πραττομένων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων ἀεὶ καθιεροῦσθαι.

10.7.4 | For they all live in places that are least affected by the decay of what surrounds them, and they have made great efforts to ensure that nothing done among them is forgotten, but rather is always established in public records by the wisest.

10.7.5 | τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπον μυρίαι μὲν φθοραὶ κατέσχον, ἔξαλείφουσαι τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγονότων· ἀεὶ δὲ καινοὺς καθιστάμενοι βίους τοῦ παντὸς ἐνόμιζον

10.7.5 | But the region around Greece has been affected by countless decays, wiping out the memory of events; and always establishing new lives, each person thought

ἄρχειν ἔκαστος τὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν·

10.7.6 | óψè δè καὶ μόλις ἔγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων. οἰγοῦν ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν.

10.7.7 | οὐ μὴν ούδ' ἀπ' ἔκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτο τις ἀν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν, οὔτ' ἐν ιεροῖς οὔτ' ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασιν· ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων ὕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ζήτησις εἰ γράμμασιν ἔχρωντο· καὶ τάληθὲς ἐπικρατεῖ μᾶλλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν ἔκείνους ἀγνοεῖν.

10.7.8 | ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ούδὲν διμολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὄμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερος φαίνεται γενόμενος. καί φασιν ούδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνίας,

10.7.9 | οἱ μέντοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ' αὐτοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμου τε τὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εἴ τινες ἄλλοι λέγονται γενέσθαι, βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προύλαβον.

they were starting from themselves.

10.7.6 | Later, they barely understood the nature of writing. Therefore, wanting to have the oldest use of it, they proudly sought to learn from the Phoenicians and Cadmus.

10.7.7 | Indeed, from that time, no one could show a surviving record, neither in temples nor in public offerings. Even about those who campaigned at Troy many years later, there was much confusion and inquiry about whether they used writing; and it is more true that they did not know the use of the letters that exist now.

10.7.8 | Overall, among the Greeks, no written work of Homer is found that is older. This one seems to have come after the events of Troy. They say that he did not leave his poetry in writing, but that it was remembered and later put together from the letters, and for this reason, there are many disagreements in it.

10.7.9 | Those who attempted to write histories among them, I mean those about Cadmus the Milesian and the Argive Acusilaus, and after them, if there are any others said to have existed, came shortly before the Persian invasion of Greece.

10.7.10 | ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἵον Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὅμοιοῦσιν Αἴγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὀλίγα συγγράψαι· καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπὲρ ἔκεινων γεγράφθαι.”

10.7.11 | “Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τάρχαῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ἢ τίς οὐ παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι ῥᾳδίως ὅτι μηδὲ ἐν εἰδότες βεβαίως συνέγραφον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἴκαζον;

10.7.12 | πλέον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι καὶ τάναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ὄκνοῦσι. περιέργος δ' ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων, ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος ἢ τίνα τρόπον “Ἐφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, “Ἐφορον δὲ Τιμαῖος, καὶ Τιμαῖον οὗ μετ' ἔκεινον γεγονότες, Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες.

10.7.13 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τιμαῖος συμφωνεῖν ἡξίωσεν, οὐδ' αὖ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἵ τάς Ἀτθίδας

10.7.10 | But also, those who first philosophized among the Greeks about the heavens and the divine, such as Pherecydes the Syrian, Pythagoras, and Thales, all agree that they were students of the Egyptians and Chaldeans and wrote very little. And these writings seem to the Greeks to be the oldest of all, and they hardly believe that they were written by those people.

10.7.11 | How is it not unreasonable for the Greeks to be proud as if they alone know the ancient truths about them accurately? Or who among the same writers would easily learn that they did not write with certainty even one thing, but rather guessed about matters as each one thought?

10.7.12 | Indeed, they criticize each other through their books and do not hesitate to say the opposite about the same things. But I would be curious to teach those who know more than I do, about how much Hellenicus has declared to Acusilaus regarding genealogies, how Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, or how Ephorus shows that Hellenicus is mostly lying, while Timaios and those who came after him, and everyone agrees about Herodotus.

10.7.13 | But neither did Timaios think that those about Antiochus and Philistus, or Callias, agreed about the Sicilian matters, nor did those who wrote about the

συγγεγραφότες, ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἵ τὰ περὶ Ἀργὸς ἴστοροῦντες ἀλλήλοις ἡκολουθήκασι.

Athenians agree about the Athenian stories, or those who wrote about Argos agree with each other about the Argolic matters.

10.7.14 | καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ βραχυτέρων, ὅπου γε περὶ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων οἱ δοκμώτατοι διαπεφωνήκασι; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς ψευδόμενος ὑπό τινων κατηγορεῖται, καίτοι δοκών ἀκριβεστάτην καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἴστορίαν συγγράφειν."

10.7.14 | And what should be said about the matters concerning the cities, and the shorter ones, where the most respected have spoken about the Persian campaign and what happened in it? Many accuse Thucydides of lying, even though he seems to think he is writing the most accurate history.

10.7.15 | "Αἴτιαι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης διαφωνίας πολλαὶ μὲν ἵσως ἀν καὶ ἔτεραι τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν ἀναφανεῖν, φανεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ δυσὶ ταῖς ἐκτεθησομέναις αἴτιαις τὴν μεγίστην ἴσχὺν ἀνατίθημι.

10.7.15 | The reasons for such disagreement might perhaps be many and different for those who want to seek them out, but I point out that the two reasons I will explain have the greatest strength.

10.7.16 | καὶ προτέραν ἔρω τὴν κυριωτέραν εἶναι μοι δοκοῦσαν. τὸ γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς μὴ σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημοσίᾳ γίνεσθαι τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐκάστοτε πραττομένων ἀναγραφὰς, τοῦτο μάλιστα δὴ καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουληθεῖσι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφειν παρέσχεν.

10.7.16 | And I will first say what seems to me to be the most important. For the fact that from the beginning the Greeks did not care to make public records about what was done by each group, this especially allowed for both confusion and the power to lie for those who later wanted to write something about the past.

10.7.17 | οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἡμελήθη τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελεῖς, ούδεν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκεται γενόμενον· ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναι φασι τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φονικῶν γραφέντας νόμους, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου

10.7.17 | For not only did the other Greeks neglect the records, but even the Athenians themselves, who claim to be native and careful about education, show no such thing. They say that the oldest public writings are the laws about murder written by Draco, which were made shortly before the tyranny of Peisistratus.

γεγονότος.

10.7.18 | περὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρκάδων τί χρὴ λέγειν αὐχούντων ἀρχαιότητα; μόλις γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γράμμασιν ἐπαιδεύθησαν.”

10.7.19 | “Ἄτε δὴ τοίνυν οὐδεμιᾶς προβεβλημένης ἀναγραφῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν ἔμελλε καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγξειν, ἡ πολλὴ πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι.

10.7.20 | δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτη θετέον ἐκείνην αἵτιαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν δὸρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσπούδασαν — καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα — λόγων δὲ δύναμιν ἐπεδείκνυντο· καὶ καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον ἐν τούτῳ παρευδοκιμήσειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπελάμβανον, κατὰ τοῦτον ἡρμόζοντο, τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν τραπόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ τὰς πόλεις ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πράξεων ἢ τῶν γεγραφότων ἔχωρησαν, εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐν τούτῳ νομίζοντες.

10.7.21 | ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον ἱστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἐστὶ τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαντεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν· οἱ δὲ, εἴ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ γράψειαν ἐτέροις, οὕτως ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὶ φαίνεσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι.”

10.7.18 | For what should one say about the Arcadians boasting of their ancientness? For these people hardly even learned to read and write after that.

10.7.19 | Since there was no public record that was meant to teach those who wanted to learn and to check those who lied, there was much disagreement among the writers.

10.7.20 | But a second reason should be added to this. For those who rushed to write did not care about the truth — and yet this is always an easy task for them — but they showed the power of their words. And in whatever way they thought others would praise them, they adjusted to that: some turned to storytelling, some praised the cities or the kings for favor, while others went on to criticize the actions or the writings, thinking that they would gain approval in this way.

10.7.21 | Overall, they act in a way that is completely opposite to history. For true history has proof if everyone speaks and writes the same things about the same events. But those who do not write the same things as others think they seem the most truthful of all.

10.7.22 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, εἴη δ' ἀν τῶν είρημένων ἐπισφράγισμα καὶ ἡ Διοδώρου μαρτυρία, ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ Βιβλιοθήκης παραθήσομαι, οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς λέξιν

10.7.22 | Josephus said so much. And the testimony of Diodorus could be a confirmation of what has been said, which I will present from the first of the collected Library, as it stands in the text.

## Section 8

10.8.1 | “Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων ἥητέον δόσοι τῶν παρ' Ἔλλησι δεδοξασμένων ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ παρέβαλον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, ἵνα τῶν ἐνταῦθα νομίμων καὶ παιδείας μετάσχωσιν.

10.8.1 | After we have clarified these things, we should mention how many of those who were honored among the Greeks contributed to understanding and education in Egypt in ancient times, as they share in the laws and education here.

10.8.2 | οἵ γὰρ Ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ἴστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἱεραῖς βίβλοις παραβαλεῖν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς Ὁρφέα τε καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Μελάμποδα καὶ Δαιδαλον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὅμηρόν τε τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ἕτι δὲ Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον· ἐλθεῖν δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν τὸν Σάμιον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν Εὔδοξον, ἕτι δὲ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ Οίνοπίδην τὸν Χῖον.

10.8.2 | For the priests of the Egyptians tell from the records in the sacred books that they compare themselves to Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus, and Daedalus, and also to Homer the poet, Lycurgus the Spartan, as well as Solon the Athenian and Plato the philosopher; they also include Pythagoras the Samian and the mathematician Eudoxus, and further Democritus the Abderite and Oinopides the Chian.

10.8.3 | πάντων δὲ τούτων σημεῖα δεικνύουσι τῶν μὲν εἰκόνας, τῶν δὲ τόπων ἢ κατασκευασμάτων ὄμωνύμους προσηγορίας. ἔκ τε τῆς ἐκάστω ζηλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέρουσι, συνιστάντες ἐξ Αἴγυπτου μετενηνοχέναι πάντα δι' ὃν παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἔθαυμάσθησαν.

10.8.3 | They show signs of all these, some as images, others as places or similar names. They also bring proofs from each person's admired education, claiming that everything has been brought from Egypt through which they were admired by the Greeks.

10.8.4 | Ὁρφέα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν

10.8.4 | For Orpheus, most of the secret

τελετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν  
ἐαυτοῦ πλάνην ὄργιαζόμενα, καὶ τὴν τῶν  
ἐν Ἀΐδου μυθοποιίαν παρ' Αἴγυπτίων  
ἀπενέγκασθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὁσίριδος  
τελετὴν τῇ Διονύσου τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι· τὴν  
δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος τῇ τῆς Δήμητρος ὄμοιοτάτην  
ὑπάρχειν, τῶν ὄνομάτων μόνων  
ἐνηλλαγμένων· τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν  
Ἀΐδου τιμωρίας, καὶ τὸν τῶν εύσεβῶν  
λειμῶνας, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς  
εἰδωλοποιίας ἀναπεπλασμένας  
παρεισαγαγεῖν, μιμησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὰς  
ταφὰς τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον.

rituals and the rites about his own wandering, as well as the myths of those in Hades, are said to have been brought from the Egyptians. For the ritual of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus; and the ritual of Isis is very similar to that of Demeter, differing only in the names. They also introduce the punishments for the wicked in Hades, and the rewards for the pious, and the many idolatries that have been shaped, imitating the practices concerning burials in Egypt.

10.8.5 | τὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομπὸν Ἐρμῆν,  
κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμιμον παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις,  
ἀναγαγόντα τοῦ Ἀπιδος τὸ σῶμα μέχρι  
τινὸς παραδιδόναι τῷ περικειμένῳ τὴν τοῦ  
Κερβέρου προτομήν. τοῦ δὲ Ὄρφέως τοῦτο  
καταδείξαντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν  
Ὀμηρον ἀκολούθως τούτῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν  
ποίησιν, Ἐρμῆς δὲ ψυχᾶς Κυλλήνιος  
ἔξεκαλεῖτο ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων· ἔχε δὲ βάθδον  
μετὰ χερσίν.'

10.8.5 | For the guide of souls, Hermes, according to the ancient law among the Egyptians, is said to take the body of Apis and deliver it to a certain place near the statue of Cerberus. And Orpheus showed this to the Greeks, saying that Homer placed Hermes as the one who calls the souls of heroic men; and he held a staff in his hands.

10.8.6 | Εἶτα πάλιν προβὰς ἐπιλέγει  
“Μελάμποδα δέ φασι μετενεγκεῖν ἐξ  
Αἴγυπτου τὰ Διονύσων νομιζόμενα  
τελεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ τὰ περὶ  
Κρόνου μυθολογούμενα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς  
Τιτανομαχίας, καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ  
πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἴστορίαν.

10.8.6 | Then again, he goes on to say that they say Melampus brought from Egypt the rituals that are believed to be performed for Dionysus among the Greeks, and the myths about Cronus, and those about the Titanomachy, and the whole history concerning the sufferings of the gods.

10.8.7 | τὸν δὲ Δαίδαλον λέγουσιν  
ἀπομηῆσασθαι τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου  
πλοκὴν, τοῦ διαμένοντος μὲν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
καιροῦ, οὐκοδομηθέντος δὲ, ὡς μέν τινές  
φασιν, ὑπὸ Μένδητος, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν,  
ὑπὸ Μάρου τοῦ βασιλέως, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι

10.8.7 | They say that Daedalus copied the design of the labyrinth, which still exists today. Some say it was built by Minos, while others say it was built by King Mars, many years before the reign of Minos. They also say that the style of the ancient statues

πρότερον τῆς Μίνω βασιλείας· τόν τε  
ρύθμὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων κατ' Αἴγυπτον  
ἀνδριάντων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὑπὸ<sup>τοῖς</sup>  
Δαιδάλου κατασκευασθεῖσι παρὰ τοῖς  
Ἐλλησι.

10.8.8 | τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον πρόπυλον ἐν  
Μέμφει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου Δαίδαλον  
ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι, καὶ θαυμασθέντα τυχεῖν  
εἰκόνος ξυλίνης κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον  
ἱερὸν, ταῖς ἴδιαις χερσὶ δεδημιουργημένης·  
πέρας δὲ, διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν ἀξιωθέντα  
μεγάλης δόξης, καὶ πολλὰ προσεξευρόντα,  
τυχεῖν ἰσοθέων τιμῶν. κατὰ γὰρ μίαν τῶν  
πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει νήσων ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν  
εἶναι Δαιδάλου τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἐγχωρίων.

10.8.9 | τῆς δ' Ὁμήρου παρουσίας ἄλλα τε  
σημεῖα φέρουσι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς  
Ἑλένης γενομένην παρὰ Μενελάῳ  
Τηλεμάχῳ φαρμακείαν καὶ λήθην τῶν  
συμβεβηκότων κακῶν.

10.8.10 | τὸ γὰρ νηπενθὲς φάρμακον, ὃ  
λαβεῖν φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐκ τῶν  
Αἴγυπτίων παρὰ τῆς Πολυδάμηνς, τῆς  
Θῶνος γυναικὸς, ἀκριβῶς ἔχητακώς  
φαίνεται.

10.8.11 | ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ  
γυναῖκας χρῆσθαι τῇ προειρημένῃ δυνάμει  
λέγουσι, καὶ παρὰ μόναις ταῖς  
Διοσπολίτισιν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ὄργῆς  
καὶ λύπης φάρμακον εὐρῆσθαι φασι· τὰς  
δὲ Θήβας καὶ Διόσπολιν τὴν αὐτὴν  
ὑπάρχειν· τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὄνομάζεσθαι  
παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χρυσῆν ἐκ παλαιᾶς

in Egypt is the same as those made by  
Daedalus among the Greeks.

10.8.8 | And Daedalus is said to have  
designed the most beautiful gateway in  
Memphis for Hephaestus, and it was  
admired for a wooden statue made by his  
own hands in the aforementioned temple.  
Because of his skill, he was honored with  
great fame and received many equal  
honors. For even now, there is still a temple  
in one of the islands near Memphis that is  
dedicated to Daedalus and is honored by  
the locals.

10.8.9 | Besides the presence of Homer,  
they bring up other signs, especially the  
potion that Helen gave to Menelaus and  
Telemachus, which caused forgetfulness of  
the troubles that had happened.

10.8.10 | For the drug that brings  
forgetfulness, which the poet says Helen  
received from the Egyptians from  
Polydamna, the wife of Thon, is described  
in detail.

10.8.11 | Even now, they say that women in  
this area use the previously mentioned  
power, and that in the city of Diospolis,  
there are still potions for anger and sorrow  
found from ancient times. They claim that  
Thebes and Diospolis have the same thing;  
and that Aphrodite is called by the locals  
'Golden' from an old tradition; and there is

παραδόσεως· καὶ πεδίον εἶναι· καλούμενον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης περὶ τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Μώμεμφιν.

a plain called 'Golden Aphrodite' near the city known as MOMEMPHIS.

10.8.12 | τά τε περὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Πρὰν μυθολογούμενα περὶ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τὴν εἰς Αἴθιοπίαν ἐκδημίαν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν μετενεγκεῖν. κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Δῖός περαιοῦσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς πάλιν ἐπιστρέψειν, ὡς ἔξ Αἴθιοπίας τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος. τὴν τε συνουσίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων, ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν ναῶν ἀνακομιζομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ὅρος ἄνθεσι παντοίοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱερέων κατεστεμένον.'

10.8.12 | And the myths about Zeus and the goddess Prā are told regarding their union and his journey to Ethiopia to bring him back from there. For once a year, the Egyptians say that the temple of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya, and after a few days, it returns, as if the god were present from Ethiopia. The union of these gods is celebrated in the festivals of the temples, where both are brought to a mountain adorned with all kinds of flowers by the priests.

10.8.13 | Καὶ Λυκοῦργον δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σόλωνα πολλὰ τῶν ἔξ Αἴγυπτου νομίμων εἰς τὰς ἐσαυτῶν κατατάξαι νομοθεσίας, Πυθαγόραν τε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον, καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν θεωρήματα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν εἰς πᾶν ζῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολὴν μαθεῖν παρ' Αἴγυπτίων.

10.8.13 | And Lycurgus, Plato, and Solon arranged many laws from Egypt into their own legal systems. Pythagoras learned about the sacred teachings, the principles of geometry, and the matters concerning numbers, and also learned from the Egyptians about the transformation of the soul in all living beings.

10.8.14 | ὑπολαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτη διατρῦψαι πέντε καὶ πολλὰ διδαχθῆναι τῶν κατὰ ἀστρολογίαν· τὸν τε Οίνοπίδην ὁμοίως συνδιατρίψαντα τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι καὶ ἀστρολόγοις μαθεῖν ἄλλα τε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἥλιακὸν κύκλον, ὡς λοξὴν μὲν ἔχει τὴν πορείαν, ἐναντίαν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροῖς τὴν φορὰν ποιεῖται.

10.8.14 | They also say that Democritus spent five years with them and learned a lot about astrology. Similarly, Oinopides spent time with the priests and astrologers, learning many things, especially about the solar cycle, noting that it has an oblique path, while the other stars move in the opposite direction.

10.8.15 | παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὔδοξον ἀστρολογήσαντα παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὰ

10.8.15 | In a similar way, Eudoxus studied astrology with them and gained many

τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκδόντα  
τυχεῖν ἀξιολόγου δόξης.

useful things that brought him great  
respect among the Greeks.

10.8.16 | πάντων δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν  
ἀγαλματοποιῶν τοὺς μάλιστα  
διωνομασμένους διατετριφέναι παρ'  
αὐτοῖς, Τηλεκλέα καὶ Θεόδωρον, τοὺς  
‘Ροίκου μὲν υἱὸν, κατασκευάσαντας δὲ  
τοῖς Σαμίοις τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου  
ξόανον.”

10.8.16 | Of all the ancient sculptors, the  
ones most often mentioned as having spent  
time with them are Telecles and  
Theodorus, the sons of Rhoikos, who made  
the statue of Apollo Pythios for the  
Samians.

10.8.17 | Τοσαῦτα δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος. ἀλλ'  
οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ᾔδε πως  
ἀποδειγμένος ἐνταῦθα μοι εἰληφέτω  
τέλος. οὐ δεῖ δὴ λοιπὸν ἀλογίας ἡμῶν  
κατηγορεῖν, εἴ δὴ τοὺς τῶν σοφῶν  
Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτῶν γε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
φιλοσόφων διδασκάλους, τοὺς βαρβάρους  
λέγω, πόθῳ τῆς ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας καὶ  
αὐτοὶ μετήλθομεν, εἴ γε βάρβαροι Ἐβραῖοι.

10.8.17 | Thus much also Diodorus. But let  
this account be considered complete here.  
We should not be accused of foolishness  
anymore, if we have indeed pursued true  
piety like the wise Greeks and the  
philosophers among them, even if they are  
called barbarians, like the Hebrew  
barbarians.

10.8.18 | ὃν τοὺς χρόνους, καθ' οὓς  
ἵκμασαν Μωσῆς τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μωσέα  
προφῆται, εὖ ἀν ἔχοι διελθεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη ἔν τι τῶν μάλιστα  
συνεκτικωτάτων τῇ προκειμένῃ  
πραγματείᾳ, τὸ μέλλοντας τῶν παρὰ τοῖς  
ἀνδράσι λογίων ἐφάπτεσθαι προδιαλαβεῖν  
περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αὐτῶν, ἵν', εἴ φανειν  
τοῖς Ἐβραίων προφήταις τε καὶ θεολόγοις  
οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὀμοδοξοῦντες, μηκέτ'  
ἀμφιβάλλοις τίνας ἦν εἰκός τὰ παρὰ τίνων  
ἀναλέξασθαι, πότερα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους  
τὰ τῶν νέων, Ἐβραίους τε τὰ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ  
βαρβάρους τὰ φιλοσόφων, ὃν οὐδὲ τῆς  
γλώσσης εἰκός ἐπαΐειν· ἥ, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον  
εἰκός, τοὺς νέους τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ  
τοὺς τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔθνῶν  
περιειργασμένους Ἑλληνας καὶ τὰ

10.8.18 | During the times when Moses and  
the prophets after him flourished, it would  
be good to go through this, since it would  
be one of the most important parts of the  
current discussion. This is to anticipate  
what the wise men might say about their  
ancientness, so that if the Hebrew prophets  
and theologians agree with those among  
the Greeks, you would no longer doubt who  
is likely to have borrowed from whom,  
whether the older from the younger, the  
Hebrews from the Greeks, or the  
barbarians from the philosophers, of whom  
they are not likely to understand even the  
language; or, which seems more likely, the  
younger from the older, and that the  
Greeks, who have worked on most things  
from various nations, would not be

Ἐβραίων μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι, ἀρχῆθεν ἐπὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβεβλημένα.

ignorant of the Hebrew language, which has changed from its original form into Greek.

## Section 9

10.9.1 | Μωσέως πέρι καὶ τῆς τῶν μετ'  
αὐτὸν προφητῶν ἀρχαιότητος πλεῖστοι  
μὲν ἄλλοι διὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἐν  
οἰκείοις καταβέβληνται συγγράμμασιν, ἀφ'  
ῶν αὐτίκα μάλα σμικρὰ ἄττα  
παραθήσομαι.

10.9.2 | κάγὼ δὲ καινοτέραν παρὰ τοὺς  
είρημένους ὁδεύσας ταύτῃ χρήσομαι τῇ  
μεθόδῳ. συντρεχόντων ὅμοιογουμένων  
τῶν χρόνων Αύγουστου Ῥωμαίων  
αύτοκράτορος καὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
γενέσεως, ἀρχήν τε τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς  
διδασκαλίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιησαμένου  
κατὰ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου  
Καίσαρος, εἴ τις ἀπὸ τούτου συναγαγεῖν  
έθέλοι τὸν τῶν ἑτῶν ἀριθμὸν, προιών ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοὺς ἀνωτέρω χρόνους, τοὺς μέχρι Δαρείου  
τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν  
ἀνανεώσεως τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεώ, ἥ  
γέγονε μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον  
τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, εῦροι ἀν ἀπὸ  
Τιβερίου ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Δαρείου ἔτη  
φμή.

10.9.3 | Δαρείου μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ  
τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ξέ Όλυμπιάδος  
καταντᾶ, Τιβερίου δὲ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον  
τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κατὰ τὸ δ' τῆς σὰ  
Όλυμπιάδος συμπίπτει.

10.9.4 | γίνονται τοίνυν αἱ μεταξὺ Δαρείου

10.9.1 | Many others have carefully written about the ancientness of Moses and the prophets after him, and from these, I will immediately present a few small points.

10.9.2 | I will use a different method here than those mentioned. If someone wants to gather the number of years from the time of Augustus, the Roman emperor, and the birth of our Savior, which marked the beginning of the gospel teaching of Christ in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, and then go back to the earlier years, up to the time of Darius, the king of the Persians, and the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem that happened after the return of the Jewish nation from Babylon, they would find that from Tiberius to the second year of Darius, there are 58 years.

10.9.3 | The second year of Darius falls in the first year of the 82nd Olympiad, while the fifteenth year of Tiberius coincides with the 27th year of the Roman kingdom.

10.9.4 | Therefore, the Olympiads between

τοῦ Περσοῦ καὶ Τιβερίου τοῦ Ρωμαίων βασιλέως Ὄλυμπιάδες ρλζ', αἱ συνάγουσι χρόνον ἔτῶν φημή, τετραετίας τῇ Ὄλυμπιάδι λογιζομένης.

10.9.5 | ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Δαρείου τὸ ἐβδομηκοστὸν ὑπῆρχε τῆς ἔρημίας τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεώ, καθὼς τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἱστορίας παρίστησι, κάντεῦθεν πάλιν ἀνατρεχόντων ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου ρείου ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὄλυμπιάδα ἔτη συνάγοιτ' ἀν σνς', Ὄλυμπιάδες ξδ· τοσαῦτα δ' ἀν εὔροις τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστάτου ἔτους τῆς ἔρημίας τοῦ δηλωθέντος ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ 'ν ἔτος Ὁζίου τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως ἀνιών, καθ' ὃν ἐπροφήτευον Ἡσαΐας καὶ Ὡσηὲ, ὅσοι τε τούτοις γεγόνασι σύγχρονοι, ὥστ' εἶναι τὴν πρώτην καθ' Ἐλληνας Ὄλυμπιάδα σύνδρομον Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τοῖς τούτῳ συγχρόνοις.

10.9.6 | πάλιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὄλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἀνιών χρόνους μέχρι τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως εὐρήσεις ἔτη συγκεφαλαιούμενα υη', ὡς αἱ παρ' Ἐλλησι τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφαὶ περιέχουσι.

10.9.7 | καὶ καθ' Ἐβραίους ἀπὸ πεντηκοστοῦ ἔτους Ὁζίου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως ἀνιών ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος Λαβδῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις γενομένου κριτοῦ τὸν ἵσον συνάξεις ἀριθμὸν ἔτῶν υη· ὥστ' εἶναι τὴν Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν κατὰ τοὺς Λαβδῶν τοῦ κριτοῦ χρόνους, ἐπτὰ ἔτεσι πρότερον ἦ Σαμψὼν ἄρξαι Ἐβραίων, ὃν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατον γενέσθαι φασὶν, ἐοικότα τῷ βοωμένῳ παρ' Ἐλλησιν

Darius the Persian and Tiberius the Roman king are 13, which add up to a total of 58 years, counting each Olympiad as four years.

10.9.5 | Since in the second year of Darius there was the 70th year of the desolation of the temple in Jerusalem, as history shows, if we count back from the second year of Darius to the first Olympiad, we would gather 70 years, which is 17 Olympiads. Thus, you would find that from the last year of the desolation of the mentioned temple to the year of Uzziah, the king of the Jews, during which Isaiah and Hosea prophesied, and all those who lived at the same time, the first Olympiad according to the Greeks would be in the same period as Isaiah the prophet and his contemporaries.

10.9.6 | Again, from the first Olympiad to the years before the fall of Ilium, you would find a total of 58 years, as the records of the Greeks show.

10.9.7 | And according to the Hebrews, from the 50th year of Uzziah, the king of the Jews, to the third year of Labdacus, who was a judge among the Hebrews, you would find a total of 58 years. Thus, the fall of Ilium would be during the time of Labdacus, seven years before Samson began to rule the Hebrews, who they say became strong in body, similar to the

## Ἡρακλεῖ.

10.9.8 | καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω βαδίζων, σαυτῷ τε συναγαγῶν ἀριθμὸν ἔτῶν υ', εὗροις ἀν κατὰ μὲν Ἐβραίους Μωσέα, κατὰ δὲ Ἑλληνας Κέκροπα τὸν γηγενῆ.

10.9.9 | κατώτερα δὲ τῶν Κέκροπος ἴστορεῖται χρόνων τὰ παρ' Ἑλλησι θαυμαζόμενα. γίνεται γάρ μετὰ Κέκροπα ὁ κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμὸς, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις, Ἐριχθονίου τε γένεσις, Κόρης τε ἀρπαγὴ, καὶ Δήμητρος μυστήρια, Ἐλευσινίων ἔδρυσις, Τριπτολέμου γεωργία, Εύρώπης ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀρπαγὴ, Ἀπόλλωνος γένεσις, Κάδμου ἐπὶ Θήβας παρουσία, καὶ ἔτι τούτων νεώτεροι Διόνυσος, Μίνως, Περσεύς, Ἀσκληπιὸς, Διόσκουροι, Ἡρακλῆς.

10.9.10 | τούτων δ' ἀπάντων πρεσβύτερος γεγονὼς συνίσταται Μωσῆς, ὃς ἂν κατὰ Κέκροπα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάσας. ἀπὸ δὲ Μωσέως πάλιν ἀνιών ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ζωῆς Ἀβραὰμ εὐρήσεις ἔτη φε'. τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλωθέντος ἔτους τῆς Κέκροπος βασιλείας τὸν ἀνωτέρω χρόνον ἀπαριθμούμενος ἐπὶ Νίνον ἔξεις τὸν Ἀσσύριον, ὃν πρῶτόν φασιν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας πλὴν Ἰνδῶν κεκρατηκέναι· οὗ Νίνος ἐπώνυμος πόλις, ἡ Νινευὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις ὡνόμασται, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. Νίνου δὲ γυνὴ καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας Σεμίραμις· ὥστ' εῖναι τὸν Ἀβραάμ κατὰ τούτους.

## Heracles among the Greeks.

10.9.8 | And from here, moving forward, if you add up a total of 58 years for yourself, you would find that according to the Hebrews it is Moses, and according to the Greeks it is Cecrops, the native.

10.9.9 | But after Cecrops, the times that are admired among the Greeks are recorded. For after Cecrops comes the flood during Deucalion's time, and the burning of Phaethon, the birth of Erichthonius, the abduction of Persephone, the mysteries of Demeter, the founding of Eleusis, the farming of Triptolemus, the abduction of Europa by Zeus, the birth of Apollo, the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and even younger than these are Dionysus, Minos, Perseus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, and Heracles.

10.9.10 | Of all these, Moses is the oldest, as he is said to have reached adulthood according to Cecrops. And from Moses, going back to the first year of Abraham's life, you will find 75 years. So, counting from the year of Cecrops' reign to this earlier time, you will reach Ninus the Assyrian, who they say was the first to rule all of Asia except for the Indians; from him, the city is named Ninus, which the Hebrews call Nineveh, during which Zoroaster the magician ruled in Bactria. Ninus' wife and successor to the kingdom was Semiramis; thus, Abraham would be according to these.

10.9.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀποδεικτικῶς ἐν τοῖς πονηθεῖσιν ἡμῖν Χρονικοῖς Κανόσιν οὕτως ἔχοντα συνέστη. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις μάρτυρι τῆς Μωσέως ἀρχαιότητος χρήσομαι τῷ πάντων δυσμενεστάτῳ καὶ πολεμιωτάτῳ Ἐβραίων τε καὶ ἡμῶν, φημὶ δὲ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφῳ, ὃς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευὴν ὑπερβολῇ μίσους προβεβλημένος οὐ μόνους ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐβραίους, αὐτὸν τε Μωσέα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν προφήτας ταῖς ἵσαις ὑπηγάγετο δυσφημίαις. οὕτω γὰρ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἔχθρῶν διμολογίας ἀναμφηρίστως ἥγοῦμαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν πιστώσασθαι.

10.9.12 | γράφει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευῆς ὁ Πορφύριος ὥρμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε “Ιστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὄνόμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ συμφωνότατα, Σαγχωνιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἰληφὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ ιερέως Θεοῦ Ἰευὼ, ὃς Ἀβελβαλῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βηρυτίων τὴν ίστορίαν ἀναθεὶς, ὑπ’ ἔκείνου καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἔξεταστῶν τῆς ἀληθείας παρεδέχθη. οἱ δὲ τούτων χρόνοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν πίπτουσι χρόνων καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως πλησιάζουσιν, ὡς αἱ τῶν Φοινίκης βασιλέων μηνύουσι διαδοχαί. Σαγχωνιάθων δὲ, ὁ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φοινίκων διάλεκτον φιλαλήθως πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν ίστορίαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν συναγαγὼν καὶ συγγράψας, ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονε τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος.”

10.9.13 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πορφύριος. δεῖ δὴ συλλογίσασθαι τὰ προκείμενα ὥδε πως.

10.9.11 | These things, then, are clearly arranged in the Chronicles that have been written for us. And now, regarding the evidence of Moses' ancientness, I will use the testimony of the most hostile and aggressive against both the Hebrews and us. I refer to the philosopher among us, who, filled with hatred against our community, not only attacks us but also the Hebrews, Moses himself, and the prophets after him with the same slanders. For through the agreement of enemies, I believe we can trust the promise.

10.9.12 | Therefore, Porphyrius writes in the fourth book of our collection the following words: 'He tells the most truthful things about the Jews, that both their places and their names agree most closely. Sanchuniathon of Berytus, having taken the records from Hierombalus, the priest of the god Jevo, who presented the history to Abibalus, the king of the Berytians, accepted it from him and those who examined the truth. The times of these events fall before the Trojan War and are almost close to the time of Moses, as the successions of the kings of Phoenicia indicate. Sanchuniathon, who in the Phoenician dialect truthfully gathered and wrote all the ancient history from the city records and the inscriptions in the temples, lived during the time of Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians.'

10.9.13 | This is what Porphyrius says. Therefore, we must consider the preceding

εἴπερ ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ μακρῷ πρόσθεν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὄμολογεῖται, εἴη ἀν καὶ ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων τῶν Τρωϊκῶν παλαίτερος.

points in this way. If Sanchuniathon lived during the time of Semiramis, and she is agreed to be long before the Trojan War, then Sanchuniathon could also be older than the Trojan War.

10.9.14 | ἀλλ' οὗτος παρ' ἔτέρων πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῦ τοῖς χρόνοις εἰληφέναι λέγεται τὰ ὑπομνήματα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀρχαιότεροι ὅντες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως πλησιάζειν χρόνοις εἴρηνται, ούδετε αὐτοὶ κατὰ Μωσέα γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τοῖς ἐκείνου χρόνοις πλησιάζοντες· ὡς τοσοῦτον πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τὸν Μωσέα τοῦ Σαγχωνιάθωνος ὅπόσον ἀν οὗτος λείπηται τῶν αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων, οἵ Μωσεῖ πλησιάζειν ὀμολογήθησαν.

10.9.14 | But he is said to have taken the records from others who were older than him. And these, being even older than him, are said to be almost close to the time of Moses, not having come into being during Moses' time, but being nearly from his time. Thus, Moses would be so much older than Sanchuniathon as much as this one is lacking from his own elders, who are agreed to be close to Moses.

10.9.15 | πόσοις δὲ ἄρα ἔτεσιν είκὸς ἦν Μωσέα ὑπεράγειν τοὺς δηλουμένους ἄπορον εἴπειν· διόπερ τοῦτο μοι δοκῶ παρήσειν. δοὺς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν Σαγχωνιάθωνα Μωσέα γεγονέναι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἥδε τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐφοδεύσω.

10.9.15 | But how many years Moses was likely older than those mentioned is hard to say. For this reason, I think I will leave this matter aside. But if I say that Sanchuniathon came after Moses, and not before, I will defend this point.

10.9.16 | εἴπερ ἐπὶ Σεμιράμεως τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος ὁ Σαγχωνιάθων ἐγνωρίζετο, ἔστω δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς μηδὲν προάγων, κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡκμακώς, γένοιτ' ἀν οὓν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Σεμίραμιν.

10.9.16 | If Sanchuniathon is known to have lived during Semiramis, the queen of the Assyrians, then let it be that Moses is not earlier, but rather at the same time, so he could also be from the time of Semiramis.

10.9.17 | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐδήλου γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου παλαίτερον τὸν Μωσέα συνίστησιν. ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὀκτακοσίοις ὅλοις ἔτεσι δείκνυται προγενομένη. καὶ Μωσῆς ἄρα ἔσται τοσούτοις τὰ Τρωϊκὰ προάγων κατὰ τὸν

10.9.17 | But our account shows that Abraham came before this, while the philosopher places Moses much earlier. Semiramis is said to have been born 800 years before the Trojan War. Therefore, Moses would be earlier than the Trojan War by that many years, according to the

φιλόσοφον.

philosopher.

10.9.18 | πρῶτος δὲ βασιλεύει Ἀργείων "Ιναχος, οὕπω τότε Ἀθηναίων οὔτε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχοντων. ὁ δὲ πρῶτος Ἀργείων ἡγεῖται κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον μετὰ Σεμίραμιν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα, ν' καὶ ρ' ὕστερον ἔτεσιν αὐτῆς τε καὶ Μωσέως, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐπίσημον γεγονός ιστορεῖται παρ' Ἑλλησι. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ χρόνου παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἥγοῦνται οἱ Κριταί.

10.9.18 | The first king of the Argives was Inachus, at a time when the Athenians did not yet have a city or a name. The first Argive is said to have ruled about five generations after Semiramis, which is 900 years after her and Moses, during which no significant events are recorded by the Greeks. According to this timeline, the Judges are considered to be from the Hebrews.

10.9.19 | εἶτ' αὖ πάλιν τριακοσίοις ἔτῶν ἄλλοις κατώτερον χρόνοις, ἥδη που πλέον ἦ ἔτῶν ὅλων συμπληρουμένων ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως, πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύει Κέκροψ ὁ βιώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς αὐτόχθων, "Αργους ἥγουμένου Τριόπα, δος ἦν ἔβδομος μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀργεῖον" Ιναχον.

10.9.19 | Then, after another 300 years, when more than 800 years had passed since Semiramis, the first king of the Athenians was Cecrops, who was called a native by them. Triopas was leading Argos, and he was the seventh after the first Argive, Inachus.

10.9.20 | μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ὁ ἐπὶ Ὄγυγου μνημονεύεται κατακλυσμὸς, πρῶτος τε Ἀπις ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ θεός ὠνομάσθη, καὶ Ἰώ θυγάτηρ Ινάχου, ἦν "Ισιν Αἴγυπτιοι μετονομάσαντες σέβουσι, Προμηθεύς τε καὶ Ἀτλας ἐγνωρίζοντο.

10.9.20 | Between these events, the flood related to Ogyges is mentioned, and the first god named Apis was in Egypt. Io, the daughter of Inachus, was worshiped by the Egyptians under the name Isis. Prometheus and Atlas were also recognized.

10.9.21 | ἀπὸ δὲ Κέκροπος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἄλλα συνάγεται μικρῷ δέοντα ἔτη Ὅ, ἐν οἷς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι θαυμάσια μυθολογεῖται, ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐμπρησμὸς, πολλῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς, φθορῶν γῆς κατὰ τόπους γεγενημένων.

10.9.21 | From Cecrops to the fall of Ilium, a few years less than 800 are gathered, during which many wonderful stories are told among the Greeks. These include the flood during Deucalion's time and the burning caused by Phaethon, along with many destructions of the earth in various places.

10.9.22 | πρῶτος δὲ Κέκροψ λέγεται Ζῆνα κειληκέναι τὸν θεόν, μὴ πρότερον οὕτω παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὀνομασμένον· ἔπειτα βωμὸν παρ' Αθηναίοις ιδρῦσαι πρῶτος, καὶ πάλιν πρῶτος Αθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα στήσασθαι, ὃς ούδε τούτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑπαρχόντων.

10.9.22 | Cecrops is said to be the first to call the god Zeus by that name, which had not been used by people before. He was also the first to set up an altar among the Athenians, and again the first to erect a statue of Athena, as there were none of these from ancient times.

10.9.23 | μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι θεοὶ πάντες γενεαλογοῦνται. παρ' Ἐβραίοις δὲ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ ἐβασίλευνον καὶ οὗ μετὰ Μωσέα διέλαμπον προφῆται· ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν συνάγεσθαι πλέον ἡ ἔτη ὡς κατὰ τὴν ἔκτεθεῖσαν τοῦ φιλοσόφου μαρτυρίαν.

10.9.23 | After him, all the gods among the Greeks are traced back in their lineage. Among the Hebrews, those from the line of David ruled, and those who shone after Moses were prophets. So, everything is gathered from Moses to the fall of Ilium, more than 800 years according to the testimony given by the philosopher.

10.9.24 | ἔτι δὲ πολὺ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν νεώτερα τὰ κατὰ Ὁμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ τοὺς μνημονεύεται. χθὲς δὲ καὶ πρώην μετὰ τούτους περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα οὗ ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα φιλοσόφους ὀνομάσθησαν, ἔγγυς που μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἔτεσιν ἐπτακοσίοις.

10.9.24 | Much of what is known about the Trojan War is later than what is said by Homer and Hesiod and those mentioned. Just yesterday and the day before, around the 50th Olympiad, those around Pythagoras and Democritus and the philosophers after them were named, close to 700 years after the Trojan events.

10.9.25 | προτερεῖν ἄρα Μωσῆς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἐβραίων προφῆται συνίστανται τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων χιλίοις πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δηλωθέντος ἀνδρὸς ὄμολογίαν.

10.9.25 | Therefore, Moses and the prophets of the Hebrews after him are placed 1,500 years before the philosophers among the Greeks, according to the agreement of the man who was mentioned.

10.9.26 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐπιτόμως. σκέψασθαι δὲ καιρὸς καὶ τὰς τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀποδείξεις. γεγόνασι δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγιοι

10.9.26 | And we have briefly stated these things. It is time to consider the proofs from those before us about the same subject. Indeed, there have been learned

ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας οὐδενὸς δεύτεροι, τοῖς τε θείοις οὐ παρέργως καθωμιληκότες, οὐ καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς διευκρινήσαντες τῇ παρ' Ἐβραίοις συνέστησαν ἀρχαιολογίᾳ, πλουσίᾳ καὶ ποικίλῃ κατασκευῇ κεχρημένοι τῆς ἀποδείξεως.

men among us, not second to anyone in education, who have also spoken about divine matters. They have clearly explained the current subject based on what the Hebrews have presented, using rich and varied evidence from archaeology.

10.9.27 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔκ τινων ὁμολογουμένων ἴστοριῶν τοὺς χρόνους συνελογίσαντο, οἱ δὲ παλαιτέροις ἀναγνώσμασι τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπιστώσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὰ Φοινίκων τά τε Χαλδαίων καὶ Αἴγυπτίων ἀναγράψασι συνεχρήσαντο· ὅμοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες, τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα τά τε παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἐβραίοις συναγαγόντες καὶ τὰς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἴστορίας παραθέντες, θατέρᾳ τε τὴν ἐτέραν συγκρούσαντες, τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πραχθέντα συνεξητάκασιν.

10.9.27 | For some have calculated the times from certain agreed-upon histories, while others have supported their claims with older writings. Some used Greek sources, and others also included those from the Phoenicians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians. All of them together gathered both Greek and foreign accounts, as well as those from the Hebrews, and compared them with all histories. They examined events that happened around the same times.

10.9.28 | εἴθ' ἔκαστος οίκείαις μεθόδοις τὴν τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων κατασκευὴν πεποιημένος σύμφωνον καὶ ὁμολογουμένην τὴν ἀπόδειξιν εἰσηνέγκαντο. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἡγησάμην δεῖν παραχωρῆσαι φωναῖς τὸν παρόντα λόγον, δπως ὅμοῦ τῶν οίκείων μὴ ἀποστεροῖντο καρπῶν οἱ τῶν λόγων πατέρες, καὶ διὰ πλειόνων μαρτύρων, ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς, ὅμοῦ ἡ σύστασις τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναμφίλεκτον λάβοι τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν.

10.9.28 | Then each one, using their own methods, presented a proof that was consistent and agreed upon. For this reason, I thought it best to allow their voices to join in the current discussion, so that the fathers of these accounts would not be deprived of their own fruits. And through many witnesses, not just one, the gathering of truth would surely receive confirmation.

## Section 10

10.10.1 | “Μέχρι μὲν τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς ἴστόρηται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων συγκεχυμένων καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν

10.10.1 | Up until the Olympiads, nothing precise is recorded for the Greeks, as everything is mixed together and not

αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸ τοῦ συμφωνούντων· αὗτοὶ δὲ  
ήκριβονται πολλοῖς, τῷ μὴ ἐκ πλείστου  
διαδτήματος, διὰ τετραετίας δὲ τὰς  
ἀναγραφὰς αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς  
Ἐλληνας.

agreed upon among themselves before that time. However, many things are accurately known, not from a great deal of effort, but because the Greeks made their records every four years.

10.10.2 | οὗτοί δὲ χάριν τὰς ἑνδοξοτάτας • καὶ  
μυθώδεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἱστορίας μέχρι τῆς  
πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπιδραμοῦμαι· τὰς δὲ  
μετὰ ταῦτα συζεύξας κατὰ χρόνον  
ἐκάστας, εἴ τινες ἐπίσημοι, ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς  
τὰς Ἐβραϊκὰς, ἔξιστορῶν μὲν τὰ Ἐβραίων,  
ἔφαπτόμενος δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν,  
ἔφαρμόσω τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· λαβόμενος  
μιᾶς πράξεως Ἐβραικῆς ὄμοχρόνου πράξει  
ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἱστορθείσῃ, καὶ ταύτης  
ἔχόμενος, ἀφαιρῶν τε καὶ προστιθεὶς, τίς  
τε Ἐλλην, ἢ Πέρσης, ἢ καὶ ὅστισοῦν τῇ  
Ἐβραίων συνεχρόνισεν, ἐπισημειούμενος,  
ἴσως ἀν του σκοποῦ τύχοιμι.

10.10.2 | Therefore, I will focus on the most famous and legendary histories up to the first Olympiad. After that, I will connect the accounts by time, if there are any notable ones, combining the Greek and Hebrew histories. I will recount the history of the Hebrews while relating it to the Greek accounts in this way: taking one event from the Hebrews that happened at the same time as an event recorded by the Greeks, and following this, I will add or remove details, noting who the Greek or Persian was, or anyone else who interacted with the Hebrews, so that I might achieve my goal.

10.10.3 | “Ἐβραίων Ἐβραίων μὲν οὗν ἡ  
μετοικία ἐπισημοτάτη, αἱχμαλωτισθέντων  
ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονόσορ βασιλέως  
Βαβυλῶνος, παρέτεινεν ἔτη δέ, καθὰ  
προεφήτευσεν Ἱερεμίας, τοῦ δὴ  
Ναβουχοδονόσορ μνημονεύει Βηρωσσὸς δὲ  
Βαβυλῶνιος.

10.10.3 | Therefore, the most notable exile of the Hebrews was when they were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, which lasted for years, as Jeremiah had prophesied. This is mentioned by Berossus the Babylonian.

10.10.4 | μετὰ δὲ τὰ δέ τῆς αἱχμαλωσίας  
λωσίας ἔτη Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ὡς  
ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἥχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν  
Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ  
καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου  
καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἐτέρων, οὓς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἄπασι  
γάρ συνσυνεφώνησέν δὲ χρόνος.

10.10.4 | After the years of the exile, Cyrus became king of the Persians, during which the new Olympiad began. This can be found in the libraries of Diodorus and in the histories of Thallus and Castor, as well as in those of Polybius and Phlegon, and in other works that dealt with the Olympiads. For time has agreed on all these.

10.10.5 | Κῦρος δ' οὗν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὁλυμπιάδος ωέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, διὰ Ζοροβάβελ, καθ' ὃν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ἰωσεδὲκ, τὴν πρώτην καὶ μερικὴν ἀπόπεμψιν ἐποίησατο τοῦ λαοῦ, πληρωθείσης τῆς ἐβδομηκονταετίας, ως ἐν τῷ Ἔσδρᾳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἴστορηται.

10.10.6 | αἱ μὲν οὖν ἴστορίαι συντρέχουσι Κύρου τε βασιλείας καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας τέλους, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς Ὁλυμπιάδας οὕτως εἰς ἡμάς εὐρεθήσεται συμφωνήσαντα· τούτοις γάρ ἐπόμενοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἴστορίας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀλλήλαις ἐφαρμόσομεν.

10.10.7 | τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων ὥδε πως τῆς Ἀττικῆς χρονογραφίας ἀριθμουμένης, ἀπὸ Ὥγύου τοῦ παρ' ἑκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος, ἐφ' οὐ γέγονεν ὃ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμὸς, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ως' Ακουσίλαος ἴστορεῖ, μέχρι πρώτης Ὁλυμπιάδος, δπόθεν Ελληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάλεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ως καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἔξης δειχθήσεται.

10.10.8 | ταῦτα γάρ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἴστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος ὃ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἵ τε τὰ Συρία Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλός, καὶ ὃ τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὃ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας, Ἀλέξανδρός ξανδρός τε ὃ Πολυΐστωρ, οἵτινες τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀπάντων. εἴ τις οὖν ἐν τοῖς χιλίοις εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἐπίσημος ἴστορία τυγχάνει,

10.10.5 | In the first year of Cyrus's reign, which was the first year of the 70th Olympiad, through Zerubbabel, Jesus the son of Josedek made the first partial return of the people, after the 70 years had been fulfilled, as is recorded in Ezra among the Hebrews.

10.10.6 | Thus, the histories agree on the end of Cyrus's reign and the exile, and the events of the Olympiads will be found to match with us. For following these, we will connect the other histories in the same way.

10.10.7 | Before these events, according to the timeline of Attica, starting from Ogyges, who was believed to be a native there, when the great and first flood occurred in Attica, while Phoroneus was king of the Argives, as Acusilaus records, until the first Olympiad, the Greeks counted the years as 1,020, which agrees with what has been said before and will be shown later.

10.10.8 | For these things, the historians of the Athenians, both Hellanicus and Philochorus, who wrote about Attica, as well as Castor and Thallos from Syria, and Diodorus, who wrote the Libraries, and Alexander the Polyhistor, are the ones who mentioned our history most accurately and all of Attica. If there is any notable history within those 1,020 years, it will be chosen

κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐκλεγήσεται.”

according to what is useful.

10.10.9 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει “Φαμὲν τοίνυν ἔκ. γε τοῦδε τοῦ συγγράμματος “Ωγυγον, ὃς τοῦ πρώτου κατακλυσμοῦ γέγονεν ἐπώνυμος, νυμος, πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων διασωθεὶς, κατὰ τὴν ἀπ’ Αἴγυπτου τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ Μώσεως ἔξοδον γεγενῆσθαι, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

10.10.9 | And after a short time, he adds, 'We say then that Ogyges, who is named after the first flood, was saved from the destruction of many, and that this happened during the exit of the people from Egypt with Moses, in this way.'

10.10.10 | ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν προειρημένην ἀπὸ Ὡγύγου ἔτη δειχθήσεται θήσεται ἄκ. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς νε' ἔτος πρῶτον, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτον, ὅπερ ἦν αἰχμαλωσίας τέλος, ἵτη σίζ'. ἀπὸ Ὡγυγον τοίνυν ἐπὶ Κῦρον ἕτη ασλζ'. εἰ δ' ἀναφέροι τις ἐπιλογιζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ασλξ' ἔτη, κατὰ ἀνάλυσιν εὐρίσκεται ταύτον διάστημα ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ἀπὸ Αἴγυπτου διὰ Μώσεως ἔξοδου Ἰσραὴλ, ὃσον ἀπὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Ὡγυγον, ὃς ἔκτισεν Ἐλευσῖνα. ὅθεν ἐπισημότερον ἔστι καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀττικὴν χρονογραφίαν.

10.10.10 | Up to the first Olympiad mentioned from Ogyges, years will be shown; from the first Olympiad to the 15th year, that is, in the first year of Cyrus's reign, which was the end of the captivity, is 15 years. From Ogyges then to Cyrus is 15 years. If someone calculates from the end of the captivity, there are 15 years, and by counting, the same time is found from the first year of Israel's exit from Egypt through Moses, as from the 50th Olympiad to Ogyges, who founded Eleusis. Therefore, it is clearer to understand the timeline of Attica.

10.10.11 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα “Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν πρὸ Ὡγύγου κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τούτου χρόνους ἔξηλθε Μώσης ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου· καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄπιστον τότε ταῦτα συμβῆναι δείκνυμεν οὖτως.

10.10.11 | And after other things, 'And so many years before Ogyges,' during those times, Moses came out of Egypt; and we show that it is not unbelievable that these things happened then.

10.10.12 | ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξοδου Μώσεως ἐπὶ Κῦρον, ὃς ὃς ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔτη ασλξ'. Μωσέως γὰρ ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τεσσαράκοντα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἡγησαμένου ἔτη κε' πρεσβυτέρων

10.10.12 | From the exit of Moses to Cyrus, who reigned after the captivity, are 15 years. For there are 40 years left of Moses; with Joshua leading after him, there are 25 years of the elders after Joshua; and the

ἔτη λέπι τῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦν Κριτῶν· τῶν τε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν Κριτῶν περιεχομένων ἔτη'. ιερέων δὲ "Ἡλει καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἔτης". τῶν δὲ ἑξῆς βασιλέων Ἐβραίων ἔτη τετρακόσιας'. τῆς δ' αἰχμαλωσίας ἐβδομήκοντα, ἵς τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος ἦν Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος πρωτονόμου, τὸν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν.

years mentioned in the book of Judges are included. The years of the priests Eli and Samuel are 20. The years of the following kings of the Hebrews are 450. The captivity lasted 70 years, the last year of which was the first year of Cyrus's reign, as we have said before.

10.10.13 | ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἔτη ἄκ, εἴπερ ἐπὶ πεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης ἔτος πρῶτον ἔτη ασλξ' καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνινικοῖς συνέδραμεν ὁ χρόνος.

10.10.13 | From Moses to the first Olympiad are 800 years, if indeed it is the 55th year of the 50th Olympiad; and in the Greek records, the time agrees.

10.10.14 | μετὰ δὲ "Ωγυγον, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ πολλὴν φθορὰν, ἀβασίλευτος ἔμεινεν ἡ νῦν Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρπθ'. τὸν γάρ μετὰ "Ωγυγον Ἀκταῖον ἦ ἦ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὄνομάτων, οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόζορος."

10.10.14 | After Ogyges, because of the great destruction from the flood, the land now known as Attica remained without a king until Cecryphus for 150 years. For after Ogyges, Philozerus says that Actaeon or the names that were made did not even exist.

10.10.15 | Καὶ αὖθις "Ἄπὸ Ωγύγου τοίνυν ἐπὶ Κῦρον, ὀπόσα ἀπὸ Μώσεως ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἔτη ασλξ'. καὶ Ἑλλήνων δέ τινες ἴστοροῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γενέσθαι Μωσέα· Πολέμων μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἴστοριῶν λέγων, ἐπὶ "Ἄπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως μοῖρα τοῦ Αίγυπτίων στρατοῦ ἔξεπεσεν Αίγυπτου, οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλούμενη Συρίᾳ οὐ πόρρω Ἀραβίας ὥκησαν, αὐτοὶ δηλονότι οἱ μετὰ Μωσέως.

10.10.15 | And again, from Ogyges to Cyrus, the years from Moses to the same time are 800. And some Greeks also tell that Moses existed during those same years. Polemon, in the first of the Greek histories, says that at the time of Apis, the fate of the Egyptian army fell out of Egypt, those who lived in the land called Palestine, which is not far from Arabia, clearly those who came after Moses.

10.10.16 | Ἀπίων δὲ ὁ Ποσειδωνίου, περιεργότατος γραμματικῶν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἴστοριῶν φησι κατὰ "Ιναχὸν Ἀργους

10.10.16 | Apion, the most curious of the grammarians, in his book about the Jews and in the fourth of his histories, says that under Inachus, the king of Argos, when

βασιλέα, Ἀμώσιος Αίγυπτίων  
βασιλεύοντος, ἀποστῆναι Ἰουδαίους, ὃν  
ἡγεῖσθαι Μωσέα.

10.10.17 | μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος τῆς  
ἀποστασίας ταύτης καὶ Ἀμώσιος ἐν τῇ  
δευτέρᾳ· τρόπῳ δέ τινι καὶ Ἰουδαίων  
αὐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς περιτεμνομένοις αὐτοὺς  
καταριθμῶν, καὶ Ἀσσυρίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
Παλαιστίνῃ ἀποκαλῶν, τάχα δι' Αβραάμ.

10.10.18 | Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος τὰ  
Αίγυπτίων ἀνέκαθεν ἴστορῶν ἄπασι  
τούτοις συντρέχει· ὥστε οὐδέποτε  
πλέον ἡ τῶν χρόνων παραλλαγή.

10.10.19 | σημειωτέον δὲ ὡς ὅ τι ποτὲ  
έξαίρετον ‘Ἐλλησι δι’ ἀρχαιότητα  
μυθεύεται, μετὰ Μωσέα τοῦθεν εὐρίσκεται,  
κατακλυσμοί τε καὶ ἐκπυρώσεις,  
Προμηθεὺς, Ἰὼ, Εύρωπη, Σπαρτοὶ, Κόρης  
ἀρπαγὴ, μυστήρια, νομοθεσίαι, Διονύσου  
πράξεις, Περσεὺς, ἄθλοι Ηράκλειοι,  
Ἀργοναῦται, Κένταυροι, Μινώταυρος, τὰ  
περὶ Ἰλιον, Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθιδος, Ιώνων  
ἀποικία, καὶ Ὄλυμπιάδες.

10.10.20 | ἔδοξε δή μοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
βασιλείας τὸν προειρημένον ἐκτιθέναι  
χρόνον, παρατιθέναι μέλλοντι ταῖς  
Ἐεραϊκαῖς ἴστορίαις τὰς Ἑλληνικάς.  
ἔξεσται γάρ τῷ βουλομένῳ, παρ’ ἔμοῦ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν κομιζομένῳ, λογίζεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
δομοίως ἐμοί.

Amos was ruling as king of the Egyptians,  
the Jews separated, with Moses leading  
them.

10.10.17 | Herodotus also remembers this  
separation, and Amos in the second. In a  
certain way, he counts the Jews among  
those who are circumcised, and he calls the  
Assyrians in Palestine, perhaps because of  
Abraham.

10.10.18 | Ptolemy of Mendes runs through  
all these histories of the Egyptians, so that  
there is not even a notable difference in the  
timeline.

10.10.19 | It should be noted that whatever  
is considered special to the Greeks because  
of its ancient origins is found with Moses:  
floods and burnings, Prometheus, Io,  
Europa, the Spartoi, the abduction of  
Persephone, mysteries, laws, the deeds of  
Dionysus, Perseus, the labors of Heracles,  
the Argonauts, the Centaurs, the Minotaur,  
the events about Ilium, the descent of the  
Heraclids, the colonization of the Ionians,  
and the Olympiads.

10.10.20 | It seemed right to me to explain  
the time of the mentioned kingdom of  
Attica, while preparing to compare the  
Greek histories with the Hebrew ones. For  
anyone who wants to take the beginning  
from me will be able to count the numbers  
in the same way as I do.

10.10.21 | “Ούκοῦν τῶν χλίων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτῶν, τῶν μέχρι πρώτης Ολυμπιάδος ἀπὸ Μωσέως τε καὶ Ωγύγου ἐκκειμένων, πρώτῳ μὲν ἔτει τὸ Πάσχα καὶ τῶν Ἐβραίων ἔξοδος ἡ ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ ἐπὶ Ωγύγου γίνεται κατακλυσμός’ καὶ κατὰ λόγον.

10.10.22 | τῶν γὰρ Αἴγυπτίων ὄργῃ θεοῦ χαλάζαις τε καὶ χειμῶσι μαστιζομένων εἰκὸς ἦν μέρη τινὰ συμπάσχειν τῆς γῆς, ὅτι Ἀθηναίους τῶν αὐτῶν Αἴγυπτίοις ἀπολαύειν είκὸς ἦν, ἀποίκους ἐκείνων ὑπονοούμενους, ὡς φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Τρικαράνῳ Θεόπομπος.

10.10.23 | ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνος παραλέλειπται, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἔξαιρ·ετον “Ἐλλησιν ἴστορηται. μετὰ δὲ τέσσαρα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη ἦν Προμηθεὺς, ὡς τινες, ὃς πλάσσειν ἀνθρώπους ἐμυθεύετο· σοφὸς γὰρ ὁν εἰς παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἰδιωτείας μετέπλαττε.” Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀφρικανός. μεταβῶμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐφ' ἔτερον.

10.10.21 | Therefore, from the time of Moses and Ogyges until the first Olympiad, there are one thousand and twenty years. In the first year, there is Passover and the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, while in Attica, the flood occurs during the time of Ogyges, according to the account.

10.10.22 | For the Egyptians, being punished by the wrath of God with hail and storms, it was likely that some parts of the land also suffered, since it seems reasonable that the Athenians enjoyed the same land as the Egyptians, suggesting that they were colonies of theirs, as others say, including Theopompus in Trikaranos.

10.10.23 | But the time in between is left out, in which nothing remarkable is recorded about the Greeks. After ninety-four years, there was Prometheus, as some say, who claimed to create humans; for being wise, he transformed them from their extreme ignorance into education." This is what the African says. "Now let us move on to another topic.

## Section 11

10.11.1 | “Νῦν δὲ προσήκειν μοι νομίζω παραστῆσαι πρεσβυτέραν τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλοσοφίαν τῶν παρ' Ἐλλησιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ὅροι δ' ἡμῖν κείσονται Μώσης καὶ Ὁμηρος. τῷ γὰρ ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν εἶναι παλαίτατον, καὶ τὸν μὲν ποιητῶν καὶ ἴστορικῶν εἶναι πρεσβύτατον, τὸν δὲ πάσης σοφίας βαρβάρου ἀρχηγὸν, καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν νῦν είς σύγκρισιν παραλαμβανέσθωσαν.

10.11.1 | Now I think it is fitting to present our philosophy as older than the practices of the Greeks. The boundaries for us will be Moses and Homer. For each of them is the oldest, with the poet being the oldest of poets and historians, and the other being the founder of all wisdom among foreigners. Let us now take them up for comparison.

10.11.2 | εὐρήσομεν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῆς Ἑλλήνων παιδείας τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων εὐρέσεως ἀνώτερα· μάρτυράς τε ού τοὺς οἴκου παραλήψομαι, βοηθοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον Ἐλλησι καταχρήσομαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄγνωμον, δτι μηδ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν παραδεκτὸν· τὸ δὲ, ἀν ἀποδεικνύηται, θαυμαστὸν, ὅπόταν ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπλων ἀντερείδων ἀνυπόπτους καθ' ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐλέγχους παραλαμβάνω.

10.11.3 | περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὁμέρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἥκμασε προηρεύνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγῆνος κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονὼς, καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος, καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Ἡρόδοτός τε Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς, καὶ Διονύσιος Ὁλύνθιος· μετὰ δὲ ἔκεινους Ἔφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος, καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, Μεγακλείδης τε καὶ Χαμαλέων οἱ περιπατητικοὶ· ἔπειτα γραμματικοὶ, Ζηνόδοτος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Καλλίμοχος, Κράτης, Ἐρατοσθένης, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀπολλόδωρος.

10.11.4 | τούτων δὲ οὶ μὲν περὶ Κράτητα πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθύδου φασὶν αύτὸν ἥκμακέναι, μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ὄγδοήκοντα ἔτῶν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ερατοσθένην μετὰ ἐκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν, ἡ ἔστι μετὰ ἐκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰλιακῶν· Φιλόχορος δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν ἔτεσι μ', ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρξίππου, τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν ὄγδοήκοντα· οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν, ὃ γένοιτ' ἀν ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι

10.11.2 | For we will find not only the Greeks' education to be inferior to ours, but also the discovery of letters to be greater. I will not take witnesses from home, but I will rather use the Greeks as helpers. For the unknown is not accepted by you; but if it can be proven, it is wonderful, whenever I take up your arguments against you without suspicion through your own weapons.

10.11.3 | For concerning the nature and time of Homer's poetry, the oldest scholars have investigated: Theagenes of Rhegium during Cambyses, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Antimachus of Colophon, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Dionysius of Olynthus. After them came Ephorus of Cyme, Philochorus of Athens, Megacles and Chamaileon, who were Peripatetics. Then there were the grammarians: Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus.

10.11.4 | Some say that Crates flourished before the Heraclids, after the Trojan War, within the next eighty years. Others say that Eratosthenes lived a hundred years after the fall of Ilium. Those who discuss Aristarchus place him during the Ionian colonization, which is one hundred and forty years after the Iliad. Philochorus states that he lived after the Ionian colonization, in the year 570, during the archonship of Archippus in Athens, which is one hundred and eighty years after the Iliad. Those who mention Apollodorus say he lived a hundred years after the Ionian

διακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα· τινὲς δὲ πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔφασαν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις· ἔτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὁμηρον εἰπόντες· ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἥκμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ είκοστην, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδὸν, ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις.

10.11.5 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν χρόνων τοῦ προειρημένου ποιητοῦ, λέγω δὴ Ὁμήρου, στάσεως τε καὶ τῶν εἰπόντων τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσυμφωνίας τοῖς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἔξετάζειν δυναμένοις αὐταρκῶς ἡμῖν ὡς ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ εἰρήσθω. δυνατὸν γάρ παντὶ ψευδεῖς ἀποφαίνεσθαι καὶ τὰς περὶ τοὺς λόγους δόξας. παρ' οἷς γάρ ἀσυνάρητός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴ, παρὰ τούτοις οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθεύειν δύναται.

10.11.6 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα “Πλὴν Ὁμηρος ἐστω μὴ μόνον ὕστερος τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἔκεινον αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφθω γεγονέναι τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα συνεστρατεῦσθαι, κἄν βιούληταί τις, καὶ πρὶν τῶν στοιχείων τὴν εὑρεσιν γεγονέναι φανήσεται γάρ ὁ προειρημένος Μώσης αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰλιακῆς ἀλώσεως πρεσβύτερος πάνυ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι, τῆς δὲ γεγονίας Ἰλίου κτίσεως καὶ τοῦ Τρωὸς καὶ Δαρδάνου λίαν ἀρχαιότερος.

10.11.7 | ἀποδείξεως δὲ ἔνεκα μάρτυσι χρήσομαι Χαλδαίοις, Φοίνιξιν, Αἴγυπτοις, καὶ τί μοι λέγειν πλείονα; χρὴ γάρ τὸν

colonization, which would be two hundred and forty years after the Iliad. Some claimed he was born before the Olympic Games, meaning four hundred years after the fall of Ilium. Others placed him later, saying that Homer lived at the same time as Archilochus. Archilochus flourished around the twenty-third Olympic Games, five hundred years after the Iliad.

10.11.5 | And concerning the times of the poet mentioned earlier, I mean Homer, let it be said that those who speak about him have disagreements. For those who can examine the details accurately are able to do so independently. It is possible for anyone to state falsehoods and opinions about the words. For where the recording of times is inconsistent, there it is not possible for the truths of history to be accurate.

10.11.6 | And briefly, let it be said that Homer is not only later than the fall of Ilium, but he should also be considered to have lived during the time of the war itself, and even to have fought alongside those concerning Agamemnon. And if anyone wishes, he can say that he existed before the discovery of the elements. For the aforementioned Moses will appear to be much older than many years after the fall of Ilium, but he is much older than the founding of Ilium and the times of Troy and Dardanus.

10.11.7 | And for proof, I will use witnesses from the Chaldeans, the Phoenicians, and the Egyptians. And what more should I say?

πείθειν ἔπαγγελλόμενον συντομωτέρας ποιεῖσθαι τάς περὶ τὸν πραγμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας διηγήσεις.

For it is necessary for the one who promises to persuade to make the accounts about the matters shorter for the listeners.

10.11.8 | Βηρωσσὸς ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἵερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βήλου, κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γενόμενος, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετὰ Σέλευκον τρίτῳ τὴν Χαλδαίων ἴστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐκτιθέμενος ἀφηγεῖται τινος αὐτῶν ὄνομα Ναβουχοδονόσορ,, τοῦ συστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Φοίνικας καὶ Ἰουδαίους, ἃτινα διὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς προφητῶν ἴσμεν κεκηρυγμένα, γεγονότα μὲν πολὺ τῆς Μώσεως ἡλικίας κατώτερα, πρὸ δὲ τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα.

10.11.8 | A man from Babylon named Berossus, a priest of Bel among them, during the time of Alexander, wrote the history of the Chaldeans in three books for Antiochus, who was after Seleucus. He also recounts the deeds of the kings, mentioning one of them named Nebuchadnezzar, who campaigned against the Phoenicians and the Jews, which we know has been proclaimed through our prophets. This happened much earlier than the time of Moses, and seventy years before the rule of the Persians.

10.11.9 | Βηρωσσὸς δέ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ Ἰκανώτατος· καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον Ἰόβας, ὃς Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων· γράφων παρὰ βηρωσσοῦ φησι μεμαθηκέναι τὴν ἴστορίαν· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῷ βίβλοι Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων δύο.”

10.11.9 | Berossus is a very capable man. And a proof of this is Iobas, who, writing about the Assyrians, says that he learned history from Berossus. He has two books about the Assyrians.

10.11.10 | “Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ Φοινίκων οὖτως ἔχει. γεγόνασι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄνδρες τρεῖς, Θεόδοτος, Ὑψικράτης, Μῶχος. τούτων τὰς βίβλους εἰς Ἑλληνίδα κατέταξε φωνὴν Λατῶς, ὃ καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πραγματευσάμενος.

10.11.10 | After the Chaldeans, the history of the Phoenicians goes like this. There were three men among them: Theodotus, Hypsikrates, and Mochus. Laitos translated their books into Greek, and he also wrote precisely about the lives of the philosophers.

10.11.11 | ἐν δὴ ταῖς τῶν προειρημένων ἴστορίαις δηλοῦται κατά τινα τῶν βασιλέων Εύρωπης ἀρπαγὴ γεγονέναι, Μενελάου τε εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην ἄφιξις, καὶ τὰ περὶ Εἴραμον, ὅστις Σολομῶνι τῷ Ιουδαίων βασιλεῖ πρὸς γάμον δοὺς τὴν

10.11.11 | In the histories of those mentioned, it is shown that there was a capture of some kings of Europe, including the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, and the story about Hiram, who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon, the king

έαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ξύλων παντοδαπῶν  
ύλην εἰς τὴν τοῦ νεώ κατασκευὴν  
έδωρήσατο.

of the Jews, and also provided all kinds of wood for the building of the temple.

10.11.12 | καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐποίησατο. τοῦ δὲ Ειράμου ὁ χρόνος ἥδη που τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς ἐγγίζει· Σολομῶν δὲ ὁ κατ' Εἴραμον πολὺ κατώτερός ἔστι τῆς Μώσεως ἡλικίας.”

10.11.12 | And Menander of Pergamon also made a record about the same things. The time of Hiram is already close to the time of the Iliads; but Solomon, according to Hiram, is much later than the age of Moses.

10.11.13 | “Αἴγυπτίων δ’ είσὶν ἀκριβεῖς χρόνων ἀναγραφαί. καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς γραμμάτων ἐρμηνεὺς Πτολεμαῖος, οὐχ ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ἱερεὺς δὲ Μένδητος· οὗτος τὰς τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις ἐκτιθέμενος κατὰ Ἀμῶσιν Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα γεγονέναι Ίουδαίοις φησὶ τὴν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου πορείαν εἰς ἄπερ ἥθελον χωρία, Μώσεως ἡγουμένου.

10.11.13 | There are accurate records of the times of the Egyptians. And the interpreter of their writings is Ptolemy, not the king, but a priest of Mendes. He explains the actions of the kings, saying that according to Amos, the king of Egypt, the journey of the Jews from Egypt to the lands they wanted was led by Moses.

10.11.14 | λέγει δὲ οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Ἀμωσις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν Ἰναχὸν τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ἀνὴρ δοκιμώτατος, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν (πέντε δὲ είσιν αὐτῷ γραφαί) πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, φησὶ δ’ ὅτι κατέσκαψε τὴν Αὔαριν Ἀμωσις, κατὰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος Ἰναχὸν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος.

10.11.14 | It says this: Amos became king after Inachus. After him, Apion the grammarian, a very respected man, in the fourth of the Egyptian writings (there are five of them) says many other things, but he also says that Amos dug up the Avaris, becoming Inachus according to the Argives, as recorded in the Chronicles by Ptolemy of Mendes.

10.11.15 | ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου χρόνος ἄχρι τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως ἀποπληροῦ γενεὰς εἴκοσι. καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.”

10.11.15 | But the time from Inachus to the fall of Ilium fills twenty generations. And this is how he proves it.

10.11.16 | "Γεγόνασιν Ἀργείων βασιλεῖς οἵδε, Ἰναχος, Φορωνεὺς, Ἄπις, Ἀργεῖος, Κρίασος, Φορβάς, Τριόπας, Κρότωπός, Σθενέλαιος, Δαναὸς, Λυγκεὺς, Ἀβας, Προῖτος, Ἀκρίσιος, Περσεὺς, Εύρυσθεὺς, Ἀτρεὺς, Θυέστης, Ἀγαμέμνων, οὗ κατὰ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Ἰλιον ἐάλω.

10.11.17 | καὶ χρὴ τὸν νουνεχῆ συνιέναι μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων παράδοσιν οὐδ' ἱστορίας τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγραφή. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῖς προειρημένοις παραδοὺς μετὰ πολλὰς γενεὰς τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπέβη.

10.11.18 | μετὰ δὲ Ἰναχον ὑπὸ Φορωνέως μόλις τοῦ θηριώδους βίου καὶ νομάδος περιγραφὴ γέγονε, μετεκοσμήθησάν τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι. διόπερ εἰ κατὰ Ἰναχον πέφηνεν δὲ Μώσης γεγονὼς, πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις.

10.11.19 | ἀποδείνυται δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχον ἀπό τε τῆς τῶν Ἀττικῶν βασιλέων διοδοχῆς, Μακεδονικῶν τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκῶκ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀντιοχικῶν. ὅθεν εἰ μετὰ τὸν Ἰναχον αἱ διαφανέσταται πράξεις παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἐγράφησάν τε καὶ γινώσκονται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ μετὰ Μωσέα.

10.11.20 | κατὰ μὲν γὰρ Φορωνέα τὸν μετ' Ἰναχον μνημονεύεται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Ὁγυγος, ἐφ' οὗ κατακλυσμὸς ὁ πρῶτος, κατὰ δὲ Φόρβαντα Ἀκταῖος, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ δὲ Τριόπαν Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ Ἀτλας καὶ ὁ διφυὴς Κέκροψ

10.11.16 | These are the kings of the Argives: Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argus, Crius, Forbas, Triopas, Crotopus, Sthenelus, Danaus, Lynceus, Abas, Proetus, Acrisius, Perseus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, who captured Ilium in the eighteenth year of his reign.

10.11.17 | And it is necessary for the wise to understand with all accuracy that according to the tradition of the Greeks, there was no historical record among them. For Cadmus, who brought the letters, came to Boeotia after many generations.

10.11.18 | After Inachus, under Phoroneus, a description of the wild life and the nomads barely came into being, and people changed. Therefore, if the flood happened in the time of Inachus, it is four hundred years older than the years of Ilium.

10.11.19 | It is shown that this is the case from the succession of the kings of Attica, as well as from the Macedonian and Ptolemaic, and also the Antiochene. Therefore, if after Inachus the most clear events were written down and are known among the Greeks, it is clear that this also happened after Moses.

10.11.20 | According to Phoroneus, after Inachus, Ogyges is mentioned by the Athenians, during whose time the first flood happened. According to Forbantes, there is Actaeus, from whom the land of Actaea in Attica is named. According to

καὶ ἡ Ἰώ·

Triopas, there are Prometheus,  
Epimetheus, Atlas, and the two-natured  
Cecrops, and Io.

10.11.21 | κατὰ δὲ Κρότωπόν ἡ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Φαέθοντος ἔκπύρωσις καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία· κατὰ δὲ Σθενέλαιον  
ἡ τε Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεία καὶ ἡ εἰς  
Πελοπόννησον Δαναοῦ παρουσία καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδανίας κτίσις, ἡ τε ἐκ  
Φοινίκης τῆς Εύρωπης εἰς τὴν Κρήτην  
ἀνακομιδή·

10.11.21 | According to Crotopus, there is  
the burning caused by Phaethon and the  
flood during Deucalion's time. According to  
Sthenelaus, there is the kingdom of the  
Amphictyons, the arrival of Danaus in the  
Peloponnese, and the founding by  
Dardanus of Dardania, as well as the  
transfer from Phoenicia in Europe to Crete.

10.11.22 | κατὰ δὲ Λυγκέα τῆς Κόρης ἡ  
ἀρπαγὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τεμένους  
καθίδρυσις, καὶ ἡ Τριπτολέμου γεωργία,  
καὶ ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία, Μίνωός  
τε βασιλεία·

10.11.22 | According to Lynceus, there is  
the abduction of the Maiden and the  
establishment of the sanctuary in Eleusis,  
as well as the agriculture of Triptolemus  
and the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and  
the kingdom of Minos.

10.11.23 | κατὰ δὲ Προῖτον ὁ Εύμόλπου  
πρὸς Αθηναίους πόλεμος· κατὰ δὲ Ακρίσιον  
Πέλοπος ἀπὸ Φρυγίας διάβασις, καὶ Ἰωνος  
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος  
Κέκροψ, αἱ τε Περσέως πράξεις· κατὰ δὲ  
τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείαν "Ιλιον ἐάλω."

10.11.23 | According to Proetus, there is  
the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians.  
According to Acrisius, there is the crossing  
of Pelops from Phrygia, the arrival of Ion in  
Athens, and the second Cecrops, as well as  
the deeds of Perseus. According to the reign  
of Agamemnon, Troy was captured.

10.11.24 | "Ούκοῦν πέφηνεν ὁ Μωσῆς ἀπό<sup>1</sup>  
γε τῶν προειρημένων πρεσβύτατος  
ἡρώων, πόλεων, δαιμόνων. καὶ χρὴ τῷ  
πρεσβεύοντι κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν πιστεύειν  
μᾶλλον ἢπερ τοῖς ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀρυσαμένοις  
Ἐλλησιν οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν τάκείνου  
δόγματα.

10.11.24 | Therefore, Moses is clearly the  
oldest of the heroes, cities, and spirits  
mentioned before. And it is necessary to  
trust the elder according to age more than  
those who have drawn from the source, not  
based on knowledge of those teachings.

10.11.25 | πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ κατ’ αὐτοὺς σοφισταὶ κεχρημένοι περιεργίᾳ, οἱ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Μωσέα καὶ τῶν ὄμοιώς αὐτῷ φιλοσοφούντων ἔγνωσαν παραχαράττειν ἐπειράθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα τι λέγειν ἴδιον νομισθῶσι, δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως τὰ ὅσα μὴ συνίεσαν, διά τινος ἐπιπλάστου ḥρητολογίας παρακαλύπτοντες, ὡς μυθολογίαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραβραβεύσωσι.”

10.11.26 | “Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς πολιτείας, ἴστορίας τε τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους, ὅσα τε είρήκασιν οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι λόγιοι, καὶ πόσοι καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ μνημονεύσαντες, ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποφηναμένους τὰ περὶ θεοῦ δειχθήσεται·

10.11.27 | τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον, σπευστέον μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας σαφηνίζειν ὡς οὐχ Ὄμήρου μόνον πρεσβύτερός ἐστιν ὁ Μωσῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων, Λίνου, Φιλάμμονος, Θαμύριδος, Ἀμφίονος, Ὁρφέως, Μουσαίου, Δημοδόκου, Φημίου, Σιβύλλης, Ἐπιμενίδου τοῦ Κρητὸς, ὅστις εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, Ἀρισταίου τοῦ Προκοννησίου, καὶ τοῦ τὰ Ἀριμάσπια συγγράψαντος, Ἀσβόλου τε τοῦ Κενταύρου, καὶ Ἰσατίδος, Δρυμῶνός τε καὶ Εὔκλου τοῦ Κυπρίου, καὶ Ὁρου τοῦ Σαμίου, καὶ Προναπίδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου.

10.11.28 | Λίνος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέους ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος, ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς μιᾷ τῶν Τρωικῶν προγενέστερος πέφηνε γενεᾶ. Τοῦτο δέ ἐστι φανερὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Τληπολέμου, τοῦ στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ

10.11.25 | For many of the sophists who follow them, driven by curiosity, have tried to distort as much as they learned from Moses and those who think similarly to him. First, so that they might be thought to say something unique, and second, to cover up what they do not understand with some false rhetoric, as if they could mislead the truth of mythology.

10.11.26 | About our government, and the history according to our laws, as well as all that the learned among the Greeks have said, and how many and who they are that have been mentioned, will be shown in what relates to those who speak about God.

10.11.27 | But now, it must be made clear with all accuracy that Moses is not only older than Homer, but also older than the writers before him: Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Amphion, Orpheus, Musaeus, Demodocus, Phemios, the Sibyl, Epimenides of Crete, who came to Sparta, Aristaeus of Proconnesus, and the one who wrote about the Arimaspians, Asbolus the Centaur, and Isatidus, Drymon, and Eucus of Cyprus, and Horus of Samos, and Pronapides of Athens.

10.11.28 | Linus is the teacher of Heracles, and Heracles is shown to be older than one of the Trojans. This is clear from his son Telephus, who fought at Ilium.

"Ιλιον.

10.11.29 | Ορφεύς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἡρακλεῖ γέγονεν· ἄλλως τε καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπεισφερόμενά φασιν ὑπὸ Ὀνομακρίτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου συντετάχθαι, γενομένου κατὰ τὴν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀρχὴν, περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὁλυμπιάδα.

10.11.30 | τοῦ δ' Ὀρφέως Μουσαῖος μαθητής. Ἀμφίων δὲ δυσὶ προάγων γενεαῖς τῶν Τρωϊκῶν τοῦ πλείονα πρὸς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς συνατάττειν ἡμᾶς ἀπέιργει. Δημόδοκός τε καὶ Φήμιος κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον γεγόνασι· διέτριβον γὰρ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Φαιάξῃ. καὶ ὁ Θάμυρις καὶ ὁ Φιλάμμιων οὐ πολὺ τούτων είσὶν ἀρχαιότεροι.

10.11.31 | περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καθ' ἔκαστον λόγον πραγματείας, χρόνων τε καὶ ἀναγραφῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς οἶμαι, σφόδρα μετὰ πάσης ὑμīν ἀκριβείας ἀνεγράψαμεν· ἔνα δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἐνδέον ἀποπληρώσωμεν. ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῶν νομιζομένων σοφῶν ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

10.11.32 | Μίνως μὲν γὰρ, ὁ πάσης προύχειν νομισθεὶς σοφίας ἀγχινοίας τε καὶ νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ Λυγκέως τοῦ μετὰ Δαναὸν βασιλεύσαντος γέγονεν, ἐνδεκάτῃ γενεᾷ μετὰ "Ιναχον. Λυκοῦργος δὲ, πολὺ μετὰ τὴν Ίλιον γεννηθεὶς ἀλωσιν, πρὸ τῶν Ὁλυμπιάδων ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν νομοθετεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

10.11.29 | Orpheus was born at the same time as Heracles. Moreover, they say that the works about him were arranged by Onomacritus of Athens, who lived during the rule of the Peisistratids, around the fiftieth Olympiad.

10.11.30 | Musaeus was a student of Orpheus. Amphion, leading two generations before the Trojans, prevents us from gathering more about the learned ones. Demodocus and Phemios were born during the Trojan War; for one stayed with the suitors, while the other was with the Phaeacians. Thamyris and Philammon are not much older than these.

10.11.31 | About each topic, as for their times and records, I believe we have written down with great accuracy. Now, let us also complete what is still needed up to the present. I will also provide proof about the wise men who are considered to be so.

10.11.32 | Minos, who is believed to be the greatest in wisdom and lawgiving, was born during the reign of Lynceus, who ruled after Danaus, in the eleventh generation with Inachus. Lycurgus, born much later than the fall of Ilium, established laws for the Spartans a hundred years before the Olympic years.

10.11.33 | Δράκων δὲ περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην εὐρίσκεται γεγονώς· Σόλων δὲ περὶ μετέπειτα· Πυθαγόρας κατὰ τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν δευτέραν. τὰς δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδας ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσιν ἀπεδείξαμεν γεγονούιας τετρακοσίοις ἐ.

10.11.33 | Draco is found to have lived around the thirtieth and ninth Olympic year; Solon around the fifty-ninth; Pythagoras in the second year of the sixtieth. We have shown that the Olympic years came four hundred years after the fall of Ilium.

10.11.34 | καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως ἀποδεδειγμένων διὰ βραχέων ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἡλικίας ἀναγράψομεν. τοῦ γάρ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν προειρημένων Θάλητος γενομένου περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν σχεδὸν ἡμῖν συντομως εἴρηται.

10.11.34 | And now, with these things clearly shown, we will briefly write about the age of the seven wise men. For the oldest of those mentioned, Thales, was born around the fiftieth Olympic year, and what follows after him has been told to us shortly.

10.11.35 | "Ταῦθ' ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὁ κατὰ βαρβάρους φιλοσοφῶν Τατιανὸς συνέταξα, γεννηθεὶς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ 5 παιδευθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, δεύτερον δὲ ἀτινα νῦν κηρύττειν ἐπαγγέλλομαι. γινώσκων δὲ λοιπὸν τίς ὁ θεὸς καὶ τίς ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ποίησις ἔτοιμον ἐμάυτὸν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάκρισιν τῶν δογμάτων παρίστημι, μενούσης μοι τῆς κατὰ θεὸν πολιτείας ἀνεξαρνήτου." Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Τατιανός. μετίωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Κλήμεντα.

10.11.35 | "These things, men of Greece, I, Tatian, who philosophizes among the barbarians, have written. I was born in the land of the Assyrians, educated first in your ways, and then in those that I now promise to proclaim. Knowing what god is and what his creation is, I present myself to you ready for the examination of beliefs, while I remain committed to the divine way of life." Thus spoke Tatian. Now let us also turn to Clement.

## Section 12

10.12.1 | "Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς Τατιανῷ ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐξηγητικῶν. ἀπαιτεῖ δ' ὅμως τὸ ὑπόμνημα καὶ ἡμάς ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν τόπον είρημένα.

10.12.1 | It has been said about these things accurately by Tatian in his work 'To the Greeks,' and it has also been said by Cassian in the first of the Explanations. However, the summary requires us to also address what has been mentioned about the place.

10.12.2 | Άπίων τοίνυν ὁ γραμματικός, ὁ Πλειστονίκης ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν ἴστοριῶν, καίτοι φιλαπεχθημόνως πρὸς Εβραίους διακείμενος, ἅτε Αἴγυπτος τὸ γένος, ὡς καὶ κατὰ Ίουδαίων συντάξασθαι βιβλίον, Ἀμώσιος τοῦ Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέως μεμνημένος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πράξεων, μάρτυρα παρατίθεται Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενδήσιον.

10.12.3 | καὶ τὰ τῆς λέξεως αύτοῦ ὅδε ἔχει "Κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Ἄούαριν Ἀμωσίς,, κατὰ τὸν 3ο Ἀργεῖον γενόμενος"Ιναχον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδήσιος Πτολεμαῖος.

10.12.4 | ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ιερεὺς μὲν ἦν, τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέων πράξεις ἐν τρισὶν ὅλαις ἐκθέμενος βίβλοις κατὰ Ἀμωσίν φησιν Αἴγυπτου βασιλέα Μώσεως ἡγουμένου γεγονέναι Ίουδαίοις τὴν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου πορείαν, ἐξ ὧν συνῶπται κατὰ "Ιναχον ἡκμακέναι τὸν Μωσέα.

10.12.5 | παλαιότερα δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μνημονεύεσθαι τὰ Ἀργολικὰ, τὰ ἀπὸ Ίναχου λέγω, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις διδάσκει.

10.12.6 | τούτων δὲ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν γενεαῖς νεώτερα τὰ Ἀττικὰ, τὰ ἀπὸ Κέκροπος τοῦ διφυοῦς δὴ καὶ αὐτόχθονος, ὡς φησι κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Τατιανός ' ἐννέα δὲ τὰ Ἀρκαδικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ λέγεται δὲ

10.12.2 | Apion the grammarian, who was called Pleistonikos, in his history of the Egyptians, although he was hostile towards the Jews because he was of Egyptian descent, wrote a book about the Jews. He remembered Amosis, the king of the Egyptians, and the actions related to him, and he cites Ptolemy the Mendesian as a witness.

10.12.3 | And his words are as follows: 'Amosis destroyed Aouaris, becoming the third Argive Inachos, as Ptolemy the Mendesian wrote in his Chronicles.'

10.12.4 | This Ptolemy was a priest, and he wrote about the actions of the Egyptian kings in three whole books. He says that Amosis was the king of Egypt when Moses led the Jews out of Egypt, from which it is clear that Moses flourished according to Inachos.

10.12.5 | Earlier than the Greek records, I mean the Argive ones from Inachos, Dionysius of Halicarnassus teaches in his Chronicles.

10.12.6 | Of these, the Attic ones are younger by forty generations, from Cecrops, who was indeed both dual-born and native, as Tatian says word for word. And the Arcadian ones are nine generations from Pelasgus; this one is also said to be

καὶ οὗτος αὐτόχθων.

10.12.7 | τούτων δὲ ἄλλων δυοῖν νεώτερα τὰ Φθιωτικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος. εἰς δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου γενεαὶ μὲν εἴκοσιν ἡ μιᾷ πλείους διαριθμοῦνται, ἔτη δὲ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὑπὸ καὶ πρόσω.

10.12.8 | εἰ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Κτησίας λέγει, φανήσεται τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἔτει τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχῆς, τῆς δὲ Βηλούχου τοῦ ὄγδου δυναστείας τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἡ Μώσεως κατὰ Ἀμωσιν τὸν Αἴγυπτιον καὶ κατὰ Ἰναχὸν τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐξ Αἴγυπτου κίνησις.

10.12.9 | ἢν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ μὲν Φορωνέα τὸν μετ' Ἰναχὸν ὁ ἐπὶ Ὁγγύου κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικυῶνι βασιλεία, πρώτου μὲν Αἴγιαλέως, εἶτα δὲ Εύρωπὸς, εἶτα Τελχῖνος, καὶ ἡ Κρητὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ.

10.12.10 | Ἀκουσίλαος γὰρ Φορωνέα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι λέγει· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἴφη πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

10.12.11 | ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν Τιμαίῳ κατακολουθήσας Ἀκουσιλάῳ γράφει "καὶ ποτε προαγαγεῖν βουληθεὶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰς λόγους, τῶν xfjds trj πόλει τὰ ἀρχαιότατα λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, περὶ Φορωνέως τε τοῦ πρώτου λεχθέντος καὶ

native.

10.12.7 | Of these, the Phthian ones are younger by two generations from Deucalion. And in the time of the Trojan War, there are twenty generations or more counted from Inachos, and the years, so to speak, are also many.

10.12.8 | But if Ctesias says that the Assyrians are older than the Greeks by many years, it will appear in the second and four-hundredth year of the Assyrian rule. And in the second and thirtieth year of the rule of Belus, the movement of Moses against Amosis the Egyptian and against Inachos the Argive from Egypt occurs.

10.12.9 | There was in Greece, according to Phoroneus, after Inachos, the flood that happened in Ogygia and the kingdom in Sicyon, first of Aegialeus, then of Europos, then of Telchines, and the one of Crete in Crete.

10.12.10 | For Acusilaus says that Phoroneus was the first of men. Therefore, the poet of the Phoronis also claims him to be the father of mortal men.

10.12.11 | From here, Plato, following Acusilaus in the Timaeus, writes, 'And once wanting to lead them into discussions about the ancient things, he tries to speak about the very oldest in the city, concerning Phoroneus, who was said to be the first,

Νιόβης καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν."

and Niobe, and what happened after the flood.'

10.12.12 | κατὰ δὲ Φόρβαντα Ἀκταῖος, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἡ Ἀττική· κατὰ δὲ Τριόπαν Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἀτλας καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ ὁ διφυὴς Κέκροψ καὶ Ἰώ· κατὰ δὲ Κρότωπον ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία· κατὰ δὲ Σθενέλαιον ἡ τε Ἀμφικτύονος βασιλεία καὶ ἡ εἰς Πελοπόννησον Δαναοῦ παρουσία καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδανίας κτίσις, ὃν πρῶτον φησὶν Ὁμηρος) τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς.

10.12.12 | According to Phorbas, Actaeus, from whom Attica is named. According to Triopas, Prometheus, Atlas, Epimetheus, and the two-natured Cecrops, and Io. According to Crotopus, the burning caused by Phaethon and the flood during Deucalion's time. According to Sthenelaus, both the kingdom of the Amphictyons and the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnese, and the founding by Dardanus of Dardania, whom Homer first says was born from cloud-gathering Zeus.

10.12.13 | ἡ τε ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς Φοινίκην ἀνακομιδή· κατὰ δὲ Λυγκέα τῆς κόρης ἡ ἀρπαγὴ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τεμένους καθίδρυσις, καὶ ἡ Τριπτολέμου γεωργία, καὶ ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία, Μίνωάς τε βασιλείᾳ· κατὰ δὲ Προῦτον ὁ Εύμολπος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος· κατὰ δὲ Ἀκρίσιον Πέλοπος ἀπὸ Φρυγίας διάβασις καὶ Ἰωνος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ, αἱ τε Πέρσεως καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις, Ὄρφεύς τε καὶ Μουσαῖος·

10.12.13 | The journey from Crete to Phoenicia. According to Lynkeus, the abduction of the girl, and the establishment of the sanctuary in Eleusis, and the agriculture of Triptolemus, and the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and the kingdom of Minos. According to Proetus, the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians. According to Acrisius, the crossing of Pelops from Phrygia and the arrival of Ion in Athens, and the second Cecrops, and the deeds of Perseus and Dionysus, and Orpheus and Musaeus.

10.12.14 | κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείας Ἰλιον ἐάλω, Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησι τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, Θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρᾳ ἐπὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος·

10.12.14 | According to the eighteenth year of Agamemnon's reign, Ilium was captured, during the first year of Demophon, who was king in Athens, on the second day of the month Thargelion, on the tenth, as Dionysius the Argive says.

10.12.15 | Ἅγις δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ

10.12.15 | Agis and Derkyllus on the eighth

μηνὸς Πανέμου ὄγδόῃ φθίνοντος· Ἐλλάνικος δωδεκάτῃ Θαργηλιῶνος, καὶ τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀττικὰ συγγραψαμένων ὄγδόῃ φθίνονταί τος, βασιλεύοντος τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος Μενεσθέως, πληθυούσης σελήνης· νὺξ μὲν ἔην φησὶν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς) μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνα·

day of the third month of Panemus, during the waning moon. Hellanicus says on the twelfth of Thargelion, and some of those who wrote about Attica say on the eighth of the waning moon, during the last year of Menestheus, when the moon was full. 'It was night,' says the one who made the Little Iliad, 'but the bright moon was rising.'

10.12.16 | ἔτεροι δὲ Σκιροφοριῶνος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Θησεὺς δὲ Ἡρακλέους ζηλωτὴς ὃν πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μιᾶς γενεᾶς· τοῦ γοῦν Τληπολέμου, δις ἦν υἱὸς Ἡρακλέους, Ὁμηρος μέμνηται ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατεύσαντος.

10.12.16 | Others on the same day of Skirrophorion. Theseus, being a follower of Heracles, is older than the Trojans by one generation; at least, he is older than Telephus, who was the son of Heracles. Homer mentions him when he was campaigning against Ilium.

10.12.17 | προτερεῖν ἄρα Μώσης ἐπιδείκνυται τῆς μὲν Διονύσου ἀποθεώσεως ἔτη χδ'. εἴ γε τῆς Πέρσεως βασιλείας τῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐκθεοῦται, ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς.

10.12.17 | Therefore, Moses shows that the deification of Dionysus took 34 years. If indeed the deification of Perseus is said to happen in the thirty-second year, as Apollodorus says in his Chronicles.

10.12.18 | ἀπὸ δὲ Διονύσου ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἰάσονα ἀριστεῖς, τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀργοὶ πλεύσαντας, συνάγεται ἔτη ξγ'. Ἀσκληπιός τε καὶ Διόσκουροι συνέπλεον αὐτοῖς, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ῥόδιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς.

10.12.18 | From Dionysus to Heracles and the heroes around Jason, those who sailed in the Argo, it is gathered that there are 37 years. Asclepius and the Dioscuri also sailed with them, as the Rhodian Apollonius testifies in the Argonautica.

10.12.19 | ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργεί βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη συνάγεται λη' κατὰ τὸν χρονογράφον Ἀπολλόδωρον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη νγ'. ἐνταῦθα

10.12.19 | From the reign of Heracles in Argos to the deification of Heracles himself and Asclepius, it is gathered that there are 35 years, according to the chronographer Apollodorus. From there to the deification of Castor and Pollux, it is 29 years. It is also around this time that the capture of Ilium

που καὶ ἡ Ἰλίου κατάληψις.

10.12.20 | εἴ δὲ χρὴ πείθεσθαι καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, ἀκούσωμεν αὐτοῦ 'Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἐρμῆν, κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων, ἵερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσσα. Καδμείη δ' ἄρα οἱ Σεμέλη τέκε φαιδιμον υἱὸν, μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότητι, Διώνυσον πολυγηθῆ.

10.12.21 | Κάδμος μὲν ὁ Σεμέλης πατήρ ἐπὶ Λυγκέως ἐς Θήβας ἔρχεται καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων εὑρετής γίνεται. Τριόπας δὲ συγχρονεῖ "Ισιδι ἐβδόμη γενεᾶ ἀπὸ Ίναχου.

10.12.22 | είσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν Ἰώ φασι, διὰ τὸ ιέναι αὐτὴν διὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς πλανωμένην. ταύτην δὲ "Ιστρος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτίων ἀποικίας Προμηθέως θυγατέρα φησί. Προμηθεὺς δὲ κατὰ Τριόπαν, ἐβδόμη γενεᾶ μετὰ Μωσέα· ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἀνθρωπογονίας ὁ Μώσης.

10.12.23 | Λέων δὲ ὁ τὰ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν πραγματευσάμενος τὴν "Ισιν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Δήμητρα καλεῖσθαι φησιν, ἡ κατὰ Λυγκέα γίνεται ἐνδεκάτῃ ὕστερον Μώσεως γενεᾶ.

10.12.24 | Ἀπις τε ὁ Ἀργους βασιλεὺς Μέμφιν οἰκίζει, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστίππος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρκαδικῶν τοῦτον δὲ Ἀριστέας ὁ

happens.

10.12.20 | If we should trust Hesiod the poet, let us listen to him: 'And Maia, the daughter of Atlas, bore glorious Hermes to Zeus, the herald of the immortals, having climbed into the sacred bed. And Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, bore the shining son, having mingled in love, Dionysus, full of joy.'

10.12.21 | Cadmus, the father of Semele, comes to Thebes from Lynceus and becomes the inventor of Greek letters. Triopas, in the seventh generation from Inachus, is his contemporary.

10.12.22 | There are those who say that Io wandered through all the land. The Ister claims that she is the daughter of Prometheus in his account about the Egyptian colony. Prometheus, according to Triopas, is in the seventh generation after Moses; so even before the creation of humans according to the Greeks, there was Moses.

10.12.23 | Leon, who wrote about the gods of Egypt, says that the Greeks call Isis Demeter, who, according to Lynceus, comes in the eleventh generation after Moses.

10.12.24 | Apis, the king of Argos, lives in Memphis, as Aristippus says in the first of the Arcadians. Aristaeus, the Argive, claims

Ἄργεῖος ἐπονομασθῆναι φησι Σάραπιν, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι δὲν Αἴγυπτιοι σέβουσι.

10.12.25 | Νυμφόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἐν τρίτῳ Νομίμων Ἀσίας τὸν "Ἄπιν τὸν ταῦρον τελευτήσαντα καὶ ταριχευθέντα εἰς σορὸν ἀποτεθεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ τιμωμένου δαίμονος, κάντεῦθεν Σορόαπιν κιληθῆναι καὶ Σάραπιν ὕστερον· Ἄπις δὲ τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου.

10.12.26 | ναὶ μὴν ἡ Λητώ κατὰ Τίτυον γίνεται· Λητώ γὰρ ἥλκησε Διός κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.

10.12.27 | Τίτυος δὲ συνεχρόνισε Ταντάλω. εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ ὁ Βοιώτιος Πίνδαρος γράφει ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ γένετ' Ἀπόλλων. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ θητεύων εὐρίσκεται σὺν καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ "εἰς ἐνιαυτόν."

10.12.28 | Ζῆθος δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίων, οἱ μουσικῆς εὐρεταὶ, περὶ τὴν Κάδμου γεγόνασιν ἡλικίαν. καν τις ἡμῖν λέγῃ Φημονόην πρώτην χρησμωδῆσαι Ἀκρισίω, ἀλλ' ἵστω γε ὅτι μετὰ Φημονόην ἔτεσιν ὕστερον κζ' οἱ περὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Λίνον τὸν Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλον.

10.12.29 | Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος πολλῷ νεώτεροι τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, μεθ' οὓς μακρῷ νεώτεροι οἱ παρ' Ἑλλησι νομοθέται, Λυκοῦργός τε καὶ Σόλων καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ σοφοί,

that he is called Sarapis, and that this is the one whom the Egyptians worship.

10.12.25 | Nymphodorus, the Amphipolitan, in the third book of the Laws of Asia, says that Apis, the bull, after he died and was embalmed, was placed in a tomb in the temple of the honored spirit, and from there he was called Sorapis and later Sarapis; Apis is the third from Inachus.

10.12.26 | Yes, indeed, Leto happens to be with Tityus, for Leto dragged the glorious one of Zeus to her side.

10.12.27 | Tityus was a contemporary of Tantalus. It is fitting, then, that the Boeotian Pindar writes, "In time, Apollo was born." And it is not surprising, since he is also found serving with Admetus and Heracles "for a year."

10.12.28 | Zethus and Amphion, the founders of music, were born around the time of Cadmus. And if someone tells us that Phemonoe was the first to prophesy to Acrisius, let it be known that after Phemonoe, 27 years later, those around Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus, the teacher of Heracles, came.

10.12.29 | Homer and Hesiod are much younger than the Iliad. After them, the lawgivers among the Greeks are much younger, like Lycurgus, Solon, and the

οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκύδην καὶ  
Πυθαγόραν τὸν μέγαν κάτω που περὶ τὰς  
Ὀλυμπιάδας γενόμενοι, ὡς παρεστήσαμεν.

seven sages, as well as those around the Syrian Phercydes and the great Pythagoras, who came down around the Olympiads, as we have shown.

10.12.30 | καὶ θεῶν ἄρα τῶν πλείστων παρ'  
Ἐλλησιν, οὐ μόνον τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν  
τε καὶ ποιητῶν, ὁ Μωσῆς ἡμῖν  
ἀποδέδεικται πρεσβύτερος."

10.12.30 | And among the gods, most of them among the Greeks, not only those called wise and poets, Moses is shown to us as older.

10.12.31 | Ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλήμης. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσπουδάσθη καὶ αὐτοῖς  
Ἑβραίων παισὶν ἡ προκειμένη πραγματείᾳ,  
καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι καὶ τὰ τούτων συνιδεῖν.  
χρήσομαι δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ταῖς Φλαυίου  
Ιωσήπου φωναῖς

10.12.31 | These things also are by Clement. But since the work at hand was studied before our time and also by the Hebrew children, it would be good to see their ideas. I will use instead the words of Flavius Josephus.

## Section 13

10.13.1 | Ὡς Ἀρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν  
παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αύτὰ μὲν οὖν  
οὐχ οἰόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τάκείνων·  
Μάνεθως δὲ τὸ γένος Αἴγυπτιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς  
Ἐλληνικῆς μετεσχηκώς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλος  
ἔστι, γέγραφε γάρ Ἐλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν  
πάτριον ἱστορίαν, ἔκ τε τῶν Ἱερῶν, ὡς  
φησιν αὐτὸς, μεταφράσας, δις καὶ πολλὰ  
τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν  
ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον' οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ  
Μάνεθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἴγυπτιακῶν  
ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει' παραθήσομαι δὲ  
τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἔκεινον  
παραγαγών μάρτυρα.

10.13.1 | I will begin first with the writings from the Egyptians. Now, it is not possible to present their works. Manetho, however, an Egyptian man who took on Greek education, as is clear, wrote the native history in the Greek language, translating from the sacred texts, as he himself says. He also refutes many of Herodotus's claims about the Egyptians due to ignorance. This Manetho, then, writes these things about us in the second book of the Egyptians. I will present his words, just as he himself brought them forward as a witness.

10.13.2 | ... τοῦ Τιμαῖος ὄνομα. ἐπὶ τούτου  
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ἀντέπνευσε, καὶ  
παραδόξως ἔκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν  
ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι

10.13.2 | ... the name of Timaios. About this, I do not know how the god inspired him, and strangely, people from the eastern regions, having become bold, marched into

καταθαρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν  
έστρατευσαν, καὶ ὥρδίως ἀμαχητὶ ταύτην  
κατὰ κράτος εἶλον. Καὶ ἐπιλέγει μετὰ  
βραχέα

10.13.3 | “Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν  
ἔθνος Ὑκ[ουσ]σώς· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι βασιλεῖς  
ποιμένες. τὸ γὰρ Ὑκ καθ' ἵερὰν γλῶσσαν  
βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ [Ούσ]σώς ποιμήν  
ἐστι, καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον,  
καὶ οὕτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται  
Ὑκ[ουσ]σώς.

10.13.4 | τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀραβας  
εἶναι. ἐν δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς  
σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς Ὑκ[ουσσώς]  
προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον  
αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας. τὸ γὰρ  
Ὑκ[ουσσώς] Αἴγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἄκ  
δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ὥρτῶς μηνύει.

10.13.5 | καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πιθανώτερόν  
μοι φαίνεται καὶ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας  
έχόμενον· τούτους δὲ τοὺς  
προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς  
τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἔξ  
αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἴγυπτου  
φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς 'φ' ία.

10.13.6 | μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἴγυπτου  
βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ πόλεμον  
συρραγῆναι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ  
βασιλέως, ὡς ὄνομα εἶναι  
Μισφραγμούθωσις, ἡττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς  
ποιμένας, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἴγυπτου  
ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δὲ εἰς τόπον

the land and easily took it by force. And he concludes shortly after.

10.13.3 | The whole of their nation was called Hyksos; this means 'shepherd kings.' For 'Hyks' in the sacred language means 'king,' and 'Ossos' means 'shepherd,' and 'shepherds' in common speech, and so it becomes 'Hyksos.'

10.13.4 | But some say that they are Arabs. In another writing, it is not kings that are meant by the name Hyksos, but rather, on the contrary, it shows that they are captive shepherds. For the term Hyksos in Egyptian clearly indicates captives.

10.13.5 | And this seems more convincing to me and is supported by ancient history; he says that these kings, who are called shepherds, and those who came from them, ruled over Egypt for years up to the time of the 'f.

10.13.6 | After this, he says that the kings from Thebes and the rest of Egypt revolted against the shepherds, and a great and long-lasting war broke out. And under the king, whose name was Misphragmuthosis, he says that the shepherds were defeated, and they were driven out from the rest of Egypt and were shut up in a place with

άρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν περίμετρον·  
Αὔαρις ὄνομα τῷ τόπῳ.

10.13.7 | τοῦτὸν φησιν ὁ Μάνεθως ἅπαντα  
τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἴσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν  
τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τὴν τε κτῆσιν ἅπασαν  
ἔχωσιν ἐν ὄχυρῷ καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

10.13.8 | τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμουθωσεως υἱὸν  
Θμούθωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ  
πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ὡκτῷ καὶ  
τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ  
προσεδρεύσαντα τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν  
πολιορκίαν ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι  
συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες  
ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς  
ἀπέλθωσι.

10.13.9 | τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις  
πανοικεσίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων, οὐκ  
ἐλάσσους μυριάδων ὄντας  
εἰκοσιτεσσάρων,, ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὴν  
ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν διοδοιπορῆσαι,

10.13.10 | φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων  
δυναστείαν, τότε γάρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας  
κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένῃ  
πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους, τοσαύταις  
μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀριέσουσαν,  
Ἰεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὄνομάσαι.”

10.13.11 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν  
κατ’ Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων μετὰ τοῦ χρόνου  
τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἀπαριθμησάμενος  
ἐπιλέγει, “Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μάνεθως. δῆλον δ'  
ἔστιν, ἐκ τῶν είρημένων ἐτῶν τοῦ χρόνου

many fields; the place is called Auaris.

10.13.7 | Manetho says that he surrounded  
the shepherds with a great and strong wall,  
so that they could keep all their  
possessions safe and their land.

10.13.8 | The son of Misphragmuthosis,  
Thmuthosis, tried to capture them by siege  
with an army of forty-eight thousand men  
surrounding the walls. But when he gave  
up the siege, he made agreements so that  
they could leave Egypt safely wherever  
they wanted.

10.13.9 | They, with their families and  
possessions, being not fewer than twenty-  
four thousand, went from the desert of  
Egypt to travel through Syria.

10.13.10 | Fearing the power of the  
Assyrians, for they were then ruling Asia,  
they built a city called Judea, which was  
sufficient for so many thousands of people,  
and named it Jerusalem.

10.13.11 | After this, he counts the  
succession of the kings of Egypt, noting the  
time of their reign. Manetho says, 'It is clear  
from the years mentioned that the so-called  
shepherds, our ancestors, settled in this

συλλογισθέντος, ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπώκησαν ἡ Δαναὸν εἰς "Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι· καίτοι τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἄργεῖον νομίζουσι.

10.13.12 | δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μάνεθως ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις γραμμάτων' πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις."

10.13.13 | Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτιακῆς ἱστορίας ταύτην πῃ τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ κατὰ πλάτος ἀνιστόρηται ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Φοινίκων, μάρτυσι χρησάμενος τοῖς τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψαμένοις, παρίστησι τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις νεών ὑπὸ Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως ὧκοδομῆσθαι ἔτεσι θᾶττον ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισὶ καὶ μησὶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα' εἴτα μεταβὰς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Χαλδαίων ἱστορίας τὰς περὶ τῆς Ἐβραίων ἀρχαιότητος παρατίθεται μαρτυρίας.

## Section 14

10.14.1 | Ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ πλῆθος ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ἐπισωρεύειν, τοῦ φιλαλήθους, ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλαπεχθήμονος καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκουμένου, ποικίλην περιέχουσι τὴν περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου σύστασιν; προύκειτο δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν παλαιτέρα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποδεῖξαι.

land after being freed from Egypt three hundred ninety-three years before the arrival of Danaus in Argos; and indeed, the Argives consider him the most ancient.'

10.13.12 | Thus, Manetho has testified to us about the greatest things from the writings of the Egyptians: first, the arrival from elsewhere into Egypt, and then the ancient departure from there, which was very close in time to the years of the Iliad, by about a thousand years.

10.13.13 | But the history from Egypt is told here by Josephus in detail; and from the Phoenicians, using the writings of those who wrote about the Phoenicians, he presents that the temple in Jerusalem was built by King Solomon in the year one hundred forty-three and a half years before the Tyrians founded Carthage. Then he moves on and presents testimonies about the ancient history of the Hebrews from the history concerning the Chaldeans.

10.14.1 | But why should we pile up many proofs, of the truthful, but not of the hateful, when those mentioned are enough? They contain a variety concerning the subject at hand. It was necessary for us to show that Moses and the prophets were earlier than the Greeks.

10.14.2 | ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν μακρῷ πρόσθεν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν Μωσῆς γεγονὼς ἀποδέδεικται, φέρ' ἵδωμεν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἄπαντας. Μωσῆς δὲ ὅτι τῶν πρὸν ἀληθῶς Ἐβραίων Ἐβρερ τε καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ παρώνυμον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτέθειται, τῶν τε λοιπῶν θεοφιλῶν τε καὶ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑστατος τοῖς χρόνοις παρεφάνη τῷ βίῳ, δῆλον ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ιστορίας τυγχάνει.

10.14.3 | μετὰ Μωσέα τοίνυν προέστη τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἰησοῦς, ὃς τινες, ἔτεσι λέπιθ', ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφὴ, ἐκράτησαν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτεσιν ὁκτώ. ἐπειτα Γοθονιὴλ ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα. μεθ' ὃν Ἐγλὼμ, βασιλεὺς Μωὰβ, ἔτη ιη'. μεθ' ὃν Ἄῳδ ἔτη π'. μεθ' ὃν πάλιν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτη κ'. ἐπειτα Δεββώρα καὶ Βαρὰκ ἔτη μ'. ἐπειτα Μαδιηναῖοι ἔτη ζ'. ἐπειτα Γεδεὼν ἔτη μ'. Αἴβιμέλεχ ἔτη γ'. Θωλὰ κγ'. Ιαεὶρ κβ'. Ἀμμανῖται ιη'. Ιεφθάε ἔτη σ'. Ἐσβὼν ἔτη ζ'. Αίαλῶν ἔτη ι'. Λαβδῶν ἔτη η'. ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτη μ'. Σαμψὼν ἔτη κ'. ἐπειτα Ἡλεὶ ιερεὺς, ὡς τὸ Ἐβραϊκὸν, ἔτη μ'. περὶ ὃν συμβαίνει τὴν Ἰλίου καταντᾶν ἄλωσιν μετὰ δ' Ἡλεὶ τὸν ιερέα ἥγεῖται τοῦ λαοῦ Σαμουήλ.

10.14.4 | μεθ' ὃν πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεύει Σαοὺλ ἔτεσι μ'. ἐπειτα Δαβὶδ ἔτεσι μ'. ἐπειτα Σολομῶν ἔτεσι μ'. ὃς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ναὸν ἐδείματο πρῶτος. μετὰ δὲ Σολομῶνα βασιλεύει Ροβοὰμ ἔτη ίζ'. Ἀβιὰ ἔτη γ' "Ἄσα ἔτη μὰ Ιωσαφὰτ ἔτη κε·

10.14.2 | Since Moses is shown to have existed long before the Trojan War, let us also look at all those who came after him. Moses, indeed, is truly from the Hebrews before him, like Heber and Abraham, from whom the name is also given to the men. Among the other beloved and ancient men, he appeared last in time, as is clear from the history concerning him.

10.14.3 | After Moses, Jesus became the leader of the Jewish people, as some say, for fifty years. Then, as the scripture states, foreigners ruled for eight years. After that, Gthoniel for fifty years. After him, Eglon, the king of Moab, for eighteen years. After him, Ehud for five years. After him, again foreigners for twenty years. Then Deborah and Barak for twenty years. After that, the Midianites for seven years. Then Gideon for forty years. Abimelech for three years. Tola for twenty-three years. Jair for twenty-two years. The Ammonites for eighteen years. Jephthah for six years. Ibzan for seven years. Elon for ten years. Abdon for eight years. Foreigners for eight years. Samson for twenty years. Then Eli the priest, as the Hebrew account says, for forty years, during which the fall of Ilium happens. After Eli, the priest, Samuel leads the people.

10.14.4 | After him, Saul was the first to rule over them for forty years. Then David for forty years. After that, Solomon for forty years. He was also the first to build the temple in Jerusalem. After Solomon, Rehoboam ruled for seventeen years.

Ίωράμ ἔτη ἡ Ὀχοζίας ἔτος ἀ· Γοθολιὰ ἔτη  
'ς

Abijah for three years. Asa for forty-one years. Jehoshaphat for twenty-five years. Joram for eight years. Ahaziah for one year. Athaliah for six years.

10.14.5 | Ίωάς ἔτη μ· Ἀμασίας ἔτη μθ·  
Ὀζίας ἔτη νβ· καθ' ὃν προφητεύουσιν  
Ωσηὲ, Ἀμώς, Ἡσαίας, Ίωνᾶς· μετὰ δὲ  
Ὀζίαν βασιλεύει ἔτη ίέ· μεθ' ὃν ἔτη ίέ. κατὰ  
τοῦτον ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς ἥχθη, ἦν ἐνίκα  
στάδιον Κόροιβος Ἡλεῖος.

10.14.5 | Joash ruled for seven years. Amaziah for twenty-nine years. Uzziah for fifty-two years, during whom the prophets Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Jonah prophesied. After Uzziah, Jotham ruled for sixteen years. After him, Ahaz ruled for sixteen years. During this time, the first Olympic Games were held, which was won by Coroebus from Elis.

10.14.6 | διαδέχεται δὲ τὸν Ἀχαζ Ἀζεκίας  
ἔτεσι κθ· καθ' ὃν Ῥωμύλος Ῥώμην ἔκτισε  
καὶ ἐβασίλευσε. μετὰ δὲ Ἐζεκίαν βασιλεύει  
Μανασσῆς ἔτη νέ· ἐπειτα Ἀμών ἔτη β·  
ἐπειτα Ιωσίας ἔτη καθ' ὃν προφητεύουσιν  
Ιερεμίας, Βαρούχ, Ὀλδᾶ καὶ ἄλλοι  
προφῆται.

10.14.6 | Hezekiah succeeded Ahaz and ruled for twenty-nine years, during which Romulus founded and ruled Rome. After Hezekiah, Manasseh ruled for fifty-five years. Then Amon ruled for two years. After him, Josiah ruled for thirty-one years, during which the prophets Jeremiah, Baruch, Huldah, and others prophesied.

10.14.7 | ἐπειτα Ιωάχαζ μῆνας γ'. μεθ' ὃν  
Ίωακεὶμ ἔτη ίά· μεθ' ὃν πάντων ὕστατος  
Σεδεκίας ἔτη ιβ· κατὰ τοῦτον  
πολιορκηθείσης τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ<sup>τό</sup>  
Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐμπρησμὸν  
ὑπομείναντος τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος  
ἀπάγεται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, προφητεύει τε  
αὐτόθι Δανιὴλ καὶ Ἐζεκιήλ.

10.14.7 | Then Jehoahaz ruled for three months. After him, Jehoiakim ruled for eleven years. After him, the last of all, Zedekiah ruled for twelve years. During his time, Jerusalem was besieged by the Assyrians, and the temple was burned. All the people of Judah were taken to Babylon, and there Daniel and Ezekiel prophesied.

10.14.8 | μετὰ δὲ ἔτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὁ ὁ Κῦρος  
βασιλεύει Περσῶν, ὃς καὶ ἀνῆκε τὴν  
αἴχμαλωσίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐπιτρέψας  
τοῖς θέλουσιν αὐτῶν παλινοστεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν  
οἰκείαν γῆν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεγείρειν ὅτε καὶ

10.14.8 | After a number of years, Cyrus ruled the Persians. He also ended the captivity of the Jews, allowing those who wanted to return to their own land and rebuild the temple. Then Jesus, son of

άνεισιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ καὶ Ζοροβάβελ ὁ τοῦ Σαλαθιὴλ. καταβάλλονταί τε θεμελίους, προφητευόντων ὕστατα πάντων Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ Μαλαχίου, μεθ' οὓς οὐκέτι προφήτης παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονε.

Josedek, and Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, came up. They laid the foundations, while the last of all, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, prophesied. After them, no more prophets arose among them.

10.14.9 | κατὰ δὲ Κῦρον Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐγνωρίζετο, καὶ οἱ κληθέντες ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ παρ' Ἑλλησιν, ὃν παλαιτεροὶ οὐδεὶς παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλόσοφος μνημονεύεται.

10.14.9 | During the time of Cyrus, Solon the Athenian was recognized, and the seven wise men were called among the Greeks, of whom no one older is remembered as a philosopher.

10.14.10 | τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐπτὰ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος φυσικὸς πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων γεγονὼς περὶ τροπῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἔκλείψεως καὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης καὶ ἴσημερίας διελέχθη ἐγένετο δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπισημότατος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

10.14.10 | Of these seven, Thales the Milesian was the first among the Greeks to discuss the changes of the sun, eclipses, and the phases of the moon and equinoxes. He became a very important man among the Greeks.

10.14.11 | Θαλοῦ δὲ γίνεται ἀκουστὴς Ἀναξίμανδρος, Πραξιάδου μὲν παῖς, γένος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος. οὗτος πρῶτος γνώμονας κατεσκεύασε πρὸς διάγνωσιν τροπῶν τε ἡλίου καὶ χρόνων καὶ ὥρῶν καὶ ἴσημερίας.

10.14.11 | After him, Anaximander became known, the son of Praxiades, and he was also from Miletus. He was the first to create a device for understanding the changes of the sun, the seasons, and the hours, as well as the equinoxes.

10.14.12 | Ἀναξιμάνδρου δὲ γνώριμος ἐγένετο Ἀναξιμένης Εύρυστράτου Μιλήσιος· τούτου δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Ἕγησιβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος δὴ πρῶτος διήρθρωσε τὸν περὶ ἀρχῶν λόγον. οὐ γάρ μόνον περὶ τῆς πάντων ούσιας ἀπεφήνατο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν αἴτιου. ἦν γάρ ἀρχὴν φησὶ· τὰ πράγματα δικοῦ πεφυρμένα· Νοῦς δ' εἰσελθὼν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας εἰς τάξιν

10.14.12 | After Anaximander, Anaximenes the Miletian became known, the son of Eurystratus. From him came Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who was the first to explain the nature of the principles. For he did not only speak about the essence of all things, like those before him, but also about the cause that moves it. He said that 'the beginning is all things mixed together; but mind, entering in, brought them from

ήγαγεν.

10.14.13 | Άναξαγόρου δὲ ἔγένοντο γνώριμοι τρεῖς, Περικλῆς, Ἀρχέλαος, Εύριπίδης. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος ἔγένετο, καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει τῶν καθ' ἐαυτὸν διήνεγκεν· Εύριπίδης δὲ ἐπὶ ποιητικὴν μεταβάτης ὑπὸ τινῶν σκηνικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐκλήθη· ὃ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος ἐν Λαμψάκῳ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου, μεταβάτης δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκεῖ ἐσχόλασε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίων γνωρίμους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σωκράτην.

10.14.14 | κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Άναξαγόρᾳ χρόνον ἤκμασαν ἄνδρες φυσικοὶ, Ξενοφάνης τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόραν διεδέξατο Θεανὼ ἡ γυνὴ, οἱ τε νιὸι αὐτοῦ, Τηλαυγὴς καὶ Μνήσαρχος.

10.14.15 | Τηλαυγοῦς δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκουστῆς γίνεται, καθ' ὃν Ἡράκλειτος ὁ σκοτεινὸς ἔγνωρίζετο. τὸν δὲ Ξενοφάνην λέγεται ὁ Παρμενίδης διαδέξασθαι, Παρμενίδην δὲ Μέλισσος, Μέλισσον δὲ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης· ὃν φασιν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ τότε τυράννου συστησάμενον ἀλῶναι, στρεβλούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, ὅπως τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ γενομένους ἄνδρας ἀπυράψηται, οὐ προσποιηθέντα τὰς τοῦ τυράννου τιμωρίας, διαμασησάμενον τὴν γλῶσσαν, προσπτύσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαρτερήσαντα ταῖς βασάνοις ἀποθανεῖν.

10.14.16 | τούτου δὲ Λεύκιππος ἀκουστῆς γέγονε, Λευκίππου δὲ Δημόκριτος, οὗ

disorder into order.'

10.14.13 | From Anaxagoras came three famous men: Pericles, Archelaus, and Euripides. Pericles became the first among the Athenians, both in wealth and in family. Euripides, having turned to poetry, was called a stage philosopher by some. Archelaus taught the school of Anaxagoras in Lampsacus, and after moving to Athens, he taught there and had many well-known Athenians as students, including Socrates.

10.14.14 | At the same time as Anaxagoras, natural philosophers flourished, including Xenophanes and Pythagoras. Pythagoras was taught by his wife Theano and his sons, Telauges and Mnesarchus.

10.14.15 | Telauges became a student of Empedocles, through whom Heraclitus the obscure was recognized. It is said that Parmenides taught Xenophanes, and Melissus taught Parmenides, while Zeno the Eleatic taught Melissus. They say that he was caught because he plotted against the tyrant of that time, and he was twisted by the tyrant so that he could not write about the men who were with him. He did not pretend to suffer the tyrant's punishments, but after chewing his tongue, he fell upon him and thus endured the tortures to die.

10.14.16 | From him, Leucippus became a student, and Democritus came from

Πρωταγόρας, καθ' ὃν ἡκμασε Σωκράτης. καὶ ἄλλους δὲ σποράδην εστιν εὐρεῖν φυσικοὺς φιλοσόφους πρὸ Σωκράτους γενομένους· πλὴν ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ ἀρξάμενοι κατώτερον Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως φαίνονται ἡκμακότες' ὁ δὲ Κύρος μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα αἴχμαλωσίας τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους δῆλος ἐστι γεγονὼς, διαλελοιπότων ἥδη τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις προφητῶν, καὶ τῆς Ἱερὰς μητροπόλεως αὐτῶν πεπολιορκημένης· ὡστε σε ὅμιλογεῖν πολὺ νεώτερα Μώσεως καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν προφητῶν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων γεγονέναι φιλοσοφίας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα, ὃς ἀκουστὴς τὰ πρῶτα γενόμενος Σωκράτους, κάπειτα τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ὅμιλήσας, τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας λόγω τε καὶ συνέσει καὶ τοῖς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δόγμασιν ὑπερηκόντισε.

Leucippus, whose time saw the rise of Protagoras and Socrates. There are also other natural philosophers found before Socrates, but all seem to start from Thales, going down to Cyrus, the king of the Persians. Cyrus is clearly known to have come after the great captivity of the Jewish people to Babylon, when the prophets among the Hebrews were already gone, and their holy city was under siege. Thus, it is agreed that the philosophy of the Greeks, especially that of Plato, is much younger than that of Moses and the prophets after him. Plato, who first became a student of Socrates and later associated with the Pythagoreans, surpassed all those before him in both argument and understanding, as well as in the teachings of philosophy.

10.14.17 | γέγονε δ' ὁ Πλάτων' ἀμφὶ τὰ ὕστατα τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας, μικρῷ θᾶττον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, Αύγουστου δὲ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ οὐ πολὺ πρόσθεν ἔτεσι Ὡ.

10.14.17 | Plato was born around the end of the Persian Empire, a little earlier than Alexander the Macedonian, and not long before the reign of Augustus the revered.

10.14.18 | εἰ δή σοι τοιγαροῦν ὁ Πλάτων' οὕτη μετ' αὐτὸν δειχθεῖν τὰ σύμφωνα Ἑβραίοις πεφιλοσοφηκότες, ὡρα σκοπεῖν τὸν Χρόνον καθ' ὃν οὗτος γέγονε, τόν δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις θεολόγων τε καὶ προφητῶν τὴν παλαιότητα τῇ πάντων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φιλοσόφων ἀντιπαραβάλλειν ἡλικίᾳ.

10.14.18 | If indeed Plato and those after him are shown to have studied what the Hebrews taught, it is time to consider the time when he was born and to compare the age of the Hebrew theologians and prophets with that of all the Greek philosophers.

10.14.19 | ἀλλὰ γάρ τούτων ἀποδειχθέντων καιρὸς ἐπανελθόντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνων σοφοὺς ζηλωτὰς θεάσασθαι τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γεγονότας δογμάτων, ὡστε μηκέτ' εὐλόγως ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι τοὺς

10.14.19 | But when these things are proven, it is time for the Greek wise men to admire the teachings that have come from the Hebrews, so that we can no longer justly be blamed by the accusers, if indeed

συκοφάντας, εί δὴ καὶ αύτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς  
αὐτῶν φιλοσόφοις ἀγαπήσαντες τὰ  
Ἐβραίων λόγια τιμᾶν διανενοήμεθα.

we also think it right to honor the words of  
the Hebrews, just as their philosophers  
loved similar ideas.

## Book of One Hundred. (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΕΚΑΤΟΝ)

### Introduction

11.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ  
ΥΠΟΟΘΕΣΕΩΣ. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μετὰ χεῖρας  
προάγων τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς  
θέματος ὡν τόμος οὐκ ἐμαῖς φωναῖς, ταῖς  
δ' ἔξωθεν συνίστη ·μαρτυρίαις τὸ μὴ  
ἀπεικός εἶναι Ἐλληνας μηδὲν σοφὸν  
ἐπενηγεμένους, εἰ μὴ ὅτι μόνην τὴν ἐν  
λόγοις δεινότητά τε καὶ εὐγλωττίαν, τὰ  
πάντα δὲ παρὰ βαρβάρων  
έσκευωρημένους, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐβραίων  
ἀγνοήσαι λόγια, καὶ τούτων δὲ ἐν μέρει  
καθάψασθαι, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς τῶν σφετέρων  
ἐν συγγράμμασι φιλοτιμίας καθαρὰς  
ἔφυλάξαντο κλοπῆς τὰς χεῖρας, κλέπτας  
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔφην,  
λόγος, ὁ δ' ἔξ αὐτῶν παρεστήσατο.

11.praef.1 | Introduction about the subject.  
The one who is advancing the topic of the  
Gospel Preparation is not speaking in my  
own words, but is presenting outside  
testimonies. These show that the Greeks  
have not brought forth any wisdom, except  
for their skill in words and eloquence,  
while everything else has been prepared by  
the barbarians. They should not be  
ignorant of the words of the Hebrews, and  
they should also be aware that they have  
not kept their hands clean from theft in  
their own writings. For they are not the  
thieves, as I said, but the ones who have  
presented themselves.

11.praef.2 | οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα νέους  
ὅμοι τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοὺς,  
παρὰ πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς Ἐβραικῆς  
λειπομένους ἀρχαιολογίας,, ἐν ταύτῳ διὰ  
τῆς τῶν χρόνων παραθέσεως ἔγνωμεν.

11.praef.2 | Indeed, they are also very  
young in both thought and age, lacking  
much of the ancient knowledge of the  
Hebrews, as we have learned through the  
account of time.

11.praef.3 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ πρὸ τούτου ' ὁ  
δέ γε παρὼν ἐπείγεται λοιπὸν ἥδη, ὥσπερ  
τι χρέος, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην ὑπόσχεσιν  
ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τισιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν  
πᾶσι, τοῖς δογματικοῖς θεωρήμασι πρὸς τὰ  
Ἐβραίων λόγια συμφωνίαν τῶν παρ'  
Ἐλλησι φιλοσόφων ἐκφᾶναι· ὧν τοὺς

11.praef.3 | Therefore, the one before this  
is eager to fulfill the promised obligation, as  
if it were a debt, and to express agreement  
with the doctrines of the Hebrews in some  
matters, even if not in all, with the  
teachings of the philosophers among the  
Greeks. He has set aside the unnecessary

περιττοὺς παραιτησάμενος τὸν κορυφαῖον ἀπάντων ἀνακαλεῖται, μόνῳ χρῆναι ἀντὶ πάντων ἡγούμενος γνώμονι χρήσασθαι τοῦ προβλήματος Πλάτωνι, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος μόνος ἔσικε τῇ δόξῃ τοὺς πάντας ὑπερακοντίσας αὐτάρκης ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου σύστασιν.

and calls upon the greatest of all, believing that only Plato should be used as the standard for this problem, since he alone seems to surpass all others and will be sufficient for the composition of what is being sought.

11.praef.4 | εἰ δέ που δέοι, σαφηνείας ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας, καὶ τοῖς τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἔζηλωκόσι φιλοσοφίαν μάρτυσι χρήσομαι, τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκθησόμενος φωνὰς ἐπὶ συστάσει τοῦ προκειμένου.

11.praef.4 | But if it is necessary, for the sake of clarity in the man's thoughts, I will use the testimonies of those who have envied his philosophy, explaining their words in the context of what is being discussed.

11.praef.5 | τετηρήσθω δέ μοι τὸ μὴ πάντ' ἐπιτυχῶς είρησθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, εἴ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτῷ σὺν ἀληθείᾳ ἐκπεφώνηται. ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν παραστήσομεν, οὐκ αὐτοῦ διαβολῆς, ἀπολογίας δὲ ἡμετέρας χάριν, δι' ἣν τὴν βάρβαρον φιλοσοφίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δομολογοῦμεν προησμενικέναι.

11.praef.5 | Let it be understood that not everything should be said about the man, even if most things have been spoken truly about him. We will present this at the right time, not out of slander against him, but for the sake of our own defense, through which we acknowledge that the barbarian philosophy has been influenced by the Greek.

## Section 1

11.1.1 | Εἰς τρία διελόντος μέρη τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὸν πάντα τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγον, εἰς φυσικὸν, ἡθικὸν, λογικὸν, εἴτ' αὖ πάλιν τὸν φυσικὸν διελομένου εἴς τε τὴν τῶν αἱσθητῶν θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων κατανόησιν, εὑροις ἄν καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις τὸ τριμερὲς τοῦτο τῆς διδασκαλίας εἶδος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅμοια πρόσθεν ἦ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι πεφιλοσόφητο.

11.1.1 | If we divide the whole philosophy of Plato into three parts: natural, ethical, and logical, and then further divide the natural into the study of the senses and the understanding of the immaterial, you would also find this threefold type of teaching among the Hebrews, showing that similar ideas were discussed by them even before Plato.

11.1.2 | πρῶτον δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἀκοῦσαι  
ἄξιον, εἴθ' οὕτω καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων  
ἐπισκοπῆσαι. Θήσω δὲ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα  
Πλάτωνι ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ πρεσβευόντων,  
ῶν Ἀττικὸς διαφανῆς ἀνὴρ τῶν  
Πλατωνικῶν φιλοσόφων ὡδέ πῃ τὰ  
δοκοῦντα τῷ ἀνδρὶ διέξεισιν, ἐν οἷς ἵσταται  
πρὸς τοὺς διὰ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ  
Πλάτωνος ὑπισχνουμένους.

11.1.2 | First, it is worth hearing about Plato, and then we should also look at the Hebrews. I will present what is pleasing to Plato from those who support his ideas, among whom the clear man from Attica explains what seems to him, in which he stands against those who claim Plato's ideas through Aristotle.

## Section 2

11.2.1 | “Τριχῇ τοίνυν διαιρουμένης τῆς  
ἐντελοῦς φιλοσοφίας, εἴς τε τὸν ἥθικὸν  
καλούμενον τόπον καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν καὶ ἔτι  
τὸν λογικὸν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρώτου  
κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῶν ἔκαστον καλὸν καὶ  
ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τοὺς οἴκους ὅλους εἰς τὸ  
ἀριστον ἐπανορθοῦντος, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δῆμον  
σύμπαντα πολιτείᾳ τῇ διαφερούσῃ καὶ  
νόμοις τοῖς ἀκριβεστάτοις κοσμοῦντος, τού  
δευτέρου δὲ πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν θείων  
γνῶσιν διήκοντος, αὐτῶν τε τῶν πρώτων  
καὶ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα ἐκ  
τούτων γίνεται, ἀ δὴ περὶ φύσεως ἴστορίαν  
ὁ Πλάτων’ ὀνόμακεν .

11.2.1 | Therefore, when the complete philosophy is divided into three parts: the ethical, the natural, and the logical, the first part helps us to create each good and beautiful thing, and to improve all homes to the best, while also organizing the whole community with a different government and the most precise laws. The second part leads to knowledge about the divine, including the first things, the causes, and the other things that come from these, which Plato has called the history of nature.

11.2.2 | είς δὲ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων  
διάκρισίν τε καὶ εὑρεσίν τοῦ τρίτου  
παραλαμβανομένου· ὅτι μὲν Πλάτων’  
πρῶτος καὶ μάλιστα συναγείρας εἴς ἔν  
πάντα τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, τέως  
έσκεδασμένα καὶ διερριψμένα ὥσπερ τὰ  
τοῦ Πενθέως μέλη, καθάπερ εἴπε τις, σῶμά  
τι καὶ ζῷον ὀλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε τὴν  
φιλοσοφίαν, δῆλα παντὶ λεγόμενα.

11.2.2 | And for the distinction and discovery of both of these, we take up the third part. Indeed, Plato was the first and most important to bring together into one all the parts of philosophy, which were previously scattered and broken apart, like the pieces of a song of Pentheus. As someone said, he presented philosophy as a whole body and living creature, clearly stated in every way.

11.2.3 | οὕτε γὰρ οἶ περὶ Θαλῆν καὶ

11.2.3 | For neither Thales, Anaximenes,

Άναξιμένην καὶ Άναξαγόραν, καὶ ὅσοι κατὰ ταύτῳ γεγόνασι τούτοις, ἀγνοοῦνται περὶ μόνην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὡφύσεως τῶν ὄντων σκέψιν διατρίψαντες· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Πιττακὸς καὶ Περίανδρος καὶ Σόλων καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ οἵ παραπλήσιοι τούτοις λανθάνουσι τινας τὴν αὐτῶν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολιτείαν καταθέντες. Ζήνων δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἐλεατικὸν τοῦτο διδασκαλεῖον καὶ αὐτὸ γνώριμον ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ τῶν λόγων μάλιστα σπουδάσαν.

Anaxagoras, nor those who came after them are known for their thoughts about the nature of being, having only focused on that single topic. Indeed, neither Pittacus, Periander, Solon, Lycurgus, nor those similar to them are aware of their own philosophy as they established it in government. But Zeno and all the Eleatic school are well known for their teachings, especially for their careful study of the art of reasoning.

11.2.4 | τούτοις δὲ ἐπιγενόμενος Πλάτων', ἀνὴρ ἐκ φύσεως ἀρτιτελὴς καὶ πολὺ διενεγκὼν, νεγκὼν, οἴα κατάπεμπτος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐκ θεῶν, ἵν ὀλόκληρος ὁφθῆ ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφία, παρῆκε τε οὐδὲν καὶ ἔκαστα ἡκρίβωσε, μήτε ἐλλείπων πρὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἄχρηστον ἔξενεχθείς.

11.2.4 | To these, Plato came along, a man naturally complete and very capable, as if truly sent from the gods, so that philosophy through him might be fully revealed. He left nothing out and clarified each part, neither lacking what was necessary nor including what was unnecessary.

11.2.5 | ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντων ἔφαμεν μετεῖναι τῷ Πλατωνικῷ καὶ περὶ ήθῶν λέγοντι καὶ διαλεγομένω, φέρε καθ' ἔκαστον ἐπισκεψήμεθα."

11.2.5 | Since we have said that all participate in the Platonic view, both in discussing and debating ethics, let us examine each one in detail.

11.2.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀττικός. ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ περιπατητικὸς Ἀριστοκλῆς, ἐν ἐβδόμῳ συγγράμματι ὃν Περὶ φιλοσοφίας συνέταξεν ὡδε λέγων πρὸς ῥῆμα

11.2.6 | These things are said by the Athenian. The Peripatetic Aristotle also supports the same ideas, in the seventh writing of his work on philosophy, saying this in relation to the statement.

### Section 3

11.3.1 | "Ἐφιλοσόφησε δὲ Πλάτων', εἰ καί τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε, γνησίως καὶ τελείως. οὗ μὲν γάρ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ φυσιολογοῦντες διετέλεσαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ

11.3.1 | Plato philosophized truly and completely, even if some others did at times. For some, like Thales, focused on natural philosophy, while others hid

Πτυαγόραν ἐπεκρύψαντο πάντα·  
Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπέκεινου τοὺς  
έριστικοὺς κινήσαντες λόγους πολὺν μὲν  
ἐνέβαλον Ἰλιγγον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, οὐ μὴν  
ἐπόρισύαν γέ τινα βοήθειαν.

everything about Pythagoras. Xenophanes and those who followed him stirred up many arguments among the philosophers, but they did not provide any real help.

11.3.2 | οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης, αὐτὸς δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐγένετο πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρὶ,  
καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔφη Πλάτων'. εύφυεστατος γὰρ ὁν καὶ δεινὸς ἀπορῆσαι περὶ παντὸς διουοῦν ἐπεισήνεγκε τάς τε ἡθικὰς καὶ πολιτικὰς σκέψεις, ἔτι δὲ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἴδεῶν πρῶτος ἐπιχειρίσας ὅρίζεσθαι πάντα δὲ ἐγείρων λόγον καὶ περὶ πάντων ζητῶν ἔφθη τελευτήσας.

11.3.2 | Not least among them was Socrates, who truly became a fire upon fire, just as Plato himself said. For being very clever and skilled at questioning everything, he brought forth both ethical and political ideas, and he was the first to try to define the ideas. He stirred up discussion about everything and sought answers about all things until his end.

11.3.3 | ἄλλοι δ' ἀποτεμόμενοι μέρη τινὰ περὶ ταῦτα διέτριψαν, οὗτοι μὲν ἰατρικὴν, οὗτοι δὲ τὰς μαθηματικὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἔνιοι δὲ περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν. οὗτοι μέντοι πολλοὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων δυνάμεις ἔθαύμασαν, ὃν οὗτοι μὲν ὅρτορας, οὗτοι δὲ διαλεκτικοὺς προσεῖπον ἐαυτούς.

11.3.3 | Others, cutting off certain parts, spent time on these topics: some on medicine, others on mathematical sciences, and some on poets and music. However, many admired the powers of words, some calling themselves rhetoricians, while others referred to themselves as dialecticians.

11.3.4 | οὗτοι μέντοι Σωκράτην διαδεξάμενοι καὶ πάνυ τινὲς ἐγένοντο παντοῖοι καὶ ὑπεναντίοι τὰς γνώμας. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ κυνισμοὺς καὶ ἀτυφίας καὶ ἀπαθείας ὕμνουν, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἡδονάς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν εἰδέναι πάντα ἐκόμπαζον, οὗτοι δὲ ἀπλῶς μηθέν.

11.3.4 | Those who followed Socrates became very different and even opposed in their opinions. Some praised cynicism, indifference, and apathy, while others again praised pleasures. Some boasted that they knew everything, while others claimed to know nothing at all.

11.3.5 | ἔτι δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐν ὅψει πάντων ἐκαλινδοῦντο, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐξομιλοῦντες, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τούναντίον ἀπρόσιτοι καὶ ἀπροσαύδητοι διετέλουν

11.3.5 | Some were in the middle and appeared before everyone, talking with many people, while others, on the other hand, remained distant and

όντες.

11.3.6 | Πλάτων μέντοι κατανοήσας ός εἴη μία τις ἡ τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιστήμη, πρῶτος διεῖλε, καὶ ἔφη τὴν μέν τινα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως εἶναι πραγματείαν, τὴν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τρίτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους.

11.3.7 | ἡξίου δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατιδεῖν ἡμάς, εἰ μὴ τὰ θεῖα πρότερον ὄφθείη· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ ίατροὶ μέρη τινὰ θεραπεύοντες ἐπιμελοῦνται τῶν ὅλων σωμάτων πρῶτον, οὕτω χρῆναι καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τάνθάδε κατόψεσθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν εἰδέναι πρότερον· μέρος τε εἶναι τῶν ὄντων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, καὶ τάγαθὸν διττὸν, τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς, κυριώτερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ παντός· διὰ γὰρ ἔκείνου καὶ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι.

11.3.8 | φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς Ἰνδῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον. Ἀθῆναι γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν Σωκράτει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔκείνων ἔνα τινὰ, καᾶπειτα αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι τί ποιῶν φιλοσοφοίη· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι ζητῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου, καταγελάσαι τὸν Ἰνδὸν, λέγοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καταδεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντά γε τὰ θεῖα.

11.3.9 | τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰ ἀληθές ἔστιν οὐκ ἀν δύναιτό τις διατεινόμενος είπειν. διεῖλε δ' οὖν ὁ Πλάτων' τὴν τε περὶ τῶν ὅλων φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν λογικήν."

unapproachable.

11.3.6 | Plato, noticing that there is one kind of knowledge about the divine and human things, was the first to divide it. He said that one part is about the nature of the universe, another part is about human matters, and a third part is about words.

11.3.7 | He believed that we cannot understand human things unless we first see the divine. Just as doctors, when treating parts of the body, pay attention to the whole body first, so too we should know the nature of the whole before looking at what is here. Humans are a part of what exists, and there are two kinds of good: one is ours, and the other is that of the whole, with the good of the whole being more important. For this reason, the one exists because of the other.

11.3.8 | Aristoxenus the musician says that this story is about the Indians. For in Athens, Socrates happened to meet one of those men and then asked him what he was doing. When the man said he was searching for knowledge about human life, the Indian laughed, saying that no one can understand human things if they are ignorant of the divine.

11.3.9 | If this is true, then no one could claim otherwise. Therefore, Plato divided philosophy about the whole into two parts: one about the universe and the other about politics, and also about logic.

11.3.10 | Τοιαύτης οὕσης τῆς κατὰ  
Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφίας καιρὸς καὶ τὴν  
Ἐβραίων ἐπισκέψασθαι, μακρῷ πρόσθεν ἦ  
Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι τὸν ὅμοιον  
πεφιλοσοφηκότων τρόπον. εὔροις δ' ἀν  
οὗν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς δ τήνδε σύμφωνον τὴν  
τριμέρειαν ἡθικῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν καὶ  
φυσικῶν μαθημάτων, τόνδε ἐπιστήσας τὸν  
τρόπον.

## Section 4

11.4.1 | Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡθικὰ πρώτιστα  
πάντων φιλοτίμως ἐσπουδασμένα παρ'  
αύτοῖς ἔργοις πολὺ πρότερον τῶν λόγων  
μάθοις ἀν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας  
διασκοπούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τέλος ἀγαθῶν  
τοῦ τε μακαρίως ζῆν ὑστατὸν ὅρον τὴν  
εύσέβειαν τήν τε διὰ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν  
κατορθώσεως πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φιλίαν  
ἡγάσαντό τε καὶ μετεδίωξαν, ἀλλ' οὐ  
σωμάτων ἡδονὴν, κατ' Ἐπίκουρον· οὐδὲν αὐ  
τὴν τριγένειαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κατ'  
Ἀριστοτέλην, τὰ περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἔκτος ἐν  
ἴσῳ τοῖς ψυχῆς ἀγαθοῖς ἐκτετιμηκότα.

11.4.2 | οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἄγνοιάν  
τε καὶ ἀμαθίαν, ἣν ὄντος τοι σεμνοτέρω  
τινὲς ἐποχὴν ἀνειρήκασιν ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὖ τῆς  
ψυχῆς τὴν ἀρετὴν· πόση γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις  
αὐτῇ, καὶ τί καθ' ἔαυτὴν ἀνευ θεοῦ πρὸς  
τὸν ἄλυπτον συντείνοι ἀν βίον; δι' ὃν τὰ  
πάντα τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐλπίδος, πείσματος  
ῶσπερ ἀρραγοῦς, ἔξαψαντες, τὸν θεοφιλῆ  
μόνον ἀπέφηναν εἶναι μακάριον,

11.3.10 | Since this philosophy according to  
Plato exists, it is worth looking at the  
Hebrews, who had a similar way of  
thinking long before Plato. You would find  
among them this same three-part division  
of ethics, logic, and natural sciences,  
showing this method.

11.4.1 | The ethical teachings were studied  
first and foremost by them through actions,  
much earlier than through words. If you  
examine the men, you would learn that the  
ultimate goal of a blessed life is piety,  
which they achieved through the  
improvement of their character and  
friendship with the divine. This is not about  
pleasure of the body, as Epicurus would  
say, nor about the three kinds of good, as  
Aristotle described, which include both  
bodily goods and those outside of the body,  
equal to the goods of the soul.

11.4.2 | Indeed, they did not ignore the last  
ignorance and lack of knowledge, which  
some have called a more serious condition.  
Nor did they overlook the virtue of the  
soul; for how much of this exists among  
humans, and what would it achieve on its  
own without the divine in leading a life free  
from suffering? Because of this, they  
connected everything to hope in the divine,  
as if it were a strong bond, declaring that  
only the one who loves the divine is truly  
blessed.

11.4.3 | ὅτι δὴ ὁ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ταμίας θεὸς, ζωῆς ὧν πάροχος καὶ αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς πηγὴ, τῶν τε περὶ σῶμα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπάντων χορηγὸς ὑπάρχων, μόνος ἀν εἴη πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βίον τῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διὰ τῆς παναληθούς εὔσεβείας στειλαμένῳ αὐτάρκης.

11.4.3 | Indeed, the god who is the steward of all good things, being the source of life and virtue, is the sole provider of everything related to the body and beyond. Only he can lead to a blessed life for the one who has a self-sufficient friendship with him through complete piety.

11.4.4 | ἐνθεν ὁ πάνσοφος Μώσης πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ θεοθιλῶν Ἐβραίων βίον, τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄμοον καὶ πρακτικὸν δι' ὑφηγήσως ἱστορικῆς ὑποτέθειται τρόπον. ἡς ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθόλου τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσατο, θεὸν τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον ὑποστησάμενος, κοσμογονίαν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπογονίαν ὑπογράψας.

11.4.4 | From this, the all-wise Moses was the first of all humans to write down the life of the God-fearing Hebrews before him, combining both their political and practical ways in a historical account. Starting from the general principles, he established his teachings, asserting that God is the cause of all things, and he wrote about the creation of the world and of humans.

11.4.5 | εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν καθόλου ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος προειλθὼν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν μνήμης εἰς τὸν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς τε καὶ θεοσεβείας ζῆλον τοὺς φοιτητὰς παρορμήσας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐθέντης νόμων εὔσεβῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεθέντων ἀποφανθεὶς, κατὰ πάντα δῆλος ἀν εἴη τοῦ φιλοθέου τρόπου διὰ τῆς τῶν ἥθων ἐπιμελείας πρόνοιαν πεπεποιημένος ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν ὁ λόγος ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν φανερὸν κατεστήσατο.

11.4.5 | Then, moving from the general to the specific in his speech, and by recalling the memories of the ancient men, he inspired the students with a zeal for their virtue and piety. He himself, having been revealed as the master of the pious laws set before him, would clearly show the way of loving God through the care for morals. Thus, this speech has already made this clear in what has been said before.

11.4.6 | μακρὸν δ' ἀν εἴη καὶ τοὺς ἔξῆς μετὰ Μωσέα προφήτας, τούς τε τούτων προτρεπτικοὺς μὲν ἀρετῆς, ἀποτρεπτικοὺς δὲ κακίας ἀπάσης λόγους ἐν τῷδε καταβάλλεσθαι. τί δ' εἴ σοι τοῦ σοφωτάτου Σολομῶνος τὰς ἥθικὰς παραφέροιμι

11.4.6 | It would be long to discuss the prophets after Moses, who encouraged virtue and warned against all kinds of evil in their teachings. But what if I were to bring in the moral teachings of the wisest Solomon, in which he presented his own

διδασκαλίας, αἵς οίκεῖον λόγον ἀνέθηκε,  
σύγγραμμα Παροιμίας ἐπονομάσας,  
ἐπιτόμους γνώμας ἀποφθέγμασιν ἔοικυίας  
ὑποθέσει περιλαβών μιᾶ;

thoughts, naming the collection Proverbs,  
and including brief sayings that resemble  
wise advice in one work?

11.4.7 | καὶ τὸν μὲν ἡθικὸν τρόπον ταύτη  
πῃ παῖδες Ἐβραίων, ἐκ παλαιῶν πρὸν ἡ καὶ  
τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα μαθεῖν Ἔλληνας, αὐτοὶ  
τε ἐπαιδεύοντο καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσι τῆς  
αὐτῆς ἀφθόνως ἔκοινώνουν παιδείας.

11.4.7 | And the Hebrew children learned  
this moral way before the Greeks even  
learned the first letters. They both  
educated themselves and generously  
shared their knowledge with those who  
came to them.

## Section 5

11.5.1 | Καὶ τὸν λογικὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς  
Ἐβραίων φιλοσοφίας οὐ, καθάπερ Ἔλλησι  
φίλον, δεινότητι σοφισμάτων καὶ  
λογισμοῖς πρὸς ἀπάτην τετεχνασμένοις  
δεῖν ώντο μετιέναι, καταλήψει δὲ αὐτῆς  
ἀληθείας, ἦν ὑπὸ θείου φωτὸς τὰς ψυχὰς  
καταυγασθέντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς θεόσοφοι  
εῦρον τε καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν.

11.5.1 | And the logical way of the Hebrews  
did not, like the Greeks, rely on clever  
tricks and reasoning meant to deceive.  
Instead, they sought the truth, which the  
divine light revealed to their souls, and the  
wise men among them found and were  
enlightened by it.

11.5.2 | ἐφ' ἦν ἀκονῶντες τοὺς τὰ οίκεῖα  
μαθήματα παιδευομένους λόγων τε αὐτοῖς  
ἱερῶν ἀπαγγελίας, ἴστοριῶν τε σεμνῶν  
διηγήματα, ὡδῶν τε καὶ ἐπωδῶν  
έμμετρους συνθέσεις, καὶ ἔτι προβλήματα  
καὶ αἰνίγματα, καὶ τινας σοφάς καὶ  
ἀλληγορικάς θεωρίας μετὰ κάλλους  
εύεπείας, καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οίκείαν  
γλῶτταν εὐφραδοῦς ἀπαγγελίας, ἐξ ἔτι  
νηπίας αὐτοῖς παρεδίδοσαν ἡλικίας.

11.5.2 | While they listened, they educated  
those learning their own subjects with  
sacred teachings, serious stories, measured  
compositions of songs and chants, as well  
as problems and riddles, and some wise  
and allegorical ideas with a beautiful  
clarity. They passed these on to them from  
a very young age.

11.5.3 | ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πρώτων  
μαθημάτων δευτερωταί τινες ἥσαν αὐτοῖς  
(οὕτω δὲ φίλον τοὺς ἔξηγητὰς τῶν παρ'  
αὐτοῖς γραφῶν ὄνομάζειν·) οἱ τὰ δι'

11.5.3 | Yes, and some of the first lessons  
were secondary for them (for it was dear to  
them to call the explainers of their writings  
by this name); those who, through riddles,

αίνιγμάτων ἐπεσκιασμένα, εί τοι μὴ τοῖς πάσι, τοῖς γοῦν πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀκοήν ἐπιτηδείοις δι' ἐρμηνείας καὶ σαφηνείας ἔξεφαινον.

11.5.4 | ταύτη τοι πάλιν ὁ σοφώτατος παρὰ τοῖσδε Σολομῶν ἐνθένδε ποθὲν τὴν καταρχὴν τοῦ τῶν Παροιμῶν ἐποιήσατο συγγράμματος, μονονουχὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτην εἶναι διδάξας, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι δεῖν ἔφησε πάντα ἄνδρα γνῶναι σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν καὶ νοῆσαι λόγους φρονήσεως, δέξασθαι τε στροφὰς λόγων, νοῆσαι τε δικαιούσην ἀληθῆ καὶ κρίμα κατευθύνειν, ἵνα δῶ, φησὶν, ἀκάκοις πανουργίαν, παιδί τε νέῳ αἴσθησίν τε καὶ ἔννοιαν. τῶνδε γὰρ ἀκούσας ὁ σοφὸς σοφώτερος ἔσται, ὁ δὲ νοήμων κυβέρνησιν κτήσεται· νοήσει τε παραβολὴν καὶ σκοτεινὸν λόγον ῥήσεις τε σοφῶν καὶ 15 αἰνίγματα.

11.5.5 | καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ δηλωθέντος συγγράμματος ἐπαγγελίας τοιαῦτά τινα ἦν τὰς δ' ἐν μέρει τῶν λεχθέντων προτάσεις, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἐπιλύσεις, τὴν τε λογικὴν πραγματείαν οίκείως τῇ τῶν ἄνδρῶν σοφίᾳ τε καὶ φωνῇ διὰ πασῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφητικῶν γραφῶν φερομένην, ὅτω φίλον, τῆς τούτων ἐντεύξεως τὰς βίβλους ἐπὶ σχολῆς μετὰ χεῖρας λαβὼν εἴσεται.

11.5.6 | εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῆς φιλοκάλως γένοιτο ἐν πείρᾳ, ἵδιοι ἀν, οἴα παρὰ βαρβάροις, ἄνδρας λογικωτάτους ούδεν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ῥητόρων ἀποδέοντας τῇ οίκείᾳ γλώσσῃ.

revealed things that were hidden, even if not to everyone, at least to those who were eager to hear them, through interpretation and clarity.

11.5.4 | Here, the wisest Solomon made the beginning of the book of Proverbs, teaching that the reason for this writing was to show them that every man should know wisdom and education, and understand words of thought. He said they should accept the twists of words, understand true justice, and guide judgment, so that, he says, the innocent may avoid trickery, and the young may have perception and understanding. For by hearing these things, the wise will become wiser, and the understanding will gain leadership; they will understand parables and dark sayings, the words of the wise, and riddles.

11.5.5 | And the promises of the written work that was revealed were such; but the parts of the statements made, and their explanations, along with the logical discussion, were closely connected to the wisdom and speech of men, carried through all the prophetic writings among them. To whoever loves this, taking the books of these teachings in hand during study, will understand.

11.5.6 | But if someone were to become skilled in this language through practice, they would see that among the barbarians, there are very logical men who do not lack in wisdom or eloquence in their own

language.

11.5.7 | εἶεν δ' ἀν αύτοῖς καὶ ἔμμετροι ποιήσεις, ὡς ἡ μεγάλη Μώσεως ὥδη, καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ὁ ριη' Ψαλμὸς, τῷ καλουμένῳ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἡρῷῳ μέτρῳ συντεταγμένοι. φασὶ γοῦν ἐξάμετρα εἶναι ταῦτα, δι' ἐκκαίδεκα συλλαβῶν πεποιημένα. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στιχήρῃ δι' ἐπῶν λέγεται τριμέτρων τε καὶ τετραμέτρων κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτῶν συγκεῖσθαι φωνήν.

11.5.8 | καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς λέξεως αύτοῖς ὡδέ πη λογικῆς συνέσεως ἔχει, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῆς διανοίας οὐδὲ ἔστι παραβαλεῖν ἀνθρώποις· θεοῦ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς ἀληθείας λόγια δι' αὐτῶν ἐκπεφωνημένα, θεσπίσματα καὶ προρρήσεις, μαθήματά τε εύσεβη, καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἐπιγνώσεως δόγματα περιειλήφασι.

11.5.9 | τεκμήρια δ' ἀν λάβοις τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι λογικῆς ἀκριβείας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρθοτητος τῆς τῶν ὄνομάτων θέσεως, ἣς πέρι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τῇ Ἐβραίων μαρτυρῶν δόξῃ δῆλος ἀν εἴη, καὶ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο σύμφωνος ὧν τῇ κατὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοσοφίᾳ, ὡς γοῦν ἐκ τούτων διαγνῶναι ἥράδιον.

## Section 6

11.6.1 | Πρωτοῦ Μώσεως μακρῷ πρόσθεν ἡ τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα είς Ἑλληνας ἐλθεῖν διὰ πάσης αὐτοῦ τῆς γραφῆς μυρία περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄνομάτων θέσεως πεπραγματευμένου, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν

11.5.7 | And they would also make metrical poems, like the great song of Moses and the 151st Psalm of David, arranged in the so-called heroic meter by the Greeks. They say that these are hexameters, made up of sixteen syllables. And the other verses among them are said to be composed in three-meter and four-meter lines according to their own language.

11.5.8 | And the words they use have a logical meaning, but the ideas cannot be compared to those of humans; for the words of God and of truth itself have been spoken through them, containing laws and prophecies, teachings of piety, and doctrines about the knowledge of what exists.

11.5.9 | And you would find evidence of logical accuracy among the men from the correctness of the arrangement of names, about which Plato would clearly testify according to the belief of the Hebrews. And being in agreement with the philosophy of men, it would be easy to understand from these.

11.6.1 | Long before Moses, the name of philosophy came to the Greeks through many discussions about the arrangement of names in all his writings. Sometimes it was arranged most naturally among all those he

φυσικώτατα τῶν παρ' αύτῷ πάντων τάς ἐπωνυμίας διατεταγμένου, τοτὲ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὴν κρίσιν τῆς τῶν εύσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν μετωνυμίας ἀναθέντος, φύσει τε, ἀλλ' οὐ θέσει τὰ ὄνόματα κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων κεῖσθαι πεπαιδευκότος, ἐπόμενος ὁ Πλάτων συμφέρεται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ βαρβάρων μνησθεὶς, καὶ παρὰ τοῖσδε φήσας τόνδε σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον, τάχα που τοὺς Ἐβραίους αίνιττόμενος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ παρ' ἔτεροις βαρβάροις ὥρδιον τὴν τοιάνδε παραφυλάξαι θεωρίαν.

11.6.2 | λέγει δ' οὖν ἐν Κρατύλῳ "Καὶ Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι ὄνομα ὃ ἂν τινες συνθέμενοι καλεῖν καλῶσι, τῆς αὐτῶν φωνῆς μόριον ἐπιφεγγόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὥρθότητά τινα τῶν ὄνομάτων πεψυκέναι καὶ Ἔλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπασι."

11.6.3 | Καὶ προιών ἐξῆς φησιν "Ούκοῦν οὕτως οὕτως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην τόν τε ἐνθάδε καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἵως ἂν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὄνόματος εἴδος ἀποδιδῷ τὸ προσῆκον ἐκάστῳ ἐν διοιασοῦν συλλαβαῖς, οὐδὲν χείρω νομοθέτην εἶναι τὸν ἐνθάδε ἢ τὸν ὄπουοῦν ἄλλοθι."

11.6.4 | Εἴθ' ἐξῆς πάλιν τὸν ἐπιστήμονα τῆς ὥρθότητος τῶν ὄνομάτων διαλεκτικὸν εἶναι φήσας καὶ νομοθέτην οὕτω λέγει "Τέκτονος μὲν ἄρα ἔργον ἔστιν τὸ ποιῆσαι πηδάλιον ἐπιστατοῦντος κυβερνήτου, εἰ μέλλει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ πηδάλιον. Φαίνεται.

11.6.5 | Νομοθέτου δέ γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὄνομα, ἐπιστάτην c ἔχοντος διαλεκτικὸν ἄνδρα, εἱ

had, and sometimes it was dedicated to God in the judgment of the names of the pious men. Names were placed according to nature, not according to convention, and Plato, following this, agrees with the same ideas, not differently than when he mentions the barbarians. And after saying this, he suggests that this way of understanding is preserved, perhaps hinting at the Hebrews, since it is not easy to find such a theory among other barbarians.

11.6.2 | And so he says in Cratylus, 'And this is not a name that some people create and call beautiful, merely using a part of their own voice, but rather that certain correctness of names has come to exist for both Greeks and barbarians in the same way for all.'

11.6.3 | And going on, he says, 'In this way, you will value both the lawgiver here and the one among the barbarians, as long as the form of the name gives what is fitting to each in any syllables. There is nothing worse about the lawgiver here than about any other one elsewhere.'

11.6.4 | Then, going on, he again says that the expert in the correctness of names is a dialectician and a lawgiver. He says, 'The work of a carpenter is to make a rudder under the supervision of a helmsman, if the rudder is to be good. It seems so.'

11.6.5 | Now, as it seems, the name of a lawgiver must have a dialectician as its

μέλλοι καλῶς ὄνομα τεθήσεσθαι. "Εστι ταῦτα. Κινδυνεύει ἄρα, ὡς Ἐρμόγενες, εἶναι οὐ φαῦλον, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἢ τοῦ ὄνόματος θέσις, οὐδὲ φαύλων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων. καὶ Κρατύλος ἀληθῆ λέγει, λέγων φύσει τὰ ὄνόματα εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐ πάντα δημιουργὸν ὄνομάτων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀποβλέποντα εἰς τὸ τῇ φύσει ὄνομα ὃν ἐκάστῳ, καὶ δυνάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἴδος τιθέναι εἰς τά τε γράμματα καὶ τὰς συλλαβάς."

11.6.6 | Τοσαῦτα είπὼν μετὰ πλεῖστα βαρβάρων αύθις ἀναφέρει τὴν μνήμην, κακοπειτα εἰς Ἑλληνας παρὰ βαρβάρων ἥκειν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὄνομάτων διαρρήν δύμολογεῖ, φάσκων αὐτοῖς ḥήμασιν

11.6.7 | "Ἐννοῶ ὅτι πολλὰ Ἑλληνες ὄνόματα, ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις οίκοῦντες, παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων εἰλήφασι. Τί οὖν δή; Εἴ τις ζητοί ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν ὡς ἔοικότως κεῖται, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐξ ἣς τὸ ὄνομα τυγχάνει ὃν, οἰσθα ὅτι ἀποροίη ἄν. Εἴκοτως."

11.6.8 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. φθάνει γε μὴν αὐτὸν Νωυσῆς, ὃς οἷα δὴ σοφὸς νομοθέτης ὧν δόμοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικὸς ἐπάκουουσον τί φησί. "καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἵδεῖν τί καλέσει αὐτά. καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Ἀδάμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, τοῦτο ἦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ."

master, if it is to be set well. This is true. Therefore, oh Hermogenes, it is not likely to be unimportant, as you think, the placement of the name, nor is it for unworthy men or those who happen to succeed. And Cratylus speaks the truth, saying that names are naturally related to things, and not all names are made by a creator, but only that one who looks to the nature of each name and can give its form to both the letters and the syllables.

11.6.6 | After saying so much, he again brings up the memory of many barbarians, and then he agrees that many of the names come from the Greeks rather than the barbarians, stating to them with words.

11.6.7 | I mean that many Greek names, especially those used by the barbarians, have been taken from the barbarians. So what then? If someone were to seek these according to the Greek language as it seems to be, but not according to that from which the name comes, you know that they would be at a loss. It makes sense.

11.6.8 | This is what Plato says. Indeed, Moses, who is a wise lawgiver and also a dialectician, speaks as follows: 'And God made from the earth all the wild animals and all the birds of the sky, and he brought them to Adam to see what he would call them. And whatever Adam called each living creature, that was its name.'

11.6.9 | διὰ γὰρ τοῦ φάναι τοῦτο ἦν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ” τί ἄλλο ἢ κατὰ φύσιν τεθεῖσθαι τὰς προσηγορίας παρίστησι; τὸ γὰρ ἐπικληθὲν ἄρτι, φησὶ τοῦτο καὶ πάλαι πρότερον ἐν τῇ φύσει περιέχεσθαι, εἶναι (??) καὶ προυπάρχειν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐπωνυμασμένων ὡς τοῦτο ὄνομα, δῆπερ ὁ δηλούμενος ἀνθρωπος ἐπιθειάσας δυνάμει κρείττονι τέθειται.

11.6.9 | For by saying 'that was its name,' what else does he show but that names are given according to nature? For what is called just now, he says, has also been contained in nature before, and it exists and has always existed for each of those named as this name, which the indicated person has placed upon it with greater power.

11.6.10 | καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ Ἀδὰμ, Ἐβραῖον ὑπάρχον ὄνομα, παρὰ τῷ Μωσεῖ τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἀνθρώπου γένοιτ' ἀνὴρ ἐπώνυμον, διτὶ δὴ παρ' Ἐβραίοις Ἀδὰμ ἡ γῆ καλεῖται, παρ' ὅς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος γηγενὴς ἐτύμως Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ Μώσεως ἀνείρηται.

11.6.10 | And the name Adam itself, which is a Hebrew name, could be called the name of the earth-born man by Moses, because among the Hebrews, Adam is called 'man,' and the first earth-born is truly referred to as Adam by Moses.

11.6.11 | ἔχοι δ' ἀνὴρ καὶ ἄλλην ἡ προσηγορία διάνοιαν, εἰς τὸ ἐρυθρὸν μεταλαμβανομένη καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος παριστῶσα φύσιν. ἄλλὰ τὸν μὲν γεώδη καὶ γήινον καὶ γηγενῆ, ἡ τὸν σωματικὸν καὶ σάρκινον ὡς ἀνθρωπὸν, τῷ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐπεσημήνατο προσρήματι.

11.6.11 | But the name can also have another meaning, relating to the red and representing the nature of the body. However, the earthly, earthly, and earth-born man, or the physical and fleshly person, is indicated by the name of Adam.

11.6.12 | καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως παῖδες Ἐβραίων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, Ἐνὼς ἐπονομάζοντες, δὸν δὴ φασιν εἶναι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογικὸν, ἔτερον ὅντα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ γεώδους Ἀδάμ. διάνοιαν δὲ περιέχει καὶ ὁ Ἐνὼς οἰκείαν, ἐπιλήσμων τῇ Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνευόμενος φωνῇ.

11.6.12 | And the Hebrews also call man by another name, Enosh, which they say is the rational one among us, being different in nature from the earthly Adam. Enosh also has its own meaning, being interpreted in the language of the Greeks as forgetful.

11.6.13 | τοιούτον δὲ πέφυκεν ὑπάρχειν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν λογικὸν, τῆς πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἄλογον συμπλοκῆς ἔνεκα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάντη καθαρὸν καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ θεῖον καὶ λογικὸν οὐ μόνον τῶν πρόσθεν

11.6.13 | Thus, the rational part within us has come to exist because of the connection to the mortal and irrational. For the pure, immaterial, divine, and rational part not only remembers what has happened before

γενομένων τὴν μνήμην,, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν γνῶσιν, δι' ἄκραν ἀρετὴν θεωρίας περιείληφε. τὸ δ' ἐν σαρξὶ πεπιλημένον, ὅστεοις τε καὶ νεύροις καταπεπαρμένον, ὅγκον τε μέγαν καὶ βαρὺν ἐπηχθισμένον τὸ σῶμα, λήθης πολλῆς καὶ ἀμαθίας συνιδῶν ὁ Ἐβραῖος λόγιος εὐθυβόλω κέκληκε προσρήματι Ἐνὼς ἐπονομάσας, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὸν ἐπιλήσμονα.

but also knows what will happen in the future, as it is surrounded by the highest virtue of contemplation. But the part that is wrapped in flesh, surrounded by bones and nerves, with a large and heavy body, is seen by the Hebrews as full of forgetfulness and ignorance. Therefore, they have called it Enosh, which indicates the forgetful one.

11.6.14 | κεῖται γοῦν παρά τινι προφήτῃ “τί ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ; ἡ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτὸν; ἀνθ' οὗ τὸ Ἐβραϊκὸν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κλήσεως τὸ Ἐνὼς περιείληφεν, ὥσει ἔλεγε σαφέστερον, τί οὗτός ἔστιν ὁ ἐπιλήσμων, ὅτι σὺ, ὡς εἴναι, μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ὄντος ἐπιλήσμονος;

11.6.14 | Indeed, a certain prophet says, 'What is man that you remember him? Or the son of man that you visit him?' In this, the Hebrew word for the first calling of man includes Enosh, as if saying more clearly, 'What is this forgetful one, that you, O god, remember him, even though he is forgetful?'

11.6.15 | τὸ δὲ ἡ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτὸν” “ἡ υἱὸς Ἄδαμ” κεῖται παρὰ τοῖς δηλουμένοις, ὡς εἴναι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἄδαμ καὶ Ἐνὼς, τοῦ μὲν σαρκικοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἄδαμ, τοῦ δὲ λογικοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἐνὼς παρισταμένου.

11.6.15 | But when it says 'or the son of man, that you visit him,' it also refers to 'the son of Adam,' showing that both Adam and Enosh are the same. The physical part is through Adam, while the rational part is represented by Enosh.

11.6.16 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἐβραίων λόγια οὕτω πως διαιρεῖ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν· ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ παρὰ τὸ ἀναθρεῖν φησι κεκλησθαι λέγων “Ο δὲ ἀνθρωπος ἄμα ἐώρακε, τοῦτο δέ ἔστιν ὅπωπε, καὶ ἀναθρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται τοῦτο ὁ ὅπωπεν, ἵ, ἔνα ἢ ἀναθρῶν ἡ ὅπωπε.”

11.6.16 | And the Hebrew words divide the etymology in this way. But Plato says that man is called by the Greek word related to 'to nurture,' saying, 'When man sees, this is what he has seen, and he nurtures and thinks about what he has seen, as if he is nurturing what he has seen.'

11.6.17 | πάλιν Ἐβραῖοι τὸν ἄνδρα εἰς καλοῦσι. παρῆκται δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔς, δι' οὗ σημαίνουσι τὸ πῦρ, ἵνα ἢ

11.6.17 | Again, the Hebrews call man 'ish.' They derive this name from the word for fire, so that it relates to warmth and

παρὰ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ διάξπυρξον τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φύσεως ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡνομασμένος.

11.6.18 | ἡ δὲ γυνὴ, ἐπείπερ εἴρηται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰλῆφθαι, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπικοινωνεῖ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ἐς σὰ γάρ ἡ γυνὴ λέγεται παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ εἰς ὁ ἀνήρ. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ τὴν ἄνω ῥοήν ὄνομάζεσθαι λέγει· καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ γονή μοι φαίνεται βούλεσθαι εἶναι."

11.6.19 | πάλιν Μώσης τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔτύμως τῇ Ἐβραίων γλώσσῃ "στερέωμα προσαγορεύει, παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι μετὰ τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ νοερὰν οὐσίαν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου στερεὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν σῶμα. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' τῷ οὐρανῷ φησιν ὄρθως ὄνομα κεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἄνω ὅραν ποιεῖν.

11.6.20 | πάλιν Ἐβραῖοι τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριον ὄνομα ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ ἄθθεγκτον, οὐδὲ φαντασίᾳ διανοίας ληπτὸν εἶναι φασιν· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καθ' ὁ θεὸν ὄνομάζομεν Ἐλωεὶμ καλοῦσι, παρὰ τὸ ἦλ, ὡς ἔοικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐρμηνεύουσιν ἴσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν· ὥστ' εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦνομα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως τε καὶ ἴσχύος ἐπιλελογισμένον, δι' ἣς νοεῖται παντοδύναμος καὶ πάντα ἴσχύων, ὡς ἀν τὰ πάντα συστησάμενος. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' θεὸν καὶ θεοὺς παρὰ τὸ θέειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τρέχειν, τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστῆρας ἐπικεκλῆσθαι φησι.

11.6.21 | Τοιαῦτα δή τινα, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ

represents the fiery nature of man.

11.6.18 | But the woman, since it is said that she is taken from man, shares the name with man. For among them, the woman is called 'isha,' just as man is called 'ish.' And Plato says that man is named from the upper flow. And he adds, 'But the woman seems to me to want to be a source.'

11.6.19 | Again, Moses rightly calls the heaven 'firmament' in the Hebrew language, based on the first being, which is the incorporeal and intellectual essence of this world, a solid and sensible body. And Plato says that the name for heaven is rightly placed because it makes one look upward.

11.6.20 | Again, the Hebrews say that the highest name of God is unutterable and ungraspable, and they claim it cannot be understood by the imagination of the mind. This very name, by which we call God, they call 'Elohim,' based on 'el,' it seems. They interpret this as strength and power, so that the name of God among them is based on the power and strength surrounding Him, through which He is thought to be all-powerful and able to do all things, as if He holds everything together. And Plato says that God and the gods are named from 'theos,' which means to run, referring to the shining ones in heaven.

11.6.21 | Such things, as if in example, are

φάναι, τὰ παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τὰ παρὰ Πλάτωνι περὶ ὄρθότητος ὄνομάτων διηκρίβωται. καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσηγορίας μετά τινος διανοίας φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων' τεθεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν γε λόγον ἀποδιδόναι πειρᾶται, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὸν "Ἐκτορα κεκλῆσθαι εἰπὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν καὶ κρατεῖν, διὰ τὸ βασιλέα εἶναι τῶν Τρώων, τὸν δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα διὰ τὸ ἄγαν μένειν, καὶ τοῖς δόξασι περὶ τῶν Τρώων εύτόνως καὶ καρτερῶς παραμένειν" τὸν δὲ Ὁρέστην διὰ τὸ ὄρεινδὸν καὶ ἄγριον καὶ θηριώδες τοῦ τρόπου· καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἄτρέα δὲ ίὰ τὸ ἀτηρόν τινα γεγονέναι τὸ ἥθος· τὸν δὲ Πέλοπα οἴδων τινα οὐ τὰ πόρρω, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ πέλας καὶ ἐγγὺς ὀρῶντα· τὸν δὲ Τάνταλον ταλάντατον τινά φησι, διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν δυστυχήματα, σημαίνειν.

11.6.22 | ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα μυρία ἄλλα εὑροις ἀν είρημένα τῷ Πλάτωνι, φύσει τεθεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ θέσει τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ ὄνόματα διδάσκειν πειρωμένω.

11.6.23 | ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ βεβιασμένα ἀν εἴποις, ούδέ γε κατά τινα σοφιστικὴν εὐρεσιλογίαν πεποιημένα, μαθὼν ὡς ὁ μὲν παρ' Ἐβραίοις Κάιν ζῆλος" παρ' Ἑλλησι μεταλαμβάνεται, τούτου δὲ ήξιώθη τοῦ προσρήματός ὁ δηλούμενος διὰ τὸ ζηλῶσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀβελ.

11.6.24 | καὶ ὁ Ἀβελ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται "πένθος", τοῦ τοιοῦδε πάθους γεγονώς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς γονεῦσιν αἴτιος, οἷς κατά τινα θειοτέραν προμήθειαν γενομένοις τοῖς παισὶ ταύτας τέθεινται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας.

explained about the names from the Hebrews and from Plato regarding the correctness of names. And Plato also says that the names among humans are set with some thought, and he tries to give an account of this. I do not know how he calls Hector from having and holding, because he is the king of the Trojans, and Agamemnon from staying too long, and he is thought to remain easily and strongly among the Trojans. He calls Orestes from the mountainous and wild nature of his way. And Atreus is named from having a certain reckless character. Pelops is named not from far away, but from seeing only what is near and close. And he says that Tantalus means someone who suffers greatly, because of the misfortunes surrounding him.

11.6.22 | You would find many such things mentioned by Plato, set by nature, but he does not try to teach the names to those who come first.

11.6.23 | But you would not say that the things from Moses are forced, nor are they made by some clever reasoning. Learning that among the Hebrews, Cain means 'jealousy,' it is taken among the Greeks, and he is thought to deserve this name because he was jealous of his brother Abel.

11.6.24 | And Abel is interpreted as 'mourning,' because he himself is the cause of such a feeling for his parents, who, because of some divine plan, have given these names to their children.

11.6.25 | τί δ' εἴ σοι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ παραφέροιμι; μετεωρολόγος τις οὗτος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων θεωρίας τῶν τε κατ' οὐρανὸν μαθημάτων εἰδήμων τὸ πρὸν, ὅτε τῆς Χαλδαικῆς μετεποιεῖτο σοφίας,, γεγονὼς Ἀβραμ ἐκαλεῖτο· τοῦτο δ' Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ πατέρα μετέωρον σημαίνει.

11.6.26 | ἀλλ' ὁ θεός γε αύτὸν τῶν τῆδε ἐπὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ τόν δρωμένων ἐπέκεινα προάγων εύθυβόλω κέχρηται μετωνυμίᾳ, Οὐκέτι, φήσας, κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραμ, ἀλλὰ Ἀβραὰμ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν δὲ έθνῶν τέθεικά σε.

11.6.27 | τοῦτο δ' ὅποιας ἔχεται διανοίας μακρὸς ἀν εἴη λόγος. ἀπαρκεῖ δὲ κάν τούτῳ τὸν Πλάτωνα μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου παραθέσθαι, ὑπὸ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἔνια τῶν ὄνομάτων τεθεῖσθαι φάμενον. λέγει δὲ οὖν αὐτοῖς ρήμασιν

11.6.28 | "Εσπουδάσθαι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα πρέπει τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὄνομάτων· ἵσως δὲ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγενήθη."

11.6.29 | Τοῦτο γέ τοι αύτὸ διὰ πλειόνων καὶ ἡ παρ' Ἐρβαίοις ιερὰ πιστοῦται γραφή· πρῶτός τε Μώσης ἀπάντων, δὲ ἐκ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ἔτι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπωνομάσθαι ἐδίδαξε. γέλως· δὲ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐρμηνεύεται, τὸ τῆς ἐναρέτου χαρᾶς ἐπαγόμενος σύμβολον, ἦν τοῖς θεοφιλέσι

11.6.25 | What if I bring up Abraham? This man was a meteorologist and an expert in the study of the stars and the sciences of the heavens, when he was called Abram, having changed from Chaldean wisdom; and in the Greek language, it means 'father of the high places.'

11.6.26 | But God has called him by a different name, leading him toward the hidden things and those beyond what is seen, using a metaphor. 'You will no longer be called Abram,' he said, 'but your name will be Abraham, because I have made you the father of many nations.'

11.6.27 | This could be a long discussion about what kind of thoughts this holds. However, it is enough to mention Plato as a witness to this idea, saying that some names have been given by a divine power. And so he says to them these words...

11.6.28 | For it is especially fitting to study the meaning of names here; perhaps some of them were given by a divine power or by humans.

11.6.29 | This same thing is confirmed by many, and the sacred writings among the Hebrews testify to it. First of all, Moses taught that Abraham and his son Isaac, and also Israel, were named by a divine power. Isaac, indeed, is interpreted as a symbol of joyful delight, which God has promised to

γέρας ἔξαίρετον δώσειν ὁ θεὸς ἐπήγγελται. give as a special gift to those who love him.

11.6.30 | ὁ δὲ τούτου παῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἦν μὲν τὸ πρὶν τὸ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ὄνομα ἐπενηνεγμένος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα σωρεῖται, τὸν ἀσκητὴν καὶ πρακτικὸν ἐπὶ τὸν θεωρητικὸν μεταστησάμενος.

11.6.31 | πτερνιστῆς γὰρ ὁ Ἰακὼβ ἐρμηνεύεται ὡς τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐναθλῶν ἀγῶνα· Ἰσραὴλ δὲ ὅρῶν θεὸν, ὅποιος ἀν εἴη ὁ γνωστικὸς καὶ θεωρητικὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ νοῦς.

11.6.32 | τί με δεῖ νῦν τοῦ πανσόφου Μώσεως ἢ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις Ἱερῶν λογίων διὰ μυρίων ἄλλων τὴν ὄρθοτητα τῆς τῶν οἰκείων ὄνομάτων θέσεως ἔξαπλοιν, μακροτέρας σχολῆς δεομένων τῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον;

11.6.33 | αὐτίκα δὴ καὶ τῶν πρώτων τῆς γραμματικῆς στοιχείων "Ελληνες μὲν οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιεν τὰς ἐτυμολογίας εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτός γ' ἀν φαίη Πλάτων' τὸν λόγον ἢ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν φωνηέντων ἢ τῶν συμφώνων.

11.6.34 | Ἐβραίων δ' ἀν εἴποιεν παῖδες τοῦ τε Ἀλφα τὴν αἵτιαν, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς καλεῖται Ἀλφ', τοῦτο δὲ σημαίνει μάθησιν· καὶ τοῦ Βῆτα, ὅπερ Βῆθ φίλον αὐτοῖς προσαγορεύειν, οὕτω δὲ τὸν οἶκον ὄνομάζουσιν· ὥστε δηλοῦν τὴν διάνοιαν,

11.6.30 | But the son of this one, Israel, if he had previously been named Jacob, instead of Jacob, God gave him the name Israel, changing him from a man of action to a man of contemplation.

11.6.31 | For Jacob is interpreted as one who struggles for virtue; but Israel means one who sees God, which refers to the wise and contemplative mind in a person.

11.6.32 | What need do I have now to explain the correctness of the names of their own people through the many other wise writings of the all-wise Moses or the sacred texts among the Hebrews, when there is a longer delay needed for those in the area?

11.6.33 | Indeed, the Greeks would not be able to say the etymologies of the first elements of grammar, nor would Plato himself be able to explain the speech or reasoning of the vowels or consonants.

11.6.34 | But the children of the Hebrews would say the meaning of Alpha, which they call Aleph, and this means learning; and of Beta, which they call Beth, they name the house this way; thus showing the understanding that learning is about the

μάθησις οἴκου· ώσει σαφέστερον ἐλέγετο,  
διδαχή τις καὶ μάθησις οἰκονομίας.

household. It could be said more clearly  
that it is a teaching and learning of  
household management.

11.6.35 | καὶ τὸ Γάμμα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
τρίτον κέκληται Γίμελ· οὕτω δὲ τὴν  
πλήρωσιν ὄνομάζουσιν. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς  
δέλτους Δέλθ καλοῦσι, τὸ τέταρτον  
στοιχεῖον οὕτω προσεῖπον, ὅμοῦ διὰ τῶν  
δύο στοιχείων σημαίνοντες ὡς ὅτι ἡ  
ἔγγραφος μάθησις πλήρωσίς ἔστι δέλτων.

11.6.35 | And the third letter among them  
is called Gimel; and they name the fullness  
this way. Then, since they call the tablets  
Delth, they refer to the fourth element in  
this way, meaning together through the  
two elements that written learning is the  
fullness of tablets.

11.6.36 | ἐπιὼν δέ τις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς  
γραμματικῆς στοιχεῖα, μετά τινος αἵτιας  
καὶ λογισμοῦ εὑροι ἀν ἔκαστα παρ' αὐτοῖς  
ώνομασμένα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ  
φωνήντων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνθεσιν μιᾶς  
τινος ἀπορρήτου προσηγορίας περιέχειν  
φασὶν ἐκφώνησιν, ἦν διὰ τεσσάρων  
στοιχείων παῖδες Ἐβραίων σημειούμενοι  
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως  
κατατάττουσιν, ἀλεκτόν τι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ  
ἀπόρρητον τοῦτ' εἶναι παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς  
εἰληφότες.

11.6.36 | And if someone were to go over  
the other elements of grammar, they would  
find each one named among them with  
some reason and logic. For they say that the  
seven vowels contain a certain secret  
meaning in their combination, which the  
children of the Hebrews mark with four  
elements, placing it at the highest power of  
God, saying that it is something unspoken  
and secret, received by the child from the  
father.

11.6.37 | καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι δὲ σοφῶν,  
οὐκ οἴδ' ὡπόθεν, τις τοῦτο μαθὼν ἤνιξατο,  
ῶδε πῃ δ' ἐπῶν φήσας ἐπτά με  
φωνήνταθεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον  
αίνεταιράμματα, τὸν πάντων ἀκάματον  
πατέρα.εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ πάντων χέλυς ἄφθιτος,  
ἡ τὰ λυρώδηρμοσάμην δίνης οὐρανίοιο  
μέλη.

11.6.37 | And among the wise of the Greeks,  
I do not know from where, someone  
learned this and hinted at it, saying in  
verses: 'Seven vowels praise the great,  
immortal God, the tireless father of all.' And  
I am the immortal shell, who harmonized  
the lyrical melodies of the heavenly circle.

11.6.38 | εὑροις δ' ἀν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις στοιχείων, ἐπιστήσας ἐκάστῳ, τὰ  
σημαινόμενα· τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη καὶ διὰ τῶν  
πρόσθεν ἡμῖν συνέστη, ὅπηνίκα παρὰ

11.6.38 | And you would also find the other  
elements among the Hebrews, each one  
having its own meaning. This has already  
been established for us, whenever we

βαρβάρων τὰ πάντα ὥφελῆσθαι τοὺς  
Ἐλληνας ἀπεδείκνυμεν.

11.6.39 | πολλὴν δ' ἂν τις καταμάθοι, τὴν  
Ἐβραίων γλῶσσαν πολυπραγμονῶν,  
ὄνομάτων ὄρθότητα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι  
φερομένην, ἐπεὶ καὶ αύτὸ τοῦ παντὸς  
ἔθνους τὸ προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἐβερ τὸ παρωνύμιον εἴληφε. σημαίνει δὲ  
τοῦτο τὸν "διαπερῶντα," ἐπεὶ καὶ διάβασις  
καὶ διαπερῶν τῇ Ἐβραίων φωνῇ "Ἐρερ"  
ὄνομάζεται.

11.6.40 | διδάσκει δὲ ὁ λόγος διαπερᾶν καὶ  
διαβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα,  
μηδαμῶς τε ἔναπομένειν καὶ ἵστασθαι ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῇ θέᾳ τῶν ὀρωμένων, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ ἀόρατα τῆς περὶ τοῦ τῶν  
ὅλων ποιητοῦ τε καὶ δημιουργοῦ θεολογίας  
διαβαίνειν. ταύτη τοι τοὺς πρώτους μόνῳ  
τῷ πανηγεμόνι καὶ αἵτιώ τῶν ὅλων  
ἀνακειμένους, εύσεβείᾳ τε καθαρῷ καὶ  
ἀληθεῖ προσανέχοντας, Ἐβραίους ἐφώνουν,  
περατικούς τινας καὶ διαβεβηκότας τῇ  
διανοίᾳ τοὺς τοιούσδε ἀποκαλοῦντες.

11.6.41 | καὶ τί με δεῖ ἐπὶ πλέον μηκύνειν τὰ  
πάντα συνάγοντα τῆς τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν  
ὄνομάτων ὄρθότητός τε καὶ ἀκριβείας, τοῦ  
προβλήματος οίκείας δεομένου  
πραγματείας; πλὴν ὡς ἐν τύπῳ φάναι,  
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ διὰ τῶν λεχθέντων τῆς παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις λογικῆς διδασκαλίας τὴν  
ἀπόδειξιν παρεσχηκέναι, εἰ δὴ κατὰ τὸν  
Πλάτωνα οὐ φαύλων ἦν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ τῶν  
τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σοφοῦ καὶ διαλεκτικοῦ  
τινος νομοθέτου, φύσιν ὄνομάτων οίκείαν  
τοῖς πράγμασιν εὑρέσθαι, οἷος ἡμῖν ὁ  
Μώσης καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων ἀποδέρεικται

showed that everything among the  
barbarians could benefit the Greeks.

11.6.39 | One could learn a lot about the  
Hebrew language, which is full of activity,  
known for its correctness among men,  
since the name of the whole nation is taken  
from 'Eber,' which means 'the one who  
crosses over.' This is because both  
'crossing' and 'to cross over' are called  
'Herer' in the Hebrew language.

11.6.40 | The word teaches to cross over  
and to pass from here to the divine, not to  
remain or stand on the surface of what is  
seen, but to move from these things to the  
hidden and unseen aspects of the creator  
and maker of all. In this way, they called the  
first ones who were dedicated only to the  
great leader and cause of all, those who  
offered pure and true devotion, Hebrews,  
referring to them as 'those who cross over'  
and 'those who have passed over' in their  
understanding.

11.6.41 | And why should I need to go on  
gathering everything about the correctness  
and precision of Hebrew names, when the  
matter requires its own study? But as a  
brief point, I believe that through what has  
been said, the proof of the logical teaching  
among the Hebrews has been provided,  
since according to Plato, it was not the  
common men or those who just happened  
to be there, but rather a wise and  
dialectical lawgiver who found a nature of  
names fitting to the things, such as Moses  
for us and the words of the Hebrews. So

λόγια. τί δὴ οὖν μετὰ τὰ λογικὰ ἔπειται ἡ τὰ φυσικὰ ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὅπως ποτὲ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα εἶχον Ἐβραίων παῖδες;

## Section 7

11.7.1 | Καὶ τὸ τρίτον δὲ μέρος τῆς καθ' Ἐβραίους φιλοσοφίας, — τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ φυσικὸν, διαιρούμενον καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τὴν τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων ἐποπτείαν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φυσιολογίαν, — οἱ κατὰ πάντα τέλειοι προφήται ἥδεσάν τε καὶ τοῖς οἴκειοις, ὅτε δὴ καιρὸς ἐκάλει, κατεμίγγυον λόγοις, οὐ στοχασμοῖς καὶ θνητῆς διανοίας ἐπιτηδεύσει μαθόντ' ἑς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις ἀνδράσι σεμνυνόμενοι, θεοφορήσει δὲ κρείττονος δυνάμεως καὶ θείου πνεύματος ἐπιπνοίᾳ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀνατιθέντες.

11.7.2 | ἐνθεν μυρία μὲν αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεθέσπιστο, μυρία δὲ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως πεφυσιολόγητο, καὶ αὖ πάλιν μυρία περὶ ζώων φύσεως διείληπτο, πλεῖστα δὲ ὄσα καὶ περὶ φυτῶν ταῖς οἴκειαις ἔκαστος προφητείαις κατεβέβλητο.

11.7.3 | Μώσης δὲ καὶ λίθων δυνάμεις εὗ μάλα ἔξεπιστάμενος οὐ παρέργως ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς τῇ τούτων κέχρητο θεωρίᾳ. καὶ αὖ πάλιν Σολομῶν, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, ἐν τῇ περὶ τούτων διαπρέψαι φυσιολογίᾳ πρὸς τῆς θείας μαρτυρεῖται γραφῆς, ὃδε περιεχούσης

what follows after the logical is to examine the physical, as the children of the Hebrews once did?

11.7.1 | And the third part of the philosophy according to the Hebrews, which was the natural philosophy, was divided by them into the contemplation of the intelligible and incorporeal and into the physiology of the sensible. The perfect prophets in every way knew and, when the time called for it, mixed their words not with guesses and the effort of mortal thought, nor did they rely on serious teachers, but they offered their knowledge through a greater power and the inspiration of a divine spirit.

11.7.2 | From this, many things were revealed to them about the future, many things were explained about the nature of the whole universe, and again many things were divided concerning the nature of living beings. And most of all, many things about plants were included in each of their prophecies.

11.7.3 | Moses, knowing well the powers of stones, did not use them carelessly in the priest's garments for their divine purpose. And again, Solomon, or anyone else, is shown in the writings about these things to have excelled in natural philosophy, as the divine scripture contains.

11.7.4 | “καὶ ἐλάλησε Σολομῶν τρισχλίας παραβολὰς, καὶ ἡσαν ὡδαὶ αὐτοῦ πεντακισχίλιαι, καὶ ἐλάλησε περὶ τῶν ξύλων, ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ καὶ ἔως τῆς ὑσσώπου τῆς ἐκπορευομένης διὰ τοῦ τοίχου. καὶ ἐλάλησε περὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰχθύων. καὶ παρεγένοντο πάντες οἱ λαοὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς σοφίας Σολομῶντος, καὶ [ἐλάμβανε δῶρα] παρὰ πάντων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς, ὅσοι ἤκουσαν τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ.”

11.7.5 | ἐντεῦθεν ὄρμώμενος καὶ ὁ τὴν πανάρετον σοφίαν εἰς αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀναθεῖς ἔφη “αὐτὸς γάρ μοι ἔδωκε τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν ἀψευδῆ, εἰδέναι σύστασιν κόσμου, καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων, τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν, ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλους, καὶ ἀστέρων θέσεις, φύσεις ζώων καὶ θυμοὺς θηρίων, πνευμάτων βίας, καὶ διαλογισμοὺς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διαφορὰς φυτῶν, καὶ δυνάμεις ῥιζῶν, ὅσα τέ ἔστι κρυπτὰ καὶ ἀφανῆ ἔγνων. ἡ γὰρ πάντων τεχνῆτις ἐδίδαξέ με σοφία.”

11.7.6 | πάλιν τε ὁ αὐτὸς Σολομῶν τὴν ῥευστὴν τῶν σωμάτων ούσιαν φυσιολογῶν ἐν Ἐκκλησιαστῇ φησι ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. τίς περισσεία τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν παντὶ μόχθῳ αὐτοῦ, ὃ μοχθεῖ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον; καὶ ἐπιλέγει “τί τὸ γεγονός; αὐτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον· καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον; αὐτὸ τὸ ποιηθησόμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πᾶν πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον.”

11.7.4 | And Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs, and his songs were five thousand. He spoke about trees, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall. He also spoke about animals, birds, and fish. And all the people came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and he received gifts from all the kings of the earth who had heard of his wisdom.

11.7.5 | Then, starting from here, he who had placed the perfect wisdom before him said, 'For he himself gave me true knowledge of all that exists, to know the structure of the world, and the activity of the elements, the beginning and end and middle of times, the changes and transformations of seasons, the cycles of years, and the positions of stars, the natures of animals and the emotions of beasts, the violence of spirits, and the thoughts of humans, and the differences of plants, and the powers of roots, all that is hidden and unseen I have known. For the master of all taught me wisdom.'

11.7.6 | Again, the same Solomon says in Ecclesiastes about the fleeting nature of bodies, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' What does a person gain from all their hard work under the sun? And he adds, 'What has happened? It is what will happen; and what has been done? It is what will be done. And there is nothing new under the sun.'

11.7.7 | ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πεφυσιολόγητο περὶ τῆς σωματικῆς οὐσίας. εὔροις δ' ἀν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐβραίους ἐπιών σοφοὺς τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀμοίρους ἐπιστήμης. φυτῶν γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην ἥδη πρότερον, μυρία καὶ ζώων πέρι, χερσαίων τε καὶ ἐνύδρων, καὶ προσέτι πτηνῶν φύσεως εἴρηται αὐτοῖς.

11.7.8 | ναὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστρῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ Πλειάδος, Ὄριωνός τε καὶ ἀρκτούρου, ὃν ἀρκτοφύλακα καὶ Βοώτην Ἔλλησι φίλον ὄνομάζειν, μνήμη τις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα τοῖς τῶν δηλουμένων ἐμφέρεται γράμμασιν.

11.7.9 | ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ συστάσεως κόσμου, τά τε περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τροπῆς τε καὶ ἀλλοιώσεως, ψυχῆς τε περὶ οὐσίας, καὶ λογικῶν ἀπάντων φύσεως ὀρωμένης τε καὶ ἀφανοῦς δημιουργίας, τῆς τε καθόλου προνοίας, καὶ τούτων ἔτι πρότερον τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ὅλων αἰτίου, τῆς τε τοῦ δευτέρου θεολογίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν διανοίᾳ μόνῃ ληπτῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς θεωρίας εὖ μάλα καὶ ἀκριβῶς περιειλήφασιν, ὡς μὴ ἀν ἀμαρτεῖν τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα παρ' Ἔλλησι τὴν τούτων φύσιν ἀνηρευνηκότας πρεσβύταις οἴα νεωτέρους κατηκολουθηκέναι φάναι.

11.7.10 | ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φυσιολογίας. διχῇ δὲ καὶ τὸν περὶ τούτων διαστειλάμενοι λόγον, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐκ εἰς ἄκρον ὕστοντο δεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν, οὐδέ γε τὰς αἰτίας

11.7.7 | For he was also concerned with these things and similar topics about the physical nature. You would also find other wise Hebrews who are not lacking in knowledge. About plants, as I said before, and about countless animals, both land and water, and also the nature of birds has been mentioned to them.

11.7.8 | Yes, and also about the stars in the sky, since he mentioned the Bear and the Pleiades, Orion and the Great Bear, which the Greeks like to call the Bear Keeper and the Boötes. There is a certain memory that does not come from the writings of those who explain these things.

11.7.9 | But also about the structure of the universe, the changes and transformations of everything, the essence of the soul, and the nature of all rational beings, both visible and hidden creations, and the overall providence. And before these, the topics about the first cause of all things, the second theology, and the other ideas that can only be understood by the mind, have been very well and accurately covered. So that those who investigate the nature of these things after them among the Greeks do not err, as the elders say that the younger ones have followed.

11.7.10 | These things are indeed about the physiology of the universe. And they divided the discussion about these topics. They thought that the part about the senses should not be explained to the masses

τῆς τ' τῶν ὄντων φύσεως τὸ δημῶδες πλῆθος ἐκδιδάσκειν, πλὴν ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι, ὅτι τε μὴ ἀπηυτομάτισται τὸ πᾶν, μηδ' εἴκῃ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐξ ἀλόγου φορᾶς ὑφέστηκεν, ἄγεται δ' ὑφ' ἡνιόχῳ θεοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ δυνάμει σοφίας ἀρρήτου διακυβερνᾶται.

completely, nor should the causes of the nature of beings be taught to the common people, except for what was necessary to know. They understood that everything is not left to chance, nor does it happen randomly or by mere luck. Instead, it is guided by the reasoning of a divine driver and governed by an unknown power of wisdom.

11.7.11 | περὶ δὲ τῶν νοητῶν, ὅτι μέν ἔστι καὶ τίνα, ὅπῃ τε διατάξεως ἔχει δυνάμεως τε καὶ διαφορᾶς, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ταῖς Ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐγκαταβέβληται, εἰς ἔξακουστόν τε τοῖς πᾶσι παραδέδοται, καθ' ὅσον εἰδέναι χρῆν τοὺς εὔσεβείας μεταποιουμένους εἰς ἀνάληψιν εὐλαβοῦς καὶ σώφρονος βίου.

11.7.11 | But about the intelligible things, what they are and their order, power, and differences, has been said and laid down in the sacred books. It has been handed down to everyone, as far as it is necessary for those who are pious to know, in order to lead them to a life of reverence and moderation.

11.7.12 | τὸν δὲ δὴ βαθὺν καὶ λεληθότα περὶ τούτ' ὧν λόγον ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ζητεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι κατελίμπανον τοῖς οἷοις τε τὰ τοιάδε μυεῖσθαι. βραχέα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν τύπῳ φάναι 5 εὗ ἀν ἔχοι καὶ τῆς τούτων διελθεῖν ἐποπτείας, τόν τε Πλάτωνα κάν τούτω τὰ φίλα πεφρονηκότα τοῖς δηλουμένοις παραστῆσαι.

11.7.12 | But indeed, the deep and hidden discussion about this was left for those who are capable of being initiated into such matters. It was said briefly and in a way that seems clear, that it would be good to have a look at these things and to understand them. Plato is also presented here as someone who has wisely understood these things.

## Section 8

11.8.1 | Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νοητῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων παιδεύσεως τε καὶ Θεωρίας τῷ πανσόφῳ Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίων προφήταις Πλάτων' ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐπηκολουθηκέναι διὰ τῶν οίκειων φωνῶν ἔστι δῆλος, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀκοῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἡκούσης μαθὼν, (ἐπεὶ καὶ συνίσταται παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις τηνικάδε τὰς διατριβὰς

11.8.1 | Indeed, it is clear that Plato, the wonderful one, followed the wise Moses and the Hebrew prophets in the teaching and contemplation of the intelligible and immaterial things, whether he learned from hearing about them or whether he developed his own understanding of the nature of things. This was especially true

πεποιημένος, καθ' ὃν Ἐβραῖοι τῆς οἰκείας δεύτερον ἀποπεσόντες γῆς Αἴγυπτίοις ἐπεχωρίαζον, Περσῶν ἐπικρατούντων,) εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβαλών φύσει, εἴτε ὅπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καταξιωθεὶς τῆς γνώσεως. “ὁ θεὸς γὰρ (φησὶν) αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσε. τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθο— ρᾶται, ἢ τε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους.” μάθοις δ' ἀν τὸ είρημένον ὥδε πῃ διασκοπούμενος.

## Section 9

11.9.1 | Μώσεως ἐν ταῖς ιεροφαντίαις χρησμὸν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ φήσαντος “έγώ είμι ὁ ὄν. οὕτως ἔρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ὣν ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς”, παραθεμένου δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀντικρυς μόνον ὅντα, καὶ τῆσδε κυρίως καὶ ἀρμοδίως ἡξιωμένον τῆς κλήσεως ἀποφηναμένου·

11.9.2 | πάλιν τε αὖ Σολομῶνος περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν γενέσεως τε καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνειπόντος “τί τὸ γεγονός; αὐτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον. καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον; αὐτὸ τὸ ποιηθησόμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πᾶν πρόσφατον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, ὁ λαλήσει καὶ ἔρει, ἵδε τοῦτο καινόν ἔστιν· ἥδη γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς αἰώσι τοῖς γενομένοις ἀπὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν”

11.9.3 | τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἀκολούθως είς δύο τὸ πὰν διαιρούντων, εἴς τε νοητὸν καὶ αἰσθητὸν, καὶ τὸ μὲν νοητὸν ἀσώματον καὶ λογικὸν τὴν φύσιν, ἀφθαρτόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶναι ὀριζομένων, τὸ δ' αἰσθητὸν

since the Egyptians had established similar studies, as the Hebrews, having fallen away from their own land, were moving into Egypt while the Persians were in power. Or perhaps he was granted knowledge by God. 'For God,' he says, 'revealed himself to them. For his invisible qualities are understood through the creation of the world, his eternal power and divinity, so that they are without excuse.' You would learn this by examining what has been said.

11.9.1 | In the hierophanies of Moses, there is a prophecy from the face of God saying, 'I am the one who is. Thus you shall say to the sons of Israel, the one who is has sent me to you.' And it is stated that God alone is truly being, and he is especially and appropriately worthy of this calling.

11.9.2 | Again, Solomon speaks about the generation and decay of the sensible and physical things, saying, 'What has happened? It is what will happen. And what has been made? It is what will be made. And there is nothing new under the sun that will say and declare, 'Look, this is new;' for it has already happened in the ages that came before us.'

11.9.3 | According to these things, we also divide everything into two: the intelligible and the sensible. The intelligible is formless and rational in nature, being defined as incorruptible and immortal. The sensible,

έν δύσει καὶ φθορῇ, μεταβολῇ τε καὶ τροπῇ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπάρχειν· πάντων δ' ἐπὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνακεφαλαιουμένων, ἵν τε εἶναι τὸ ἀγένητον καὶ τὸ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὃν δογματιζόντων, τὸ πάντων ἀσωμάτων τε καὶ σωμάτων αἴτιον·

on the other hand, exists in flux and decay, having change and transformation in its essence. And all things are summed up in one principle, which is to say that the ungenerated and what is truly and really being is the cause of all things, both formless and formed.

11.9.4 | Θέα τίνα τρόπον οὐ μόνον τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς λέξεις αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ρήματα τῆς Εβραίων γραφῆς παραχέσας ὁ Πλάτων' ἔξοικειοῦται τὸ δόγμα, πλατύτερον ὡδὲ πῃ διασαφῶν Τί τὸ ὃν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ τί τὸ γινόμενον μὲν ἀεὶ, ὃν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὃν, τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν."

11.9.4 | Plato, not only in thought but also in the very words and phrases of the Hebrew scriptures, explains the doctrine in a broader way, clarifying: 'What is always being, but has no generation? And what is always becoming, but never truly being? The former can be understood with reason as always existing in the same way, while the latter is perceived without reason as something that is becoming and perishing, but is never truly being.'

11.9.5 | Ἄρ' οὐ σαφῶς πέφηνεν ὁ θαυμάσιος τὸ μὲν παρὰ Μωσεῖ φῆσαν λόγιον ἔγώ είμι ὁ ὕν" μεταποιήσας διὰ τοῦ τί τὸ ὃν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ τοῦτο γε λευκότερον διασαφήσας ἐν τῷ φάναι, μηδ' ἄλλο εἶναι τὸ ὃν ἢ τὸ οὐ σαρκὸς ὄφθαλμοῖς ὀρώμενον, νῷ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενον. ἐρωτήσας γοῦν τί τὸ ὃν, αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀποκρίνεται, λέγων "τὸ δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν ὄν."

11.9.5 | Surely the wonderful one has clearly stated, 'I am the being,' as it is said by Moses, transforming it through the question, 'What is always being, but has no generation?' And he explains this even more clearly by saying that nothing else is being except what is seen by the eyes of the flesh, but is understood by the mind. When he asks, 'What is being?' he answers himself, saying, 'It is that which can be understood with reason as existing.'

11.9.6 | τὸ δὲ Σολομώντειον φῆσαν "τί γεγονός; αὐτὸ τὸ γενησόμενον καὶ τί τὸ πεποιημένον; αὐτὸ τὸ ποιηθησόμενον" αὐτοῖς σχεδὸν ρήμασι διερμηνεύσας δῆλος ἀν εἴη λέγων "τὸ δ' αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον,

11.9.6 | And they say in the writings of Solomon, 'What has come to be? It is what is becoming. And what has been made? It is what will be made.' By translating these nearly identical phrases, it would be clear to say, 'What is perceived without reason is something that is becoming and perishing,

ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν. ” οἵς καὶ ἐπιφέρει

but is never truly being.'

11.9.7 | "Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μέρη χρόνου, τὸ  
ἥν καὶ ἔσται· ἀ δὴ φέροντες λανθάνομεν  
έπι τὴν ἀίδιον ούσιαν, οὐκ ὄρθως. λέγομεν  
γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἥν, ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσται. τῇ δὲ τὸ  
ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον  
προσήκει· τὸ δὲ ἥν καὶ τὸ ἔσται περὶ τὴν ἐν  
χρόνῳ γένεσιν οὕσαν πρέπει λέγεσθαι·  
κινήσεις γάρ ἔστον. τὸ δὲ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
ἔχον ἀκινήτως οὕτε πρεσβύτερον οὕτε  
νεώτερον προσήκει γίνεσθαι διάχρονον,  
οὐδὲ γενέσθαι ποτὲ, οὐδὲ γεγονέναι νῦν,  
οὐδ' εἰσαῦθις ἔσεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδ'  
ὅσα γένεσις τοῖς ἐν αἰσθήσει φερομένοις  
προσῆψεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου ταῦτα, αἰῶνα  
μιμουμένου καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν κυκλουμένου,  
γέγονεν εἴδη. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τὰ  
τοιάδε· τὸ γεγονὸς εἶναι γεγονὸς, καὶ τὸ  
γιγνόμενον εἶναι γιγνόμενον· ἔτι τε τὸ  
γενησόμενον εἶναι γενησόνενον."

11.9.7 | For all these things are parts of time: what was, what is, and what will be. When we say these, we mistakenly refer to the eternal being. For we say that it was, it is, and it will be. But only what is belongs to the true account. What was and what will be should be spoken of concerning the generation that exists in time; for they are movements. What always remains the same does not become older or younger over time, nor does it ever come into being, nor has it ever come to be now, nor will it ever be at any time. All that has been added to those things that are perceived is just time, imitating eternity and moving in a cycle. And besides these, there are also such things: what has come to be is what has come to be, and what is becoming is what is becoming; and also, what will be is what will be becoming.

11.9.8 | Καὶ ἵνα γε μή τις ἡμᾶς  
παρερμηνεύειν ἡγήσηται τὰς τοῦ  
φιλοσόφου φωνὰς, ὑπομνήμασι χρήσομαι  
τῶνδε τῶν λόγων τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκφαίνουσι  
πλείους μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν τούτων  
ἐπιβεβλήκασι θεωρίαν, ἐμοὶ δ' ἔξαρκεῖ  
τανῦν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς Νουμηνίου τοῦ  
Πυθαγορείου παραθέσθαι λέξεις, ἃς ἐν τῷ  
Περὶ τάγαθοῦ δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὅδε  
πῃ διέξεισιν

11.9.8 | And so that no one thinks I am misinterpreting the words of the philosopher, I will use these reminders to show the meaning of these statements. Many have turned their attention to the theories of these matters, but for me, it is enough to present the words of the famous man Numenius the Pythagorean, which he discusses in the second writing of his work On the Good.

## Section 10

11.10.1 | "Φέρε οὖν ὅση δύναμις ἔγγύτατα  
πρὸς τὸ ὄν ἀναγόμεθα, καὶ λέγωμεν, τὸ ὄν  
οὕτε ποτὲ ἥν οὕτε ποτὲ μὴ γένηται, ἀλλ'

11.10.1 | Therefore, as much power as we can bring close to being, let us say that being was never, nor will it ever become,

ἔστιν ἀεὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὥρισμένῳ, τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μόνῳ.

but it always exists in a specific time, only in the present.

11.10.2 | τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνεστῶτα εἴ τις ἔθέλει ἀνακαλεῖν αἰῶνα, κάγὼ συμβούλομαι· τὸν δὲ παρελθόντα χρόνον οἶεσθαι χρὴ ἡμᾶς διαπεφευγότα ἥδη διαπεφευγέναι ἀποδεδρακέναι τε εἰς τὸ εἶναι μηκέτι· ὅ τε αὐτὸν μέλλων ἔστι μὲν οὐδέπω, ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ οὗτος τε ἔσεσθαι ἥξειν εἰς τὸ εἶναι.

11.10.2 | If anyone wants to call this present time an age, I agree; but we should think of the past time as having already escaped and having been completely removed from being. The future, on the other hand, is not yet, but it promises to be able to come into being.

11.10.3 | οὐκ οὖν εἰκός ἔστιν ἐνί γε τρόπῳ νομίζειν τὸ ὃν ἥτοι μὴ εἶναι, ἢ μηκέτι, ἢ μηδέπω. ὡς τούτου γε οὕτως λεγομένου, ἐν γίνεται τι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μέγα ἀδύνατον, εἶναι τε ὄμοῦ ταύτὸν καὶ μὴ εἶναι.

11.10.3 | It is not reasonable to think of being as either not existing, or no longer existing, or not yet existing. For when this is said, something very impossible happens in the argument: that something can both exist and not exist at the same time.

11.10.4 | εἰ δὲ οὕτως ἔχει σχολῆ γ' ἀν ἄλλο τι εἶναι δύναιτο, τοῦ ὄντος αὐτοῦ μὴ ὄντος κατὰ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄν. τὸ γὰρ ὃν ἀίδιόν τε βέβαιόν τε ἔστιν, ἀεὶ κατὰ ταύτὸν, οὐδὲ γέγονε μὲν, ἐφθάρη δὲ, οὐδὲ ἐμεγεθύνετο μὲν, ἐμειώθη δέ· οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγένετο πω πλέον, ἢ ἔλασσον· καὶ μὲν δὴ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ οὐδὲ τοπικός κινηθήσεται.

11.10.4 | If this is the case, then something else could not exist without the being itself not being according to that very being. For being is eternal and stable, always the same; it has neither come into being nor been destroyed, nor has it grown or shrunk. It has never become more or less, and indeed, neither will anything else be moved locally.

11.10.5 | οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ κινηθῆναι, οὐδὲ μὲν ὄπισω, οὐδὲ πρόσω· οὔτε ἄνω ποτὲ οὔτε κάτω· οὐδὲ εἰς δεξιὰ, οὐδὲ εἰς ἄριστερὰ μεταβήσεται ποτε τὸ ὄν· οὔτε περὶ τὸ μέσον ποτε ἐαυτοῦ κινηθήσεται, ἄλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐστήξεται καὶ ἀραρός τε καὶ ἐστήκος ἔσται κατὰ ταύτα ἔχον ἀεὶ καὶ ὠσαύτως.”

11.10.5 | For it is not right for being to be moved, neither backward nor forward; neither up nor down. It will never move to the right or to the left, nor will it ever move around its own center. Rather, it will stand still, be fixed, and remain always the same, having the same nature and being just as it is.

11.10.6 | Καὶ ἔξῆς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει  
“Τοσαῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι πρὸ ὁδοῦ. αὐτὸς δ'  
οὐκίτι σχηματισθήσομαι, ούδ' ἀγνοεῖν  
φήσω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀσωμάτου· καὶ γὰρ  
κινδυνεύει νῦν ἥδη ἥδιον εἶναι εἰπεῖν  
μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ εἰπεῖν. καὶ δῆτα λέγω τὸ ὄνομα  
αὐτῷ εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ πάλαι ζητούμενον.

11.10.7 | ἀλλὰ μὴ γελασάτω τις, ἔὰν γῶ τοῦ  
ἀσωμάτου εἶναι ὄνομα οὐσίαν καὶ ὄν. ἡ δὲ  
αἴτια τοῦ ὄντος ὄνόματός ἐστι τὸ μὴ  
γεγονέναι, μηδὲ φθαρήσεσθαι, μηδὲ ἄλλην  
μήτε κίνησιν μηδεμίαν δέχεσθαι μήτε  
μεταβολὴν κρείτω ἢ φαύλην· εἶναι δὲ  
ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀναλοίωτον, καὶ ἐν ίδεᾳ τῇ  
αὐτῇ, καὶ μήτε ἐθελούσιον ἔξιστασθαι τῆς  
ταύτητος μήθ' ὑφ' ἐτέρου  
προσαναγκάξεσθαι.

11.10.8 | ἔφη δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν Κρατύλῳ  
τὰ ὄνόματα ὁμοιώσει τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι  
αὐτὰ ἐπίθετα. ἔστω οὖν καὶ δεδόχθω εἶναι  
τὸ ὄν ἀσώματον.”

11.10.9 | Εἶθ' ὑποκαταβὰς ἐπιλέγει “Τὸ ὄν  
εἶπον ἀσώματον, τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι τὸ νοητόν.  
τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα, ὅσα μνημονεύειν ἐστί<sup>1</sup>  
μοι, τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἦν. τὸν δ' ἐπιζητοῦντα  
λόγον ἐθέλω παραμυθήσασθαι, τοσόνδε  
ὑπειπὼν, ὅτι ταῦτα τοῖς δόγμασι τοῖς  
Πλάτωνος εἰ μὴ συμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐτέρου γ'  
ἐχρῆν οἵεσθαι τινος ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου, μέγα  
δυναμένου, οἴου Πυθαγόρου.

11.10.10 | λέγει γοῦν Πλάτων, φέρ'

11.10.6 | And from here, I will choose other things: 'So many things, then, are before me. But I will no longer be formed, nor will I claim to be ignorant of the name of the formless. For it seems now that it is better to say it than not to say it. And indeed, I say that this name is what has been sought for a long time.'

11.10.7 | But let no one laugh if I say that the name of the formless is being and existence. The reason for being is that it has not come into being, nor will it be destroyed, nor will it accept any kind of movement or change, whether greater or lesser. It must be simple and unchanging, and in the same idea, neither will it willingly depart from its own nature nor be forced by another.

11.10.8 | And Plato also said in the Cratylus that names are similar to the things they refer to. Therefore, let it be accepted that being is formless.

11.10.9 | Then, having gone down, he adds, 'I said that being is formless, and this is what is intelligible. Therefore, what I have said, as much as I can remember, was such. And I want to comfort the one seeking the explanation, saying this much: if these things do not agree with the teachings of Plato, then one should think of some great man, someone powerful, like Pythagoras.'

11.10.10 | Plato indeed says, let me recall

ἀναμνησθῶ πᾶς λέγει.. τί τὸ ὄν ἀεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ τί τὸ γινόμενον μὲν, ὃν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν, τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν."

how he says: 'What is being that always is, but does not have becoming? And what is that which becomes, but is never being? The former can be understood with reason, while the latter is thought of with sense and is not reasonable, becoming and perishing, but never truly being.'

11.10.11 | ἦρετο γάρ, τί ἔστι τὸ ὄν, φάς αὐτὸ ἀγένητον ἀναμφιλέκτως. γένεσιν γάρ οὐκ ἔφη εἶναι τῷ ὄντι ἐτρέπετο γάρ ἀντρεπόμενον δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἀίδιον."

11.10.11 | For he asked, 'What is being?' saying that it is definitely ungenerated. For he said that being does not have becoming; for it would change. But what is changing is not eternal.

11.10.12 | Εἴτα ὑποβάς φησιν Εἴ μὲν δὴ τὸ ὄν πάντως πάντη ἀίδιόν τέ ἔστι καὶ ἀτρεπτὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς οὐδαμῆς ἔξιστάμενον ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ, μένει δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔστηκε, τοῦτο δήπου ἀνεῖται τὸ τῇ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν.

11.10.12 | Then he goes on to say, 'If indeed being is entirely eternal, unchanging, and in no way standing apart from itself, but remains the same and stands in the same way, then this would surely be what can be understood with reason.'

11.10.13 | εἰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἥεῖ καὶ φέρεται ὑπὸ τῆς εὐθὺ μεταβολῆς, ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν. ὅθεν οὐ πολλὴ μανία μὴ οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι ἀόριστον, δόξῃ δὲ μόνη δοξαστὸν, καὶ ὡς φησι Πλάτων', γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν."

11.10.13 | But if the body flows and is carried by a sudden change, it escapes and is not. Therefore, it is not crazy to think that this is indefinite, but it can only be thought of as an opinion. And as Plato says, it is becoming and perishing, but truly it is never being.

11.10.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Νουμήνιος, ὅμοι τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τὰ Μώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον διερμηνεύων. εἰκότως δῆτα εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκεινο τὸ λόγιον περιφέρεται, δι' οὗ φάναι μνημονεύεται, τί γάρ ἔστι Πλάτων', ἢ Μώσης ἀττικίζων;

11.10.14 | These things, then, Numenius explains more clearly, along with Plato and much earlier than Moses. It is fitting that this saying is often mentioned, because it is said, 'What is Plato?' or 'What is Moses speaking in Attic style?'

11.10.15 | Θέα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις εἴ μὴ τὸν παρόντα νοῦν ἢ ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔξαπλῶν συντρέχοι ἀν ταῖς τε προκειμέναις φωναῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ταῖς αὖθις Ἐβραίων κειμέναις ἐν ἑτέραις θεολογίαις, δι' ὃν τοτὲ μὲν εἰσάγεται λέγων ὃ χρηματίζων θεός "διότι ἐγώ κύριος ὃ θεός ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἡλλοίωμαι·

11.10.15 | But if the present mind were not more than this, then Plutarch would easily join with the voices of the philosophers that are set forth and with those of the Hebrews found in other theologies, through which it is sometimes introduced, saying the god who speaks, 'For I am the Lord your God, and I do not change.'

11.10.16 | τοτὲ δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν ὃ προφήτης ἀποτείνεται "ὅτι δὴ τὰ μὲν ὄρατὰ πάντα τραπείη ἀν ποτε καὶ μεταβληθείη, σὺ δὲ ὃ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου c οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι. σκόπει γοῦν εἴ μὴ ὡς ἐν προτάσει· τοῦ τε παρὰ Μωσεῖ φήσαντος "ἐγώ εἰμι ὃ ὄν" καὶ τοῦ "ἐγώ κύριος ὃ θεός ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἡλλοίωμαι·" καὶ τοῦ "σὺ δὲ ὃ αὐτὸς εἶ", δόξαι ἀν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Εἴ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφερμηνεύειν, τάδε λέγων πρὸς λέξιν

11.10.16 | Then, looking at this, the prophet states, 'For indeed, all visible things will change and be transformed, but you are the same, and your years will not come to an end.' Consider whether it is not as in the beginning; of what Moses said, 'I am the one who is,' and of 'I am the Lord your God, and I do not change,' and of 'but you are the same.' Plutarch would seem to explain the thought in his work On Being at Delphi, saying these things in words.

## Section 11

11.11.1 | "Οὕτε οὖν ἀριθμὸν οὕτε τάξιν οὕτε σύνδεσμον οὕτε ἄλλο τῶν ἐλλιπῶν μορίων οὐδὲν οἴμαι τὸ γράμμα σημαίνειν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοτελὴς τοῦ θεοῦ προσαγόρευσις καὶ προσφώνησις, ἅμα τῷ ρήματι τὸν φθεγγόμενον εἰς ἔννοιαν καθιστάσα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως.

11.11.1 | Therefore, I do not think that a letter signifies either a number, or an order, or a connection, or anything else of the incomplete parts. But it is a complete calling and addressing of God, at the same time making the one who speaks into an idea of the power of God.

11.11.2 | ὃ γὰρ θεός ἔκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν ἐνταῦθα προσιόντων οἶον ἀσπαζόμενος προσαγορεύει τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν, ὃ τού χαῖρε δὴ οὐδὲν μεῖόν ἔστιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεόν εἶ φαμὲν ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψευδῆ καὶ μόνην μόνω προσήκουσαν τὴν τοῦ εἶ προσαγόρευσιν ἀποδιδόντες."

11.11.2 | For God, greeting each of us who come here, calls out 'Know yourself,' which is nothing less than 'Rejoice.' But we, in turn, responding to God, say that you are the one who is true, and real, and the only one worthy of the calling of 'the one who is.'

11.11.3 | “Ημῖν γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ εἶναι μέτεστιν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως γενομένη φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς.

11.11.4 | ἂν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπερείσῃ τις λαβέσθαι βουλόμενος, ὡσπερ ἡ σφοδρὰ περιδραξις ὕδατος τῷ πιέζειν καὶ εἰς ταύτῳ συνάγειν διαρρέον ἀπόλλυσι τὸ περιλαμβανόμενον, οὕτω τῶν παθητῶν καὶ μεταβλητῶν ἐκάστου τὴν ἄγαν ἐνέργειαν ὃ λόγος διώκων ἀποσφάλλεται, τῇ μὲν εἰς τὸ β γινόμενον αὐτοῦ, τῇ δὲ εἰς τὸ φθειρόμενον, οὐδενὸς λαβέσθαι μένοντος, οὐδὲ ὄντος ὄντως δυνάμενος.

11.11.5 | ποταμῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δὶς τῷ αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, οὐδὲ θνητῆς οὐσίας δὶς ἄψασθαι κατὰ ἔξιν, ἀλλ' ὁξύτητι καὶ τάχει μεταβολῆς σκίδνησι καὶ πάλιν συνάγει, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πάλιν οὐδὲ ὑστερον, ἀλλ' ἅμα συνίσταται καὶ ἀπολείπει, καὶ πρόσεισι καὶ ἄπεισιν.

11.11.6 | ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ εἶναι περαίνει τὸ γινόμενον αὐτῆς, τῷ μηδέποτε λήγειν μηδ' ἵστασθαι τὴν γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀεὶ μεταβάλλουσαν ἐμβρυον ποιεῖν, εἴτα βρέφος, εἴτα παῖδα, μειράκιον ἐφεξῆς, νεανίσκον, ἄνδρα, πρεσβύτην, γέροντα, τὰς πρώτας φθειρούσαν γενέσεις καὶ ἡλικίας ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις.

11.11.3 | For us, there is truly nothing that participates in being, but every mortal nature, caught in decay and becoming, provides a shadow and a faint and uncertain appearance of itself.

11.11.4 | If someone tries to grasp the mind, just as the strong current of water, when pressed, destroys what it holds by flowing together into one, in the same way, the word, pursuing the excessive activity of the things that are changeable and affected, is released, one part going into what is becoming and the other into what is being destroyed, with nothing remaining to hold on to, nor anything truly able to be.

11.11.5 | For, according to Heraclitus, one cannot step into the same river twice, nor can one touch the same mortal essence in the same way, but rather, with the sharpness and speed of change, it scatters and then gathers again, and even more, it neither comes back nor stays, but at the same time it exists and disappears, and it both approaches and departs.

11.11.6 | From this, the becoming does not reach being, since it never stops or stands still in its generation, but always changing from a seed, it makes an embryo, then a baby, then a child, a young man, an adult, an old man, destroying the earlier stages of life with those that follow.

11.11.7 | ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἵνα φοβούμεθα γελοίως θάνατον, ἥδη τοσούτους τεθνηκότες καὶ θνήσκοντες. οὐ γάρ μόνον, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος ἔλεγε, πυρὸς θάνατος, ἀέρι γένεσις, ἀλλ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν· φθείρεται μὲν ὁ ἀκμάζων γενομένου γέροντος, ἐφθάρη δὲ ὁ νέος εἰς τὸν ἀκμάζοντα, καὶ ὁ παῖς εἰς τὸν νέον, εἰς δὲ τὸν παῖδα τὸ νήπιον, ὁ δὲ χθὲς εἰς τὸν σήμερον τέθνηκεν, ὁ δὲ σήμερον εἰς τὸν αὔριον· μένει δὲ οὐδὲ εἶς, οὐδὲ ἔστιν εἶς, ἀλλὰ γινόμεθα πολλοὶ, περὶ ἐν τι φάντασμα καὶ κοινὸν ἔκμαγεῖον ὅλης περιελαυνομένης καὶ ὀλισθαινούσης.

11.11.7 | But we, in a silly way, fear death, already so many having died and dying. For it is not only, as Heraclitus said, that death is like fire and becoming is like air, but even more clearly about us: the one who is in their prime is destroyed as they become old, the young one is lost as they become an adult, and the child as they grow into a young one, and yesterday has died into today, and today will die into tomorrow; yet not even one remains, nor is there one, but we become many, around some kind of phantom and a common mold of matter that is constantly changing and slipping away.

11.11.8 | ἐπεὶ πῶς οἶ αὐτοὶ μένοντες ἑτέροις χαίρομεν νῦν, ἑτέροις πρότερον, τάναντία φιλοῦμεν καὶ μισοῦμεν, καὶ θαυμάζομεν καὶ ψέγομεν, ἄλλοις χρώμεθα λόγοις, ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, οὐκ εἴδος, οὐ μορφὴν, οὐ διάνοιαν ἔτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες;

11.11.8 | For how can we, while remaining ourselves, find joy in others now, in others before, love and hate opposites, and both admire and blame? We use different words with different feelings, having no same form, no same shape, and no same thought anymore?

11.11.9 | οὕτε γάρ ἄνευ μεταβολῆς ἔτερα πάσχειν είκος οὕτε μεταβάλλων ὁ αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη, εἰ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν, γινόμενος ἔτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου· ψεύδεται δὲ ἡ αἰσθησις ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον."

11.11.9 | For it is not likely to suffer different things without change, nor would the same person be the same while changing. If the same person does not exist, then they do not exist, but by changing they become different from one another; and perception lies in ignorance of what truly is, making the appearance seem real.

11.11.10 | "Τί οὖν ὄντως ὅν ἔστι; τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον, ὃ χρόνος ούδεὶς μεταβολὴν ἔπαγει. κινητὸν γάρ τι καὶ κινουμένη συμφανταζόμενον ὅλη καὶ ἥξον ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ στέγον, ὕσπερ ἀγγεῖον φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ὃ χρόνος. οὐδὴ τὸ

11.11.10 | What then truly exists? It is the eternal, ungenerated, and imperishable, which time does not change. For something that is movable and appears to be moving is like matter that is always flowing and does not stay still, just like a vessel of decay

μὲν ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἔσται λεγόμενον, καὶ τὸ γέγονεν, αὐτόθεν ἔξομολόγησίς ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.

and generation, which is time. Therefore, what is said to be later, earlier, and what will be, as well as what has happened, is a confession of what does not truly exist.

11.11.11 | τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ εἶναι μηδέπω γεγονὸς, ἢ πεπαυμένον ἥδη τοῦ εἶναι λέγειν ὡς ἔστιν, εὕηθες καὶ ἄτοπον. ἐν ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα τὴν νόησιν ἐπερείδοντες τοῦ χρόνου τὸ ἐν ἔστηκε καὶ τὸ πάρεστι καὶ τὸ νῦν φθεγγόμεθα, τοῦτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκλυόμενος δὲ λόγος ἀπόλλυσιν.

11.11.11 | For it is foolish and inappropriate to say that something that has not yet happened, or something that has already stopped existing, is still existing. When we especially push our understanding of time to speak about what is present, what is past, and what is now, this again causes our reasoning to break down and fail.

11.11.12 | ἐκθλίζεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ παρωχημένον, ὥσπερ αύγή, βουλομένοις ἴδεῖν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης διιστάμενον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ μετροῦντι πέπονθεν ἢ μετρουμένη φύσις, οὐδὲ αὔτῇ μένον, οὐδὲ ὅν ἔστι, ἀλλὰ γινομένη καὶ φθειρομένη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν χρόνον συννέμησιν.

11.11.12 | For it is pushed into the future and the past, like a ray of light, wanting to be seen, standing apart by necessity. But if the same thing has happened to what measures or to what is being measured, it neither remains itself nor truly exists, but is becoming and perishing according to its connection with time.

11.11.13 | ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄντος λέγειν ὡς ἦν, ἢ ἔσται· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγκλίσεις τινὲς καὶ μεταβάσεις καὶ παραλλάξεις τοῦ μένειν ἐν τῷ εἶναι μὴ πεφυκότος.”

11.11.13 | Therefore, it is not possible to say that something that exists was or will be; for these are certain inclinations, changes, and shifts of what does not naturally remain in being.

11.11.14 | “Αλλ' ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς, εἴ χρὴ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀνέγκλιτον, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οὐδέν ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ μέλλον, οὐδὲ παρωχημένον,, οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερον, οὐδὲ νεώτερον· ἀλλ' εῖς ὧν ἐνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἀεὶ πεπλήρωκε· καὶ μόνον ἔστι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸ

11.11.14 | But there is a god, if one must say so, and he exists at no time, but in the timeless, unchanging, and unmovable age, where there is nothing before, nothing after, nothing future, and nothing past, neither older nor younger; but being one in the now, he has filled the always. And only what truly is, is, not having come into

ὄντως ὁν, οὐ γεγονὸς, ούδε ἐσόμενον, ούδε ἀρξάμενον, ούδε παυσόμενον.

11.11.15 | οὕτως οὖν αύτὸ δεῖ σεβομένους  
ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν, ἡ καὶ νὴ  
Δί', ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν παλαιόν, εἴ̄ν. οὐ γὰρ  
πολλὰ τὸ θεῖόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἔκαστος, ἐκ  
μυρίων διαφορῶν ἐν πάθεσι γινομένων  
ἄθροισμα παντοδαπὸν καὶ πανηγυρικὸν  
μεμιγμένον· ἀλλ' ἐν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ ὅν, ὥσπερ  
ὅν τὸ ἕν· ἡ δὲ ἐτερότης, διαφορὰ τοῦ ὄντος,  
εἰς γένεσιν ἔξισταται τοῦ μὴ ὄντος."

being, not becoming, not beginning, and not ending.

11.11.15 | Therefore, you must greet and address those who are to be respected, or by Zeus, as some of the ancients did, saying 'you are.' For the divine is not many, like each of us, but a mixture of countless differences arising from various experiences. But there must be one being, just as there is one 'is.' And the otherness, the difference of being, leads to the generation of what is not.

## Section 12

11.12.1 | Μώσεως καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις  
προφητῶν ἀπάντων ἄρρητον εἶναι τὸ  
θεῖον διδασκόντων, καὶ τῆς ἄρρήτου  
προσηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον διὰ τῆς παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἀνεκφωνήτου σημειώσεως  
ὑποφαινόντων, τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πλάτων  
συμφώνως αὐτοῖς ḥήμασιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ  
'Ἐπιστολῇ οἵᾳ φησιν ἄκουε

11.12.1 | The teachings of Moses and all the prophets among the Hebrews are said to be unspeakable, and the symbol of the unspeakable is shown through their unutterable signs. In agreement with them, Plato also says in the great Letter, 'listen.'

11.12.2 | "Ρητὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστιν ὡς  
ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας  
γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αύτὸ καὶ τοῦ  
συζῆν, ἔξαίφνης, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς  
πηδήσαντος ἔξαφθὲν φῶς, τῇ ψυχῇ  
γενόμενον αύτὸ ἐαυτὸ ἥδη τρέφει." Καὶ  
τόδε δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ παράδειγμα  
προλαβὼν ἄλλος Ἐβραίων προφήτης  
παρέστησεν εἰπών "ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ  
φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, κύριε. καὶ ἄλλος  
πάλιν ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς."

11.12.2 | For it is not spoken like other teachings, but arises suddenly from a great gathering about the matter itself and the act of living together, like light suddenly appearing from a fire, which nourishes the soul. And another prophet of the Hebrews, anticipating this example of light, presented it by saying, 'Your face, Lord, has been marked upon us with light. And another again says, 'In your light, we shall see light.'

## Section 13

11.13.1 | Μώσεως περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ φήσαντος “ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, κύριος εἰς ἐστί,” πάλιν ὁ Πλάτων’ τούτῳ συντρέχων ἔνα θεὸν εἶναι ως καὶ οὐρανὸν ἔνα διδάσκει, ὥδε πῃ λέγων ἐν Τιμαίῳ

11.13.2 | “Πότερον Πότερον οὖν ὄρθως ἔνα οὐρανὸν προσειρήκαμεν, ἢ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπείρους λέγειν ἦν ὄρθότερον; ἔνα, εἴπερ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα δεδημιουργημένος ἔσται. τὸ γὰρ περιέχον πάντα ὀπόσα νοητὰ ζῶα, μεθ' ἑτέρου δεύτερον οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἴη.”

11.13.3 | Δῆλος δέ ἔστιν ἔνα θεὸν εἰδὼς, εἴ καὶ συνήθως “Ἐλλησι τῇ τῶν πλειόνων εἴωθε χρῆσθαι προσηγορίᾳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν ᾧ σύμβολα διδοὺς τῶν τε διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτῷ γραφομένων ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἀπερριμμένων, τῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἔχουσῶν σπουδαῖον σημεῖον τὸ τῶν θεῶν ὄνομα προτάξειν ἔφησε, τῶν δὲ πεφροντισμένως αὐτῷ συνταττομένων, τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. λέγει δ' οὖν ὥδε κατὰ λέξιν

11.13.4 | “Περὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ξυμβόλου τοῦ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὅσας τε ἄν ἐπιστέλλω σπουδῇ καὶ ὅσας μὴ, οἴμαι μέν σε μεμνῆσθαι, ὅμως δ' ἔννοει καὶ σφόδρα πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ κελεύοντες γράφειν, οὓς οὐ ἥσδιον φανερῶς διωθεῖσθαι. τῆς μὲν οὖν σπουδαίας ἐπιστολῆς ὁ θεὸς ἄρχει, θεοὶ δὲ

11.13.1 | Moses, speaking about the God of all, said, 'Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one.' Again, Plato, agreeing with this, teaches that there is one God, just as there is one heaven, saying this in the Timaeus.

11.13.2 | Is it correct to say that we have called it one heaven, or would it be more correct to say many and endless? This is so that, if it is created according to the example, it will be. For the thing that contains all the intelligible living beings cannot ever be two.

11.13.3 | It is clear that he knows there is one God, even if the Greeks are usually accustomed to use the name of many. And from the letter to Dionysius, where he gives symbols of the letters written to him with care and those that were otherwise rejected, he said that among those with no important meaning, he would mention the name of the gods, but among those carefully arranged for him, he would mention the name of God. And so he says this literally.

11.13.4 | About the symbol concerning the letters, both those that I write with care and those that I do not, I think you should remember, but also pay close attention to the meaning. For many who command to write are not easily dismissed openly. Therefore, God is in charge of the serious letter, but the gods are in charge of the...

τῆς”

11.13.5 | Διαρρήδην δὲ ὁ αύτὸς ὄμοιογεῖ ἐκ παλαιόν τὸ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόγμα μεμαθηκέναι, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις Ὅ μὲν δὴ θεὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων, εὐθείᾳ περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος. τῷ δ' αἵεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη, τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός· ἥς δὲ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἔχόμενος ξυνέπεται ταπεινὸς, κεκοσμημένος, ὃ δέ τις ἔξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἥ χρήμασιν ἐπαιρόμενος, ἥ τιμαῖς, ἥ καὶ σώματος εύμορφίᾳ, ἅμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοίᾳ, φλέγεται τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως, ὡστε οὕτε ἀρχοντος οὕτε τινὸς ἡγεμόνος δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ἵκανὸς ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι, καταλείπετει ἔρημος θεοῦ· καταλειφθεὶς δὲ, καὶ ἔτι ἄλλους τοιούτους προσλαβών, σκιρτᾶς ταράττων πάντα ἅμα, καὶ πολλοῖς τισὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναί τις, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑποσχών τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ δίκῃ, ἐσαυτὸν τε καὶ οἴκον καὶ πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε.”

11.13.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. σὺ δέ γε τῷ “ὅ μὲν δὴ θεὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων” παράθεις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐβραίων προφητείας τὸ “ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα·” τῷ δὲ “εὐθείᾳ περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιπορευόμενος” τὸ “εὐθύτητας εἶδε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.”

11.13.7 | καὶ πρὸς τὸ “τῷ δ’ αἵεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός” σύγκρινον τὸ “δίκαιος κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἡγάπησεν” καὶ τὸ “έμοι

11.13.5 | Clearly, he also admits that he has learned the ancient teaching about God, saying in the Laws that God, just like the ancient word, has the beginning, the end, and the middle of all things, and he moves straight according to nature. Justice always follows him, being the avenger of those who break the divine law. The one who follows this will be blessed, being humble and well-ordered, but the one who is led away by pride, or lifted up by wealth, honors, or even by the beauty of the body, along with youth and foolishness, burns his soul with arrogance. So he does not need a ruler or any leader, but being capable of leading others, he leaves himself deserted by God. And being abandoned, he also gathers others like him, causing chaos everywhere, and many thought he was someone important. But after a little time, promising a punishment that is not to be blamed by justice, he made himself, his home, and his city completely unsettled.

11.13.6 | These things are from Plato. But you should also add to the phrase 'God has the beginning, the end, and the middle of all things' the saying from the Hebrew prophecy, 'I am God first, and I am after that.' And to the phrase 'he moves straight according to nature,' you should add 'he saw the face of straightness.'

11.13.7 | And to the phrase 'Justice always follows him, being the avenger of those who break the divine law,' compare it with 'The Lord is righteous and loves justice.'

έκδίκησις, έγώ άνταποδώσω, λέγει κύριος;" καὶ τὸ "διότι ἔκδικος κύριος 5 καὶ ἀνταποδίδωσι τοῖς περισσῶς ποιοῦσιν ὑπερηφανίαν.' τῷ δὲ "ἥς ὁ εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἔχόμενος ξυνέπεται ταπεινὸς εὐδαιμονήσειν ἐπόμενόν ἐστι τὸ "όπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ."

And also with 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, says the Lord.' And with 'For the Lord is an avenger and repays those who act with pride.' To the phrase 'the one who follows this will be blessed, being humble,' you should add 'you shall walk behind the Lord your God.'

11.13.8 | τῷ δὲ "ὸ δ' ἔξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας καταλείπεται ἔρημος θεοῦ ' τὸ "ὸ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν" καὶ "χαρμονὴ δὲ ἀσεβῶν πτῶμα ἔξαίσιον." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ μυρίων σμικρὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ. θέα δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τού δευτέρου αἵτιου οἶα τῇ διανοίᾳ εἰσίν.

11.13.8 | And to the phrase 'the one who is led away by pride is left deserted by God,' you should add 'God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble.' And 'the joy of the wicked is a great fall.' These things are just a small part about God above all. But the ideas about the second cause are as they are in thought.

## Section 14

11.14.1 | Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ὅλων αἵτιου τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀνωμολογήσθω τὸν τρόπον. ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου, ὃν δὴ θεοῦ λόγον καὶ θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ εἶναι τὰ Ἐβραίων παιδεύει λόγια, καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ θεολογεῖν δεδιδάγμεθα.

11.14.1 | Let us agree on the way concerning the first cause of all things. But also consider the ideas about the second cause, which the Hebrew writings teach that the word of God and God come from God, just as we ourselves have been taught to speak about God.

11.14.2 | ὁ μὲν οὖν Μώσης διαρρήδην δύο θεολογεῖ κυρίους, ἐν οἷς φησι 'καὶ ἔβρεξε κύριος παρὰ κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν τόν ἀσεβῶν πόλιν·" ἐνθα συνήθως ἐπὶ τῶν δύο τὴν ὄμοιαν τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις χαρακτήρων ἐποιήσατο παράθεσιν· αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἀνεκφώνητος παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολογία.

11.14.2 | Therefore, Moses clearly speaks of two Lords, in which he says, 'And the Lord rained fire and brimstone from the Lord upon the city of the wicked.' There, he usually made a comparison of the two similar characters found among the Hebrews. And this is the unspoken theology among them through the four elements.

11.14.3 | τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ, ἄλλος

11.14.3 | David, another prophet and king

προφήτης ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἐβραίων, συνάδων φησὶν ‘εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου·’ τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ θεὸν διὰ τοῦ πρώτου κυρίου, τὸν δὲ τούτου δεύτερον διὰ τῆς δευτέρας ὑποφήνας προσηγορίας. τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς ἀγεννήτου θεότητος παραχωρεῖσθαι ἢ μόνῳ τῷ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος;

11.14.4 | ὃν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἐν ἑτέροις λευκότερον διασαφεῖ λόγον τοῦ πατρὸς, δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑφιστάμενος εἴναι τὸν θεολογούμενον, ἐν οἷς φησι “τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἔστερεώθησαν.”

11.14.5 | καὶ σωτῆρα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῶν δεομένων τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ θεραπείας εἰσάγει, λέγων “ἀπέστειλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ιάσατο αὐτούς.”

11.14.6 | καὶ ὁ τούτου δὲ παῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ διάδοχος Σολομῶν, ἑτέρῳ προστρήματι τὴν αὐτὴν παριστάς διάνοιαν, ἀντὶ λόγου σοφίαν είπων, τάδε ὡς ἔξ αὐτῆς προσώπου διέξεισιν

11.14.7 | “έγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλὴν, καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἔννοιαν ἔγω ἐπεκαλεσάμην.” εἶθ’ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὄδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ· πρὸ τοῦ αἰώνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι· πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με. ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζε τὸν οὐρανὸν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ.”

of the Hebrews, also agrees, saying, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand.' He refers to the highest God through the first Lord, and to the second through the second title. For who else could it be right to understand that the right hand of the noble divinity is given to, except for the one about whom the word speaks?

11.14.4 | This same prophet clearly explains in another place that the Father, the creator of all, is the one being spoken of, where he says, 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were made.'

11.14.5 | And he also introduces the same savior for those in need of healing, saying, 'He sent his word, and healed them.'

11.14.6 | And his servant and successor Solomon, in another saying, presents the same idea, speaking wisdom instead of a word, as follows, which will be explained from this source.

11.14.7 | I, wisdom, have made my dwelling in counsel, and I have called for knowledge and understanding." Then the Lord continues, "He created me as the beginning of his ways for his works; before the ages, he established me, in the beginning before he made the earth, before the mountains were set; before all the hills, I was brought forth. When he prepared the heavens, I was there with him.

11.14.8 | τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν καὶ τάδε ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ ἔθεμελίωσε τὴν γῆν, ἡτοίμασεν δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἐν φρονήσει." ἔτι δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἔστι κρυπτὰ καὶ ἐμφανῆ ἔγνων· ἡ γὰρ πάντων τεχνῆτις ἐδίδαξε με σοφία."

11.14.9 | εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει "τί δ' ἔστι σοφία καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο; ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψω ὑμῖν μυστήρια, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἔξιχνιάσω."

11.14.10 | καὶ ἔχης διασαφεῖ τὰ τοιάδε ἔστι αὕτη πνεῦμα νοερὸν, ἄγιον, μονογενὲς, πολυμερὲς, λεπτὸν, εύκινητον, τρανὸν, ἀμόλυντον, παντοδύναμον, πανεπίσκοπον, καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων νοερῶν, καθαρῶν, λεπτοτάτων. πάσης γὰρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον σοφία. δίήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. ἀτμὶς γάρ ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν μεμολυσμένον είς αὐτὴν παρεμπίπτει. ἀπαύγασμα γὰρ ἔστι φωτὸς ἀιδίου καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργείας καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ. διατείνει δὲ ἀπὸ πέρατος είς πέρας εύρωστως καὶ διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα χρηστῶς." ταῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφή. τὴν δὲ τοῦ δόγματος διάνοιαν Φίλων ὁ Ἐβραῖος λευκότερον ἐρμηνεύων τοῦτον παρίστησι τὸν τρόπον

11.14.8 | Of the same one, it is said that God established the earth in wisdom, and he prepared the heavens with understanding." Furthermore, it is said that he knows both the hidden and the revealed; for the master of all taught me wisdom.

11.14.9 | Then he says, 'What is wisdom and how did it come to be? I will declare and not hide from you the mysteries, but I will trace it back to the beginning of creation.'

11.14.10 | "And next, it explains that this is a rational spirit, holy, only-begotten, varied, subtle, mobile, clear, unblemished, all-powerful, all-seeing, and it fills all rational, pure, and subtle spirits. For wisdom is the most active of all movements. It extends and moves through everything because of its purity. For it is a vapor of the power of God and a genuine outflow of the glory of the Almighty. Therefore, nothing polluted comes near it. For it is a reflection of eternal light and a spotless mirror of God's energy and an image of his goodness. It stretches from one end to the other strongly and governs all things well." This is what the scripture says. But Philo the Hebrew, interpreting the meaning of the doctrine, presents this way more clearly.

## Section 15

11.15.1 | "Εὔπρεπὲς γάρ τοῖς ἐταιρείαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ

11.15.1 | For it is fitting for those who are joined in fellowship to strive for knowledge

τὸ ὃν ἴδειν· εἴ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν  
εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱερώτατον λόγον.”

of what is real; but if they cannot, at least to see the image of it, which is the most sacred word.

11.15.2 | Έν τῷ δ' αὐτῷ συγγράμματι καὶ τάδε φησί Κᾶν μηδέπω μέντοι τυγχάνῃ τις ἀξιόχρεως υἱὸς θεοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ λόγον, τὸν ἀγγέλων πρεσβύτατον, ὡς ἂν ἀρχάγγελον πολυώνυμον ὑπάρχοντα.

11.15.2 | In the same writing, it also says that even if no one is yet called a worthy son of God, let him strive to be adorned according to his original word, the oldest of angels, as if he were an archangel with many names.

11.15.3 | καὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ λόγος καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἀνθρωπος καὶ ὁ ὄρῶν Ἰσραὴλ προσαγορεύεται. διὸ προήχθην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπαινέσαι τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν φασκόντων ὅτι πάντες ἔσμεν υἱοὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου.

11.15.3 | For both the beginning and the name of God, and the word, and the man made in his image, and the one who sees Israel are all called. Therefore, I was led a little earlier to praise the virtues of those who say that we are all sons of one man.

11.15.4 | καὶ γὰρ εἴ μή πω ἰκανοὶ θεοῦ παῖδες νομίζεσθαι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλά τοι τῆς ἀειδοῦς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου θεοῦ γὰρ εἰκὼν λόγος δὲ πρεσβύτατος.”

11.15.4 | For even if we are not yet considered worthy children of God, we are indeed the image of his eternal word, for the oldest is the sacred word of God.

11.15.5 | Καὶ πάλιν ἐπιλέγει “Ἡκουσα  
μέντοι καὶ τῶν Μώσεως ἐταίρων τινὸς  
ἀποφθεγξαμένου τοιόνδε λόγιον “ἴδοὺ<sup>1</sup>  
ἀνθρωπος ὡς ὄνομα Ἀνατολή.” καινοτάτη  
πρόσρησις, ἐάν γε τὸν ἐκ σώματος καὶ  
ψυχῆς συνεστῶτα λέγεσθαι νομίσῃς· ἐάν  
δὲ τὸν ἀσώματον ἐκεῖνον θείαν ἴδεαν  
φοροῦντα, ἰκανῶς δύμολογήσεις ὅτι  
εύθυβολώτατον ὄνομα ἐπεφημίσθη τὸ  
Ἀνατολὴ αὐτῷ.

11.15.5 | And again, he chooses to say, 'I heard from some of the companions of Moses a saying like this: "Behold, a man whose name is Rising." This is a very new calling, if you think of the one made of body and soul; but if you consider the bodiless one carrying the divine idea, you will agree that the name Rising was rightly given to him.

11.15.6 | τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἀνέτειλε πατὴρ, δν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὡνόμασε. καὶ ὁ γεννηθεὶς μέντοι μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὄδους πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα τὰ ἔκεινοι βλέπων ἐμόρφου τὰ εἴδη.

11.15.7 | Ταῦτά μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐβραίου Φίλωνος ἐνταῦθα κείσθω, ληφθέντα ἐκ συγγράμματος ὃ τέθειται ἐπιγραφὴ Περὶ τοῦ τὸ χεῖρον τῷ κρείττονι φιλεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἥδη δὲ μοι καὶ ἄλλοτε τὰ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν Εβραίων εύσεβείας δόγματα παρατιθεμένῳ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἵτιου διεληπταὶ αὐταρκῶς, ἐφ' ἂ καὶ νῦν τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψω. τοσούτων οὖν παρ' Ἐβραίοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον περὶ τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν ὅλων αἵτιου τεθεολογημένων καιρὸς ἥδη καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῇ Ἐπινομίδι τάδε λέγοντος ἐπακουσαι

## Section 16

11.16.1 | "Καὶ τιμᾶς ἀποδιδῶμεν μὴ τῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν, τῷ δὲ μῆνα, τοῖς δὲ μή τινα μοῖραν τάττωμεν, μηδέ τινα χρόνον, ἐν ὃ διεξέρχεται τὸν αὐτοῦ πόλον, συναποτελῶν κόσμον, δν ἔταξε λόγος ὁ πάντων θειότατος· δν ὁ μὲν εύδαιμων πρῶτον μὲν ἐθαύμασεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔρωτα ἔσχε τοῦ καταμαθεῖν ὀπόσα θνητῇ φύσει δυνατά."

11.16.2 | Καὶ ἐν ἑπιστολῇ δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἐρμείαν "Ἐραστόν τε καὶ Κορίσκον εῦ μάλα πεφυλαγμένως τέθειται τὸ δόγμα, ὡδε πρὸς λέξιν ἑπιστέλλων "Ταύτην τὴν

11.15.6 | For this one, the father of all has raised up the oldest son, whom he called the first ancestor elsewhere. And the one who was born, imitating the ways of the father, sees the beautiful forms of his examples and patterns.

11.15.7 | Let these things be set here from the Hebrew Philo, taken from a writing that has the title 'On the Lesser Loving the Greater.' Already, I have also presented the teachings of the ancient Hebrews' piety in the Evangelical Preparation, and the matters about the second cause have been sufficiently discussed, for which I now send the learned. Therefore, among the Hebrews, there is also this way of speaking about the second of all causes, and the time has come for Plato in the Epinomis to say these things.

11.16.1 | And let us give honors not to the year, nor to the month, nor to any part of time, nor to any moment in which the same course goes on, completing the universe, which the most divine reason has ordered; which the fortunate one first admired, and then was filled with a desire to learn all that is possible for mortal nature.

11.16.2 | And in the letter to Hermes, the teaching of Erastus and Coriscus is very carefully set forth, writing thus: 'It is necessary for all three of you to read this

έπιστολὴν πάντας ὑμὰς τρεῖς ὄντας  
ἀναγνῶναι χρὴ, μάλιστα μὲν ἀθρόους, εἰ δὲ  
μὴ, κατὰ δύο κοινῇ κατὰ δύναμιν ὡς οἶόν  
τέ ἐστι πλειστάκις, καὶ χρῆσθαι συνθήκῃ  
καὶ νόμῳ κυρίῳ τούτῳ, ὃ ἐστι δίκαιον  
ἐπομνύντας σπουδῇ τε ἅμα μὴ ἀμούσῳ καὶ  
τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῇ παιδείᾳ, καὶ τὸν  
τῶν πάντων θεὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν τε ὄντων  
καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ  
αἴτιου πατέρα κύριον ἐπομνύντας· ὃν, ἐὰν  
όρθως φιλοσοφῶμεν, εἰσόμεθα πάντες  
σαφῶς εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων  
εύδαιμόνων.”

letter, especially together; but if not, then two by two as much as possible, and to use this agreement and law, which is just, swearing earnestly and not carelessly, along with the serious education of the sister of seriousness, and swearing by the god of all, the leader of both the beings and those to come, the lord who is the leader and father of the cause; whom, if we philosophize correctly, we will all clearly understand as the power of fortunate humans.'

11.16.3 | Άρά σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Πλάτων' τοῖς Ἐβραίων ἐπηκολουθηκέναι δόγμασιν, ἢ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ πάντων τῶν γενητῶν αἴτιου κρείττονα ἄλλον θεὸν, τὸν δὴ καὶ πατέρα τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, προσειπεῖν; πόθεν δ' αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τάξαι ὄνομα, μηδενός πω πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἀκοαῖς, ἄλλὰ μηδὲ εἰς νοῦν ταῦτα καταβεβλημένου;

11.16.3 | Do you think that Plato, saying these things, followed the teachings of the Hebrews, or from where did he come to mention another god who is greater than the cause of all created things, who is indeed the father of the great leader? And from where did he arrange the name of the lord for the father of the creator, with no one before him having heard this among the Greeks, nor even having these things in mind?

11.16.4 | εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων ἡμῖν πάλιν μαρτύρων δεῖ εἰς ἀναμφίλεκτον παράστασιν τῆς τε τοῦ φιλοσόφου διανοίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου καταέν σκευῆς, ἐπάκουουσον οἵα σοι Πλωτῖνος ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων συνέταξε διασαφεῖ γράφων

11.16.4 | But if we also need witnesses from others for an undeniable presentation of both the philosopher's thought and the arrangement of the speech, listen to what Plotinus wrote in those works about the three fundamental realities.

## Section 17

11.17.1 | “Κόσμον αἰσθητὸν τόνδε εἴ τις θαυμάζει, εἴς τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῆς φορὰς τῆς ἀιδίου βλέπων,

11.17.1 | If anyone marvels at this visible world, looking at its size, beauty, and order of the eternal movement, and at the gods

καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, τοὺς μὲν δόρωμένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀφανεῖς ὄντας, καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ζῷα φυτά τε πάντα, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀληθινώτερον ἀναβὰς, κάκεī πάντα ἰδέω νοητὰ, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀλιτρὸν ἐν οἰκείᾳ συνέσει καὶ ζωῇ, καὶ τούτων τὸν ἀκήρατον νοῦν προστάτην καὶ σοφίαν ἀμήχανον."

within it, both those who are seen and those who are hidden, as well as the spirits and all living things and plants, let them rise to its archetype and the truest form, and there let them see all things that are intelligible, and from them let them have a pure mind and an impossible wisdom in their own understanding and life.

11.17.2 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Τίς οὖν ὁ τοῦτον γεννήσας; ὁ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ὁ πρὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὁ αἴτιος τοῦ καὶ εἴναι καὶ πολὺν εἴναι τοῦτον, ὁ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ποιῶν· ὁ γάρ ἀριθμὸς οὐ πρῶτος· καὶ γάρ πρὸ τῆς δυάδος τὸ ἵν· δεύτερον δὲ δυάς, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς γενομένη.

11.17.2 | Then he continues, saying, 'Who then is the one who has generated this? The simple one and the one before such a thing, the cause of both its being and its greatness, the one who creates the number; for the number is not first. For before the two is the one; the second is the two, and it has come from the one.'

11.17.3 | Καὶ πάλιν ὑποβὰς ἐπιλέγει "Πῶς οὖν, καὶ τί δεῖ νοῆσαι περὶ ἔκεινο μένον; περίλαμψιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὲν, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ μένοντος· οἷον ἡλίου τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν λαμπρὸν φῶς περιθέον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ γεννώμενον, μένοντος δέ.

11.17.3 | And again, he goes on to say, 'How then, and what should one think about that which remains? A shining light from it, while it remains; like the bright light around the sun, always generated from it, while it stays the same.'

11.17.4 | καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἔως μένει, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, ἀναγκαίαν τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔξω αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως δίδωσιν αὐτῶν ἔξηρτημένην ὑπόστασιν, εἰκόνα οὖσαν οἷον ἀρχετύπων, ὃν ἔξεφυ.

11.17.4 | And all beings, as long as they remain, from their own essence, necessarily give a dependent existence to what is outside of them from their present power, being an image like that of the archetypes from which they have come.

11.17.5 | πῦρ μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ θερμότητα καὶ χιῶν οὐκ εἴσω μόνον τὸ ψυχρὸν κατέχει. μάλιστα δὲ ὅσα εὐώδη μαρτυρεῖ τούτῳ ἔως γάρ ἐστι, πρόεισί τι ἐξ αὐτῶν περὶ αὐτὰ, ὃν ἀπολαύει ὑποστάντων ὅ τι

11.17.5 | Fire holds the heat that is with it, and snow only keeps the cold inside. Most of all, whatever is fragrant testifies to this; for as long as it exists, something comes forth from it about itself, from which it

πλησίον.

enjoys what is nearby.

11.17.6 | καὶ πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἥδη τέλεια  
γεννᾶ· τὸ δὴ ἀεὶ τέλειον ἀεὶ καὶ ἀίδιον  
γεννᾶ· καὶ ἔλαττον δὲ ἐαυτοῦ γεννᾶ.

11.17.6 | And everything that is already perfect produces; for the perfect always generates what is perfect and eternal; and it produces less of itself.

11.17.7 | τί οὖν χρὴ περὶ τοῦ τελειοτάτου  
λέγειν; μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἢ τὰ μέγιστα μετ'  
αὐτό. μέγιστον δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν νοῦς καὶ  
δεύτερον. καὶ γὰρ ὅρᾳ ὁ νοῦς ἔκεινον, καὶ  
δεῖται αὐτοῦ μόνου, ἔκεινος δὲ τούτου  
οὐδέν. καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἀπὸ κρείττονος  
νοῦ νοῦν εἶναι· καὶ κρείττων ἀπάντων  
νοῦς, ὅτι τάλλα μετ' αὐτόν."

11.17.7 | What then should we say about the most perfect? Nothing from it, or the greatest things with it. But the greatest with it is mind, and second. For the mind sees that one, and it needs only that one, while that one needs nothing from it. And what is generated from a greater mind is a mind; and the greatest of all is mind, since the other things are with it.

11.17.8 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων  
“Ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννῆσαν καὶ τοῦτο  
ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ὡσι μόνοι τὸ  
γεννῆσαν καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον. ὅταν δὲ καὶ  
τὸ ἄριστον ἢ τὸ γεννῆσαν, ἔξ ἀνάγκης  
σύνεστιν αὐτῷ, ὡς τῇ ἐτερότητι μόνον  
κεχωρίσθαι. εἰκόνα δὲ ἔκεινου εἶναι  
λέγομεν τὸν νοῦν. δεῖ γὰρ σαφέστερον  
λέγειν.”

11.17.8 | Next, he says, 'For everything that has generated desires and loves this, especially when the generator and the generated are alone. But when the best is the generator, it must necessarily be together with it, as it is separated only by its otherness. We say that the mind is the image of that one. For it is necessary to speak more clearly.'

11.17.9 | Καὶ πάλιν τούτοις ἐπιλέγει “Καὶ  
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος τριτά· πάντα  
περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα φησὶ τὰ πρῶτα·  
καὶ δεύτερον περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ περὶ τὰ  
τρίτα τρίτον. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου εἶναι  
πατέρα, αἴτιον μὲν τὸν νοῦν λέγων:  
δημιουργὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ.

11.17.9 | And again, he adds, 'And for this reason, the third things of Plato; he says that everything is about the king of all as the first; and second about the second things, and third about the third. He also says that the cause is a father, calling the mind the cause; for the mind is the creator for it.'

11.17.10 | τοῦτον δέ φησι τὴν ψυχὴν ποιεῖν  
ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι ἔκείνω. τοῦ δὲ αἴτιου νοῦ  
ὅντος, πατέρα φησὶ τάγαθὸν καὶ τὸ  
ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας.  
πολλαχοῦ δὲ τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸν νοῦν τὴν ἴδεαν  
λέγει. ὥστε Πλάτωνα εἰδέναι ἐκ μὲν τοῦ  
ἀγαθοῦ τὸν νοῦν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν  
καὶ εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τούσδε μὴ καινοὺς,  
μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρῆσθαι μὴ  
ἀναπεπταμένως· τοὺς δὲ νῦν λόγους  
ἔξηγητάς ἔκείνων γεγονέναι, μαρτυρίοις  
πιστωσαμένους τὰς δόξας ταύτας παλαιὰς  
εἶναι τοῖς αύτοῦ Πλάτωνος γράμμασι.”

11.17.10 | He says that the soul creates in that bowl. And since the mind is the cause, he calls the good and the beyond the father of the mind and the essence beyond. In many places, he speaks of being and the mind as the idea. So, Plato knows that the mind comes from the good, and the soul comes from the mind; and these words are not new, nor are they now, but were said long ago without being fully explained. The current words have become interpreters of those, having trusted these old beliefs to the writings of Plato.

11.17.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλωτῖνος· ὃ δὲ  
Νουμήνιος τὰ Πλάτωνος πρεσβεύων ἐν  
τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ τάδε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ  
δευτέρου αἴτιου λέγων διερμηνεύει

11.17.11 | This is what Plotinus says; but Numenius, representing Plato, in his work on the good, also speaks about the second cause and interprets it.

## Section 18

11.18.1 | “Τὸν μέλλοντα δὲ συνήσειν θεοῦ  
πέρι πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου χρὴ πρότερον  
διελέσθαι ἔκαστα ἐν τάξει καὶ ἐν  
εὐθημοσύνῃ τινί· κἄπειτα ἐπειδὰν δοκῇ  
ἥδη εὖ ἔχειν, τότε καὶ δεῖ ἐπιχειρεῖν εἰπεῖν  
κοσμίως, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ, ἢ τῷ πρωϊαίτερον  
πρὶν τὰ πρῶτα γενέσθαι ἀπτομένῳ σποδὸς  
ὁ θησαυρὸς γίνεσθαι λέγεται.

11.18.1 | Before one can understand about the first and second of god, one must first discuss each in order and with some clarity. And then, when it seems to be going well, one should try to speak in a proper way; otherwise, it should not be done, or else it is said that the treasure becomes like ashes before the first things come into being.

11.18.2 | μὴ δὴ πάθωμεν ἡμεῖς ταύτον·  
Θεὸν δὲ προσκαλεσάμενοι, ἐαυτοῦ  
γνώμονα γενόμενον τῷ λόγῳ, δεῖξαι  
θησαυρὸν φροντίδων, ἀρχώμεθα οὕτως.  
εὔκτέον μὲν ἥδη, διελέσθαι δὲ δεῖ.

11.18.2 | Let us not suffer this; but calling upon god, becoming our own guide through reason, let us show a treasure of thoughts, and let us begin this way. It is good to pray, but we must discuss.

11.18.3 | ὁ θεὸς δὲ μὲν πρῶτος ἐν ἐαυτῷ ὡν  
ἔστιν ἀπλοῦς, διὰ τὸ ἐαυτῷ συγγινόμενος

11.18.3 | The first god is simple, being in himself, because he is completely united

διόλου μή ποτε εῖναι διαιρετός· ὁ θεὸς  
μέντοι ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ἐστὶν εἰς·  
συμφερόμενος δὲ τῇ ὕλῃ δυάδι οὕσῃ ἐνοῦ  
μὲν αὐτὴν, σχίζεται δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς,  
ἐπιθυμητικὸν ἥθος ἔχούσης καὶ ρεούσης.

with himself and can never be divided.  
However, the second and third gods are  
one; they are connected to matter, which  
exists as two, uniting with it but also being  
separated by it, having a nature that  
desires and flows.

11.18.4 | τῷ οὗν μὴ εἶναι πρὸς τῷ νοητῷ,  
ἥν γὰρ ἀν πρὸς ἐαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕλην  
βλέπειν, ταύτης ἐπιμελούμενος ἀπερίοπτος  
ἐαυτοῦ γίνεται.

11.18.4 | Therefore, when he is not towards  
the intelligible, for he would be towards  
himself, because he sees matter, he  
becomes careless of himself by being  
concerned with it.

11.18.5 | καὶ ἄπτεται τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ  
περιέπει, ἀνάγει τε ἔτι εἰς τὸ ἕδιον ἥθος  
ἐπορεξάμενος τῆς ὕλης.”

11.18.5 | And he touches the sensible and  
surrounds it, and he also raises it up to his  
own nature, having a desire for matter.

11.18.6 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερά φησι Καὶ γὰρ οὕτε  
δημιουργεῖν ἔστι χρεὼν τὸν πρῶτον, καὶ  
τοῦ δημιουργοῦντος δὲ θεοῦ χρὴ εἶναι  
νομίζεσθαι πατέρα τὸν πρῶτον θεόν.

11.18.6 | And he says with another that it is  
not necessary for the first to create, and it  
must be thought that the first god is the  
father of the creator god.

11.18.7 | εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ  
ζητοῦμεν, φάσκοντες δεῖν τὸν πρότερον  
ὑπάρξαντα, οὕτως ἀν ποιεῖν ἔχειν  
διαφερόντως, οἴκείᾳ ἢ πρόσοδος αὕτη  
γεγονυῖα ἀν εἴη τοῦ λόγου· εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ  
δημιουργοῦ μή ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, ζητοῦμεν δὲ  
περὶ τοῦ πρώτου, ἀφοσιωῦμαί τε τὰ  
λεχθέντα καὶ ἔστω μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἄρρητα,  
μέτειμι δὲ ἐλεῖν τὸν λόγον, ἐτέρωθεν  
θηράσας.

11.18.7 | If then we are seeking about the  
creator, saying that the earlier existence  
must be, this would have a different way of  
being, and this approach would be proper  
to the argument; but if the discussion is not  
about the creator, and we are seeking  
about the first, I reject what has been said,  
and let those things remain unsaid, but I  
will go on to take up the argument from  
another source.

11.18.8 | πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τῆς  
ἀλώσεως διομολογησώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς  
ὅμολογίαν ούκ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἀκοῦσαι,

11.18.8 | Before the discussion of the  
destruction, let us agree among ourselves  
to hear an undeniable confession: that the

τὸν μὲν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀργὸν εἶναι ἔργων  
ξυμπάντων καὶ βασιλέα, τὸν δημιουργικὸν  
δὲ θεὸν ἡγεμονεῖν δι' οὐρανοῦ ἰόντα.

11.18.9 | διὰ δὲ τούτου καὶ ὁ στόλος ἡμῖν  
έστι, κάτω τοῦ νοῦ πεμπομένου ἐν διεξόδῳ  
πᾶσι τοῖς κοινωνῆσαι συντεταγμένοις.

11.18.10 | βλέποντος μὲν οὐν καὶ  
ἐπεστραμμένου πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τοῦ  
θεοῦ συμβαίνει ζῆν τε καὶ βιώσκεσθαι τότε  
τὰ σώματα, κηδεύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς  
ἀκροβολισμοῖς· μεταστρέζοντος δὲ εἰς τὴν  
ἐαυτοῦ περιιωπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα μὲν  
ἀποσβέννυσθαι, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ζῆν βίου  
ἔπαυρόμενον εὔδαιμονος."

11.18.11 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Νουμήνιος. σὺ δέ γε  
παράθεις αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Δαβὶδ  
προφητείας πάλαι παρ' Ἐβραίοις τοῦτον  
ἀδόμενα τὸν τρόπον "ώς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ  
ἔργα σου, κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας.  
ἐπληρώθη ἡ γῆ τῆς κτίσεως σου· πάντα  
πρός σε προσδοκῶσι, δοῦναι τὴν τροφὴν  
αὐτοῖς εἰς εὔκαιρον. δόντος σου αὐτοῖς  
συλλέξουσιν, ἀνοίξαντος δέ σου τὴν χεῖρα  
τὰ πάντα πληρωθήσεται χρηστότητος.  
ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον  
ταραχθήσονται. ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα  
αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσι καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν  
αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν. ἔξαποστελεῖς τὸ  
πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται, καὶ  
ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς."

11.18.12 | τί γὰρ ταῦτα διαφέροι ἀν τῆς  
φασκούσης τοῦ φιλοσόφου διανοίας ὡς  
ἄρα "βλέποντος μὲν καὶ ἐπεστραμμένου  
πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τοῦ θεοῦ συμβαίνει

first god is inactive in all works and is a  
king, but the creator god leads through the  
heavens.

11.18.9 | Because of this, the journey is for  
us, sent below the mind in all the ways  
arranged for those who share.

11.18.10 | When one sees and turns  
towards us, each of the god's beings  
happens to live and be alive at that time,  
while the god cares for them with his  
arrows; but when he turns to his own gaze,  
these beings are extinguished, while the  
mind continues to live, supported by a  
happy life.

11.18.11 | These things are from Numenius.  
But you should also mention to them the  
words from the prophecy of David, sung  
long ago by the Hebrews: 'How great are  
your works, lord! You have made  
everything in wisdom. The earth is filled  
with your creation. All look to you to give  
them their food at the right time. When you  
give to them, they gather; when you open  
your hand, everything will be filled with  
goodness. When you turn your face away,  
they will be troubled. You take away their  
spirit, and they die and return to their dust.  
You send forth your spirit, and they are  
created, and you renew the face of the  
earth.'

11.18.12 | For how could these things differ  
from the saying of the philosopher, as if he  
were saying, 'When one sees and turns  
towards us, each of the god's beings

ζῆν τε καὶ βιώσκεσθαι τότε τὰ σώματα  
κηδεύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς,  
μετ' αστρέφοντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
περιωπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα  
ἀποσβέννυσθαι;"

happens to live and be alive at that time,  
while the god cares for them with his  
arrows; but when he turns to his own gaze,  
these beings are extinguished'?

11.18.13 | Πάλιν δ' αὖτε σωτηρίου λόγου  
παρ' ἡμῖν φάντος "έγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὁ  
πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργὸς, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα" ὁ  
Νουμήνιος ἐπάκουουσον οἶα περὶ τοῦ  
δευτέρου αἰτίου θεολογεῖ

11.18.13 | Again, when the word of  
salvation appeared among us, saying, 'I am  
the vine, my father is the gardener, you are  
the branches,' Numenius, listen to what he  
says about the second cause.

11.18.14 | "Ωσπερ δὲ πάλιν λόγος ἔστι  
γεωργῷ πρὸς τὸν φυτεύοντα  
ἀναφερόμενος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μάλιστά  
ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος θεός πρὸς τὸν δημιουργόν.  
ὁ μέν γε ὃν σπέρμα πάσης ψυχῆς σπείρει  
εἰς τὰ μεταλαγχάνοντα αὐτοῦ χρήματα  
σύμπαντα· ὁ νομοθέτης δὲ φυτεύει καὶ  
διανέμει καὶ μεταφυτεύει εἰς ἡμᾶς  
ἐκάστους τὰ ἐκεῖθεν προκαταβεβλημένα."

11.18.14 | Just as a word is directed from  
the gardener to the one planting, the same  
word is especially true of the first god to  
the creator. For he, being the seed of every  
soul, sows into all the things that will  
change; the lawgiver plants, distributes,  
and transplants to each of us what has been  
prepared from there.

11.18.15 | Καὶ ἔξῆς δὲ πάλιν περὶ τοῦ πῶς  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου τὸ δεύτερον  
ὑπέστη τοιάδε φησίν "Οπόσα δὲ δοθέντα  
μέτεισι πρὸς τὸν λαμβάνοντα, ἀπελθόντα  
ἐκ τοῦ δεδωκότος, ἔστι θεραπεία, δ  
χρήματα, νόμισμα κοῦλον, ἐπίσημον· ταυτὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μὲν οὖν ἔστι θνητὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ  
θεῖα ἔστιν οἶα μεταδοθέντα ἐνθένδ' ἐκεῖθι  
γεγενημένα, ἐνθένδε τε ούκ ἀπελήλυθε,  
κάκειθι γενόμενα τὸν μὲν ὄντησε, τὸν δ' ούκ  
ἔβλαψε, καὶ προσώνησε τῇ περὶ ὃν  
ἡπίστατο ἀναμνήσει.

11.18.15 | And further, about how the  
second cause comes from the first, he says  
this: 'Whatever is given and shared with  
the receiver, having come from what was  
given, is a healing, a resource, a coin, a  
mark. These things are mortal and human,  
but the divine things are those that were  
given from there and have come from here,  
and have not departed from here; having  
come from there, they benefit one and do  
not harm another, and they bring to mind  
what he knew about.'

11.18.16 | ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν χρῆμα  
ἐπιστήμη ἡ καλὴ, ἣς ὕνατο μὲν ὁ λαβὼν,  
ούκ ἀπολείπεται δ' αὐτῆς ὁ δεδωκώς. οἷον

11.18.16 | This good resource is  
knowledge, which the receiver benefits  
from, but the giver does not lose. Just as

ἄν ἦδοις ἔξαφθέντα ἀφ' ἑτέρου λύχνου λύχνον φῶς ἔχοντα, δι μὴ τὸν πρότερον ἀφείλατο, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὅλης πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου πῦρ ἔξαφθείσης.

11.18.17 | τοιοῦτον τὸ χρῆμά ἔστι τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ δοθεῖσα καὶ ληφθεῖσα παραμένει μὲν τῷ δεδωκότι, σύνεστι δὲ τῷ λαβόντι ἡ αὐτή.

11.18.18 | τούτου δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, αἱ ξένε, οὐδέν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπινον· ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔξις τε καὶ οὐσία ἡ ἔχουσα τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἡ αὕτη ἔστι παρά τε τῷ δεδωκότι θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τῷ εἰληφότι ἔμοι καὶ σοί.

11.18.19 | διὸ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τὴν σοφίαν ὑπὸ Προμηθέως ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους μετὰ φανοτάτου τινὸς πυρος ἔφη." Καὶ πάλιν ὑποβάς ἔξης φησιν

11.18.20 | "Εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι βίοι ὁ μὲν πρώτου, ὁ δὲ δευτέρου θεοῦ. δηλονότι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος θεὸς ἔσται ἐστώς, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔμπαλιν ἔστι κινούμενος. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος περὶ τὰ νοητὰ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ τὰ νοητὰ καὶ αἰσθητά.

11.18.21 | μὴ θαυμάσῃς δ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἔφην· πολὺ γάρ ἔτι θαυμαστότερον ἀκούσῃ. ἀντὶ γάρ τῆς προσούσης τῷ δευτέρῳ κινήσεως τὴν προσοῦσαν τῷ πρώτῳ στάσιν φημὶ εἶναι κίνησιν σύμφυτον, ἀφ' ἣς ἡ τε τάξις τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἡ μονὴ ἀίδιος καὶ ἡ σωτηρία ἀναχεῖται εἰς τὰ ὅλα."

you might see a lamp that has been lit from another lamp, having light, which does not take away from the first lamp, but rather, the material in it has been lit from that fire.

11.18.17 | Such is the resource of knowledge, which, when given and received, remains with the giver, but is also shared with the receiver.

11.18.18 | But the cause of this, stranger, is nothing human; rather, the state and essence that has knowledge is the same from both the giver, who is divine, and from the receiver, who is both me and you.

11.18.19 | Therefore, Plato said that wisdom came to humans from Prometheus with some very bright fire." "And again, going further, he says...

11.18.20 | There are two kinds of lives: one belonging to the first god, and the other to the second god. Clearly, the first god is unmoving, while the second god is moving. Therefore, the first is about the intelligible things, and the second is about both the intelligible and the sensible things.

11.18.21 | Do not be surprised if I said this; for you will hear something even more amazing. For instead of the movement that belongs to the second, I say that the movement that belongs to the first is a natural stillness, from which the order of the universe and the eternal dwelling and

salvation flow into the whole.

11.18.22 | Έπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ προστίθησι ταῦτα “Ἐπειδὴ ἥδει ὁ Πλάτων’ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν γινωσκόμενον μόνον, τὸν μέντοι πρῶτον νοῦν, ὅστις καλεῖται αὐτὸν, παντάπασιν ἀγνοούμενον παρ’ αὐτοῖς, διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπεν, ὡσπερ ἄν τις οὕτω λέγοι,

11.18.22 | On this, he also adds in the sixth: 'Since Plato knew among humans the creator as only being known, but the first mind, which is called being itself, is completely unknown to them, for this reason he spoke in this way, just as someone might say.'

11.18.23 | Ω ἄνθρωποι, ὃν τοπάξετε ὑμεῖς νοῦν οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ ἔτερος πρὸ τούτου νοῦς πρεσβύτερος καὶ θειότερος.”

11.18.23 | O people, the mind you place as first is not the first, but there is another mind before it, older and more divine.

11.18.24 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Κυβερνήτης μέν που ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει φορούμενος ὑπὲρ πηδαλίων ὑψίζυγος τοῖς οἴαξι διιθύνει τὴν ναῦν ἐφεζόμενος, ὅμματα δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ νοῦς εὐθὺν τοῦ αἰθέρος ξυντέταται πρὸς τὰ μετάρσια, καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτῷ ἄνω δι’ οὐρανοῦ ἄπεισι, πλέοντι κάτω κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς τὴν ὕλην, τοῦ μήτε διακροῦσαι μήτε ἀποπλαγχθῆναι αὐτὴν, ἀρμονίᾳ ξυνδησάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἔδρυται, οἷον ὑπὲρ νεώς ἐπὶ θαλάττης, τῆς ὕλης· τὴν ἀρμονίαν δὲ ίθύνει, ταῖς ἴδεαις οἰακίζων, βλέπει τε ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄνω θεὸν προσαγόμενον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅμματα, λαμβάνει τε τὸ μὲν κριτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας, τὸ δὲ ὀρμητικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφέσεως.”

11.18.24 | And after this, he adds something else: 'The helmsman, indeed, in the middle of the sea, is carried above the rudders, guiding the ship while sitting, and his eyes and mind are directed straight to the heavens, and his path goes up through the sky, while he sails down along the sea. In the same way, the creator holds the matter, neither allowing it to break apart nor to drift away, having united it in harmony. He himself is established above it, like a temple over the sea of matter; and he directs the harmony, aligning it with the ideas, and instead of looking at the sky, he turns his eyes to the higher god, receiving the critical part from contemplation and the impulsive part from desire.'

11.18.25 | Καὶ ὁ σωτήριος παρ’ ἡμῖν λόγος “οὐδὲν, φησὶ, δύναται ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐὰν μή τι βλέπῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦδε ὁ Νουμήνιος. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ οἰκεῖα, τὰ δὲ

11.18.25 | And the savior among us says, 'The son can do nothing of himself unless he sees the father doing something.' But indeed, the same is said by Numenius. As for what is not proper, he explained

Πλάτωνι δοκοῦντα διεσάφει, ούδὲν  
έπιλέγειν δεῖ ταῖς αὐτοῦ φωναῖς.

nothing about what seems to be Plato's views, and there is no need to add anything to his words.

11.18.26 | ὁ δέ γε Πλάτων ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος ταῖσδε κέχρηται ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, φθάνουσι δ' αὐτὸν προειληφότες Ἐβραίων οἱ σοφοί, δέδεικται διὰ τῶν ἔκτεθεμένων. εἰκότως δῆτα καὶ τῶν νέων φιλοσόφων διαφανής γεγονώς Ἀμέλιος, τῆς Πλάτωνος καὶ αὐτὸς, εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, ζηλωτὴς φιλοσοφίας, πλὴν ἀλλὰ βάρβαρον ὄνομάσας τὸν Ἐβραῖον θεολόγον, εἴ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ὄνόματος ἡξίωσε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου μνήμην ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δ' οὗν δημως ταῖς αὐτοῦ φωναῖς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς ῥῆμα γράφων

11.18.26 | But Plato, indeed, is not the first to use these ideas; the wise men of the Hebrews have preceded him, as shown by the things that have been revealed. It is certainly evident that Amelius, a follower of Plato and also a philosopher, has appeared among the younger philosophers. Although he called the Hebrew theologian a barbarian, he did not consider himself worthy to remember the name of the evangelist John. Nevertheless, he still bears witness to his words, and he writes these very things in relation to the statement.

## Section 19

11.19.1 | “Καὶ οὗτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν αἱέτι ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἀν καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσειε, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθεστηκότα πρὸς θεὸν εἶναι καὶ θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον φαντάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τηνικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι.”

11.19.1 | And this was the word through which all things always come into being, as Heraclitus would agree. By Zeus, the barbarian considers it to be established in the order and worth of the beginning to be both god and to be with god; through whom all things have simply come into being. In him, what has come into being is alive, and it has come to be life and being. And it falls into bodies, and being clothed in flesh, it appears as a man, while also showing the greatness of nature at that time. Without care, it is again analyzed and becomes god, just as it was before it descended into the body, flesh, and man.

11.19.2 | Ταῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐπεσκιασμένως, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἥδη γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ μεταπεφρασμένα ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου

11.19.2 | These things are no longer hidden, but they would be clearly translated from the barbarian theology

θεολογίας δῆλα ἀν εἴη. ὁ δέ γε βάρβαρος τίς ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εὐαγγελιστής Ἰωάννης, Ἐβραῖος ὃν ἔξ Ἐβραίων;

11.19.3 | ὃς που ἀρχόμενος τῆς οἰκείας γραφῆς ὥδε πῃ θεολογεῖ “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. πάντα δι' αὐτὸν ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, δὲ γέγονεν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.”

11.19.4 | τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ πέρι καὶ ἄλλος Ἐβραίων θεόλογος ἐπάκουουσον οἶα διέξεισιν ‘ὅς ἐστιν είκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε ὀρατὰ εἴτε ἀόρατα· καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ συνέστηκε, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη, τά τε ὀρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.’

11.19.5 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ δευτέρου αἰτίου συστάσεως τε καὶ ούσιώσεως ὥδε τοῖς Ἑλλήνων σοφοῖς πρὸς τὰ Ἐβραίων συμπεφώνηται. μετίωμεν δῆτα καὶ ἐφ' ἔτερα.

## Section 20

11.20.1 | Τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις λογίων μετὰ τὸν περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ λόγον ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα καταλεγόντων, καὶ

with a bare head. And who was the barbarian to him if not our savior's evangelist John, being a Hebrew from Hebrews?

11.19.3 | Who, starting from his own writing, thus speaks of theology: 'In the beginning was the word; and the word was with god. And the word was god; this was in the beginning with god. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made that has been made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we have seen his glory, glory as of the only son from the father.'

11.19.4 | About him, another Hebrew theologian says: 'He is the image of the invisible god, the firstborn of all creation, for in him all things were created in heaven and on earth, whether visible or invisible; and all things hold together through him, and all things were created in him, both the visible and the invisible.'

11.19.5 | But also the things about the nature and essence of the second cause are thus agreed upon by the wise men of the Greeks with the Hebrews. Let us indeed move on to other things.

11.20.1 | Among the writings of the Hebrews, after the discussion about the father and the son, in the third place they

τήν γε ἀγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν τριάδα τοῦτον ὑποτιθεμένων τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἀν τῆς τρίτης δυνάμεως πᾶσαν ὑπερβεβηκύιας γενητὴν φύσιν, οὗσάν τε πρώτην μὲν τῶν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ συστασῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν, τρίτην δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου του αἴτιου, θέα ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τοιαῦτά τινα ἤνιξατο διὰ τῆς πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς λέγων

mention the holy spirit, and they suggest the holy and blessed Trinity in this way, as if it were a nature that goes beyond all created things of the third power, being the first of the intelligible essences created through the son, and the third from the first cause. This is how Plato hinted at such things in his letter to Dionysius.

11.20.2 | "Φραστέον δή σοι δι' αἰνιγμῶν, ἵν  
ἄν τι δέλτος ἢ πόντου ἢ γῆς ἐν πτυχαῖς  
πάθῃ, ὃ ἀναγνοὺς μὴ γνῷ. Ὡδε γάρ ἔχει  
περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἔστι, καὶ  
ἔκείνου ἔνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἔκεινο αἴτιον  
ἀπάντων καλῶν δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ  
δεύτερα καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα. ἡ οὖν  
ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ περὶ αὐτὰ ὄρέγεται  
μαθεῖν ποῖα ἄττα ἔστι, βλέπουσα εἰς τὰ  
αὐτῆς συγγενῆ."

11.20.2 | It is necessary for you to understand through riddles, so that if you encounter something about a tablet, the sea, or the earth, the reader may not know. For it is this way: concerning the king of all, everything exists, and for his sake, everything exists, and he is the cause of all good things; second, concerning the second things, and third, concerning the third things. Therefore, the human soul desires to learn about these things, looking into what is related to itself.

11.20.3 | Ταῦτα οἶ τὸν Πλάτωνα διασαφεῖν πειρώμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν  
ἀνάγουσιν, ἐπὶ τε τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον καὶ  
τρίτον τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν, θεὸν τρίτον  
καὶ αὐτὴν ὄριζόμενοι εἶναι οἶ δέ γε θεῖοι  
λόγοι τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν τριάδα,  
πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἐν  
ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τάττουσι κατὰ τὰ  
ἀποδεδομένα. Ἔπειται τούτοις τὴν τοῦ  
ἀγαθοῦ ἔξετάσαι οὐσίαν.

11.20.3 | These things, they try to explain about Plato, leading to the first god, and concerning the second cause and the third, the soul of the world, defining it as a third god; but the divine words place the holy and blessed Trinity of the father, the son, and the holy spirit in the beginning according to what has been handed down. Following these, they examine the essence of the good.

## Section 21

11.21.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις θείας γραφῆς  
διαφόρως τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ αὐτὸ  
τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ θεὸν  
διδασκούσης, δι' ὧν τέ φησιν ἀγαθὸς

11.21.1 | The divine scripture among the Hebrews teaches that the essence of the good and the good itself is nothing other than god. Through this, it says that the good

κύριος πάσι τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν· ψυχῇ, ἡ ἐκζητήσει αὐτόν·” καὶ “έξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ” δι’ ὃν τε ὁ σωτήριος λόγος πρὸς τὸν περὶ τοῦδε ἐρόμενον ἀπεφήνατο εἰπὼν “τί με ἔρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἴ μη εἶς ὁ θεός·”

lord is for all who endure him; for the soul that seeks him. And 'give thanks to the lord that he is good, for his mercy lasts forever.' For the saving word also spoke about this, saying, 'Why do you ask me about the good? No one is good except one, god.'

11.21.2 | ἐπάκουσον τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἂ φησιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ “Λέγωμεν δὴ δι’ ἡντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν· ἀγαθῷ δ’ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτ’ ἐγγίνεται φθόνος. τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὃν πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι παραπλήσια ἐαυτῷ.”

11.21.2 | Listen to Plato, what he says in the Timaeus: 'Let us say for what reason the whole is made and how it came to be. It was good; and no one ever envies what is good. But being outside of this, everything that wanted to become was most like itself.'

11.21.3 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ δὲ ταῦτά φησιν “Ἄρ’ οὖν οὐ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὄψις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, αἴτιος δ’ ὃν αὐτῆς ὀρᾶται ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ταύτης; οὕτως, ηδ’ ὅς. τοῦτον τοίνυν, ἦν δ’ ἔγω, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, ὃν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἐαυτῷ, ὃ τι περ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρός τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ὀρατῷ πρός τε ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὀρώμενα.”

11.21.3 | And in the Republic, he says this: 'Is not the sun itself not sight, but is seen by sight? So it is, indeed.' Therefore, I would say that the offspring of the good, which the good has generated, is like itself, just as it is in the intelligible realm towards the mind and the things that are thought of, so it is in the visible realm towards sight and the things that are seen.

11.21.4 | Καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρέχον τοῖς γιγνωσκομένοις καὶ τὸ γιγνώσκοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἀποδιδοῦν τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἴδεαν φάθι εἶναι.” Καὶ πάλιν φησὶ

11.21.4 | And then he adds, 'Therefore, this which provides truth to those who know and gives the power of knowing is said to be the idea of the good.' And again he says...

11.21.5 | “Τὸν ἥλιον τοῖς ὀρωμένοις οὐ μόνον, οἷμαι, τὴν τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι δύναμιν παρέχειν φήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ αὔξην καὶ τροφὴν, οὐ γένεσιν αὐτὸν ὄντα. πῶς γάρ; καὶ τοῖς γινωσκομένοις τοίνυν μὴ μόνον τὸ γινώσκεσθαι φάναι ὑπὸ τοῦ

11.21.5 | You would say that the sun not only provides the power of sight to those who see, but also brings about generation, growth, and nourishment, while itself being ungenerated. For how is this so? And for those who know, it is not only said that

άγαθοῦ παρεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπ' ἔκεινοῦ αὐτοῖς προσεῖναι, οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος."

knowing is present from the good, but also that being and essence are present from it to them, not because the good itself has essence, but because it surpasses essence in power and authority.

11.21.6 | Σαφέστατα διὰ τούτων οὐ μόνον τὸ γινώσκεσθαι ταῖς νοηταῖς οὐσίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, δηλαδὴ τού θεοῦ, φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων· τό τε ἀγαθὸν "μὴ εἶναι οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχον·" ὥστε μὴ ὄμοούσια αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀγέννητα νομίζειν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν εἴληφε παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος· δὸν δὴ καὶ μόνον εἰκότως θεὸν τὰ Ἐβραίων ἀναγορεύει λόγια, ὡς ἀν τοῖς πᾶσιν αἴτιον ὄντα.

11.21.6 | Clearly, through these things, not only does knowing come from the intelligible essences, but also being and essence are held from the good, namely from the divine, says Plato. He states that the good 'does not have essence, but is beyond essence, surpassing it in power and authority.' Therefore, it should not be considered as having the same essence, nor should it be thought of as ungenerated, since both being and essence are taken from what is not essence, but are beyond essence in power and authority. This is why it is fittingly called the only God by the Hebrews, as it is the cause of all things.

11.21.7 | τὰ δὴ οὖν μήτε τὸ εἶναι μήτε τὴν οὐσίαν παρ' ἔαυτῶν ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῆς τάγαθοῦ φύσεως ὄντα, οὐ δὴ εὔλογον θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵς μὴ φύσει τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρόσεστιν· ἐνὶ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνῳ καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀναθετέον, τῷ μόνῳ ἀγαθῷ, δὸν δὴ καὶ ἐπέκεινα πάσης οὐσίας πρεσβείᾳ τε καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχον·" Θαυμασίως ὁ Πλάτων ἀνεφώνησε. πάλιν δὲ καὶ ὁ Νουμήνιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τάγαθοῦ, τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος διάνοιαν ἐρμηνεύων, τοῦτον διέξεισι τὸν τρόπον

11.21.7 | "Therefore, since it has neither being nor essence from itself, nor is it of the nature of the good, it is not reasonable to consider them as gods, to whom the good does not belong by nature. For this should only be attributed to the one good, which indeed surpasses all essence in power and authority," Plato wonderfully declared. Again, Numenius, while explaining Plato's thought in his work on the good, expresses this same idea.

## Section 22

11.22.1 | "Τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα λαβεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστι, σημαινομένοις ἔκ τε ὄμοιών ἀπό τε

11.22.1 | We can take bodies from what is similar and from the known things that are

τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρακειμένοις γνωρισμάτων ἐνόντων· τάγαθὸν δὲ οὐδενὸς ἔκ παρακειμένου οὐδ' αὖ ἀπὸ ὅμοίου αἰσθητοῦ ἔστι λαβεῖν μηχανή τις οὐδεμίᾳ· ἀλλὰ δεήσει, οἶνον εἴ τις ἐπὶ σκοπῆ καθήμενος, ναῦν ἀλιάδα βραχεῖάν τινα τούτων τῶν ἐπακτρίδων. τῶν μόνων, μίαν, μόνην, ἔρημον, μετακυμίοις ἔχομένην ὥξν δεδορκώς, μιᾷ βιοῇ κατεῦδε τὴν ναῦν, οὕτω δή τινα ἀπελθόντα πόρρω ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὀμιλῆσαι τῷ ἀγαθῷ μόνῳ μόνον, ἐνθα μήτε τις ἄνθρωπος μήτε τι ζῷον ἔτερον, μηδὲ σῶμα μέγα μηδὲ σμικρὸν, ἀλλὰ τις ἄφατος καὶ ἀδιήγητος ἀτεχνῶς ἐρημία θεσπέσιος, ἐνθα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἥθη διατριβαί τε καὶ ἀγλαίαι, αύτὸ δὲ ἐν εἱρήνῃ, ἐν εὔμενείᾳ, τὸ ἥρεμον, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, Ἄλεων, ἐποχούμενον ἐπὶ τῇ ούσίᾳ.

nearby. But the good cannot be taken from anything that is nearby, nor from any similar sensible thing by any means. Rather, it is necessary, like someone sitting in a watchtower, to see a ship far off from those shores. Just as one might see a single, lonely ship, moving swiftly, so too, someone who has gone far away from the sensible things should associate only with the good alone, where neither a person nor any other living being exists, nor any large or small body, but rather an ineffable and indescribable solitude, where the good has its qualities and delights, and where it itself is in peace, in kindness, calm, and guiding presence over essence.

11.22.2 | εἴ δέ τις πρὸς τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς λιπαρῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφιπτάμενον φαντάζεται, κἄπειτα τρυφῶν οἴοιτο τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐντευχηκέναι, τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνει. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οὐ διαδίκας, θείας δὲ πρὸς αύτὸ δεῖ μεθόδου· καὶ ἔστι κράτιστον, τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀμελήσαντι, νεανιευσαμένω πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα, τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς θεασαμένω, οὕτως ἐκμελετῆσαι μάθημα, τί ἔστι τὸ ὄν."

11.22.2 | If someone thinks that the good is shining among the sensible things and then believes they have encountered the good while enjoying them, they are mistaken about everything. For what truly exists is not easy to grasp, and one must approach it through a divine method. It is best, after neglecting the sensible things, for a young person who has turned to learning, having contemplated the numbers, to study the lesson of what being is.

11.22.3 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ ταῦτά ὡς φησιν "Εἴ δ' ἔστι μὲν νοητὸν ἡ ούσια καὶ ἡ ἴδ' ἔα, ταύτης δ' ὡμοιογήθη πρεσβύτερον καὶ αἴτιον εῖναι δ νοῦς, αύτὸς οὗτος μόνος εὑρηται ὧν τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ εἴ δὲ μὲν δημιουργὸς θεός ἔστι γενέσεως, ἀρκεῖ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ούσιας εῖναι ἀρχή. ἀνάλογον δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ὁ δημιουργὸς θεὸς, ὧν αύτοῦ μιμητὴς, τῇ δὲ

11.22.3 | These things are said in the first and in the fifth. He says, 'If being is indeed intelligible and the idea is true, then the mind is agreed to be older and the cause of this. This alone is found to be the good. For if the creator god is the cause of generation, it is enough for the good to be the beginning of being. In relation to this, the creator god, being its imitator, is to being as

ούσια ἡ γένεσις· είκών γάρ αὐτῆς ἔστι καὶ μίμημα.

generation is; for generation is an image and imitation of it.'

11.22.4 | εἴπερ δὲ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς, ἡ που ἔσται καὶ ὁ τῆς ούσιας δημιουργὸς αὐτοάγαθον, σύμφυτον τῇ ούσιᾳ. ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος διττὸς ὃν αὐτοποιεῖ τὴν τε ἰδέαν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, δημιουργὸς ὅν· ἔπειτα θεωρητικὸς ὅλως.

11.22.4 | If the creator of generation is good, then the creator of being will also be good by nature, inherent to being. For the second one, being twofold, creates both the idea of itself and the world, being a creator; then, it is entirely contemplative.

11.22.5 | συλλελογισμένων δ' ἡμῶν ὄντα τεσσάρων πραγμάτων τέσσαρα ἔστω ταῦτα· ὁ μὲν πρῶτος θεὸς αὐτοάγαθον· ὁ δὲ τούτου μιμητὴς δημιουργὸς ἀγαθός· ἡ δ' ούσια μία μὲν ἡ τοῦ πρώτου, ἐτέρα δὲ ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου· ἣς μίμημα ὁ καλὸς κόσμος, κεκαλλωπισμένος μετουσίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ. "

11.22.5 | When we gather our thoughts, let there be four names for four things: the first is the god who is good by nature; the second is the good creator who imitates him; the essence is one, that of the first, and another is that of the second; of which the beautiful world is an imitation, adorned by participation in the beautiful.

11.22.6 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ δὲ ἐπιλέγει "Μετέχει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ μετίσχοντα ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ, ἐν δὲ μόνῳ τῷ φρονεῖν" ταύτῃ ἄρα καὶ τῆς ἀγαθοῦ συμβάσεως ὄνταίτ' ἀν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ. καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ φρονεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ συντετύχηκε μόνῳ τῷ πρώτῳ. ὑφ' οὐ οὖν τὰ ἄλλα ἀποχράίνεται καὶ ἀγαθοπῦται, ἐὰν τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσῆ, ἀβελτέρας ἀν εἴη ψυχῆς ἔτι ἀμφιλογεῖν.

11.22.6 | And in the sixth, it is said, 'What participates in it does not share in anything else, but only in thinking; thus, it would be possible to have a connection with the good only through this, otherwise not. Indeed, thinking has happened only with the first. By this, the other things are made good and useful, if this is only connected to that one; otherwise, the soul would still be uncertain.'

11.22.7 | εἰ γὰρ ἀγαθός ἔστιν ὁ δεύτερος οὐ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου, πῶς οἶόν τε ὑφ' οῦ μετουσίας ἔστιν οὗτος ἀγαθὸς μὴ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε κἄν τύχῃ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀγαθοῦ μεταλαχῶν ὁ δεύτερος;

11.22.7 | For if the second is good, it is not from itself, but from the first. How can it be that this good, which participates in something, is not good itself? Moreover, even if the second happens to share in the good, how can it be so?

11.22.8 | οὕτω τοι ὁ Πλάτων ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ τῷ ὅξὺ βλέποντι ἀπέδωκε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὅτι ἔστιν ἔν." Καὶ πάλιν ἔξῆς φησι

11.22.8 | "Thus, Plato, with sharp insight from reasoning, defined the good as one." And again, he says further.

11.22.9 | "Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔθηκεν ὁ Πλάτων' ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ χωρίσας· ἵδια μὲν γὰρ τὸν κυκλικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἐγράψατο ἐν Τιμαιίῳ εἰπών "ἀγαθὸς ἦν" ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἴπεν ἀγαθοῦ ἴδεαν· ὡς δὴ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἴδεαν οὖσαν τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅτι πέφανται ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸς μετουσίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου τε καὶ μόνου.

11.22.9 | Since these things are so, Plato set them apart in different ways. For he wrote about the circular one in the Timaeus, saying, 'It was good.' But in the Republic, he spoke of the good as the idea of the good. Thus, the idea of the good is from the creator, showing that the good appears to us through participation in the first and only.

11.22.10 | ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι μὲν λέγονται τυπωθέντες· ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἴδεας, βόες δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βοὸς, ἄπποι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἄππου ἴδεας· οὕτω καὶ εἰκότως ὁ δημιουργός, εἴπερ ἔστι μετουσίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς, ἴδεα ἀν εἴη ὁ πρῶτος νοῦς, ὃν αὐτοάγαθον."

11.22.10 | For just as people are called human because they are shaped by the idea of humanity, cows are called bovine because of the idea of a cow, and horses are called equine because of the idea of a horse; in the same way, it is reasonable that the creator, if he is good by participating in the first good, would be the idea of the first mind, being good in himself.

## Section 23

11.23.1 | "Οὕτω δὲ γεγενημένος δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ κόσμος) πρὸς τὸ λόγων καὶ φρονήσει περιληπτὸν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχον δεδημιούργηται. τούτων δὲ ὑπαρχόντων αὖ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἰκόνα τινὸς εἶναι. — τὰ γὰρ δὴ νοητὰ ζῶα πάντα ἔκεινο περιλαβόν ἔχει ἐν ἐαυτῷ, καθάπερ ὁ δ' ὁ κόσμος ἡμᾶς."

11.23.1 | Thus, since the world has come to be, it is clear that it is comprehensible through reason and thought, and it has been created according to the same principles. With these things existing, it is necessary for this world to be some kind of image. For all the intelligible living beings are contained within it, just as this world contains us.

11.23.2 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν Τιμαίῳ.  
τὴν δὲ τῶν είρημένων διάνοιαν ἐκ τῶν  
Διδύμῳ Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι  
συντεταγμένων ἐκθήσομαι. γράφει δὲ  
οὕτως

11.23.3 | "Τῶν κατὰ φύσιν αἰσθητῶν κατὰ  
γένος ὡρισμένα τινὰ παραδείγματα  
φάμενος εἶναι τὰς ἰδέας, ὃν τὰς ἐπιστήμας  
γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ὅρους· παρὰ πάντας γὰρ  
ἀνθρώπους ἀνθρωπόν τινα νοεῖσθαι, καὶ  
παρὰ πάντας ἵππους ἵππον, καὶ κοινῶς  
παρὰ τὰ ζῷα ζῷον ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον.

11.23.4 | ὃν τρόπον δὲ σφραγῖδος μιᾶς  
ἐκμαγεῖα γίνεσθαι πολλὰ καὶ συχνὰς  
εἰκόνας ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς, οὕτως ἐκ μιᾶς  
ἐκάστης ἰδέας αἰσθητῶν σωμάτων φύσεις  
παμπληθεῖς, τῆς μὲν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντας, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν.

11.23.5 | εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἰδέαν ἀίδιον οὐσίαν,  
αἴτιαν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔκαστον εἶναι  
τοιοῦτον οὐλαί ἐστὶν αὐτή.

11.23.6 | καθάπερ οὖν τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
ῶσπερ ἀρχέτυπα τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
προηγεῖσθαι σωμάτων, οὕτ' ὡς τὴν πάσας  
ἐν ἐαυτῇ περιέχουσαν καλλίστην καὶ  
τελειοτάτην οὐσίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῦδε  
παράδειγμα τοῦ κόσμου· πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην  
ἀφομοιωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος  
αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσθαι θεοῦ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἐκ  
τῆς πάσης οὐσίας."

11.23.2 | These things Plato wrote in the Timaeus. But I will explain the thought of those mentioned from the writings of Didymus about what pleases Plato. He writes this way.

11.23.3 | He says that there are certain examples defined by nature for the sensible things, which are the ideas, from which knowledge and definitions come; for among all people, there is a notion of a human, and among all horses, there is a notion of a horse, and generally among all living beings, there is an idea of a living thing that is uncreated and imperishable.

11.23.4 | Just as many and various images can be made from one seal, in the same way, from each idea of sensible bodies, countless natures arise, such as all humans from the idea of humans, and similarly for the other natural things.

11.23.5 | The idea is a unique essence, the cause and principle of each thing being what it is.

11.23.6 | Just as the parts lead the way as models for sensible bodies, so there exists the most beautiful and perfect essence that contains all things within itself, which is the example of the world; for it has been shaped by the creator according to the plan from the whole essence.

11.23.7 | Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδηλωμένου ἀνδρός. φθάνει γε μὴν καὶ ταῦτα Μώσης ὁ πάνσοφος, πρὸ τοῦ φαινομένου ἡλίου καὶ ἀστρων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὄρωμένου οὐρανοῦ, ὃ δὴ στερέωμα καλεῖ, πρὸ τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔηρᾶς γῆς καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς φῶς ἔτερον παρὰ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς τοῦ πανηγεμόνος καὶ αἵτιου τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ πεποιῆσθαι διδάσκων.

11.23.8 | ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μωσέα παῖδες Ἐβραίων ἡλίον τινα εἶναι ἀσώματον οὐ πᾶσιν ὄρατὸν οὐδὲ θνητοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς ὑπαγόμενον ὀρίζονται, ὡς ὁ προφήτης ἐκ προσώπου θεοῦ λέγων "τοῖς δὲ φιβουμένοις με ἀνατελεῖ ἡλιος δικαιοσύνης."

11.23.9 | καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, οὐχὶ τὴν ποιὰν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταύτης ἰδέαν οἴδεν ἄλλος Ἐβραίων προφήτης, ὁ φήσας περὶ θεοῦ "τίς ἔξήγειρεν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν δικαιοσύνην; ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορεύεται δ' ὥσει ἐνώπιον ἑθνῶν."

11.23.10 | καὶ λόγον δὲ θεῖον ἀσώματον καὶ οὐσιώδη ἀρτίως ἡμῖν ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν λόγος ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐβραίων παρίστη γραφῆς. οὗ περὶ λόγου καὶ τάδε παρὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἴρηται "ὅς ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν σοφία ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἀγιασμὸς καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις.

11.23.11 | λέγεται καὶ ζωὴ, λέγεται καὶ

11.23.7 | These things are also from the declared man. Indeed, Moses the wise speaks of these things before the appearing sun and stars and before the visible sky, which is called the firmament, and before the dry land beneath us and before the light of day and night that is different from the sun's day and night, teaching about the all-governing and causing god of all things.

11.23.8 | But the children of the Hebrews after Moses define a certain sun that is incorporeal and not visible to all, nor does it come under mortal eyes, as the prophet speaks from the presence of god saying, 'For those who fear me, the sun of righteousness will rise.'

11.23.9 | And another prophet of the Hebrews knew this righteousness, not the kind found among humans, but the idea of it. He said about god, 'Who has raised up righteousness from the east? He called it to his face, and it will go forth as in the presence of nations.'

11.23.10 | And the divine word, incorporeal and essential, is now presented to us in the writings of the Hebrews. About this word, it has also been said by the same ones, 'For to us wisdom has been born from god, as well as righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

11.23.11 | It is called life, it is called

σοφία, λέγεται καὶ ἀλήθεια. καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐσίαν ὄντα τε καὶ ὑφεστῶτα οἱ Ἐβραίων λόγοι διδάσκουσιν, (εἰ δὴ Ἐβραῖοι καὶ οὗ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀπόστολοι τε καὶ μαθηταὶ) ναὶ μὴν καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἀσωμάτους δυνάμεις, οὐρανοῦ τε ἐπέκεινα καὶ πάσης τῆς ὑλικῆς καὶ ριώδους οὐσίας· ὃν τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φασι κατατυπῶσαι· ἐφ' ὃν ἥδη καὶ τούνομα τῆς εἰκόνος παρειλήφασι.

11.23.12 | τὸν γοῦν ἄνθρωπον εἰκόνα διαρρήδην νοητοῦ παραδείγματος εἶναι, καὶ πάντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον βίον ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεσθαι εἰρήκασι. λέγει δ' οὖν ὁ Μώσης "καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν." καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος Εβραῖος τὰ πάτρια φιλοσοφῶν "μέντοι γε (φησὶν) ἐν εἰκόνι διαπορεύεται ἀνθρμπος." ἥδη δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἱερῶν νόμων ἔξηγηται ἐπάκουουσον ὅπως τὴν ἐν τοῖς Μώσεως γράμμασι διάνοιαν σαφηνίζουσι. λέγει δ' οὖν ὁ Ἐβραῖος Φίλων τὰ πάτρια διερμηνεύων αὐτοῖς ὢμασιν

wisdom, it is called truth. And all things that exist and stand, the words of the Hebrews teach, (if indeed the Hebrews are the apostles and disciples of our savior) yes, and many other incorporeal powers, beyond the heavens and all material and flowing substance; of which they say the images are impressed in the senses; for which they have already taken the name of the image.

11.23.12 | Indeed, they say that man is a clear image of an intelligible pattern, and that all human life is to be understood in this image. And so Moses says, 'And god made man; he made him in the image of god.' And again, another Hebrew philosopher says, 'Indeed, man walks in the image.' And now the interpreters of the sacred laws listen to how they clarify the meaning in the writings of Moses. The Hebrew Philo says, interpreting the ancestral teachings to them with words.

## Section 24

11.24.1 | "Εἰ δέ τις ἐθελήσειε γυμνότερον χρήσασθαι τοῖς ὄνόμασιν, ούδεν ἄν ἔτερον εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἡ θεοῦ λόγον ἥδη κοσμοποιοῦντος. ούδε γάρ ἡ νοητὴ πόλις ἔτερόν τι ἔστιν ἡ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος λογισμὸς, ἥδη τὴν νοητὴν πόλιν κτίζειν διανοούμενου.

11.24.1 | If someone wanted to speak more simply about the names, they would say nothing different about the intelligible world than the word of god already creating the cosmos. For the intelligible city is nothing else but the plan of the architect, already thinking about building the intelligible city.

11.24.2 | τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο Μώσεως ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐμόν. τὴν γοῦν ἄνθρωπου γένεσιν ἀναγράφων ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα διαρρήδην

11.24.2 | But this teaching is from Moses, not mine. Indeed, he clearly states in the later writings that the creation of man was

όμοιογεῖ, ὡς ἄρα κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ  
διετυπώθη.

made in the image of god.

11.24.3 | εί δὲ τὸ μέρος εἰκὼν εἰκόνος,  
δηλονότι καὶ τὸ δόλον εἶδος σύμπας οὗτος ὁ  
αἰσθητὸς κόσμος, εἴ μείζων τῆς  
ἀνθρωπίνης ἔστι, μίμημα θείας εἰκόνος  
δηλονότι· καὶ ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγὶς, ὃν  
φαμεν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἀν εἴη  
τὸ παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος ἴδεα τῶν ἴδεων,  
ὁ θεοῦ λόγος.”

11.24.3 | If the part is an image of the whole, then this entire visible world, if it is greater than humanity, is clearly a copy of the divine image. And the original seal, which we say is the intelligible world, would itself be the example, the original idea of ideas, the word of god.

11.24.4 | “Φησὶ δ’ ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνων οὐχ, ὡς οἴονται τινες, τὴν κατὰ χρόνον· (χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου) ἀλλ’ ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἢ μετ’ αὐτόν.

11.24.4 | It says that in the beginning god made the heaven and the earth, taking the beginning not as some think, according to time; for time did not exist before the cosmos. But it either came into being with it or after it.

11.24.5 | ἐπεὶ γὰρ διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κινήσεως ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος, πρότερον δὲ τοῦ κινουμένου κίνησις οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὴν ὑστερον ἢ ἄμα συνίστασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἵστηλικα κόσμου γεγονέναι, ἢ νεώτερον ἐκείνου, πρεσβύτερον δὲ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τολμᾶν ἀφιλόσοφον.

11.24.5 | For time is the measure of the movement of the cosmos, and before the moving thing, movement could not happen. Therefore, it is either necessary for movement to come into being later or at the same time. Thus, it is also necessary for time to be either equal to the cosmos or younger than it, or to claim that it is older would be bold and unphilosophical.

11.24.6 | εἰ δ’ ἀρχὴ μὴ παραλαμβάνεται τανῦν ἢ κατὰ χρόνον, εἰκὸς ἀν εἴη μηνύεσθαι τὴν κατ’ ἀριΦύλων] θμὸν, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ἵσον εἶναι τῷ πρῶτον ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανόν.”

11.24.6 | If the beginning is not taken as according to time, it would be likely to reveal the thought of Aristotle, that what was made in the beginning is equal to what he first made, the heaven.

11.24.7 | Εἴθ’ ἔξῆς λέγει “Πρῶτον οὖν ὁ

11.24.7 | Then it says, 'First, the creator

ποιῶν ἔποίει ούρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν  
ἀόρατον καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν καὶ κενοῦ· ὃν τὸ  
μὲν ἐπεφήμισε σκότος, ἐπειδὴ μέλας ὁ ἀήρ  
τῇ φύσει· τὴν δὲ ἄβυσσον· πολύβυθον γὰρ  
τό γε κενὸν καὶ ἀχανές.

made the heaven without a body and the earth invisible and the idea of air and the void; of these, the darkness was named, since the air is black by nature; and the abyss was named, for the void is deep and vast.'

11.24.8 | εἴθ' ὕδατος ἀσώματον ούσιαν καὶ  
πνεύματος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐβδόμου φωτὸς,  
ὅ πάλιν ἀσώματον ἦν, καὶ νοητὸν ἥλιον  
παράδειγμα, καὶ πάντα ὅσα φωσφόρα  
ἄστρα κατὰ τὸν ούρανὸν ἔμελλε  
συνίστασθαι.

11.24.8 | Then the essence of water and spirit, and above all, the seventh light, which was again without a body, and the idea of the sun, and all the shining stars that were to be formed in the sky.

11.24.9 | προνομίας δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ  
φῶς ἡξιοῦτο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠνόμασε θεοῦ,  
διότι ζωτικώτατον τὸ πνεῦμα, ζωῆς δὲ θεὸς  
αἴτιος· τὸ δὲ φῶς, ὅτι ὑπερβάλλον καλόν·  
τοσούτῳ γὰρ τὸ νοητὸν τοῦ ὄρατοῦ  
λαμπρότερόν τε καὶ αύγοειδέστερον,  
ὅσῳ περ ἥλιος, οἷμαι, σκότους καὶ ἡμέρα  
νυκτὸς, καὶ τὰ κριτήρια νοῦς ὁ τῆς ὅλης  
ψυχῆς ἡγεμών, ὀφθαλμῶν σώματος.

11.24.9 | But the spirit and the light were honored; for the spirit was called god, because it is the most vital, and god is the cause of life; and the light, because it is exceedingly beautiful; for the idea is brighter and more radiant than the visible, just as the sun is, I think, compared to darkness and night, and the criteria of the mind is the leader of the whole soul, like the eyes of the body.

11.24.10 | τὸ δὲ ἀόρατον καὶ νοητὸν φῶς  
ἐκεῖνο θείου λόγου γέγονεν εἰκὼν τοῦ  
διερμηνεύσαντος τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ  
ἔστιν ὑπερουράνιος ἀστὴρ, πηγὴ τῶν  
αἰσθητῶν ἀστέρων, ἦν οὐκ ἀν ἀπὸ σκοποῦ  
καλέσειεν ἄν τις παναύγειαν, ἀφ' ἦς ἥλιος  
καὶ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πλανῆται καὶ  
ἀπλανῆς ἀρύονται, καθ' ὅσον ἐκάστῳ  
δύναμις, τὰ πρέποντα φέγγη, τῆς ἀμιγοῦς  
καὶ καθαρᾶς αύγῆς ἐκείνης ἀμαυρουμένης,  
οὐ ἀν ἄρξηται τρέπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐκ  
νοητοῦ πρὸς αἰσθητὸν μεταβολήν.  
εἰλικρινὲς γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει.

11.24.10 | But that invisible and intelligible light became an image of the divine word, which explained its origin; and it is a heavenly star, the source of the visible stars, which no one could call completely bright from a distance, from which the sun and moon and the other planets draw their light, according to each one's power, shining with what is fitting, from that pure and clear light, which would begin to fade as it changes from the intelligible to the visible. For nothing in perception is pure.

11.24.11 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει "Ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς μὲν ἐγένετο, σκότος δ' καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὅροι δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ διαστήμασιν ἐπάγησαν ἐσπέρα τε καὶ πρωία, κατ' ἀναγκαῖον τοῦ χρόνου μέτρον ἀπετελεῖτο εύθὺς ὃ καὶ ἡμέραν καλῶς ποιῶν ἐκάλεσεν· καὶ ἡμέραν οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἥ λέλεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν, μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν.

11.24.11 | And after a short time, it is said, 'Since light came to be, darkness withdrew, and boundaries were set in the spaces in between, evening and morning; according to the necessary measure of time, what was called day was completed immediately; and it was not called the first day, but one, which is named because of the unity of the intelligible world, having a unique nature.'

11.24.12 | ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀσώματος κόσμος ἥδη πέρας εἶχεν, ἵδρυθεὶς ἐν τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ· ὃ δ' αἰσθητὸς πρὸς παράδειγμα τούτου ἐτελειογονεῖτο· καὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τῶν μερῶν, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἄριστον, ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανὸν ὃ δημιουργὸς, ὃν ἐτύμως στερέωμα προσηγόρευσεν, ἄτε σωματικὸν ὄντα. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα φύσει στερεὸν, ὃ τι περ καὶ τριχῆ διαστατόν. στερεοῦ δὲ καὶ σώματος ἔννοια τίς ἐτέρα πλὴν τὸ πάντη διεστηκός; εἰκότως οὖν ἀντιθεὶς τῷ νοητῷ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ τὸν αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματοειδῆ, τοῦτον στερεὸν ἐκάλεσε. "Ταῦτα ὁ Φίλων. συνάδει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ Στρωματεῖ λέγων ὡδε

11.24.12 | "So the incorporeal world already had a limit, established in the divine word; but the sensible world was being completed as a model of this. And first among its parts, which is the best of all, the creator made the heaven, which he rightly called a firmament, since it is a physical body. For the body is by nature solid, whatever is three-dimensional. And what other idea of solidity is there besides that which is completely distinct? Therefore, contrasting the intelligible and incorporeal with the sensible and bodily, he called this one solid." These are the words of Philo. Clement also agrees with him, saying this in the sixth book of the Stromata.

## Section 25

11.25.1 | Κόσμον τε αὕθις τὸν μὲν νοητὸν οἴδεν ἡ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν· τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον, τὸν δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ καλοῦ παραδείγματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνατίθησι μονάδι, ὡς ἀν νοητὸν, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν ἐξάδι· γάμος γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις, ὡς ἀν γόνιμος ἀριθμὸς, ἥ ἐξάς καλεῖται.

11.25.1 | The barbarian philosophy knows both the intelligible world and the sensible world; the former is the archetype, and the latter is the image of the beautiful model. It presents the intelligible as one, as it is intelligible, while the sensible is presented as six; for among the Pythagoreans, the union that produces a fruitful number is

called the six.

11.25.2 | καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ μονάδι συνίστησιν οὐρανὸν ἀόρατον καὶ γῆν ἀγίαν καὶ φῶς νοητόν. 'ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ φησὶν) ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος. εἴτ' ἐπιφέρει καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.' ἐν δὲ τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ τῇ αἰσθητῇ στερεὸν οὐρανὸν δημιουργεῖ· τὸ δὲ στερεὸν αἰσθητόν· γῆν τε ὀρατὴν καὶ φῶς βλεπόμενον.

11.25.3 | ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων' ζῶων ίδεας ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἀπολείπειν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ εἴδη τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ τὰ γένη δημιουργεῖν τὰ νοητά;

11.25.4 | εἰκότως ἄρα ἐκ γῆς μὲν τὸ σῶμα διαπλάττεσθαι λέγει Μώσης, ὃ γήινόν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' σκῆνος, ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν λογικὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμπνευσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον.

11.25.5 | ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ιδρῦσθαι λέγουσι, τὴν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐπεισόδιον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου εἴσοδον ἐρμηνεύοντες, διὸ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὄμοιώσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι. εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος ὁ θεῖος καὶ βασιλικός, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής, εἰκὼν δὲ εἰκόνος ἄνθρωπινος νοῦς." Άκούσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἥρησιμένων.

11.25.2 | And in the one, he establishes an invisible heaven and a holy earth and an intelligible light. 'In the beginning,' it says, 'God made the heaven and the earth; and the earth was invisible.' Then God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. But in the creation of the sensible world, he creates a solid heaven; and the solid is sensible: both the visible earth and the light that can be seen.

11.25.3 | Does it not seem to you that from here, Plato leaves the ideas of living beings in the intelligible world and creates the sensible forms according to their kinds in the world?

11.25.4 | Therefore, it is reasonable that Moses says the body is shaped from the earth, which Plato calls a 'shadow,' while the rational soul is breathed into the face from above by God.

11.25.5 | For here they say the ruling part is established, interpreting the entrance of the soul through the senses as the entrance of the first created being. That is why man has been made both in image and likeness. For the divine and royal word is the image of God, while man is without passion; and the human mind is the image of the image." "Let us also listen to what has been said.

## Section 26

11.26.1 | "Ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Πλάτων' τοῖς Ἐβραίων ἐπακολουθήσας λόγοις οὐ μόνον ἀσωμάτους καὶ ἀγαθὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντίας φησὶν εἶναι, ὡδέ πῃ γράφων ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων

11.26.2 | "Ψυχὴν διοικοῦσαν καὶ ἔνοικοῦσαν τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις πᾶς οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη διοικεῖν φάναι; Τί μήν; Μίαν, ἢ πλείους; πλείους, ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μέν που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντίᾳ δυναμένης ἔξεργάζεσθαι."

11.26.3 | Εἴθ' ὑποβάς φησιν "Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ συνεχωρήαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλῶν μεστὸν ἀγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μὴ, μάχη δὴ, φαμὲν, ἀθάνατός ἐσθ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη. δύμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοί τε καὶ δαίμνες, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ κτήματα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων."

11.26.4 | Πόθεν καὶ ταῦτα τῷ Πλάτωνι ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιμι φράζειν· ὃ δ' ἔχω φάναι ἀληθὲς, μυρίοις πρόσθεν ἡ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι χρόνοις καὶ τοῦθ' Ἐβραίοις ἀνωμολογῆσθαι τὸ δόγμα.

11.26.5 | λέγει δ' οὗν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς γραφὴ 'καὶ ἦν ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη, καὶ ἥλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἥλθεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, περιελθὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσας αὐτήν,' διάβολον μὲν τὴν ἐναντίαν

11.26.1 | Furthermore, Plato, following the words of the Hebrews, says that there are not only incorporeal and good powers, but also opposing ones, as he writes in the tenth book of the Laws.

11.26.2 | How could the soul, which governs and dwells in all things that move, not also be said to govern the heavens? Indeed, is it one or many? I will answer for them: it is many. Let us not assume there is less than two, one that does good and one that works against.

11.26.3 | Then he says, 'Since we have agreed that the heavens are full of many good things, and also of opposing ones, we say that there are more that are not, indeed, this kind is immortal and needs wonderful protection. The gods and spirits are our allies, and we are possessions of the gods and spirits.'

11.26.4 | From where I would not be able to explain these things to Plato; but what I can say is true, that many years before Plato, this teaching was agreed upon by the Hebrews.

11.26.5 | Then the writing among them says, 'And it was like this day, and the angels of God came to stand before God; and the devil came among them, going around the earth and walking on it,' calling the devil the opposing power, and the

δύναμιν, ἀγγέλους δὲ θεοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς προσειποῦσα.

11.26.6 | ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἀγαθὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πνεύματα θεῖα καὶ λειτουργούντα θεοῦ προσαγορεύει ἐν οἷς φησιν "ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργούντα αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.

11.26.7 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διαμάχην τῶν ἑναντίων ὡδε παρίστησιν ὁ φῆσας "οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἴμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς, πρὸς τὰς ἔξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις."

11.26.8 | ἄντικρυς δ' ἔοικεν ὁ Πλάτων' τὸ Μώσεως λόγιον μεταφράζειν τὸ φῆσαν 'ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ Ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδὰμ, ἔστησεν ὅρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ', δι' ὃν κτήματα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὸ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ὡρίσατο.

angels of God the good ones.

11.26.6 | These good powers and divine spirits and servants of God are called in which it says, 'He who makes his angels spirits, and his servants a flame of fire.'

11.26.7 | But also the struggle of the opposing ones is presented here by the one who says, 'Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the world powers of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places.'

11.26.8 | On the other hand, it seems that Plato translates the saying of Moses, 'When the Most High divided the nations, when he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the borders of the nations according to the number of the angels of God,' by which he determined that the whole race of humans belongs to the possessions of gods and demons.

## Section 27

11.27.1 | Καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς δὲ ἀθανασίας οὐδὲν Μώσεως ὁ Πλάτων' διέστηκε τῇ δόξῃ. ὁ μέν γε πρῶτος ἀθάνατον οὐσίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχὴν ὡρίσατο, εἰκόνα φῆσας ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν θεοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. "εἴπε γὰρ (φησὶν) ὁ θεὸς, ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρώπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ δομοίωσιν ἡμετέραν. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς

11.27.1 | And in the matters concerning the immortality of the soul, Plato did not differ from the opinion of Moses. For he first determined that the soul in a human is an immortal essence, saying that it exists as an image of God, and even more, that it was made in the image of God. 'For God said, let us make man in our image and likeness.' And God made man; in the image of God he

τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν."

11.27.2 | καὶ ἔξῆς τὸν σύνθετον τῷ λόγῳ διαιρῶν εἷς τε τὸ φαινόμενον σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸν κατὰ ψυχὴν νοούμενον ἐπιλέγει "καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐπλασεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

11.27.3 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχικόν φησιν αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πάντων. λέγει δ' οὖν "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ποίησωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὅμοιώσιν, καὶ ἐρχέτωσαν τῶν ἵχθυών τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν.

11.27.4 | πῶς δ' ἀν ἄλλως εἴκὼν ἐπινοοῖτο θεοῦ καὶ ὅμοιώματί κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ θεῷ δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅμοιότητα; Μωσεῖ δὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὡσπερ μεμαθητεθμένος ὁ Πλάτων' ἐπάκουσον ἐν τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ οἵᾳ φησιν

11.27.5 | Ὡς Εχομεν οὖν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἔστι θειότερον ἢ τοῦτο περὶ ὃ τὸ εἰδέναι τε καὶ φρονεῖν ἔστιν; Οὐκ ἔχομεν. Τῷ θεῷ ἄρα τοῦτο ἔοικεν αὐτῆς· καὶ τις εἰς τοῦτο βλέπων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ θεῖον γνοὺς, θεόν τε καὶ φρόνησιν, οὕτω καὶ ἔαυτὸν ἀν γνοίη μάλιστα. Φαίνεται. Ἄρ' οὖν, ὅθ' ὡσπερ κάτοπτρά ἔστι σαφέστερα τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ ἐνόπτρου καὶ καθαρώτερα καὶ

made him.

11.27.2 | And next, dividing the composite being into both the visible body and the part understood by the soul, he adds, 'And God took dust from the ground, and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul.'

11.27.3 | But he also says that he became the beginning and ruler of all things on earth. Therefore, he says, 'And God said, let us make man in our image and likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds of the sky, and the animals and all the earth.' And God made man in his image; in the image of God he made him.

11.27.4 | How could the image of God and likeness be understood in any other way than according to the powers in God and according to the likeness of virtue? Indeed, Moses, just like Plato who seems to have learned this, says in the Alcibiades what he means.

11.27.5 | Therefore, we can say that what is more divine about the soul is this: knowing and understanding. We do not have anything else. So, it seems that this is similar to God; and anyone looking at this, knowing all that is divine, would know God and understanding, and thus know himself best. It seems so. Therefore, just as a mirror is clearer than what is seen in the eye, so

λαμπρότερα, οὕτω καὶ ὡς θεὸς τοῦ ἐν τῇ  
ἡμετέρᾳ ψυχῇ βελτίστου καθαρώτερόν τε  
καὶ λαμπρότερον τυγχάνει ὁν. "Εοικέ γε, ὡς  
Σώκρατες. Εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἄρα βλέποντες  
ἐκείνῳ καλλίστῳ ἐνόπτρῳ χρώμεθ' ἀν καὶ  
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἰς τὴν ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, καὶ  
οὕτως ἀν μάλιστα ὀρῶμεν καὶ γινώσκοιμεν  
ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. Ναῖ."

God is the best, clearest, and brightest of what is in our soul. It seems so, Socrates. By looking at God, the most beautiful mirror, we would turn from human things to the virtue of the soul, and in this way, we would see and know ourselves best.

11.27.6 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ. ἐν δὲ  
τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὅπως πλατύτερον  
ἐρμηνεύει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους  
ἐπάκουουσον. "Θῶμεν οὖν βούλει, ἔφη, δύο  
εἶδη τῶν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὀρατὸν, τὸ δὲ  
άειδές; Θῶμεν, ἔφη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀειδές ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχον, τὸ δὲ ὀρατὸν μηδέποτε  
κατὰ ταύτα; Καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, θῶμεν.

11.27.6 | These things are in the Alcibiades. But in the work On the Soul, listen to how he explains things more broadly. 'Let us say, then, that there are two kinds of beings: the visible and the eternal.' 'Let us say so,' he said. 'And the eternal always remains the same, but the visible never stays the same?' 'And let us say this,' he said.

11.27.7 | Φέρε δὴ, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἄλλο δή τι ἡμῶν  
αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ψυχή;  
Οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἔφη. Ποτέρῳ οὖν ὅμοιότερον  
τῷ εἴδει φαῖμεν ἀν εἶναι καὶ συγγενέστερον  
τὸ σῶμα; Παντὶ, ἔφη, τοῦτο γε δῆλον ὅτι  
τῷ ὀρατῷ. Τί δὲ ἡ ψυχή; ὀρατὸν, ἢ ἀειδές;  
Οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γε, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἔφη.  
'Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς γε τὰ ὀρατὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ τῇ  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἐλέγομεν, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ<sup>2</sup>  
οἴει; Τῇ' τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

11.27.7 | Come now, he said, is our body one thing and our soul another? 'Nothing else,' he said. 'Which of them do we say is more similar in nature and closer to its form: the body?' 'Clearly, this is true for the visible,' he said. 'And what about the soul? Is it visible or eternal?' 'Not by humans, Socrates,' he said. 'But do we not say that the visible and the non-visible belong to the nature of humans, or do you think otherwise?' 'To the nature of humans.'

11.27.8 | Τί οὖν περὶ ψυχῆς λέγομεν;  
ὸρατὸν ἢ ἀόρατον εἶναι; Οὐχ ὀρατόν.  
'Αειδές ἄρα; Ναῖ. Όμοιότεροντερον ἄρα  
ψυχὴ σώματός ἔστι τῷ ἀειδεῖ, τὸ δὲ τῷ  
ὸρατῷ. Πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, ὡς Σώκρατες.

11.27.8 | What then do we say about the soul? Is it visible or invisible? 'Not visible.' 'Then it is eternal?' 'Yes.' 'So the soul is more similar to the eternal than to the visible?' 'Absolutely, Socrates.'

11.27.9 | Ούκοῦν καὶ τόδε πάλαι ἐλέγομεν,

11.27.9 | Therefore, we have long said that

ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ ὅταν μὲν τῷ σώματι προσχρῆται εἰς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ὄρᾶν, ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἢ δὲ ἄλλης τινὸς αἰσθήσεως· (τοῦτο γάρ ἔστι τὸ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσεως σκοπεῖν τι) τότε μὲν ἔλκεται ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μηδέποτε κατὰ ταύτα ἔχοντα· καὶ αὐτὴ πλανᾶται καὶ ταράττεται καὶ ἐιγγιᾶ ὥσπερ μεθύουσα, ἃτε τοιούτων ἐφαπτομένη. Πάνυ γε.

when the soul uses the body to look at something, whether through seeing, hearing, or any other sense—(for this is what it means to look through the body, through the senses)—then it is pulled by the body toward these things that never stay the same. And the soul itself wanders and is disturbed and feels dizzy, as if it were drunk, since it is touching such things.

11.27.10 | "Οτανδὲ δὲ αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν σκοπῇ, ἔκεισε οἴχεται, εἰς τὸ καθαρόν τε καὶ ἀεὶ ὄν καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον 5 καὶ ὡς ξυγγενῆς οὖσα αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ μετ' ἔκεινου τε γίνεται, ὅταν περ αὐτὴ καθ' ἔαυτὴν γένηται καὶ ἔξῃ αὐτῇ, καὶ πέπαυται τε τοῦ πλάνου καὶ περὶ ἔκεινα ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχει, ἃτε τοιούτων ἐφαπτομένη, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῆς τὸ πάθημα φρόνησις κέκληται.

11.27.10 | But when it looks at itself, it goes there, to what is pure, always being, immortal, and similarly existing. And being always related to that, it becomes one with it whenever it looks at itself and goes out from itself. Then it stops wandering and always stays with those same things, as it is connected to such things. And this experience of the soul is called wisdom.

11.27.11 | Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, καλῶς καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ποτέρω οὖν αὖ σοι δοκεῖ τῷ εἶδει καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημένων] καὶ ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἡ ψυχὴ ὅμοιότερον εἶναι καὶ συγγενέστερον; Πᾶς ἀν, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἢ δ' ὅς, συγχωρήσαι, Σώκρατες, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεθόδου καὶ ὁ δυσμαθέστατος ὅτι ὅλως καὶ παντὶ ὅμοιότερόν ἔστιν ψυχὴ τῷ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μή.

11.27.11 | Absolutely, you speak well and truly, oh Socrates. So, which do you think the soul is more similar to, based on what has been said before and what is being said now? It seems to me, at least, that anyone would agree, Socrates, that by this method, the soul is more similar to what is always the same than to what is not.

11.27.12 | Τί δὲ τὸ σῶμα; Τῷ ἐτέρῳ. ὄρᾶ δὴ καὶ τῇδε· ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὕσι ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα, τῷ μὲν δουλεύειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἡ φύσις προστάττει, τῇ δὲ ἄρχειν καὶ δεσπόζειν· καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὖ πότερόν σοι δοκεῖ ὅμοιον τῷ θείῳ εἶναι καὶ πότερον τῷ

11.27.12 | And what about the body? It is the opposite. You can see here: when the soul and body are together, nature commands the soul to rule and lead, while the body is meant to serve and be ruled. So, which do you think is more similar to the

θνητῷ; Ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὸ μὲν θεῖον οὗτον  
ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἡγεμονεύειν πεφυκέναι, τὸ δὲ  
θνητὸν ἄρχεσθαι τε καὶ δουλεύειν; ἔμοιγε.

divine and which to the mortal? Or do you not think that the divine is naturally meant to rule and lead, while the mortal is meant to be ruled and serve? At least, that seems true to me.

11.27.13 | Ποτέρω ποῦν ἡ ψυχὴ ἔσται;  
Δηλαδὴ, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ τῷ  
θείῳ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῷ θνητῷ. Σκόπει δὴ,  
ἔφη, ὡς Κέβης, εἰ ἐκ πάντων τῶν είρημένων  
τάδε ἡμίν ξυμβαίνει τῷ μὲν θείῳ καὶ  
ἀθανάτῳ καὶ νοητῷ καὶ μονοειδεῖ καὶ  
ἀδιαλύτῳ καὶ ἀεὶ ὥσαύτως κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ  
ἔχοντι ἐαυτῷ ὅμοιότατον εἶναι ψυχὴν, τῷ  
δὲ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ θνητῷ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ  
πολυειδεῖ καὶ διαλυτῷ καὶ μηδέποτε κατὰ  
τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχοντι ἐαυτῷ ὅμοιότατον αὖ εἶναι  
τὸ σῶμα

11.27.13 | Which do you think the soul resembles? Clearly, oh Socrates, the soul is like the divine, while the body is like the mortal. So, look, oh Kebes, if all that has been said fits us: the soul is most similar to what is divine, immortal, intelligible, uniform, unchanging, and always the same. On the other hand, the body is most similar to what is human, mortal, unintelligent, diverse, changeable, and never the same.

11.27.14 | Ἐχομέν τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλο  
λέγειν, ὡς φίλε Κέβης, ὡς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει;  
Οὐκ ἔχομεν. Τί οὖν; τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων  
ἄρ' οὐ σώματι μὲν ταχὺ διαλύεσθαι  
προσήκει, ψυχὴ δὲ αὖ τὸ παράπαν  
ἀδιαλύτῳ εἶναι, ἢ ἐγγύς τι τούτου;

11.27.14 | Do we have something else to say about this, oh dear Kebes, that is not true? We do not. So, what then? Since these things are so, is it not fitting that the body quickly falls apart, while the soul should always remain unchanging, or at least very close to that?

11.27.15 | Πῶς γάρ οὕτως; Συννοεῖς οὖν, ἔφη,  
ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ μὲν  
δρατὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν δρατῷ  
κείμενον, δὲ δὴ νεκρὸν καλοῦμεν, ὃ  
προσήκει διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν καὶ  
διαπνεῖσθαι, οὐκ εὐθὺς τούτων οὐδὲν  
πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῶς συχνὸν ἐπιμένει  
χρόνον· ἔὰν μέν τις καὶ χαριέντως ἔχων τὸ  
σῶμα τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ὥρᾳ, καὶ  
πάνυ μάλα. συμπεσὸν γάρ τὸ σῶμα καὶ  
ταριχευθὲν, ὕσπερ οἱ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ  
ταριχευθέντες, ὄλιγου ὅλον μένει ἀμήχανον

11.27.15 | How could it not be? So, you understand, he said, that when a person dies, the visible part, the body, which we call dead, is meant to fall apart and decay. Yet, it does not immediately suffer any of these things; rather, it remains for a considerable time. If someone dies gracefully, at just the right moment, then the body, once it has fallen and been embalmed, like those embalmed in Egypt, stays whole for a while. Some parts of the body, even if they rot, like bones and

ὅσον χρόνον. ἔνια δὲ μέρη τοῦ σώματος,  
καὶ ἔὰν σαπῆ, ὅστἄ τε καὶ νεῦρα καὶ τὰ  
τοιαῦτα πάντα ὅμως, ὡς ἐπος εἴπεῖν,  
ἀθάνατά ἔστιν, ἢ οὕ; Ναί.

nerves and such, are still, so to speak,  
immortal, right? Yes.

11.27.16 | Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα (τὸ ἀειδὲς, τὸ εἰς  
τοιοῦτον τόπον ἔτερον οἰχόμενον, γενναῖον  
καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀειδῆ, εἰς Αἴδου ὡς  
ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον  
Θεὸν, οἵ, ἀν Θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, αὐτίκα καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ  
ψυχῇ ἰτέον·) αὕτη δὲ δὴ ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ  
οὕτω πεφυκυῖα ἀπαλλαττομένη τοῦ  
σώματος εύθὺς διαπεφύσηται καὶ  
ἀπόλωλεν, ὡς φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι;

11.27.16 | But the soul, then (the eternal  
one, going to a different place, noble and  
pure and everlasting, to Hades, as it truly is,  
by the good and wise god, to whom, if god  
wishes, my soul will go immediately), this  
kind of soul, when it is freed from the body,  
will quickly escape and be lost, as many  
people say?

11.27.17 | Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, 09 φίλε Κέβης τε  
καὶ Σιμμία· ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὥδε ἔχει.  
ἔὰν μὲν καθαρὰ ἀπαλλάττηται, μηδὲν τοῦ  
σώματος συνεφέλκουσα, ἄτε οὐδὲν  
κοινωνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκοῦσα εἶναι,  
ἀλλὰ φεύγουσα αὐτὸν, καὶ συνηθροισμένη  
αὐτῇ εἰς ἑαυτὴν, ἄτε μελετῶσα ἀεὶ τοῦτο·  
(τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἡ ὄρθως  
φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῷ ὅντι τεθνάναι  
μελετῶσα ἡραρίως· ἡ οὐ τοῦτ' ἀν εἴη μελέτη  
θανάτου; Παντάπασί γε.)

11.27.17 | Indeed, my dear Kebes and  
Simmias, it is much more like this. If the  
soul is freed, not dragging anything from  
the body, since it has not shared anything  
with it willingly in life, but fleeing from it,  
and gathered into itself, always thinking  
about this (and this is nothing other than  
truly being a philosopher and easily  
thinking about what it means to die;  
wouldn't this be the study of death?  
Absolutely).

11.27.18 | Ούκοῦν οὕτω μὲν ἔχουσα εἰς τὸ  
ὅμιον αὐτῇ τὸ ἀειδὲς ἀπέρχεται, τὸ θεῖόν  
τε καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ φρόνιμον· οἵ  
ἀφικομένη ὑπάρχει αὐτῇ εύδαιμον εἶναι,  
πλάνης καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ φόβων καὶ ἀγρίων  
έρωτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν  
ἀνθρωπείων ἀπηλλαγμένη, ὡσπερ δὲ  
λέγεται κατὰ τῶν μεμυημένων, ὡς ἀληθῶς  
τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ θεῶν διάγουσα,  
οὕτω φῶμεν, ὡς Κέβης, ἢ ἄλλως,. Οὕτως νὴ  
Δία, ἵψη ὁ Κέβης. βῆς.

11.27.18 | Therefore, having this quality,  
the eternal one goes to what is similar to  
itself, the divine, immortal, and wise. When  
it arrives there, it is happy, free from  
wandering, ignorance, fears, wild desires,  
and other human evils, just as it is said  
about those who have been initiated, that  
they truly spend the rest of their time with  
the gods. Is this what we say, Kebes, or  
something else? Yes, by Zeus, says Kebes.

11.27.19 | Ἄν δέ γε, οἶμαι, μεμιασμένη καὶ ἀκάθαρτος τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάτηται, ἀτε σώματι ἀεὶ ξυνοῦσα, καὶ τοῦτο θεραπεύουσα, καὶ ἐρῶσα, καὶ γεγοητεμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὑπό τε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀληθὲς ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ σωματοειδές, οὗ ἂν τις ἄψαιτο, καὶ ἴδοι καὶ φάγοι καὶ πίοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια χρήσαιτο· τὸ δὲ τοῖς ὅμμασι σκοτῶδες καὶ ἀειδές, νοητὸν δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ αἰρετὸν, τοῦτο δὲ εἴθισμένη μισεῖν τε καὶ τρέμειν καὶ φεύγειν· οὕτω δὴ ἔχουσαν οἵει ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν εἴλικρινή ἀπαλλάξεσθαι; Οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν, ἔφη."

11.27.20 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων· ἔξαπλοϊ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Βοηθὸν Περὶ Ψυχῆς τοῦτον γράφων τὸν τρόπον

11.27.19 | But if, I think, it is stained and unclean when it is freed from the body, always being with the body, caring for it, desiring it, and being enchanted by it, so that it seems to believe nothing is real except what is body-like, which anyone can touch, see, eat, drink, and use for pleasure; and since it is dark and always visible to the eyes, but is understood and chosen by philosophy, this soul will be used to hating, fearing, and fleeing from it. Do you think that such a soul can truly free itself? Not at all, he said.

11.27.20 | These are the words of Plato. Porphyry explains the thought simply in the first of his "On the Soul" addressed to Boethus, writing in this way.

## Section 28

11.28.1 | "Αὐτίκα λόγον ἴσχυρὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα τῷ Πλάτωνι είς παράστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὄμοιού. εἱ γὰρ ὄμοια τῷ θείῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἀειδεῖ καὶ ἀσκεδάστῳ καὶ ἀδιαλύτῳ καὶ οὐσιωμένῳ καὶ συνεστῶτι ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, πῶς οὐ τοῦ γένους ἀν εἴη τοῦ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα;

11.28.2 | ὅταν γὰρ δύο τινῶν ἄκρων ἐναργῶς ἐναντίων, οἷον λογικοῦ τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ἄλλο τι ἀμφισβῆται ποίας ἐστὶ μερίδος, εἴς ἣν καὶ οὗτος τρόπος ἀποδείξεως διὰ τοῦ δεῖξαι τίνι τῶν ἀντικειμένων ὅμοιον. οὕτω γὰρ, καίπερ ἐν

11.28.1 | Immediately, it seems that there is a strong argument from Plato for the demonstration of the soul's immortality based on similarity. For if it is similar to the divine, immortal, always existing, unchanging, undivided, essential, and standing in immortality, how could it not belong to that kind based on the example?

11.28.2 | When two extremes are clearly opposed, such as the rational and the irrational, there is another way to argue about what kind of part it is, which is to show what it is similar to among the opposites. For in this way, even though in

άλογία κατὰ πρώτην ἡλικίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους κατεσχημένου, πολλῶν τε ἄχρι γήρως ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀλογίας ἀμαρτήμασι πλεοναζόντων, δύμας διὰ τὸ τῷ καθαρῷ λογικῷ πολλὰς ὁμοιότητας φέρειν λογικὸν εἴναι τὸ γένος τοῦτο ἔξ αρχῆς ἐπιστεύθη.

the irrational state of early human life many continue in the mistakes of irrationality until old age, still, because it has many similarities to the purely rational, this kind is believed to be rational from the beginning.

11.28.3 | ὅντος οὖν θείου τοῦ συστήματος καὶ ἀκηράτου καὶ ἀντοctου προφανῶς τοῦ τῶν θεῶν, ὅντος δὲ πάλιν ἐναργῶς τοῦ χθονίου καὶ λυτοῦ καὶ ἐν διαφθορᾷ κειμένου, ἀμφισβητουμένης δὲ παρά τισι τῆς ψυχῆς τίνι τῶν προκειμένων μέρει προσκεχώρηκεν, ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος ὥήθη ὁ Πλάτων' δεῖν ἀνιχνεύειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

11.28.3 | Since the divine system exists and is pure and clearly of the gods, and since again the earthly and mortal is clearly present in decay, when some dispute about which part of the soul has been assigned to which of the opposites, Plato thought it necessary to explore the truth based on similarity.

11.28.4 | καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῷ μὲν θνητῷ τε καὶ λυτῷ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ ζωῆς ἀμετόχῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπτῷ τε καὶ αἰσθητῷ καὶ γινομένῳ καὶ ἀπολλυμένῳ, οὐδαμῶς ἔοικε, τῷ δὲ θείῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἀειδεῖ καὶ νοερῷ ζῶντί τε καὶ ἀληθείας συγγενεῖ, καὶ δοσα ἑκεῖνος περὶ αὐτῆς ἀναλογίζεται· ἐδόκει μὴ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὁμοιότητας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεῖναι συγχωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἐμφερὲς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐθέλειν ἀθετεῖν, δι' ὃ καὶ τούτων αὐτὴν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν συμβέβηκεν.

11.28.4 | And since the mortal, mortal and foolish, and lacking in life, is connected to what is tangible, perceptible, becoming, and perishing, it does not resemble the divine, immortal, ever-living, and intellectual being, which is related to truth. And as he considers these things, he thought it acceptable to allow the other similarities to the divine, but to reject the similarity of essence from it, which is why it happened that it could attain these things.

11.28.5 | ὡσπερ γάρ τὰ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις τῷ θεῷ ἀνόμοια εὐθὺς καὶ τῇ συστάσει τῆς οὐσίας ἔξηλακτο, οὕτως ἀκόλουθον εἴναι τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν πως ἐνεργειῶν μέτοχα φθάνειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς οὐσίας κεκτημένα. διὰ γάρ τὴν ποιὰν οὐσίαν ποιὰς εἴναι καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας, ὡς ὅν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀεούσας καὶ αὐτῆς οὕσας βλαστήματα.”

11.28.5 | For just as those things that are unlike the divine in their activities are immediately changed in the structure of their essence, so it follows that those who share in the same kinds of activities reach a similarity of essence. For the nature of the essence determines what kinds of activities there are, as they flow from it and exist as

its offshoots.

11.28.6 | Τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου τὴν δύναμιν περιαιρῶν ὁ Βοηθὸς ἐπάκουουσον εύθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου ὁ πεποίηκε γράφων οὕτως

11.28.6 | Therefore, removing the power of this argument, the Helper immediately listens at the beginning of the argument, as the one who has made it writes like this.

11.28.7 | “Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατός ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ παντὸς ὀλέθρου κρείττων τις φύσις, πολλοὺς ἀναμείναντα χρὴ καὶ περιηγησάμενον λόγους ἀποφήνασθαι.

11.28.7 | If the soul is immortal and has a nature that is stronger than any destruction, then many who have waited and examined arguments must speak out.

11.28.8 | τὸ μέντοι τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅμοιότερον μηδὲν γενέσθαι θεῷ ψυχῆς, οὐ πολλῆς ἃν τις δεήθεις πραγματείας πιστεύσειν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ συνεχὲς καὶ ἀπαυστον τῆς κινήσεως, ἥν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καθ' ἐαυτὴν νοῦ.

11.28.8 | However, if nothing similar to the divine is to be found in our souls, then someone who asks for much study would not believe, not only because of the continuous and unending movement that is given to us, but also because of the mind that is within itself.

11.28.9 | εἰς ὅπερ ἀπιδών καὶ ὁ Κροτωνιάτης φυσικὸς εἶπεν ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν οῦσαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡρεμίαν φύσει φεύγειν, ὡσπερ τὰ θεῖα τῶν σωμάτων.

11.28.9 | To this end, the philosopher from Croton also said that the soul is immortal and by nature escapes all disturbance, just like the divine things of bodies.

11.28.10 | ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν ἴδεαν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦν, ὅτηλίκα βουλεύματα καὶ ὀρμὰς πολλάκις ὀποίας ὑποκινεῖ, τῷ κατανοήσαντι πολλή τις ὅν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅμοιότης ὑποφανείη.”

11.28.10 | But also, if one considers the idea of the soul and especially the ruling mind within us, which often stirs up many thoughts and impulses, then to the one who understands, a great similarity to the divine would appear.

11.28.11 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Εἴ γὰρ ὡς ὅμοιότατον τῷ θείῳ πάντων χρημάτων ἡ ψυχὴ δείκνυται, τίς ἔτι χρεία τῶν ἄλλων

11.28.11 | And further, he adds, 'If the soul shows itself to be most similar to the divine of all things, what need is there for other

δεῖσθαι λόγων είς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς προοιμιαζόμενον, καὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἔνα μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν καταριθμοῦντα, ίκανὸν ὄντα ἐντρέψαι τοὺς εύγνωμονας, ὡς οὐκ ἀν τῶν ἐμφερῶν τῷ θείῳ μετέσχεν ἐνεργειῶν μή τοι θείᾳ γε οὖσα καὶ αὐτή;

arguments to prove its immortality, especially if one counts this as one among many, being enough to convince the wise, since it would not share in divine actions unless it itself is divine?'

11.28.12 | εἰ γὰρ καίπερ ἐν τῷ θνητῷ καὶ λυτῷ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὸν νεκρῷ καὶ ἀεὶ ἀπολυμένῳ καὶ διαρρέοντι εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀπωλείας μεταβολὴν κατορωρυγμένῃ αὐτό τε ποιεῖ καὶ συνέχει, καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῆς θείαν ἀναδείκνυσιν ούσιαν, καίπερ ἐπιπροσθουμένη καὶ ἐμποδιζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου αὐτῇ πανωλέθρου πλάσματος, πῶς εἰ τῷ λόγῳ χωρισθείη, ὥσπερ χρυσίον περιπεπλασμένου πηλοῦ, οὐκ αὐτόθεν ἀν τὸ ἐαυτῆς εἶδος ἐκφήνειεν, ὡς ἐμφερὲς ὃν μόνον τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέτοχον αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ὁμοιότητας διασῶζον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μάλιστα θνητῷ αὐτῇ, ὥσπερ ἔστιν ὅταν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ καθειρχθῇ) διὰ τοῦτο μὴ διαλυόμενον, ὅτι φύσεως ἦν τῆς ἀμοίρου φθορᾶς; "

11.28.12 | For if, even in the mortal, weak, foolish, and in itself dead being, which is always perishing and flowing into the change of destruction, it both creates and holds together itself, and shows its own divine essence, even though it is surrounded and hindered by the impending total destruction, how could it, if separated by reason, like gold wrapped in clay, not reveal its own form from itself, being similar only to the divine, but also because it shares in it, preserving the similarities in its actions, and especially in its mortal part, just as it is when it is bound in the mortal? Therefore, it is not destroyed because it is of a nature that does not share in decay.

11.28.13 | Καὶ ὑποκαταβάς φησιν "Εἴκότως δὲ καὶ θεία φαίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀμέριστον ὁμοιώσεως καὶ θνητὴ ἀφ' ὧν προσπελάζει τῇ καὶ κάτεισι καὶ ἀνεισι καὶ θνητοειδῆς ἔστι καὶ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἐμφερής.

11.28.13 | And he goes on to say, 'It is reasonable that it appears divine because of its similarity to the unchanging, and mortal because it approaches and descends from those things, and it is mortal in form and similar to the immortals.'

11.28.14 | ἄνθρωπος γὰρ καὶ ὁ γαστρίζων ἐαυτὸν καὶ κεκορέσθαι σπουδάζων, ὡς τὰ κτήνη· ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ ὁ σώζειν ἐν πελάγει δι' ἐπιστήμης ἐν κινδύνοις οἶός τε ὧν τὴν ναῦν, καὶ ὁ σώζειν ἐν νόσοις, καὶ ὅ γε τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν εὑρίσκων, μεθοδεύσας

11.28.14 | For a person is one who feeds himself and strives to be full, like the animals; but a person is also one who saves himself in the sea through knowledge in dangers, like one who steers a ship, and one who saves himself from diseases, and

δὲ καὶ πρὸς γνώσεως καταλήψεις, πυρείων τε εὐρέσεις καὶ ὡροσκοπείων τηρήσεις, καὶ μιμήσεις τῶν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ποιημάτων μηχανησάμενος.

11.28.15 | ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἐπενόησεν ἐπὶ γῆς συνόδους τῶν ἐπτὰ μετὰ τῶν κινήσεων δημιουργῆσαι, διὰ μηχανημάτων τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ μιμούμενος. καὶ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐπενόησεν, ἀποδεικνὺς τὸν θεῖον καὶ θεῷ παρισωμένον ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοῦν;

11.28.16 | ἀφ' ὧν Ὁλυμπίου τε καὶ θείου καὶ οὐδαμῶς θνητοῦ τολμήματα διαφαίνων τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ φιλαυτίαν τῆς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ κάτω ῥοπῆς ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν οὐχ οἴους τε ὅντας ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν φαινομένων δόμοίως αὐτοῖς θνητοειδῆ δοξάζειν αὐτὸν ἀναπέπεικεν· ἐνδὸς ὅντος καὶ τούτου τρόπου τῆς ἐκ κακίας παραμυθίας, τὸ τῇ ἀντανιδώσει τῆς αὐτῶν ἀθλιότητος διὰ τὰ ἔξωθεν φαινόμενα προσαναπαυομένους πείθειν ἑαυτοὺς, ὅτι ὡς τὰ ἔξω καὶ τὰ εἴσω ὅμοιοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι.”

11.28.17 | Τούτων ἀπάντων διδάσκαλος πέφηνε γεγονώς ὁ Μώσης, ὃς διεξιών τὴν πρώτην ἄνθρωπογονίαν κατὰ τὰς προτεθέσιας λέξεις διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἔξομοιώσεως τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας λόγους ἐπιστώσατο.

11.28.18 | ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀφανοῦς οὐσίας σύμφωνα καὶ δύμοδοξα Μωσῆς καὶ Πλάτωνι συνέστη, ὥρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφίας ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, δεῖξαι τε τὸν

he who finds the truth, having planned and grasped knowledge, discovering fevers and observing the stars, and having devised imitations of the creations of the maker.

11.28.15 | For a person has thought of gatherings on earth of the seven, creating them with movements, imitating the things in heaven through machines. And why has he not thought of this, showing the divine and the mind that is like a god within himself?

11.28.16 | From which, showing the boldness of the Olympian and the divine, and not at all of the mortal, many, because of their self-love, see him as one of those below, believing him to be similar to the mortals who appear from outside. And being one, and in this way, through the comfort from evil, they convince themselves, resting on the outside appearances, that all people are alike, both outside and inside.

11.28.17 | Of all these things, Moses has shown himself to be a teacher, who, explaining the first creation of humans according to the words set forth, confirmed the words about the immortality of the soul through the comparison to the divine.

11.28.18 | But since the ideas about the incorporeal and invisible essence are agreed upon and in harmony between Moses and Plato, it is time to examine the other parts of Plato's philosophy, and to

ἄνδρα Ἐβραίοις κατὰ πάντα φίλον, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ που παρατραπεὶς ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ φάναι τι προήχθη λόγον.

show that the man is beloved by the Hebrews, unless perhaps he has been led to speak in a more human way or has advanced some true statement.

11.28.19 | αύτίκα τῶν είρημένων ὅσα μὲν ἔπιτυχῶς λέλεκται τῷ ἄνδρὶ συντρέχοι τρέχοι ἀν τοῖς Μωσεῖ δεδογμένοις, ὅσα δὲ μὴ ἀρέσκοντα Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις ὑπέλαβεν οὐκ ἀν ἔχοι συνεστῶτα τὸν λόγον. τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι παραστήσεται. τέως δ', ἐπεὶ πεφώραται ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν ἐποπτείᾳ συνωδὰ καὶ σύμφωνα τὰ τεθειμένα, ὥρα ἐπανελθοῦσιν αὕθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν φυσιολογίαν ἐν βραχέσι τὴν πρὸς τὰ Εβραίων ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συμφωνίαν.

11.28.19 | Immediately, as much as has been successfully said about the man would agree with what has been established by Moses, but whatever does not please Moses and the prophets would not hold together in the argument. This will be presented to us at the right time. For now, since it has been made clear in the understanding of the intelligible that the established ideas are in harmony, it is time to return again to the physiology of the sensible and briefly examine how the man's views align with those of the Hebrews.

## Section 29

11.29.1 | Μώσεως γενητὸν ἀποφηναμένου τόδε τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον, λέγει δ' οὖν ἀρχόμενος τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γραφῆς "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν," καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ μέρος ἐπάγει "αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο, ἦ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν." ἄκουε τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὡς οὐκ ἐκπίπτει τῆς διανοίας ὃδέ πη καὶ αὐτὸς γράφων

11.29.1 | When Moses, speaking of creation, says that everything was made by God, he begins his writing with, 'In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth.' After this, he goes on to say, 'This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth, when they were created, on the day that God made the heaven and the earth.' Listen to Plato, as he does not fall short of this understanding, writing in a similar way.

11.29.2 | 'Πάν δὲ αὕτη γιγνόμενον ὑπὸ αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι· πάντη γὰρ ἀδύνατον χωρὶς αἰτίου γένεσιν ἔχειν.'

11.29.2 | Everything that comes into being must necessarily come from some cause; for it is impossible for anything to exist without a cause.

11.29.3 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Ο δὴ πᾶς οὐρανὸς ἦ

11.29.3 | And he adds, 'Now the whole

κόσμος, δ' καὶ ἄλλο ὅ τι ποτὲ ὄνομαζόμενος μάλιστα ἀν δέχοιτο, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὥνομάσθω· σκεπτέον οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, ὅπερ ὑπόκειται περὶ παντὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ δεῖν σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἦν ἀεὶ, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενος.

heaven or world, and anything else that is named, let it be called this by us. Therefore, we must first consider what it is that lies beneath this; we need to examine whether it has always existed without any beginning of generation, or if it came into being from some beginning.'

11.29.4 | γέγονεν ὀρατὸς γὰρ ἀπτός τέ ἐστι καὶ σῶμα ἔχων. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰσθητὰ, τὰ δ' αἰσθητὰ δόξῃ περιληπτὰ καὶ γενητὰ ἐφάνη. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ γενομένῳ φαμὲν ὑπ' αἴτιου τινὸς ἀνάγκην εἶναι γενέσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν."

11.29.4 | It has come into being; for it is visible and has a physical body. All such things are perceptible, and the perceptible things appear to be grasped by the senses and are generated. Therefore, we say that what has come into being must necessarily have a cause. Thus, it is impossible to find the creator and maker of this whole universe and to say who he is.

11.29.5 | Καὶ αὖθις ἔξῆς φησιν "Οὕτως οὖν δὴ κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον ζῶον ἐμψυχον ἔννουν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δ' ίὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν."

11.29.5 | And again, he says, 'Therefore, according to reason, we must say that this world is a living being with a soul, and truly it has come into being through the care of the divine.'

## Section 30

11.30.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως καὶ τούτους εἶναι γενητοὺς διδάξαντος δι' ὧν ἔφησε "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς δύο φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας· καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

11.30.1 | Again, Moses taught that these things were created, as he said, 'And God said, let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to shine upon the earth; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and for years. And God made the two great lights and the stars; and he set them in the firmament of heaven.'

11.30.2 | ὀμοίως ὁ Πλάτων Ἐξ οὐν λόγου θεοῦ καὶ διανοίας (φησὶ) τοιαύ εια τῆς

11.30.2 | Similarly, Plato says that from the reason of God and thought, such things

πρὸς χρόνου γένεσιν, ἵνα γενηθῇ χρόνος,  
ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἀστρα,  
ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα πλάνητες, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ  
φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου γέγονε. σώματα  
δὲ αὐτῶν ποιήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς  
περιφοράς.

were created for the generation of time, so that time might come into being, the sun and the moon and five other wandering stars, for the purpose of marking and keeping track of the numbers of time. And God made their bodies and set them in motion.

11.30.3 | Ἐπιτήρει δὲ εἰς μὴ τὸ "έξ οὖν λόγου  
καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ" εἰρημένον τῷ Πλάτωνι  
ὅμοιον ἀν εἴη τῷ παρ' Ἐβραίοις φάσκοντι  
"τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν  
καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ  
πᾶσαι αἷδινάμεις αὐτῶν." ἀλλὰ καὶ  
Μωσέως εἰπόντος "καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ  
στερεώματι" ὅμοιᾳ κέχρηται καὶ ὁ Πλάτων  
φωνῇ τῇ ἔθηκεν," εἰπὼν "σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν  
ποιήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφοράς."

11.30.3 | It is worth noting that the phrase 'from the reason and thought of God' mentioned by Plato is similar to what the Hebrews say, 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and by the breath of his mouth all their host.' And also, when Moses said, 'And he set them in the firmament,' Plato uses a similar expression when he says, 'And God made their bodies and set them in motion.'

## Section 31

11.31.1 | Τῆς Ἐβραίων γραφῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστω  
τῶν δημιουραγημάτων ἐπιφωνούσης 'καὶ  
εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν,' καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων  
συγκεφαλαιώσει φασκούσης "καὶ εἶδεν ὁ  
θεὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἴδοὺ καλὰ λίαν." ἄκουε  
τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὡς φησιν "Εἴ μὲν δὴ καλός  
ἔστιν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὅ τε δημιουργὸς  
ἀγαθὸς, δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀίδιον ἔβλεπε."  
Καὶ πάλιν "Ο μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν  
γεγονότων, ὁ δ' ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων."

11.31.1 | In the Hebrew scripture, for each of the creations, it says, 'And God saw that it was good,' and at the conclusion of everything, it says, 'And God saw all that he had made, and behold, it was very good.' Listen to Plato as he says, 'If this world is indeed beautiful, then the creator must be good, which shows that he looked toward the eternal.' And again, 'For the most beautiful of things that exist is the best of causes.'

## Section 32

11.32.1 | Καὶ περὶ τούτου πάσης Ἐβραίων  
γραφῆς διαλαλούσης, τοτὲ μὲν δι' ὃν φησι  
"καὶ εἰλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον"  
τοτὲ δὲ δι' ὃν ἐπιλέγει "καὶ ἔσται ὁ

11.32.1 | And about this, the Hebrew scripture speaks in different ways. Sometimes it says, 'And the heavens will be rolled up like a scroll,' and at other times it

ούρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ἃ ἔγὼ ποιῶ  
μένειν ἐνώπιόν μου, λέγει κύριος·” καὶ  
πάλιν ἄλλοτε δι’ ὧν φησι “παράγει γὰρ τὸ  
σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου .”

adds, 'And there will be a new heaven and a new earth, which I make to remain before me, says the Lord.' And again, at another point, it says, 'For the form of this world is passing away.'

11.32.2 | καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ἄκουε γοῦν ὅπως  
τὸ δόγμα συνίστησι λέγων ἐν Τιμαίῳ “Καὶ  
ξυνεστήσατο οὐρανὸν ὀρατὸν καὶ ἀπτόν·  
καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων καὶ τῶν  
τοιούτων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεττάρων τὸ τοῦ  
κόσμου σῶμα ἐγεννήθη δι’ ἀναλογίας  
δημολογῆσαν, φιλίαν τε ἔσχεν ἐκ τούτων, ὡς  
εἰς ταύτὸν αὐτῷ ξυνελθὸν ἄλυτον ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἄλλων πλὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξυνδήσαντος  
γενέσθαι.”

11.32.2 | And listen to Plato as he explains his teaching in the Timaeus, saying, 'And he established a visible and tangible heaven; and from these things and such things, the body of the world was created through proportion, and it had a friendship from these, as if coming together into one, unbroken by the others, except by the one who brought them together to become.'

11.32.3 | Εἴθ’ ἐξῆς φησι “Χρόνος δ’ οὗν μετὰ  
οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ἵνα ἄμα γεννηθέντες ἄμα  
καὶ λυθῶσιν, ἢν ποτε λύσις τις αύτων  
γίγνηται.”

11.32.3 | Then he says, 'Time was born along with the heavens, so that they might be born together and also be dissolved together, if ever a dissolution of them should happen.'

11.32.4 | Καὶ πάλιν εἰπὼν “Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν  
ἔγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἃ δι’  
ἔμοῦ γενόμενα ἄλυτα ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος·”  
ἐπάγει λέγων ἐξῆς “Τὸ μὲν οὗν δὴ δεθὲν  
πᾶν λυτὸν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ  
ἔχον εὐ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. διὸ καὶ  
ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε  
ούδ’ ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν. οὕτι μὲν δὴ  
λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου  
μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι  
δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων  
οἵς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε συνεδεῖσθε.”

11.32.4 | And again, saying, 'Gods of gods, of whom I am the creator and father of works, which have become unbreakable through me unwilling;' he continues saying, 'Therefore, everything that is bound is also able to be loosed, but that which is well put together and has the desire to be loosed does not wish for evil. For since you have come into being, you are not immortal nor unbreakable in all things. Indeed, you will not be loosed, nor will you meet the fate of death, having received a greater bond and authority than those to whom you were bound when you came into being.'

11.32.5 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ Πολιτικῷ δὲ τάδε ὁ αὐτός φησι "Τὸ γάρ πᾶν τόδε τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ξυμποδηγεῖ πορευόμενος καὶ ξυγκυκλεῖ, τοτὲ δ' ἀνῆκεν, ὅταν αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτῷ μέτρον εἰλήφωσιν ἥδη χρόνου, τὸ δὲ πάλιν αὐτόματον εἰς τάνεν ἄντια περιάγεται, ζῶν δὲν καὶ φρόνησιν εἰληφός ἐκ τοῦ ξυναρμόσαντος αὐτὸ κατ' ἀρχάς. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ πάλιν οἴναι διὰ τόδε ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἔμφυτον γέγονε. Διὰ τὸ ποῖον δῆ;

11.32.5 | And in the Political work, he says this: 'For everything, at times, the god himself leads along and surrounds, and at other times, he releases it, when the cycles of the fitting measure have already taken hold of time. But again, it automatically returns to the one, moving around, being a living thing and having reason, taken from the one who arranged it from the beginning. And this returning happens out of necessity, having become inherent. For what reason, then?'

11.32.6 | Τὸ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν ἀεὶ καὶ ταύτον εἶναι τοῖς πάντων θειοτάτοις προσήκει μόνοις, σώματος δὲ φύσις οὐ ταύτης τῆς τάξεως. δὲν δὲ οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνομάκαμεν, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ μακαρίων παρὰ τοῦ γεννήσαντος μετείληφεν, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινώντικέ γε καὶ σώματος· θεοὶ αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἀμοίρω γίγνεσθαι διὰ παντὸς ἀδύνατον, κατὰ δύναμίν γε μὴν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μίαν φορὰν κινεῖται, διότι τὴν ἀνακύκλησιν εἴληχεν, ὅτι σμικροτάτην τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κινήσεως παράλλαξιν. αὐτὸ δὲ ἑαυτὸ στρέφειν ἀεὶ σχεδὸν οὐδενὶ δυνατὸν πλὴν τῷ τῶν κινουμένων αὖ πάντων ἡγουμένῳ. κινεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τι τοτὲ μὲν ἄλλως, αὐθις δ' ἐναντίως οὐ θέμις.

11.32.6 | It is fitting that only the most divine beings always remain the same and be identical in all things, but the nature of the body is not of this order. The heaven and world that we have named have taken part in many blessed things from the one who created them, but indeed, they have also shared in the body. Therefore, it is impossible for them to change in any way, as they are most capable of moving in the same way at the same time, because they have taken hold of the cycle, having the smallest change in their own movement. It is almost impossible for them to turn themselves except by the one who leads all moving things. And to move this one sometimes in one way, and again in the opposite way, is not lawful.

11.32.7 | ἐκ πάντων δὴ τούτων τὸν κόσμον μήτε αὐτὸν χρὴ φάναι στρέφειν ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ, μήθ' ὅλον ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρέφεσθαι διττὰς καὶ ἐναντίας περιαγωγὰς, μήτ' αὖ τινὲ δύο θεῶ φρονοῦντε ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντία στρέφειν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐρρέθη καὶ μόνον λοιπὸν, τοτὲ μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλης ξυμποδηγεῖσθαι θείας αἵτιας, τὸ ζῆν πάλιν ἐπικτώμενον καὶ

11.32.7 | From all these things, it is not right to say that the world always turns itself, nor that it is turned wholly by a god in two opposite ways, nor that two gods thinking for themselves turn it in opposite directions. But rather, as was just said, sometimes it is led by another divine cause, gaining life again and receiving immortality

λαμβάνοντα ἀθανασίαν ἐπισκευαστὴν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, τοτὲ δ' ὅταν ἀνεθῆ, δι' ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸν ἔναι κατὰ καιρὸν, ἀφεθέντα τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀνάπαλιν πορεύεσθαι πολλὰς περιόδων μυριάδας διὰ τὸ μέγιστον ὃν καὶ ἰσορροπώτατον ἐπὶ σμικροτάτου βαῖνον ποδὸς ἔναι.

restored by the creator. At other times, when it rises, it goes by itself in due time, having been released in such a way that it can again travel through countless cycles, moving toward the greatest being and most balanced, taking the smallest step.

11.32.8 | Φαίνεται γοῦν δὴ καὶ μάλα εἰκότως εἱρῆσθαι πάντα ὄσα διελήλυθας. Λογισάμενοι δὴ ξυννοήσωμεν τὸ πάθος ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεχθέντων, δὲ πάντων ἔφαμεν εἶναι τῶν θαυμαστῶν αἴτιον. ἔστι γὰρ οὖν δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτό.

11.32.8 | It seems indeed very reasonable to say all that you have explained. Let us think together about the nature of what has been said now, which we said is the cause of all wonderful things. For this is indeed the same thing.

11.32.9 | Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φορὰν τοτὲ μὲν ἐφ' ἂν νῦν κυκλεῖται φέρεσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τάναντία. Πῶς δὴ; Ταύτην τὴν μεταβολὴν ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν γινομένων τροπῶν πασῶν εἶναι μεγίστην καὶ τελεωτάτην τροπήν.

11.32.9 | What kind? The movement of the whole sometimes moves in the way it is now going around, and sometimes in the opposite way. How so? This change must be considered the greatest and most complete change of all the changes happening around the heavens.

11.32.10 | "Εοικε γοῦν. Μεγίστας τοίνυν μεταβολὰς χρὴ νομίζειν γίγνεσθαι τότε τοῖς ἐντὸς ἡμῖν οίκοῦσιν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτ' είκός. Μεταβολὰς δέ γε μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ξυμφερομένας ἀρ' οὐκ ἴσμεν τὴν τῶν ζώων φύσιν ὅτι χαλεπῶς ἀνέχεται;

11.32.10 | It seems so. Therefore, we must think that the greatest changes happen to those living within it. And this is likely. But do we not know that the nature of living things is that it bears great, many, and various changes with difficulty?

11.32.11 | Πῶς δὲ οὖ; Φθοραὶ τοίνυν ἔξ ἀνάγκης τότε μέγισται συμβαίνουσι τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὄλιγον τι περιλείπεται. περὶ δὲ τούτους ἄλλα τε παθήματα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ καινὰ ξυμπίπτει, μέγιστον δὲ τόδε καὶ ξυνεπόμενον τῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνελίξει, τότε ὅταν ἡ τῆς νῦν καθεστηκίας

11.32.11 | "How could it not? Therefore, the greatest destructions necessarily happen to the other living things, and indeed, the human race is affected a little as well. About these, many other strange and new experiences occur, but the greatest of these, which follows the movement of the whole, happens when the opposite change of the

έναντία γίγνηται τροπή." Τούτοις ἄπασιν  
ύποβάς ἔξῆς περὶ τῆς τῶν  
τετελευτηκότηων ἀναβιώσεως, ὅμοίως  
ταῖς Ἐβραίων δόξαις κινούμενος, ταῦτ'  
ἐπιλέγει

current state occurs." Having considered all this, he goes on to speak about the revival of those who have died, similarly influenced by the beliefs of the Hebrews, and he adds these things.

## Section 33

11.33.1 | "Γένεσις δὲ τίς τότ' ἦν, ὡς ξένε,  
ζῷων, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐξ ἀλλήλων  
ἔγεννῶντο;

11.33.2 | Δῆλον, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐξ  
ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῇ τότε φύσει  
γεννώμενον, τὸ δὲ γηγενὲς εἶναί ποτε γένος  
λεχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον  
ἐκ γῆς πάλιν ἀναστρεφόμενον,  
ἀπεμνημονεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
προγόνων τῶν πρώτων, οἱ τελευτῶσῃ μὲν  
τῇ προτέρᾳ περιφορᾷ τὸν ἔξῆς χρόνον  
έγειτόνουν, τῆσδε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐφύοντο·  
τούτων τῶν γάρ οὗτοι κήρυκες ἐγένονθ'  
ἡμῖν τῶν λόγων, οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ πολλῶν οὐκ  
όρθως ἀπιστοῦνται.

11.33.3 | τὸ γάρ ἐντεῦθέν, οἷμαι, χρὴ  
ξυννοεῖν. ἔχόμενον γάρ ἔστι τῷ τοὺς  
πρεσβύτας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ίέναι φύσιν,  
ἐκ τῶν τετελευτηκότων αὖ, κειμένων δ' ἐν  
γῇ πάλιν ἐκεῖ συνισταμένους καὶ  
ἀναβιωσκομένους ἔπεσθαι τῇ τροπῇ,  
ξυνανακυκλουμένης εἰς τάναντία τῆς  
γενέσεως, καὶ γηγενεῖς δὴ κατὰ τούτον τὸν  
τρόπον ἐξ ἀνάγκης φυομένους οὕτως ἔχειν  
τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὅσους μὴ θεός  
αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλλην μοῖραν ἐκόμισε. Κομιδῇ  
μὲν οὖν τοῦτό γε ἔπειται τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν.

11.33.1 | What was the origin then,  
stranger, of living things, and in what way  
did they come from one another?

11.33.2 | Clearly, Socrates, that which comes from one another was not generated in that nature at that time, but there was a race said to be born from the earth, which was then returning from the ground. This was remembered by our earliest ancestors, who, having died in the previous cycle, were reborn in the next time, while those of this time were born at the beginning. For these were the heralds of our words, who are now wrongly doubted by many.

11.33.3 | For this reason, I think it is necessary to understand what is here. For it is connected to the elders going to the nature of the child, coming from those who have died, and lying in the earth, being put together again and being reborn, following the change, as the cycle of birth turns back to the opposite. And indeed, those born from the earth must have this name and story, as long as no god has sent them to another fate. Therefore, this follows from what was said before.

11.33.4 | Εἶτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐξῆς προιών τὰ  
ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐβραίων δόγμασι περὶ τῆς τοῦ  
κόσμου συντελείας τοῦτον διέξεισι τὸν  
τρόπον

11.33.4 | Then again, going further, he will  
explain this way in a manner similar to the  
teachings of the Hebrews about the  
completion of the world.

## Section 34

11.34.1 | "γὰρ πάντων τούτων χρόνος  
έτελειώθη καὶ μεταβολὴν ἔδει γίγνεσθαι  
καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ γήινον ἥδη πᾶν ἀνάλωτο  
γένος, πάσας ἐκάστης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς  
γενέσεις ἀποδεδωκύιας, καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἐκάστῃ  
προσταχθὲν, τοσαῦτα εἰς γῆν σπέρματα  
πεσούσης,, τότε δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ὁ μὲν  
κυβερνήτης, οἶον πηδαλίων οἴακος  
ἀφέμενος, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη,  
τὸν δὲ δὴ κόσμον πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν  
εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ ξύμφυτος ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

11.34.1 | For all these things, time has been  
completed, and a change had to happen.  
Indeed, all earthly beings have already  
consumed their kind, and each soul has  
given up its births, and as many commands  
were given to each, so many seeds fell to  
the ground. Then, the ruler of all, like a  
pilot leaving the helm, withdrew to his own  
viewpoint, while fate and natural desire  
turned the world back again.

11.34.2 | πάντες οὖν οἱ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους  
ξυνάρχοντες τῷ μεγίστῳ δαίμονι θεοὶ,  
γνόντες ἥδη τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἀφίεσαν αὖ τὰ  
μέρη τοῦ κόσμου τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείας. ὁ  
δὲ μεταστρεφόμενος καὶ ξυμβάλλων, ἀρχῆς  
τε καὶ τελευτῆς ἐναντίαν ὄρμήν ὄρμηθεὶς,  
σεισμὸν πολὺν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ποιῶν, ἄλλην αὖ  
φθορὰν ζῶν παντοίων ἀπειργάσατο.

11.34.2 | Therefore, all the gods who gather  
in the places with the greatest spirit, having  
already understood what is happening,  
released again the parts of the world from  
their care. And he, changing and coming  
together, having been driven by the  
opposite motion of beginning and end,  
caused a great shaking within himself, and  
brought about another destruction of all  
kinds of living beings.

11.34.3 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προελθόντος  
ἰκανοῦ χρόνου, θορύβου τε καὶ ταραχῆς  
ἥδη παυόμενος καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν, γαλήνης  
ἐπιλαβόμενος, εἴς τε τὸν εἰωθότα δρόμον  
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατακοσμούμενος ἦει,  
ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κράτος ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν  
αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ."

11.34.3 | After a sufficient time had passed,  
and as the noise and disturbance were now  
stopping, and the earthquakes were  
calming down, he took hold of peace. He  
went into his usual path, arranging himself  
with care and power over what was within  
him and himself.

11.34.4 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα αὐ̄ φησι “Διὸ Διὸ δὴ καὶ τότ’ ἥδη θεὸς ὁ κοσμήσας αὐτὸν, καθορῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ὅντα, κηδόμενος ἔνα μὴ χειμασθεὶς ὑπὸ ταραχῆς διαλυθεὶς εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἀπειρον ὅντα τόπον δύῃ, πάλιν ἔφεδρος αὐτοῦ τῶν πηδαλίων γενόμενος, τὰ νοσήσαντα καὶ λυθέντα ἐν τῇ καθ’ αὐτὸν προτέρᾳ περιόδῳ στρέψας, κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἐπανορθῶν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγήρων ἀπεργάζεται. τοῦτο μὲν τέλος πάντων εἴρηται.

## Section 35

11.35.1 | “Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἦν δ’ ἔγώ, ούδέν ἔστι πλήθει ούδε μεγέθει πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἃ τελευτήσαντα ἐκάτερον περιμένει· χρὴ δ’ αὐτὰ ἀκοῦσαι, ἵνα τελέως ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἀπειλήφῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ὄφειλόμενα ἀκοῦσαι.

11.35.2 | Λέγοις ἀν, ἔφη, ὡς ού πολλὰ, ἀλλ’ ἥδιον ἀκούοντι. Άλλ’ ού μέντοι σοι, ἦν δ’ ἔγώ, Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου· ὅς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἥδη διεφθαρμένων, ὑγιὴς μὲν ἀνηρέθη, κομισθεὶς δὲ οἴκαδε, μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾶ κείμενος ἀνεβίω, ἀναβιοὺς δὲ ἔλεγεν ἂ ἐκεῖ ἴδοι.

11.35.3 | ἔφη δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἵ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πορεύεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ ἀφικνεῦσθαι σφᾶς εἰς πον τινὰ δαιμόνιον, ἐν ᾧ τῆς τε γῆς δύ' εἶναι χάσματα ἔχομένω ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐ̄ ἐν τῷ ἄνω ἄλλα καταντικρύ.

11.34.4 | And after a short time, he says, 'Indeed, then, the god who arranged it, seeing it in confusion, caring for it so that it would not be destroyed by disturbance and scattered into the endless place of dissimilarity, became again the support of its controls. He turned back the sick and broken parts in their previous cycle, and he arranges and restores it, making it immortal and ageless. This is the end of all things.'

11.35.1 | Therefore, I say, there is nothing in number or size compared to those things that each one has finished. It is necessary to hear them, so that each one may fully understand what is owed to them by the argument.

11.35.2 | You might say, he said, that there are not many, but they are sweeter to hear. But I will not speak to you about Alcinous, but rather about the brave man, Hero of Armenia, of the lineage of Pamphylus. He, having finished in battle, after the bodies of the ten thousand had already been destroyed, was taken up healthy. He was brought home, and while he was about to be buried, lying on the pyre, he came back to life and said what he saw there.

11.35.3 | He said that, since he knows the soul goes out, it travels with many and arrives at a certain divine place, where there are two openings in the earth facing each other, and above, in the sky, there are others directly opposite.

11.35.4 | δικαστὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων καθῆσθαι, οὓς, ἐπειδὴ διαδιδάσσειαν, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους κελεύειν πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς δεξίαν τε καὶ ἄνω διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σημεῖα περιάψαντες τῶν δε δικασμένων ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀδίκους τὴν εἰς ἀριστεράν τε καὶ κάτω, ἔχοντας καὶ τούτους ἐν τῷ ὅπισθεν σημεῖα πάντων ὡν ἔπραξαν.

11.35.5 | αύτοῦ δὲ προσελθόντος εἴπειν ὅτι δέοι αὐτὸν ἄγγελον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τῶν ἑκῇ καὶ διακελεύεσθαι διακούειν τε καὶ θεᾶσθαι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ."

11.35.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων· συγγενῆ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ὥδε πῃ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς πρώτῳ ἴστορεῖ

11.35.4 | Judges sit between these places, who, when they have finished their task, command the just to go to the right and up through the sky, marking them with signs of those who have been judged before. They command the unjust to go to the left and down, also marking them with signs of all the things they have done.

11.35.5 | As he approached, he was told that he needed to become a messenger for humans from there and to command them to listen and see all the things in that place.

11.35.6 | This is what Plato says; and Plutarch also tells something similar in the first part of his work *On the Soul*.

## Section 36

11.36.1 | "Ἄντύλλω δὲ τούτω καὶ αὐτοὶ παρῆμεν· ἀλλὰ Σωσιτέλει καὶ Ἡρακλέωνι διηγησώμεθα. νοσῶν γάρ ἔναγχος ἀβιώτως ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς ιατροῖς· ἀνενεχθεὶς δὲ μικρὸν ἐκ τινος οὐ βεβαίου καταφορᾶς, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἔπραξεν οὔτ' εἶπε παρακινητικὸν, ἔλεγε δὲ τεθνάναι, καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ τεθνήξεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἑκείνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς ἀκηκοέναι τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου· πεμφθέντας γάρ ἐπὶ Νικανδᾶν αὐτὸν ἥκειν ἀντ' ἑκείνου κομίζοντας. ὁ δὲ Νικανδᾶς ἦν σκυτοτόμος, ἀλλως δὲ τῶν ἐν παλαίστραις γεγονότων καὶ πολλοῖς συνήθης καὶ γνώριμος. ὅθενοὶ νεανίσκοι προσιόντες ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποδεδρακότα καὶ διεφθαρκότα τοὺς

11.36.1 | We were also present with Antyllus; but we will tell the story of Sosipelis and Heracleon. For it seemed to the doctors that he was suffering from a serious illness. After being brought in from an uncertain condition, he did nothing and said nothing to encourage them. He kept saying he was dying, then again that he would be released, and that he would not die at all from that sickness, but he had also heard badly from those who brought him by the order of the master. For they had sent him to Nicandrus instead of bringing him back. Nicandrus was a skilled surgeon, well-known and familiar with many things that happen in the wrestling schools. The young men who approached him mocked

έκειθεν ὑπηρέτας. αύτὸς μέντοι δῆλος ἦν εὐθὺς ὑποθραττόμενος καὶ δυσχεραίνων· τέλος δὲ πυρετοῦ προσπεσόντος ἔξαπλούταρχος] φνης ἀπέθανε τριταῖος, οὗτος δὲ ἀνεβίω, καὶ περίεστιν εὗ γε ποιῶν, ἡμῖν ξένων ἐπιεικέστατος. ”

him as if he had already escaped and ruined the servants from there. However, he was clearly showing signs of being upset and troubled. Finally, after a fever attacked him, he died on the third day. But this one came back to life and is now doing well, being the most kind to us as a guest.

11.36.2 | Ταῦτά μοι κείσθω διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἐβραίων γραφαῖς νεκρῶν ἀναβιώσεις φέρεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ γῆν τινα ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις μόνοις τοῖς θεοφιλέσι δοθήσεσθαι περιέχουσι, κατὰ τὸ φάσκον λόγιον “οἵ δὲ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν,” ταύτην δὲ ἐπουράνιον ὑπάρχειν διασαφεῖ ὃ φάσκων λόγος “ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔλευθέρα ἐστὶν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ ἡμῶν .” ὅ τε προφήτης τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην ἐκ πολυτελῶν καὶ τιμίων συνεστάναι λίθων ἐν τρόπῳ ἀλληγορίας αἰνίττεται λέγων “ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐτοιμάζω σοι ἄνθρακα τὸν λίθον σου, καὶ θήσω τὰς ἐπάλξεις σου ἵασπιν, καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους σου σάπφειρον, καὶ τὸν περίβολόν σου λίθους ἐκλεκτούς” θέα ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα, ἡ τὰ παραπλήσια, πεπεῖσθαι εἶναι ἀληθῆ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς ὅμιλογεῖ, Σωκράτει ἀνατιθεὶς τὸν λόγον ὃδέ πη

11.36.2 | Let these things be laid out for me because in the Hebrew scriptures, there are accounts of the dead coming back to life. Since there is also a certain land that is promised only to those who are beloved by God, according to the saying, 'the meek shall inherit the earth,' this is explained to be a heavenly place by the saying, 'but the above Jerusalem is free, which is our mother.' The prophet also hints at this same thing, saying that it will be built with precious and honorable stones in a way of allegory, saying, 'Behold, I am preparing for you a stone of coal, and I will set your battlements with jasper, and your foundations with sapphire, and your surrounding walls with chosen stones.' Just as Plato also agrees that these things, or similar ones, are true in his work On the Soul, presenting the argument to Socrates in this way.

## Section 37

11.37.1 | “Αλλὰ μέντοι, ὡς Σιμμία, οὐχὶ ἡ Γλαύώς κου τέχνη γέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι διηγήσασθαι ἂ γ' ἐστίν· μέντοι ἀληθῆ, χαλεπώτερόν μοι φαίνεται ἥ κατὰ τὴν Γλαύκου τέχνην. καὶ ἄμα μὲν ἐγὼ ἶσως οὐδ' ἀν οἴός τε εἴην, ἄμα δὲ, καὶ εἰ ἡπιστάμην, ὃ βίος μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἔμδος, ὡς Σιμμία, τῷ μήκει τοῦ λόγου ούκ ἔξαρκεῖν. τὴν μέντοι ἰδέαν τῆς γῆς, οἷαν πέπεισμαι εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς

11.37.1 | But, my dear Simmias, I do not think that the art of Glaucon is easy to explain as it is. However, it seems to me to be harder than the art of Glaucon. And while I might not even be able to do it, even if I knew how, my life, Simmias, does not seem long enough for this discussion. Yet, I am convinced about the idea of the earth and I am not prevented from speaking

τόπους αύτῆς ούδέν με κωλύει λέγειν. 'Αλλ,  
ἴφη ὁ Σιμμίας, καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ.

11.37.2 | Πέπεισμαι τοίνυν, ἂν δ' ὅς, ἐγὼ  
πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ ἔστιν ἐν, μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ  
περιφερήσι οὕσα, μηδὲν αὔτῇ δεῖν μήτε  
άέρος πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν μήτε ἄλλῆς  
ἀνάγκης μηδεμιᾶς τοιαύτης, ἀλλ' ἵκανὴν  
εἶναι αὐτὴν ἵσχειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ  
οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐστῶ πάντῃ καὶ τῆς γῆς  
αὐτὴν τὴν ἴσορροπίαν· ἴσορροπον γὰρ  
πρᾶγμα ὁμοίου τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν οὐχ  
ἔξει μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἡττον οὐδαμόσε κλιθῆναι,  
ὁμοίως δ' ἔχον ἀκλινὲς μένει.

11.37.3 | Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ, δὴ, δ' ὅς, τοῦτο  
πέπεισμαι. Καὶ ὥρθῶς γε, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας.  
Ἐτι τοίνυν, ἔφη, πάμμεγά τι εἶναι αὐτὸ, καὶ  
ἡμᾶς οἴκεῖν τοὺς μέχρις Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν  
ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ἐν σμικρῷ τινι μορίῳ, ὥσπερ  
περὶ τέλμα μύρμηκας ἢ βατράχους, περὶ  
τὴν θάλατταν οίκουντας, καὶ ἄλλους  
ἄλλοθι πολλοὺς ἐν πολλοῖς τοιούτοις  
τόποις οἴκεῖν.

11.37.4 | εἶναι γὰρ πανταχῇ περὶ τὴν γῆν  
πολλὰ κοῦλα καὶ παντοδαπά καὶ τὰς ἰδέας  
καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, εἰς ἣ ξυνερρυηκέναι τό τε  
ὑδωρ καὶ τὴν ὁμίχλην καὶ τὸν ἄέρα· αὔτὴν  
δὲ τὴν γῆν καθαράν τε ἐν καθαρῷ κεῖσθαι  
τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐν ὕπερ ἐστι τὰ ἀστρα, ὃν δὴ  
αἱθέρα ὄνομάζειν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν τὰ  
τοιαῦτα εἰώθότων λέγειν· οὐ δὴ  
ὑποστάθμην εἶναι ταῦτα καὶ ξυρρεῖν ἀεὶ εἰς  
τὰ κοῦλα τῆς γῆς.

11.37.5 | ἡμᾶς οὖν οίκουντας ἐν τοῖς κούλοις  
αύτῆς λεληθέναι καὶ οἵεσθαι ἄνω ἐπὶ τῆς

about its places. 'Well,' Simmias says, 'that is enough.'

11.37.2 | I am convinced, therefore, that there is a sphere in the middle of the sky, which does not need anything, neither air to prevent it from falling nor any other necessity like that. It is enough for it to hold the same shape as the sky itself and to balance itself with the earth. For a balanced thing placed in the middle of something similar will not tilt more or less anywhere, but remains upright in the same way.

11.37.3 | First of all, I am convinced of this. And rightly so, said Simmias. Furthermore, he said, it is something very great, and we live in a small part of it, from the Pillars of Hercules to Phasis, just like ants or frogs living around a puddle, and many others living in many such places.

11.37.4 | For there are many hollow and various places all around the earth, and the ideas and sizes into which water, mist, and air have flowed together. The earth itself is pure and lies in a pure space, where the stars are, which many people call the ether. These things are said to be a foundation and always flow into the hollows of the earth.

11.37.5 | We think we are living in the hollows of the earth and believe we live

γῆς οίκεῖν, ὡσπερ ἀν εἴ τις ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πυθμένι τοῦ πελάγους οίκῶν οἴοιτό τε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης οίκεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ὅρῶν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα τὴν θάλατταν ἡγοῦτο οὐρανὸν εἶναι, διὰ δὲ βραδυτῆτά τε καὶ ἀσθένειαν μηδεπώποτε ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς θαλάττης εἴη ἀφιγμένος, μηδὲ ἐωρακώς εἴη, ἔκδὺς καὶ ἀνακύψας ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὸν ἐνθάδε τόπον, ὅσῳ καθαρώτερος καὶ καλλίων τ.υγχάνει ὃν τοῦ παρὰ σφίσι, μηδὲ ἄλλου ἀκηκοώς εἴη τοῦτο ἐωρακότος.

above on the surface, just as if someone were living in the middle of the sea and thought they were living on the surface of the water, seeing the sun and the other stars through the water, believing the sea to be the sky. But because of slowness and weakness, they would never reach the edges of the sea, nor would they see it, having come up and looked out from the sea into this place, which is much clearer and more beautiful than what they are used to, and they would not have heard of anything else that they have seen.

11.37.6 | ταύτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πεπονθέναι· οίκοῦντας γὰρ ἐν τινι κοίλῳ τῆς γῆς οἵεσθαι ἐπάνω αύτῆς οίκεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν καλεῖν, ὃς διὰ τούτου οὐρανοῦ ὅντος τὰ ἀστρα χωροῦντα. τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταύτὸν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καὶ βραδυτῆτος οὐχ οὖντες τε εἶναι ἡμάς διεξελθεῖν ἐπ' ἔσχατον τὸν ἀέρα, ἐπεὶ εἴ τις αύτοῦ ἐπ' ἄκρα ἔλθοι, ἢ πτηνὸς γενόμενος ἀνάπτοιτο, κατιδεῖν δὴ ἀνακύψαντα, ὡσπερ ἐνθάδε οἱ ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἰχθύες ἀνακύπτοντες ὅρῶσι τὰ ἐνθάδε, οὔτως ἀν τινα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ κατιδεῖν· καὶ εἰ ἡ φύσις ίκανή εἴη ἀνέχεσθαι θεωροῦσα, γνῶναι ἀν δὴ τὸ εκεῖνός ἔστιν ὁ ἀληθῶς οὐρανὸς καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς καὶ ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς γῆ.

11.37.6 | We have experienced the same thing. For living in a certain hollow of the earth, we think we are living above it, and we call the air the sky, as if the stars are moving through this sky. But because of weakness and slowness, we are not able to reach the upper air. If someone were to come to the edge of it or become a bird and fly up, they would see, just like fish coming up from the sea see what is here. In this way, they could also see what is up there. And if nature were strong enough to endure the sight, they would know that up there is the true sky, the true light, and what is truly the earth.

11.37.7 | ἦδε μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ λίθοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ τόπος ὁ ἐνθάδε διεφθαρμένα ἔστι καὶ καταβεβρωμένα, ὡσπερ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλμης· καὶ οὔτε φύεται ἄξιον λόγου οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ οὔτε τέλειον, ὃς ἔπος είπεῖν, οὐδέν ἔστι, σήραγγες δὲ καὶ ἄμμος καὶ πηλὸς ἀμήχανος καὶ βόρβοροί είσιν, ὅπου καὶ ἡ γῆ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν καλὰ κρίνεσθαι ούδ' ὀπωστιοῦν ἄξια.

11.37.7 | This earth and the stones and all the place here are decayed and consumed, just like what is in the sea by the salt water. And nothing worthy of mention grows in the sea, nor is there anything complete, so to speak; there is nothing but tunnels, sand, and useless clay, and mud, wherever it may be. And compared to what is beautiful among us, it is not worthy of any judgment.

11.37.8 | ἐκεῖνα δὲ αὖτῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολὺ ἀνὴτι πλεῖον φανείη διαφέρειν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μυθολογεῖν καλὸν, ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι, cj Σιμμία, οἴτα τυγχάνει τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ὅντα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἡμεῖς γε τούτου τοῦ μύθου ἡδέως ἀνἀκούσαμεν.

11.37.9 | Λέγεται τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὡς ἐταῖρε, πρῶτον μὲν εἶναι τοιαύτῃ ἡ γῆ αὐτῇ ἵδεῖν, εἴ τις ἄνωθεν θεῶτο, ὕσπερ αἱ δωδεκάσκυτοι σφαῖραι, ποικίλη, χρώμασι διειλημμένη, ὃν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε εἶναι χρώματα ὕσπερ δείγματα, οἵς δὴ οἵ γραφεῖς καταχρῶνται· ἐκεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκ τοιούτων εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ ἔτι ἐκ λαμπροτέρων καὶ καθαρωτέρων ἡ τούτων.

11.37.10 | τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀλουργῇ εἶναι θαυμαστὴν τὸ κάλλος, τὴν δὲ χρυσοειδῆ, τὴν δὲ ὅση λευκὴ γύψου καὶ χιόνος λευκοτέραν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων συγκειμένην ὠσαύτως, καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων καὶ καλλιόνων ἡ ὅσα ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν.

11.37.11 | καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ κοῦλα αὐτῆς, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος ἔμπλεα ὅντα, χρώματός τι εἶδος παρέχεσθαι στήλβοντα ἐν τῇ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων ποικιλίᾳ, ὥστε ἐν τι αὐτῆς εἶδος ξυνεχὲς καὶ ποικίλον φαντάζεσθαι.

11.37.12 | ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ οὕσῃ τοιαύτῃ ἀνάλογον τὸ τοιαῦτα φύεσθαι δένδρα τε καὶ ἄνθη, ἔχοντα τοὺς καρπούς· καὶ αὖτὰ

11.37.8 | But those things over there would seem to be much more different from what we have here. For if it is indeed good to tell stories, worthy to hear, as you find what is on the earth under the sky. But, said Simmias, oh Socrates, we would gladly listen to this story.

11.37.9 | It is said then, he said, oh friend, that this earth itself would look like this if someone were to see it from above, just like the twelve-colored balls, colorful and mixed with colors, of which the colors here are like samples, which indeed the painters use. But there, the whole earth would be made of such things, and much more of brighter and clearer ones than these.

11.37.10 | On one hand, the sea-blue would be a wonderful beauty, on the other hand, the golden one, and the one as white as gypsum and snow would be whiter, and made up of other colors in the same way, and even more and more beautiful than all that we have seen.

11.37.11 | And indeed, these hollow parts of it, being full of water and air, would provide a kind of shining color in the variety of other colors, so that in some way it would seem to have a continuous and colorful appearance.

11.37.12 | And in this kind of place, it would be fitting for trees and flowers to grow like this, having their fruits; and

ὅρη ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἔχειν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὴν τε λειότητα καὶ τὴν διαφάνειαν καὶ τὰ χρώματα καλλίω· ὃν καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε λιθίδια εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαπώμενα μόρια, σάρδιά τε καὶ ίάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν ὄτιον τοιοῦτον οὐκ εἶναι καὶ ἔτι τούτων καλλίω.

likewise, the mountains and the stones would have the same quality, with smoothness, clarity, and more beautiful colors. The little stones we love here, like sardonyx, jasper, and emeralds, would not be found there, and there would be even more beautiful things than these.

11.37.13 | τὸ δ' αἴτιον τούτου εἶναι ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι οἱ λίθοι καθαροί εἰσι καὶ οὐ κατεδηδεσμένοι οὐδὲ διεφθαρμένοι 5 ὥσπερ οἱ ἐνθάδε, ὑπὸ σηπεδόνος καὶ ἄλμης καὶ τῶν δεῦρο ξυνερρυηκότων, ἢ καὶ λίθοις καὶ γῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῷοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς αἴσχη τε καὶ νόσους παρέχει. τὴν δὲ γῆν αὐτὴν κεκοσμήσθαι τούτοιςτε ἄπασι καὶ ἔτι χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὖ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἐκφανῆ γάρ αὐτὰ πεφυκέναι, ὃν τὰ πολλὰ πλήθη καὶ μεγάλα καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς, ὡστε αὐτὴν δεῖν εἶναι θέαμα εύδαιμόνων θεατῶν.”

11.37.13 | The reason for this is that those stones are pure and not worn down or damaged like the ones here, which are affected by decay, salt, and other things that flow here, bringing shame and diseases to stones, soil, and other living things and plants. But the land itself would be adorned with all these things, and even with gold and silver and other similar things. For they would be naturally present, many and large, found in many places on the earth, making it a sight for happy viewers.

## Section 38

11.38.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφῆς θεοῦ δικαιωτήριον καὶ κρίσιν ψυχῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσεσθαι προαγορευούσης διά τε μυρίων ἄλλων καὶ δι' ὃν φησι “κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἡνεῳχθησαν καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο. ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἰκλεκν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· μύριαι μυριάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες παρειστῆκεσαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ,” ἐπάκουουσον τοῦ Πλάτωνος τῆς θείας κρίσεως, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄνομαστὶ μεμνημένου, πολλάς τε μονάς τῶν εύσεβῶν διαφόρους τε τῶν δυσσεβῶν τιμωρίας συμφώνως τοῖς Ἐβραίων ὑπογράφοντος

11.38.1 | In the Hebrew scriptures, there will be a judgment and a decision for souls after this release, as foretold through many other things and through what is said: 'The judge sat, and the books were opened, and the ancient of days sat. A river of fire flowed before him; countless thousands served him, and thousands of thousands stood before him.' Listen to Plato's divine judgment, and indeed to the river that is named, along with many punishments for the pious and various punishments for the wicked, agreeing with the words of the Hebrews.

λόγοις.

11.38.2 | φησὶ δ' οὗν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς τάδε Τρίτος δὲ ποταμὸς τούτων κατὰ μέσον ἐκβάλλει, καὶ ἔγγὺς τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἐκπίπτει εἰς τόπον μέγαν πυρὶ πολλῷ καιόμενον, καὶ λίμνην ποιεῖ μείζω τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν θαλάττης, ζέουσαν ὕδατος καὶ πηλοῦ· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ χωρεῖ κύκλῳ θολερὸς καὶ πηλώδης, περιελιττόμενος δέ γε τῇ γῇ ἄλλοσέ τε ἀφικνεῖται καὶ παρ' ἔσχατα τῆς Ἀχερούσιάδος λίμνης, οὐ συμμιγνύμενος τῷ ὕδατι· περιελιχθεὶς δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ γῆς ἐμβάλλει κατωτέρῳ τοῦ Ταρτάρου.

11.38.3 | οὗτος δ' ἔστιν ὃν ἐπονομάζουσι Πυριφλεγέθοντα, οὗ καὶ οἱ ρύακες ἀποσπάσματα ἀναφυσῶσιν, ὅπου ἀν τύχωσι τῆς γῆς. τούτου δὲ αὖ καταντικρὺ ὁ τέταρτος ἐκπίπτει εἰς τόπον πρῶτον δεινόν τε καὶ ἄγριον, ὡς λέγεται, χρῶμα δὲ ἔχοντα ὅλον οἶον ὁ κύανός, ὃν δὴ ἐπονομάζουσι Στύγιον, καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων Στύγα. ὁ δ' ἐμπεσὼν ἐνταῦθα καὶ δεινὰς δυνάμεις λαβών ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, δὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς, περιελιττόμενος χωρεῖ ἐναντίως τῷ Πυριφλεγέθοντι καὶ ἀπαντᾷ ἐν τῇ Ἀχερούσιᾳ λίμνῃ ἐξ ἐναντίας, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ τούτου ὕδωρ οὐδενὶ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος κύκλῳ περιελθὼν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐναντίως τῷ Πυριφλεγέθοντι· ὅνομα δὲ τούτῳ ἔστιν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Κωκυτός.

11.38.4 | τούτων δὲ οὕτω φυκότων, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωνται οἱ τετελευτηκότες εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ὁ δαίμων ἔκαστον κομίζει, πρῶτον μὲν διεδικάσαντο οἵ τε καλῶς καὶ δοσίως καὶ δικαίως βιώσαντες καὶ οἱ μή. καὶ

11.38.2 | It says in the work On the Soul that a third river flows out in the middle of these, and near its mouth, it falls into a great place burning with much fire, and it makes a lake larger than our sea, bubbling with water and mud. From there, it goes in a swirling motion, muddy and muddy, moving through the earth and reaching other places and the edge of the Acherusian lake, not mixing with the water. After being twisted many times under the earth, it pours down below Tartarus.

11.38.3 | This is what they call Pyriphlegethon, from which the streams bring up fragments wherever they touch the earth. Against this, the fourth river falls into a first place that is terrible and wild, as it is said, having a color like dark blue, which they call Stygian, and the lake that the river pours into is Styx. Whoever falls in there, gaining terrible powers in the water, sinks into the earth, moving in the opposite direction to Pyriphlegethon and meets in the Acherusian lake from the opposite side, and its water does not mix with anything, but this one, moving in a circle, pours into Tartarus opposite Pyriphlegethon. This river is named, as the poets say, Cocytus.

11.38.4 | When those who have died arrive at the place where the spirit brings each one, first they are judged: those who have lived well, righteously, and justly, and those who have not. Some may seem to have

οὶ μὲν ἀν δόξωσι μέσως βεβιωκέναι,  
πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα, ἀναβάντες  
ἄ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὄχήματά ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τούτων  
ἀφικοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἔκεī  
οίκοῦσί τε καὶ καθαιρόμενοι τῶν τε  
ἀδικημάτων διδόντες δίκας ἀπολύονται, εἴ  
τίς τι ἡδίκηκε, τῶν τε εὔεργεσιῶν τιμᾶς  
φέρονται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἔκαστος, οἱ δ' ἀν  
δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν  
ἀμαρτημάτων, ἢ ιεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ  
μεγάλας ἢ φόνους ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμους  
πολλοὺς ἔξειργασμένοι ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα  
τυγχάνει ὅντα, τούτους δὲ ἡ προσήκουσα  
μοῖρα ρίπτει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν  
οὕποτε ἐκβαίνουσιν.

lived in the middle, and they go to Acheron, climbing into the boats that belong to them, and they reach the lake. There, they live and, after being cleansed of their wrongdoings, they are released by paying their debts, if anyone has done wrong. Those who have done good deeds receive honors according to their worth. But those who seem to be suffering greatly because of the seriousness of their sins, or because they have committed many and great sacrileges, or many unjust and illegal murders, or other such things, these are thrown by their fitting fate into Tartarus, from which they never escape.

11.38.5 | οἱ δ' ἀν ίάσιμα μὲν, μεγάλα δὲ  
δόξωσιν ἡμαρτηκέναι ἀμαρτήματα, οἷον  
πρὸς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπ' ὄργῆς βίαιόν τι  
πράξαντες, καὶ μεταμέλον αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄλλον  
βίον βιώσιν, ἢ ἀνδροφόνοι ἢ τοιούτῳ τινὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ γένενται, τούτοις δ' ἐμπεσεῖν  
μὲν εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἀνάγκη, ἐμπεσόντας  
δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκεī γενομένους  
ἐκβάλλει τὸ κῦμα, τοὺς δὲ πατραλώας  
[καὶ μητραλώας] κατὰ τὸν  
Πυριφλεγέθοντα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ φλεγόμενοι  
γένενται κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν  
Ἀχερουσιάδα, ἐνταῦθα βοῶσί τε καὶ  
καλοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ οὓς  
Ὥβρισαν, καλέσαντες δὲ ἱκετεύουσι καὶ  
δέονται ἔᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐκβῆναι εἰς τὴν λίμνην,  
καὶ ἔὰν μὲν πείσωσιν, ἐκβαίνουσί τε καὶ  
λήγουσι τῶν κακῶν· εἴ δὲ μὴ, φέρονται  
αὐθις εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, κάκεῖθεν πάλιν εἰς  
τοὺς ποταμοὺς, καὶ ταῦτα πάσχοντες οὐ  
πρότερον παύονται πρὶν ἀν πείσωσιν οὓς  
ἡδίκησαν· αὕτη γάρ ἡ δίκη ὑπὸ τῶν  
δικαστῶν αὐτοῖς ἐτάχθη.

11.38.5 | Those who seem to have committed serious sins, like acting violently against a father or mother in anger, and later live a different life, or those who are murderers or commit other such acts, must fall into Tartarus. After they have fallen in and spent a year there, the wave throws them out: the murderers are sent down the Cocytus, and those who have killed their parents down the Pyriphlegethon. When they are burning in the Acherusian lake, they cry out and call for those they have killed or those they have insulted, begging to be allowed to escape into the lake. If they persuade them, they come out and end their suffering; but if not, they are taken back into Tartarus and then again into the rivers. They suffer these things until they persuade those they have wronged, for this is the punishment set for them by the judges.

11.38.6 | οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀν δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ δοσίως βιῶναι, οὗτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ τῶνδε μὲν τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐλευθερούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι, ὡσπερ δεσμωτηρίων, ἄνω δὲ εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἰκιζόμενοι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἵκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε καμάτων ζῶσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις ἔτι τούτων καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται, ἃς οὕτε ῥάδιον δηλῶσαι οὕτε ὁ χρόνος ἵκανὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀλλὰ τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα χρὴ ὡν διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς Σιμμία, πὰν ποιεῖν ὥστε ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ βίῳ μετασχεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς μεγάλη."

11.38.7 | Ταῦτα δὲ Πλάτων. σὺ δέ γε παραθήσεις τῷ "καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται, ἃς οὕτε ῥάδιον δηλῶσαι οὕτε χρόνος ἵκανὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι" τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχον "όφθαλμὸς γὰρ οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἢ ήτοί μασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν,"

11.38.8 | ταῖς δὲ είρημέναις οἰκήσεσι τὸ πολλὰς μονὰς εἶναι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τοῖς θεοφιλέσιν ἐπηγγελμένας, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Πυριφλεγέθοντος λεχθεῖσι τὸ τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν ἡπειρημένον πῦρ αἰώνιον, κατὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φάσκοντα Ἐβραίων προφήτην "τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν ὅτι πῦρ καίεται; τίς ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν τὸν τόπον τὸν αἰώνιον;" καὶ πάλιν "ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκὶ."

11.38.6 | Those who seem to live very differently in a righteous way are those who are freed from these places on earth, just like prisoners. They reach the pure dwelling above and live on earth. Among them, those who are sufficiently cleansed by philosophy live without toil forever into the future, and they reach even more beautiful homes than these, which are neither easy to describe nor is time enough in the present. But for the sake of these things, we must, oh Simmias, do everything possible to share in virtue and wisdom in life, for the prize is beautiful and the hope is great.

11.38.7 | This is what Plato says. You should add to the part "and they reach even more beautiful homes, which are neither easy to describe nor is time enough in the present" the following: "for no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him."

11.38.8 | In the mentioned dwellings, many homes are promised by the Father to those who love God, and concerning the Pyriphlegethon, it is said that there is an eternal fire threatened for the wicked. According to the Hebrew prophet who speaks to them, "Who will announce to you that fire is burning? Who will announce to you the eternal place?" And again, "Their worm will not die, and the fire will not be quenched, and they will be for a sight to all

flesh."

11.38.9 | τίρει δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων συνάδων τούτοις, τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰπὼν χωρήσειν εἰς Τάρταρον, ἐπιλέγει "ὅθεν οὕποτε ἐκβαίνουσι." καὶ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ζήσεσθαι εἰπὼν ἐν μακαρίοις προστίθησι λέγων "τὸ παράπαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον." ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄνευ καμάτων εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅμοιον ἂν εἴη τῷ "ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός."

11.38.10 | φάσκων δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα πορευομένους μὴ ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀναβαίνοντας πρότερον ἢ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὄχήματά ἔστι, τίνα ποτὲ ἄρα τὰ ὄχήματα βούλεται σημαίνειν ἢ τὰ σώματα, εἰς ἢ ἀναβᾶσαι αἱ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ψυχαὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τιμωροῦνται κατὰ τὰ παρ' Ἐβραίοις νενομισμένα; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἵκανήν καὶ τοῦτον λόγου περιγραφὴν εἰληφότος ἐπὶ τῷ δωδέκατον τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς μεταβήσομαι σύγγραμμα.

11.38.9 | Notice that Plato agrees with this, saying that the wicked will go to Tartarus, adding, "from where they will never escape." And again, speaking of the righteous, he says they will live in happiness, adding, "always and into the future." But also, what he says about living without toil would be similar to "pain and sorrow and sighing have fled away."

11.38.10 | He says that those going to Acheron do not simply arrive there, but first ascend to what are their vehicles. What then do these vehicles mean, or are they the bodies, into which the souls of the dead are taken to be judged according to what is prescribed by the Hebrews? For I will take enough of this discussion to move on to the twelfth book of the Evangelical Preparation.

## Twelfth Book. (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.)

### Section 1

12.1.1 | Ὁ δωδέκατος ἡμῖν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἥδη τὰ ἐνδέοντα τῷ προτέρῳ τῆς Πλάτωνος πρὸς τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια συνωδίας, ὡς ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ συμφώνου λύρας, ἀποδώσει, τὴν καταρχὴν ἐξ ἀπολογίας τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς βλασφημούμενης ἡμῶν πίστεως ληψόμενος.

12.1.1 | The twelfth book will now show how the earlier ideas of Plato agree with the words of the Hebrews, like a harmony of a lyre. It will begin with a defense of our faith, which many have slandered.

12.1.2 | “μὲν τοίνυν ὄρθως ἡ μή τις ἐπιτιμᾶ τῇ τε Λακωνικῇ καὶ τῇ Κρητικῇ πολιτείᾳ, λόγος ἀν̄ ἔτερος εἴη· τὰ γοῦν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἵσως ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἔχοιμ’ ἀν̄ ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων λέγειν. ὑμῖν γάρ εἰ καὶ μετρίως κατεσκεύασται τὰ τῶν νόμων, εἰς τῶν καλλίστων ἀν̄ εἴη νόμων μὴ ζητεῖν τῶν νέων μηδένα ἔὰν ποῖα καλῶς αὐτῶν ἡ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, μιᾶ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος πάντας συμφωνεῖν ὡς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θεῶν, καὶ ἀν̄ τις ἄλλως λέγῃ, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀκούοντας· γέρων δὲ εἴ τις τι ξυννοεῖ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἄρχοντά τε καὶ ἡλικιώτην μηδενὸς ἐναντίον νέου ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους. Ὁρθότατά γε, ω̄ ξένε, κελεύεις.”

12.1.3 | Εἰκότως δῆτα καὶ ἡ Ἐβραίων προιλαβοῦσα γραφὴ τῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν συνέσεως τε καὶ θεωρίας τὴν πίστιν προτάττει δι’ ὃν φησιν “ἔὰν δὲ μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐ μὴ συνῆτε.” καὶ αὐθις “ἐπίστευσα, διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα.

12.1.4 | ἐνθεν καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι εἰσαγομένοις καὶ τὴν ἔξιν ἀτελέσιν, ὡς ἀν̄ τὰς ψυχὰς νηπίοις, ἀπλούστερον ἡ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀνάγνωσις παραδίδοται μετὰ τοῦ δεῖν πιστεύειν ὡς θεοῦ λόγοις τοῖς ἐμφερομένοις παρακελεύεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἔξιν προβεβηκόσι καὶ πολιοῖς τὸ φρόνημα ἐμβαθύνειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιτέτραπται. τούτους δὲ παισὶν Ἐβραίων δευτερωτὰς φίλον ἦν ὄνομάζειν, ὥσπερ ἐρμηνευτὰς καὶ ἔξηγητὰς ὄντας τῆς τῶν γραφῶν διανοίας.

12.1.2 | So, whether someone rightly criticizes the Spartan and Cretan ways of life or not, that would be a different matter. What is said by most people, I might be more inclined to speak about both of you. For if the laws are made reasonably, one of the best laws would be not to seek any new ones, whether they are good or not. Instead, everyone should agree with one voice and one mouth that everything is well arranged by the gods. And if someone says otherwise, they should not be listened to at all. But if an elder understands something from you, they should not speak such words in front of a ruler or someone older than a young person. You speak very rightly, O stranger.

12.1.3 | It is fitting that the writings of the Hebrews, which come before the divine scriptures, place faith first, as it says, "If you do not believe, you will not understand." And again, "I believed, so I spoke."

12.1.4 | From this, among us, for those who are just now being introduced and have an incomplete understanding, the reading in the divine scriptures is given more simply, along with the need to believe as the words of God command. But for those who have advanced in understanding and are older, they are allowed to deepen their thoughts and examine the meaning of what is said. For these, it was common for the Hebrews to call them "second teachers," as if they were interpreters and explainers of the meaning of the scriptures.

## Section 2

12.2.1 | "Ούκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴποιμεν ἀνήμεῖς ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡς ἔσικας, ὡς Τυρταῖε, μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὄθνεῖόν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένους ἐπιφανεῖς. φαίη ταῦτα ἂν που καὶ δομολογοῦ; Τί μήν;

12.2.2 | Ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἀγαθῶν ὕντων τούτων ἔτι φαμὲν ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνομένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς. ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρα ἔχομεν Θέογνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων, ὃς φησι πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

12.2.3 | τοῦτον δέ φαμεν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ ἀμείνονα ἑκείνου πάμπολυ γίνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταύτον ἐλθοῦσαι μετὰ ἀνδρείας αὐτῆς μόνης ἀνδρείας. πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑγιῆς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἄνευ ξυμπάσης ἀρετῆς διαβάντες δὲ εὗ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, φράζει Τυρταῖος, τῶν μισθιφόρων εἰσὶ πάμπολλοι, ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι γίγνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ἔκτὸς δή τινων εὗ μάλα ὀλίγων.

12.2.4 | ποῖ δὴ τελευτᾶς νῦν ἡμῖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος; καὶ τί φανερόν ποτε ποιῆσαι βουληθεὶς λέγει ταῦτα; δηλονότι τόδε, ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ὁ τῆδε ὁ παρὰ Δῖος νομοθέτης, πᾶς τε οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος,

12.2.1 | Then, after these things, we might say that you, O Tyrtaeus, praise most of all those who are famous in the foreign and outside wars. Would he say this somewhere and agree? What do you think?

12.2.2 | But we say that, while these things are good, those who are the best in the greatest war are even better. And we have a witness in the poet Theognis, a citizen of the Megarians in Sicily, who says that a faithful man is worthy to resist gold and silver in a difficult situation, O Kyrne, of division.

12.2.3 | We say that in a more difficult war, this one becomes much better than that one, almost as much as justice, moderation, and wisdom come together with courage alone. For a faithful and healthy person in conflicts could never be without all virtue. And those who fight well and are willing to die in battle, Tyrtaeus says, are many among the mercenaries, most of whom become bold, unjust, arrogant, and almost all are foolish, except for very few who are truly good.

12.2.4 | Where does this speech end for us now? And what does he want to make clear by saying these things? It is clear that, more than anything else, the lawgiver from Zeus, looking toward the greatest virtue, will

ούκ ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν  
μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους·  
ἔστι δ', ὡς φησι Θέογνις, αὕτη πιστότης ἐν  
τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἦν τις δικαιοσύνην ἀν τελείαν  
ὄνομάσειε."

12.2.5 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήριος λόγος  
δόμοῦ συζεύξας τῇ πίστει τὴν φρόνησιν τὸν  
κατ' ἀμφότερα κεκοσμημένον τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
λόγοις ἔγκρινει λέγων "τίς ἄρα ἔστιν ὁ  
πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος οἰκονόμος;" καὶ αὖθις  
"εὗ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγᾳ ἡς  
πιστὸς, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω." σαφῶς  
γοῦν ἐν τούτοις οὐ τὴν ἄλογον πίστιν  
ἀποδέχεσθαι παρίστησιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταῖς  
μεγίσταις ἀρεταῖς συνεζευγμένην, εἰ δὴ  
τοιαῦται φρόνησις καὶ ἀγαθωσύνη.

### Section 3

12.3.1 | "Εἴς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν  
φαινόμεθα τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους  
διεξελθεῖν, ὡς ἄρα αἱ τῶν τελευτησάντων  
ψυχαὶ δύναμιν ἔχουσί τινα τελευτήσασι  
καὶ τὸν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων  
ἐπιμελοῦνται. ταῦτα ἀληθεῖς μὲν, μακροὶ δέ  
είσι περιέχοντες λόγοι. πιστεύειν δὲ ταῖς τε  
ἄλλαις φήμαις χρεὼν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
οὕτω πολλαῖς καὶ σφόδρα παλαιαῖς οὔσαις,  
πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετοῦσι ταῦθ'  
οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀνπερ μὴ παντάπασιν  
ἄφρονες φαίνωνται."

12.3.2 | Καὶ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ δὲ τῶν  
Μακκαβαίων λέγεται Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης  
μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου εύχόμενος  
ὅρᾶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς φροντίδα  
ποιούμενος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων. δεῖν δέ  
φησι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τούτοις πιστεύειν.

always set the laws with no small benefit.  
And, as Theognis says, this faithfulness in  
difficult times, which one might call perfect  
justice.

12.2.5 | And among us, the saving speech  
connects wisdom with faith, which is  
decorated with both sides of his words,  
saying, 'Who then is the faithful and wise  
manager?' And again, 'Well done, good and  
faithful servant, you were faithful over a  
little, I will set you over much.' Clearly, in  
these words, he does not present  
unreasonable faith, but faith connected  
with the greatest virtues, if indeed such  
wisdom and goodness exist.

12.3.1 | For at some time, it seems to me,  
we are about to go through the earlier  
words, as the souls of those who have died  
have some power and take care of human  
affairs. These things are true, but the words  
are long and cover much. It is necessary to  
believe in the other sayings about such  
things, which are many and very old, and to  
believe that these things are true according  
to the lawgivers, unless they appear  
completely foolish.

12.3.2 | And in the book of the Maccabees,  
it is said that the prophet Jeremiah, after  
leaving this life, prayed to be seen for the  
people, showing concern for the humans on  
earth. And Plato says that it is necessary to  
believe these things too.

## Section 4

12.4.1 | "Λόγων δὲ δισσὸν εῖδος· τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ψεῦδος δὲ ἔτερον. Ναί. Παιδευτέον δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις, πρότερον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ψευδέσιν; Οὐ μανθάνω, ἔφη, πῶς λέγεις. Οὐ μανθάνεις, ἢν δ' ἔγώ, ὅτι πρῶτον τοῖς παιδίοις μύθους λέγομεν. τοῦτο δέ που ὡς τὸ ὄλον εἴπεῖν ψεῦδος, ἔνι δὲ καὶ ἀληθῆ. πρότερον δὲ μύθοις πρὸς τὰ παιδία ἥ γυμνασίοις χρώμεθα. "Εστι ταῦτα."

12.4.1 | There are two kinds of words: the true and the false. Yes. But should we educate in both, starting with the false? I do not understand, he said, how you say this. You do not understand, I said, that first we tell stories to children. This is somehow like saying that the whole is a falsehood, but there are also truths in it. Should we use myths with children or with the educated first? These things exist.

12.4.2 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις δὲ τὰς τῆς ἐνθέου γραφῆς ἴστοριάς τοῖς νηπίοις τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπλούστερον ὥσπερ τινὰς μύθους ἔθος ἐστὶ παραδιδόναι, τοῖς δ' ἔγγεγυμνασμένοις τὴν ἔξιν τὰς τῶν λόγων βαθυτέρας καὶ δογματικάς θεωρίας διὰ τῆς καλουμένης δευτερώσεως καὶ σαφηνείας τῶν λανθανόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς νοημάτων.

12.4.2 | These things Plato says. And among the Hebrews, it is a custom to teach the stories of the divine writings to young children in a simpler way, like certain myths. But to those who are educated, they give deeper and more serious teachings through what is called clarification and the revealing of hidden meanings.

## Section 5

12.5.1 | "Οὐκοῦν οἶσθ' ὅτι ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου μέγιστὸν, ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ νέῳ καὶ ἀπαλῷ ὀτωδοῦν; μάλιστα γάρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδύεται τύπος, ὃν ἂν τις βούληται ἐνσημήνασθαι ἐκάστῳ.

12.5.1 | Do you not know that the beginning of every great work is very important, especially for a young and tender person? For at that time, a form is shaped and put on, which anyone may wish to mark for each one.

12.5.2 | Κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν. "Ἄρ' οὖν ἡρδίως οὕτω παρήσομεν τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας μύθους πλασθέντας ἀκούειν τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ ἐναντίας δόξας ἐκείναις ἄς, ἐπειδὴν τελεωθῶσιν, ἔχειν οίησόμεθα δεῖν αύτούς;

12.5.2 | Therefore, we should take care. Should we easily allow the children to hear the created myths, and to take in their souls as if they were very opposite beliefs, which, when they are completed, we will think they should have?

12.5.3 | Ούδ' ὡπωστιοῦν παρήσομεν.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν,  
ἐπιστατηέον τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς, καὶ ὃν μὲν  
ἄν καλὸν μῆθον ποιήσωσιν, ἐγκριτέον, ὃν δ'  
ἀν' μὴ, ἀποκριτέον. τοὺς δ' ἐγκραθέντας  
πείσομεν τὰς τροφούς τε καὶ μητέρας  
λέγειν τοῖς παισὶ, καὶ πλάττειν τὰς ψυχὰς  
αὐτῶν τοῖς μύθοις πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ  
σώματα ταῖς χερσίν. ὃν δὲ νῦν λέγουσι  
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκβλητέον."

12.5.4 | Καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
πεφύλακτο παρ' Ἐβραίοις. οἱ γὰρ ἔχοντες  
πνεῦμα θεῖον, διακριτικὸν πνευμάτων,  
έδοκίμαζον τὰ ὄρθως καὶ ἔξ ἀγίου  
πνεύματος λεγόμενά τε καὶ γραφόμενα, τὰ  
δὲ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἀπεδοκίμαζον, ὥσπερ καὶ  
τοὺς τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν λόγους. ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς νηπίους ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν  
θείων γραφῶν ὡφελιμωτάταις διηγήσειν,  
ὥσπερ τισὶ μυθολογίαις, γονεῦσί τε καὶ  
τροφοῖς ἔθος ἦν κατεπάδειν,  
προπαρασκευῆς ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς ἄνδρας  
αὐτοῖς ἐσομένοις θεοσεβείας.

## Section 6

12.6.1 | "Ἄκουε δὴ, φασὶ, μάλα καλοῦ  
λόγου, ὃν σὺ μὲν ἡγήσῃ μῆθον, ὡς ἐγῶμαι,  
ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον· ὡς ἀληθῆ γὰρ ὅντα σοι λέξω  
ἀ μέλλω λέγειν."

12.6.2 | Καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα Τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν  
βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν  
τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα  
οἴκειν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἑκτὸς κακῶν,  
τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως  
τε καὶ δίκης δεσμήριον, ὃ δὴ Τάρταρον

12.5.3 | We should not allow this at all.

First, it seems to us that we must supervise the storytellers. We should approve the beautiful myths they create, but reject those that are not good. We will persuade those who are approved to tell the stories to the children, and to shape their souls with the myths much more than their bodies with their hands. Of those that are now spoken of, many should be thrown out.

12.5.4 | And these things were kept before Plato by the Hebrews. For those who have a divine spirit, a discerning spirit, tested what was said and written correctly and from the holy spirit, and they rejected what was not like this, just as they did with the words of false prophets. But also, for the little children, the most helpful stories from the divine writings, like certain myths, were a custom for parents and caregivers to tell, as preparation for the reverence toward the gods that would come to them as they grew into men.

12.6.1 | Listen then, they say, to a very beautiful word, which you may think is a myth, but I believe it is a true word; for I will speak to you about things that are real.

12.6.2 | And after a little while, the one who lived justly and piously, when he dies, will go to the islands of the blessed, living in all happiness, free from evils. But the one who lived unjustly and without respect will go to the place of punishment and justice,

καλοῦσιν, ίέναι."

12.6.3 | Καὶ αὖθις μετ' ὄλιγα "Ἐπειτα γυμνοὺς κριτέον ἀπάντων τούτων" τεθνεῶτας γὰρ δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. καὶ τὸν κριτὴν δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν θεωροῦντα ἔξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάστου, ἔρημον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ γῆς πάντα ἑκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δὴ δικαία ἡ κρίσις ἦ.

12.6.4 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει "Ταῦτά ἔστιν, ὡς Καλλίκλεις, ἂ ἔγώ ἀκηκοώς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι· καὶ ἕκ τούτων τῶν λόγων τοιόνδε λογίζομαι συμβαίνειν· ὁ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὧν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν διάλυσις, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν.

12.6.5 | ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαλυθῆτον, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν ἔχει τὴν ἔξιν τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἥνπερ καὶ ὅτε ἔζη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τό τε σῶμα τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ θεραπεύματα καὶ τὰ παθήματα, ἔνδηλα πάντα· οἶν, εἴ τινος ἦν μέγα τὸ σῶμα φύσει ἡ τροφῇ ἡ ἀμφότερα ζῶντος, τούτου καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγας· καὶ εἰ παχὺς, παχὺς καὶ ἀποθανόντος, καὶ τἄλλα οὕτως.

12.6.6 | καὶ εἰ αὖ ἐπετήδευε κομᾶν, κομήτης τούτου καὶ ὁ νεκρός· ἡ μαστιγίας εἴ τις ἦν, καὶ ἵχνη εἶχε τῶν πληγῶν οὐλὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἡ ὑπὸ μαστίγων, ἡ ἄλλων τραυμάτων ζῶν, καὶ τεθνεῶτος τὸ σῶμα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα ἔχον· ἡ κατεαγότα εἴ του ἦν μέλη ἡ διεστραμμένα ζῶντος, καὶ

which they call Tartarus.

12.6.3 | And again, after a little while, then all of these must be judged naked; for the dead must be judged. And the judge must be naked, seeing the soul of each one suddenly dying, alone without all their relatives and leaving behind all that world on earth, so that the judgment may be just.

12.6.4 | And from here, I bring forth, 'These are the things, oh Callicles, that I have heard and believe to be true; and from these words, I think the following follows: death is, as it seems to me, nothing other than the separation of two things, the soul and the body, from each other.'

12.6.5 | But when they are separated, each one still has its own nature, which it had when the person was alive, the body with its own nature, and all the treatments and conditions, clearly visible; for example, if someone had a large body by nature or by food or both while living, then even when the dead person dies, they are still large; and if they were fat, they are still fat after death, and so on with the others.

12.6.6 | And if again, he was accustomed to have long hair, the dead person will have long hair too; or if he had scars from whips on his body, which he received from whips or other wounds while alive, the body will still show these after death; or if any of his limbs were broken or twisted while living,

τεθνεῶτος.

they will still be broken or twisted after death.

12.6.7 | καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ, οὗτος εἶναι παρεσκεύαστο τὸ σῶμα ζῶν, ἔνδηλα ταῦτα καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἦν πάντα, ἡ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπί τινα χρόνον. ταύτὸν δή μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι, (6 Καλλίκλεις· ἔνδηλα πάντα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐπειδὰν γυμνωθῇ τοῦ σώματος, τά τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὰ παθήματα τὰ διὰ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐκάστου πράγματος, ἥν ἔσχεν ἐν τι) ψυχῇ ἄνθρωπος.

12.6.7 | And in a word, whatever the body was prepared to be while living, all these things are clearly visible after death, or for a long time. It seems to me that the same is true for the soul, oh Callicles; all things are clearly present in the soul when it is stripped of the body, both its nature and the experiences that each person had while alive.

12.6.8 | ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἀφίκωνται παρὰ τὸν δικαστὴν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ασίας παρὰ τὸν Ραδάμανθυν, ὁ Παδάμαθυς ἐκείνους ἐπιστήσας θεᾶται ἐκάστου ψυχῆν, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτου ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἡ ἄλλου διουοῦν βασιλέως ἡ δυνάστου, κατεῖδεν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὃν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ διαμεμαστιγωμένην καὶ οὐλῶν μεστὴν ὑπὸ ἐπιορκιῶν καὶ ἀδικίας, ἢ ἐκάστη ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτοῦ ἔξωμόρχατο εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πάντα σκολιὰ ὑπὸ ψεύδους καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ οὐδὲν εὐθὺν διὰ τὸ ἄνευ ἀληθείας τετράφθαι· καὶ ὑπὸ ἔξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀκρατείας τῶν πράξεων ἀσυμμετρίας τε καὶ αἰσχρότητος γέμουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἴδεν· ίδων δὲ ἀτίμως αὐτὴν ἀπέπεμψεν εὐθὺν τῆς φρουρᾶς, οἱ μέλλει ἐλθοῦσα ἀνατλῆναι τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη.

12.6.8 | When they arrive before the judge, those from Asia go to Rhadamanthus, who examines each soul, not knowing whose it is. But often, he seizes the great king or some other king or ruler and sees nothing healthy in the soul, but rather it is beaten and full of wounds from perjury and injustice, which each action has branded on the soul. Everything is twisted by lies and arrogance, and nothing is straight because it has been raised without truth. He sees the soul filled with the excesses of power, luxury, arrogance, and lack of self-control, as well as the imbalance and shame of its actions. After seeing this, he sends it away without honor, for it is about to face the appropriate punishments.

12.6.9 | προσήκει δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἐν τιμωρίᾳ ὅντι ὑπὸ ἄλλου ὄρθως τιμωρουμένῳ ἢ βελτίονι γίγνεσθαι καὶ ὄνινασθαι, ἢ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα ἄλλοι δρῶντες πάσχοντα ἢ ἀν πάσχῃ

12.6.9 | It is fitting for anyone who is being punished by another to be rightly punished or to become better, or to serve as an example to others, so that others, seeing what they suffer, may become afraid and

φοβούμενοι βελτόνς γίνωνται.

improve.

12.6.10 | είσι δὲ οἵ μὲν ὀφελούμενοί τε καὶ δίκην διδόντες ὑπὸ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὗτοι οἵ ἀνάσιμα ἀμαρτήματα ἀμάρτωσιν, ὅμως δὲ δὲλ' ἀλγηδόνων καὶ ὁδυνῶν γίγνεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ὀφέλεια καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀΐδου· οὐδὲ γάρ οἶόν τε ἄλλως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

12.6.10 | There are those who are both helped and punished by gods and humans, those who commit healable wrongs. Yet, their benefit comes through pains and sufferings, both here and in Hades; for it is not possible to be freed in any other way.

12.6.11 | οἵ δέ ἀν τὰ ἔσχατα ἀδικήσωσι καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικήματα ἀνίατοι γένωνται, ἐκ τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα γίγνεται, καὶ οὗτοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ὀνίνανται οὐδὲν, ἀτε ἀνίατοι ὄντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ὀνίνανται οἵ τούτους ὄρωντες διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁδυνηρότατα καὶ φοβερώτατα πάθη πάσχοντας τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀτεχνῶς παραδείγματα ἀνηρτημένους ἔκει ἐν Ἀΐδου ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἀφικνουμένοις θεάματα καὶ νουθετήματα.

12.6.11 | But those who commit the worst injustices and become incurable because of such wrongs serve as examples. These individuals no longer benefit at all, being incurable, while others benefit by seeing them suffer the greatest, most painful, and most terrifying punishments for all time. They are clearly displayed as examples there in Hades, in the prison, for those who continually arrive to witness the fates and warnings of the unjust.

12.6.12 | ὃν ἔγώ φημι ἵνα καὶ Ἀρχέλαον ἔσεσθαι εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγει Πῶλος, καὶ ἄλλος ὅστις ἀν τοιοπῦτος τύραννος ἦ. οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴναι τούτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἐκ τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πραξάντων γεγονότας· οὗτοι γάρ διὰ τὴν ἔξουσίαν μέγιστα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ἀμαρτήματα ἀμαρτάνουσι.

12.6.12 | I say this to show that Archelaus will be such if Polus speaks the truth, and anyone else who is a tyrant like him. I also think there are many examples of this from tyrants, kings, and rulers, as well as from those who act in cities; for these people commit the greatest and most wicked wrongs because of their power.

12.6.13 | μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ὅμηρος. βασιλέας γάρ καὶ δυνάστας ἔκεινος πεποίηκε τοὺς ἐν Ἀΐδου τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τιμωρουμένους, Τάνταλον καὶ Σίσυφον καὶ Τίτυον. Θερσίτην δὲ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος

12.6.13 | Homer also bears witness to this. For he made kings and rulers in Hades always being punished, like Tantalus, Sisyphus, and Tityus. But for Thersites, and anyone else who was a wicked commoner,

πονηρὸς ἦν ἴδιωτης, οὐδεὶς πεποίηκε μεγάλαις τιμωρίαις συνεχόμενον ὡς ἀνίατον· οὐ γάρ, οἴμαι, ἔξῆν αὐτῷ· διὸ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἦν ἢ οῖς ἔξην.

12.6.14 | ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἐκ τῶν δυναμένων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ σφόδρα πονηροὶ γιγνόμενοι ἄνθρωποι· ούδε μὴν κωλύει καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγγίγνεσθαι· καὶ σφόδρα γε ἄξιον ἄγασθαι τῶν γιγνομένων. χαλεπὸν γάρ, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, καὶ πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιον, ἐν μεγάλῃ ἔξουσίᾳ γενόμενον τοῦ ἀδικεῖν δικαίως διαβιῶναι· ὅλιγοι δὲ γίγνονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἄλλοθι γεγόνασιν, οἴμαι δὲ ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλοι ἀγαθοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ δικαίως διαχειρίζειν ἃ ἂν τις ἐπιτρέπῃ.

12.6.15 | εἰς δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐλλόγιμος γέγονε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας, Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ, 09 ἄριστε, κακοὶ γίνονται. τῶν δὲ δικαστῶν, ὅπερ ἔλεγον, ἐπειδὴν ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἐκεῖνος τοιοῦτόν τινα λάβῃ, ἄλλο μὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲν, οὕθ' ὅστις οὕθ' ὃν τινῶν, ὅτι δὲ πονηρός τις· καὶ τοῦτο κατιδών ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Τάρταρον, ἐπισημηνάμενος ἐάν τε ίάσιμος ἐάν τε ἀνίατος δοκῇ εῖναι.

12.6.16 | ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τὰ προσήκοντα πάσχει. ἐνίοτε δὲ ἄλλην είσιδὼν δοσίως βεβιωκυῖαν καὶ μετ' ἀληθείας ἀνδρὸς ἴδιωτου ἥ ἄλλου τινὸς ψυχῆν, μάλιστα μὲν, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, φιλοσόφου τὰ αὐτοῦ πράξαντος καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονήσαντος ὃς ἐν τῷ βίῳ) ἡγάσθη τε καὶ εἰς μακάρων

no one made him suffer great punishments as if he were incurable; for I think it was not possible for him. Therefore, he was happier than those who were punished.

12.6.14 | But indeed, oh Callicles, among those who have power, there are also very wicked people. Yet it does not prevent good men from being born among them; and they are truly worthy of great admiration. For it is difficult, oh Callicles, and deserving of much praise, to live justly while having great power to do wrong. But very few become such people; for both here and elsewhere, I think there will be other good ones who will manage this virtue of acting justly as long as someone allows it.

12.6.15 | And indeed, Aristides the son of Lysimachus has become very respected among the other Greeks. But most people, oh best one, become bad. As for the judges, what I was saying is that when that Rhadamanthus catches someone like this, he knows nothing else about him, neither who he is nor what he has done, except that he is wicked. And seeing this, he sends him down to Tartarus, indicating whether he seems to be curable or incurable.

12.6.16 | But when he arrives there, he suffers what is fitting. Sometimes, seeing another soul that has lived piously and truthfully, especially, as I say, oh Callicles, the soul of a philosopher who has acted for himself and not meddled in others' affairs, he is honored and sent to the islands of the

νήσους ἀπέπεμψε.

blessed.

12.6.17 | ταύτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Αἴακός· ἐκάτερος δὲ τούτων ῥάβδον ἔχων δικάζει. ὁ δὲ Μίνως ἐπισκοπῶν κάθηται μόνος, ἔχων χρύσεον σκῆπτρον, ὡς φησιν Ὁδυσσεὺς ὁ Ὄμηρος ίδεῖν αὐτὸν, χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσιν.

12.6.17 | The same is true for Aeacus; each of them judges with a staff. Minos, however, sits alone, watching, holding a golden scepter, as Odysseus says in Homer, seeing him with a golden scepter, giving laws to the dead.

12.6.18 | ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὅτι Καλλίκλεις, ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων πέπεισμαι, καὶ σκοπῶ ὅπως ἀποφανοῦμαι τῷ κριτῇ ὡς ὑγιεστάτην τὴν ψυχήν. χαίρειν οὖν ἔάσας τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκῶν, πειράσομαι τῷ ὄντι, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι, βέλτιστος ὅν καὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀποθνήσκω ἀποθνήσκειν.

12.6.18 | I am convinced, oh Callicles, by these words, and I look for a way to show the judge that my soul is the healthiest. Therefore, letting go of the honors of most people, I will practice the truth, trying to be the best I can, both in living and, when I die, in dying.

12.6.19 | παρακαλῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καθ' ὅσον δύναμαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ σὲ ἀντιπαρακαλῶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, ὃν ἐγὼ φημι ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν ἐνθάδε ἀγώνων εἶναι

12.6.19 | I also urge all other people, as much as I can; and indeed, I especially urge you to this life and this struggle, which I say is greater than all the contests here.

12.6.20 | καὶ ὄνειδίζω σε, ὅτι οὐχ οἶός τε εἴσαι τῷ βοηθῆσαι, ὅταν ἡ δίκη σοι ἦται καὶ ἡ κρίσις, ἦν νῦν ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ ἔλθων παρὰ τὸν δικαστὴν ἔκεινον, τὸν τῆς Αἰγίνης υἱὸν, ἐπειδάν σου ἐπιλαβόμενος ἔκεινος ἄγῃ, χασμήσῃ καὶ ἥλιγγιάσεις οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡ ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε καὶ σὺ ἔκει, καί σε ἵσως τυπτήσει εἰ τις καὶ ἐπὶ κόρρης ἀτίμως καὶ πάντως προπηλακιεῖ·”

12.6.20 | And I blame you for not being able to help yourself when the trial and judgment are against you, which I just mentioned. But when you go to that judge, the son of Aegina, if he takes hold of you, you will yawn and feel dizzy no less than I do here and you do there, and he might even hit you if someone insults you and treats you badly.

12.6.21 | Τάχα δ' οὖν ταντὶ μῆθός σοι δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι ὕσπερ ὑπὸ γραὸς, καὶ

12.6.21 | Perhaps you think these words are just stories, like those told by an old

καταφρονεῖς αύτῶν. καὶ οὐδέν γ' ἄν ἦν θαυμαστὸν καταφρονεῖν τούτων, εἴ πη ζητοῦντες εἴχομεν αύτῶν βελτίω καὶ ἀληθέστερα εὐρεῖν.

12.6.22 | νῦν δὲ ὅρᾶς ὅτι τρεῖς ὄντες ὑμεῖς, οἵπερ σοφώτατοί ἔστε τῶν νῦν Ἐλλήνων, σύ τε καὶ Πόλος καὶ Γοργίας, οὐκ ἔχετε ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς δεῖ ἄλλον τινὰ βίον ζῆν ἢ τοῦτον ὅσπερ καὶ ἐκεῖσε φαίνεται συμφέρων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοσούτοις λόγοις, τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεγχομένων, μόνοις οὗτος ἡρεμεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὡς εὐλαβητέον ἔστι τὸ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀνδρὶ μελετητέον οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ ίδιᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ.”

12.6.23 | 'Ο μὲν δὴ Πλάτων' τὸν Αἴακὸν καὶ τὸν Μίνωνταν τὸν Ραδάμανθυν ὑπέθετο τῶν τετελευτηκότων δικαστὰς ἔσεσθαι, ὃ δὲ θεῖος λόγος μαρτύρεται πάντας δεῖν παραστήσεσθαι τῷ βῆματι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα κομίσηται ἔκαστος τὰ διὰ τοὺς σώματος πρὸς ἄξενον, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον.

12.6.24 | καὶ πάλιν "ἐν ἡμέρᾳ φησὶν) ὅταν κρίνῃ ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃς ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι ζωὴν αἰώνιον, τοῖς δ' ἔξ έριθείας καὶ ἀπιστοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, θυμὸς καὶ ὄργη θλῖψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακὸν, Τουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ "Ἐλληνος· οὐ γάρ ἔστι διαστολή."

woman, and you look down on them. And it wouldn't be surprising to look down on these things if we could find better and truer ones.

12.6.22 | Now you see that you three, who are the wisest of the Greeks today— you, Polos, and Gorgias— cannot show that anyone should live a different life than this one, which seems to be better over there. But in such words, while the others are being challenged, this one alone remains calm, saying that it is more careful to do wrong than to be wronged, and that a man should focus not on appearing good, but on being good, both in private and in public.

12.6.23 | Indeed, Plato suggested that Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus would be judges of the dead, but the divine word testifies that all must stand before the throne of God, and each will bring with them what they did through their body, whether good or bad.

12.6.24 | And again, on the day when God judges the hidden things of men, he will give each one according to their deeds. To those who seek glory, honor, and immortality through patience in doing good, he will give eternal life. But to those who are selfish and do not trust the truth, who are persuaded by wrongdoing, there will be anger, wrath, trouble, and distress for every soul of man who does evil, both Jew first and Greek; for there is no distinction.

## Section 7

12.7.1 | "Εύλαβοῦ μέντοι μή ποτε ἐκπέσῃ ταῦτα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαιδεύτους· σχεδὸν γάρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἔστι τούτων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καταγελαστότερα ἀκούσματα, οὐδὲ αὖ πρὸς τοὺς εὐφυεῖς θαυμαστότερά τε καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικώτερα. πολλάκις δὲ λεγόμενα καὶ ἀεὶ ἀκουόμενα καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη μόγις, ὥσπερ χρυσὸς, ἐκκαθαίρεται μετὰ πολλῆς πραγματείας."

12.7.1 | Be careful that these things do not fall into the hands of uneducated people; for, as it seems to me, there are no more laughable things to the many than these, nor are there more wonderful and inspiring things to the clever. Often said and always heard, and for many years, like gold, they are purified after much effort.

## Section 8

12.8.1 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήριος λόγος φησὶ "μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἄγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ βάλλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων." καὶ "ὸ ψυχικὸς γάρ ἀνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ· μωρία γάρ αὐτῷ ἔστι." "Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς, ὅπόταν καλοὶ ἐν ψυχῆλόγοι ἐνόντες μηδὲν ποιῶσι πλέον, ἀλλὰ δὴ τούτοις πᾶν τούναντίον. ταύτας πάσας ἀμαθίας τὰς πλημμελεστάτας ἔγωγ' ἀν Θείην πόλεως τε καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰς τῶν δημιουργῶν, εἰ ἄρα μου καταμανθάνετε, ὡς ξένοι, ὃ λέγω. Μανθάνομέν γε, ὡς φίλε, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν ἀ λέγεις.

12.8.1 | And among us, the saving word says, 'Do not give what is holy to dogs, nor throw your pearls before pigs.' For the natural man does not accept the things of the Spirit of God; they are foolishness to him. And indeed, when a man, who is wise in soul, does nothing more, but rather does the opposite, I would call all these kinds of ignorance the most serious, both of the city and of each citizen, but not of the creators, if you would understand what I say, O strangers. We are learning, my friend, and we agree with what you say.

12.8.2 | Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν οὕτω κείσθω δεδογμένον καὶ λεγόμενον, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτα ἀμαθαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ούδὲν ἐπιτρεπτέον ἀρχῆς ἔχόμενον καὶ λεγόμενον] καὶ ὡς ἀμαθέσιν ὄνειδιστέον, ἀν καὶ πάνυ λογιστικοί τε ὦσι καὶ πάντα τὰ κομψὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τάχος τῆς ψυχῆς πεφυκότα διαπεπονημένοι ἀπαντα, τοὺς δὲ τούναντίον ἔχοντας τούτοις ὡς σοφούς τε προσρητέον, ἀν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον μήτε

12.8.2 | Let this then be established and said in such a way that nothing should be allowed to those citizens who are ignorant of these things, and that they should be blamed for their ignorance, even if they are very logical and skilled in all things that relate to the quickness of the soul. But those who have the opposite views should be called wise, even if they do not know letters or music, and the principles should

γράμματα μήτε νεῦν ἐπιστῶνται, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς δοτέον ὡς ἔμφροστι.

12.8.3 | πῶς γὰρ ἀν, ὡ φίλοι, ἄνευ συμφωνίας γένοιτ' ἀν φρονήσεως καὶ τὸ σμικρότατον εἶδος; οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἡ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ξυμφωνιῶν μεγίστη δικαιούτατα λέγοιτ' ἀν σοφίᾳ, ἵς ὁ μὲν κατὰ λόγον ζῶν μέτοχος, ὁ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενος οἰκοφθόρος καὶ περὶ πόλιν οὐδαμῆ σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τούναντίον ἀμαθαίνων εἰς ταῦτα ἐκάστοτε φανεῖται."

12.8.4 | Ταῦτα μέν μοι ἀπὸ τῶν Νόμων κείσθω. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν Πολιτικῷ περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάνυ τι περὶ τὰ ὄνόματα καὶ τάς λέξεις σπουδάζειν τάδε φησί "Καλῶς, ὡ Σώκρατες· κἀν διαφυλάξῃς τὸ μὴ σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄνόμασι, πλουσιώτερος εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναφανήσῃ φρονήσεως."

## Section 9

12.9.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφῆς πρῶτον εἰσαγούσης Μωσέα παραιτούμενον τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ προστασίαν δι' ὃν πρὸς τὸν χρηματίζοντα ἔφησε "δέομαι, κύριε, προχείρισαι ἄλλον τὸν δυνάμενον, ὃν ἀποστελεῖς," καπειτα τὸν Σαοὺλ κρυπταζόμενον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὸν προφήτην Ἰερεμίαν ὑποπαραιτούμενον, ἐπάκουουσον ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τὸ εὔλογον τῆς παραιτήσεως συνίστησι, λέγων οὕτως

12.9.2 | "Οὐκοῦν, ὡ Θρασύμαχε, τοῦτο ἥδη

be given as if they are wise.

12.8.3 | For how, my friends, could there be even the smallest kind of understanding without agreement? It cannot be. But the most beautiful and greatest of agreements could rightly be called wisdom, of which one person lives according to reason, while the other, being left behind, is a destroyer and in no way a savior for the city, but rather, the opposite, becoming ignorant of these things each time.

12.8.4 | Let these things be established for me from the Laws. The same person also says in the Politics that one should not pay too much attention to names and words. He says, 'Well said, Socrates; if you manage to avoid focusing on names, you will appear richer in understanding as you grow older.'

12.9.1 | When Moses first introduced the writing among the Hebrews, he asked to be excused from the leadership of the people. To the one who was giving him money, he said, 'I beg you, Lord, choose another who is able, whom you will send.' Then Saul, hiding so that he would not accept the kingship, and the prophet Jeremiah, also asking to be excused, listen to how Plato supports the reasonableness of such excuses, saying this.

12.9.2 | Therefore, O Thrasymachus, it is

δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδεμία τέχνη ούδε ἀρχὴ τὸ αὐτῇ ὠφέλιμον παρασκευάζει, ἀλλ', ὅπερ πάλαι ἐλέγομεν, τὸ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ καὶ παρασκευάζει καὶ ἐπιτάττει, τὸ ἔκείνου συμφέρον ἐλάττονος ὄντος σκοποῦσα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος.

already clear that no art or authority prepares what is beneficial for itself, but rather, as we said before, it prepares and commands what is for the benefit of the one being ruled, considering what is less important, and not what is for the greater good.

12.9.3 | διὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἔγωγε, ὡς φίλε Θρασύμαχε, καὶ ἄρτι ἔλεγον μηδένα ἔθέλειν ἐκόντα ἀρχειν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἐπανορθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ μισθὸν αἴτεῖν, ὅτι ὁ μέλλων καλῶς τῇ τέχνῃ πράξειν οὐδέποθ' ἐσταύτῳ τὸ βέλτιστον πράττει ούδ' ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τέχνην ἐπιτάττων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ. ὃν δὴ ἔνεκα, ὡς ἔοικε, μισθὸν δεῖ ὑπάρχειν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἔθελήσειν ἀρχειν, ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ τιμὴν, ἢ ζημίαν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀρχῇ.

12.9.3 | Because of this, my friend Thrasymachus, I just said that no one wants to willingly rule and handle the troubles of others to fix them, but instead asks for a reward. The one who is going to act well in the art never does what is best for himself, nor does he command according to the art, but rather for the one being ruled. For this reason, it seems that there must be a reward for those who are willing to rule, whether it is money, honor, or punishment if they do not rule.

## Section 10

12.10.1 | Τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις λογίων τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας ὕβρεις ἐσχάτας καὶ προπηλακισμοὺς πάντα τε κίνδυνον εὐθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι διδασκόντων, τὰ συνωδὰ τῆς Πλάτωνος καὶ περὶ τούτου δόξης μάθοις ἀν ἀπὸ τῶνδε αὐτοῦ τῶν φωνῶν, ἃς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τέθειται τῆς Πολιτείας

12.10.1 | Among the Hebrews, the writings teach that the prophets and righteous men bravely endure the worst insults and all dangers. You would learn about this from the songs of Plato and his ideas on this matter from these very words, which are found in the second book of the Republic.

12.10.2 | "Τὸν δ' οὖν τοιοῦτον θέντες τὸν δίκαιον αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτὸν ιστῶμεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἄνδρα ἀπλοῦν καὶ γενναῖον, κατ' Αἰσχύλον οὐ δοκεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἔθέλοντα. ἀφαιρετέον δὲ τὸ δοκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ δόξει δίκαιος εἶναι, ἔσονται αὐτῷ τιμαὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ δοκοῦντι τοιούτῳ εἶναι. ἄδηλον

12.10.2 | Now, let us set up the just man as described by him, a simple and noble man, who does not seem to be good according to Aeschylus, but rather wants to be good. We must remove the appearance of goodness. For if he seems to be just, he will receive honors and gifts that make him seem that

ούν είτε τοῦ δικαίου είτε τῶν δωρεῶν τε καὶ τιμῶν ἔνεκα τοιοῦτος εἴη.

12.10.3 | γυμνωτέος δὴ πάντων πλὴν δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ποιητέος ἐναντίως διακείμενος τῷ προτέρῳ· μηδὲν γάρ ἀδικῶν δόξαν ἔχετω τῆς μεγίστης ἀδικίας, ἵνα βεβασανισμένος ἢ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, τῷ μὴ τέγγεσθαι ὑπὸ κακοδοξίας καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς γιγνομένων ἀλλ' ἔστω ἀμετάστατος μέχρι θανάτου, δοκῶν μὲν εἶναι ἄδικος διὰ βίου, ὃν δὲ δίκαιος."

12.10.4 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει "Λεκτέον οὖν· καὶ δὴ, κάν ἀγροικοτέρως λέγηται, μὴ ἐμὲ οἶου λέγειν, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας πρὸ δικαιοσύνης ἀδικίαν. ἐροῦσι δὲ τάδε, ὅτι οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκοπήσεται τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθῶν ἀνασκινδυνευθήσεται, καὶ γνώσεται ὅτι οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν δεῖ ἐθέλειν."

12.10.5 | Ταῦτα λόγοις ὁ Πλάτων· ἔργοις δὲ πολὺ πρότερον οἱ παρ' Ἐβραίοις δίκαιοι καὶ προφῆται μνημονεύονται τὰ εἰρημένα πάντα πεπονθέναι, οἱ γε δικαιότατοι ὅντες ὡς ἀδικώτατοι "έλιθάσθησαν, ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον, περιηλθον ἐν μηλωταῖς καὶ αἰγείοις δέρμασιν, ὑστερούμενοι, θλιβόμενοι, κακουχούμενοι, ἐν ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι καὶ ὅρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὄπαῖς τῆς γῆς, ὃν οὐκ ἦν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος."

way. It is unclear whether he is just or if he is such because of the gifts and honors.

12.10.3 | Let him be stripped of everything except justice, and let him be in the opposite state from before. For he should not have the appearance of wrongdoing, which is the greatest injustice, so that he may be tortured into justice, without being affected by bad opinions and the things that come from them. But let him remain unchanging until death, appearing to be unjust throughout his life, while actually being just.

12.10.4 | And after a short time, he adds, 'So let us speak. And indeed, even if it is said more roughly, do not think that I am speaking about myself, Socrates, but about those who praise injustice instead of justice. They will say this: that in this state, the just man will be whipped, twisted, bound, and have his eyes gouged out. After suffering all these evils, he will be revealed to not be just, but will want to seem that way.'

12.10.5 | These are the words of Plato. But in actions, much earlier, I see that among the Hebrews, the just and the prophets are remembered to have suffered all these things. They, being the most just, were treated as the most unjust. They were stoned, sawed in half, and died by the sword. They wandered in sheepskins and goatskins, lacking, troubled, and mistreated, roaming in deserts, mountains, caves, and the holes of the earth, of whom

the world was not worthy.

12.10.6 | καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν ἀνωτάτω δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ εὔσέβειαν μετιόντες, δόξαν δὲ ἀδικίας παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιβαλλόμενοι, ὅποια ἔπασχον αὐτῶν πάρεστιν ἐπακοῦσαι λεγόντων "θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἄγγελοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις." καὶ "μέχρι τῆς ἥρτι ὥρας καὶ πεινῶμεν καὶ διψῶμεν καὶ γυμνητεύομεν καὶ κολαφιζόμεθα καὶ ἀστατοῦμεν· λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν, διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα, δυσφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν· ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν."

12.10.6 | And the apostles of our savior, while sharing in the highest justice and piety, were surrounded by the appearance of injustice among many. What they suffered is clear from their words: 'We have become a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men.' And 'until this very hour, we hunger and thirst, we are naked, we are beaten, and we wander. Being insulted, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being slandered, we encourage. We have become like the scum of the world.'

12.10.7 | ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσέτι δεῦρο οἱ γενναῖοι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μάρτυρες καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι δίκαιοι τε καὶ εὔσεβεῖς ἀσκοῦντες ὅσα δὴ κατέλεξεν ὁ Πλάτων<sup>1</sup> πεπόνθασιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔμαστιγώθησαν, δεσμά τε καὶ στρέβλας ὑπέμειναν, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἔξεκόπησαν τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ, καὶ τέλος πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παθόντες ἀνεσκινδυλεύθησαν. ὃν οὐδένα παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἐπιζητήσας ὅμοιον ἀν εὗροις, ὡς εἰκότως τινὰ φάναι τὸν φιλόσοφον ούδεν ἔτερον ἡ θεσπίσαι διὰ τούτων περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν διαπρεπόντων ἐν εὔσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθεῖ δικαιοσύνῃ.

12.10.7 | But even here, the noble witnesses of our savior throughout the whole world of humanity do not seek to seem just, but to be just and pious, suffering all that Plato has described. For they were whipped, endured chains and torture, and even had their eyes cut out. Finally, after suffering all these terrible things, they were revealed. Among the Greeks, you would find no one comparable to them, as it is reasonable to say that the philosopher has nothing else to declare about those among us who excel in piety and true justice.

## Section 11

12.11.1 | Μώσεως κατά τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως θεοῦ τινα παράδεισον γεγονέναι φάντος, κάν τούτω τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἡπατῆσθαι διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τοῦ ὄφεως, ἀντικρυς μονονουχὶ τὰ βήματα μεταποιήσας ὁ

12.11.1 | Moses, in some hidden words, said that at the beginning of the world's creation, God made a paradise, and in this, man was deceived through the woman by the serpent. Plato, changing only the words, responded in the Symposium, where he

Πλάτων' ἐπάκουσον οἶα ἐν Συμποσίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλληγορῶν τέθεικεν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ παραδείσου τοῦ θεοῦ κῆπον Δῖός ὄνομάσας, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄφεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἀπάτης Πενίαν ἐπιβούλευσαν ὑποθέμενος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μῆτίς τε καὶ πρόνοια υἱὸν ὅσπερ ἀρτιγενῆ προυβέβλητο, υἱὸν Μήτιδος Πόρου ἀποκαλέσας, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ φάναι, δηπνίκα συνίστατο ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπὼν, οὕτω τὸν κόσμον ἀλληγορήσας τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν κάλλους ἔνεκα. λέγει δ' οὗν αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι τάδε

himself set forth allegories. Instead of God's paradise, he named a garden of Zeus, and instead of the serpent and the deception that happened to him, he suggested a plot of Poverty. Instead of the first man, whom God's wisdom and providence had just brought forth, he called the son of Metis, Poros. And instead of saying that when this world was formed, Aphrodite came into being, he spoke of the world as an allegory for the beauty around it. Therefore, he says to them these words.

12.11.2 | "Οτε ἐγένετο ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰστιῶντο οἵ θεοί, οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τῆς Μήτιδος υἱὸς Πόρος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν, προσαιτήσουσα, οἶα δὴ εὐωχίας οὔσης, ἀφίκετο ἡ Πενία, καὶ ἦν περὶ τὰς θύρας. ὁ οὗν Πόρος μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος γὰρ οὕπω ἦν, είς τὸν τοῦ Δῖός κῆπον εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος εῦδεν. ἡ οὗν Πενία ἐπιβούλευσα διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπορίαν παιδίον ποιήσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ Πόρου κατακλίνεται τε παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκύησε τὸν Ἐρωτα." Τοιαῦτα μὲν δή τινα καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁ Πλάτων' ἐμφερῶς Μωσεῖ ὑπηνίξατο.

12.11.2 | "When Aphrodite was born, the gods were feasting, including the son of Metis, Poros. After they had dined, as the feast was happening, Poverty arrived and stood by the doors. So, Poros, being drunk from the nectar (for there was no wine yet), entered the garden of Zeus and fell asleep. Poverty, wanting to create a child from Poros because of her own lack, lay down beside him and conceived Eros." In this way, Plato hinted at something similar to Moses.

## Section 12

12.12.1 | Πάλιν είρηκότος Μώσεως "Ἄδην οὐκ ἦν βοηθὸς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔκστασιν σὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ὑπνωσε, καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς. καὶ ὡκοδόμησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευρὰν, ἦν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, εἰς γυναῖκα," μὴ συνεῖς ὁ Πλάτων' οἴᾳ εἴρηται διανοίᾳ δῆλος μέν ἔστιν οὐκ ἀγνοήσας τὸν λόγον,

12.12.1 | Again, Moses said, 'But for Adam, there was not found a helper suitable for him. And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and took one of his ribs and filled up the flesh in its place. And the Lord God made the rib that he had taken from Adam into a woman.' Plato, not unaware of this saying, clearly shows that he understood the meaning. However,

Ἄριστοφάνει δ' αύτὸν, οἶα κωμῳδῶ  
χλευάζειν είωθότι καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν  
πραγμάτων, ἀνατίθησιν, ἐν Συμποσίῳ τάδε  
λέγοντα αὐτὸν εἰσάγων

Aristophanes, as is usual for him in comedy, mocks and presents the serious matters in the Symposium, saying these things while introducing him.

12.12.2 | Δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον ὑμᾶς μαθεῖν τὴν  
ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτῆς.  
ἡ γὰρ πάλαι ἡμῶν φύσις οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν  
ἥπερ νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τρία  
ἦν τὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν  
δύο, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον  
προσῆν κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, οὐ νῦν  
ὄνομα λοιπὸν, αὐτὸ δὲ ἡφάνισται·  
ἀνδρόγυνον γὰρ τότε μὲν ἦν καὶ εἶδος καὶ  
ὄνομα ἔξ ἀμφοτέρων κοινὸν, τοῦ τε  
ἄρρενος καὶ τοῦ θήλεος."

12.12.2 | You must first learn about human nature and its feelings. For our nature was not the same in the past as it is now, but different. There were originally three kinds of humans, not just the two we have now, male and female, but a third kind that was common to both of these. This kind no longer has a name, and it has disappeared. For there used to be a being called androgynous, which was a form and name shared by both male and female.

12.12.3 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς διασύρας τὰ αύτῷ  
συνήθῃ ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Ταῦτ' είπων ὁ  
παρ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἔτεμνε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
δίχα, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ὥτα τέμνοντες καὶ  
μέλλοντες ταριχεύειν, ἡ ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ώὰ  
ταῖς θριξίν. ὅντινα δὲ τέμοι, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
ἐκέλευε τὸ τε πρόσωπον μεταστρέψειν καὶ  
τὸ τοῦ αὐχένος ἥμισυ πρὸς τὴν τομὴν, ἵνα  
θεώμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ τμῆσιν κοσμιώτερος  
εἴη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ίᾶσθαι  
ἐκέλευεν.

12.12.3 | Then, continuing, he said the usual things about him: 'After saying this, Zeus cut humans in two, just as one cuts the ears of grain and prepares to preserve them, or just as those who cut eggs with hair. Whoever he cut, he ordered Apollo to turn the face around and to make half of the neck face the cut, thinking that the person would be more beautiful with this division, and he ordered to heal the rest.'

## Section 13

12.13.1 | Μώσεως τὸν πρῶτον τῶν  
γηγενῶν βίον ὑπογράψαντος ἐν  
παραδείσῳ θεοῦ γεγονέναι, θεόν τε αὐτῶν  
ἡγεῖσθαι ἐν ἀχρημάτῳ καὶ ἀκτήμονι  
διαγωγῇ, ἀσπαρτά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνήροτα  
πάντα φύεσθαι, γυμνούς τε εἶναι τῆς μετὰ  
ταῦτα περιβολῆς, ἐπάκουοντον τοῦ  
φιλοσόφου μονονουχὶ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα

12.13.1 | Moses, after describing the life of the first humans as being in the paradise of God, says that they lived without wealth and in a land without ownership, and that everything grew without planting, and they were naked without any clothing. Listen to the philosopher, who alone translates these things into the Greek language. He says

Έλληνικῇ b τῇ φωνῇ διερμηνεύοντος. λέγει  
δ' οὖν

12.13.2 | "Θεὸς ἔνεμεν αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς  
ἐπιστατῶν, καθάπερ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ζῶον  
ὅν ἔτερον θειότερον, ἀλλα γένη φαυλότερα  
αὐτῶν νομεύουσι. νέμοντος δ' ἐκείνου  
πολιτεῖαι τε οὐκ ἥσαν ούδε κτήσεις  
γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἐκ γῆς γὰρ  
ἀνεβιώσκοντο πάντες, ούδεν μεμνημένοι  
τῶν πρόσθεν ·) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἀπῆν  
πάντα, καρποὺς δὲ ἀφθόνους εἶχον ἀπό τε  
δένδρων δρῶν καὶ πολλῆς ὕλης, οὐχ ὑπὸ<sup>τούτων</sup>  
γεωργίας φυομένους, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτης  
ἀναδιδούσης τῆς γῆς. γυμνοὶ δὲ καὶ  
ἄστρωτοι, θυραυλοῦντες τὰ πολλὰ  
ἐνέμοντο. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ὡρῶν αὐτοῖς ἄλυπον  
ἐκέρατο, μαλακᾶς δὲ εύνάς εἶχον,  
ἀναφυομένης ἐκ γῆς πόας ἀφθόνου. τὸν δὴ  
βίον, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἀκούεις μὲν τὸν τῶν ἐπὶ<sup>τούτων</sup>  
Κρόνου· τόνδε δ', ὡς λόγος ἐπὶ Δῆός εἶναι,  
τὸν νῦν, παρὼν αὐτὸς ἥσθησαι.

therefore...

12.13.2 | God himself provided for them,  
just as humans do now, being a different  
kind of living being, while other lesser  
kinds are ruled by them. In that time, there  
were no cities or possessions of women  
and children; for all lived from the earth,  
not remembering anything from before.  
But all such things were absent, and they  
had abundant fruits from trees and much  
wood, not grown by farming, but the earth  
giving freely. They were naked and without  
beds, living mostly in the open. For the  
seasons brought them no trouble, and they  
had soft beds made from the abundant  
grass that grew from the earth. So,  
Socrates, you hear about the life of those in  
the time of Cronus; this one, as the story  
goes, is said to be in the time of Zeus, which  
you yourself have experienced.

## Section 14

12.14.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως ἀναγράψαντος ὅτι  
ἥν ὁ ὄφις φρονιμώτερος πάντων τῶν  
θηρίων, οἵᾳ τε εἴπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἡ  
γυνὴ τῷ ὄφει, καὶ τὰς ὄμιλας τοῦ ὄφεως  
ἐκθεμένου, ὁ Πλάτων' οἴα γράφει  
ἐπάκουουσον

12.14.1 | Again, after Moses wrote that the  
serpent was wiser than all the animals, he  
described what the serpent said to the  
woman and what the woman said to the  
serpent, and he explained the  
conversations of the serpent. Plato writes  
something like this, listen.

12.14.2 | "Εἴ μὲν τοίνυν οἱ τρόφιμοι τοῦ  
Κρόνου, παρούσης αὐτοῖς οὕτω πολλῆς  
σχολῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον  
ἄνθρωποις, ἀλλ' καὶ θηρίοις διὰ λόγων  
δύνασθαι ξυγγίνεσθαι, κατεχρῶντο  
τούτοις σύμπασιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, μετά τε

12.14.2 | If then the followers of Cronus,  
having so much leisure and power, were  
able to communicate not only with humans  
but also with animals through words, they  
used all of this for philosophy, talking with  
both animals and each other, and asking

θηρίων καὶ μετ' ἄλλήλων ὄμιλοῦντες, καὶ πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ πάσης φύσεως εἴ τινά τις ίδιαν δύναμιν ἔχουσα ἥσθετό τι διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ξυναγυρμὸν φρονήσεως, εὔκριτον ὅτι τῶν νῦν οἱ τότε μυρίως πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν διέφερον.

12.14.3 | εἰ δ' ἐμπιπλάμενοι σίτων ἄδην καὶ πότων διελέγοντο πρὸς ἄλλήλους καὶ τὰ θηρία μύθους, οἷοι δὴ καὶ ταῦν περὶ αὐτῶν λέγονται, καὶ τοῦθ', οὔτως γε κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν ἀποφήνασθαι, καὶ μάλα εὔκριτον. ὅμως δ' οὖν ταῦτα μὲν ἀφῶμεν, ἵως ἂν ἡμῖν μηνυτής τις ἱκανὸς φανῆ, ποτέρως οἶ τότε τὰς ὃ ἐπιθυμίας εἶχον περὶ τε ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων χρείας.”

from all of nature if anyone had a special ability to sense something different from the others in gathering wisdom. It is clear that those in the past were very different from those now in terms of happiness.

## Section 15

12.15.1 | Μώσης νομοθεσίαν ἀνθρώποις καταβεβλημένος ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ δεῖν ἀρχαιολογίας ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις· μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔπειτα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν δρῶν τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις θεοφιλῶν, καὶ τῶν δὲ ἄλλως ἐν πλημμελείαις ἔχητασμένων τὴν πολιτείαν ὑφηγεῖται, κατάλληλον οἵς ἐνομοθέτει τὴν περὶ τούτων ἡγησάμενος ἴστορίαν ἔσεσθαι.

12.14.3 | If they were filled with food and drink and were talking with each other and telling stories about the animals, just as they are said to do even now, then, in my opinion, it seems very clear to say this. However, let us leave these things aside until a capable messenger appears to us, to tell us whether they had desires about knowledge and the need for words at that time.

12.15.2 | καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' δὲ ὠσαύτως, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων γραφὴν τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Μωρεῖ ζηλοῦ τρόπον· ἐν προοιμίοις γοῦν τῶν Νόμων τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαιολογίᾳ κέχρηται, κατακλυσμοῦ μνημονεύσας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βίου· ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τοῦ

12.15.1 | Moses, having laid down laws for humans, thought it necessary to include ancient history in the introductions. He mentions the flood and the life of humans after it, then the deeds of ancient men who were beloved by God among the Hebrews, and also discusses the government of others who were examined for their wrongdoings. He believed that the history he arranged about these matters would be fitting for those he was legislating.

12.15.2 | And Plato, likewise, having gone to the writing of the laws, follows the same way as Moses. In the introductions of the Laws, he makes use of ancient history, mentioning the flood and the life after the flood. Starting from the third book of the Laws, listen to what he says: 'Do the

τρίτου τῶν Νόμων ἐπάκουσον ἄ φησιν  
“Ἄρ’ οὖν οἱ παλαιοὶ λόγοι ὑμῖν ἀλήθειαν  
ἔχειν τινὰ δοκοῦσι; Ποῖοι δή; Τὸ πολλὰς  
ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι  
κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις  
πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
λείπεσθαι γένος. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν πιθανὸν τὸ  
τοιοῦτον πᾶν παντί.

ancient stories seem to you to have some truth? Which ones? That many human beings have perished due to floods, diseases, and many other things, in which a small part of humanity remains. Indeed, such a thing seems very likely to everyone.'

12.15.3 | Φέρε δὴ, νοήσωμεν μίαν τῶν πολλῶν ταύτην, τὴν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ γενομένην. Τὸ ποιόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς διανοηθέντες; Ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδὸν ὅρειοι τινες ἀν εἰν νομεῖς, ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεσωσμένα γένους. Δῆλον.

12.15.3 | Come then, let us consider one of the many, that which happened during the flood. What do we think about it? As if those who escaped destruction were some kind of mountain dwellers, in the peaks where a small part of the saved human race remained. It is clear.

12.15.4 | Καὶ δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους γε ἀνάγκη που τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείρους εἶναι τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσι πρὸς ἄλλήλους μηχανῶν εἴς τε πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλονεικίας, 5 καὶ δόποσα ἄλλα κακουργήματα πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἐπινοοῦσιν. Εἰκὸς γοῦν. Θῶμεν δὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις πόλεις καὶ πρὸς θαλάττῃ κατοικούσας ἄρδην ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διαφθείρεσθαι. Θῶμεν. Οὐκοῦν ὅργανά τε πάντα ἀπόλλυσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι τέχνης ἦν ἔχόμενον σπουδαίως εὐρημένον ἡ πολιτικῆς ἥ καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἐτέρας, πάντα ἔρρειν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ φήσομεν.”

12.15.4 | And indeed, such people must have been lacking in many skills and the machines of the cities that work against each other for greed and rivalry, and all other kinds of evil they think up against each other. It is likely. Let us say that the cities in the plains and those by the sea were completely destroyed at that time. Let us say. Therefore, all tools would be lost, and if there was any skill that was carefully developed, whether in politics or in some other wisdom, we will say that all of these were swept away at that time.

12.15.5 | Καὶ μεθ’ ἔτερά φησιν “Οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ λέγωμεν ὅτι τότε, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ φθορὰ, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, μυρίαν μὲν τινα φοβερὰν ἐρημίαν, γῆς δὲ ἀφθόνου πλῆθος πάμπολυ.”

12.15.5 | And after this, he says, 'Therefore, let us say that at that time, when destruction happened, the situation for humans was a terrible emptiness, and the land was full of an abundance.'

12.15.6 | Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔτερα εἶπὼν  
έπεξέρχεται βίους τῶν μετὰ τὸν  
κατακλυσμὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἴθ', ὥσπερ  
Μωσῆς τὴν τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν Ἐβραίων  
πολιτείαν ἐπισυνάπτει τῇ μετὰ τὸν  
κατακλυσμὸν ὑφηγήσει, καὶ ὁ Πλάτων  
δόμοίως μετὰ τοὺς βίους τῶν μετὰ τὸν  
κατακλυσμὸν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ πειρᾶται  
ἀρχαιολογεῖν, ὡς ἔκεινος τὰ Ἐβραίων, τῶν  
τε ἐπὶ Τροίας μνημονεύει, καὶ τῆς πρώτης  
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι πολιτείας, Περσῶν τε, καὶ  
τῶν παρὰ τούτοις εἴτ' ὄρθως εἴτε καὶ μὴ  
βεβιωκότων· εἴτα μετὰ τὴν τούτων  
ἰστορίαν ἀπάρχεται τῆς τῶν νόμων  
διαθέσεως, κάν τούτῳ Μωσεῖ  
κατακολουθήσας.

## Section 16

12.16.1 | Μώσεως τὴν πᾶσάν αὐτοῦ  
νομοθεσίαν τὴν τε κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείαν  
εύσεβείας τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ  
ἀναρτήσαντος, ἀπό τε τοῦ πάντων  
δημιουργοῦ τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς νομοθεσίας  
πεποιημένου, ἐπειτα τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν  
έξέρχεσθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διδάξαντος, τά  
τε θεῖα ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἡγεμόνα νοῦν,  
αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, ἀναθέντος,  
θέα ὅπως καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
βαίνων ἵχνεσιν ἐπιμέμφεται μὲν τοῖς  
Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαίμονίων νομοθέταις,  
τὸν δ' ἀρέσκοντα Μωσεῖ νόμον ἐκδιδάσκει,  
λέγων οὕτως

12.16.2 | "Πῆ δὴ οὖν σε ἔτ' ἀν ἐβουλόμην  
διελόμενον λέγειν αὐτός τ' ἀκούειν; βούλει  
σοι φράζω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ζένε. Ἐχρῆν  
εἰπεῖν, οἶ Κρητῶν νόμοι ούκ εἰσὶ μάτην  
διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εύδοκιμοι τοῖς

12.15.6 | After saying these things and others like them, he goes on to discuss the lives of people after the flood. Then, just as Moses connects the ancient, God-fearing Hebrews' way of life with what comes after the flood, Plato similarly tries to explore the ancient Greek lives after the flood, just as that one does for the Hebrews. He mentions those at Troy, the first way of life in Laconia, the Persians, and those nearby, whether they lived rightly or not. Then, after this history, he begins the discussion of the laws, following along with Moses.

12.16.1 | Moses, in all his laws and the way of life he established for the worship of the one true God, who is the creator of all, made the beginning of the law. He taught that divine goods come down to humans and directed the mind toward the ruler of all, that is, the God of everything. Following this path, the philosopher criticizes the laws of the Cretans and Spartans, but teaches the law that pleases Moses, saying this way.

12.16.2 | Where then would I want to speak and you to listen? Do you want me to explain? Certainly, my friend. It should be said that the laws of the Cretans are not in vain, as they are highly respected by all the

Ἐλλησιν ἔχουσι γὰρ ὄρθως τοὺς αὐτοῖς  
χρωμένους εύδαιμονας ἀποτελοῦντες·  
ἄπαντα γὰρ τάγαθὰ πορίζουσι.

12.16.3 | διττὰ δ' ἀγαθά ἔστι, τὰ μὲν  
ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἥρτηται δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
θείων θάτερα· καὶ ἔὰν μὲν δέχηται τὰ  
μείζονα πόλις, κτᾶται καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα· εἴ  
δὲ μὴ, στέρεται ἀμφοῖν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν  
ἐλάττονα ὡν ἡγεῖται ὑγεία, κάλλος δὲ  
δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἴσχὺς εἰς τε δρόμον  
καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πάσας κινήσεις τῷ  
σώματι, τέταρτον δὲ πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς,  
ἄλλ' ὁξὺ βλέπων, ἄνπερ ἄμ' ἔπηται  
φρονήσει.

12.16.4 | ὃ δὴ πρῶτον αὗτῶν θείων  
ἡγεμονοῦν ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ φρόνησις,  
δεύτερον δὲ μετὰ νοῦν σώφρων ψυχῆς ἔξις,  
ἔκ δὲ τούτων μετὰ ἀνδρείας κραθέντων  
τρίτον ἀν εἴη δικαιοσύνη, τέταρτον δὲ  
ἀνδρεία. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνων  
ἔμπροσθεν τέτακται φύσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ  
νομοθέτῃ τακτέον οὕτω.

12.16.5 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας  
προστάξεις τοῖς πολίταις εἰς ταῦτα  
βλεπούσας αὐτοῖς εἶναι διακελευστέον,  
τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα εἰς τὰ θεῖα,  
τὰ δὲ θεῖα εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν σύμπαντα  
βλέπειν.

12.16.6 | περὶ τε γάμους ἀλλήλοις  
ἐπικοινουμένους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς  
τῶν παίδων γεννήσεσι καὶ τροφαῖς, ὅσοι τε  
ἄρσενες καὶ ὄσαι θήλειαι, νέων τε ὄντων  
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἰόντων μέχρι  
γήρως, τιμῶντα ὄρθως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ

Greeks. For they rightly make those who follow them happy, since they provide all good things.

12.16.3 | There are two kinds of goods:  
human and divine. The human goods  
depend on the divine. If a city receives the  
greater goods, it also gains the lesser ones;  
but if it does not, it lacks both. The lesser  
goods include health, beauty as the second,  
and strength for running and all other  
movements of the body as the third. The  
fourth is wealth, which should not be blind  
but sharp-sighted, if it follows wisdom.

12.16.4 | The first of the divine goods that  
leads is wisdom. The second is the wise  
state of the soul. From these, with courage,  
the third would be justice, and the fourth is  
bravery. All these are naturally arranged  
before those, and indeed, they should be  
arranged this way by the lawgiver.

12.16.5 | After these, the other commands  
should be given to the citizens, looking to  
these things. The human goods should lead  
to the divine, and the divine should look to  
the whole wise leader.

12.16.6 | About marriages between each  
other, and then in the births and care of  
children, both males and females, while  
they are young and as they grow older until  
old age, it is necessary to take care to honor  
them properly and not dishonor them. In

άτιμάζοντα, ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς τούτων δημιλίαις τάς τε λύπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ξυμπάντων τε ἔρωτων τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπεσκεμμένον καὶ παραπεφυλαχότα ψέγειν τε ὁρθῶς καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων."

12.16.7 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησί "Κατιδών δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς νόμους πᾶσι τούτοις φύλακας ἐπιστήσει, τοὺς μὲν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀληθοῦς δόξης ιόντας, ὅπως πάντα ταῦτα ξυνδήσας ὁ νοῦς ἐπόμενα σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἀποφήνῃ, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλούτῳ μηδὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ.

12.16.8 | οὕτως, ὡς ξένοι, ἔγωγε ἥθελον ἀν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔτι νῦν βούλομαι, διεξελθεῖν πῶς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διός λεγομένοις νόμοις, τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὓς Μίνως τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐθέτην, ἔνεστί τε πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ ὅπῃ τάξιν είληφότα διάδηλά ἔστι τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ τέχνῃ τε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἡμῖν οὐδαμῶς ἔστι καταφανῆ."

12.16.9 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ εἴρηται "ζητεῖτε πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δ' ἵκα ίὸς ὑνην, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν." ἀλλὰ καὶ Μώσης πολὺ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλίας τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένος, ἔξῆς τε ἐφαρμόσας τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ περὶ συμβολαίων καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου νόμιμα, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄρχοντας καὶ φύλακας καθίστησι τοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἱερωμένους, ὡς καὶ τὰ λόγια διδάσκει, ἄνδρας δικαίους, μισοῦντας ὑπερηφανίαν, τοὺς μὲν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀληθοῦς δόξης ιόντας.

all their gatherings, one should carefully consider and protect their sorrows, pleasures, and desires, and rightly blame or praise them according to those laws.

12.16.7 | And after a short time, he says, 'The one who established the laws will set guardians over all these, some through wisdom and others through true opinion, so that by bringing all these together, the mind will follow moderation and justice, but not wealth or ambition.'

12.16.8 | So, O strangers, I would like you, and I still want you now, to explain how in the laws said to be from Zeus, and those of Pythian Apollo, which Minos and Lycurgus established, all these things exist, and how the order taken is clearly shown by the experienced art concerning laws and some customs, while for the others, it is not at all clear to us.

12.16.9 | And among us, it has been said, 'Seek first the kingdom and its righteousness, and all these things will be added to you.' But even Moses, much earlier, having established the beginning of teaching about God, also applied the laws concerning his own government and the rules about agreements and the common life, appointing as rulers and guardians those who are dedicated to God, as the teachings say, just men who hate pride, some through wisdom and others through true opinion.

## Section 17

12.17.1 | "Λέγω οὖν καὶ φημι τὸν ὄτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἐκ παίδων εύθὺς μελετᾶν παίζοντά τε καὶ σπουδάζοντα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος ἐκάστοις προσήκουσιν· οἶν τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι γεωργὸν ἢ τινα οἰκοδόμον, τὸν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντά τι τῶν παιδικῶν οἰκοδομημάτων παίζειν χρὴ, τὸν δ' αὖ γεωργοῦντα, καὶ ὅργανα ἐκατέρῳ σμικρὰ, τῶν ἀληθινῶν μιμήματα, παρασκευάζειν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσ' ἡ ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι προμανθάνειν, οἶν τέκτονα μετρεῖν ἢ σταθμᾶσθαι, καὶ πολεμικὸν ἵππεύειν παίζοντα ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλο ποιοῦντα, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι διὰ τῶν παιδιῶν ἑκεῖσε τρέπειν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν παίδων, οἵ ἀφικομένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ τέλος ἔχειν.

12.17.2 | κεφάλαιον δὴ παιδείας λέγομεν τὴν ὄρθην τροφὴν, ἢ τοῦ παίζοντος τος τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἔρωτα ὅτι μάλιστα ἄξει τούτου, δε δέσει γενόμενον ἄνδρα αὐτὸν τέλειον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς."

12.17.3 | Καὶ τοῦτο προλαβὼν Μωσῆς ἐνομοθέτησεν εἰπών "καὶ ἔσται τὰ ὥρματα ταῦτα, δσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου, καὶ προβιβάσεις αὐτὰ τοῖς υἱοῖς σου." δ δὴ καὶ πράττειν σύνηθες παισὶν Ἐβραίων, ἔξ ἀπαλῆς ἡλικίας τοὺς νέους ἀπαντας τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας παιδεύμασιν ἀνατρέφουσι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κατά τι πάτριον ἔθος παρὰ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει σπουδάζεται.

12.17.1 | I say then and I affirm that any good man who is going to be such should practice this from childhood, both playing and studying in the matters that are appropriate for each. For example, the one who is going to be a good farmer or a builder should play with small models of buildings, while the one who is going to farm should prepare small tools that are true copies of the real ones, and indeed learn all the necessary lessons beforehand, like measuring for a carpenter or weighing, and practicing riding for a soldier, or doing something else like that. And he should try to guide the pleasures and desires of the children in such a way that they reach their proper end.

12.17.2 | We call the main point of education the proper nourishment, which leads the soul to love what is most important. This will be necessary for a man to become perfect in the virtue of his actions.

12.17.3 | And having anticipated this, Moses established the law, saying, 'And these words that I command you today shall be in your heart and in your soul, and you shall teach them to your children.' This is what the Hebrew children are used to doing, being raised from a young age in the teachings of reverence for God. This is also studied here as a certain traditional practice among the Jewish people.

## Section 18

12.18.1 | "Μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὁ λέγομεν εῖναι παιδείαν ἀόριστον γένηται. νῦν γάρ οὐειδίζοντες ἐπαινοῦντές τε ἐκάστων τὰς τροφὰς λέγομεν ως τὸν μὲν πεπαιδευμένον ἡμῶν ὄντα τινὰ, τὸν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον, ἐνίστε εἴς τε τὰς καπηλείας καὶ ναυκληρίας καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τοιούτων μάλα πεπαιδευμένων σφόδρα ἀνθρώπων. οὐ γάρ ταῦτα ἡγουμένων, ως ἔοικεν, εῖναι παιδείαν ὃ νῦν λόγος ἀν εἴη, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκ παίδων παιδείαν, ποιοῦσαν ἐπιθυμητήν τε καὶ ἔραστὴν τοῦ πολίτην γενέσθαι τέλεον, ἀρχειν τε καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον μετὰ δίκης.

12.18.2 | ταύτην τὴν τροφὴν ἀφορισάμενος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ως ἔμοι φαίνεται, νῦν βούλοιτ' ἀν μόνην παιδείαν προσαγορεύειν, τὴν δὲ εἰς χρήματα τείνουσαν ἢ τινα πρὸς ἴσχὺν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην τινὰ σοφίαν ἄνευ νοῦ καὶ δίκης βάναυσόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, καὶ οὐκ ἀξίαν τὸ παράπαν παιδείαν καλεῖσθαι.

12.18.3 | ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδ' ἐν ὀνόματι διαφερώμεθα. αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ νῦν δὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ὀμολογηθεὶς μενέτω, ως οὕτοις ὁρθῶς πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται, καὶ δεῖ δὴ τὴν παιδείαν μηδαμοῦ ἀτιμάζειν, ως πρῶτον τῶν καλλίστων τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσι παραγιγνόμενον καὶ εἴ ποτε ἔξερχεται, δυνατὸν δέ ἐστιν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, τοῦτο ἀεὶ δραστέον διὰ βίου παντὶ κατὰ δύναμιν."

12.18.4 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ τῶν Νόμων

12.18.1 | Therefore, let us not allow what we call education to become unclear. For now, while we are criticizing, we praise each person's upbringing, saying that one person is educated while another is uneducated, sometimes referring to those who are very skilled in trades like shops and shipbuilding. For it seems that these are not considered education by the current discussion, but rather the education that leads to virtue, which makes a citizen eager and passionate to become perfect, knowing how to both lead and be led with justice.

12.18.2 | This speech, having defined this kind of nourishment, seems to me to call only this education true, while the education that leads to wealth or to strength or to some other kind of skill without reason and justice is both base and unfree, and does not deserve to be called education at all.

12.18.3 | But let us not differ even in name. Rather, let this speech we have agreed upon stand, that those who are truly educated become nearly good, and we must not dishonor education anywhere, as it is the first of the finest things for the best men. And if it ever goes wrong, it is possible to correct it; this is something we should always strive for throughout life, as much as we can.

12.18.4 | And in the second book of the

έπιλέγει "Παιδείαν δὴ λέγω τὴν παραγινομένην πρῶτον παισὶν ἀρετὴν, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φιλία καὶ λύπη καὶ μῖσος ἐὰν ὥρθως ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνωνται μή πω δυναμένων λόγον λαμβάνειν, λαβόντων δὲ τὸν λόγον συμφωνήσωσι τῷ λόγῳ, ὥρθως εἰθίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔθῶν· αὕτη ἔσθ' ἡ συμφωνία ξύμπασα μὲν ἀρετὴ, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας τεθραψμένον αὐτῆς ὥρθως, ὥστε μισεῖν μὲν ἀ χρὴ μισεῖν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, στέργειν δὲ ἀ χρὴ στέργειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἀποτεμών τῷ λόγῳ καὶ παιδείαν προσαγορεύων κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ὥρθως ἀν προσαγορεύοις."

12.18.5 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων'. προλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Δαβὶδ ἐν ψαλμῷ δίαιταις, μισεῖν ἀ δεῖ μισεῖν καὶ στέργειν διδάσκων ἀ δεῖ στέργειν, τάδε φησί "δεῦτε τέκνα ἀκούσατέ μου, φρόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς. τίς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς; παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χείλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον. ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν· ζήτησον εἰρήνην, καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν."

12.18.6 | καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν ὄμοιώς "ἀκούσατε" φησὶ "παῖδες παιδείαν πατρός. δῶρον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δωροῦμαι ὑμῖν τῶν ἔμῶν νόμων μὴ ἐπιλανθάνησθε." καὶ πάλιν "κτῆσαι σοφίαν, κτῆσαι σύνεσιν, μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ." καὶ "εἴπον τὴν σοφίαν σὴν ἀδελφὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ φρόνησιν γνώριμον περιποίησαι σεαυτῷ." καὶ "ὅδοὺς ἀσεβῶν μὴ ἐπέλθῃς, μηδὲ ζηλώσῃς ὅδοὺς παρανόμων. μυρία δ' ἀν εὔροις ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων γράμμασι, παιδευτικὰ πρὸς εὔσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς

Laws, it is said, 'I call education the first thing that brings virtue to children. Pleasure, friendship, pain, and hatred, if they arise correctly in the souls of those who cannot yet understand reason, when they do understand it, they will agree with reason and be correctly shaped by the appropriate customs. This agreement is the whole of virtue, and it is about pleasures and pains that it is rightly trained, so that one hates what should be hated from the very beginning to the end, and loves what should be loved. This itself, cutting through, would rightly be called education according to my understanding.'

12.18.5 | These things are from Plato. But David, anticipating him in his psalms, teaches to hate what should be hated and to love what should be loved. He says, 'Come, children, listen to me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Who is the person who wants life, loving to see good days? Keep your tongue from evil and your lips from speaking deceit. Turn away from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it.'

12.18.6 | And Solomon similarly says, 'Listen, children, to the education of your father. For I give you a good gift; do not forget my laws.' And again, 'Get wisdom, get understanding; do not forget.' And 'I said that wisdom is your sister, and understanding is a friend you should keep for yourself.' And 'Do not walk in the ways of the wicked, nor envy the paths of the lawless.' You would find many other such things in the writings of the Hebrews, educational for the pursuit of piety and

άνάληψιν, νέοις ὅμοι καὶ τελείοις τὴν  
ἡλικίαν προσήκοντα.

## Section 19

12.19.1 | Τοῦ θείου χρησμοῦ φήσαντος  
Μωσεῖ "ὄρα, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν  
τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει" τοῦ τε  
ἱεροῦ λόγου σαφέστερον εἰπόντος οἴτινες  
ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ ἐλάτρευον τῶν  
ἐπουρανίων", εἰκόνα τε ἀντικρυς τῶν ἐν  
νοητοῖς θειοτέρων τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ  
σύμβολα περιέχειν διδάσκοντος,  
ἐπάκουουσον ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' τὰ ὅμοια  
διερμηνεύει ἐν ἔκτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὡδε  
γράφων

12.19.2 | "Θεῷ δὴ καὶ κόσμῳ ὅ γε  
φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιος τε καὶ θεῖος εἰς  
τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται· διαβολὴ δὲ  
ἐν πᾶσι πολλή.

12.19.3 | Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. Ἄν οὖν τις,  
εἶπον, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη γένηται, ἢ ἐκεῖ ὥρᾳ,  
μελετῆσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἥθη καὶ ἴδια καὶ  
δημοσίᾳ τιθέναι, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐσυτὸν  
πλάττειν, ἃρα κακὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν οὕτι  
γενήσεσθαι σωφροσύνης τε καὶ  
δικαιοσύνης καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς δημοτικῆς  
ἀρετῆς; "Ηκιστά γε, ἢ δ' ὅς.

12.19.4 | Ἀλλ' ἔὰν δὴ αἴσθωνται οἱ πολλοὶ  
ὅτι ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν,  
χαλεπανοῦσι δὴ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ  
ἀπιστήσουσιν ἡμῖν λέγουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἄν  
ποτε ἄλλως εύδαιμονήσει πόλις, εἰ μὴ  
αὐτὴν διαγράψειαν οἱ τῷ θείῳ

virtue, suitable for both young and mature  
people.

12.19.1 | When the divine oracle said to  
Moses, 'See, you shall make everything  
according to the pattern shown to you on  
the mountain,' and the sacred word more  
clearly states that those who served the  
heavenly things did so by a model and  
shadow, teaching that the symbols given by  
Moses contain an image of the divine things  
in the intelligible realm, listen to how Plato  
explains similar things in the sixth book of  
the Republic, writing this way.

12.19.2 | Indeed, the philosopher, speaking  
of God and the world, becomes as orderly  
and divine as possible for a human. But  
there is much slander everywhere.

12.19.3 | Therefore, if someone, I said, has  
to study the things he sees there, to apply  
them to the behavior of people both  
privately and publicly, and not just to shape  
himself, do you think he will become a bad  
creator of self-control, justice, and all  
public virtue? Certainly not, he said.

12.19.4 | But if the many sense that we  
speak the truth about him, they will  
become angry with the philosophers and  
will distrust us, saying that a city could  
never be happy unless those who use the  
divine model as their guide draw it.

παραδείγματι χρώμενοι ζωγράφοι;

12.19.5 | Ού χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἢ δ' ὅς, έάν περ αἴσθωνται. Άλλὰ δὴ τίνα λέγεις τρόπον τῆς διαγραφῆς; Λαβόντες, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ὥσπερ πίνακα πόλιν τε καὶ ἥθη ἀνθρώπων, πρῶτον μὲν καθαρὰν ποιήσειαν ἄν, δὲ οὐ πάνυ ἥδιον.

12.19.6 | ἀλλ' οὖν οἶσθ' ὅτι τούτω ἀν εύθυνς τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκαιεν, τῷ μήτε ίδιώτου μήτε πόλεως ἐθελῆσαι ἀν ἄψασθαι, μηδὲ γράφειν νόμους, πρὶν παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν, ἡ αὐτοὶ ποιήσαι.

12.19.7 | Καὶ ὥρθως γε, ἔφη. Ούκοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα οἴει ὑπογράψασθαι ἀν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας; Τί μήν;

12.19.8 | "Επειτα, οἴμαι, ἀπεργαζόμενοι πυκνὰ ἀν ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέποιεν, πρός τε τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο αὖ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐμποιοῖεν ξυμμιγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τεκμαιρόμενοι, δὲ δὴ Ὁμηρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνόμενον θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον.

12.19.9 | Ὅρθως. ἔφη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄν, οἴμαι, ἔξαλείφοιεν, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐγγράφοιεν, ἵως ἀν ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἥθη εἰς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται θεοφιλῆ ποιήσειαν.

12.19.5 | They do not become angry, he said, even if they sense it. But what kind of drawing do you mean? I said, just as if they were taking a city and the behavior of people, first they would make it pure, which is not very easy.

12.19.6 | But you know that they would immediately bring in the others, who would neither want to touch a private person nor a city, nor write laws, before they received it pure, or made it themselves.

12.19.7 | And rightly so, he said. So after this, do you think they would write down the form of the city? Why not?

12.19.8 | Then, I think, working carefully, they would look towards both what is naturally just and beautiful and wise, and also towards what is in humans, mixing and blending from their practices the image of a manly character, judging from that, which indeed Homer called a god-like and god-resembling thing that arises in humans.

12.19.9 | Rightly so, he said. And I think they would erase some things, but again they would write down others, as long as they could make human customs as god-like as possible.

## Section 20

12.20.1 | "Δοκεῖ μοι τρίτον ἡ τέταρτον ὁ λόγος εἰς ταύτὸν περιφερόμενος ἥκειν, ὡς ἄρα παιδεία μὲν ἔσθ' ἡ παίδων ὀλική τε καὶ ἀγωγὴ πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὅρθὸν είρημένον καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις καὶ πρεσβυτάτοις δι' ἐμπειρίαν ξυνδεδογμένον ὡς ὅντως ὅρθός ἔστιν.

12.20.2 | ἵν' οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ πατδὸς μὴ ἐναντία χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἔθίζηται τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τεθειμένοις, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπηται χαίρουσά τε καὶ λυπουμένη τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἴσπερ ὁ γέρων, τούτων ἔνεκα, ἀς φδὰς καλοῦμεν, ὅντως μὲν ἐπωδαὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὗται νῦν γεγονέναι, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἦν λέγομεν συμφωνίαν ἐσπουδαδοκεῖ σμέναι, διὰ δὲ τὸ σπουδὴν μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τάς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς, παιδιαί τε καὶ ὡδαὶ καλεῖσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι) καθάπερ τοῖς κάμνουσί τε καὶ ἀσθενῶς ἔχουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν ἡδεσὶ τέ τισι σιτίοις καὶ πόμασι τὴν χρήστην πειρῶνται τροφὴν προσφέρειν οἵς μέλει τούτων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ἀηδέσιν, ἔνα τὴν μὲν ἀσπάζωνται, τὴν δὲ μισεῖν ὅρθῶς ἔθίζωνται.

12.20.3 | ταύτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν ὁ ὅρθὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ὥρμασι καὶ ἐπαινετοῖς πείσει τε καὶ ἀναγκάσει μὴ πείθων, τὰ τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ ἀνδρείων καὶ πάντως ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τε ῥυθμοῖς σχήματα καὶ ἐν ἀρμονίαισι μέλη ποιοῦντα ὅρθῶς ποιεῖν." Εἴκότως ἄρα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν θείων προφητῶν πεποιημένας ὡδὰς καὶ τοὺς είς θεὸν ὕμνους μελετᾶν οἴ παῖδες ἔθίζονται.

12.20.1 | I think the third or fourth argument is coming back to the same point, that education is indeed the guiding and leading force towards the correct law stated by the law, and that it is connected through experience to the most just and oldest people, as it truly is correct.

12.20.2 | Therefore, so that the soul of the father does not get used to rejoice and grieve against the law and those set by the law, but rather it joins in rejoicing and grieving with the same things as the old man, for the sake of these things, which we call songs, these are truly songs that have now come to the souls, towards the harmony we speak of. However, because the young souls cannot bear the effort, they are called and acted upon as children and songs, just as those who are weary and weak in body try to bring the proper food to those who care for them, while they embrace the bad food in unpleasant ways, and they get used to rightly hating one and loving the other.

12.20.3 | Likewise, the correct lawmaker will persuade and force the poet with beautiful and praiseworthy words not to be persuaded, to create properly the forms of the wise, brave, and all good men in rhythms and melodies. Therefore, it is fitting that our children get used to studying the songs made by the divine prophets and the hymns to the god.

## Section 21

12.21.1 | “Τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὃν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἔστι μακάριος, ἐάν τε μέγας καὶ ἴσχυρός, ἐάν τε σμικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενής ἦ, καὶ ἐὰν πλουτῆ καὶ μή· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα πλουτῆ μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον, ἥ δὲ ἄδικος, ἀθλιός τέ ἔστι καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῆ.

12.21.2 | καὶ οὕτ' ἀν μνησαίμην, φησὶν ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητὴς, εἴπερ ὅρθῶς λέγει, οὕτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην, διὸ μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῷτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ δηίων τοιοῦτος ὃν ὄρέγοιτ' ἐγγύθεν ιστάμενος· ἄδικος δὲ ὃν μήτε τολμῷ ὅρῶν φόνον αἰματόεντα μήτε νικῷ θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην, μηδὲ ἄλλο αὐτῷ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτο ποτε· τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὄρθῶς λέγεται.

12.21.3 | λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄριστον μὲν ὑγιαίνειν, δεύτερον δὲ κάλλος, τρίτον δὲ πλοῦτος· μυρίᾳ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ ὥξν ὅρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ πάντα ὄσα ἔχεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὔαισθήτως ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τυραννοῦντα ὅ τι ἀν ἐπιθυμῆ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τέλος ἀπάσης μακαριότητος εἶναι τὸ πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένον ἀθάνατον εἶναι γενόμενον ὅ τι τάχιστα.

12.21.4 | ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ που τάδε λέγομεν, ὡς ταῦτά ἔστι ξύμπαντα δικαίοις μὲν καὶ ὀσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄριστα κτήματα, ἀδίκοις δὲ κάκιστα ξύμπαντα, ἀρξάμενα

12.21.1 | You force the poets to say that the good man, being wise and just, is happy and blessed, whether he is great and strong or small and weak, and whether he is rich or not. But if he is rich, like Cinyras and Midas, and is unjust, he is wretched and lives in misery.

12.21.2 | And the poet says to you, if he speaks correctly, 'I would not even mention a man who does not do all the things that are said beautifully with justice, and indeed, being such a man, he would not dare to stand near and desire to see bloodshed or to defeat the Thracian Boreas, nor would anything good that is said ever happen to him. For the good things said by the many are not said correctly.'

12.21.3 | For it is said that the best thing is to be healthy, the second is beauty, and the third is wealth. Many other good things are also said. For it is good to see sharply and to hear well, and to have all the senses working sensitively. Moreover, it is also good to do whatever one desires with power, and indeed, the ultimate goal of all happiness is to have all these things and to become immortal as quickly as possible.

12.21.4 | But you and I say that all these things are the best possessions for just and holy men, and the worst for unjust men, starting from health. Indeed, both seeing

ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγείας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὄρᾶν καὶ τὸ  
άκούειν καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν  
ζῆν μέγιστον μὲν κακὸν τὸν ξύμπαντα  
χρόνον ἀθάνατον ὅντα καὶ κεκτημένον  
πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πλὴν  
δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης,  
ἔλαττον δὲ, ἐὰν ὡς ὀλίγιστον ὁ τοιοῦτος  
χρόνον ἔπιζωῃ.

and hearing and feeling, and living at all, are the greatest evils for a person who is immortal and has all the good things that are said, except for justice and all virtue. It is less so if such a person lives only for a very short time.

12.21.5 | ταῦτα δὴ λέγειν οἴμαι τοὺς παρ'  
ὑμῖν ποιητὰς, ἅπερ ἔγώ, πείσετε καὶ  
ἀναγκάσετε, καὶ ἔτι τούτοις ἐπομένους  
ρυθμούς τε καὶ ἀρμονίας ἀποδόντας  
παιδεύειν οὕτω τοὺς νέους ὑμῶν. ἡ γὰρ  
ὄρᾶτε; ἔγὼ μὲν γὰρ λέγω σαφῶς τὰ μὲν  
κακὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις εἶναι,  
τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις κακά· τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς μὲν  
ἀγαθοῖς ὅντως ἀγαθὰ, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακά.  
ὅπερ οὖν ἡρόμην, ἄρα ξυμφωνοῦμεν ἔγώ τε  
καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἢ πῶς;

12.21.5 | I think that the poets among you say these things, just as I do, and you will persuade and force them, and also teach your young people by giving them rhythms and harmonies that follow these ideas. For do you see? I clearly say that the things called bad are good for the unjust, but bad for the just. And the things called good are truly good for the good, but bad for the bad. So, I ask, do you and I agree, or how is it?

12.21.6 | Οὐ πόρρω ταῦτα τυγχάνει τῶν  
τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλμῶν, οὓς προλαβὼν θείω  
πνεύματι συνέταξε δι' ὧδῶν καὶ ὕμνων τίς  
μὲν ὁ ἀληθῶς μακάριος, τίς δὲ ὁ τούτῳ  
ἐναντίος παιδεύσας. ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν αὐτῷ  
καὶ κατάρχεται ἡ βίβλος φήσαντι  
“μακάριος ἀνὴρ δος οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ  
ἀσεβῶν,” καὶ τὰ ὄμοια. ἂ δὴ μεταβαλὼν ὁ  
Πλάτων<sup>9</sup> φησὶ δεῖν τοὺς ποιητὰς λέγειν “ὦ  
δο μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὁν καὶ δίκαιος  
εὐδαίμων ἔστι καὶ μακάριος· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα ἢ  
δε ἄδικος, ἄθλιός ἔστιν.” Ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν  
λιν ὁ Δαβὶδ ὡδέ πως ἔξεδωκε διὰ τῶν  
ψαλμῶν εἰπὼν “πλοῦτος ἐὰν ὢν, μὴ  
προστίθεσθε καρδίαν.” καὶ πάλιν “μὴ  
φοβοῦ ὅταν πλουτήσῃ ἀνθρωπος, καὶ ὅταν  
πληθυνθῇ ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αύτοῦ.” ἐπὶ  
ἐπὶλῆς δ' ἀν εὔροις ἔκαστα τῶν είρημένων  
τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πρὸς λέξιν κείμενα δι' ὅλης

12.21.6 | These things are not far from the Psalms of David, which he composed with divine spirit through songs and hymns, teaching what a truly blessed person is and what the opposite is. Therefore, the book begins by saying, 'Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked,' and similar things. Plato, changing these ideas, says that poets should say, 'The good man, being wise and just, is happy and blessed; but if he is unjust, he is wretched.' David also expresses this in his Psalms, saying, 'If wealth flows, do not set your heart on it.' And again, 'Do not be afraid when a man becomes rich, and when his house's glory increases.' You would find each of these things written in the whole sacred text of the Psalms.

τῆς Ἱερὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν γραφῆς.

## Section 22

12.22.1 | "Νομοθετικὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑπερ βαλλόντως. ἀλλ' ἔτερα φαῦλα ἀν εὑροις αὐτόθι· τοῦτο δ' οὖν τὸ περὶ μουσικὴν ἀληθές τε καὶ ἄξιον ἐννοίας, ὅτι δυνατὸν ἄρα ἡν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα μέλη τὰ τὴν ὄρθοτητα φύσει παρεχόμενα. τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ ἡ θείου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀν εἴη."

12.22.2 | Εἰκότων ἄρα καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις νενομοθέτητο μηδὲ ἄλλους ὕμνους καὶ ὥδας ἐν ταῖς θείαις διδασκαλίσις ἀποδέχεσθαι ἡ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος διὰ τῶν θείων καὶ προφητικῶν ἀνδρῶν πεποιημένας, τά τε τούτοις κατάλληλα μέλη τῷ συνήθει παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀδόμενα τρόπῳ.

12.22.1 | It is indeed legislative and political, but you would find other bad things there. However, this about music is true and worthy of thought, that it is possible to legislate about such things confidently, using melodies that provide natural correctness. This would be from a god or some divine man.

12.22.2 | It is likely that among the Hebrews, no other hymns and songs were accepted in their divine teachings except those made by divine spirit through divine and prophetic men, along with melodies suitable for them, sung in their usual manner.

## Section 23

12.23.1 | "Συγχωρῶ γε τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἔγώ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡδονῇ κρίνεσθαι, μὴ μέντοι τῶν γε ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐκείνην εἶναι μοῦσαν καλλίστην, ἥτις τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἱκαΝομοθετικὸν νῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει, μάλιστα δὲ ἥτις ἔνα τὸν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα.

12.23.2 | διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρετῆς φαμὲν δεῖσθαι τοὺς τούτων κριτὰς, ὅτι τῆς τε ἀλλης μετόχους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεῖ φρονήσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας.

12.23.1 | I agree with many that music should be judged by pleasure, but it should not just be about what is popular. Rather, it should be seen as the most beautiful muse, which delights the best and most educated lawmakers, especially one that stands out for virtue and education.

12.23.2 | For this reason, we say that the judges of these things must be in need of virtue, as they should also have a share in wisdom and especially in courage.

12.23.3 | οὗτε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεῖ τόν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν κρίνειν μανθάνοντα καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας, οὕτ' αὖ γιγνώσκοντα δι' ἀνανδρίαν καὶ δειλίαν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος, οὐπερ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο, μέλλων κρίνειν, ἐκ τούτου ψευδόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι ὅφθύμως τὴν κρίσιν· οὐ γὰρ μαθητὴς, ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλος, ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον, θεατῶν τῶν μᾶλλον ὁ κριτὴς καθίζει, καὶ ἐναντιωσόμενος τοῖς τὴν ἡδονὴν μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ὄρθως ἀποδιδοῦσι δεαταῖς.“

12.23.4 | Καὶ παρ' Ἐβραίοις τὸ παλαιὸν οὐ τοῦ πλήθους ἦν τὸ κρίνειν τοὺς ἐκ θείου πνεύματος προφερομένους λόγους καὶ τάς ἐνθέους ὡδὰς, ἀλλ' ἥσαν βραχεῖς καὶ σπάνιοι, μέτοχοι καὶ αὐτοὶ θείου πνεύματος διακριτικοῦ τῶν λεγομένων, οἵς καὶ μόνοις ἔξην ἐγκρίνειν καὶ ἀφιεροῦν τὰς προφητῶν βίβλους, τὰς δὲ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων ἀποδοκιμάζειν.

12.23.3 | For a true judge should not be judging while learning and being disturbed by the noise of the crowd and their own lack of education, nor should he recognize weakness and cowardice from the same mouth that calls upon the gods. If he is to judge, he will easily show a false judgment. For he is not a student, but a teacher, as it is right. The judge sits among the spectators, and he opposes those who do not give pleasure properly or rightly.

12.23.4 | And among the Hebrews, it was not the crowd that judged those who spoke words from the divine spirit and the inspired songs, but they were few and rare. They themselves shared in the divine spirit that distinguished the spoken words, and only they had the authority to approve and set apart the books of the prophets, while rejecting those of others who were not like them.

## Section 24

12.24.1 | “Καὶ ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβουλήθη, ὁ τὴν τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου χορῷ βοήθειαν ἐπιδεῖξαι καλως λεγομένην, εἰς δύναμιν εἴρηκε. σκοπώμεθα δὴ εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτω γέγονε. θορυβώδης μέν που ὁ ξύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔξ ἀνάγκης προιούσης τῆς πόσεως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀεὶ ξυμβαίνει γενόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπεθέμεθα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων. Ἀνάγκη.

12.24.1 | And just as the word was intended in ancient times, to show the help of the chorus of Dionysus well spoken, it has been said to be powerful. Let us see if this has happened in this way. The gathering is indeed noisy, as it must be, because of the need for the drink, and it continues to happen more and more, which we said at the beginning must happen regarding what is now being said. Necessity.

12.24.2 | Πᾶς δέ γε αύτὸς αὐτοῦ κουφότερος αἴρεται καὶ γέγηθε τε καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπίμπλαται καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἄρχων δ' ἵκανὸς ἀξιοῦ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι. Τί μήν;

12.24.3 | Ούκοῦν ἔφαμεν, ὅταν γίνηται ταῦτα, καθάπερ σίδηρον, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πινόντων διαπύρους γινομένας μαλακωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ νεωτέρας, ὥστ' εύαγώγους ξυμβαίνειν τῷ δυναμένῳ τε καὶ επισταμένῳ παιδεύειν τε καὶ πλάττειν, καθάπερ ὅτ' ἡσαν νέαι;

12.24.4 | τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τὸν πλάστην τὸν αύτὸν, ὃσπερ τότε, τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην, οὗ νόμους εἶναι δεῖ συμποτικοὺς, δυναμένους τὸν εὔελπιν καὶ θαρραλέον ἔκεινον γινόμενον καὶ ἀναισχυντότερον τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ οὐ θέλοντα τάξιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος σιγῆς καὶ λόγου καὶ πόσεως καὶ μούσης ὑπομένειν, ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πάντα τούτοις τάναντία, καὶ εἰσιόντι τῷ μὴ καλῷ θάρρει τὸν κάλλιστον διαμαχόμενον φόβον εἰσπέμπειν οἴους τε εἶναι μετὰ δίκης, ὃν αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην θεῖον φόβον ὀνομάκαμεν. "Εστι ταῦτα. Τούτων δέ γε τῶν νόμων εἶναι νομοφύλακας καὶ συνδημιουργοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀθορύβους καὶ νήφοντας."

12.24.5 | Εἰκότως τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμῖν αύτοῖς ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὧδας καὶ ὕμνους είς θεὸν πεποιημένους ἄδειν παραδέδοται, τοῦ προσήκοντος κόσμου τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν φυλάκων ἐπιμελομένων.

12.24.2 | Everyone indeed becomes lighter in spirit and is filled with joy and boldness, and they are unrestrained in such a gathering. But a capable leader believes he has become worthy of himself and of others. What then?

12.24.3 | Therefore, we said that when these things happen, like iron, the souls of those drinking become softer and younger, so that it is fitting for the strong and knowledgeable to teach and shape them, just as when they were young.

12.24.4 | This creator is the same as before, the good lawmaker, whose laws must be about drinking, allowing the hopeful and brave person to become even more shameless than necessary. He does not want to maintain order or the proper silence in speech, drinking, and music, but wishes to do the opposite. And when entering the unworthy, he encourages the most beautiful to fight against fear, which we have called a divine fear of respect and shame. These things exist. And among these laws, the guardians and co-creators are those who are calm and sober.

12.24.5 | Therefore, it is fitting for us to sing songs and hymns made to the god at our drinking parties, while the guardians of our proper order take care of things.

## Section 25

12.25.1 | Εἴ μέν τις πόλις, ὡς οὕσης σπουδῆς, τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τῷ νῦν είρημένῳ χρήσεται μετὰ νόμων καὶ τάξεως, ὡς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν εἰνεκα μελέτῃ χρωμένη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν μὴ ἀφέξεται ὡσαύτως καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τοῦ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα μηχανωμένη, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν τρόπον ἅπασι τούτοις χρηστέον· εἰ δ' ὡς παιδιᾶς τε, καὶ ἔξεσται τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ ὅταν βούληται, καὶ μεθ' ὃν ἀν βούληται, πίνειν μετ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀντινωνοῦν ἄλλων, οὐκ ἀν τιθείμην ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς δεῖ ποτὲ μέθῃ χρῆσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων χρείας προσθείμην ἀν τῷ Καρχηδονίων νόμῳ, μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γεύεσθαι τούτου τοῦ πόματος, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίαις συγγίνεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν μήτε δοῦλον μήτε δούλην γεύεσθαι μηδέποτε, μηδὲ ἀρχοντας τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὃν ἀν ἄρχωσι, μηδ' αὖ κυβερνήτας μηδὲ δικαστάς ἐνεργοὺς ὅντας οἶνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, μηδὲ ὅστις βουλευσόμενος εἰς βουλὴν ἀξίαν τινὰ λόγου συνέρχεται, μηδέ γε μεθ' ἡμέραν μηδένα τὸ παράπαν, εἰ μὴ σωμασκίας ἢ νόσων ἔνεκα, μηδ' αὖ νύκτωρ, ὅταν ἐπινοῇ τις παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ γυνή. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πάμπολλα ἀν τις λέγοι, ὡς τοῖς νοῦν τε καὶ νόμον ἔχουσιν ὄρθὸν οὐ ποτέος οἶνος, ὥστε κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οὐδ' ἀμπελῶνων ἀν πολλῶν δέοι οὐδ' ἦτιν πόλει, τακτὰ δὲ τἄλλα ἀν εἴη γεωργήματα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δίαιτα.”

12.25.2 | Καὶ Μωσῆς δὲ προλαβών μὴ δεῖν τοὺς ἱερέας οἶνου ἀπογεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸν

12.25.1 | If a city, taking this matter seriously, uses the mentioned practice with laws and order for the sake of moderation, and does not give up other pleasures in the same way and for the same reason, it should use this method for everyone. But if it is like a child, then it will allow anyone to drink whenever they want, and with whomever they want, along with any other practices. I would not propose this law, that one should ever drink in this city or with this man, but I would rather add to the needs of the Cretans and Spartans than to the law of the Carthaginians, that no one should ever taste this drink while in camp, but should only drink water during this time. And in the city, neither a slave nor a free person should ever taste it, nor should the rulers of the year, nor active governors or judges ever taste wine at all, nor anyone who comes to the council for any serious matter, nor even during the day at all, unless for the sake of exercise or illness, nor at night, when someone might think of making children, whether man or woman. And many other things could be said, that for those who have a sound mind and law, wine should never be consumed, so according to this reasoning, there would be no need for many vineyards in any city, and all other matters would be about farming and the whole way of life.

12.25.2 | And Moses, anticipating that priests should not drink wine during their

τῆς Ἱερουργίας καιρὸν, νομοθετεῖ φάσκων "καὶ ἐλάλησε κύριος τῷ Ἀαρὼν, λέγων, οὗνον καὶ σίκερα οὐ πίεσθε σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου μετὰ σοῦ, ἵνακα ἀν εἰσπορεύησθ' εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν του μαρτυρίου, ἡ προσπορευομένων ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνητε· νόμιμον αἰώνιον εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῖς εὐχὴν εύχομένοις νομοθετεῖ λέγων "ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνὴ, δος ἀν μεγάλως εὕξηται εὐχὴν, ἀφαγνίσασθαι ἀγνείαν κυρίω, ἀπὸ οὗνον καὶ σίκερα ἀγνισθήσεται" καὶ ὅξος ἔξ οὗνον, καὶ ὅξος ἐκ σίκερα οὐ πίεται." ἀλλὰ καὶ Σολομῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς εἴργει τῆς χρήσεως, λέγων "μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα ποίει, μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότει. οἱ δυνάσται θυμῶδεις εἰσὶν, οὗνον μὴ πινέτωσαν, ἔνα μὴ πιόντες ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῶν πόνων. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ νόσων ἔνεκα ἐπιτρέπει Τιμοθέῳ λέγων "ολίγῳ οἶνῳ χρῶ διὰ τὸν στόμαχόν σου καὶ τὰς πυκνάς σου ἀσθενείας."

## Section 26

12.26.1 | "Εἴ τοίνυν ἄκροις είς φιλοσοφίαν πόλεως τις ἀνάγκη ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἡ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἡ καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐν τινι βαρβαρικῷ τόπῳ, πόρρω που ἐκτὸς ὅντι τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως, ἡ καὶ ἔπειτα γενήσεται, περὶ τούτου ἔτοιμοι τῷ λόγῳ διαμάχεσθαι, ὡς γέγονεν ἡ εἰρημένη πολιτεία, καὶ ἔστι, καὶ γενήσεται γε, ὅταν αὐτὴ ἡ Μοῦσα πόλεως ἐγκρατής γένηται. οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνατος γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατα λέγομεν."

## Section 27

12.27.1 | "Αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν πότερον

service, establishes a law saying, 'And the Lord spoke to Aaron, saying, you and your sons shall not drink wine or strong drink when you go into the tent of meeting, so that you do not die; it is a lasting law for your generations.' He also establishes a rule for those who pray, saying, 'If a man or woman makes a great vow, they shall be cleansed for the Lord from wine and strong drink.' They shall not drink vinegar made from wine or vinegar made from strong drink. But Solomon also forbids rulers and judges from drinking, saying, 'Do everything with counsel, drink wine with counsel. For rulers are fierce; let them not drink wine, lest they forget wisdom and their duties.' And the apostle allows Timothy to drink a little wine for his stomach and frequent illnesses.

12.26.1 | If then there is a need for a city to pay attention to philosophy, whether it has happened in the endless past or is now in some foreign place, far from our view, or will happen later, let us be ready to argue about this matter, as the mentioned city has come to be, and is, and will be, when the Muse of the city becomes strong. For it is not impossible to happen, nor do we say impossible things.

12.27.1 | Should he think of himself as a

ώς πολεμίω πρὸς πολέμιον διανοητέον, ἥ πῶς ἔτι λέγομεν; Ωἱὲνε Ἀθηναῖε, οὐ γάρ οὐ ἔθέλοιμ' ἀν προσαγορεύειν· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίας ἄξιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπονομάζεσθαι;) τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὥρθως ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίηει σάς, ὥστε ἡδὸν ἀνευρήσεις ὅτι νῦν δὴ ὥρθως ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐρρέθη τὸ πολεμίους εἶναι πάντας πᾶσι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἴδιᾳ ἐκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

warrior against an enemy, or how else should we speak? O foreign Athenian, for I would not want to greet you; for you seem to me more worthy to be called by the name of the god. For having correctly brought the argument to the beginning, you have made it clearer. If you search, you will find that now it has indeed been rightly said by us that all are enemies to everyone, both in public and in private.

12.27.2 | Πῶς εἴρηκας, ὡς θαυμάσιε;  
Κάνταῦθα, ὡς ξένε, τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν ἐαυτὸν πασῶν νικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ ἀρίστη, τὸ δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε ἄμα καὶ κάκιστον. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς πολέμου ἐν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν ὅντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σημαίνει.”

12.27.2 | How have you said this, O wonderful one? And here, O stranger, to conquer oneself is the first and best of all victories, but to be defeated by oneself is the most shameful and the worst of all. For these things signify that in each of us, there is a war against ourselves.

12.27.3 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα τούτοις προστίθησι λέγων Ούκοῦν ἔνα μὲν ἡμῶν ἔκαστον αὐτὸν τιθῶμεν; Ναί. Δύο δὲ κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ ξυμβούλω ἐναντίω τε καὶ ἄφρονε, ὡς προσαγορεύομεν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην; Ἐστι ταῦτα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοιν ἀμφοῖν αὖ δόξας μελλόντων, οἷν κοινὸν μὲν ὄνομα ἐλπὶς, ἕδιον δὲ φόβος μὲν ἡ πρὸ λύπης ἐλπὶς, θάρρος δὲ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις λογισμὸς ὅ τι ποτ' αὐτῶν ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον, δις γενόμενος δόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἐπωνόμασται.”

12.27.3 | And besides these things, he adds by saying, 'Shall we not place each one of us as one?' Yes. But having two things within oneself, opposing and foolish, as we call pleasure and pain? These things exist. And for both of these, the common name is hope, while the specific names are fear, which is hope before pain, and courage, which is hope before the opposite. And over all these, there is reasoning about which of them is better or worse, which, when it becomes a belief, is called the common law of the city.

12.27.4 | Καὶ ἔξῆς φησιν “Τόδε δ' ἵσμεν, ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν οἶν τεῦρα ἥ σμήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσι τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντίαι οὔσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις, οὗ δὴ διωρισμένη ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία κεῖται. μιᾶς γάρ φησιν ὁ λόγος

12.27.4 | And from here he says, 'This we know, that these passions within us are like nerves or certain strings that pull us and each other in opposing directions towards opposing actions, where virtue and vice are defined. For the argument says that one

δεῖν τῶν ἔλξεων ξυνεπόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδαμῆ ἀπολειπόμενον ἐκείνης ἀνθέλκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις νεύροις ἔκαστον, ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσῆν καὶ ἱερὰν, τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, ἄλλας δὲ σκληράς καὶ σιδηρᾶς, τὴν δὲ μαλακήν ἀτε χρυσῆν οὖσαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας παντοδαποῖς εἴδεσιν δόμοίας· δεῖν δὲ τῇ καλλίστῃ ἀγωγῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀεὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καλοῦ μὲν ὅντος, πράου τε καὶ οὐ βιαίου, δεῖσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγὴν, ὅπως ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος νικᾷ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. καὶ οὕτω δὴ περὶ θαυμάτων ὡς ὅντων ἡμῶν μῆθος ἀρετῆς σεσωσμένος ἄν εἴη, καὶ τὸ κρείττω ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἥττω εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ φανερὸν ἄν γένοιτο μᾶλλον δὲ νοεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἴδιωτην, τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀληθῆ λαβόντα ἐν ἐαυτῷ περὶ τῶν ἔλξεων τούτῳ ἐπόμενον δεῖ ζῆν

12.27.5 | πόλιν δὲ ἢ παρὰ θεῶν τινὸς ἢ παρὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου γνόντος ταῦτα λόγον παραλαβοῦσαν, νόμον θεμένην, αὐτῇ τε δομιλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν· οὕτω κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ σαφέστερον ἡμῖν διηρθρωμένον ἄν εἴη.”

12.27.6 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος τὰ ὄμοια διδάσκει λόγος φάσκων “συνήδομαι δὲ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρωπον, βλέπω δὲ ἔτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου ἀντιστρατεύμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου.’ καὶ πάλιν “μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων, ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων,” ὅσα τε ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

must always follow the pulls and never leave behind that which draws us to the other strings. This is the golden and sacred guidance of reasoning, which is called the common law of the city, while the others are harsh and iron-like. The soft one, being golden, is to be compared to the others of various kinds. One must always grasp the most beautiful guidance of the law; for when reasoning is good, gentle, and not forceful, it needs helpers for its guidance, so that the golden nature within us may conquer the other natures. And thus, concerning wonders as they exist, a myth of virtue would be preserved, and it would become clear in some way that the better is better and the worse is worse, both for the city and for the individual, with the true argument taking hold within oneself about these pulls, and one must live following this.'

12.27.5 | And a city, whether from some god or from this very one who knows, would take up this argument, establishing a law, to associate with itself and with the other cities. In this way, vice and virtue would be more clearly defined for us.

12.27.6 | And among us, the divine teaching says, 'I agree with the law of God according to the inner person, but I see another law in my thoughts that fights against the law of my mind.' And again, 'Between each other, the thoughts accuse or defend themselves,' along with many other things similar to these.

## Section 28

12.28.1 | "Μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς εἰ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρα τοῦ σώματος οὖσα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο πρεσβύτερα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἥθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαί τε καὶ μνῆμαι πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους καὶ ἥψης εἴη γεγονότα ἄν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος. Ἀνάγκη.

12.28.1 | We remember, indeed, having agreed before that if the soul appears older than the body, then the things of the soul would also be older than those of the body. Absolutely. The ways, habits, intentions, thoughts, and true beliefs would be careful considerations and memories that have come before in length, width, depth, and strength of bodies, if indeed the soul is of the body. It is necessary.

12.28.2 | "Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν αἵτιαν εἶναι ψυχὴν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴπερ τῶν πάντων γε αὐτὴν θήσομεν αἵτιαν;" Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεκάτου τῶν Νόμων προκείδθω. συνάδει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Μώσης πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰπὼν "καὶ ἐὰν ψυχὴ ἀμάρτῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ πλημμέλημα·" καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἐμφερῶς εἴρηται παρ' ἀυτῷ.

12.28.2 | Is it then necessary to agree that the soul is the cause of good things and also of bad, beautiful, and shameful things, both just and unjust, and of all opposites, if we are to make it the cause of everything? And let these things be presented from the tenth of the Laws. Moses also agrees with this many times in the laws, saying, 'And if the soul sins and commits a wrongdoing,' and all that has been said similarly by them.

## Section 29

12.29.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις γραφῆς περὶ τοῦ σπουδῆ φιλοσοφοῦντος φασκούσης "ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὶ ὅταν ἄρῃ ζυγὸν ἐν νεότητι αὐτοῦ· καθήσεται κατὰ μόνας, καὶ σιωπήσεται ὅτι ἥρεν ἐφ' ἐσυτῷ· καὶ περὶ τῶν θεοφιλῶν προφητῶν, ὡς ἄρα δὶ' ἀκρότητα φιλοσοφίας ἐν ἑρημίαις καὶ ὅρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις διῆγον, πρὸς μόνων τῷ θεῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, ἐπάκουουσον τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τοιόνδε τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἐκθειάζει, ὥδε πῃ περὶ τοῦ ἄκρως φιλοσοφοῦντος διεξιών

12.29.1 | In the Hebrew writings about the one who studies philosophy with seriousness, it is said, 'It is good for a man when he takes up a yoke in his youth; he will sit alone and be silent about what he has taken upon himself.' And about the God-loving prophets, it is said that they lived in the wilderness, mountains, and caves, having their thoughts directed only to God. Listen to Plato, who also describes this kind of way of life, as he discusses the one who truly studies philosophy.

12.29.2 | "Λέγωμεν δὴ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ σοί γε δοκεῖ, περὶ τῶν κορυφαίων· τί γὰρ ἄν τις τούς γε φαύλως διατρίβοντας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λέγοι; οὗτοι δέ που ἐκ νέων πρῶτον μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἵσασι τὴν ὁδὸν, οὐδὲ ὅπου δικαστήριον, ἢ βουλευτήριον, ἢ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον· νόμους δὲ καὶ Ψηφίσματα λεγόμενα ἢ γεγραμμένα οὕθ' ὥρῶσιν οὕτ' ἀκούουσι. σπουδαὶ δὲ ἐταιρειῶν ἐπ' ἀρχὰς καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι, οὐδὲ ὅναρ πράττειν προσίσταται αὐτοῖς.

12.29.2 | Let us say, as it seems to you, about the top ones: what could someone say about those who waste their time in philosophy? These people do not even know the way to the marketplace when they are young, nor where the court or council is, or any other public gathering of the city. They neither see nor hear about the laws and decrees that are said or written. Their serious activities are about gatherings and meetings, banquets, and parties with flute girls; they do not even dream of doing anything else.

12.29.3 | εῦ δὲ ἡ κακῶς τί γέγονεν ἐν πόλει, ἢ τί τω κακόν ἔστιν ἐκ προγόνων γεγονὸς ἢ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λέληθεν ἢ οἵ τῆς θαλάσσης λεγόμενοι χόες. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐκ οἴδεν οἴδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπέχεται τοῦ εὔδοκιμεῖν χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅντι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει κεῖται αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ· ἡ δὲ διάνοια, ταῦτα πάντα ἡγησαμένη σμικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν, ἀτιμάσασα πανταχῆ πέταται, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, τά τε γᾶς ὑπένερθε καὶ τὰ ἐπίπεδα γεωμετροῦσα, οὐρανοῦ τε ὑπεράστρονομοῦσα, καὶ πᾶσαν πάντη φύσιν ἐρευνωμένη τῶν ὅντων ἐκάστου ὅλου, εἰς τῶν ἐγγὺς οὐδὲν ἐαυτὴν συγκαθιεῖσα.

12.29.3 | Whether good or bad has happened in the city, or what harm has come from ancestors or from men or women, he is more unaware of it than the so-called tides of the sea. And he does not even know these things; he is not far from seeking honor, but in reality, only his body is in the city and present. His mind, considering all these things small and worthless, dishonors them and flies everywhere, according to Pindar, measuring the earth below and the surface, studying the stars above, and examining the nature of everything, without ever settling on anything close to himself.

12.29.4 | Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες; "Ωσπερ καὶ Θαλῆν ἀστρονομοῦντα, ὡ Θεόδωρε, καὶ ἄνω βλέποντα, πεσόντα εἰς φρέαρ Θρῆττά τ' ἵς ἐμμελῆς καὶ χαρίεσσα θεραπαινὶς ἀποσκῶψαι λέγεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ προθυμοῦτο εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ πόδας λανθάνοι αὐτόν.

12.29.4 | How do you say this, oh Socrates? Just like Thales, who was studying the stars, oh Theodorus, and looking up, it is said that he fell into a well, and a beautiful and graceful servant girl mocked him, saying that he was eager to know what was in the sky, while what was in front of him and at his feet escaped his notice.

12.29.5 | ταύτὸν δὲ ἀρκεῖ σκῶμμα ἐπὶ πάντας ὅσοι ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διάγουσι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὃ μὲν πλησίον καὶ ὃ γείτων λέληθεν, οὐ μόνον ὃ τι πράττει, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγους καὶ εἰ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἢ τι ἄλλο θρέμμα. τί δέ ποτ’ ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τί τῇ τοιαύτῃ φύσει προσήκει διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν, ζῆτεῖ τε καὶ πράγματα ἔχει διερευνώμενος. μανθάνεις γάρ που, ὡ Θεόδωρε, ἢ οὕ;

12.29.6 | "Εγωγε, καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις. Τοιγάρτοι, ὡ φίλε, ίδιᾳ τε συγγιγνόμενος ὃ τοιοῦτος ἐκάστῳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος ἔλεγον, ὅταν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἢ που ἄλλοθι ἀναγκασθῇ περὶ τῶν παρὰ πόδας καὶ τῶν ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς διαλέγεσθαι, γέλωτα παρέχει οὐ μόνον Θράτταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄχλῳ, εἰς φρέατά τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν ἐμπίπτων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, καὶ ἡ ἀσχημοσύνη δεινή, δόξαν ἀβελτερίας παρεχομένη.

12.29.7 | ἵν τε γὰρ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ὕδιον ἔχει οὐδὲν οὐδένα λοιδορεῖν, ἅτε οὐκ είδὼς κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ μεμελετηκέναι· ἀπορῶν οὖν γελοῖος φαίνεται· ἐν τε τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ταῖς τāν ἄλλων μεγαλαυχίαις οὐ προσποήτως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι γελῶν ἐνδηλος γιγνόμενος ληρώδης δοκεῖ εἶναι.

12.29.8 | τύραννόν τε γὰρ ἢ βασιλέα ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ἔνα τῶν νομέων, οἴον συβώτην ἢ ποιμένα ἢ τινα βουκόλον,

12.29.5 | This is the same joke for all who spend their time in philosophy. For truly, such a person is unaware of both his neighbor and the one next to him, not only of what he is doing but also of whether he is a human being or some other creature. But what is a human being, and what difference does this nature make in doing or suffering compared to others? He seeks and examines things. You must be learning this somewhere, oh Theodorus, or not?

12.29.6 | I agree, and you speak the truth. Therefore, my friend, when such a person is with each one privately and in public, as I was saying at the beginning, whenever he is forced to talk about what is at his feet and in front of his eyes in a courtroom or somewhere else, he brings laughter not only to the Thracians but also to the other crowd. He falls into wells and every kind of trouble, overwhelmed by confusion, and his shame is terrible, giving the impression of foolishness.

12.29.7 | For in insults, he has nothing special to insult anyone, since he does not know any bad thing about anyone because he has not studied. Therefore, he seems ridiculous in his confusion. In both praises and the boasting of others, he does not pretend, but truly laughing, he appears to be foolish.

12.29.8 | For he thinks that praising a tyrant or king is like praising one of the common people, such as a swineherd or

ἡγεῖται ἀκούειν εύδαιμονιζόμενον πολὺ  
βδάλλοντα· δυσκολώτερον δὲ ἔκεινων  
ζῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλότερον ποιμαίνειν τε καὶ  
βδάλλειν νομίζει αὐτούς·

shepherd or some cowherd, believing that he hears them being made happy while they are very foolish. But he believes that those creatures are harder to manage and more dangerous to lead and to make foolish.

12.29.9 | ἄγροικον δὲ καὶ ἀπαίδευτον ὑπὸ  
ἀσχολίας οὐδὲν ἡττον τῶν νομέων τὸν  
τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον γίγνεσθαι, σηκὸν ἐν  
ὅρει τὸ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον. γῆς δὲ ὅταν  
μυρία πλέθρα ἥ ἔτι πλείω ἀκούσῃ, ὅστις  
ἄρα κεκτημένος θαυμαστὰ πλήθη  
κέκτηται, πάνσμικρα δοκεῖ ἀκούειν, εἰς  
ἀπασαν εἴωθὼς τὴν γῆν βλέπειν.

12.29.9 | But an uneducated country person, busy with work, is no less necessary than the common people, like a wall covered with brush in the mountains. And when the land hears countless sounds or even more, whoever has obtained wonderful numbers seems to hear everything, used to seeing all the land.

12.29.10 | τὰ δὲ δὴ γένη ὑμνούντων, ὡς  
γενναῖός τις ἐπτὰ πάππους πλουσίους  
ἔχων ἀποφῆναι, παντάπασιν ἀμβλὺ καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σμικρὸν ὄρώντων ἡγεῖται τὸν ἔπαινον, ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
ἀπαιδευσίας οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ<sup>3</sup>  
βλέπειν, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι ὅτι πάππων καὶ  
προγόνων μυριάδες ἐκάστῳ γεγόνασιν  
ἀναρίθμητοι, ἐν αἷς πλούσιοι καὶ πτωχοὶ  
καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι βάρβαροί τε  
“Ἐλληνες πολλάκις μυρίοι γεγόνασιν  
ὅτωοῦν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
καταλόγῳ προγόνων σεμνυνομένων, ἥ καὶ  
ἀναφερόντων εἰς Ἡρακλέα τὸν  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος, ἦτοπα αὐτῷ καταφαίνεται  
τῆς σμικρολογίας, ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἀπ'  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος εἰς τὸ ἄνω πεντεκαιεικοστὸς  
τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἴλα συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τύχη, καὶ  
ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γελᾶ, οὐ  
δυναμένων λογίζεσθαι τε καὶ χαυνότητα  
ἀνοήτου ψυχῆς ἀπαλλάττειν.

12.29.10 | But those who sing praises, thinking that someone who has seven rich grandfathers is truly noble, see the praise as completely dull and small. They cannot see the whole picture because of their lack of education, nor do they realize that each person has countless grandfathers and ancestors, among whom there have often been many rich and poor, kings and slaves, both barbarian and Greek. Yet, they focus on a list of twenty-five noble ancestors or even refer to Heracles, the son of Amphitryon. This seems strange to them because they think that the one from Amphitryon is such a distant descendant, as if it were just luck for him, and the twenty-fifth from him laughs, unable to think deeply and free from the emptiness of a foolish mind.

12.29.11 | ἐν ἄπασι δὴ τούτοις ὁ τοιοῦτος  
ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καταγελᾶται, τὰ μὲν

12.29.11 | In all these things, such a person is laughed at by the many, having some

ύπερηφάνως ἔχων, ώς δοκεῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσὶν  
άγνοῶν τε καὶ ἐν ἐκάστοις ἀπορῶν.  
Παντάπασι τὰ γιγνόμενα λέγεις, ω  
Σώκρατες.

12.29.12 | "Οταν δέ γε τινὰ αὔτὸς, ὡς φίλε,  
ἐλκύσῃ ἄνω, καὶ ἔθελήσῃ τις αὐτῷ ἐκβῆναι  
ἐκ τοῦ, τί ἔγώ σε ἀδικῶ ἢ σὺ ἐμέ.. εἰς  
σκέψιν αὖ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀδικίας,  
τί τε ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν καὶ τί τῶν πάντων ἢ  
ἄλληλων διαφέρετον, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς βασιλεὺς  
εὐδαίμων κεκτημένος τε αὖ πολὺ χρυσίον,  
ἢ βασιλείας δὲ πέρι καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ὅλως  
εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀθλιότητος ἐπίσκεψιν,  
ποίω τέ τινες ἔστον καὶ τίνα τρόπον  
ἀνθρώπου φύσει προσήκει τὸ μὲν  
κτήσασθαι αὐτοῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀποφυγεῖν· περὶ  
πάντων τούτων ὅταν αὖ δέῃ λόγον διδόναι  
τὸν σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δριμὺν  
καὶ δικανικὸν, πάλιν αὖ ἀντίστροφα  
ἀποδίδωσιν· Ἰλιγγιῶν τε ἀπὸ ὑψηλοῦ  
κρεμασθεὶς καὶ βλέπων μετέωρος ἄνωθεν  
ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἀδημονῶν τε καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ  
βαρβαρίζων γέλωτα Θράτταις μὲν οὐ  
παρέχει, ούδ' ἄλλως ἀπαιδεύτω ούδενι, οὐ  
γὰρ αἰσθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίως ἢ ὡς  
ἀνδραπόδοις τραφεῖσι πᾶσιν.

12.29.13 | οὗτος δὴ ἐκατέρου τρόπος, ω  
Θεόδωρε, δὲ μὲν τῷ ὄντι ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τε καὶ  
σχολῇ τεθραμμένου, δὸν δὴ φιλόσοφον  
καλεῖς, ὡς ἀνεμέστον εὐήθει δοκεῖν καὶ  
ούδενὶ εἶναι, ὅταν εἰς δουλικὰ ἐμπέσῃ  
διακονήματα, οἷον στρωματόδεσμον μὴ  
ἐπισταμένου συσκευάσασθαι, μηδὲ ὅψον  
ἡδῦναι, ἢ θῶπας λόγους· δὲ δ' αὖ τὰ μὲν  
τοιαῦτα πάντα δυναμένου τορῶς τε καὶ  
όξεως διακονεῖν, ἀναβάλλεσθαι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐπισταμένου ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐλευθέρως, ούδ'  
ἀρμονίαν λόγων λαβόντος ὄρθως ὑμνῆσαι

things with pride, as it seems, while being ignorant of others and confused about each one. You say everything that happens, oh Socrates.

12.29.12 | But when someone, my friend, pulls another up and someone wants to push him down, what wrong do I do to you or you to me? In examining justice and injustice, what is different about each and what is different from all or from each other? Is it because a king, having much gold, is happy, or is it about kingship and human happiness and misery? What is it that belongs to a person and in what way should one acquire some things and avoid others? When he needs to give a small account of all these things, the sharp and just soul again gives back the opposite. Hanging from a high place and looking down, he feels dizzy and, being confused and troubled by ignorance, does not provide laughter to Thracians or to any other uneducated person, for they do not understand, but to those who are the opposite or to all who are raised like slaves.

12.29.13 | This is indeed the way of each, oh Theodorus. The one who is truly raised in freedom and leisure, whom you call a philosopher, seems to be simple-minded and has no concern when he falls into servile tasks, like preparing a bed without knowing how, or making a pleasant dish, or flattering words. But the other, who is able to do all these things skillfully and sharply, does not know how to freely lift himself up to the right, nor can he correctly sing the praises of the gods and the lives of happy

θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν εὔδαιμόνων βίον  
ἀληθῆ.

12.29.14 | Εἰ πάντας, ὡς Σώκρατες, πείθοις  
ἄλεγεις ὥσπερ ἐμὲ, πλείων ἀν είρήνη καὶ  
κακὰ ἔλαττω κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἴη. Άλλ' οὕτ'  
ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατὸν, ὡς Θεόδωρε·  
ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀεὶ εῖναι  
ἀνάγκη· οὕτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον  
περιπολεῖ ἔξ ἀνάγκης.

12.29.15 | διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε  
ἐκεῖσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ  
ὅμοιώσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὅμοιώσις  
δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως  
γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὡς ἄριστε, οὐ πάντι τῷ  
ράδιον πεῖσαι ως ἄρα οὐχ ὃν ἔνεκα οἱ  
πολλοί φασι δεῖν πονηρίαν μὲν φεύγειν,  
ἀρετὴν δὲ διώκειν, τούτων χάριν τὸ μὲν  
ἐπιτηδευτέον, τὸ δ' οὐ, ἔνα δὴ μὴ κακὸς καὶ  
ἴνα ἀγαθὸς δοκῇ εἶναι.

12.29.16 | ταῦτα μὲν γάρ ἔστιν ὁ λεγόμενος  
γραῶν ὑθλος, ὃς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· τὸ δὲ  
ἀληθὲς ὥδε λέγομεν. θεὸς οὐδαμή οὐδαμῶς  
ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε δικαιότατος, καὶ  
οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὅμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἢ ὃς ἂν  
ἡμῶν αὖ γένηται ὅτι δικαιότατος. περὶ  
τούτου καὶ ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς δεινότης ἀνδρὸς  
καὶ ἡ οὐδένειά τε καὶ ἡ ἀνανδρία.

12.29.17 | ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτου γνῶσις σοφία  
καὶ ἀρετὴ ἀληθινὴ, ἡ δὲ ἄγνοια ἀμαθία καὶ  
κακία ἐναργής· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δεινότητές

men.

12.29.14 | If, oh Socrates, you persuade  
everyone as you have persuaded me, there  
would be more peace and fewer evils  
among people. But it is not possible for  
evils to be destroyed, oh Theodorus; for  
there must always be something opposite  
to the good. They cannot be established  
even among the gods, and the mortal  
nature and this place must necessarily go  
around.

12.29.15 | Therefore, one must try to flee  
from here to there as quickly as possible.  
Flight is a likeness to the divine as much as  
possible; and this likeness must be just and  
holy with understanding. But, oh best one,  
it is not very easy to persuade that many  
say we must flee from evil and pursue  
virtue. For this reason, one should practice  
the former and not the latter, so that one  
does not seem bad and appears to be good.

12.29.16 | These are indeed the words of  
the so-called old writings, as it seems to  
me; but the truth is said like this. A god is in  
no way unjust, but as much as possible, he  
is the most just. And there is nothing more  
similar to him than anyone who becomes  
one of us, being the most just. About this,  
there is also the true greatness of a man,  
and both cowardice and lack of manliness.

12.29.17 | For knowledge of this is true  
wisdom and true virtue, while ignorance is  
clear foolishness and wickedness. The

νότητές τε δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφίαι ἐν μὲν πολιτικαῖς δυναστείαις γιγνόμεναι φορτικαὶ, ἐν δὲ τέχναις βάναυσοι. τῷ οὖν ἀδικοῦντι καὶ ἀνόσια λέγοντι ἡ πράττοντι μακρῷ ἄριστ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν δεινῷ ὑπὸ πανουργίας εἶναι.

other kinds of greatness that seem to be wisdom arise in political powers as burdensome, and in crafts as rough. Therefore, for the unjust and impious person who speaks or acts wrongly, it is best not to agree, as they are far from being clever through deceit.

12.29.18 | ἀγάλλονται γὰρ τῷ ὄνείδει, καὶ οἴονται ἀκούειν ὅτι οὐ λῆροί είσι, γῆς ἄλλως ἄχθη 5 ἀλλ' ἀνδρες οἴους δεῖ ἐν πόλει τοὺς σωθησομένους. λεκτέον οὖν τάληθὲς, ὅτι τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον είσιν οὗτοι οὐκ οἴονται, ὅτι οὐχὶ οἴονται. ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ ζημίαν ἀδικίας, ὃ δεῖ ἥκιστα ἀγνοεῖν. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἦν δοκοῦσι, πληγαί τε καὶ θάνατοι, ὃν ἐνίστε πάσχουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἦν ἀδύνατον ἔκφυγεῖν.

12.29.18 | For they rejoice in the insult, and they think they hear that they are not fools, but rather men who should be saved in the city. Therefore, the truth must be spoken, that they are much more capable than they think, because they do not realize it. For they are unaware of the harm of injustice, which they should least of all be ignorant of. For it is not what they believe, the blows and deaths, which they sometimes suffer without doing anything wrong, but rather that which is impossible to escape.

12.29.19 | Τίνα δὴ λέγεις; Παραδειγμάτων, ὡ φίλε, ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἐστώτων, τοῦ μὲν θείου εὐδαιμονεστάτου, τοῦ δὲ ἀθέου ἀθλιωτάτου, οὐχ ὁρῶντες ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει, ὑπὸ ἡλιθιότητός τε καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας λανθάνουσι τῷ μὲν ὄμοιούμενοι διὰ τὰς ἀδίκους πράξεις, τῷ δὲ ἀνομοιούμενοι οὐ δὴ τίνουσι δίκην, ζῶντες τὸν εἰκότα βίον ὡς ὄμοιοῦνται.

12.29.19 | What are you saying? Of examples, my friend, truly standing before us, of the most blessed divine person and the most miserable godless person, they do not see how it is. They are hidden by foolishness and the worst ignorance, as they become similar to one through unjust actions, while they do not become similar to the other. Thus, they are punished for living a life that is fitting to whom they resemble.

12.29.20 | ἀν δὲ εἴπωμεν ὅτι, ἀν μὴ ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῆς δεινότητος, καὶ τελευτήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὁ τῶν κακῶν καθαρὸς τόπος οὐ δέξεται, ἐνθάδε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῖς ὄμοιότητα διαγωγῆς ἀεὶ ἔχουσι, κακοὶ κακοῖς συνόντες, ταῦτα δὴ

12.29.20 | But if we say that, if they do not free themselves from their terrible state, when they die, that pure place of evils will not accept them. Here, they will always have their similarity in behavior, being bad among bad people. Indeed, these things will

καὶ παντάπασιν ὡς δεινοὶ καὶ πανοῦργοι  
ἀνοήτων τινῶν ἀκούσονται.

12.29.21 | Καὶ μάλα δὴ, ω Σώκρατες. Οἶδά  
τοι, ω ἑταῖρε. ἐν μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς  
συμβέβηκεν, ὅταν ἴδια λόγον δέῃ δοῦναί τε  
καὶ δέξασθαι περὶ ὧν ψέγουσι, καὶ  
έθελήσωσιν ἀνδρικῶς πολὺν χρόνον  
ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ μὴ ἀνάνδρως φυγεῖν, τότε  
ἀτόπως, ω δαιμόνιε, τελευτῶντες οὐκ  
ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς περὶ ὧν λέγουσι,  
καὶ ἡ ἥτηρική ἔκεινη πως ἀπομαραίνεται,  
ῶστε παίδων μηδὲν δοκεῖν διαφέρειν.”

be heard as terrible and crafty by some  
foolish people.

12.29.21 | And indeed, oh Socrates. I know,  
my friend. However, one thing has  
happened to them, when they need to give  
and receive a private account about the  
things they blame. And if they willingly  
endure for a long time with courage and do  
not flee cowardly, then strangely, oh divine  
one, when they die, they do not please  
themselves about the things they say. And  
that rhetoric somehow fades away, so that  
it seems to differ nothing from that of  
children.

## Section 30

12.30.1 | Καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν περὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν  
ἀνθρώποις σοφιστείας εἴρηται “ἡ γὰρ  
σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ  
Θεῷ ἔστι. γέγραπται γὰρ, ἀπολῶ τὴν  
σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν  
συνετῶν ἀθετήσω. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ  
γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητής τοῦ αἰώνος  
τούτου ;”

12.30.1 | And among us, it has been said  
about all the wisdom among humans, 'For  
the wisdom of this world is foolishness to  
God. For it is written, I will destroy the  
wisdom of the wise, and I will reject the  
understanding of the understanding ones.  
Where is the wise person? Where is the  
scribe? Where is the debater of this age?'

12.30.2 | ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δεῖν μηδὲν  
σμικρολόγον φρονεῖν τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν  
φιλοσοφοῦντας διδασκόμεθα ἐν οἷς  
εἴρηται “σκοπούντων ἡμῶν οὐ τὰ  
βλεπόμενα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα· τὰ γὰρ  
βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα  
αἰώντα.”

12.30.2 | But we are also taught about the  
need to think nothing small by those who  
philosophize according to God, in which it  
has been said, 'We do not look at the things  
that are seen, but at the things that are not  
seen; for the things that are seen are  
temporary, but the things that are not seen  
are eternal.'

12.30.3 | καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν κακίαν περὶ γῆν  
καὶ τὸν θνητὸν βίον εἰλεῖσθαί φησί που ὁ

12.30.3 | And concerning the evil on earth  
and mortal life, the divine word says

Θεῖος λόγος “έξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσί.’ καὶ “ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς.” λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης “ἀρὰ καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ μοιχεία καὶ φόνος κέχυται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ αἴματα ἐφ' αἵμασι μίσγουσι.

somewhere, 'Making the most of the time, because the days are evil.' And 'Sufficient for the day is its own evil.' The prophet also says, 'Curses, theft, adultery, and murder are poured out upon the earth, and blood mixes with blood.'

12.30.4 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ φεύγειν ἐνθένδε παρὰ τὸν θεὸν φησὶν ὁ Μώσης “όπίσω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύσῃ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ.” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς μιμεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν διδάσκει λέγων ἄγιοι ἔσεσθε) ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἄγιός ἐστι.”

12.30.4 | And about fleeing from here to God, Moses says, 'You shall walk after the Lord your God, and you shall cling to him.' And he teaches to imitate God, saying, 'You shall be holy, for the Lord our God is holy.'

12.30.5 | δίκαιον δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ τὸν θεὸν εἶδὼς ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς μιμητὰς γενέσθαι παρορμῶν φησι “δίκαιος κύριος, καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἡγάπησεν.” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς πλούτου καταφρονεῖν ἐπαίδευσε λέγων πλοῦτος ἔὰν ρέῃ, μὴ προστίθεσθε καρδίαν. καὶ”μὴ φοβοῦ ὅταν πλουτήσῃ ἀνθρωπος, καὶ ὅταν πληθυνθῇ ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸν λήψεται τὰ πάντα, οὐδὲ συγκαταβήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ.”

12.30.5 | And David, knowing God, encourages us to become imitators, saying, 'The Lord is righteous, and he loves righteousness.' He also taught to despise wealth, saying, 'If wealth flows in, do not set your heart on it.' And 'Do not be afraid when a man becomes rich, and when the glory of his house increases; for when he dies, he will take nothing with him, nor will his glory follow him.'

12.30.6 | ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὰς θαυμάζειν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τούτοις “μὴ πεποίθατε ἐπ' ἄρχοντας, ἐφ' υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων, οὓς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία. ἔξελεύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπελεύσεται εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολοῦνται πάντες οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτοῦ.”

12.30.6 | But he also taught not to admire the rulers among men, saying, 'Do not put your trust in princes, in human beings, in whom there is no salvation. His spirit departs, and he returns to the earth; on that very day, his plans perish.'

## Section 31

12.31.1 | “Νομοθέτης δὲ οὗ τι καὶ σμικρὸν

12.31.1 | But the lawgiver, even if there is a

σφελος, ει καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν οὕτως ἔχον, ὡς  
καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἥρηχ' ὁ λόγος ἔχειν, εἴπερ τι  
καὶ ἄλλο ἐτόλμησεν ἀν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ  
ψεύδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἔστιν ὅ τι  
τούτου ψεῦδος λυσιτελέστερον ἀν  
ἔψεύσατό ποτε καὶ δυνάμενον μᾶλλον  
ποιεῖν μὴ βίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐκόντας πάντας πάντα  
τὰ δίκαια; Καλὸν μένη ἀλήθεια, ὡς ξένε, καὶ  
μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ράδιον εἶναι πείθειν.  
”

12.31.2 | Μυρία δ' ἀν εὔροις τοιαῦτα καὶ ἔν  
ταῖς Ἐβραίων γραφαῖς, ὡς ἀν περὶ θεοῦ  
ζηλοῦντος, ἢ ὑπνοῦντος, ἢ ὄργιζομένου, ἢ  
τισιν ἄλλοις ἀνθρωποπαθέσιν ἐνεχομένου  
ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν δεομένων τοῦ τοιοῦδε  
τρόπου παρειλημμένα.

## Section 32

12.32.1 | "Ἄρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τά γε ἔμπροσθεν  
δόμολογειται; Τοῦ πέρι; Τὸ δεῖν πάντα  
ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ἐλεύθερον καὶ δοῦλον,  
θῆλύν τε καὶ ἄρρενα, καὶ δλῃ τῇ πόλει ὅλην  
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐαυτῇ ἐπάδουσαν μὴ  
παύεσθαί ποτε ταῦτα ἃ διεληλύθαμεν,  
ἀμωσγέπως ἀεὶ μεταβαλλόμενα καὶ  
πάντως παρεχόμενα ποικιλίαν, ὡστ'  
ἀπληστίαν εἶναι τινα τῶν ὅμνων τοῖς  
ἄδουσι καὶ ἡδονήν. Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀν  
δόμολογοῖτ' ἀν δεῖν ταῦτα οὕτω  
πράττεσθαι;"

12.32.2 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ τῆς  
Πολιτείας ὅμοια τούτοις γράφει τάδε  
λέγων "Οἴσθά τι οῦν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων  
μελετώμενον, ἐν ᾧ οὐ πάντα ταῦτα τὸ τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν γένος διαφερόντως ἔχει ἢ τὸ τῶν  
γυναικῶν; ἢ μακρολογῶμεν τήν τε

small benefit, if it were not so, as the word  
now suggests, if he dared to lie for the good  
to the young, there is something that would  
be more useful than this lie, which could  
make them do what is right willingly, not  
by force. Truth is indeed beautiful, O  
stranger, and lasting; it seems that it is not  
easy to persuade.

12.31.2 | You would find many such things  
also in the Hebrew scriptures, about God  
being jealous, or sleeping, or angry, or  
being affected by other human feelings, for  
the benefit of those who ask in such a way.

12.32.1 | Then do we agree on these things?  
About what is necessary? That every man  
and child, free and slave, female and male,  
and the whole city should never stop  
singing these things that we have  
discussed, always changing and providing  
variety, so that there is some greed for the  
songs among those who sing and pleasure.  
How could it not be agreed that these  
things should be done in this way?

12.32.2 | And in the fifth book of the  
Republic, he writes similar things, saying,  
'Do you know if there is anything among  
humans that is studied, in which the nature  
of men is different from that of women? Or  
should we talk at length about weaving and

ύφαντικήν λέγοντες καὶ τὴν τῶν ποπάνων τε καὶ ἐψημάτων θεραπείαν, ἐν οἷς δή τι δοκεῖ τὸ γυναικεῖον γένος εἶναι, οὐ καὶ καταγελαστότατόν ἔστι πάμπου ἡττώμενον;

the care of food and cooking, in which it seems that the female nature exists, which is also the most ridiculed and defeated everywhere?"

12.32.3 | Άληθῆ ἔφη, λέγεις, ὅτι πολὺ κρατεῖται ἐν ἄπασιν, ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν, τὸ γένος τοῦ γένους· γυναικες μέντοι πολλαὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν βελτόνες εἰς πολλά· τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἔχει ὡς σὺ λέγεις. Οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔστιν, ω φίλε, ἐπιτήδευμα τῶν πόλιν διοικούντων γυναικὸς διότι γυνὴ, οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς, διότι ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως διεσπαρμέναι αἱ φύσεις ἐν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ζῷοιν, καὶ πάντων μὲν μετέχει γυνὴ ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατὰ φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνὴ ἀνδρός.

12.32.3 | Truly, you say, it is very strong in all, so to speak, the nature of the gender. Many women are better than many men in many ways; but the whole has as you say. Therefore, there is nothing, my friend, that a woman does in managing a city because she is a woman, nor a man because he is a man, but both natures are equally spread among both kinds of beings. And a woman participates in activities according to her nature, while a man does in all things, but in everything a woman is weaker than a man.

12.32.4 | Πάνυ γε. "Ἡ οὖν ἀνδράσι πάντα προστάξομεν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδένεν; Καὶ πῶς; Άλλ' ἔστι γάρ, οἴμαι, ὡς φήσομεν, καὶ γυνὴ ιατρικὴ, ἢ δ' οὐ, καὶ μουσικὴ, ἢ δ' ἄμουσος φύσει. Τί μήν; Καὶ γυμναστικὴ δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ πολεμικὴ, ἢ δὲ ἀπόλεμος καὶ οὐ φιλογυμναστική; Οἴμαι ἔγωγε. Τί δέ; φιλόσοφός τε καὶ μισόσοφος; καὶ θυμοειδῆς, ἢ δὲ ἄθυμός; "Εστι καὶ ταῦτα.

12.32.4 | Absolutely. So, shall we assign everything to men and nothing to women? And how is that? But there are, I think, as we will say, women who are doctors, while others are not, and women who are musicians, while others are not musical by nature. What about that? And what about physical training and military skills? Some women are not warriors and do not like exercise. I think that is true. And what about philosophers and those who hate philosophy? And those who are spirited, while others are not spirited? There are also these cases.

12.32.5 | "Εστιν ἄρα καὶ φυλακικὴ γυνὴ, ἢ δ' οὕτως ἢ οὐ τοιαύτην καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν φυλακικῶν φύσιν ἔξελεξάμεθα., τοιαύτην

12.32.5 | Therefore, there are also women who are guardians, while others are not. Or did we not choose such a nature from the

μὲν οὖν.

12.32.6 | Καὶ γυναικὸς ἄρα καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις είς φυλακὴν πόλεως, πλὴν ὅσῳ ἀσθενεστέρα, ἡ δὲ ἴσχυροτέρα ἐστί.

Φαίνεται. Καὶ γυναικες ἄρα αἱ τοιαῦθα ται τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκλεκτέαι συνοικεῖν τε καὶ ξυμφυλάττειν, ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν ἱκαναὶ καὶ ξυγγενεῖς αὐτοῖς τὴν φύσιν.”

12.32.7 | Είκότως ἄρα καὶ ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν λόγος ύποδέχεται Πᾶν γένος οὐ μόνον ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν, Ούδ' ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων Καὶ Ἐλλήνων, εἰς τὴν κατὰ θεὸν παιδείαν τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν.

## Section 33

12.33.1 | “Σκεψώμεθα δὴ πῃ τῆδε. Φέρε, εἴ τις Αἴγαν τροφὴν καὶ τὸ ζῶν αὐτὸν, κτῆμα ώς ἔστι Καλὸν, ἐπαινοῦ, ἀλλος δέ τις ἐωρακὼς αἴγας χωράς Νεμομένας αἴπόλου ἐν ἐργασίμοις χωρίοις δρώσας Κακὰ διαψέγοι, καὶ πᾶν θρέμμα ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων ίδων οὕτων μέμφοιτο, τὸν τοιούτου ψόγον ἡγούμεθα ύγιες ἀν ποτε ψέξαι καὶ διτοῦν; Καὶ πῶς;”Καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα

12.33.2 | Τί δὲ ἐπαινέτην ἡ ψέκτην κοινωνίας ἡστινοσοῦν, ἢ πέφυκέ τε εἶναι ἄρχων μετ' ἔκείνου τε ὡφέλιμός ἐστιν· ὃ δὲ μήτε ἐωρακὼς εἴη ποτὲ ὄρθως αὐτὴν ἐαυτῇ κοινωνοῦσαν μετ' ἄρχοντος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων ξυνοῦσαν· οἰόμεθα δὴ ποτε τοὺς τοιούτους

guardians among men? Indeed, we did.

12.32.6 | Therefore, the nature of a woman and a man is the same for guarding a city, except that the woman is weaker and the man is stronger. It seems so. And women are indeed suitable to live with and guard alongside such men, since they are capable and share a similar nature.

12.32.7 | Therefore, our argument rightly includes all kinds of people, not only men but also women, not only free people and slaves, but also foreigners and Greeks, in the education and philosophy according to the divine.

12.33.1 | Let us consider this. Suppose someone praises the goat and its nature as good, while another, having seen goats in places where they are tended, criticizes them for being bad. And if someone sees any creature without a leader or with bad leaders, would they not blame that creature? Do we think it is healthy to criticize such things at any time? And how?

12.33.2 | What can we say about praising or criticizing a society, which is meant to be led by a good ruler? If someone has never seen it properly working with a good leader, but always sees it without a leader or with bad leaders, do we think that such observers would ever find anything good to

θεωρούνς τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνιῶν χρηστόν  
τι ψέξειν ἡ ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Πῶς δ' ἄν;

praise or criticize about those societies?  
How could they?

12.33.3 | Οὐ δὴν χρὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἴ τινες φαίνοντο Δίχα προστάτου καὶ ἄρχοντος, ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων Δρῶντες καὶ ψέγειν τὸ πᾶν ἡμῶν διδασκαλεῖον, Μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρθως μετιόντων τὸ θεοσεβὲς Πολίτευμα θαυμάζειν.

12.33.3 | Surely, it is necessary for us, if some people appear to act without a leader or with bad leaders, to criticize our whole teaching. Instead, we should admire the truly pious way of life that is led correctly.

## Section 34

12.34.1 | Ἐν ταῖς Παροιμίαις Σολομῶνος συντόμως φερομένου τοῦ "μνήμη δικαίων μετ' ἔγκωμίων, ὅνομα δὲ ἀσεβῶν σβέννυται" καὶ πάλιν είρημένου τοῦ "μὴ μακαρίσῃς ἄνδρα πρὸ τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ," ἐπάκουσον β ὅπως τὴν διάνοιαν ἐρμηνεύει λέγων ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Νόμων

12.34.1 | In the Proverbs of Solomon, it is briefly said, 'The memory of the righteous is praised, but the name of the wicked is wiped out.' And again, it is said, 'Do not call a man blessed before his death.' Listen to how Plato explains this in the seventh book of the Laws.

12.34.2 | Τῶν πολιτῶν ὀπόσοι τέλος ἔχοιεν τοῦ βίου κατὰ σώματα ἢ κατὰ ψυχὰς ἔργα ἔξειργασμένοι καλὰ καὶ ἐπίπονα καὶ τοῖς νόμοις εύπειθεῖς γεγονότες, ἔγκωμίων αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἀν εἴη. Πῶς δ' οὖ;

12.34.2 | Of the citizens, those who have completed their lives with good and difficult works, whether in their bodies or in their souls, and who have been obedient to the laws, would surely deserve to be praised. Why not?

12.34.3 | Τούς γε μὴν ἔτι ζῶντας ἔγκωμίοις τε καὶ ὕμνοις τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, πρὶν ἀν ἀπαντά τις τὸν βίον διαδραμὼν τέλος ἐπιστήσηται καλόν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν ἔστω κοινὰ ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς γενομένοις."

12.34.3 | To honor the living with praises and hymns is not safe, until someone has completed their life and shown it to be good. Let all these things be common for good men and good women who have clearly proven themselves.

## Section 35

12.35.1 | Πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ πενίαν μή μοι δῷς, τοῦ Σολομῶνος φήσαντος ἐν Παροιμίαις ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν δ' Πολιτείας φησίν “Ἐτερα δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐρήκαμεν, ἀπαντὸν τρόπῳ φυλακτέον ὅπως μή ποτε αὐτοὺς λήσῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν παραδύντα. τὰ ποῖα ταῦτα; Πλοῦτός τε, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, καὶ πενία· ὡς τοῦ μὲν τρυφῆν καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντος, τῆς δ' ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ κακοεργίαν πρὸς τῷ νεωτερισμῷ.” Κακοεργία δέ ἐστι πᾶσα πρᾶξις ἄτιμος.

## Section 36

12.36.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις φάντος “ἔκαστος πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ μητέρα φοβείσθω· καὶ, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, ἵνα εὖ σοι ἥ,” καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ὁμοίως Μωσεὶ καὶ τιμᾷν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι ὡδέ πως φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις “Πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων εὐχάς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιτελεῖς γενομένας.” Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ φησὶ “Πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰδείσθω τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ. τὸν δὲ προέχοντα εἴκοσιν ἡλικίας ἔτεσιν ἄρρενα ἥ θῆλυν νομίζων ὡς πατέρα ἥ μητέρα διευλαβείσθω.”

## Section 37

12.37.1 | Μώσεως ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπαγορεύσαντος Ἐβραίοις Ἐβραίους δουλεύειν, καὶ φήσαντος “έὰν κτήσῃ παῖδα Ἐβραῖον, ἔξ ἔτη δουλεύσει σοί· τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει ἔξαποστελεῖς αὐτὸν ἔλεύθερον” καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ὁμοίως ἐν Πολιτείᾳ φησί “Μηδὲ Ἑλληνα ἄρα δοῦλον ἐκτήσθαι μήτε αὐτοὺς, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν οὕτω ξυμβουλεύειν; Πάνυ μὲν

12.35.1 | Do not give me wealth or poverty, as Solomon says in the Proverbs. Plato says in the Republic, 'We seem to have found other things to guard, which must be protected in every way so that they do not slip away into the city. What are these? Wealth and poverty; for wealth brings luxury, idleness, and innovation, while poverty brings unfreedom and bad work related to innovation.' Bad work is any action that is dishonorable.

12.36.1 | Again, Moses says in the laws, 'Let each person fear their father and mother, and honor your father and mother so that it may go well with you.' Plato similarly says in the Laws, 'Everyone with sense fears and honors the prayers of their parents, knowing that many have been fulfilled many times.' And again in another place he says, 'Let everyone respect their elder in both action and speech. And let one who is twenty years older, whether male or female, be regarded as a father or mother to you.'

12.37.1 | Moses, in the laws, forbids the Hebrews from enslaving Hebrews, saying, 'If you acquire a Hebrew child, he shall serve you for six years; but in the seventh year, you shall send him away free.' Similarly, Plato says in the Republic, 'Let no Greek be made a slave, nor advise others among the Greeks to do so.' Indeed, he said, 'They would rather do this to barbarians,

οῦν, ἔφη· μᾶλλόν τ' ἀν οὗν. οὕτω πρὸς  
βαρβάρους τρέποιντο, ἐαυτῶν δὲ  
ἀπέχοιντο."

## Section 38

12.38.1 | "Μὴ κινείτω γῆς ὅρια μηδεὶς μήτε  
οἴκείου πολίτου γείτονος μήτε  
διμοτέρμονος, ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς κεκτημένου  
ἄλλω ἔνω γειτονῶν, νομίσας τὸ τὰ  
ἀκίνητα κινεῖν ἀληθῶς τοῦτ' εἶναι." Καὶ  
ἔξῆς φησιν "Ος δ' ἀν ἐπεργάζηται τὰ τοῦ  
γείτονος, ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς ὄρους, τὸ μὲν  
βλάβος ἀποτινέτω, τῆς δὲ ἀναιδείας ἄμα  
καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἔνεκα ιατρευόμενος  
διπλάσιον τοῦ βλάβους ἄλλο ἔκτισάτω τῷ  
βλαφθεντὶ."

but keep themselves free.'

12.38.1 | Let no one move the boundaries  
of the land, neither of a neighboring citizen  
nor of a fellow citizen, even if he has  
acquired land at the edges from a foreign  
neighbor, thinking that moving the  
immovable is truly this. And he goes on to  
say, 'Whoever works on the land of a  
neighbor, crossing the boundaries, let him  
pay for the damage, and for the shame and  
lack of freedom, let him pay double the  
damage to the one harmed.'

## Section 39

12.39.1 | "Ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ὄνείδη καὶ  
τιμωρίας παίδων μηδενὶ συνέπεσθαι, πλὴν  
έάν τις τινὶ πατήρ καὶ πάππος καὶ πάππου  
πατήρ ἔφεξῆς ὄφλωσι θανάτου δίκην. "

12.39.1 | In one word, let no one fall under  
the reproach and punishment of a father  
for the children, except if someone is  
punished by a father, grandfather, and  
great-grandfather in succession for the  
crime of death.

## Section 40

12.40.1 | Μώσεως νόμου φάντος "έὰν  
κλέψῃ τις μόσχον, ἢ πρόβατον, καὶ σφάξῃ  
αὐτὸν, ἢ ἀποδῶται, πέντε μόσχους ἀποτίσει  
ἀντὶ τοῦ μόσχου, καὶ τέσσαρα πρόβατα  
ἀντὶ προβάτου· ἔὰν δὲ καταλειφθῇ καὶ  
εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ κλέμμα, ἀπὸ  
μόσχου καὶ ὄνου ἵως προβάτου ζῶντα  
διπλὰ ἀποτίσει" ἐπάκουοντον ὡς καὶ ὁ  
Πλάτων' τούτοις ἔπειται λέγων "Κλέπτῃ δὲ,  
έάν τε μέγα ἔάν τε μικρὸν κλέπτη τις, εἰς αὖ

12.40.1 | Moses, in the law, says, 'If  
someone steals a calf or a sheep and kills it  
or sells it, he shall pay five calves for the  
one calf and four sheep for the one sheep.  
But if he is caught in the act of stealing, he  
shall pay double for a living calf or donkey  
or sheep.' Listen also to what Plato says  
following this, 'If someone steals, whether a  
large or small item, let one law apply and  
one punishment for all. For indeed, the

νόμος ἐπικείσθω καὶ μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δὴ κλαπὲν χρεών διπλάσιον πρῶτον ἔκτινειν, ἐὰν ὄφλη τις τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην καὶ ἰκανὴν ἔχῃ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἀποτίνειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κλήρου, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, δεδέσθαι ἵως ἀν ἔκτισῃ ἡ πείση τὸν καταδικασάμενον."

## Section 41

12.41.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως φάντος "έὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ διορύγματι εὑρεθῇ ὁ κλέπτης καὶ πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος, συνάδει κάν τούτῳ λέγων ὁ Πλάτων "Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν ιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῆ χρημάτων ἐὰν ἐλὼν κτείνῃ τις, ἔστω καθαρός· καὶ ἐὰν λωποδύτην ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω.

stolen item must be paid back double first. If someone cannot pay this punishment and has enough of other property to pay for the stolen item, let him pay that. But if not, he shall be held until he can pay or convince the one who condemned him.'

## Section 42

12.42.1 | Ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα ὑποζύγιον ἡ ζῶν ἄλλο τι φονεύσῃ τινὰ πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶν δημοσίᾳ τιθεμένων ἀθλεύοντά τι τοιοῦτον δράσῃ, ἐπεξίτωσαν μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ φόνου τῷ κτείναντι, διαδικαζόντες· ἐνὶ τῶν δὲ τῶν ἀγρονόμων οἷσιν ἀν καὶ ὀπόσοις προστάξῃ ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ ὄφλον ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι." Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων. ὁ δὲ Μώσης προλαβών φησιν "έὰν δὲ κερατίσῃ ταῦρος ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποθάῃ, λίθοις λιθοβοληθήσεται ὁ ταῦρος, καὶ οὐ βρωθήσεται τὰ κρέα αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ταύρου ἀθῶος ἔσται.

12.42.1 | Again, Moses says, 'If the thief is found in the act of breaking in and is killed, he is not guilty of murder.' Plato agrees with this, saying, 'If someone goes at night to a house to steal money and kills someone while stealing, let him be innocent. And if he kills a thief while defending himself, let him also be innocent.'

12.42.1 | If someone kills a draft animal or any other creature, except for those involved in public contests, the relatives of the victim shall pursue the killer. They shall bring the case to trial, and the landowners shall decide according to what the proper authorities command. But if someone kills outside the boundaries of the land, they shall be judged differently." This is what Plato says. But Moses, anticipating this, says, 'If an ox gores a man or a woman and they die, the ox shall be stoned, and its meat shall not be eaten. But the owner of the ox shall be innocent.'

## Section 43

12.43.1 | Τῆς προφητικῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, ἵδοὺ γεγόνασί μοι ὁ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀναμεμιγμένοι πάντες χαλκῷ καὶ κασσιτέρῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ μολίβδῳ, ἐν μέσῳ καμίνου ἀργυρίου ἀναμεμιγμένοι εἰσί. διὰ τοῦτο εἴπὸν τάδε λέγει κύριος, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔγένεσθε πάντες εἰς σύγκρασιν μίαν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ εἰσδέξομαι ὑμᾶς, καθὼς εἰσδέχεται ἀργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος καὶ μόλιβδος καὶ κασσίτερος εἰς μέσον καμίνου, τοῦ ἐκφυσῆσαι εἰς αὐτοὺς πῦρ, τοῦ χωνευθῆναι" καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ὡσαύτως ἐπάκουουσον ἀ φησιν

12.43.1 | The prophetic writing says, 'Son of man, behold, the house of Israel has become mixed with bronze, tin, iron, and lead, like silver in the midst of a furnace.' Therefore, say this: says the lord, 'Because you have all become one mixture, I will accept you, just as silver, bronze, iron, and lead are accepted in the middle of a furnace, where the fire is blown upon them to melt them.' And Plato also says something similar.

12.43.2 | "Ούκοῦν ἀκούετε λοιπὸν τοῦ μύθου. ἐσμὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀδελφοὶ, ὡς φήσομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μυθολογοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς πλάττων, ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν ἱκανοὶ ἄρχειν, χρυσὸν ἐν τῇ γενέσει ξυνέμισγεν αὐτοῖς, διότι τιμιώτατοί εἰσιν· ὅσοι δ' ἐπίκουροι, ἀργυρον· σίδηρον δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς.

12.43.2 | Therefore, listen to the story. For we are all brothers in the city, as we will say to them while telling the story. But god, creating, gives gold to those of you who are fit to rule, because they are the most honorable. And to those who are helpers, he gives silver; and iron and bronze to the farmers and other workers.

12.43.3 | ἄτε οὖν ξυγγενεῖς ὄντες ἀπαντες, τὸ μὲν πολὺ ὅμοιους ἀν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς γεννῶτε, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐκ χρυσοῦ γεννηθείη ἀν ἀργυροῦ, καὶ ἔξ ἀργυροῦ χρυσοῦ ἔκγονον, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἔξ ἀλλήλων οὔτως.

12.43.3 | Since you are all related, you would mostly produce children like yourselves. However, there are times when a child might be born from gold that is silver, and from silver that is gold, and everything else in this way.

12.43.4 | τοῖς οὖν ἄρχουσι καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα παραγγέλλει ὁ θεὸς ὅπως μηδενὸς οὕτω φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, μηδ' οὕτω σφόδρα φυλάξωσι μηδὲν ὡς τοὺς ἔκγονους, δ τι αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς παραμέμικται, καὶ ἔὰν σφέτερος ἔκγονος ὑπόχαλκος ἢ ὑποσίδηρος γένηται,

12.43.4 | Therefore, god strongly commands the rulers that no one should be so much a good guardian as their own children, and that they should not care for anything as much as for them, since these are mixed in their souls. And if a child is born from them that is of bronze or iron,

μηδενὶ τρόπῳ κατελεήσωσιν, ἀλλὰτὴν τῇ φύσει προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀποδιδόντες ὕσουσιν ἡ εἰς δημιουργοὺς ἢ γεωργοὺς, καὶ ἐὰν αὖ ἐκ τούτων ἡ ὑπόχρυσος ἢ ὑπάργυρος φυῆ τις, τιμήσαντες ἀνάξουσι τοὺς μὲν εἰς φυλακὴν, τοὺς δ' εἰς ἔπικουρίαν, ὡς χρησμοῦ ὄντος τότε τὴν πόλιν διαφθαρῆναι, ὅταν αὐτὴν ὁ σιδηροῦς φύλαξ ἡ ὁ χαλκοῦς διαφυλάξῃ. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν μῆθον ὅπως ἀν πεισθεῖεν ἔχεις τινὰ μηχανῆν;

## Section 44

12.44.1 | Τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητείας φασκούσης πρὸς τοὺς προεστῶτας τοῦ πλήθους "ώ ποιμένες Ἰσραὴλ, μὴ βόσκουσι ποιμένες ἐαυτούς; οὐ τὰ πρόβατα βόσκουσιν οἱ ποιμένες; ίδοὺ τὸ γάλα κατεσθίετε, καὶ τὸ παχὺ σφάζετε, καὶ τὰ ἔρια περιβάλλεσθε, καὶ τὰ πρόβατά μου ού βόσκετε· καὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς οὐκ ἐζητήσατε, καὶ τὸ συντετριμένον οὐ κατεδήσατε, καὶ τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ ἐπεστρέψατε" ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου φάσκοντος "ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων, ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὃν ποιμὴν, οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν ἴδια τὰ πρόβατα, καταλείπει αὐτά", ἐπάκουσον καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὅπως ποτὲ ταῦτα διερμηνευει

12.44.2 | "Νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶς, ὡ Θρασύμαχε, ἔτι γάρ τὰ ἔμπροδθεν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, ὅτι τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ιατρὸν τὸ πρῶτον ὁριζόμενος τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιμένα, οὐκέτι ὥσυ δεῖν ὕστερον ἀκριβῶς φυλάξαι, ἀλλὰ πιαίνειν οἴει αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, καθ' ὅσον ποιμὴν ἔστιν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν προβάτων βέλτιστον βλέποντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δαιτυμόνα τινὰ καὶ μέλλοντα ἐστιάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εύωχίαν, ἡ

they should not pity them in any way, but should give them the honor that fits their nature, whether they become creators or farmers. And if from these, someone is born who is of gold or silver, they should honor them, sending some to be guardians and others to be helpers, since the city will be destroyed when it is guarded by the iron or bronze guardian. So, do you have any way to convince them of this story?

12.44.1 | The prophecy among the Hebrews says to the leaders of the people, 'O shepherds of Israel, do you not feed the sheep yourselves? Do not the shepherds feed the sheep? Look, you eat the fat, and you slaughter the fattened animals, and you clothe yourselves with the wool, but you do not feed my sheep. You have not sought the lost, and you have not bound up the broken, and you have not brought back the wandering.' But also, the saying of the Savior states, 'The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep, but the hired hand, who is not the shepherd and does not own the sheep, leaves them.' Listen also to Plato in the first book of the Republic, how he once explained these things.

12.44.2 | Now you see, O Thrasymachus, we will still examine the earlier points, that the one who is truly a doctor, when defining the true shepherd, does not think that he must later guard carefully, but believes that he should feed the sheep, as far as he is a shepherd, not looking to the best interest of the sheep, but like a banquet host preparing for a feast, or like a merchant,

αὐτὸς τὸ ἀποδόσθαι, ὥσπερ  
χρηματιστὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐ ποιμένα. τῇ ποιμενικῇ  
δ’ οὐ δήπου ἄλλου του μέλει ἡ ἐφ’ ὃ  
τέτακται, ὅπως τούτῳ τὸ βέλτιστον  
έκποριεῖ, ἐπεὶ τά γε αὐτῆς ὥστ’ εἶναι  
βελτίστην ἵκανῶς δήπου ἐκπεπόρισται, ὡς  
γε ἀν μηδὲν ἐνδέῃ τοῦ ποιμενικὴ εἶναι.  
οὕτω δὴ ὥμην ἔγωγε νῦν δὴ ἀναγκαῖον  
εἶναι ἡμῖν ὁμολογεῖν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν, καθ’  
ὅσον ἀρχὴ, μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸ βέλτιστον  
σκοπεῖσθαι η ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀρχομένῳ τε καὶ  
θεραπευομένῳ, ἐν πολιτικῇ καὶ ἴδιωτικῇ  
ἀρχῇ. σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι,  
τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντας, ἐκόντας οἵει  
ἄρχειν;"

but not like a shepherd. But surely, the shepherd cares only for what he is responsible for, to provide the best for them, since he has enough to make them the best, as long as nothing is lacking for him to be a shepherd. Thus, I thought it was necessary for us to agree that every leader, as a leader, should not seek the best for anyone else but for that one who is being led and cared for, in both public and private leadership. But do you think that the rulers in the cities, those who are truly rulers, want to lead willingly?

## Section 45

12.45.1 | Τῆς παρ’ Ἐβραίοις προφητείας λεγούστης “ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου, κύριε, ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὡδινήσαμεν καὶ ἐτέκομεν πνεῦμα σωτηρίας” ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ τάδε λέγοντα Σωκράτην ποιεῖ “Πάσχουσι δὴ οἱ ἔμοι συγγιγνόμενοι ταύτον ταῖς τικτούσαις ὡδίνουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπορίας ἐμπίπλανται νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκεῖναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ὡδίνα ἐγείρειν τε καὶ ἀποπαύειν ἡ ἐμὴ τέχνη δύναται.”

12.45.1 | The prophecy among the Hebrews says, 'Because of your fear, Lord, we have conceived and we have been in pain and we have given birth to a spirit of salvation.' Plato, in the Theaetetus, makes Socrates say this: 'Those who are with me suffer the same as those who give birth; for they are in pain and are troubled much more day and night than those. But my art can both awaken and relieve this pain.'

## Section 46

12.46.1 | Τοῦ προφήτου Ἰεζεκιὴλ φήσαντος” ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἐμὲ χεὶρ κυρίου, καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἴδού πνεῦμα ἔξαρον ἥρχετο ἀπὸ βιορᾶ,” καὶ ἔξῆς εἰπόντος “καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζώων. καὶ ἡ ὕραέν σις αὐτῶν ὡς ὁμοίωμα ἀνθρώπου ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρόσωπα τέσσαρα τῷ ἐνί. καὶ ὁμοίωσις τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, καὶ πρόσωπον

12.46.1 | The prophet Ezekiel said, 'The hand of the Lord came upon me, and I saw, and behold, a spirit was lifting me up from the north,' and then he said, 'And in the middle, there was the likeness of four living creatures. And the appearance of them was like a man, and they had four faces for each one. And the likeness of their faces was a human face, and the face of a lion on the

λέοντος ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι, καὶ πρόσωπον μόσχου ἔξ αριστερῶν τοῖς τέσσαρσι. καὶ πρόσωπον ἀετοῦ τοῖς τέσσαρσι," καὶ ὁ Πλάτων' ὅμοίως ἀκουσον ἄ φησι

12.46.2 | "Νῦν δὴ, ἔφην, αύτῷ διαλεγώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ διωμολογησάμεθα, τό τε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ δίκαια πρᾶτ' τειν 5 ἦν ἐκάτερον ἔχει δύναμιν. Πῶς; ἔφη. Εἰκόνα πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς λόγῳ, ἵνα εἴδῃ ὁ ἐκεῖνα λέγων οἷαν ἔλεγε. Ποίαν τινά; ἢ δ' ὅς. Τῶν τοιούτων τινὰ, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, οἵα μυθολογοῦνται παλαιαὶ γενέσθαι φύσεις, ἢ τε Χιμάίρας καὶ ἡ Σκύλλης καὶ Κερβέρου, καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς συχναὶ λέγονται συμπεφυκυῖαι ἰδέαι πολλαὶ εῖς γενέσθαι.

12.46.3 | Λέγονται γὰρ, ἔφη. Πλάττε τοίνυν μίαν μὲν ἰδέαν θηρίου ποικίλου καὶ πολυκεφάλου, ἡμέρων δὲ θηρίων ἔχοντος κεφαλὰς κύκλῳ καὶ ἀγρίων, καὶ δυνατοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ φύειν ἔξ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πάντα. Δεινοῦ πλάστου, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον· ὅμως δ', ἐπειδὴ εύπλαστότερον κηροῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ λόγος, πεπλάσθω.

12.46.4 | Μίαν δὴ τοίνυν ἄλλην ἰδέαν λέοντος, μίαν δὲ ἀνθρώπου πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ἔστω τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ δεύτερον τὸ δεύτερον. Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἥτιο, καὶ πέπλασται. Σύναπτε τοίνυν αὐτὰ είς ἐν τρίᾳ ὄντα, ὥστε πη ξυμπεφυκέναι ἄλλήλοις. Ξυνήπται, ἔφη. Περίπλασον δὴ αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐνὸς εἰκόνα, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰ ἐντὸς ὅρᾶν, ἄλλὰ τὸ ἔξω μόνον ἔλυτρον ὀρῶντι, ἐν ζῷον φαίνεσθαι, ἀνθρωπον.

right side of the four, and the face of an ox on the left side of the four. And the face of an eagle for the four.' And listen also to what Plato says similarly.

12.46.2 | Now then, I said, let us talk with him, since we have agreed that both wrongdoing and doing what is right have their own power. 'How?' he said. 'By creating an image of the soul with words, so that the one speaking can know what he is saying.' 'What kind?' I asked. 'Some kind like those that I, as they say, are ancient natures, like the Chimera, and Scylla, and Cerberus, and many other ideas that are often said to be mixed together.'

12.46.3 | They say," he said. "So then, create an idea of a strange beast with many heads, having the heads of tame animals in a circle and wild ones, and capable of changing and producing all these things from itself. 'A terrible creation,' he said, 'but still, since the idea is more easily shaped than wax and such things, let it be formed.'

12.46.4 | Now then, create another idea of a lion, and one of a man; let the first be much larger, and the second the second. 'These,' he said, 'are easier, and they are formed.' So then, combine them into one, so that they seem to be mixed together. 'They are combined,' he said. 'Now shape an image around them, that of the man, so that the one who cannot see inside can only see the outside, appearing as a living creature, a man.'

12.46.5 | Περιπέπλασται, ἔφη. Λέγωμεν δὴ τῷ λέγοντι ὡς λυσιτελεῖ τούτῳ ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δίκαια δὲ πράττειν οὐ χυμφέρει, διότι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φήσει ἢ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ παντοδαπὸν θηρίον εύωχοῦντι ποιεῖν ἴσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν λέοντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν λέοντα, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον λιμοκτονεῖν παὶ ποιεῖν ἀσθενῆ, ὥστε ἐλκεσθαι ὅπῃ ἀνέκεινων ὑπότερον ἄγη, καὶ μηδὲν ἔτερον ἐτέρω ξυνεθίζειν μηδὲ φίλον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔᾶν αὐτὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δάκνεσθαί τε καὶ μαχόμενα ἐσθίειν ἄλληλα.

12.46.5 | It has been shaped," he said. "Let us say then that it is beneficial for the one speaking to do wrong to the man, but it is not good to do what is right, because he will say nothing else but that it is beneficial for him to make the various beast strong while the lion and those around the lion suffer, and to make the man weak and starving, so that he is pulled wherever either of them leads him, and he does not join with the other or make a friend, but lets them bite and fight each other.

12.46.6 | Παντάπασι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτ' ἀνέγοι ὁ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἐπαινῶν. Ούκοῦν αὖ ὁ τὰ δίκαια λέγων λυσιτελεῖν φαίνεται δεῖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν, δθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦ πολυκεφάλου θρέμματος ἐπιμελήσεται ὥσπερ γεωργὸς, τὰ μὲν ἥμερα τρέφων καὶ τιθασσεύων, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια ἀποκωλύων φύεσθαι, ξύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὴν τοῦ λέοντος φύσιν, καὶ κοινῇ πάντων κηδόνενος, φίλα ποιησάμενος ἄλλήλοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ, οὕτω θρέψει; Κομιδῇ γάρ αὖ λέγει ταῦτα ὁ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπαίνων."

12.46.6 | For in every way," he said, "the one who praises doing wrong would say this. So then, the one who speaks what is right would say that it is necessary to do these things and to say these things, wherefore the inner man of the man will be most self-controlled, and he will take care of the many-headed creature just like a farmer, feeding and training the tame ones, and preventing the wild ones from growing, making the nature of the lion an ally, and caring for all together, making them friendly to each other and to himself, so he will nurture them. For again, the one who praises what is right says these things.

## Section 47

12.47.1 | Τοῦ παντὸς Ἐβραίων ἔθνους εἰς δώδεκα φυλὰς διεσταλμένου καὶ ὁ πλάτων' ὅμοίως τοῦτο χρῆναι δεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν φυλάξαι νομοθετεῖ, λέγων ὃδε "Δώδεκα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα εἰς δύναμιν ἵσται μόρια νενεμήσθω. φυλὴ δὲ μία τῷ μορίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐπικληρωθεῖσα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν παρεχέτω πέντε οἶνον ἀγρονόμους

12.47.1 | Of the whole nation of the Hebrews divided into twelve tribes, Plato similarly says that it is necessary to arrange his own citizens, saying this: 'Let the whole land be divided into equal parts of power into twelve. And let one tribe be assigned to each part every year, providing five leaders who are farmers.' And again he says, 'Let

τε φυλάρχους." Καὶ πάλιν φησί  
"Ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖσι προβάλλεσθαι μὲν  
τοῦς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς δώδεκα,  
ἐκάστη φυλῇ ταξιάρχον."

## Section 48

12.48.1 | Τῆς παρὰ παισὸν Ἐβραίων πάλαι  
πρότερον συνεστώσης βασιλικῆς  
μητροπόλεως, ἀποθεν μὲν θαλάσσης  
οὕσης, ἐν ὅρεσι δὲ κατωκισμένης,  
πάμφορόν τε γῆν κεκτημένης, καὶ ὁ  
Πλάτων' τοιαύτην τινὰ εἶναι δεῖν φησι τὴν  
πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατοικιζομένην ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις.  
λέγει δὲ ὡδε

12.48.2 | "Τόδε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἔστιν ὃ  
βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἐπερωτῶ, πότερον  
ἐπιθαλαττίδιος ἔσται τις ἡ χερσαία. Σχεδὸν,  
ώ ξένε, ἀπέχει θαλάττης γε ἡ πόλις, ἥς πέρι  
τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα ἡμῖν, εἴς τινας  
όγδοήκοντα σταδίους. Τί δέ; λιμένες ἄρ'  
εἰσὶ κατ' αὐτῆς, ἥ τὸ παράπαν ἀλίμενος;  
Εύλιμενος μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ γε, ὡς δυνατόν  
ἔστι μάλιστα, ω ξένε.

12.48.3 | Παπαῖ, οἶον λέγεις. τί δέ; περὶ  
αὐτὴν ἡ χώρα πότερα πάμφορος, ἥ καί  
τινων ἐπιδεής; Σχεδὸν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεής.  
Γείτων δὲ αὐτῆς πόλις ἄρ' ἔσται τις  
πλησίον; Οὐ πάνυ, διὸ κατοικίζεται παλαιὰ  
γάρ τις ἔξοικησις εν τῷ τοπῷ γενομενῇ την  
χωραν ταυτην ερημον ἀπείρησται χρόνον  
ἀμήχανον ὅσον. Τί δέ; πεδίων τε καὶ ὄρῶν  
καὶ ὑλῆς πᾶς μέρος ἐκάστων ἡμῖν εἴληχε;  
Προσέοικε τῇ τῆς ἄλλης Κρήτης φύσει ὅλῃ.  
Τραχυτέραν αὐτὴν ἥ πεδινωτέραν ἀν  
λέγοις; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

twelve chosen generals be appointed for  
them, one commander for each tribe.'

12.48.1 | Of the royal metropolis of the  
Hebrews, which was established long ago,  
located away from the sea and settled in  
the mountains, possessing a very fruitful  
land, Plato says that there should be a  
similar place for his own people in the  
Laws. He says this:

12.48.2 | This is what I want to ask you  
more: will it be by the sea or on land?  
Almost, O stranger, the city we are talking  
about is eighty stadia away from the sea.  
But what about it? Are there harbors there,  
or is it completely without a port? It is  
indeed well-harbored here, as much as is  
possible, O stranger.

12.48.3 | Indeed, you say well. But what  
about the land? Is it very fruitful, or is it  
lacking in some things? It is almost not  
lacking in anything. Is there a city nearby?  
Not at all, which is why it is settled; for an  
old settlement has made this land deserted  
for an impossible amount of time. But what  
about the plains, mountains, and forests?  
How much of each do we have? It is similar  
to the nature of the other Crete as a whole.  
Would you say it is rougher or flatter?  
Certainly rougher.

12.48.4 | Ού τοίνυν ἀνίατος ἀν εἴη πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθαλαττία τε ἔμελλεν εἶναι καὶ εὐλίμενος καὶ μὴ πάμφορος, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεής πολλῶν, μεγάλου τινὸς ἔδει σωτῆρός γε αὐτῇ καὶ νομοθετῶν θείων τινῶν 5 εἰ μὴ πολλά τε ἔμελλεν ἥθη καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαῦλα ἔξειν τοιαύτη φύσει γενομένην· νῦν δὲ παραμύθιον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὄγδοήκοντα σταδίων.

12.48.5 | ἔγγύτερον μέντοι τοῦ δέοντος κεῖται τῆς θαλάττης, σχεδὸν ὅσον εὐλιμενωτέραν φήσις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ τοῦτο. πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρᾳ τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἥδυ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιπλᾶσα ἐσαυτὴν, ἥθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αὐτὴν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον καὶ ἀφιλον ποιεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὠσαύτως. παραμύθιον δὲ δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι κέκτηται, τραχεῖα δὲ οὖσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἀν πολύφορος τ' εἴη καὶ πάμφορος ἄμα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχουσα, πολλὴν ἔξαγωγὴν ἀν παρεχομένη, νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ πάλιν ἀντεπίμπλατ' ἄν· οὐ μεῖζον κακόν, ὡς ἔπος είπειν, πόλει ἀνθ' ἐνδὲς ἐν οὐδὲν ἀν γένοιτο εἰς γενναίων καὶ δικαίων ἥθῶν κτῆσιν." Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσούτων ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἀποδειγμένω σκεψώμεθα ὅπως τὸν τῆς παρ' Ἐβραίοις παιδείας τρόπον δι' ὃν είρηκαμεν ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν παραιτεῖται, γράφων ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὥδε

12.48.4 | Therefore, it would not be hopeless to acquire virtue. For if it were to be by the sea, well-harbored, and not very fruitful, but lacking many things, it would need a great savior and some divine lawgivers, unless it were to have many and various bad habits due to such a nature. But now it has the comfort of being eighty stadia away.

12.48.5 | However, it is closer to the sea than needed, almost as if you say it is more well-harbored. Still, this is also beloved. For the sea is sweet to the land, indeed very salty and bitter as a neighbor. It fills itself with trade and commerce through shops, bringing back habits that are deceitful and untrustworthy to the souls, making the city itself untrustworthy and unfriendly, and likewise towards other people. But it is indeed comforting that it is very fruitful, while being rough shows that it cannot be both very busy and very fruitful at the same time. For having this, it would provide much export, filling itself again with silver and gold coins; which is a greater evil, so to speak, for a city than having nothing for the sake of noble and just habits. But let us consider how, up to this point, we have shown that the way of education among the Hebrews rejects the Greek way, as written in the tenth book of the Republic.

## Section 49

12.49.1 | “Ως μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήσθω, οὐ γάρ μου κατερεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς μιμητικούς,) λώβῃ ἔσικεν εἶναι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων διανοίας, ὅσοι μὴ ἔχουσι φάρμακον τὸ εἰδέναι αὐτὰ oīa τυγχάνει ὄντα. Πῇ δὴ, ἵψη, διανοούμενος λέγεις; Ῥητέον, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, καίτοι φιλία γέ τίς με καὶ αἰδὼς ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχουσα περὶ Ομήρου ἀποκωλύει λέγειν.

12.49.2 | ἔσικε γάρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμῶν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ πρὸ γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ὃ λέγω ῥητέον. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἕψη.”

12.49.3 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων πέρι μὴ ἀπαιτῶμεν λόγον "Ομηρον, μηδὲ ἄλλον ὄντινοῦν τῶν ποιητῶν, ἔρωτῶντες, εἰ ίατρικός τις ἦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μιμητής μόνον ίατρικῶν λόγων, τίνας ὑγιεῖς ποιητής τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἢ τῶν νέων λέγεται πεποιηκέναι, ὡσπερ Ἀσκληπιὸς, ἢ τίνας μαθητὰς ίατρικῆς κατελίπετο, ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἔκγόνους· μηδ' αὖ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας αὐτὸν ἔρωτῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἔῶμεν.

12.49.4 | περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων τε καὶ καλλίστων, ὃν ἐπιχειρεῖ λέγειν "Ομηρος, πολέμων τε πέρι καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ διοικήσεων πόλεων, καὶ παιδ·είας πέρι ἀνθρώπων, δίκαιον που ἔρωτᾶν αὐτὸν πυνθανομένους, ὡ φίλε Ομηρε, εἴπερ μὴ τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἴ ἀρετῆς πέρι

12.49.1 | As for you, let it be said, for you do not speak against the poets of tragedy and all the other imitators; it seems that all such things are an insult to the minds of the listeners, those who do not have the remedy of knowing what they are. So, what are you saying, I ask? It must be said, I replied, and yet a certain friendship and shame I have had since childhood about Homer prevents me from speaking.

12.49.2 | For it seems that among all these beautiful things, the first teacher and leader is tragedy. But he is not to be honored before the truth, but what I say must be said. Indeed, he said.

12.49.3 | Then, let us not demand an account about Homer or any other poets, asking if any of them was a doctor, but rather if he was not just an imitator of medical words. What healthy poet, either from the old or the new, is said to have created works like Asclepius, or what students of medicine did he leave behind, like he did with his descendants? And again, let us not ask him about the other arts, but let us leave that aside.

12.49.4 | About the greatest and most beautiful things that Homer tries to speak of, concerning wars, strategies, and the management of cities, and the upbringing of people, it is right to ask him, 'O dear Homer, if you are not a third from the truth, a creator of an image of virtue, which we

είδώλου δημιουργός, ὃν δὴ μιμητὴν  
ώρισάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερος, καὶ οὗτος τε  
ῆσθα γινώσκειν ποῖα ἐπιτηδεύματα  
βελτίους ἢ χείρους ἀνθρώπους ποιεῖ ἴδιᾳ  
καὶ δημοσίᾳ, λέγε ἡμῖν τίς τῶν πόλεων διὰ  
σὲ βέλτιον ὥκησεν, ὡσπερ διὰ Λυκοῦργον  
Λακεδαιμών καὶ δ' ἄλλους πολλοὺς πολλαὶ  
μεγάλαι τε καὶ σμικραί.

12.49.5 | σὲ δὲ τίς αἰτιᾶται πόλις ἀγαθὸν  
νομιθέτην γεγονέναι καὶ σφάς  
ώφεληκέναι; Χαρώνδαν μὲν γάρ Ἰταλία καὶ  
Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα· σὲ δὲ τίς; ἔξει  
τινὰ εἴπειν; Οὐκ οἴμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων·  
οὔκουν λέγεται γε, οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
Ὀμηριδῶν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τίς πολεμος ἐπὶ  
Ὀμήρου ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἄρχοντος ἢ  
συμβουλεύοντος εὖ πολεμηθεὶς  
μνημονεύεται; Ούδείς.

12.49.6 | Ἄλλ' οἶα δὴ είς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς πολλαὶ ἐπίνοιαι καὶ εύμήχανοι είς  
τέχνας ἢ τινας ἄλλας πράξεις λέγονται,  
ὡσπερ αὖ Θάλεώ τε πέρι τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ  
Ἀναχάρσιδος τοῦ Σκύθου; Ούδαμῶς  
τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.

12.49.7 | Ἄλλὰ δὴ, εἴ μὴ δημοσίᾳ, ἴδιᾳ τισὶν  
ἡγεμῶν παιδείας αὐτὸς ζῶν λέγεται  
“Ομηρος γενέσθαι, οἱ ἐκεῖνον ἡγάπων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
συνουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ὀδόν τινα  
παρέδοσαν βίου Ὁμηρικὴν, ὡσπερ  
Πυθαγόρας αὐτός τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τούτῳ ἡγαπήθη, καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπονομάζοντες τού  
βίου διαφανεῖς πῃ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς  
ἄλλοις;

have defined as an imitator, but also a second, and how you know which practices make people better or worse, both privately and publicly, tell us which of the cities has become better because of you, just as Sparta did because of Lycurgus and many others, both great and small.'

12.49.5 | Which city blames you for being a good lawgiver and for helping them? For Italy and Sicily praise Charondas, and we praise Solon; but who praises you? Will anyone say anything? I do not think so, said Glaucon. Indeed, he is not mentioned by them, the descendants of Homer. But what war is remembered as well-fought under that ruler or advisor of Homer? No one.

12.49.6 | But indeed, many inventions and clever ideas are said to come from the works of a wise man, just like those about Thales of Miletus and Anacharsis the Scythian. In no way is there anything like that.

12.49.7 | But indeed, if not publicly, some say that Homer himself was a leader in education while he lived, those who loved him in gatherings and passed on a certain way of life called Homeric, just as Pythagoras was greatly loved for this, and those after him still today call their way of life Pythagorean, thinking it to be clear among others.

12.49.8 | Ούδ' αὖ, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν λέγεται. ὁ γὰρ Κρεώφυλος, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὁ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἑταῖρος, τοῦ ὄνόματος ἀν γελοιότερος ἔτι πρὸς παιδείαν φανείη, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ Ὁμήρου ἀληθῆ ἔστι.

12.49.9 | λέγεται γάρ που ὡς πολλὴ ἀμέλεια περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ὅτε ἔζη. Λέγεται γὰρ οὖν, ἦν δ' ἔγω. ἀλλ' οἴει, ω Γλαύκων, εἰ τῷ ὄντι οἶος τε ἦν παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ βελτίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι "Ομηρος, ἄτε περὶ τούτων οὐ μιμεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γινώσκειν δυνάμενος, οὐκ ἄρ' ἀν πολλοὺς ἑταίρους ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἡγαπᾶτο ὑπ' αὐτῶν;

12.49.10 | ἀλλὰ Πρωταγόρας μὲν ἄρα ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Πρόδικος ὁ Κεῖος καὶ ἄλλοι πάμπολοι δύνανται τοῖς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν παρεστάναι, ίδιᾳ συγγινόμενοι, ως οὕτε οίκιαν οὕτε πόλιν τὴν αὐτῶν οίκειν οἰοί τε ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ σφεῖς αὐτῶν τῆς παιδείας ἐπιστατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ οὕτω σφόδρα φιλοῦνται, ὥστε μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑταῖροι.

12.49.11 | ὅμηρον δὲ ἄρα οὗ ἐπ' ἐκείνου, εἴπερ οἶος τε ἦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄνιναι ἀνθρώπους, ἡ Ἡσίοδον ἡσψωδεῖν ἀν περιιόντας εἴων, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀν αὐτῶν ἀντείχοντο ἡ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἡνάγκαζον παρὰ σφίσιν οἴκοι εἶναι, ἡ εἰ μὴ ἐπειθον, αὐτοὶ ἀν ἐπαιδαγώγουν, ὅπῃ ἥξεσαν, ἔως ἱκανῶς παιδείας μεταλάβοιεν;

12.49.12 | Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, δοκεῖς μοι, (ἢ Σώκρατες, ἀληθῆ λέγειν. Ούκοῦν τιθῶμεν

12.49.8 | Nor again, he said, is anything like that said. For Creophylus, oh Socrates, the companion of Homer, would seem even more ridiculous regarding education if the things said about Homer are true.

12.49.9 | For it is said that there was much neglect about him during his time, when he lived. It is said, therefore, I said. But do you think, oh Glaucon, if he truly was able to educate people and make them better, not by imitating these things, but being able to understand them, he would not have made many friends and been honored and loved by them?

12.49.10 | But Protagoras from Abdera and Prodicus from Ceos and many others are able to stand by themselves, coming together privately, so that they will not be able to live in the same house or city unless they take charge of their education, and they love this wisdom so much that their friends do not just carry them on their heads.

12.49.11 | Now, if Homer was able to help people towards virtue, or if he could sing about Hesiod while passing by, would they not resist him more than gold, and would they not force him to stay with them? Or if they did not persuade him, would they not educate themselves wherever they went, until they received enough education?

12.49.12 | Absolutely, he said, you seem to me to speak the truth. So, shall we start

ἀπὸ Ὁμήρου ἀρξάμενοι πάντας τοὺς ποιητικούς μιμῆτὰς είδώλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περὶ ὃν ποιοῦσι, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας οὐχ ἀπτεσθαι; ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ὁ ζωγράφος σκυτοτόμον ποιήσει δοκοῦντα εἶναι, αὐτός τε οὐκ ἐπαίων περὶ σκυτοτομίας, καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπαίουσιν, ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ σχημάτων θεωροῦσι;

from Homer and consider all the poetic imitators as images of virtue and of the other things they create, while not touching the truth? But just as we are saying now, the painter will seem to be a leather worker, yet he himself knows nothing about leather working, and those who do not know will see from the colors and shapes?

12.49.13 | Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὕτω δὴ, οἴμαι, καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν φήσοφήσομεν χρώματα ἄττα ἐκάστῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ ὥρμασιν ἐπιχρωματίζειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαίοντα, ἀλλ’ ἡ μιμεῖσθαι, ὡστε ἐτέροις τοιούτοις ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεωροῦσι δοκεῖν, ἔάν τε περὶ σκυτοτομίας τι λέγῃ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ, πάνυ εὖ δοκεῖν λέγεσθαι, ἔάν τε περὶ στρατηγίας, ἔάν τε περὶ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν'

12.49.13 | Indeed. So, I think we will say that the poetic philosopher colors each of the arts with names and phrases without knowing them, but rather he imitates, so that others think he understands from the words. If he speaks about leather working in meter and rhythm and harmony, he seems to speak very well, whether it is about strategy or any other subject.

12.49.14 | οὕτω φύσει αύτὰ ταῦτα μεγάλην τινὰ κήλησιν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ γυμνωθέντα γε τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς χρωμάτων τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, αύτὰ ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν λεγόμενα, οἴμαι σε εἰδέναι οἷα φαίνεται. τεθέα'σαι γὰρ, ἡ οὖ; "Ἔγωγ", ἵψη."

12.49.14 | Thus, these things have a great charm by nature, since when stripped of the colors of music, the words of the poets, spoken on their own, seem to have their own power, I think you know what I mean. Have you seen this or not? I say.

12.49.15 | Καὶ τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων εὖ μοι ἔχειν δοκεῖ βραχέα ἄττα τῶν Πλάτωνος διελθεῖν, δι' ὃν λογικώτερον τὸν περὶ θεοῦ καὶ προνοίας συνίστησι λόγον, τοῖς Εβραίων κάν τούτῳ παριστάμενος δόγμασι. πρῶτα δὲ θεασώμεθα ὅπως τὰς δόξας τῶν ἀθέων ἐκτίθησι·

12.49.15 | And with these things being so, it seems good to me to briefly go through some of Plato's ideas, through which he presents a more logical account about god and providence, comparing it to the beliefs of the Hebrews. First, let us consider how he presents the views of the atheists.

## Section 50

12.50.1 | “Λέγουσί πού τινες ώς πάντα ἔστι τὰ πράγματα γιγνόμενα καὶ γενόμενα καὶ γενησόμενα τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ τέχνῃ, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχην. Οὐκοῦν καλῶς. Εἴκος γέ τοι που σοφοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρθῶς λέγειν. ἐπόμενοί γε μὴν αὐτοῖς σκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν τί ποτε καὶ τυγχάνουσι διανοούμενοι.

12.50.2 | Πάντως. "Εοικε, φασὶ, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνην, ἦν δὴ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσαν τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ πρώτων γένεσιν ἔργων πλάττειν καὶ τεκταίνεσθαι πάντα τὰ σμικρότατα, ἢ δὴ τεχνικὰ πάντες προσαγορεύομεν.

12.50.3 | Πῶς λέγεις; Ωδ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἔρω. πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασὶ, τέχνῃ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων. καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖ σώματα, γῆς τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἀστρων τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονέναι παντελῶς ὄντων ἀψύχων τύχῃ δὲ φερόμενα τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔκαστα ἐκάστων, ἢ συμπέπτωκεν ἀρμόττοντα οἰκείως πως, θερμὰ ψυχροῖς, ἢ ξηρὰ πρὸς ύγρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ πρὸς σκληρὰ, καὶ πάντα ὀπόσα τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει κατὰ τύχην ἔξ ἀνάγκης συνεκεράσθη, ταύτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταύτᾳ οὕτως γεγεννηκέναι τόν τε οὐρανὸν ὅλον καὶ πάντα ὀπόσα ἀν κατ' οὐρανὸν, καὶ ζῷα αὖ καὶ φυτὰ ξύμπαντα, ὥρῶν πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενομένων, οὐ διὰ νοῦν, φασὶν, οὐδὲ διὰ τινα θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τέχνην, ἀλλ' ὅ λέγομεν, φύσει καὶ τύχῃ.

12.50.4 | τέχνην δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τούτων

12.50.1 | Some say that all things are either coming into being, having been, or will be: some by nature, some by skill, and some by chance. Well then, that seems right. It is likely that wise men speak correctly. Let us then consider what those who follow them think and how they reason.

12.50.2 | Certainly. They say that the greatest and most beautiful things are produced by nature and chance, while the smaller things are made by skill, which takes from nature the great and primary creations to shape and construct all the smallest things, which we all call technical.

12.50.3 | What do you say? Let me say it even more clearly. They say that fire, water, earth, and air exist by nature and chance, but none of these are made by skill. And the bodies that come after these, like those of the earth, sun, moon, and stars, are completely made from these lifeless things. They are brought together by chance, each according to its own power, fitting together in a certain way, hot with cold, or dry with wet, and soft with hard. Everything that has been mixed together by the necessity of opposing forces, they say, has come to be in this way, forming the whole sky and everything that exists in the sky, as well as all living things and plants, which they say have come to be from all these, not through reason, nor through any god, nor through skill, but as we say, by nature and chance.

12.50.4 | Skill came later from these things,

ύστεραν γενομένην, αύτὴν θνητὴν ἐκ θνητῶν, ύστερα γεγεννηκέναι παιδιάς τινας ἀληθείας οὐ σφόδρα μετεχούσας, ἀλλ' εἴδωλ' ἄττα ξυγγενῆ ἐαυτῶν, οἵα γραφικὴ γεννᾷ καὶ μουσικὴ καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶ συνέριθοι τέχναι. αἱ δὲ εἴ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν τεχνῶν, εἶναι ταύταις ὀπόσαι τῇ φύσει ἐκοίνωσαν τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, οἷον αὐτὸν ἰατρικὴ καὶ γεωργικὴ καὶ γυμναστική. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναι φασι κοινωνοῦν φύσει, τέχνῃ δὲ τὸ πολὺ. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν πᾶσαν οὐ φύσει, τέχνῃ δὲ, ἡς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς θέσεις.

12.50.5 | Πῶς λέγεις; Θέους, ω μακάριε, πρῶτον εἶναι φασιν οὗτοι τέχνῃ, οὐ φύσει, ἀλλά τισι νόμοις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄλλη, ὅπῃ ἔκαστοι ἐαυτοῖς συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ καλὰ φύσει μὲν ἄλλα εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ ἔτερα· τὰ δὲ δὴ δίκαια οὐδὲ εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀμφισβητοῦντας διατελεῖν ἄλλήλοις καὶ μετατιθεμένους ἀεὶ ταῦτα· ἀ δὲ ἀν μετάθωνται καὶ ὅταν, τότε κύρια ἔκαστα εἶναι, γιγνόμενα τέχνῃ καὶ νόμοις, ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ τινι φύσει.

12.50.6 | ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ὡς φίλοι, ἄπαντα ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις, ἴδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι τὸ δικαιότατον, διὰ τις ἀν νικᾶ, βιαζόμενος. ὅθεν ἀσέβειαί τε ἀνθρώποις ἐμπίπτουσιν νέοις, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων θεῶν οἶους ὁ νόμος προστάττει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖν, στάσεις τε διὰ ταῦτα, ἐλκόντων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὄρθodon βίον, ὃς ἔστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κρατοῦντα ζῆν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ δουλεύοντα ἐτέροισι

being mortal from mortals, and it has given birth to some truths that are not very much shared, but rather to images that are somewhat related to themselves, like those produced by drawing and music, and all the arts that are similar to these. If they do produce anything truly important among the arts, it is those that share their power with nature, such as medicine, farming, and physical training. They also say that politics is a small part of this, sharing in nature, but mostly a skill. Thus, all law-making is not by nature, but by skill, which is not based on true principles.

12.50.5 | What do you say? They say that gods are first made by skill, not by nature, but by certain laws, and these laws differ for each group, depending on what each has agreed upon for themselves. And indeed, the beautiful things are one way by nature and another way by law. But the just things are not at all by nature; rather, they continue to be disputed among each other and are always being changed. Whatever they agree upon and whenever they do so, then those things are considered valid, being created by skill and laws, but not by nature.

12.50.6 | These things, my friends, are what wise men say among young people, both private individuals and poets, claiming that the most just thing is whatever one can win by force. From this, impieties fall upon young people, as if there are no gods, and the law commands them to think this way. And because of this, there are conflicts, pulling them away from living according to nature, which is to live in truth, stronger

κάτα νόμον. Οἶον διελήλυθας, ώ ξένε,  
λόγον, καὶ ὅσην λώβην ἀνθρώπων νέων  
δημοσίᾳ πόλεσί τε καὶ ἴδιοις οἴκοις.”

than the others, and not to be enslaved to others according to the law. Just as you have explained, stranger, the argument, and how much shame young people face in public cities and in their own homes.

12.50.7 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησιν Ἀλλά γε δὴ πάλιν λέγε μοι, Κλεινία, καὶ σύ· κοινωνὸν γὰρ δεῖ σε εῖναι τῶν λόγων· κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὁ λέγων ταῦτα πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα πρῶτα τῶν πάντων ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὄνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτὰ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐκ τούτων ὕστερον. ἔοικε δὲ οὐ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ὅντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

12.50.7 | And after this, he says, 'But again, tell me, Cleinias, you too; for you must be a partner in the discussion. For the one who speaks these things risks thinking that fire, water, earth, and air are the first of all things, and names these as nature, while the soul comes from these later. It seems that he does not really risk this, but truly means these things to us in the argument.' Indeed.

12.50.8 | Ἄρ' οὖν πρὸς Δῖός οἶον πηγήν τινα ἀνοήτου δόξης ἀνευρήκαμεν ἀνθρώπων ὅπόσοι πώποτε τῶν περὶ φύσεως ἐφήψαντο ζητημάτων; σκόπει πάντα λόγον ἔξετάζων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖν οἱ λόγων ἀπτόμενοι ἀσεβῶν ἄλλοις τε ἔξαρχοντες μηδὲ εὗ τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἔξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι. δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν. Εὖ λέγεις· ἀλλ' ὅπῃ δὴ, πειρῶ φράζειν. "Εοικε τοίνυν ἀηθεστέρων ἀπτέον εἶναι λόγων."

12.50.8 | Then, have we found some source of foolish opinion among people who have ever pursued questions about nature? Consider all the arguments carefully; for it is not a small matter if some of these arguments seem to be connected to the impious and lead others poorly, using arguments incorrectly. It seems to me that these things are indeed the case. You speak well; but wherever it is, I will try to explain. It seems that we are dealing with less familiar arguments.

12.50.9 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει "Ψυχὴν, ω ἐταῖρε, ἥγνοικέναι κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ὀλίγους ξύμπαντες οἶόν τε ὃν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἦν ἔχει, τῶν τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ως ἐν πρώτοις ἔστι σωμάτων ἔμπροσθεν πάντων γενομένη, καὶ μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης ἄρχει παντὸς μᾶλλον. εἰ δ' ἔστι ταῦτα οὕτως, ἄρ' οὐκ ἔξ

12.50.9 | And after a short time, he adds, 'Friend, they are in danger of not knowing the soul, both in its nature and the power it has, and also about its origins, as it is the first of all bodies that comes before everything, and it rules over all changes and transformations. If this is the case, then isn't it necessary that what is related to the soul came before what belongs to the body,

άνάγκης τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῆ πρότερα ἀν εἴη  
γεγονότα τῶν σώματι προσηκόντων,  
οὕσης γε αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἡ σώματος;  
Ἀνάγκη. 5

12.50.10 | Δόξα δὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ νοῦς  
καὶ τέχνη καὶ νόμος σκληρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν  
καὶ βαρέων καὶ κούφων πρότερα ἀν εἴη·  
καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἔργα καὶ  
πράξεις τέχνης ἀν γίγνοιτο, ὅντα ἐν  
πρώτοις, τὰ δὲ φύσει καὶ φύσις, ἢν οὐκ  
όρθως αὐτοὶ ἐπονομάζουσι, τούτου ὕστερα  
καὶ ἀρχόμενα ἀν ἐκ τέχνης εἴη καὶ νοῦ. Πῶς  
οὐκ ὄρθως;

12.50.11 | Φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν  
τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα. εἰ δὲ φανήσεται ψυχὴ  
πρῶτον, οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ 15 ἀήρ, ψυχὴ δ' ἐν  
πρώτοις γεγενημένη, σχεδὸν ὄρθο τάτα  
λέγοιτ' ἀν εἶναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταῦτ'  
ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἀν ψυχὴν τις ἐπιδείξῃ  
πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν σώματος, ἄλλως δὲ  
οὐδαμῶς. Αληθέστατα λέγεις.

since the soul is older than the body?"  
Necessarily.

12.50.10 | Indeed, opinion, care, thought,  
skill, and law would come before the hard  
and soft, the heavy and light. And also, the  
great and primary works and actions of  
skill would arise, existing first, while those  
by nature and nature itself, which they do  
not rightly call, would come after and begin  
from skill and thought. How is it not  
rightly?

12.50.11 | They want to call nature the  
origin of the first things. But if the soul  
appears first, not fire or air, and the soul is  
born first, then it would almost rightly be  
said to be different by nature. If these  
things are so, if someone shows that the  
soul is older than the body, then it cannot  
be said otherwise. You speak very truly.

## Section 51

12.51.1 | Ἄγε δὴ, θεὸν εἴ ποτε παρακλητέον  
ἡμῖν, νῦν ἔστω τοῦτο οὕτω γενόμενον· ἐπί<sup>1</sup>  
γε ἀπόδειξιν τὴν αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰσὶ, σπουδῇ  
πάσῃ παρακειλήσθων· ἔχόμενοι δὲ ὡς  
τινος ἀσφαλοῦς πείσματος ἐπεισβαίνωμεν  
εἰς τὸν νῦν λόγον. καί μοι ἐλεγχομένῳ περὶ  
τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔρωτήσεσι τοιαῖσδε  
ἀσφαλέστατα ἀποκρίνεσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ  
τάδε.

12.51.2 | ώ ξένε, ὁπόταν φῇ τις, ἄρα ἔστηκε  
μὲν πάντα, κινεῖται δὲ οὐδὲν, ἡ τούτω πάν

12.51.1 | Come now, if we are to call upon a  
god at any time, let it be that this happens  
now; let them be called with all their effort  
for proof of themselves, as they are. And let  
us enter into the present discussion,  
holding on as if to some secure argument.  
And it seems very certain to me that when  
questioned about such things, I should  
answer in this way.

12.51.2 | O stranger, whenever someone  
says, is everything standing still and

τούναντίον; ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ μένει; Τὰ μὲν κινεῖται που, φήσω, τὰ δὲ μένει. Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐν χώρᾳ τινὶ τά τε ἐστῶτα ἔστηκε καὶ τὰ κινού· Ἀγε μένα κινεῖται; Πῶς γὰρ οὕ; Καὶ τὰ μέν γε ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρᾳ που τοῦτο ἀν δρῷη, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείοσι.

nothing moving, or is it the complete opposite? Or do some things move while others remain still? I would say that some things do move, while others remain. But is it not the case that in some place, both the standing things stand and the moving things move? How could it not be? And indeed, some things would act in one place, while others would act in many.

12.51.3 | Τὰ τὴν τῶν ἐστῶτων ἐν μέσῳ λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν λέγεις, φήσομεν, ἐν ἐνὶ κινεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐστᾶνται λεγομένων κύκλων στρέφεται περιφορά; Ναῖ.

12.51.3 | You say that the power of the standing things is in the middle, we would say, to move in one way, just as the circles that are said to stand turn in a circle? Yes.

12.51.4 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Ὅτι δὴ καὶ τῇδε εἴπωμεν, καὶ ἀποκρινώμεθα πάλιν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσιν. εἰ σταίη πως τὰ πάντα ὅμοι γενόμενα, καθάπερ πλεῖστοι τῶν τοιούτων τολμῶσι λέγειν, τίνα ἄρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρώτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι τῶν είρημένων;

12.51.4 | And then let us say this, and let us answer again to ourselves. If everything were to stand together, just as most of those like this dare to say, what then would be the first movement among them that must happen?

12.51.5 | Τὴν αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν δήπου κινοῦσαν. ὑπ’ ἄλλου γὰρ οὐ μή ποτε ἔμπροσθεν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεμιᾶς γ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕσης ἔμπροσθεν μεταπτώσεως.

12.51.5 | Surely it would be the same thing moving itself. For it would never change from another, nor would there be any change before it among them.

12.51.6 | Ἀρχὴν ἄρα κινήσεων πασῶν καὶ πρώτην ἐν τε ἐστῶσι γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινουμένοις οὖσαν, τὴν ἐαυτὴν κινοῦσαν, φήσομεν ἀναγκαίως εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην καὶ κρατίστην μεταβολῶν πασῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιουμένην ὑφ' ἐτέρου, κινοῦσαν δὲ ἔτερα, δευτέραν. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

12.51.6 | Therefore, we must necessarily say that the first movement of all movements, both in what stands still and in what is moving, is that which moves itself. This is the oldest and strongest of all changes, while that which is changed by another and moves other things is second. You are speaking very truly.

12.51.7 | Όπότε δὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα ἐσμὲν τοῦ λόγου, τόδε ἀποκρινώμεθα. Τὸ ποῖον; Εὰν ἵδωμέν που ταύτην γενομένην ἐν τῷ γηίνῳ ἡ ἐνύδρῳ ἡ πυροειδεῖ, κεχωρισμένῳ ἡ καὶ ξυμμιγεῖ, τί ποτε φήσομεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθος ἐνεῖναι;

12.51.8 | Μῶν ἄρά με ἔρωτᾶς εἴ ζῆν αὐτὸ προσεροῦμεν, ὅταν αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινῇ; Ναί. Ζῆν· πῶς γάρ οὕ; Τί δὲ, ὅταν ψυχὴν ἐν τισὶ ὁρῶμεν, μῶν ἄλλο ἡ σ ταύτὸν τούτῳ ζῆν ὀμοιογητέον; Οὐκ ἄλλο. "Ἐχε δὴ πρὸς Δῖος ἄρ' οὐκ ἀν ἐθέλοις περὶ εκαστὸν τρία νοεῖν;

12.51.9 | Πῶς λέγεις; "Ἐν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν λόγον, ἐν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔρωτήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ δὸν ἄπαν δύο. Πῶς; Τοτὲ μὲν ἡμῶν ἔκαστον τοῦνομα προτεινόμενον αὐτὸ τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν προτεινόμενον ἔρωτᾶν αὖ τοῦνομα. ἄρά γε τὸ τοιόνδε αὖ βουλόμεθα νῦν λέγειν;

12.51.10 | Τὸ ποῖον; "Ἔστι που δίχα διαιρούμενον εἰς ἵσα μέρη ἐν ἄλλοισι τε καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὄνομα μὲν ἄρτιον, λόγος δὲ ἀριθμὸς διαιρούμενος εἰς ἵσα δύο μέρη. Ναί.

12.51.11 | Τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω. Μῶν οὗν οὐ ταύτὸν ἐκατέρως προσαγορεύομεν, ἔάν τε τὸν λόγον ἔρωτώμενοι τοῦνομα ἀποδιδῶμεν, ἔάν τε τοῦνομα τὸν λόγον

12.51.7 | Whenever we are here in this discussion, let us answer this: What kind? If we see something like this happening in the earth, or in water, or in something fiery, whether it is separate or mixed, what will we say is present in such a condition?

12.51.8 | Are you asking me if it is alive when it moves itself? Yes. It is alive; how could it not be? And what about when we see a soul in something? Should we not agree that it is the same as being alive? Not anything else. So, regarding Zeus, would you not want to think of three things about each one?

12.51.9 | What do you mean? One is the essence, one is the reason of the essence, and one is the name. And indeed, there should be questions about both of these. How? Sometimes we ask for the name when the reason is given, and sometimes we ask for the reason when the name is given. Do we want to talk about this kind of thing now?

12.51.10 | What kind? It is something that is divided into equal parts in other things and in number. This one, then, has an even name, and the reason is a number divided into two equal parts. Yes.

12.51.11 | I mean something like this. So, do we not call the same thing in both cases, whether we give the name when we are asked for the reason, or whether we call the

ἄρτιον όνόματι καὶ λόγω, δίχα  
διαιρούμενον ἀριθμὸν προσαγορεύοντες,  
ταύτὸν ὅν; Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

12.51.12 | Ωι δὴ ψυχὴ τοῦνομα, τίς τούτου  
λόγος; ἔχομεν ἄλλον πλὴν τὸν νῦν δὴ  
ρηθέντα, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν  
κινεῖν κίνησιν; Τὸ ἐαυτὸν κινεῖν φῆς λόγον  
ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ούσιαν ἥνπερ τοῦνομα, ὃ  
δὴ πάντες ψυχὴν προσαγορεύομεν;

12.51.13 | Φημί γε. εἰ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτως  
ἔχον, ἄρ' ἔτι ποθοῦμεν μὴ ἱκανῶς δεδεῖχθαι  
ψυχὴν ταύτὸν ὅν καὶ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν  
καὶ κίνησιν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων  
καὶ ἔσομένων καὶ πάντων αὖ τῶν ἐναντίων  
τούτοις, ἐπειδή γε ἀνεφάνη μεταβολῆς τε  
καὶ κινήσεως ἀπάσης αἴτια ἄπασιν; Οὐκ,  
ἄλλὰ ἱκανώτατα δέδεικται ψυχὴ τῶν  
πάντων πρεσβυτάτη, γενομένη γε ἀρχὴ<sup>1</sup>  
κινήσεως.

12.51.14 | Ἅρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡ δι' ἔτερον ἐν ἄλλῳ  
γινομένη κίνησις, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ  
μηδέποτε παρέχουσα κινεῖσθαι μηδὲν,  
δευτέρα τε καὶ ὀπόσων ἀριθμῶν βούλοιτο  
ἄν τις ἀριθμεῖν αὐτὴν πολλοστὴν,  
τοσούτων, σώματος οὕσα ὄντως ἀψύχου  
μεταβολή. Ὁρθῶς.

12.51.15 | Ὁρθῶς ἄρα καὶ κυρίως  
ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώτατα είρηκότες  
ἄν ἦμεν ψυχὴν μὲν προτέραν γεγονέναι  
σώματος, ἡ μὴ, σῶμα δὲ δεύτερόν τε καὶ  
ὑστερὸν ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης ἀρχόμενον κατὰ  
φύσιν. Ἀληθέστατα μὲν οὖν.

reason an even name and reason, calling it  
a number divided into equal parts? It is  
indeed the same.

12.51.12 | O soul, what is the reason for  
this name? Do we have another besides the  
one just mentioned, which is the ability to  
move itself? You say that to move itself has  
the same essence as the name, which we all  
call soul?

12.51.13 | I say yes. If this is the case, do we  
still desire not to have shown sufficiently  
that the soul is the same as the first origin  
and movement of all beings, both those that  
exist and those that have come to be, and  
all things opposite to these, since it has  
been revealed as the cause of all change  
and movement? No, but it has been shown  
quite sufficiently that the soul is the oldest  
of all, having become the source of  
movement.

12.51.14 | Isn't it true that movement  
caused by something else, which does not  
provide any movement within itself, is a  
second type? And if someone wanted to  
count it as many times as there are  
numbers, it would truly be a change of a  
lifeless body. Correct.

12.51.15 | Therefore, we would be saying  
truly and most completely that the soul  
came before the body, or not? The body is  
second and comes after the soul starting  
according to nature. Indeed, that is true.

12.51.16 | Μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν  
όμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς εἰ ψυχὴ<sup>1</sup>  
φανείη πρεσβυτέρα σώματος οὖσα, καὶ τὰ  
ψυχῆς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο  
πρεσβύτερα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

12.51.17 | Τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἥθη καὶ βουλήσεις  
καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαί  
τε καὶ μνῆμαι πρότερα μήκους σωμάτων  
καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους καὶ ὁρμῆς εἴη  
γεγονότα ἄν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος.  
'Ανάγκη.

12.51.18 | 'Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὄμολογεῖν  
ἀναγκαῖον τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν αἴτιαν εἶναι  
ψυχὴν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ  
αἰσχρῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ πάντων  
τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴπερ τῶν πάντων γε αὐτὴν  
θήσομεν αἴτιαν; Πῶς γὰρ οὕ;

12.51.19 | Ψυχὴν δὴ διοικοῦσαν καὶ  
ένοικοῦσαν ἐν ἄπασι τοῖς πάντῃ  
κινουμένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν  
ἀνάγκη διοικεῖν φάναι; Τί μήν; Μίαν, ἢ  
πλείους; Πλείους ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν  
ἀποκρινοῦμαι δυοῖν μέν γέ που ἔλαττον  
μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὔεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς  
τάναντία δυναμένης ἔξεργάζεσθαι.

12.51.20 | Σφόδρα ὄρθῶς εἴρηκας. Εἴεν.  
ἄγει μὲν δὴ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν  
καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ταῖς αὐτῆς κινήσεσιν,  
αἷς ὄνόματά ἔστι βούλεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι,  
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, βουλεύεσθαι, δοξάζειν  
ὄρθως, ἐψευσμένως, χαίρουσαν,  
λυπουμένην, θαρροῦσαν, φοβουμένην,

12.51.16 | Surely we remember that we  
agreed earlier that if the soul appears older  
than the body, then the things of the soul  
would be older than those of the body.  
Indeed, that is completely true.

12.51.17 | Traits, habits, intentions,  
thoughts, and true beliefs would have  
existed before the lengths, widths, depths,  
and strengths of bodies, if indeed the soul is  
of the body. It is necessary.

12.51.18 | Is it then necessary to agree that  
the cause of good things is the soul, and  
also of bad things, beautiful and ugly things,  
just and unjust things, and all opposites, if  
we are to consider it the cause of  
everything? How could it not be?

12.51.19 | Surely, if the soul governs and  
lives in all things that are moved, is it not  
necessary to say that it also governs the  
heavens? Indeed! One or many? Many; I  
would say that we should not consider less  
than two, one that does good and one that  
can do the opposite.

12.51.20 | You have spoken very rightly.  
Indeed, the soul leads all things in the  
heavens, on earth, and in the sea with its  
own movements, which are called wishing,  
considering, caring, planning, thinking  
rightly, falsely, rejoicing, being sad, being  
brave, being afraid, hating, loving, and all

μισοῦσαν, στέργουσαν, καὶ πάσαις ὅσαι τούτων ξυγγενεῖς ἢ πρωτουργοὶ κινήσεις τὰς δευτερουργοὺς αὖ παραλαμβάνουσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων ἄγουσι πάντα εἰς αὔξησιν καὶ φθίσιν καὶ διάκρισιν καὶ σύγκρισιν καὶ τούτοις ἐπομένας θερμότητας, ψύξεις, βαρύτητας, κουφότητας, σκληρὸν καὶ μαλακὸν, λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν, αὐστηρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν] καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ψυχὴ χρωμένη, νοῦν μὲν προσλαμβάνουσα αἱεὶ θεῖον ὄρθως θεοῖς ὄρθᾳ καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ πάντα, ἀνοίᾳ δὲ ξυγγενομένη πάντα αὖ τάναντία τούτοις ἀπεργάζεται.

those that are related to these or that are primary movements. These movements take on the secondary movements of bodies, leading everything to growth, decay, separation, and gathering. Following these are warmth, coldness, heaviness, lightness, hardness, softness, whiteness, blackness, harshness, sweetness, and bitterness. The soul engages with all these, always receiving divine reason, guiding everything rightly and happily towards the gods, but when it is mixed with ignorance, it brings about all the opposites of these.

12.51.21 | τιθῶμεν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν; ἢ ἔτι διστάζομεν εἴ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει; Οὐδαμῶς. Πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς τὸ γένος ἐγκρατὲς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς περιόδου γεγονέναι φῶμεν τὸ φρόνιμον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλῆρες, ἢ τὸ μηδέτερα κεκτημένον; βούλεσθε οὖν πρὸς ταῦτα ὡδεῖς ἀποκρινώμεθα; Πῶς;

12.51.21 | "Shall we say that these things are so? Or are we still unsure if they are in some other way? Certainly not. Then, should we say that the nature of the soul is strong, coming from the heavens, the earth, and all around, full of wisdom and virtue, or that it has neither? Do you want us to answer this way?" How?

12.51.22 | Εἴ μὲν, ὡς θαυμάσιε, φῶμεν, ἢ ξύμπασα οὐρανοῦ ὀδὸς ἄμα καὶ φορὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντων ἀπάντων νοῦ κινήσει καὶ περιφορῇ καὶ λογισμοῖς ὁμοίαν φύσιν ἔχει καὶ ξυγγενῶς ἔρχεται, δῆλον ὡς τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην ὄδὸν ἔκείνην. Ὁρθῶς.

12.51.22 | If we say, oh wonderful one, that the whole path of the heavens, along with the movement and all the beings within it, has a similar nature in thought, movement, and reasoning, it is clear that we should take care of the best soul of the whole universe and lead it along that kind of path. Rightly so.

12.51.23 | Εἴ δὲ μανικός τε καὶ ἀτάκτως ἔρχεται, τὴν κάκην. Καὶ ταῦτα ὄρθότατα. Τίνα οὖν δὴ νοῦ κίνησις φύσιν ἔχει; τοῦτο ἥδη χαλεπὸν, ὡς φίλοι, ἐρώτημα ἀποκρινόμενον εἴπειν ἐμφρόνως. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὑμῖν δίκαιον τανῦν

12.51.23 | But if it comes in a wild and disorderly way, it is the bad one. And this is very true. So what kind of nature does the movement of thought have? This is already a difficult question, my friends, to answer wisely. Therefore, it is right for me to take

προσλαμβάνειν. Εὐ λέγεις.

my time in answering you. You say well.

12.51.24 | Μὴ τοίνυν ἔξ ἐναντίας οὗτον εἰς ἥλιον ἀποβλέποντες, νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς νοῦν ποτὲ θητοῖς ὅμμασιν ὄψόμενοί τε καὶ γνωσόμενοι ἱκανῶς· πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἑρωτωμένου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέστερον ὄρᾶν.

12.51.24 | Therefore, let us not, like looking at the sun, bring night into midday, but let us make the answer as if the mind could be seen and understood clearly by mortal eyes; and by looking at the image of the one asking, we can see more safely.

12.51.25 | Πῶς λέγεις; Ἡι προσέοικε κινήσει νοῦς, τῶν δέκα κινήσεων τὴν εἰκόνα λάβωμεν, ἣν συναναμνησθεὶς ὑμῖν ἔγω κοινῇ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ποιήσομαι. Κάλλιστα ἀν λέγοις. Μεμνήμεθα τοίνυν τοῦτό γε τοσοῦτον τῶν τότε, ὅτι τῶν ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μένειν ἔθεμεν. Ναί.

12.51.25 | What do you say? Let us take the image of the mind as it relates to movement, one of the ten movements, and remembering this, I will make the answer together with you. You would say it very well. So let us remember this much from then, that some things are set to move, while others are set to remain. Yes.

12.51.26 | Τῶν δ' αὐτῶν κινουμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείοσι φερόμενα. "Εστι ταύτῃ. Τούτοιν δὴ τοῖν κινήσεοιν τὴν ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένην ἀεὶ περὶ γέ τι μέσον ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι τῶν ἐντόρνων ούσῶν μίμημά τι κύκλων, εἴναι τε αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ πάντως ὡς δυνατὸν οίκειοτάτην τε καὶ ὁμοίαν.

12.51.26 | Of those that move, some move in one place, while others are carried in many. This is true. Therefore, among those movements, the one that is always carried in one place must move around something, like a circle, and it should be as close and similar as possible to the nature of the mind.

12.51.27 | Πῶς λέγεις; Τὸ κατὰ ταύτα δῆπου καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἔνα λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν ἄμφω κινεῖσθαι λέγοντες νοῦν τὴν τε ἐν ἑνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν, σφαίρας ἐντόρνου ἀπεικασμένα φοραῖς, οὐκ ἄν ποτε φανεῖμεν φαῦλοι ἢ δημιουργοὶ λόγῳ καλῶν εἰκόνων.

12.51.27 | What do you say? It is indeed true that both must move in the same way, in the same place, around the same things, and toward the same things, with one idea and one order. When we speak of the mind and the movement that is carried in one place, like the motion of a sphere, we would never seem to be poor creators of beautiful images.

12.51.28 | Όρθότατα λέγεις. Ούκοῦν αὕτη γε ἡ μηδέποτε ὁσαύτως μηδὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μηδ' ἐν ταύτῳ μηδὲ περὶ ταύτα μηδὲ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ μηδ' ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένῃ μηδ' ἐν κόσμῳ μηδ' ἐν τάξει μηδ' ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ κίνησις ἀνοίας ἀν αὖ πάσης εἴη ξυγγενής.

12.51.28 | You are speaking very correctly. Therefore, this movement that never moves in the same way, nor in the same place, nor around the same things, nor toward the same things, nor is carried in one place, nor in the universe, nor in order, nor in any idea, would indeed be related to all forms of ignorance.

12.51.29 | Εἴη γὰρ ἀν ἀληθέστατα. Τανῦν δὴ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι διαρρήδην είπεῖν ὡς, ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μέν ἐστιν ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν ἔξ ανάγκης περιάγειν φατέον ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ κοσμοῦσαν ἥτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἡ τὴν ἐναντίαν.

12.51.29 | For it would indeed be very true. Now, it is not difficult to say clearly that, since the soul is what carries everything for us, we must say that the movement of the heavens is necessarily carried along, being cared for and ordered, whether it is the best soul or the opposite one.

12.51.30 | Ὡ ξένε, ἄλλ' ἐκ γε τῶν νῦν είρημένων ὅσιον ἄλλως λέγειν ἡ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αὐτά. Κάλλιστα, ὡ Κλεινίᾳ, ὑπήκουουσας τοῖς λόγοις. τόδε δὲ προσυπάκουουσον ἔτι.

12.51.30 | O stranger, it is indeed holy to say otherwise than that there is one soul that has all virtue or that many souls carry them. Very well, O Kleinia, you have listened to the words. But listen to this further.

12.51.31 | Τὸ ποῖον; Ἡλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα, εἴπερ ψυχὴ περιάγει πάντα, ἃρ' οὐ καὶ ἐν ἔκαστον; Τί μήν; Περὶ ἐνὸς δὴ ποιησώμεθα λόγους, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἀρμόττοντες ἡμῖν τὰ ἀστρα φανοῦνται.

12.51.31 | What kind? The sun and the moon and the other stars, if the soul carries everything, is it not also one for each? Indeed? Let us speak about one, since the stars that fit with everything appear to us.

12.51.32 | Τίνος; Ἡλίου πᾶς ἀνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὄρᾶ, ψυχὴν δὲ οὐδείς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου σώματος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθανόντος τῶν ζώων οὐδενός], ἄλλὰ ἐλπὶς πολλὴ τὸ παράπαν τὸ γένος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ

12.51.32 | Whose? Every person sees the body of the sun, but no one sees its soul; for neither of any other body, whether living or dead, of any animals, is there any, but there is great hope that this whole race is completely insensible to all the senses of

σώματος αίσθήσεσι περιπεφυκέναι,  
νοητὸν δὲ εἶναι. μόνῳ νῷ δὴ καὶ νοήματι  
λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ πέρι τὸ τοιόνδε.

12.51.33 | Ποῖον; Ἡλιον εἴ περιάγει ψυχὴ,  
τριῶν αὐτὴν ἵν λέγοντες δρᾶν σχεδὸν οὐκ  
ἀποτευξόμεθα. Τίνων;

12.51.34 | Ὡς ἡ ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερεῖ  
τούτῳ φαινομένῳ σώματι πάντῃ  
διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμάς ἡ  
παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴ πάντῃ περιφέρει· ἡ ποθεν  
ἔξωθεν σῶμα αὐτῇ πορισαμένη πυρὸς ἢ  
τινος ἀέρος, ὡς λόγος ἔστι τινων, ὥθει βίᾳ  
σώματι σῶμα· ἡ τρίτον αὐτὴ ψιλὴ σώματος  
οὖσα, ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινὰς  
ὑπερβαλλούσας, θαύματι ποδηγεῖ. Ναί.  
Τοῦτο μὲν ἀνάγκη, τούτων ἐν γέ τι δρῶσαν  
ψυχὴν πάντα διάγειν."

12.51.35 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ  
τῶν Νόμων εἴρηται τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. καὶ ἐν  
τῷ Φιλήβῳ δὲ ἐπάκουουσον ὅπως τὴν αὐτὴν  
κατασκευάζει διάνοιαν 'Πάντες γάρ  
συμφωνοῦσιν οὗ σοφοὶ, ὅντως  
σεμνύνοντες, ὡς νοῦς ἔστι βασιλέ' ὃς ἡμῖν  
ούρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς. καὶ ἵσως εὐ λέγουσι·  
διὰ μακροτέρων δ', εἰ βούλει, τὴν σκέψιν  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ γένους ποιησώμεθα.

12.51.36 | Λέγε ὅπως βούλει, μηδὲν μῆκος  
ὑπολογιζόμενος ἡμῖν, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὡς οὐκ  
ἀπεχθησόμενος. Καλῶς εἶπας. ἀρξόμεθα δέ  
πιας ὥδε ἐπανερωτῶντες. Πῶς; Πότερον, ὡς  
Πρώταρχε, τὰ ξύμπαντα καὶ τόδε τὸ  
καλούμενον ὅλον ἐπιτροπεύειν φῶμεν τὴν  
τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ εἰκῇ δύναμιν καὶ τὸ ὅπῃ  
ἔτυχεν, ἡ τάναντία, καθάπερ οἷ πρόσθεν

the body, but is to be understood. Let us  
take only the mind and thought about such  
a thing.

12.51.33 | What kind? If the soul carries the  
sun, we will hardly escape saying that it  
acts of three. Of what?

12.51.34 | As if the soul within this visible  
body carries such a thing completely, just  
as our soul carries us completely; or having  
obtained a body from outside, whether  
from fire or from some air, as some say, it  
violently pushes body with body; or is it a  
third, being a simple body, but having other  
powers that surpass, leading to wonder?  
Yes. This is necessary, for the soul must  
pass through everything while acting.

12.51.35 | These things have indeed been  
said in the tenth of the Laws to the  
philosopher. And in the Philebus, listen to  
how it builds the same thought: 'For all the  
wise agree, truly honoring, that the mind is  
a king for us of both heaven and earth.' And  
perhaps they say this: if you wish, let us  
make the thought of this race longer.

12.51.36 | Speak as you wish, not  
considering any length for us, O Socrates, as  
if you will not be offended. You have  
spoken well. Let us begin somehow here by  
asking again. How? Should we say that the  
whole and this beautiful thing is governed  
by the irrational and random power,  
wherever it happens, or the opposite, just

ήμῶν ἔλεγον, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησίν τινα  
θαυμαστὴν συντάττουσαν διακυβερναν;

12.51.37 | Ούδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς θαυμάσιε  
Σώκρατες· ὃ μὲν γὰρ δὴ σὺ λέγεις, νῦν] οὐδ'  
ὅσιον εἶναι μοι φαίνεται· τὸ δὲ νοῦν πάντα  
διακοσμεῖν αὐτὰ φάναι καὶ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ  
κόσμου καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων  
καὶ πάσης τῆς περιφορᾶς ἄξιον, καὶ οὐκ  
ἄλλως ἔγωγ' ἂν ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν εἴποιμι,  
ούδ' ἂν δόξαιμι.

12.51.38 | Βούλει δή τι καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς  
ἔμπροσθεν δημολογούμενον ξυμφήσωμεν,  
ὡς ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει; καὶ μὴ μόνον οἰώμεθα  
δεῖν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἄνευ κινδύνου λέγειν,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκινδυνεύωμεν καὶ μετέχωμεν  
τοῦ ψόγου, ὅταν ἀνήρ δεινὸς φῆ ταῦτα μὴ  
οιτως, ἀλλ' ἀτάκτως ἔχειν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν  
βουλοίμην; "Ιθι δὴ, τὸν ἐπιόντα περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τούτων λόγον νῦν ἡμῖνάθρει.

12.51.39 | δέγε μόνον. Τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν  
σωμάτων φύσιν ἀπάντων τῶν Ξώων, πῦρ  
καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πνεῦμα, καθορῶμέν που, Καὶ  
γῆν, κθάπερ οἱ χειμαζόμενοί φασιν, ἐνόντα  
ἐν τῇ συστάσει; Καὶ μάλα. Χειμαζόμεθα γάρ  
ὄντως ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἐν τοῖς νῦν λόγοις.  
Φέρε δὴ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν λάβε  
τὸ Τοιόνδε.

12.51.40 | Ποῖον; "Οτι σμικρόν τε τούτων  
ἐκαστον παρ' ἡμῖν ἔνεστι καὶ φαῦλον καὶ  
ούδαμῆ ούδαμῶς εἰλικρινές ὅν καὶ τὴν  
δύναμιν οὐκ ἀξίαν τῆς φύσεως ἔχον. ἐν ἐνὶ<sup>2</sup>  
δὲ λαβὼν περὶ πάντων νόει ταύτον. Οὗον  
πῦρ ἔστι μέν που παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ

as those before us said, that a wonderful  
mind and understanding are arranging it?

12.51.37 | Nothing of the same, O  
wonderful Socrates; for what you say now  
does not seem holy to me. But to say that  
the mind arranges everything, both the  
appearance of the world and the sun and  
moon and stars and all the movement, is  
worthy, and I would never say otherwise  
about them, nor would I think so.

12.51.38 | Do you want us to agree with  
what has been said before, that these things  
are so? And let us not only think we should  
speak of others without danger, but let us  
also share in the risk and take part in the  
blame when a clever man says these things  
are not so, but are disordered? For how  
could I not want that? Come then, let us  
now consider the upcoming discussion  
about these things.

12.51.39 | Just listen. We see the nature of  
all bodies, fire, water, and air, and earth,  
just as those who are struggling say,  
existing in the mixture? And indeed. For we  
are truly struggling with confusion in these  
discussions now. So come, take this kind of  
approach for each of the things we have.

12.51.40 | What kind? That each of these  
things is small and weak among us, and in  
no way is it pure, and it does not have the  
power worthy of its nature. But when you  
take one, think the same about all. Just as  
fire exists among us, it also exists in the

παντί.

12.51.41 | Τί μήν; Ούκοῦν σμικρὸν μέν τι τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσθενὲς Καὶ φαῦλον, τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ παντὶ πλήθει τε θαυμαστὸν καὶ καάλλει καὶ πάχη δυνάμει τῇ περὶ τὸ πῦρ οὕσῃ. Καὶ μάλα ἀληθὲς ὅ λέγεις. Τί δέ; τρέφεται καὶ γίνεται ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄρχεται τὸ τοῦ παντὸς πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν πυρὸς, ἢ τούναντίον ὑπ' ἔκεινου τό τε ἔμὸν καὶ τὸ σὸν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ξώων ἄπαντ' ἴσχει ταῦτα; Τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἀποκρίσεως ἄξιον ἐρωτᾶς.

12.51.42 | Ὁρθῶς. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρεις, οἴμαι, περὶ τε τῆς ἐν τοῖς ζώοις γῆς τῆς ἐνθάδε καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὴ ὅσων ἡρώτησα ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν, οὔτως ἀποκρινῇ. Τίς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἄλλως ὑγιαίνων ἂν ποτε φανείη;

12.51.43 | Σχεδὸν οὐδ' ὀστισοῦν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξῆς ἔπου. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἡμεῖς τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα ἄρ' οὐκ εἰς ἐν συγκείμενα ἰδόντες ἐπωνομάσαμεν σῶμα; Τί μήν; Ταύτὸν δὴ λάβε καὶ περὶ τοῦδε ὃν κόσμον λέγομεν διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γὰρ τρόπον ἀν εἴη που σῶμα, σύνθετον ὃν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.

12.51.44 | Πότερον οὖν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ σώματος ὅλως τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν σῶμα, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο τρέφεται τε καὶ ὅσα νῦν δὴ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπείπομεν εἴληφέ τε καὶ ἔχει; Καὶ τοῦθ' ἔτερον, ώ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἄξιον ἐρωτησεως. Τί δέ; ἀ όδε τρα ἄξιον

whole.

12.51.41 | Well then? Is what we have small and weak, and common, while what exists in the whole is wonderful in its abundance and has great power regarding fire? And what you say is very true. But tell me, does the fire of the whole come from the fire we have, or the other way around, does it come from that fire and control both mine and yours and all the other bodies? This is not even worth answering.

12.51.42 | Correctly. For you will say these things, I think, about the earth in the living beings here and in the whole, and about the others I asked a little earlier, you will answer in the same way. For who would ever seem healthy if they answered differently?

12.51.43 | Almost no one. But after this, follow along. For all these things we have just said, do we not see them coming together as one body? What do you say? Take the same idea about the world we are talking about; for in the same way, it would also be a body, being made up of the same parts. You are saying very rightly.

12.51.44 | Which then comes from this body, our body here, or does this grow from our body and all that we have just said about it? And this other thing, oh Socrates, is not worth asking about. But what? Is this not worth asking about? Or

έρωτήσεως; ἢ πῶς ἔρεῖς,,

how will you say it?

12.51.45 | Λέγε τὸ ποῖον. Τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν σῶμα ἄρ' οὐ ψυχὴν φήσομεν ἔχειν; Δῆλον ὅτι φήσομεν. Πόθεν, ω̄ φίλε Πρώταρχε, λαβόν, εἴπερ μὴ τὸ γε τοῦ παντὸς σῶμα ἔμψυχον ὃν ἐτύγχανε, ταύτα γε ἔχον τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πάντῃ καλλίονα; Δῆλον ὡς οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν, ὥς Σώκρατες.

12.51.45 | Tell me what kind. Do we not say that our body has a soul? It is clear that we will say so. From where, dear Protarche, would it come, if not from the body of the whole, being alive and having the same things and even more beautiful? It is clear that it comes from nowhere else, oh Socrates.

12.51.46 | Οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦμέν γε, ω̄ Πρώταρχε, τὰ τέτταρα ἔκεīνα, πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ κοινὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος ἐν ἄπαισι τέταρτον ἐνὸν, τοῦτ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴν τε παρέχον καὶ σωμασκίαν ἔμποιοῦν καὶ πταίσαντος σώματος ἰατρικὴν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλα συντιθὲν καὶ ἀσκούμενον πᾶσαν καὶ παντοίαν σοφίαν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν τούτων ὄντων ἐν ὅλῳ τε οὐρανῷ καὶ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη, καὶ προσέτι καλῶν καὶ εἱλικρινῶν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἄρα μεμηχανῆσθαι τὴν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ τιμιωτάτων φύσιν. Ἄλλ' οὐδαμῶς τοῦτό γ' ἀν λόγον ἔχοι.

12.51.46 | For we do not seem, dear Protarche, to have those four things: limit and infinite, common and the kind of cause, as a fourth among all. This gives a soul and forms a body among us, and provides healing for a body that has fallen, and in other things brings together and teaches all kinds of wisdom. But with the same things existing in the whole sky and in large parts, and in addition to beautiful and genuine things, it would not be possible to create the nature of the most beautiful and most valuable. But this would not have any reason.

12.51.47 | Ούκοῦν εί μὴ τοῦτο, μετ' ἔκείνου τοῦ λόγου ἀν ἐπόμενοι βέλτιον λέγοιμεν, ω̄ς ἔστιν, ἀ πολλάκις είρήκαμεν, ἀπειρόν τε ἐν τῷ παντὶ πολὺ καὶ πέρας ἱκανὸν, καί τις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἰτία οὐ φαύλη, κοσμοῦσά τε καὶ συντάττουσα ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ ὥρας καὶ μῆνας, σοφία καὶ νοῦς λεγομένη δικαιότατα. Δικαιότατα δῆτα.

12.51.47 | Then if not this, following that reasoning we would say something better, as it is, which we have often said: that there is much that is infinite in the whole and a sufficient limit, and that there is a cause that is not trivial, ordering and arranging years and seasons and months, wisdom and mind being rightly called. Indeed, rightly.

12.51.48 | Σοφία μὴν καὶ νοῦς ἄνευ ψυχῆς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γενοίσθην. Οὐ γάρ οὖν.

12.51.48 | Indeed, wisdom and mind could never come to be without a soul. For that is

Ούκοῦν ἐν μὲν τῇ τοῦ Δῖός ἔρεῖς φύσει βασιλικὴν μὲν ψυχὴν, βασιλικὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐγγίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς αἰτίας δύναμιν, ἐν δὲ ἄλλοις ἄλλα καλὰ, καθότι φίλον ἐκάστοις λέγεσθαι.”

## Section 52

12.52.1 | “Τὸν δ’ ἡγούμενον μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, μὴ φροντίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, παραμυθητέον. Ὡς ἄριστε δὴ, φῶμεν, ὅτι μὲν ἡγῆ θεοὺς, συγγένειά τις ἵσως σε θεία πρὸς τὸ ξύμφυτον ἄγει τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι· κακῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων τύχαι ίδιᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀληθείᾳ μὲν οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, δόξαις δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι σφόδρα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἄγουσί σε πρὸς ἀσέβειαν, ἐν τε Μούσαις οὐκ ὁρθῶς ὑμνούμεναι ἄμα καὶ ἐν παντοίοις λόγοις.

12.52.2 | ἢ καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἵσως [ἀνοσίους] ἀνθρώπους ὀρῶν ἐλθόντας γηραιοὺς, παῖδας παίδων καταλιπόντας ἐν τιμαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, ταράττῃ τανῦν ὅταν ἐν ἄπασι τούτοις ἰδὼν ἢ δὲ ἀκοῆς αἰσθόμενος, ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν αὐτὸς αὐτῶν τινι αὐτόπτης προστυχῶν πολλῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ δεινῶν γενομένων τισὶ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὀρᾷς,] ἐκ σμικρῶν εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἀφικομένους· τότε διὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δῆλος εἴ μέμφεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς ὡς αἰτίους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων διὰ ξυγγένειαν οὐκ ἀν ἔθελων, ἀγόμενος δὲ ὑπό τε ἀλογίας ἄμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν θεοὺς εἰς τοῦτο νῦν τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθας, ὥστ’ εἶναι μὲν δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν πραγμάτων.

not the case. Then in the nature of Zeus, you would say that a royal soul and a royal mind come to be because of the power of the cause, while in other things, other beautiful things, as each is said to be dear.

12.52.1 | Now, if one thinks that the gods are leaders, they should not concern themselves with human affairs. O excellent one, let us say that if one leads as a god, perhaps some divine connection leads you to honor and believe that it is so. But regarding the bad and unjust fates of humans, both individually and publicly, they are not truly happy, although they are greatly thought to be happy. However, they do not lead you rightly toward impiety, both in the Muses and in all kinds of speech.

12.52.2 | Or perhaps, seeing old men who are wicked coming to their end, leaving behind children in the greatest honors, you are troubled when you see or hear about all these things, or even when you yourself, as an eyewitness, encounter many acts of impiety and terrible things happening to some because of these. From small things, they arrive at tyranny and the greatest evils. Then, through all such things, it is clear that you would blame the gods as the causes of these things, but you would not want to do so because of their connection. Yet, being led by irrationality and unable to bear it, you have come to this state, so that it seems they care little for human affairs and neglect them.

12.52.3 | Ὕνα οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔλθῃ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν τὸ νῦν παρὸν δόγμα, ἀλλ’ ἔάν πως οἴον ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι λόγοις αὐτὸς προσιὸν γενώμεθα δυνατοὶ, πειρώμεθα, συνάψαντες τὸν ἔξῆς λόγον, φὰ πρὸς τὸν παράπαν οὐχ ἡγούμενον θεοὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς διεπερανάμεθα, τούτῳ τανῦν προσχρήσασθαι.

12.52.3 | Therefore, so that a greater passion does not come upon you toward impiety because of the current belief, if somehow we are able to drive it away with words, let us try, connecting it to the following argument, in which we do not consider the gods as having guided us from the beginning. Let us use this argument then.

12.52.4 | σὺ δ', ὦ Κλεινία τε καὶ Μέγιλλε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ νέου, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε· ἐὰν δέ τι δύσκολον ἔγγίγνηται τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ σφῶν, ὡσπερ νῦν δὴ, δεξάμενος διαβιβῶ τὸν ποταμόν. Ὁρθῶς λέγεις· καὶ σύ τε οὕτω ταῦτα δρᾶ ποιήσομέν τε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἄ λέγεις.

12.52.4 | You, oh Cleinias and Megillus, respond about the young man, just as before, passing on the discussion. But if something difficult arises in the words, I will take it from you, just as I do now, and carry it across the river. You speak rightly; and we too will do what you say to the best of our ability.

12.52.5 | Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τάχ' ἀν ἵσως εἴη χαλεπὸν ἐνδείξασθαι τοῦτο γε, ὡς ἐπιμελεῖς σμικρῶν εἰσὶ θεοὶ οὐχ ἥττον, μᾶλλον δὲ, ἢ τῷ μεγέθει διαφερόντων. ἥκουε γάρ που καὶ παρῆν τοῖς νῦν δὴ λεγομένοις ὡς ἀγαθοῖ γε ὅντες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τὴν τῶν πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν οίκειοτάτην αὐτῶν οὖσαν κέκτηνται. Καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐπήκουε.

12.52.5 | But it would not be very difficult to show this, that the gods are no less careful about small things, and even more so, than about great matters. For it seems they were present and listened to what is now being said, as they possess the greatest care for all virtues, which is most natural to them. And they listened very closely.

12.52.6 | Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν κοινῆ συνεξεταζόντων τίνα λέγοντες ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν δμολογοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι. φέρε, τὸ σωφρονεῖν νοῦν τε κεκτῆσθαι φαμὲν ἀρετῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία κακίας; Φαμέν. Τί δέ; ἀρετῆς μὲν ἀνδρείαν εἶναι, δειλίαν δὲ κακίας;

12.52.6 | After this, then, as we examine together what virtue we agree makes them good, let us say that having wisdom and self-control is a virtue, while the opposites are vices. Shall we say so? What then? Courage is a virtue, while cowardice is a vice?

12.52.7 | Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ τούτων, τὰ δὲ καλὰ φήσομεν; Ἀνάγκη. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν, εἴπερ, ὅπόσα φλαῦρα, θεοῖς δὲ οὕτε μέγα οὕτε σμικρὸν τῶν τοιούτων μετὸν ἔροῦμεν; Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῦ πᾶς ἄν.

12.52.7 | Absolutely. And shall we say what is shameful among these, and what is beautiful? It is necessary. And as for those things that belong to us, if they are indeed minor, shall we say that the gods have no concern for either great or small matters of this kind? And everyone would agree with this.

12.52.8 | Τί δέ; ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν εἰς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς θήσομεν; ἢ πῶς λέγεις; Καὶ πῶς; Ἄλλ' εἰς τούναντίον; Ναί. Τάναντία ἄρα τούτοις εἰς τούναντίον; Τούναντίον. Τί οὖν; τρυφῶν δὴ καὶ ἀμελής ἀργός τε, δὸν ὁ ποιητὴς κηφῆσι κοθούροισι μάλιστα εἴκελον ἔφασκεν εἶναι, γίγνοιτ' ἀν δὲ τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν;

12.52.8 | What then? Shall we consider carelessness, laziness, and indulgence as virtues of the soul? Or how do you say? And how? But rather the opposite? Yes. So the opposites of these are indeed the opposite? The opposite. What then? A person who is indulgent, careless, and lazy, whom the poet said is most like a drone, would such a person be good for us?

12.52.9 | Ὁρθότατά γε είπών. Ούκοῦν τόν γε θεὸν οὐ ρήτεον ἔχειν ἥθος τοιοῦτον ὃ γε αὐτὸς μισεῖ· τῷ δέ τι τοιοῦτον φθέγγεσθαι πειρωμένῳ οὐκ επιτρεπτεον. Οὐ μὲν δή· πῶς γάρ ἄν; Ωἱ δὴ προσήκει μὲν πράττειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διαφερόντως τινὸς, δὲ τούτου τοῦ γένους τῶν μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖ· κατὰ τίνα οὖν ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἄν παντάπασι πλημμελοῦμεν; σκοπῶμεν δὲ ὕδε. ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἴδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει ὁ πράττων, εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε ἄνθρωπος; Ποίω δὴ λέγομεν;

12.52.9 | Absolutely correct. Therefore, we should not say that a god has such a character that he himself hates; nor should we allow someone trying to speak in such a way. Indeed not; how could that be? It is fitting to act and take care of something in a different way. The one of this kind takes care of great matters, but neglects small ones; so why, when praising such a person, would we not be completely mistaken? Let us consider this: does the one acting do so in two ways, whether he is a god or a man? What then are we saying?

12.52.10 | Ἡ διαφέρον ούδεν οἰόμενος εἶναι τῷ ὅλῳ, ἀμελουμένων τῶν σμικρῶν, ἡ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ, εἰ διαφέρει, ὁ δὲ ἀμελεῖ· ἡ ἔστιν ἄλλως πως γιγνομένη

12.52.10 | Is it that he thinks there is no difference in the whole, while neglecting the small things, or is it that he is lazy and indulgent, if there is a difference, and he

άμέλεια; ού γάρ που, ὅταν γε ἀδύνατον ἦ τῶν πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τότε ἀμέλεια ἔσται τῶν σμικρῶν ἢ μεγάλων μὴ ἐπιμελουμένω, ὃν ἀν δυνάμει θεὸς ἢ φαῦλός τις ὁν ἐλλιπής καὶ μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γίγνηται. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

neglects? Or is there some other way that neglect happens? For surely, when it is impossible to take care of everything, then neglect will happen to either small or large things, depending on what a god or some weak person can manage to take care of. How could that be?

12.52.11 | Νῦν δὴ δύο ὅντες τρισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀποκρινάσθωσαν, οἱ θεοὺς μὲν ἀμφότεροι ὀμολογοῦντες εἶναι, παραιτητοὺς δὲ ἔτερος, δὲ ἀμελεῖς τῶν σμικρῶν. πρῶτον μὲν θεοὺς ἀμφότεροι φατε γινώσκειν, καὶ δρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν πάντα, λαθεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ὀπόσων εἰσὶν αἱ αἰσθήσεις τε καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι. ταύτῃ λέγετε ἔχειν ταῦτα, ἢ πῶς; Οὕτως.

12.52.11 | Now let both of them answer us, since there are two of them. They both agree that there are gods, but one denies it, while the other neglects the small things. First, both say that the gods know and see everything, and it is impossible for them to be unaware of anything that they can sense or know. Do you say that they have these abilities, or how? Yes, that is so.

12.52.12 | Τί δέ; δύνασθαι πάντα ὀπόσων αὐδύναμίς ἔστι θητοῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ συγχωρήσονται καὶ ταῦτα οὔτως ἔχειν; Καὶ μὴν ἀγαθούς τε καὶ ἀρίστους ὠμολογήκαμεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, πέντε ὅντες. Σφόδρα γε. "Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ ἥραθυμίᾳ μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ ἀδύνατον αὐτοὺς ὀμολογεῖν πράττειν ὅτιοῦν τὸ παράπαν, ὅντας γε οἴους λέγομεν; δειλίας γὰρ ἔγγονος ἔν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, ἥραθυμίᾳ δὲ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

12.52.12 | What then? Can they do everything that both mortals and immortals can do? How could they not agree that they have these abilities? And indeed, we have acknowledged that they are both good and excellent, being five in total. Very much so. Therefore, is it not impossible for them to act in any way out of laziness and indulgence, being as we say they are? For laziness is a child of weakness, and laziness comes from idleness and indulgence.

12.52.13 | Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις. Ἀργέᾳ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἥραθυμίᾳ οὐδεὶς ἀμελεῖ θεῶν, οὐ γὰρ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ που δειλίας. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις. Ούκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν, εἴπερ ἀμελοῦσι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων τῶν περὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἡ γινώσκοντες ὡς τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῶν ἄν

12.52.13 | You speak very truly. No one neglects the gods out of idleness or laziness, for they do not share in weakness. You speak correctly. Therefore, if they neglect the small and few things related to the whole, or if they know that they should take care of none of these things, they

τοῦτο· ἡ τί τὸ λοιπὸν, πλὴν τὸ γινώσκειν τούναντίον; Οὐδέν.

would act accordingly. Or what else, except knowing the opposite? Nothing.

12.52.14 | Πότερον οὖν, ω̄ ἄριστε καὶ βέλτιστε, θῶμέν σε λέγοντα, ώς ἀγνοοῦντάς τε καὶ δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δι’ ἄγνοιαν ἀμελοῦντας, ἡ γινώσκοντας ὅτι δεῖ, καθαπέρ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγονται ποιεῖν, εἰδότες ἄλλα εἶναι βέλτιον πράττειν ὃν δὴ πράττουσι διά τινας ἥττας ἡδονῶν ἡ λυπῶν οὐ ποιεῖν;

12.52.14 | Which is it then, O best and most excellent one? Are we amazed at you saying that they neglect things out of ignorance, or knowing that they should take care of them, just as the very worst of humans are said to do, knowing that there are better things to do but not doing them because of some lesser pleasures or pains?

12.52.15 | Πῶς γὰρ ἄν; Ούκοῦν δὴ τά γε ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τῆς τε ἔμψύχου μετέχει φύσεως ἄμα καὶ θεοσεβέστατον αὐτό ἔστι πάντων ζώων ἄνθρωπος. Εοικε γοῦν. Θεῶν γε μὴν κτήματά φαμεν εἶναι πάντα διόσα θνητὰ ζῷα ἡ νοερὰ] ὄντες καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον. Πῶς γὰρ οὕ;

12.52.15 | How could it be otherwise? Surely, human things share in the nature of living beings, and among all creatures, humans are the most devoted to the gods. It seems so. Indeed, we say that everything that is mortal or has thought, including the whole sky, belongs to the gods. How could it not be?

12.52.16 | "Ηδη τοίνυν ἡ σμικρὰ ἡ μεγάλα τις φάτω ταῦτα εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς· οὐδετέρως γὰρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἄν εἴη προσῆκον, ἐπιμελεστάτοις γε οὖσι καὶ ἀρίστοις. σκοπῶμεν γὰρ καὶ τόδε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις. Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ περὶ τε αἰσθήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀρ' οὐκ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοιν πρὸς ῥᾳστώνην καὶ χαλεπότητά ἔστον πεφυκότε; Πῶς λέγεις;

12.52.16 | Now then, whether small or large, let someone say that these things belong to the gods; for it would not be fitting for us, who are the most careful and the best, to neglect what we have. Let us also consider this further. What is it? Is it not the case that sensation and power are naturally opposed to ease and difficulty? What do you say?

12.52.17 | Ὁρᾶν μέν που καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ σμικρὰ χαλεπώτερον ἡ τὰ μεγάλα, φέρειν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων παντὶ ῥᾶσιν ἡ τῶν ἐναντίων. Καὶ πολὺ γε. Ἱατρῷ δὴ προστεταγμένον ὄλον τι θεραπεύειν βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ, τῶν μὲν

12.52.17 | It seems that seeing and hearing small things is harder than large ones, but carrying, holding, and taking care of small and few things is much easier than their opposites. And indeed, it is. For a doctor who is ordered to treat a whole person and is willing and able, it will be careful with

μεγάλων ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται, τῶν μορίων δὲ καὶ σμικρῶν ἀμελές· εἴθ' ἔξει ποτὲ καλῶς αύτῷ τὸ πᾶν; Οὐδαμῶς.

12.52.18 | Οὐ μὴν οὔδε γε κυβερνήταις οὔδε στρατηγοῖς ούδ' οίκονόμοις ούδ' αὖτισι πολιτικοῖς ούδε ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων ούδενὶ χωρὶς τῶν ὀλίγων ἡ σμικρῶν πολλὰ ἡ μεγάλα· ούδε γάρ ἄνευ τῶν σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους εὗκεῖσθαι. Πῶς γάρ ἄν;

12.52.19 | Μὴ τοίνυν τὸν θεὸν ἀξιώσωμέν ποτε θνητῶν δημιουργῶν φαυλότερον, οἱ τὰ προσήκοντα αύτοῖς ἔργα, ὅσωπερ ἀνάμεινους ὥσι, τόσῳ ἀκριβέστερα καὶ τελεώτερα μιᾷ τέχνῃ σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται· τὸν δὲ θεὸν ὅντα τε σοφώτατον βουλόμενόν τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ δυνάμενον, ὃν μὲν ῥᾷστον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, σμικρῶν ὅντων, μηδαμῇ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἀργὸν ἡ δειλόν τινα διὰ πόνους ῥᾳθυμοῦντα, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων.

12.52.20 | Μηδαμῶς δόξαν τοιαύτην περὶ θεῶν, σοῦ ξένε, ἀποδεχώμεθα· οὐδαμῇ γάρ οὕτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀληθὲς τὸ διανόημα διανοοίμεθ' ἄν. Δοκοῦμεν δέ μοι νῦν ἥδη καὶ μεγάλα μετρίως διειλέχθαι τῷ φιλαιτίῳ τῆς ἀμελείας πέρι θεῶν. Ναί. Τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ λέγειν ὄρθως. ἐπωδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ κεῖ μύθων ἔτι τινῶν. Ποίων, ὡς ἀγαθέ;

12.52.21 | Πείσωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῦ ὅλου

the large parts, but neglectful of the smaller and lesser parts. Will it then be well for the whole? Not at all.

12.52.18 | Indeed, neither ship captains nor generals nor stewards, nor anyone else in politics, can manage many or large things without the small or few. For the stone workers say that the large stones cannot be placed well without the small ones. How could that be?

12.52.19 | Therefore, let us not think of the god as less worthy than mortal creators, who, as much as they are better, work more carefully and perfectly on small and large things with one skill. But we want the god, being the wisest and willing to take care, to take care of the small things, which are easier to manage, not at all, like a lazy or cowardly person who is neglecting the hard work of the large things.

12.52.20 | Let us by no means accept such a thought about the gods, stranger, for neither is it holy nor true to think this way. But I believe we have now reasonably discussed the great carelessness about the gods. Yes. It seems that by being forced by words, he agrees that he is not speaking correctly. Yet, I think he still needs some more stories about spells. What kind, good sir?

12.52.21 | Let us persuade the young man with words that everything in the universe is arranged for the care of salvation and

πάντ' ἔστι συντεταγμένα, ὃν καὶ τὸ μέρος εἰς δύναμιν ἔκαστον τὸ προσῆκον πάσχει καὶ ποιεῖ τούτοις δέ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες προστεταγμένοι ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον ἀεὶ πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι·

virtue, and that each part suffers and acts according to its own power. And there are rulers assigned to each of these for the smallest matters of suffering and action, arranged for the very last division.

12.52.22 | ὃν ἔν καὶ τὸ σὸν, ὡ σχέτλιε, μόριον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ξυντείνει βλέπον ἀεὶ, καίπερ πάνσμικρον ὅν. σὲ δὲ λέληθε περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ὡς γένεσις ἔνεκα ἑκείνου γίνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ἡ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς βίῳ ὑπάρχουσα εύδαίμων οὐσίᾳ, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ γινομένη, σὺ δ' ἔνεκα ἑκείνου. πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἔντεχνος δημιουργὸς παντὸς μὲν ἔνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται, πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ ξυντείνων βέλτιστον, μέρος μὴν ἔνεκα ὅλου καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλον μέρους ἔνεκα ἀπεργάζεται.

12.52.22 | Of these, your part, oh wretched one, always stretches toward the whole, even though it is very small. You have forgotten that all of this comes into being for that purpose, so that there may be a happy existence that belongs to the life of the universe, not made for you, but for that. For every doctor and every skilled creator works for everything, aiming to make the best for the common good, but they work for a part, not for the whole because of the part.

12.52.23 | σὺ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς ἀγνοῶν ὅπῃ τὸ περὶ σὲ ἄριστον τῷ παντὶ ξυμβαίνει καὶ σοὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν τῆς κοινῆς γενέσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀεὶ ψυχὴ συντεταγμένη σώματι τοτὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ, τοτὲ δ' ἄλλῳ, μεταβάλλει παντοίας μεταβολὰς, δι' ἐαυτὴν ἡ δι' ἐτέραν Ψυχὴν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον τῷ πεττευτῇ λείπεται πλὴν μετατιθέναι τὸ μὲν ἄμεινον γινόμενον ἥθος εἰς βελτίω τόπον, χεῖρον δὲ εἰς τὸν χείρονα, ἔνα τὸ πρέπον ἔκαστον τῆς μοίρας λαγχάνη.

12.52.23 | But you are angry, not knowing how what is best for you happens for the whole and for you according to the power of the common creation. Since the soul is always arranged with a body, sometimes with one, sometimes with another, it undergoes all kinds of changes, either by itself or through another soul. Nothing else is left for the one who is seeking but to change the better nature into a better place and the worse into a worse place, each one receiving what is fitting according to its fate.

12.52.24 | Πῇ λέγεις; Ἡπερ ἀν ἔχοι λόγον ῥᾳστώνη ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων, ταύτη μοι δοκῶ φράζειν. εἴ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἀεὶ βλέπων πλάττοι τις

12.52.24 | Where do you say this? If someone were to have a reason for the easy care of all things by the gods, I think this is what I mean. For if someone always looks

μετασχηματίζων c τὰ πάντα, οἷον ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ ἔμψυχον, καὶ μὴ ξέμπολλα ἔξ ἐνὸς, ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔν, πρώτης ἢ δευτέρας ἢ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μετειληφότα, πλήθεσιν ἀπειρ' ἀν εἴη τῆς μετατιθεμένης κοσμήσεως. νῦν δ' ἐστὶ θαυμαστὴ ῥᾳστώνη τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἐπιμελουμένῳ.

toward the whole, transforming everything, like turning fire into living water, and not just changing one thing into another, or from many into one, having taken part in the first, second, or even third generation, the changes would be endless in the arrangement of the universe. But now there is a wonderful ease for the one who cares for the whole.

12.52.25 | Πώς αὖ λέγεις; Ὡδε. ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδεν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔμψύχους οὕσας τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐν αὐταῖς οὕσαν, πολλὴν δὲ κακίαν, ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὃν γενόμενον, ἄλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὅντες θεοί· γένεσις γάρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἦν ζώων ἀπολομένου τούτοιν θατέρου·) καὶ τὸ μὲν ὡφελεῖν ἀεὶ πεφυκός ὃν ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς διενοίθη, τὸ δὲ κακὸν βλάπτειν· ταῦτα πάντα ξυνιδῶν ἐμηχανήσατο ποῦ κείμενον ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν νικῶσαν ἀρετὴν, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ' ἀν καὶ ῥάστα καὶ ἄριστα.

12.52.25 | How do you say this again? Here it is. Since the king has seen all our actions as living beings, with much virtue in them and much evil, and having become perishable but not eternal, both soul and body, just like the gods who exist by law; for there would never be a generation of living beings without one being lost to another. And it was thought that the good is always by nature to help the soul, while the bad is to harm. Having understood all this, he devised a way for each part to be placed where virtue conquers, and where vice is defeated, so that it might provide the best and easiest for the whole.

12.52.26 | μεμηχάνηται δὴ πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ ποῖόν τι γιγνόμενον ἀεὶ ποίαν ἔδραν δεῖ μεταλαμβάνον οἰκίζεσθαι καὶ τίνας ποτὲ τόπους· τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ ποίου τινὸς ἀφῆκε ταῖς βουλήσεσιν ἐκάστων ἡμῶν τὰς αἰτίας. ὅπῃ γάρ ἀν ἐπιθυμῇ καὶ ὅποιός τις ὁν τὴν ψυχὴν, ταύτη σχεδὸν ἐκάστοτε καὶ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται ἀπας ἡμῶν ὡς τὸ πολύ. Τὸ γοῦν είκός.

12.52.26 | Indeed, he has devised how for every kind of being that is always coming into existence, it should be determined what actions it must take and what places it should inhabit. And for the generation of each kind, he has left the reasons to the choices of each of us. For wherever one desires and whatever kind of soul one has, in that way, almost every time, each of us becomes like that, as is most likely.

12.52.27 | Μεταβάλλει μὲν τοίνυν πάνθ' ὅσα μέτοχά ἐστι ψυχῆς, ἐν αὐτοῖς

12.52.27 | Therefore, everything that has a share in the soul changes, having in itself

κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αίτιαν· μεταβάλλοντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον. Σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττω κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλειό δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα μεταπεξόντα εἰς βάθος τά τε κάτω λεγόμενα τῶν ὄπων, ὅσα “Αἰδην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὄνειροπολοῦσι ζῶντες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων. Μείζω δὴ ψυχὴ κακίας ἡ ἀρετῆς ὅπόταν μεταβάλῃ διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησίν τε καὶ δημιλίαν γενομένη ἴσχυράν, ὅπόταν μὲν ἀρετῇ θείᾳ προσμέξασα γίνηται διαφερόντως τοιαῦτα, διαφέροντα καὶ μετέβαλε τόπον ἄγιον δόλον, μετακομισθεῖσα εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον ἔτερον· ὅταν δὲ τάναντία, ἐπὶ τάναντία μεθιδρύσατο τὸν αὐτῆς βίον.

the reason for the change. It changes according to the order and law of fate. Those that change less, being smaller in nature, move less across the surface of the land, while those that change more and are more unjust go deeper into the underworld, which is greatly feared and dreamt about by those who have been dissolved from their bodies. Indeed, the soul of evil is greater than that of virtue whenever it changes due to its own desires and strong associations. When it mixes with divine virtue, it becomes different and changes to a whole sacred place, moving to a better place. But when it does the opposite, it leads its life in the opposite direction.

12.52.28 | αὐτη τοι δίκη ἔστι θεῶν οἱ “Ολυμπον ἔχουσιν, ὃ παῖ καὶ νεανίσκε, ἀμελεῖσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν· κακίω μὲν γινόμενον πρὸς τὰς κακίους ψυχὰς, ἀμείνω δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀμείνους πορευόμενον ἐν τε ζωῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θανάτοις πάσχειν τε ἡ προσήκον δρὰν ἔστι τοῖς προσφυέσι τοῦς προσφερεὶς καὶ ποιεῖν.

12.52.28 | This is indeed the justice of the gods who hold Olympus, my child and young man, thinking that they are neglected by the gods. When one becomes worse, he moves toward worse souls, but when he becomes better, he moves toward better ones, both in life and in all deaths, suffering what is appropriate for those who are close to him, and doing what is fitting.

12.52.29 | Ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὔτε σὺ μήποτε οὕτ’ ἄλλος ἀτυχὴς γενόμενος ἐπεύξεται περιγενέσθαι θεῶν, ἦν παξῶν δίκην [δικῶν] διαφερόντως ἔταξάν τε οἱ τάξαντες χρεών τε ἔξευλαβεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. Οὐ γάρ ἀμεληθήσῃ πατέ οὐπ’ αὐτῆς. οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὁν δύσῃ δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὐδὲ ὑψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ τίσεις δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν

12.52.29 | Neither you nor anyone else who becomes unfortunate will ever escape from the gods of this justice, which is set apart from all other forms of justice. Those who have established it have made it necessary to be careful about everything. For your father will not be neglected by it. You will not be so small that you cannot sink into the depths of the earth, nor will you be so high that you can fly up to the sky and

εἵτ' ἐνθάδε μένων εῖτε καὶ ἐν Ἀιδου  
διαπορευθεὶς Εἶτε καὶ τούτων εἰς  
ἀγιώτερον ἔτι διακομισθεὶς τόπον.

avoid the punishment that is fitting for you, whether you remain here or travel through the underworld, or even if you are moved to an even holier place.

12.52.30 | ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος σοι καὶ περὶ  
ἐκείνων ἀν εἴη τῶν οὓς σὺ κατιδὼν ἐκ  
σμικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας  
ἀνοσιουργήσαντας, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον  
πράξαντας, ώήθης ἐξ ἀθλίων εύδαιμονας  
γεγονέναι, καὶ ὡς ἐν κατίπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς  
πράξεσιν ἡγήσω καθεωρακέναι τὴν  
πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν  
τὴν συντέλειαν, δῆποτε τῷ παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ξυμβάλλεται. γινώσκειν δὲ αὐτὴν, ὡ  
πάντων ἀνδρειότατε, πρὸς οὐδὲν δοκεῖς, ἢν  
τις μὴ γινώσκων οὐδέ' ἀν τύπον ἔδοι ποτὲ,  
οὐδὲ λόγον ξυμβάλλεσθαι περὶ βίου  
δυνατὸς ἀν γένοιτο εἰς εύδαιμονίαν τε καὶ  
δυσδαιμονα τύχην.

12.52.30 | The same reasoning applies to those whom you have seen become great from small beginnings, committing wrongdoings or doing something similar. You thought they became happy from their misfortunes, and you believed that in their actions you could see the complete neglect of the gods, not knowing their end, which eventually comes to everyone. To understand this, oh bravest of all, seems to you of no importance, as someone who does not know it would never even see a sign of it, nor could they form a thought about life that would lead to happiness or misfortune.

12.52.31 | ταῦτα εί μέν σε πείθει Κλεινίας  
ὅδε καὶ ξύμπασα ἡμῶν ἥδε ἡ γερουσία,  
περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐκ οἰσθα ὅ τι λέγεις, καλῶς  
ἄν σοι θεὸς αὐτὸς ξυλλαμβάνοι· εἰ δ'  
ἐπιδεής ἔτι λόγου ἀν εἴης, λεγόντων ἡμῶν  
πρὸς τὸν τρίτον ἐπάκουε, εἰ νοῦν καὶ  
διπωσοῦν ἔχεις."

12.52.31 | If this reasoning convinces you, Kleinias, and this whole council of ours, that you do not know what you are saying about the gods, then the god himself would help you well. But if you still need more explanation, listen to us as we speak to the third person, if you have any understanding at all.

12.52.32 | Τούτων ὁ νοῦς, εί καὶ μὴ τὰ  
ρήματα, ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων λογίοις  
προκαταβέβληται συντομώτατα καὶ δι'  
όλιγων τῆς διανοίας περιεχομένης. τό τε  
γὰρ "οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὡν δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ  
τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὐδέ' ὑψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς  
τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτήσῃ ὅμοιον ἀν εἴη τῷ  
παρὰ τῷ Δαβὶδ τοῦτον ἔχοντι τὸν τρόπον  
"ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, καὶ

12.52.32 | The mind of these things, even if not the words, has been laid out very briefly in the writings of the Hebrews, with the thought contained in few words. For the saying, "If I am so small that I cannot sink into the depths of the earth, or if I rise high into the sky, I would be like the one in David who has this way: 'Where can I go from your spirit, and where can I flee from

ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω; ἐὰν  
ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, σὺ ἔκεῖ εἶ· ἐὰν  
καταβῶ εἰς τὸν Ἄιδην, πάρει.

12.52.33 | εἰ ἀναλάβοιμι πτέρυγας καὶ  
κατασκηνώσαιμι εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς  
θαλάσσης· καὶ γάρ ἔκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου  
δόδηγήσει" ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ οἱ οὐρανοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
διηγοῦνται δόξαν θεοῦ, καὶ ποίησιν χειρῶν  
αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα. καὶ πάλιν  
ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τὸ "ἀναβλέψατε εἰς ὃψος τοὺς  
όφραλμοὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἵδετε τίς κατέδειξε  
ταῦτα πάντα." καὶ τὸ "ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ  
καλλονῆς κτισμάτων ἀναλόγως ὁ  
γενεσιουργὸς θεωρεῖται." καὶ τὸ "τὰ γάρ  
ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς  
ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε ἀίδιος  
αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης." ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
"ἐζήλωσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνόμοις, εἰρήνην  
ἀμαρτωλὸν θεωρῶν" μεταπεφράσθαι μοι  
δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διὰ τοῦ "ὸ αὔτὸς  
δὲ λόγος σοι καὶ περὶ ἔκεινων ἀν εἴη τῶν  
οὓς σὺ κατιδῶν ἐκ μικρῶν μεγάλους  
γεγονότας ἀνοσιουργήσαντας, ἢ τι  
τοιοῦτον πράξαντας, ώήθης ἐξ ἀθλίων  
εὐδαίμονας γεγονέναι." καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ὅσα  
τούτοις ὅμοίως εἴρηται προύλαβε τὴν εἰς  
πλάτος ἐκτεθεῖσαν τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
ἐρμηνείαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίων λόγοις. ἔκαστον  
δ' οὖν αὐτῶν κατὰ μέρος εὑροις ἀν  
ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζων τοῖς Ἐβραίων  
συμφερόμενον γράμμασι. Ἐβραίων δὲ εἴναι  
λόγους οὐ μόνον τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ λόγιά  
φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ Μωσέα  
θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴτε προφητῶν εἴτε καὶ  
ἀποστόλων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὃν ἡ τῶν  
δογμάτων συμφωνία μιᾶς εἰκότως αὐτοὺς  
καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προσηγορίας ἀξιώσειεν.

your presence? If I ascend to heaven, you are there; if I go down to Hades, you are there."

12.52.33 | "If I take the wings of the morning and settle in the farthest parts of the sea; even there your hand will lead me." For the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows the work of his hands. And again in Isaiah, "Lift up your eyes on high and see who created all these things." And "from the greatness and beauty of created things, the creator is seen." And "for the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead." But also the saying, "I was jealous of the foolish when I saw the prosperity of the wicked," seems to be translated by Plato through the words, "The same reasoning would apply to those whom you have seen become great from small beginnings, committing wrongdoings or doing something similar; you thought they became happy from their misfortunes." And all the other things that are similarly said would lead to a broader explanation of Plato's interpretation in the writings of the Hebrews. Therefore, if you examine each of these parts closely, you would find them accurately corresponding to the writings of the Hebrews. The writings of the Hebrews are not only those from Moses, but also those of other God-loving men after Moses, whether prophets or apostles of our Savior, whose teachings agree in one way and would rightly be considered to have the same meaning.

## Book Thirteen. (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.)

### Introduction

13.praef.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου συγγράμμασια ἡ κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφία κατὰ πλεῖστα Μωσέως καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἱερῶν λόγων ἐρμηνείαν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν περιέχουσα, ἔρχομαι νῦν ὅμοι καὶ τὰ λείποντα προσαποδοῦναι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς τόπους εἰρημένα διελθεῖν, ὅμοι καὶ διαβολῆς εὐλόγου αἴτιαν ἀπολυσόμενος, εἰ δή τις ἡμῖν ἐπικαλῶν φαίη, τί δή ποτ' οὖν, Μώσεως καὶ Πλάτωνος τὰ συνωḍὰ πεφιλοσοφηκότων, ούχι τὰ Πλάτωνος, ἀλλὰ τὰ Μώσεως μέτιμεν, τοῦμπαλιν δέον, δτι δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἴσοις δόγμασι προσήκων ἡμίν γένοιτ' ἀν "Ἐλλησιν οὖσιν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ βάρβαρος. ὅκνῶν δὲ ἀπαντήσαι πρὸς τοῦτο αίδοι τῇ πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον, τοῦτον μὲν εἰς ὕστερόν ἀνατίθεμαι τὸν λόγον, τὰ δέ γε πρῶτά μοι λεχθέντα πρῶτα διασκέψομαι. λαβὼν οὖν ἀνάγγωθι ὅποιαν ἐπήγετο δόξαν ὁ Πλάτων' περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεολόγων τε καὶ ποιητῶν, ὅπως τε πάσας τὰς πατρίους περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὑπολήψεις ἥθέτει καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀτοπίαν διήλεγχεν.

### Section 1

13.1.1 | Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, πιστευτέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς

13.praef.1 | Preface. Since I have shown in previous writings how the philosophy of Plato aligns with many of Moses' and the sacred writings of the Hebrews, as if containing the voice of Greece, I now come to present the remaining parts of the argument and to discuss what has been said before us. I will also address the reasonable cause of the slander, if anyone calls upon us and asks, "What then, are we to consider the teachings of Moses and Plato as similar?" It should not be the case that we measure Plato's thoughts against Moses', but rather the opposite, since the Greek teachings would rightly belong to those who are equal to us, whether they are Greeks or non-Greeks. However, I hesitate to respond to this out of respect for the philosopher, so I will set aside that discussion for later and first examine what has been said before. Therefore, take note of the opinion that Plato had about the Greek theologians and poets, how he examined all the traditional beliefs about the gods and pointed out their absurdities.

13.1.1 | About the other spirits, it is important to speak and understand their origins more than about ourselves. We should trust what has been said before, that they are descendants of the gods, as they claim, and they clearly know their own ancestors. Therefore, it is impossible to doubt the children of the gods, even though

οίκεῖα φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον.

they speak without obvious or necessary proofs. However, they declare these things as if they are their own, and we should believe them, following the law.

13.1.2 | οὕτως οὖν κατ' ἑκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἔχετω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὄκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Πρέα [καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων,] ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου Ρέας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἵσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους."

13.1.2 | Thus, let our account of the origins of these gods be told. From Earth and Sky, Oceanus and Tethys were born. From them came Phorcys, Cronus, and Rhea, along with others who came after them. From Cronus and Rhea, Zeus, Hera, and all those we know as their siblings were born, as well as other descendants from them.

13.1.3 | Διὰ τούτων πιστεύειν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τῶν μύθων ποιηταῖς ὡς δὴ θεῶν ἐκγόνοις οὗσι παρακελευσάμενος, πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τοῦ φάναι ἐκγόνους εἶναι τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ποιητὰς χλευάζειν μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότων καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ὄμοιών τὴν φύσιν.

13.1.3 | Because of this, we should believe the myths about the gods and also the poets of those myths, since they claim to be descendants of the gods. First, it seems to me that the poets mock those who say they are the offspring of the gods, as if they are humans who have become like the descendants of the gods.

13.1.4 | διαβάλλει δ' ἐξῆς ἄντικρυς τοὺς θεολόγους, οὓς ἐκγόνους ἔφησεν εἶναι θεῶν δι' ὃν τε προστίθησι τὸ "ὡς ἔφασαν." παίζειν δ' ἔοικε λέγων "σαφῶς γέπου τοὺς ἔαυτῶν προγόνους είδόσι" καὶ τὸ "ἀδύνατον θεῶν παισὸν ἀπιστεῖν. καὶ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν τῶν νόμων ἔνεκα διαρρήδην παρίστησιν, ὄμολογήσας ὅτι δέοι ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς.

13.1.4 | Next, he attacks the theologians, whom he said are descendants of the gods, by claiming that "even without obvious or necessary proofs, they say" and adds "as they have said." It seems he is joking when he says "they clearly know their own ancestors." And it is "impossible to doubt the children of the gods." He also states these things against reason for the sake of the laws, admitting that it is necessary to follow the law and believe them.

13.1.5 | ὅτι δὲ ταῦτ' ἔνόει ἐπάκουον σον ὅπως

13.1.5 | That these things are understood,

γυμνῇ καὶ ἀκατακαλύπτῳ φωνῇ τοὺς δὴ θεολόγους ἄπαντας διαβάλλει, κόπτων ἐν ἐπινομίδι τούτοις τοῖς ρήμασιν

listen to how he openly and plainly attacks all the theologians, striking them with these words.

## Section 2

13.2.1 | "Θεογονίαν τοίνυν καὶ ζωογονίαν ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς ἔοικεν, πρῶτον μοι κακῶς ἀπεικασάντων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, βέλτιον ἀπεικάσαι κατὰ τὸν Ὅστερον λόγον, ἀναλαβόντα δὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπικεχείρηκα λόγον."

13.2.1 | Therefore, it seems necessary to me to first poorly describe the creation of gods and the creation of living things, as those before have done, but it is better to describe it according to the later account, taking up the argument I have directed against the impious.

13.2.2 | "Οτι δ' εὐλόγως τὴν τῶν πρώτων θεολογίαν παραπεῖται διδάσκει ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Πολιτείας, ἐνθα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον ὃπόσα καὶ οἶα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ θεολόγων τῶν γε ἐκ παλαιοῦ παραδεδομένων περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν διέξεισιν, ὥδε ρήμασιν αὐτοῖς φάσκων

13.2.2 | That he wisely rejects the theology of the first ones, he teaches in the second book of the Republic, where it is worth understanding all that and how the poets and theologians, who have been handed down from ancient times, speak about the Greek gods, saying these words to them.

## Section 3

13.3.1 | "Ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, μύθοις] ὄψόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον εἶναι καὶ ταύτὸν δύνασθαι τοὺς τε μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους. ἢ οὐκ οἴει; ἔγωγε, ἵφη· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐννοῶ οὐδὲ τοὺς μείζους τίνας λέγεις. Οὓς Ἡσίοδός τε, εἶπον, καὶ Ὁμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί. οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους ψευδεῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συντιθέντες ἐλεγόν τε καὶ λέγουσι.

13.3.1 | In the greater myths, I said, we will also see the lesser ones. For it is necessary that the same type be present and that both the greater and the lesser can be the same. Don't you think so? I do, I said; but I do not understand who you mean by the greater ones. Those whom Hesiod and Homer have told us about, I said, and other poets as well. For these, it seems, have created false myths for people, both telling and saying them.

13.3.2 | Ποίους δὴ, ἦ δ' ὅς, καὶ τί αὐτῶν

13.3.2 | Whom exactly, he said, and what

μεμφόμενος λέγεις; "Οπερ, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, χρὴ πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστα μέμφεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ έάν τις μὴ καλῶς ψεύδηται. Τί τοῦτο; "Οταν εἰκάζῃ τις κακῶς ούσιαν τῷ λόγῳ περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, οἷοί εἰσιν, ὥσπερ γραφεὺς μηδὲν ἔσικότα γράφων οἵς ἀν δημοια βουληθῆ γράψαι. Καὶ γὰρ, ἔφη, ὁρθῶς ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα μέμφεσθαι. ἀλλὰ πῶς δὴ λέγομεν καὶ ποῖα;

are you blaming them for? To which I replied, it is necessary to blame first and most of all, especially if someone speaks falsehoods poorly. What does that mean? When someone wrongly imagines the nature of gods and heroes in their words, they are like a painter drawing things that have no resemblance to what they want to depict. And indeed, he said, it is right to blame such things. But how exactly do we speak and what do we say?

13.3.3 | Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος ὃ] εἴπὼν οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Ούρανός τε είργασατο ἢ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν Ἡσίοδος, ὅ τε αὖ Κρόνος ὡς ἐτιμωρήσατο αὐτόν. τὰ δὲ δὴ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ούδ' ἀν εἰ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ὡμην δεῖν ἥφασίων οὕτω λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἄφρονάς τε καὶ νέους, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν σιγᾶσθαι, εἰ δ' ἀνάγκη τις ἦν λέγειν, δι' ἀπορρήτων ἀκούειν ὡς ὀλιγίστους, θυσαμένους οὐ χοῖρον, ἀλλά τι μέγα καὶ ἀπορον θῦμα, ὅπως ὡς ἐλαχίστοις συνέβῃ ἀκοῦσαι.

13.3.3 | First of all, I said, the greatest falsehood about the greatest things is that he spoke poorly when he said that Uranus did what Hesiod claims he did, and that Cronus punished him. And the deeds and sufferings of Cronus, I thought, should not be spoken of so easily, even if they were true, especially to foolish and young people. Rather, it is best to remain silent; but if it is necessary to speak, it should be done in secret, so that very few hear it, as a great and terrible sacrifice, so that only a handful might hear.

13.3.4 | Καὶ γὰρ, r] δ' ὅς, οὔτοί τοί γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί Καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε, ἔφην, ὡς Ἀδείμαντε, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει ούδε λεκτέον νέω ἀκούοντι ὡς ἀδικῶν τὰ ἔσχατα ούδεν ἀν θαυμαστὸν ποιοῦ, ούδ' αὖ ἀδικοῦντα πατέρα κολάζων παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ δρῷη ἀν ὅπερ θεῶν οὶ πρῶτοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἦ δ' ὅς, ούδε αὐτῷ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι λέγειν.

13.3.4 | And indeed, he said, these words are difficult and should not be spoken. I said, O Adeimantus, in our city. It is not right to tell a young person that the worst wrongdoings are nothing to be amazed at, nor to punish a father for wrongdoing in every way. Rather, it would be better to act as the greatest and first gods do. By Zeus, he said, it does not seem fitting to me to speak of such things.

13.3.5 | Ούδέ γε, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, τὸ παράπαν ὡς θεοὶ θεοῖς πολεμοῦσί τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι

13.3.5 | Nor indeed, I said, is it at all true that the gods wage war against each other

καὶ μάχονται· οὕτε γὰρ ἀληθῆ· εἴ γε δεῖ  
ἡμῖν τοὺς μέλλοντας τὴν πόλιν φυλάσσειν  
αἴσχιστον νομίζειν τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἄλλήλοις  
ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας  
τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς καὶ ποικιλτέον καὶ  
ἄλλας ἔχθρας πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς  
θεῶν τε καὶ ἥρωών πρὸς συγγενεῖς τε καὶ  
οίκείους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εἴ πως μέλλοιμεν  
πείσειν ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε πολίτης ἔτερος  
ἐτέρῳ ἀπίχθετο ούδ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο δσιον,  
τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον λεκτέα πρὸς τὰ παιδία  
εὐθὺς, καὶ γέρουσι καὶ γραυσὶ καὶ  
πρεσβυτέροις γιγνομένοις, καὶ τοὺς  
ποιητὰς ἐγγὺς τούτων ἀναγκαστέον  
λογοποιεῖν.

and plot against one another. For if we are to believe that those who will guard the city think it is shameful to easily hate one another. It is necessary to tell many stories about the battles of giants and to describe various other conflicts and enmities of gods and heroes against their own relatives and kin. But if we are to persuade ourselves that no citizen ever hated another, and that this is a holy thing, such tales should rather be told to children right away, and to the old and elderly as they grow older, and poets should be compelled to create stories close to these.

13.3.6 | Ὁρας δὲ δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ υἱέος καὶ  
Ἡφαίστου ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρὸς, μέλλοντος  
τῇ μητρὶ ἀμύνειν τυπτομένη, καὶ θεομαχίας  
ὅσας Ὄμηρος πεποίηκεν, οὐ παραδεκτέον  
εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὕτην ἐν ὑπονοίαις  
πεποιημένας οὕτε ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν.

13.3.6 | The bonds of Hera thrown by her son and Hephaestus, while the father was about to defend his mother who was being struck, and all the battles of the gods that Homer has created, should not be accepted in the city, neither as hints nor without hints.

13.3.7 | ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ οἶδε τε κρίνειν ὃ τι  
τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὃ τι μὴ, ἀλλ' ἂ ἀν τηλικοῦτος  
ῶν λάβῃ ἐν ταῖς δόξαις, δυσέκνιπτά τε καὶ  
ἀμετάστατα φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. ὃν δὴ ἵσως  
ἔνεκα περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον, ἢ πρῶτα  
ἀκούουσιν, ὅτι κάλλιστα μεμυθολογημένα  
πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀκούειν.

13.3.7 | For the young person is not able to judge what is a hint and what is not, but whatever he takes in with his beliefs, he loves to become difficult and unchangeable. Therefore, it is perhaps necessary to create stories about everything, which they first hear, that are beautifully crafted to promote virtue.

13.3.8 | Ἔχει γὰρ, ἔφη, λόγον· ἀλλ' εἴ τις αὖ  
καὶ ταῦτα ἐρωτῷ ἡμᾶς ἄττα ἐστὶ καὶ τίνες  
οἱ μῦθοι, τίνας ἀν φαῖμεν; καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, Ὡ  
Ἀδείμαντε, οὐκ ἐσμὲν ποιηταὶ ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ  
ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλ' οἰκισταὶ πόλεως.  
οἰκισταῖς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τύπους προσήκει

13.3.8 | It has a point, he said. But if someone were to ask us what these things are and what myths we might say, what would we answer? And I said, O Adeimantus, we are not poets, you and I, at this moment, but founders of the city.

είδέναι ἐν οἷς δεῖ μυθολογεῖν τοὺς ποιητὰς, παρ' οὓς ἔὰν ποιῶσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον, οὐ μὴν αὐτοῖς γε ποιητέον μύθους.

Founders should know the types in which poets ought to create myths, and it is not allowed for them to create myths about those whom they do not permit.

13.3.9 | Ὁρθῶς, ἔφη· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο οἱ τύποι περὶ θεολογίας τίνες ἀν εἶεν; Τοιοίδε πού τινες, ἦν δ' ἔγω, οὗσι τυγχάνει ὡν ὁ θεὸς, ἀεὶ δή που ἀποδοτέον, ἔάν τέ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἔπεσι ποιῇ ἔάν τε ἐν μέλεσιν ἔάν τε ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ. Δεῖ γάρ. Οὐκοῦν ἀγαθὸς ὁ θεὸς τῷ ὄντι τε καὶ λεκτέον οὕτω.

13.3.9 | Rightly, he said. But what kinds of types should there be about theology? I said that they should be like this: whatever the god is like, he should always be represented in some way, whether in verses, in songs, or in tragedy. For it is necessary. Therefore, the good god should be spoken of in this way, both in being and in words.

13.3.10 | Τί μήν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέν γε τῶν ἀγαθῶν βλαβερόν. ἢ γάρ; Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. "Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μὴ βλαβερὸν βλάπτει; Οὐδαμῶς. "Ο δὲ μὴ βλάπτει, κακόν τι ποιεῖ; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. ὁ δέ γε μηδὲν κακὸν ποιεῖ, οὐδ' ἀν τινος εἴη κακοῦ αἴτιον. Πῶς γάρ; Τί δέ; ὥφελιμον τὸ ἀγαθόν; Ναί. Αἴτιον ἄρα εὐπραγίας; Ναί.

13.3.10 | What about this? But surely nothing good is harmful. Is that so? I don't think so. So, does what is not harmful cause harm? Absolutely not. And what does not cause harm does not make anyone the cause of harm. How so? What then? Is the good beneficial? Yes. Is it then a cause of good outcomes? Yes.

13.3.11 | Οὐκ ἄρα πάντων γε αἴτιοντὸ ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν εὖ ἔχοντων αἴτιον, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀναίτιον. Παντελῶς γε, ἔφη. Οὐδ' ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἔγω, ὁ θεὸς, ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθὸς, πάντων ἀν εἴη αἴτιος, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος, πολλῶν δὲ ἀναίτιος· πολὺ γάρ ἐλάττω τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἴτιατέον, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀλλα ἄττα δεῖ ζητεῖν τὰ αἴτια, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν θεόν.

13.3.11 | Therefore, the good is not the cause of everything, but it is the cause of those who are well off, and it is not the cause of the bad. Absolutely, he said. So, I said, since the god is good, he would be the cause of everything, as many say, but he is the cause for only a few humans and not for many; for the good things among us are much fewer than the bad. And for the good, there is nothing else to seek as a cause, but for the bad, we need to look for other causes, not the god.

13.3.12 | Ἄληθέστατα, ἔφη, δοκεῖς μοι

13.3.12 | Absolutely true, he said, you seem

λέγειν. Ούκ ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ἀποδεκτέον  
οὕτε Ομήρου οὕτε ἄλλου ποιητοῦ ταύτην  
τὴν ἀμαρτίαν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνοήτως  
ἀμαρτάνοντος, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς δοιοὶ πίθοι  
κατακείαται ἐν Δῖος οὔδεικηρῶν ἔμπλειοι,  
οἱ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν·

to speak wisely. So, I said, we should not accept this mistake from either Homer or any other poet, who foolishly makes mistakes about the gods, saying that 'two jars are set down in the house of Zeus, one full of good things, and the other full of bad things.'

13.3.13 | καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἀν μίξας ὁ Ζεὺς  
ἀμφοτέρων δῷ, ἄλλοτε μέν γε κακῷ ὅ γε  
κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ. ᾧ δ' ἀν μὴ, ἄλλ'  
ἄκρατα τὰ ἔτερα, τὸν δὲ κακὴ βούβρωστις  
ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἐλαύνει· c

13.3.13 | And whenever Zeus mixes both, sometimes he gets the bad, and sometimes the good. But when he does not mix, the other things are pure, and the bad food drives him down to the earth.

13.3.14 | ούδ' ὡς ταμίας ὁ Ζεὺς ἡμῖν  
ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται. τὴν δὲ τῶν  
ὅρκων καὶ σπονδῶν σύγχυσιν, ἦν δὲ  
Πάνδαρος συνέχεεν, ἐάν τις φῆ δι' Αἴθηνᾶς  
τε καὶ Δῖος γεγονέναι, οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα·  
οὐδὲ θεῶν ἔριν τε καὶ κρίσιν διὰ Θέμιδός τε  
καὶ Δῖος· ούδ' αὖ, ὡς Αἰσχύλος λέγει, ἐατέον  
ἀκούειν τοὺς νέους, ὅτι θεὸς μὲν αἰτίαν  
φύει βροτοῖς, ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶμα  
παμπήδην θέλῃ.

13.3.14 | Nor is Zeus a manager for us of both good and bad things. And as for the mixing of oaths and sacrifices, which Pandarus confused, if anyone says it came from Athena and Zeus, we will not praise that. Nor will we accept the quarrel and judgment of the gods through Themis and Zeus. And again, as Aeschylus says, we should not allow the young to hear that 'a god brings blame to mortals when he wants to ruin a house completely.'

13.3.15 | ἄλλ' ἐάν τις ποιῇ ἐν οἷς ταῦτα τὰ  
ἰαμβεῖα ἔνεστι, τὰ τῆς Νιόβης πάθη ἢ τὰ  
Πελοπιδῶν ἢ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν  
τοιούτων, ἢ οὐ θεοῦ ἔργα ἐατέον αὐτὰ  
λέγειν, ἢ εἴ θεοῦ, ἔξευρετέον αὐτοῖς σχεδὸν  
ὅν τυν ἡμεῖς λόγον ζητοῦμεν, καὶ λεκτέον  
ὡς ὁ μὲν θεὸς δίκαια τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ  
εἰργάζετο, οἱ δὲ ὀνίναντο κολαζόμενοι. ὡς  
δ' ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ δίκην διδόντες, ἦν δὲ  
δρῶν ταῦτα θεὸς, οὐκ ἐκτέον λέγειν τὸν  
ποιητήν.

13.3.15 | But if someone makes these iambic verses in which are the sufferings of Niobe or the Pelopids or the Trojan events or something else like these, either we should not say they are the works of a god, or if they are from a god, we should find out who it is that we are now seeking to speak about. And it should be said that the god did both just and good things, while the others were punished. And as for the wretched ones who are paying the penalty, it was the god who did these things, and we

should not say otherwise about the poet.

13.3.16 | ἀλλ' εί μὲν ὅτι ἐδεήθησαν κολάσεως λέγοιεν ως ἄθλιοι οἱ κακοὶ, διδόντες δὲ δίκην ὥφελοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔατέον.

13.3.16 | But if they should say that the bad ones, being wretched, asked for punishment, and that by giving a penalty they were helped by the god, we should allow that.

13.3.17 | κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον φάναι θεόν τινι γίγνεσθαι ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, διαμαχητέον παντὶ τρόπῳ, μήτε τινὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ἐν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πόλει, εἰ μέλλει εύνομήσεσθαι, μήτε τινὰ ἀκούειν, μήτε νεώτερον μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε ἐν μέτρῳ μήτ' ἄνευ μέτρου μυθολογοῦντα, ως οὕτε ὅσια ἃν λεγόμενα, εἰ λέγοιτο, οὕτε ξύμφορα ἡμῖν οὕτε ξύμφωνα αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς.

13.3.17 | But to say that a god, being good, is the cause of bad things, should be argued against in every way. Neither should anyone say such things in their own city if they hope to have good order, nor should anyone hear them, whether younger or older, whether speaking in measure or without measure, since neither would the things said be holy if they were said, nor would they be beneficial to us or in agreement with themselves.

13.3.18 | Ξύμψηφός σοι είμι, ἔφη, τούτου τοῦ νόμου, κάμοι ἀρέσκει. Οὗτος μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, εἰς ἄν εἴη τῶν περὶ θεοῦ νόμων τε καὶ τύπων, ἐν οἷς δεήσει τούς τε λέγοντας λέγειν καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας ποιεῖν μὴ πάντων αἴτιον τὸν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, ἀπόχρη.

13.3.18 | I agree with you on this law, he said, it seems good to me. Therefore, I would be one of the laws and customs about the god, in which it is necessary for those who speak to speak and for those who create to create, not blaming the god for all things, but only for the good things. And indeed, he said, it is very necessary.

13.3.19 | Τί δὲ δὴ ὁ δεύτερος ὅδε; ἢρα γόητα τὸν θεὸν οἶει εἶναι, πικαὶ οἶον ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς φαντάζεσθαι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλαις ἴδεαις, τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸν γιγνόμενον καὶ ἄλλάττοντα τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶδος εἰς πολλὰς μορφὰς, τοτὲ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀπατῶντα καὶ ποιοῦντα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα δοκεῖν, ἦ ἀπλοῦν τε εἶναι, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἴδεας πέκβαίνειν; Οὐκ ἔχω, ἔφη, νῦν

13.3.19 | But what about this second one? Do you think the god is a trickster, and that he appears in different forms at different times, sometimes changing his own shape into many forms, and sometimes deceiving us and making us think such things about him? Or is he simple and least of all changing from his own idea? I cannot say,

γε οὕτως είπεῖν.

13.3.20 | Τί δὲ τόδε; οὐκ ἀνάγκη, εἴπερ τι  
έξισται τοῦς αὐτοῦ ἰδέας, ἢ αὐτὸς ὑψός  
αὐτοῦ μεθίστασθαι, ἢ ὑπὸ ἄλλου; Ἀνάγκη.  
Οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν ἄλλου τὰ ἄριστα ἔχοντα  
ἡκιστα ἀλλοιοῦται τε καὶ κινεῖται, οἷον  
σῶμα ὑπὸ σιτίων τε καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων,  
καὶ πᾶν φυτὸν ὑπὸ εἰλήσεων τε καὶ ἀνέμων  
καὶ τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων, οὐ τὸ  
ὑγιέσταστόν τε καὶ χαριέστατον  
ἡκιστα ἀλλοιοῦται; Πῶς δ' οὖ;

he said, not at this moment.

13.3.21 | Ψυχὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν ἀνδρειοτάτην  
καὶ φρονιμωτάτην ἡκιστ' ἂν τι πάθος  
ἔξωθεν ταράξειέτε φρονιμωτάτην Ναί. Καὶ  
μήν που καὶ τά γε ξύνθετα πάντα σκεύη τε  
καὶ οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀμφιέσματα, κατὰ  
τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τὰ εὗριγασμένα καὶ εὗ  
ἔχοντα ὑπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
παθημάτων ἡκιστα ἀλλοιοῦται. "Εστι  
ταῦτα.

13.3.21 | But the soul, the bravest and  
wisest, is least disturbed by any outside  
experience. Yes. And indeed, all things  
made up of parts, like tools and buildings  
and clothing, for the same reason, those  
that are well made and in good condition  
change the least over time and from other  
experiences. This is true.

13.3.22 | Πᾶν δὴ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ἢ φύσει ἢ  
τέχνῃ ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐλαχίστην  
μεταβολὴν ὑπὸ ἄλλου ἐνδέχεται. "Εοικεν.  
Ἄλλὰ μήν ὃ θεός γε καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντη  
ἄριστα ἔχει. Πῶς δ' οὖ; Ταύτη μὲν δὴ ἡκιστ  
ἄν πολλὰς μορφὰς ἴσχοι ὃ θεός. "Ηκιστα  
δῆτα. Άλλ' ἄρα αὐτὸς αὐτὸν μεταβάλλοι ἀν  
καὶ ἀλλοιοῦ; Δηλονότι, ἔφη, εἴπερ  
ἀλλοιοῦται.

13.3.22 | Everything that is good, either by  
nature or by skill, or both, is least likely to  
change by something else. It seems so. But  
surely, the god and the things of the god are  
the best in every way. How could they not  
be? Therefore, the god would least of all  
take on many forms. Indeed, he would. But  
could he change himself and become  
different? Clearly, he said, if he changes.

13.3.23 | Πότερον οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιόν τε καὶ  
κάλλιον μεταβάλλει ἐαυτὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον  
καὶ αἴσχιον αὐτοῦ; Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ

13.3.23 | Does he change himself for the  
better and more beautiful, or for the worse  
and more shameful? It is necessary, he said,

χεῖρον ἐαυτοῦ, εἴπερ ἀλλοιοῦται· οὐ γάρ που ἔνδεῖ γε φήσομεν τὸν θεὸν κάλλους ἢ ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Ὁρθότατα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, λέγεις, καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντος δοκεῖ ἂν τίς σοι, ὡς Ἀδείμαντε, ἐκῶν αὐτὸν χείρω ποιεῖν ὅπηοῦν ἥ θεῶν ἥ ἀνθρώπων;

for him to change for the worse, if he changes at all; for we would not say that the god is lacking in beauty or virtue. That is absolutely right, I said. And with this being the case, does anyone, dear Adeimantus, willingly make himself worse in any way, whether among gods or men?

13.3.24 | Ἀδύνατον, ἔφη. Ἀδύνατον ἄρα, ἔφην, καὶ θεὸν ἔθέλειν αὐτὸν ἀλλοιοῦν, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος ὁν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν μένει ἀεὶ ἀπλῶς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ μορφῇ. Πᾶσα, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. Μηδεὶς ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, ὡς ἄριστε, λεγέτω ἡμῖν τῶν ποιητῶν ὡς θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἔοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσιν, παντοῖο τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας.

13.3.24 | It is impossible, he said. Therefore, I said, it is also impossible for a god to want to change himself; rather, as it seems, being the most beautiful and the best, each of them always remains simply in his own form. Every change, it seems to me, is necessary. So, no one, I said, dear friend, should tell us that the poets say that gods appear as strangers and take on many forms, wandering through cities.

13.3.25 | μηδὲ Πρωτέως τε καὶ Θέτιδος καταψευδέσθω μηδεὶς, μηδ' ἐν τραγῳδίαις μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆμασιν εἰσαγέτω Ἡραν ἡλλοιωμένην, ὡς ιέρειαν ἀγείρουσαν Ἰνάχου Ἀργείου ποταμοῦ παισὶν βιοδώροις.

13.3.25 | Let no one deny the story of Proteus and Thetis, and let no one bring in Hera as changed in tragedies or in other works, as if she were a priestess gathering the life-giving children of the river Inachus of Argos.

13.3.26 | καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλὰ μὴ ἡμῖν ψευδέσθωσαν. μηδ' αὖ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀναπειθόμεναι αἷς μητέρες τὰ παιδία ἐκδειματούντων, λέγουσαι τοὺς μύθους κακῶς, ὡς ἄρα θεοίτινες περιέρχονται νύκτωρ πολλοῖς ξένοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἵνδαλλόμενοι, ἵνα μὴ ἄμα μὲν εἰς θεοὺς βλασφημῶσιν, ἄμα δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπεργάζωνται δειλοτέρους. Μὴ γάρ, ἔφη.

13.3.26 | And let not many such things deceive us. Nor should we be persuaded by those who, while scaring children, tell the myths badly, saying that some gods wander at night as many strange and various beings, so that they do not both blaspheme the gods and make the children more cowardly. For do not, he said.

13.3.27 | Ἄλλ' ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἔγώ, αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ θεοί είσιν οἵοι μὴ ματαβάλλειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ

13.3.27 | But I said, are the gods really such that they do not change, while they make

ποιοῦσι δοκεῖν σφᾶς παντοδαποὺς φαίνεσθαι ἔξαπατῶντες καὶ γοητεύοντες; "Ισως, ἔφη. Τί δέ; ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ψεύδεσθαι ὁ θεὸς ἐθέλοι ἀνὴρ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ φαντάσματα προτείνων; Οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ δ' ὅς.

us think they appear in many forms, deceiving and enchanting us? Perhaps, he said. And I asked, would a god want to deceive by showing illusions either in words or in actions? I do not know, he said.

13.3.28 | Οὐκ οἶσθα 5 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι τό γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος, εἰ οἶόν τε τοῦτ' εἴπειν, πάντες θεοί τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι; Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις; Οἶσθά που, ἷν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι τῷ κυριωτάτῳ ἑαυτῶν ψεύδεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰ κυριωτατὰ ούδεις ἐκῶν ἐθέλει, ἀλλὰ πάντων μάλιστα φοβεῖται ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς κεκτῆσθαι. Ούδετε νῦν πω, ἢ δ' ὅς, μανθάνω.

13.3.28 | I do not know," I said, "that this thing, if it can be said truly, is hated by all gods and humans as a real lie? How do you say that? You must know, I said, that no one willingly wants to deceive about the most important things, but everyone is most afraid of having that thing for themselves. Not even now, he said, do I understand.

13.3.29 | Οἵτι γάρ τί με, ἔφην, σεμνὸν λέγειν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι τῇ ψυχῇ περὶ τὰ ὄντα ψεύδεσθαι τε καὶ ἐψεῦσθαι καὶ ἀμαθῆ εἶναι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν τε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος πάντες ἥκιστ' ἀν δέξαιντο καὶ μισοῦσι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ.

13.3.29 | Do you think," I said, "that I am speaking seriously? But I say that the soul would least accept and most hate to be deceived about what is real, to be ignorant, and to have and hold on to lies.

13.3.30 | Πολύ γ', ἔφη. Άλλὰ μήν όρθότατά γ' ἀν, δέ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον, τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθῶς ψεῦδος καλοῖτο, ἢ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ ἐψευσμένου ἄγνοια, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μίμημά τι τοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐστί παθήματος καὶ ὕστερον γεγονός εἴδωλον, οὐ πάνυ ἄκρατον ψεῦδος. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

13.3.30 | Very much," he said. "But indeed, this thing that I just said could be called a true lie: the ignorance in the soul of the deceived person, since what is in words is a kind of imitation of what is in the soul, a feeling and later a false image, is not completely pure lie. Is it not so? Certainly.

13.3.31 | Τὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ ὄντι ψεῦδος οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μισεῖται. Δοκεῖ μοι. Τί δὲ δή; τὸ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ψεῦδος πότε καὶ ἐν τῷ χρήσιμον, ὥστε μή ἄξιον εἶναι μίσους; ἢρ' οὐ πρός τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τῶν καλουμένων φίλων, ὅταν διὰ μανίαν ἢ τινα ἄνοιαν

13.3.31 | Indeed, the real lie is hated not only by the gods but also by humans. It seems to me. But what about this? Is the lie in words ever useful, so that it is not worthy of hate? Is it not true that against enemies and even among those called friends, when they act out of madness or

κακόν τι ἔπιχειρῶσι πράττειν, τότε  
ἀποτροπῆς ἔνεκα ὡς φάρμακον χρήσιμον  
γίγνεται;

some foolishness to do something bad, then  
it becomes useful as a remedy to avoid  
harm?

13.3.32 | καὶ ἐν αἷς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν ταῖς  
μυθολογίαις, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ὅπῃ τάληθὲς  
ἔχει περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀφομοιοῦντες τῷ  
ἀληθεῖ τὸ ψεῦδος ὅτι μάλιστα, οὕτω  
χρήσιμον ποιοῦμεν; Καὶ μὲν λα, οὐδὲ διό,  
οὕτως ἔχει. Κατὰ τί δὴ οὖν τούτων τῷ θεῷ  
τὸ ψεῦδος χρήσιμον; πότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ  
εἰδέναι τὰ παλαιὰ ἀφομοιῶν ἀν ψεύδοιτο;  
Γελοῖον μένταν εἶη, ἔφη.

13.3.32 | And in the stories we are now  
discussing, because we do not know where  
the truth lies about the ancients, do we  
make the lie most similar to the truth so  
useful? And yes, he said, it is so. Then why  
is the lie useful to the god? Is it because, not  
knowing the past, it would imitate the lie?  
That would indeed be ridiculous, he said.

13.3.33 | Ποιητὴς μὲν ἄρα ἐν θεῷ ψευδὴς  
οὐκ ἔνι; Οὐδὲ μοι δοκεῖ. Άλλὰ δεδιώς τοὺς  
έχθροὺς ἀν ψεύδοιτο; Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. Άλλὰ  
δι' οἰκείων ἀνοιαν, η μανίαν; Άλλ' οὔδεις,  
ἔφη, τῶν ἀνοίτων καὶ μαινομένων  
θεοφιλής. Οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν οὖν ἔνεκα ἀν θεὸς  
ψεύδοιτο; Οὐκ ἔστι. Πάντη ἄρα ἀψευδές τὸ  
δαιμόνιόν τε καὶ τὸ θεῖον. Παντάπασι μὲν  
οὖν, ἔφη.

13.3.33 | Is there then no false poet in the  
god? I do not think so. But would he lie out  
of fear of enemies? That would be very  
unlikely. But what about out of foolishness  
or madness for his own people? But no one,  
he said, is beloved by the gods if they are  
foolish or mad. So there is no reason for a  
god to lie? There is not. Therefore, the  
divine and the spirit are always truthful.  
Indeed, he said.

13.3.34 | Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἀπλοῦν καὶ  
ἀληθὲς ἔν τ' ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ οὕτε αὐτὸς  
μεθέσταται, οὕτε ἄλλους ἔξαπατᾷ, οὕτε  
κατὰ φαντασίας, οὕτε κατὰ σημείων  
πομπὰς, οὕθ' ὑπάρ οὕτ' ὄναρ. Οὕτως, ἔφη,  
ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ φαίνεται σοῦ λέγοντος.  
Συγχωρεῖς ἄρα, ἔφην, τοῦτον δεύτερον  
τύπον εἶναι ἐν ᾧ δεῖ περὶ θεῶν καὶ λέγειν  
καὶ ποιεῖν, ὡς μήτε αὐτοὺς γόητας ὄντας  
τῷ μεταβάλλειν ἐαυτοὺς μήθ' ἡμᾶς  
ψεύδεσι παράγειν ἐν λόγῳ η ἐν ἔργῳ;  
Συγχωρῶ.

13.3.34 | Therefore, the god is simple and  
true in both action and word, and he  
neither changes himself nor deceives  
others, neither through imagination nor  
through signs, nor in waking or in dreams.  
Thus, he said, it seems to me and to him  
that you are saying. Do you agree then, I  
said, that this is a second type in which we  
must speak and create about the gods, so  
that neither they themselves are deceivers  
by changing themselves nor do they lead us  
astray with lies in word or in action? I  
agree.

13.3.35 | Πολλὰ ἄρα Ὁμέρου ἐπανινοῦντες  
ἄλλα τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα, τὴν τοῦ  
ἐνυπνίου πομπὴν ὑπὸ Διὸς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι·  
ούδ' Αἰσχύλου, ὅταν φῆ ή Θέτις, 5 τὸν  
Ἀπόλλωνέν τοῖς αὐτῆς γάμοις ἔδοντα  
ἐνδατεῖσθαι τὰς ἐὰς εὐπαιδίας, νόσων τ'  
απείρους καὶ μακραίωνος τύχας Παιῶν  
ἐπευφήμησεν, εὐθυμῶν ἐμέ. κάγὼ τὸ  
Φοίβου θεῖον ἀψευδὲς στόμα ἡλιπζον εἶναι,  
μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνῃ. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ὑμνῶν,  
αὐτὸς ἐν θοίνῃ παρών, αὐτὸς τάδ' εἴπων,  
αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ κτανῶντὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν.

13.3.35 | Therefore, when we recall many things from Homer, we do not praise this, the dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon; nor do we praise Aeschylus, when Thetis says, 'As Apollo sings at her wedding, he brings forth her beautiful children, and he calls out about endless diseases and long-lasting fates.' Paean has spoken, making me joyful. And I hoped that the divine and truthful mouth of Phoebus would be, flowing with prophetic skill. But he himself, singing, while he is present in the feast, he himself saying these things, he himself is the one who kills my child.

13.3.36 | ὅταν τις τοιαῦτα λέγῃ περὶ θεῶν,  
χαλεπανομέν τε καὶ χορὸν οὐ δώσομεν,  
οὐδὲ τοὺς διδασκάλους ἔάσομεν ἐπὶ  
παιδείᾳ χρῆσθαι τῶν νέων, εἰ μέλλουσιν  
ἡμῖν οἱ φύλακες θεοσεβεῖς τε καὶ θεῖοι  
γίγνεσθαι, καθ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον οἶόν τε. Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, ἔγωγε  
τοὺς τύπους τούτους συγχωρῶ, καὶ ὡς  
νόμοις ἀν αὐτοῖς χρώμην."

13.3.36 | When someone speaks such things about the gods, we will not be angry and we will not allow the teachers to use this in the education of the young, if the guardians are to become both pious and divine, as much as is possible for a human. 'Indeed,' he said, 'I agree with these ideas, and I would follow the laws if they applied to them.'

13.3.37 | Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πλάτων. εὔροις δ' ἀν  
τὴν Ἑβραίων γραφὴν οὐδαμῶς μὲν μύθους  
αἰσχροὺς περὶ Τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ, ἀλλ'  
οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν θείων ἀγγέλων,  
οὐδέ γε περὶ τῶν θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄμοίως  
ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς θεολογίαις περιέχουσαν,  
τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκτεθέντα  
τύπον, ὅτι τε ἀγαθὸς ὁν ὁ θεὸς τυγχάνει,  
καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγονότα πάντα  
τοιαῦτα.

13.3.37 | These things are from Plato. But you would find in the Hebrew writings no shameful myths about the God of all things, nor about the divine angels around him, nor about the god-loving men in the same way as in Greek theology. However, the type presented by Plato shows that God is good and that all things that happen concerning him are like this.

13.3.38 | ἔφ' ἐκάστω δ' οὖν τῶν

13.3.38 | Therefore, in each of the

δημιουργημάτων ὁ θαυμάσιος Μωϋσῆς  
έπιλέγει "καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν." ἐπί τε  
πᾶσι τὸν περὶ πάντων συγκεφαλαιούμενος  
λόγον φησὶ "καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα ὅσα  
ἐποίησε, καὶ ἴδοὺ καλὰ λίαν." δόγμα δ'  
Ἐβραίων ἔστι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν  
κακῶν αἴτιον, εἰ δὴ ὁ θεὸς θάνατον οὐκ  
ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ  
ζώντων· ἔκτισε γάρ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα,  
καὶ σωτήριοι αἱ γενέσεις τοῦ κόσμου·  
"φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς  
τὸν κόσμον."

creations, the wonderful Moses says, 'And God saw that it was good.' And concerning all things, he sums up the statement by saying, 'And God saw all that he had made, and behold, it was very good.' It is a teaching of the Hebrews that God is not the cause of evil, since God did not create death, nor does he take pleasure in the destruction of the living; for he created all things to exist, and the generations of the world are for salvation. 'But through the envy of the devil, death entered into the world.'

13.3.39 | διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ  
εἰσῆκται λέγων ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸν ἔξ οίκείας  
προαιρέσεως κακὸν γεγενημένον. "ἔγὼ δὲ  
έφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον πᾶσαν  
ἀληθινήν· πῶς ἐστράφης εἰς τὰ ὄπισω ἡ  
ἄμπελος ἢ ἀλλοτρία;" εἰ δέ που λέγοιτο  
κακὰ τοῖς φαύλοις ἐκ θεοῦ συμβαίνειν,  
δημωνύμως ἀκουστέον, ὡς τῶν τιμωριῶν  
οὕτω κεκλημένων, ἃς ἀγαθὸς ὁν ὁ θεὸς  
οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν τιμωρουμένων, ἐπ'  
ἀφελείᾳ δὲ καὶ συμφέροντι λέγεται  
ἐπάγειν· ὥσπερ ἀν καὶ ιατρὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ  
τῶν καμνόντων κακὰ νομίζοιτο  
προσφέρειν τὰς ἀλγεινὰς καὶ πικρὰς  
θεραπείας.

13.3.39 | Therefore, it is said by the prophet that God speaks about the evil that has come from a person's own choice. 'But I planted you as a fruitful vine, all true; how have you turned into a wild vine?' And if it is said that evils happen to the wicked from God, it should be understood in the same way as the punishments that are called such, which a good God does not bring for the harm of those being punished, but for their benefit and good. Just as a doctor might be thought to bring painful and bitter treatments for the healing of the sick.

13.3.40 | διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐνθα  
εἴρηται κακὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐπάγεσθαι ὑπὸ<sup>25</sup>  
τοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι λεκτέον, ὡς  
ὁ μὲν θεὸς δίκαια τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ είργάζετο,  
καὶ ὅτε τὰ σκυθρωπὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις κακὰ  
νενομισμένα τοῖς τούτων ἀξίοις ἐπῆγεν, οἱ  
δὲ ὄντα κολαζόμενοι, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸν  
φιλόσοφον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων  
γραφὴν λέγουσαν "ὄν γάρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος  
παιδεύει· μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὄν

13.3.40 | Therefore, in the divine scripture where it is said that evils come to people from God, we must speak according to Plato, who says that God works justly and good things. And when he brings the sad and evil things that are thought to be deserved by those people, they suffer punishment. This is not only according to the philosopher but also according to the Hebrew scripture, which says, 'For whom

παραδέχεται."

13.3.41 | ὡς δ' ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ δίκην διδόντες,  
ἢν δ' ὁ δρῶν ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς, οὐκ ἔατέον  
λέγειν τὸν ποιητὴν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅτι  
ἔδεήθησαν κολάσεως λέγοιεν ὡς ἄθλιοι  
κακοὶ, διδόντες δὲ δίκην ὥφελοῦντο ὑπὸ<sup>τοῦ</sup> θεοῦ, ἔατέον κακῶν δὲ αἴτιον φάναι  
θεόν τινι γίνεσθαι, ἀγαθὸν ὅντα,  
διαμαχητέον παντὶ τρόπῳ.

13.3.42 | ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι  
τὸν θεὸν ἡ παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητείᾳ ὡδέ  
πη ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκει  
λέγουσα "διότι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ  
οὐκ ἡλοίωμαι." καὶ ἐν ταῖς θεολογίαις δὲ ὁ  
Δαβὶδ ἀναφωνεῖ λέγων "πάντες ὡς ἴμάτιον  
παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον  
ἐλίξεις αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δέο  
αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἔκλειψουσιν."

13.3.43 | εἰ δέ πῃ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον  
εἰσάγουσιν ἐν εἴδει καὶ σχήματι ἀνθρωπείω  
παραφαινόμενον, λεκτέον ὡς οὐ κατὰ τοὺς  
Ἐλλήνων μύθους ὁμοίως Πρωτεῖ καὶ Θέτιδι  
καὶ Ἡρα, οὐδ' ὡς οἵ θεοὶ οἵ περιερχόμενοι  
νύκτωρ πολλοῖς ζώοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς  
ίνδαλλόμενοι, καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον  
ἀνθρώποις πεφηνότα εἰσάγουσιν οἱ  
Ἐβραίων λόγοι, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτων'  
δεῖν ποτέ φησιν ἐπὶ φίλων εὐεργεσίᾳ, ὅταν  
διὰ μανίαν ἢ τινα ἄνοιαν κακόν τι  
ἐπιχειρῶσι πράττειν, τότε ἀποτροπῆς  
ἔνεκα ὡς φάρμακον χρήσιμον γενέσθαι τὴν  
τοῦ θεοῦ είς ἀνθρώπους πάροδον.

the Lord loves, he disciplines; he scourges  
every son whom he receives.'

13.3.41 | So, while the wretched ones are giving punishment, it is God who is doing these things. It should not be said that the poet allows this, but if they say that they are deserving of punishment as wretched evildoers, and by giving punishment they are helped by God, that can be accepted. However, to say that some good God is the cause of evils is something to be argued against in every way.

13.3.42 | But also about God not being changed, the prophecy from the Hebrews teaches this in the following way, saying, 'For I am the Lord your God, and I do not change.' And in the theologies, David cries out, saying, 'All will wear out like a garment, and like a robe you will change them, and they will be changed; but you are the same, and your years will never end.'

13.3.43 | But if they bring in the word of God appearing in the form and shape of a human, it should be said that it is not like the myths of the Greeks about Proteus, Thetis, and Hera, nor like the gods who wander at night among many creatures and appear in various forms. The words of the Hebrews show the word of God revealed to humans, but as Plato himself says, it is necessary at times for the benefit of friends, when out of madness or some foolishness they attempt to do something bad, that the passage of God to humans becomes a useful remedy for their

avoidance.

13.3.44 | ἐπεὶ οὐν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζώων ούδὲν ἦν θεοφιλέστερον γένος ἀνθρώπου, συγγενές τε καὶ οίκειον τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, παρ' οὗ καὶ λογικὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀπείργαστο, εἰκότως, οἴα φίλου ζώου κηδόμενον, τὸν ἐπουράνιον λόγον ἥκειν ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ φασὶ παντὸς τού γένους, νόσον καὶ μανίαν ἔκτοπον ὑπομείναντος, ὡς μήτε τὸν πατέρα γινώσκειν θεόν, μήτε τὴν οίκειαν τῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως ούσιαν, μήτ' αὐθεοῦ πρόνοιαν, σώτειραν τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλόγου δὲ ζώου σχεδὸν ὅσον παρατροπὴν ἥκοντος.

13.3.45 | Διὸ δὴ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ιατρὸν ἐπιστῆναι λέγουσιν, οὐ μὲν δὴ τῆς οίκείας ἐκστάντα φύσεως, οὔδέ γε ψευσάμενον τοὺς ὄρωντας, ἄμφω δὲ ἀληθῆ φυλάξαντα, τό τε ἀρανὲς καὶ τὸ ὄρώμενον. πῆ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθῆς ἀνθρωπος ἐωρᾶτο, πῆ δὲ θεοῦ λόγος ἦν ἀληθής, οὐ γοητεύων, οὔδὲ τοὺς θεωμένους ἔξαπατῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ θεῖον ἀψευδὲς καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Πλάτωνι.

13.3.46 | κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἀπλοῦς ὧν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἔν τε ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίστατο, οὔτε ἀλλοις ἔξηπάτα. οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὕθι] οὔδ' ὅναρ. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, οἴα λογικῶν ψυχῶν ίατρὸς, σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δοκήσει δι' οὗ ἀνείληφεν ἀνθρώπου διεπραγματεύσατο, τὴν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα φιλίαν τε καὶ ὑποστροφὴν διὰ τῆς κατηγελμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεογνωσίας τε

13.3.44 | Since among the creatures on earth there is nothing more beloved by God than the human race, which is related and close to the word of God, from which the rational nature of the soul was shaped, it is fitting, as a caring friend would, that the heavenly word comes for the healing of all humanity, remaining in the face of illness and madness, so that neither does the father know God, nor does he understand the nature of the rational essence, nor the providence of God, the savior of all, as if he were almost like an irrational creature.

13.3.45 | That is why they say that the savior and healer is known, not having changed from his own nature, nor deceiving those who see him, but keeping both the true and the visible. For the true man was seen, and the word of God was true, not enchanting or deceiving those who beheld him, since it seemed good to Plato that the divine should be without deceit.

13.3.46 | Therefore, the word of God, being simple and true in both action and speech, neither changed himself nor deceived others. He did not come through fantasies, nor through words, nor through signs, nor even in dreams. For all such things, like a healer of rational souls, are truly for the salvation of all humanity, but he did not seem to negotiate through whom he was taken as a man, but rather through the friendship and return to his own father, given to all of us through the revealed

καὶ ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας πᾶσιν ἡμῖν  
δωρούμενος.

13.3.47 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα· τοῖς  
δὲ ἄλλως λέγουσι χαλεπανοῦμέν τε καὶ  
χορὸν οὐ δώσομεν, οὐδέ γε τοὺς  
διδασκάλους ἔάσομεν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ χρῆσθαι  
τῶν νέων, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ φύλακες  
θεοσεβεῖς τε καὶ θεῖοι γίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ τῷ  
φιλοσόφῳ ἄριστα ἔχειν ἐδόκει.

## Section 4

13.4.1 | "Αύτοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
τυγχάνουσι νομίζοντες τὸν Δία τῶν θεῶν  
ἄριστον καὶ δικαιότατον, καὶ τοῦτον  
ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα δῆσαι, ὅτι  
τοὺς υἱεῖς κατέπινεν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ, καὶ  
ἐκεῖνόν γε αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐκτεμεῖν  
δι' ἔτερα τοιαῦτα· ἐμοὶ δὲ χαλεπαίνουσιν  
ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ ἐπεξέρχομαι ἀδικοῦντι, καὶ  
οὕτως αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐναντία λέγουσι  
περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

13.4.2 | "Ἄρα γε, ὢ Εὔθυφρον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν  
οὗ ἔνεκα τὴν γραφὴν φεύγω ὅτι τὰ  
τοιαῦτα ἐπειδάν τις περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγῃ,  
δυσχερῶς πως ἀποδέχομαι δι' ἂ δὴ, ὡς  
ἔοικε, φήσει τίς με ἔξαμαρτάνειν. νῦν οὖν εἰ  
καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα συνδοκεῖ τῷ εὗ εἰδότι περὶ  
τῶν τοιούτων, ἀνάγκη δὴ, ὡς ᔾοικε, καὶ  
ἡμῖν συγχωρεῖν. τί γὰρ καὶ φήσομεν, οἴ γε  
[καὶ]αύτοὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν περὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν  
εἰδέναι; ἀλλ; αμοι εἴπε πρὸς φιλίου, σὺ ὡς  
ἀληθῶς ἡγῇ ταῦτα οὕτω γεγονέναι; Καὶ ἔτι  
τούτων θαυμασιώτερα, ὢ Σώκρατες, ἂ οἱ  
πολλοὶ οὐκ ἴσασι.

knowledge of God and true piety.

13.3.47 | And these are our matters; but to others, we say that we will not give a hard time or a chorus, nor will we allow the teachers to use the youth for education, if they are to become for us guardians who are pious and divine, as it seemed best to the philosopher.

13.4.1 | For these people think that Zeus is the best and most just of the gods, and they agree that he bound his own father, claiming that he swallowed his sons unjustly, and that he cut off his own father for such reasons. But they are angry with me because I confront the father for doing wrong, and in this way, they say opposite things about the gods and about me.

13.4.2 | Therefore, oh Euthyphro, this is why I am fleeing the charge, because when someone speaks about the gods, I find it hard to accept what they say, for it seems that someone will accuse me of wrongdoing. Now, if you also agree with this, knowing well about such matters, it seems necessary for us to agree as well. For what can we say, since we also admit that we know nothing about them? But tell me, my friend, do you truly believe that these things have happened this way? And even more amazing are those things, Socrates, that most people do not know.

13.4.3 | Καὶ πόλεμον ἄρα ἡγῆ [σὺ είναι] τῷ  
ὅντι ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ  
ἔχθρας γε δεινὰς καὶ μάχας καὶ ἄλλα  
τοιαῦτα πολλὰ, οἷα λέγεται τε ὑπὸ τῶν  
ποιητῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γραφέων τά  
τε ἄλλα ἵερὰ ἡμῖν καταπεποίκιλται καὶ δὴ  
καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις Παναθηναίοις ὁ πέπλος  
μεστὸς τῶν τοιούτων ποικιλμάτων  
ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἀκρότπολιν. ταῦτα ἀληθῆ  
εἶναι φῶμεν, ὡς Εὐθύφρον;

13.4.3 | And do you really think there is a war among the gods against each other, with terrible hatreds and battles, and many other such things, as the poets say? And indeed, the good writers have decorated our sacred things with these stories, and even at the great Panathenaea, the robe is full of such designs as it is brought up to the Acropolis. Shall we say that these things are true, oh Euthyphro?

13.4.4 | Μὴ μόνα γε, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἄλλ' ὅπερ  
ἄρτι εἴπον, καὶ ἄλλα σοι ἔγὼ πολλὰ, έάν  
περ βούλῃ, περὶ τῶν θεῶν διηγήσομαι, ἃ σὺ  
άκούων εῦ οἴδ' ὅτι ἐκπλαγήσῃ." Ταῦτα ὁ  
Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Εύθυφρονι. διασαφεῖ δὲ τὴν  
διάνοιαν ὁ Νουμήνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν παρὰ  
Πλάτωνι ἀπορρήτων ὥδε πῃ λέγων

13.4.4 | "Do not think only this, oh Socrates, but as I just said, I will tell you many other things about the gods, if you want, that I know you will be amazed to hear." This is what Plato says in the Euthyphro. And Numenius explains the meaning in his work about the hidden teachings of Plato, saying this way.

## Section 5

13.5.1 | "Εἴ μὲν γράφειν ὑποτεινάμενος ὁ  
Πλάτων περὶ τῆς θεολογίας τῆς τῶν  
Ἀθηναίων εἴτα ἐδυσχέραινεν αὐτῇ καὶ  
κατηγόρει ἔχούσῃ στάσεις μὲν πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους, τέκνων δὲ τῶν μὲν μίξεις, τῶν δὲ  
ἐδωδὰς, τῶν δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων πατράσι  
τιμωρίας ἀδελφῶν τε ἀδελφοῖς ὑμνούσῃ,  
καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἴπερ ὁ Πλάτων ταυτὰ  
λαβὼν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν κατηγόρει  
παρασχεῖν ἀν δοκεῖ μοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
αἵτιαν πάλιν κακοῖς γενέσθαι ἀποκτείνασι  
καὶ αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τὸν Σωκράτην. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ζῆν μὲν οὐκ ἀν προείλετο μᾶλλον ἦ  
ἀληθεύειν, ἐώρα δὲ ζῆν τε καὶ ἀληθεύειν  
ἀσφαλῶς δυνησόμενος, ἔθηκεν ἐν μὲν τῷ  
σχήματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν Εύθυφρονα,  
ὄντα ἄνδρα ἀλαζόνα καὶ κοάλεμον καὶ εἴ̄

13.5.1 | If Plato, while writing about the theology of the Athenians, found it hard to accept their beliefs and accused them of having conflicts with each other, mixing with their children, and blaming each other for punishments instead of food, and many other such things; if he took these ideas and openly accused the Athenians of causing harm, just as they did to Socrates, then since he would not choose to live rather than tell the truth, and he saw that he could safely live and tell the truth, he placed Euthyphro in the form of an arrogant and boastful man. And if anyone else speaks badly about the gods, he himself, Socrates, would confront them and challenge them

τις ἄλλοις θεολογεῖ κακῶς, αύτὸν δὲ τὸν  
Σωκράτην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ  
σχηματισμῇ ἐν ὥπερ εἰωθότως ἥλεγχεν  
ἐκάστῳ προσο μίλων."

## Section 6

13.6.1 | "Ω φίλε Κρίτων, ἡ προθυμία σου  
πολλοῦ ἀξία, εἴ μετά τινος ὄρθοτητος εἴη· εἰ  
δὲ μὴ, ὅσῳ μείζων, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρα.  
σκοπεῖσθαι οὖν χρὴ ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ταῦτα  
πρακτέον εἴτε μὴ, ὡς ἔγω οὐ μόνον νῦν,  
ἄλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτος οἶος τῶν ἐμῶν  
μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ πείθεσθαι ἡ τῷ λόγῳ ὃς ἂν μοι  
λογιζομένῳ βέλτιστος φαίνηται.

13.6.2 | τοὺς δὲ λόγους οὓς ἐν τῷ  
ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον οὐ δύναμαι νῦν  
ἐκβάλλειν, ἐπειδή μοι ἥδε ἡ τύχη γέγονεν,  
ἄλλὰ σχεδόν τι ὅμοιοι φαίνονταί μοι, καὶ  
τοὺς αὐτοὺς πρεσβεύω καὶ τιμῶ οὕσπερ  
καὶ πρότερον· ὃν ἔὰν μὴ βελτίω ἔχωμεν  
λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εῦ ἵσθι ὅτι οὐ μή σοι  
συγχωρήσω, οὐδ' ἀν πλείω τῶν νῦν  
παρόντων ἡ τῶν πολλόν δύναμις ὥσπερ  
παῖδας ἡμᾶς μορμολύττηται, δεσμούς τε  
καὶ θανάτους ἐπιπέμπουσα καὶ χρημάτων  
ἀφαιρέσεις.

13.6.3 | πῶς οὖν ἀν μετριώτατα.  
σκοποίμεθα αύτά; εἴ πρωτον μὲν τοῦτον  
τὸν λόγον ἀναλάβοιμεν, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, τὸν  
περὶ τῶν δοξῶν, πότερον καλῶς ἐλέγετο  
ἐκάστοτε ἡ οὖ, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν δεῖ τῶν δοξῶν  
προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ταῖς δὲ οὕ· ἡ πρὸν μὲν  
με δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν καλῶς ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ  
κατάδηλος ἄρα ἐγένετο ὅτι ἄλλως ἔνεκα  
λόγου ἐλέγετο, ἦν δὲ παιδιὰ καὶ φλυαρία

as he usually does.

13.6.1 | Oh dear Crito, your eagerness is very valuable, if it is with some correctness. But if it is not, the greater it is, the harder it becomes. Therefore, we must consider whether we should do these things or not, as I am not only like this now, but always like this, believing in nothing else but the argument that seems best to me when I think about it.

13.6.2 | I cannot now reject the words I said before, since this is the fate I have come to. But they seem almost the same to me, and I honor and respect them just as I did before. If we do not have anything better to say at this moment, know well that I will not agree with you, even if the power of many present now frightens us like children, sending us chains and deaths and taking away our possessions.

13.6.3 | How then should we consider these things moderately? If we first take up this argument you mentioned about beliefs, was it said well each time or not? That some beliefs should be paid attention to and others should not? Or was it said well before I had to die, but now it has become clear that it was said for another reason, and was really just childish talk and

ώς ἀληθῶς.

nonsense?

13.6.4 | ἐπιθυμῶ δ' ἔγωγε ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὡς Κρίτων, κοινῇ μετὰ σοῦ, εἴ τί μοι ἀλλοιότερος φανεῖται, ἐπειδὴ ὡδ' ἔχω, ἢ ὃ αὐτὸς, καὶ ἔάσομεν χαίρειν ἢ πεισόμεθα αὐτῷ. ἐλέγετο δέ πως, ὡς ἔγῷμαι, ἐκάστοτε ὡδε ὑπὸ τῶν οἰομένων τι λέγειν ὥσπερ νῦν δὴ ἔγὼ ἔλεγον, ὅτι τῶν δοξῶν ἂς οἱ ἄνθωποι δοξάζουσι δέοι τὰς μὲν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ μή.

13.6.4 | I wish, Crito, to examine together with you whether I seem different to myself, since I feel this way, or the same, and we will either let it be or be convinced by it. It was said somehow, as I think, that each time people say something like I am saying now, that some beliefs should be valued highly and others should not.

13.6.5 | τοῦτο πρὸς θεῶν, ὡς Κρίτων, ού δοκεῖ καλῶς σοι λέγεσθαι; σὺ γάρ, ὅσα γε τάνθρωπεια, ἐκτὸς εἴ τοῦ μέλλειν ἀποθνήσκειν αὔριον, καὶ οὐκ ἄν σε παρακρούοι ἢ παροῦσα συμφορά. σκόπει δή· οὐχ ἵκανῶς δοκεῖ σοι λέγεσθαι ὅτι οὐ πάσας χρὴ τὰς δόξας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν, τὰς δ' οὕ; οὐδὲ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δ' οὕ; τί φήσ; ταῦτα οὐχὶ καλῶς λέγεται; Καλῶς.

13.6.5 | Is it not right, Crito, to say this to the gods? For you, as long as you are not about to die tomorrow, would not be shaken by the present misfortune. Consider this: do you not think it is said well that not all beliefs of people should be honored, but some should and some should not? Not all of them, but some of these and not those? What do you say? Is this not said well? Well said.

13.6.6 | Ούκοῦν τὰς μὲν χρηστὰς τιμᾶν, τὰς δὲ πονηρὰς μή; Ναί. Χρησταὶ δὲ οὐχ αἱ τῶν φρονίμων, πονηραὶ δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀφρόνων; Πῶς δὲ οὕ; Φέρε δὴ, πῶς αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλέγετο; γυμναζόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῦτο πράττων πότερον παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ψύγῳ καὶ δόξῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχει, ἢ ἐνὸς μόνου ἔκείνου δὲ ἀν τυγχάνῃ ιατρὸς ἢ παιδοτρίβης ὅν; Ἐνὸς μόνου.

13.6.6 | Then should we honor good beliefs and not bad ones? Yes. Good beliefs are not those of the wise, and bad beliefs are those of the foolish? How could they not be? Come now, how were such things said? When a man is training, does he pay attention to the praise and blame and opinions of all men, or just to one man, whoever happens to be a doctor or a trainer? Just to one man.

13.6.7 | Ούκοῦν φοβεῖσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ψύγους καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοὺς τοῦ ἐνὸς ἔκείνου, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν. Δηλαδή. Ταύτη. ἄρα αὐτῷ

13.6.7 | Then one should fear the blame and embrace the praise of that one man, but not the praise of the many. Indeed. Therefore, he should act and train in such a

πρακτέον καὶ γυμναστέον, καὶ ἔδεστέον γε καὶ ποτέον, ἢ ἀν τῷ ἐνὶ δοκῇ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ καὶ ἐπαί̄οντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξύμπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἐστι ταῦτα. Εἶν. ἀπειθήσας δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀτιμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαί̄ους, τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολλόν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπαιόντων ἄρα οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται; Πῶς γὰρ οὕ; Τί δ' ἔστι τὸ κακὸν τοῦτο; καὶ ποῖ τείνει, καὶ εἰς τί τῶν τοῦ ἀπειθοῦντος; Δηλονότι εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο γὰρ διόλυσι.

way, and eat and drink as he thinks best according to that one expert who praises him more than all the others. That is true. Yes. But if he disobeys that one and dishonors his opinion and praise, while honoring the opinions of the many who do not praise him at all, will he not suffer some harm? How could he not? What is this harm? And where does it lead, and what does it affect in the one who disobeys? Clearly, it affects the body; for this is what is destroyed.

13.6.8 | Καλῶς λέγεις. ούκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὡ Κρίτων, οὕτως, ἵνα μὴ πάντα διώμεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ ὃν νῦν ἡ βουλὴ ἡμῖν ἔστι, 'πό τερον τῇ τῶν πολλῶν δόξῃ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐπεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὴν, ἢ τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς, εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐπαί̄ων, ὅν δεῖ καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ξύμπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους; Ὡς εἴ μὴ ἀκολουθήσομεν, διαφθεροῦμεν ἐκεῖνο καὶ λωβησόμεθα ὃ τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ βέλτιον ἐγίνετο, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ ἀπώλλυτο. ἢ οὐδέν ἔστι τοῦτο; Οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ὡ Σώκρατες.

13.6.8 | You speak well. Then, Crito, we should also consider the other things in this way, so that we do not pursue everything. And indeed, regarding just and unjust, shameful and beautiful, good and bad, about which we are now deciding, should we follow and fear the opinion of the many, or that of the one, if there is someone who praises, whom we should be more ashamed of and afraid of than all the others? If we do not follow him, we will destroy that and suffer harm, which becomes better for the just and is lost for the unjust. Or is this not true? I think it is, Socrates.

13.6.9 | Φέρε δὴ, ἐὰν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑγιεινοῦ μὲν βέλτιον γινόμενον, ὑπὸ τοῦ νοσώδους δὲ διαφθειρόμενον διολέσωμεν, πειθόμενοι μὴ τῇ τῶν ἐπαιόντων δόξῃ, ἄρα βιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἔστι διεφθαρμένου αὐτοῦ; ἔστι δέ που τοῦτο σῶμα, ἢ οὐχί; Ναί. Ἀρ' οὖν βιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἔστι μετὰ μοχθηροῦ καὶ διεφθαρμένου σώματος; Ούδαμῶς.

13.6.9 | Come now, if we are made better by what is healthy and destroyed by what is unhealthy, should we not follow the opinion of those who praise? Is it possible for us to live with a body that is harmed? This body does exist, doesn't it? Yes. So, is it possible for us to live with a bad and harmed body? Absolutely not.

13.6.10 | Ἄλλὰ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄρα ἔστὶν ἡμῖν βιωτὸν διεφθαρμένου ὃ τὸ ἄδικον μὲν

13.6.10 | But is it possible for us to live with a body that is harmed, which is hurt by

λωβᾶται, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ὄνινησιν; ἢ φαυλότερον ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος ἐκεῖνο, ὅ τι ποτ' ἔστι τῶν ἡμετέρων, περὶ ὃ ἡ τε ἀδικία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἔστιν;  
Οὐδαμῶς. Άλλὰ τιμιώτερον; Πολύ γε.

injustice but benefits from justice? Or do we think that body is worse than our own, which is where both injustice and justice exist? Absolutely not. But is it more valuable? Very much so.

13.6.11 | Οὐκ ἄρα, ὡς βέλτιστε, πάνυ ἡμῖν οὕτω φροντιστέον τί ἔροῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ τί ὁ ἐπαίων περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων, ὁ εἰς, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν ταύτῃ οὐκ ὄρθως εἰσηγῆ, εἰσηγούμενος τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης δεῖν ἡμᾶς φροντέζειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων.”

13.6.11 | Therefore, my best friend, we should not care at all about what the many say about us, but rather what the one who knows about justice and injustice says, and the truth itself. So, first of all, it is not right to suggest that we should pay attention to the opinion of the many about what is just, beautiful, and good, and their opposites.

13.6.12 | Καὶ ὁ σωτήριος δὲ λόγος φησὶ “δόξαν τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ζητεῖτε, καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ μόνου τοῦ ἐνὸς οὐ ζητεῖτε.” διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὔσεβείας ἀγῶσιν ὄρθως πράττομεν οὐ σκοποῦντες τί ἡμᾶς οἴ πολλοὶ ἔροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τί βούλεται εἰς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὃν ἀπαξ κρίσει ἐλομένους προσήκει ὄμοιώς καὶ τότε ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ πρότερον τιμᾶν, καὶ μὴ μετατίθεσθαι, μηδ' ἀν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμις ὥσπερ παῖδας ἡμᾶς μορμολύτηται, τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἡσαν καὶ οἱ πάλαι παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἐν μαρτυρίᾳ διαλάμψαντες.

13.6.12 | And the saving word says, 'You seek the opinion of people, but you do not seek the opinion of the one alone.' Therefore, we act rightly in our struggles for piety, not focusing on what the many will say about us, but on what the one word of God wants, which should be honored equally in judgment, both then and before, and not be changed, even if the power of the many frightens us like children. Such were those who once shone among the Hebrews in testimony.

## Section 7

13.7.1 | “Οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ φαμὲν ἐκόντας ἀδικητέον εἶναι, ἢ τινὶ μὲν ἀδικητέον τρόπῳ, τινὶ δ' οὐ; ἢ οὐδαμῶς τό γε ἀδικεῖν οὕτε καλὸν οὕτε ἀγαθὸν, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ὡμολογήθη; ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο. ἢ πᾶσαι ἡμῖν ἐκεῖναι αἱ πρόσθεν ὡμολογίαι ἐν ταῖςδε ταῖς

13.7.1 | We say that no one should willingly do wrong, or that some should do wrong in some way, while others should not? Or is it not at all good or right to do wrong, as we have often agreed before? This is what was just said. Or are all those earlier agreements scattered in these few days,

όλιγαις ήμέραις έκκεχυμέναι είσι, καὶ πάλαι, ώ Κρίτων, ἄρα τηλικοίδε γέροντες ἄνδρες πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπουδῇ διαλεγόμενοι ἐλάθομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παίδων ούδὲν διαφέροντες; ἢ παντὸς μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχει ὥσπερ τότε ἐλέγετο ἡμῖν, εἴτε φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἴτε δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῶνδε χαλεπώτερα πάσχειν εἴτε καὶ πραότερα, ὅμως τό γε ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀδικοῦντι καὶ κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν τυγχάνει ὃν παντὶ τρόπῳ; φαμὲν ἢ οὕ; Φαμέν.

and have we, old men, forgotten ourselves, talking seriously with each other, as if we were no different from children? Or is it more true that it is just as it was said to us before, whether the many say so or not, and whether we must suffer even more difficult things or even easier things, still, doing wrong is always bad and shameful for anyone who does it? Do we say this or not? We say it.

13.7.2 | Ούδαμῶς ἄρα δεῖ ἀδικεῖν. Οὐ δῆτα. Ούδὲ ἀδικούμενον ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἐπειδή γε ούδαμῶς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν; Οὐ φαίνεται. Τί δὲ δή; κακουργεῖν δεῖ, ώ Κρίτων, ἢ οὕ; Οὐ δεῖ δήπου, ώ Σώκρατες. Τί δέ; ἀντικακουργεῖν κακῶς πάσχοντα, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασι, δίκαιον, ἢ οὔ δίκαιον; Ούδαμῶς. Τὸ γάρ που κακὸν ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ούδὲν διαφέρει. Καλῶς λέγεις.

13.7.2 | Therefore, it is never right to do wrong. Indeed not. Nor is it right to do wrong in return to someone who is doing wrong, as many think, since it is never right to do wrong? It does not seem so. What then? Is it necessary to do evil, dear Criton, or not? It must not be, Socrates. What about this? Is it just to do wrong to someone who is suffering badly, as many say, or not just? Not at all. For doing evil to people is no different from doing wrong. You speak well.

13.7.3 | Οὕτε ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν δεῖ οὕτε κακῶς ποιεῖν ούδένα ἀνθρώπων, ούδ' ἀν δτιοῦν πάσχῃ τις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅρα, ώ Κρίτων, ταῦτα καθομολογῶν ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν δομολογῆς. οἶδα γάρ ὅτι ὀλίγοις τισὶ ταῦτα καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ δόξει. οἵς οὖν οὕτω δέδοκται καὶ οἵς μὴ, τούτοις ούκ ἔστι κοινὴ βουλὴ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτους ἀλλήλων καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶντας τὰ ἀλλήλων βουλεύματα. σκόπει δὴ οὖν καὶ σὺ εῦ μάλα, πότερον κοινωνεῖς καὶ συνδοκεῖ σοι καὶ ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι, ὡς ούδεποτε ὁρθῶς ἔχοντος οὕτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν οὕτε τοῦ ἀνταδικεῖν οὕτε τοῦ κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντα κακῶς· ἢ

13.7.3 | Therefore, one should neither do wrong in return nor do evil to anyone, even if someone suffers from them. But look, dear Criton, as you agree to these things, be careful not to agree just for the sake of it. For I know that only a few think this way and will think this way. So, for those who have this belief and those who do not, there is no common agreement, but it is necessary for them to look down on each other's opinions. Therefore, consider well whether you agree and if it seems right to you, and let us begin from here, thinking that it is never right to do wrong, to do wrong in return, or to defend oneself

άφίστασαι καὶ οὐ κοινωνεῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς;  
έμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάλαι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
δοκεῖ.

against someone who is suffering badly by doing wrong to them; or do you stand apart and do not agree with this principle? For it seems to me that it has always been this way and still is.

13.7.4 | καὶ σοὶ δὲ εἴ πη ἄλλῃ δέδοκται, λέγε  
καὶ δίδασκε' εἰ δ' ἐμμένεις τοῖς προσθεν,  
τὸν μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκουε. Ἀλλ' ἐμμένω τε καὶ  
συνδοκεὶ μοι ἄλλὰ λέγε. Λέγ δὴ αὖ τὸ μετὰ  
τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶ, πότερον ἡ ἓν τις  
δομολογήῃ τῷ δίκαιᾳ ὅντα ποιητεον, ἢ  
ἔξαπατητέον; Ποιητέον."

13.7.4 | And if you have been taught something else, speak and teach it; but if you stick to what was said before, listen to what comes next. But I do stick to it and it seems right to me; now speak. So tell me again what comes next, and I ask more strongly, should one do what is agreed to be just, or should one deceive? One should do what is just.

13.7.5 | Τούτοις παράθες τὸ "μηδενὶ κακὸν  
ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες," καὶ τὸ "εὔλογεῖτε  
τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς" προσεύχεσθε  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων καὶ διωκόντων  
ὑμᾶς, ἵνα γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν  
τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅστις τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ  
ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ  
βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους." καὶ ἔτι τὸ  
"λοιδορούμενοι εὔλογοῦμεν, διωκόμενοι  
ἀνεχόμεθα, δυσφημούμενοι  
παρακαλοῦμεν," ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν Ἱεροῖς  
φερόμενα γράμμασι. καὶ ὁ προφήτης δὲ  
παρ' Ἐβραίοις φησὶν "εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς  
ἀνταποδιδοῦσί μοι κακά." καὶ πάλιν "μετὰ  
τῶν μισούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἥμην  
εἰρηνικός."

13.7.5 | Set aside the saying 'do not repay evil for evil,' and the words 'bless those who curse you; pray for those who mistreat and persecute you, so that you may become children of your Father who is in heaven, who makes his sun rise on both the evil and the good and sends rain on the just and the unjust.' Also, the saying 'when we are insulted, we bless; when we are persecuted, we endure; when we are slandered, we encourage' is found in our sacred writings. And the prophet among the Hebrews says, 'If I have repaid those who have harmed me.' And again, 'I was peaceful with those who hated peace.'

## Section 8

13.8.1 | "Σὺ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐκαλλωπίζου ὡς ο'κ  
ἀγανακτῶν εἴ δέοι τεθνάναι σε, ἄλλὰ ἥροῦ,  
ως ἔφησθα, πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς θάνατον· νῦν δὲ  
ούτε ἔκείνους τοὺς λόγους αἰσχύνῃ ούτε

13.8.1 | But you then were decorating yourself as if you were not angry if you had to die, but you chose, as you said, death before exile; now, however, you are not

ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐντρέπη, ἐπιχειρῶν ἡμᾶς διαφθεῖραι· πράττεις τε ὅπερ ἀν δοῦλος ὁ φαυλότατος πράξειεν, ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειρῶν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τε καὶ ὅμοιογίας καθ' ἡμῖν συνέθου πολιτεύεσθαι.

ashamed of those words nor do you respect our laws, trying to destroy us; you are doing what the most worthless slave would do, trying to escape against the agreements and the promises under which we have agreed to live together.

13.8.2 | πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀπόκριναι, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν φάσκοντές σε ὡμοιογηκέναι πολιτεύεσθαι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔργω, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγω, ἢ ούκ ἀληθῆ; τί φῶμεν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὡς Κρίτων; ἄλλο τι ἢ ὅμοιογῶμεν; Ἀνάγκη, ὡς Σώκρατες. Ἄλλὰ τί οὖν, ἀν φαῖεν, ἢ συνθήκας πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅμοιογίας παραβαίνεις, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης ὅμοιογήσας, οὐδὲ ἀπατηθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς βουλεύεσσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐν οἷς ἔξην σοι ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἥρεσκομεν ἡμεῖς, μηδὲ δίκαιαι ἐφαίνοντό σοι αἱ ὅμοιογίαι εἶναι.

13.8.2 | First of all, we must answer this: if we say that you agreed to live according to our ways in action, not just in words, is that true or not? What should we say about this, Crito? Should we say anything other than that it is true? It is necessary, Socrates. But then, if you say that you are breaking the agreements and promises made with us, you are not doing so out of necessity, nor were you deceived, nor were you forced to decide in a short time, but after seventy years, during which you could have left if we were not pleasing to you, and you did not think the agreements were just.

13.8.3 | σὺ δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα προηροῦ οὔτε Κρήτην, ἃς δὴ ἐκάστοτε φῆς εύνομεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, οὐδὲ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐλάττω ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπεδήμησας ἢ οἵ χωλοί τε καὶ 20 τυφλοί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνάπτηροι. οὔτω σοι διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἤρεσκεν ἡ πόλις τε καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ νόμοι δηλονότι· τίνι γὰρ ἀν πόλις ἀρέσκοι ἄνευ νόμων; νῦν δὲ δὴ ούκ ἐμμένεις τοῖς ὡμοιογημένοις; ἐὰν ἡμῖν γε πείθῃ, ὡς Σώκρατες.”

13.8.3 | But you chose neither Sparta nor Crete, which you say are well-governed, nor any other Greek city, nor any of the barbarian ones, but you left less than that, or you went away with the lame, the blind, and the other disabled. Thus, the city and we, the laws, pleased you more than the other Athenians, clearly; for what city would please anyone without laws? But now you are not sticking to what you agreed to? If you are convinced by us, Socrates.

## Section 9

13.9.1 | “Οστις γὰρ νόμων διαφθορεύς ἐστι, σφόδρα που δόξειεν ἀν νέων τε καὶ

13.9.1 | For whoever corrupts the laws would seem to be very much a corrupt

άνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διαφθορεὺς εῖναι.  
πότερον οὖν φεύξῃ τάς τε εὐνομουμένας  
πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς  
κοσμιωτάτους; καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι ἄρα  
ἄξιόν σοι ζῆν ἔσται; ἢ πλησιάσεις τούτοις  
καὶ ἀναισχυντήσεις διαλεγόμενός τινας  
λόγους, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἢ οὕσπερ ἐνθάδε, ὡς  
ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλείστου ἄξιον  
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ οἱ νόμοι;  
καὶ οὐκ οἶει ἀσχημὸν φανεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ  
Σωκράτους πρᾶγμα; οἴεσθαί γε χρή.

13.9.2 | ἀλλ' ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν τόπων  
ἀπαρεῖς, ἥξεις δὲ εἰς Θετταλίαν παρὰ τοὺς  
ξένους τοὺς Κρίτωνος· ἔκει γὰρ δὴ πλείστη  
ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία, καὶ ἵσως ἀν ἡδέως  
σου ἀκούοιεν ὡς γελοίως ἐκ τοῦ  
δεσμωτηρίου ἀπεδίδρασκες, σκευήν τέ  
τινα περιθέμενος ἢ διφθέραν λαβὼν ἢ ἄλλα  
οἷα δὴ εἰώθασιν ἐνσκευάζεσθαι οἱ  
ἀποδιδράσκοντες, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυτοῦ  
μεταλλάξας.

13.9.3 | ὅτι δὲ γέρων ἀνὴρ μικροῦ χρόνου  
τῷ βίῳ λοιποῦ ὄντος, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς,  
ἐτόλμησας οὕτω γλίσχρως ἐπιθυμεῖν ζῆν,  
νόμους τοὺς μεγίστους παραβάς, οὐδεὶς ὃς  
ἔρει; ἵσως, ἀν μή τινα λυπήσῃς· εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
ἀκούσῃ, ὡς Σώκρατες, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια  
σαυτοῦ. ὑπερχόμενος δὴ βιώσῃ πάντας  
ἀνθρώπους καὶ δουλεύων, τί ποιῶν ἢ  
εύωχούμενος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ  
δεῖπνον ἀποδεδημηκώς εἰς Θετταλίαν.  
λόγοι δὲ ἔκεινοι οἱ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ  
τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ποῦ ἡμῖν ἔσονται; ἄλλὰ  
δὴ τῶν παίδων ἔνεκα βούλει ζῆν, ἔνα  
αὐτοὺς ἐκθρέψῃς καὶ παιδεύσῃς;

13.9.4 | τί δέ; εἰς Θετταλίαν αύτοὺς ἀγαγών

person, especially to young and foolish  
people. So will you flee from the well-  
governed cities and the most respectable  
men? And will it be worthy for you to live  
by doing this? Or will you approach these  
people and shamelessly speak some words,  
Socrates, or just like here, as if virtue and  
justice are most valuable to people and the  
laws and the customs? And do you not  
think it will seem disgraceful for the actions  
of Socrates? You should think so.

13.9.2 | But you will escape from these  
places and go to Thessaly to the foreign  
friends of Crito; for there is indeed great  
disorder and lawlessness, and perhaps they  
would gladly hear how you foolishly ran  
away from prison, putting on some disguise  
or taking a cloak or other things that those  
who escape usually wear, and changing  
your appearance.

13.9.3 | That an old man, with little time left  
to live, has dared to desire to live so poorly,  
breaking the greatest laws, who will say  
anything? Perhaps if you do not upset  
someone; but if not, you will hear, Socrates,  
many things unworthy of you. You will live  
like everyone else, working hard, what will  
you do or enjoy in Thessaly, as if you have  
traveled there for a feast? But where will  
those words about justice and the other  
virtues be for us? But indeed, do you want  
to live for the sake of the children, to raise  
and educate them?

13.9.4 | What then? If you take them to

θρέψεις τε καὶ παιδεύσεις, ξένους ποιήσας, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτό σου ἀπολαύσωσιν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὖ, αὐτοῦ δὲ τρεφόμενοι σοῦ ζῶντος βέλτιον θρέψονται καὶ παιδεύσονται, μὴ συνόντος σοῦ αὐτοῖς; οἱ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειοι οἱ σοὶ ἐπιμελήσονται αὐτῶν.

Thessaly and raise and educate them, making them foreigners, will they enjoy that from you? Or not this, but while you are alive, they will be better raised and educated without you being with them? For those who care for them will take good care of them.

13.9.5 | πότερον δὲ ἔὰν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀποδημήσῃς, ἐπιμελήσονται· ἔὰν δὲ εἰς Ἀΐδου ἀποδημήσῃς, οὐχὶ ἐπιμελήσονται, εἴπερ γέ τι ὅφελος αὐτῶν ἔστι τῶν σοι φασκόντων ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι; οὕεδθαί γε χρή.

13.9.5 | But if you go away to Thessaly, they will be taken care of; but if you go away to Hades, they will not be taken care of, if those who say they will help you are of any use to them. You should know this well.

13.9.6 | ἄλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, πειθόμενος ἡμῖν τοῖς σοῖς τροφεῦσι μήτε παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ μήτε τὸ ζῆν μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου, ἵνα εἰς Ἀΐδου ἐλθῶν ἔχης ταῦτα πάντα ἀπολογήσασθαι τοῖς ἑκεῖ ἄρχουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνθάδε σοι φαινεται ταῦτα πράττοντι ἄμεινον εἶναι ούδε δικαιότερον ούδε ὀσιώτερον ούδε ἄλλω τῶν σῶν ούδενι, οὔτε ἑκεῖσε ἀφικομένω ἄμεινον ἔσται.

13.9.6 | But, oh Socrates, if you listen to us, your caretakers, do not value children more, nor life, nor anything else before justice, so that when you go to Hades, you can defend all this to the rulers there. For it does not seem better or more just or more holy for you to do these things here than for anyone else, nor will it be better for you when you arrive there.

13.9.7 | ἄλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἡδικημένος ἄπει, ἔὰν ἀπίης, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων, ἄλλ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων· ἔὰν δὲ ἔξέλθης οὗτως αἰσχρῶς, ἀνταδικήσας τε καὶ ἀντικακουργήσας, τὰς σαυτοῦ ὁμολογίας τε καὶ συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραβὰς· κακὰ ἐργασάμενος τούτους οὓς ἥκιστα c ἔδει, σαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς τέ σοι χαλεπανοῦμεν ζῶντι καὶ ἑκεῖ οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοί, οἱ ἐν Ἀΐδου νόμοι, ούκ εὐμενῶς σε ὑποδέξονται, είδότες ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησας ἀπολέσαι τὸ σὸν μέρος."

13.9.7 | But now, if you go away wronged, you will not be wronged by our laws, but by people. But if you leave in such a shameful way, having done wrong and harmed others, breaking your own promises and agreements with us; having done bad things to those whom you should have harmed the least, to yourself, your friends, your homeland, and us, we will be angry with you while you are alive, and there the laws of our brothers in Hades will not welcome you kindly, knowing that you also

tried to destroy our part.

## Section 10

13.10.1 | “Ισως δ’ ἀν οὗν εἴποι τις, εῖτ’ οὐκ αίσχύνῃ, ώ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύσας, ἐξ οὗ κινδυνεύεις νυνὶ ἀποθανεῖν; ἔγὼ δὲ τούτῳ δίκαιον ἀν λόγον ἀντείποιμι, ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ώ ἀνθρωπε, εἰ οἵει δεῖν κίνδυνον ὑπολογίζεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι ἀνδρα ὅτου τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελός ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον σκοπεῖν, ὅταν πράττῃ, πότερον δίκαια ἢ ἀδίκα πράττει, καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔργα ἢ κακοῦ.

13.10.1 | Perhaps someone might say, 'Then, Socrates, will you not be ashamed to practice such a thing, from which you are now in danger of dying?' But I would answer this fairly, saying that you do not speak well, oh man, if you think one should consider the danger of living or dying based on some small benefit. Instead, one should only look at whether, when acting, he is doing just or unjust things, and whether he is performing the works of a good man or a bad one.

13.10.2 | φαῦλοι γὰρ ἀν τῷ γε σῷ λόγῳ εἴεν τῶν ἡμιθέων ὅσοι ἐν Τροίᾳ τετελευτήκασιν, οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος υἱὸς, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοῦ κινδύνου κατεφρόνησε παρὰ τὸ αἰσχρόν τι ὑπομεῖναι ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ εἴπεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ προθυμουμένῳ Ἔκτορα ἀποκτεῖναι, θεὸς οὖσα, οὐτωσί πως, ώς ἐγῷμαι, ώ παῖ, εἰ τιμωρήσεις Πατρόκλῳ τῷ ἐταίρῳ τὸν φόνον καὶ Ἔκτορα ἀποκτενεῖς, αὐτὸς ἀποθανῇ. αὐτίκα γάρ τοι φησί) μεθ' Ἔκτορα πότμος ἐτοῦμος. δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ὀλιγώρησεν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον δείσας τὸ ζῆν κακὸς ὧν καὶ τοῖς φύλοις μὴ τιμωρεῖν, αὐτίκα, φησί, τεθνάίην δίκην ἐπιθείς τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνθάδε μένω καταγέλαστος παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἄχθος ἀρούρης.

13.10.2 | For, according to your words, those who died in Troy would be worthless, including all the others and the son of Thetis, who thought so little of danger that he was willing to endure something shameful. When his mother, being a goddess, said to him, as he was eager to kill Hector, 'My child, if you take revenge on your companion Patroclus for his death and kill Hector, you yourself will die.' Immediately, he heard this and disregarded both death and danger, but he was much more afraid of living badly and not avenging his friends. He said that he would die, bringing justice upon the wrongdoer, so that he would not remain here, a laughingstock by the ships, a burden on the land.

13.10.3 | μὴ αὐτὸν οἵει φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ώ ἄνδρες

13.10.3 | Do you not think he cares about death and danger? For this is the truth, oh

Ἄθηναῖοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὗ ἂν τις αὐτὸν τάξῃ,  
ἡγησάμενος βέλτιστον εἶναι, ἢ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
ἄρχοντος ταχθῆ, ἐνταῦθα δεῖ, ὡς ἔμοι  
δοκεῖ, μένοντα κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲν  
ὑπολογιζόμενον μήτε θάνατον μήτε ἄλλο  
μηδὲν πρὸ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ.

Athenian men: wherever someone places himself, believing it to be the best, or is placed there by a ruler, there he must, as it seems to me, remain in danger, not considering either death or anything else before what is shameful.

13.10.4 | ἐγὼ οὖν δεινὰ ἂν εἴην  
είργασμένος, ω̄ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ὅτε μέν  
με οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔταττον, οὓς ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε  
ἄρχειν μου, καὶ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ καὶ ἐν  
Ἀμφιπόλει καὶ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, καὶ ἄλλοθι που,  
οὗ ἐκεῖνοι ἔταττον ἔμενον ὕσπερ καὶ ἄλλος  
τις καὶ ἐκινδύνευον ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ  
τάττοντος, ω̄ς ἐγὼ φήμην τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον,  
φιλοσοφοῦντά με δεῖν ζῆν καὶ ἔξετάζοντα  
ἔμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
φοβηθεὶς θάνατον ἢ ἄλλο ὄτιον πρᾶγμα  
λίποιμι τὴν τάξιν.

13.10.4 | Therefore, I would be in a terrible situation, oh Athenian men, if when the rulers placed me, whom you chose to lead me, in Potidaea and in Amphipolis and at Delos, and somewhere else where they placed me, I remained like anyone else and was in danger of dying. But, as I thought and believed, since the god was placing me, I must live as a philosopher, examining myself and others. If I were to fear death or anything else, I would abandon my position.

13.10.5 | δεινὸν μένταν εἴη, καὶ ω̄ς ἀληθῶς  
τότ’ ἂν με δικαίως εἰσάγοι τις εἰς  
δικαστήριον, ὅτι οὐ νομίζω θεοὺς εἶναι  
ἀπειθῶν τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ δεδιώς θάνατον  
κοὶ οἰόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι οὐκ ὥν. τὸ γάρ  
τοι θάνατον δεδιέναι, ω̄ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἄλλο  
ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν  
γάρ εἰδέναι ἐστὶν ἢ οὐκ οἴδεν. οἴδε μὲν γάρ  
οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐδέ εἴ τυγχάνει. τῷ  
ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὁν τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δὲ ω̄ς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι  
μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστί. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ  
ἀμαθία ἐστὶν αὕτη ἢ ἐπονείδιστος, ἢ τοῦ  
οἴεσθαι εἰδέναι ἢ οὐκ οἴδεν;

13.10.5 | It would indeed be terrible, and truly then someone could justly bring me to court, saying that I do not believe in the gods and that I disobey the oracle, being afraid of death and thinking I am wise when I am not. For to fear death, oh men, is nothing other than to think one is wise without being so; for to think one knows what one does not know. No one knows death, not even if it happens. To a person, it is the greatest of all goods, yet they fear it as if they know it is the greatest of all evils. And yet, how is this not the shameful ignorance, the belief that one knows what one does not know?

13.10.6 | ἐγὼ δ’, ω̄ ἄνδρες, τούτῳ καὶ  
ἐνταῦθα διαφέρω τῶν πολλῶν ἵσως  
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ εἰ δή τῷ σοφώτερός του

13.10.6 | But, oh men, I differ from most people in this way: and even if I seem to be wiser than someone, it is because I do not

φαίην εῖναι, τούτῳ ἀν, ὅτι οὐκ είδως  
ἰκανῶς περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀιδου, οὕτω καὶ οἴομαι  
οὐκ εἰδέναι· τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν τῷ  
βελτίονι, καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅτι κακὸν  
καὶ αἰσχρόν ἔστιν οἶδα. πρὸ οὖν τῶν κακῶν  
ῶν οἶδα ὅτι κακά ἔστιν, ἢ μὴ οἶδα εἰ καὶ  
ἀγαθὰ ὄντα τυγχάνει, οὐδέποτε  
φοβηθήσομαι, οὐδὲ φεύξομαι.

know enough about what is in Hades, and I think I do not know. But I know that doing wrong and disobeying what is better, both to the god and to man, is bad and shameful. Therefore, before the evils that I know are bad, I will never fear or run away from what I do not know, even if it happens to be good.

13.10.7 | ὥστε ούδ' εἴ̄ με νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀφίετε,  
Ἄνύτῳ ἀπιστήσαντες, δος ἔφη ἡ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
οὐ δεῖν ἐμὲ δεῦρο εἰσελθεῖν ἢ ἐπειδὴ  
εἰσῆλθον οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι τὸ μὴ οὐκ]  
ἀποκτεῖναι με, λέγων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς εἰ  
διαφευξοίμην,, ἥδη ἀν ὑμῶν οἱ νιεῖς  
ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἢ Σωκράτης κράτης  
διδάσκει πάντες παντάπασι  
διαφθαρήσονται,) εἴ̄ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα  
εἴποιτε, ὡ Σώκρατες, νῦν μὲν Ἄνύτῳ οὐ  
πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
μέντοι ἐφ' ὃ τε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ζητήσει  
διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἔὰν δὲ ἀλῶς  
ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανῇ

13.10.7 | So, even if you now let me go, not believing Anytus, who said that I should not come here or that since I have come, it is not possible to not kill me, saying to you that if I were to escape, your sons, practicing what Socrates teaches, would all be completely ruined. If you say to me, 'Oh Socrates, we will not listen to Anytus now, but we will let you go, on the condition that you no longer spend time in this inquiry or philosophizing; but if you are caught doing this again, you will die.'

13.10.8 | εί οὖν με, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τούτοις  
ἀφίοιτε, εἴποιμι ἀν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔγὼ ὑμᾶς, ὡ  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀσπάζομαι μὲν καὶ φιλῶ,  
πείσομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἵως  
περ ἀν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἶσις ὡ τε ὡ, οὐ μὴ  
παύσομαι φιλοσοφῶν καὶ ὑμῖν  
παρακελευόμενός τε καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος,  
ὅτῳ ἀεὶ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, λέγων οἴαπερ  
εἴωθα." Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει

13.10.8 | "If, then, you let me go on these terms, I would say to you, oh Athenian men, that I embrace and love you, but I will obey the god more than you. As long as I breathe and am able, I will not stop philosophizing and encouraging you, showing you, whenever I meet you, what I have always done." And after a short pause, he continues.

13.10.9 | ""Ἐννοήσωμεν δὴ καὶ τῇδε, ὡς  
πολλὴ ἐλπίς ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸς εἶναι. δυοῖν  
γὰρ θάτερόν ἔστι τὸ τεθνάναι· ἥ γὰρ οἷον  
μηδέν τι εἶναι μηδὲ αἴσθησιν μηδεμίαν  
μηδενὸς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἥ κατὰ τὰ

13.10.9 | Let us think about this, that there is much hope that death is a good thing. For there are two possibilities for dying: either it is like being nothing at all, having no sense or feeling of anything, or, as it is said,

λεγόμενα μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. καὶ εἴτε δὴ μηδεμίᾳ αἴσθησίς ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ οἶον ὑπνος, ἐπειδάν τις καθεύδων μηδὲ ὅναρ μηδὲν ὄρᾶ,  
θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἀν εἴη [ὸ] θάνατος.

there is some change and movement of the soul from this place to another place. And if there is indeed no sense at all, but it is like sleep, when someone sleeps and sees no dreams, then death would be a wonderful gain.

13.10.10 | ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀν οἴμαι, εἴ τινα  
ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα ἐν ᾧ  
οὔτω κατέδαρθεν ὥστε μηδὲν ὅναρ ἰδεῖν,  
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ  
βίου τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτη τῇ  
νυκτὶ, εἴ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἴπειν πόσας  
ἄμεινον καὶ ἡδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας  
ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ  
βίῳ, οἴμαι ἀν οὐχὶ ἴδιωτην τινὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸν  
μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἀν εὐρεῖν  
αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας τε  
καὶ νύκτας, εἴ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἔστι,  
κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλεῖον ὁ  
πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται οὔτως εἶναι ἢ μία νύξ.

13.10.10 | For I think, if someone were to choose a night like this one, in which they slept so deeply that they saw no dreams, and then compare all the other nights and days of their life to this night, if they were to consider how many better and more pleasant days and nights they have lived than this night, I believe they would find not just an ordinary person, but even a great king would count these nights as fewer than the others. So if death is like this, I say it is a gain; for all time seems to be no more than one night.

13.10.11 | εἰ δ' αὖ οἶον ἀποδημῆσαι ἔστιν ὁ  
θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ  
ἀληθῆ ἔστι τὰ λεγόμενα, ως ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσὶν  
ἄπαντες οἱ τεθνεῶτες, τί μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν  
τούτου εἴη ἀν, ως ἄνδρες δικασταί; εἰ γάρ  
τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀΐδου, ἀπαλλαγεὶς  
τούτων τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι,  
εὐρήσει τοὺς ως ἀληθῶς δικαστὰς, οἵπερ  
καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, Μίνως τε καὶ  
Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Αἴακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος,  
καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι  
ἔγενοντο ἐν τῷ ἐαυτῶν βίῳ, ἄρα φαύλη ἀν  
εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία;

13.10.11 | But if death is like going on a journey from here to another place, and if what is said is true, that all the dead are there, what greater good could there be than this, oh men of the jury? For if someone arrives in Hades, free from these so-called judges, they will find the true judges, who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Aeacus and Triptolemus, and others who were just demigods in their own lives, then the journey would not be a small thing.

13.10.12 | ἢ αὖ Ὁρφεῖ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ  
Μουσαίω καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὄμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ  
ἀν τις δέξαιτ' ἀν ὑμῶν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ

13.10.12 | Or would one want to meet Orpheus and the Muses and Hesiod and Homer? For I often wish to die, if these

πολλάκις ἔθέλω τεθνάναι, εἴπερ ταῦτά  
ἔστιν ἀληθῆ, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ  
θαυμαστὴ ἀν εἴη ἡ διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅπότε  
ἐντύχοιμι Παλαμήδει καὶ Αἴαντι τῷ  
Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν  
διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν  
ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ πάθη πρὸς  
τὰ ἔκείνων, ὡς ἐγὼ μα, οὐκ ἀν ἀηδὲς εἴη.  
καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἔκει  
ἔξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς  
ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφός ἔστι καὶ  
τίς οἰεται μὲν, ἔστι δ' οὕ.

things are true, since it would be wonderful for me to spend time there, whenever I might meet Palamedes and Ajax, son of Telamon, and anyone else from the past who died unjustly. Comparing my own sufferings to theirs, as I think, it would not be unpleasant. And indeed, the greatest thing would be to examine and investigate those there, just like those here, to see who is wise and who thinks they are, but is not.

13.10.13 | Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν "πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ  
θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις" εἴρηται. καὶ "μὴ  
φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ  
σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν οὐ δυναμένων  
ἀποκτεῖναι. εἰδέναι τε, ὅτι ἔὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος  
ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ,  
οίκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ ἔχομεν, οἰκίαν  
ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·  
ὅτι τε ἐκδημοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος  
ἐνδημοῦμεν τῷ κυρίῳ" ὅς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς  
αὐτὸν ἡλπικόσιν ἐπήγγελται εἰς κόλπους  
Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ  
ἀναπαύσεσθαι, μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων παρ'  
Ἐβραίοις θεοφιλῶν προφητῶν τε καὶ  
δικαίων ἐν μακαρίᾳ ζωῆ τὸν μακρὸν αἰῶνα  
διάξειν.

13.10.13 | And among us it has been said, 'It is necessary to obey God more than men.' And 'Do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul.' Know that if our earthly house, this tent, is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made by hands, eternal in the heavens. For when we leave the body, we will be at home with the Lord, who has promised all who hope in him to rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, along with the other beloved prophets and righteous ones among the Hebrews, to live a blessed life for all eternity.

## Section 11

13.11.1 | "Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
στρατείας ὃς ἀν εύδοκιμήσας τελευτήσῃ,  
ἄρ' οὐ πρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τοῦ χρυσοῦ  
γένους εἶναι; Πᾶν' γε μάλιστα. Ἄλλ' οὐ  
πεισόμεθα Ἡσιόδῳ, ἐπειδάν τινες τοῦ  
τοιούτου γένους τελευτήσωσιν, ὡς ἄρα οἱ  
μὲν δαίμονες ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι  
τελέθουσιν, ἐσθλοὶ, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες  
μερόπων ἀνθρώπων; Πεισόμεθα μὲν οὖν.

13.11.1 | And of those who die in battle, whoever dies having done well, shall we not first say that they are of the golden race? Indeed, we will say so. But we will not be convinced by Hesiod, when some of this race die, that the pure and good demons are the guardians of mortal men. So we will be convinced. We will inquire of God how we should place the demonic and divine,

Διαπυθόμενοι ἄρα τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶς χρὴ τοὺς δαιμονίους τε καὶ θείους τιθέναι καὶ τίνι διαφόρῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταύτη θήσομεν ἢ ἀνέξηγῆται; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; Καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν δὴ χρόνον ὡς δαίμονας γεγονότας οὕτω θεραπεύσομέν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας; τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα νομιοῦμεν, ὅταν τις γήρας ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ τελευτήσῃ τῶν ὅσοι ἀνδιαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κριθῶσι.”

13.11.2 | Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἀμάρτοις εἰπὼν παραλαμβάνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παριέναι, καὶ τὰς εύχας παρὰ ταύταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς εὐλόγως καὶ τούτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένων.

13.11.3 | ἀλλὰ γάρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἀνελεξάμεθα· φιλόκαλος δέ τις ἄλλος καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείω ἀν εὔροι παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ σύμφωνα τοῖς ἡμετέροις δόγμασι, τάχα δὲ καὶ παρ' ἔτεροις, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεως προλαβόντες ἐφήψαντο καὶ ἄλλοι, εῦ μοι δοκεῖ ἐπισκέψασθαι δεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις πεπονημένα. παραθήσω δὲ πρώτου Ἀριστοβούλου, τοῦ ἐξ Ἐβραίων φιλοσόφου, τὰς οὕτως ἔχούσας φωνάς

and in what way we should explain this. Why should we not? And from now on, how will we honor and worship the demons as they have become? We will consider the same things when someone dies in old age or in some other way, as long as they are judged to be good in life.

13.11.2 | And these things are fitting for the end of the beloved ones, whom we would not err in saying should be received as soldiers of true piety. Therefore, it is our custom to approach their graves and to make prayers there, honoring their blessed souls, as it is right for us to do so for them.

13.11.3 | But we have gathered these things from Plato; yet some other lover of beauty might find even more agreements with our teachings from the same source, perhaps even from others. Since others have also taken up the same ideas before us, I think it is good to examine what they have prepared. I will first present the words of Aristobulus, the philosopher from the Hebrews, which are in this manner.

## Section 12

13.12.1 | “Φανερὸν ὅτι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πλάτων’ τῇ καθ’ ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ, καὶ φανερός ἐστι περιειργασμένος ἔκαστα τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. διηρμήνευται γάρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι’ ἔτερων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά

13.12.1 | It is clear that Plato followed our laws, and it is evident that he has carefully worked through each part of them. For he is explained by Demetrius of Phalerum through others, before the rule of Alexander and the Persians, both regarding

τε κατὰ τὴν ἔξαγωγὴν τὴν ἔξ Αἴγυπτου τῶν Ἐβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια, καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις, ὡς εὔδηλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον εἰληφέναι πολλά: γέγονε γάρ πολυμαθής, καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν κατεχώρισεν.

13.12.2 | ἡ δ' ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσενεγκαμένου μείζονα φιλοτιμίαν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων."

13.12.3 | Εἴτα μεταξύ τινα εἰπών ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Δεῖ γάρ λαμβάνειν τὴν θείαν φωνὴν οὐ ḥητὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔργων κατασκευὰς, καθὼς καὶ διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῖν ὅλην τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου θεοῦ λόγους εἴρηκεν ὁ Μώσης. συνεχῶς γάρ φησιν ἐφ' ἐκάστου "καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἐγένετο."

13.12.4 | δο κοῦσι δέ μοι περιειργασμένοι πάντα κατηκολουθηκέναι τούτω Πυθαγόρας τε καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων', λέγοντες ἀκούειν φωνῆς θεοῦ, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅλων συνθεωροῦντες ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν καὶ συνεχομένην ἀδιαλείπτως. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὁρφεὺς ἐν ποιήμασι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν λόγον αὐτῷ λεγομένων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θείᾳ δυνάμει τὰ πάντα καὶ γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἐπὶ

the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, our own citizens, and the appearance of all the events to them, and the control of the land, and the explanation of the whole legislation, as it is clear that the aforementioned philosopher has taken much. For he became very learned, just as Pythagoras took many things from us and incorporated them into his own teachings.

13.12.2 | But the whole explanation of all these things through the law was presented during the reign of King Philadelphus, your ancestor, who brought greater honor, while Demetrius of Phalerum was discussing these matters.

13.12.3 | Then, after saying something in between, he adds, 'For it is necessary to receive the divine voice not as a spoken word, but as a creation of works, just as Moses has told us the whole origin of the world through the law with the words of God. For he continually says about each thing, 'And God said, and it came to be.'

13.12.4 | Therefore, it seems to me that everything has been carefully followed by Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, saying that they hear the voice of God, observing closely the creation of all things as having been made by God and continuously existing without interruption. Moreover, Orpheus also expresses in his poems, according to the sacred teachings given to him, that everything is held together by divine power and that all things exist, and

πάντων εῖναι τὸν θεόν. λέγει δ' οὕτως

13.12.5 | φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἔστι, θύρας δ'  
ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, φεύγοντες δικαίων  
θεσμοὺς, θείοι τεθέντος πᾶσι νόμου· σὺ δ'  
ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης Μουσαῖ·  
ἔξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν  
στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος  
ἀμέρσῃ, εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ  
προσέδρευε, ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος·  
εὐ δ' ἐπίβαινε ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα  
κόσμοι τυπωτὴν ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ  
λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει, εῖς ἔστ'  
αὐτοτελῆς, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται, ἐν  
δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις  
αὐτὸνείσορά α ψυχῶν θνητῶν. νῷ δ'  
είσορά αται. αὐτὸς δ' ἔξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς  
κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ  
χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὁ πηδεῖ, καὶ πόλεμος καὶ  
λοιμὸς ἵδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα, οὐδέ τις ἔσθ'  
ἔτερος· σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορήσαις, αἴ  
κεν ἴδης αὐτόν· πρὶν δὴ ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ  
γαῖαν, τέκνον ἐμὸν, δεῖξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα  
δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ ἔχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν  
κρατεροῦ θεοῦ. αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὄροω· περὶ  
γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ· στᾶσιν  
δὲ δέκα πτυχαὶ ἀνθρώποισιν· οὐ γάρ κέν τις  
ἔδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα, εἰ μὴ  
μουνογενῆς τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου  
ἀνωθεν Χαλδαίων· ἵδρις γὰρ ἵην ἄστροι  
πορείης, καὶ σφαιρῆς κίνημ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα ως  
περιτέλλει, κυκλοτερές δ' ἐν ἶσῳ, κατὰ δὲ  
σφέτερον κνώδακα· πνεύματα δ' ἡνιοχεῖ  
περὶ τ' ἡέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμανάματος·  
ἔκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἴφιγενήτου. αὐτὸς  
δὴ μέγαν αὐθῖς ἐπ' οὐρανὸν  
ἐστήρικται χρυσέως εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
ποσσὶ βέβηκε χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τέρμασιν ὀκεανοῦ ὕεκτέτακεν· ὄρέων δὲ  
τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ, οὐδὲ φέρειν  
δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ  
πάντως αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ

that God is over all. He says this:

13.12.5 | I will speak of what is just. You,  
impious ones, shut the doors, fleeing from  
the laws of the righteous, set by the divine  
for all of the law. But you, child of shining  
Moon, listen to the Muses; for I will speak  
the truth, and do not let what was  
previously revealed in the heart of a  
beloved age escape you. Look to this divine  
word and pay attention, directing the  
understanding of your heart. If you ascend  
the path, you will find the immortal creator  
of the world. An ancient saying reveals this:  
there is one who is complete in himself, and  
by him all things are fulfilled, and in him all  
things exist, and no one can see him, except  
with the mind. He himself does not bring  
evil to mortals from good things. To him,  
grace and hatred follow, and war and  
plague bring painful tears, and there is no  
other. But you may see everything flow, if  
you should see him. Before you come down  
to earth, my child, I will show you,  
whenever I look upon his tracks and the  
strong hand of the mighty god. But I do not  
see him; for he is surrounded by a cloud. To  
me, there are ten folds among men; for no  
one of mortals can see him reigning, unless  
some unique descendant from above the  
Chaldeans, for he knows the way of the  
stars, and the movement of the sphere  
around the earth as it revolves, and he is  
circular and equal, and he drives the breath  
around the air and the flow of water. And  
he reveals the brightness of fire, the strong  
one. He himself is again set high in the sky  
on a golden throne; the earth has fallen  
beneath his feet; and he has stretched out  
his right hand over the ends of the ocean.  
The base of the mountains trembles within  
the heart, and it cannot bear the strong

πάντα τελευτᾶ, ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσην ἡδὲ τελευτὴν, ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενῆς διέταξεν, ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμαισι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν. ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα, ἐν νόῳ. ἔξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐν τάξει. ὡς τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζεο, γλώσσησεῦ μάλ' ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἐνθεο φήμην."

force. He is altogether heavenly, and over the earth, he brings all things to an end, having the beginning, the middle, and the end, as the ancient word says, as the wise one has ordered, having received from the divine thoughts according to the double law. Otherwise, it is not lawful to speak; but I tremble, indeed, at the thought. He rules over all things in order. O child, you should approach these thoughts, mastering the tongue well, and within your heart, have divine speech.

13.12.6 | καὶ Ἀρατος δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φησιν οὕτως Ἐκ Δῖος ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν ούδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῶσιν ἀρρητὸν· μεσταὶ δὲ θεοῦ πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαὶ, πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα, καὶ λιμένες. πάντη δὲ θεοῦ κεχρήμεθα πάντες. τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν· ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι δεξιαὶ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει, μιμήσκων βιότοιο· λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη βουσί τε καὶ μακέλησι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιαὶ ὕραικαὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι, καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.

13.12.6 | And Aratus also says the same things like this: 'Let us begin from Zeus, whom no man ever allows to be unspoken. All streets are full of God, all the marketplaces of men are full, and the sea is full, and the harbors. In every way, we are all filled with God. For we are of his lineage; he, the gentle one, signals to men and stirs the people to action, reminding them of life. He speaks when the best soil is ready for cattle and crops, and he speaks when the right seasons come and all seeds are to be sown.'

13.12.7 | σαφῶς οἶμαι δεδεῖχθαι ὅτι διὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ. καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα· τὸ γὰρ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θεὸν ἀναπέμπεται· διόπερ οὕτως ἡμῖν εἴρηται. οὐκ ἀπεοικότως οὖν τοῖς ἐπιζητουμένοις προενηγμεθα ταῦτα.

13.12.7 | I clearly think it has been shown that the power of God is through all things. As we have been taught to remove the Zeus and the Zeus through the poems; for their thoughts are directed toward God. Therefore, it has been said to us in this way. Thus, we are not wrongly presenting these things to those who seek them.

13.12.8 | πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δημολογεῖται ὅτι δεῖ περὶ θεοῦ διαλήψεις ὀσίας ἔχειν, δὲ μάλιστα παρακελεύεται

13.12.8 | For all philosophers agree that there should be holy discussions about God, which our school especially encourages.

καλῶς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἴρεσις. ἡ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κατασκευὴ πᾶσα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς περὶ εύσεβείας τέτακται καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν.”

The whole structure of the law is set up for us regarding piety, justice, self-control, and the other good things that are based on truth.

13.12.9 | Τούτοις ἔξῆς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Ἐχομένως δ' ἔστιν ὡς ὁ θώς τὸν ὅλον κόσμον κατεσκεύακε, καὶ δέδωκεν ἀνάπτασιν ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ κακόπαθον εἶναι πᾶσι τὴν βιοτὴν τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἥ δὴ καὶ πρώτη φυσικῶς ἀν λέγοιτο φωτὸς γένεσις, ἐν ὧ τὰ πάντα συνθεωρεῖται.

13.12.9 | Next, he adds, 'It is possible that the one who created the whole world has given us rest because all suffer from the troubles of life on the seventh day, or perhaps the first could be called the natural birth of light, in which everything is seen together.'

13.12.10 | μεταφέροιτο δ' ἀν τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας· τὸ γὰρ πᾶν φῶς ἔστιν ἔξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τινες εἰρήκασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέ σεως ὄντες τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου λαμπτῆρος αὐτὴν ἔχειν τάξιν· ἀκολουθοῦντες γὰρ αὐτῇ συνεχῶς ἀτάραχοι καταστήσονται δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου.

13.12.10 | It could also be said the same about wisdom; for all light comes from it. And some of those from the school of the Porch have said that it has a bright order; for those who follow it will remain calm throughout their whole life.

13.12.11 | σαφέστερον δὲ καὶ κάλλιον τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τις εἶκε Σολομῶν αὐτὴν πρὸ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ γῆς ὑπάρχειν. τὸ δὲ σύμφωνόν ἔστι τῷ προειρημένῳ. τὸ δὲ διασαφουμενὸν διὰ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποπεπαυκέναι τὸν τὸν θεὸν ἐν αὐτῇ, τοῦτο οὐχ, ὡς τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μηκέτι ποιεῖν τι τὸν θεὸν καθέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταπεπαυκέναι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν οὕτως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον τεταχέναι.

13.12.11 | One of our ancestors, Solomon, said more clearly and beautifully that it is above the heavens and exists on earth. And this agrees with what has been said before. What is explained through the law has put an end to the god being in it; this does not mean, as some suppose, that the god no longer does anything, but rather that, having established their order, they are arranged in this way for all time.

13.12.12 | σημαίνει γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἔξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησε τόν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα τοὺς χρόνους δηλώσῃ καὶ τὴν τάξιν προείπῃ τί τίνος προτερεῖ. τάξας γάρ, οὕτως αὐτὰ συνέχει

13.12.12 | For it means that in six days he made the heaven and the earth and everything in them, to show the times and to declare the order of what comes first. For having arranged them, he holds them

καὶ [ού] μεταποιεῖ. διασεσάφηκε δ' ἡμῖν αὐτὴν ἔννομον ἔνεκεν σημείου τοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐβδόμου λόγου καθεστῶτος, ἐνῷ γνῶσιν ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων πραγμάτων.

together and does not change them. It has been explained to us as lawful because of the sign of the seventh day that has been established, in which we have knowledge of human and divine matters.

13.12.13 | δι' ἐβδομάδων δὲ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀπάντων· τῷ δὲ σάββατον αὐτὴν προσαγορεύεσθαι διερμηνεύεται ἀνάπτασις οὕσα. διασαφεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος, μετειληφότες ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων βιβλίων ἑράν εἶναι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὕτως· πρῶτον ἔνη τετράς τε καὶ ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἥμαρ· καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἐβδομάτῃ δ' αὗτις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοι.

13.12.13 | The whole world is organized in weeks, with all living things and plants. The Sabbath is called a rest. Both Homer and Hesiod explain this, having taken from our sacred books that it is holy. Hesiod says this: 'First is the sacred day of the fourth and the seventh.' And again he says: 'The seventh is a bright light of the sun.'

13.12.14 | Ὅμηρος δὲ οὕτω λέγει· ἐβδομάτῃ δῆπειτα κατήλυθεν, ἱερὸν ἥμαρ· καὶ πάλιν· ἐβδομον ἥμαρ ἔην καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἄπαντακαί· ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἥοι λίπομεν ρόον ἐξ Ἀχέροντος.

13.12.14 | Homer says this: 'Then the seventh day has come, a holy day.' And again: 'It was the seventh day, and everything was completed.' On the seventh day, we leave the flow from Acheron.

13.12.15 | τοῦτο δὴ σημαίνων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν λήθης καὶ κακίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐβδόμῳ λόγῳ καταλιμπάνεται τὰ προειρημένα καὶ γνῶσιν ἀληθείας λαμβάνομεν, καθὼς προείρηται.

13.12.15 | This means that from forgetfulness and evil in the true seventh word, what has been said before is left behind, and we gain knowledge of the truth, as has been stated.

13.12.16 | Λίνος δέ φησιν οὕτως· ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἥοι τετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται· καὶ πάλιν· ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη καί· ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ τελείη. καί· ἐπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι, ἐν κύκλοισι φανέντ' ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς." Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστοβούλου τοιαῦτα. ὅποια δὲ καὶ Κλήμεντι περὶ

13.12.16 | Linus says this: 'On the seventh day, everything is completed.' And again: 'The seventh is in good things, and the seventh is a birth.' And: 'The seventh is among the first, and the seventh is complete.' And: 'All seven are made in the starry heaven, appearing in circles that complete the years.' So these are the things of Aristobulus. If you understand what

τῆςαύτῆς εἴρηται ὑποθέσεως, γνοίης ἀν διὰ τούτων

Clement has said about the same topic, you would know through these.

## Section 13

13.13.1 | "Τὰ δ' ἔξῆς προσαποδοτέον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας Ἑλληνικὴν κλοπὴν σαφέστερον ἥδη παραστατέον. φασὶ γὰρ σῶμα εἶναι τὸν θεὸν οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ πνεῦμα κατ' οὐσίαν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. πάντα ταῦτα ἄντικρυς εὐρήσεις ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς. μὴ γάρ μοι τὰς ἀλληγορίας αὐτῶν ἐννοήσῃς τανῦν ὡς ἡ γνωστικὴ παραδίδωσιν ἀλήθεια, εἰς ἄλλο τι δεικνύουσαι, καθάπερ οἱ σοφοὶ παλαισταί, ἄλλο μηνύουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διήκειν διὰ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας τὸν θεόν φασιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ποιητὴν μόνον αὐτὸν καλοῦμεν καὶ λόγωποιητήν.

13.13.2 | παρήγαγε δ' αύτοὺς τὸ ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ είρημένον "διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα", ἐπεὶ μὴ συνῆκαν λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ἐπὶτῆς σοφίας τῆς πρωτοκτίστου τῷ θεῷ. ναί, φασίν· ἀλλὰ ὅλην ὑποτίθενται φιλόσοφοι ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, οἵ τε Στωϊκοὶ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Περιπατητικός, οὐχὶ δὲ μίαν ἀρχήν. ἵστωσαν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην ὅλην ἀποιον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον λεγομένην πρὸς αὐτῶν, τολμηρὸν δὲ εἴ μὴ ὅν πρὸς τοῦ Πλάτωνος είρησθαι, καὶ μή τι μυστικώτατα μίαν τὴν ὅντως οὖσαν ἀρχὴν είδως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ αὐταῖς φησι ταῖς λέξεσι

13.13.1 | Next, we must also clearly explain the Greek theft from the philosophy of the barbarian. For the Stoics say that god is a body and spirit by essence, just like the soul. You will find all these things directly in the writings. Do not think of their allegories as if the gnostics are passing on the truth, showing something else, just as the ancient wise men hint at something different. But they say that god goes through all essence, while we call him only a creator and a maker by word.

13.13.2 | But they brought up the saying in Wisdom, 'It goes through and moves through all things because of purity,' since they did not understand that these things are said about the wisdom of the creator god. Yes, they say; but the philosophers, including the Stoics, Plato, Pythagoras, and also Aristotle the Peripatetic, do not propose one principle. Therefore, let them know that the so-called matter is said to be formless and shapeless in relation to them, and it is bold if it is not said to be in relation to Plato, and let it not be something most secretive, knowing one true principle as mentioned in the Timaeus with those words.

13.13.3 | "Νῦν δὴ οὖν τό γε παρ' ἡμῶν ὕδε ἔχετω· τὴν μὲν περὶ ἀπάντων, εἴτε ἀρχὴν

13.13.3 | Now, let it be this way from us: concerning all things, whether one

εἴτε ἀρχὰς, εἴτε ὅπη δοκεῖ τούτων πέρι, τὸ νῦν οὐ φητέον, δι’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, διὰ δὲ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τρόπον τῆς διεξόδου δηλῶσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα.”

principle or many principles, or wherever it seems to be about these, it should not be stated now, for no other reason, but because it is difficult to explain what seems to be the case in the current way of discussion.

13.13.4 | “Ἄλλως τε ἡ λέξις ἡ προφητικὴ ἐκείνη ‘ἢ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος’ ἀφορμᾶς αὐτοῖς ὑλικῆς ούσιας παρέσχηται. ναὶ μὴν Ἐπικούρῳ μὲν ἡ τοῦ αὐτομάτου παρείσδυσις οὐ παρακολουθήσαντι τῷ φητῷ γέγονεν ἔντεῦθεν ‘ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης. Ἀριστοτέλει δὲ μέχρι σελήνης ἐπῆλθε καταγαγεῖν τὴν πρόνοιαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ‘κύριε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸ ἔλεός σου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθειά σου ἔως τῶν νεφελῶν.’ οὐδέπω γάρ ἀπεκαλύπτετο ἡ τῶν προφητικῶν δίλωσις μυστηρίων πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας

13.13.4 | Moreover, that prophetic saying, 'And the earth was invisible and unformed,' provides them with a starting point for material substance. Yes, indeed, for Epicurus, the intrusion of the automatic was not following the stated idea, hence 'vanity of vanities, all is vanity.' But Aristotle went up to the moon to bring down the providence from this psalm, 'O Lord, your mercy is in the heavens, and your truth reaches to the clouds.' For the revelation of the prophetic mysteries had not yet been made known before the coming of the Lord.

13.13.5 | τάς τε αὖ μετὰ θάνατον κολάσεις καὶ τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τιμωρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας ἡ τε ποιητικὴ πᾶσα μοῦσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία ὑφείλετο. Πλάτων γοῦν ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῆς Πολιτείας αύταις φησι ταῖς λέξεσιν “Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄνδρες ἄγριοι διάπυροι ἰδεῖν παρεστῶτες καὶ καταμανθάνοντες τὸ φθέγμα τοὺς μὲν ἴδιᾳ παραλαβόντες ἥγον, τὸν δὲ Ἀριδαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμποδίσαντες χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας, καὶ κεφαλὴν καταβαλόντες, καὶ ἐκδείραντες, εἷλκον παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτὸς ἐπ’ ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες.” Οἵ μὲν γάρ ἄνδρες οἱ διάπυροι ἀγγέλους αὐτῷ βούλονται δηλοῦν, οἱ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἀδίκους κολάζουσιν. “Ο ποιῶν φησὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς

13.13.5 | Also, the punishments after death and the punishment by fire are taken from barbarian philosophy, as well as all poetic inspiration. But Greek philosophy has removed them. Plato, at least, in the last part of the Republic, says with these words, 'Here indeed, fierce men are present, watching and observing the destruction; some take the individuals away, while they bind Aridaeus and the others, hands and feet, and after beheading them, they drag them along the road over the ashes.' For indeed, these fierce men want to show angels, those who take the unjust are punishing them. 'He says that the angels are spirits and the ministers are burning fire.'

πῦρ φλέγον.'

13.13.6 | “Ἐπεταὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀθάνατον. τὸ γὰρ κολαζόμενον ἡ παιδευόμενον ἐν αἰσθήσει ὃν ζῆ, κἀν πάσχειν λέγηται. τί δέ; οὐχὶ οἴδεν ὁ Πλάτων' καὶ πυρὸς ποταμὸὺς καὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ βάθος, τὴν πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων γέενναν καλουμένην, Τάρταρον ποιητικῶς ὄνομάζων, Κωκυτόν τε καὶ Ἀχέροντα καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντα καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα εἰς τὴν παίδευσιν σωφρονίζοντα παρεισάγων κολαστήρια; τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν καὶ ἐλαχίστων τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς δρῶντας τὸν θεὸν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι’ ἀγγέλων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἥκουσαν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔμφαίνων νῶν οὐκ ὄκνεῖ γραφειν Ἐπειδὴ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς τούς βίους ἥρησθαι, ὥσπερ ἔλαχον, ἐν τάξει προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν, ἐκείνην δὲ ἐκάστῳ, ὅν εἴλετο δαίμονα, τοῦτον φύλακα τοῦ βίου συμπέμπειν, καὶ ἀποπληρωτήν τῶν αἰρεθέντων. “Τάχα δὲ καὶ τῷ Σωκράτει τὸ δαιμόνιον τοιοῦτόν τι ἤνισσετο.”

13.13.7 | “Ναὶ “Ναὶ μὴν γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν παραλαβόντες ἐδογμάτισαν οἱ φιλόσοφοι. καὶ ὅ γε Πλάτων' ἄντικρυς εἴρηκε Πότερον ἦν ἀρχὴν ἔχων γενέσεως οὐδεμίαν, ἡ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενος; δορατός τε γὰρ ἀπτός τε καὶ σῶμα ἔχει.” “Αὖθίς τε δόποταν εἴπῃ ‘τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον,’ οὐ μόνον γεννητὸν ἔδειξε τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι σημαίνει, ὡς ἀν ἐκ μόνου γενομένου καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ὑποστάντος.

13.13.6 | It follows that the soul is immortal. For what is punished or educated while being aware is alive, even if it is said to suffer. But what about this? Does not Plato know about the rivers of fire and the depths of the earth, which he poetically calls Tartarus, as well as Cocytus, Acheron, and Pyriphlegethon, bringing these things into education as punishments? And regarding the small ones, according to the writing, the least of the angels who see God, and also those who come to us through the angels who stand by, showing oversight, he does not hesitate to write. Since all souls are to be chosen for their lives, just as they were drawn, they come in order to Lachesis, and to each one, whoever chose a spirit, this one is sent as the guardian of life, and to fulfill the chosen ones. 'Perhaps Socrates hinted at something like this with his spirit.'

13.13.7 | Yes, indeed, the philosophers have argued that those who receive are generated. And Plato directly asked whether there was no beginning of generation, starting from some origin, or if it came into being from nothing. For it is visible and tangible and has a body.” “Again, whenever he says that the creator and father of this whole thing is found, he not only shows that the world is generated, but also means that it came from itself, as if it came from something that existed alone and from nothing that was present.

13.13.8 | γενητὸν δὲ καὶ οὗ Στωϊκοὶ τίθενται τὸν κόσμον. τόν τε ὑπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας θρυλούμενον διάβολον, τὸν τῶν δαιμόνων ἄρχοντα, κακοεργὸν εἶναι ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων ὁ Πλάτων' λέγει ταῖςδε ταῖς λέξεσι "Ψυχὴν διοικοῦσαν καὶ ἐνοικοῦσαν τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη διοικεῖν φάναι; Τί μήν; Μίαν, ἡ πλείους; Πλείους, ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μὲν που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντία δυναμένης ἔξεργάξεσθαι."

13.13.9 | 'Ομοίως δὲ κάν τῷ Φαίδρῳ τάδε γράφει "Εστι μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα κακὰ, ἄλλα τις δαίμων ἔμιξε τοῖς πλείστοις ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἡδονήν. Ἄλλὰ κάν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων ἄντικρυς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν δείκνυσιν ἔκεινο 'ούκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἄλλὰ πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς' ὕδε πως γράφων

13.13.10 | "Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ συνεχωρήσαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν πολλῶν μεστὸν ἀγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων δὲ τῶν μῆτράς μάχη, φαμὲν, ἀθάνατός ἐσθ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη."

13.13.11 | Κόσμον τε αὕθις τὸν μὲν νοητὸν οἶδεν ἡ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον, τὸν δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ καλοῦ παραδείγματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνατίθησι μονάδι, ὡς ἀν νοητὸν, τὸν δὲ αἰσθητὸν ἔξαδι· γάμος γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς

13.13.8 | The Stoics also consider the world to be generated. And Plato speaks of the devil, which is talked about by barbarian philosophy, as the ruler of demons, saying that it is an evil spirit in the tenth of the Laws with these words: 'Is it not necessary for the soul that governs and resides in all things that are moved to also govern the heavens?' What about this? One or many? I will answer for many. Let us not consider anything less than two, both the benefactor and the one capable of doing the opposite.

13.13.9 | Similarly, in the Phaedrus, he writes this: 'There are indeed other evils, but a certain demon mixed in with most of the immediate pleasures.' But in the tenth of the Laws, he clearly shows that 'our struggle is not against blood and flesh, but against the spiritual things of those in the heavens,' writing in this way.

13.13.10 | For since we have agreed that the heavens are full of many good things, and also of opposites, we say that the struggle is indeed immortal and needs a wonderful guard.

13.13.11 | The barbarian philosophy knows both the intelligible world and the sensible one; the former is the original, and the latter is the image of the beautiful example. It presents the intelligible as one, while the sensible is shown as six; for among the

Πυθαγορείοις, ώς ἀν γόνιμος ἀριθμός, ἡ ἔξας καλεῖται. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ μονάδι συνίστησιν οὐρανὸν ἀόρατον καὶ γῆν ἀγίαν καὶ φῶς νοητόν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος.

Pythagoreans, the six is called a fruitful number. In the one, it establishes an unseen heaven and a holy earth and an intelligible light; for in the beginning, it says, god made the heaven and the earth; and the earth was unseen.

13.13.12 | εἴτ' ἐπιφέρει 'καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.' ἐν δὲ τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ τῇ αἰσθητῇ οὐρανὸν ἐδημιούργει· τὸ δὲ στερεὸν αἰσθητὸν, γῆν τε ὄρατὴν καὶ φῶς βλεπόμενον· ἅρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων' ζῷων ἴδεας ἐν τῷ νοητῷ ἀπολείπειν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰ εἴδη τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ τὰ γένη δημιουργεῖν τὰ νοητά;

13.13.12 | Then god said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light. In the sensible creation, he made the heaven; and the solid sensible things, both the visible earth and the visible light. Does it not seem to you that from this, Plato leaves the ideas of living things in the intelligible world and creates the sensible forms according to their kinds?

13.13.13 | είκότως ἄρα ἐκ γῆς μὲν τὸ σῶμα διαπλάττεσθαι λέγει Μώσης, δὲ γήινόν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων' σκῆνος, ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν λογικὴν ἄνωθεν ἐμπνευσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ιδρῦσθαι λέγουσι, τὴν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐπεισόδιον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου εἴσοδον ἐρμηνεύοντες, διὸ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὅμοιώσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι.

13.13.13 | Therefore, it is rightly said that Moses speaks of the body being shaped from the earth, which Plato calls a 'tent,' and that the rational soul is breathed into the face from above by god. Here, they say, the ruling part is established, interpreting the soul's entrance through the senses as the entrance of the first created being; for this reason, they say that man was made in the image and likeness.

13.13.14 | είκὼν μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος ὁ θεῖος καὶ βασιλικὸς, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθῆς, είκὼν δ' εἰκόνος ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς. ἐτέρῳ δ' εἰ βούλει παραλαβεῖν ὄνοματι τὴν ἔξομοιώσιν, εὔροις ἀν παρὰ τῷ Μωσεῖ ἀκολουθίαν ὄνομαζομένην θείαν. φησὶ γὰρ 'όπισω κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν πορεύεσθε, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ φυλάξατε.' ἀκόλουθοι δ' οἴμαι, οἴμαι, καὶ θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐνάρετοι.

13.13.14 | For the divine word is the image of god and royal, while man is without passion, and the human mind is an image of the image. If you want to take the name of the likeness, you would find a divine following named in Moses. For he says, 'You shall walk behind the lord your god, and keep his commandments.' I think all the virtuous are followers and servants of god.

13.13.15 | Έντεῦθεν δ' οἵ μὲν Στωϊκοὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν εἰρήκασιν, ὃ Πλάτων' δὲ ὅμοιώσιν θεῷ, ὡς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ παρεστήσαμεν Στρωματεῖ, Ζήνων τε ὁ Στωϊκὸς παρὰ Πλάτωνος λαβὼν, ὃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πάντας ἀλλήλων εἶναι φίλους λέγει. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Φαιδρῷ Σωκράτης ὡς οὐχ εἴμαρται κακὸν κακῷ φίλον εἶναι, οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῷ μὴ φίλον.

13.13.15 | From here, the Stoics say that the goal of philosophy is to live according to nature, while Plato speaks of becoming like god, as we presented in the second book of the 'Stromateis.' Zeno the Stoic took this from Plato, and he, from the foreign philosophy, says that all good people are friends with one another. For in the 'Phaedrus,' Socrates says that it is not destined for a bad person to be a friend to another bad person, nor for a good person not to be a friend to another good person.

13.13.16 | ὅπερ κάν τῷ Λύσιδι ἀπέδειξεν ἱκανῶς, ὡς ἐν ἀδικίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθείη φιλία. καὶ ὃ Αθηναῖος ξένος ὅμοιώς φησι "Πρᾶξιν Πρᾶξιν εἶναι φίλην καὶ ἀκόλουθον θεῷ καὶ λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀρχαῖον, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον τῷ ὅμοιῷ μετρίῳ ὅντι φίλον ἦ, τὰ δὲ ἄμετρα οὔτε τοῖς ἀμέτροις, οὔτε τοῖς ἔμμετροις; ὃ δὲ θεὸς ήμīν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἀν εἴη."

13.13.16 | This was also shown well in the 'Lysis,' that friendship cannot be saved in injustice and wickedness. And the Athenian stranger similarly says, 'Action is a friend and follower of god and has an ancient reason, when the similar is a friend to the similar in moderation, but the extremes are not friends to the extremes, nor to the moderate; and god would be the measure of all things for us.'

13.13.17 | Εἴτα ὑποβὰς ἐπάγει Πλάτων "Πᾶς γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθῷ ὅμοιος, κατὰ δὲ καὶ θεῷ ἐοικώς ἀγαθῷ τε παντὶ φίλος ὑπάρχει καὶ θεῷ." Ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κάκείνου ἀνεμνήσθην· ἐπὶ τέλει γὰρ τοῦ Τιμαίου λέγει Τῷ κατανοούμενῷ τὸ κατανοοῦν ἔξομιῶσαι δεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν, ὅμοιώσαντα δὲ τέλος ἔχειν τοῦ προτεθέντος ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀρίστου βίου πρός τε τὸν παρόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον."

13.13.17 | Then Plato adds, 'For every good person is similar to a good person, and likewise, one who resembles god is a friend to every good person and to god.' At this point, I remembered that at the end of the 'Timaeus,' he says that one must make the thinker similar to the thought according to the ancient nature, and having made it similar, it must have the end of the best life for humans set by the gods, both for the present time and for the future.

13.13.18 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει

13.13.18 | And shortly after, he adds, 'We

"Ἄδελφοὺς δ' εῖναι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἀν τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ ὄντας καὶ ἐνὸς διδασκάλου, φαίνεται που καὶ Πλάτων καλῶς ὅδέ πως "Ἐστὲ μὲν γὰρ πάντες οἵ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀδελφοὶ, ὡς φήσομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μυθολογοῦντες. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς πλάττων, ὅσοι μὲν ὑμῶν ἱκανοὶ ἄρχειν, χρυσὸν ἐν τῇ γενέσει συνέμιξεν αὐτοῖς, διὸ τιμιώτατοί εἰσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίκουροι, ἀργυρον· σίδηρον δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν τοῖς γεωργοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημιουργοῖς."

are brothers, as we are of one god and one teacher.' Plato seems to say this well, 'For you all are brothers in the city, as we will say when we tell stories about them. But the god who shapes us has mixed gold into those of you who are able to rule, which is why they are the most honored; those who are helpers have silver; and iron and bronze are for the farmers and other workers.'

13.13.19 | "Οθεν ἀνάγκη φησὶ γεγονέναι, ἀσπάζεσθαί τε καὶ φιλεῖν τούτους μὲν ταῦτα ἐφ' οὓς γνῶσις, ἔκεινους δὲ ἐφ' οὓς δόξα. Ἱσως γὰρ τὴν ἐκλεκτὴν ταύτην φύσιν γνώσεως ἐφιεμένην μαντεύεται, εἰ μή τι τρεῖς τινας ὑποτιθέμενος φύσεις, τρεῖς πολιτείας, ὡς ὑπέλαβόν τινες, διαγράφει, καὶ Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἀργυρᾶν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ τὴν τρίτην, Χριστιανῶν δὲ, οὓς ὁ χρυσὸς ὁ βασιλικὸς ἐγκαταμέμικται, τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα.

13.13.19 | Therefore, he says it is necessary to embrace and love these people based on knowledge, and those based on opinion. For perhaps he is predicting this chosen nature of knowledge, unless he is suggesting three kinds of natures, three types of government, as some have thought. He describes the Jews as having silver, the Greeks as the third, and the Christians, to whom the royal gold is mixed with the holy spirit.

13.13.20 | τόν τε Χριστιανῶν βίον ἐμφαίνων κατὰ λέξιν γράφει ἐν τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ "Λέγωμεν δὴ περὶ τῶν κορυφαίων· τί γὰρ ἂν τούς γε φαύλως διατρίβοντας ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λέγοι; οὗτοι δέ που οὕτε εἰς ἀγορὰν ἵσασι τὴν ὁδὸν οὕτε ὅπου δικαστήριον ἢ βουλευτήριον ἢ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον, νόμους δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα λεγόμενα ἢ γεγραμμένα οὕτε δρῶσιν οὕτε ἀκούουσι. σπουδαὶ δὲ ἐταιρειῶν καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ σὸν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι, ούδε ὅναρ πράττειν προσίστα ταῖ αὐτοῖς. εὖ δὲ ἢ κακῶς τι γέγονεν ἐν πόλει, ἢ τί τω κακόν ἔστι γεγονὸς ἐκ προγόνων, μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς λέληθεν ἢ οἵ τῆς θαλάσσης λεγόμενοι χόες. καὶ ταῦτα οὕθ' ὅτι οὐκ οἴδεν οἴδεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἐν

13.13.20 | He describes the life of Christians in the Theaetetus, saying, 'Let us speak about the highest things; for what could those who waste their time in philosophy say? These people do not know the way to the marketplace, nor to where the court or council is, or any other public gathering of the city. They neither see nor hear the laws and decrees that are said or written. They are busy with gatherings and meetings, and with flute-girls in their celebrations, and they do not even think about doing anything. Whether something good or bad has happened in the city, or what evil has come from their ancestors, is more forgotten by them than the waves of the sea. And this is not because they do not

τῇ πόλει κεῖται αύτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ, αύτὸς δὲ πέταται, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, τὰ γᾶς ὑπένερθεν, οὐρανοῦ ρανοῦ τε ὑπεράστρονομῶν καὶ πᾶσαν πάντη φύσιν ἐρευνώμενος."

13.13.21 | "Πάλιν αὖ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου ḥητῷ τῷ ἔστω τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐέκεῖνα ἀπεικαστέον ἄλλά μοι ψεῦδος τε συγχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀφανίσαι οὐδαμῶς θέμις. τῷ τε περὶ τοῦ ὄμοσαι ἀπαγορεύσει συνάδει ἥδε ἡ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων λέξις "ἔπαινός τε ὅρκος τε περὶ παντὸς ἀπέστω." καὶ τὸ σύνολον Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων' λέγοντες ἀκούειν φωνῆς θεοῦ, τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὅλων θεωροῦντες ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγονυῖαν καὶ συνεχομένην ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀκηκόασι τοῦ Μώσεως λέγοντος 'εἶπε καὶ ἐγένετο, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον εἶναι διαγράφοντος.

13.13.22 | ἐπὶ τε τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ χοὸς διαπλάσεως ἰστάμενοι γῆινον μὲν οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρ' ἔκαστα τὸ σῶμα ἀναγορεύουσιν, "Ομηρος δὲ οὐκ ὄκνεῖ ἐν κατάρας μέρει τίθεσθαι τὸ ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε, καθάπερ Ἡσαίας καὶ καταπατήσατε αύτοὺς λέγων 'ώς πηλόν.

13.13.23 | Καλλίμαχος δὲ διαρρήδην γράφει ἣν κεῖνος οὐνιαυτὸς, ὡς ποτὲ πτηνὸν καὶ τούν θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸ τετράποντον οὔτωςέφθέγγεθ', ως ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμηθέως. πάλιν τε ὁ αύτὸς 'εἴ σε ἔφη 'Προμηθεὺς ἔπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ ἐξ ἐτέρου γέγονας.' Ἡσίοδός τε ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδώρας λέγει 'Ἡφαιστον δὲ κέλευσε περικλυτὸν ὅττι

know, but because their body is only present in the city, while they themselves fly away, as Pindar says, beneath the earth, above the heavens, studying the stars and exploring all of nature.'

13.13.21 | Again, it is said that the Lord's statement should be 'yes, yes' and 'no, no'; anything beyond this is not allowed, and it is not right to allow falsehood and hide the truth. This agrees with what is said in the tenth book of the Laws: 'Let there be praise and an oath concerning everything.' And the whole teaching of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato is to listen to the voice of God, seeing the creation of all things as precisely made by God and continuously connected. They have heard Moses saying, 'He spoke, and it came to be,' writing that the word of God is an action.

13.13.22 | Standing on the creation of man from the earth, philosophers call the body earthly. But Homer does not hesitate to place the curse in parts, saying, 'You all shall become water and earth,' just as Isaiah says, 'and you shall trample them like clay.'

13.13.23 | Callimachus clearly writes that if that one, who once spoke to the bird and the sea and the four-footed animals, spoke like the clay of Prometheus. Again, he says, 'If you say, "Prometheus created, and you were not made from another clay." ' Hesiod also says about Pandora, 'Hephaestus ordered that the famous earth quickly be

τάχιστα γαίαν ὕδει φύρειν, ἐν δ' ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδὴν καὶ νόον.

13.13.24 | πῦρ μὲν οὖν τεχνικὸν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον εἰς γένεσιν, τὴν φύσιν ὀρίζονται οἱ Στωϊκοί· πῦρ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῆς γραφῆς. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ὁμηρος παραφράζων χωρισμὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν ἐμφανῆ τῆς ξηρᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς Τηθύος καὶ τοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ λέγει ἥδη γὰρ δηρὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλων ἀπέχονται εύνῆς καὶ φιλότητος;

13.13.25 | πάλιν τὸ δυνατὸν ἐν πάσι προσάπτουσι καὶ οὶ παρ' Ἑλλησι λογιώτατοι τῷ θεῷ· ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, Πιθαγόρειος δὲ ἦν, λέγων οὐδὲν ἐκφεύγει τὸ θεῖον, τοῦτο γινώσκειν σε δεῖ· αὐτός ἐστ' ἀμῶν ἐπόπτης, ἀδυνατεῖ δ' οὐδὲν θεός. ὁ μελοποιὸς δὲ θεῷ δυνατὸν ἔκ μελαίναντος ἀμίαντον ὅρσαι φάος, κελαινεφεῖ δὲ σκότει καλύψαι καθαρὸν ἀμέρας σέλας. ὁ μόνος ἡμέρας ἐνεστώσης νύκτα ποιῆσαι δυνάμενος, φησὶ, θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν.

13.13.26 | ἐν τε τοῖς Φαινομένοις ἐπιγραφομένοις ὁ Ἀράτος Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα εἰπὼν τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῶμεν ἄρρητον· μεσταὶ δὲ Διός πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαὶ, πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα, καὶ λιμένες, πάντη δὲ Διός κεχρήμεθα πάντες, ἐπιφέρει τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν, οἶον δημιουργίᾳ, ... ο δηπιος ανθρωποισιδεξιὰ σημαίνει· αὐτὸς γὰρ τέ γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν, ἄστρα διακρίνας· ἐσκέψατο δεῖς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀστέρας, οὶ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα

mixed, and in it to place the voice and mind of a man.'

13.13.24 | Fire, then, is technical, walking the path into existence; the Stoics define nature. Fire and light are symbols for God and his word in the writings. But what about this? Does not Homer, explaining the separation of water from the earth and the clear revelation of the dry land from Tethys and Ocean, say, 'For they have long been apart from each other in love and friendship?'

13.13.25 | Again, the powerful one is attributed to God by the most learned among the Greeks. Epicharmus says, 'Nothing escapes the divine; you must know this: he is the overseer of all, and God is not weak in anything.' The composer says, 'It is possible for God to bring forth light from the black night, and to cover the pure brightness of day with dark clouds.' He says that this God is able to turn day into night.

13.13.26 | In the Phenomena, Aratus begins with 'Let us start from Zeus,' saying, 'Let us never leave the divine unspoken; all streets are full of Zeus, all marketplaces of men are full, and the sea is full, and we are all everywhere under Zeus.' For we are of his kind, like creation... He himself has set signs in the sky, distinguishing the stars. He has looked at the stars for the year, which most clearly indicate the seasons for men, so that everything may grow firmly. And they always honor him first and last. Hail, father,

σημαίνοιενάνδράσιν ὡράων, ὅφρ' ἔμπεδα πάντα φύηται· καί μιν ἀεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἵλασκονται· χαῖρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ. καὶ πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡφαιστοτεύκτου ἀσπίδος κοσμοποιῶν κατὰ Μωσέα, ἐν μὲν γᾶταν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανὸν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν, φησὶν ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται. ὁ γάρ διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων ἀδόμενος Ζεὺς τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρει.

13.13.27 | "Ἡδη δὲ, ὡς είπεῖν, ὑπ' αὐγὰς ὁ Δημόκριτος εἶναι τινας ὀλίγους γράφει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὴ ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, οὓς νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἑλληνες, πάντα Ζεὺς μυθεῖται, καὶ πάντα οὗτος οἴδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων. μυστικώτερον δὲ ὁ μὲν Βοιώτιος Πίνδαρος, ἄτε Πυθαγόρειος ὁν, 'ἐν ἀνδρῶν, 'ἐν θεῶν γένος, ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ ματρὸς πνέομεν ἄμφω, τῆς ὥλης παραδίδωσι, καὶ ἔνα τὸν τούτων δημιουργὸν, τὸν ἀριστοτέχναν πατέρα λέγει, τὸν καὶ τὰς προκοπὰς κατ' ἀξίαν εἰς θειότητα παρεσχημένον.

13.13.28 | σιωπῶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα, ἃ ἀντικρυς οὗτος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐραστὸν καὶ Κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ φαίνεται πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν οὐκ οἴδ' ὅπως ἐκ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν γραφῶν ἐμφαίνων, παρακελευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν, ἐπομνύντας σπουδῆτε ἅμα μὴ ἀμούσω καὶ τῇ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῇ παιδείᾳ τὸν πάντων θεὸν αἴτιον, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἴτιου πατέρα κύριον ἐπομηύντας, ὃν ἐὰν ὁρθῶς φιλοσοφήτε, εἴσεσθε. ἢ τε ἐν Τιμαίῳ δημηγορίᾳ πατέρα λέγει τὸν δημιουργὸν, λέγουσα ὡδέπως 'θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν ἐγὼ πατῆρ

great wonder, great blessing for men.' Before this, Homer speaks of the shield made by Hephaestus, saying, 'He made the earth, the sky, and the sea,' and 'all the constellations that crown the sky.' For through the poems and the arranged writings, Zeus brings forth the meaning toward God.

13.13.27 | Now, as it is said, Democritus writes about a few men who, raising their hands here, where we now call the air, say that everything is spoken by Zeus, and that this one knows everything, gives everything, and takes away everything, and he is the king of all. More mysteriously, the Boeotian Pindar, being a Pythagorean, says, 'We are of one kind, both of men and of gods, and we breathe from one mother.' He gives over the material world and speaks of one creator of these things, the master craftsman, who has also shaped the advancements into divinity.

13.13.28 | I am silent about Plato, who seems to show a father and son in his letter to Erastus and Coriscus, not knowing how he reveals this from the Hebrew writings. He urges, according to the text, to take an oath seriously, not neglecting, and to honor the divine as the cause of all things, and to honor the lord and cause as the father, whom if you philosophize correctly, you will know. The speech in the Timaeus calls the creator the father, saying in this way, 'Gods of gods, of whom I am the father and

δημιουργός τε ἔργων.'

creator of works.'

13.13.29 | ὥστε καὶ ἐπάν εἴπη 'περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντα ἔστι, κάκείνου ἔνεκα τὰ πάντα, κα'κεῖνο αἴτιον τῶν καλ[ν, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα,'οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἔξακούω ἥ τὴν ἀγίαν τριάδα μηνύεσθαι. τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν υἱὸν δὲ δεύτερον, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγέντο κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρός.

13.13.29 | So when he says, 'About the king of all, everything exists for his sake, and he is the cause of all good things, and then about the second and third things,' I cannot help but hear it as a hint at the holy Trinity. For the holy spirit is the third, and the son is the second, through whom all things came to be according to the will of the father.

13.13.30 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτεῖας Ἡρός τοῦ Αρμενίου, τὸ γένετο Παμφύλου, μέμνηται, ὃς ἔστι Ζωρόαστρις. αὐτὸς γούν ὁ Ζωρόαστρις γράφει 'τάδε δυεέγραψε Ζωρόαστρις ὁ Αρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος, ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ὅσα ἐν Ἀιδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ Θεῶν.'τὸν δὴ Ζωρόαστριν τοῦτον ὁ Πλάτων δωδεκαταῖον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾱͅ κείμενον ἀναβιῶνται λέγει. τάχα μὲν οὐ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα αἰνίσσεται, ὡς διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ζωδίων ἡ ὀδὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν φησι τὴν αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι κάθιδον. ταῦτα ὑποληπτέον καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος ἄθλα λέγεσθαι ιβ', μεθ', ἢ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε τυγχάνει ἡ ψυχή. οὐ παραπέμπομαι καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα. ὁ φυσικὸς οὗτος τῆς τῶν πάντων ἀναλήψεως μέμνηται ὡς ἐσομένης ποτὲ εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίαν μεταβολῆς."

13.13.30 | But in the tenth book of the Republic, Plato remembers the story of Er, the Armenian, who is of the lineage of Pamphylus, and he is Zoroaster. Zoroaster himself writes, 'These things were written by Zoroaster the Armenian, of the lineage of Pamphylus, who died in battle, having been judged by the gods in Hades.' Plato says that this Zoroaster, lying by the fire, comes back to life. Perhaps he does not mean the resurrection, but hints at those things, as the path for souls to the ascent happens through the twelve zodiac signs, and he also says that the descent into existence is the same. These things should be considered, and the labors of Heracles are said to be twelve, after which the soul is freed from all this world. I do not overlook Empedocles either. This natural philosopher remembers the return of all things as once changing into the essence of fire.

13.13.31 | "Σαφέστατα δ' Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ταύτης ἔστι τῆς δόξης, τὸν μὲν τινα κόσμον ἀίδιον εἶναι δοκιμάσας, τὸν δέ τινα φθειρόμενον, τὸν κατὰ τὴν

13.13.31 | Heraclitus of Ephesus is very clear about this belief: some worlds are eternal, while others are perishable, and he understands that they are not different in

διακόσμησιν, είδώς ούχ ἔτερον ὅντα  
έκείνου πως ἔχοντος. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀίδιον  
τὸν ἔξ ἀπάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἀιδίως ποιὸν  
κόσμον ἥδη, φανερὸν ποιεῖ λέγων οὕτως  
κόσμον τὸν αὐτὸν πάντων οὕτε τις θεῶν  
οὕτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ  
ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται, πῦρ ἀείζων, ἀπτόμενον  
μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.' ὅτι δὲ  
καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι  
ἔδογμάτιζε μηνύει τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα πυρὸς  
τροπαὶ, πρῶτον θάλασσα, θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ  
μὲν ἥμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ πρηστήρ. δυνάμει  
γάρ λέγει, ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικοῦντος  
λόγου καὶ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα δι' ἄρεος  
τρέπεται εἰς ὑγρὸν, τὸ ως σπέρμα τῆς  
διακοσμήσεως, ὃ καλεῖ θάλασσαν· ἐκ δὲ  
τούτου αὐθις γίνεται νεται οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ  
καὶ τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα. ὅπως δὲ πάλιν  
ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ ἐκπυροῦται σαφῶς διὰ  
τούτων δηλοῖ 'θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ  
μετρέεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ὁκοῖος  
πρόσθεν ἦν ἡ γενέσθαι.' ὄμοιώς καὶ περὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων στοιχείων τὰ αὐτά."

13.13.32 | "Παραπλήσια τούτω καὶ οἱ  
έλλογιμώτατοι τῶν Στωϊκῶν δογματίζουσι  
περὶ τε ἐκπυρώσεως ἔως διαλαμβάνοντες  
καὶ κόσμου διοικήσεως καὶ τοῦ ἴδιως ποιοῦ  
κόσμου τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς τῶν  
ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ἐπιδιαμονῆς. πάλιν τε αὖ  
ὅ Πλάτων' ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τῆς Πολιτείας  
τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἡμέραν νυκτεριέν νῆν ἡμέραν  
κέκληκεν διὰ τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας, οἴμαι,  
τοῦ σκότους τούτου· ὕπνον δὲ καὶ θάνατον  
τὴν εἰς σῶμα ὀδὸν τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ ταύτα  
τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ. καὶ μή τι τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος προεθέσπιζε τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ  
Δαβὶδ λέγον 'ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνωσα·  
ἔξηγέρθην, ὅτι κύριος ἀντιλήψεται μου' οὐ  
γάρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν μόνον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔξ  
ὑπνου ἔγερσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἰς σάρκα

nature. He makes it clear that the eternal world, made from all existence, is not created by any gods or humans, but it always has been and will be, a living fire, changing in measure and going out in measure. He also hints that it is both generated and perishable by mentioning the changes of fire, first the sea, and half of the sea is earth, while the other half is a furnace. He says that fire, under the guiding reason and god, changes everything through air into moisture, which he calls the sea; from this, the sky and earth and all that is contained in them are formed again. He clearly shows that it is taken up again and burned through these processes, saying, 'The sea flows and is measured according to the same reason, as it was before or came to be.' Similarly, he speaks about the other elements in the same way.

13.13.32 | Similar to this, the most learned Stoics teach about both the burning up of the world and its governance, as well as the creation of the world, humans, and the continued existence of our souls. Again, Plato, in the seventh book of the Republic, calls this day a 'night' because of the rulers of the cosmos, I think, of this darkness; sleep and death are the same path of the soul into the body, according to Heraclitus. And let this not be something that the Savior's spirit foretold through David, saying, 'I slept and I rested; I awoke, for the Lord will take hold of me;' for it is not only the resurrection of Christ from sleep that he speaks of, but also the descent of the Lord into the flesh is allegorized as sleep.

κάθισδον τοῦ κυρίου ὑπνον ἀλληγορεῖ.

13.13.33 | αὐτίκα ὁ αύτὸς σωτὴρ παρεγγυᾶ, γρηγορεῖτε· οἶν, μελετᾶτε ζῆν καὶ χωρίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος πειρᾶσθε. τὴν τε κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὁ Πλάτων' διὰ τούτων καταμαντεύεται "Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι ἐκάστοις ἐπτὰ ἡμέραι γένοιντο, ἀναστάντας ἐντεῦθεν δεῖ τῇ ὄγδόῃ πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι τεταρταίους." "Λειμῶνα μὲν οὖν ἀκουστέον τὴν ἀπλανῆ σφαῖραν, ὡς ἡμερον χωρίον καὶ προσηνὲς καὶ τῶν ὅσιων χῶρον· ἐπτὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκάστην κίνησιν τῶν ἐπτὰ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἔργαστικὴν τέχνην εἰς τέλος ἀναπαύσεως σπεύδουσαν· ἡ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πλανωμένους πορεία ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄγει, τουτέστι τὴν ὄγδόην κίνησίν τε καὶ ἡμέραν· τεταρταίους δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπιέναι λέγει, δηλῶν τὴν διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων πορείαν."

13.13.33 | "Immediately, the same Savior commands, 'Stay awake;' that is, 'Practice living and try to separate the soul from the body.' On the Lord's Day, in the tenth book of the Republic, Plato interprets these things, saying, 'Since each of those in the meadow has seven days, after rising from there, one must go on the eighth and reach the fourth.' 'The meadow, then, is to be understood as the unchanging sphere, a peaceful place, friendly, and a land of the holy; and each of the seven days is a movement of the seven, and all the working art rushes toward the end of rest; but the journey with the wandering ones leads to the sky, that is, the eighth movement and day; he says that the souls depart as fourths, indicating the journey through the four elements."

13.13.34 | "Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ιερὰν οὐ μόνον οἱ Ἐβραῖοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἴσασι, καθ' ἣν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος κυκλεῖται τῶν ζωογονουμένων καὶ φυομένων ἀπάντων. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὖν οὕτω περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει πρῶτον ἑνη τετράς τε καὶ ἐβδόμη ιερὸν ἥμαρ. καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομάτη δ' αὐθις λαμπρὸν φάος ἡλείοιο. Ὁμηρος δὲ ἐβδομάτη δῆπειτα κατήλυθεν ιερὸν ἥμαρ. καὶ 'ἐβδόμη ἦν ιερή.' καὶ πάλιν ἐβδομον ἥμαρ ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἄπαντα. καὶ αὐθις ἐβδομάτη δ' ἥοι λίπομεν ρόον ἔξ Ἀχέροντος. ναὶ μὴν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ ποιητὴς γράφει ἐβδομάτη δ' ἥοι, καὶ οἱ ἐτέτυκτο ἄπαντα. καὶ πάλιν ἐβδόμη εἰν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ γενέθλη. καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐν πρώτοισι καὶ ἐβδόμη ἐστὶ τελεία. καὶ ἐπτὰ δὲ πάντα τέτυκτο ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι, ἐν κύκλοισι

13.13.34 | But both the Hebrews and the Greeks know the seventh as sacred, in which the whole world is surrounded by all living and growing things. Hesiod says this about it: 'First is the sacred day of the fourth and the seventh.' And again, 'The seventh is indeed a bright light of the sun.' Homer says, 'On the seventh, the sacred day came.' And 'the seventh was sacred.' And again, 'The seventh day was, and to the completed all things.' And again, 'On the seventh, we left the flow from Acheron at dawn.' Yes, indeed, Callimachus the poet writes, 'On the seventh at dawn, all things were made for him.' And again, 'The seventh is among the good, and the seventh is a generation.' And 'the seventh is among the first, and the seventh is complete.' And

φανέντ' ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐνιαυτοῖς."

'all seven were made in the starry heaven,  
appearing in circles as the years go by.'

13.13.35 | "Αλλὰ καὶ αἱ Σόλωνος ἐλεγεῖαι σφόδρα τὴν ἐβδομάδα ἔκθειάζουσι." "Τὰ δὲ οὐχὶ παραπλήσια τῇ λεγούσῃ γραφῇ 'ἄρωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ὁ Πλάτων' μονονουχὶ προφητεύων τὴν σωτήριον οἰκονομίαν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Πολιτείας οὕτω φησὶν "Οὔτω δὲ διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, ἐκκοπήσεται τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παὸν ἀνασκινδυνεύθεσται." "Ο τε Σωκρατικὸς Ἀντισθένης παραφράζων τὴν προφητικὴν ἐκείνην γραφὴν 'τίνι με ὧμοιώσατε; λέγει κύριος' οὐδεὶς ἔσικέναι φησὶ, διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἔκμαθεῖν ἔξ εἰκόνος δύναται. τὰ δὲ δόμοια καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος κατὰ λέξιν λέγει ὃ γοῦν πάντα σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων, ώς μὲν μέγας τις καὶ δυνατὸς φανερὸς, δόποιος δ' ἔστι μορφὴν ἀφανῆς. οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ παμφαὴς δοκῶν εἶναι ἥλιος, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔσικεν δρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἦν τις ἀναιδῶς αὐτὸν θεάσηται, τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαιρεῖται." τίς γὰρ σὰρξ δύναται τὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀληθῆόφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν θεὸν ἄμβροτον, διὸ πόλον οἴκεῖ; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκτίνων κατ' ἐναντίον ἡλίοιο ἄνθρωποι στῆναι δυνατοὶ, θνητοὶ γεγαῶτες, προεῖπεν ἡ Σίβυλλα.

13.13.36 | εὗ γοῦν καὶ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος διδάσκων ὅτι εἷς καὶ ἀσώματος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει εἰς θεὸς ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, οὐ τι δέμας θνητοῖσιν δομούιος, οὐδὲ νόημα. καὶ πάλιν — — ἀλλ' οἱ βροτοὶ δοκοῦσι γεννᾶσθαι θεοὺς. τὴν σφετέρην δ' ἐσθῆτα ἔχειν φωνήν τε δέμας τε. καὶ πάλιν — —

13.13.35 | "But the sayings of Solon greatly praise the seventh." "And is it not similar to the saying, 'Let us remove the just one from us, because he is hard to deal with,' which Plato prophesies about the saving plan in the second book of the Republic? He says, 'Thus the just one, being in this state, will be whipped, his eyes will be cut out, and in the end, suffering all evils, he will be uncovered.' "And the Socratic Antisthenes, paraphrasing that prophetic writing, 'To whom have you likened me? says the Lord,' says that it is like no one, for no one can learn about him from an image. And similar things are said by Xenophon the Athenian, word for word, saying that he is indeed great and powerful, but his form is invisible. Nor does the all-bright sun, which seems to be, allow itself to be seen; but if someone looks at him boldly, he takes away their sight." "For who among flesh can see the heavenly and true God with immortal eyes, who dwells in the earth? But neither can mortals, having been born, stand before the rays of the sun," the Sibyl foretold.

13.13.36 | "Indeed, even Xenophanes of Colophon teaches that God is one and incorporeal, and he is the greatest among both gods and humans, not similar in form to mortals, nor in thought. And again, 'But mortals seem to give birth to gods. They have their own clothing and both voice and form.' And again, 'But if they had hands like

άλλ' εί τε χεῖρας ἔχον βόες, ήτε λέοντες, ή γράψαι χείρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες, ἵπποι μὲν θ' ὑπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὅμοιοι, καί τε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον, καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουντοι αὐτοῖς, οἵον περ καύτοι δέμας εἶχον ὅμοιον.

cows or lions, or if they could write with their hands and do the works that men do, horses would make horses like themselves, and cows would make cows like themselves, and they would depict the forms of gods and create bodies like those they themselves have."

13.13.37 | ἀκούσωμεν οὖν πάλιν  
Βακχυλίδου μὲν τοῦ μελοποιοῦ περὶ τοῦ θείου λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἀδμῆτες ἀεικελίων νούσων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναίτιοι, οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις εἴκελοι. Κλεάνθους τε τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ ἐν τινι ποιήματι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα γεγραφότος ἀκουε τάγαθὸν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἴόν ἐστ'; ἀκουε δή τε ταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὁσιον, εὐσεβὲς, κρατοῦν ἐαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον, αύστηρὸν, αύθέκαστον, ἀειζύμφορον, ἄφοβον, ἄλυπον, λυσιτελὲς, ἀνώδυνον, ὡφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλὲς, φίλον, ἔντιμον, δύολογούμενον, εὔκλετος, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελὲς, πρᾶον, σφοδρὸν, χρονιζόμενον, αμεμπτον, ἀεὶ διαμένον.

13.13.37 | "Let us listen again to Bacchylides the poet speaking about the divine: 'The unblemished are free from shameful diseases and are blameless, not similar to humans.' And hear these lines from Cleanthes the Stoic about God: 'Do you ask me what is good? Listen then. It is ordered, just, holy, pious, self-controlled, useful, beautiful, necessary, strict, self-sufficient, always beneficial, fearless, free from sorrow, profitable, pleasing, safe, friendly, honorable, acknowledged, renowned, untroubled, careful, gentle, intense, enduring, blameless, and always remaining.'"

13.13.38 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον τὴν τῶν ποιλῶν διαβάλλων είδωλοι λατρίαν ἐπιφέρει ἀνελεύθερος πᾶς ὅστις εἰς δόξαν βλέπει, ὡς δὴ παρ ἐκείνης τευχόμενός τινος καλοῦ. οὕκουν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ποιλῶν δόξαν περὶ τοῦ θείου ὑποληπτέον — — οὐδὲ γάρ λάθρα δοκῶ, φωτὸς κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμιμούμενον, σοὶ τήνδ' ἐς εὔνην, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον, μολεῖν, Ἀμφίων λέγει τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ. ὁ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ εὐθυρρημόνως γράφει τὴν τοῦδε γάρ τοι Ζεὺς ἔγημε μητέρα, οὐ χρυσόμορφος, οὐδ' ἐπημφιεσμένος πτίλον κύκνειον, ὡς κόρην Πλευρωνίαν πημβρύωσεν, ἀλλ' ὀλοσχερὴς ἀνήρ. εῖτα ὑπελθὼν καὶ δὴ ἐπήγαγε ταχὺς

13.13.38 | "But he, according to the silence, brings forth the idolatry of the many, saying that everyone who looks to appearances is unfree, as if they will gain something good from it. Therefore, we should no longer consider the opinion of the many about the divine; for I do not think secretly, imitating the form of a wicked man, to come to you in bed, just like a human," says Amphion to Antiope. Sophocles writes clearly, 'For Zeus married this mother, not in golden form, nor adorned with a swan's feathers, as if he seduced the daughter of Pleuros, but as a complete man.' Then, having approached,

δὲ βαθμοῖς νυμφικοῖς ἐπεστάθη διοιχός.  
έφ' οἷς ἔτι φανερώτερον τὴν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ  
μυθοποιουμένου Διὸς ὥδε πως ἐκδιηγεῖται  
ὅ δ' οὕτε δαιτὸς οὕτε χέρνιβος θιγώνπρὸς  
λέκτρον ἦει καρδίαν ὀδαγμένος, ὅλην δ'  
ἐκείνην εύφρόνην ἔθόρυντο.

the adulterer quickly stood at the bridal steps. On these matters, the storyteller describes the lack of restraint of Zeus in this way: 'He neither touched the feast nor the bath, but went to the bed, driven by desire, and stirred up all that joy.'"

13.13.39 | ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν παρείσθω ταῖς  
τῶν θεάτρων ἀνοίαις. ἄντικρυς δὲ ὁ μὲν  
Ἡράκλειτος, τοῦ λόγου τοῦ δέοντος ἀεὶ,  
φησὶν, ἀξύνετοι γίγνονται ἄνθρωποι, καὶ  
πρόσθεν ἡ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ  
πρῶτον. ὁ μελοποιὸς δὲ Μελανιππίδης  
ἄδων φησὶ κλῦθι μοι, ὡς πάτερ, θαῦμα  
βροτῶν, τάς ἀειζώου ψυχὰς μεδέων.  
Παρμενίδης τε ὁ μέγας, ὡς φησιν ἐν  
Σοφιστῇ Πλάτων, ὥδε πως περὶ τοῦ θείου  
γράφει πολλὰ μάλ' ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ  
ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστι, οὐλον, μουνογενὲς δὲ καὶ  
ἀτρεμές ἡδ' ἀγένητον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ήσιόδος  
αὐτὸς γάρ πάντων φησὶ) βασιλεὺς καὶ  
κοίρανός ἐστιν ἀθανάτων, σέο δ' οὐ τις  
έρήρισται κράτος ἄλλος.

13.13.39 | "Let these things be set before the openings of the theaters. On the other hand, Heraclitus, who always speaks what is necessary, says that people become foolish, both before hearing and after hearing for the first time. The poet Melanippides sings, 'Listen to me, O father, wonder of mortals, you who care for the ever-living souls.' And the great Parmenides, as Plato says in the Sophist, writes something like this about the divine: 'It is very much ungenerated and indestructible, whole, unique, and unchanging, and also ungenerated.' But Hesiod also says, 'For he is the king and ruler of all immortals, and no other power will take your strength away.'"

13.13.40 | Ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία ἀπὸ τῶν  
εἰδώλων ἀποσπῶσα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
ἀναβλέπειν διδάσκει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σοφοκλῆς,  
ὡς φησιν Ἐκαταῖος ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας ρίας  
συνταξάμενος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀβραμὸν καὶ  
τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους, ἄντικρυς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς  
ἐκβοᾷ εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἰς ἐστὶν  
Θεὸς, δος οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν  
μακρὴν, πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἴδμα κάνέμων  
βίας. Θνητοὶ δὲ πολλοὶ καρδίαν  
πλανώμενοι ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων  
παραψυχὴν θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων, ἢ  
χαλκέων, ἢ χρυσοτεύκτων, ἢ ἐλεφαντίνων  
τύπους. Θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ καλὰς  
πανηγύρεις στέφοντες, οὕτως εύσεβεῖν

13.13.40 | "Yes, indeed, tragedy teaches us to look up to heaven, separating from the idols. For Sophocles, as Hecataeus, who wrote the histories about Abraham and the Egyptians, says, boldly shouts on stage, 'There is one truth, there is one god, who created both heaven and the vast earth, and the fierce waves of the sea and the rivers of life.' But many mortals, wandering in heart, have set up images of the gods made from stones, or bronze, or gold, or ivory. And by offering sacrifices and holding beautiful festivals for these, we think we are being pious."

νομίζομεν.

13.13.41 | Εύριπίδης δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σκηνῆς τραγῳδῶν ὀρᾶς φησὶ) τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρακαὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις; τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἥγου θεόν. ἐν τε τῷ Πειρίθω δράματι ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τάδε τρα γῳδεῖ σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυῆ, τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ μβω πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ' ὅν πέρι μὲν φῶς, περὶ δ' ὄρφναίαννυξ αἰολόχρως, ἀκριτός τ' ἀστρωνόχλοις ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸν μὲν αὐτοφυῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν νοῦν εἴρηκε, τὰ δ' ἔξῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τάσσεται, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αἱ ἐναντιότητες φωτός τε καὶ σκότους. ὅ τε Εύφορίωνος Αίσχυλος ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνῶς σφόδρα φησὶ Ζεὺς ἐστιν αἰθὴρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανὸς, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα, χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

13.13.41 | "Euripides, on the same stage of tragedies, says, 'Do you see this infinite ether above and the earth surrounding it in watery embrace? Consider this as Zeus, and regard this as the god.' In the drama of Pirithous, he also sings these lines: 'You, the self-born, who in the ether's roar entangle all nature, around whom light shines, and around whom the dark night, colored by the winds, dances with countless stars.' Here, he speaks of the self-born creator, and then he arranges the rest concerning the cosmos, in which there are also opposites of light and darkness. Aeschylus, the son of Euphorion, speaks very solemnly about the god: 'Zeus is the ether, Zeus is the earth, Zeus is the sky; indeed, Zeus is all things, and he is above all these.'"

13.13.42 | οἶδα ἐγὼ καὶ Πλάτωνα προσμαρτυροῦντα Ἡρακλείτω γράφοντι "ἐν τῷ σοφὸν μοῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἔθέλει, καὶ ἔθέλει Ζηνὸς οὔνομα." καὶ πάλιν "νόμος καὶ βουλῇ πείθεσθαι ἐνός," κἄν τὸ ῥήτὸν ἐκεῖνο ἀναγαγεῖν ἔθέλῃς "οἱ ἔχων ὡτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω" εὑροις ἀν ὡδε ἐμφαινόμενον πρὸς τοῦ Ἐφεσίου "ἀξύνετοι ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι· φάτις αὐτοῖσι μαρτυρεῖ παρεόντας ἀπεῖναι." ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἀκοῦσαι ποθεῖς; Τίμαιος δὲ Λοκρὸς ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ συγγράμματι κατὰ λέξιν ὡδέ μοι μαρτυρήσει "μία ἀρχὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγένητος· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἀν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχὰ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα ἔξ ἄς ἀ ἀρχὰ ἐγένετο." ἐρρύτη γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ἡ δόξα ἡ ἀληθινὴ "ἄκουε (φησὶν) Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος δὲ θεός σου εἰς ἐστὶ,

13.13.42 | "I know, and Plato also confirms Heraclitus, who writes, 'The wise one does not wish to be called one, and he wishes for the name of Zeus.' And again, 'Let one obey the law and the will.' And if you want to bring up that saying, 'Let the one who has ears to hear, hear,' you will find it appearing like this from the Ephesian: 'Those who do not understand, seem like the deaf; a voice testifies that they are absent.' But do you desire to hear one principle from the Greeks? Timaeus the Locrian, in his work on nature, will testify to me in these words: 'There is one principle of all things that is ungenerated; for if it had come into being, there would no longer be a principle, but those things from which the principle came into being.' For

καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις." οὗτος ἴδοι πάντεσσι σαφῆς ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει, ὡς φησιν ἡ Σίβυλλα.

from there flows the true belief: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one, and you shall serve him alone.' Look, this is clear and undeniable for all, as the Sibyl says."

13.13.43 | Ξενοκράτης τε ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τὸν μὲν ὅπα'τον Δία, τὸν δὲ νέατον καλῶν, ἔμφασιν πατρὸς ἀπολείπει καὶ υἱοῦ. καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, γινώσκειν φαίνεται τὸ θεῖον ὁ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς εἰσάγων τοὺς θεούς· ὃν οὐδ' οὕτως αἰδεῖται Ἐπίκουρος. φησὶ γοῦν τίπτε με, Πηλέος υἱὲ, ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκεις, αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἐών, θεὸν ἄμβροτον; οὐδέ νυ πώ μεέγνως ὡς θεός είμι. οὐχ ἀλωτὸν γὰρ εἶναι θνητῷ οὐδὲ καταληπτὸν τὸ θεῖον οὕτε ποσὶν οὕτε χερσὶν οὕτε ὄφθαλμοῖς οὐδὲ ὅλως τῷ σώματι δεδήλωκε. "τίνι ὡμοιώσατε κύριον; ἢ τίνι ὁμοιώματι ὡμοιώσατε αὐτόν;" φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ. "μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησε τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος, χωνεύσας χρυσίον, περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτόν;" καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

13.13.43 | "Xenocrates the Carthaginian says that the highest god is Zeus, and the youngest is the one who leaves behind the father and the son. And the most paradoxical thing is that he seems to know the divine by introducing the gods with human feelings; which even Epicurus does not shy away from. He indeed says, 'Why do you, son of Peleus, chase after a god with swift feet, being mortal yourself? You have not yet recognized that I am a god.' For the divine cannot be captured by mortals, nor can it be grasped by feet, hands, eyes, or in any way by the body. 'To whom will you liken the Lord? Or what likeness will you compare him to?' says the scripture. 'Did the craftsman make an image, or did the goldsmith, melting gold, cover it?' And so on about these things."

13.13.44 | ὁ τε κωμικὸς Ἐπίχαρμος σαφῶς περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ λέγει ὡδέ πως ὁ βίος ἀνθρώποις λογισμοῦ κάριθμοῦ δεῖται πάνυ· ζῶμεν δ' ἐν] ἀριθμῷ καὶ λογισμῷ· ταῦτα γὰρ σώζει βροτούς. εἴτα διαρρήδην ἐπιφέρει ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπους κυβερνᾶ, κατὰ τρόπον σώζει. εἴτα εἰ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων λογισμὸς, ἔστι καὶ θεῖος λόγος. ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπῳ πέφυκε περὶ βίου καταστροφάς. ὁ δέ γε τὰς τέχνας ἀπασι συνέπεται θεῖος λόγος, ἐκδιδάσκων αὐτὸς αὐτὸς αὐτούς, ὃ τι ποιεῖν δεῖ συμφέρον. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπος τέχναν εὔρ', ὁ δὲ θεός ταύταν φέρει. ὁ δέ γε τάνθρώπου λόγος] πέφυκεν ἀπό γε τοῦ θείου λόγου.

13.13.44 | The comic poet Epicarmus clearly says about reason in the Republic: 'Human life needs reasoning and counting very much; we live in number and reason; for these save mortals.' Then he boldly adds that 'reason governs humans and saves them in a way.' Then if there is human reasoning, there is also a divine reason. Reason is naturally about the destruction of life. And indeed, divine reason is present in all the arts, teaching them themselves what they should do for their benefit. For a human does not discover an art, but the god brings it forth. And indeed, the human reason has come

from the divine reason.

13.13.45 | ναὶ μὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαῖου πνεύματος κεκραγότος τί μοι πλῆθος τὸν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος, πλήρης εἰμὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, καὶ στέαρ ἄρνῶν καὶ αἷμα ταύρων οὐ βούλομαι." καὶ μετ' ὅλιγα ἐπαγαγόντος "λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γενέσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν." καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς αὐταῖς γράφει ταῖς λέξεσιν εἴ τις δὲ θυσίαν προσφέρων, ὡς Πάμφιλε, ταύρων τι πλῆθος, ἢ ἔριφων, ἢ νὴ Δίας τέρων τοιούτων, ἢ κατασκευάσματα, χρυσᾶς ποιήσας χλαμύδας, ἢ τοι πορφυρᾶς, ἢ δι' ἔλέφαντος ἢ σμαράγδου ζώδια, εὔνουν νομίζει τὸν θεὸν καθεστάναι, πεπλάνητ' ἐκεῖνος καὶ φρένας κούφας ἔχει. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα χρήσιμον πεψυκέναι, μὴ παρθένους φθείροντα καὶ μοιχώμενον, κλέπτοντα καὶ σφάττοντα χρημάτων χάριν. μηδὲ βελόνης ἔναμμ' ἐπιθυμῆς, Πάμφιλε· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον παρών.

13.13.46 | "Θεὸς ἐγγίζων ἐγώ είμι, καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸς πόρρωθεν. ποιήσει τι ἄνθρωπος ἐν κρυφαίοις, καὶ οὐκ ὄψομαι αὐτόν;" διὰ Ιερεμίου φησί. καὶ πάλιν ὁ Μένανδρος παραφράζων τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην "θύσατε θυσίαν δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ κύριον" ὥδε πως γράφει μηδὲ βελόνης, ὡς φίλτατ', ἐπιθυμήσης ἀλλοτρίας ποτέ. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς δικαίοις ἔργοις ἤδεται καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκοις. πονοῦντα δ' ἔξι τὸν ἴδιον ὑψῶσαι βίον, τὴν γῆν ἀροῦντα νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν. θεῷ δὲ θῦε διὰ τέλους δίκαιος ὁν, καὶ λαμπρὸς ὁν ταῖς χλαμύσιν, ὡς τῇ καρδίᾳ. βροντῆς ἔαν ἀκούσῃς, μὴ φύγῃς, μηδὲν συνειδὼς αὐτὸς αὐτῶ, δέσποτα. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς βλέπει σε πλησίον

13.13.45 | Yes, indeed, through the spirit of Isaiah crying out, 'What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? says the Lord; I am full of burnt offerings, and the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls I do not want.' And after a little, he adds, 'Wash yourselves, be clean, remove the evil from your souls.' And about these things, Menander the comic poet writes with these words: 'If someone brings a sacrifice, O Pamphilus, a multitude of bulls, or of goats, or by Zeus, other such things, or preparations, making cloaks of gold, or of purple, or animals made of ivory or emerald, he thinks he has made the god favorable, but he is deceived and has a light mind. For a man must be useful, not ruining virgins and committing adultery, stealing and killing for money. Do not even desire the point of a spear, Pamphilus; for the god sees you standing nearby.'

13.13.46 | "I am a god who is near, and not a god far away. Will a man do something in secret, and I not see him?" says Jeremiah. And again, Menander, paraphrasing that scripture, writes something like this: "Do not even desire the point of a spear, O dearest friend, for the god delights in just deeds and not in unjust ones. He allows the one who works hard to raise his own life, plowing the land by night and by day. But sacrifice to the god, being just, and shining in your cloaks, as in your heart. If you hear thunder, do not flee, being unaware of yourself, master. For the god sees you standing nearby."

παρών.

13.13.47 | "ἔτι σοῦ λαλοῦντος" φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ "ἐρῶ, ίδοὺ πάρειμι." Δίφιλος πάλιν ὁ κωμικὸς τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τῆς κρίσεως διαλέγεται οἵει σὺ τοὺς θανόντας, ὡς Νικήρατε, τρυφῆς ἀπάστης μεταλαβόντας ἐν βίῳ πεφευγέναι τὸ θεῖον ὡς λεληθότας; ἔστιν δίκης ὄφθαλμὸς, ὃς τὰ πάνθ' ὄρᾶ· καὶ γὰρ καθ' "Αἰδην δύο τρίβους νομίζομεν, μίαν δικαίων, ἐτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν εἰν' ὅρον. καὶ εἴ τοὺς δύο καλύψει ἡ γῇ φασὶ τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ, ἀπελθών κλέπτ", ἀποστέρει, κύκα· μηδὲν πλανηθῆς. ἔστι κάν "Αἰδουῆνπερ ποιήσει θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, οὐ τούνομα φοβερὸν, οὐδ' ἀν ὄνομασαιμ' ἑγώ. ὃς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πρὸς μῆκος βίονδίδωσιν. εἴ τις δὲ θνητῶν οἴεται τούφημέρανκακόν τι πράσσων τοὺς θεοὺς λεληθέναι, δοκεῖ πονηρὰ καὶ δοκῶν ἀλίσκεται, ὅταν σχολὴν ἄγουσα τυγχάνῃ δίκη. ὄρᾶθ' ὅσοι δοκεῖτε οὐκ εἶναι θεόν. ἔστιν γὰρ, ἔστιν. εἴ δέ τις πράττει κακῶς, κακὸς πεφυκὼς, τὸν χρόνον κερδαινέτω, χρόνῳ γὰρ οὕτος ὕστερον δώσει δίκην.

13.13.48 | συνάδει δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία διὰ τῶνδε ἔσται γὰρ, ἔσται κεῖνος αἰῶνος χρόνος, ὅταν πυρὸς γέμοντα θησαυρὸν σχάσῃ χρυσωπὸς αἴθήρ. ἡ δὲ βοσκηθεῖσα φλὸξάπαντα τάπιγεια καὶ μετάρσια φλέξει μανεῖσα καὶ μετ' ὄλιγα αὔθις ἐπιφέρει — — ἐπάν έπάν δὲ ἐκλίπῃ τὸ πᾶν, φροῦδος μὲν ἔσται κυμάτων ἅπας βυθὸς, γῇ δὲ ἐράνων ἔρημος, οὐδὲ ἄρ ἔτιπτερωτὰ φῦλα βλαστήσει πυρουμένη, κάπειτα σώσει πάνθ' ἢ πρόσθ'

13.13.47 | "The scripture says, 'While you are still speaking, I will say, behold, I am here.' Diphilus the comic poet discusses something like this about judgment: 'Do you think, O Nicerat, that the dead, having enjoyed all pleasure in life, have escaped the divine as if they were unnoticed? There is an eye of justice that sees everything. For we believe there are two paths in Hades, one for the just and another for the wicked. And even if the earth covers the two at all times, going away, he steals and takes away, be careful; do not be misled. There is also in Hades a place that the god, the master of all, will create, whose name is fearful, and I would not even name it. He gives a long life to those who sin. If any mortal thinks that on a day of darkness, doing something bad, the gods are unnoticed, he thinks evil and is caught in his own thoughts when justice happens to take its time. Look, all of you who think there is no god. There is, there is. And if someone does evil, being naturally bad, let him gain time, for this time will later give him justice."

13.13.48 | "And tragedy agrees with these things, for there will be a time of that age, when the golden sky will break open, filled with fire's treasure. And the flame that has been fed will burn all the land and the sea, raging madly. And after a little while, it will again spread— when everything disappears, the whole depth of the waves will be empty, and the land will be a deserted wasteland, and no winged creatures will sprout from the burned

άπωλεσε.

13.13.49 | τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κάν τοῖς  
Ὀρφικοῖς εὐρήσομεν ὡδέ πως γεγραμμένα  
πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αῦθις φάος ἐς  
πολυγηθὲςέξ ίερᾶς κραδίας ἀνενέγκατο,  
μέρμερα ρέζων. ἦν δὲ ὄσιως καὶ δικαίως  
διαβιώσωμεν, μακάριοι μὲν ἐνταῦθα,  
μακαριώτεροι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε  
ἀπαλλαγὴν, οὐ χρόνῳ τινὶ εύδαιμονίαν  
ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰῶνι ἀναπαύσεσθαι  
δυνάμενοι, ἀθανάτοις ἀλλοισιν ὀμέστιοι,  
αὐτοτράπεξοιέόντες, ἀνδρείων ἀχαιῶν  
(685) ἀπόκληροι ἀτειρεῖς, ἡ φιλόσοφος  
Ἐμπεδοκλέους λέγει ποιητική. οὐχ οὕτω τις  
μέγας ἔσται καὶ καθ' Ἑλληνας ὡς  
ὑπερέχειν τὴν δίκην, οὐδὲ σμικρὸς ὡς  
λαθεῖν.

13.13.50 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ταῦτα  
λέγει εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ  
προσέδρευε, ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος·  
εῦ δ ἐπίβαινεάτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα  
κόσμοιο ἀνακτα, ἀθάνατον. αῦθις τε περὶ  
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀόρατον αὐτὸν λέγων, μόνῳ  
γνωσθῆναι ἐνὶ τινὶ φησι τὸ γένος Χαλδαίω,  
εἴτε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ λέγων τοῦτον, εἴτε καὶ τὸν  
υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτων, εἰ μὴ  
μουνογενῆς τις ἀπορρώξ φύλου  
ἀνωθενΧαλδαίων· ἔδρις γὰρ ἔην ἀστροιο  
πορείης,καὶ σφαιρῆς κίνη' ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς  
περιτέλλει,κυκλοτερές γ' ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ  
σφέτεγρον κνώδακα·πνεύματι δ' ἡνιοχεῖ  
περὶ τ' ἡέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.

13.13.51 | εῖτα, οἶον παραφράξων τὸ "ὸ  
οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον

earth, and then it will save everything that  
was lost before."

13.13.49 | "We will find similar things  
written in the Orphic texts, for having  
hidden all, he brought forth light again  
from the sacred heart, performing  
wonders. But if we live piously and justly,  
we will be blessed here, and even more  
blessed after our release from here, not  
having happiness for a certain time, but  
being able to rest in eternity, being  
companions of the immortal ones, being  
self-sufficient, being free from the brave  
Achaeans, as the philosopher Empedocles  
says in poetry. No one will be so great  
among the Greeks as to surpass justice, nor  
so small as to escape it."

13.13.50 | "And the same Orpheus says  
these things, looking toward the divine  
word, he was attentive to it, guiding the  
mind's deep vessel; he well stepped on the  
path, but he only saw the immortal lord of  
the world. Again, speaking about the god,  
saying he is invisible, he claims that only  
one person from the Chaldeans knows him,  
whether he is speaking of Abraham or his  
son, through these, if not some only-  
begotten one from the Chaldeans; for he  
was wise in the journey of the stars, and as  
the sphere moves around the earth, it is  
circular and equal, and beneath it is a base;  
and with spirit, he drives around the air  
and the flow."

13.13.51 | "Then, as if paraphrasing the  
saying, 'the heaven is my throne, and the

τῶν ποδῶν μου" ἐπιφέρει αύτὸς δ' αὖ  
μέγαν αὔθις ἐπ' πύρανὸν ἐστήρικται, χρυσέω  
ἐνὶ θρόωω· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκε, χεῖρα  
δὲ δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν  
Ωκεανοῖο ἔκτετακεν· ὄρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις  
ἔνδοθι θυμῷ, οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται  
κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντη αὐτὸς  
ἐπουράνιος, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα  
τελευτᾶ, ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσον ἡδὲ  
τελευτήν. ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν·  
τρομέω δέ γε γυῆα ἐν νόῳ. ἔξ ὑπάτου  
κραίνει, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις. διὰ γὰρ τούτων  
δεδήλωκε πάντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ προφητικὰ "ὅς  
ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃ τὸν οὐρανὸν, τρόμος λήψεται·  
καὶ ἀπὸ σοῦ ὅρη τακήσεται, ὡς ἀπὸ  
προσώπου πυρὸς τήκεται κηρός." καὶ τὰ  
διὰ Ἡσαίου "τίς ἐμέτρησε τὸν οὐρανὸν  
σπιθαμῇ καὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί;"

earth is the footstool of my feet,' he himself  
is again firmly set on high in the heavenly  
throne; the earth has been placed beneath  
his feet. And he has stretched out his right  
hand over the ends of the Ocean; the base  
of the mountains trembles within the heart,  
and it cannot bear the strong force. He is  
everywhere heavenly, and everything on  
earth comes to an end, holding both the  
beginning and the middle and the end.  
Otherwise, it is not lawful to speak of you; I  
tremble at your limbs in thought. He rules  
from the highest, and those things that are  
upon these. For through these, he has made  
clear all those prophetic words: 'whoever  
opens the heaven will be seized by  
trembling; and from you, mountains will  
shake, as wax melts before the fire.' And  
those through Isaiah: 'who has measured  
the heaven with a span and all the earth  
with a measure?'"

13.13.52 | Πάλιν ὅταν αἴθέρος ἡδ' Άΐδου,  
πόντου, γαίης τε τύραννε, ὃς βρονταῖς  
σείεις βριαρὸν δόμον Οὐλύμποιο, δαίμονες  
ὸν φρίσσουσι, θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος, ὡς  
Μοῖραι πείθονται, ἀμείλικτοί περ  
έοῦσαι· ἄφθιτε, μητροπάτωρ, οὐ θυμῷ  
πάντα δονεῖται, ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλησί  
τε πάντα καλύπτεις, πρηστῆρσι σχίζων  
πλατὺν αἰθέρα. σὴ μὲν ἐν ἄστροις τάξις  
ἀναλλάκτοισιν ἐφημοσύναισι τρέχουσα· σῶ  
δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεστᾶσιν  
πολύμοχθοι ἄγγελοι, οἵσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς  
ὡς πάντα τελεῖται. σὸν μὲν ἔαρ λάμπει νέον  
ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισι· σὸς χειμῶν, ψυχραῖσιν  
ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν, σάς ποτε  
βακχευτὰς Βρόμιος διένειμεν ὄπώρας.

13.13.52 | "Again, when the air and Hades,  
the sea, and the earth are in turmoil, he  
who shakes the strong house of Olympus  
with thunder, the demons shudder at him,  
and the crowd of gods fears him, to whom  
the Fates are obedient, even though they  
are unyielding; immortal mother,  
everything trembles in your heart, you who  
stir the winds and cover everything with  
clouds, splitting the wide air with storms.  
Your order runs among the stars with  
unchanging regularity; and at your fiery  
throne stand the hard-working angels, who  
take care of mortals as everything is  
completed. Your spring shines with new  
flowers of purple; your winter, coming with  
cold clouds, once we distributed the  
autumn to the Bacchic revelers."

13.13.53 | εῖτα ἐπιφέρει, ὥητῶς παντοκράτορα ὄνομάζων τὸν θεὸν ἄφθιτον, ἀθάνατον, ὥητὸν μόνον ἀθανάτοισιν. ἐλθὲ, μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων, κρατερῆ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ, φρικτὸς, ἀήττητος, μέγας, ἄφθιτος, δὸν στέφει αἰθήρ. διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μητροπάτωρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γένεσιν ἐμήνυσεν, ἐνδέδωκε δὲ ἀφορμὰς τοῖς τὰς προβολὰς εἰσάγουσι τάχα καὶ σύζυγον νοῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ· παραφράζει δὲ ἔκεινας τὰς προφητικὰς γραφὰς, τὴν τε διὰ Ὁσηὴ "ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντὴν, κτίζων πνεῦμα, οὐ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελίωσαν" καὶ τὴν διὰ Μώσεως "ἴδετε ἴδετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἔτερος πλὴν ἐμοῦ. ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ, καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω πατάξω, κάγω ἵασομαι. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἔξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου." αὐτὸς δ' ἔξ αγαθοῖ κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα, κατὰ τὸν Ὄρφέα.

13.13.53 | "Then he clearly brings forth the name of the all-powerful god, immortal, eternal, the only one spoken of among the immortals. Come, greatest of all gods, with strong necessity, terrible, unconquered, great, immortal, whom the ether crowns. For through the mother of all, he not only revealed the birth from non-existence, but also gave opportunities to those who might perhaps understand the projections of the god; he explains those prophetic writings, such as through Hosea: 'Behold, I bring a strong thunder, creating spirit, whose hands have founded the army of heaven;' and through Moses: 'See, see that I am, and there is no other god besides me. I kill, and I make alive; I strike, and I heal. And there is no one who can be rescued from my hands.' He himself plants good from good for mortals and cold war, according to Orpheus."

13.13.54 | τοιαῦτα καὶ ὁ Πάριος Ἀρχίλοχος λέγει ὡς Ζεῦ. σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐΚ ἀνθρώπους ὄρᾶς λεωργά τε καὶ ἀθέμιστα. πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀσάτω ὁ Ὄρφεὺς Ὄρφεὺς χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος Ὄκεανοιοπάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκε. ταῦτα ἐμφανῶς ἐκεῖθεν εἴληπται "κύριος σώσει κατοικουμένας, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην δλην καταλήψεται τῇ χειρὶ 5 ὡς νοσσιὰν, κύριος δὲ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἴσχυι· αὐτοῦ" ὡς φησιν Ἰερεμίας "καὶ ἀνορθώσας τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ. ἔτι πρὸς τοῖσδε Φωκυλίδης μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους δαίμονας καλῶν, τοὺς μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους διὰ τούτων παρίστησιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀποστάτας τινὰς παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλ' ἄρα δαίμονές είσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε

13.13.54 | "Such things are said by Parian Archilochus: 'O Zeus, your power is in the sky, but you see the deeds of men, both their works and their lawless acts.' Again, let Orpheus sing to us: he stretched out his right hand over the ends of the Ocean

ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακὸν ἀνέρος  
ἐκλύσασθαι.

13.13.55 | καλῶς οὖν καὶ Φιλήμων ὁ  
κωμικὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν ἔκκόπτει διὰ  
τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν οὐδεμίᾳ τύχη  
θεὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτοματον ὃ  
γίγνεταιώς ἔτυχ' ἐκάστῳ, προσαγορεύεται  
τύχη. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς οὐδὲ  
θεοῖς λέγει) αὐθαίρετα πάντα  
πέλονται, νόσφι Δῖός· κεῖνος γὰρ ἔχει τέλος  
ἡδὲ καὶ ἀρχήν. ὁ τε Ὁρφεὺς ἵὲν κράτος, εἰς  
δαίμων γένετο, μέγας οὐρανὸς αἴθων, ἐν δὲ  
τὰ πάντα τέτυκται, ἐνῷ τάδε πάντα  
κυκλεῖται, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τούτοις.

13.13.56 | Πίνδαρος δὲ ὁ μελοποιὸς οὗν  
ἐκβακχεύεται ἄντικρυς εἰπὼν τί θεός; ὅ τι  
τὸ πάντα καὶ πάλιν θεός ὁ πάντα τεύχων  
βροτοῖς. ἐπὰν δὲ εἴπῃ τί ἔλπει σοφίαν  
όλιγον τοι ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν; τὰ θεῶν  
βουλεύματα ἐρευνᾶσαι βροτέᾳ φρενὶ<sup>2</sup>  
δύσκολον θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἔφυ,  
ἔκειθεν ἔσπακε τὴν διάνοιαν τίς ἔγνω νοῦν  
κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;

13.13.57 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσίοδος δι' ᾧν γράφει  
συνάδει τοῖς προειρημένοις, μάντις δ'  
οὐδείς ἔστιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων δστις  
ἀν εἰδείη Ζῆνός νόον αἰγιόχῳ. εἰκότως  
ἄρα Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις,  
καὶ αὐτὸς κατακολουθήσας Ἡσιόδῳ,  
πάμπαν δ' ἀθανάτων ἀφανῆς νόος  
ἀνθρώποισι, γράφει.

13.13.58 | Πάλιν τοῦ Μώσεως εἰς μόχθους

13.13.55 | "Therefore, Philemon the comic poet cuts out idolatry with these words: 'There is no luck from the gods for us, there is none, but what happens is called luck, as it occurs to each person.' Sophocles the tragic poet says: 'Even the gods say that all things happen by chance, far from Zeus; for he has both the end and the beginning.' And Orpheus says: 'One power became a great spirit, the bright sky, in which everything is made, in which all things are surrounded, fire and water and earth, and all that is upon these.'"

13.13.56 | "Pindar the composer boldly asks: 'What is a god? Whatever is all things and again, a god who makes all things for mortals.' But when he says: 'Why do you hope that a man has wisdom, more than another man? It is hard to search out the plans of the gods with a mortal mind; for he was born from a mortal mother. From there, who has understood the mind of the lord? Or who has become his counselor?'"

13.13.57 | "But Hesiod also agrees with what has been said before, 'There is no mortal man who can know the mind of Zeus, the one who holds the aegis.' Therefore, Solon the Athenian rightly says in his elegies, following Hesiod, 'The mind of the immortals is completely hidden from humans.'"

13.13.58 | "Again, a certain poet, not

καὶ πόνους διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τέξεσθαι  
τὴν γυναικα προφητεύσαντος ποιητής τις  
οὐκ ἄσημος γράφει Ούδέ ποτ'  
ῆμαρΠαύσονται καμάου καὶ ὄζύος, ούδέ τι  
νύκτωρΣτεινόμενοι χαλεπάς δὲ θεοὶ  
δώσουσι μερίμνας.

13.13.59 | ἔτι "Ομηρος μὲν εἰπὼν αὐτὸς δὲ  
χρύσεια παὴρ ἐπίταινε τάλαντα· δίκαιον  
τὸν θεὸν μηνύει. Μένανδρος δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς  
ἀγαθὸν ἐρμηνεύων τὸν θεόν φησιν, ἀπαντί<sup>τ</sup>  
δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταταιεύθὺς  
γενομένω μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίουἀγαθός·  
κακὸν γὰρ δαίμον οὐ νομιστέονεῖναι, βίον  
βλάπτοντα χρηστόν. εἴται ἐπιφέρει ἀπαντα  
δ' ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν· ἡτοι πάντα θεὸν  
ἀγαθὸν λέγων, ἦ, ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐν πᾶσι  
τὸν θεόν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.

13.13.60 | Πάλιν αὖ Λίσχύλος μὲν ὁ  
τραγῳδοποιὸς τὴν Δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ  
παρατιθέμενος οὐκ ὁκνεῖ καὶ ὑψιστον  
Αὐτὸν προσαγορεύειν διὰ τούτων χώριζε  
θνητῶν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ μὴ δόκειδοιον αὐτῷ  
σάκινον καθεστάναι.οὐκ οἰσθά γ' αὐτόν.  
ποτὲ μὲν ὡς πῦρ φαίνεται,ἀπλατος ὁρμῇ,  
ποτὲ δ' ὕδωρ, ποτὲ γνόφος,καὶ θηρὶν  
αὐτὸς γίνεται παρεμφερής,καὶ θηρὶν  
αὐτὸς γίνεται παρεμφερής,ἀνέμω, νεφέλῃ  
τε, κάστραπῇ, βροντῇ, βροχῇ.ὑπηρετεῖ δ'  
αὐτῷ θάλασσα, καὶ πετραι,καὶ πᾶσα πηγὴ,  
χῦδατος συστήματα·τρέμει δ' ὅρη καὶ γαῖα,  
καὶ πελώριοςβυθὸς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὄρεων  
ὑψίστου θεοῦ. ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐκεῖνο  
παραφράζειν τὸ "ἀπὸ παροιώπου κυρίου  
τρέμει ή γῆ;"

unknown, writes about Moses, 'Never will they stop their toil and suffering, nor will they rest at night, being troubled. The gods will give them hard worries.'"

13.13.59 | "Still, Homer says, 'The father stretches out golden scales.' He reveals the just god. Menander, the comic poet, interpreting the god well, says, 'A spirit stands by every man, who is born good and leads him in life; for a bad spirit should not be thought to harm a good life.' Then he adds, 'All that is good is from the god.' Either he is saying that every god is good, or, more likely, that in all things the god is good."

13.13.60 | "Again, Aeschylus, the tragic poet, presenting the power of the god, does not hesitate to call him the highest, saying, 'Separate the god from mortals, and do not think that he stands like a man. You do not know him. Sometimes he appears like fire, unstoppable in force; sometimes like water, sometimes like darkness, and he becomes similar to wild beasts, and he becomes similar to wild beasts, to wind, to cloud, and to lightning, to thunder, to rain. The sea serves him, and the rocks, and every spring, and the systems of water; the mountains tremble, and the earth, and the vast depth of the sea, and the height of the mountains, when he looks down with the fierce eye of the master; for all things are possible for the highest god.' Does it not seem to you that this explains the phrase, 'the earth trembles at the presence of the lord'?"

13.13.61 | Έπὶ τούτοις ὁ μαντικώτατος Ἀπόλλων, μαρτυρῶν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγειν ἀναγκάζεται περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἥνικα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευον οἱ Μῆδοι, ὡς ἐδεῖτό τε καὶ ἱκέτευε τὸν Δία περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. ἔχει δὲ ὅδε ὁ χρησμὸς οὐ δύναται Πάλλας Δί’ Ὄλύμπιον ἔξιλάσασθαι, λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις, καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῷ πολλοὺς δ’ ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δῶσει, οἴ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ῥεεύμενοι ἐστήκασι, δείματι παλλόμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

13.13.61 | "On this matter, the most prophetic Apollo, bearing witness to the glory of the god, is forced to speak about Athena, when the Medes were invading Greece, as he begged and prayed to Zeus about Attica. The oracle goes like this: 'Pallas cannot appease Zeus the Olympian, pleading with many words and dense cunning. He will give many temples of the immortals to fierce fire, where now they stand, dripping with sweat, trembling with fear,' and the rest of it."

13.13.62 | Θεαρίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως γράφει "Α ἀρχὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὰ μὲν ὄντως ἀληθινὰ μία. κείνα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τέ ἐστιν ἐν καὶ μόνον." ούδέ τις ἔσθ' ἔτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος, Ὁρφεὺς λέγει· ὡς πειθόμενος ὁ κωμικὸς Δίφιλος μικωτατα Τὸν ὄντα πάντων φησι) πατέρα,. . . .— — τοῦτον διὰ τέλους τίμα, μόνον ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων εὐρετὴν καὶ κτίστορα.

13.13.62 | "The philosopher Thearidas writes in his work On Nature, 'The beginning of all things is truly one. For in the beginning, there is one and only one.' No one exists apart from the great king, says Orpheus; to whom the comic poet Diphilus, obeying, says, 'The one who is, he calls the father of all... Honor him for the end, the finder and creator of so many good things.'"

13.13.63 | εἰκότως τοίνυν ὁ Πλάτων' ἔθίζει τὰς βελτίστας φύσεις ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ μάθημα, ὃ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν εἶναι μέγιστον, ἵδεῖν τε τάγαθὸν καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάβασιν. τοῦτο δὴ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ὄστράκου ἀν εἴη περιστροφὴ, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ, ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινὸς ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινὴν τοῦ ὄντος οὖσαν ἐπάνοδον, ἦν δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθῆ φήσομεν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ταύτης μετασχόντας τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους κρίνει, ἔστε μὲν δὴ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ, λέγων· οἱ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ πάντη είς.

13.13.63 | Therefore, it is fitting that Plato teaches that the best natures reach the study, which we said before is the greatest, to see the good and to ascend that ascent. This, it seems, is not a turning of shells, but a guiding of the soul, from a certain night of day to the true ascent of being, which we will indeed call true philosophy. And those who participate in this are judged to be of the golden race, so that all are indeed brothers, he says; but those of the golden race are the most precise and in every way.

13.13.64 | τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρα καὶ ποιητοῦ ξυμπάντων ἐμφύτως καὶ ἀδιδάκτως ἀντιλαμβάνεται πάνταπρὸς πάντων, τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα συμπαθοῦντα, τῶν δὲ ζώων τῶν ἐμψύχων τὰ μὲν ἥδη ἀθάνατα, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐργαζόμενα· τῶν δέ τοι θνητῶν τὰ μὲν ἐν φόβῳ καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὄχούμενα, τὰ δὲ αὐτεξουσίω λογισμῷ. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντες "Ἐλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, γένος δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῶν γεωργούντων οὕτε νομάδων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν δύναται ζῆν, μὴ προκατειλημμένον τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος πίστει. διὸ πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος ἐῶν, πὰν δὲ ἐσπερίων ἀπτόμενον ἡόνων, βόρειόν τε καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῷ νότῳ πάντα, μίαν ἔχει καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πρόληψιν περὶ τοῦ καταστησαμένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἴ γε καὶ τὰ καθολικώτατα τῶν ἐνεργημάτων αὐτοῦ διαπεφοίτηκεν ἐπ' ἵσης πάντα.

13.13.65 | Πολὺ δὲ πλέον οἱ παρ' Ἐλλησι πολυπράγμονες φιλόσοφοι, ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου ὄρμώμενοι φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ μόνῳ καὶ δυνατωτάτῳ καὶ τεχνικωτάτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλλίστων αἰτιωτάτῳ τὴν προνομίαν ἔδωκαν, τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις, εἴ μὴ κατηχηθεῖεν χηθεῖεν πρὸς ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὅπως νοεῖσθαι πέφυκε τὸν θεὸν, μόνον δὲ, ὡς ἥδη πολλάκις είρήκαμεν, κατὰ περίφρασιν ἀληθῆ."

13.13.66 | Τοσαῦτα καὶ ὁ Κλήμης. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διὰ μακροτέρων ἡμῖν ἡ κατὰ Πλάτωνα παρέστη φιλοσοφία συνωδὸς οὖσα κατὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς Ἑβραίων δόγμασιν, (ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἀγάμεθα τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τοῦ ἀληθοῦς

13.13.64 | Thus, the father and creator of all things naturally and without teaching understands everything in relation to all. The inanimate things share feelings, while among the living creatures, some are already immortal, and others work each day. Among mortals, some are still held in fear and by their mother while in the womb, while others have free will and reasoning. And all humans, both Greeks and non-Greeks, cannot live without being influenced by the belief in something greater. Therefore, every nation has its own beliefs, and all those who touch the lands of the West, the North, and the South share the same view about the established leadership, if indeed the most universal of their actions have been equally spread among all.

13.13.65 | Much more so, the busy philosophers among the Greeks, starting from the non-Greeks, have given their preference to the invisible, unique, most powerful, and most skillful cause of all things, along with the other best causes. If these things were not taught to us, they would not know, nor would they understand how to think of the divine. Only, as we have said many times, they express it in a true way.

13.13.66 | Thus, Clement also says this. But since the philosophy according to Plato has been presented to us as being very similar to the teachings of the Hebrews, (in which we also honor the man of true gratitude), it is time to examine what these things are,

εύγνωμοσύνης,) ὡρα ἐπιθεωρῆσαι τίνα ταῦτ' εἶναι φαμεν ἐφ' ὃν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως περὶ αὐτὸν διακείμεθα, τὴν δὲ νενομισμένην βάρβαρον τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν προτιμῶμεν φιλοσοφίας.

## Section 14

13.14.1 | Τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια θεοπρόπια καὶ χρησμοὺς θείας ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμεως περιέχοντα, θεόν τε αὐθέντην ἐπιγραφόμενα, καὶ πιστούμενά γε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν διὰ τῆς τῶν μελλόντων προρρήσεως, διά τε τῶν συμφώνων τοῖς θεοπίσμασιν ἀποτελεσμάτων, πάσης λέγεται διεψευσμένης διανοίας ἔκτὸς τυγχάνειν. τὰ γοῦν θεῖα λόγια ἀγνὰ, καὶ ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον, δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ, κεκαθαρισμένον ἐπταπλασίως, ἀνείρηται.

13.14.2 | ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲ μὴν ἐτέρου του τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις σοφῶν, οἱ θνητῆς διανοίας ὅμμασιν ἐπικήροις τε στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις, ὅναρ ὕσπερ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπαρ, τῆς τῶν ὄντων φύσεως ἐπὶ φαντασίαν ἐλθόντες πολὺ τὸ κρῆμα τοῦ ψεύδους τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀληθεῖ συνεπηγέκαντο, ὡς μὴ ἀνευρεῖν ἀπάτης καθαρὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς μάθημα.

13.14.3 | αὐτίκα γοῦν βραχύ τι τῆς φιλαντίας εἰ ἐθελήσαίς ὑφεῖναι, καὶ φῶς αὐτὸ δυνάμει λογικῆς ούσιας ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, γνοίης ἀν τὸν θαυμάσιον φιλόφιλόσοφον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν δὴ μόνον πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀληθείας προθύρων ψαύσαντα, ὥλη φθαρτῇ καὶ ξοάνοις βαναύσων χερσὶν

regarding which we do not agree in the same way about him, while we prefer the commonly accepted foreign philosophy about him.

13.14.1 | The words of the Hebrews are prophetic and contain divine powers or human strength, referring to the true God, and they believe in the promise through the predictions of what is to come, as well as through the agreements with the established laws. It is said that all of this is outside of any false understanding. Indeed, the divine words are pure, like silver that has been refined, tested on the earth, and cleansed seven times.

13.14.2 | But the teachings of Plato are not like this, nor are those of other wise men among humans, who, with the eyes of mortal understanding and through clever guesses and images, see dreams as if they were real. They do not reach the true nature of things but instead carry a lot of the mixture of falsehood with the truth of nature, so that they cannot find a pure lesson free from deception within themselves.

13.14.3 | Indeed, if you are willing to let go of a little of your self-love and to look at the light of true reason, you would recognize that wonderful philosopher, the one who alone among all the Greeks touched the doors of truth. He was made from perishable matter and shaped by the rough

είς άνδρείκελον σχῆμα κατεσκευασμένοις τὴν τῶν θεῶν προσηγορίαν καταισχύνοντα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ μέγα τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας ὕψος, δι’ ἣς τὸν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν εἰδέναι τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς διετέίνατο, ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐξ ὑπερκοσμίων ἀψίδων εἰς τὸν κατωτάτω βυθὸν τῆς θεομισοῦς εἰδωλολατρίας τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνωθούμενον· ὡς μὴ διατρέπεσθαι τὸν Σωκράτην καταβῆναι φάντα εἰς Πειραιᾶ προσευχόμενον τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον ἐορτὴν τοὺς πολίτας τότε πρῶτον ἐπιτελοῦντας θεασόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἀλεκτρύνα τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ θῦσαι δημολογοῦντα προστάξαι, τόν τε πάτριον Ἑλλήνων ἔξηγητὴν, τὸν ἔγκαθήμενον ἐν Δελφοῖς δαίμονα, θειάζοντα.

hands of craftsmen into a statue that dishonored the names of the gods. And after the great height of his eloquence, through which he sought to know the father and creator of all things, he came down from the lofty heights of the heavenly realms to the lowest depths of the idolatry hated by God, crowded among the people of Athens. So that Socrates would not be turned away, he went down to the Piraeus to pray to the goddess and to see the foreign festival that the citizens were celebrating for the first time, and to offer a rooster to Asclepius, while acknowledging the divine guide of the Greeks, the spirit that resides in Delphi, who speaks the truth.

13.14.4 | διὸ καὶ είκότως τῆς ἀφιλοσόφου πληEUSEBII θύος τὴν αἴτιαν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης ἐπιγράψαιτο ἄν. ἀνάλαβε γοῦν σμικρὸν ἄνωθεν τὸν λόγον, καὶ θέα οἵα σοι ὁ πάνσοφος μετὰ τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ἀφθάρτους ἰδέας, καὶ μετὰ θεὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον αἴτιον, καὶ μετὰ νοερὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους οὐσίας, περὶ τῆς πανδήμου δόξης ἐνομοθέτει, λέγων

13.14.4 | Therefore, it would be reasonable to attribute the cause of superstitious deception to the unphilosophical worship of the godless. So take up a small part of the argument from above, and see how the all-wise one, along with the incorporeal and eternal ideas, and with the first and second cause of the divine, and with the intelligible and immortal essences, established the universal law, saying...

13.14.5 | “Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων εἴπειν καὶ γνῶναι τὴν γένεσιν μεῖζον ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς. πιστευτέον δὲ τοῖς εἱρηκόσιν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὖσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δέ που τοὺς ἐαυτῶν προγόνους εἰδόσιν· ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καίπερ ἄνευ εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων λέγουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς οίκεια φασκόντων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. οὕτως οὖν κατ’ ἔκείνους ἡμῖν ἡ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν

13.14.5 | Now, to speak about the other gods and to know their origins is greater than what we have discussed. We should trust what has been said before, as they claim to be descendants of the gods, and surely they know their own ancestors. Therefore, it is impossible to doubt the children of the gods, even if they speak without images or necessary proofs. But as they claim their own, we should believe them as they follow the law. Thus, let us

θεῶν ἔχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω· Γῆς τε καὶ  
Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὡκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς  
ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ Φόρκυς Κρόνος τε  
καὶ Ῥέα, καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ  
Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς Ἡρα τε καὶ πάντες  
ὅσους ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους  
αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τοὺς τούτων ἄλλους  
ἔκγόνους."

speak about the origins of these gods: from Earth and Sky, Oceanus and Tethys were born. From them came Phorkys, Cronus, and Rhea, and all those after them. From Cronus and Rhea came Zeus, Hera, and all those we know as their siblings, as well as the other descendants of these.

13.14.6 | Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπολειπτέος ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, οὐ κατὰ φιλόσοφον, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ συμφώνως, τὰς μυθικὰς τῶν ποιητῶν γενεαλογίας καθυποκρινάμενος, αὐτοῦ μὲν γάρ ἦν ἀκοῦσαι φάντος ἐν Πολιτείᾳ τάδε. "ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, μύθοις ὑψόμεθα καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους. δεῖ γάρ δὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτὸν δύνασθαι τούς τε μείζους καὶ τοὺς ἐλάττους· ἢ οὐκ οἴει; "Ἐγωγε, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔννοω οὐδὲ τοὺς μείζους τίνας λέγεις. οὓς Ἡσίοδός τε καὶ Ὁμηρος, εἶπον, ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί. οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδεῖς συντιθέντες ἔλεγόν τε καὶ λέγουσι, "τὰ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τεθειμένα.

13.14.6 | Because of these things, the philosopher should be left to us, not in a philosophical way, nor agreeing with himself, pretending the mythical genealogies of the poets. For he was to hear these things spoken in the Republic: 'In the greater tales, I said, we will see myths and the lesser ones. For it is necessary that there be the same type and that both the greater and the lesser can be the same; do you not think so?' 'I do,' he said; 'but I do not understand whom you mean by the greater ones.' 'Those whom Hesiod and Homer, I said, tell us about, and the other poets. For these, surely, have made up false myths for humans and both tell and speak them,' the smaller ones having been placed before.

13.14.7 | πάλιν τε αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ τὰ δι' ᾧ  
ἔφησεν Εξαλείψομεν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐπους ἀρξάμενοι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐών θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ," καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς δι' ᾧ τε  
ἐπίλεγει

13.14.7 | "Again, it was also his to say that we will erase these things. So I said, starting from this verse, I would want to be a helper serving another," and the following things; because of which he chooses.

13.14.8 | "Πάλιν δὴ Ὁμήρου δεησόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν μὴ ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλέα θεὰς παῖδα, ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔτεϋπτιον, καὶ τὰ τούτοις

13.14.8 | Again, we will ask Homer and the other poets not to make Achilles the son of a goddess, sometimes lying on his side, and at other times on his back, and the things

έπόμενα. οἵς ἐπάγει

that follow these.

13.14.9 | "Ἡ Δία, καθευδόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τε ἀνθρώπων ὡς μόνος ἐγρηγορώς, ἂν ἔβουλεύσατο, τούτων πάντων ἥρδίως ἐπιλαθόμενον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκπλαγέντα ἴδοντα τὴν Ἡραν, ὥστε μηδ' εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐλθεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενον χαμαὶ συγγίνεσθαι κορύδου δίκην· καὶ λέγοντα ὡς οὕτως ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἔχεται, ὡς οὐδὲ ὅτε πρῶτον ἐφοίτων πρὸς ἄλλήλους, φίλους λήθοντες τοκῆας, οὐδὲ Ἀρεος τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεσμὸν δι' ἔτερα τοιαῦτα."

13.14.10 | Ὄν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον είρημένων τί δῆτα βούλεται αύτῷ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα φωνὴ τοὺς μὲν ποιητὰς θεῶν παῖδας ὄνομάζουσα, καὶ τό τε ἀπιστεῖν αύτοῖς ἀδύνατου εἶναι φήσασα, χαίπερ ἀνευ εἰχότων καὶ ἀναγχαίων αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξεων τοὺς περὶ δεῶν μύδους πλάσαι μαρτυραμένη;

13.14.11 | Τίδè ἡ ἀλογος ἐδέλει πί στις, δέει τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας προβεβλη μένη; πῶς δὲ δεῶν Ούρανὸς χαὶ Γῆ πρῶτοι, ἐπειτα τούτων ἔκγονοι, Ὄκεανὸς καὶ Τηθὺς, Κρόνος τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸς Ὄμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου μυδευόμενοι παῖδες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἔκγονοι τούτων, ὅπότε ταῦτα αὐτὰ ἀνήρει λέγων

13.14.12 | "Οπερ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, χρὴ πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα Μέμφεσθαι, ἀλλως τε καὶ τις μὴ καλῶς ψεύδηται. Τί τοῦτο; "Οταν είκάζῃ τις κακῶς τῷ λόλῷ περὶ δεῶν Τε καὶ

13.14.9 | Or Zeus, while the other gods and humans were sleeping, being the only one awake, easily forgetting all that he had planned because of his desire for pleasure, and being so amazed upon seeing Hera that he did not even want to go into the bedroom, but wanted to lie down on the ground like a helmet; and saying that he was taken by desire, just as when first they were coming together, forgetting their parents, neither Ares nor Aphrodite being bound by Hephaestus for such other things.

13.14.10 | After saying these things, what does the voice want from him, calling the poets the children of the gods, and claiming that it is impossible to disbelieve them, even though they have no proof and cannot show evidence to create myths about the gods?

13.14.11 | What does the unreasonable one fear, being exposed to punishment from the laws? And how did Uranus and Gaia, the first gods, then their children, Oceanus and Tethys, Cronus, and all those who are mentioned by Homer and Hesiod as their children and siblings and descendants, when he speaks these same things?

13.14.12 | Therefore, I said, it is necessary first and most importantly to speak of Memphis, otherwise someone might not speak well of the gods and heroes. What is

ἡρώων, οῖοί είσιν, ὥσπερ γραφεὺς μηδὲν  
έοικότα γράφων οῖς ἀν ὄμοια βουληθῆ  
γράψαι." Καὶ πάλιν "Πρῶτον μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ,  
τὸ μέγιστον καὶ περὶ Τῶν μεγίστων ψεῦδος  
ὅ εἴπων οὐ καλῶς ἐψεύσατο, ὡς Οὐρανός  
τε είργαστο ἢ φησι δρᾶσαι αὐτὸν  
Ἡσίοδος, ὃ τε αὖ Κρόνος ἐτιμωρήσατο  
αὐτόν" καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἔξῆς.

this? When someone wrongly imagines about the gods and heroes, they are like a writer who writes nothing resembling what they want to write. And again, I said, the greatest lie about the greatest things is that the one who said it did not speak well, as Uranus did what Hesiod says he did, and that he himself was punished by Cronus, and so on.

13.14.13 | Πῶς δὲ οἱ νῦν ψευδεῖς καὶ οὐκ  
ἀληδεῖς ποιηταὶ πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ δεῶν  
ἐκγονοι λέγοιντ' ἀν; ἀλλὰ λὰ ρ τούτων δὴ  
χάριν ἀπολειπτέος μὲν ἡμῖν οὗτος, δέει  
δανάτου τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον  
καθυποκρινάμενος· τιμητέος δὲ Μωσῆς, τά  
τε Ἐβραίων λόγια καθαρᾶς ἔξεχόμενα  
διόλου τῆς μόνης ἀληδοῦς καὶ ἀπλανοῦς  
εύσεβείας. Θέα δὴ καὶ ἄλλο.

13.14.13 | How can the false and not truthful poets again be called the children of the gods? But for the sake of these, this one must indeed be left out, as he deceives the people of Athens; but Moses is to be honored, as the Hebrew writings are completely free from only the true and straightforward piety. Indeed, there is also another matter.

## Section 15

13.15.1 | Ἐβραῖοι τὴν μέσην τῶν λογικῶν  
φύσιν γεννητὴν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγέννητον εἶναι  
φασι. Ταύτην δὲ Είς νοεράς ούσιας  
διαιροῦντες τῷ λόγῳ πνεύμαα καὶ  
δυνάμεις καὶ θεοῦ λειτουργοὺς ἀγγέλους τε  
καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους ἐπονομάζουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
τούτων ἀποπτώσεως καὶ παρατροπῆς τὸ  
δαιμόνων γένος καὶ πάν τὸ τῆς ἐναντίας  
καὶ μοχθηρὰς ἐνεργείας εἶδος εἰσάγουσι.

13.15.1 | The Hebrews say that the middle nature of the rational beings is generated, but not ungenerated. They divide this into intelligible essences and call the spirits, powers, and angels of God, as well as archangels, by this name. From their fall and deviation, they introduce the race of demons and all kinds of opposing and evil energies.

13.15.2 | διόπερ ούδε θεοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν  
ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς μὴ τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν  
ἀχώριστον τῆς φύσεως ἐπαγομένους, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τὸ εἶναι οὐ παρ' ἐαυτῶν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ  
πάντων αἵτιον ἐπενηγμένους, τό τε εὐ  
εῖναι, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, αὐτό τε τὸ ἀθάνατον,  
οὕτε τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ ὁμοίως οὔτε τῷ

13.15.2 | Therefore, they do not allow those who do not bring forth the good and beautiful to be considered gods, but also say that being does not come from themselves, but is derived from the cause of all things. They attribute both existence and virtue, as well as immortality, neither

δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα συνέστη ἐπιφερομένους.

to the god above all nor to those through whom all things were created.

13.15.3 | ὃ δέ γε Πλάτων' ἀσωμάτους μὲν καὶ νοητὰς ούσίας τὰς λογικὰς φύσεις Ἐβραίοις ὑφίστησι, διαπίπτει δὲ τῆς ἀκολουθίας, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγεννήτους εἶναι φάσκων αὐτὰς, ὥσπερ καὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, ἔπειτα ἔξ απορροίας τῆς τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου συστῆναι λέγων. οὐδὲ γάρ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος αὐτὰς γεγονέναι διδόναι βούλεται.

13.15.3 | But Plato presents the incorporeal and intelligible essences as rational beings to the Hebrews. He falls into a contradiction, first claiming that they are ungenerated, just like every soul, and then saying that they exist from the overflow of the first cause. For he does not want to say that they came into being from non-being.

13.15.4 | διὸ καὶ πλειόνων θεῶν ὑποτίθεται εἶναι γένος, ἀπορροίας τινὰς καὶ προβολὰς τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου αἰτίου τῷ λόγῳ ὑφιστάμενος· εἶναί τε ἀγαθὰς τὴν φύσιν, οὐδαμῶς οἴας τε τῆς οἰκείας ἐκστῆναι ἀρετῆς, ἔνθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι δοξάζει.

13.15.4 | Therefore, he suggests that there is a race of many gods, establishing them through some overflow and projections of the first and second cause. He claims that their nature is good, and in no way does it lack its own virtue, from which he believes they are considered gods.

13.15.5 | τούτων δὲ ἔτερον εἶναι τὸ δαιμόνων φῦλον ἡγεῖται, φαυλότητος ὃν καὶ μοχθηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τροπῆς δεκτικόν· ὃν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους εἶναί τε καὶ ὄνομάζεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τὰ Ἐβραίοις δοκοῦντα τούτον ὑποθέμενος τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν ὅπόθεν ὑποστῆναι φάναι εἰκὸς τοὺς δαίμονας.

13.15.5 | He considers the nature of demons to be different, as they are of a lower quality and are open to evil and a turn towards the worse. Among them, some are good, while others are bad and are called accordingly. But he does not explain where it seems likely that demons come from, while suggesting this way of thinking among the Hebrews.

13.15.6 | ἐκ μὲν γάρ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὕλης οὐδεὶς ἀν νοῦν ἔχων εἴποι· ἀλογος γάρ αὕτη λογικὰ δ' οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἔξ ἀλόγου τεχθείη, λογικοὶ δὲ οἱ δαίμονες. εἰ δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπορροίας οὗτοι, καὶ πῶς οὐ θεοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς γεγεννηκόσιν ἔξ ἵσου; πῶς δ' ἀγαθῆς οὕσης πηγῆς οὐχ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς; κακίας δ' ἐν τοῖς

13.15.6 | For no one with reason would say that it comes from the material of bodies, for that is without reason. And something rational could never come from something irrational, but demons are rational. If they come from the overflow of the superior beings, then how can they not be gods themselves, equal to those who gave birth

δευτέροις ἡ βλάστη πόθεν ἔξεφυ τῆς ρίζης  
ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δι' ἀγαθῶν ιούσης;

to them? And if there is a good source, how can what comes from it not be similar? And from where does the growth of evil in the second beings come, if it arises from the root above that is good and through good?

13.15.7 | πῶς δ' ἀν γένοιτο πικρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
γλυκέος; εἰ δὲ δὴ σκότους παντὸς καὶ  
πικρίας πάσης χαλεπώτερον τὸ τῶν  
μοχθηρῶν δαιμόνων γένος, πῶς ἐξ  
ἀπορροίας λέγοιτ' ἀν τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων  
φύσεως; εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῆσδε ἦν, οὐδὲ ἀν ἑτράπη  
τῆς οἰκείας λήξεως· εἰ δ' ἡλλοίωται, οὐδὲ ἦν  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπαθέτην φύσιν· εἰ δ' οὐ  
τοιάδε ἀδεῖ ἦν, καὶ πῶς θεοὶ εἶεν, οἱ δὴ  
φαύλης οἶοι τε εἰσὶ μετέχειν μοίρας;

13.15.7 | How could something bitter come from something sweet? And if the nature of evil demons is worse than all darkness and bitterness, how could it come from the overflow of superior beings? If it came from this source, it would not change from its own nature. And if it is altered, then its original nature would not be unchanging. If it were not like this, then how could they be gods, who are thought to share in the fates of the lesser beings?

13.15.8 | ἀλλ' εἰ μήτε τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων  
ἀπορροίας μήτ' αὖ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὕλης  
εἶεν, ὥρα ἡ ἀγεννήτους λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τῇ  
ἀγεννήτῳ ὕλῃ τῶν σωμάτων τρίτον στῖφος  
λογικῶν ἀγεννήτων ἀντιπαρατάττειν τῷ  
Θεῷ, οὐκέτι τε τὸν θεὸν πάντων εἶναι  
ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων  
ἀποδιδόναι, ἡ τοῦθ' ὁμολογοῦντας, καὶ τὰ  
μὴ ὄντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐβραίων  
συμφώνως ὁμολογεῖν λόγοις.

13.15.8 | But if they are neither from the overflow of superior beings nor from the material of bodies, then it is right to say they are of low birth and to place a third group of irrational beings alongside the lowly material of bodies against the god. This would no longer allow for the god to be the creator and maker of all things, or to agree with this, and to say that he makes what does not exist, as the words of the Hebrews also agree.

13.15.9 | τίνα δὲ οἵδε περὶ τῶνδε  
ἐκδιδάσκουσι; τὴν μέσην τῶν λογικῶν  
φύσιν οὕτ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ὕλης οὕτ'  
ἐξ ἀπορροίας τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ  
τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσης ούσιας  
ὑποστῆναι φασι· μὴ οὖσαν δὲ πρότερον  
δυνάμει δραστηρίῳ τοῦ πάντων αἴτιον  
γεγονέναι.

13.15.9 | What do they teach about these things? They say that the middle nature of rational beings is neither from the material of bodies nor from the overflow of the lowly and always the same substance. They claim it does not exist before having the power to act as the cause of all things.

13.15.10 | ταύτη τε μὴ θεοὺς εῖναι, μηδὲ κυρίως τῆσδε τῆς προσηγορίας ἡξιῶσθαι, ὅτι μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν ἰσοῦται τῷ πεποιηκότι, μηδ' ἀχώριστον ὄμοιώς τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφέλκεται, τό τε τῷ καλῷ ἐναντίον ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ δέξοιτ' ἄν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τῆς περὶ τὸ κρεῖττον σχολῆς, ἥν αὐτὸς ἔκαστος αὐτῷ κατείργασται, τῆς οἰκείας ὄρμῆς τε καὶ γνώμης πεφυκὼς κύριος. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τάδε. μετίωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἔτερα.

13.15.10 | With this, they do not consider them to be gods, nor do they think they deserve this title, because their nature is not equal to the one who made them, nor is the good inseparable from the god. The good is opposed to the beautiful, and they would accept the slighting of the study about what is greater, which each person has formed for themselves, being guided by their own impulse and opinion. These things are also true about these matters. But let us move on to other things.

## Section 16

13.16.1 | Ἐβραίοις ὄμοιώς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὄμοιαν αὐτὴν εἴπων, οὐκέτ' ἀκολούθως αὐτοῖς ποτὲ μὲν αὐτῆς τὴν οὐσίαν σύνθετον εἶναι φησιν, ὡς ἄν μέρος μὲν τι ἐπαγομένης τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχουσης αἰτίας, καὶ μέρος περὶ τὰ σώματα μεριστῆς φύσεως.

13.16.1 | The Hebrews also assume that the soul is immortal and say it is similar to the god. They no longer consistently claim that its essence is composite, as if it were a part taken from the indivisible and always the same causes, and a part from the divisible nature of bodies.

13.16.2 | λέγει δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι γενέσει καὶ ἀρετῇ προτέραν καὶ πρεσβυτέραν ψυχὴν σώματος, ὡς δεσπότιν καὶ ἄρχουσαν ἀρξιμένου, συνεστήσατο ἐκ τῶνδε καὶ τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχουσης οὐσίας, καὶ τῆς αὖ περὶ τὰ σώματα γινομένης μεριστῆς, τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ συνεκεράσατο οὐσίας εἶδος, τῆς τε ταυτοῦ φύσεως αὖ πέρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου, καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ συνέστησεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ἀμεροῦς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ σώματα μεριστοῦ. καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὅντα συνεκεράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ἴδεαν, τὴν θατέρου φύσιν δύσμικτον

13.16.2 | Therefore, he says to them in the Timaeus, 'The soul is older and more noble than the body, as its master and ruler. It was formed from these things and in this way. From the indivisible and always the same essence, and from the divisible nature of bodies, a third essence was mixed in the middle, combining the nature of both, and thus it was created from both the indivisible and the divisible. Taking these three existing things, he mixed them into one whole idea, forcing together the difficult nature of the other into the same form.'

οῦσαν εἰς ταύτῳ ξυναρμόττων βίᾳ."

13.16.3 | "Ἐνθεν εἴκότως αύτῷ καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας αύτῇ συνῆπται. ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν ὅδε περὶ ψυχῆς οὐσίας διεύληφε, τοτὲ δὲ ἄλλο τι χειρὸν περιτίθησιν αύτῇ ἀτόπημα, τὴν θείαν ἔκείνην καὶ οὐράνιον, τὴν ἀσώματον καὶ λογικὴν, τὴν θεῷ ὁμοίαν καὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς μέγεθος τὰς οὐρανίους ὑπερπαίουσαν ἀψῆδας, ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ἐπὶ ὄνους καὶ λύκους καὶ μύρμηκας καὶ μελίττας κατιέναι φάσκων, καὶ τούτ' ὡς πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς παρακαλῶν τῷ λόγῳ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀποδείξεως.

13.16.4 | λέγει δ' οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς τάδε Καὶ μέχρι γε τούτου πλανῶνται, ἔως ἂν τῇ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς τοῦ ξυνεπακολουθοῦντος ἐπιθυμίᾳ πάλιν ἐνδεθῶσιν εἰς σῶμα. ἐνδοῦνται δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥθη, ὅποια ἄττ' ἀν καὶ μεμελετηκοῦται τύχωσιν ἐν βίῳ.

13.16.5 | Τὰ ποῖα δὴ ταῦτα λέγεις, ὡς Σώκρατες; Οἶον τοὺς μὲν τὰς γαστριμαργίας τε καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ φιλοποσίας μεμελετηκότας καὶ μὴ διευλαβουμένους εἰς τὰ τῶν ὄνων γένη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων θηρίων εἰκός ἐνδύεσθαι· ἥ ούκ οἴει; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἰκός λέγεις.

13.16.6 | Τοὺς δέ γε ἀδικίας καὶ τυραννίδας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς προτετιμηκότας εἰς τὰ τῶν λύκων τε καὶ Ἱεράκων καὶ ἱκτίνων γένη· ἥ ποι ἀν ἄλλοσε φαῖμεν τὰς τοιαύτας ἴεναι; Ἀμέλει, ἔφη ὁ Κέβης, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ούκοῦν, ἥ δ' ὅς, δῆλα δὴ καὶ τἄλλα, ἥ

13.16.3 | From this, it is reasonable that the passive aspect is connected to the essence itself. But sometimes he divides the essence of the soul in this way, and at other times he adds something worse to it, that divine and heavenly quality, which is incorporeal and rational, similar to the god and surpassing the heavenly spheres through virtue. He claims that it comes down from the transcendent realm to donkeys, wolves, ants, and bees, and he urges us to believe this without any proof.

13.16.4 | Therefore, he says in the work about the soul: 'They wander until they are bound again to a body by the desire that follows the bodily form. They enter, as is likely, into such habits as they may have experienced and practiced in life.'

13.16.5 | What kind of things are you saying, Socrates? It seems likely that those who have practiced gluttony, arrogance, and love of drink, and who do not take care, will enter into the forms of donkeys and such beasts, don't you think? Indeed, you are quite right.

13.16.6 | Those who have preferred injustice, tyranny, and robbery will go into the forms of wolves, hawks, and other such creatures; or where else would we say they go? 'Certainly,' said Kebes, 'into such forms.' 'Well then,' he said, 'it is clear that

έκάστη ἵοι κατὰ τὰς αύτῶν ὁμοιότητας τῆς μελέτης.

13.16.7 | Δῆλον δὴ, ἔφη· πῶς δ' οὕ; Ούκοῦν εύδαιμονέστατοι, στατοι, ἔφη, καὶ τούτων είσὶ καὶ εἰς βέλτιστον τόπον ίόντες οἵ την δημοτικήν καὶ πολιτικήν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες, ἥν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἔξ ἔθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγονοῦνταν, ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ; νοῦ; δὴ οὗτοι εύδαιμονέστατοι; "Οτι τούτους είκός ἔστιν εἰς τοιοῦτον πάλιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πολιτικὸν καὶ ἡμερον γένος, ἥπου μελιττῶν ἡ σφηκῶν ἡ μυρμήκων, ἥ καὶ εἰς αὐτό γε πάλιν τὸ ἀυθρώπινον γένος."

13.16.8 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ Φαιδρῷ δὲ ἐπάκουουσον ὅποια διέξεισιν "Εἰς μὲν γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὅθεν ἥκει ψυχὴ οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται ἐτῶν μυρίων· οὐ γὰρ πτεροῦται πρὸ τοσούτου χρόνου, πλὴν ἡ τοῦ φιλοσοφήσαντος ἀδόλως ἥ παιδεραστήσαντος μετὰ φιλοσοφίας. αὗται δὲ τρίτῃ περιόδῳ τῇ χιλιετεῖ, ἐὰν ἔλωνται τρὶς ἐφεξῆς τὸν βίον τοῦτον, οὕτω πτερωθεῖσαι τρισχιλιοστῷ ἔτει ἀπέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι, ὅταν τὸν πρῶτον βίον τελευτήσωσι, κρίσεως ἔτυχον· κριθεῖσαι δὲ αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς δικαιωτήρια ἐλθοῦσαι δίκην τίνουσιν, αἱ δὲ εἰς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τινὰ τόπον ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης κουφισθεῖσαι διάγουσιν ἀξίως οὖ ἐν ἀνθρώπου εἶδει ἐβίωσαν βίου. τῷ δὲ χιλιοστῷ ἀμφότεραι ἀφικνούμεναι ἐπὶ κλήρωσίν τε καὶ αἱρεσίν τοῦ δευτέρου βίου, αἱροῦνται ὃν ἀν ἐθέλῃ ἐκάστη. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ εἰς θηρίου βίον ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐκ θηρίου, ὃς ποτε ἀνθρωπος ἦν, πάλιν εἰς ἀνθρωπον."

they will go into whatever matches their own habits.'

13.16.7 | It is clear, he said; how could it not be? Therefore, those who have practiced civic and political virtue, which they call moderation and justice, are the happiest and go to the best place. This virtue comes from habit and practice, without philosophy and reason; are these not the happiest? It is likely that they will return to a political and gentle kind, like bees, wasps, or ants, or even back to the human kind.

13.16.8 | And in the Phaedrus, listen to what he explains: 'For the soul does not arrive at the same place from which it comes for countless years; it does not take flight for such a long time, except for the one who has philosophized truly or has engaged in pederasty with philosophy. These souls, in the third cycle of a thousand years, if they choose this life three times in a row, will take flight in the three-thousandth year. The others, when they finish their first life, undergo judgment; and when judged, some go to the just rewards under the earth, while others, having been lifted by judgment, live in some place in the sky according to how they lived in human form. In the thousandth year, both groups arrive at the lottery and choices for the second life, and each chooses whatever it desires. There, indeed, a human soul can arrive at the life of a beast, and from a beast, one who was once a human can return to being a human.'

13.16.9 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Φαιδρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τοιάδε γράφοντος ἄκουε· Ἰδεῖν μὲν γάρ ἔφη ψυχὴν τήν ποτε Ὄρφέως γενομένην κύκνου βίον αἰρουμένην, μίσει τοῦ γυναικείου γένους διὰ τὸν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων θάνατον οὐκ ἔθέλουσαν ἐν γυναικὶ γεννηθεῖσαν γενέσθαι. Ἰδεῖν δὲ τὴν Θαμύρου ἀηδόνος ἐλομένην· Ἰδεῖν δὲ κύκνον μεταβάλλοντα εἰς ἀνθρωπίνου βίου αἴρεσιν, καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα μουσικὰ ὡσαύτως, ὡς τὸ εἴκος.

13.16.10 | τὴν δὲ λαχοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἐλέσθαι λέοντος βίον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου, φεύγουσαν ἀνθρωπον γενέσθαι, μεμνημένην τῆς τῶν ὅπλων κρίσεως. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἔχθρὰν καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη ἀετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον. ἐν μέσοις δὲ λαχοῦσαν τὴν Ἀταλάντης ψυχὴν, κατιδοῦσαν μεγάλας τιμᾶς ἀθλητοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ δύνασθαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ λαβεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην Ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἐπειοῦ τοῦ Πανοπέως εἰς τεχνικῆς γυναικὸς ιοῦσαν φύσιν πόρρω δὲ ἐν ὑστάτοις Ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ Θερσίτου πίθηκον ἐνδυομένην.

13.16.11 | κατὰ τύχην δὲ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως λαχοῦσαν πασῶν ὑστάτην, αἰρησομένην ίέναι· μνήμῃ δὲ τῶν προτέρων πόνων φιλοτιμίας λελωφηκυῖαν ζητεῖν περιιοῦσαν χρόνον πολὺν βίον ἀνδρὸς ἴδιώτου καὶ ἀπράγμονος, καὶ μόγις εὐρεῖν κείμενόν που καὶ παρημελημένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ εἰπεῖν ἰδοῦσαν ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἀν ἔπραξε καὶ πρώτη λαχοῦσα, καὶ ἀσμένην ἐλέσθαι. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ θηρίων ὡσαύτως εἰς ἀνθρώπους ίέναι καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα, τὰ μὲν

13.16.9 | And these things are in the Phaedrus; but in the Republic, listen to this: he said that a soul once became a swan, choosing the life of a swan, out of hatred for the female sex because it did not want to be born as a woman due to the death caused by them. And it saw the soul of Thamyris, the nightingale, choosing its life. It also saw a swan changing into a choice of human life, and other musical creatures in the same way, as is fitting.

13.16.10 | And the soul that chose the life of a lion was that of Ajax, son of Telamon, fleeing to become a human, remembering the judgment of the arms. And the one that chose the life of an eagle was also hostile to the human race because of the sufferings. In the middle, the soul of Atalanta chose, seeing great honors of a male athlete, unable to pass by but wanting to take them. After her, it saw the soul of Epicaste, the daughter of Panopaeus, going into the nature of a skilled woman, and far in the end, it saw the monkey of Thersites, the jester, dressed up.

13.16.11 | By chance, the soul of Odysseus chose last of all, wanting to go. Remembering the earlier labors, it sought to find a long life of a private man, one who does not meddle in things, and it could hardly find one lying somewhere, neglected by others. And it said, seeing that this is what it would have done if it had chosen first, and it was glad to choose. And from the other animals, likewise, they went into humans and into each other, with the

άδικα είς τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ δὲ δίκαια είς τὰ  
ἡμερα μεταβαλόντα, καὶ πάσας μίξεις  
μίγνυσθαι.”

13.16.12 | Τοσαῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ Πλάτων'  
εἰπὼν δῆλός ἐστιν Αἴγυπτιάζων τῷ  
δόγματι· οὐ γάρ Ἐβραίων ὁ λόγος, ὅτι μηδὲ  
ἀληθείᾳ φίλος. τοῦτο δ' οὐ καιρὸς  
ἀπελέγχειν, ὅτι μηδ' αύτὸς δι' ἀποδείξεων  
ἐνεχείρησε τῷ προβλήματι. τοσοῦτον δ'  
εὐλόγως τις ἀν ἐπισημήναιτο, ὡς οὐκ ἦν  
σύμφωνα τὸν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἄμα τῇ τελευτῇ  
τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐνθένδε  
ἀπαλλαττομένας δίκας είς Ἄιδου ὡν  
ἔδρασαν διδόναι κάκεῖσε τιμωρεῖσθαι είς  
ἄπειρον, καὶ πάλιν φάσκειν αύτὰς τοὺς  
ἐνταῦθα βίους κατὰ γνώμην οίκείαν  
αἱρεῖσθαι.

13.16.13 | ἐνδεῖσθαι γάρ αύτὰς είς σῶμά  
φησιν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς· καὶ τὰς  
μὲν ὕβρει καὶ γαστριμαργίᾳ ἐντραφείσας  
ὄνους γίνεσθαι, θηρίων τε ἄλλων  
ὑποδύνειν σώματα, κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' οὐ  
κατὰ δίκην ταῦτα αἱρουμένας· τοὺς δὲ  
ἀδίκους καὶ ἄρπαγας λύκους καὶ ἵκτηνας  
γίγνεσθαι, ἔθελοντας ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθόντας.  
εἴτα Ὁρφέως μὲν ψυχὴν κύκνον εἶναι  
θελῆσαι· Θαμύρου δὲ ἀηδόνος, Θερσίτην δὲ  
πιθήκου βίον ἐλέσθαι.

13.16.14 | ποῦ δ' ἀν εἴη τὰ τῆς μετὰ τὴν  
ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν κρίσεως, ἦν ἐν μὲν τῷ  
περὶ ψυχῆς ὑπογράφων φησὶν, ὡς  
“Ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωνται οἱ τετελευτηκότες εἰς  
τὸν τόπον οἵ δαίμων ἔκαστον κομίζει, . . .  
καὶ οἵ μὲν ἀν δόξωσι μέσως βεβιωκέναι,  
πορευθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα, ἀναβάντες

unjust ones going into wild animals and the  
just ones changing into tame ones, and all  
mixtures being mixed together.

13.16.12 | About the soul, Plato clearly  
speaks Egyptian words; for it is not the  
speech of the Hebrews, since it is not even a  
friend to the truth. But it is not the time to  
refute this, since he himself does not use  
proofs; he has relied on the problem.  
However, one could reasonably point out  
that it was not consistent to say at the same  
time that the souls of the wicked, being  
released from here, are to give accounts for  
their deeds in Hades and to be punished  
there endlessly, and again to claim that  
those souls choose their lives here  
according to their own judgment.

13.16.13 | For he says that they are  
compelled by the desire for a bodily form;  
and those who are raised in arrogance and  
gluttony become donkeys, while others  
take on the bodies of different wild  
animals, according to their own judgment,  
but not according to justice. The unjust and  
greedy become wolves and vultures,  
willingly coming to this. Then, the soul of  
Orpheus wishes to be a swan; the soul of  
Thamyris wants to be a nightingale, and  
Thersites chooses the life of a monkey.

13.16.14 | Where would the judgment after  
this release be, which he mentions in the  
writing about the soul, saying, 'When those  
who have died arrive at the place where  
each soul is taken by its spirit... those who  
seem to have lived moderately go to  
Acheron, and after boarding the vessels

ὰ δὴ αύτοῖς ὄχήματά ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τούτων ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ ἔκεī οἴκοῦσί τε καὶ καθαιρόμενοι τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων διδόντες δίκας ἀπολύονται, εἴ τις τι ἡδίκηκε, τῶν τε εὔεργεσιῶν τιμᾶς φέρονται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἔκαστος. οἱ δ' ἀν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἢ ἰεροσυλίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἢ φόνους ἀδίκους καὶ παρανόμονς πολλοὺς ἔξειργασμένοι, ἢ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα τυγχάνει ὄντα, τούτους δὲ ἡ προσήκουσα μοῖρα ῥίπτει εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὐ ποτε ἐκβαίνουσι.

that belong to them, they reach the lake, where they live and, after being cleansed of their wrongdoings, are released by giving accounts for what they have done wrong, while those who have done good receive honors according to their worth. But those who think they are hopeless because of the greatness of their sins, whether they have committed many and great sacrileges or many unjust and illegal murders, or any other such things, these are cast by their fitting fate into Tartarus, from which they never escape.'

13.16.15 | Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὕδε πη διῆλθε. περὶ δὲ τῶν εὔσεβῶν ἐπάκουουσον ὡς φησι "Τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε καμάτων ζῶσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις ἔτι τούτων καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται, ἃς οὐτε ῥάδιον δηλῶσαι οὕτε ὁ χρόνος ἱκανὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι."

13.16.15 | And this is how he spoke about the wicked. But listen to what he says about the pious: 'Those among them who are well-grounded in philosophy live entirely without toil into the next time, and they reach even more beautiful homes than these, which are neither easy to describe nor is the time sufficient in the present.'

13.16.16 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ Γοργίᾳ δὲ πρόσχες τί καί φησι Τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ δοσίως, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπίόντα οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εύδαιμονίᾳ ἔκτὸς κακῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως τε καὶ δίκης δεσμωτήριον, δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ίέναι... οἱ δ' ἀν τὰ ἔσχατα ἀδικήσωσι καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀδικήματα ἀνίατοι γένωνται, ἐκ τούτων τὰ παραδείγματα γίγνεται, καὶ οὗτοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ὄνινανται, ἀτε ἀνίατοι ὄντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ὄνινανται οἱ τούτους ὄρῶντες διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τὰς μεγίστας καὶ ὀδυνηρότατα καὶ φοβερώτατα πάθη πάσχοντας τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀτεχνῶς παραδείγματα ἀνηρτημένους ἔκεī Ἀιδουέν

13.16.16 | And in the Gorgias, pay attention to what he says: 'The one who has lived justly and piously, when he dies, goes to the islands of the blessed, living in complete happiness, free from evils. But the one who has lived unjustly and impiously goes to the prison of punishment and justice, which they call Tartarus... Those who commit the worst injustices and become hopeless because of such crimes become examples, and these themselves no longer find relief, being hopeless. Others, however, find relief by seeing them suffer the greatest and most painful and terrifying punishments for all time, serving as clear examples hanging there in Hades' prison, for those who always arrive from the unjust, witnessing

τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, τοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων  
ἀφικνουμένοις θεάματα καὶ νουθετήματα."

and being warned.'

13.16.17 | Ταῦτα πῶς ἀν δύναιτο συνάδειν  
τοῖς περὶ ἀμοιβῆς σωμάτων, ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν  
μετιοῦσαν αἰρεῖσθαι φάσκουσι, λόγοις;  
πῶς γὰρ ἀν ἡ αὐτὴ τιμωρίας καὶ  
δεσμωτήρια καὶ τοσαύτην δίκην εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ<sup>χρόνον</sup> μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε τελευτὴν ὑφέξει,  
καὶ πάλιν οἴα τις ἀνειμένη καὶ δεσμῶν  
έλευθέρα βίους ἔλοιτ' ἀν οὓς ἀν ἔθελη 5 εἰ  
δὲ τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν μέλλοι πάλιν αἰρεῖσθαι,  
καὶ ποῦ τὸ τῆς τίσεως τε καὶ δίκης  
δεσμωτήριον; ριον; μυρία δ' ἀν καὶ ἄλλα τις  
ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐπιλάβοιτ' ἀν τοῦ λόγου, ὃν οὐ  
καιρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν μηκύνειν.

13.16.17 | How could these things agree  
with those about the exchange of bodies,  
which they say the soul chooses? For how  
could the same punishment and prison and  
such a great penalty be endured for all time  
after death, and again, how could someone  
who is freed from chains choose lives as  
they wish? And if they are going to choose  
again based on pleasure, then where is the  
prison of punishment and justice? There  
are countless other points one could  
consider about this matter, but it is not the  
right time to extend the discussion.

13.16.18 | καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλισθημα τῆς  
τοῦ Πλάτωνος περὶ τῶνδε δόξης ταύτῃ πῃ  
πέφανται· τὸ δ' ἔτερον τῆς τοῦ δόγματος  
διασκευῆς, δι' οὐ τὸ μὲν τι θεῖον καὶ  
λογικὸν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ δέ τι μέρος  
αὐτῆς ἄλογον καὶ παθητικὸν τυγχάνειν  
ώρισατο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ γνωρίμων  
κατέγνωσται, ὡς μαθεῖν ἔνεστιν ἀπὸ τῶν  
τοιῶνδε λόγων

13.16.18 | And the first mistake of Plato  
about these beliefs has been shown; the  
second is the arrangement of the doctrine,  
through which he has defined that part of  
the soul is divine and rational, while  
another part is irrational and passive. And  
among those who share his views, it has  
been recognized that it is possible to learn  
from such words.

## Section 17

13.17.1 | "Περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα  
ψυχῆς, ᾧν φησιν ἔξ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ παθητῆς  
οὐσίας συστῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς ἔκ  
λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος τῶν μέσων τι  
χρωμάτων, ἔκεīνα ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι  
ἀνάγκη χρόνῳ διαστάσεως αὐτῶν  
γιγνομένης ἀφανισθῆναι αὐτὴν, ὡς τὴν τοῦ  
μέσου χρώματος σύστασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ οίκεία  
ἐκάστου ἔξ ὃν συνέστη ἐν χρόνῳ φύσει  
χωριζομένου. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, φθαρτὴν

13.17.1 | About the soul according to Plato,  
which he says is made up of an unchanging  
and changing substance by God, like a  
mixture of white and black colors, we must  
say that it is necessary for it to disappear  
over time as the mixture of colors does,  
separating into the individual parts from  
which it was formed in nature. If this is the  
case, then we declare the soul to be  
perishable, but not immortal.

άποφανοῦμεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀθάνατον τὴν  
ψυχήν.

13.17.2 | εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὄμοιογεῖται, μηδὲν  
τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει ὄντων ἄνευ τοῦ ἐναντίου  
εἶναι, τά τε ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν  
ἐναντίων φύσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
κεκοσμῆσθαι, φυλίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινωνίαν  
ἔμποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ, οἷον τῷ ξηρῷ πρὸς τὸ  
ὑγρὸν, καὶ τῷ θερμῷ πρὸς τὸ ψυχρὸν, τῷ  
τε βαρεῖ πρὸς τὸ κοῦφον, λευκῷ τε πρὸς τὸ  
μέλαν, γλυκεῖ τε πρὸς τὸ πικρόν, σκληρῷ τε  
πρὸς τὸ μαλακόν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις  
μίαν ἄλλην πάντων κοινωνίαν, τῇ τε  
ἀπαθεῖ οὐσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν παθητὴν, τὰ δὲ  
κραθέντα καὶ μιχθέντα χωρισμὸν τὸν ἀπ'  
ἄλλήλων ἐν χρόνῳ φύσει ἐπιδέχεται, ἡ δὲ  
ψυχὴ ἐξ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ παθητῆς οὐσίας  
γεγονέναι ὑποκείσεται, ἀνάγκη ὡς τὸ  
μέσον χρῶμα οὕτω καὶ ταύτην ἐν χρόνῳ  
φύσει ἀφανισθῆναι, τῶν ἐν τῇ συστάσει  
αὐτῆς ἐναντίων ἐπὶ τὴν οίκείαν φύσιν  
ἐπειγομένων.

13.17.3 | ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν καὶ τὸ φύσει  
βαρὺ, κάν νφ' ἥμιων ᾧ τινος ἔξωθεν  
φυσικῆς προσγενομένης αὐτῷ κουφότητος  
ἄνω φέρηται, ὡς αὐτὸ δμοίως ἐπὶ τὴν  
οίκείαν φύσιν κάτω βιάζεται; ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
τὸ φύσει κοῦφον κατὰ τὰς δμοίας ἔξωθεν  
αἴτιας κάτω φερόμενον, ὡς αὐτὸ δμοίως  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω βιάζεται; τὰ γὰρ ἐκ δύο τινῶν  
ἄλλήλοις ἐναντίων είς ταύτὸν συναχθέντα  
ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ εἶναι, μὴ τρίτου  
τινὸς τῆς τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας ἀεὶ ἐνόντος  
αὐτοῖς.

13.17.4 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ψυχὴ τρίτον τι  
πρᾶγμα ἐκ δύο ἐναντίων ἄλλήλοις

13.17.2 | For if this is agreed upon, nothing  
that exists in nature can be without its  
opposite. The things in the world are  
arranged by God from the nature of  
opposites, creating a bond and connection  
between them, like the dry with the wet,  
the hot with the cold, the heavy with the  
light, the white with the black, the sweet  
with the bitter, the hard with the soft, and  
all such pairs have a mutual relationship.  
The unchanging substance relates to the  
changing one, and the things that are mixed  
and combined can be separated from each  
other over time. The soul, having come  
from both the unchanging and changing  
substances, must necessarily disappear  
over time, just like a mixed color, as the  
opposites in its composition push towards  
their own nature.

13.17.3 | For we do not see the heavy thing  
being lifted up, even if it is made lighter by  
us or by some external natural cause; it is  
still forced down towards its own nature.  
Similarly, the light thing, when brought  
down by similar external causes, is also  
forced up towards the higher. For it is  
impossible for two opposites to be  
gathered together in the same thing  
without the presence of a third substance  
that always exists among them.

13.17.4 | But the soul is not a third thing  
made up of two opposites; it is simple and

σύνθετον, ἀπλοῦν δὲ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φύσει  
ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀσώματον· ὅθεν Πλάτων' καὶ οἱ  
μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἔφασαν εἶναι.

has the same nature, being unchanging and immaterial. Therefore, Plato and those with him said that it is immortal.

13.17.5 | ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ ψυχῆς  
καὶ σώματος κοινός ἐστι πάντων λόγος  
γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄνευ σώματος  
ἐκουσίως καὶ ἀκουσίως γιγνόμενα πάθη  
τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι λέγεται, οἷς μὲν πολλοὶ  
τούτῳ τεκμαιρόμενοι παθητὴν εἶναι τὴν  
οὐσίαν αὐτῆς, θνητὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσι  
καὶ σωματοειδῆ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀσώματον.

13.17.5 | Since the human being is made up of both soul and body, it is said that the feelings within us, whether they happen willingly or unwillingly, belong to the soul. Many people, reasoning from this, claim that the essence of the soul is changeable, saying that it is mortal and has a bodily nature, but not immaterial.

13.17.6 | ὃ δὲ Πλάτων' τῷ φύσει αὐτῆς  
ἀπαθεῖ προσηναγκάσθη τὴν παθητὴν  
οὐσίαν προσυφᾶναι. ὅτι δὲ μηδετέρως ἔχει,  
ἔξ ὧν ἐκάτεροι εἰρήκασι, Πλάτων τε καὶ οἱ  
ἄλλοι, πειρασόμεθα τῷ λόγῳ, τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν  
ἐνεργούσας δυνάμεις παραθέντες,  
προσβιβάσαι.”

13.17.6 | But Plato, being by nature unchanging, was forced to say that the essence of the soul is changeable. To see that neither is true, from what each has said, we will try to reason through it, presenting the active powers within us to support our argument.

13.17.7 | Ταῦτά μοι ἀπὸ τῶν Σεβήρου τοῦ  
Πλατωνικοῦ Περὶ ψυχῆς προκείσθω.  
σκέψαι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τόδε  
περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
φωστήρων ἀρχῆς.

13.17.7 | Let these things be taken from Severus the Platonist's work On the Soul. Also, consider this about the heavens and the stars within them.

## Section 18

13.18.1 | Συμφώνως Ἐβραίοις καὶ τὸν περὶ  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ φαινομένων  
ἀποδοὺς λόγον, καθ’ ὃν γεννητὰ εἶναι πρὸς  
τοῦ τῶν ὅλων αἵτίου πεποιημένα μετέχειν  
τε τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ φθαρτῆς οὐσίας  
συνέστη, οὐκέθ’ ὅμοιώς Ἐβραίοις σέβειν  
αὐτὰ νομιθετεῖ καὶ θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ὥδε  
φάσκων ἐν Ἐπινομίδι

13.18.1 | Agreeing with the Hebrews, he gives an account of the heavens and the visible stars, in which he says that the created things participate in both a physical and perishable essence, being made from the cause of all things. The Hebrews do not worship them in the same way, nor do they consider them as gods, as

he states here in the *Epinomis*.

13.18.2 | "Τίνα δὴ καὶ σεμνύνων ποτὲ λέγω θεὸν, ὃ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία; σχεδὸν οὐρανὸν, δὸν καὶ δικαιότατον, ὡς ξύμπαντες ἄλλοι δαίμονες ἅμα καὶ θεοὶ, τιμᾶν τε καὶ εὔχεσθαι διαφερόντως αὐτῷ· τὸ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴτιον ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡμῖν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πάντες ἀν ὄμολογοῦμεν."

13.18.3 | Εἶθ' ὑποβὰς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ προστίθησι ταῦτα "Θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὄρατοὺς, μεγίστους καὶ τιμιωτάτους καὶ ὀξύτατον ὄρῶντας πάντη, τοὺς πρώτους τὴν τῶν ἀστρων φύσιν λεκτέον, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τούτων αἰσθανόμεθα γεγονότα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἔχης δαίμονας, ἀέριον δὲ γένος, ἔχον ἔδραν τρίτην καὶ μέσην, τῆς ἐρμηνείας αἴτιον, εὐχαῖς τιμᾶν μάλα χρεών χάριν τῆς εύφρήμου διαπορείας."

13.18.4 | Διὰ τούτων θεοὺς εἰπών είναι τοὺς δηλωθέντας περὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῶν συστάσεως φυσιολογῶν ἐν Τιμαίῳ τάδε διεξέρχεται "Ο τι πυρ' πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα, τοῦτο ἀήρ πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅ τι ἀήρ πρὸς ὕδωρ, τοῦτο ὕδωρ πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ξυνέδησε καὶ ξυνεστήσατο οὐρανὸν ὄρατὸν καὶ ἀπτόν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων τοιούτων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεττάρων τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σῶμα ἐγενήθη δι' ἀναλογίας λογίας ὄμολογῆσαν, φιλίαν τε ἔσχεν ἐκ τούτων, ὥστ' εἰς ταύτὸν αὐτῷ ξυνελθὸν ἄλυτον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ξυνδήσαντος γενέσθαι."

13.18.5 | Εἶτ' ἐπιλέγει "Ψυχὴν δ' εἰς τὸ

13.18.2 | What kind of god do I speak of, O Megillus and Cleinias? Almost the whole heaven, which is also the most just, is honored and prayed to differently by all the other gods and spirits. And we would all agree that he is the cause of all good things.

13.18.3 | Then, adding to this, he says, 'As for the visible gods, the greatest and most honored, who see everything most clearly, we must first speak of the nature of the stars, and of all that we perceive after them. Following them, there are also spirits, a kind of air, which have a third and middle place, being the cause of interpretation, and it is necessary to honor them with prayers for the sake of a favorable journey.'

13.18.4 | By saying that the gods are those revealed about their first nature, he explains this in the *Timaeus*: 'Just as fire is to air, so air is to water, and just as air is to water, so water is to earth. These combined and formed the visible and tangible heaven. And because of these, the body of the universe was created from such things, and they agreed on the number four, and there was a bond of friendship among them, so that they came together into one, being inseparable from each other except by the one that brought them together.'

13.18.5 | Then he adds, 'Placing the soul in

μέσον αύτοῦ θεὶς διὰ παντός τε ἔτεινε καὶ ἔτι ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ περιεκάλυψε, καὶ κύκλῳ δὴ κύκλον στρεφόμενον οὐρανὸν ἐνα μόνον ἔρημον κατέστησε.”

its center, he stretched it throughout and covered the body from the outside with it, and thus he established one single heaven, turning in a circular motion.'

13.18.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ὑποβὰς ἐπιφέρει λέγων  
“Εξ οὗν λόγου καὶ διανοίας θεοῦ τοιαύτης  
πρὸς χρόνου γένεσιν, ἐνα γενηθῆ χρόνος,  
ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἀστρα,  
ἐπίκλην ἔχοντα πλάνητες, τες, εἰς  
διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου  
γέγονε· σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων  
ποιήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφορὰς,  
ἄς ή θατέρου περίοδος ἥει.”

13.18.6 | And again, he goes on to say,  
'From the reasoning and thought of such a  
god, time came into being. The sun and the  
moon, along with five other stars, which  
are called wandering ones, were created  
for the purpose of measuring and keeping  
track of time. And the god made each of  
their bodies and set them in their orbits,  
which the other period followed.'

13.18.7 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει “Δεσμοῖς τε ἐμψύχοις  
σώματα δεθέντα ζῶα τό τε προσταχθὲν  
ἔμαθε.”

13.18.7 | And he adds, 'Having bound living  
bodies with bonds, the creatures learned  
what was commanded.'

13.18.8 | Καὶ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νόμων  
καθόλου περὶ πάσης ψυχῆς ἀποφαίνεται  
λέγων ὅδε “Μεταβάλλει μέντοιγε πάνθ’  
ὅσα μέτοχά ἔστι ψυχῆς, ἐν ἐαυτοῖς  
κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιαν·  
μεταβαλόντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς  
εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον· μικρότερα μὲν  
τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβαλόντα ἐλάττω κατὰ τὸ  
τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλείω  
δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα μεταπεσόντα εἰς βάθος.”

13.18.8 | And in the tenth of the Laws, it is  
stated about every soul, saying this:  
'Indeed, all things that share in the soul  
change, having within themselves the cause  
of change. And as they change, they move  
according to the order and law of fate.  
Those that change less move downward  
less according to the surface of the land,  
but those that change more and are more  
unjust fall deeper.'

13.18.9 | Εἴ δὴ οὖν μεταβάλλει πάνθ’ ὅσα  
μέτοχά ἔστι ψυχῆς ἐν ἐαυτοῖς κεκτημένα  
τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιαν, οὐρανὸς δὲ καὶ  
ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη μέτοχά ἔστι ψυχῆς κατ’  
αὐτὸν τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἄρα  
μεταβάλλοι ἀν ἐν ἐαυτοῖς κεκτημένα τὴν  
τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ  
λόγον. πῶς οὖν πάλιν ἀιδίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι

13.18.9 | If indeed all things that share in  
the soul change, having within themselves  
the cause of change, then the heavens, the  
sun, and the moon are also shares in the  
soul according to Plato. Therefore, these  
would also change, having within  
themselves the cause of change according  
to his reasoning. How then can he say that

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεούς φησι, καίπερ ἐν σώματι φθαρτῷ ὄντας καὶ λυθῆναι οἵους τε;

13.18.10 | λέγει δ' οὖν πάλιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ 'Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗν πάντες ὅσοι τε περιπολοῦσι φανεγένεσιν ρῶς καὶ ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον ἀν ἔθελωσι θεοὶ ἔσχον, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὃ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας τάδε· θεοὶ θεῶν, ὃν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἄλυτα ἐμοῦ μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἔθελειν κακοῦ. δι' ἂ καὶ ἐπείπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστε, οὐδὲ ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν· οὕτι μὲν δὴ λυθῆσεσθέ γε, ούδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων οἵς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε ξυνεθεῖσθε."

13.18.11 | Ταῦτα ὡς Πλάτων'. εἰκότως δῆτα Μώσης καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια σέβειν μὲν ἀπαγορεύει ταῦτα καὶ θεοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀνω δὲ πρὸς τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν ἀνάγοντα, αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων ὅλου τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου δημιουργὸν, τὸν δὴ τὰ πάντα θείῳ λόγῳ συνδήσαντάτε καὶ συναρμοσάμενον, μόνον ἡγεῖσθαι θεὸν, καὶ μόνω τὴν σεβάσμιον ἀπονέμειν νομοθετεῖ τιμὴν 5 λέγων μὴ ἴδων τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, πλανηθεὶς προσκυνήσης αὐτοῖς."

13.18.12 | ἐρμηνεύει δὲ ταῦτα διασαφῶν

they are eternal and for this reason gods, even though they exist in a perishable body and can be broken?

13.18.10 | And he says again in the Timaeus: 'Since all those who wander about in visible forms and all who appear as long as they wish are gods, this one who created everything says to them: "Gods of gods, of whom I am the creator and father of works, unbreakable if I do not wish otherwise." Therefore, everything that is bound is also unbound. What is well put together and has a good structure wishes to be free from evil. Because of this, even though you have come into being, you are not immortal, nor are you entirely unbreakable. Indeed, you will not be broken, nor will you meet the fate of death, holding a bond greater and more powerful than my will, which you received when you came into being together.

13.18.11 | These are Plato's words. It is fitting that Moses and the Hebrew writings forbid the worship of these and consider them as gods, leading up to the all-ruling God, who is indeed the creator of the sun, the moon, and all the stars of the entire sky and universe. They say that he alone is to be considered God, and to him alone they give the honored title of lawgiver, saying that one should not look at the sun, the moon, or all the stars, and that one should not be misled into worshiping them.

13.18.12 | Philo, who was educated in the

είς πλάτος ὁ τὰ Ἐβραίων πεπαιδευμένος Φίλων ὅδέ πη λέγων πρὸς λέξιν "Τινὲς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας ὑπέλαβον εῖναι θεοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἵς τὰς τῶν γιγνομένων ἀπάντων αἴτιας ἀνέθεσαν. Μωσῆς δ' ὁ κόσμος ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ γεννητὸς, καὶ πόλις ἡ μεγίστῃ ἀρχοντας ἔχουσα καὶ ὑπηκόους· ἀρχοντας μὲν τοὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντας, οἷον πλάνητες καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες· ὑπηκόους δὲ τὰς μετὰ σελήνην ἐν ἀέρι καὶ περιγείους φύσεις.

Hebrew tradition, explains these things in detail, saying: 'Some believed that the sun, the moon, and the other stars were powerful gods, to whom they assigned the causes of all things that come into being. But Moses thought that the world was created and that it was a great city with rulers and subjects. The rulers are all those in the sky, such as the wandering and fixed stars; the subjects are those that follow the moon in the air and the surrounding natures.'

13.18.13 | τοὺς δὲ λεχθέντας ἀρχοντας οὐκ αύτεξουσίους, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τοῦ πάντων πατρὸς ὑπάρχους οὐ μιμουμένους τὴν ἐπιστασίαν κατορθοῦν, θοῦν, πρυτανεύοντος κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον ἔκαστον τῶν γεγονότων τοὺς δὲ μὴ βλέποντας τὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα ἡνίοχον τοῖς ὑπεζευγμένοις, ὡς αὐτουργοῖς, τῶν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων ἀνάψαι τὰς αἴτιας. ὃν τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὁ ἱερώτατος νομοθέτης εἰς ἐπιστήμην μεθαρμόζεται λέγων ὅδε "μὴ ίδων τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλανηθεὶς προσκυνήσῃς."

13.18.13 | The rulers mentioned are not independent, but exist under one father of all. They do not achieve their authority by imitating it, but by following the guidance of the one who governs according to justice and law. Each of the things that come into being is directed by him, while those who do not see the driver who is in control are misled into thinking they are the creators of the things that happen in the world. The most sacred lawgiver changes their ignorance into knowledge, saying: 'Do not be misled into worshiping the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the things in the sky.'

13.18.14 | εύθυνβόλως πάνυ καὶ καλῶς πλάνον εἶπε τὴν τῶν είρημένων ὡς θεῶν ἀποδοχήν. οἱ γὰρ ιδόντες ἥλιον μὲν προσόδοις καὶ ἀναχωρήσει τὰς ἔτησίους ὥρας συνισταμένας, ἐν αἷς αἱ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις ὠρισμέναις χρόνων περιόδοις τελεσφοροῦνται, σελήνην δ' ὑπηρέτιν καὶ διάδοχον ἥλιον νύκτωρ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ἀνειληφυῖαν ὃν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἥλιος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας κατὰ τὴν πρὸς

13.18.14 | Very wisely and well, he spoke about the acceptance of those mentioned as gods. For those who see the sun's rising and setting, which mark the yearly hours, notice that the births of animals, plants, and fruits happen in specific periods of time. The moon serves as a helper and successor to the sun, taking care of and protecting what the sun oversees during the day. The other stars, according to their relationship to the earth, are many and

τάπιγεια συμπάθειαν μυρία τῶν ἐπὶ  
διαμονῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνεργοῦντάς τε καὶ  
δρῶντας, πλάνον ἐπλανήθησαν ἀνήνυτον  
μόνους εἶναι τούτους θεοὺς  
ὑποτοπήσαντες.

13.18.15 | εἰ δ' ἔσπούδασαν διὰ τῆς  
ἀπλανοῦς βαδίζειν ὁδοῦ, καν εύθὺς  
ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι καθάπερ αἴσθησις  
ὑποδιάκονος νοῦ γέγονε, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
καὶ οἱ αἴσθητοὶ πάντες ὑπηρέται τοῦ  
νοητοῦ συνέστησαν.

13.18.16 | Καὶ ἐπάγει λέγων “Ωσθ'  
ὑπερβάντες τῷ λογισμῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρατὴν  
ούσιαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀειδοῦς καὶ ἀοράτου  
καὶ μόνη διανοίᾳ καταληπτοῦ τιμὴν ἴωμεν,  
ὅς οὐ μόνον θεός ἐστι νοητῶν τε καὶ  
αἴσθητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπάντων δημιουργός.  
έὰν δέ τις τὴν τοῦ ἀιδίου καὶ ποιητοῦ  
Θεραπείαν ἄλλῳ προσνέμῃ νεωτέρῳ καὶ  
γεννητῷ, φρενοβλαβής ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ  
ἐνοχος ἀσεβείᾳ τῇ μεγίστῃ.”

13.18.17 | Ταῦτα τῆς Ἐβραίων εύσεβείας  
τὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀκήρατά τε καὶ θεῖα  
μαθήματα πρὸ τῆς τετυφωμένης  
φιλοσοφίας τετιμήκαμεν. τί με δεῖ μηκύνειν  
καὶ τἄλλα τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς φῶς ἄγειν, ἐκ  
τῶνδε παρὸν καὶ τὰ ἐμοὶ νῦν σεσιγημένα  
τεκμαίρεσθαι; οὐ μὴν διαβολῆς ἔνεκα  
ταῦτα φάναι προήχθην, ἐπεὶ καὶ σφόδρα  
ἔγωγε ἄγαμαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ πάντων  
μᾶλλον Ἑλλήνων φίλον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τιμῶ,  
τὰ ἐμοὶ φίλα καὶ συγγενῆ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὰ ἵσα  
διόλου, πεφρονηκότα, Μωσέως δ' ἐν  
παραθέσει καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις  
προφητῶν τὸ ἐλλιπὲς ἐπιδεικνὺς αὐτοῦ τῆς

active in the workings of the whole  
universe. Misled, they thought these were  
the only gods.

13.18.15 | But if they had made an effort to  
walk the straightforward path, and if they  
had quickly realized that just as perception  
is a servant of the mind, in the same way,  
all the things that can be sensed are  
servants of the things that can be  
understood.

13.18.16 | And he urges, saying, 'Therefore,  
let us rise above all visible things and seek  
the honor of the eternal, invisible, and only  
mind. This mind is not only a god of the  
things that can be understood and sensed,  
but also the creator of all things. But if  
anyone attributes the care of the eternal  
and the creator to something younger and  
created, let them be marked as insane and  
guilty of the greatest impiety.'

13.18.17 | We have honored these  
teachings of the Hebrews as truly pure and  
divine before the confused philosophy.  
Why should I prolong and bring to light the  
other things of Plato, when from these I can  
now draw conclusions about what I have  
kept silent? Indeed, I do not speak these  
things out of slander, since I greatly admire  
the man, and I consider him a friend and  
honor him more than all the Greeks,  
especially regarding what is dear and  
related to me, even if not exactly the same. I  
have noted the shortcomings of his  
understanding in the writings of Moses and

διανοίας.

the prophets among the Hebrews.

13.18.18 | καίτοι παρῆν τῷ καταμέμφεσθαι παρεσκευασμένῳ μυρὶ ἄττα καταιτιᾶσθαι, οἷα τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ σοφὰ αὐτῷ περὶ γυναικῶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ διατεταγμένα, ἢ οἶα τὰ περὶ ἔρωτος ἐκθέσμου σεσεμνολογημένα ἐν Φαίδρῳ. σὺ δ', εἰ καὶ τούτων ἐπακοῦσαι ποθεῖς, ἀνάγνωθι τάσδε αὐτοῦ λαβὼν τὰς φωνάς

13.18.18 | And yet, there were many things ready to be criticized, such as the serious and wise things he arranged about women in the Republic, or those serious discussions about love in the Phaedrus. But if you desire to hear any of these, read these words of his, taking them as they are.

## Section 19

13.19.1 | "Ισως δὴ, εἶπον, παρὰ τὸ εἰώθδος γελοῖα ἀν φαίνοιτο πολλὰ περὶ τὰ νῦν δὴ λεγόμενα, εἴ πράξεται ἢ λέγεται. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Τίδ', ἢν δ' ἔγών, γελοιότατον αὐτῶν ὅρᾶς; ἢ δῆλα δὴ δτι γυμνὰς τὰς γυναικας ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις γυμναζομένας μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ μόνον τὰς νέας, ἀλλ' ἡδη καὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας, ὥσπερ τοὺς γέροντας ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, ὅταν ḥυσοὶ καὶ μὴ ἡδεῖς τὴν ὄψιν ὅμως φιλογυμναστῶσι."

13.19.1 | Perhaps, I said, many things about what is now being said would seem ridiculous, if it happens as it is said. And indeed, he replied. What do you see as the most ridiculous of them? Is it not clear that women are being trained naked in the wrestling schools with the men, not only the young ones, but even the older ones, just like the old men in the gymnasiums, when they are not pleasant to look at but still love to exercise?

13.19.2 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει ἔξῆς "Ο δὲ γελῶν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ γυμναῖς ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοῦ βελτίστου ἔνεκα γυμναζομέναις, ἄτε δὴ τοῦ γελοίου σοφίας δρέπων καρπὸν, οὐδὲ οἶδεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐφ' ᾧ γελᾷ."

13.19.2 | And he adds next, 'The man who laughs at women training naked for the best reason, as if he is reaping the fruit of ridiculous wisdom, does not even realize, it seems, what he is laughing at.'

13.19.3 | Φησὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐβδόμῳ τῶν Νόμων "Ως ἄρα δεήσει τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παῖδας ὄρχεῖσθαι δηλαδὴ καὶ γυμνάξεσθαι μανθάνειν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν παισὶν ὄρχησταὶ, ταῖς δὲ ὄρχηστρίδες ἀν εἰν πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδειότερον." Τίθησι δὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε "Η δὲ αὖ που παρ' ἡμῖν

13.19.3 | He says also in the seventh book of the Laws, 'Therefore, it will be necessary for boys and girls to learn to dance and to exercise naked; and for the boys to be dancers, and for the girls to be dancers as well, not less suitable for hard work.' And he adds this, 'But the girl and mistress

κόρη καὶ δέσποινα, εύφρανθεῖσα τῇ τῆς χορείας παιδείᾳ, οὐκ ὡήθη δεῖν κεναῖς χερσὶν ἀθύρειν, κανοπλίᾳ δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα οὕτω τὴν ὅρχησιν διαπεράίνειν ἃ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἄν εἴη κόρους τε ἄμα καὶ κόρας."

among us, delighted by the education of the dance, did not think it necessary to be empty-handed, but fully equipped, thus she completes the dance; which would certainly be fitting to imitate both boys and girls.'

13.19.4 | Καὶ πολεμεῖν δὲ γυναιξὶν ὕδε πη νομοθετεῖ "Ἐν δὲ τούτοις μισθοῖς, οίκοῦντας ξένους, διδάσκειν τε πάντα ὅσα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμόν ἐστι μαθήματα τοὺς φοιτῶντας ὅσα τε πρὸς μουσικὴν, οὐχ ὅν μὲν ἄν ὁ πατὴρ βούληται, φοιτῶντα, ὅν δ' ἄν μὴ, ἔωντα τῆς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

13.19.4 | And concerning women in war, the lawgiver says this: 'In these matters, for those living as foreigners, it is necessary to teach everything that is knowledge related to war, as well as music, not depending on whether the father wants them to learn or not, but allowing all men and children to learn as much as they can, since they belong more to the city than to their parents, and they must be educated out of necessity.'

13.19.5 | ταυτὰ δὲ δὴ καὶ περὶ θηλειῶν ὁ μὲν ἔμὸς νόμος ἄν εἴποι πάντα, ὅσαπερ καὶ περὶ τῶνἀρρένων, ἵσα καὶ τὰς θηλείας ἀσκεῖν δεῖν· καὶ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς εἴποιμ' ἄν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὕτε ἴππικῆς οὕτε γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἀνδράσι μὲν πρέπον ἄν εἴη, γυναιξὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄν πρέπον.

13.19.5 | These things about women, my law would say everything, just as it does about men; it is necessary to train women equally. And I would not be afraid to say this, that neither horseback riding nor gymnastics would be fitting for men, but would not be fitting for women.

13.19.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς ὑποβάς φησι  
“Γυμνάσια τιθῶμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον 25 πάντα τοῖς σώμασι διαπονήματα τοξικῆς τε καὶ πάσης βίψεως καὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ ἀπάσης ὀπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων τακτικῶν καὶ ἀπάσης πορείας στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατοπεδεύσεων καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἴππικὴν μαθήματα ξυντείνει. πάντων γάρ τούτων διδασκάλους τε εἶναι δεῖ κοινοὺς, ἀρνυμένους μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τούτων μαθητάς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει παῖδάς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ κόρας καὶ

13.19.6 | And again, he goes on to say, 'Let us set up exercises and everything related to war, including training for archery and all throwing, as well as for light-armed fighting and all forms of combat, and for tactics and all movements of camps and encampments, and everything that relates to horseback riding. For all these things, there must be common teachers, receiving pay from the city, and the students of these should be the children and men in the city, as well as girls and women, all of whom

γυναῖκας πάντων τούτων ἐπιστημονας· κόρας μὲν οὕσας ἔτι πάσαν ἐν ὅπλοις ὅρχησιν καὶ μάχην μεμελετηκούσας, γυναῖκας δὲ διεξόδων καὶ τάξεων καὶ θέσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως ὅπλων ἡμμένας."

should be knowledgeable. The girls should be trained in dancing and preparing for battle while in armor, and the women in tactics, positions, and the handling of weapons.'

13.19.7 | Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ Ἐβραίων ἐπινεύσει λόγος, ἀντιφθέγξεται δὲ τάναντία, μηδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ἥρωμαις, μὴ ὅτι γε γυναικῶν τὴν ἐν πολέμοις ἀνατιθεὶς κατόρθωσιν, πάντα δὲ εἰς θεὸν ἀνάγων καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦδε συμμαχίαν. λέγει δ' ούν "έὰν μὴ κύριος οἴκοδομήσῃ οἶκον, εἰς μάτην ἐκοπίασαν οἱ οἴκοδομοῦντες αὐτόν. έὰν μὴ κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἡγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων.

13.19.7 | But neither will the words of the Hebrews agree with this; rather, they will speak the opposite, not even regarding men, nor because they attribute the success in wars to women, but they attribute everything to God and the alliance from Him. And it says, 'If the lord does not build the house, the builders labor in vain. If the lord does not guard the city, the watchman stays awake in vain.'

13.19.8 | ὁ δέ γε θαυμαστὸς φιλόσοφος θέα ως καὶ εἰς τὸν γυμνικὸν εἰσάγει τὰς γυναῖκας ἀγῶνα, ὥδε πῃ λέγων "Γυναιξὶ Γυναιξὶ δὲ, κόραις μὲν ἀνήβοις γυμναῖς στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ἔφιππον καὶ δόλιχον, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δρόμῳ ἀμιλλωμέναις· ταῖς δὲ τριακαιδεκέτεσι μέχρι γάμου μενούσαις κοινωνίας, μὴ μακρότερον εἴκοσιν ἔτῶν μηδ' ἔλαττον ὀκτωκαίδεκα· πρεπούσῃ δὲ στολῇ ταύταις ἐσταλμέναις καταβατέον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμιλλαν τούτων τῶν δρόμων.

13.19.8 | But the wonderful philosopher introduces women into the gymnastic competition, saying this: 'For women, girls who are not yet married should compete in running, and in the double flute, and in horseback riding, and in the long race, while competing in the same event. As for those who are between thirteen and twenty years old, they should not be in community longer than twenty years or less than eighteen. And these should come down to the competition in proper attire for these races.'

13.19.9 | καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ δρόμους ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῦτ' ἔστω· τὰ δὲ κατ' ίσχὺν, ἀντὶ μὲν πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ νῦν ὅσα βαρέα, τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μάχην, ἐνα τε πρὸς ἓνα διαμαχομένους καὶ δύο πρὸς δύο."

13.19.9 | And let these things about running be for both men and women; but for strength, instead of wrestling and such heavy events, let there be fighting in armor, one against one and two against two.

13.19.10 | Καὶ ἐξῆς είπὼν "Ταυτὸν δὴ καὶ τοὺς περὶ ὀπλομαχίαν ἄκρους παρακαλοῦντας, χρὴ τούτους νομοθετεῖν κελεύειν" ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν ἔστω νομοθετούμενα, τῶν μέχρι γάμων."

13.19.11 | Εἶτα πάλιν τούτοις ἐξῆς συνάψας τοὺς περὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ παγκρατίου καὶ τόξου λίθων τε ἐκ χειρὸς βολῆς καὶ διὰ σφενδόνης νόμους, ἵππων τε πέρι ἀγῶνος, πάλιν κάνταῦθα περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν ἐπάγει λέγων 'Θηλείας δὲ περὶ τούτων νόμοις μὲν καὶ ἐπιτάξεσιν οὐκ ἄξια βιάζεσθαι τῆς κοινωνίας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν παιδευμάτων εἰς ἔθος ίόντων ἡ φύσις ἐνδέχηται καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνῃ παῖδας ἢ παρθένους κοινωνεῖν, ἐᾶν καὶ μὴ ψέγειν.'

13.19.12 | Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὰ περὶ γυναικῶν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος ὅδε τυγχάνει νόμος 'Εάν τις παῖδας θηλείας καταλίπῃ, δί ἀδελφῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῶν ἐπανιών, ἐμπροσθεν μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, ὑστερὸν δὲ θηλειῶν ἐνὶ γένει· τὴν δὲ τοῦ τῶν γάμων χρόνου συμμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀμετρίαν δικαστής σκοπῶν κρινέτω, γυμνοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὄμφαλοῦ μέχρι θεώμενος τὰς θηλείας.' Άλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς δεῖν αὐτάς φησι γυμνὰς χορεύειν ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν Νόμων λέγων οὕτως

13.19.13 | "Τῆς οὖν τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἔνεκα χρὴ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ποιεῖσθαι χορεύοντάς τε καὶ χορευούσας, κούρους τε καὶ κόρας, καὶ ἄμα δὴ θεωροῦντάς τε καὶ θεωρουμένους μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἡλικίας

13.19.10 | And after saying this, 'Indeed, those who are extreme in fighting with armor should be encouraged to legislate;' he adds, saying, 'Let the same things also be legislated for the women, those who are not yet married.'

13.19.11 | Then again, having connected these things about the use of shields, pankration, and throwing stones by hand and with a sling, and about horse competitions, he again brings up the women, saying, 'Women should not be forced into these laws and commands; but if their nature allows them to participate in these earlier trainings without difficulty, they should be allowed and not criticized.'

13.19.12 | Thus far are Plato's thoughts about women. And this same remarkable law states: 'If someone leaves behind female children, returning through brothers and nephews, let them be judged first among the males and later among the females; and let the judge consider the balance and imbalance of the time of marriage, looking at the males as naked and the females as naked from the navel down.' But he also says that during the festivals, they should dance naked, as stated in the sixth of the Laws.

13.19.13 | Therefore, for the sake of such seriousness, it is necessary to make the children dance, both boys and girls, and at the same time to have them watched and to watch them, with some appropriate

τινὸς ἔχούσης είκυίας προφάσεις, γυμνοὺς καὶ γυμνὰς μέχρι περ αἰδοῦς σώφρονος ἐκάστων."

13.19.14 | Πρὸς τούτοις ἄπασιν ἐπάκουουσον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἐν Πολιτείᾳ περὶ τοῦ κοινᾶς εἴναι τὰς γυναικας νόμου. "Τούτῳ, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἔπειται νόμος καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ὅδε. Τίς; Τὰς γυναικας ταύτας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων πάντων πάσας εἴναι κοινᾶς, ἵδια δὲ μηδενὶ μηδεμίᾳν συνοικεῖν· καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὗτοὺς, καὶ μήτε γονέα ἔκγονον εἰδέναι τὸν αὐτοῦ μήτε παῖδα γονέα."

13.19.15 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει "Εἴκος, ἔφη. Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὕτω καὶ τὰς γυναικας ἐκλέξας παραδώσεις καθόσον οἵον τε δημοφυεῖς· οἱ δὲ, ἃτε οἰκίας τε καὶ ξυστία κοινὰ ἔχοντες, ἵδια δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον κεκτημένου, δμοῦ δὴ ἔσονται, δμοῦ δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένων καὶ ἐν γυμνασίοις καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οἷμαι, τῆς ἐμφύτου ἄξονται πρὸς τὴν ἀλλήλων μίξιν. ἢ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα σοι δοκῶ λέγειν; Οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς γε, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις, αἱ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκείνων δριμύτεραι εἴναι πρὸς τὸ πείθειν τε καὶ ἔλκειν τὸν πολὺν λεών."

13.19.16 | Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἴσως τις ἐτέρως διηγήσεται τὴν τοῦ λόγου διάνοιαν, μὴ τὸ νομιζόμενον φὰς ὑποβάλλειν. μὴ γὰρ ἀδιαστόλως εἴπειν πάσας εἴναι κοινᾶς τὰς γυναικας, ὡς καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀκολασταίνειν ἔξειναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἔχουσίᾳ κεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς

discussion and age-related reasons, while being naked until the point of modesty for each one.

13.19.14 | Listen to all these things and also to what is said in the Republic about women being common under the law. 'To this,' I said, 'there follows a law that is similar to the previous ones, as I believe. What is it? All these women of these men should be common, and no one should live with any of them privately; and the children should also be common, so that neither parent knows their own child nor child knows their own parent.'

13.19.15 | And next he adds, 'It is likely,' he said. 'So you, then,' I said, 'the lawgiver, just as he chose the men, should also choose the women to be shared among them as much as possible. And those who have common households and common meals, having nothing privately, will be together, mixing together in the gymnasiums and in other forms of nourishment out of necessity, I think, will naturally lead to mixing with each other. Or do you not think it is necessary to say this? Not by geometric needs, but by romantic needs, which are likely to be stronger in persuading and attracting the common people.'

13.19.16 | But perhaps someone will explain the meaning of this speech differently, not suggesting what is commonly thought. For it should not be said without distinction that all women are common, as if it were allowed for anyone to act immorally with them, but rather that

ἄνδρας διανέμησιν αύτῶν. οὕτω γάρ εῖναι κοινάς, ως ἀν καὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα φαίη τις εῖναι κοινὰ, οἵς προσήκει διανεμόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐπιτετραμμένων. καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως. ἔχετω.

the distribution of them should be under the authority of the rulers. In this way, they are common, just as someone might say that public funds are common, which should be distributed among those appointed to manage them. And indeed, let it be so.

13.19.17 | τί δ' ἀν εἴποις μαθών ώς καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν εἰς φῶς τὰ κυούμενα προστάττει, λέγων ὅδε; "Γυναικὶ μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἀρξαμένῃ ἀπὸ εἰκοσαέτιδος μέχρι τεσσαρακονταέτιδος τίκτειν τῇ πόλει· ἀνδρὶ δὲ, ἐπειδὰν τὴν ὁξυτάτην δρόμου ἀκμὴν παρῇ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου γεννᾶν τῇ πόλει μέχρι πεντεκαπεντηκονταέτους."

13.19.17 | What would you say if you learned that it is also ordered not to bring to light what is conceived, saying this: 'For a woman, from the age of twenty until forty, should bear children for the city; but for a man, once he has passed the peak of his speed, he should father children for the city until he is fifty-five years old.'

13.19.18 | Οἶς ἐπιλέγει "Οταν δὲ δὴ, οἷμαι, αἱ τε γυναικες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐκβῶσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀφῆσομέν που ἐλευθέρους αὐτοὺς συγγίνεσθαι ἢ ἀν ἔθελωσι." Καὶ ἐπιλέγει "Διακελευσάμενοι προθυμεῖσθαι μάλιστα μὲν μὴ εἰς φῶς ἐκφέρειν κύημα μηδὲν, ἐὰν γένηται· ἔὰν δέ τις βιάσηται, οὕτω τιθέναι ώς οὐκ οὕσης τροφῆς τῷ τοιούτῳ." Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ γυναικῶν ἀγωγῆς τοιαῦτα, τὰ δὲ περὶ ἔρωτος ἐκθέσμου ἐπάκουουσον οἴα τυγχάνει

13.19.18 | To those he chooses, he says, 'When indeed, I think, both women and men reach the age for bearing children, we will allow them to come together freely as they wish.' And he adds, 'Having commanded them to be very eager not to bring any conception to light, if it happens; but if someone is forced, then to place it in such a way that there is no food for such a one.' And these are the matters concerning the upbringing of women. As for the matters about love, listen to what happens.

## Section 20

13.20.1 | "Οταν δὲ χρονίζῃ τοῦτο δρῶν καὶ πλησιάζῃ μετὰ τοῦ ἀπτεσθαι ἔν τε γυμνασίοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὁμιλίαις, τότε δὴ ἡ τοῦ ὥρεύματος ἐκείνου πηγὴ, ὃν Ἰμερον Ζεὺς Γανυμήδους ἑρῶν ὡνόμασε, πολλὴ φερομένη πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν ἡ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔδυ, ἡ δὲ ἀπομεστουμένου ἔξω

13.20.1 | When this continues for a long time and approaches the act of touching in both gymnasiums and other gatherings, then indeed the source of that flow, which Zeus named desire for Ganymede, carries much toward the lover. One part enters him, while the other flows out, having been

άπορρετ· καὶ οἶον πνεῦμα ἥ τις ἡχώ ἀπὸ λείων τε καὶ στερεῶν ἀλλοιμένη πάλιν ὅθεν ὠρμήθη φέρεται, οὕτω τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ῥεῦμα πάλιν εἰς τὸν καλὸν διὰ τῶν ὄμμάτων ἴὸν, ἥ πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ιέναι ἀφικόμενον, καὶ ἀναπτερῶσαν τὰς διόδους τῶν πτερῶν, ἄρδει τε καὶ ὠρμησε πτεροφυεῖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἑρωμένου αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἔρωτος ἐνέπλησεν. ἐρᾶ μὲν οὖν, ὅτου δὲ ἀπορεῖ, καὶ οὕθ' ὅ τι πέπονθεν οἴδεν, ούδ' ἔχει φράσαι, ἀλλ' οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλου ὁφθαλμίας ἀπολελαυκώς πρόφασιν είπεῖν ούκ ἔχει."

rejected. Just like a breeze or an echo bouncing back from smooth and solid surfaces, so the flow of beauty returns to the beautiful through the gaze, as it naturally tends to reach the soul. It arrives and opens the pathways of the wings, both watering and urging it to take flight, and it fills the soul of the beloved with love. Therefore, one who loves does not know what he lacks, nor does he know what has happened to him, nor can he express it. Instead, like someone who has been blinded by another's gaze, he cannot find a reason to speak.

13.20.2 | Καὶ ἐπιλέγει ἔξῆς Ἐπιθυμεῖ δὲ ἔκεινῷ παραπλησίως μὲν, ἀσθενεστέρως δὲ, ὄρᾶν, ἀπτεσθαι, φιλεῖν, συγκατακεῖσθαι· καὶ δὴ, οἶον εἰκὸς, ποιεῖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ταχὺ ταῦτα. ἐν οὖν τῇ συγκοιμήσει τοῦ μὲν ἔραστοῦ ὁ ἀκόλαστος ἵππος ἔχει ὅ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν ἡνίοχον, καὶ ἀξιοῦ ἀντὶ πολλῶν πόνων σμικρὰ ἀπολαῦσαι· ὁ δὲ τῶν παιδικῶν ἔχει μὲν ούδεν εἰπεῖν, σπαργῶν δὲ καὶ ἀπορῶν περιβάλλει τὸν ἔραστὴν καὶ φιλεῖ, ὡς σφόδρα εὔνουν ἀσπαζόμενος· ὅταν τε συγκατακέωνται, οὗτος ἔστι μὴ ἀπαρνηθῆναι τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Χαρίσασθαι τῷ ἔρῶντι, εἰ δεηθείη τυγχάνειν....

13.20.2 | And he adds next, 'He desires to see, touch, kiss, and lie down with him in a similar way, but with less strength. And indeed, as is likely, he quickly does these things afterward. In the shared bed, the reckless horse has something to say to the charioteer and expects to enjoy a little in exchange for much pain. But the one who is young has nothing to say, and being weak and confused, he embraces the lover and kisses him, as if warmly welcoming him. When they lie down together, he cannot refuse to give his part to the one who loves him, if he happens to be asked...'

13.20.3 | ἔὰν μὲν δὴ οὖν εἰς τεταγμένην δίαιταν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν νικήσῃ τὰ βελτίω τῆς διανοίας, μακάριον καὶ ὁμονοητικὸν τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον διάγουσιν, ἔγκρατεῖς ἐαυτῶν καὶ κόσμιοι ὄντες."

13.20.3 | If indeed he wins over the better part of the mind to a well-ordered life and philosophy, they will live a blessed and harmonious life here, being self-controlled and orderly.

13.20.4 | Εἶτα μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει "Εὰν δὲ διαιτὴ φορτικωτέρᾳ τε καὶ φιλοτίμῳ δὲ

13.20.4 | Then he adds, 'If they use a more indulgent and ambitious lifestyle, they

χρήσωνται, τάχ' ἂν που ἐν μέθαις ἥ τινι  
ἄλλῃ ἀμελείᾳ τῷ ἀκολάστῳ αὐτοῖν  
ὑποζυγίῳ λαβόντε τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφρούρους,  
συναγαγόντε εἰς ταύτῳ, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν  
πολλῶν μακαριστὴν αἵρεσιν εἰλέσθην καὶ  
διεπραξάσθην· καὶ διαπραξαμένω τὸ  
λοιπὸν ἥδη χρῶνται μὲν αὐτῇ, σπάνια δὲ,  
ἄτε οὐ πάσῃ δεδογμένα τῇ διανοίᾳ  
πράττοντες.

might quickly find themselves in drunkenness or some other carelessness, taking on the reckless burden of their souls, gathering them into one. They may choose and pursue the blessed way of life praised by many; and from then on, they use it, but rarely, since they do not act according to all that is accepted by the mind.'

13.20.5 | φίλω μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτω, ἥττον δὲ  
ἐκείνων ἄλλήλοιν διά τε τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ  
ἔξω γενομένω διάγουσι, πίστεις τὰς  
μεγίστας ἡγουμένω ἄλλήλοιν δεδωκέναι τε  
καὶ δεδέχθαι, ἃς οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι λύσαντας  
εἰς ἔχθραν ποτὲ ἐλθεῖν.

13.20.5 | Therefore, they love each other, but less than those others, and through love and their outside lives, they live together, considering the greatest trusts given and received between them, which it is not right to break and turn into hatred.

13.20.6 | ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄπτεροι μὲν,  
ἀρμηκότες δὲ πτεροῦσθαι ἐκβαίνουσι τοῦ  
σώματος, ὥστε οὐ σμικρὸν ἄθλον τῆς  
έρωτικῆς μανίας φέρονται. εἰς γὰρ σκότον  
καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ γῆς πορείαν οὐ νόμος ἔστιν ἔτι  
ἐλθεῖν τοῖς κατηργμένοις ἥδη τῆς  
ὑπουρανίου πορείας, ἀλλὰ φανὸν βίον  
διαγαγόντας εύδαιμονεῖν μετ' ἄλλήλων  
πορευομένους, καὶ διμοπτέρους ἔρωτος  
χάριν. ταῦτα τοσαῦτα, ὡς παῖ, καὶ οὕτω  
θεῖά σοι δωρήσεται ἡ παρ' ἔραστοῦ φιλία."

13.20.6 | In the end, those without wings, having been driven to fly out of the body, carry a great burden of passionate madness. For it is not lawful for those already released from the earthly journey to enter into darkness and the way beneath the earth, but they lead a visible life, finding happiness as they go along with each other, for the sake of mutual love. These things, my child, will be given to you as a divine gift from the love of a suitor.

13.20.7 | Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ Πλάτωνος, ἀλλ' οὐ  
τὰ Μωσέως, ὃς διαρρήδην τούτοις ἐναντίᾳ  
νομοθετεῖ, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ τὴν κατὰ  
παιδεραστῶν προσήκουσαν προφερόμενος  
δίκην. φησὶ γοῦν "ὅς ἂν κοιμηθῇ μετὰ  
ἄρσενος κοίτην γυναικὸς, βδέλυγμα  
ἐποίησαν ἀμφότεροι· θανάτῳ  
θανατούσθωσαν, ἔνοχοί είσι." καὶ  
"ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κοιμώμενος μετὰ  
ἄρσενος κοίτην γυναικός." τί δεῖ τανῦν

13.20.7 | Such are the views of Plato, but not those of Moses, who clearly legislates against these things, loudly bringing forth the punishment appropriate for male lovers. He says, 'Whoever lies with a male as with a woman, both have committed an abomination; they shall surely be put to death; they are guilty.' And 'Cursed is anyone who lies with a male as with a woman.' What need is there to refute this,

ἀπελέγχειν, ὡς παρεὶς ὁ σοφώτατος τὸν παιδεραστὴν, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις ἡξίωσε κατὰ παιδεραστῶν θανάτου δίκην δρίσασθαι, προστάττει θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν οἴκετῶν τὸν μὴ καταμηνύσαντα θησαυρὸν ὑφ' ἐτέρου τινὸς εὐρημένον; ἐπάκουσον δὲ καὶ τῶνδε, ἔνα μὴ με συκοφαντεῖν ὑπολάβης

## Section 21

13.21.1 | “Ο τι δ’ ἀν ὁ θεὸς, φησὶν, ἀναιρῆ περὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τοῦ κινήσαντος, τοῦθ’ ἡ πόλις ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς μαντείαις δράτω τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὁ μηνύσας ἦ, δόξαν ἀρετῆς κεκτήσθω, μὴ μηνύων δὲ κακίας· δοῦλος δὲ ἀν ἦ, ὁ μηνύσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄρθως γίγνοιτ’ ἀν, ἀποδιδούσης τῷ δεσπότῃ τὴν τιμὴν· μὴ μηνύων δὲ θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.”

13.21.2 | Κάνταῦθα μὲν ἔζημίωται θανάτῳ οὐχ ὁ παρακινήσας τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐτέρου πλημμελήσαντος μὴ καταμηνύσας. καὶ ἄλλως δὲ καθαρὸν ἀποφαίνει δεσπότην, εἰ τὸν ἴδιον δοῦλον θυμῷ φρονεύσειε. λέγει δ’ οὖν “Δοῦλον δὲ κτείνας ἐαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἀλλότριον θυμῷ, διπλῇ τὸ βλάβος ἔκτισάτω τῷ κεκτημένῳ.”

13.21.3 | Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπάκουσον αὐτοῦ τῶν νόμων, οὓς περὶ φονέων διετάξατο “Αἴρα τις αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, δὲ πεπραγμένον ἀπροβούλευτως ὄργῃ τινὶ γένηται πραχθὲν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ ἄνευ θυμοῦ κτείναντι προσῆκέ τῷ πάσχειν,

since the wisest one did not even consider a death penalty for male lovers in the Laws? He commands a death penalty for a servant who does not reveal a treasure found by another. But listen to this, and do not think that I am slandering you.

13.21.1 | Whatever the god takes away regarding property and the one who caused it, let the city serve the oracles of the god. If the informer is free, let him gain a reputation for virtue, not for revealing wrongdoing. But if he is a slave, the informer should be treated well by the city, giving honor to the master; if he does not inform, let him be punished with death.

13.21.2 | And here, the one who is punished with death is not the one who incited any of the forbidden acts, but the one who did not inform about another's wrongdoing. Moreover, it shows that a master is innocent if he kills his own slave in anger. He says, 'If someone kills his own slave, let him be purified; but if he kills someone else's slave in anger, let the harm be doubled for the owner.'

13.21.3 | And listen to this from the laws concerning murder: 'If someone kills a free person in anger without planning, let him suffer as he would if he killed without anger; but let him flee for two years, punishing his own anger.'

πασχέτω· δύο δ' ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἔτη φευγέτω,  
κολάζων τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμόν."

13.21.4 | Καὶ τούτῳ προστίθησιν ἔξῆς  
ἕτερον τοιόνδε νόμον "Ο δὲ θυμῷ μὲν, μετ'  
ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ κτείνας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν  
ἔμπροσθεν αὖ, τρία δὲ ἔτη, καθάπερ ἄτερος  
ἔφευγε τὰ δύο, φευγέτω, μεγέθει θυμοῦ  
πλείω τιμωρηθεὶς Χρόνον."

13.21.5 | Εἴθ' ἔξῆς περὶ τοῦ δεύτερον  
φρονεύσαντος τοιάδε νομοθετεῖ "Εὰν δὲ  
αὐθίς ποτε κατελθῶν ὄπότερος αὐτοῖν  
ἡττηθεὶς ὥργῃ πράξῃ ταύτὸν τοῦτο, φυγὼν  
μηκέτι κατέλθῃ."

13.21.6 | Καὶ πάλιν ἔξῆς φησιν "Εὰν δὲ, ὁ  
γίγνεται μὲν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ, διὰ θυμὸν πατήρ  
ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα πληγαῖς ἢ τινι  
τρόπῳ βιαίῳ κτείνῃ, καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς  
αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαίρεσθαι καὶ  
ένιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαυτεῖν, κατελθόντων  
δὲ τῶν κτεινάντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι  
γυναικά τε ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ  
γυναικὸς, καὶ μήποτ' ἔτι κοινῇ  
παιδοποιήσασθαι."

13.21.7 | Καὶ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει "Γυναῖκα δὲ  
γαμετὴν ἔὰν ἀνήρ δι' ὥργην κτείνῃ τινὰ, ἢ  
γυνή τις ἐαυτῆς ἄνδρα ταύτὸν τοῦτο  
ώσαύτως ἐργάσηται, καθαίρεσθαι τοὺς  
αὐτοὺς καθαρμοὺς, τριετεῖς δὲ  
ἀπενιαυτήσεις διατελεῖν. κατελθῶν δὲ ὁ  
τοιοῦτό τι δράσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἱερῶν  
μὴ κοινωνείτω, μηδὲ ὅμοτράπεζος  
γιγνέσθω ποτέ.

13.21.4 | And he adds another law like this:  
'If someone kills in anger but with  
planning, let him suffer as before, but let  
him flee for three years, being punished  
more for the greater anger.'

13.21.5 | Then he legislates about the  
second murderer like this: 'If someone,  
having come down again, is defeated in  
anger and does the same thing, let him not  
come down again after fleeing.'

13.21.6 | And again he says: 'If a father or  
mother, very rarely, kills a son or daughter  
out of anger, either by blows or in some  
violent way, let them be purified like the  
others and spend three years away; and  
when those who killed come back, let the  
woman be separated from the man and the  
man from the woman, and let them never  
have children together again.'

13.21.7 | And he adds: 'If a man kills a wife  
out of anger, or if a woman does the same  
to her husband, let them be purified with  
the same purifications and spend three  
years away. And when someone does such  
a thing, let him not share in the sacred  
things with his own children, nor let him  
ever be at the same table with them.'

13.21.8 | καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἥ  
ἀδελφὴν, ἥ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἥ ἀδελφὴν  
θυμῷ κτείνῃ, τὰ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ  
ἀπενιαυτήσεων, καθάπερ εἴρηται τοῖς  
γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἑκγόνοις, εἰρήσθω δεῖν  
γίγνεσθαι καὶ τούτοις ὡν ἀδελφούς τε  
ἀδελφῶν καὶ γονέας ἐστέρηκε παίδων,  
τούτοις δὲ συνέστιος αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς  
μηδέποτε γιγνέσθω, μηδὲ κοινωνὸς ἱερῶν.

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13.21.9 | ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸν κτείνῃ ἐν  
στάσεσι μάχης γενομένης, ἥ τινι τοιούτῳ  
τρόπῳ, ἀμυνόμενος ἄρχοντα χειρῶν  
πρότερον, καθάπερ πολέμιον ἀποκτείνας  
ἔστω καθαρός. καὶ ἐὰν πολίτης πολίτην  
ώσαυτως, ἥ ξένος ξένον. ἐὰν δὲ ἀστὸν  
ξένος, ἥ ξένον ἀστὸς ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ,  
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔστω τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι· καὶ  
ἐὰν δοῦλος δοῦλον, ώσαυτως. ἐὰν δὲ αὖ  
δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ,  
καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις. —

13.21.10 | “Ος ἀν ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἀδίκως  
ὸντιναοῦν τῶν ἐμφυλίων αὐτόχειρ κτείνῃ,  
πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νομίμων εἰργέσθω, μήτε  
ἀγορὰν μήτε ἱερὰ μήτε λιμένας μήτε ἄλλον  
κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μιαίνων, ἐάν τέ τις  
ἀπαγορεύῃ τῷ δράσαντι ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων  
καὶ ἐὰν μή. ὁ γάρ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει.. ὁ δὲ  
μὴ ἐπεξιών δέον ἥ μὴ προαγορεύων  
εἰργέσθω τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος—τὸ δὲ  
δεύτερον ὑπόδικος τῷ θέλοντι τιμωρεῖν  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γιγνέσθω.—Γυνὴ<sup>1</sup>  
δὲ ἄνδρα ἐαυτῆς ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ  
ἀποκτεῖναι τρώσασα, ἥ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ

13.21.8 | And if a brother kills a brother, or  
a sister kills a brother or sister out of anger,  
let the same purifications and years away  
be required, just as it was said for the  
parents and their children. And let it be  
said that those who have lost brothers and  
parents should never be at the same table  
with them, nor share in the sacred things.

13.21.9 | And if a brother kills a brother in  
a fight, or in some similar way while  
defending himself against an attacker, let  
him be considered pure, just as if he had  
killed an enemy. And if a citizen kills  
another citizen, or a foreigner kills another  
foreigner, the same rule applies. If a citizen  
kills a foreigner, or a foreigner kills a  
citizen while defending himself, let him also  
be considered pure. And if a slave kills  
another slave, the same rule applies. But if  
a slave kills a free person while defending  
himself, let him be held responsible by the  
same laws as one who has killed a father.

13.21.10 | Whoever kills someone from  
their own people with premeditation and  
unjustly, let them be barred from all public  
places, whether markets, temples, harbors,  
or any other common gatherings, unless  
someone allows them to do so. For the law  
forbids it. And whoever does not go to the  
necessary places or does not announce  
their actions should be barred from family  
gatherings. The second person should be  
liable to anyone who wants to take revenge  
for the one who has died. And if a woman  
wounds her husband with the intent to kill,

γυναῖκα, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν.”

or if a man wounds his wife, let them always be in exile.

13.21.11 | Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ τοῦ φιλοσόφου νόμοι. εἰ δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοὺς Μώσεως τούτοις ἀντιπαραβαλεῖν, ἐπάκουουσον οἶα περὶ τῶν φονικόν διατάττεται “έὰν τίς τινα, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. εἰ δὲ οὐχ ἐκὼν, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δώσω σοι τόπον οὗ φεύξεται ἔκεῖ ὁ φονεύσας. έὰν δὲ ἐπίθηταί τις τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ, ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι. δις τύπτει πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ή μητέρα αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ θανατούσθω. έὰν δὲ λοιδορῶνται δύο ἄνδρες, καὶ πατάξῃ τις τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ λίθῳ ή πυγμῇ, καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, κατακλιθῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην, έὰν ἔχαναστάς ὁ ἄνθρωπος περιπατήσῃ ἔξω ἐπὶ ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, ἀθῶος ἔσται ὁ πατάξας· πλὴν τῆς ἀργίας αὐτοῦ ἀποτίσει καὶ τὰ ίατρεῖα. έὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ή τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ ἐν ῥάβδῳ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δίκη ἐκδικηθήσεται. έὰν δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν ή δύο βιώσῃ, οὐκ ἐκδικηθήσεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ ἔστιν. έὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν τοῦ οἴκετου, ή τὸν ὄφθαλμὸν τῆς θεραπαίνης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκτυφλώσῃ αὐτὸν, ἐλευθέρους ἔξαποστελεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄφθαλμοῦ αὐτῶν.”

13.21.12 | τοιαῦτα δὴ καὶ τὰ Μώσεως. αὐθις δὲ ὁ Πλάτων' τίνα τρόπον καὶ δι' ὅποια πληγαῖς ἀπαραιτήτοις αἰκίζεσθαι τὸν οἴκετην προστάττει ἐπάκουουσον “Οταν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ή τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα ὄπωρίζειν βούληται, έὰν μὲν ἐκ τῶν οίκειων λαμβάνῃ,

13.21.11 | These are the laws of the philosopher. But if we need to compare them with those of Moses, listen to what is said about murder: 'If someone kills another, let them be put to death. But if it is not done willingly, and God has allowed it to happen, I will give you a place where the killer can flee. If someone tries to kill their neighbor by deceit and escapes, let them be taken from my altar to be put to death. Whoever strikes their father or mother shall be put to death. If two men are arguing and one strikes the other with a stone or a fist, and he does not die but falls into bed, if he gets up and walks outside with a staff, the one who struck him shall be innocent, but he must pay for his idleness and for the medical care. If someone strikes their child or their servant with a rod and the child dies from it, they shall be punished by law. But if the child lives for one or two days, they shall not be punished, for the child is their property. If someone strikes out the eye of a slave or the eye of a servant and blinds them, they shall send them away free in place of their eye.'

13.21.12 | These are also the laws of Moses. Again, Plato says how and with what kinds of blows a servant should be treated. Listen: 'When someone wants to gather the noble grapes or the noble figs, if they take from their own, they may gather as they wish whenever they want. But if they take

ὅπως ἀνέθέλη καὶ ὅπόταν βούληται καρπούσθω· ἔὰν δὲ ἔξι ἄλλων πείσας, ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὃ τι μὴ κατέθετο, ἐκεῖνος ἀεὶ ζημιούσθω. ἔὰν δὲ δοῦλος μὴ πείσας τὸν δεσπότην τῶν χωρίων ἄπτηται του πῶν τοιούτων, κατὰ ῥᾶγα βιτρύων καὶ σῦκον συκῆς ἴσαριθμους πληγὰς τούτοις μαστιγούσθω.”

13.21.13 | Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τῶνδε οὐκ ἄξια τῆς Πλάτωνος μεγαλονοίας. ὡς δὲ σεμνὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ μάθοις ἀνέπακούσας ὥδε πῃ λέγοντος “ἔὰν δὲ εἰσέλθῃς εἰς ἀμπελῶνα τού πλησίον, φαγῇ σταφυλὴν, ὅσον ψυχήν σου ἐμπλησθῆναι, εἴς τ' ἄγγος οὐκ ἐμβαλεῖς.” καὶ πάλιν “ἔὰν εἰσέλθῃς εἰς ἀμητὸν τοῦ πλησίον σου καὶ συλλέξῃς στάχυς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου, δρέπανον οὐ μὴ ἐπιβάλλῃς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν τοῦ πλησίον σου.” καὶ αὖθις ἔὰν ἀμήσης ἀμητόν σου ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ σου, καὶ ἐπιλάθῃ δράγμα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ σου, οὐκ ἐπαναστραφήσῃ λαβεῖν αὐτό· τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ καὶ τῷ ὄρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ ἔσται, ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ τῶν χειρῶν σου. ἔὰν δὲ ἐλαιολογήσῃς, οὐκ ἐπαναστρέψεις καλαμήσασθαι τὰ ὄπίσω σου· τῷ προσηλύτῳ καὶ τῷ ὄρφανῷ καὶ τῇ) χήρᾳ ἔσται. ἔὰν δὲ τρυγήσῃς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα σου, οὐκ ἐπανατρυγήσεις τὰ ὄπίσω σου· τῷ προσηλύτῳ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ ἔσται ταῦτα.”

13.21.14 | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παρὰ Μωσεῖ. δῆλα δὲ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἐν οἷς μυρία εὔροις ἀνέπιληπτα, ὃν δὴ μάλιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ κράτιστα ἀποδεχόμενοι τοῖς μὴ τοιούτοις μακρὰ χαίρειν φαμέν. ἀλλὰ γάρ τούτων ὥδε διεξωδευμένων, ἀποδοθείσης τε αἰτίας δι' ἣν οὐ κατὰ

from others, following the rule that they should not take what is not theirs, let them always be punished. If a slave does not obey the master regarding the fields, let him be beaten with equal blows of grapes and figs.'

13.21.13 | Such things are not worthy of Plato's greatness. But if you listen to what is serious and kind from Moses, you will hear this: 'If you enter your neighbor's vineyard and eat grapes enough to satisfy your hunger, you shall not put any in your basket.' And again, 'If you enter your neighbor's grain field and pick some heads of grain with your hands, you shall not use a sickle on your neighbor's grain.' And again, 'If you forget a sheaf in your field, you shall not go back to get it; it shall be for the poor, the foreigner, the orphan, and the widow, so that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work of your hands.' And if you harvest olives, you shall not go back to pick up what is left behind; it shall be for the foreigner, the orphan, and the widow. And if you gather grapes from your vineyard, you shall not go back to gather what is left; it shall be for the foreigner and the widow.

13.21.14 | And these are the things from Moses. Clearly, in Plato's works, you would find countless things that are not overlooked, especially those that are serious and most important, which we say are far from those who are not like this. But since these matters have been discussed,

Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγνώκαμεν, ὥρα καὶ τὰ τῆς λοιπῆς ὑποσχέσεως εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ τάς γε ἄλλας αἱρέσεις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπιθεωρῆσαι φιλοσοφίας.

and the reason for which we do not know how to philosophize according to Plato has been set aside, it is time to bring the rest of the discussion to a conclusion and to examine the other schools of Greek philosophy.

## Book fourteen. (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ.)

### Section 1

14.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. "Οσα μὲν είπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἔν της λοιπῆς κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλοσοφίας τῆς τε τούτου πρὸς τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια συμφωνίας, δι' ἣν τὸν ἄνδρα καταπεπλήγμεθα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφωνίας, δι' ἣν οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὸν εὗ φρονῶν ἀποδέξαιτο, διελθὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου, μέτειμι νῦν ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαβοηθέντων.

14.1.1 | Introduction. As for what has been said and heard about Plato's philosophy and its agreement with the Hebrew writings, for which we are amazed at the man, and again about the disagreement with them, for which no one who thinks well could accept him, having gone through what was before this, I will now turn to the other schools of philosophy that have been discussed among the Greeks.

14.1.2 | καὶ τούτων αὖ πάλιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅλισθον οὐκ αὐτὸς ούδὲ παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ, διὰ δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φωνῶν μαρτυρίας, σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν θήσω· οὐ μὲν δή τισι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεχθόμενος, ὃν γε καὶ μέγα θαῦμ' ἔχειν ὄμοιογῶ, ὅταν δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἴάπερ ἀνθρώποις, παραβάλλω τοὺς ἄνδρας·

14.1.2 | And again, I will not speak from my own opinion about the fall from the truth of these things, but through the testimony of their own Greek voices, I will set before those who encounter them. Indeed, I do not have any hatred toward certain men, of whom I admit there is great wonder, when I compare them to others, just like other human beings.

14.1.3 | ἐπὰν δὲ τοῖς Ἐβραίων θεολόγοις τε καὶ προφήταις, θεῷ τε τῷ διὰ τούτων καὶ μελλόντων προρρήσεις καὶ θαυμάτων ἐπιδείξεις πεποιημένω, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ μαθημάτων εύσεβῶν δογμάτων τε ἀληθῶν διδασκαλίαν καταβεβλημένω, οὐκέτ' οἷμαί

14.1.3 | But when it comes to the Hebrew theologians and prophets, and to God who has made predictions and displays of wonders through them and what is to come, and also to the teachings of pious sciences and true doctrines that have been

τινα δεῖν εύλογως ἐπιμέμψασθαι, εἰ θεὸν πρὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν πρὸ θνητῶν λογισμῶν τε καὶ στοχασμῶν τιμώμεθα.

14.1.4 | τοῦτο δέ μοι πᾶν ὃ τῆς παρούσης Προπαρασκευῆς δείξειν πεφιλοτίμηται λόγος, εἰς ἀπόκρισιν ὅμοῦ καὶ ἀπολογίαν τῶν δὴ πευσομένων, τί δὴ ἄρα καλὸν ἡ σεμνὸν ἰδόντες ἐν τοῖς βαρβάρων γράμμασι τῆς πατρῷας καὶ εὐγενοῦς φιλοσοφίας, τῆς Ἑλλήνων λέγω, προκρίνειν αὐτὰ διανενοήμεθα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἥδη δὶ' ἔργων ἡ ἀπόδειξις ἡμῖν χωρείτω.

## Section 2

14.2.1 | Ἡγοῦμαι δὲ δεῖν πρώτιστα πάντων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καταβολῆς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων ἀπάρξασθαι, καὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν ἡ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι φυσικοὺς ἐπικληθέντας φιλοσόφους καταμαθεῖν, τίνες ποτὲ γεγόνασι, καὶ ὅποιῶν ἔτυχεν ἡ κατ' αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφία προστατῶν τοῦ λόγου, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος παρελθεῖν διαδοχὴν, καὶ τίνες ποτ' ἥσαν καὶ οἵδε, τάς τε πρὸς ἄλλήλους λογομαχίας αὐτῶν ἐπισκέψασθαι, ἐπιθεωρῆσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων τὰς διαστάσεις, τῶν τε δοξῶν τὰς ἀντικαταστάσεις, ἐν αἷς πυκτεύοντας τοὺς γενναίους καὶ φιλοτίμως διαπληκτιζομένους, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῖς θεαταῖς, παραδείξω.

14.2.2 | αὐτίκα γοῦν μάλα θεασώμεθα ὅπως μὲν ὁ Πλάτων' τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρώτους ἔσκωπτεν, ὅπως δὲ τοὺς Πλάτωνος οίκείους τε καὶ διαδόχους ἄλλοι·

established, I do not think it is reasonable to blame anyone, if we honor God above humans and truth itself above mortal thoughts and speculations.

14.1.4 | This is what the whole purpose of this preparation is eager to show me, as a response and defense of what will indeed be asked: what then is beautiful or noble that we see in the writings of the barbarians, of the ancestral and noble philosophy, I mean that of the Greeks, we have decided to choose. But indeed, let the proof come to us through actions.

14.2.1 | I believe that we should first start from the very beginning with the first teachings of the philosophers among the Greeks, and learn about those who were called natural philosophers before Plato, who they were, and what kind of philosophy was followed according to them. Then we should move on to the succession of Plato, and look at who they were and what their arguments were with each other. We should also examine the differences of other schools and the changes in their beliefs, where the noble and ambitious thinkers, like actors on a stage, are competing with each other.

14.2.2 | Let us immediately see how Plato mocked those who came before him, and how others treated Plato's own followers and successors. And again, let us see how

καὶ αὖ πάλιν ὅπως οἱ Πλάτωνος ἑταῖροι τὰ σοφὰ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους πολυνοίας ἀπήλεγχον· ὅπως θ' οἱ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τὸν Περίπατον αὐχοῦντες τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς τὴν ἐναντίαν πρεσβεύουσι τὸ μηθὲν ὄντα παρίστων.

Plato's companions refuted the many ideas of Aristotle. Also, let us observe how Aristotle and the Peripatetics claimed that those who opposed them were presenting nothing real.

14.2.3 | καὶ τὰ δεινὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκριβῆ τῆς τῶν Στωϊκῶν λεπτολογίας ὡφ' ἐτέρων αὖ πάλιν ὄψει καταγελώμενα, πάντας τε πανταχόθεν κατὰ τῶν πέλας κονιομένους καὶ μάχην καὶ πάλην ἀνδρικώτατα συνισταμένους, ὡς διὰ Χειρῶν ἥδη καὶ γλώττης, ἢ μᾶλλον διὰ καλάμου καὶ μέλανος, τὸν κατὰ ἀλλήλων αύτοὺς πόλεμον ἐπιτειχίζεσθαι, μονονουχὶ βάλλοντας καὶ βαλλομένους τοῖς διὰ λόγων δόρασί τε καὶ παντευχίαις.

14.2.3 | And the terrible and precise details of the Stoics will again be seen as the subject of laughter by others, while all around them, those who are close by are bravely standing in battle and struggle, as if through hands and tongues, or rather through pen and ink, they are fortifying their war against each other, only throwing and being thrown at with the spears and armor of words.

14.2.4 | περιέξει δ' ἡμῖν τὸ στάδιον ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ τῷδε ἀγῶνι γυμνοὺς ἀληθείας ἀπάσης πρὸς τοῖς δηλωθεῖσι καὶ τοὺς πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τοῖς δογματικοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀραμένους τὰ ὅπλα, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πύρρωνα λέγω, μηδὲν εἶναι καταληπτὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀποφηναμένους, καὶ τούς τε κατ' Ἀρίστιππον μόνα λέγοντας τὰ πάθη εἶναι καταληπτὰ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν τοὺς κατὰ Μητρόδωρον καὶ Πρωταγόραν μόναις δεῖν φάσκοντας ταῖς τοῦ σώματος πιστεύειν αἰσθήσεσι.

14.2.4 | And in this athletic contest of truth, we find ourselves surrounded by those who oppose the dogmatic philosophers, like those around Pyrrho, claiming that nothing can be truly known among humans. And also those who follow Aristippus, saying that only the pleasures are knowable, and again those who follow Metrodorus and Protagoras, insisting that we should only trust the senses of the body.

14.2.5 | ἔμπαλιν δὲ τούτοις συναποδύσομεν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφάνην καὶ Παρμενίδην τὴν ἐναντίαν παραταξαμένους καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀνελόντας.

14.2.5 | On the other hand, we will also strip away those around Xenophanes and Parmenides, who set up the opposite side and reject the senses.

14.2.6 | οὐ παρήσομεν δὲ ούδε τοὺς τῆς

14.2.6 | We will not overlook the

ήδονής προμάχους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὸν ἄριστέα Ἐπίκουρον σὺν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καταλέξομεν. πρὸς ἅπαντας δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν βέλεσι τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀντιθήσομεν ἔλεγχον.

champions of pleasure, but we will also include their best, Epicurus, along with those mentioned. And against all of them, we will present an argument that counters their beliefs.

14.2.7 | καὶ τῶν ἐπίκλην δὲ φυσικῶν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν τε δογμάτων τὰς διαφωνίας καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τὴν ἀχρηστομάθειαν εἰς φανερὸν οὕσω, οὕ τι που μισέλλην οὐδὲ μισόλογος τις ὁν, πολλοῦ γε δέω, διαβολῆς δ' αἴτιαν ἀπολυόμενος, δτὶ δὴ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἥκιστα μεταποιηθέντες τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια προτετιμήκαμεν.

14.2.7 | And I will bring to light the disagreements of all the natural philosophers and the uselessness of their studies, not as someone who hates Greeks or is a slanderer, far from it, but as one who frees from blame the cause of the slander, because we have valued the words of the Hebrews much more than those of Greek education.

### Section 3

14.3.1 | Οἱ μέν γε Ἐβραῖοι ἄνωθεν ἔξ αἰῶνος μακροῦ καὶ αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας τὴν εὔσέβειαν καὶ ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνηρευνηκότες, ἀκήρατον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μετέπειτα ταύτην διατετηρήκασι, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς θησαυρὸν λόγων ἀληθῶν ὑποδεξάμενοι τε καὶ φυλάξαντες, ὡς μήτ' ἐπιθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν τινὰ τοῖς ἅπαξ κεκριμένοις τολμῆσαι.

14.3.1 | The Hebrews, for a long time and from the very beginning of human creation, have sought true piety and genuine philosophy. They have kept this pure and preserved it for those who came after them, receiving and guarding a treasure of true words from their ancestors, so that no one would dare to add or take away anything from what has been hidden once.

14.3.2 | οὗτ' οὖν ὁ πάνσοφος Μώσης, πάντων μὲν Ἑλλήνων πρεσβύτατος ἀποφανθεὶς διὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, πάντων δὲ ὕστατος τὴν ἡλικίαν τῶν πρὶν Ἐβραίων γεγονὼς, κινῆσαί τι καὶ μεταθεῖναι τῶν τοῖς προπάτορσι δοξάντων τῆς δογματικῆς πέρι θεολογίας διανενόηται, πλὴν ὅσον τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀγωγῆς βίου καταλλήλου τρόπον καὶ τινος μέσης πολιτείας νομοθεσίαν καταβαλέσθαι,

14.3.2 | Therefore, the all-wise Moses, who is the oldest of all the Greeks mentioned before and the youngest in age among the earlier Hebrews, did not think to change or move anything from the beliefs of his ancestors about theology, except to establish a way of life suitable for the people under him and to lay down some form of government.

14.3.3 | οὕθ' οὶ μετὰς τόνδε προφῆται, μυρίαις ὅσαις ὕστερον ἔτῶν περιόδοις ἐκλάμψαντες, διάφωνόν τι ἥπημα πρός τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρὸς τὰ Μωσεῖ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέσι νομισθέντα προέσθαι τῇ φωνῇ τετολμήκασιν.

14.3.4 | ἀλλ' ούδὲ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλεῖον, ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν ὄρμώμενον καὶ δι' ἐνθέου δυνάμεως ὅμοῦ πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα τε καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον ἐμπλήσαν, διάφωνόν τι τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐμπεριείληφεν, εἴ μή τις φαίη ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοῖς δόγμασι τῆς θεολογίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν τοῖς πρὸ Μώσεως θεοφιλέσιν Ἐβραίοις παραδίδωσι.

14.3.5 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα, μιᾶς διανοίᾳ μιᾶς τε φωνῇ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν μέσων καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων μεμαρτυρημένα, τῆς ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας ὅμοῦ καὶ φιλοσοφίας τὸ βέβαιον ἀπάσαις ψήφοις ἐπισφραγίζεται, πληροῦ τε τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην, δισημέραι νεάζοντα καὶ ἀνθοῦντα, ὡς ἄρτι πρώτην ἀκμὴν καταβεβλημένα· καὶ οὕτε νόμων διατάξεις οὕτ' ἔχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαὶ οὕτι πολεμίων πολλάκις ἀκονηθέντα ξίφη κρείττονα τῆς ὥν μετήλθομεν λόγων ἀρετῆς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδέδεικται.

14.3.6 | τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ σαλεύσαντα τίνα ποτὲ τὴν ἴσχὺν ἐπεδείξατο νυνὶ θεασώμεθα, πρώτους ἀπάντων εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιέντες τοὺς φυσικοὺς ἐπικληθέντας· οἱ δὴ πρόσθεν ἢ Πλάτωνα διαλάμψαι λεγόμενοι ὅπως πρὸς

14.3.3 | Neither did the prophets who came after him, shining forth in countless years later, dare to speak anything different either to themselves or about the teachings of Moses and those ancient ones who were loved by God.

14.3.4 | But neither does our teaching, which comes from somewhere else and fills all of Greece and the barbarians through divine power, contain anything different from what was included before, unless someone says that it not only teaches the doctrines of theology but also passes down the same way of life to the God-loved Hebrews before Moses.

14.3.5 | And our teachings are such that they are confirmed by the first, the middle, and the last with one mind and one voice, sealing the truth of piety and philosophy with all votes. They fill the whole world, which is now young and blooming, as if it has just reached its first peak. And neither the arrangements of laws nor the plots of enemies nor the many times sharpened swords of warriors have shown a power greater than the virtue of the words we have embraced.

14.3.6 | But let us now consider what strength the philosophy of the Greeks once showed when it was shaken. First of all, they called the natural philosophers to the contest. Those who came before, or who were said to shine like Plato, argued among

άλλήλους ἔστασίασαν παρ' αύτοῦ μαθεῖν  
ἔστι τοῦ Πλάτωνος· δος δὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Πρωταγόραν Ἡράκλειτόν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς  
Παρμενίδην καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν διαμάχην  
έξελέγχει.

themselves to learn from him. He, in turn,  
examined those around Protagoras,  
Heraclitus, and the debate with Parmenides  
and those who fought over him.

14.3.7 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοκρίτου γεγονὼν  
ἐταῖρος, ὁ Πρωταγόρας, ἄθεον ἐκτήσατο  
δόξαν· λέγεται γοῦν τοιᾶδε κεχρῆσθαι  
εἰσβολῇ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεῶν συγγράμματι  
“Περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ οἶδα οὔθ’ ὡς εἰσὶν οὔθ’  
ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔθ’ ὅποιοί τινες ίδεαν.” ὁ δὲ  
Δημόκριτος ἀρχὰς τῶν ὅλων ἔφη εἶναι τὸ  
κενὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆρες· τὸ πλῆρες ὃν λέγων  
καὶ στερεὸν, τὸ δὲ κενὸν μὴ ὄν. διὸ καὶ φησι  
μηδὲν μᾶλλον τὸ ὄν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι· ὅτι  
τε ἔξ αἰδίου τὰ ὄντα ἐν τῷ κενῷ συνεχῶς  
καὶ ὄξεως κινεῖται.”

14.3.7 | For Protagoras, who was a  
companion of Democritus, he gained a  
reputation as an atheist. It is said that he  
used the following words in his writing 'On  
the Gods': 'About the gods, I do not know  
whether they exist or not, nor what they  
are like.' But Democritus said that the  
beginnings of everything are the empty and  
the full; he called the full something that is  
solid and real, while the empty is not real.  
Therefore, he also says that nothing is more  
real than what is not real, because from  
eternity, the real things move continuously  
and sharply in the empty.

14.3.8 | ὁ δὲ Ἡράκλειτος ἀρχὴν τῶν  
πάντων ἔφη εἶναι τὸ πῦρ, ἔξ οὗ τὰ πάντα  
γίνεται, καὶ εἰς ὃ ἀναλύεται. ἀμοιβὴν γὰρ  
εἶναι τὰ πάντα, χρόνον τε ὥρισθαι τῆς τῶν  
πάντων εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀναλύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκ  
τούτου γενέσεως.

14.3.8 | Heraclitus said that the beginning  
of everything is fire, from which all things  
come and into which they return. For  
everything is a change, and time is defined  
by the process of everything returning to  
fire and the generation that comes from  
this.

14.3.9 | οἵδε μὲν οὖν πάντα κινεῖσθαι  
ἔφασαν· ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης, τὸ γένος  
Ἐλεάτης ὧν, ἔν μὲν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, ἀγέννητον  
δὲ καὶ ἀκίνητον καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα  
σφαιροείδες ὑπάρχειν ἐδογμάτιζε.  
Παρμενίδου δὲ Μέλισσος ἐταῖρος γέγονε,  
τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Παρμενίδῃ δοξάζων. τούτων δὴ  
οὖν πέρι ὅποια ὁ Πλάτων' ἐν τῷ Θεατήτῳ  
διέξεισιν ἀκουε

14.3.9 | These people said that everything  
is in motion; but Parmenides, who was  
from Elea, argued that everything is one,  
ungenerated, and unmoving, and that it  
exists in a spherical shape. Melissus, a  
companion of Parmenides, held the same  
beliefs as Parmenides. About these matters,  
listen to what Plato discusses in the  
Theaetetus.

## Section 4

14.4.1 | "Εκ δὲ δὴ φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως καὶ κράσεως πρὸς ἄλληλα γίνεται πάντα ἂ δὴ φαμεν εἶναι, οὐκ ὄρθως προσαγορεύοντες. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὔδεν, ἀεὶ δὲ γίνεται. καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἔξαίσιοι σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου ξυμφέρεσθον, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος, εἰπὼν Ὁκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν, πάντα εἴρηκεν ἔκγονα ἢοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως. ἦ οὐ δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγειν;

14.4.2 | "Ἔμοιγε. Τίς οὖν ἀν ἔτι πρός γε τοσοῦτον στρατόπεδον καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὅμηρον δύναιτο ἀμφισβητήσας μὴ καταγέλαστος γενέοθαι;" Εἴθ' ἔξῆς προϊὼν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιφέρει λέγων

14.4.3 | "Προσιτέον οὖν ἔγγυτέρω, ώς ὁ ὑπὲρ Πρωταγόρου λόγος ἐπέταττε, καὶ σκεπτέον τὴν φερομένην ταύτην ούσιαν διακρούοντα, εἴτε ὑγιὲς εἴτε σαθρὸν φθέγγεται. μάχη δ' οὖν περὶ αὐτῆς οὐ φαύλη οὐδ' ὀλίγοις γέγονε. Πολλοῦ καὶ δεῖ φαύλη εἶναι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὴν c Ἰωνίαν ἐπιδίδωσι πάμπολυ. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτον ἔταιροι χορηγοῦσι τούτου τοῦ λόγου μάλα ἐρρωμένως. Τῷ τοι, ὡ φίλε Θεόδωρε, μᾶλλον σκεπτέον καὶ ἔξ ἀρχῆς 9 ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὑποτείνονται.

14.4.4 | Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. καὶ γὰρ, ὡ

14.4.1 | From the combination of motion, movement, and mixture, everything that we say exists comes into being, not correctly naming them. For nothing ever is, but everything always becomes. And about this, all the wise men agree, except for Parmenides: Protagoras, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, as well as the poets, like Epicharmus for comedy and Homer for tragedy, who said, 'Of Ocean and the mother Tethys, he spoke of all things as born from flow and movement.' Does this not seem to be what he is saying?

14.4.2 | "To me, who could still dispute against such a great army and general like Homer without being laughed at?" Then, continuing with the argument, he adds, saying...

14.4.3 | Therefore, we should approach more closely, as the argument about Protagoras commands, and examine this being that is being discussed, whether it speaks of something healthy or something rotten. The battle over this is not trivial and has not happened with just a few. It must be significant, but concerning the Ionian, it is very much so. For the followers of Heraclitus strongly support this argument. So, my friend Theodorus, we should think more carefully and from the beginning, just as they themselves suggest.

14.4.4 | Absolutely. And indeed, Socrates,

Σώκρατες, περὶ τούτων τῶν Ἡρακλείτείων, ἡ ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις Ὄμηρείων τε καὶ ἔτι παλαιοτέρων, αὐτοῖς μὲν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, δσοι προσποιοῦνται ἔμπειροι εἶναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τε διαλεχθῆναι ἡ τοῖς οἰστρῶσιν. ἀτεχνῶς γάρ κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται, τὸ δὲ ἐπιμεῖναι ἐπὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἑρωτήματι καὶ ἡσυχίως ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνασθαι τε καὶ ἐρέσθαι, ἦττον αὐτοῖς ἔνι ἡ τὸ μηδέν μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερβάλλει τὸ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ σμικρὸν ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡσυχίας. ἀλλ' ἂν τινά τι ἔρῃ, ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας ḥηματίσκια αἰνιγματώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι, καὶ ἄν τούτου ζητῆς λόγον λαβεῖν, τί εἴρηκεν, ἐτέρῳ πεπλήξῃ καινῶς μετωνομασμένῳ, περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν πρὸς οὐδένα αὐτῶν, οὐδέ γε ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἄλλήλους, ἀλλ' εὗ πάνυ φυλάττουσι τὸ μηδὲν βέβαιον ἐὰν εἶναι μήτ' ἐν λόγῳ μήτ' ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς, ἡγούμενοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς στάσιμον εἶναι. τούτῳ δὲ πάνυ πολεμοῦσι, καὶ καθ' ὅσον δύνανται πανταχόθεν ἐκβάλλουσιν.

14.4.5 | "Ισως, ὡ Θεόδωρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας μαχομένους ἐώρακας, είρηνεύουσι δὲ οὐ συγγέγονας· οὐ γάρ σοι ἐταῖροί είσιν. ἀλλ', οἴμαι, τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπὶ σχολῆς φράζουσιν, οὓς ἀν βούλωνται ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι. Ποίοις μαθηταῖς, ὡ δαιμόνιε; οὐδὲ γίγνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἔτερος ἐτέρου μαθητὴς, ἀλλ' αὐτόματοι ἀναφύονται, ὀπόθεν ἀν τύχῃ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἐνθουσιάσας, καὶ τὸν ἔτερον ὁ ἔτερος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖται πάρα μὲν οὖν τούτων, ὅπερ ἡα ἔρων, οὐκ αν ποτε λάβοις λόγον οὕτε ἐκόντων οὕτε ἀκόντων· αὐτοὺς δὲ δεῖ παραλαβόντας ὥσπερ πρόβλημα ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι.

about these Heraclitean ideas, or as you say, the Homeric and even older ones, those around Ephesus, who claim to be experienced, are no more able to discuss than those who are stung by wasps. For they are carried along according to the writings, but to remain on a topic and to answer and ask questions quietly and in turn is less in them than nothing. Rather, they exceed the idea of nothingness in their lack of calmness. But if someone asks something, they shoot out puzzling phrases like arrows from a quiver, and if you seek to understand what has been said, you will be struck by something newly named, and you will never reach anything with any of them, nor will they with each other. But they guard nothing firmly, whether in their words or in their own souls, believing, as it seems to me, that it is a state of conflict. They are completely at war with this, and as much as they can, they push it away from everywhere.

14.4.5 | Perhaps, Theodorus, you have seen men fighting, but they do not make peace; for they are not your companions. But, I think, such things are explained to the students in a leisurely way, whom they want to make similar to themselves. What kind of students, dear friend? No one of such kinds becomes a student of another, but they arise spontaneously, each one inspired from wherever he happens to be, and the other thinks nothing of the other. Therefore, whatever he may desire, you will never receive an answer, whether they want to or not; rather, they must be taken as a problem to be examined.

14.4.6 | Καὶ μετρίως γε λέγεις. Τὸ δὲ δὴ πρόβλημα ἄλλο τι παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων, μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς ἡ γένεσις τῶν πάντων Ὄκεανός τε καὶ Τηθὺς ῥεῦμα τυγχάνει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων, ἃτε σοφωτέρων, ἀναφανδὸν ἀποδεικνυμένων, ἵνα καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι αὐτῶν τὴν σοφίαν μάθωσιν ἀκούσαντες καὶ παύσωνται ἡλιθίως οἰόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔστάναι, τὰ δὲ κινεῖσθαι τῶν ὅντων, μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι πάντα κινεῖται τιμῶσιν αὐτούς; ὀλίγου δὲ ἐπελαθόμην, ὡς Θεόδωρε, ὅτι ἄλλοι αὖ τάναντία τούτοις ἀπεφήναντο, Οἶον ἀκίνητον τελέθει τῷ πάντ' ὄνομ' εἶναι, Καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα Μέλισσοί τε καὶ Παρμενίδαι ἐναντιούμενοι Πᾶσι τούτοις δισχυρίζονται, ὡς ἐν τε πάντα ἔστι καὶ ἔστηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχον χώραν ἐν ᾧ κινεῖται.

14.4.7 | Τούτοις οὖν, ὡς ἐταῖρε, πᾶσι τί χρησόμεθα; Κατὰ σμικρὸν γάρ προϊόντες λελήθαμεν ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὸ μέσον πεπτωκότες, καὶ ἐὰν μή πῃ ἀμυνόμενοι διαφύγωμεν, δίκην δώσομεν ὁσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις διὰ γραμμῆς παίζοντες, ὅταν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ληφθέντες ἔλκωνται εἰς τάναντία.

14.4.8 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ. Μεταβὰς δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ Τὸν Σοφιστὴν αὐθίς περὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων τοιάδε φησίν “Εὔκόλως μοι δοκεῖ Παρμενίδης ἡμῖν διειλέχθαι Καὶ πᾶς ὅστις ἡμῖν πώποτε ἐπὶ κρίσιν ὥρμησε τοῦ τὰ ὄντα διορίσασθαι πόσα τε καὶ ποιά ἔστι. — Μῦθόν τινα ἔκαστος φαίνεται μοι

14.4.6 | And you speak moderately. The problem we have taken up is different from what the ancients presented, as many hid their poetry, claiming that the origin of all things is Ocean and Tethys, which flows and does not stand still. But the later thinkers, being wiser, clearly show that even the shoemakers among them may learn wisdom by hearing and stop foolishly believing that some things stand still while others move. Once they learn that everything is in motion, do they honor them? I almost forgot, dear Theodorus, that others have declared the opposite of these views, like saying that the unmoving is what everything is named. And many others, like Melissus and Parmenides, argue against all these things, claiming that everything is one and that it stands in itself, having no space in which it moves.

14.4.7 | Therefore, my friend, what shall we do about these things? For having gone a little forward, we have fallen into the middle of both sides, and if we do not somehow defend ourselves and escape, we will pay the penalty just like those who play in the wrestling grounds when they are caught by both sides and are pulled in opposite directions.

14.4.8 | These things are in the Theaetetus. Moving on to the Sophist, he says again about the earlier natural philosophers: 'It seems easy to me that Parmenides has chosen us, and anyone who has ever urged us to judge what exists and how many and what kinds they are. Each one seems to tell a certain myth, as if to children. One says

διηγεῖσθαι, παισὶν ὡς οὕσιν ἡμῖν. ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίστε αὐτῶν ἄττα πη, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα γιγνόμενα γάμους τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν ἔκγόνων παρέχεται· δύο δὲ ἔτερος εἰπὼν, ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν ἡ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν, συνοικίζει τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἔκδιδωσι. τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐλεατικὸν ἔθνος ἄπαν, ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνδὲ ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων, οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς μύθοις. Ἰάδες δέ τινες καὶ Σικελικαὶ ὕστερον Μοῦσαι ξυνενόησαν ὅτι συμπλέκειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἀμφότερα καὶ λέγειν ὡς τὸ δὲ πολλά τε καὶ ἵν ἔστιν, ἔχθρᾳ δὲ καὶ φιλίᾳ συνέχεται. διαφερόμενον γάρ ἀεὶ ξυμφέρεται, φασὶν αἱ συντονώτεραι τῶν Μουσῶν· αἱ δὲ μαλακώτεραι τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἔχάλασαν· ἐν μέρει δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν εἴναι φασι τὸ πᾶν καὶ φίλον ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης, τοτὲ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸς αὐτῷ διὰ νεῖκός τι. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἡ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε, χαλεπὸν καὶ πλημμελὲς οὕτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν."

there are three kinds of being, and they sometimes fight against each other, but at other times they come together in marriage and give birth and provide nourishment for their offspring. Another, saying there are two kinds, wet and dry or hot and cold, combines them and produces them. But the Eleatic school, starting from Xenophanes and even earlier, goes through the myths as if everything is called one being. Some Ionians and Sicilian Muses later agreed that it is safer to combine both and to say that being is many and one, connected by enmity and friendship. For they say that what differs always comes together, and they claim that the Muses are more harmonious; but the softer ones have relaxed this view, saying that these things always hold this way. At times, they say that the whole is one and is loved by Aphrodite, while at other times, they say it is many and hostile to itself through some strife. If any of these things were truly said or not, it is difficult and wrong to blame such great and famous ancient men.'

14.4.9 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει "Τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν διακριβολογουμένους ὄντος τε πέρι καὶ μὴ πάντας μὲν οὐ διεληλύθαμεν, ὅμως δ' ἱκανῶς ἔχέτω· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως λέγοντας αὖ θεατέον, ἵν' ἔκ πάντων ἴδωμεν ὅτι τὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν εύπορώτερον εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ποτέ ἔστιν. Ούκοῦν πορεύεσθαι χρὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους. Καὶ μὴν ἔοικέ γε ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷον γιγαντομαχία τις εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

14.4.9 | And after a short time, he adds, 'Therefore, we have not completely examined those who argue about what exists and what does not exist, but let them be sufficient. As for those who speak differently, we should watch them, so that from all we can see that saying what is not being is no easier than saying what is. Therefore, we must also go toward these people. And indeed, it seems that there is a kind of battle among them, due to the disagreement about being with each other.'

14.4.10 | Πῶς; Οἱ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἔξ ούρανοῦ

14.4.10 | How? Some pull everything from

καὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πάντα ἔλκουσι, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρῦς περιλαμβάνοντες. τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων δισχυρίζονται τοῦτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει πρόσ βολὴν καὶ ἐπαφήν τινα, ταύτὸν σῶμα καὶ οὐσίαν δριζόμενοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων εἴ τις φήσει μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες τὸ παράπαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔθελοντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν. Ήι δεινοὺς εἴρηκας ἄνδρας· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἔγώ τούτων πλέον οἵ προσέτυχον.

the earth down from the sky and the unseen, grasping rocks and trees with their hands without skill. For by touching such things, they insist that this is the only thing that provides some support and contact, defining it as the same body and essence. But if anyone says that there is something without a body, they completely disregard it and do not want to hear anything else. You have mentioned terrible men; for I too have already encountered more of them.

14.4.11 | Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πρὸς αύτοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντες μάλα εύλαβῶς ἄνωθεν ποθὲν ἀμύνονται, νοητὰ ἄττα καὶ ἀσώματα εἴδη βιαζόμενοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι· τὰ δὲ ἑκείνων σώματα καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλήθειαν κατὰ σμικρὰ διαθραύσοντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις γένεσιν ἀντὶ οὐσίας φερομένην τινὰ προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἄπλετος ἀμφοτέρων μάχη τις, ὡς Θεαίτητε, ἀεὶ ξυνέστηκεν. Άληθῆ.”

14.4.11 | Therefore, those who argue against them are very careful to defend themselves from above, insisting that some invisible and immaterial forms are the true essence. But they break down the bodies of those people and the so-called truth of them into small parts in their arguments, calling something that is carried as a generation instead of essence. In the middle of this, there is always a great battle between both sides, oh Theaetetus, that has been going on.

14.4.12 | Διὰ δὴ τοσούτων τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ φυσικοὺς φιλοσόφους διαβέβληκεν ὁ Πλάτων. ὅποιαν δὲ αύτὸς περὶ τῶν ἔζητημένων ἐπήγετο δόξαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου διειλήφαμεν, ὅτε συμφωνεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἐβραίων δόγμασι καὶ τῇ Μώσεως συντρέχειν περὶ τοῦ ὄντος διδασκαλίᾳ παριστῶμεν.

14.4.12 | Because of this, Plato has discredited the natural philosophers before him. The opinion he proposed about the things we were discussing, we have separated from those before him, when we show that he agrees with the teachings of the Hebrews and aligns with Moses in his teaching about being.

14.4.13 | Καὶ τοὺς αύτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πλάτωνος διαδόχους φέρε τῷ λόγῳ θεωρήσωμεν. Πλάτωνά φασιν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συστησάμενον τὴν διατριβὴν πρῶτον Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν κληθῆναι, καὶ τὴν

14.4.13 | And let us consider the successors of Plato in his teachings. They say that Plato established the school in the Academy, which was first called the Academic, and that he created what is known as Academic

όνομασθεῖσαν Ακαδημαϊκὴν φιλοσοφίαν συστήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ Πλάτωνα Σπεύσιππον τὸν ἔξ ἀδελφῆς Πλάτωνος, τῆς Ποτώνης, εἴτα Ξενοκράτην, ἔπειτα Πολέμωνα τὴν διατριβῆν ὑποδέξασθαι.

philosophy. After Plato, Speusippus, who was Plato's nephew, took over, then Xenocrates, and afterward Polemon continued the school.

14.4.14 | τούτους δὲ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρξαμένους εύθὺς τὰ Πλατωνικά φασι παραλύειν, στρεβλοῦντας τὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ φανέντα ξένων εἰσαγωγαῖς δογμάτων, ὡστε σοὶ μὴ εἰς μακρὸν ἐλπίζειν τὴν τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἑκείνων διαλόγων ἴσχὺν ἀποσβῆναι, ἅμα τε τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τελευτῇ καὶ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων διαδοχὴν συναποτελευτῆσαι· μάχης ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεως ἀπὸ τῶνδε ἀρξαμένης, οὕποτε καὶ εἰς δεῦρο διαλειπούσης, τοὺς τὰ αὐτῷ φίλα ζηλοῦν ἀσπαζομένους οὐδένας μὲν ὄντας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ εἷς που ἢ δεύτερος ἐν δλῷ τῷ βίῳ, ἢ καὶ τινες ἄλλοι κομιδῇ βραχεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, οὐδέ τοι πάμπαν ἀλλότριοι τῆς ἐπιπλάστου σοφιστείας· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν τὸν Πλάτωνα διαδεξάμενοι τοιοίδε τινες διαβέβληνται.

14.4.14 | Starting from these, they say that those who began from the house immediately distort the Platonic teachings, twisting the ideas revealed by the teacher with foreign doctrines. So, do not hope for a long time that the strength of those wonderful dialogues will fade away, especially with the death of the man and the end of the succession of teachings. From here, a battle and conflict began, which has never stopped until now. Those who embrace the same ideas as him are hardly found, except for maybe one or two in all of life, or a few others who briefly add to the number, and they themselves are completely foreign to the false wisdom. For even those who came before Plato are discredited in this way.

14.4.15 | Πολέμωνα γάρ φασι διαδέξασθαι Ἀρκεσίλαον, δὸν δὴ κατέχει λόγος ἀφέμενον τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ξένην τινὰ καὶ, ὡς φασι, δευτέραν συστήσασθαι Ἀκαδημίαν. φάναι γάρ περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπέχειν δεῖν· εἶναι γὰρ πάντα ἀκατάληπτα καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἐκάτερα λόγους ἴσοκρατεῖς ἄλλήλοις, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δὲ ἀπίστους εἶναι καὶ πάντα λόγον. ἐπήνει γοῦν Ἡσιόδου τοутὶ τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα κρύψαντες γάρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ νόον ἀνθρώποισιν. ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ καὶ παράδοξά τινα ἀνακαινίζειν.

14.4.15 | For they say that Polemon succeeded Arcesilaus, who held a teaching that set aside the doctrines of Plato and, as they say, established a second Academy. For he claimed that one must hold opinions about everything; for everything is incomprehensible and the arguments on each side are equally strong against each other, and the senses are untrustworthy and all reasoning is uncertain. He even praises the saying of Hesiod: 'For the gods have hidden their thoughts from humans.' He also tried to renew some paradoxical ideas.

14.4.16 | μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Καρνεάδην καὶ Κλειτόμαχον, τῆς τῶν προτέρων δόξης ἀποτραπέντας, τρίτης Ἀκαδημίας αἴτιους γενέσθαι φασίν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τετάρτην προστιθέασι τὴν τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλωνα καὶ Χαρμίδην. τινὲς δὲ καὶ πέμπτην καταλέγουσι τὴν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον. Τοιαύτη μὲν τις ἡ αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος ὑπῆρξε διαδοχή. ὅποιοι δὲ γεγόνασιν οἴδε τὸν τρόπον, ἀνάγνωθι τὰς ὥδε ἔχουσας Νουμηνίου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου φωνὰς, ἃς τέθειται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὡν ἐπέγραψε ‘Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαστάσεως.’

## Section 5

14.5.1 | “Ἐπὶ μὲν τοίνυν Σπεύσιππον τὸν Πλάτωνος μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν, Ξενοκράτην δὲ τὸν διάδοχον τοῦ Σπεύσιππου, Πολέμωνα δὲ ἐκδεξάμενον τὴν σχολὴν παρὰ Ξενοκράνους, ἀεὶ τὸ ἥθος διετείνετο τῶν δογμάτων σχεδόν τι ταύτον, ἔνεκά γε τῆς μήπω ἐποχῆς ταυτησὶ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου τε καὶ εἰ δή τινων τοιούτων ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ εἴς γε τὰ ἄλλα πολλαχῇ παραλύοντες, τὰ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες, οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ πρώτῃ διαδοχῇ ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ θᾶττον καὶ βράδιον διίσταντο προαιρέσει ἡ ἀγνοίᾳ, τὰ δὲ δή τινι αἴτιᾳ ἄλλῃ οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμῳ ἵσως.

14.5.2 | καὶ οὐ μὲν βούλομαί τι φλαῦρον εἴπεῖν διὰ Ξενοκράτην, μᾶλλον μὴν ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος ἐθέλω. καὶ γάρ με δάκνει ὅτι μὴ πᾶν ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ἔδρων σώζοντες τῷ Πλάτωνι κατὰ πάντα πάντη πᾶσαν δομοδοξίαν. καίτοι ἄξιος ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ

14.4.16 | After Arcesilaus, they say that those around Carneades and Clitomachus turned away from the earlier beliefs and became the founders of the third Academy. Some even add a fourth Academy, which is associated with those around Philon and Charmides. Others also mention a fifth Academy related to Antiochus. Such was the succession of Plato. If you want to know about the way these people came to be, read the writings of Numenius the Pythagorean, which he titled 'On the Disagreement of the Academics with Plato.'

14.5.1 | During the time of Speusippus, who was Plato's nephew, and Xenocrates, who succeeded Speusippus, Polemon took over the school from Xenocrates. The character of the teachings remained almost the same, partly because of the ongoing influence of those famous ideas and perhaps also due to some other similar factors. For, while they were breaking down many things and twisting others, they did not stay true to the original succession. Starting from that point, they quickly and slowly diverged either by choice or by ignorance, and for some other reason that was not without its own importance.

14.5.2 | And I do not want to say anything trivial about Xenocrates, but rather I want to speak in favor of Plato. For it pains me that not everything he experienced and taught is preserved for Plato in every way and in every agreement. And yet, Plato was

Πλάτων', ούκ ἀμείνων μὲν Πυθαγόρου τοῦ μεγάλου, οὐ μέντοι ἵσως οὐδὲ φλαυρότερος ἐκείνου, ὡς συνακολουθοῦντες σεφθέντες τε οἱ γνώριμοι ἔγένοντο πολυτιμῆτίζεσθαι αἴτιώτατοι τὸν Πυθαγόραν.

worthy of them; he was not inferior to the great Pythagoras, but perhaps he was not even less trivial than him. Those who followed him and spoke of him became very respected for their connection to Pythagoras.

14.5.3 | τοῦτο δὲ οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι οὐκ ὥφελον μὲν, μαθόντες δ' οὖν ἐν οὐδενὶ μὲν ὥφθησαν Ἐπικούρῳ ἐναντίᾳ θέμενοι οὐδαμῶς, διολογήσαντες δὲ εἶναι σοφῷ συνδεδογμένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέλαυσαν τῆς προσρήσεως εἰκότως· ὑπῆρξε τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα Ἐπικουρείοις μηδ' αὐτοῖς είπειν πω ἐναντίον οὕτε ἀλλήλοις οὕτε Ἐπικούρῳ μηδὲν εἰς μηδὲν, δτου καὶ μνησθῆναι· ἄξιον· ἀλλ' παρανόμημα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσέβημα, καὶ κατέγνωσται τὸ καινοτομηθέν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τολμᾷ, κατὰ πολλὴν δὲ εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς ἡρεμεῖ τὰ δόγματα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις αἱεί ποτε συμφωνίας. ἔοικε τε ἡ Ἐπικούρου διατριβὴ πολιτείᾳ τινὶ ἀληθεῖ, ἀστασιαστοτάῃ, κοινὸν ἵνα νοῦν, μίαν γνώμην ἔχούσῃ· ἀφ' ἣς ἡσαν καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔσονται φιλακόλουθοι.

14.5.3 | This, however, the Epicureans did not benefit from, for they were not seen opposing Epicurus in any way. They agreed that they were connected to a wise man and for this reason they enjoyed the reputation without question. There was no later Epicurean who would dare to speak against each other or against Epicurus in any matter, nor even mention it. It was considered worthy, but rather a wrongdoing, and it was condemned as something new. Because of this, no one even dares to speak, and in great peace, their teachings remain calm due to their constant agreement with each other. The way of Epicurus seems to be a true form of community, very stable, having a common understanding and one opinion; from which they were and are, and as it seems, will be devoted followers.

14.5.4 | τὰ δὲ τῶν Στωϊκῶν ἐστασίασται, ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μηδέπω τελευτῶντα καὶ νῦν. ἐλέγχουσι δὲ ἀγαπώντως ὑπὸ δυσμενοῦς ἐλέγχου, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτὸν ἐμμεμενηκότες ἔτι, οἱ δὲ ἤδη μεταθέμενοι. εἰξασιν οὖν οἱ πρῶτοι ὄλιγαρχικωτέροις, οἱ δὲ διαστάντες ὑπῆρξαν εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα πολλῆς μὲν τοῖς προτέροις, πολλῆς δὲ τῆς ἀλληλοις ἐπιτιμήσεως αἴτιοι, εἰσέτι ἐτέρων ἔτεροι Στωϊκώτεροι· καὶ μᾶλλον ὅσοι πλέον ἐπὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν ὥφθησαν μικρολόγοι· αὐτοὶ γὰρ

14.5.4 | The Stoics, on the other hand, have been divided, starting from the leaders and not yet coming to an end, even now. They are being harshly criticized by an unfriendly judgment; some still hold on to it, while others have already changed their views. Therefore, the first group gives in to those who are more oligarchic, and they, having separated, have become the cause of much criticism from both earlier and later groups. There are even other Stoics who are different from each other; and the more

οὗτοι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τῇ τε πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τοῖς τε σκαριφηθμοῖς ἐπετίμων θάττον.

they appeared to be focused on technical matters, the more they seemed to be petty. For these people, by surpassing others in their busy involvement, were quicker to criticize the details.

14.5.5 | πολὺ μέντοι τούτων πρότερον ταύτα ἔπαθον οἱ ἀπὸ Σωκράτους ἀφελκύσαντες διαφόρους τοὺς λόγους, ίδιᾳ μὲν Ἀρίστιππος, ίδιᾳ δὲ Ἀντισθένης, καὶ ἄλλαχοῦ ίδιᾳ οἱ Μεγαρικοί τε καὶ Ἐρετρικοί, ἢ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτων.

14.5.5 | Indeed, many of these people experienced the same things before, having drawn different arguments from Socrates. Individually, there was Aristippus, and separately, Antisthenes, and elsewhere, the Megarians and the Eretrians, or if there were any others after them.

14.5.6 | αἴτιον δὲ, ὅτι τρεῖς θεοὺς τιθεμένου Σωκράτους καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐκάστῳ ῥυθμοῖς, οἱ διακούσαντες τοῦτο μὲν ἡγνόουν, ὕστο δὲ λέγειν πάντα αὐτὸν εἰκῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νικώσης αἱέι προστυχῶς ἄλλοτε ἄλλης τύχης, ὅπως πνέοι.

14.5.6 | The reason is that, while Socrates was placing three gods and discussing them in the appropriate rhythms for each, they, having heard this, did not understand it. They thought he was speaking everything randomly and always by chance, as if he were just blowing air.

14.5.7 | ὁ δὲ Πλάτων' πυθαγορίσας, ἢδει δὲ τὸν Σωκράτην μηδαμόθεν ἢ ἐκεῖθεν διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα είπειν τε καὶ γνόντα είρηκέναι,) ὥδε οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς συνεδήσατο σατο τὰ πράγματα, οὕτε εἰώθότως, οὕτε δὲ εἰς τὸ φανερόν διαγαγὼν δὲ ἔκαστα ὅπη ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ δῆλα εἶναι καὶ μὴ δῆλα, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἐγράψατο, αὐτὸς δὲ αἴτιαν παρέσχε τῆς μετ' αὐτὸν στάσεως τε ἄμα καὶ διολικῆς τῶν δογμάτων, οὐ φθόνω μὲν, ούδέ γε δυσνοίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐ βούλομαι ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι πρεσβυτέροις είπειν ῥήματα ούκ ἐναίσιμα.

14.5.7 | But Plato, having been influenced by Pythagoras, knew that Socrates would not say the same things from anywhere or for the same reasons. Therefore, he himself also arranged the matters in this way, neither in the usual way nor clearly. He examined each thing where he thought it belonged, hiding in the middle what was clear and what was not. He wrote it down safely, but he himself provided the reason for the position he took and the way he presented the doctrines, not out of envy or difficulty in understanding. But I do not wish to speak words that are not fitting to older men.

14.5.8 | τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ μαθόντας ἡμάς  
ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐκεῖσε μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην, καὶ  
ῶσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προυθέμεθα χωρίζειν  
αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Ζήνωνος, οὕτω  
καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς  
ἀντιλάβηται, Χωρίζοντες ἔάσομεν αὐτὸν  
ἔφ' ἐαυτοῦ νῦν εἶναι Πυθαγόρειον· ὡς νῦν  
μανικώτερον ἢ Πενθεῖ τινι προσῆκε  
διελκόμενος πάσχει μὲν κατὰ μέλη, ὅλος δ'  
ἐξ ὅλου ἐαυτοῦ μετατίθεται τε καὶ  
ἀντιμετατίθεται ούδαμῶς.

14.5.8 | This we must learn to bring our opinion there more strongly, and just as we previously set apart Aristotle and Zeno from the beginning, so now, if the god helps, we will allow him to be alone as a Pythagorean. As now, he suffers more madly than Pentheus, being pulled apart in parts, but entirely he is changed and exchanged with himself in no way.

14.5.9 | ὅπως οὖν ἀνὴρ μεσεύων  
Πυθαγόρου καὶ Σωκράτους, τοῦ μὲν τὸ  
σεμνὸν ὑπαγαγὼν μέχρι τοῦ  
φιλανφρώπου, τοῦ δὲ τὸ κομψὸν τοῦτο καὶ  
παιγνιῆμον ἀναγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας  
εἰς ἀξίωμα καὶ ὅγκον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
κεράσας Σωκράτει Πυθαγόραν, τοῦ μὲν  
δημοτικώτερος, τοῦ δὲ σεμνότερος ὥφθη.

14.5.9 | Therefore, as a man balancing between Pythagoras and Socrates, he brought the serious aspect of the former to the level of the friendly, and he raised the clever and playful aspect of the latter from irony to importance and weight. By mixing these two, he made Socrates appear more common and Pythagoras more serious.

14.5.10 | "Αλλ' "Αλλ' οὐ γάρ τι ταῦτα  
διαιτήσων περὶ τούτων οὕσης νῦν μοι τῆς  
ζητήσεως" ἂ δὲ προυδέδοκτο καὶ εἴμι  
ἐκεῖσε, ἢ δὴ φρούδος ἀναδραμεῖν δοκῶ μοι,  
μὴ καί που ἀποκρουσθῶμεν τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς  
φερούσης.

14.5.10 | But I am not going to discuss these things now that my inquiry is about this. What was previously agreed upon, I will go there, or I think I will run away in vain, so that we do not get pushed away from the path that leads us.

14.5.11 | Πολέμωνος δὲ ἐγένοντο γνώριμοι  
Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ Ζήνων· πάλιν γὰρ αὐτῶν  
μνησθήσομαι ἐπὶ τέλει. Ζήνωνα μὲν οὖν  
μέμνημαι εἰπὼν Ξενοκράτει, εἴτα δὲ  
Πολέμωνι φοιτῆσαι, αὐθις δὲ παρὰ Κράτητι  
κυνίσαι· νυνὶ δὲ αὐτῷ λελογίσθω ὅτι καὶ  
Στίλπωνός τε μετέσχε καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν  
Ἡρακλειτείων.

14.5.11 | Among the followers of Polemon, Arcesilaus and Zeno became known. For I will mention them again at the end. I remember Zeno speaking of Xenocrates, then going to Polemon, and again hunting with Cratylus. But now let it be noted that Stilpo also participated in the Heraclitean discussions.

14.5.12 | ἐπεὶ γὰρ συμφοιτῶντες παρὰ

14.5.12 | When they were living together

Πολέμωνι ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ἄλλήλοις,  
συμπαρέλαβον εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
μάχην ὃ μὲν Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Στίλπωνα ἅμα  
καὶ Κράτητα, ὃν ὑπὸ μὲν Στίλπωνος  
ἐγένετο μαχητῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡρακλείτου  
αὐστηρὸς, κυνικὸς δὲ ὑπὸ Κράτητος· ὃ δ'  
Ἀρκεσίλαος Θεόφραστον ἴσχει καὶ  
Κράντορα τὸν Πλατωνικὸν καὶ Διόδωρον,  
εἴτα Πύρρωνα, ὃν ὑπὸ μὲν Κράντορος  
πιθανουργικός, ὑπὸ Διοδώρου δὲ  
σοφιστής, ὑπὸ δὲ Πύρρωνος ἐγένετο  
παντοδαπός καὶ ἵτης καὶ οὐδέν.

14.5.13 | ὃ καὶ ἐλέγετο περὶ αὐτοῦ  
ἀδόμενόν τι ἔπος παραγωγὸν καὶ  
ὑβριστικὸν, πρόσθε Πλάτων', ὅπιθεν  
Πυρρῶν, μέσσος Διόδωρος. Τίμων δὲ καὶ  
ὑπὸ Μενεδήμου τὸ ἐριστικόν φησι λαβόντα  
ἔξαρτυθῆναι, εἴπερ γε δή φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ  
τῇ μὲν ἔχων Μενεδήμου ὑπὸ στέρνοισι  
μόλυβδονθεύσεται, ἢ Πύρρωνα τὸ πὰν  
κρέας, ἢ Διόδωρον.

14.5.14 | ταῖς οὖν Διοδώρου, διαλεκτικοῦ  
ὄντος, λεπτολογίαις τοὺς λογισμοὺς τοὺς  
πύρρωνος καὶ τὸ σκεπτικὸν καταπλέξας  
διεκόσμησε λόγου δεινότητι τῇ Πλάτωνος  
φλήναφόν τινα κατεστωμαλμένον, καὶ  
ἔλεγε καὶ ἀντέλεγε, καὶ μετεκυλινδεῖτο  
κάκεῖθεν κάντεῦθεν, ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅπόθεν  
τύχοι, παλινάγρετος καὶ δύσκριτος καὶ  
παλίμβολός τε ἅμα καὶ  
παρακεκινδυνευμένος, οὐδέν τε εἶδὼς, ὡς  
αὐτὸς ἔφη, γενναῖος ὥν· εἴτα πῶς  
έξέβαινεν ὅμοιος τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὑπὸ  
σκιαγραφίας τῶν λόγων παντοδαπός  
πεφαντασμένος."

with Polemon, they became ambitious with each other. They took part in the conflict with each other: Heraclitus and Stilpo together with Cratylus. Stilpo made a fighter, Heraclitus was strict, and Cratylus was cynical. Arcesilaus held Theophrastus and Crantor the Platonist and Diodorus, then Pyrrho. Under Crantor, he was persuasive, under Diodorus, he was a sophist, and under Pyrrho, he became various and uncertain.

14.5.13 | About him, it was said that he sang some kind of creative and insulting verse: 'In front is Plato, behind is Pyrrho, and in the middle is Diodorus.' Timon also says that he was trained in argumentation by Menedemus, if indeed he says about him that he will be covered by Menedemus with lead under his chest, or by Pyrrho with all the meat, or by Diodorus.

14.5.14 | Therefore, with Diodorus being a dialectician, he mixed the arguments of Pyrrho and the skeptical ideas, decorating them with a cleverness that was somewhat like Plato's nonsense. He would speak and respond, rolling back and forth from here to there, from either side, wherever he happened to be, being contradictory, hard to understand, and confusing, knowing nothing, as he himself said, while being brave. Then somehow he would come out like those who know, appearing in various ways under the shadow of words.

## Section 6

14.6.1 | Τοῦ τε Ὄμηρικοῦ Τυδείδου ὅποτέροις μετείη ἀγνοούμενου, οὕτε εἰ Τρῶσίν ὄμιλέοι οὕτε εἰ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, οὐδὲν ἥττον Ἀρκεσίλαος ἡγνοεῖτο. τὸ γὰρ ἔνα τε λόγον καὶ ταύτον ποτ' είπειν οὐκ ἐνῆν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐδέ γε ἡξίου ἀνδρὸς εἶναί πω τὸ τοιοῦτο δεξιοῦ ούδαμῶς. ὠνομάζετο οὖν δεινὸς σοφιστὴς, τῶν ἀγυμνάστων σφαγεύς.

14.6.2 | ὕσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἔμπουσαι ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι τοῖς τῶν λόγων ὑπὸ παρασκευῆς τε καὶ μελέτης ἐφάρματτεν, ἐγοήτευεν, οὐδὲν εἶχεν εἰδέναι οὕτε αὐτὸς οὕτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἔαν· ἐδειμάτου δὲ καὶ κατεθορύβει, καὶ σοφισμάτων γε καὶ λόγων κλοπῆς φερόμενος τὰ πρῶτα κατέχαιρε τῷ ὄνείδει, καὶ ἡβρύνετο θαυμαστῶς, δτι μήτε τί αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν, μήτε ἀγαθὸν μήτε αὖ κακόν ἐστι τί ἥδει, ἀλλ' ὅποτερον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς πέσοι τοῦτο εἴπων, αὗθις μεταβαλὼν ἀνέτρεπεν ἀν πλεοναχῶς ἢ δι' ὅσων κατεσκευάκει.

14.6.3 | ἦν οὖν ὕδραν τέμνων ἐαυτὸν καὶ τεμνόμενος ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ, ἀμφότερα ἄλλήλων δυσκρίτως, καὶ τοῦ δέοντος ἀσκέπτως, πλὴν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἥρεσεν, ὅμοι τῇ ἀκροάσει εύπρόσωπον ὅντα θεωμένοις· ἦν οὖν ἀκούμενος καὶ βλεπόμενος ἥδιστος, ἐπεὶ τε προσειθίσθησαν ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους ίόντας ἀπὸ καλοῦ προσώπου τε καὶ στόματος οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅμιμασι φιλοφροσύνης.

14.6.1 | When it came to the Homeric Tydeus, whether he was talking to the Trojans or even to the Achaeans, Arcesilaus was still unknown. For he was not able to say the same thing in one argument, nor did he think it was worthy of a man to be able to do such a thing at all. Therefore, he was called a terrible sophist, a butcher of the untrained.

14.6.2 | For just as the skilled ones in the illusions of words would prepare and practice, he would enchant, knowing nothing himself nor allowing others to know. He would be frightened and would cause a commotion, and being accused of tricks and stealing words, he would hold on to the first things with shame, and he would be greatly arrogant, because he knew neither what was shameful or beautiful, nor what was good or bad. But whenever he spoke about what might fall into the souls, he would then change and overturn it more than he had prepared.

14.6.3 | He was like a hydra, cutting himself and being cut by himself, both sides difficult to distinguish, and without considering what was necessary. But to those who were listening, he was pleasing, appearing friendly to the audience. Therefore, he was most enjoyable to hear and see, since they were persuaded to accept his words coming from a beautiful face and mouth, not without the kindness in his eyes.

14.6.4 | δεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι μὴ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἔσχεν ὡδε ἐξ ἀρχῆς. συμβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν παισὶ Θεοφράστῳ, ἀνδρὶ πράω καὶ οὐκ ἀφυεῖ τὰ ἔρωτικὰ, διὰ τὸ καλὸς εἶναι, ἔτι ὧν ὥραῖος, τυχών ἐραστοῦ Κράντορος τοῦ Ἀκαδημαικοῦ, προσεχώρησε μὲν τούτῳ, οἷα δὲ τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἀφυής, τρεχούσῃ χρησάμενος αὐτῇ ὁρδίᾳ, Θερμουργὸς ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας, μετασχών μὲν ρου εἰς τὰ πεπανουργημένα πιθάνια ταῦτα τὰ κομψά, ὡμιληκὼς δὲ Πύρρωνι· (ὸ δὲ Πυρρῶν ἐκ Δημοκρίτου ὅρμητο ὅπόθεν γέ ποθεν) οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐνθεν καταρτυθεὶς, πλὴν τῆς προσρήσεως, ἐνέμεινε Πύρρωνι, ὡς τῇ πάντων ἀναιρέσει.

14.6.4 | It is necessary to hear these things not simply, but to understand them from the beginning. For he came together with Theophrastus, a gentle man who was not lacking in matters of love, because he was beautiful and still in his prime. Having met the lover Crantor from the Academy, he approached him, using his nature easily, being a warm-hearted person due to rivalry. He participated in the clever arguments that had been crafted, and he associated with Pyrrho. (Pyrrho was inspired by Democritus, wherever he came from.) This man, having been prepared from there, remained with Pyrrho, as he was involved in the rejection of all things.

14.6.5 | Μνασέας γοῦν καὶ Φιλόμηλος καὶ Τίμων οἱ σκεπτικοὶ σκεπτικὸν αὐτὸν προσονομάζουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡσαν, ἀναιροῦντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τὸ πιθανόν.

14.6.5 | Indeed, Menaseas, Philomelus, and Timon call him a skeptic, just as they themselves were, rejecting both the true and the false and what is plausible.

14.6.6 | λεχθεὶς οὖν αἴτια τῶν Πυρρωνείων Πυρρώνειος, αἴδοι τοῦ ἐραστοῦ ὑπέμεινε λέγεσθαι Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ἔτι. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν Πυρρώνειος, πλὴν τοῦ ὄνόματος· Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς δ' οὐκ ἦν, πλὴν τοῦ λέγεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πείθομαι, τοῦ Κνιδίου Διοκλέους φάσκοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Διατριβαῖς Ἀρκεσίλαον φόβῳ τῶν Θεοδωρείων τε καὶ Βίωνος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ ἐπεισιόντων τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲν ὄκνούντων ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐλέγχειν, αὐτὸν ἔξευλαβηθέντα, ἵνα μὴ πράγματα ἔχῃ, μηδὲν μὲν δόγμα ὑπειπεῖν φαινόμενον, ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ μέλαν τῆς σηπίας προβαλέσθαι πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ τὴν ἐποχήν.

14.6.6 | Therefore, being called a Pyrrhonian for the reason of the Pyrrhonians, he modestly endured being called an Academic still. Thus, he was indeed a Pyrrhonian, except for the name; he was not an Academic, except for being called one. For I do not believe that Diocles of Knidos, saying in his titled Discourses that Arcesilaus was afraid of the Theodorean and Bion the Sophist when they came to the philosophers and were not at all hesitant to challenge everything, was himself cautious, so that he would not have any issues, showing no doctrine, just as the blackness of the cuttlefish is presented before itself. Therefore, I do not

τοῦτ' οὖν ἔγώ ού πείθομαι.

believe this.

14.6.7 | οὶ δ' οὖν ἐνθεν ἀφορμηθέντες, ὃ τε Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ Ζήνων, ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρωγῶν, ἀμφοτέροις συμπολεμούντων λόγων, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὅθεν ἐκ Πολέμωνος ὡρμήθησαν ἐπιλανθάνονται, διαστάντες δέ γε καὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες, σὺν δ' ἔβαλον ῥινοὺς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα, καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν χαλκεοθωρήκων· ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὄμφαλόεσσαι ἐπληγῇ ἀλλήλῃσι, πολὺς δ' ὄρυμαγδὸς ὄρωρει. ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ ἐδνοπάλιζεν. ἐνθα δ' ἄμ' οἴμωγή τε καὶ εὔχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶνόλλυντων τε καὶ ὄλλυμένων, τῶν Στωϊκῶν·

14.6.7 | So, those who were inspired from there, both Arcesilaus and Zeno, with the help of such supporters, were both waging a war of words. They forgot the beginning from where they were driven by Polemon. Having separated and prepared themselves, they threw in their snouts, and with them their spears, and they remained as men in bronze armor; but the shields with their central boss struck against each other, and a great uproar arose. A shield pressed against a shield, a helmet against a helmet, and a man against a man, they fought fiercely. Then there arose both a wailing and a prayer from the men who were falling and perishing, of the Stoics.

14.6.8 | οἱ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐβάλλοντο ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀγνοούμενοι ἢ ἡσαν ἀλῶναι δυνατῶτεροι. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ, τῆς βάσεως αὐτοῖς σεισθείσης, εἴ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔλοιεν μήτε μάχεσθαι ἀφορμήν. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἀρχὴ ἦν τὸ μὴ Πλατωνικὰ λέγοντας αὐτοὺς ἐλέγξαι· τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἔχειν τινὰ ἀφορμήν, ἢν εἶπον μόνον ἔν τι μετέστρεψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕρου τοῦ περὶ τῆς καταληπτικῆς φαντασίας ἀφελόντες.

14.6.8 | The Academics were not attacked by them, being unaware of where they could be defeated more easily. They were trying to see if, when their foundation was shaken, they could neither take a starting point nor find a reason to fight. The starting point was indeed that they would not allow themselves to be refuted as speaking in a Platonic way; but they had no reason at all, which they only turned around from the definition concerning the graspable appearance, removing it.

14.6.9 | ὅπερ νῦν μὲν ούκ ἔστι μηνύειν μοι ἐν καιρῷ, μνησθήσομαι δ' αὐτοῦ αὗθις ἐπὰν κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενέσθαι μέλλω. διαστάντες δ' οὖν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἔβαλλον ἀλλήλους οὐχ οἵ δύο, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος τὸν Ζήνωνα. ὁ γὰρ Ζήνων εἶχε δή τι τῇ μάχῃ σεμνὸν καὶ βαρὺ καὶ Κηφισοδώρου τοῦ

14.6.9 | Now, it is not the right time for me to reveal this, but I will remember it again when it is most appropriate. So, they stood apart and attacked each other, not both of them, but Arcesilaus attacked Zeno. For Zeno had something serious and heavy in the fight, and he was not worse than

ρήτορος ούκ ἄμεινον· ὃς δὴ ὁ  
Κηφισόδωρος, ἐπειδὴ ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους  
βαλλόμενον ἔσυντῷ τὸν διδάσκαλον  
Ίσοκράτην ἐώρα, αὐτοῦ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους  
ἥν ἀμαθῆς καὶ ἅπειρος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ  
καθορᾶν ἔνδοξα τὰ Πλάτωνος ὑπάρχοντα,  
οἱηθεὶς κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην  
φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐπολέμει μὲν Ἀριστοτέλει  
ἔβαλλε δὲ Πλάτωνα, καὶ κατηγόρει  
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδεῶν, τελευτῶν εἰς τὰ  
ἄλλα, ἢ σύδ' αὐτὸς ἥδει, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
νομιζόμενα ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἡ λέγεται  
ὑπονοῶν.

Cephisodorus the orator. Cephisodorus, when he saw his teacher Isocrates being attacked by Aristotle, thought that Aristotle was ignorant and inexperienced, while he saw the famous things of Plato. Believing that Aristotle was philosophizing according to Plato, he waged war against Aristotle, but he attacked Plato, starting his accusations from the ideas and ending up with other things that he did not even know himself, but he was hinting at what was commonly believed about them.

14.6.10 | πλὴν οὗτος μὲν ὁ ὡς ἐπολέμει μὴ  
μαχόμενος, ἐμάχετο ὡς μὴ πολεμεῖν  
ἐβούλετο. ὁ μέντοι Ζήνων καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐπειδὴ  
τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου μεθίετο, εἴ μὲν μηδὲ  
Πλάτωνι ἐπολέμει, λέμει, ἐφιλοσόφει  
δίπου ἔμοὶ κριτῇ πλείστου ἀξίως, ἔνεκά γε  
τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης. εἴ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν  
ἴσως τὰ Ἀρκεσιλάου, τὰ μέντοι Πλάτωνος  
ἀγνοῶν, ως ἔξ ὧν αὐτῷ ἀντέγραψεν  
ἐλέγχεται, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐναντία καύτὸς,  
μήτε ὃν ἥδει πλήττων, ὃν τε οὐκ ἔχρην  
ἀτιμότατα καὶ αἴσχιστα περιυβρικώς, καὶ  
ταῦτα πολὺ κάκιον ἡ προσήκει κυνί.

14.6.10 | But this one, while he was not fighting against whom he was waging war, was fighting against the one who did not want to fight. Zeno, on the other hand, since he was giving up on Arcesilaus, if he was not waging war against Plato, was indeed philosophizing in my opinion worth the most, for the sake of this peace. But if he was perhaps unaware of Arcesilaus's ideas, yet ignorant of Plato's, as he is shown to have copied from them, he acted in opposition to himself, neither hitting the one he knew nor treating the one he should not have insulted in the most disgraceful and shameful way, and this was much worse than what a dog would deserve.

14.6.11 | πλὴν διέδειξέ γε μὴν  
μεγαλοφροσύνῃ ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ  
Ἀρκεσιλάου. ἥτοι γάρ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἔκείνου,  
ἢ δέει τῶν Στωϊκῶν, πολέμοιο μέγα στόμα  
πευκεδανοῖ ἀπετρέψατο ἄλλῃ εἰς  
Πλάτωνα. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Ζήνωνι εἰς  
Πλάτωνα καλῶς τε καὶ αἰδημόνως  
οὐδαμῶς νεωτερισθέντων εἰρήσεται μοι  
αὐθίς ποτε, ἐὰν φιλοσοφίας σχολὴν ἀγάγω.

14.6.11 | But he indeed showed great pride by separating himself from Arcesilaus. For either through ignorance of his ideas, or lacking the Stoics, he turned away from the great mouth of war towards Plato. But also, concerning Zeno, I will speak again about Plato, since nothing was changed in a good and respectful way. If I ever lead a study of philosophy, let it not be such a study for

μή ποτε μέντοι ἀγάγοιμι σχολὴν τοσαύτην,  
τούτου γοῦν ἔνεκεν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ παιδιᾶς.

14.6.12 | τὸν δ' οὗν Ζήνωνα ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος  
ἀντίτεχνον καὶ ἀξιόνικον ὑπάρχοντα  
θεωρῶν τοὺς παρ' ἔκείνου ἀποφερομένους  
λόγους καθήρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ὕκνει.

14.6.13 | καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἃ  
ἐμεμάχητο ἔκείνῳ οὕτ' ἵσως εἴπεῖν ἔχω,  
εἴτε καὶ εἶχον, οὐδὲν ἔδει νῦν αύτῶν  
μνησθῆναι· τὸ δὲ δόγμα τοῦτο αὐτοῦ  
πρώτου εὐρομένου, καύτὸ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
βλέπων εύδοκιμοῦν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τὴν  
καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν, πάσῃ μηχανῇ  
ἔχρητο ἐπ' αὐτήν. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστέρῳ  
ῶν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγων, οὐ δυνάμενος  
ἀδικεῖσθαι, Ἀρκεσιλάου μὲν ἀφίετο, πολλὰ  
ἄν εἴπεῖν ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἥθελε, τάχα δὲ  
μᾶλλον ἄλλως, πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὐκέτι ἐν ζῶσιν  
ὄντα Πλάτωνα ἐσκιαμάχει, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ  
ἀμάξης πομπείαν πᾶσαν κατεθορύβει,  
λέγων ὡς οὕτ' ἄν τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
ἀμυνομένου, ὑπερδικεῖν τε αὐτοῦ ἄλλων  
οὐδενὶ μέλον· εἴτε μελήσειν Ἀρκεσιλάῳ,  
αὐτός γε κερδανεῖν φέτο ἀποτρεψάμενος  
ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον. τοῦτο δὲ ἥδη  
καὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν Συρακόσιον ποιήσαντα  
τὸ σόφισμα ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

14.6.14 | οὶ Στωϊκοὶ δὲ ὑπήκουον  
ἐκπεπληγμένοι. ἡ μοῦσα γάρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ  
τότε ἦν φιλολόγος οὐδὲ ἐργάτις χαρίτων,  
ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος τὰ μὲν περικρούων,  
τὰ δὲ ὑποτέμνων, ἄλλα δὲ ὑπὸ σκελίζων,  
κατεγλωττίζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν.  
τοιγαροῦν πρὸς οὓς μὲν ἀντέλεγεν  
ἡττωμένων, ἐν οἷς δὲ λέγων ἦν

this reason, unless it is due to childishness.

14.6.12 | Therefore, Arcesilaus, seeing Zeno  
as a rival and worthy opponent, criticized  
the arguments coming from him without  
hesitation.

14.6.13 | And about the other things he  
fought against him, I perhaps do not have  
anything to say, whether I had or not, nor is  
there any need to mention them now. But  
this doctrine, first discovered by him, and  
seeing the name itself being honored in  
Athens, he used every means to support the  
apprehensive imagination. But he, being  
weaker and living in peace, unable to be  
wronged, let go of Arcesilaus, having much  
to say, but he did not want to. Perhaps he  
did so for another reason, and he argued  
against Plato, who was no longer alive, and  
he disturbed the entire procession coming  
from the chariot, saying that he would not  
be able to defend Plato, nor would he care  
to harm him in any way. Whether he would  
take care of Arcesilaus, he thought he  
would gain by turning Arcesilaus away  
from himself. And this I also knew about  
Agathocles the Syracusan, who made the  
clever argument against the Carthaginians.

14.6.14 | The Stoics were stunned and  
listened. For their muse was not a scholar  
or a worker of graces at that time, by whom  
Arcesilaus would either applaud or cut  
down some things, and he would criticize  
others, making them seem foolish and  
convincing. Therefore, against those he  
argued with, they were defeated, while in

καταπεπληγμένων, δεδειγμένον πως τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ὑπῆρχε μηδὲν εἶναι μήτ' οὖν ἔπος, μήτε πάθος, μήτε ἔργον ἐν βραχὺ, μηδὲ ἄχρηστον τούναντίον ὁφθῆναι ποτ' ἀν, εἴ τι μὴ Ἀρκεσιλάω δοκεῖ τῷ Πιταναίω· τῷ δ' ἄρα οὐδὲν ἐδόκει οὐδ' ἀπεφαίνετο οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ρηματίσκια ταῦτ' εἶναι καὶ φόβους."

the cases where he spoke, they were left speechless, somehow showing that there was nothing at that time that could be called a saying, a feeling, or an action in brief, nor anything useless that could ever appear, unless it seemed to Arcesilaus to be from the Pitanian. To him, nothing seemed to be anything more than these little phrases and fears.

## Section 7

14.7.1 | "Περὶ δὲ Λακύδου βούλομαί τι διηγήσασθαι ἡδύ. ἦν μὲν δὴ Λακύδης ὑπογλισχρότερος, καὶ τινα τρόπον ὁ λεγόμενος οἰκονομικὸς, οὗτος ὁ εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνοιγνὺς τὸ ταμεῖον, αὐτὸς δ' ἀποκλείων. καὶ προηρεῖτο δὲ ὃν ἐδεῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐποίει πάντα δι' αὐτουργίας, οὐ τί που αὐτάρκειαν ἔπαινῶν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως πενίᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲ ἀπορίᾳ δούλων, ὡς γε ὑπῆρχον δοῦλοι ὀπόσοι γοῦν· τὴν δὲ αἵτιαν ἔξεστιν είκαζειν.

14.7.1 | I want to tell something sweet about Lacidus. If indeed Lacidus is somewhat slippery, and in a way called economical, this man is well-regarded by many. He himself opens the treasury and closes it. He also chooses what he needs and does all such things through his own work, not praising self-sufficiency anywhere, nor using poverty in any way, nor being in need of slaves, as he had as many slaves as he wanted. The reason for this can be guessed.

14.7.2 | ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ ὑπεσχόμην τὸ ἡδὺ διηγήσομαι. ταμεύων γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐσυτῷ τὴν μὲν κλεῖδα περιφέρειν ἐφ' ἐσυτοῦ οὐκ ὥετο δεῖν, ἀποκλείσας δὲ κατετίθει μὲν ταύτην εἰς τι κοῦλον γραμματεῖον· σημηνάμενος δὲ δακτυ λίῳ τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον κατεκύλιε διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου ἔσω εἰς τὸν ὅλον μεθιεὶς, ὥσθ' ὕστερον ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐλθὼν ἀνοίξειε τῇ κλειδὶ δυνησόμενος ἀνελῶν τὸν δακτύλιον, αὖθις μὲν ἀποκλείειν, εἴτα δὲ σημαίνεσθαι, εἴτα δ' ἀναβάλλειν ὅπισω πάλιν ἔσω τὸν δακτύλιον διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου.

14.7.2 | But I will tell the sweet thing that I promised. For he himself, being the treasurer, did not think it necessary to keep the key on himself. After locking it, he would place it in some hollow writing box. Then, signaling with his finger, he would roll the ring inside through the keyhole into the house. So later, when he returned, he would be able to open it with the key, lift out the ring, lock it again, and then signal again, and then throw the ring back inside through the keyhole.

14.7.3 | τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σοφὸν οἱ δοῦλοι κατανοήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ προίοι Λακύδης εἰς περίπατον ἦ ὅποι ἄλλοσε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνοίξαντες ἄν, κάπειτα ὡς σφίσιν ἥν θυμὸς, τὸ μὲν φαγόντες, τὰ δ' ἐμπιόντες, ἄλλα δὲ ἀράμενοι ἐκ περιόδου ταῦτα ἔποιουν, ἀπέκλειον μὲν, ἐσημαίνοντο δὲ, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον πολλά γε αὐτοῦ καταγελάσαντες εἰς τὸν οἴκον διὰ τοῦ κλείθρου ἡφίεσαν.

14.7.4 | ὁ οὖν Λακύδης πλήρης μὲν καταλιπὼν, κενὰ δὲ εὐρισκόμενος τὰ σκεύη, ἀπορῶν τῷ γιγνομένῳ, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσε φιλοσοφεῖσθαι παρὰ τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀκαταληψίαν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν περὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον. ἀρξάμενός τε ἐνθεν ἐφιλοσόφει παρὰ τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, μηδὲν μήτε ὀρᾶν μήτε ἀκούειν ἐναργές ἢ ὑγίες· καί ποτε ἐπισπασάμενος τῶν προσομιλούντων αὐτῷ τινα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἴσχυρίζετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερφυῶς, ὡς ἔδόκει, τὴν ἐποχὴν, καὶ ἔφη "τοῦτο μὲν ἀναμφίλεκτον ἔγω σοι ἔχω φράσαι, αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ μαθὼν, οὐκ ἄλλου πειραθείς."

14.7.5 | κάπειτα ἀρξάμενος περιηγεῖτο τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ταμιείου συμβᾶσαν αὐτῷ πάθην. τί οὖν ἀν, εἶπεν, ζῆντοι λέγοι πρὸς οὕτως ὅμολογουμένην διὰ πάντων φανεράν μοι ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε ἀκαταληψίαις; ὃς γάρ ἀπέκλεισα μὲν ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ χερσὶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσημηνάμην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφῆκα μὲν εἴσω τὸν δακτύλιον, αὗθις δ' ἐλθὼν ἀνοίξας τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον ὄρῶ ἔνδον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, πῶς οὐ δικαίως ἀπιστούντως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔξω; οὐ γάρ τολμήσω εἰπεῖν ἔγωγε ἐλθόντα τινὰ κλέψαι ταῦτα, ὑπάρχοντος ἔνδον τοῦ δακτυλίου.

14.7.3 | So, the clever slaves, noticing this, when Lacidus went out for a walk or somewhere else, would open it themselves. Then, as they felt like it, they would eat some of the food, drink some of the drink, and take other things from around. They would lock it again and signal to each other, and after laughing a lot about the ring, they would throw it back inside through the keyhole.

14.7.4 | So, Lacidus, leaving everything full, found the things empty and was puzzled by what was happening. When he heard that Arkesilaus was discussing the nature of things, he thought this was happening to him regarding the treasury. Starting from there, he began to philosophize with Arkesilaus, seeing and hearing nothing clear or healthy. And sometimes, pulling one of those talking to him into the house, he would strongly insist to him, as it seemed, about the situation, and he said, "This I can tell you without doubt, having learned it from myself, not having been tested by anyone else."

14.7.5 | Then, starting from there, he began to go through all the experiences of the treasury. "So, what," he said, "would Zeno say about such a widely accepted idea of the nature of things? For I locked it with my own hands, I signaled myself, I left the ring inside, and then, coming back, I opened it and saw the ring inside, but not the other things. How could I not justly distrust the facts outside? For I would not dare to say that someone came in and stole these things while the ring was inside."

14.7.6 | καὶ ὅς ἀκούων, ἦν γὰρ ὑβριστής,  
έκδεξάμενος τὸ πᾶν ὡς ἔσχεν ἀκοῦσαι,  
μόλις καὶ πρότερον ἐαυτοῦ κρατῶν,  
ἀπέρρηξε γέλωτα καὶ μάλα πλατὺν, γελῶν  
τε ἔτι καὶ καγχάζων διήλεγχεν ἄμα αὐτοῦ  
τὴν κενοδοξίαν. ὥστε ἔκτοτε Λακύδης  
ἀρξάμενος ούκέτι μὲν τὸν δακτύλιον ἔσω  
ἐνέβαλλεν, ούκέτι δὲ τοῦ ταμιείου ἔχρητο  
ἀκαταληψίᾳ, ἀλλὰ κατελάμβανε τὰ  
ἀφειμένα, καὶ μάτην ἐπεφιλοσοφήκει.

14.7.7 | οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ οὕτις παῖδες  
φόρτακες ἡσαν, καὶ οὐ θατέρα ληπτοὶ, οἵοι  
δὲ οὗτοι οἱ κωμῳδικοί τε καὶ Γέται καὶ  
Δάκοι, κάκ τῆς Δακικῆς λαλεῖν  
στωμυλήθρας κατεγλωττισμένοι, ἐπεί τε  
τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς τὰ σοφίσματα ἥκουσαν, εἴτε  
καὶ ἄλλως ἐκμαθόντες, εύθὺν τοῦ  
τολμήματος ἤεσαν, καὶ παρελύοντο αὐτοῦ  
τὴν σφραγῖδα, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐτέραν ἀντ'  
ἔκεινης ὑπετίθεσαν, τοτὲ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλην,  
διὰ τὸ οἰεσθαι ἔκεινω γε ἀκατάληπτα  
ἔσεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἄλλως.

14.7.8 | ὁ δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἐσκοπεῖτο·  
ἀσήμαντον δὲ τὸ γραμματεῖον θεωρῶν, ἦ  
σεσημασμένον μὲν, σφραγῖδι δ' ἄλλῃ,  
ήγανάκτει· τῶν δὲ σεσημάνθαι λεγόντων,  
αὐτοῖς γοῦν τὴν σφραγῖδα ὀρᾶσθαι τὴν  
αὐτοῦ, ἡκριβολογεῖτο ἀν καὶ ἀπεδείκνυε·  
τῶν δ' ἡττωμένων τῇ ἀποδείξει καὶ  
φαμένων εἰ μή τι ἔπεστιν ἡ σφραγὶς αὐτὸν  
ἴσως ἐπιλελῆσθαι καὶ μὴ σημήνασθαι· καὶ  
μὴν αὐτός γε ἔφη σημηνάμενος  
μνημονεύειν, καὶ ἀπεδείκνυε, καὶ περιήει  
τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐδεινολογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς,

14.7.6 | And he, hearing this, for he was a  
mocker, took it all in as it was said, barely  
holding back his laughter. He burst out  
laughing loudly, and while still laughing  
and scoffing, he exposed his vanity. So,  
from then on, Lacidus no longer put the  
ring inside, nor did he use the idea of the  
treasury's nature, but he accepted the  
things that were given up, and he  
philosophized in vain.

14.7.7 | But indeed, those boys were  
thieves, and they were not caught in  
another way. They were like those comic  
actors and the Getae and Dacians, who,  
having been taught to speak in a strange  
way from the Dacian language, when they  
heard the teachings of the Stoicks, or learned  
in some other way, immediately thought of  
the boldness of the act. They would break  
his seal, sometimes putting another in its  
place, and sometimes not even putting  
another, because they believed that it  
would be incomprehensible to him, and so  
on in other ways.

14.7.8 | But he, having entered, was  
observing. Seeing the document as  
insignificant, or marked with another seal,  
he was angry. And when they said it had  
been marked, he would insist that they see  
his own seal. Those who were defeated by  
the proof would say that if there was any  
seal, it might have been overlooked and not  
marked. And indeed, he himself said that he  
would remember what was marked, and he  
would show it, and he went on with his  
argument, and he would argue fiercely with  
them, thinking they were joking, and he

οιόμενος παίζεσθαι, καὶ προσώμνυεν.

swore an oath.

14.7.9 | οἱ δ' ὑπολαβόντες τὰς προσβολὰς ἐκείνου αὐτοί γε ὡντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παίζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ σοφῷ γε δοντι δεδόχθαι τῷ Λακύδῃ εἶναι ἀδοξάστῳ ὥστε καὶ ἀμνημονεύτω· μνήμην γὰρ εἶναι δόξαν· ἔναγχος γοῦν τοῦ χρόνου ἔφασαν ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους.

14.7.9 | But they, having taken up his attacks, thought that he was joking with them, since it was believed that Lacidus was so foolish that he was also forgetful. For memory is a kind of opinion. Indeed, they claimed that they had heard these things from him in front of his friends not long ago.

14.7.10 | τοῦ δ' ἀναστρέφοντος αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ λέγοντος οὐκ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ, αὐτοὶ φοιτῶντες εἰς Στωϊκῶν τινος τὰ λεκτέα ἐαυτοῖς ἀνεμάνθανον, κάκειθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀντεσοφίστευον, καὶ ἵσαν ἀντίτεχνοι κλέπται Ἀκαδημαϊκοί· ὁ δὲ Στωϊκοῖς ἐνεκάλει· οἴ παῖδες δὲ τὰ ἐγκλήματα παρέλυον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκαταληψίας οὐκ ἄνευ τωθασμῶν τινων.

14.7.10 | As he turned their arguments around and said they were not Academic, they, going to learn something from the Stoics, began to argue back, and they were clever thieves in the Academic style. But he called them Stoics. Those boys were dismissing the accusations against him due to their confusion, not without some tricks.

14.7.11 | διατριβαὶ οὖν ἵσαν πάντων ἐκεῖ καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἀντιλογίαι· καὶ ἐν οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κατελείπετο, οὐκ ἀγγεῖον, οὐ τῶν ἐν ἀγγείῳ τιθεμένων, οὐχ ὅσα εἰς οἰκίας κατασκευὴν ἄλλ' ἔστι συντελῆ.

14.7.11 | So there were discussions of all kinds there, both words and arguments. And nothing at all was left in the middle, neither a container nor anything placed in a container, nor anything else needed for building houses.

14.7.12 | καὶ ὁ Λακύδης τέως μὲν ἡπόρει, μήτε λυσιτελοῦσαν ἐαυτῷ θεωρῶν τὴν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ δόγμασι βοήθειαν, εἴτε μὴ ἔξελέγχοι πάντα ἀνατρέψεσθαι ἐαυτῷ δοκῶν, πεσών εἰς τάμῆχανον τοὺς γείτονας ἐκεκράγει καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ ιοὺ ιοὺ, καὶ φεῦ φεῦ, καὶ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ νὴ τὰς θεὰς, ἄλλαι τε ὅσαι ἐν ἀπιστίαις δεινολογουμένων είσὶν ἄτεχνοι πίστεις,

14.7.12 | And Lacidus, at first, was confused, not seeing any benefit for himself in the help of his own beliefs, whether he thought everything would be turned upside down if he was not refuted. Falling into a desperate situation, he cried out to the neighbors and the gods, saying "Oh no, oh no," and "By the gods" and "By the goddesses," along with all the other unskilled beliefs that are spoken of in

ταῦτα πάντα ἐλέγετο βοῇ καὶ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ.

doubts. All these things were said with a loud voice and a sense of urgency.

14.7.13 | τελευτῶν δὲ, ἐπεὶ μάχην εἶχεν ἀντιλεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀν δήπουθεν ἐστωικεύετο πρὸς τοὺς παιδιᾶς, τῶν παίδων δὲ τὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ ἴσχυριζομένων, ἵνα μηκέτι πράγματα ἔχοιεν, οἰκουρὸς ἦν φύλος τοῦ ταμιείου προκαθήμενος. ούδεν δὲ εἰς ούδεν ὡφελῶν, ὑπιδόμενος οἱ τὸ σοφὸν αὐτῷ ἔρχεται, ἀπεκαλύψατο. ἄλλως, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ὡς παιδεῖς, ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς λέγεται ἡμῖν, ἄλλως δὲ ζῶμεν."

14.7.13 | Finally, when he had a debate going on at the house, he himself was surely acting like a Stoic towards the children, while the children were insisting on the Academic ideas, so that they would no longer have any issues, as if a housekeeper or a friend of the treasury was sitting there. And not helping at all, he was pretending to be wise, but he uncovered the truth. "In another way," he said, "these things, oh children, are said to us in discussions, but we live differently."

14.7.14 | Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λακύδου. τούτου δὲ γίνονται ἀκουσταὶ πολλοὶ, ὃν εῖς ἦν διαφανῆς ὁ Κυρηναῖος Ἀρίστιππος. ἐκ πάντων δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν γνωρίμων τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο Εὔανδρος καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοῦτον.

14.7.14 | These things are about Lacidus. Many things are heard about him, one of which was the clear thinker, Aristippus from Cyrene. From all his followers, Euandros and those with him took up his school.

14.7.15 | μεθ' οὓς Καρνεάδης ὑποδεξάμενος τὴν διατριβὴν τρίτην συνεστήσατο Ἀκαδημίαν. λόγων μὲν οὖν ἀγωγῇ ἔχρήσατο ἢ καὶ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπετήδευε τὴν εἰς ἐκάτερα ἐπιχείρησιν, καὶ πάντα ἀνεσκεύαζε τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόμενα· μόνω δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς λόγῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν διέστη, φάς ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἄνθρωπον ὅντα περὶ ἀπάντων ἐπέχειν· διαφορὰν δὲ εἶναι ἀδήλου καὶ ἀκαταλήπτου, καὶ πάντα μὲν εἶναι ἀκατάληπτα, οὐ πάντα δὲ ἀδηλα. μετεῖχε δὲ οὗτος καὶ τῶν Στωϊκῶν λόγων, πρὸς οὓς καὶ ἐριστικῶς ἴστάμενος ἐπὶ πλέον ηύξηθη, τοῦ φαινομένου τοῖς πολλοῖς πιθανοῦ, ἄλλ' οὐ τῆς ἀληθείας

14.7.15 | With him, Carneades welcomed the third discussion and established the Academy. He used the guidance of words just as Arcesilaus did; for he himself practiced the approach to both sides and examined everything said by others. But he differed only in the discussion about suspension of judgment, saying it is impossible for a person to hold an opinion about everything. He said there is a difference between the unclear and the incomprehensible, and that everything can be incomprehensible, but not everything is unclear. He also participated in Stoic arguments, standing against them and growing in strength, appearing convincing

στοχαζόμενος· ὅθεν καὶ πολλὴν παρέσχε τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἀηδίαν. γράφει δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Νουμήνιος περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα

to many, but not aiming for the truth; therefore, he caused much annoyance to the Stoics. Numenius also writes these things about him.

## Section 8

14.8.1 | “Καρνεάδης δὲ ἐκδεξάμενος παρ' Ἡγησίνου, οὗ χρεών φυλάξαι ὅσα ἀκίνητα καὶ ὅσα κεκινημένα ἦν, τούτου μὲν ἡμέλει, εἰς δ' Ἀρκεσίλαον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀμείνω εἴτε καὶ φαυλότερα ἦν, ἐπανενεγκών διὰ μακροῦ τὴν μάχην ἀνενέαζε.”

14.8.2 | Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Ἡγε δ' οὖν καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἀπέφερεν, ἀντιλογίας τε καὶ στροφὰς λεπτολόγους συνέφερε τῇ μάχῃ ποικίλλων, ἔξαρνητικός τε καὶ καταφατικός τε ἦν κάμφοτέρωθεν ἀντιλογικός· εἴτε που ἔδει τι καὶ θαῦμα ἔχόντων λόγων, ἔξηγείρετο λάβρος οἷον ποταμὸς ριώδης, πάντα καταπιμπλὰς τὰ τῆδε καὶ τάκεῖθι, καὶ εἰσέπιπτε καὶ συνέσυρε τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ θορύβου.

14.8.3 | τοιγαροῦν ἀπάγων τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἀνεξαπάτητος, ὃ μὴ προσῆν τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ. ἐκεῖνος γάρ περιερχόμενος τῇ φαρμάξει τοὺς συγκορυβαντιῶντας ἔλαθεν ἐαυτὸν πρῶτον ἔξηπατηκώς μὴ ἡσθῆσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι δ' ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἢ λέγει διὰ τῆς ἀπαξαπάντων ἀναιρέσεως χρημάτων.

14.8.4 | κακὸν δὲ ἦν ἂν κακῷ ἐπανακείμενον, δὲ Καρνεάδης τῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ, μὴ χαλάσας τι σμικρὸν, ὑφ' οὗ

14.8.1 | Carneades, having received from Hegesinus the task of guarding what is motionless and what is in motion, paid attention to this. As for Arcesilaus, whether he was better or worse, he brought back the argument after a long time and renewed the debate.

14.8.2 | And then he also took the lead and brought forth arguments and subtle twists, mixing them in the debate. He was both denying and affirming, and he was argumentative from both sides. If at any point there was something amazing in the arguments, he would rise up like a fierce river, filling everything here and there, and he would rush in and sweep away the listeners with noise.

14.8.3 | Therefore, leading the others away, he himself remained un deceived, which was not the case with Arcesilaus. For that one, going around with his trickery, first deceived himself by not realizing it, and he was convinced that what he said was true through the complete rejection of all things.

14.8.4 | But it would be bad if something bad were lying upon something bad, as Carneades was to Arcesilaus, not having

ούκ ἄπρακτοι ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, κατὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πιθανοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ θετικάς τε καὶ ἀρνητικὰς φαντασίας, τοῦ εἶναι τόδε τι ζῶν ἡ μὴ ζῶν εἶναι.

broken anything small, by which they would not be helpless. According to the arguments that were said to him, both positive and negative ideas, whether this thing is a living being or not a living being.

14.8.5 | τοῦτο οὖν ὑπανεὶς, ὡσπερ οἱ ἀναχάζοντες θῆρες βιαιότερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐαυτοὺς ἱεῖσιν εἰς τάς αἰχμὰς, καύτὸς ἐνδοὺς δυνατώτερον ἐπελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ τε ὑποσταίη τε καὶ εὗ τύχοι, τηνικαῦτα ἥδη καὶ οὐ προυδέδεκτο ἐκῶν ἡμέλει καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμνητο.

14.8.5 | Therefore, having approached this, just like wild beasts that, when cornered, more violently and more fiercely rush into the spears, he himself, having entered, would come upon them more powerfully. And if he were to be supported and have good fortune, at that time he would already be there, and he did not expect it willingly and did not remember it.

14.8.6 | τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές τε καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐνεῖναι συγχωρῶν, ὡσπερ ξυνεργαζόμενος τῆς ζητήσεως τρόπῳ, παλαιιστοῦ δεινοῦ λαβὴν δοὺς περιεγίγνετο ἐνθεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πιθανοῦ ὁπῆν ἐκάτερον παρασχῶν οὐδέτερον εἴπε βεβαίως καταλαμβάνεσθαι. ἦν γοῦν ληστὴς καὶ γόης σοφώτερος.

14.8.6 | For both truth and falsehood to exist in matters, allowing them to work together in the way of inquiry, he would take hold of the ancient difficult problem from there. For according to the balance of what is probable, each one would not be firmly caught by either. Indeed, he would be like a thief and a sorcerer, more clever.

14.8.7 | παραλαβὼν γὰρ ἀληθεῖ μὲν ὅμοιον ψεῦδος, καταληπτικῇ δὲ φαντασίᾳ καταληπτὸν ὅμοιον, καὶ ἀγαγὼν εἰς τὰς ἵσας, οὐκ εἴασεν οὕτε τὸ ἀληθές εἶναι οὕτε τὸ ψεῦδος, ἡ οὐ μᾶλλον τὸ ἔτερον τοῦ ἔτερου, ἡ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πιθανοῦ.

14.8.7 | For he took up truth as similar to falsehood, and he brought forth a similar idea that could be grasped, and when he brought them to equality, he did not allow either the truth to be true or the falsehood to be false, nor did he favor one over the other, or rather, he favored them both based on what was probable.

14.8.8 | ἦν οὖν ὄνειρατα ἀντὶ ὄνειράτων, διὰ τὸ δομοίας φαντασίας ἀληθέσιν εἶναι τὰς ψευδεῖς, ὡς ἀπὸ ὧδου κηρίνου πρὸς τὸ

14.8.8 | If dreams are instead of dreams, because the false ones are similar in appearance to the true ones, like a wax egg

άληθινὸν θινὸν ὡόν.

compared to a real egg.

14.8.9 | συνέβαινεν οὖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ πλείω. καὶ μέντοι λέγων ὁ Καρνεάδης ἐψυχαγώγει καὶ ἡνδραποδίξετο. ἦν δὲ κλέπτων μὲν ἀφανῆς, φαινόμενος δὲ ληστῆς, αἰρῶν καὶ δόλω καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς καὶ πάνυ σφόδρα παρεσκευασμένους.

14.8.9 | So the bad things happened and more. And indeed, while speaking, Carneades was charming and he would enslave. He was hidden while stealing, but appeared as a robber, taking by trickery and force those who were very well prepared.

14.8.10 | πάσα γοῦν Καρνεάδου διάνοια ἐνίκα καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ ἡτισοῦν ἄλλως, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἵ προσεπολέμει ἥσαν εἴπεῖν ἀδυνατώτεροι.

14.8.10 | Certainly, every thought of Carneades won, and no other thought was weaker, since even those he fought against were said to be weaker.

14.8.11 | Ἀντίπατρος γοῦν ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν γενόμενος ἔμελλε μὲν ἀγωνιᾶν τι γράφειν, πρὸς δ' οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ Καρνεάδου καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποφερομένους λόγους οὕποτε ἐδημοσίευσεν, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις, οὐδὲ εἴπεν, οὐδὲ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ τις αὐτοῦ, φασὶν, οὐδὲ γρῦ· ἀντιγραφάς δὲ ἐπανετείνετο καὶ γωνίαν λαβὼν βιβλία κατέλιπε γράψας τοῖς ὕστερον, οὔτε νῦν δυνάμενα, καὶ τότε ἦν ἀδυνατώτερα πρὸς οὕτως ἄνδρα ὑπέρμεγαν φανέντα καὶ καταδόξαντα εῖναι τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις τὸν Καρνεάδην.

14.8.11 | Certainly, Antipater, who came after him, was going to write something, but he never published the speeches that were brought daily from Carneades. He did not speak in discussions, nor in walks, nor did he say anything, nor did anyone hear him, they say, nor did he write. But he was preparing copies and took a corner, leaving behind books he had written for those who came later, which were neither possible now, and at that time were weaker against such a man who appeared very great and was well-known to the people of that time, Carneades.

14.8.12 | ὅμως δὲ, καίτοι καύτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Στωϊκῆς φιλονεικίας είς τὸ φανερὸν κυκῶν, πρός γε τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἐταίρους δι' ἀπορρήτων ὠμολόγει τε καὶ ἡλήθευε καὶ ἀπεφαίνετο ἃ κάν ἄλλος τῶν ἀπιτυχόντων."

14.8.12 | However, although he himself was caught up in the open conflict of the Stoics, he openly admitted and spoke truthfully to his own companions about things that others who failed would not.

14.8.13 | Εἶτα ἔξῆς φησι "Καρνεάδου δὲ γίνεται γνώριμος Μέντωρ μὲν πρῶτον, οὐ μὴν διάδοχος· ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν Καρνεάδης ἐπὶ παλλακῇ μοιχὸν εὐρὼν, οὐχ ὑπὸ πιθανῆς φαντασίας, ούδ' ὡς μὴ κατειληφώς, ὡς δὲ μάλιστα πιστεύων τῇ ὄψει καὶ καταλαβὼν παρητήσατο τῆς διατριβῆς. ὁ δὲ ἀποστὰς ἀντεσφρίστευε καὶ ἀντίτεχνος ἦν, ἐλέγχων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκαταληψιαν."

14.8.13 | Then he says next, 'Carneades became known through Mentor first, but he was not a successor. Yet while Carneades was still alive, having found a mistress, he was not influenced by a convincing idea, nor did he seem to be caught, but believing strongly in what he saw and having understood, he avoided the discussion. But the one who left became a clever debater and was skilled at opposing him, challenging his unclear arguments in his speeches.'

14.8.14 | Καὶ πάλιν ἐπιφέρει λέγων "Ο δὲ Καρνεάδης, οἷον ἀντεστραμμένα φιλοσοφῶν, τοῖς ψεύσμασιν ἐκαλλωπίζετο καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἡφάνιζε. παραπετάσμασιν οὖν ἔχρητο τοῖς ψεύσμασι, καὶ ἡλήθευεν ἐνδον λανθάνων καπηλικώτερον. ἔπασχεν οὖν πάθημα ὁσπρίων, ὃν τὰ μὲν κενὰ ἐπιπολάζει τε τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ὑπερέχει, τὰ χρηστὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστι κάτω καὶ ἐν ἀφανεῖ."

14.8.14 | And again he adds, saying, 'But Carneades, like a philosopher turned upside down, decorated himself with lies and hid the truths under them. Therefore, he used curtains of falsehoods and spoke truthfully while remaining hidden, more like a petty dealer. He suffered the fate of beans, where the empty ones float on the water and overflow, while the good ones sink and remain unseen.'

14.8.15 | Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Καρνεάδου λέγεται. διάδοχος δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς διατριβῆς καθίσταται Κλειτόμαχος, μεθ' ὃν Φίλων, οὗ πέρι δὲ Νουμήνιος μνημονεύει ταῦτα

14.8.15 | These things are also said about Carneades. The successor of his school is Clitomachus, with whom Philo, about whom Numenius mentions these things.

## Section 9

14.9.1 | "Ο δὲ Φίλων ἄρα οὗτος μὲν ἐκδεξάμενος τὴν διατριβὴν ὑπὸ χαρμονῆς ἔξεπέπληκτο, καὶ χάριν ἀποδιδοὺς ἐθεράπευε, καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα τῷ Κλειτομάχῳ ηὔξε, καὶ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἐκορύσσετο νώροπι χαλκῷ.

14.9.1 | But this Philo, having received the teaching with joy, was amazed, and giving thanks, he honored it. He also supported the teachings to Clitomachus and adorned the Stoics with a bronze crown.

14.9.2 | ως δὲ προί·όντος μὲν τοῦ χρόνου, ἔξιτήλου δ' ὑπὸ συνηθείας οὕσης αύτῶν τῆς ἐποχῆς, οὐδὲν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐαυτῷ ἐνόει, ἡ δὲ τῶν παθημάτων αύτὸν ἀνέστρεψεν ἐνάργεια τε καὶ ὁμολογία. πολλὴν δῆτ' ἔχων ἥδη τὴν διαίσθησιν ὑπερεπεθύμει, εὖ οἶσθ' ὅτι, τῶν ἐλεγχόντων τυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐδόκει μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν αύτὸς ἐκών φεύγειν.

14.9.2 | As time went on, and due to the habit of their time, he did not think about the same things for himself. But the nature of his feelings turned him around with clarity and agreement. Having a strong sense already, he desired more, knowing well that he might be caught by those who challenge him, so that it would not seem like he was running away willingly, having turned his back.

14.9.3 | Φίλωνος δὲ γίνεται ἀκουστής Ἀντίοχος, ἐτέρας ἄρχας Ἀκαδημίας. Μνησάρχῳ γοῦν τῷ Στωϊκῷ σχολάσας ἐναντίᾳ Φίλωνι τῷ καθηγητῇ ἐφρόνησε, μυρία τε ξένα προσῆψε τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ.'

14.9.3 | Antiochus becomes a student of Philo, starting another Academy. Indeed, he studied under Menedemus, the Stoic, and opposed Philo, the teacher, adding many foreign ideas to the Academy.

14.9.4 | Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις μυρία τῆς Πλάτωνος περὶ διαδοχῆς μνημονεύεται. ὥρα δ' οὖν ἄνωθεν τὸν λόγον ἀναλαβόντας τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς ψευδοδοξίας ὄμοιος καὶ ἀντιδοξίας ἐπισκέψασθαι, οἱ τὴν πολλὴν γῆν πλανηθέντες, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς εὑρεσιν περὶ πλείστου πεποιημένοι, ταῖς τε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπάντων δόξαις καθωμαληκότες, καὶ τάκριβὲς τῆς παρὰ πᾶσι Φοίνιξι τε καὶ Αἴγυπτοις αὐτοῖς τε "Ἐλλησι πολὺ πρότερον θεολογίας ἔξηκριβωκότες, τίνα τῶν πόνων τὸν καρπὸν εὔροντο παρ' αὐτῶν ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς ἀν μάθοιμεν εἴ τι θεοπρεπὲς εἰς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων κατῆλθεν.

14.9.4 | Many things similar to these are mentioned about Plato's succession. Therefore, it is time to take up the discussion of the natural philosophers, examining both their false beliefs and opposing views. Those who wandered over much of the earth, thinking they had found the truth, engaged with all the ancient beliefs. They also clarified the precise ideas of the Phoenicians and Egyptians, much earlier than the Greeks, in theology. They sought to find out what worthy fruit of their labor they could hear from them, so that we might learn if anything divine was passed down to them from the elders.

14.9.5 | ἐκράτει μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐκ παλαιοῦ αἰῶνος παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἡ

14.9.5 | For a long time, polytheistic superstition held power among the nations,

πολύθεος δεισιδαιμονία, νεώ τε καὶ ιερά καὶ μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας συνήθως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐφυλάττοντο. οὐ δὴ οὖν οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίας ἀνθρωπίνης ἦν χρεία, εἰ δὴ τὸ τῆς θεοσοφίας προειλήφει· ούδ' ἦν τις ἀνάγκη καινοτομεῖν τοὺς σοφοὺς, εἰ δὴ τὰ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῖς εὗ ἔχοντα ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στασιάζειν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τοὺς γενναίους φιλοσόφους, εἰ δὴ σύμφωνος καὶ ἀληθῆς ἡ πάτριος αὐτοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόξα τυγχάνειν δεδοκίμαστο.

14.9.6 | τί δὲ ἔδει πολεμεῖν ἄλλήλοις καὶ μάχεσθαι, ἢ τὴν μακρὰν ὄδὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω περιτρέχειν πλανᾶσθαί τε καὶ τὰ βαρβάρων ὑποσυλᾶν, οἴκοι δέον μένοντας παρὰ θεῶν ἐκμανθάνειν, εἰ δή τινες ἥσαν θεοὶ, ἢ παρὰ τῶν θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀδιαπτώτους περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγους, περὶ ᾧ μυρία ὅσα μοχθήσαντες διηνέχθησαν, μακρῷ τῆς τάληθοῦς εὐρέσεως ἀφυστερήσαντες;

14.9.7 | τί δὲ καὶ περὶ θεῶν νεώτερα χρῆν ἐπιζητεῖν τολμᾶν, ἢ στασιάζειν καὶ διαπυκτεύειν ἄλλήλοις, εἰ δὴ ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βεβαία θεῶν εὑρεσις καὶ γνῶσις εύσεβείας ἀληθῆς ἐν τελεταῖς καὶ μυστηρίοις τῇ τε ἄλλῃ τῶν παλαιτάτων περιείχετο θεολογίᾳ, αὐτὴν ἐκείνην παρὸν ἀκίνητον καὶ ὀμολογουμένην συμφώνως περιέπειν;

14.9.8 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ φανεῖν οὗτοι μηδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ θεοῦ παρὰ τῶν προτέρων μεμαθηκότες, οἴκείαις δ' ἐπινοίαις τῇ περὶ φύσεως ἐπιβεβληκότες ἔξετάσει, καὶ στοχασμοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ καταλήψει

and temples, sacred places, and mysteries of the gods were commonly preserved in all cities and regions. Therefore, there was no need for human philosophy if the wisdom of theology had been accepted. There was also no necessity for the wise to innovate, if the beliefs of their ancestors were well established. Nor was there a reason for noble philosophers to be in conflict or to differ, if the traditional views about the gods were found to be consistent and true.

14.9.6 | What was the need to fight against each other and to struggle, or to wander up and down the long road, getting lost and stealing from the barbarians? Shouldn't they have stayed at home and learned from the gods, if indeed there were any gods? Or from the true and unchanging words of the theologians about the things sought in philosophy, about which many had toiled and suffered, missing out on the truth by a long way?

14.9.7 | What need was there to boldly seek new ideas about the gods, or to be in conflict and argue with each other, if indeed there was a safe and certain discovery and knowledge of the gods, and true piety was contained in the rituals and mysteries of the ancient theology, which was already established and agreed upon?

14.9.8 | But if these people showed that they had learned nothing true about the gods from their predecessors, and instead relied on their own ideas about nature, examining it more through guesses than

κεχρημένοι, τί χρὴ λοιπὸν μὴ ούχὶ συνομολογεῖν τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν ἔθνῶν θεολογίαν μηδὲν πλέον τῆς ἀποδοθείσης ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου συγγράμμασιν ἴστορίας ἐπέχειν;

through understanding, why should they not agree with the old theology of the nations and hold nothing more than what was handed down in the earlier writings of history?

14.9.9 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἀνθρωπίνων στοχασμῶν καὶ πολλῆς λογομαχίας καὶ πλάνης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως, ἡ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὑπέστη φιλοσοφία, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀνεβώ τὸν Αἴγυπτιον ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Πορφυρίου μάθοις ἀν, αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσας δόμοιοῦντος ἐν τούτοις

14.9.9 | Indeed, the philosophy that came from the Greeks was based on human guesses, much argument, and confusion, but not on any precise understanding. You could learn this from the letter of Porphyry to Anubis the Egyptian, where he himself admits this.

## Section 10

14.10.1 | “Ἄρξομαι δὲ τῆς πρὸς σὲ φιλίας ἀπὸ θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε τούτοις συγγενῶν φιλοσοφημάτων, περὶ ὃν εἴρηται μὲν πλεῖστα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις, εἴρηται δὲ ἐκ στοχασμοῦ τὸ πλέον τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντα τῆς πίστεως.”

14.10.1 | I will begin my friendship with you from the good gods and spirits that are related to these philosophical ideas, about which many things have been said both by the Greek philosophers and mostly from guesses that have the beginnings of belief.

14.10.2 | Καὶ ὑποβὰς ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων “Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν λογομαχία τίς ἐστι πολλὴ, ἄτε ἔξ ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκαζομένου· οἵς δὲ μεμηχάνηται ἡ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον συνουσίᾳ, εἰ παρεῖται τὸ μέρος τοῦτο εἰς ἔξέτασιν, μάτην αὐτοῖς ἡ σοφία ἔξήσκηται.”

14.10.2 | And stepping down, he continues to say, 'For with us, there is much argument, as it comes from human reasoning about the supposed good. But if this part is set aside for examination, the wisdom they have practiced is in vain.'

14.10.3 | Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀντέγραψε Βοηθῷ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ αὐτὸς ὅδε γράφων ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς λέξιν Ως τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐννοιῶν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἴστορίας ἀναμφιλέκτως συνίστησι τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀθάνατον· οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν

14.10.3 | But even in what he wrote to Boethius about the soul, he himself here admits, saying that the ideas and the history clearly show that the soul is immortal. But the arguments brought by

παρὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων κομισθέντες λόγοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι εὐανάτρεπτοι, διὰ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐρεσιλογίαν τῶν ἔριστικῶν. τίς γὰρ λόγος τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ οὐκ ἀμφισβητήσιμος τοῖς ἑτεροδόξοις, ὅπου καὶ περὶ τῶν δοκούντων ἐναργῶν ἐπέχειν αὐτῶν τισιν ἐδόκει;

the philosophers seem to be easily overturned because of the clever reasoning in all the debates. For which argument in philosophy is not disputed by those with different beliefs, especially when it seems to some that even the clear ideas are uncertain?

14.10.4 | Καὶ ἐν οἷς δὲ ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας" διαρρήδην δόμιολογεῖ τοὺς "Ἐλληνας πεπλανῆσθαι, ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος τὸν ἐαυτοῦ θεὸν, ὡς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ χρησμῶν ἔξειπόντος, καὶ βαρβάροις μᾶλλον ἡ "Ἐλλησι τὴν εὔρεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐβραίων μνημονεύσαντος ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρηθεῖσι.

14.10.4 | And in what he wrote 'About Philosophy from Reason,' he clearly admits that the Greeks have been misled, confirming this by his own god, as this was also said by Apollo through oracles. He shows that the discovery of truth was more confirmed by non-Greeks than by Greeks, and he even mentions the Hebrews in the testimonies.

14.10.5 | μετὰ γοῦν τὴν τοῦ χρησμοῦ παράθεσιν ἔξῆς τούτοις κέχρηται τοῖς ἐπιλόγοις "Ακήκοας πόσος πόσος πόνος, ἵν' ὑπὲρ σώματός τις τὰ καθάρσια θύσῃ, οὐχ ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔξεύρη; χαλκόδετος γὰρ ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς ὀδὸς αἴπεινή τε καὶ τραχεῖα, ἥς πολλὰς ἀτραποὺς βάρβαροι μὲν ἔξεῦρον, "Ἐλληνες δὲ ἐπλανῆθησαν, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες ἥδη καὶ διέφθειραν· τὴν δὲ εὔρεσιν Αἴγυπτίοις ὁ θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησε Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις Ἀσσύριοι γὰρ οὗτοι) Λυδοῖς τε καὶ Ἐβραίοις."

14.10.5 | After the mention of the oracle, he then uses these words: 'You have heard how much effort is needed for someone to offer sacrifices for the body, but is it not to find the salvation of the soul? For the way to the gods is difficult and steep, which many paths the non-Greeks have discovered, while the Greeks have been misled, and those who hold power have already destroyed it. But the god has testified to the discovery among the Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Chaldeans, and these are the Assyrians, as well as the Lydians and Hebrews.'

14.10.6 | Ταῦτα ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ αὐτοῦ θεός. ἄρ' οὖν ἄξιον μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιμέμψασθαι, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς πεπλανημένους "Ἐλληνας καταλείψαντες τὰ Εβραίων εἰλόμεθα, τῶν ἐέ ἀληθείας καταλήψει

14.10.6 | These things the philosopher, or rather his god, says. Is it then worthy of us to complain after this, that we have chosen the Hebrews, leaving behind the misled Greeks, of whom the truths have been

μεμαρτυρημένων;

14.10.7 | τί δὲ χρὴ παρὰ φιλοσόφων μαθήσεσθαι προσδοκᾶν; ἡ ποίᾳ ἐλπὶς τῆς ἔξ αὐτῶν ὀφελείας, εἰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ στοχασμῶν καὶ είκασμῶν τὸ πλέον τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντα τῆς πίστεως τυγχάνει; λογομαχίας δὲ τίς ὁ καρπὸς, εἰ δὴ πάντες οἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων λόγοι εύανάτρεπτοι καθεστήκασι διὰ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐρεσιλογίαν; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ ήμῶν ἀρτίως, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν είρημένα ἡκούετο.

14.10.8 | διόπερ εὗ μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἔξητασμένης, οὐχὶ δ' ἀλόγως, ὡς ἀν τοιούτων καταπεφρονηκέναι, τὰ δὲ παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἡγαπηκέναι, οὐχ ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ δαιμονος μεμαρτύρηται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς ἐνθέου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως μέτοχα ὄντα ἀποδείκνυται.

14.10.9 | ἔνα δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔργοις τάς τῶν θαυμαστῶν φιλοσόφων λογομαχίας μάθοις, τάς τε περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς συστάσεως διαφωνίας μικρὸν μὲν ὑστερον ἐκθήσομαι σοι τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς.

14.10.10 | πρῶτον δ' ἐπειδὴ περιφέρουσιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦντες τὰ μαθήματα, δεῖν ἔξ ἀπαντος φάσκοντες τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐν πείρᾳ τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καταλήψεως γίνεσθαι μετελθεῖν ἀστρονομίαν, ἀριθμητικὴν, γεωμετρίαν, μουσικὴν, αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ παρὰ βαρβάρων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἥκειν ἀποδειχθέντα· τούτων γὰρ ἄνευ μὴ δύνασθαι λόγιον ἄνδρα καὶ φιλόσοφον

testified?

14.10.7 | What is there to learn from philosophers? What hope is there for benefit from them, if what they say mostly comes from guesses and assumptions that have little foundation in faith? And what is the result of their arguments, if all the words of the philosophers are easily overturned because of their endless reasoning? For these things were not recently said by us, but were heard from them.

14.10.8 | Therefore, it seems good to me, and after careful consideration, not without reason, to look down on such things, but to love what comes from the Hebrews, not because it has been testified by a spirit, but because it shows a share in divine virtue and power.

14.10.9 | Now, if you learn about the arguments of the wonderful philosophers regarding their works, I will later explain to you their views on the origins, the gods, and the structure of the universe.

14.10.10 | First, since they wander around discussing the subjects, it is necessary for those who claim they will understand the truth to study astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music, which have indeed been shown to come from the barbarians. For without these, one cannot become a reasonable man or philosopher, nor touch the truth of what exists, unless these are

άποτελεσθῆναι, ἀλλ' ούδε τῆς τῶν ὅντων  
ἀληθείας ψαῦσαι, μὴ τούτων ἐν ψυχῇ τῆς  
γνώσεως προτυπωθείσης·) εἴτ'  
έπανατεινάμενοι τῇ μαθήσει τῶν  
εἰρημένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μονονουχὶ τοῦ  
αἱθέρος βαίνειν μετέωροι ἀρθέντες οἴονται,  
ὡς δὴ τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς  
περιφέροντες, ἡμᾶς τε, ὅτι μὴ τὰ ὄμοια  
ζηλοῦμεν, βοσκημάτων κατ' ούδεν  
διαφέρειν ἥγοῦνται, ταύτῃ δέ φασι μηδὲ  
θεὸν, μηδέ τι τῶν σεμνῶν ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι  
εἰδέναι· φέρε τοῦτο πρῶτον οὐκ ὄρθως  
ἔχον ἀπευθύνωμεν, τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἀντὶ  
φωτὸς αὐτοῖς παραβάλλοντες.

impressed in the soul of knowledge. Then, they think that by focusing solely on the study of these things, they can rise into the air, believing that they are carrying the divine itself in numbers. They consider us, because we do not seek the same things, to be no different from cattle, and they say that through this, we cannot know either God or anything sacred. Therefore, let us first correct this misunderstanding, comparing the true word to their light.

14.10.11 | ὁ δὲ μυρίους μὲν Ἕλληνας, μυρία  
δὲ καὶ βαρβάρων γένη, τοὺς μὲν σὺν τοῖς  
εἰρημένοις μαθήμασιν οὕτε θεὸν οὕτε  
σώφρονα βίον οὕθ' ὅλως τι τῶν βελτίστων  
καὶ συμφερόντων ἐπιγνόντας ἀποδείξει,  
τοὺς δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐκτὸς πάντων  
εύσεβεστάτους καὶ φιλοσοφωτάτους  
γεγονέναι. ὁ γοῦν παρὰ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς  
ἀδόμενος Σωκράτης ὅπως ποτὲ ἐδόξαζε  
περὶ τῶνδε μάθοις ἀν Ξενοφῶντι  
πιστεύσας ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ὃδέ πη  
ἰστοροῦντι

14.10.11 | But among countless Greeks and countless races of barbarians, those who study the subjects mentioned will not show knowledge of either God or a wise life, nor anything at all of the best and most beneficial. But those outside of these studies have become the most pious and philosophical. Indeed, Socrates, who sang praises among them all, once seemed to believe about these things, as you might learn from Xenophon, who writes about this in his Memorabilia.

## Section 11

14.11.1 | “Ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρις ὅτου δέοι  
ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἐκάστου πράγματος τὸν  
ὄρθως πεπαιδευμένον. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν  
μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη δεῖν μανθάνειν, ἔως  
ἰκανός τις γένοιτο, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, γῆν  
μέτρῳ ὄρθως ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῦναι  
ἢ διανεῖμαι, ἢ ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι. οὕτω δὲ  
τοῦτο ἥδιον εἶναι μαθεῖν, ὡστε τὸν  
προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν τῇ μετρήσει ἄμα τήν  
τε γῆν ὀπόση ἔστιν είδέναι, καὶ ὡς

14.11.1 | He taught that until one needs to be experienced in each matter, one must first learn geometry. He said that one should learn it until they become capable, in case they ever need to measure land correctly, whether to take it, give it, or divide it, or to show a task. And this is easy to learn, so that the one focusing their mind on measurement can know how much land there is and how it is measured.

μετρεῖται ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι.

14.11.2 | τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῶν δυσξυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεωμετρίαν μανθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν· ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ὡφελοίη ταῦτα οὐκ ἔφη δρᾶν· καίτοι οὐκ ἀπειρός γε αὐτῶν ἦν. ἔφη δὲ ἵκανὰ αύτὰ εἶναι ἀνθρώπου βίον κατατρίβειν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τε καὶ ὡφελίμων μαθημάτων ἀποκωλύειν.

14.11.3 | ἑκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρονομίας ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γινώσκειν, ἔνεκα τοῦ πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ μηνὸς ἢ ἐνιαυτοῦ πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἔχειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγινώσκοντα. καὶ ταῦτα δέ ḥάδια μαθεῖν παρά τε νυκτοθηρῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, οἵς ἐπιμελὲς ταῦτα είδεναι.

14.11.4 | τὸ δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν μανθάνειν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περιφορᾷ ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας γνῶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς περιόδους, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ζητοῦντα κατατρίβεσθαι, ἴσχυρῶς ἀπέτρεπεν. ὡφέλειαν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ούδ’ ἐν τούτοις ἔφη δρᾶν· καίτοι ούδε τούτων γε ἀνήκοος ἦν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἵκανὰ εἶναι κατατρίβειν ἀνθρώπου βίον καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὡφελίμων ἀποκωλύειν.

14.11.5 | ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων ἢ ἔκαστα δὲ θεός μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὕτε γὰρ εὔρετὰ ἀνθρώποις

14.11.2 | But he rejected learning geometry up to the difficult shapes. For he said that he did not see how these would be useful. And yet, he was not completely inexperienced in them. He said that they are enough to waste a person's life and to keep them from many other useful studies.

14.11.3 | He also commanded to become experienced in astronomy, and to know it up to the times of night, the month, and the year, for the sake of travel, sailing, and safety. And to have evidence for whatever happens at night, in the month, or in the year, one should be able to recognize the hours of these things. And these are easy to learn from night hunters, sailors, and many others who take care to know these things.

14.11.4 | But he strongly discouraged learning astronomy up to this point, including knowing the stars that do not move in the same way, the wandering stars, and the unstable stars, as well as their distances from the earth, their orbits, and the reasons for them. For he said he saw no benefit in these things. And yet, he was not completely ignorant of them. He also said that these things are enough to waste a person's life and to keep them from many other useful studies.

14.11.5 | Overall, he discouraged becoming a thinker about the heavens and how each thing is made by the gods. For he believed

αύτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι οὕτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς  
ἀν τὸν ζητοῦντα, ἀ ἔκεῖνοι  
σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν. κινδυνεῦσαι  
δ' ἀν ἔφη καὶ παραφρονῆσαι τὸν ταῦτα  
μεριμνῶντα οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡ Ἀναξαγόρας  
παρεφρόνησεν, δέ μεγιστον φρονήσας ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῷ τὰς τῶν θεῶν μηχανὰς ἔξηγεῖσθαι.

that these things are neither discoverable by humans nor would the gods grant knowledge to someone seeking them, since they did not wish to make these things clear. He said that one could risk going mad by worrying about these things, no less than Anaxagoras did, who thought he was great for explaining the workings of the gods.

14.11.6 | ἔκεῖνος γάρ λέγων μὲν τὸ αὐτὸν  
εἶναι πῦρ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἡγνόει ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦρ  
οἱ ἄνθρωποι ῥαδίως καθορῶσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν  
ἥλιον οὐ δύνανται ἀντιβλέπειν· καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν  
τοῦ ἥλιου καταλαμπόμενοι τὰ χρώματα  
μελάντερα ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οὕτω  
ἡγνόει δὲ καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων  
ἄνευ μὲν ἥλιου αύγης οὐδὲν δύναται καλῶς  
αὔξεσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς θερμαινόμενα  
πάντα ἀπόλλυται· φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον  
λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἡγνόει ὅτι  
λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὧν οὕτε λάμπει οὕτε  
πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, δέ δὲ ἥλιος πάντα τὸν  
χρόνον πάντων λαμπρότατος ὧν διαμένει.

14.11.6 | For he, saying that fire and the sun are the same, did not understand that people can easily see fire, but they cannot look directly at the sun. And when lit by the sun, colors appear darker, but under fire, they do not. He also did not realize that nothing growing from the earth can thrive well without the light of the sun, while everything heated by fire is destroyed. He claimed that the sun is a burning stone, and he did not understand that a stone in fire neither shines nor lasts long, but the sun, being the brightest of all, remains bright all the time.

14.11.7 | ἔκέλευε δὲ καὶ λογισμοὺς  
μανθάνειν, καὶ τούτων δὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς  
ἄλλοις ἔκέλευε φυλάττεσθαι τὴν μάταιον  
πραγματείαν μέχρι δὲ τοῦ ὀφελίμου πάντα  
καὶ αὐτὸς συνεσκόπει καὶ συνδιεξήει τοῖς  
συνοῦσι." Ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἐν  
Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν. ἐν ἐπιστολῇ δὲ δὲ  
αὐτὸς τῇ πρὸς Αἴσχινην περὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ  
τῶν αὐχούντων τὴν τοῦ παντὸς  
φισιολογίαν τοιαυτα γράφει

14.11.7 | "He also urged them to learn reasoning, and similarly advised them to avoid useless pursuits until they reach what is useful. He himself examined and discussed everything with those present." These things are written by Xenophon in his Memorabilia. In a letter to Aeschines about Plato and those boasting about the nature of everything, he writes such things.

## Section 12

14.12.1 | “Οτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ θεῖα ὑπὲρ ἡμάς

14.12.1 | "For it is clear that the divine is

παντὶ δῆλον· ἀπόχρη δὲ τῷ κρείττονι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοὺς σέβειν· οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οὕτε εὐρεῖν ὅρδιον οὕτε ζητεῖν θεμιτόν. ούδὲ γὰρ δεσποτῶν φύσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν δούλοις εἰδέναι πλέον ὑπηρεσίας προσήκει. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅσῳ χρὴ ἄγασθαι τάνθρωπινα διαπονουμένων, τοσῷδε τοῖς δόξῃς ἐκ πολλῶν ἀκαίρων καὶ κενῶν γλιχομένοις ἄχθος φέρει. πότε γὰρ, ὡς Αἰσχίνη, Σωκράτους ἀκήκοε τις οὐρανίων πέρι λέγοντος; ἢ γραμμὰς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν παραινοῦντος μανθάνειν; μουσικὴν μὲν γὰρ ἵσμεν αὐτὸν μέχρι ὥτων συνιέντα· διετέλει δὲ ἐκάστοτε αὐτοῖς λέγων τί καλὸν καὶ τί ἀνδρεία δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλλαι ἀρεταί. ἀνθρώπινα γοῦν αὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔκαλει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις ἀλῶναι ἔφασκεν, ἢ μύθων εἶναι συγγενῆ, μετ' ὄφρύος σοφιστῶν παίγνια διεξιόντων. καὶ οὐκ ἔλεγε μὲν ταῦτα, οὐχὶ δὲ ἔπραττε. γράφειν δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα εἰδότι σοι, καίπερ οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐσόμενον, χρόνον ἔχει, ἀνέγραψά τε ἄλλοθι. παυσάσθωσαν οὖν ἐλεγχόμενοι, ἢ πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς ἵτωσαν, οἵς Σωκράτης οὐκ ἤρεσεν, ὡς ζῶντι μὲν ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν ἐμαρτύρησεν, οἱ δὲ κτείναντες τῆς μετανοίας ἀποκάθαρσιν οὐχ εὗρον. τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἄρα, Αἴγυπτου ἡράσθησαν καὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρα τερατώδους σοφίας, ὃν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ μὴ μόνιμον ἐπὶ Σωκράτει ἤλεγχεν ἔρως τυραννίδος, καὶ ἀντὶ διαίτης λιτῆς Σικελιῶτις γαστρὸς ἀμέτρου τράπεζα." Ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν τὸν Πλάτωνα αἰνιττόμενος, ὃ δέ γε Πλάτων' ἐν Πολιτείᾳ περὶ γυμναστικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς τάδ' ἴστορεῖ φάναι τὸν Σωκράτην

above us all; it is necessary to honor those who are stronger than us. They are such that it is neither easy to find them nor is it right to seek them. For it is not fitting for slaves to know the nature or actions of their masters beyond their service. And the greatest burden is that as much as one must care for human affairs, they are weighed down by many pointless and empty opinions. For when, O Aeschines, has anyone heard Socrates speaking about heavenly matters? Or advising to learn lines for correction? We know him to be a musician, reaching the ears; but he always spoke to them about what is beautiful, what is courage, justice, and other virtues. He called these things good for humans, but he said that the other things are either impossible for humans to grasp or are myths related to the tricks of sophists. And he did not say these things, nor did he act on them. I have written down what has happened, knowing that it will not be unpleasant, but it takes time, and I have also written from elsewhere. Therefore, let those being criticized stop, or let them go to what is reasonable, to whom Socrates did not please, to whom the god testified wisdom while they who killed him found no cleansing from regret. And indeed, they were enamored with the beautiful of Egypt and the monstrous wisdom of Pythagoras, whose excess and impermanence Socrates exposed through the tyranny of love, and instead of a simple diet, they had a table of unmeasured Sicilian feasting." These things Xenophon hints at regarding Plato. And indeed, Plato in his Republic recounts these about Socrates concerning gymnastics and music.

## Section 13

14.13.1 | “Τί ἀν οὗν εἴη, ὃ αύκων, μάθημα ψυχῆς ὀλκὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν; τόδε δ' ἔννοῶ λέγων ἅμα· οὐκ ἀθλητὰς μέντοι πολέμου ἔφαμεν τούτους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νέους ὄντας; ”Εφαμεν γάρ. Δεῖ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο προσέχειν τὸ μάθημα ὃ ζητοῦμεν πρὸς ἑκείνῳ. Τὸ ποῖον; Μὴ ἀχρηστὸν πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶναι.

14.13.1 | What then would it be, O speaker, a lesson of the soul from what is becoming to what is being? This I mean to say at the same time: we said that it is necessary for these to be young warriors, didn't we? We did say that. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to this lesson we seek in relation to that. What kind? That it should not be useless for warrior men.

14.13.2 | Δεῖ μέντοι, ἔφη, εἴπερ οἶόν τε. Γυμναστικῇ πῃ καὶ μουσικῇ ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἡμῖν. Ἡν ταῦτα, ἔφη. Καὶ γυμναστικὴ μὲν που περὶ γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον τετεύτακε· σώματος γὰρ αὔξης καὶ φθίσεως ἐπιστατεῖ. Φαίνεται. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ούκ ἀν εἴη ὃ ζητοῦμεν μάθημα. Οὐ γάρ. Ἄλλ' ἄρα μουσικὴ ὅσην τὸ πρότερον διήλθομεν;

14.13.2 | It is necessary, he said, if indeed you think so. They educated us in gymnastics and music before. That is true, he said. And gymnastics is indeed concerned with what is becoming and perishing; for it oversees the growth and decline of the body. That seems to be the case. But this would not be the lesson we are seeking. No, it would not. But what about music, as much as we discussed before?

14.13.3 | Ἄλλ' ἦν ἑκείνη γ', ἔφη, ἀντίστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησαι, ἔθεσι παιδεύουσα τοὺς φύλακας, κατά τε ἀρμονίαν εύαρμοστίαν τινὰ, ούκ ἐπιστήμην, παραδιδοῦσα, καὶ κατὰ ρυθμὸν εύρυθμίαν, ἐν τε τοῖς λόγοις ἔτερα τούτων ἀδελφὰ ἔθη ἄττα ἔχουσα, καὶ ὅσοι μυθώδεις τῶν λόγων καὶ ὅσοι ἀληθινώτεροι ἦσαν· μάθημα δὲ πρὸς τοιοῦτον τι ἄγον, οἶον σὺν νῦν ζητεῖς, οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ.

14.13.3 | But that was indeed the opposite of gymnastics, he said, if you remember, educating the guardians with certain arrangements of harmony, not knowledge, and with rhythmical order. In the words, it had other customs that were like these, and those that were more mythical and those that were more true. But a lesson leading to such a thing, like what you are seeking now, was not in it at all.

14.13.4 | Ἀκριβέστατα, ἦν δ' ἔγὼ, ἀναμιμήσκεις με· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιοῦτον

14.13.4 | Very true, I said, you remind me; for in reality it had nothing like that. But,

ούδεν εἶχεν. Άλλ' ὡς δαιμόνιε Γλαύκων, τί ἀν  
εἴη τοιοῦτον; αἱ τε γὰρ τέχναι βάναυσοι  
που ἄπασαι ἔδοξαν εἶναι. Πῶς δ' οὔ;

oh, dear Glaucon, what could such a thing  
be? For all the arts seemed to be worthless.  
How could they not?

14.13.5 | Εἶθ' ἐξῆς προϊών ἐπιλέγει Μή ποτ'  
αὐτῶν τι ἀτελὲς ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἡμῖν μανέν  
θανεῖν οὓς θρέψομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξῆκον  
ἐκεῖσε ἀεὶ οἱ πάντας δεῖ ἀνήκειν, οὗν ἄρτι  
περὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας ἐλέγομεν. ἢ οὐκ οἴσθ  
ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἀρμονίας ἔτερον τοιοῦτον  
ποιοῦσι; τὰς γὰρ ἀκουομένας αὐ  
συμφωνίας καὶ φθόγγους ἀλλήλοις  
ἀναμετροῦντες ἀνήνυτα ὥσπερ οἱ  
ἀστρονόμοι ποιοῦσι.

14.13.5 | Then, going on from there, he  
chooses: 'Let them not attempt anything  
incomplete with us, those whom we raise,  
and they should not always be from there,  
as I say all must belong, like we just talked  
about astronomy. Or do you not know that  
they also make another such thing about  
harmony? For they measure the sounds  
and notes that are heard against each  
other, just as the astronomers do.'

14.13.6 | Νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, καὶ γελοίως  
γε, πυκνώματ' ἄττα όνομάζοντες καὶ  
παραβάλλοντες τὰ ὡτα, οἷον ἐκ γειτόνων  
φωνὴν θηρευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν φασιν ἔτι  
κατακούειν ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ ἡχὴν καὶ  
σμικρότατον εἶναι τοῦτο διάστημα ὡς  
μετρητέον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφισβητοῦντες ὡς ὅμοιον  
ἡδη φθεγγομένων, ἀμφότεροι ὡτα τοῦ νοῦ  
προστησάμενοι.

14.13.6 | By the gods, he said, and it's funny  
too, they name some sounds and compare  
them with the ears, as if hunting for a voice  
from neighbors. Some say they still hear a  
certain echo in the middle, and this  
distance is very small to be measured,  
while others argue that it is already similar  
to those making sounds, both having their  
ears focused on the mind.

14.13.7 | Σὺ μὲν, ἦν δ' ἔγὼ, τοὺς χρηστοὺς  
λέγεις τοὺς ταῖς χορδαῖς πράγματα  
παρέχοντας καὶ βασανίζοντας, ἐπὶ τῶν  
κολλόπων στρεβλοῦντας. ἴνα δὲ μὴ  
μακροτέρα ἡ εἰκὼν γίγνηται, πλήκτρῳ τε  
πληγῶν γιγνομένων καὶ κατηγορίας πέρι  
καὶ ἔξαρνήσεως καὶ ἀλαζονείας χορδῶν,  
παύομαι τῆς εἰκόνος, καὶ οὐ φημι τούτους  
λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔκείνους οὓς ἔφαμεν νῦν δὴ  
περὶ ἀρμονίας είρησθαι.

14.13.7 | You, I said, are talking about those  
good people who provide and test things  
with the strings, twisting them at the joints.  
But to avoid making the image longer, since  
there are strikes made with the plectrum  
and accusations, and denials and arrogance  
of the strings, I stop the image, and I do not  
say these things, but those whom we  
mentioned now should be spoken about  
harmony.

14.13.8 | ταύτὸν γὰρ ποιοῦσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
ἀστρονομίᾳ. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς

14.13.8 | For they do the same thing as  
those in astronomy. For those in these

συμφωνίαις ταῖς ἀκουομέναις ἀριθμοὺς  
ζητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προβλήματα ἀνίσιν,  
ἐπισκοπεῖν τίνες ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοὶ καὶ  
τίνες οὖ, καὶ διὰ τί ἐκάτεροι.

harmonies that are heard seek numbers,  
but they do not bring up problems, looking  
to see which numbers are harmonious and  
which are not, and why each one is so.

14.13.9 | Άλλὰ γάρ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν πρὸ ὁδοῦ  
κείσθω, ἀπολογούμενοις δtti μὴ δίχα  
διανοίας ὄρθης καὶ τῆς τῶν τοιῶνδε  
ἀχρηστομαθείας ὡλιγωρήσαμεν.  
σκεψώμεθα δῆτα λοιπὸν ἥδη ἄνωθεν  
ἀρξάμενοι τὰς τῶν είρημένων φυσικῶν  
φιλοσόφων δογματικὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
ἀντιδοξίας, γράφει δὴ ἀθρόως ἀπάντων  
τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ὅμοι καὶ Πυθαγορείων  
τῶν τε ἔτι πρεσβυτέρων φυσικῶν  
φιλοσόφων ἐπικεκλημένων καὶ αὖ πάλιν  
τῶν νεωτέρων Περιπατητικῶν τε καὶ  
Στωϊκῶν καὶ Ἐπικουρείων τὰς δόξας  
συναγαγάνων ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε  
“Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις  
φυσικῶν δογμάτων,” ἔξ ὧν παραθήσομαι  
ταύτα

14.13.9 | But let these things lie before us  
on the path, as we defend ourselves that we  
did not neglect the difference between  
right thinking and the useless knowledge of  
such things. Let us indeed consider from  
above, starting now the opposing views of  
the natural philosophers mentioned, as  
Plutarch wrote together about all the  
Platonic and Pythagorean philosophers,  
both the older natural philosophers and  
again the newer Peripatetics, Stoics, and  
Epicureans, gathering their beliefs in a  
work titled 'On What Pleases Natural  
Philosophers,' from which I will present  
these things.

## Section 14

14.14.1 | "Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, εἰς τῶν ἐπτὰ  
σοφῶν, ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι  
τὸ ὕδωρ. δοκεῖ δὲ ὃ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἄρξαι τῆς  
φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ή Ἰωνικὴ  
αἱρεσις προσηγορεύθη· ἔγένοντο πλεῖσται  
διαδοχαί. φιλοσοφήσας δὲ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ  
πρεσβύτερος ἦλθεν εἰς Μίλητον. ἔξ ὕδατος  
δέ φησι πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ πάντα  
ἀναλύεσθαι. στοχάζεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου  
πρῶτον δtti πάντων ζώων ἡ γονὴ ἀρχή  
ἔστι, ὑγρὰ οὖσα· οὕτως είκός καὶ τὰ πάντα  
ἔξ ὑγροῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. δεύτερον, δtti  
πάντα τὰ φυτὰ ὑγρῷ τρέφεται τε καὶ  
καρποφορεῖ, ἀμοιροῦντα δὲ ξηραίνεται.  
τρίτον δὲ, δtti καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου  
καὶ τῶν ἄστρων ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων

14.14.1 | "Thales of Miletus, one of the  
seven wise men, declared that the  
beginning of all things is water. This man  
seems to start philosophy, and from him  
the Ionian school got its name; many  
successors came after him. After studying  
in Egypt, he returned to Miletus as an elder.  
He says that everything comes from water  
and returns to water. He first thinks that  
the origin of all living things is moisture;  
thus, it is likely that everything has its  
beginning from the wet. Second, he says  
that all plants are nourished and bear fruit  
from moisture, but they dry up when  
deprived of it. Third, he claims that even  
fire, from the sun and stars, is fed by the

άναθυμιάσεσι τρέφεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ὅμηρος ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ὑποτίθεται περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, Ὡκεανὸν, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Θαλῆς.”

vapors of water, and the world itself. For this reason, Homer also suggests this idea about water, saying that Ocean is the source of all things." Thus spoke Thales.

14.14.2 | “Αναξίμανδρος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος φησι τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἄπειρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔξ οὖ γίνεται. λέγει δ' οὗν, διότι τὸ ἀπέραντόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ καὶ ἡ γένεσις ἡ ὑφίσταμένη. ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος μὴ λέγων τί ἐστι τὸ ἄπειρον, πότερον ἀήρ ἐστιν, ἢ ὕδωρ, ἢ γῆ, 7 ἢ ἄλλα τινὰ σώματα· ἀμαρτάνει οὖν τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὕλη ἐστίν· οὐ δύναται δὲ ἡ ὕλη εἶναι ἐνεργείᾳ, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑπόθηται.”

14.14.2 | Anaximander of Miletus says that the beginning of all things is the infinite. For from this, everything comes into being and to this, everything is destroyed; thus, countless worlds are born and again perish into the source from which they come. He says that because it is infinite, nothing is lacking and the existing generation is maintained. However, he makes a mistake by not saying what the infinite is, whether it is air, or water, or earth, or some other substance. He fails to define the material cause while denying the efficient cause. For the infinite is nothing other than matter; matter cannot be active unless the efficient cause is assumed.

14.14.3 | “Αναξιμένης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων τὸν ἀέρα ἀπεφήνατο· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι οἷον ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀήρ ἐστι· συγκρατεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς· καὶ ὅλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀήρ ἐμπεριέχει· λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀήρ καὶ πνεῦμα. ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔξ ἀπλοῦ καὶ μονοειδοῦς ἀέρος καὶ πνεύματος δοκῶν συνεστάναι τὰ ζῶα. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀρχὴν μίαν τὴν ὕλην τῶν ὄντων ὑποστῆναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν αἴτιον χρὴ τιθέναι. οἷον, οὐκ ἄργυρος ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔκπωμα γενέσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ἦ, τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὁ ἄργυροκόπος· ὅμοιως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ ξύλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὕλης.”

14.14.3 | Anaximenes of Miletus declared that the beginning of all things is air. For from this, everything comes into being and returns to it. He says that our soul is air; for it holds us together. The whole world is filled with breath and air, and they are said to be the same. However, he also makes a mistake by thinking that living things are made only from simple, uniform air and breath. It is impossible for a single material cause to support all beings; but the efficient cause must also be considered. For example, silver alone is not enough to make a cup unless there is a maker, that is, the silversmith. The same goes for bronze, wood, and other materials.

14.14.4 | "Ηράκλειτος καὶ Ἰππασος ὁ Μεταποντῖνος ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων τὸ πῦρ. ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς γὰρ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς πῦρ πάντα τελευτᾶν λέγουσι· τούτου δὲ κατασβεννυμένου κοσμοποιεῖσθαι τὰ πάντα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ παχυμερέστατον αὐτοῦ εἰς αὐτὸ συστελλόμενον γῆ γίγνεται· ἔπειτα ἀναχαλωμένην τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς φύσει ὕδωρ ἀποτελεῖσθαι, ἀναθυμιώμενον δὲ ἀέρα γίνεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλοῦσθαι ἐκπυρώσει. ἀρχὴ οὖν τὸ πῦρ, ὅτι ἐκ τούτου τὰ πάντα, τέλος δὲ καθότι εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεται τὰ πάντα."

14.14.5 | "Δημόκριτος, ὃ μετὰ πλεῖστον Ἐπίκουρος ἡκολούθησεν, ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων σώματα ἄτομα, λόγω δὲ θεωρητὰ, ἀμέτοχα κενοῦ, ἀγέννητα, ἀΐδια, ἀφθαρτα, οὐδὲ θραυσθῆναι δυνάμενα, οὕτε διαπλασμὸν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν λαβεῖν, οὕτε ἀλλοιωθῆναι, εἶναι δ' αὐτὰ λόγω θεωρητὰ, ταῦτα μέντοι κινεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κενῷ καὶ διὰ τοῦ κενοῦ· εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ κενὸν ἄπειρον καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄπειρα. συμβεβήκεναι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τρία ταῦτα, σχήματα, μέγεθος, βάρος, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν Δημόκριτος ἔλεγε δύο, μέγεθος καὶ σχῆμα· ὃ δὲ Ἐπέκουρος τούτοις καὶ τρίτον βάρος προσέθηκεν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ, φησὶ, κινεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα τῇ τοῦ βάρους πληγῇ, ἐπεὶ οὐ κινηθήσεται. εἶναι δὲ τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἀτόμων περιληπτὰ, οὐκ ἄπειρα· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι μήτε ἀγκιστροειδεῖς, μήτε τριαινοειδεῖς, μήτε κρικοειδεῖς· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ σχήματα ἔστιν εὔθραυστα, αἱ δὲ ἄτομοι ἀπαθεῖς, ἀθραυστοι· ἵδια δὲ ἔχειν σχήματα λόγω θεωρητά. καὶ εἴρηται ἄτομος οὐχ ὅτι ἔστιν ἐλαχίστη, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ δύναται τμηθῆναι,

14.14.4 | Heraclitus and Hippasus of Metapontum say that the beginning of all things is fire. For from fire, everything comes into being and to fire, everything ends. When this fire goes out, everything is created anew. First, the densest part of it condenses into earth. Then, when the earth is heated by fire, it becomes water, and the steam turns into air. Again, the world and all bodies are consumed by fire in a great conflagration. Therefore, fire is the beginning because everything comes from it, and the end because everything returns to it.

14.14.5 | Democritus, whom Epicurus followed the most, said that the beginnings of things are atoms, which are understood through reason. They are indivisible, empty, ungenerated, eternal, and imperishable, and they cannot be broken or shaped from parts, nor can they change. They exist as things that can be understood through reason, but they move in the void and through the void. The void itself is infinite, and the bodies are infinite as well. Three things happen to bodies: shape, size, and weight. However, Democritus said there are only two: size and shape, while Epicurus added a third, weight. For he says it is necessary for bodies to move because of the force of weight; otherwise, they will not move. The shapes of the atoms are finite, not infinite; for they cannot be hooked, triangular, or ring-shaped. These shapes are fragile, but the atoms are unfeeling and unbreakable; they have their own shapes that can be understood through reason. It is said that an atom is

ἀπαθής οὖσα καὶ ἀμέτοχος κενοῦ ὡστε  
έὰν εἴπῃ ἄτομον, ἄθραυστον λέγει, ἀπαθῆ,  
ἀμέτοχον κενοῦ. ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ἄτομος  
σαφές· καὶ γάρ ἐστι στοιχεῖα καὶ ζῶα κενὰ  
καὶ ἡ μονάς.”

not the smallest thing, but that it cannot be cut, being unfeeling and indivisible from the void. So, when one says 'atom,' it means unbreakable, unfeeling, and indivisible from the void. What an atom is, is clear; for it is the elements and living things that are empty and the unit.

14.14.6 | “Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Μέτωνος,  
Ἀκραγαντῖνος, τέτταρα μὲν στοιχεῖα, πῦρ,  
ἀέρα, ὕδωρ, γῆν, δύο δὲ ἀρχὰς καὶ  
δυνάμεις, φιλίαν τε καὶ νεῖκος, ὃν ἡ μέν  
ἐστιν ἐνωτικὴ, τὸ δὲ διαιρετικόν. φησὶ δὲ  
οὕτως τέσσαρα τῶν πάντων ῥιζώματα  
πρῶτον ἄκουε· Ζεὺς ἀργῆς, ‘Πρη τε  
φερέσβιος, ἡδ’ Ἀΐδωνεύς, Νῆστίς θ’, ἦ  
δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον. Δία  
μὲν γάρ λέγει τὴν ζέσιν καὶ τὸν αἴθέρα,  
“Ἡραν δὲ φερέσβιον τὸν ἀέρα· τὴν γῆν τὸν  
Ἀΐδωνέα· Νῆστιν δὲ καὶ κρούνωμα  
βρότειον, οἰονεὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ.”

14.14.6 | Empedocles of Acragas said that there are four elements: fire, air, water, and earth, and two principles or forces, love and strife, where one is unifying and the other is separating. He says this: 'First, listen to the four roots of everything: Zeus the bright, and Persephone, and Hades, and the Nymph, who moistens the mortal world with tears.' For he calls the bright one the ether and the air, Hades he calls the earth, and the Nymph is the moisture, like the seed and the water.

14.14.7 | Τοσαύτη μὲν ἡ τῶν πρώτων  
φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων διαφωνία, τοιαύτη δὲ  
αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξα, οὐ θεὸν, οὐ  
ποιητὴν, οὐ δημιουργὸν, οὐδέ τι τῶν ὅλων  
αἴτιον, οὐδὲ μὴν θεοὺς, οὐδ’ ἀσωμάτους  
δυνάμεις, οὐ νοερὰς φύσεις, οὐ λογικὰς  
οὐσίας, οὐδ’ ὅλως τι τῶν ἔκτὸς αἰσθήσεων  
ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑποθεμένων.

14.14.7 | Such is the disagreement among the early natural philosophers, and such is their belief about the principles: they do not accept a god, a creator, or any cause of everything, nor do they acknowledge gods, incorporeal powers, intellectual natures, rational substances, or anything outside of the senses in their principles.

14.14.8 | μόνος δ’ οὓν πρῶτος Ἐλλήνων  
Ἀναξαγόρας μνημονεύεται ἐν τοῖς περὶ  
ἀρχῶν λόγοις νοῦν τὸν πάντων αἴτιον  
ἀποφήνασθαι. φασὶ γοῦν ὡς ἄρα οὗτος  
μάλιστα παρὰ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔθαύμασε  
φυσιολογίαν· μηλόβοτόν γε τοι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ  
χώραν δι’ αὐτὴν εἴασε, τόν τε περὶ ἀρχῶν  
λόγον πρῶτος Ἐλλήνων διήρθρωσεν. οὐ

14.14.8 | Only Anaxagoras is remembered among the Greeks as the first to declare that mind is the cause of everything. They say that he was the one who most admired natural philosophy compared to those before him. He allowed his own region to be known for this, and he was the first among the Greeks to organize the

γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς πάντων ούσιας ἀπεφήνατο, ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτὴν αἴτιου.

discussion about the principles. For he did not only speak about the essence of everything, like those before him, but also about the cause that moves it.

14.14.9 | “ἢν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ φησὶν) ὁμοῦ τὰ πράγματα πεφυρμένα, νοῦς δὲ εἰσελθὼν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγε.” Θαυμάσαι δ' ἔστιν ὡς οὗτος πρῶτος παρ' Ἑλλησι τοῦτον θεολογήσας τὸν τρόπον, δόξας Ἀθηναίοις ἀθεος εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἔθεολόγει, τὸν δὲ ἥλιου ποιητὴν, μικροῦ δεῖν καταλευσθεὶς ἔθανε.

14.14.9 | For he says, 'In the beginning, all things were mixed together, and mind entered in and brought them from disorder into order.' It is amazing that he was the first among the Greeks to speak of this way of thinking about the divine, and the Athenians considered him an atheist because he did not worship the sun, but rather the creator of the sun. He was little understood and died.

14.14.10 | λέγεται δὲ μηδὲ οὗτος σῶν φυλάξαι τὸ δόγμα. ἐπιστῆσαι μὲν γὰρ νοῦν τοῖς πᾶσι, οὐκέτι δὲ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λογισμὸν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀποδοῦναι φυσιολογίαν. ἐπάκουουσον δ' οὖν οἴα ὁ Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος Περὶ ψυχῆς αἴτιαται τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν τούτοις

14.14.10 | It is said that he did not manage to keep his teachings safe. For he was able to know mind in all things, but he could no longer explain natural philosophy according to mind and reason. Therefore, listen to how Socrates, in Plato's 'On the Soul,' questions the man about these things.

## Section 15

14.15.1 | “Ἄλλ’ ἀκούσας μέν ποτε ἐκ βιβλίου τινὸς, ὡς ἔφη, Ἀναξαγόρου ἀναγινώσκοντος, καὶ λέγοντος ὡς ἄρα νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ αἴτιᾳ ἥσθην τε καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι τρόπον τινὰ εὖ ἔχειν τὸ τὸν νοῦν εἶναι πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ ἡγησάμην, εἰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, τόν γε νοῦν κοσμοῦντα πάντα κοσμεῖν καὶ ἔκαστον τιθέναι ὅπῃ ἀν βέλτιστα ἔχῃ.

14.15.1 | But once, hearing from some book, as he said, while Anaxagoras was reading and saying that mind is the one who arranges and is the cause of all things, I was pleased by this reason and thought that it makes sense for mind to be the cause of everything. I believed that if this is true, then mind, arranging everything, places each thing where it is best.

14.15.2 | εἰ οὖν τις βούλοιτο τὴν αἴτιαν

14.15.2 | If someone wants to find the

εὺρεῖν περὶ ἐκάστου, ὅπῃ ἡ γίνεται ἢ  
ἀπόλλυται ἢ ἔστι, τοῦτο δεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ  
εὺρεῖν, ὅπῃ βέλτιστον αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἢ εἶναι ἢ  
ἄλλο ὄτιοῦν πάσχειν ἢ ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὴ τοῦ  
λόγου τούτου οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκοπεῖν  
προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ἡ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ  
βέλτιστον. ἀναγκαῖον δὴ εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν  
τοῦτον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον εἰδέναι· τὴν αὐτὴν  
γὰρ εἶναι ἐπιστήμην περὶ αὐτῶν.

cause for each thing, whether it comes into being, disappears, or exists, they must find what is best for it, whether it is to be or to experience or to do something else. From this reasoning, a person should focus on nothing else, both for themselves and for others, except for what is best and most excellent. It is necessary to know both the same and the worse; for the knowledge about them is the same.

14.15.3 | ταῦτα δὴ λογιζόμενος ἀσμενος  
εὺρηκέναι ὥμην διδάσκαλον τῆς αἰτίας  
περὶ τῶν ὄντων κατὰ νοῦν ἔμαυτῷ, τὸν  
Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ μοι φράσειν πρῶτον μὲν  
πότερον ἡ γῆ πλατεῖά ἔστιν ἢ στρογγύλη,  
ἐπειδὴ δὲ φράσειν, ἐπεκδηγήσασθαι τὴν  
αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, λέγοντα τὸ  
ἄμεινον, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἄμεινον ἦν τοιαύτην  
εἶναι· καὶ εἴ ἐν μέσῳ φαίη εἶναι αὐτὴν,  
ἐπεκδηγήσεσθαι ὡς ἄμεινον ἦν αὐτὴν ἐν  
μέσῳ εἶναι· καὶ εἴ μοι ταῦτα ἀποφαίνοιτο,  
παρεσκευάσμην ὡς οὐκέτι ποθεσόμενος  
αἰτίας ἄλλο εἶδος.

14.15.3 | Thinking about these things, I was happy to believe that I had found a teacher of the cause of things according to mind for myself, Anaxagoras. I wanted him to first explain whether the earth is flat or round. After he explained that, I hoped he would go on to discuss the cause and necessity, saying what is better and that it was better for it to be that way. If he said it was in the middle, I expected him to explain why it was better for it to be in the middle. And if he could show me these things, I prepared myself to no longer desire to know about any other kind of cause.

14.15.4 | καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἡλίου οὕτω  
παρεσκευάσμην ὡσαύτως πευσόμενος, καὶ  
σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων, τάχους τε  
πέρι πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ τροπῶν καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων παθημάτων, πή ποτε ταῦτ' ἄμεινόν  
ἔστιν ἔκαστον καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἢ  
πάσχει. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ' αὐτὸν ὥμην,  
φάσκοντά γε ὑπὸ νοῦ αὐτὰ κεκοσμήσθαι,  
ἄλλην τινὰ αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἢ ὅτι  
βέλτιστον αὐτὰ οὕτως ἔχειν ἔστιν ὡσπερ  
ἔχει.

14.15.4 | And so I also prepared to ask about the sun, the moon, and the other stars, quickly wanting to know how each of them is best and what they do and experience. For I never thought that he would say they were arranged by mind and give them any other cause than that it is best for them to be as they are.

14.15.5 | ἐκάστου ούν [αὐτῶν] ἀποδιδόντα

14.15.5 | So, I thought that if he explained

τὴν αίτιαν καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι τὸ ἐκάστω  
βέλτιστον ὥμην καὶ τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσιν  
ἐπιδιηγήσασθαι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ούδ' ἂν  
ἀπεδόμην πολλοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλὰ πάνυ  
σπουδῇ λαβὼν τὰς βίβλους ὡς τάχιστα  
οἶός τ' ἦν ἀνεγίνωσκον, ἔν' ὡς τάχιστα  
εἰδείην τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον. ἀπὸ δὴ  
θαυμαστῆς, ὡς ἐταῖρε, ἐλπίδος ωχόμην  
φερόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊών καὶ  
ἀναγινώσκων ὅρῶ ἄνδρα τῷ μὲν νῷ αὐδὲν  
χρώμενον οὐδέ τινας αίτιας ἐπαιτιώμενον  
εἰς τὸ διακοσμεῖν τὰ πράγματα, ἀέρας δὲ  
καὶ αἴθέρας καὶ ὕδατα αίτιώμενον καὶ ἄλλα  
πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα.

14.15.6 | καί μοι ἔδοξεν ὅμοιότατον  
πεπονθέναι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις λέγων ὅτι  
Σωκράτης πάντα ὅσα πράττει νῷ πράττει,  
καπειτα ἐπιχειρήσας λέγειν τὰς αίτιας  
ἐκάστων ὃν πράττω, λέγοι πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι  
ἐνθάδε διὰ ταῦτα νῦν κάθημαι, ὅτι  
σύγκειταί μου τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ὄστῶν καὶ  
νεύρων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄστα ἔστι στερεὰ καὶ  
διαφυάς ἔχει χωρὶς ἀπ' ἄλλήλων, τὰ δὲ  
νεῦρα οἷα ἐπιτείνεσθαι καὶ ἀνίεσθαι,  
περιαμπέχοντα τὰ ὄστα μετὰ τῶν σαρκῶν  
τε καὶ δέρματος, δ συνέχειν αύτά.

14.15.7 | αἱωρουμένων οὖν τῶν ὄστῶν ἐν  
ταῖς αὐτῶν ξυμβολαῖς χαλῶντα καὶ  
συντείνοντα τὰ νεῦρα κάμπτεσθαι που  
ποιεῖ οἴόν τε εἶναι ἐμὲ νῦν τὰ μέλη, καὶ διὰ  
ταύτην τὴν αίτιαν συγκαμφθεὶς ἐνθάδε  
κάθημαι. καὶ αὖ περὶ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ὑμῖν  
ἐτέρας τοιάσδε αίτιας λέγοι, φωνάς τε καὶ  
ἀέρας καὶ ἀκοὰς καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα μυρία  
τοιαῦτα αίτιώμενος, ἀμελήσας τὰς ὡς  
ἄληθῶς αίτιας λέγειν, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίοις  
ἔδοξε βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι,  
διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ βέλτιον αὖ δέδοκται

the cause for each of them and also told everyone what is best for each, he would explain the common good for all. I would not give up my hopes, but I took the books with great eagerness and read them as quickly as I could, wanting to know what is best and what is worse. I was carried away by a wonderful hope, my friend. But as I went on reading, I saw a man who, using his mind, did not blame anything for arranging things, but instead blamed air, ether, water, and many other strange things.

14.15.6 | And it seemed to me very similar to experience, as if someone were to say that Socrates does everything with his mind, and then, trying to explain the causes of each of the things he does, would first say that I am sitting here now because my body is made up of bones and nerves. The bones are solid and separate from each other, while the nerves stretch and relax, surrounding the bones along with the flesh and skin, which hold them together.

14.15.7 | So, as the bones are held together in their connections, and the nerves stretch and bend, it seems that my limbs are now like this, and because of this cause, I am sitting here. And again, when I speak to you, I could mention other causes like sounds, air, and hearing, blaming many such things, while neglecting to talk about the true causes. For when the Athenians thought it was better to vote against me, it was also thought better for me to sit here and justly accept the trial that they

ένθάδε καθῆσθαι, καὶ δικαιότερον παραμένοντα ὑπέχειν τὴν δίκην, ἢν ἀν κελεύσωσιν,

14.15.8 | ἐπεὶ νὴ τὸν κύνα, ὡς ἔγῷμαι, πάλαι ἀν ταῦτα τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰ ὄστα ἥ περὶ Μέγαρα ἥ περὶ Βοιωτοὺς ἦν, ὑπὸ δόξης φερόμενα τοῦ βελτίστου, εἴ μὴ δικαιότερον ὥμην καὶ κάλλιον εῖναι πρὸ τοῦ φεύγειν τε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν ὑπέχειν τῇ πόλει δίκην ἥντιν' ἀν τάττῃ.

14.15.9 | ἀλλ' αἴτια μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν λίαν ἄτοπον· εἰ δέ τις λέγοι ὅτι ἄνευ τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχειν καὶ ὄστα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ὄσα ἄλλα ἔχω, οὐκ ἀν οἶός τε ἥ ποιεῖν τὰ δόξαντά μοι, ἀληθῆ ἀν λέγοι· ὡς μέντοι διὰ ταῦτα ποιῶ ἢ ποιῶ, καὶ ταῦτα νῷ πράττω, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ τοῦ βελτίστου αἰρέσει, πολλὴ ἀν καὶ μακρὰ ἥραθυμία εἴη τοῦ λόγου.”

14.15.10 | Εἶτα ἐπιλέγει Διὸς δὴ καὶ ὁ μέν τις δίνην περιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τού οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ καρδόπω πλατείᾳ βάθρον τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὡς οἶόν τε βέλτιστα αύτὰ τεθῆναι δύναμιν οὕτω νῦν κεῖσθαι, ταύτην οὕτε ζητοῦσιν οὕτε τινὰ οἴονται δαιμονίαν ίσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ἡγοῦνται τούτου ἀν ποτε Ἀτλαντα ίσχυρότερον καὶ ἀθανατώτερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἅπαντα συνέχοντα ἔξευρεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δέον ξυνδεῖν καὶ συνέχειν οὐδὲν οἴονται.”

14.15.11 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου δόξης. ἦν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου μὲν

command.

14.15.8 | By the dog, as I believe, these nerves and bones were either around Megara or around the Boeotians, carried by the opinion of what is best, unless I thought it was more just and better to accept the trial that the city assigns rather than to flee and escape.

14.15.9 | But it is quite strange to call such things causes. If someone says that without having these bones and nerves and all the other things I have, they would not be able to do what seems right to me, they would be speaking the truth. However, I do what I do and act in this way, but not because of the choice of what is best; it would be a long and lazy argument.

14.15.10 | Then he concludes that some, by placing the earth in a whirl, make the earth stay under the sky, while others, like a broad base of a heart, hold up the air above. But they do not seek or think that there is any power that has the ability to set these things in the best way; instead, they believe that at some point they will find a stronger and more immortal Atlas that holds everything together, and they do not think that truly good and necessary things can be connected and held together.

14.15.11 | Socrates spoke so much about the opinion of Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras had

διάδοχος τῆς τε διατριβῆς ὅμοῦ καὶ τῆς δόξης Ἀρχέλαος, Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἀκουστῆς γεγονέναι λέγεται Σωκράτης. πλὴν ἀλλὰ φυσικοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι Εενοφάνης καὶ Πυθαγόρας, συνακμάσαντες Ἀναξαγόρα, ἀφθαρσίας θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας ἐφιλοσόφησαν· ἔκ τούτων τε καὶ μετὰ τούτους αἱ τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ὑπέστησαν αἰρέσεις, τῶν μὲν τοῖσδε, τῶν δὲ ἐτέροις ἔξηκολουθηκότων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ ιδίας δόξας ἐπινεοηκότων. πάλιν δ' οὖν ὁ Πλούταρχος τὰς περὶ θεῶν ὑπολήψεις τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον γράφει τὸν τρόπον

as his successor Archelaus, who shared both his teachings and his ideas, and Socrates is said to have been a student of Archelaus. However, other natural philosophers like Xenophanes and Pythagoras, who flourished alongside Anaxagoras, discussed the immortality of the soul and the incorruptibility of the divine. From these thinkers and those who followed them, various schools of thought in Greek philosophy arose, some continuing these ideas, while others developed their own beliefs. Again, Plutarch writes about the views of the same philosophers concerning the gods in this way.

## Section 16

14.16.1 | “Ἐνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, καθάπερ Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Εὐήμερος ὁ Τεγεάτης, καθόλου φασὶ μὴ εἶναι θεούς· τὸν δὲ Εὐήμερον καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ Κυρηναῖος αἰνίττεται ἐν τοῖς ίάμβοις, καὶ Εύριπίδης ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ἀποκαλύψασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἡθέλησε, δεδοικώς τὸν Ἀρειον πάγον, ἐνέφηνε δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· τὸν γὰρ Σίσυφον εἰσήγαγε προστάτην ταύτης τῆς δόξης, καὶ συνηγόρησεν αὐτοῦ τῇ γνώμῃ.”

14.16.1 | Some philosophers, like Diagoras of Melos, Theodorus of Cyrene, and Euhemerus of Tegae, say that there are no gods at all. Euhemerus is hinted at by Callimachus in his iambics. And Euripides, the tragic poet, did not want to reveal this directly, fearing the wrath of Ares, but he suggested it in this way: he introduced Sisyphus as a supporter of this belief and agreed with his opinion.

14.16.2 | Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν εἰσάγει, πρῶτον φάσκων αὐτὸν ὄρθως φρονῆσαι περὶ θεοῦ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως “Ο δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἰστήκει κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ σώματα, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε θεοῦ καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὅλων ἐποίησεν. ο δὲ Πλάτωνος οὐχ ἐστηκότα ὑπέθετο τὰ πρῶτα σώματα, ἀτάκτως δὲ κινούμενα· διὸ, φησὶν, ο θεὸς ἐπιστήσας ὡς τάξις ἀταξίας ἐστὶ βελτίων,

14.16.2 | On this topic, he again introduces Anaxagoras, first saying that he thought correctly about the divine. He states this: 'Anaxagoras says that in the beginning the bodies were set in place, and the mind arranged them, creating the generations of all things. But Plato did not propose that the first bodies were set in place; instead, he said they were moving disorderly. Therefore, he claims, the god, realizing that order is better than disorder, arranged

διεκόσμησεν αύτά."

them.'

14.16.3 | Οἵς ἐπιλέγει "Ἄμαρτάνουσιν δὲ ἀμφότεροι, ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα· τὸ γὰρ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ζῶον, πεπληρωμένον τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀδεκτον, ὅλον ὅν περὶ τὴν συνοχὴν τῆς ἴδιας εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, ἀνεπιστρεφές ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. κακοδαίμων δ' ἀν εἴη, ἐργάτου δίκην καὶ τέκτονος ἀχθοφορῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευήν.

14.16.4 | καὶ πάλιν, ὁ θεὸς ὃν λέγουσιν, ἥτοι τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αἰώνα οὐκ ἦν, ὅτε ἦν ἀκίνητα τὰ σώματα, ἢ ὅτε ἀτάκτως ἐκινεῖτο, ἢ ἐκοιμᾶτο, ἢ ἐγρηγόρει, ἢ οὐδέτερον τούτων. ἢ οὔτε τὸ πρῶτον ἔστι δέξασθαι· πᾶς γὰρ θεὸς αἰώνιος· οὔτε τὸ δεύτερον· εἰ γὰρ ἐκοιμᾶτο ἔξ αἰώνος ὁ θεὸς, ἐτεθνήκει· αἰώνιος γὰρ ὑπνος θάνατός ἔστιν. ἀλλά γε ἀδεκτος ὑπνου ὁ θεός· τὸ γὰρ ἀθάνατον καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγὺς ὑπνου κεχώρισται.

14.16.5 | εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἐγρηγορώς, ἥτοι ἐνέλιπεν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν, ἢ πεπλήρωτο ἐν μακαριότητι. καὶ οὕτε κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστι μακάριος ὁ θεός· τὸ γὰρ ἐλλεῖπον εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ μακάριον· οὕτε κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον· μηδὲν γὰρ ἐλλείπων κεναῖς ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρεῖν πράξει. πῶς δὲ, εἴπερ ὁ θεός ἔστι καὶ τῇ τούτου φροντίδι τὰ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον οίκονομεῖται, τὸ μὲν κίβδηλον εύτυχεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀστεῖον τὸ ἐναντίον πάσχει;

14.16.3 | To these he adds, 'Both are mistaken in that they made the god turn away from human matters and, for this reason, create the world. For the blessed and immortal being, filled with all good things and not accepting any evil, is entirely focused on its own happiness and immortality, and does not turn back to human affairs. It would be unfortunate if it were like a worker or a craftsman burdened with worries about the creation of the world.'

14.16.4 | And again, the god they speak of either did not exist in the previous age when the bodies were motionless, or when they were moving disorderly, or was asleep, or was awake, or neither of these. Nor can the first be accepted; for every god is eternal. Nor can the second be accepted; for if the god were asleep from eternity, he would be dead, since eternal sleep is death. But the god is certainly not subject to sleep; for the immortal being is far removed from sleep.

14.16.5 | If the god was awake, then either he lacked happiness or he was filled with bliss. And the god is not happy in the first case; for lacking happiness is not blissful. Nor is he happy in the second case; for if he lacks nothing, he would not need to take action. But how can it be that if the god exists and manages human affairs, the fortunate suffer and the unfortunate thrive? For Agamemnon, both a good king

Άγαμέμνων τε γάρ άμφοτερον, βασιλεύς τ' αγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητῆς, ὑπὸ μοιχοῦ καὶ μοιχαλίδος ἡττηθεὶς ἐδολοφονήθη· καὶ δὲ τούτου δὲ συγγενῆς Ἡρακλῆς, πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιλυμαινομένων τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον καθαράς, ὑπὸ Δηϊανείρας φαρμακευθεὶς ἐδολοφονήθη·

and a strong warrior, was killed by an adulterer and his mistress. And his relative Heracles, despite his many heroic deeds, was killed by the poison of Deianira.

14.16.6 | “Θαλῆς τὸν κόσμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν.  
Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους  
θεούς. Δημόκριτος θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σφαιροειδῇ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν.  
Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα  
θεόν· καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ἥτις ἔστιν ἡ τοῦ ἐνὸς  
φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς τὴν δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα  
καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τὸ κακόν, περὶ ἣν ἔστι τὸ  
ὑλικὸν πλῆθος, [ἔστι καὶ ὄρατὸς δὲ  
κόσμος.]”

14.16.6 | Thales believed that the cosmos is the god. Anaximander saw the heavenly stars as gods. Democritus thought that the soul of the cosmos is a spherical god in fire. Pythagoras considered the one as the god of the principles; and the good, which is the nature of the one, is the mind itself. The indefinite two is a demon and the evil, concerning which is the material multitude. The world is also visible.

14.16.7 | Μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ νέοι τῷ χρόνῳ  
πῶς ἐδόξαζον ἄκουε "Σωκράτης καὶ  
Πλάτων ἔν τὸ μονοφυὲς καὶ αὐτοφυὲς, τὸ  
μοναδικὸν, τὸ ὄντως ὃν ἀγαθόν. πάντα δὲ  
ταῦτα τῶν ὄνομάτων εἰς τὸν νοῦν σπεύδει.  
νοῦς οὗν δὲ θεὸς χωριστὸν εἶδος, τοῦτ' ἔστι  
τὸ ἀμιγὲς πάσης ὕλης καὶ μηδενὶ παθητῷ  
συμπεπλεγμένον.

14.16.7 | After these, the young thinkers believed as follows: 'Socrates and Plato thought that there is one unique and self-existent being, the one true good. All these names rush into the mind. Therefore, the god is a separate form, which means it is pure and not mixed with any matter or anything that can be affected.'

14.16.8 | Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ  
θεὸν εἶδος χωριστὸν, ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ  
σφαιρᾷ τοῦ παντὸς, ἥτις ἔστιν αἰθέριον  
σῶμα, τὸ πέμπτον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καλούμενον  
διηρημένου δὲ τούτου κατὰ σφαιράς τῇ  
μὲν φύσει συναφεῖς, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ  
κεχωρισμένας, ἐκάστην οἴεται τῶν  
σφαιρῶν ζῶν εἶναι σύνθετον ἐκ σώματος  
καὶ ψυχῆς, ὃν τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἔστιν αἰθέριον,  
κινούμενον κυκλοφορικῶς, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ  
λόγος ἀκίνητος, αἴτιος τῆς κινήσεως κατ'

14.16.8 | Aristotle described the highest god as a separate form, connected to the sphere of the whole, which is an etheric body, called the fifth element by him. He believed that while this is divided into spheres, each sphere is connected by nature but separated by reason. He thinks that each of the spheres is a living being made up of body and soul, where the body is etheric and moves in a circular motion, while the soul is reason, which is unmoving

ένέργειαν.

14.16.9 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πῦρ τεχνικὸν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμου, περιειληφότος πάντας τοὺς σπερματικοὺς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ἔκαστα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίνεται. καὶ πνεῦμα μὲν διῆκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, τὰς δὲ προσηγορίας μεταλαμβάνον δι' ὅλης τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἣς κεχώρηκε. θεὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὸν δ' ἀνωτάτῳ πάντων νοῦν ἐν αἴθέρι.

14.16.10 | Ἐπίκουρος ἀνθρωποειδεῖς μὲν [πάντας] τοὺς θεοὺς, λόγῳ δὲ πάντας θεωρητοὺς διὰ τὴν λεπτομέρειαν τῆς τῶν εἰδώλων φύσεως. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἄλλας τέσσαρας φύσεις κατὰ γένος ἀφθάρτους τάσδε, τὰ ἄτομα, τὸ κενὸν, τὸ ἄπειρον, τὰς ὁμοιότητας, αὗται δὲ λέγονται ὁμοιομέρειαι, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα.”

14.16.11 | Τοιαῦται μὲν δὴ τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ αἱ περὶ θεοῦ διαστάσεις τε καὶ δυσφημίαι, ὃν πρώτους ὁ λόγος συνίστησι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν Πλάτωνά τε καὶ Σωκράτην νοῦν καὶ θεὸν ἐπιστῆσαι τῷ κόσμῳ. οὗτοι δὴ κομιδῇ παῖδες τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποδείκνυνται καθ' οὓς χρόνους τὰ ὕστατα ἴστορεῖται τῆς Ἑβραίων ἀρχαιολογίας·

14.16.12 | οὐκ ἦν ἄρα παλαιτάτῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς πρόπαλαι τὴν πολύθεον δεισιδαιμονίαν παρά τε Φοίνιξι καὶ Αίγυπτοις εἰσηγησαμένοις μένοις ἡ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσις, ἦν πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων ληνῶν Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ οἱ ἀμφ'

and the cause of motion in action.

14.16.9 | The Stoics declare a rational god, a creative fire, moving along the path of the world's creation, containing all the seed-like reasons, through which everything happens according to fate. And a spirit runs through the whole universe, sharing its names throughout all matter, through which it has spread. They see god in the cosmos, in the stars, and in the earth, with the highest of all being reason in the ether.

14.16.10 | Epicurus saw all the gods as human-like, but he thought they could be understood through the details of the nature of images. He also identified four other kinds of unchanging things: atoms, the void, the infinite, and similarities, which are called homoeomeries, along with the elements.

14.16.11 | Such are the views and criticisms of the natural philosophers about god, among whom the first are those who connect the mind and god to the cosmos, like Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, and Socrates. These thinkers are shown to be the children of their times, during which the latest events of Hebrew history are recorded.

14.16.12 | There was indeed no older belief among all Greeks and those before them than the polytheistic superstition, which was introduced by the Phoenicians and Egyptians. The knowledge of the one god of all things was first brought forth by

αύτὸν ἔξήνεγκαν. καὶ μὴν τὰ τῆς πολυθέου δεισιδαιμονίας πάντων ἐθνῶν ἐκράτει· ἀλλ’ ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τὴν ἀληθῆ περιέχοντα θεολογίαν, ἀλλ’ ἥν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Φοίνικες πρῶτοι πάντων συστήσασθαι ἐμαρτυρήθησαν.

Anaxagoras and those around him. And truly, the superstition of many gods prevailed among all nations; however, it seems that it did not contain the true theology, but rather the one that the Egyptians and Phoenicians were the first to establish.

14.16.13 | αὕτη δὲ ἥν θεοὺς μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ούδέ τινας θείας δυνάμεις, ἄνδρας δὲ ἥδη πάλαι ἐν νεκροῖς κειμένους θεολογοῦσσα, ως ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας πάλαι ἀπέδειξε λόγος. φέρ' οὖν πάλιν ἀναλάβωμεν τὸν λόγον. ἐπειδὴ τῶν φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ μὲν πάντα κατέβαλλον ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, οἱ δὲ αὖ πάλιν τούτοις ἀνθεῖλκον, ως οὗ περὶ τὸν Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον καὶ Παρμενίδην Ἐλεάτην, οἱ δὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀνήρουν, μηδὲν εἶναι φάσκοντες καταληπτὸν τῶν ἐν αἰσθήσει, διὸ μόνῳ δεῖ πιστεύειν τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντειρημένα διασκεψώμεθα.

14.16.13 | This belief does not recognize gods at all, nor any divine powers, but instead considers men who have long been dead as gods, as the ancient truth has already shown. So let us take up the discussion again. Since some of the natural philosophers based everything on the senses, others opposed them, like Xenophanes of Colophon and Parmenides of Elea, who denied the senses, claiming that nothing can be understood through them. Therefore, we must only trust reason, and we will examine the arguments against them.

## Section 17

14.17.1 | “Ἄλλοι δ’ ἐγένοντο τούτοις τὴν φωνὴν ἀφιέντες, οἴονται γὰρ δεῖν τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰς φαντασίας καταβάλλειν, αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύειν. τοιαῦτα γάρ τινα πρότερον μὲν Ξενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Μέλισσος ἔλεγον, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ περὶ Στίλπωνα καὶ τοὺς Μεγαρικούς. ὅθεν ἤξιον οὗτοί γε τὸ δὲν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἵτερον μὴ εἶναι, μηδὲ γεννᾶσθαι τι μηδὲ φθείρεσθαι μηδὲ κινεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν.

14.17.1 | Others, leaving behind these ideas, believe that the senses and imaginations should be rejected, and that only reason should be trusted. For such views were expressed earlier by Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus, and later by those around Stilpon and the Megarians. Therefore, they claimed that being is one and that nothing else exists, and that nothing can be created, destroyed, or moved at all.

14.17.2 | τὸν μὲν οὖν πλείω πρὸς τούτους λόγον εἰσόμεθα φιλοσοφοῦντες· νῦνὶ

14.17.2 | Now, we will engage more with these ideas as philosophers. However, we

μέντοι τοσοῦτον λεκτέον εἴποιμεν γὰρ ἀνώς δὲ μὲν λόγος ἡμῶν εἴη τὸ θειότατον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ δεῖ γε καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, ὥσπερ γε δὴ καὶ σώματος, δύτι δὲ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις ἀληθεύειν πέφυκε δῆλον· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὸν αἰσθανόμενον μὴ οὐχὶ πάσχειν τι· πάσχων δὲ τὸ πάθος ἀν εἰδείη· γνῶσις οὖν τίς ἔστι καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις.

should say that our reasoning is the most divine. Yet, we must also consider the senses, just as we do with the body. It is clear that the senses are capable of revealing the truth; for it is impossible for someone who senses not to feel something. And by feeling, they would come to know the experience. So, what is knowledge and what is sensation?

14.17.3 | ἄλλὰ μὴν εἴ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι πάσχειν τί ἔστιν, ἅπαν δὲ τὸ πάσχον ὑπὸ του πάσχει, πάντως ἔτερον ἀν εἴη τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν εἴη ἀν τὸ λεγόμενον ἔτερον· οἶον τὸ χρῶμα καὶ ὁ ψόφος· ἐπειτα δὲ ἐν τὸ ὄν οὐκ ἔσται· καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀκίνητον· ἡ γὰρ αἴσθησίς ἔστι κίνησις.

14.17.3 | But if sensing is to feel something, then everything that is felt must be felt by someone, so the one who feels and the one who is felt must be completely different. Therefore, what is being said would be different. For example, color and sound are different. Furthermore, being cannot be one; in fact, it cannot even be unchanging, because sensation is a kind of movement.

14.17.4 | ταύτῃ δὲ βούλεται πᾶς τις κατὰ φύσιν ἔχειν τάς αἰσθήσεις, ἅτε δὴ πιστεύων, οἷμαι, ταῖς ὑγιαινούσαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς νοσούσαις. εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ δεινός τις ἔρως αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐντέτηκεν. οὐδείς γέ τοι μὴ μεμηνὼς ἔλοιτ' ἀν ποτε μίαν αἴσθησιν ἀποβάλλειν, ὅπως αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο.

14.17.4 | Everyone wants to have their senses according to nature, believing, I think, that the healthy senses are better than the sick ones. It is reasonable that a strong desire for them has been placed in us. For no one would willingly choose to lose even one sense, hoping that by doing so, all the other good things would come to them.

14.17.5 | τοὺς δὴ διαβάλλοντας αὐτὰς ἔχρην, πεπεισμένους γε διότι μάτην ἔχοιεν αὐτὰς, εἰπόντας ἅπερ ὁ Πάνδαρος λέγει παρὰ τῷ Ὁμέρῳ περὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τόξων, αὐτίκ' ἐπειτ' ἀπ' ἔμετο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φως, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῶ ἐν πυρὶ θείην, χερσὶ διακλάσσας, ἀνεμώλια γάρ μοι ὄπηδε, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο διαλυμήνασθαι πάσας τὰς αἰσθήσεις

14.17.5 | Those who slander them should be convinced that they have them in vain, saying what Pindar says about Homer's own bows: 'Immediately then, a foreign light would take away my head, unless I set these bright bows in the fire, breaking them with my hands, for the wind follows me.' After this, they would destroy all their senses; for in this way, someone would

έαυτῶν· οὕτω γάρ ἄν τις ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς  
ἔργῳ διδάσκουσιν ως εἰς ούδεν αὐτῶν  
δέοιντο.

14.17.6 | νυνὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἀτοπώτατόν  
έστι· ἀχρήστους γάρ ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτὰς  
τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ μάλιστα χρώμενοι  
διατελοῦσιν αὐταῖς.

14.17.7 | ὁ γέ τοι Μέλισσος ἔθέλων  
ἐπιδεικνύναι διότι τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐν  
ὅψει τούτων ούδεν εἴη τῷ ὄντι, διὰ τῶν  
φαινομένων ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῶν· φησὶ  
γοῦν, εἰ γάρ ἔστι καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄὴρ καὶ πῦρ  
καὶ σίδηρος καὶ χρυσὸς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ζῶν, τὸ  
δὲ τεθνηκός, καὶ μέλαν καὶ λευκὸν καὶ τὰ  
ἄλλα πάντα, ὅσα φασὶν ἄνθρωποι εἶναι  
ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄρθως ὄρῶμεν καὶ  
ἀκούομεν, εἶναι ἔχρην καὶ τὸ ὃν τοιοῦτον  
οἷον πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ  
μεταπίπτειν, μηδὲ γίνεσθαι ἔτερον, ἀλλ’  
εἶναι ὅμοιον οὗτον περ ἔστιν ἔκαστον. νῦν δὲ  
φαμὲν ὄρθως ὄρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ  
συνιέναι· δοκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ  
ψυχρὸν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν θερμὸν,  
καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν μαλακὸν, καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν  
σκληρόν.

14.17.8 | ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τοιαῦτα  
λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλα εἰκότως ἐπύθετό  
τις ἄν, ἢρ' οὖν ὅτι [δὲ νῦν] θερμόν ἔστι  
καպπειτα τοῦτο γίνεται ψυχρὸν οὐκ  
αἰσθόμενος ἔγνως; ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων. ὅπερ γάρ ἔφην, εὐρεθείη ἄν ούδεν  
ἄλλ' ἢ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀναιρῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων  
διὰ τὸ μάλιστα πιστεύειν αὐταῖς.

believe that they teach by their actions that  
none of them are needed.

14.17.6 | But now this is the most strange  
thing: they declare them useless by words,  
while they use them the most in their  
actions.

14.17.7 | Indeed, Melissus wants to show  
that nothing is truly real among the things  
that appear. He argues that if there is  
water, air, fire, iron, and gold, and if there is  
the living and the dead, and black and  
white, and all the other things that people  
say are real, and we see and hear correctly,  
then it should also be that what is real is  
exactly as it first seemed to us, and it  
should not change or become something  
else, but remain the same as it is. But now  
we say that we see and hear and  
understand correctly; yet it seems to us  
that the hot becomes cold, and the cold  
becomes hot, and the hard becomes soft,  
and the soft becomes hard.

14.17.8 | While he was saying these things  
and many other similar ones, someone  
might very reasonably ask, 'So, if what is  
now hot later becomes cold, did you not  
realize this?' The same goes for the other  
things. For what I said would be found to  
be nothing other than denying the senses  
and proving them wrong, because they  
believe in them the most.

14.17.9 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὶ μὲν τοιοῦτοι λόγοι σχεδὸν ίκανὰς ἥδη δεδώκασιν εύθυνας· ἔξιτηλοί γε τοι γεγόνασιν, ὡς εἰ μηδὲ ἐλέχθησαν τὸ παράπαν. ἥδη μέντοι θαρροῦντες λέγωμεν ὄρθῶς φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων παραλαμβάνοντας.”

14.17.10 | Τοιοίδε μὲν οὖν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ξενοφάνην, δὅς δὴ λέγεται συνακμάσαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν. Ξενοφάνους δὲ ἀκουστῆς γέγονε Παρμενίδης τούτου Μέλισσος, οὗ Ζήνων, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ Πρωταγόρας καὶ Νεσσᾶς· δὲ Νεσσᾶς Μητρόδωρος, οὗ Διογενής, οὗ Ἀνάξαρχος. Ἀνάξαρχου δὲ γνώριμος γέγονε Πυρρῶν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ τῶν Σκεπτικῶν ἐπικληθέντων διατριβὴ συνέστη· οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ παράπαν μήτ' ἐν αἰσθήσει μήτ' ἐν λόγῳ καταληπτὸν ὅριζομένους, ἐπέχοντας δ' ἐν πᾶσιν, ὅπως ἀπήλεγχον οἵ αντιδοξάζοντες μαθεῖν πάρεστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλωθέντος συγγράμματος ὡδέ πῃ πρὸς λέξιν ἔχοντος

14.17.9 | But indeed, such arguments have already given enough reasons; they have become so weak that it seems they have not even been examined at all. Yet now, let us confidently say that we should think correctly, taking both the senses and reason into account for the knowledge of things.

14.17.10 | Such are those around Xenophanes, who is said to have flourished alongside those of Pythagoras and Anaxagoras. Parmenides became a listener of Xenophanes; from him came Melissus, from him Zeno, from him Leucippus, from him Democritus, from him Protagoras and Nessa. Nessa was the teacher of Metrodorus, from whom came Diogenes, from whom came Anaxarchus. Anaxarchus became known for Pyrrho, from whom the school of Skeptics got its name. They also claimed that nothing at all can be grasped, neither in sensation nor in reason, but they held that everything is uncertain, so that those who oppose them can learn from the written work that has been presented in this way.

## Section 18

14.18.1 | “Ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει πρὸ παντὸς διασκέψασθαι περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γνώσεως· εἴ γὰρ αὐτὸν μηδὲν πεφύκαμεν γνωρίζειν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκοπεῖν.

14.18.2 | ἐγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν πάλαι τινὲς οἵ ἀφέντες τήνδε τὴν φωνὴν, οἵς ἀντείρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης. ἶσχυσε μέντοι

14.18.1 | It is necessary to first examine our own knowledge; for if we have not come to know anything at all, then there is no need to consider anything else.

14.18.2 | Some of the ancient thinkers left behind this view, which Aristotle opposed. However, Pyrrho of Elis also spoke strongly

τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ Πυρρῶν ὁ Ἡλεῖος· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν γραφῇ καταλέλοιπεν, ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων φησὶ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα εύδαιμονήσειν εἰς τρία ταῦτα βλέπειν· πρῶτον μὲν 5 ὅποια πέφυκε τὰ πράγματα· δεύτερον δὲ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὰ διακεῖσθαι· τελευταῖον δὲ, τί περιέσται τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι.

14.18.3 | τὰ μὲν οὖν πράγματά φησιν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα καὶ ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀνεπίκριτα, διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν μήτε τὰς δόξας ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν αὐταῖς δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀδοξάστους καὶ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀκραδάντους εἶναι, περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου λέγοντας ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ καὶ ἔστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ οὕτε ἔστιν οὔτ' οὐκ ἔστιν.

14.18.4 | τοῖς μέντοι διακειμένοις οὕτω περιέσεσθαι Τίμων φησὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφασίαν, ἔπειτα δ' ἀταραξίαν, Αίνησίδημος δὲ ἥδονήν.

14.18.5 | “Τὰ μὲν οὖν κεφάλαια τῶν λεγομένων ἐστὶ ταῦτα· σκεψώμεθα δ' εἴ ὄρθως λέγουσιν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα πάντα φασὶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κελεύουσι μηδενὶ προστίθεσθαι, μηδὲ δοξάζειν, εἰκότως ἀν, οἷμαι, πύθοιτό τις αὐτῶν, ἄρα γε διαμαρτάνουσιν οἱ διαφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες ἢ οὕ; πάντως γάρ, εἰ μὲν ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οὐκ ὄρθως ὑπολαμβάνοιεν ἄν. ὥστε ἀνάγκη λέγειν αὐτοῖς εἶναί τινας τοὺς τὰ ψευδῆ περὶ τῶν ὄντων δοξάζοντας· αὐτοὶ τοίνυν εἰσὶν ὅν οἱ τάληθη λέγοντες· οὕτω δὲ b εἴη ἀν ἀληθές τι καὶ ψεῦδος. εἰ δ' οὐχ ἀμαρτάνομεν οἱ

about such things; yet he himself left nothing in writing. His student Timon says that a person who will be happy in the future should look at these three things: first, what things are like by nature; second, how we should relate to them; and lastly, what will happen to those who are in such a state.

14.18.3 | He says that things are equal, indistinguishable, and unmeasurable, which is why neither our senses nor our beliefs can be true or false. Therefore, we should not trust them, but instead be without opinions, unyielding, and unwavering, saying about each thing that it is neither more nor less than it is, or that it both exists and does not exist, or that it is neither existing nor not existing.

14.18.4 | Timon says that those who are in such a state will first have silence, then peace of mind, but Aenesidemus says pleasure.

14.18.5 | These are the main points of what is said; let us consider if they are correct. Since they say that all things are equal and indistinguishable, and for this reason they urge not to add anything or to have opinions, I think someone might ask them: are those who believe things are different mistaken or not? For if they are mistaken, they would not be thinking correctly. Therefore, it is necessary to say that there are some who hold false opinions about what exists; thus, those who speak the truth would be right. In this way, there would be something true and something

πολλοὶ τὰ ὅντα διαφέρειν οἴόμενοι, τί παθόντες ἐπιπλήττουσιν ἡμῖν; αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀμαρτάνοιεν ἀνάξιοῦντες μὴ διαφέρειν αὐτά.

14.18.6 | καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ δοίημεν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα πάντα εἶναι, δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἀν διαφέροιεν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῶν πολλῶν. τίς οὖν εἴη ἀν αὐτῶν ἡ σοφία; καὶ διὰ τί Τίμων τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις λοιδορεῖται πᾶσι, Πύρρωνα δ' ὑμεῖς μόνον;

14.18.7 | ἔτι γε μὴν εἰ ἐπ' ἵσης ἔστιν ἀδιάφορα πάντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ μηδὲν δοξάζειν, οὐκ ἀν οὐδὲ ταῦτα διαφέροι· λέγω δὲ τὸ διαφέρειν ἢ μὴ διαφέρειν, καὶ τὸ δοξάζειν ἢ μὴ δοξάζειν. τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τοιαῦτά ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν; ἢ, ὡς φησι Τίμων, διὰ τί ναί καὶ διὰ τί οὔ, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ διὰ τί; φανερὸν οὖν ὡς ἀναιρεῖται τὸ ζητεῖν· ὥστε παυσάσθωσαν ἐνοχλοῦντες. ἐπεὶ νῦν γε μεμήνασι πόρρω τέχνης ἄμα μὲν ἡμῖν διακελευόμενοι μὴ δοξάζειν, ἄμα δὲ κελεύοντες αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ λέγοντες ὡς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀποφαίνεσθαι δέοι, κᾱπειτα ἀποφαινόμενοι· καὶ ἀξιοῦσι μὲν μηδενὶ συγκατατίθεσθαι, πείθεσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς κελεύουσιν· εἴτα λέγοντες μηδὲν εἰδέναι πάντας ἐλέγχουσιν ὡς εὖ εἰδότες.

14.18.8 | ἀνάγκη τε τοὺς φάσκοντας ὡς ἄδηλα πάντα εἴη δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ σιωπᾶν ἢ ἀποφαίνεσθαι τι καὶ λέγειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοιεν, δῆλον ὅτι πρός γε τοὺς

false. But if we are not mistaken in thinking that things are different, why do they strike us with such claims? For they would be mistaken if they expect things not to differ.

14.18.6 | And indeed, if we were to grant them that all things are equal and indistinguishable, it is clear that they would not differ from the majority either. So what would their wisdom be? And why is Timon criticized by everyone else, but only praises Pyrrho?

14.18.7 | Moreover, if all things are equal and indistinguishable, and for this reason we should not have any opinions, then these things would not differ either. I mean the difference or lack of difference, and having opinions or not having opinions. For what is more than this: whether something is or is not? Or, as Timon says, why yes and why no, and even the very question of why? It is clear that seeking is being canceled; therefore, they should stop bothering us. For now, they have remained far from the art, both urging us not to have opinions and at the same time commanding us to do just that, saying that it is necessary to make statements about nothing, and then making statements themselves. They demand that no one agree with them, but they urge us to obey them; then they say that everyone knows nothing while claiming to know well.

14.18.8 | It is necessary for those who say that everything is unclear to either be silent or to state something and speak. If they were to keep quiet, it is clear that no one

τοιούτους ούδεις ἀν εἴη λόγος· εί δ'  
ἀποφαίνοιντο, πάντη τε καὶ πάντως τῶς ἡ  
εἶναι τι φαῖεν ἀν ἢ μὴ εἶναι, καθάπερ ἀμέλει  
νυνί φασιν ὡς εἴη πάντα ἄγνωστα καὶ  
νομιστὰ πᾶσι.

would have a conversation with such people. But if they were to make statements, they would either say that something exists or does not exist, just as they now claim that everything is unknown and believed by all.

14.18.9 | ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τοῦτο τοίνυν ὁ ἄξιων  
ἥτοι δηλοῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἔνεστιν αὐτὸν  
συνεῖναι λεγόμενον, ἢ οὐκ ἔνεστιν. ἀλλ' εἰ  
μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, καθάπαξ ούδεις οὐδ' οὕτω  
πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀν εἴη λόγος. εἰ δὲ  
σημαίνοι, πάντως ἡ ἀπειρα λέγοι ἀν ἢ  
πεπερασμένα· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπειρα, οὐδ'  
οὕτως ἀν εἴη λόγος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπείρου  
γάρ γνῶσις οὐκ ἔστι· πεπερασμένων δὲ  
ὅντων τῶν δηλουμένων ἡ ἐνὸς ὅτουσοῦν ὁ  
τοῦτο λέγων ὅρίζει τι καὶ κρίνει. πῶς οὖν  
ἄγνωστα καὶ ἀνεπίκριτα πάντα εἴη ἄν; εἰ δὲ  
φαίη ταύτῳ καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, πρῶτον  
μὲν ἔσται ταύτῳ καὶ ἀληθὲς καὶ ψεῦδος,  
ἔπειτα δὲ ἔρεται τι καὶ οὐκ ἔρεται, καὶ λόγω  
χρώμενος ἀναιρήσει λόγον, ἔτι δὲ  
δύμολογῶν ψεύδεσθαι πιστεύειν ἐαυτῷ  
φησι δεῖν.

14.18.9 | Now, if nothing of this shows what is true and whether it can be understood or not, then if it does not show, no one would have a conversation with such a person. But if it does indicate something, it would either say infinite things or finite things. If it says infinite things, then there would still be no conversation with it, for there is no knowledge of the infinite. But if the things being indicated are finite, then whoever speaks this defines and judges something. How then could everything be unknown and unexamined? If it claims that something both is and is not, then first it would be both true and false, and then it would say something and not say something, and using reason it would deny reason. Furthermore, while agreeing, it would claim to believe that it must lie to itself.

14.18.10 | ἄξιον δὲ ζητῆσαι πόθεν καὶ  
μαθόντες ἄδηλα πάντα φασὶν εἶναι. δεῖ γάρ  
εἰδέναι πρότερον αὐτοὺς τί δή ποτ' ἔστι τὸ  
δῆλον· οὕτω γοῦν ἀν ἔχοιεν λέγειν ὡς οὐκ  
εἴη τὰ πράγματα τοιαῦτα. πρῶτον γάρ  
εἰδέναι χρὴ τὴν κατάφασιν, εἴτα τὴν  
ἀπόφασιν. εἰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦσιν ὃποῖόν ἔστι τὸ  
δῆλον, οὐκ ἀν εἰδεῖν οὐδὲ τί τὸ ἄδηλον.

14.18.10 | It is worth asking where those who say that everything is unclear learned this. For they must first know what is clear. Only then could they say that things are not like that. First, they need to understand affirmation, and then denial. But if they do not know what is clear, they would not know what is unclear either.

14.18.11 | ὅπόταν γε μὴν Αίνησίδημος ἐν τῇ  
ὑποτυπώσει τοὺς ἐννέα διεξήγη τρόπους

14.18.11 | Whenever Aenesidemus explains the nine ways in his outline (for he tries to

(κατὰ τοσούτους γὰρ ἀποφαίνειν ἄδηλα τὰ πράγματα πεπείραται) πότερον αὐτὸν φῶμεν εἰδότα λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀγνοοῦντα; φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὰ ζῷα διαφέρει, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, καὶ αἱ πόλεις, καὶ οἱ βίοι, καὶ τὰ ἔθη, καὶ οἱ νόμοι· καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις δέ φησιν ἡμῶν ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι, καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἔξωθεν λυμαίνομενα τὴν γνῶσιν, ἀποστήματα, καὶ μεγέθη καὶ κινήσεις· ἔτι δὲ τὸ μὴ ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι νέους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ ἐγρηγορότας καὶ κοιμωμένους, καὶ ὑγιαίνοντας καὶ νοσοῦντας· οὐδενός τε ἡμᾶς ἀπλοῦ καὶ ἀκραιφνοῦς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

14.18.12 | πάντα γὰρ εἶναι συγκεχυμένα καὶ πρός τι λεγόμενα. ταῦτα δὲ, φημὶ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κομψολογοῦντα αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἀν τις ἥρετο, πότερον εὗ εἰδὼς λέγοι διότι τὰ πράγματα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ἡ ἀγνοῶν· εἴ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἥδει, πῶς ἀν ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ πιστεύοιμεν; εἴ δ' ἐγίνωσκε, κομιδῇ τις ἦν ἡλίθιος ἄμα μὲν ἄδηλα πάντα ἀποφαίνομενος, ἄμα δὲ τοσαῦτα λέγων εἰδέναι.

14.18.13 | καὶ μὴν ὅπότε γε τοιαῦτα διεξίοιεν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπαγωγήν τινα λέγουσι, δεικνύντες ὅποι ἄττα εἴη τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ τὰ καθ' ἔκαστα· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἔστι καὶ λέγεται πίστις. εἴ μὲν οὖν αὐτῇ συγκατατίθενται, δῆλον ὅτι δοξάζουσιν· εἴ δ' οὐ πιστεύουσιν, οὐδ' ἀν ἡμεῖς προσέχειν αὐτοῖς βουληθείμεν.

14.18.14 | Ὁ γε μὴν Τίμων ἐν τῷ Πύθῳ διηγεῖται, μακρόν τινα κατατείνας λόγον, ώς ἐντύχοι τῷ Πύρρῳ βαδίζοντι Πυθοῖδε παρὰ τὸ ιερὸν τὸ τοῦ Αμφιαράου, καὶ τίνα

show that things are unclear in this many ways), do we see him saying this knowing or not knowing? For he says that living beings differ, and we ourselves, and cities, and ways of life, and customs, and laws. He also says that our senses are weak, and many outside things harm knowledge, like distances, sizes, and movements. Furthermore, he points out that young and old, awake and asleep, healthy and sick do not experience things in the same way. None of us can grasp anything simply and clearly.

14.18.12 | For everything is mixed up and said in relation to something. I say that if someone were to ask him about these things, they would want to know whether he speaks well knowing why things are this way or not knowing. For if he does not know, how could we trust him? But if he does know, it would be foolish to claim that everything is unclear while also saying so many things.

14.18.13 | And whenever they explain such things, they say nothing but some kind of induction, showing what the appearances are and what each thing is. This kind of reasoning is called belief. If they agree with it, it is clear that they hold opinions. But if they do not believe, then we would not want to pay attention to them either.

14.18.14 | Indeed, Timon tells a long story in the Pytho, about how he might have met Pyrrho while walking near the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and what they might have

διαλεχθεῖν ἀλλήλοις. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ εύλόγως ἂν τις αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγγράφοντι παραστὰς εἴποι, τί, ὃ πονηρὲ, ἐνοχλεῖς σεαυτῷ ταῦτα συγγράφων καὶ ἂ μὴ οἴσθα διηγούμενος; τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐνέτυχες αὐτῷ ἢ οὐκ ἐνέτυχες, καὶ διελέχθης ἢ οὐ διελέχθης;

talked about. So, wouldn't it be reasonable for someone to stand by him as he writes this and say, 'Why, you wicked one, do you trouble yourself by writing this and telling things you do not know? For what more did you encounter with him than not encountering him, and did you talk with him or not?'

14.18.15 | αὐτός τε ἔκεινος ὁ Θαμαστὸς  
Πυρρῶν ἄρά γε ἥδει τὸ διὰ τί βαδίζοι Πύθια  
θεασόμενος; ἢ καθάπερ οἵ μεμηνότες  
ἐπλανᾶτο κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν; ἡνίκα δὲ ἤρξατο  
κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς  
ἀγνοίας αὐτῶν, ἄρά γε φῶμεν αὐτὸν ἀληθῆ  
λέγειν ἢ μὴ, καὶ τὸν Τίμωνα παθεῖν τι καὶ  
συγκαταθέσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ἢ μὴ προσέχειν;  
εἰ μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἐπείσθη, πῶς ἀντὶ χορευτοῦ  
φιλόσοφος ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα  
διετέλεσε θαυμάζων; εἰ δὲ συγκατλέθετο  
τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἄτοπος ἀν εἴη τις, αὐτὸς  
μὲν φιλοσοφῶν, ήμᾶς δὲ κωλύων.

14.18.15 | Did that amazing Pyrrho really know why he was walking to see the Pythia? Or was he wandering along the road as if he were lost? And when he began to criticize people and their ignorance, should we say he was speaking the truth or not, and did Timon feel something and agree with his words or not pay attention? For if he was not convinced, how did he become a philosopher instead of a dancer, and how did he keep wondering about Pyrrho? But if he agreed with what was said, it would be strange for him to be a philosopher while stopping us.

14.18.16 | ἀπλῶς δὲ θαυμάσαι τις ἀν οἱ  
Τίμωνος σύλλοι καὶ αἱ κατὰ πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων βλασφημίαι, καὶ αἱ μακραὶ  
στοιχειώσεις εἰς Αίνησιδήμου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ  
τοιοῦτος ὄχλος τῶν λόγων τί δήποτε  
βούλεται αὐτοῖς. εἰ μὲν γάρ οἱόμενοι  
κρείττους ήμᾶς ἀπεργάσεσθαι ταῦτα  
γεγράφασι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντας οἴονται  
δεῖν ἐλέγχειν ὅπως παυσώμεθα  
φλυαροῦντες, βούλονται δηλονότι τὴν  
ἀλήθειαν ήμᾶς είδέναι καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν ὅτι  
τοιαῦτα εἴη τὰ πράγματα καθάπερ ἀξιοῖ  
Πυρρῶν. ὥστε εἴ πεισθείμεν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ  
χειρόνων βελτίους ἀν γενοίμεθα, κρίναντες  
τὰ συμφορώτερα καὶ τοὺς ἄμεινον  
λέγοντας ἀποδεξάμενοι.

14.18.16 | One might simply be amazed at Timon's silliness and the blasphemies against all people, and the long arguments of Aenesidemos, and what all this kind of crowd of words wants. For if they think they have written better things than we have, and for this reason they believe everyone should be challenged so that we stop talking nonsense, they clearly want us to know the truth and to understand that things are as Pyrrho claims. So if we were convinced by them, we would become better than we are, judging the worst things and accepting those who speak better.

14.18.17 | πῶς οῦν ἐπ' ἵσης ἀδιάφορα τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀνεπίκριτα δύναιτ' ἀν εῖναι; καὶ πῶς ἀσυγκατάθετο καὶ ἀδόξαστοι γενοίμεθ' ἄν; εἰ δ' οὐδὲν ὅφελός ἔστι τῶν λόγων, τί ἡμῖν ἐνοχλοῦσιν; ἢ διὰ τί Τίμων φησὶν οὐκ ἄν δὴ Πύρρωνι γ' ἐρίσσειεν βροτὸς ἄλλος; οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον Πύρρωνα θαυμάσαι τις ἄν ἢ τὸν Κόροιβον ἐκεῖνον ἢ τὸν Μελητίδην, οἱ δὴ δοκοῦσι μωρίᾳ διενεγκεῖν.

14.18.18 | ἐνθυμεῖσθαι μέντοι χρὴ καὶ ταῦτα. ποῖος γὰρ ἄν γένοιτο πολίτης, ἢ δικαστὴς, ἢ σύμβουλος, ἢ φίλος, ἢ ἀπλῶς εἴπειν ἀνθρωπος, ὃ γε τοιοῦτος; ἢ τί τῶν κακῶν οὐ τολμήσειεν ἄν ὁ μηδὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰόμενος εῖναι κακὸν, ἢ αἰσχρὸν, ἢ δίκαιον, ἢ ἄδικον; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο φαίη τις ἄν, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους δεδοίκασι καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας οἱ τοιοῦτοι· πῶς γὰρ οἴ γε ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἀτάραχοι, καθάπερ αύτοί φασιν, ὄντες;

14.18.19 | Ὁ γέ τοι Τίμων ταῦτα καὶ λέγει περὶ τοῦ Πύρρωνος ἄλλ' οἶον τὸν ἄτυφον ἐγὼ ἴδον ἡδ' ἀδάμαστονπᾶσιν ὅσοι δαμνᾶτε βροτῶν ἄφατοι τε φατοί τελαῶν ἔθνεα κοῦφα, βαρυνόμεν' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθαέκ παθέων, δόξης τε καὶ εἰκαίης νομοθήκης.

14.18.20 | ὅπόταν μέντοι φῶσι τὸ σοφὸν δὴ τοῦτο, ὅτι δέοι κατακολουθοῦντα τῇ φύσει ζῆν καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι, μηδενὶ μέντοι συγκατατίθεσθαι, πάνυ τινές είσιν εύήθεις. εἴ γὰρ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ, τούτῳ γοῦν αύτῷ δεῖ συγκαταθέσθαι καὶ ὑπολαβεῖν οὕτως ἔχειν

14.18.17 | How then could things be equal, indifferent, and unchallenged? And how could we become unagreeable and dishonorable? If none of the words are useful, why do they bother us? Or why does Timon say that no other human would argue with Pyrrho? For no one would be more amazed by Pyrrho than by that Coroebus or Meletides, who seem to carry foolishness.

14.18.18 | One must think about these things. What kind of citizen, judge, advisor, or friend could someone like that be? And what evil would someone who truly believes nothing is bad, shameful, just, or unjust dare to face? No one would say that such people fear the laws and punishments. How could they be indifferent and untroubled, as they claim to be?

14.18.19 | Indeed, Timon says these things about Pyrrho: 'But I saw him like the blind and unbreakable one, among all those who dominate the silent and the spoken, the light-hearted nations of people, weighed down here and there by experiences, opinions, and the laws of chance.'

14.18.20 | Whenever they say that wisdom is this, that one must live according to nature and customs, and not agree with anyone, some people are very simple-minded. For if one should not agree with anyone else, then at least they must agree

αύτό. τί δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι δεῖ κατακολουθεῖν ή οὐ δεῖ, μὴ εἰδότας γε δὴ μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἔχοντάς τι ὅτῳ κρινοῦμεν;

with themselves and believe that this is how it is. But what more should one follow according to nature and customs than not knowing anything, or having anything to judge?

14.18.21 | ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ καὶ παντάπασιν ἔστιν ἡλίθιον, ἐπειδὴν λέγωσιν ὅτι καθάπερ τὰ καθαρτικὰ φάρμακα συνεκκρίνει μετὰ τῶν περιττωμάτων καὶ ἔαυτὰ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ πάντα ἀξιῶν εἶναι λόγος ἄδηλα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ἔαυτόν. εἴ γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέγχοι, ληροῦεν ἀν oī χρώμενοι τούτω. βέλτιον οὖν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μηδὲ τὸ στόμα διαίρειν.

14.18.21 | For that is completely foolish, when they say that just as purifying medicines separate themselves from waste, in the same way, the one who values everything also removes themselves along with others. For if they were to examine themselves, they would be wasting their time using this. Therefore, it is better for them to keep quiet and not even open their mouths.

14.18.22 | ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὅμοιον ἔχει τι τὸ καθαρτικὸν φάρμακον καὶ ὁ τούτων λόγος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ φάρμακον ἐκκρίνεται κάν τοῖς σώμασιν οὐχ ὑπομένει, τὸν μέντοι λόγον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅντα καὶ πιστευόμενον ἀεί· μόνος γὰρ οὗτος εἴη ἀν ὁ ποιῶν ἀσυγκαταθέτους.

14.18.22 | But indeed, the purifying medicine and their argument are not the same at all. For the medicine separates and does not remain in the bodies, but the argument must always exist in the souls as the same and believed. For this alone would be the one that makes them not agree with others.

14.18.23 | ὅτι δ' οὐκ οἴονται τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀδόξαστον εἶναι καὶ ὡδὶ καταμάθοι τις ἄν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὸν αἰσθανόμενον μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι. τὸ δ' αἰσθάνεσθαι γνωρίζειν τι ἦν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ πιστεύει τῇ αἰσθήσει πᾶσι φανερόν· ἀκριβέστερον γὰρ θέλων ἰδεῖν ἀπέψησε τῷ ὄφθαλμῷ καὶ προσῆλθεν ἐγγύτερον καὶ ἐπηλυγάσατο.

14.18.23 | That they do not think that a person can be without reputation is how someone learns. For it is impossible for a feeling being not to feel. And to feel is to know something. That they also believe in all their senses is clear; for wanting to see more clearly, they closed their eyes and came closer and looked more closely.

14.18.24 | καὶ μὴν ἡδόμενοί γε καὶ πονοῦντες ἵσμεν· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τὸν καιόμενον ἢ τεμνόμενον ἀγνοεῖν. τὰς δὲ δὴ

14.18.24 | And indeed, we know both pleasure and pain; for it is not possible for someone who is being burned or cut to be

μνήμας καὶ τὰς ἀναμνήσεις τίς οὐκ ἀν φαίη  
μεθ' ὑπολήψεως γίγνεσθαι; περὶ μὲν γὰρ  
τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν, ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον  
ἀνθρωπός ἔστιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῶν  
ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν, τί λέγοι τις ἄν;  
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν τούτων, εἰ μὴ ἐπεφύκειμεν  
ὑπολαμβάνειν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐῶ τάλλα τοῖς  
μέντοι λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τούτων ἐάν τε  
πιστεύωμεν, ἐάν τε ἀπιστῶμεν, ἀναγκαίως  
ἔχει δοξάζειν πάντη τε καὶ πάντως.”

unaware. But who would not say that memories and reminders come with understanding? For regarding common ideas, that such a person is human, and also about knowledge and skills, what could someone say? There would be nothing of these if we did not naturally come to understand. But I will allow the rest to those who are being spoken about; whether we believe them or not, it is necessary to have opinions in every way and about everything.

14.18.25 | “Οτι μὲν οὖν ἀμήχανόν ἔστι φιλοσοφεῖν τρόπον τοῦτον φανερόν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ὡδὶ κατίδοιμεν ἄν. εἰ γὰρ αὕτῳ ὅντι τὰ πράγματα τοιαῦτα εἴη, τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἡ καθάπερ ἐν ὕπνῳ ζῆν ήμάς είκῇ καὶ ἐμπλήκτως; ὥστε φλυαροῖεν ἀν οἱ νομοθέται καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ παισεύοντες. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν οἵ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρωποι ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν, μόνοι μέντοι τετυφῶσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μεμηνέναι μανίαν ἐρρωμένην οἵ ταῦτα ληροῦντες.

14.18.25 | That it is impossible to philosophize in this way is clear; that we would also see things contrary to nature and against the laws like this. For if indeed the things were truly such, what else would there be but to live as if in a dream, aimlessly and confusedly? So the lawmakers and generals and those who are deceiving would be talking nonsense. But it seems to me that all other people live according to nature, while only they are blinded, and rather they have become mad, strongly speaking these things.

14.18.26 | οὐχ ἥκιστα μέντοι τοῦτο καταμάθοι τις ἀν κάκεῖθεν. Ἀντίγονος γοῦν ὁ Καρύστιος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος χρόνους καὶ ἀναγράψας αὐτῶν τὸν βίον φησὶ τὸν Πύρρωνα διωκόμενον ὑπὸ κυνὸς ἀναφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τι δένδρον, σκωπτόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων εἰπεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν εἴη ἀνθρωπὸν ἐκδῦναι. Φιλίστης δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ θυούσης, ἐπειτα τῶν φίλων τινὸς ὑποσχομένου τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ μὴ παρασχομένου, τοῦ μέντοι Πύρρωνος πριαμένου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ φίλος ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐ ποιήσαιτο σύμφωνα

14.18.26 | Indeed, one could learn this very well from there. Antigonus of Karystos, writing about the same times, says that Pyrrho, being chased by a dog, escaped up a tree, and those present mocked him, saying that it is difficult for a person to take off their clothes. His sister, Philistia, was making a sacrifice, and then one of the friends promised to help with the sacrifice but did not follow through. Meanwhile, Pyrrho was annoyed and upset because the friend said he would not act according to the words, nor was he worthy of calmness,

τοῖς λόγοις ούδ' ἄξια τῆς ἀπαθείας, εἴπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἐν γοῦν γυναικὶ οὐ δεῖ τῆς ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι δικαίως ἀν εἴπεν ὁ φίλος ὅτι, ὡς μάταιε, καὶ ἐν γυναικὶ καὶ κυνὶ καὶ πᾶσιν, εἴ τι δή σοι τῶν λόγων τούτων ἔστιν ὅφελος."

saying that one should not make a proof of this in a woman. And yet, the friend could rightly say, 'Oh foolish one, both in a woman and a dog and in everything, if there is any benefit to you from these words.'

14.18.27 | "Ορθῶς δ' ἔχει μαθεῖν καὶ τίνες οἱ ζηλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο καὶ τίνας ἔξήλωσεν αὐτός. ὃ μὲν οὖν Πύρρων Ἀναξάρχου τινὸς ἐγένετο μαθητὴς, ὃς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ζωγράφος, οὐδὲν οὔτως εύτυχης, ἐπειτα τοῖς Δημοκρίτου βιβλίοις ἐντυχὼν χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτε εὗρεν οὔτε συνεγράψατο, κακῶς δὲ πάντας εἶπε καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους· αὐτὸς δ' ὑστερον τοῦτον τὸν τῦφον περιβαλλόμενος καὶ καλῶν ἄτυφον ἐαυτὸν οὐδὲν ἐν γραφῇ κατέλιπεν.

14.18.27 | It is right to learn who admired him and who he rejected. Pyrrho became a student of some Anaxarchus, who was first a painter, but not very successful. Later, he came across the books of Democritus, and he found nothing good nor wrote anything useful, but he spoke badly of everyone, both gods and humans. However, later he himself, being surrounded by this blindness, left nothing in writing that was clear or good.

14.18.28 | ἐγένετο δὲ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Τίμων Φιλιάσιος, ὃς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔχόρευεν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἐπειτα δ' ἐντυχὼν αὐτῷ συνέγραψεν ἀργαλέας παρωδίας παρωδίας καὶ βωμολόχους, ἐν αἷς βεβλασφήμηκε πάντας τοὺς πώποτε φιλοσοφήσαντας. ιὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοὺς σύλλους γράψας καὶ λέγων σχέτλιοι ἀνθρώποι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἰον, τοίων ἔκ τ' ἐρίδων ἔκ τε στοναχῶν πέπλασθε, καὶ ἀνθρωποι κενεῆς οἴήσιος ἔμπλεοι ἀσκοί.

14.18.28 | His student was Timon of Phlius, who at first performed in theaters. Later, he met Pyrrho and wrote mocking parodies and buffooneries, in which he insulted all who had ever studied philosophy. For he was the one who wrote the verses saying, 'Wretched humans, full of bad arguments, like bellies alone, you are made from quarrels and groans,' and 'humans are full of empty opinions.'

14.18.29 | μηδενὸς δ' ἐπιστραφέντος αὐτῶν, ὡς εἴ μηδὲ ἐγένοντο τὸ παράπαν, ἔχθες καὶ πρώην ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Αίνγισίσημός τις ἀναζωπυρεῖν ρεῖν ἥρξατο τὸν ὕθλον τοῦτον. καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ μὲν κράτιστοι δοκοῦντες εἴναι τῶν τὴν

14.18.29 | With none of them turning back, as if they had never existed at all, yesterday and the day before in Alexandria, which is in Egypt, a certain Ainsisimus began to rekindle this movement. And almost those who seemed to be the best among those

όδὸν βεβαδικότων ταύτην είσὶν οὗτοι.

14.18.30 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην εἴτε αἱρεσιν εἴτε ἀγωγὴν λόγων εἴτε ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως ἔθέλει τις καλεῖν αὐτὴν οὐδεὶς ἀν εῦ φρονῶν ὄρθην εἶναι φαίη δῆλον. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ φιλοσοφίαν οἴομαι δεῖν ὀνομάζειν αὐτὴν, ἀναιροῦσάν γε δὴ τὰς τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρχάς."

14.18.31 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Πύρρωνα φιλοσοφεῖν νομίζομένους. συγγενῆ δ' αὐτοῖς εἴη ἀν καὶ τὰ ἀντιλεγόμενα πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Ἀρίστιππον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, μόνα λέγοντας εἶναι τὰ πάθη καταληπτά. Σωκράτους δ' ἐταῖρος ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἦν, ὁ τὴν καλουμένην Κυρηναϊκὴν συστησάμενος αἱρεσιν, ἀφ' ἧς τὰς ἀφορμὰς Ἐπίκουρος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέλους ἔκθεσιν εὐληφεν. ἦν δ' ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ὑγρὸς πάνυ τὸν βίον καὶ φιλήδονος· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μὲν οὗτος ἐν τῷ φανερῷ περὶ τέλους διελέξατο, δυνάμει δὲ τῆς εύδαιμονίας τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔλεγεν ἐν ἡδοναῖς κεῖσθαι. ἀεὶ γὰρ λόγους περὶ ἡδονῆς ποιούμενος εἰς ὑποψίαν ἥγε τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῷ τούτῳ λέγειν τέλος εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν.

14.18.32 | τούτου γέγονεν ἀκουστῆς σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρήτη· ἥτις γεννήσασα παῖδα ώνόμασεν Ἀρίστιππον, ὃς εἰσαχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰς λόγους φιλοσοφίας μητροδίδακτος ἐκλήθη· ὃς καὶ σαφῶς ὡρίσατο τέλος εἶναι τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν, ἡδονὴν ἐντάττων τὴν κατὰ κίνησιν. τρεῖς γὰρ ἔφη καταστάσεις εἶναι περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σύγκρασιν· μίαν μὲν καθ' ἥν ἀλγοῦμεν, ἔοικυν τῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν χειμῶνι· ἐτέραν δὲ καθ' ἥν ἡδόμεθα, τῷ

walking this path are these.

14.18.30 | Therefore, no one who thinks clearly would say that such a thing, whether a school or a way of speaking, or however someone wants to call it, is correct. For I do not even think it should be called philosophy, since it clearly removes the principles of studying philosophy.

14.18.31 | These things are about those who are thought to be following Pyrrho. It would also be related to the arguments against those who follow Aristippus of Cyrene, who said that only pleasures are understandable. Aristippus was a companion of Socrates, who founded the so-called Cyrenaic school, from which Epicurus took his ideas about the goal of life. Aristippus lived a very indulgent life and loved pleasure; however, he did not discuss the goal openly, but he said that the essence of happiness lies in pleasures. For he always made arguments about pleasure, leading those who approached him to think that the goal is to live pleasantly.

14.18.32 | Among others, his daughter Arete became a listener to him. She gave birth to a child and named him Aristippus, who, being brought into discussions of philosophy by her without formal teaching, was called so. He clearly defined the goal as living pleasantly, placing pleasure in movement. He said there are three states regarding our condition: one in which we feel pain, similar to a storm at sea; another in which we feel pleasure, resembling a

λείω κύματι ἀφομοιουμένην· εἶναι γὰρ λείαν κίνησιν τὴν ἡδονὴν, οὐρίω παραβαλλομένην ἀνέμῳ· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μέσην εἶναι κατάστασιν, καθ' ἣν οὗτε ἀλγοῦμεν οὕτε ἡδόμεθα, γαλήνῃ παραπλησίαν οὖσαν. τούτων δ' οὓν καὶ ἔφασκε τῶν παθῶν μόνων ἡμᾶς τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχειν, πρὸς οὓς ἀντιλέλεκται ταῦτα.

## Section 19

14.19.1 | “Εξῆς δ' ἀν εῖεν οὶ λέγοντες μόνα τὰ καταληπτά· τοῦτο δ' εἶπον ἔνιοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Κυρήνης. οὗτοι δ' ἤξιον, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κάρου πιεζόμενοί τινος, ούδὲν εἰδέναι τὸ παράπον, εἰ μή τις παραστὰς αὐτοὺς παίοι καὶ κεντώῃ· καιόμενοι γὰρ ἔλεγον ἡ τεμνόμενοι γνωρίζειν ὅτι πάσχοιέν τι· πότερον δὲ τὸ καῖον εἴη πῦρ, ἢ τὸ τέμνον σίδηρος, οὐκ ἔχειν είπεῖν.

14.19.2 | τοὺς δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντας εὐθὺς ἔροιτό τις ἀν εί δὴ τοῦτο γοῦν ἵσασιν αὐτοὶ, διότι πάσχουσί καὶ αἴσθανονται. μὴ εἰδότες μὲν γὰρ ούδ' είπεῖν δυνηθεῖν ἀν ὅτι μόνον ἵσασι τὸ πάθος· εἰ δ' αὖ γνωρίζουσιν, ούκ ἀν εἴη μόνα τὰ πάθη καταληπτά. τὸ γὰρ “έγώκαίομαι” λόγος ἦν καὶ οὐ πάθος.

14.19.3 | ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη γε τρία ταῦτα συνυφίστασθαι τό τε πάθος αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. ὁ τοίνυν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τοῦ πάθους πάντως αἴσθανοιτ' ἀν καὶ τοῦ πάσχοντος. οὐ γὰρ

calm wave; for pleasure is a smooth movement, compared to a favorable wind; and the third state is a middle condition, in which we neither feel pain nor pleasure, being similar to calmness. Therefore, he said that we have sensation only of these feelings, against which these things are argued.

14.19.1 | Next, those who say that only the understandable things exist would be like this; some from Cyrene said this. These people thought that, just like someone pressed by a weight, they knew nothing at all unless someone stood by them and struck or pricked them. For when they were burned or cut, they would realize that they were suffering something; but whether the thing that burns is fire or the thing that cuts is iron, they could not say.

14.19.2 | Someone might immediately ask those who say these things if they at least know this themselves, since they suffer and feel. For not knowing, they would not be able to say that they only know the feeling. But if they do recognize it, then it would not be true that only feelings are understandable. For saying "I am being burned" is a statement and not a feeling.

14.19.3 | But indeed, it is necessary for these three things to exist together: the feeling itself, the one causing it, and the one suffering. Therefore, the person experiencing the feeling would certainly

δὴ ὅτι μὲν εἰ τύχοι, θερμαίνεται γνωριεῖ, πότερον δ' αὐτὸς ἡ ὁ γείτων, ἀγνοήσει· καὶ νῦν ἡ πέρυσι, καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἡ ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ, καὶ ζῶν ἡ τεθνεώς, ἔτι δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὃν ἡ λίθος.

feel both the feeling and the suffering. For it is not the case that if someone happens to be warmed, they would know whether it is themselves or their neighbor causing it; they would be unaware. And whether now or last year, in Athens or in Egypt, whether alive or dead, or even if they are a person or a stone.

14.19.4 | ούκούν εῖσεται καὶ ὑφ' ὅτου πάσχει· καὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλους γνωρίζουσι καὶ ὅδοὺς καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὴν τροφήν· οἵ τ' αὖτε χειρίται τὰ ἔργαλεῖα τὰ αὐτῶν οἰδασι, καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ καὶ ναυτικοὶ σημειοῦνται τὰ μέλλοντα, καὶ τῶν θηρίων οἱ κύνες εὑρίσκουσι τοὺς στίβους.

14.19.4 | So, they will know who is causing their suffering. For they recognize each other, as well as roads, cities, and their food. The craftsmen know their tools, and the doctors and sailors can predict what will happen. And among the animals, the dogs can find the tracks of the wild beasts.

14.19.5 | ἔτι γε μὴν ὁ πάσχων τι πάντως ἡ ὥστις οἰκείου τινὸς ἡ ὥστις ἀλλοτρίου πάθους ἀντιλαμβάνεται. πόθεν οὖν ἔξει λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἔστιν ἡδονὴ, τοῦτο δὲ πόνος; ἡ ὅτι γενόμενος ἡ ὄρῶν ἡ ἀκούων πάσχοι τι; καὶ τῇ μὲν γλώσσῃ γενόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὅμμασιν ὄρῶν, τοῖς δ' ὀστὶν ἀκούων; ἡ πᾶς ἵσασιν ὅτι τοδὶ μὲν αἰρεῖσθαι χρή, τοδὶ δὲ φεύγειν; εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων γνοῖεν, οὐχ ἔξουσιν ὄρμὴν οὐδὲ ὄρεξιν οὕτω δ' οὐδὲ ἀνζῷα εἶεν. γελοῖοι γάρ εἰσιν, ὀπότε λέγοιεν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν β αὐτοῖς συμβέβηκεν, οὐ μὴν ἵσασί γε πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰ ἄνθρωποι πεφύκασιν, οὐδὲ εἰ ζῶσιν, ἔχοιεν ἀν εἰπεῖν· ούκοῦν οὐδὲ εἰ λέγουσί τι καὶ ἀποφαίνονται.

14.19.5 | Moreover, the one suffering certainly understands something, either as related to something familiar or as a feeling from something foreign. So, how can they say that this is pleasure and that is pain? Or do they suffer when tasting, seeing, or hearing something? For they taste with their tongue, see with their eyes, and hear with their ears. Or how do they know that they should choose this and avoid that? If they do not know any of these things, they will have no desire or impulse, and thus they would not even be considered living beings. For it is silly to say that these things have happened to them, yet they do not know how or in what way. For these people would not even be human, nor would they be alive, and they would not be able to speak.

14.19.6 | πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους τίς ἀν εἴη λόγος; Θαυμάσαι μέντοι τις ἀν εἰ ἀγνοοῦσι

14.19.6 | So, what kind of argument can be made against such people? It would be

πότερον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς είσιν ἢ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· πολλῷ δὲ θαυμασιώτερον εἴ οὐκ οὕδασι, καὶ ταῦτα φάσκοντες φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀρά γε τὰ τέτταρα πλείονά ἔστιν ἢ τὰ τρία, καὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὰ δύο πόσα ἔστιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅπόσους ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν δακτύλους οὗτοί γε δύνανται είπεν, οὐδὲ πότερον ἔκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς ἔστιν ἢ πλείους.

14.19.7 | ὥστε οὐδὲ τούνομα τὸ ἴδιον είδειν ἀν, οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστιππον. ούκοῦν οὐδὲ τίνας φιλοῦσιν ἢ μισοῦσιν, οὐδὲ τίνων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· οὐδ' εἰ γελάσαιεν ἢ δακρύσαιεν ἔξουσιν εἴπειν ὅτι τόδε μὲν εἴη γελοῖον, τὸ δὲ λυπηρόν. δῆλον οὖν ὡς οὐδὲ τί νυνὶ λέγομεν ἡμεῖς συνίασιν. οὐδὲν οὖν οἵ γε τοιοῦτοι διαφέροιεν ἀν ἐμπίδων ἢ μυιῶν, καίτοι κάκεῖνα γνωρίζει τὰ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πάρα φύσιν.”

14.19.8 | Πρὸς δὴ τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους εἱ καὶ μυρία λέγειν ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ γε καὶ ταῦτα. ἔπειται τούτοις συνεχετάσαι καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἐναντίαν βαδίσαντας, καὶ πάντα χρῆναι πιστεύειν ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσιν ὄρισαμένους, ὃν εἶναι Μητρόδωρον τὸν Χῖον καὶ Πρωταγόραν τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην.

14.19.9 | τὸν μὲν οὖν Μητρόδωρον Δημοκρίτου ἔφασαν ἀκηκοέναι, ἀρχὰς δὲ ἀποφήνασθαι τὸ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενόν· ὃν τὸ μὲν ὅν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὅν εἶναι. γράφων γέ τοι περὶ φύσεως εἰσβολῇ ἔχρήσατο τοιαύτῃ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν οἶδεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πότερον οἶδαμεν, ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν.' ἦτις εἰσβολὴ κακὰς ἔδωκεν ἀφορμὰς τῷ μετὰ

surprising if they do not know whether they are on the earth or in the sky. But it is even more amazing if they do not know this and claim to be philosophers. Are the four greater than the three, and how many are one and two? For they cannot even say how many fingers they have on their hands, nor whether each one is singular or plural.

14.19.7 | So, they would not even know their own name, nor their homeland, nor Aristippus. Therefore, they would not know whom they love or hate, nor what they desire. Even if they laughed or cried, they would not be able to say that this is funny and that is sad. It is clear that they do not understand what we are saying now. Such people would not be any different from ants or flies, and yet those creatures know what is natural and what is beyond nature.

14.19.8 | To those who are in such a state, even if they can say countless things, these are enough. Next, we should also examine those who walk in the opposite direction, and we must believe everything based on the senses of the body, among whom are Metrodorus the Chian and Protagoras the Abderite.

14.19.9 | They say that Metrodorus heard from Democritus and declared the principles of the full and the empty; that is, what is being and what is not being. Writing about nature, no one among us knows anything about this, nor do we know whether we know it or not. This inquiry gave bad reasons to Pyrrho, who came after

ταῦτα γενομένω πύρρωνι. προβάς δέ φησιν ὅτι πάντα ἔστιν, δ' ἀν τις νοήσαι.

14.19.10 | τὸν δὲ Πρωταγόραν λόγος ἔχει κεκλῆσθαι ἄθεον. γράφων γέ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ θεῶν εἰσβολῇ τοιᾳδε ἔχρησατο 'περὶ μὲν οὖν θεῶν οὐκ οἶδα οὕθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὕθ' ὁποῖοι τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γάρ ἔστι τὰ κωλύοντά με ἔκαστον τούτων εἰδέναι.' τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατέκαυσαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἵδε μόναις δεῖν ἔφασαν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι πιστεύειν, τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιρρήσεις θεασώμεθα."

## Section 20

14.20.1 | "Γεγόνασι δέ τινες οἱ ἀξιοῦντες τῇ αἴσθησει καὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις μόναις δεῖν πιστεύειν. ἔνιοι μέντοι φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον αἰνίττεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτο πάντων ἀποφαίνοντα τὸν Ὄκεανὸν ἀρχὴν, ὡς ἐν ῥύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ὅντων· ὃν δ' ἵσμεν ἔοικε μὲν καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀντικρύς γε Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

14.20.2 | οὗτος γὰρ ἔφη μέτρον εῖναι πάντων χρημάτων τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, τῶν μὲν ὅντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δ' οὐκ ὅντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν· ὁποῖα γὰρ ἐκάστῳ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ εῖναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι διισχυρίσασθαι.

14.20.3 | πρὸς δὲ τούτους εἶποι τις ἀν ἂ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Θεατήτῳ· πρῶτον μὲν, τί δήποτε, τοιούτων γε δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων

them. He claims that everything exists, whatever someone may think.

14.19.10 | Protagoras is said to have been called an atheist. He himself wrote about the gods in this way: "As for the gods, I do not know either if they exist or what they are like; for many things prevent me from knowing any of them." The Athenians, punishing him with exile, burned his books publicly in the middle of the marketplace. Since these people claimed that one must only believe in what the senses perceive, let us consider the objections against them.

14.20.1 | Some people believe that one should trust only the senses and the imagination. However, some say that Homer hints at this by stating that the Ocean is the beginning of all things, as if everything flows from it. It seems that Metrodorus the Chian says the same thing, but on the other hand, Protagoras the Abderite disagrees.

14.20.2 | For he said that the measure of all things is man: of what is, that it is, and of what is not, that it is not. For whatever appears to each person is what things are like; and about other things, we cannot assert anything.

14.20.3 | To these points, someone might say what Plato says in the Theaetetus: first, why do they claim that man is the measure

σόντων, ήξιώσαν εἶναι μέτρον τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ οὐ σῦν ἡ κυνοκέφαλον; ἔπειτα δὲ πῶς ἔλεγον εἶναι σοφοὺς ἐαυτοὺς, εἴ δὴ πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μέτρον ἔστι τῆς ἀληθείας; ἢ πῶς ἐλέγχουσι τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴπερ ἐκάστῳ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές ἔστιν; ἀγνοοῦμέν τέ τινα, καίτοι πολλάκις αἰσθανόμενοι, καθάπερ ἔπειδὰν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκούωμεν;

of truth, if such things exist? Is it man or a dog-headed creature? Then, how can they say they are wise, if everyone is the measure of truth for themselves? Or how do they refute others, if what seems true to each person is indeed true? We often do not know something, even though we frequently notice it, just like when we hear the words of foreigners.

14.20.4 | ὅ γε μὴν θεασάμενος ὅτιοῦν, εἴτα μεμνημένος, οἶδε μὲν, αἰσθάνεται δ' οὐκέτι. καὶ εἴ θατέρῳ μὲν ὁφθαλμῷ μύσαι, θατέρῳ δ' ὀρῷ, δῆλον ὅτι ταύτῳ καὶ εἴσεται καὶ οὐκ εἴσεται.

14.20.4 | For when he sees something, then remembers it, he knows it, but he no longer senses it. And if one eye is closed and the other sees, it is clear that he will both know and not know the same thing.

14.20.5 | πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἴ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἀληθές ἔστιν, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ φαίνεται τὰ ὑπ’ ἔκείνων λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ, καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι πάντων πραγμάτων μέτρον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀληθές ἀν εἴη.

14.20.5 | In addition to this, if what seems true to each person is indeed true, then what those people say does not seem true to us, and it would be true that man is not the measure of all things.

14.20.6 | καὶ μὴν οὕ γε τεχνῖται τῶν ἀτέχνων διαφέρουσι καὶ οἱ ἔμπειροι τῶν ἀπείρων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προορᾶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι κυβερνήτης καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ στρατηγός.

14.20.6 | And indeed, those skilled in crafts differ from those who are unskilled, and the experienced differ from the inexperienced. For this reason, the pilot, the doctor, and the general are better able to foresee what will happen in the future.

14.20.7 | ἀπλῶς τε ἀναιροῦσιν οὗτοί γε τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον καὶ τὸ ἔξ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν. οὕτω δ' ἀν εἴη ταύτῳ καὶ ὃν καὶ οὐκ ὅν. οὐδὲν γάρ κωλύει ταύτῳ τοῖς μὲν εἶναι φαίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ εἶναι· καὶ ταύτῳ ἀν εἴη ἄνθρωπος καὶ ξύλον· ἔσθ' ὅτε γάρ φαίνεται ταύτῳ τῷδε μὴν ἄνθρωπος,

14.20.7 | These people simply take away the more and the less, the necessary, the possible, the natural, and the unnatural. Thus, it would be the same for what is and what is not. For nothing prevents something from seeming to be the same for some, while not being the same for others. A person and a piece of wood could be the same; for sometimes a person seems the

τῷδε δὲ ξύλον.

14.20.8 | ἄπας τε λόγος ἀληθὴς ἀν εἴη, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ψευδῆς· καὶ οἱ βουλευόμενοι καὶ δικάζοντες οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιεν οὐδὲν ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ δεινότατον, ἔσονται γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ σπουδαῖοι καὶ μοχθηροὶ καὶ ταύτῳ κακίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιაῦτά τις ἀν ἔχοι λέγειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν δεῖ πλειόνων λόγων πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ οἰόμενοὺς ἔχειν νοῦν καὶ λόγον."

14.20.9 | Εἶθ' ἐξῆς "Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτι νῦν εἰσὶ τινες οἱ πᾶσαν καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντες εἶναι, μικρὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων εἴπωμεν. ἑοίκασι γὰρ οὗτοί γε δεδοικέναι μήποτε, εἴ ψευδεῖς εἴποιεν αἱσθήσεις εἶναι τινας, οὐκ ἀν σχοῖεν τὸ κριτήριον καὶ τὸν κανόνα βέβαιον οὐδ' ἔχέγγυον· οὐχ ὅρῶσι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀν φθάνοιεν οὕτω γε καὶ τὰς δόξας ἀπάσας ἀληθεῖς ἀποφαίνοντες· πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταύταις πεφύκαμεν κρίνειν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, τὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς.

14.20.10 | ἔπειτα δὲ σκοπῶν ἵδοι τις ἀν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀψευδές οὐδὲν, οἷον λέγω ζυγὸν, ἢ τόρνον, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ἀλλ' ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ὧδι μὲν ἔχον ὑγίεις ἔστιν, ὧδι δὲ μοχθηρόν· καὶ τουτονὶ μὲν χρώμενον τὸν τρόπον ἀληθεύει, τουτονὶ δὲ ψεύδεται. καὶ μήν εἴ γε πᾶσα αἱσθήσις ἀληθὴς ἦν, οὐκ ἔδει τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν αὐτάς. ἄλλαι γάρ εἰσιν ἐγγύθεν καὶ πόρρωθεν, καὶ νοσούντων καὶ ἐρρωμένων, καὶ τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀτέχνων, καὶ φρονίμων καὶ ἀφρόνων.

same as this piece of wood, and at other times, it seems different.

14.20.8 | Every true statement would also be false for this reason. Those who deliberate and judge would not be able to do anything. And the most terrible part is that they would themselves be both serious and wicked, and the same would be both vice and virtue. There are many other similar things that one could say. But there is no need for more words for those who do not think or reason.

14.20.9 | Then next, "Since there are still some who say that every single perception is true, let us say a little about these things. For these people seem to be afraid that if they say some perceptions are false, they would not have a firm standard or rule. They do not see that they would not be able to reach the truth while declaring all opinions to be true. For indeed, we have grown accustomed to judge many things. And they still consider some to be true and others to be false."

14.20.10 | Next, if someone looks closely, they would see that none of the other standards are always and completely true, like a scale or a plane, or anything like that. Each of them is healthy in one way and faulty in another. Using this one, it tells the truth, but using that one, it lies. And if every perception were true, they would not differ so much. For there are some that are close and some that are far away, and some that are sick and some that are healthy, and some that are skilled and some that are

τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν μεμηνότων παντάπασιν ἀνεῖη ἄτοπον λέγειν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν παρορώντων καὶ παρακουόντων· εὕηθες γὰρ ἀνήν τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ὁ παρορῶν ἥτοι ὁρᾶ ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶ· φαίη γὰρ ἄν τις ὅτι ὁρᾶ μὲν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ὁρῶς.

unskilled, and some that are wise and some that are foolish. It would be completely unreasonable to say that the perceptions of those who are confused are true, as well as those of those who misperceive or misunderstand. For it would be silly to say that the one who misperceives either sees or does not see; for someone might say that they see, but not correctly.

14.20.11 | ὅπόταν μέντοι φῶσιν ὡς ἡ μὲν αἴσθησις οὖσα ἄλογος οὐδὲν προστίθησιν ούδ’ ἀφαιρεῖ, φαίνονται τάμποδῶν οὐχ ὁρῶντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἔρετμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, κάπι τῶν γραφῶν καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων, ἡ αἴσθησίς ἐστιν ἡ ἀπατῶσα. διὸ καὶ μεμφόμεθα πάντες ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐ τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φαντασίαν. ἐλέγχει γὰρ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀξιῶν ἄπασαν ἀληθῆ φαντασίαν εἶναι. τὴν γὰρ ἡμετέραν, δι’ ἣν οὐκ οἰόμεθα πᾶσαν εἶναι τοιαύτην, ψευδῆ πάντως ἀποφαίνει. συμβαίνει τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ἄπασαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ καὶ ψευδῆ λέγειν εἶναι.

14.20.11 | Whenever they say that perception is irrational and adds nothing or takes nothing away, they do not see the obstacles. For in the case of the oar in the water, and in many other drawings, perception is what deceives. That is why we all blame such things, not our reason, but our imagination. For reason itself proves that it considers every perception to be completely true. For our perception, through which we do not think that everything is like that, shows to be completely false. Therefore, it happens that they say every perception is both true and false.

14.20.12 | καθόλου δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἀξιοῦντες ὅποια ἀνὴρ φαίνηται τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα καὶ εἶναι. τούναντίον γὰρ, ὅποια πέφυκε, τοιαῦτα φαίνεται, καὶ οὐχ ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ ποιοῦμεν οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἔκεινων αὐτοὶ διατιθέμεθά πως. ἐπεὶ καὶ γελοῖον εἴη ἀνὴρ διανοηθείμεν ἡμεῖς, ὡσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται, σκύλακας ἡ χιμαίρας, ἀξιοῦν εύθὺς εἶναι ταῦτα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φαντάζεσθαι καθάπερ εύτρεπτή παρεστῶτα.”

14.20.12 | In general, they are mistaken when they think that things are as they seem to us. On the contrary, things appear as they are naturally, and we do not make them be that way; rather, we are somehow influenced by those things. For it would be ridiculous if we thought, like painters and sculptors, that dogs or chimeras should immediately be considered real, and because of this, we imagine them as if they are easily present.

14.20.13 | Διότι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὁρῶς

14.20.13 | Therefore, it is clear that those

λέγουσιν οὶ φάσκοντες εῖναι πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων αὐθίς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστίππου διαδοχῆς ὅρμωμενοι πάντα ἡδονῆς ἔξηπτον καὶ αἴσθησεως, μόνα τὰ πάθη καταληπτὰ καὶ τέλος ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὄριζόμενοι.

who claim that all perception and all imagination are true are not speaking correctly. For even with these things being so, those who follow Epicurus from the teachings of Aristippus again insist that everything comes from pleasure and sensation, defining pleasure as the only thing that is truly good and the only goal of life.

14.20.14 | λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος ὑπὸ μὲν τινων μηδενὸς ἀκηκοέναι, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν· ὑπὸ τινων δ' ὅτι ἤκουσε Ξενοκράτους, Ὁστερον δὲ καὶ Ναυσιφάνους τοῦ Πύρρωνος γενομένου γνωρίμου. τίνα δὴ οὖν τὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντειρημένα τυγχάνει θεασώμεθα.

14.20.14 | It is said that Epicurus has not heard anything from anyone, but he has come across the writings of the ancients. Some say that he heard from Xenocrates, and later from Nausiphanes, who became a follower of Pyrrho. So, let us see what arguments have been made against him.

## Section 21

14.21.1 | “Ἐπειδή ἔστι γνῶσις διττή, ἡ μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἡμῖν αἰρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν, ἐνιοί φασι τῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ φυγῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ κριτήριον ἔχειν ἡμάς, τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸν πόνον· ἔτι γέ τοι καὶ νῦν τοιαῦτα τινα λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον· ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἔχει καὶ περὶ τούτου σκέψασθαι.

14.21.1 | Since knowledge is twofold, one of things and the other of what we choose and avoid, some say that we have a standard and a criterion for choice and avoidance: pleasure and pain. Indeed, even now those around Epicurus say such things. Therefore, it is necessary to think about this as well.

14.21.2 | τοσούτου τοίνυν ἔγωγε δέω λέγειν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ κανόνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὸ πάθος, ὥστ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τοῦτο αὐτὸ κριτήριον δεῖσθαι. διότι μὲν γάρ ἔστιν ἐαυτὸ δείκνυσιν, ὅποιον δ' ἔστὶν ἐτέρου δεῖ τοῦ κρίνοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἴκειον ἡ ἀλλότριον ἡ αἴσθησις λέγει, πότερον δ' αἰρετὸν ἡ φευκτὸν ὁ λόγος.

14.21.2 | Therefore, I say that feeling is the beginning and standard of good and bad, so it seems to me that this itself needs a criterion. For it shows itself, but it needs someone else to judge what it is. If perception says something is familiar or foreign, then reason decides whether it is to be chosen or avoided.

14.21.3 | αύτοί γε τοί φασιν ού πᾶσαν  
ἡδονὴν ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ πάντα πόνον  
έκτρέπεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ συμβέβηκε καὶ μάλα  
εἰκότως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κριτήρια καὶ ἐαυτὰ  
δείκνυσι καὶ τὰ κρινόμενα, τὸ μέντοι πάθος  
ἐαυτὸ μόνον. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἔχει  
μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτοί. καίπερ γὰρ ἀξιοῦντες  
ἄπασαν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πᾶσαν  
ἀλγηδόνα κακὸν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀεί φασι δεῖν  
τὴν μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ φεύγειν·  
μετρεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ τῷ ποσῷ καὶ οὐ τῷ  
ποιῶ.

14.21.4 | δῆλον οὖν ὡς τό γε ποσὸν οὐδὲν  
ἄλλ' ἢ ὁ λόγος κρίνει· τὸ γὰρ ἄμεινόν ἐστιν  
ὑπομεῖναι τούσδε τινὰς τοὺς πόνους, ὅπως  
ἡσθείημεν ἡδονὰς μείζους, καὶ τὸ συμφέρει  
τῶνδέ τινων ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἵνα  
μὴ ἀλγῶμεν ἀλγηδόνας χαλεπωτέρας' καὶ  
πάντα τὰ λόγος ὁ κρίνων ἐστίν.

14.21.5 | τὸ δ' ὄλον αἴ μὲν αἰσθήσεις καὶ αἱ  
φαντασίαι καθαπερεὶ κάτοπτρα καὶ  
εἰκόνες ἑοίκασι τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι· τὰ  
μέντοι πάθη καὶ αἴ ἡδοναὶ καὶ οἱ πόνοι  
τροπαὶ καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. ταύτῃ  
δὲ αἰσθανόμενοι μὲν καὶ φαντασιούμενοι  
πρὸς τὰ ἔξω βλέπομεν, ἡδόμενοι δὲ καὶ  
ἀλγοῦντες ἐπιστρέφομεν ἐπὶ μόνους  
ἐαυτούς. τὰς μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν τὰ  
ἔξω ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅποια ἀν ἦ ἐκεῖνα, τοιαύτας  
ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τὰς φαντασίας, τὰ δὲ  
πάθη ποιὰ ἄττα γίνεται δι' ἡμάς καὶ ὡς ἀν  
ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν.

14.21.6 | διὸ ταῦτα ποτὲ μὲν ἡδέα, ποτὲ δ'  
ἀηδῆ φαίνεται, καὶ ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν μᾶλλον,  
ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ ἥττον. ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων  
εὐρήσομεν, εἴ θέλοιμεν σκοπεῖν, ἄριστα

14.21.3 | They say that not every pleasure  
should be embraced and not every pain  
should be avoided. This has happened, and  
it seems very reasonable. For the criteria  
show both themselves and what is judged,  
but feeling shows only itself. That this is the  
case is proven by them. Although they  
claim that every pleasure is good and every  
pain is bad, they still do not always say that  
one should choose every pleasure and  
avoid every pain. They measure them by  
quantity and not by quality.

14.21.4 | It is clear, then, that only reason  
judges the quantity. For it is better to  
endure some pains so that we may enjoy  
greater pleasures, and it is beneficial to  
avoid certain pleasures so that we do not  
suffer worse pains. In all cases, it is reason  
that judges.

14.21.5 | Now, the whole of perception and  
imagination seems to be like mirrors and  
images of things. However, feelings,  
pleasures, and pains are changes and  
alterations within ourselves. In this way,  
while we perceive and imagine, we look  
outward, but when we feel pleasure or  
pain, we turn back to ourselves. Our senses  
are shaped by what is outside, and  
whatever those things are, they create  
similar images in our imagination. But  
feelings are about what happens to us and  
how we experience them.

14.21.6 | Therefore, sometimes these  
things seem pleasant and sometimes  
unpleasant, and there are times when they  
seem more so and times when they seem

τὰς τῆς γνώσεως ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθεμένους  
δόποσι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸν νοῦν  
παραλαμβάνουσιν.

14.21.7 | οἴκε δ' ἡ μὲν αἴσθησις ταῖς  
ἄρκυσι καὶ τοῖς δικτύοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
τοῖς τοιούτοις θηράτροις, ὃ δὲ νοῦς καὶ ὁ  
λόγος τοῖς κυσὶ τοῖς στιβεύουσι καὶ  
μεταθέουσιν. αὐτῶν μέντοι τούτων  
ἄμεινον φιλοσοφεῖν οἵεσθαι χρὴ τοὺς μήτε  
ταῖς αἰσθήσειν, ὡς ἔτυχε, χρωμένους μήτε  
τὰ πάθη παραλαμβάνοντας ἐπὶ τὴν  
τάληθοῦς διάγνωσιν. ἡ δεινόν γ' ἀν εἴη  
πεφυκότας ἀνθρώπους ἡδοναῖς καὶ πόνοις  
ἀλόγοις ἐπιτρέπειν ἐαυτοὺς, ἀφέντας τὸν  
θειότατον κριτὴν νοῦν." Ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν  
Ἀριστοκλέους.

## Section 22

14.22.1 | Καθ' ἔν ἔκαστον τοίνυν τῶν τριῶν  
πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν κρίνωμεν.  
δεῖ γὰρ ίδεῖν ποτέρῳ μᾶλλον ξυγγενὲς  
ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἀπονεμουμεν. Κάλλους καὶ  
ἀληθείας καὶ μετριότητος πέρι λέγεις; Ναί.  
πρῶτον δέ γε ἀληθείας λαβοῦ, ω  
Πρώταρχε, καὶ λαβόμενος, βλέψας εἰς τρία,  
νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἡδονὴν, πολὺν  
ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ἀπόκριναι σαυτῷ  
πότερον ἡδονὴ ξυγγενέστερον ἡ νοῦς  
ἀληθείᾳ.

14.22.2 | Τί δὲ χρόνου δεῖ; πολὺ γὰρ, οἷμαι,  
διαφέρετον. ἡδονὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τὸ  
ἀλαζονέστατον· ὡς δὲ λόγος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς  
ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, αἱ δὲ  
μέγισται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν  
συγγνώμην εἴληφε παρὰ θεῶν, ὡς καθάπερ

less so. If we want to examine this, we will  
find that those who set forth the best  
principles of knowledge also take into  
account the senses and the mind.

14.21.7 | "Perception is like nets and traps  
for catching animals, while the mind and  
reason are like dogs that chase and move  
them. However, it is better to think  
philosophically about these things without  
relying on the senses or accepting feelings  
as they come, in order to reach true  
understanding. It would be terrible for  
humans to allow themselves to be ruled by  
irrational pleasures and pains, ignoring the  
divine judge of the mind." These are from  
Aristotle.

14.22.1 | Now, let us judge each of the three  
in relation to pleasure and the mind. We  
need to see which of them is more closely  
related. Are you talking about beauty, truth,  
and moderation? Yes. First, take truth, O  
Protarche, and after considering the  
three—mind, truth, and pleasure—spend a  
long time reflecting and answer for  
yourself whether pleasure is more closely  
related to truth or to the mind.

14.22.2 | What need is there for time? For I  
think it makes a big difference. Pleasure is  
the most boastful of all; as for reason, even  
in pleasures related to desires, which seem  
to be the greatest, it has received  
forgiveness from the gods for its excess,

παίδων τῶν ἡδομένων νοῦν ούδε τὸν ὀλίγιστον κεκτημένων· νοῦς δὲ ἥτοι ταύτὸν καὶ ἀλήθειά ἔστιν ἢ πάντων ὁμοιότατόν τε καὶ ἀληθέστατον.

just like children who enjoy themselves have little understanding. But reason is either the same as truth or is the most similar and the truest of all.

14.22.3 | Ούκοῦν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν μετριότητα ὡσαύτως σκέψῃ, πότερον ἡδονὴ φρονήσεως, ἢ φρόνησις ἡδονῆς πλείω κέκτηται; Εὕσκεπτόν γε καὶ ταύτην σκέψιν προβέβληκας. οἶμαι γὰρ ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ περιχαρείας οὐδὲν τῶν πεφυκόδις ἀμετρότερον εὐρεῖν ἄν τινα, νοῦς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐμμετρότερον οὐδ' ἄν ἔν ποτε.

14.22.3 | Therefore, after this, consider moderation in the same way: is pleasure a form of understanding, or does understanding have more of pleasure? You have raised a clear question about this. For I think that nothing is more excessive by nature than pleasure and joy, while nothing is more moderate than reason and knowledge.

14.22.4 | Καλῶς εἴρηκας. ὅμως δ' ἔτι λέγε τὸ τρίτον. νοῦς ἡμῖν κάλλους μετεύληφε πλέον ἢ τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς γένος, ὡστε εἶναι καλλίω νοῦν ἡδονῆς, ἢ τούναντίον; 'Αρ' οὖν φρόνησιν μὲν καὶ νοῦν, Σώκρατες, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὕθ' ὑπάρ οὔτ' ὄναρ αἰσχρὸν οὕτε εἴδεν οὕτω ἐπενόησεν οὐδαμοῦ οὐδαμῶς, οὕτε γιγνόμενον οὕτε ὄντα οὕτε ἐσόμενον; Όρθως.

14.22.4 | You have spoken well. But still, tell me about the third. Does reason have more beauty than pleasure, so that reason is more beautiful than pleasure, or the opposite? Surely, Socrates, no one has ever thought that neither existence nor dreams are ugly in any way, whether they are coming into being, existing, or going to be? That is correct.

14.22.5 | Ἡδονὰς δέ γε δίπου, καὶ ταύτας σχεδὸν τὰς μεγίστας, ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἡδόμενον ὄντινοῦν, ἢ τὸ γελοῖον ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἢ τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον ἐπόμενον ὄρωντες αὐτοί τε αἰσχυνόμεθα καὶ ἀφανίζοντες κρύπτομεν ὅτι μάλιστα, νυκτὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διδόντες, ὡς φῶς οὐ δέον δρᾶν αὐτά.

14.22.5 | Indeed, when we see someone enjoying pleasures, especially the greatest ones, or when we see something ridiculous related to them, we feel ashamed and try to hide it as much as possible. At night, we give all such things, as if it is not right to see them in the light.

14.22.6 | Πάντη δὴ φήσεις, ὢ Πρώταρχ, ὑπό τε ἀγγέλων πέμπων καὶ παροῦσι φράζων ὡς ἡδονὴ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον οὐδ' αὖ δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μέν πη

14.22.6 | Indeed, you will say, O Protagoras, that angels send messages and present that pleasure is not a possession, neither first nor second. But first, it is about

περὶ μέτρον καὶ τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ καίριον καὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσα χρὴ τοιαῦτα νομίζειν τὴν ἀΐδιον ἡρῆσθαι φύσιν. Φαίνεται γοῦν ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων.

14.22.7 | Δεύτερον μὲν περὶ τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον καὶ ἱκανὸν καὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσα τῆς γενέσεως αὖ ταύτης ἔστι. "Εοικε γοῦν.

14.22.8 | Τὸ τοίνυν τρίτον, ὡς ἡ ἐμὴ μαντεία, νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν τιθεὶς οὐκ ἀν μέγα τι τῆς ἀληθείας παρεξέλθοις. "Ισως.

14.22.9 | Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ τέταρτα, ἂ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἔθεμὲν, ἐπιστήμας τε καὶ τέχνας καὶ δόξας ὄρθας λεχθείσας, ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ τέτταρα, εἴπερ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡδονῆς ξυγγενῆ, Τάχ' ἄν.

14.22.10 | Πέμπτας τοίνυν ἀς ἡδονὰς ἔθεμεν ἀλύπους ὄρισάμενοι, καθαρὰς ἐπονομάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστήμας, ταῖς δὲ αἰσθήσεσιν ἐπομένας. "Ισως.

14.22.11 | "Εκτῇ δ' ἐν γενεᾷ, φησὶν Ὄρφεὺς, καταπαύσατε κόσμον αοιδῆς, ἀτὰρ κινδυνεύει καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐν ἕκτῃ καταπεπαυμένος εἶναι κρίσει. τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ούδεν λοιπὸν πλὴν ὄσπερ κεφαλὴν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις. Οὐκοῦν χρή.

moderation, the moderate, the timely, and all such things that one must consider as part of the eternal nature. It seems clear from what has been said now.

14.22.7 | Secondly, it is about the harmonious, the beautiful, the perfect, the sufficient, and all such things that belong to this generation. It seems so.

14.22.8 | So then, thirdly, as my prophecy suggests, if you place reason and understanding, you would not greatly miss the truth. Perhaps.

14.22.9 | Are not then the fourth things, which I have set for the soul itself, the knowledge and skills and correct opinions that have been spoken, these to be the four alongside the three, if indeed they are more related to the good than to pleasure? Surely.

14.22.10 | Then for the fifth, which pleasures we have defined as chains, having attached pure knowledge of the soul itself, following the senses. Perhaps.

14.22.11 | In the sixth generation, says Orpheus, 'stop the world of song,' but our speech also is in danger of being stopped in the sixth judgment. And after this, there is nothing left for us except to give a summary of what has been said. Therefore, it is necessary.

14.22.12 | "Ιθι δὴ, τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτῆρι τὸν αὐτὸν διαμαρτυράμενοι λόγον ἐπεξέλθωμεν. Ποῖον δή; Φίληβος τάγαθὸν ἔθετο ἡμῖν ἡδονὴν εἶναι πᾶσαν καὶ παντελῆ. Τὸ τρίτον, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὡς ἔσικας, ἔλεγες ἀρτίως τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαναλαβεῖν δεῖν λόγον.

14.22.13 | Ναι. τὸ δέ γε μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούωμεν. ἐγὼ γάρ δὴ κατιδών ἄπερ νῦν διελήλυθα, καὶ δυσχεράνας τὸν Φίληβου λόγον οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλάκις μυρίων, εἴπον ὡς ἡδονῆς γε νοῦς εἴη μακρῷ βέλτιόν τε καὶ ἅμεινον τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ. Ἡν ταῦτα.

14.22.14 | Υποπτεύων δέ γε καὶ ἄλλα εἶναι πολλὰ εἴπον ὡς, εἰ φανείη τι τούτων ἀμφοῖν βέλτιον, ὑπὲρ τῶν δευτερείων νῷ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ξυνδιαμαχοίμην, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ δευτερείων στερήσοιτο. Είπες γάρ οὖν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά γε πάντων ἱκανώτατα τούτοιν οὐδέτερον ἱκανὸν ἀνεφάνη. Άληθέστατα.

14.22.15 | Ούκοῦν παντάπασιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ νοῦς ἀπήλλακτο καὶ ἡδονὴ, μηδὲ τάγαθὸν αὐτὸν μηδέτερον αὐτοῖν εἶναι στερομένων αὐταρκείας καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱκανοῦ καὶ τελέου δυνάμεως; Ὁρθότατα. Φανέντος δέ γε ἄλλου τινὸς κρείττονος τούτοιν ἐκατέρου, μυρίῳ γ' αὖ νοῦς ἡδονῆς οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφυέστερον πέφανται νῦν τῇ τοῦ νικῶντος ἴδεα. Πῶς γάρ οὖ;

14.22.12 | Come now, let us proceed with the third point, affirming the same argument to the savior. What is it then? Philebus has set pleasure to be the good for us, completely and entirely. The third, oh Socrates, as it seems to you, you were saying that we should rightly repeat the argument from the beginning.

14.22.13 | Yes. But let us listen to what comes next. For I have indeed seen the things that I have now explained, and I have often said that the argument of Philebus is not only difficult, but also many others are often countless. I said that the mind concerning pleasure is far better and superior for the life of humans. That is what I meant.

14.22.14 | I suspected that there were many other things, saying that if something among them seemed better for both, I would fight alongside pleasure against the lesser things, but pleasure would be deprived of the lesser things. For you said this. And after that, neither of these appeared sufficient for all. Truly.

14.22.15 | Is it not true that in this argument both the mind and pleasure are completely separated, and that the good itself is not sufficient for either when they are deprived of self-sufficiency and the power of what is adequate and complete? Absolutely correct. But if something else appears better than these, then the mind is much more familiar and closer to pleasure

now in the idea of the victor. How could it not be?

14.22.16 | Ούκοῦν πέμπτον κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν, ὡς νῦν ὁ λόγος ἀπεφήνατο, γίγνοιτ' ἀνὴ τῆς ἡδονῆς δύναμις. Ἔοικεν. Πρῶτον δέ γε οὐδέ' ἀνὸι πάντες βόες τε καὶ ἵπποι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα θηρία φῶσι τῷ τὸ χαίρειν διώκειν· οἵς πιστεύοντες, ὥσπερ μάντεις ὅρνισιν, οἱ πολλοὶ κρίνουσι τὰς ἡδονὰς εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἡμῖν εὖ κρατίστας εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς θηρίων ἔρωτας οἴονται κυρίους εἶναι μάρτυρας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἐν μούσῃ φιλοσόρῳ μεμαντευμένων ἐκάστοτε λόγων. Άληθέστατα, ὡς Σώκρατες, είρησθαί σοι νῦν ἥδη φαμὲν ἄπαντες."

14.22.16 | Therefore, according to the judgment, as the argument has now declared, the power of pleasure would arise fifth. It seems so. First of all, not even all the cows and horses and all the other wild animals pursue joy; those who believe in them, like seers with birds, many judge that pleasures are the strongest for living well, and they think that the loves of wild animals are more reliable witnesses than those of the words spoken by philosophers in music. Truly, Socrates, we all say that you are right now.

14.22.17 | Ταῦτα ὁ Πλάτων. ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Διονυσίου, τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλοσοφίας ἐπισκόπου ἀνδρός, ἀπὸ τῶν Περὶ φύσεως βραχέα τῶν πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον ἀντειρημένων παραθήσομαι. σὺ δὲ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰς οὕτως ἔχούσας αὐτοῦ φωνάς

14.22.17 | These things are from Plato. But I will present to you briefly from the writings about nature of the man who is the overseer of philosophy according to Christ, in response to Epicurus. You should take and read his words as they are.

## Section 23

14.23.1 | Πότερον ἵν ἔστι συναφὲς τὸ πᾶν, ὡς ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς σοφωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων Πλάτωνι καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλείτῳ φαίνεται, ἢ δύο, ὡς ἴσως τις ὑπέλαβεν, ἢ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρα, ὡς τισιν ἄλλοις ἔδοξεν, οἱ πολλαῖς τῆς διανοίας παραφοραῖς καὶ ποικίλαις προφοραῖς ὄνομάτων τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπεχείρησαν κατακερματίζειν ούσιαν, ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀπρονόητον ὑποτίθενται;

14.23.1 | Is everything connected, as it seems to us and to the wisest of the Greeks, Plato and Pythagoras, and those from the Stoa and Heraclitus, or is it two, as perhaps someone has thought, or even many and endless, as it has seemed to others, who have tried to break down the essence of all things into many confusing and varied names, suggesting that it is infinite, ungenerated, and without thought?

14.23.2 | οἵ μὲν γὰρ ἀτόμους προσειπόντες ἄφθαρτά τινα καὶ σμικρότατα σώματα πλῆθος ἀνάριθμα, καὶ τι χωρίον κενὸν μέγεθος ἀπεριόριστον προβαλόμενοι, ταύτας δή φασι τὰς ἀτόμους ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ κενῷ φερομένας αὐτομάτως τε συμπιπτούσας ἀλλήλαις διὰ ὅμην ἄτακτον καὶ συμπλεκομένας διὰ τὸ πολυσχήμονας οὕσας ἀλλήλων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οὕτω τόν τε κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ κόσμους ἀπείρους ἀποτελεῖν.

14.23.3 | ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης Ἐπίκουρος γεγόνασι καὶ Δημόκριτος τοσοῦτον δὲ δὲ διεφώνησαν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐλαχίστας πάσας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνεπαισθήτους, ὁ δὲ καὶ μεγίστας εἶναί τινας ἀτόμους ὁ Δημόκριτος ὑπέλαβεν. ἀτόμους δὲ εἶναί φασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ λέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἄλυτον στερρότητα.

14.23.4 | οἵ δὲ τὰς ἀτόμους μετονομάσαντες ἀμερῆ φασιν εἶναι σώματα, τοῦ παντὸς μέρη, ἐξ ὧν ἀδιαιρέτων ὄντων συντίθεται τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ἣ διαλύεται καὶ τούτων φασὶ τῶν ἀμερῶν ὄνοματοποιὸν Διόδωρον γεγονέναι ὄνομα δὲ, φασὶν, αὐτοῖς ἄλλο Ἡρακλείδης θέμενος ἐκάλεσεν ὄγκους, παρ' οὖ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ ἱατρὸς ἐκληρονόμησε τὸ ὄνομα." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξῆς ἀνασκευάζει τὸ δόγμα διὰ πολλῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ διὰ τούτων

14.23.2 | For they say that there are countless tiny and indestructible bodies called atoms, and that there is an infinite empty space. They claim that these atoms move randomly in the empty space, colliding with each other and intertwining because of their many shapes, and thus they create the universe and the countless worlds within it.

14.23.3 | From this belief, Epicurus and Democritus have come. They disagreed to the extent that one thought all atoms were very small and therefore imperceptible, while Democritus believed that some atoms could be quite large. Both say that atoms exist and are named because of their unbreakable solidity.

14.23.4 | They say that the atoms, which they have renamed, are indivisible bodies, parts of the whole, from which everything is made and into which everything breaks down. They claim that Diodorus was the creator of the name for these indivisible parts. They say that another person, Heraclides, called them 'masses,' and that the physician Asclepiades inherited this name. After saying this, he goes on to challenge the belief through many arguments, but also through these.

## Section 24

14.24.1 | "Πῶς αύτῶν ἀνασχώμεθα τυχηρὰ λεγόντων εἶναι συμπτώματα τὰ σοφά καὶ

14.24.1 | How can we accept that they say wise things are just combinations and

διὰ τοῦτο τὰ καλὰ δημιουργήματα; ὃν  
ἔκαστόν τε καθ' ἐαυτὸν γενόμενον ὥφθη τῷ  
προστάξαντι γενέσθαι καλὸν καὶ  
συλλήβδην ὁμοίως ἄπαντα. καὶ εἰδὲ γὰρ,  
φησὶν, ὃ θεὸς τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησε, καὶ  
ἴδοὺ καλὰ λίαν.

therefore beautiful creations? Each one,  
having come into being by itself, was seen  
by the creator as good, and all together  
were seen the same way. For, they say, the  
god saw everything that he made, and  
behold, it was very good.

14.24.2 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν τῶν  
συνήθων καὶ παρὰ πόδας νουθετοῦνται  
παραδειγμάτων, ἔξ ὧν δύνανται μανθάνειν  
ὅτι χρειῶδες μὲν καὶ πρὸς ὥφρέλειαν ἔργον  
οὐδὲν ἀνεπιτηδεύτως οὐδὲ συμβατικῶς  
ἀπεργάζεται, ἀλλὰ χειρουργούμενον εἰς  
τὴν πρέπουσαν ὑπηρεσίαν καταρτίζεται·  
ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἄχρηστον μεταπίπτῃ καὶ  
ἀνωφελές, τότε διαλυόμενον ἀορίστως καὶ  
ώς ἀν τύχῃ διασκίδναται, ἀτε μηκέτι  
μεταχειρίζομένης μηδὲ διαταττούσης αὐτὸ  
τῆς σοφίας, ἢ τοῦ συνεστάναι τοῦτο  
ἔμελεν.

14.24.2 | But neither from the small  
common things nor from examples given  
do they learn that useful work is not done  
carelessly or by chance, but is crafted for  
the proper service. When it becomes  
useless and unhelpful, then it falls apart  
randomly and is scattered as it may, since  
wisdom no longer uses or arranges it,  
which was meant to bring it together.

14.24.3 | ἴμάτιόν τε γὰρ οὐ χωρὶς  
ἰστουργοῦ συνισταμένων τῶν στημόνων  
οὐδὲ τῆς κρόκης αὐτομάτως  
παρεμπλεκομένης ἀνυφαίνεται· εἰ δὲ  
κατατριβεῖη, τὰ λακισθέντα διαρριπτεῖται  
ῥάκη. οἰκία τε ἀνοικοδομεῖται καὶ πόλις οὐ  
τοὺς μέν τινας δεχομένη θεμελίοις  
αὐτομολοῦντας λίθους, τοὺς δὲ  
ἀναπηδῶντας εἰς τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ  
χώραν ὃ τοιχοδόμος τοὺς εύθέτους  
ἐπιφέρει· κατ' καταρριφθείσης δὲ, ώς ἀν  
παρείκη, κατενεχθεὶς ἔκαστος ἀπεσφάλη.

14.24.3 | For a garment is not woven  
without the threads being set up by the  
weaver, nor does the yarn get tangled by  
itself. If it is worn down, the threads that  
were woven fall apart into rags. A house is  
built, and a city does not just accept some  
stones that abandon their foundations,  
while others jump to the tops, but the  
builder places the straight ones according  
to the area. When they fall down, each one  
is brought down as it may happen.

14.24.4 | καὶ κατασκευαζομένης νεώς οὐχ ἡ  
μέν τις ὑπέβαλεν ἐαυτὴν τρόπις, ὃ δὲ κατὰ  
μέσην ἐαυτὸν ἰστὸς ὥρθωσε, καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἔκαστον ξύλων ἦν ἔτυχεν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ  
θέσιν κατέλαβεν· οὐδὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔκατὸν

14.24.4 | And when a ship is being built,  
one does not just place herself in a way, nor  
does the mast stand up by itself in the  
middle, and each of the other pieces of  
wood does not just take whatever position

τῆς ἀμάξης ξύλα καθ' ὃν εῦρε κενὸν τόπον  
ἔκαστον συνεπάγῃ, ἀλλ' ὁ τέκτων ἐκατέρας  
συνεκόμισε καίριον· εἴ δὲ διαλυθείη ἡ ναῦς  
ἐνθαλασσεύουσα, ἥ φερομένη κατὰ γῆν  
ἀμάξα, ὅπη τύχῃ τὰ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν  
κυμάτων, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συντόνου ϋύμης  
διασπείρεται.

it finds. Nor do the hundred pieces of wood  
for the wagon just fit together wherever  
there is an empty space, but the carpenter  
carefully joins each one. If the ship were to  
break apart while at sea, or if the wagon  
were to be carried on land, the pieces  
would be scattered, some by the waves and  
others by the strong current.

14.24.5 | οὕτως ἀν ἀρμόζοι λέγειν αὐτοῖς  
καὶ τάς ἀτόμους, ἀργὰς μενούσας καὶ  
ἀχειροποιήτους καὶ ἀχρήστους, εἴκῃ  
φέρεσθαι. ὄράτωσαν γὰρ τὰς ἀθεάτους  
ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὰς ἀνοήτους νοείτωσαν, οὐχ  
ὅμοιώς ἔκεινω, ὃς φανερωθὲν ἐαυτῷ τοῦτο  
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄμολογεῖ τὸ  
ἀκατέργαστόν σου εἴδοσαν οἵ ὄφθαλμοί  
μου."

14.24.5 | Thus, one could say to them that  
the atoms, which are slow, unmade, and  
useless, are carried about randomly. For  
they should see the unseen things there  
and understand the foolish ones, not like  
that person who, when revealed to himself  
by the god, admits that he has seen your  
unworked form, as my eyes have.

14.24.6 | ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἡ φασιν ἔξ ἀτόμων  
ὑφάσματα γίνεσθαι τὰ εύητρια, ταῦθ'  
ὑπαύτῶν ἀσόφως καὶ ἀναισθήτως  
αύτουργεῖσθαι λέγωσι, τίς ἀνέξεται τὰς  
ἀτόμους ἀκούων ἐρίθους, ὃν καὶ ὁ ἀράχνης  
ἔστι σοφώτερος χειροτεχνῶν ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ;

14.24.6 | But when they say that the fine  
fabrics are made from atoms, they claim  
that these are produced foolishly and  
without feeling. Who would tolerate  
hearing about the atoms, when even the  
spider is wiser than the craftsmen in  
making them from itself?

## Section 25

14.25.7 | ἡ τὸν μέγαν τοῦτον οἶκον τὸν ἔξ  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς συνεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ  
μέγεθος καὶ πλῆθος τῆς ἐπιφαινομένης  
αὐτῷ σοφίας καλούμενον κόσμον, ὑπὸ τῶν  
σὺν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ φερομένων ἀτόμων  
κεκοσμήσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι κόσμον  
ἀκοσμίαν;

14.25.7 | Or is this great house, made from  
heaven and earth, called the world because  
of its size and the abundance of wisdom  
that appears in it, decorated and created by  
atoms that are carried along with nothing  
else, and has it become a world of disorder?

14.25.8 | πῶς δὲ κινήσεις καὶ ὀδοὺς

14.25.8 | How can movements and orderly

εύτάκτους ἐξ ἀτάκτου προάγεσθαι φορᾶς;  
πῶς δὲ τὴν παναρμόνιον τῶν οὐρανίων  
χορείαν ἐξ ἀμούσων καὶ ἀναρμόστων  
συνάρδειν ὄργάνων;"

paths come from chaotic forces? And how can the perfect harmony of the heavenly dance agree with unmusical and disordered instruments?

14.25.9 | Τίνα δὲ τρόπον, μιᾶς οὕσης καὶ τῆςαύ τῆς ἀπασῶν ούσιας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφθάρτου φύσεως, πλὴν τῶν μεγεθῶν, ὡς φασι, καὶ τῶν σχημάτων, τὰ μέν ἔστι θεῖα καὶ ἀκήρατα καὶ αἰώνια, ὡς αὐτοὶ φήσαιεν ἀν, σώματα, ἢ μακραίωνά γε κατὰ τὸν οὕτως ὄνομάσαντα, φαινόμενά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ· φαινόμενα μὲν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες γῇ τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἀφανῆ δὲ θεοί τε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ψυχαί; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲ θέλοντες ὑπάρχειν ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται.

14.25.9 | In what way, when there is one and the same substance and the same unchanging nature, except for sizes, as they say, and shapes, are some bodies divine, unblemished, and eternal, as they themselves would say, or even long-lasting according to the name given? The visible ones are the sun, moon, and stars, as well as earth and water; the invisible ones are gods, demons, and souls. For these cannot refuse to exist, even if they do not want to.

14.25.10 | τὰ δὲ μακροβιώτατα ζῶά τε καὶ φυτά· ζῶα μὲν ἔν τε ὅρνισιν, ὡς φασιν, ἀετοὶ κόρακές τε καὶ φοίνικες· ἔν τε χερσαίοις ἔλαφοι τε καὶ ἐλέφαντες καὶ δράκοντες· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνύδροις τὰ κήτη· δένδρα δὲ φοίνικες καὶ δρύες καὶ περσέαι· καὶ τῶν γε δένδρων τὰ μέν ἔστιν ἀειθαλῆ, ἀ καὶ καταριθμήσας τις εἶπεν εἶναι τεσσαρακαίδεκα· τὰ δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀνθεῖ καὶ φυλλορροεῖ· τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τῶν τε φυομένων καὶ τῶν γεννωμένων ἔστιν ὡκύμορα καὶ βραχυτελῆ, ὡν ἔστι καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς εἴπε τις ἀγία περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφή βροτὸς δὲ γεννητὸς γυναικὸς ὀλιγόβιος.'

14.25.10 | But the longest-lived are animals and plants. Among animals, as they say, there are eagles, crows, and phoenixes; on land, there are deer, elephants, and dragons; and in the water, there are sea creatures. Among trees, there are palm trees, oaks, and pear trees. Some of these trees are evergreen, which someone counted and said there are fourteen; others bloom in season and shed their leaves. Most of the growing and born things are short-lived and brief, including humans, as someone has said in a holy writing: 'a mortal born of a woman is of short life.'

14.25.11 | ἀλλὰ τοὺς συνδέσμους φήσουσι τῶν ἀτόμων διαλλάττοντας αἴτιους γίνεσθαι τῆς περὶ τὴν διαμονὴν διαφορᾶς. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπυκνῶσθαι καὶ κατεσφίγχθαι λέγειν, ὡστ' αὐτὰ παντελῶς δυσαπάλλακτα γεγονέναι πιλήματα, τὰ δὲ

14.25.11 | But they will say that the bonds of atoms change due to the differences concerning their arrangement. For some of them are said to be compacted and tightly bound, so that they have become completely inseparable masses; while

μανοτέραν καὶ χαλῶσαν τὴν συνάφειαν τῶν ἀτόμων ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἢ πλέον ἐσχηκέναι, ὡς ἡ θᾶττον ἢ μὴ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς κολλήσεως αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοιῶνδε καὶ ὕδε πως ἐσχηματισμένων, τὰ δὲ ἔξ εἰτέρων ἐτεροίως διακειμένων συμμεμίχθαι.

others have a looser connection, either less or more, so that they separate either more quickly or not long after their joining. And some are formed in this way and in that way, while others mix together differently.

14.25.12 | "Τίς οὖν ὁ φυλοκρινῶν συναγείρων τε καὶ ἀναχέων καὶ τάσδε μὲν οὕτω συντάττων εἰς ἥλιον, τάσδε δὲ ὡδί, ἵνα ἡ σελήνη γένηται, καὶ ἐκάστας συμφέρων κατὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα πρὸς ἐκάστου φαῦσιν ἀστέρος; οὕτε γὰρ αἱ ἥλιακαὶ τοσαίδε καὶ τοιαίδε καὶ ὕδε πως ἐνωθεῖσαι πρὸς ἐργασίαν σελήνης ἀν καταβεβήκεσαν, οὕτε αἱ τῶν σεληνιακῶν ἀτόμων πλεκτάναι γεγόνασί ποτε ἥλιος· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀρκτοῦρος, εἴ καὶ λαμπρός ἐστι, τὰς ἐωσφόρου μεγαλοφρονήσαιτό ποτε ἀν ἀτόμους ἔχειν, οὐδὲ Ὁρίωνος αἱ Πλειάδες. καλῶς γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος διέστειλεν εἰπών· ἄλλη δόξα ἥλιου καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων·" ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ.

14.25.12 | Who then is the one who arranges these things, both gathering and separating, placing some in such a way that they become the sun, and others in this way so that they become the moon, and each one contributing according to its own nature to each star? For neither do those that are solar, nor those that are of this kind or that kind, come together to form the work of the moon, nor has the sun ever been made from lunar atoms. But neither does the bright star, if it is bright, ever have atoms of the morning star, nor do the Pleiades belong to Orion. For Paul rightly distinguished, saying, 'There is one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars;' for a star differs in glory from another star.

14.25.13 | καὶ εἴ μὲν ἀνεπαίσθητος αὐτῶν ὡς ἀψύχων ἡ σύμπτηξις ἐγένετο, ἐπιστήμονος αὐταῖς ἔδει δημιουργοῦ· εἴ δὲ ἀπροαίρετος καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην, ὡς ἀλόγων, ἡ σύνερξις, σοφός τις αὐτὰς ἀγελάρχης συνελαύνων ἐπεστάτησεν· εἴ δὲ ἐκουσίως ἐθελουργῆσαι συγκέκλεινται, θαυμάσιός τις αὐτῶν ἀρχιτέκτων ἐργοδοτῶν προηγήσατο· ἡ καθάπερ εὔτακτος στρατηγὸς οὐ συγκεχυμένην εἴασε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πάντας ἀναμῖξ, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει μὲν τὴν ἵππον, ἴδιᾳ δὲ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, τούς τε ἀκοντιστὰς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ χωρὶς τοὺς

14.25.13 | And if their coming together happened without awareness, as if they were lifeless, then a knowledgeable creator must have been behind it. But if the joining was unintentional and forced, like irrational beings, then a wise leader must have guided them. If, however, they came together willingly to create, then a marvelous architect must have been their master. Or just as a well-organized general does not allow the army to be confused and mixed up, but arranges the cavalry in one part, the infantry separately, the spearmen

τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας ἔνθα ἔχρην διετάξατο, ἵνα ἀλλήλοις οἱ ὄμόσκευοι συμμαχοῖεν.

by themselves, and the archers apart, where it is necessary to organize them, so that those of the same kind may support each other.

14.25.14 | εἰ δὲ τοῦτο χλεύην οἴονται τὸ παράδειγμα διὰ τὸ μεγάλων σωμάτων με πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα ποιεῖσθαι σύγκρισιν, ἐπὶ τὰ σμικρότατα μεταβησόμεθα.”

14.25.14 | But if they think that this example is ridiculous because it compares large bodies to the smallest ones, we will move on to the tiniest things.

14.25.15 | Εἶτα τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει “Εἴ δὲ μήτε λέξις μήτε ἐκλογὴ μήτε τάξις αὐταῖς ἄρχοντος ἐπικέοιτο, αὐταὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς κατὰ τὴν ῥύσιν τύρβης διευθύνουσαι, καὶ τὸν πολὺν τῶν συμπτώσεων διεκπερῶσαι κυδοιμὸν, αἱ ὅμοιαι πρὸς τὰς ὄμοιάς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν ἄγοιντο, συντρέχοιεν δὲ καὶ συναγελάζοιντο γνωρίζουσαι τὰς συγγενεῖς, θαυμαστή γε τῶν ἀτόμων ἡ δημοκρατία, δεξιούμενων τε ἀλλήλας τῶν φίλων καὶ περιπλεκομένων, εἰς μίαν τε κατασκηνοῦν συνοικίαν ἐπειγομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀποτετορνευμένων αὐτομάτων εἰς ἥλιον φωστῆρα μέγαν, ἵνα ποιήσωσι τὴν ἡμέραν, τῶν δὲ εἰς πολλὰς ἵσως πυραμίδας ἀστέρων ἀναπεφλεγμένων, ἵνα καὶ ὅλον στεφανώσωσι τὸν οὐρανὸν, τῶν δὲ περιτεταγμένων, ἵνα αὐτὸν είκῇ στερεώσωσι καὶ καμαρώσωσι τὸν αἰθέρα εἰς τὴν τῶν φωστήρων ἐπιβάθμαν, ἐπιλέξωνταί τε ἑαυταῖς αἱ συνωμοσίαι τῶν χυδαίων ἀτόμων μονάς, καὶ διακληρώσωνται τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς οἴκους ἑαυταῖς καὶ σταθμούς.”

14.25.15 | Then, it follows that if neither speech, nor selection, nor arrangement were guided by a ruler, but they themselves, from the great flow of chaos, directed themselves, and managed the great noise of their coming together, similar ones would not be led by the god, as the poet says, but would rush together and gather, knowing their relatives. Truly, the democracy of atoms is wonderful, as they receive each other as friends and intertwine, hastening to settle in one community. Some of them, having been formed into great solar bodies, create the day, while others may perhaps ignite many pyramids of stars, to crown the sky as one and whole. And those that are arranged, so that they may firmly and arch like the ether to the foundation of the lights, will choose for themselves the unions of the common atoms as single units, and will assign the sky into their own houses and stations.

14.25.16 | Εἶτα μεθ' ἔτερά φησιν “Αλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ φανερὰ ὁρῶσιν οὗτοι οἱ πολλοῦ γε δέουσι συνορᾶν καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ. ἐοίκασι γὰρ

14.25.16 | Then he says next, 'But these people do not even see the obvious things, while they greatly need to see the hidden

μηδὲ ἀνατολὰς ἐποπτεύειν τεταγμένας καὶ δύσεις μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μήτε τὰς ἔκπρεπεστάτας ἡλίου, μηδὲ χρῆσθαι ταῖς δι' αὐτῶν δεδωρημέναις ἀνθρώποις ἐπικουρίαις, ἀναπτομένῃ μὲν εἰς ἐργασίαν ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπηλυγαζούσῃ δὲ νυκτὶ πρὸς ἀνάπταυλαν. ἔξελεύσεται γάρ ἄνθρωπος (φησὶν) ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ ἵως ἐσπέρας.”

ones. For they seem not to observe the arranged sunrises and sunsets, nor the other things, nor the most splendid of the sun, nor to use the gifts given to humans through them for help, as the day opens up for work and the night comes for rest. For a person will go out (he says) to do his work and to his tasks until evening.'

14.25.17 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπισκοποῦσιν ἀνακύκλησιν αὐτοῦ, καθ' ἣν ὥρισμένας ὥρας καὶ καιροὺς κύκαριους καὶ τροπὰς ἀπαρατρέπους ἀποτελεῖ, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξ ὅν ἐστιν ἀτόμων ὀδηγούμενος. ἀλλὰ κανὸν μὴ θέλωσιν οἱ δείλαιοι, ὡς δ' οὖν πιστεύουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι μέγας κύριος ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν λόγοις αὐτοῦ κατέσπευσε πορείαν.”

14.25.17 | But they do not even observe the other cycle of it, in which certain hours and times and seasons are fixed and unchanging, guided by the atoms from which it is made. But even if the poor ones do not want to, as the righteous believe, the great master who made it has hastened its course in his words.

14.25.18 | ἄτομοι γάρ ὑμῖν φέρουσιν, ὡς τυφλοὶ, καὶ ὑετοὺς, ἔνα ἡ γῆ τροφὰς ὑμῖν τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζῷοις ἀνῆ; Θέρος τε ἐπάγουσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ δένδρων εἰς τρυφὴν καρποὺς λάβητε; καὶ διὰ τί μὴ ταῖς ἀτόμοις προσκυνεῖτε καὶ θύετε ταῖς ἐπικάρποις; ἀχάριστοί γε μηδὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐταῖς ὀλίγας τῶν πολλῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔχετε, ἀφιεροῦντες.”

14.25.18 | For the atoms bring you, oh blind ones, both rain and the earth that provides food for you and for all the living things on it. They bring summer, so that you may also receive fruits from the trees for your enjoyment. And why do you not worship the atoms and offer sacrifices to the fruitful ones? You are ungrateful, not even dedicating a small portion of the many gifts you have received from them.

14.25.19 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν ὁ δὲ πολυεθνῆς καὶ πολυμιγῆς δῆμος τῶν ἀστέρων, οὓς αἱ πολυπλανεῖς καὶ ἀεὶ διαρριπτούμεναι συνέστησαν ἄτομοι, χώρας ἐαυτοῖς κατὰ συνθήκας ἀπεδάσαντο, ὡσπερ ἀποικίαν ἡ συνοικίαν ἀνελόμενοι, μηδενὸς οἰκιστοῦ μηδὲ οἰκοδεσπότου προεστηκότος· καὶ τὰς πρὸς

14.25.19 | And shortly after, the diverse and mixed crowd of the stars, which the wandering and always scattered atoms have formed, assigned themselves regions according to agreements, as if they were establishing a colony or a community, with no founder or master in charge. And they guard their neighboring boundaries

τοὺς πλησιοχώρους γειτνιάσεις ἐνωμότως καὶ μετ' είρήνης φυλάττουσιν, οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντες οὓς κατειλήφασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅρους, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλίδων ἀτόμων νομοθετούμενοι.

together and peacefully, not exceeding the limits they have held from the beginning, just as if they were being governed by the laws of the royal atoms.

14.25.20 | ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχουσιν ἔκειναι· πῶς γὰρ αἱ μηδ' οῦσαι; ἀλλὰ θείων λογίων ἐπακούσατε "ἐν κρίσει κυρίου τὰ αὐτοῦ. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπὸ ποιήσεως αὐτῶν διέστειλε μερίδας αὐτῶν, ἐκόσμησεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν.

14.25.20 | But they do not rule over those things; for how could they? But listen to the divine words: 'In the judgment of the master, all things are his.' From the beginning and from their creation, he divided their portions, adorned his works for eternity, and established their beginnings for their generations.

14.25.21 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν Ή τίς οὕτως εὔτακτος πεδιάδα γῆν διώδευσε φάλαγξ, οὐ προθέοντος ούδενὸς, οὐκ ἐκτρεπομένου, οὐκ ἐμποδοστατοῦντος, οὐκ ἀπολειπομένου τῶν συμπαρατεταγμένων, ὡς ἴσόστοιχοι καὶ συνασπιδοῦντες ἀεὶ προίασιν, ὃ συνεχής τε καὶ ἀδιάστατος ἀόχλητός τε καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστος τῶν ἄστρων στρατός;

14.25.21 | And shortly after, he says, 'Who has so orderly crossed the plain of the earth, with no one leading, no one turning away, no one blocking the way, no one left behind among those lined up, as they always advance equally and in formation, the continuous and unbroken, untroubled and unhindered army of the stars?'

14.25.22 | ἀλλ' ἐγκλίσεσι καὶ ταῖς εἰς πλάγιον ἐκνεύσεσι γίνονταί τινες αὐτῶν ἄδηλοι τροπαί. καὶ μὴν ἀεὶ καιροφυλακοῦσι καὶ προορῶνται τὰς χώρας, ὅθεν ἔκαστος οἱ τούτοις προσεσχηκότες. εἰπάτωσαν οὖν ἡμῖν οἱ τῶν ἀτόμων τομεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀμερῶν μερισταὶ καὶ τῶν ἀσυνθέτων συναγωγεῖς καὶ τὰ ἄπειρα περινοοῦντες, πόθεν ἡ κυκλοφορικὴ τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ περιοδίᾳ, οὐχ ἐνὸς παραλόγως ἀτόμων πήγματος οὕτω σφενδονηθέντος, ἀλλὰ τοσούτου κυκλικοῦ χοροῦ κατὰ ῥυθμὸν ἵσα βαίνοντος καὶ συμπειδινουμένου, πόθεν

14.25.22 | But some of them become hidden trophies through turns and sideways movements. And indeed, they always lie in wait and foresee the lands, from where each one knows they have joined these. So let the divisions of the atoms and the parts of the indivisible and the gatherings of the uncombined tell us, from where the circulation of the heavens and the cycle comes, not from a single, similarly thrown mass of atoms, but from such a circular dance moving in rhythm, equally advancing and revolving, from where countless, disordered, unintentional,

άδιάτακτοι καὶ ἀπροαίρετοι καὶ ἀγνῶτες  
ἄλλήλων συνέμποροι παμπληθεῖς  
συνανεστράφησαν. καλῶς τε ὁ προφήτης  
ἐν τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ ἀνενδείκτοις ἔταξε τὸ  
ξένους καὶ δύο συνδραμεῖν "εἰ  
πορεύσονται (φησὶ) δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐὰν μὴ  
γνωρίσωσιν ἑαυτούς;"

and unknown traders have gathered together. The prophet rightly placed the stranger among the weak and unguarded, even if two should run together, 'If two are to go to the same place, will they not know themselves?'

14.25.23 | Ταῦτ' είπὼν μυρία τε ἄλλα  
τούτοις ἐπαγαγών ἔξῆς κατασκευάζει διὰ  
πλειόνων τὸ πρόβλημα ἀπό τε τῶν κατὰ  
μέρος στοιχείων τοῦ παντὸς, ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν  
τούτοις παντοδαπῶν ζῷων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ  
τῆς τάνθρωπου φύσεως, ἔξ ὕν ἔτι βραχέᾳ  
τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσθείς καταπαύσω τὸν  
παρόντα λόγον.

14.25.23 | After saying these things and bringing in many other matters, he then prepares the problem further from the various elements of the whole, from the many kinds of animals within them, and indeed also from human nature. From these, I will shortly add to what has been said and conclude the present discussion.

## Section 26

14.26.1 | "Καὶ οὕτε ἑαυτοὺς οὕτε τὰ περὶ  
ἑαυτοὺς ὄρῶσιν. εἴ γάρ τις τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν  
τοῦ τῆς ἀσεβείας ταύτης δόγματος ἑαυτὸν  
ὅστις ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν ἀνελογίζετο,  
ἔφρόνησεν ἀν ἄπερ συνησθημένος ἑαυτοῦ,  
καὶ εἴπεν ἀν οὐ πρὸς τὰς ἀτόμους, ἀλλὰ  
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν ἑαυτοῦ "αὶ  
χεῖρές σου ἔπλασάν με καὶ ἐποίησάν με·"  
καὶ προσεπεξειργάσατο ἀν ὡς τὸν  
θαυμάσιον τῆς ποιήσεως ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον "ἢ  
ῶσπερ γάλα με ἥμελξας, ἐτύρευσας δέ με  
ἴσα τυρῶ; δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας,  
ὅστεοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἔνειρας; ζωὴν δὲ  
καὶ ἔλεος ἔθου παρ' ἐμοὶ, ἢ δὲ ἐπισκοπή  
σου ἐφύλαξέ μου τὸ πνεῦμα.

14.26.1 | And they see neither themselves nor the things about themselves. For if one of the leaders of this impious doctrine were to consider who he is and where he came from, he would realize what he has been thinking about himself, and he would say not to the atoms, but to his father and creator, 'Your hands made me and formed me.' And he would have crafted a way to marvel at the wonder of his own creation, 'Just as you milked me like milk, did you not make me equal to cheese? You clothed me with skin and flesh, and you gave me bones and tendons. You gave me life and mercy, and your watchfulness preserved my spirit.'

14.26.2 | πόσας γὰρ ἀτόμους ὁ Ἐπικούρου  
πατὴρ καὶ ποταπᾶς ἔξ ἑαυτοῦ προέχεεν, ὅτ'  
ἀπεσπέρμαινεν Ἐπίκουρον; καὶ πῶς εἰς τὴν

14.26.2 | For how many atoms did the father of Epicurus bring forth from himself when he was creating Epicurus? And how

μητρώαν αύτοῦ καταβληθεῖσαι γαστέρα  
συνεπάγησαν, ἐσχηματίσθησαν,  
έμορφώθησαν, ἔκινήθησαν, ηύξύνθησαν;  
καὶ πολλὰς ἡ βραχεῖα ῥανὶς τὰς Ἐπικούρου  
ἀτόμους προσκαλεσαμένη τὰς μὲν  
ἐπημφίεσεν αὐτῶν δέρμα καὶ σάρκα  
γενομένας, ταῖς δὲ ὀστωθείσαις  
ήνωρθωται, ταῖς δὲ συνεδέθη  
νευρορραφουμένη;

14.26.3 | τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ μέλη καὶ  
σπλάγχνα καὶ ἔγκατα καὶ αἰσθητήρια τὰ  
μὲν ἔνδοθεν, τὰ δὲ θύραθεν ἐφήρμοσε, δι'  
ῶν ἐζωγογνήθη τὸ σῶμα; ὃν οὐδὲν ἀργὸν  
οὐδὲ ἀχρεῖον προσετέθη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὰ  
φαυλότατα, μήτε τρίχες μήτε ὄνυχες,  
πάντα δὲ, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῆς συστάσεως  
ὅφελος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κάλλος τῆς ὄψεως  
συντελεῖ.

14.26.4 | οὐ γάρ τῆς χρείας μόνης, ἄλλὰ καὶ  
τῆς ὥρας ἐπιμελής ἡ πρόνοια. ἔρυμα μὲν  
γάρ καὶ σκέπασμα πᾶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ  
κόμη, εὐπρέπεια δὲ ὁ πώγων τῷ  
φιλοσόφῳ. τὴν τε τοῦ ὅλου σώματος τοῦ  
ἀνθρωπείου φύσιν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν  
ἀναγκαίων πάντων ἥρμοσε, καὶ τοῖς μέλεσι  
πᾶσι τὴν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν  
περιέβαλε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ ὅλου χορηγίαν  
ἐπεμέτρησεν.

14.26.5 | ὃν τὰ μὲν ὄλοσχερῇ καὶ τοῖς  
ἰδιώταις ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν  
πρόδηλα· κεφαλῆς ἡγεμονίᾳ, καὶ περὶ τὸν  
ἔγκεφαλον, ὡσπερ ἄρχοντα ἐν ἀκροπόλει,  
τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἡ δορυφορίᾳ· προσιοῦσαι  
μὲν ὄψεις, ἀναγγέλλουσαι δὲ ἀκοαί, ἐδωδὴ

did they come together in his mother's womb, being formed, shaped, set in motion, and growing? And many atoms of Epicurus, having been called by a brief sprinkle, some were clothed with skin and flesh, others were made into bones, and others were joined together with tendons?

14.26.3 | And many other parts, like limbs and organs and entrails and senses, some were fitted from within and some from outside, through which the body was brought to life. None of these were added in vain or without purpose, since not even the least important things, neither hairs nor nails, were unnecessary; everything contributes, some for the benefit of the structure, and others for the beauty of appearance.

14.26.4 | For it is not only for necessity, but also for beauty that care is taken. The hair serves as a protection and covering for the head, while the beard adds to the appearance of the philosopher. It has arranged the nature of the whole human body from all the necessary parts, and it has surrounded each limb with a connection to one another and measured the support from the whole.

14.26.5 | Of these, some are complete and clear to those who have experience; the head is the leader, and around the brain, like a ruler in the acropolis, are the senses that serve. Sight approaches, while hearing announces, taste acts like a tax collector,

ώσπερ φορολογοῦσα, ὅσφρησις καθάπερ  
άνιχνεύουσα καὶ διερευνωμένη, καὶ ἡ ἀφὴ  
πᾶν διατάττουσα τὸ ὑπήκοον.

14.26.6 | (κεφαλαιωδῶς γὰρ νῦν ὄλιγα τῶν  
τῆς πανσόφου προνοίας ἔργων  
ἐπιδραμούμεθα, μετ' ὄλιγον ἀκριβέστερον  
τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἐπεξεργασόμενοι, ὅταν  
πρὸς τὸν δοκοῦντα κοῦντα λογιώτερον  
ἀποτεινώμεθα.)

14.26.7 | χειρῶν διακονία, δι’ ᾧν ἔργασίαι  
τε παντοῖαι καὶ πολυμήχανοι τελοῦνται  
τέχναι ταῖς κατὰ μέρος δυνάμεσιν εἰς μίαν  
συνεργίαν διηρθρωμένων, ὥμων τε  
ἀχθοφορίαι, καὶ κατοχαὶ δακτύλων,  
ἀγκώνων τε καμπαὶ, πρὸς τε τὸ σῶμα εἴσω  
στρεφόμεναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς  
ἀπονεύουσαι, ἔνα ἐφέλκεσθαι τε καὶ  
ἀπωθεῖσθαι δύνωνται· ποδῶν ὑπηρεσία, δι’  
ᾧν πᾶσα ἡμῖν ὑποπέπτωκεν ἡ περίγειος  
κτίσις, βάσιμος ἡ γῆ, πλωτὴ ἡ θάλασσα,  
περάσιμοι οἱ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πάντων πρὸς  
πάντα ἐπιμιξίᾳ γαστὴρ ταμιεῖον τροφῶν,  
πᾶσι τοῖς συντε— ταγμένοις μέλεσιν ἐξ  
ἐαυτῆς ἐν μέτρῳ τὸ σιτηρέσιον διανέμουσα  
καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἐκτιθεμένη· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
δι’ ὅσων ἐμφανῶς ἡ διοίκησις τῆς  
ἀνθρωπείου μεμηχάνηται διαμονῆς, ᾧν  
διμοίως τοῖς ἄφροσιν ἔχοντες οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν  
χρῆσιν οὐκ ἴσχουσι τὴν γνῶσιν.

14.26.8 | οἵ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἣν ἀν οἰηθῶσιν  
ἀθεότητα τὴν ἐπιστημονικωτάτην περὶ  
πάντων καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐαυτοὺς  
εὔεργετικωτάτην ἀναφέρουσιν  
οίκονομίαν) κρείττονος καὶ θείας ὅντως  
φρονήσεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργον αὐτὴν  
εἶναι πιστούμενοι, οἵ δὲ συντυχίᾳ καὶ

smell investigates and explores, and touch organizes everything that is under its control.

14.26.6 | For now, we are only touching on a few of the works of all-wise care, and soon, with the help of the divine, we will explore them more closely, when we aim toward what seems to be more reasonable.

14.26.7 | The service of the hands is through which all kinds of work and clever crafts are completed, joined together in one cooperation. The shoulders carry burdens, and the fingers hold and grasp, bending the elbows both inward toward the body and outward away from it, able to pull and push. The service of the feet allows us to walk on the solid ground, to float on the sea, to cross rivers, and to mix with everything. The stomach is a storehouse of food, distributing nourishment to all the joined parts in measure and presenting what is extra. And everything else is managed clearly for the dwelling of humans, which wise people do not lack knowledge of, just like those who are foolish.

14.26.8 | Some believe that the most scientific understanding of everything and the most beneficial to themselves is the management of a higher and divine thought and power. Others, however, attribute the most wonderful cultivation to the chance and coincidence of atoms coming together

συμπτώσει τῶν ἀτόμων ἀσκόπως τὴν  
θαυμασιωτάτην καλλιεργίαν ἀνατιθέασι.

14.26.9 | τὴν δὲ ἐνεργεστέραν ἔτι τούτων  
ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνδοσθίων διάθεσιν  
ἰατροὶ μὲν ἀκριβῶς διερευνησάμενοι καὶ  
καταπλαγέντες ἔξεθείασαν τὴν φύσιν,  
ἡμεῖς δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἂν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα  
κἄν ἐπιπολῆς ἀναθεωρήσωμεν.

14.26.10 | καθόλου δὲ καὶ συλλήβδην ὅλον  
τοῦτο τὸ σκῆνος τίς τοιοῦτον  
ἔσκηνοποίησεν, ὑψηλὸν, ὅρθιον, εὔρυθμον,  
εὐαίσθητον, εύκίνητον, εὐεργόδν,  
παντουργόν; ἡ τῶν ἀτόμων ἄλογος, φασὶ,  
πληθύς. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν εἰκόνα πηλίνην ἔκεῖναι  
συνελθοῦσαι πλάσαιεν, οὐδ' ἀνδριάντα  
λίθινον ξέσαιεν, οὐδ' ἂν εἴδωλον ἀργυροῦν  
ἢ χρυσοῦν χωνεύσασαι προαγάγοιεν·

14.26.11 | ἀλλὰ τέχναι καὶ χειρουργίαι  
τούτων ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εύρηνται  
σωματουργοί. ὃν δὲ ἀπεικασίαι καὶ  
σκιαγραφίαι δίχα σοφίας οὐκ ἂν γένοιντο,  
πῶς τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ πρωτότυπα τούτων  
αὐτομάτως συμβέβηκε;

14.26.12 | ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ νοῦς καὶ λόγος  
πόθεν ἐγγέγονε τῷ φιλοσόφῳ; ἡ παρὰ τῶν  
ἀψύχων καὶ ἀνοήτων καὶ ἀλογίστων  
ἀτόμων ταῦτ' ἡρανίσατο, κάκείνων αὐτῷ  
τι ἐκάστη νόημα καὶ δόγμα ἐνέπνευσεν;

14.26.13 | καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡσιόδου μῦθος τὴν  
Πανδώραν φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, οὕτως ἡ  
σοφία τάνδρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτόμων

without purpose.

14.26.9 | The doctors, having carefully  
examined the most active parts and the  
arrangement of the insides, were amazed  
and revealed their nature. But we, later on,  
will consider it as best as we can, even if  
only superficially.

14.26.10 | But who made this whole body,  
tall, upright, well-proportioned, sensitive,  
mobile, useful, and capable of all work?  
They say it is the mindless multitude of  
atoms. Yet, even if they came together, they  
could not shape a clay figure, nor carve a  
stone statue, nor create a silver or golden  
image.

14.26.11 | But these arts and crafts are  
discovered by human body workers. If their  
shapes and outlines could not exist without  
skill, how did the true and original forms  
come about by chance?

14.26.12 | But where did the soul, mind,  
and reason come from for the philosopher?  
Did they arise from the lifeless, senseless,  
and mindless atoms, and did those atoms  
inspire him with any thought or belief?

14.26.13 | And just as Hesiod's myth says  
that Pandora was created by the gods, so  
wisdom was formed by the atoms. And all

συνετελέσθη; καὶ ποίησιν δὲ πᾶσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν μουσικὴν, ἀστρονομίαν τε καὶ γεωμετρίαν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας, οὐκέτι θεῶν εὐρήματα καὶ παιδεύματα φήσουσιν Ἐλληνες εἶναι, μόναι δὲ γεγόνασιν ἔμπειροι καὶ σοφαὶ πάντων αἱ ἀτομοὶ μοῦσαι.

14.26.14 | ή γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀτόμων Ἐπικούρου θεογονία τῶν μὲν ἀπείρων κόσμων ἔξοριός ἐστιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀπειρον ἀκοσμίαν πεφυγάδευται.”

## Section 27

14.27.1 | “Ἐργάζεσθαι δέ γε καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ τε καὶ προκήδεσθαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἀργοῖς καὶ ἄφροις καὶ ἀσθενέσι καὶ κακούργοις ἵσως ἐπαχθῆ, οἷς ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐαυτὸν Ἐπίκουρος, τοιαῦτα φρονήσας περὶ τῶν θεῶν· τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις καὶ δυνατοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς καὶ σώφροσιν, οἷους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς φιλοσόφους, (πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον τοὺς θεούς;) οὐχ ὅπως ἀηδῆ ταῦτα καὶ προσάντη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τερπνότατα, καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον ἀσπαστότατα, οἷς τὸ ἀμελὲς καὶ τὸ μέλλειν τι πράττειν τῶν χρηστῶν ὄνειδος, ὡς ἔκείνους τε ποιητὴς νουθετεῖ συμβουλεύων μηδ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἐς τ' αὔριον· καὶ προσεπαπειλῶν αἴει δ' ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτησι παλαίει.

14.27.2 | ἡμᾶς τε σεμνότερον παιδεύει προφήτης, θεοπρεπῆ μὲν ὄντως ἔργα τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπάρχειν λέγων, τὸν δὲ ὀλιγωροῦντα τούτων ἔχαγιστον “γὰρ (φησὶν) ὁ ποιῶν τὰ ἔργα κυρίου ἀμελῶς.”

poetry, all music, astronomy, geometry, and the other sciences, the Greeks will no longer say are discoveries and teachings of the gods, but that only the experienced and wise atoms are the muses of all.

14.26.14 | For the theology of Epicurus from the atoms is a result of the infinite worlds, and it has fled into the infinite chaos.

14.27.1 | To work, to manage, to care for such things may seem burdensome to the lazy, foolish, weak, and wicked, like those whom Epicurus criticized for their thoughts about the gods. But to the serious, strong, wise, and moderate people, who philosophers should be, how much more so to the gods? These things are not unpleasant and opposing, but rather very delightful and most welcome to those who see neglect and procrastination in doing good as shameful, just as the poet advises them, saying not to put things off until tomorrow. And he warns that the man who always delays will struggle with misfortune.

14.27.2 | A prophet teaches us more seriously, saying that truly divine works are those related to virtue, but the one who neglects these is most wretched. For he says, 'the one who does the works of the lord carelessly.'

14.27.3 | καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμαθέσιν ἡστινοσοῦν τέχνης καὶ ἀτελεστέροις διὰ τὸ τῆς πείρας ἄηθες καὶ τὸ τῶν ἔργων ἀτριβὲς κάματος ἐγγίνεται ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν· οὗ δὲ προκόπτοντες, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι οἱ τέλειοι, ῥᾳδίως ἢ μετίασι κατορθοῦντες γάνυνται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀν ἔλοιντο τὰ εἰωθότα πράττοντες ἀνύειν καὶ τελεσιουργεῖν ἡ πάντα σφίσιν ὑπάρξαι τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθά.

14.27.4 | Δημόκριτος γοῦν αὐτὸς, ὡς φασιν, ἔλεγε βιούλεσθαι μᾶλλον μίαν εὐρεῖν αἴτιολογίαν ἢ τὴν Περσῶν οἵ βασιλείαν γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα μάτην καὶ ἀναιτίως αἴτιολογῶν, ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ κενῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποθέσεως πλανωμένης ὁρμώμενος, καὶ τὴν ρίζαν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς τῶν ὅντων φύσεως οὐχ ὄρῶν, σοφίαν δὲ μεγίστην ἡγούμενος τὴν τῶν ἀσόφως καὶ ἡλιθίως συμβαινόντων κατανόησιν, καὶ τὴν τύχην τῶν μὲν καθόλου καὶ τῶν θείων δέσποιναν ἐφιστάς καὶ βασιλίδα, καὶ πάντα γενέσθαι κατ' αὐτὴν ἀποφαινόμενος, τοῦ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὴν ἀποκηρύττων βίου καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύοντας αὐτὴν ἐλέγχων ἀγνώμονας.

14.27.5 | τῶν γοῦν Ὑποθηκῶν ἀρχόμενος λέγει "Ανθρωποι τύχης εἴδωλον ἐπλάσαντο, πρόφασιν ἴδίης ἀνοίγες." φύσει γάρ γνώμη τύχη μάχεται· τὴν ἔχθιστην τῇ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτὴν ἔφασαν κρατεῖν μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἄρδην ἀναιροῦντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες ἐκείνην ἀντικαθιστᾶσιν αὐτῆς. οὐ γάρ εύτυχῃ τὴν φρόνησιν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρονεστάτην ὑμνοῦσι τὴν τύχην.

14.27.3 | And for the ignorant, the practice of any skill is difficult because of their lack of experience and the hard work of the tasks. But those who make progress, especially the skilled ones, easily succeed in what they attempt, and they would rather achieve and complete the usual tasks than have all the good things that exist among humans.

14.27.4 | Democritus, at least as they say, claimed it was better to find one explanation than for the Persian kingdom to exist, and he did this in vain and without reason, as if starting from a false beginning and misguided assumption. He did not see the root and the common necessity of the nature of things, but thought that the greatest wisdom was understanding the foolish and stupid events. He placed luck as the overall ruler and queen of divine matters, saying that everything happens because of it, while he rejected it in human life and criticized those who support it as ignorant.

14.27.5 | Starting from the Hypotheses, he says, 'Humans have created an image of luck as an excuse for their own foolishness.' For by nature, reason fights against luck; they claimed that this very thing has power over the worst of minds. Rather, they completely remove and hide this and replace it with that. For they do not praise reason as fortunate, but they praise luck as more reasonable.

14.27.6 | οῖ μὲν οὖν τῶν βιωφελῶν ἔργων  
έπιστάται ταῖς πρὸς τὸ δόμόφυλον  
ἐπικουρίαις ἀγάλλονται, ἐπαίνου τε  
όρέγονται καὶ Κλεοῦς ἐφ' οῖς αὐτῶν  
προκάμνουσιν οἱ μὲν τρέφοντες, οἱ δὲ  
κυβερνῶντες, οῖ δ' ίώμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
πολιτεύμενοι οῖ δέ γε φιλόσοφοι καὶ  
σφόδρα παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες  
ἀνθρώπους φρυάττονται.

14.27.7 | ἡ τολμήσουσιν Ἐπίκουρος ἡ  
Δημόκριτος είπεν ὡς ἀσχάλλουσι  
φιλοσοφοῦντες; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θυμηδίαν  
ταύτης ἀν ἐτέραν προθεῖντο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ  
ἀγαθὸν ἡδονὴν εἶναι φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ'  
αἰδεσθήσονται γε μὴ λέγειν ἡδιον αὐτοῖς  
εἶναι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

14.27.8 | τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς περὶ ὅν οῖ μὲν  
ποιηταὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄδουσι δοτῆρας ἔάων,  
οὗτοι δὲ οῖ φιλόσοφοι μετὰ τωθείας  
εύφημοῦσι, θεοὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀδώρητοί  
τε καὶ ἀμέτοχοι· καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ  
τεκμηριοῦνται θεοὺς εἶναι, μήτε παρόντας  
καὶ πράττοντάς τι ὁρῶντες, (ὡς οἱ τὸν  
ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας  
θαυμάσαντες διὰ τὸ θέειν ἔφασαν  
κεκλῆσθαι θεούς) μήτε τινὰ δημιουργίαν  
αὐτοῖς ἡ κατασκευὴν προσνέμοντες, ἵν εἴκ  
τοῦ θεῖναι, τοῦτ' ἔστι ποιῆσαι,  
θεοποιήσωσιν αύτούς· (τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκα  
πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὃ τῶν ἀπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ  
δημιουργὸς μόνος ἔστι θεός) μήτε  
διοίκησιν ἡ κρίσιν ἡ χάριν αὐτῶν τινα πρὸς  
ἀνθρώπους ἐκτιθέμενοι, ἵνα φόβον ἡ τιμὴν  
όφλησαντες προσκυνήσωμεν αὐτοῖς;

14.27.6 | Those who are masters of useful  
works rejoice in the help they give to their  
own kind. They seek praise and honor for  
what they do, whether they are the ones  
providing care, those who guide, those who  
heal, or those who engage in politics. But  
philosophers, who strive to educate people,  
are very frustrated.

14.27.7 | Will Epicurus or Democritus dare  
to say that they are troubled by  
philosophy? But they would not even  
suggest another reason for this. For even if  
they think that the good is pleasure, they  
would still be embarrassed to say that it is  
more pleasant for them to engage in  
philosophy.

14.27.8 | About the gods, some poets sing  
that they are givers of gifts, while  
philosophers speak of them with reverence,  
saying they are the source of all good  
things, without gifts and without  
involvement. And how do they prove that  
the gods exist? They do not see them  
present and acting, like those who, amazed  
by the sun, moon, and stars, claim they are  
gods because of their movement. They do  
not expect any creation or structure from  
them, so that by their actions they might  
make them into gods. For the only true god  
is the creator and poet of all things. They do  
not present any governance, judgment, or  
favor from them to humans, so that we  
might worship them out of fear or honor.

14.27.9 | “Ἡ τοῦ κόσμου προκύψας  
Ἐπίκουρος καὶ οὐράνιον ὑπερβάς  
περίβολον, ἢ διά τινων κρυφών ἄς μόνος  
οἴδεν ἔξελθών πυλῶν, οὓς ἐν τῷ κενῷ  
κατεῖδε θεοὺς, καὶ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν  
έμακάρισε τρυφήν· κάκεῖθεν ἐπιθυμητής  
γενόμενος τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κενῷ  
ζηλωτὴς διαιτης, οὕτω πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ  
μακαρισμοῦ τούτου μετουσίαν  
ἔξομοιωθησομένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς θεοῖς  
παρακαλεῖ, συμπόσιον αὐτοῖς μακάριον,  
οὐχ ὅπερ οἴ ποιηταὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ τὸν  
“Ολυμπὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κενὸν συγκροτῶν, ἔκ τε  
τῶν ἀτόμων τὴν ἀμβροσίαν αὐτοῖς  
παρατιθεὶς καὶ προπίνων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων  
τὸ νέκταρ;

14.27.10 | καὶ δὴ καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνων τῶν  
μηδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅρκους τε καὶ ὄρκισμοὺς  
μυρίους τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ βιβλίοις ἐγγράφει,  
όμινύς τε συνεχῶς μὰ Δία” καὶ “νὴ Δία,” τε  
τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ πρὸς οὓς  
διαλέγοιτο “πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,” οὐ τί που  
δεδιώς αὐτὸς ἢ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν,  
κενὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ ἀργὸν καὶ  
ἄσημον ἐπιφθεγγόμενος τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ  
παράρτημα, οἶνον εἴ καὶ χρέμπτοι τοι  
πτύοι τὸ τε πρόσωπον στρέψοι καὶ τὴν  
χεῖρα κινοίη. τοιαύτη γὰρ ἀδιανόητος ἦν ἡ  
παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ματαία ὑπόκρισις ἢ τῶν  
θεῶν ὄνομασία.

14.27.11 | ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν πρόδηλον, ὅτι  
μετὰ τὸν Σωκράτους θάνατον κατεπτηχώς  
Ἀθηναίους ως μὴ δοκοίη τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἦν  
ἀθεος κενὰς αὐτοῖς ἀνυποστάτων θεῶν  
τερατευσάμενος ἐζωγράφησε σκιάς. οὕτε  
γὰρ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνέβλεψε νοεροῖς  
όφθαλμοῖς, ἕνα τῆς ἐναργοῦς ἄνωθεν

14.27.9 | Either Epicurus, peering into the universe and going beyond the heavenly sphere, or having come out through some hidden gates that only he knows, saw the gods in the void and praised their great pleasure. And from there, becoming eager for pleasure and a follower of the lifestyle in the void, he invites everyone to share in the happiness of those gods, a joyful feast, not like the poets who speak of heaven or Olympus, but forming the void, offering them ambrosia made from atoms and pouring them nectar from those.

14.27.10 | And indeed, even about those who have nothing to do with us, he writes countless oaths and swears by his own books, constantly saying 'by Zeus' and 'I swear by Zeus' to those he meets and with whom he speaks 'in the name of the gods.' He does this not out of fear of perjury, but this is empty, false, useless, and meaningless, adding it as an extra part to his words, as if he were to spit and turn his face and move his hand. For such was the foolish and vain pretense of naming the gods.

14.27.11 | But this is clear, that after the death of Socrates, he approached the Athenians so that it would not seem that he was an atheist, drawing pictures of empty gods without any support. For he neither looked up to heaven with his mind's eye, nor did he hear a clear voice from above,

φωνῆς ἀκούσῃ, ἡς ὁ προσεκτικὸς θεατὴς κατακούσας ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι "οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα, οὕτε τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεῖδεν εἰς τούδαφος· ἔμαθε γάρ ἂν ὅτι "τοῦ ἐλέους κυρίου πλήρης ἡ γῆ, καὶ ὅτι κυρίου ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς." καὶ μετὰ γάρ φησι "κύριος εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπέβλεψε καὶ ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ. Ψυχὴν παντὸς ζώου ἐκάλυψε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς."

which a careful observer would testify to, saying 'the heavens declare the glory, and the work of his hands shows the firmament,' nor did he see the earth with his thoughts. For he would have learned that 'the earth is full of the Lord's mercy, and that the Lord is the earth, and its fullness.' And he also says, 'the Lord looked upon the earth and filled it with his good things. He covered the face of every living creature.'

14.27.12 | εἴ δὲ μὴ τυφλώτουσιν, ἐπισκεψάσθωσαν τὴν παμποίκιλον τῶν ζώων πολυπλήθειαν, τὰ χερσαῖα, τὰ πτηνὰ, τὰ ἔνυδρα, καὶ κατανοησάτωσαν ὡς ἀληθὴς ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων κρίσιν γέγονεν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ δεσπότου του καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν πέφηνε καλά.

14.27.12 | But if they are not blind, let them examine the great variety of living creatures, the land animals, the birds, and the water creatures, and let them understand how true the testimony of their master has become in the judgment of all, and that everything has been declared good according to his command.

14.27.13 | Ταῦτά μοι ἀπὸ πλείστων ἔξήνθισται τῶν πρὸς Ἐπίκουρον Διονυσίῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπῳ πεποιημένων. μετελθεῖν δὲ καιρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων αἵρεσιν, τά τε λοιπὰ τῆς τῶν θαυμαστῶν φυσιολόγων ἐπιθεωρῆσαι, ὡς ἀν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως τὸν ἐ' ξ ἡμῶν ἀπολογισμὸν παράσχωμεν τοῖς φιλεγκλήφιλεγκλήμοσιν.

14.27.13 | These things have been gathered from many sources about Epicurus and the teachings of Dionysius, who is our guide. It is time to turn to those around Aristotle and the school of the Stoic philosophers, and to examine the rest of the wonderful natural philosophers, so that we may also provide an account of our own retreat from these to those who love to argue.

## Book Fifteen (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ)

### Section 1

15.1.1 | ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ. Τὴν πολύθεον τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπάντων πλάνην ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῆς

15.1.1 | Introduction. Long ago, I set out to refute the many false beliefs of all the

Εύαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἀπελέγξαι πρὸ πολλοῦ θέμενος ἐπὶ συστάσει καὶ ἀπολογίᾳ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναχωρήσεως, ἥν μετ' εὐλόγου πεποιήμεθα, οὐ μόνον τοὺς μύθους, οὓς δὴ περὶ τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν παῖδες τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολόγων τε καὶ ποιητῶν κεκωμψδήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς σεμνοπρεπεῖς δὴ καὶ ἀπορρήτους φυσιολογίας, ἄνω που εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ κόσμου μέρη πρὸς τῆς γενναίας φιλοσοφίας μετενηγεμένας, πρώτιστα πάντων ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς πρώτοις συγγράμμασι διηρευνησάμην, καίτοι μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν τούτοις χρῆναι σεμνολογεῖν τῶν δὴ θεολόγων αὐτῶν ἀποφηναμένων.

15.1.2 | τηρητέον γοῦν ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεολόγων οὐδέν τι πλέον τῆς ἴστορίας εἰδότες, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς μύθοις προσανέχοντες ἔμαρτυρήθησαν· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἐν πάσαις πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις κατὰ τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν διηγήσεις θεῶν τελεταὶ καὶ μυστήρια σύμφωνα τοῖς τῶν προτέρων μυθικοῖς διηγήμασι παραδέδοται, ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῶν θεῶν γάμους καὶ παιδοποίας, θρήνους τε καὶ μέθας, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλάνας, τῶν δὲ ἔρωτας, τῶν δὲ ὄργας, τῶν δὲ ἐτέρας παντοίας συμφοράς τε καὶ περιστάσεις, ἀκολούθως τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιτάτων μνημονευομένοις, κατά τε τὰς τελετὰς, ἐν τε τοῖς ὕμνοις, καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς πεποιημέναις ψαλταῖς παραλαμβάνειν.

15.1.3 | πλὴν ὅμως ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τὰς τετραγωδημένας ἐν φυσικαῖς ἀποδόσεσι κομπείας τάς τε τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων εὐρεσιλογίας εἰς φανερὸν ἥγαγον· οὐ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν

nations in the early stages of the Gospel Preparation, focusing on the structure and defense of our retreat from them, which we have made with good reason. I will not only address the myths that the children of their theologians and poets have mocked about their own gods, but also their serious and hidden natural philosophies, which have been lifted up to the heavens and the parts of the universe, in relation to noble philosophy. First of all, I examined these in the first three writings, even though there is nothing in these that needs to be treated seriously according to those theologians.

15.1.2 | Indeed, it should be noted that the oldest among their theologians know nothing more than history, and they have only testified to their myths. Therefore, it is reasonable that in all cities and towns, the rituals and mysteries of the gods have been passed down according to the ancient stories, just as even now there are weddings and childbirths of the gods, along with mourning and drunkenness, and some myths about deceivers, others about love, some about anger, and others about various misfortunes and circumstances, all following the accounts mentioned by the ancients, according to the rituals, in the hymns, and in the songs made to the gods themselves.

15.1.3 | However, I have also brought to light the boastful claims of those who have been overly confident in their natural explanations, as well as the arguments of the sophists and philosophers. I have also

βιομένων χρηστηρίων λόγον, τήν τε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς διατεθρυλημένην περὶ εἰμαρμένης ψευδῆ δόξαν ἐν ἑτέροις τρισὶ τοῖς ἔξης μετὰ τὰ πρῶτα συγγράμμασι λευκοῖς τοῖς ἐλέγχοις ἀπεγύμνωσα, οὐ μόνοις τοῖς οἴκοθεν ἐπιχειρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν μάλιστα τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων φωναῖς εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐλεγχον συγκεχρημένος.

exposed the sayings about the oracles of the cattle, and the widely circulated false belief about fate. In the next three writings, after the first ones, I have stripped away these claims, not only using arguments from our own sources but also by employing the voices of their philosophers among the Greeks to challenge them.

15.1.4 | μεταβὰς δὲ ἔκειθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια, τίσι ποτὲ λογισμοῖς τὴν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένην δογματικὴν θεολογίαν, τὴν τε κατὰ τούσδε ἴστοριάν ἀπασαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων μεμαρτυρημένην, ἐν ἴσαριθμοις αὖ πάλιν λόγων συντάξει παρεστησάμην.

15.1.4 | Then, moving on to the writings of the Hebrews, I examined what reasoning underlies their doctrinal theology contained within these texts, as well as the entire history related to them, and I presented it in equal numbers of arguments again.

15.1.5 | εἴθ' ἔξης τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπελέγχας τρόπον, ὅπως τε πάντα παρὰ βαρβάρων ὡφέληντο, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν σεμνὸν ἐπάγονται μάθημα, καὶ τὴν γε τῶν χρόνων ἀντιπαράθεσιν, καθ' οὓς Ἑλλήνων τε οἱ βιώμενοι Ἐβραίων τε οἵ προφήται γεγόνασιν, εἰς φῶς ἀγαγών· αὗθις διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τριῶν τὴν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν εύδοκίμων φιλοσόφων πρὸς Ἐβραίων δόξας συνδρομὴν ὑπέδειξα, αὐτὰς πάλιν τὰς οἰκείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν φωνὰς μάρτυρας ποιησάμενος.

15.1.5 | Then, I examined the Greek way of reasoning, showing how they benefited from the barbarians, and how they bring no serious teachings from their own sources. I also compared the times in which the Greeks and the Hebrew prophets existed, bringing this to light. Again, through the next three writings, I pointed out the agreement between the respected philosophers among the Greeks and the beliefs of the Hebrews, using their own voices as witnesses.

15.1.6 | οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑτεροδοξοῦντας ἡμῖν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων οὐ πρὸς ἡμάς μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σφῶν οἰκείους διεστῶτας ὑπό τε τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνατετραμμένους ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου συγγράμματι κατεφώρασα· διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης τὸ κριτήριον ἀδέκαστον ἐπιδ' ἐπιδεικνὺς τοῖς

15.1.6 | However, I also brought forward the views of those among the Greek philosophers who disagree with us, not only in relation to us but also in relation to their own people, as they have been challenged by the knowledgeable ones in the previous writings. Through all of this, I aimed to show an unbiased standard of our

έντυγχάνουσιν, ἔργοις τε, ώς ἐπος είπεῖν, καὶ αὐτοῖς πράγμασι τὰς ἀποδείξεις τοῦ μὴ ἀσκόπως ἡμᾶς, κεκριμένω δὲ καὶ σώφρονι λογισμῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἐλλήνων τὴν Ἐβραίων ὅμοῦ παλαιάν καὶ ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν τε καὶ εύσέβειαν ἐπανηρῆσθαι παρασχόμενος· ὃ καὶ συνέστη διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φωνῶν παραθέσεως.

opinion to those who encounter it, providing evidence through actions, so to speak, and through their own matters, to prove that we are not without reason. I also aimed to restore the ancient and true philosophy and piety of the Hebrews alongside that of the Greeks, which I established through the comparison of Greek voices.

15.1.7 | Ἡς είσέτι δεῦρο τὸν ὕστατον ἐπέχοντες λόγον, πεντεκαιδίκατον ὅντα τῆς ἐν χερσὶ πραγματείας, τὸ λεῖπον τοῖς διεξωδευμένοις ἀποδώσομεν, τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς γενναίας τῶν Ἐλλήνων φιλοσοφίας ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς φῶς ἔλκοντες, πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν τε τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀχρηστομάθειαν ἀπογυμνοῦντες, καὶ πάντων γε πρότερον παριστῶντες ὅτι μὴ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς θαυμαζομένων, ὀλιγωρίᾳ δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνωφελοῦς σχολῆς, ἥκιστα αὐτῶν πεφροντίκαμεν, τῇ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀσκήσει τὰς ἔαυτῶν ἀναθέντες ψυχάς.

15.1.7 | Now, as we come to the final part of this work, which is the fifteenth of the writings in hand, we will give what remains to those who have been discussed. We are still drawing forth the important aspects of the noble Greek philosophy, revealing to all the useless knowledge within it. We aim to show that we have not overlooked the admiration for their teachings, nor have we neglected the useless studies among them. Instead, we have focused on the practices of the better ones, dedicating our minds to them.

15.1.8 | τούτου δὴ οὖν σὺν θεῷ διὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμῖν ἐπισφραγισθέντος, τὰ μὲν τῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἐνταῦθά μοι περιγραφήσεται· μεταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐντελεστέραν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Ἀποδείξεως, ἀπὸ τοῦ λείποντος τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίας σκέμματος τὴν καταρχὴν τῆς δευτέρας ἐπισυνάψω πραγματείας.

15.1.8 | Therefore, with the help of truth, I will describe here the parts of the Preparation. Then, moving on to the more complete argument of the Gospel Proof, I will connect the beginning of the second writing to what remains of our discussion.

15.1.9 | Ἡν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιμεμφόμενον ἡμῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὰ Εβραίων λόγια τῶν πατρίων προτιμήσαντες οὐ τὸν ὅμοιον τῷ Ἰουδαίων βίον ζηλοῦντες προειλόμεθα· πρὸς ὃ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος λόγου συμπλήρωσιν, θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, ἀπαντῆσαι

15.1.9 | If this is being criticized by us, that we have preferred the words of the Hebrew ancestors and have not sought a life similar to that of the Jews, then, after completing this discussion, with the help of god, I will try to respond. For I believe that in this

πειράσομαι. ταύτη γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς πρώτοις τὰ δεύτερα ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὶ δεσμῷ συμπλακέντα μίαν τὴν καθόλου διάνοιαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀποτελέσειν λόγου.

15.1.10 | τό γε μὴν παρὸν, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου συγγράμμασιν ἡ κατὰ Πλάτωνα φιλισοφία τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς Ἐβραίων συμφωνοῦσα λόγοις, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διεστῶσα, ἐν οἷς ἐλήλεγκται καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὴ ἀρέσκοντα διαφωνοῦσα· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς δὴ φυσικοὺς ἐπικληθέντας φιλοσόφους, τά τε τῆς Πλάτωνος διαδοχῆς καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ξενοφάνην τε καὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ ἔτι Πύρρωνα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἐποχὴν εἰσηγουμένους τούς τε ἄλλους ἔξῆς ἄπαντας, ὃν τὰς δόξας ὁ προλαβὼν ἀπήλεγξε λόγος, τοῖς Ἐβραίων ὅμοι καὶ τοῖς Πλάτωνος δόγμασιν αὐτῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ ἐξ ἐναντίας ιστάμενα, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐλεγχὸν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν βέλεσιν ἀπενηνεγμένα.

15.1.11 | ὥρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῦφον τῶν ἀπ' Ἀριστοτέλους τῶν τε Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων ἄνωθεν ὡς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς κατοπτεῦσαι, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν δὲ πᾶσαν φυσιολογίαν τῶν τὰς ὄφρүς ἀνατεινομένων συνιδεῖν, ὡς ἀν μάθοιμεν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖςδε σεμνολογούμενα, τά τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὗ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀντιλεγόμενα.

15.1.12 | οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀναχωρήσεως τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν κεκριμένον εὐλόγου πάσης ἀπολύοιτ' ἀν κατηγορίας, διτὶ δὴ μὴ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σεμνῶν, ἐξητασμένῃ δὲ καὶ βεβασανισμένῃ κρίσει,

way, the first things are joined together like a single thought, creating a complete understanding of the whole argument.

15.1.10 | Now, since it has been shown in the previous writings that the philosophy according to Plato sometimes agrees with the words of the Hebrews and sometimes stands apart from them, in which it is both challenged and disagrees with the same ideas; as for the other philosophers called naturalists, including those who followed Plato and those like Xenophanes, Parmenides, and also Pyrrho, as well as all the others mentioned, whose opinions have been previously refuted, these stand in opposition to both the beliefs of the Hebrews and the teachings of Plato, not only in truth but also in the arguments directed against them.

15.1.11 | It is time to also look at the other blindness of the philosophers from Aristotle and the Stoics, as if from a stage, and to see the rest of the natural philosophy of those who raise their brows, so that we may learn about the serious matters discussed by them, as well as the arguments again raised against them by their own followers.

15.1.12 | For this reason, the hidden part of their retreat, which we have, would free us from all accusations, that we are not ignorant of the serious matters among them, but rather have examined and tested

τὴν παρὰ τοῖς νενομισμένοις βαρβάροις ἀλήθειάν τε καὶ εύσέβειαν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπάντων προτετιμήκαμεν.

the truth and piety of all the Greeks, which we have valued above the customs of the so-called barbarians.

15.1.13 | ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν τὸν βίον τάνδρὸς διαβεβλήκασι, φιλόσοφοι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἀφανεῖς τινες ἡσαν καὶ οὗτοι. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ φίλον τὸν ἄνδρα ούδ' αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἀνέχεσθαι κακῶς πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἀγορευόμενον. διόπερ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐκθήσομαι ἀπολογίας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ, ὃς ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ Περὶ φιλοσοφίας τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει

15.1.13 | I will begin with Aristotle. Others have indeed spoken badly of the man's life, but some philosophers were not completely unknown either. However, I do not like to hear the man being spoken of poorly by his own followers. Therefore, I will present more of the defenses about him from Aristocles the Peripatetic, who writes the following about him in the seventh book on philosophy.

## Section 2

15.2.1 | “Πῶς γάρ οἶόν τε, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἐπίκουρος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιστολῇ, νέον μὲν ὅντα καταφαγεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πατρώαν ούσιαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύεσθαι συνῶσαι, κακῶς δὲ πράττοντα ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τὸ φαρμακοπωλεῖν ἐλθεῖν, ἔπειτα ἀναπεπιαμένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιπάτου πᾶσι παραβαλεῖν αὐτόν;

15.2.1 | For how is it possible, as Epicurus says in his letter about pursuits, for a young man to consume his family's wealth, then to join the army, and while doing poorly in these things, to turn to being a pharmacist, and then to compare him to Plato, who was completely different?

15.2.2 | ἡ πῶς ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο Τιμαίου τοῦ Ταυρομενίτου λέγοντος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀδόξου θύρας αὐτὸν ἰατρείου καὶ τὰς τυχούσας όψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας κλεῖσαι;

15.2.2 | Or how could someone accept what Timaeus of Tauromenium says in his histories about closing the door of a doctor's office when he is of low reputation and at an old age?

15.2.3 | τίς δ' ἀν πεισθείη τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀριστοξένου τοῦ μουσικοῦ λεγομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος; ἐν γάρ τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ φησὶν ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ

15.2.3 | Who would be convinced by what Aristoxenus the musician says in the life of Plato? For in his wandering and travels, he claims that some foreign Peripatetics came

άντοικοδομεῖν αὐτῷ τινας Περίπατον  
ξένους ὄντας. οἴονται ούν ἔνιοι ταῦτα περὶ  
Ἀριστοτέλους λέγειν αὐτὸν, Ἀριστοξένου  
διὰ παντὸς εὐφημοῦντος Ἀριστοτέλην.

to help him rebuild. Therefore, some think that he is saying these things about Aristotle, while Aristoxenus always speaks well of Aristotle.

15.2.4 | καταγέλαστα δ' εἰκότως εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τὰ  
Ἀλεξίνου ἐριστικοῦ. ποιεῖ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρον παῖδα διαλεγόμενον τῷ πατρὶ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ διαπτύοντα μὲν τοὺς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγους, ἀποδεχόμενον δὲ Νικαγόραν, τὸν Ἐρμῆν ἐπικληθέντα.

15.2.4 | It would be reasonable for someone to laugh at the arguments in the writings of Alexinus the contentious. For he makes Alexander a child talking with his father Philip, and while he is rejecting the words of Aristotle, he accepts those of Nicagoras, who was called Hermin.

15.2.5 | καὶ Εύβουλίδης δὲ προδήλως ἐν τῷ  
κατ' αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ ψεύδεται, πρῶτον μὲν ποιήματα ψυχρὰ προφερόμενος, ὡς γεγραφότων ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἐρμείαν οἰκειότης αὐτῷ ἔπειτα Φιλίππῳ φάσκων αὐτὸν προσκόψαι, καὶ τελευτῶντι Πλάτωνι μὴ παραγενέσθαι, τά τε βιβλία αὐτοῦ διαφθεῖραι.

15.2.5 | And Eubulides clearly lies in his book about him, first bringing up cold poems, claiming that others have written about the marriage and the closeness to Hermes, then saying that he criticized Philip, and that he did not come to Plato as he was dying, and that he destroyed his books.

15.2.6 | τὴν μὲν γὰρ Δημοχάρους  
κατηγορίαν κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων τί χρὴ  
λέγειν; οὐ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακῶς εἴρηκεν. ἔτι γε μὴν αὐτὰς τὰς διαβολὰς σκοπῶν ἄν τις ληρεῖν αὐτὸν φαίη. λέγει γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀλῶναι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Στάγειρα τὴν πατρίδα προδοῦναι Μακεδόσιν αὐτὸν· ἔτι δὲ κατασκαφείσης Ὁλύνθου μηνύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαρυροπωλίου Φιλίππῳ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους τῶν Ὁλυνθίων.

15.2.6 | What should one say about the accusation of Democharis against the philosophers? For he has spoken badly not only of Aristotle but also of the others. Moreover, if one looks at the very slanders, they might say he is talking nonsense. For he claims that the letters of Aristotle were captured by the city of Athens, and that he betrayed his homeland Stagira to the Macedonians; and also, after the destruction of Olynthus, he says that he informed Philip about the wealthiest of the Olynthians.

15.2.7 | ἥλιθια δὲ διαβέβληκεν αὐτὸν καὶ Κηφισόδωρος, ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὴς,

15.2.7 | And Cephisodorus, the student of Isocrates, has also slandered him as foolish,

τρυφερὸν καὶ τένθην καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων αὐτὸν εἶναι.

15.2.8 | πάντα δ' ὑπερπαίει μωρίᾳ τὰ ὑπὸ Λύκωνος είρημένα, τοῦ λέγοντος εἶναι Πυθαγορικὸν ἐαυτόν. φησὶ γὰρ θύειν Ἀριστοτέλην θυσίαν τετελευτηκούσα τῇ γυναικὶ τοιαύτην ὅποιαν Αθηναῖοι τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ ἐν ἔλαιῳ θερμῷ λουσμένον τοῦτο δὴ πιπράσκειν· ἡνίκα δὲ εἰς Χαλκίδα ἀπῆι, τοὺς τελώνας εὐρεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ λοπάδια χαλκᾶ τέτταρα καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.

15.2.9 | καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διαβαλόντες Ἀριστοτέλην τοσοῦτοι γεγόνασιν· ὃν οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἥσαν χρόνους, οἱ δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐγένοντο· πάντες δὲ σοφισταὶ καὶ ἐριστικοὶ καὶ ρήτορες, ὃν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τέθνηκε τῶν σωμάτων μᾶλλον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονότας, εἴτα δὲ τὰ ὑπ’ ἔκείνων είρημένα λέγοντας, παντάπασιν ἔὰν δεῖ χαίρειν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς μηδ’ ἐντευχηκότας τοῖς βιβλίοις αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοσχεδιάζοντας, ὅποιοι εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ λέγοντες τριακοσίας ἔχειν λοπάδας αὐτόν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀν εὐρεθείη περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν είρηκώς τῶν τότε ὄντων ὅτι μὴ Λύκων. οὗτος μέντοι, καθάπερ ἔφην, εἴρηκεν εὐρῆσθαι λοπάδια πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.

15.2.10 | οὐ μόνον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαβεβληκότων τεκμήραιτό τις ἀν ὅτι ψευδῆ πάντα τὰ είρημένα ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ κάκ τοῦ μὴ πάντας τὰ αὐτὰ διαβάλλειν, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον ἵδιά τινα λέγειν· ὃν εἴπερ ἦν ἐν ὀτιοῦν ἀληθὲς, ἔχρην δήπου ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἄπαξ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε

saying that he is delicate and soft, and other such things.

15.2.8 | All that is said by Lycon is overwhelmed by foolishness, as he claims to be Pythagorean himself. For he says that Aristotle offered a sacrifice to his wife, similar to what the Athenians do for Demeter, and that he was bathing in warm olive oil while doing this. And when he was leaving for Chalcis, he found in the ship four and seventy bronze coins.

15.2.9 | And I believe that the first ones to slander Aristotle have become so numerous. Some of them lived at the same time, while others came a little later. But all of them are sophists, debaters, and speakers, whose names and books have mostly perished. For those who came after them, and then spoke about what those had said, if they should be happy at all, especially those who have not even encountered their books, but are improvising, are like those who claim he had three hundred bronze coins. For no one would find anything said about him from that time except for Lycon. However, as I said, he claimed that seventy-five bronze coins were found.

15.2.10 | Not only from the times and from those who have slandered can one find evidence that everything said is false, but also from the fact that not everyone slanders the same things, but each one speaks about something specific. If there was even one thing that was true, it would

άπολωλέναι.

surely have been lost by him at the hands of those from that time.

15.2.11 | φανερὸν οὖν ὅτι καθάπερ πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις, οὕτω καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει συνέβη, διά τε τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑπεροχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε σοφιστῶν φθονεῖσθαι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς εὗ φρονοῦντας μὴ εἰς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας ἀποβλέπειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἔπαινοῦντας καὶ ζηλοῦντας αὐτὸν· μακρῷ γὰρ πλείους καὶ βελτίους εὐρεθεῖεν ἀν οὗτοί γε.

15.2.11 | It is clear that, just like many others, Aristotle also experienced envy from the sophists of his time because of his friendships with the kings and his superiority in speech. Those who think well should not only look at those who slander, but also at those who praise and admire him; for surely there would be many more and better of these.

15.2.12 | τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα προδήλως πέπλασται· δύο δὲ ταῦτα δοκεῖ πιστεύεσθαι δι' ἄψεγουσί τινες αὐτὸν· ἐν μὲν, ὅτι Ἐρμείου γῆμειε φύσει μὲν ἀδελφὴν, θετὴν δὲ θυγατέρα Πυθιάδα, κολακέυων αὐτὸν· (Θεόκριτος γοῦν ὁ Χῖος ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τοιοῦτον Ἐρμείου εύνούχου τε καὶ Εύβούλου τόδε δούλουμνῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων θῆκεν Ἀριστοτέλης· διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρὸς φύσιν εἰλετο ναίεινάντ' Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς.) ἔτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἡχαρίστησε Πλάτωνι.

15.2.12 | Other things are clearly woven together, but these two seem to be believed by some who criticize him: one is that he married a sister of Hermes by nature, and a daughter of Pythiada by adoption, flattering him; (Indeed, Theocritus of Chios made an epigram like this: 'This empty monument was set up by Aristotle, the foolish one, for his beloved servant Hermes and Euboulos; who, because of his insatiable appetite, chose to live instead of in the Academy, in the sewers.') The other is that he was ungrateful to Plato.

15.2.13 | περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἐρμείου καὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ συγγεγράφασι καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀπελλικῶν, οῦ τοῖς βιβλίοις ὁ ἐντυχὼν πεπαύσεται βλασφημῶν αὐτούς.

15.2.13 | Many others have written about Hermes and Aristotle's friendship with him, including Apellicon, who, in his books, will stop speaking badly about them.

15.2.14 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ γάμου τοῦ Πυθιάδος ἀποχρώντως αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολαῖς ἀπολελόγηται. τεθνεῶτος γὰρ Ἐρμείου, διὰ τὴν πρὸς

15.2.14 | About the marriage to Pythiada, he himself has spoken clearly in his letters to Antipater. After Hermes died, because of his goodwill towards him, he married her,

έκεινον εύνοιαν ἔγημεν αύτήν, ἄλλως μὲν σώφρονα καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν, ἀτυχοῦσαν μέντοι διὰ τὰς καταλαβούσας συμφορὰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αύτῆς.”

15.2.15 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς “Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πυθιάδος τῆς Ἐρμείου τελευτὴν Ἀριστοτέλης ἔγημεν Ἐρπυλλίδα Σταγειρῖτιν, ἔξ οὐδὲς αύτῷ Νικόμαχος ἐγένετο. τοῦτον δέ φασιν ὄρφανὸν τραφέντα παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ καὶ δὴ μειρακίσκον ὅντα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν πολέμῳ.”

15.2.16 | Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης Ἀριστοκλέους ἐκκείσθω γραφῆς· ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὴν δογματικὴν Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίαν θεωρῆσαι καιρός.

### Section 3

15.3.1 | Μώσεως καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητῶν τέλος εἶναι τοῦ μακαρίως ζῆν τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσίν τε καὶ φιλίαν δι' εὔσεβείας συντελουμένην ὑποθεμένων, εύσέβειάν τε εἶναι ἀληθῆ διδαξάντων τὴν διὰ πάσης ἀρετῆς τῷ θεῷ εύαρέστησιν, (ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν, ἐπὶ μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πάντα κεῖσθαι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα τοῖς θεοφιλέσι χορηγεῖσθαι) τοῦ τε Πλάτωνος τὰ συνωδὰ τούτοις ὁρίζομένου καὶ τέλος εύδαιμονίας τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν ἀποφαινομένου, τὴν ἐτέραν ὀδεύσας ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐκ ἄλλως εύδαιμονά τινά φησιν ἔσεσθαι ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐπαθείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἔκτὸς περιουσίας, ὡν ἀνευ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡφελεῖν. πρὸς ὅν ὅπως ἐνέστησαν διεψευσμένην αύτοῦ τὴν

who was otherwise a wise and good woman, but unfortunately had suffered misfortunes because of her brother.

15.2.15 | Then after the death of Pythiada, Aristotle married Erpyllida from Stagira, with whom he had a son named Nicomachus. They say that he was raised as an orphan by Theophrastus and that he died young in battle.

15.2.16 | But let these things be taken from the explained writing of Aristocles. It is now time to consider the dogmatic philosophy of Aristotle.

15.3.1 | The end of the teachings of Moses and the prophets among the Hebrews is to live happily through the knowledge and love of the God of all, achieved through piety. True piety is taught by those who show that pleasing God comes through all virtue, for this is the cause of good things. For everything depends on God, and all good things are given by him to those who love him. Plato defines happiness as the end of virtue, while Aristotle, taking a different path, says that one cannot be truly happy without the well-being of the body and external possessions, which do not help virtue without them. To address this, those familiar with Plato's ideas can learn through these teachings.

ύπόληψιν ἀπελέγχοντες οἵ Πλάτωνος  
γνώριμοι πάρεστι μαθεῖν διὰ τούτων

## Section 4

15.4.1 | "Τῆς γὰρ συμπάσης φιλοσοφίας κοινῇ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπισχνουμένης, τριχῇ δὲ διαιρουμένης κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ποιητικὴν διανέμησιν, τοσοῦτον ἀποδέων ἐν τούτοις τοῦ διδάσκειν τι τῶν Πλάτωνος ὃ Περιπατητικὸς ὄφθήσεται ὥστε, πλειόνων ὄντων οἱ διαφέρονται Πλάτωνι, μάλιστα ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς φανεῖται.

15.4.2 | καὶ πρῶτον γε ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ μεγίστου καὶ κυριωτάτου τὴν πρὸς Πλάτωνα παραλλαγὴν ἐποίήσατο, μὴ τηρήσας τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, μηδὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτάρικη πρὸς τοῦτο συγχωρήσας, ἀλλ' ἀπολισθῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἡγησάμενος αὐτῇ προσδεῖν τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, ἵνα μετὰ τούτων ἔλῃ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν· εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ληφθείη, ὡς ἀδύνατον καὶ οὐκ ἐφικτὸν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεμψάμενος.

15.4.3 | τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγεννὲς καὶ διημαρτημένον τῆς γνώμης ἐν τούτῳ τε κάν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ τοῦ παρόντος δεικνύναι καιροῦ· ἔκεινο δὲ οἴμαι πρόδηλον, ὅτι τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οὐκ ἵσων ὄντων οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν βοῶντος ἐκάστοτε καὶ κηρύττοντος ὅτι εὐδαιμονέστατος ὁ δικαιότατος, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντος ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀν μὴ καὶ γένος εύτυχήσῃ καὶ

15.4.1 | For all philosophy, while promising human happiness, is divided into three parts according to the distribution of the creator of all things. In this, the Peripatetic (Aristotle) will seem to lack much in teaching something from Plato, so that, among many who differ from Plato, he appears most opposed to him.

15.4.2 | And first, he made a change from the common, greatest, and most important view towards Plato, not keeping the measure of happiness, nor allowing virtue to be self-sufficient for this. Instead, he strayed from the power of virtue, thinking that it needs help from fortune, so that with these, it might achieve happiness. But if happiness were taken to depend on itself, he complained that it was impossible and unattainable.

15.4.3 | Therefore, the base and mistaken opinion shows that in this and in other matters, it is not the right time to demonstrate what is present. But I think it is clear that the goals and happiness are not the same according to Plato and Aristotle. For one says that the happiest is the most just, while the other does not allow happiness to follow virtue unless one also has good fortune, beauty, and wealth. Just as someone with gold goes to war like a

κάλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσὸν, δὅς καὶ χρυσὸν  
ἔχων πόλεμονδ' ἵεν, ἡύτε κούρη, ἀνάγκη  
κατὰ τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ τέλους καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦτο ἄγουσαν φιλοσοφίαν διάφορον  
εἶναι.

15.4.4 | μιᾶς γὰρ ὁδῷ βαδίζοντα, ἥτις ἄγειν  
πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τι τῶν μικρῶν καὶ ταπεινῶν,  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ ἐν ὕψει  
κείμενα. Ὁρᾶς ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ὑψηλὸς  
πάγος, τρηχύς τε καὶ παλίγκοτος, ἐν τῷ  
κάθηται σήν ἐλαφρίζων μάχην;

15.4.5 | ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον τὸ  
δριμὺν καὶ πανοῦργον ἐκεῖνο θηρίον  
ἀνελθεῖν ἀδύνατον· ἵνα δὲ εἰς ταύτὸν ἐλθῃ  
τοῖς ἀετοῦ γεννήμασιν ἀλώπηξ, ἢ τύχῃ τινὶ<sup>2</sup>  
δεῖ χρησαμένους ἐκείνους πονηρᾶ  
καταπεσεῖν εἰς γῆν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς  
φθαρέντων, ἢ φύσασαν αὐτὴν, ἢ μὴ  
πέφυκε φύειν, λαιψηρὰ κυκλῶσαι πτερά,  
καὶ οὕτως ἀρθεῖσαν ἐκ γῆς ἀναπτέσθαι  
πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν πάγον. Ὡς δ' ἐκάτερον  
ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας μένει τάξεως, οὐκ ἔνι  
κοινωνίᾳ τοῖς γῆς πρὸς τὰ οὐρανοῦ  
θρέμματα.”

15.4.6 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει Τούτων  
τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχοντων, καὶ πειρωμένου τοῦ  
Πλάτωνος ἔλκειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς ἄνω  
που πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον  
προσοικειοῦντος μὲν τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῷ  
καλῷ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀπάντων  
ἀναπείθοντος ὑπερφρονεῖν, φράσον ἡμῖν,  
ὦ Περιπατητικὲ, πῶς ἐκδιδάξεις ταῦτα;  
πῶς ὁδηγήσεις ἐπ' αὐτὰ τοὺς  
φιλοπλάτωνας;

girl, it is necessary, due to the difference in  
their goals and the philosophy leading to  
them, to have different views.

15.4.4 | For if someone walks on one path,  
which naturally leads to something small  
and low, it is not possible to reach the  
greater and higher things. Do you see  
where that high rock is, rough and steep,  
where he sits, lightening your struggle?

15.4.5 | It is impossible for that fierce and  
cunning beast to climb up this high rock.  
For to reach the same place as the offspring  
of the eagle, a fox must either fall to the  
ground using some trick or chance, when  
its own kind has perished, or it must blow  
itself up, producing what it is not born to  
produce, to circle with swift wings, and  
thus, lifted from the ground, fly up to the  
high rock. As long as each remains in its  
own order, there is no sharing between the  
things of the earth and the things of the sky.

15.4.6 | And with other things, since these  
are the conditions, and while Plato is trying  
to draw the souls of the young upward  
toward the divine, and in this way  
connecting them to virtue and beauty, but  
persuading all the others to be overly  
proud, tell us, O Peripatetic, how will you  
teach these things? How will you guide the  
lovers of Plato toward them?

15.4.7 | ποῦ σοι τῆς αἰρέσεως τοσοῦτον ύψος λόγων ὥστε τὸ τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν φρόνημα κτήσασθαι καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν δὸδὸν ζητεῖν, ἦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν φόντο ὄρῶν ἀναθέσει δύνασθαι γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀφαιρέσει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπουδασμάτων γινόμενον, ὡς φησι Πλάτων';

15.4.8 | τίς οὖν ἡ παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῖς νέοις βοήθεια; καὶ πόθεν τις ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς συναγωνιστὴς λόγος; ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων Ἀριστοτέλους; τίνος τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; ἐκ' ποίων γραφῶν; δίδωμι γάρ σοι κἄν ψεύδεσθαι θέλης, μόνον τι νεανικόν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτ' ἔχεις εἴπειν οὕτ' ἀν ἐπιτρέψαι σοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς αἰρέσεως οὐδείς.

15.4.9 | αἱ γοῦν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ταῦτα πραγματεῖαι, Εὔδήμειοί τε καὶ Νικομάχειοι καὶ Μεγάλων Ἡθικῶν ἐπιγραφόμεναι, μικρόν τι καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ δημῶδες περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς φρονοῦσι, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄν τις καὶ ἴδιώτης καὶ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ μειράκιον καὶ γυνή. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διάδημα, ὡς εἴπειν, καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον τὸ βασιλικὸν, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Δῖός ἔχει λαβοῦσα ἀναφαίρετον ἡ ἀρετὴ, ἐπεὶ οὐ παλινάγρετον, ὅττι κεν οὗτος τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπινεύσῃ;) τοῦτο αὐτὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τολμῶσιν.

15.4.10 | οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπουσιν τρέπουσιν αὐτὴν ποιεῖν εύδαιμονας, δόμοίαν δὲ αὐτὴν καθιστᾶσι πλούτων καὶ δόξης καὶ γένει καὶ ὑγιείᾳ καὶ κάλλει, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κοινὰ τῆς κακίας. ὡς γὰρ τούτων ὀτιοῦν παρὸν χωρὶς ἀρετῆς οὐκ αὔταρκες εύδαιμονα τὸν

15.4.7 | Where do you find such a height of words in your choice, that you can grasp the mindset of the Aloadae and seek the way to heaven, which they thought they could reach by climbing, but which was actually taken away from human efforts, as Plato says?

15.4.8 | What then is your help for the young in these matters? And where is the speech of a competitor in virtue? From which writings of Aristotle? From which of his works? For I give you this, even if you want to lie, just something youthful. But you have neither the ability to speak nor would any of the leaders of your choice allow you.

15.4.9 | Indeed, the writings of Aristotle on these matters, those by Eudemos and Nicomachus and the Great Ethics, speak of virtue in a way that is small, humble, and common, so much so that even an ordinary person, uneducated, a young boy, or a woman could understand. For the crown, so to speak, and the royal scepter, which virtue holds as a gift from Zeus, is not something that can be taken back, whenever this one gives a nod with his head; yet they dare to take it away from her.

15.4.10 | For they do not allow her to make anyone happy, but they make her equal to wealth, reputation, lineage, health, and beauty, along with all the other common things of wickedness. For without virtue, none of these things can truly make

κεκτημένον ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ κατὰ ταύτα χωρὶς τούτων οὐχ ἱκανὴ ποιῆσαι τὸν ἔχοντ' αὐτὴν εὐδαίμονα.

15.4.11 | πῶς οὖν οὐ καθήρηται καὶ καταβέβληται τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίωμα; ναὶ· ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν λέγουσι. τί δὴ τούτο; καὶ γάρ τὴν ὑγίειαν τοῦ πλούτου· ἀλλὰ τό γε χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μὴ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πᾶσι κοινόν.

15.4.12 | ὅπόταν οὖν τις ἐκ τούτων τῶν δογμάτων καὶ ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως διδάξειε τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πᾶν ἀνθρώπινον ἀγαθὸν ζητοῦντα, εὐδαίμονά φησιν ἐπὶ τροχὸν οὐκ ἀναβαίνειν, οὐδὲ ὁ ταῖς Πριαμικαῖς τύχαις συνεχόμενος δύναιτ' ἄν εὐδαίμων καὶ μακάριος εἶναι.

15.4.13 | τὸν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα τοιούτοις τισὶ περιπεσεῖν οὐκ ἀπεικός. τούτοις δὲ ἔπειται τὸ μήτε ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσι μήτ', εἰ γένοιτο, παραμένειν ἀεί. Φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη τηλεθώσα φύει· ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἡ μὲν φύει, ἡ δ' ἀπολήγει·

15.4.14 | ἔτι σοι τὸ παράδειγμα μικρὸν καὶ ἄτολμον ὡς ποιητά· ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίνεται ὥρη. πολὺς δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνος καὶ ὡς μὴ γίνεται. εἰ θέλεις ἀκριβῶς τὸ ἐπίκηρον καὶ σαθρὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γενεὰς ἀπεικάσαι, παράβαλλε τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους εὐδαιμονίαν. ῥᾶσον τῶν

someone happy, and virtue alone, without these, is not enough to make someone who has it happy.

15.4.11 | How then is the value of virtue not taken away and thrown down? Yes; but they say that virtue is much greater than other goods. What does this mean? It means that health is better than wealth; but indeed, none of these things alone is enough for happiness, which is common to all.

15.4.12 | When someone teaches from these beliefs and this choice that the whole human good is sought within the soul, he says that a happy person does not rise to the wheel of fortune, nor can one who is caught up in the misfortunes of Priam be happy and blessed.

15.4.13 | It is not unreasonable for someone who has virtue to fall into such things. And it follows that happiness does not always accompany those who have virtue, nor does it remain with them forever, even if it could. Just as some leaves are blown down by the wind, while others grow from the thriving wood, so the generation of men sometimes flourishes, and sometimes fades away.

15.4.14 | Still, the example is small and timid, poet. Spring comes as a season. There is a long time in between, and it does not happen. If you want to clearly show the fleeting and weak nature of human life, compare it to Aristotle's idea of happiness.

φύλλων αὕτη καὶ φύεται καὶ ἀπολείπει,  
οὐκ ἀναμένουσα περιτελλόμενον τὸν  
ἐνιαυτὸν, οὐδ' αὐτοετεί, οὐδ' αὐτομηνὶ,  
ἀλλ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, αὐτῆς ὥρας καὶ γίνεται  
καὶ ἀπόλλυται.

This is easier than leaves; it both grows and falls without waiting for the turning of the year, nor for the season, but it happens and disappears in the same day, at the same hour.

15.4.15 | πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀπολλύντα, καὶ  
πάντα ἐκ τῆς τύχης. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ  
σώματος κῆρες, μυρίαι δὲ αὗται, καὶ πενία  
καὶ ἀτιμία, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν  
αὐταρκεῖ τὰ τῆς φίλης ἀρετῆς πρὸς  
βοήθειαν οὐχ ἴκανά· τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
κακοδαιμονίαν εἴργειν, τὴν δὲ εὔδαιμονίαν  
διασώζειν ἀσθενής.

15.4.15 | Many things are lost, and everything comes from chance. For there are many misfortunes of the body, such as poverty and disgrace, and all such things. And the virtues of a friend are not enough to help against these; they are not strong enough to prevent misfortune or to save happiness.

15.4.16 | τούτοις οὖν τις ἑντραφεὶς, καὶ  
τούτοις ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς λόγοις, τίνα  
τρόπον ἡ αὐτὸς συνάστει τοῖς Πλάτωνος,  
ἡ ἄλλους πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐπιρρώσει ποτέ; οὐ  
γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων  
δρμώμενος παραδέξαιτο τὰ Ἡράκλεια καὶ  
θεῖα ἕκεīνα δόγματα, ὡς ἴσχυρόν τι καὶ  
πάγκαλον χρῆμα ἀρετὴ, καὶ οὕτε ποτε  
ἐνδέουσα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν οὕτε ποτὲ  
αὐτῆς ἀφαιρουμένη, ἀλλὰ κάν πενία, κάν  
νόσος, κάν ἀδοξία, κάν βάσανοι, κάν πίττα  
καὶ σταυρὸς, κάν τὰ ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἄμα  
πάντα ἐπιρρυῆ, ἔτι ὁ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων καὶ  
μακάριος.

15.4.16 | Therefore, someone who is influenced by these things and who agrees with these words, how will they connect with Plato, or how will they ever support others in this? For there is no way that someone starting from these can accept the teachings of Heracles and those divine doctrines as something strong and beautiful like virtue, which is never lacking for happiness nor ever taken away from it. Even if there is poverty, illness, disgrace, suffering, or even death, when everything from tragedy comes together, still the just person is happy and blessed.

15.4.17 | ὑπὸ κήρυκι γοῦν αὕτῷ τῷ  
μεγαλοφωνοτάτῳ κηρύττει, καθάπερ  
ἀθλητήν τινα νικηφόρον, τὸν δικαιότατον,  
ὅτι οὗτός ἔστιν εὐδαιμονέστατος, ὃ ἐξ  
αὐτῆς τῆς δικατοσύνης τὸν καρπὸν τῆς  
εὐδαιμονίας δρεπόμενος. διαίρει τοίνυν, εἰ  
βούλει, καὶ ποίκιλλε τριχῇ καὶ τετραχῇ καὶ  
πολλαχῇ τὰ ἀγαθὰ διαστελλόμενος· οὐδὲν  
γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον. οὐ δή ποθ'

15.4.17 | Under the herald, indeed, the loudest one is proclaiming, just like a victorious athlete, that the just person is the happiest, as they are reaping the fruit of happiness from justice itself. So, if you want, divide and arrange the good things in three or four or many ways; for none of this matters to the main point. Surely, you will

ήμάς δι' αύτῶν προσάξεις τῷ Πλάτωνι.

15.4.18 | τί γὰρ εί τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ως φήσ, τὰ μὲν τίμια, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ, τὰ δὲ ἐπαινετὰ, ως αἱ ἀρεταὶ, τὰ δὲ δυνάμεις, ως πλοῦτος καὶ ίσχὺς, τὰ δὲ ὡφέλιμα, ως αἱ θεραπεῖαι; τί δ', εἰ ταῦτα ἔλαττον διαιρέσει διαστελλόμενος λέγοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι τέλη, τὰ δὲ οὐ τέλη; τέλη μὲν ὄνομάζων ὥν χάριν τὰ ἄλλα, οὐ τέλη δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεκα λαμβανόμενα.

15.4.19 | τί δ', εἰ μάθοι τις ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ οὐ πᾶσιν; σιν; ἢ ὅτι τὰ μὲν ψυχῆς ἀγαθὰ, τὰ δὲ σώματος, τὰ δ' ἔκτος; ἢ πάλιν ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν δυνάμεις, τὰ δὲ διαθέσεις καὶ ἔξεις, ἄλλα δὲ ἐνέργειαι, τὰ δὲ τέλη, τὰ δὲ ὕλαι, τὰ δὲ ὅργανα, κἄν τὰς δέκα κατηγορίας παρὰ σοῦ μάθῃ τις δεκαχῆ διανέμειν τάγαθὸν, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν Πλάτωνος γνώμην τὰ διδάγματα;

15.4.20 | ἵως οὖ γὰρ σὺ μὲν εἴτε ὁμωνύμως εἴτε ὅπως βούλει λαλῶν ἀγαθὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄλλ' ἄττα πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ως ἀναγκαῖα παραλαμβάνεις, τὸ ίκανὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφαιρούμενος, Πλάτων' δ' ἐκ περιουσίας περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζητεῖ τὸ ἔκπλεον εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχων, ούδὲν ἀν ὑμῖν εἴη κατὰ τοῦτο κοινόν· ἄλλων σοι δεῖ λόγων, ἄλλων τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

not bring us closer to Plato through these.

15.4.18 | For what if you say that among the good things, some are honorable, like the gods, some are praiseworthy, like the virtues, some are powerful, like wealth and strength, and some are useful, like the services? What if, while dividing these good things in a lesser way, you say that some are ends and others are not ends? Calling some things ends for the sake of the others, while the things taken for the sake of the others are not ends.

15.4.19 | But what if someone learns that some good things are simply good, while others are not for everyone? Or that some good things belong to the soul, some to the body, and others are external? Or again, that among the good things, some are powers, some are states and qualities, others are activities, some are ends, some are materials, and some are tools? Even if someone learns from you to divide the good into ten categories, what do these have to do with Plato's teachings?

15.4.20 | For as long as you, whether speaking in the same way or however you wish, take the good things of virtue as necessary for happiness, while removing the sufficient part of virtue, Plato seeks from the abundance of other things what is extra for happiness, having it from virtue itself. There would be nothing in common for you in this matter; you need different arguments than those of Plato.

15.4.21 | ώς γὰρ ούκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστὰ, ούδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὄμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως ούκ ἔστι Πλάτωνι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει φιλία περὶ τοῦ Κορυφαιοτάτου καὶ κυριωτάτου τῆς εὐδαιμονίας δόγματος. διαμπερὲς γὰρ, εἰ μὴ κακὰ φρονέουσιν ἀλλήλοις, τά γε ὑπεναντία περὶ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο διαφερόντων φαίνονται λέγοντες.”

15.4.21 | For just as there are no trustworthy oaths among lions and men, nor do wolves and sheep share the same spirit, so there is no friendship between Plato and Aristotle regarding the highest and most important doctrine of happiness. For clearly, if they do not think badly of each other, they appear to be saying opposite things about what differs in this matter.

## Section 5

15.5.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις προφητῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐν τούτοις συμφώνως, τὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων προνοίας λόγον εὐκρινῶς διατεθειμένων, ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μέχρι σελήνης στήσας τὸ θεῖον τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη περιγράφει τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διοικήσεως· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἀπελέγχεται πρὸς τοῦ δηλωθέντος, ὡδέ πῃ διεξιόντος

15.5.1 | Again, both Moses and the prophets among the Hebrews, and also Plato in these matters, clearly set forth the discussion about the providence of all things. Aristotle, having established the divine up to the moon, describes the remaining parts of the world in relation to the governance of God; on these points, he also argues against what has been stated, thus proceeding in this way.

15.5.2 | “Οντος ὅντος δ’ ἔτι μεγίστου καὶ κυριωτάτου τῶν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελούντων τοῦ περὶ τῆς προνοίας πείσματος, δὲ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ὄρθοι, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλομεν ἀγνοεῖν πότερον δίκα τεχος ὑψιονῆ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνειέπιχθονίων γένος ἀνδρῶν· ὁ μὲν Πλάτων εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ πάντα ἀνάπτει. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀρχήν τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτὴν τῶν ὅντων ἀπάντων ἔχοντα εὐθείᾳ περαίνειν περιπορευόμενον. καὶ αὖ πάλιν φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ἀγαθῷ δὲ μηδένα φθόνον ἐγγίγνεσθαι περὶ μηδενός. τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὅντα πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν, εἰς τάξιν ἄγοντα ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας. πάντων δὲ ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ πάντα κατὰ

15.5.2 | Since there is indeed the greatest and most important factor contributing to happiness, which is the discussion about providence, which especially corrects human life, if we are not going to be ignorant of whether it rises by just means or by crooked deceptions among the race of men on earth; Plato connects everything to God and from God. For he says that God has the beginning, middle, and end of all things, and that he completes everything in a straightforward manner. He also says that God is good, and that no one is envious of the good. Everything outside of this being, he says, does the most good, bringing order out of disorder. He takes care of all things and arranges everything according to its

δύναμιν κοσμοῦντα πεφροντικέναι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

15.5.3 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα Καὶ ὡς μὲν Πλάτων' οὔτως, ὡς δὲ τὴν δαιμονίαν ταύτην φύσιν ἐκποδῶν ποιούμενος, καὶ τὴν γε εἰσαῦθις ἐλπίδα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποτέμνων, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τῶν κρειττόνων εὐλάβειαν ἀφαιρούμενος, τίνα πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἔχει κοινωνίαν; ἢ πῶς ἀνέφερε τοιούτην οὐδεὶς;

15.5.4 | πᾶν γὰρ τούναντίον συνεργὸς ἀνοῖξε γε καὶ συναγωνιστὴς τῶν ἐθελόντων ἀδικεῖν φανείη. πᾶς γάρ τις ἀνθρωπος ὁν καὶ ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ὄρξεσι κατεσχημένος, ἀν καταφρονήσῃ τῶν θεῶν καὶ μηδὲν νομίσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀτε πόρρω μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένος ἐν τῷ ζῆν, ἀποθανὼν δὲ οὐδὲ ἔτι ὁν, ἔτοιμος ἀν ἔλθοι πρὸς τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

15.5.5 | πίστιν γὰρ λαβεῖν περὶ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἀδικοῦντα οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἀν γε ἀνθρώπους δέη λανθάνειν· οὐ μὴν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκ παντὸς λαθεῖν ζητεῖν, ὅπου γέ τις τῶν πεφωρακότων κρατεῖν δυνατός ἐστιν. ὥστε ἔτοιμόν τι χρῆμα πρὸς ἀδικίαν ἢ τῆς προνοίας ἀπόγνωσις.

15.5.6 | ἔκεινος μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ χρηστός ἐστιν, ὅστις τὴν ἡδονὴν ἡμῖν προτείνας ὡς ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ θεῶν ἄδειαν παρασχόμενος, ἔτι μηχανὴν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν πορίζειν οἴεται, ὅμοιόν τι ποιῶν

ability.

15.5.3 | And shortly after, this is how Plato is. But the one who makes this kind of demon nature, and cuts off the hope of the soul again, and removes the care for the stronger in the present, what kind of connection does he have with Plato? Or how could he call upon Plato and trust what has been said?

15.5.4 | For everything is the opposite; this one would indeed appear as a helper and competitor of those who wish to do wrong. For any person, being human and shaped by human desires, if they disregard the gods and think nothing of them for themselves, being far removed from them in life, when dead and no longer existing, would be ready to come to please their desires.

15.5.5 | For it is not impossible to have trust about doing wrong secretly, if indeed people need to remain hidden. However, it is not necessary to seek to be hidden from everything, where someone who is revealed is able to be strong. Therefore, a certain readiness for wrongdoing is the rejection of providence.

15.5.6 | For that person is indeed very good, who presents pleasure to us as good, and provides the absence of the gods, believing that he is also creating a way not to do wrong. He does something similar to

ίατρῷ τὴν μὲν ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ κάμνοντος βοήθειαν παρέντι, μετὰ θάνατον δὲ πλέκειν τινὰς μηχανὰς πειρωμένω πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ τεθνεῶτος.

15.5.7 | παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Περιπατητικός. οὐ γάρ οὕτως ἡ περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν σπουδὴ ὡς ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὅτι κήδοιτο ἀπιστίᾳ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐπιρρώνυνσι. τί οὖν, φῆσαι τις ἄν, ἐν ταυτῷ τάττεις Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Ἐπίκουρον; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὡς γε πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον.

15.5.8 | τί γάρ διαφέρει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ θεῖον ἔξοικίσασθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἢ ἐν κόσμῳ τοὺς θεοὺς καθείρξαντα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων ἀποστῆσαι; κατ' ᾧσον γάρ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ ἐκ θεῶν ἀμελὲς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἵση τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἄδεια τὸ δὲ ἐκείνων μενόντων κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς τι χρηστὸν ἀπολαύειν μάλιστα μὲν κοινὸν καὶ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων, ἥδη δὲ ταύτῃ γε καὶ κατ' Ἐπίκουρον ὅνησις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ θεῶν γίνεται

15.5.9 | τὰς γοῦν βελτίονας ἀπορροίας αὐτῶν φασι τοῖς μετασχοῦσι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παραιτίας γίνεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὕτε τοῦτον ἔκεινον δίκαιον ἐν προνοίᾳς ἀριθμεῖσθαι λόγω. εἴπερ γάρ καὶ κατ' Ἐπίκουρον τὸ τῆς προνοίᾳς οὔχεται, καίτοι τῶν θεῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πᾶσαν κηδεμονίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν οίκείων ἀγαθῶν εἰσφερομένων, οὕτως ἀν οἴχοιτο καὶ κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην τὸ τῆς

a doctor, offering help while the sick person is still alive, but after death, he tries to weave together some means for the salvation of the dead.

15.5.7 | In a similar way, the Peripatetic school is also like this. For the concern about pleasure is not the same as the concern for the divine, since disbelief strengthens wrongdoing. So then, someone might say, do you place Aristotle and Epicurus in the same category? Indeed, yes, as far as the matter at hand.

15.5.8 | For what difference does it make to us whether the divine of the world is established and leaves us with no connection to it, or whether the gods in the world have withdrawn from earthly matters? For in both cases, there is a lack of care from the gods towards humans, and the absence of the gods is equal for those who do wrong. While the gods remain in the heavens, we enjoy something good that is common to both irrational beings and lifeless things. Yet, in this way, even according to Epicurus, benefit for humans comes from the gods.

15.5.9 | They say that the better outcomes for those who participate in great goods come from their absence. But neither this nor that is just to be counted in terms of providence. For if, according to Epicurus, the idea of providence is absent, even though the gods, according to him, provide all care for the salvation of their own goods, then the same would be true according to Aristotle about providence, even if the

προνοίας, εἰ καὶ τὰ κατ οὐρανὸν ἐν τάξει τινὶ καὶ κόσμῳ διοικεῖται.

things in the heavens are organized in some order and cosmos.

15.5.10 | πρόνοιαν γὰρ ζητοῦμεν ἡμῖν διαφέρουσαν, ἵς οὐ μέτεστι τῷ μήτε δαίμονας μήτε ἥρωας μήτε ὅλως ἐπιδιαμένειν δύνασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεχωρηκότι.

15.5.10 | For we seek a providence that is different for us, which does not involve either spirits or heroes, nor can it apply to souls that have completely departed.

15.5.11 | ἔκεινο δ' ἔμοὶ κριτῇ καὶ αἱσχυντηλότερον δὲ Ἐπίκουρος δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπογονοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονίας εἰς ταυτὸν ἐλθόντας αὐτοῖς καθάπερ εἰς ἄλλοδαπήν ἀπώκισε καὶ ἔξω που τοῦ κόσμου καθίδρυσε, τὸ ἀπάνθρωπον αὐτῶν τῇ ἀποστάσει καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἄπαντ' ἀκοινωνίᾳ παραιτούμενος.

15.5.11 | But that seems to me to be more shameful and unjust according to Epicurus. For just as he believes that the gods can withdraw from caring for humans, he has made them seem to have settled in a foreign land, far away from the world, avoiding the inhumanity of their separation and their complete lack of connection to everything.

15.5.12 | ὁ δὲ περιττὸς ἡμῖν οὐτος τῆς φύσεως εὐρετὴςκαὶ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων ἐπιγνώμων ἀκριβής ὑπὸ αὐτὴν τὴν ὄψιν τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα ὑποθεὶς εἴασεν ἀτημέλητα καὶ ἀφρόντιστα, φύσει καὶ οὐ θεοῦ λογισμῷ διοικούμενα. ὅθεν εἰκότως ἀν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἔκεινο τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐκφύγοι, δὲ κατ' Ἐπικουρου τινες μαντεύονται, ὡς ἄρα μὴ κάτα γνώμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων δέος τοῖς θεοῖς κατένειμεν ἐν τῷ παντὶ χώραν ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ θέαν.

15.5.12 | But this extra part of nature, which is a discoverer and precise in understanding divine matters, has allowed human affairs to be neglected and without thought, governed by nature and not by the reasoning of a god. Therefore, it would be reasonable that he himself would not escape that accusation, which some predict according to Epicurus, that it is not by intention, but because of fear of humans, that we have assigned the gods a place in everything, just like in a theater.

15.5.13 | τεκμήριον δὲ ποιοῦνται τῆς γνώμης τάνδρος, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἀφεῖλε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνέργειαν, ἐξ ἣς μόνης τὸ εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελε τὴν δικαίαν πίστιν ἔχειν. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ποιεῖ.

15.5.13 | They provide evidence of the man's opinion, that he has removed their action towards us, from which alone the existence of the gods would have justly held faith. For Aristotle does the same

ἀποστήσας γάρ καὶ παραδοὺς ὅψει μόνη τὴν πίστιν πραγματείᾳ κρίνειν ἀσθενεῖ τὰ ἐκ τοσοῦτο διαστήματος τάχ' ἀν αἰδοῖ δοκοίη λέγειν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι θεούς.

15.5.14 | οὐ γάρ ἀπολιπὼν ἔξω τι τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς προσαγαγὼν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀνάγκην ἔσχεν ἡ παντάπασιν ἄθεος εἶναι ὁμολογεῖν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀπολιπεῖν θεοὺς δόξαν ἀνασώζειν, ἐνταῦθα που τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποικίσας. ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ἀκρίβειαν παραιτησάμενος τῇ ἀμιξίᾳ ἔσικεν εὐσχημόνως ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς.” Ταῦτα ὁ Ἀττικὸς πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην χρεοκοποῦντα τὸν περὶ προνοίας λόγον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς είρημένοις προστίθησι, πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποτεινόμενος μὴ βουλόμενον γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον.

thing. He has turned away and, by relying only on sight, judges faith to be weak when it seems to him that the gods might be said to exist from such a distance.

## Section 6

15.6.1 | Πάλιν Μώσεως γεννητὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ὀρισαμένου, ποιητήν τε καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸν θεὸν ἐπιστήσαντος, τού τε Πλάτωνος τὰ ἵσα Μωσεῖ φιλοσοφοῦντος, τὴν ἐναντίαν κάν τούτῳ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὀδεύσας ἀπελέγχεται πρὸς τοῦ δηλωθέντος συγγραφέως, ὥδε πρὸς ῥῆμα γράφοντος

15.6.1 | Again, Moses defined the world as created, with God being both a maker and craftsman of everything. Plato also philosophized similarly to Moses. In contrast, Aristotle, having wandered in the opposite direction, is refuted by the writings of the declared author, as he writes against this statement.

15.6.2 | “Πρῶτον δὴ περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου σκοπῶν, καὶ τὸ τῆς προνοίας τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ πολυωφελὲς δόγμα πάντα ζητεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμενος, καὶ λογισάμενος ὅτι τῷ μὴ γενομένῳ οὕτε τινὸς ποιητοῦ οὕτε τινὸς κηδεμόνος πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι καλῶς χρεία, ἵνα μὴ ἀποστερήσῃ τὸν κόσμον τῆς

15.6.2 | First, considering the creation of the world, and thinking it necessary to seek this great and very useful teaching about providence, he reasoned that for what has not been created, there is no need for a maker or caretaker to bring it into being properly. So, he removed the uncreated

προνοίας ἀφεῖλε τὸ ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ.

15.6.3 | παραιτούμεθα δὲ νῦν μὴ ἐμποδὼν  
ἡμῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας εἶναι, οἵς  
ἀρέσκει καὶ κατὰ Πλάτωνα τὸν κόσμον  
ἀγέννητον εἶναι. δίκαιοι γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῖν  
συγγνώμην νέμειν, εἴ περὶ τῶν δοκούντων  
Πλάτωνι πιστεύομεν οὓς αὐτὸς Ἐλλην ὡν  
Ἐλληνας ἡμᾶς σαφεῖτε καὶ τρανῶ τῷ  
στόματι διείλεκται.

15.6.4 | παραλαβών γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς πᾶν  
ὅσον ἦν ὄρατὸν, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον,  
πλημμελῶς δὲ καὶ ἀτάκτως κινούμενον, εἰς  
τάξιν ἥγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος  
τοῦτο ἔκείνου πάντως ἄμεινον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
σαφοῦς χρείᾳ τὴν γένεσιν παρεδέξατο,  
δηλοῖ δι' ὃν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ τῶν πάντων  
διείλεκται περὶ τούτου μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων  
δημιουργίαν.

15.6.5 | ἐπειδὴ γάρ, φησὶ, γεγένησθε, (λέγει  
δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς) ἀθάνατοι μὲν ούκ ἐστὲ  
οὐ δ' ἄλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὕτι μὴν δὴ  
λυθήσεσθε τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως τυχόντες.

15.6.6 | ἄλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς  
ἔνδον ἡμῖν ὑποφθεγγομένους, ἕτε φίλους  
ὄντας, φιλίως τε καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας πραέσιν  
ἐλέγχοις διακριθεῖμεν ἄν. ἔοικε γάρ καὶ  
τούτους Ἀριστοτέλης μεταθεῖναι, τῇ μὲν  
κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ δόγματος ἀντισχεῖν  
ἀδυνατήσαντας, τὸ δὲ ἄλλωναι δόξαν ὡς  
ψεῦδος οὐ βουληθέντας ἀναθεῖναι  
Πλάτωνι.

from the world of providence.

15.6.3 | We ask now that we are not  
hindered by those from the same source,  
who agree with Plato that the world is  
uncreated. For it is just for us to receive  
forgiveness if we believe in what seems  
true to Plato, who, being a Greek himself,  
spoke clearly and openly to us Greeks.

15.6.4 | For he says that God, having taken  
everything that was visible, did not lead it  
in peace, but moved it disorderly and  
chaotically, and brought it into order from  
disorder, thinking that this was much  
better than that. Moreover, he did not  
accept the creation through riddles, nor did  
he need to be clear about it, as the Father of  
all spoke to him about this after the  
creation of everything.

15.6.5 | For he says, since you have come  
into being, (he speaks to the gods) you are  
not immortal, nor are you completely  
unchangeable, but you will certainly not be  
freed from my will.

15.6.6 | But, as I said, to those among us  
who speak softly, being friends, we could  
separate ourselves with kindness and  
calmness. For it seems that Aristotle also  
wants to change these things, unable to  
resist the accusation of the doctrine, but  
not wanting to reject Plato's opinion as  
false.

15.6.7 | κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκοήν,  
ἀξιοῦντος Πλάτωνος τὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι  
κάλλιστον ἔργον ὑπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν  
δημιουργῶν, καὶ περιθέντος τῷ τοῦ παντὸς  
ποιητῇ δύναμιν δι’ ἣς καὶ οὐκ ὅντα  
πρότερον ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ποιήσας  
εἰσαεὶ βουλόμενός γε σῶν διαφυλάξει, καὶ  
ταύτῃ δὴ γεννητοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου κατ'  
αὐτὸν ὑποκειμένου τοῦ κόσμου, τίς ἡμῖν  
τῶν Περιπατητικῶν ταῦτα βεβαιοῦ;

15.6.8 | Δεῖ δὲ παραμυθήσασθαι τὸν  
συναγωνιστὴν τούτων, ὅτι οὐ πάντως, εἴ τι  
γέγονεν, ἀνάγκη τοῦτο φθαρῆναι, πάλιν δ'  
ούδ' εἴ τι μὴ φθαρήσεται, τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον  
ἀγέννητον εἶναι. οὕτε γάρ μίαν αἰτίαν τῷ  
ἀφθάρτῳ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου  
συγχωρητέον οὕτε τῷ γενομένῳ τὴν εἰς  
ὅλεθρον μεταβολὴν ἀβοήθητον  
καταλειπτέον.

15.6.9 | πόθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους  
λάβωμεν βοήθειαν εἰς ταῦτα, ἀνδρὸς οὐ  
τηνάλλως ούδε καθ' αὐτὸν περαίνοντος  
τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὄρθοῦ πρὸς  
Πλάτωνα ἐναντιουμένου, καὶ τό τε  
γενόμενον εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἀπολέσθαι  
περιυστάντος, τό τε μὴ ἀπολλύμενον ἐκ  
μόνου τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι λέγοντος  
κρατύνεσθαι τὸ ἄφθαρτον, οὐ μὴν ούδε  
δύναμιν ἀπολείποντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν  
Θεὸν, ἢ χρώμενος ἀγαθὸν ἀν τι ποιήσαι; δ  
γάρ οὕπω πρότερον γέγονε, τοῦτο, φησὶν,  
οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο.

15.6.7 | According to our understanding,  
Plato claims that the world is the most  
beautiful work made by the most beautiful  
of creators, and he gives the creator of  
everything the power through which he  
made the world even from what did not  
exist before, and having made it, he always  
wants to preserve it whole. And in this way,  
since the world is generated and  
unchanging according to him, who among  
us of the Peripatetics can confirm these  
things?

15.6.8 | It is necessary to comfort the  
competitor in these matters, that not  
everything that has come to be must  
necessarily perish, and again, if something  
will not perish, it does not have to be  
ungenerated. For neither should one cause  
be allowed for the unchanging to come  
from the ungenerated, nor should the  
change of what has come to be be left  
without help toward destruction.

15.6.9 | From where then shall we take help  
from Aristotle in these matters, when a  
man does not finish the argument about  
these things by himself, but rather from a  
correct position opposing Plato? And both  
the created thing being surrounded by the  
necessity of perishing, and the thing that  
does not perish being said to be strong only  
because it did not come to be, should not  
leave any power concerning the god, by  
which he could do something good? For  
what has not yet come to be, he says, could  
not come to be.

15.6.10 | τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδεῖ διὰ τούτων  
βοηθεῖν τῷ Πλάτωνος λόγῳ ὥστε ἥδη  
τινὰς καὶ τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα  
έσπουδακότων φοβήσας, οἷς εἶπεν,  
ἀπέστησε τοῦ δόγματος, οὐ δυνηθέντας  
συνιδεῖν ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν  
τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ἄνευ θεοῦ  
βουλήσεωςκαὶ δυνάμεως ἐπινοῆσαι οὕτε  
τὸ γενόμενον ἀφθαρτον οὔτε τὸ μὴ  
φθαρησάμενον γεννητὸν ὅν.

15.6.10 | Thus, it is necessary to show how much help to Plato's argument there is, so that some of those who studied Plato, having been frightened by what he said, turned away from the doctrine, not being able to see that according to their own nature of things, it was impossible to think of either the created thing as unchanging or the unperishing thing as generated without the will and power of a god.

15.6.11 | ὅταν δὲ τὴν ἀρίστην τις αἴτιαν  
ἐπιστήσῃ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ, δεῖ ταύτην ἡγεμόνα  
τῶν πάντων λαβόντα μηδὲν αὐτὴν τῶν  
ἄλλων αἴτιαν ἀποφαίνειν χείρονα. γελοῖον  
γὰρ διότι μὲν γέγονέ τι, διὰ τοῦτο  
φθαρῆναι, εἰ δὲ ὁ θεὸς βούλεται, μὴ  
φθαρῆναι, καὶ διότι μέν τι ἀγέννητόν ἐστιν  
ἔχειν ἴσχὺν τοῦ μὴ φθαρῆναι, τὴν δὲ παρὰ  
τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐνδεῖν πρὸς τὸ  
ἀφθαρτον τηρῆσαι τι τῶν γενομένων.

15.6.11 | When someone recognizes the best cause as coming from a god, it is necessary for this cause to be the leader of all things, showing no other cause to be lesser. It is ridiculous because something has come to be, and for that reason, it must perish; but if the god wants it not to perish, then it will not. And because something is ungenerated, it has the power not to perish, yet it still needs the will from the god to maintain something of the created things as unchanging.

15.6.12 | καὶ ὁ μὲν οἰκοδόμος ἱκανὸς οὐκ  
οὖσαν οἰκίαν κατασκευάσασθαι, ἱκανὸς δέ  
τις καὶ ἀνδριάντα μὴ ὄντα πρότερον ὄντα  
ποιῆσαι, καὶ ναῦν ἄλλος ἐξ ὕλης ἀργοῦ  
τεκτηνάμενος παρέσχε τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν ἔκαστος, ὅσοι γε τὰς  
ποιητικὰς μετίασι τέχνας, δύναμιν ταύτην  
ἔχουσιν, ὡς τι τῶν οὐκ ὄντων ἄγειν εἰς  
ούσιαν, ὁ δὲ παμβασιλεὺς καὶ ἀριστοτέχνης  
οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνθρωπίνου τεχνίτου δυνάμεως  
μεθέξει, ἀμοιρος δ' ἡμῖν πάσης ἔσται  
γενέσεως; οὐκ, ἔάν γε καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ θείας  
αἴτιας ἐπιλογισμὸν οἰοί τε ὅμεν λαβεῖν.

15.6.12 | And the builder, although he does not have a house, is able to construct one; and someone can make a statue from something that did not exist before; and another craftsman can build a ship from raw materials for those in need. Each of the other craftsmen, as many as practice the creative arts, has this power to bring something that does not exist into being. But the all-ruler and master craftsman will not share even a little of human skill, and will be completely without any generation from us. No, if we are able to take into account even a small divine cause.

15.6.13 | ἀλλὰ ποιῆσαι μὲν ἱκανὸς καὶ βουληθῆναι τὰ καλὰ, (ἀγαθὸς γάρ, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς φθόνος περὶ οὐδενός) τηρῆσαι δὲ καὶ διαφυλάξαι τὰ γενόμενα οὐ δυνατός; καὶ μήν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τεχνῖται πρὸς ἄμφω ἱκανοί. ὁ γοῦν οἰκοδόμος καὶ ὁ ναυπηγὸς οὐ μόνον καινὰς κατασκευάζονται ναῦς καὶ οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ χρόνου διαφθειρομέναις ἱκανοὶ βοηθεῖν, ἔτερα τῶν πεπονημένων ἀντικαθιστάντες αὐταῖς·

15.6.13 | But is it possible to create beautiful things and also wish for them (for a good person has no jealousy about anything good), yet not be able to preserve and protect what has come to be? Indeed, the other craftsmen are capable in both ways. The builder and the shipwright not only create new ships and houses, but they are also able to help with those that are being destroyed over time, replacing them with other crafted things.

15.6.14 | ὥστε καὶ τῷ θεῷ πάντως τό γε τοσοῦτον συγχωρητέον. ὁ γάρ τις ὅλον ποιῆσαι δυνατός, τοῦτο πῶς ἀνέκα μέρους ἀδύνατος εἴη ποιεῖν; καὶ γενέσθαι τοίνυν τι δεῖ καινὸν, εἴπερ μέλλοι τις ὅλως ποιητὴς, καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργον πρὸς ἄπαν διασώζεσθαι· τὸ γάρ εὐ γενόμενον ἐθέλειν λύειν κακοῦ.

15.6.14 | So it is necessary to allow even the god this much. For if someone is able to create the whole, how could they be unable to create a part? And therefore, something new must come into being if someone is truly a creator, and the beautiful work should be preserved completely; for wanting to destroy what has come to be is a sign of evil.

15.6.15 | μείζων δὲ ἄλλος εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν γενομένων δεσμός οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως. ἡ ἀνθρωπίνης μὲν σπουδῆς καὶ βουλήσεως μεταλαβόντα πολλὰ, καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔργα, μένει χρόνον ἀμήχανον δσον γενόμενα μηκέτ' ὄντος τοῦ θελήσαντος, τὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μετασχόντα γνώμης καὶ δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα, ταῦτα δὲ ἄρα παρόντος τοῦ ποιήσαντος οἰχήσεται καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖ;

15.6.15 | But there is no greater bond for the salvation of what has come to be than the will of the god. For those who share in human effort and intention, many nations, cities, and works remain for an impossible time as long as the one who wished for them is no longer present. But what has come to be through the will of the god, both by him and for him, will surely depart when the creator is present and will not remain.

15.6.16 | τίνος αἴτιας βιασαμένης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην; πότερον τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γενομένων ἀνάγκης; ἀλλ' αὐτῇ γε τῷ

15.6.16 | What cause has forced the will of the god? Is it from the necessity of what has come to be? But it has indeed been

προσέσθαι τὸ κοσμηθῆναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσωμολόγησεν ἡ τταν. ἀλλ' ἔξωθέν τινος αἴτιας ἀνταγωνιζομένης τῷ θεῷ; ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἐστὶν οὗτε ἐν οἷς ἔφθη κρατήσας καὶ κοσμήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἄξιον ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐλαττοῦν τινος, εἴ γε μὴ παντάπασι λανθάνο μεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ θειοτάτης δυνάμεως διαλεγόμενοι.

acknowledged that it is weaker to be subject to the arrangement from the god. But is there any cause competing with the god? Yet there is neither anything nor any situation in which the god, having taken control and arranged, is still diminished by something, unless we are completely unaware while discussing the greatest and most divine power.

15.6.17 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ἑοίκαμεν ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἐκφέρεσθαι. δῆλον μὲν καὶ ὁ προυθέμεθα, ὡς οὐκ ἀν εἰνεν διδάσκαλοι περὶ κόσμου γενέσεως οἱ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν ἀπολιπόντες αὐτῷ.” Καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων πέμπτης ούσίας, ἥν είσηγήσατο Ἀριστοτέλης, ταῦτα παραθετέον

15.6.17 | But indeed, we seem to be eager to speak about the truth. It is clear that those who do not even leave out the beginning of the generation of the world could not be teachers about its creation. And moreover, we should also mention the fifth essence of bodies, which was introduced by Aristotle.

## Section 7

15.7.1 | “Περὶ γοῦν τῶν καλουμένων στοιχείων, ἔξ ὧν πρώτων σώματα συνέστηκε, Πλάτων’ μὲν ἐπόμενος τῇ περὶ αὐτὰ ἐναργείᾳ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τέσσαρά τε ἔφησεν εἶναι ταῦτα ὅμοιογούμενα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἔκ τούτων συγκρινομένων τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα γεννᾶσθαι: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐλπίσας περιττότερος φανεῖσθαι τῷ φρονεῖν εἴ τι σῶμα ἐκ περιττοῦ προσθείη, προσκατηρίθμησε τοῖς φανομένοις τέτταρι σώμασι τὴν πέμπτην ούσίαν, πάνυ μὲν λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοδώρως τῇ φύσει χρησάμενος, μὴ συνιδὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐ νομοθετεῖν δεῖ φυσιολογοῦντα, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἔξιστορεῖν.

15.7.1 | About the so-called elements, from which the first bodies were formed, Plato, following the clarity about them, just like those before him, said that there are four commonly agreed upon: fire, earth, air, and water. And from these, he said, all other things are generated. Aristotle, however, wanting to appear more clever, added a fifth essence to the four visible bodies, using nature very brilliantly and generously, but not realizing that one should not create laws about what is natural, but rather explain the nature itself.

15.7.2 | είς τοίνυν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ τέτταρας εἶναι τὰς πρώτας τῶν σωμάτων φύσεις, ἣς δὴ χρεία τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀν συντελοῦ τι ὁ Περιπατητικὸς, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν καὶ μόνος ἐναντιοῦτ’ ἄν.  
λεγόντων γοῦν ἡμῶν ὅτι πᾶν σῶμα ἡ θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν, ἢ ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρὸν, ἢ μαλακὸν ἢ σκληρὸν, ἢ κοῦφον ἢ βαρὺ, ἢ ἀραιὸν ἢ πυκνὸν, καὶ εὐρισκόντων ὅτι οὐκ ἀν ἔτερόν τι εἴη τὸ μεθέξον τούτων τινὸς παρὰ τὰ τέτταρα (εἰ μὲν γὰρ θερμὸν, ἢ πῦρ ἢ ἀήρ· εἰ δὲ ψυχρὸν, ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ξηρὸν, πῦρ ἢ γῆ· εἰ δὲ ὑγρὸν, ὕδωρ ἢ ἀήρ· καὶ εἰ μὲν μαλακὸν, ἀήρ ἢ πῦρ· εἰ δὲ σκληρὸν, ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ· καὶ κοῦφον μὲν καὶ ἀραιὸν, οἷον πῦρ καὶ ἀήρ· βαρὺ δὲ καὶ πυκνὸν, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ.) καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἀπλῶν δυνάμεων κατανοούντων ὡς οὐκ ἀν εἴη παρὰ ταῦτά τι σῶμα ἵτερον· οὗτος ἀνθίσταται μόνος, φάσκων δύνασθαι σῶμα εἶναι τούτων ἄμοιρον· σῶμα δὲ μήτε βαρὺ, μήτε κοῦφον, μήτε μαλακὸν, μήτε σκληρὸν, μήτε ὑγρὸν, ἀλλὰ μήτε ξηρὸν, μονονουχὶ λέγων σῶμα οὐ σῶμα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα καταλέλοιπεν αὐτῷ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις, δι’ ὧν σῶμα πέφυκε γίνεσθαι, πάσας ἀφήρηκεν.

15.7.3 | ἡ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἄπερ αὐτὸς λέγει πείθων ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς Πλάτωνος γνώμης, ἢ τὰ Πλάτωνος βεβαιούμενος τῶν αὐτῷ δοκούντων ἀποστήσεται· ὥστε οὐδαμῇ χρήσιμος πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος.

15.7.4 | ἔτι ὁ μὲν Πλάτων πάντα τὰ σώματα, ἄτε ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὁμοίας ὅλης θεωρούμενα, βούλεται τρέπεσθαι μεταβάλλειν τ’ είς ἄλληλα· ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ούσιαν ἀπαθῆ τε καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀτρεπτον πάντως ἀξιοῦ, ἵνα δὴ μὴ

15.7.2 | Therefore, for the proof that the first natures of bodies are four, which is indeed needed by the Platonists, not only would the Peripatetic not agree, but he would almost stand completely opposed. For when we say that every body is either hot or cold, or wet or dry, or soft or hard, or light or heavy, or rare or dense, and we find that there would be nothing different from these four, (for if it is hot, it is either fire or air; if cold, it is water or earth; if dry, it is fire or earth; if wet, it is water or air; if soft, it is air or fire; if hard, it is water or earth; and if light and rare, it is like fire and air; but if heavy and dense, it is water and earth.) And when considering all the other simple powers, we see that there would not be any other body besides these. This one alone stands against this, claiming that there can be a body that is not any of these. But a body cannot be heavy, nor light, nor soft, nor hard, nor wet, nor dry, yet he only says that a body is not a body. For he has left the name to it, but has taken away all the powers through which a body could come to be.

15.7.3 | Either he will convince us to remove Plato's opinion, or he will depart from what he thinks is true about Plato. So he is of no use for Plato's ideas at all.

15.7.4 | Moreover, Plato wants all bodies, seen as made of one similar substance, to change and transform into one another. But he considers the essence of other things to be unchanging, imperishable, and unalterable, so that it does not seem to be

εύκαταφρονήτου τινὸς πράγματος  
γεννητὴς εἶναι δοκῇ, περιττὸν μὲν καὶ ἴδιον  
παντάπασι λέγων οὐδὲν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
Πλάτωνος ἐπ’ ἄλλων ἐωραμένα καλῶς  
μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα,  
καθάπερ τινὲς τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων  
ἀνδριαντοποιῶν.

the source of something easily dismissed.  
He claims that nothing is unnecessary or  
unique, while he takes what Plato has seen  
in other things and poorly applies it to  
things that do not belong, just like some of  
the later sculptors.

15.7.5 | ἔκεινοί τε γάρ ἀπομιησάμενοι  
τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεφαλὴν, ἄλλου δὲ τὸ  
στέρνον, ἐτέρου δὲ τὴν ζώνην, εἰς ταυτὸν  
συνθέντες ἐνίστε μὴ προσήκοντα  
πράγματα ἄλλήλοις ἐπεισαν αὐτοὺς ὡς τι  
πεποιηκότες ἴδιον· καὶ ὅντως τὸ μὲν ὄλον, ὃ  
δή τις ἀν ἀσυμμέτρως ἔχειν αἰτιάσαιτο,  
ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ συνηρανισμένα  
καὶ τι καλὸν ἔχοντα οὐκ αὐτῶν.

15.7.5 | For they, having copied the head of  
this man, the chest of another, and the belt  
of yet another, sometimes put together  
things that do not belong to each other and  
convinced themselves that they had  
created something unique. And indeed, the  
whole thing, which someone might blame  
for being mismatched, belongs to them, but  
the parts combined in it, which have some  
beauty, do not belong to them.

15.7.6 | ὠσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης  
ἀκούων Πλάτωνος ὅτι ἐστί τις οὐσία νοητὴ  
καθ’ αὐτὴν ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀχρώματος  
καὶ ἀναφῆς, οὕτε γινομένη οὕτε  
φθειρομένη οὕτε τρεπομένη οὕτε  
μεταβαλλομένη, ἀεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ  
ὠσαύτως ἔχουσα, πάλιν δ’ αὖ περὶ τῶν  
κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀκούων, ὡς ὅντα θεῖα καὶ  
ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ ἐστι σώματα,  
συνέθηκε καὶ συνεκόλλησεν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν  
πράγματα μὴ συνάδοντα: παρ’ ὅν μὲν γάρ  
τὸ εἶναι σῶμα, παρ’ ὅν δὲ τὸ ἀπαθὲς εἶναι  
λαβῶν, σῶμα ἀπαθὲς ἐτεκτήνατο.

15.7.6 | Likewise, Aristotle, hearing Plato  
say that there is an essence that is  
intelligible, without body, colorless, and  
unchanging, neither coming into being nor  
being destroyed, nor changing nor  
transforming, but always remaining the  
same, again, upon hearing about the  
heavenly things, which are said to be  
divine, imperishable, and unchanging  
bodies, combined and glued together things  
that do not fit. For from some he took the  
idea of body, and from others the idea of  
being unchanging, and he created a body  
that is unchanging.

15.7.7 | ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνδριάντων, εἴ καὶ  
μὴ καλὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων, οὕτι γε  
ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. διδάσκει γοῦν τὰ  
τοιαῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος ὄμματα γάρ, φησὶ καὶ  
κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὸς τερπικεραύνῳ, Ἄρεϊ δὲ

15.7.7 | Now, concerning the statues, even  
if the one made from different parts is not  
beautiful, it is certainly not impossible to  
create. Indeed, Homer teaches such things,  
for he says, 'the eyes are like those of Zeus

ζώνην, στέρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. τὸ δὲ σῶμα  
ἀπαθὲς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο. παθητῇ γὰρ  
καὶ τρεπτῇ συνδεδεμένον φύσει ἀνάγκην  
ἔχει συμπαθεῖν ὡς συνέζευκται. εἰ δέ τι  
ἀπαθὲς εἴη, τοῦτο ἀφειμένον καὶ ἐλεύθερον  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσχοντος εἶναι δεῖ· ὥστε χωρὶς  
ἄν εἴη τῆς ὕλης, ἣς κεχωρισμένον  
ἀσώματον ἀναγκαίως ὅμολογοῖτ' ἄν." "Ετι  
καὶ τούτοις πρόσσχωμεν τὸν νοῦν ἐν ὄσοις  
ἄλλοις διαφέρεσθαι τῷ Πλάτωνι τὸν  
Ἀριστοτέλην παρίστησιν

the charming, the belt like that of Ares, and the chest like that of Poseidon.' But a body that is unchanging could never come into being. For being connected with a nature that is affected and changeable must necessarily share in whatever it is joined to. If something were unchanging, it must be separate and free from what is affected; thus, it would be apart from matter, which, when separated, would necessarily be said to be without body. Let us also consider how Aristotle differs from Plato in these matters.

## Section 8

15.8.1 | “Επειτα τούτοις ἐπόμενα πολλὰ ἐν  
οῖς διαφέρονται. ὃ μὲν γάρ φησι τὰ κατ'  
οὐρανὸν τὴν πλείστην ιδέαν ἐκ πυρὸς ἔχειν,  
ὅτι δὲ μηδαμῆ μετεῖναι τοῖς οὐρανίοις πυρός.  
καὶ ὃ μέν φησιν ἀνάψαι τὸν θεὸν φῶς ἐν τῇ  
δευτέρᾳ πρὸς γῆν περιόδῳ, ὅτι μάλιστα  
εἰς ἄπαντα φαίνοι τὸν οὐρανὸν, περὶ ἡλίου  
τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀποφαινόμενος· ὃ δὲ, ἀτε οὐκ  
ἐθέλων πῦρ εἶναι τὸν ἡλιον, τὸ δὲ φῶς  
εἰδὼς πῦρ καθαρὸν, ἢ τι πυρὸς ὅν, οὐκ  
ἐπιτρέπει φῶς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνῆφθαι.

15.8.1 | Then, following these points, there are many ways in which they differ. For one says that the highest idea of the heavens comes from fire, while the other says that fire does not participate at all in the heavenly things. One claims that the god ignites light in the second circle towards the earth, so that it shines most brightly throughout the whole sky, referring to something like the sun. The other, not wanting to say that the sun is fire, knowing that light is pure fire or something that is fire, does not allow light to be kindled around it.

15.8.2 | ἔτι ὁ μὲν, κατ' εἶδος ἀφθαρσίαν  
ἀπονέμων τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄπασιν,  
ἀποχωρήσεις τινὰς αὐτῶν καὶ  
προσχωρήσεις συμμέτρους φησὶ γίνεσθαι·  
ἀναγκάζουσι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγειν ταῦτα, τὰς  
μὲν ἀποκρίσεις, αἱ τε ἀκτῖνες τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ  
θερμότητες κατὰ ἀπόρρυσιν αύτοῦ  
γινόμεναι· τὰς δὲ προσκρίσεις, ἡ ἵση τοῦ  
μεγέθους αύτοῦ φάσις· οὐ γάρ ἂν ἥθελεν  
ἴσα φαίνεσθαι μηδὲν ἀνθ' ὧν ἀφίησι

15.8.2 | Moreover, one says that by kind, the imperishable is given to all things in the heavens, and that there are some separations and some equal additions among them. They force him to say these things: the separations are the rays of the sun and the heat that comes from its outpouring; the additions are the equality of its size, for he would not want anything to appear equal if it did not take anything

λαμβάνοντα·)

15.8.3 | ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης πάντη μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ούσιας αὐτὰ βούλεται, μήτε τινὸς αὐτοῖς ἀποχωροῦντος μήτε προσιόντος.

15.8.4 | ἔτι ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ κινήσει τῶν ἀστρων, καθ' ἥν ἐν ταῖς σφαιραῖς ἐνδεδεμένοι κινοῦνται πάντες οἱ ἀστέρες οἵ τε ἀπλανεῖς καὶ οἱ πλανώμενοι, καὶ ἐτέραν αὐτοῖς κίνησιν ἀποδίδωσιν, δῶσιν, ἥν δὴ καὶ ἄλλως καλλίστην εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ 'π' προσήκουσαν αὐτῶν τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος· (σφαιρικοὶ γὰρ ὅντες εἰκότως σφαιρικὴν ἄν τινα κίνησιν ἔκαστος κινοῦτο περιδινούμενος·) ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ἀφαιρεῖται τῆς κινήσεως αὐτοὺς, ἥν ὡς ἐμψυχοὶ κινοῦνται, μόνην δὲ ἀπολείπει τὴν ὑπ' ἄλλων τῶν περιεχόντων ὕσπερ ἀψύχοις συμβαίνουσαν.

15.8.5 | καὶ δὴ καί φησι τὴν γινομένην φαντασίαν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων ὡς κινουμένων πάθος εἶναι τῆς ἡμετέρας ὅψεως ἀδυνατούσης καὶ ὡσπερεὶ σειομένης, ἀλήθειαν δὲ οὐκ εἶναι· ὕσπερ Πλάτωνος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς κινήσεως πίστιν λαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ διδάσκοντος ὅτι ἀνάγκη τούτων ἔκαστον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ σῶμα κινεῖσθαι τὴν ἴδιαν κίνησιν· (πᾶν γὰρ σῶμα ὡς μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ κινεῖσθαι ἀψυχον, ὡς δὲ ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ ἐμψυχον) κινούμενον δὲ, ἀτε θεῖον ὄντα, τὴν καλλίστην κινεῖσθαι κίνησιν· καλλίστης δ' οὕσης τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ κινήσεως, ταύτη αὐτὸν κινεῖ σθαί.

away.

15.8.3 | But Aristotle wants everything to remain on the same essence, neither separating from it nor adding to it.

15.8.4 | Moreover, one says that all the stars, both fixed and wandering, move in a common motion, bound in spheres. He gives them another motion, which happens to be the most beautiful and suitable to the nature of the body. Since they are spherical, it is reasonable that each one moves in a circular motion. But he takes away this motion from them, which they have as living beings, and leaves only the motion caused by others, as happens to the non-living.

15.8.5 | And indeed, he says that the imagination we have from the stars, as if they are moving, is a passion of our sight that is unable and seems to be shaking, and it is not the truth. Just like Plato, who takes this belief about motion, but not from the teaching that it is necessary for each living being, having a soul and a body, to move in its own way. For every body that is moved from outside is non-living, while that which moves from within and from itself is living. And being moved, as a divine being, it moves in the most beautiful way. And since the circular motion is the most beautiful, it moves in that way.

15.8.6 | ή δὲ αἴσθησις τὰ μὲν ἐκ τού λόγου μαρτυροῦτο ἀν ώς ἀληθεύουσα, οὐ μὴν αὐτὴ παρέσχε τὴν πίστιν τῆς κινήσεως. περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κινήσεως ώς μὲν οὐκ ἐν κύκλῳ τινὶ γίνεται νικώμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναργείας οὐκ ἔσχεν ἀντειπεῖν Πλάτωνι, παρεῖχε δὲ κάνταῦθα διαφορὰν αὐτῷ τὸ καλὸν τοῦτο εὑρῆμα τοῦ σώματος,

15.8.7 | ὁ μὲν γάρ Πλάτων, ὅντων τεττάρων σωμάτων καὶ πάντων φύσει κινουμένων ἀπλῆν καὶ εύθεῖαν κίνησιν, πυρὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔκτὸς, γῆς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὸ μεταξὺ, τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κίνησιν ἀπέδωκε τῇ ψυχῇ· ὁ δ', ἥπερ ἄλλῳ σώματι ἄλλην, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ, καθάπερ σωματικήν τινα, τῷ πέμπτῳ προσένειμε σώματι, πάντ' εὐκόλως αὐτὸν ἔξαπατήσας.

15.8.8 | τοῖς μὲν γάρ ἐπ' εύθείας κινουμένοις αἱ βαρύτητες καὶ κουφότητες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως παρείχοντο, τὸ δὲ πέμπτον σῶμα, μήτε βάρους μετέχον μήτε κουφότητος, ἀκινησίας μᾶλλον·

15.8.9 | οὐ τῆς ἐν κύκλῳ κινήσεως τοῖς ἐπ' εύθείας κινουμένοις τὸ σχῆμα τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει τῆς κινήσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ ὅποι· σῶμα οὐ μόνον ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν ὁμοίου τινὸς οὐχ ἔχει πῆ κλιθῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν κύκλῳ περιτεθὲν ὁποίῳ τινὶ οὐχ ἔχει τῆς ἐπί τι κλίσεως αἰτίαν, ἵωσι, πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε, εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, εἴτε πρόσω εἴτ' ὄπίσω.

15.8.6 | But the sense would testify that it is true, yet it did not provide the belief in motion. About the motion of the whole, since it does not happen in a circle, he could not argue against Plato, but he did provide a difference to him with this beautiful discovery of the body.

15.8.7 | For Plato, with four bodies that are all naturally moving in a simple and straight motion—fire moving outward, earth moving toward the center, and the others moving in between—he assigned the circular motion to the soul. But he, just as he gave another motion to another body, also assigned the circular motion, as if it were some kind of physical body, to the fifth body, easily deceiving himself.

15.8.8 | For those moving in a straight line, heaviness and lightness provided the beginning of motion, but the fifth body, having neither heaviness nor lightness, was more about stillness.

15.8.9 | It is not the shape of circular motion that gives the reason for motion to those moving in a straight line, but rather the inclination. A body placed in the middle of something similar will not have a reason to tilt, but a body placed in a circle will not have a reason for tilting in any direction—whether toward the dawn and the sun, to the left, or forward or backward.

15.8.10 | εἴτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἔξωσθεῖσι τῶν οίκειων τόπων παρέχει τὸ κινεῖσθαι πάλιν ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἡ πρὸς τούτους ἀναφορά· τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ, μηδέποτε ἐκβαίνοντι τῶν αὐτοῦ τόπων, μένειν ἀν προσήκοι.

15.8.11 | καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων, ὑπεξαιρουμένου τοῦ πέμπτου, φαίνεται φιλονεικῶν Ἀριστοτέλης μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν Πλάτωνι. ζητήσαντος γὰρ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰ ἔστι φύσει βαρὺ σῶμα ἢ φύσει κοῦφον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω σχέσιν ἐφαίνετο λέγεσθαι σκεψαμένου εἴτε ἔστι τι κάτω φύσει καὶ ἄνω, εἴτε μὴ, καὶ ἀποδείξαντος ἀκριβῶς ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὰς τῶν σωμάτων πρὸς τοὺς τόπους οίκειότητας τὸ κάτω λέγοιτο ἐκάστοις ἐφ' ὃ φέροιντο, ἄνω δὲ ἐκάστοις τὸ ἄλλοτριον ἀφ' οὗ ἀναχωροῖεν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν σχέσιν καὶ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὸ κοῦφον διανείμαντος καὶ πρὸς τούτω ἀποδείξαντος ὅτι μήτε τὸ μέσον μήτε τὸ πέριξ αὐτῶν εὔλογον ἄνω τι ἢ κάτω λέγεσθαι·

15.8.12 | ὅδε ἀντιτίθησι, πανταχόθεν καταβάλλειν δεῖν ἡγούμενος τὰ ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον φερόμενον βαρὺ λέγειν βιάζεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πέριξ κοῦφον καὶ τὸν μὲν τόπον τὸν ἐν μέσῳ κάτω φησὶ, τὸν δὲ πέριξ ἄνω·

15.8.13 | Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν κόσμου, καὶ ἔξ ὅν οὗτος, καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστήκατον. ταῦτα μὲν οἴδε. Μώσης δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια τούτ' ὡν

15.8.10 | Moreover, for the other bodies that are pushed away from their own places, the return to motion comes from their relation to those places. But for that fifth body, which never leaves its own place, it is fitting for it to remain.

15.8.11 | And about the other bodies, excluding the fifth, it seems that Aristotle argues differently from Plato. For when Plato asked whether there is a body that is heavy by nature or light by nature, and since these things seemed to be said in relation to up and down, he examined whether there is anything that is naturally below and above, or not. He precisely showed that according to the relation of bodies to their own places, what is below is called so for each body based on where it is carried, while what is above is what is foreign from which they move away. And in the same way, he divided heavy and light, showing that neither the middle nor the surrounding areas can reasonably be called up or down.

15.8.12 | He opposes this, saying that one must consider everything from all sides. He claims that what is carried toward the middle is called heavy, while what is carried toward the surrounding area is called light. He says that the place in the middle is below, and the surrounding place is above.

15.8.13 | But concerning the universe, and from what it comes, and the things in the heavens, they are so far apart from each other. These are the things. But regarding

ούδεν πολυπραγμονεῖ· καὶ εἰκότως, ὅτι μηδὲ πρὸς βίου κατόρθωσιν τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολουμένοις λυσιτελεῖν ἐνομίσθη.

Moses and the words of the Hebrews, this does not meddle at all. And rightly so, because it was thought that it would not be useful for those who are busy with these matters to improve their lives.

## Section 9

15.9.1 | “Ὕπέρ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τί καὶ λέγοιμεν ἄν; δῆλα γὰρ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἡδη σχεδὸν καὶ τοῖς ἴδιωταις ἅπασιν, ὅτι Πλάτων’ μὲν ἀθάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολείπει, καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγους πεποίηται, ποικίλως καὶ παντοίως ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι ἔστιν ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχή.

15.9.1 | But what shall we say about the soul? For it is clear that these things are not only for philosophers, but almost for all ordinary people as well, that Plato leaves the soul as immortal, and he has made many arguments for this, showing in various ways and from many angles that the soul is indeed immortal.

15.9.2 | πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος ἡ φιλοτιμία γέγονε, συναγωνιζομένοις τῷ τε δόγματι καὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι. σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ συνέχον τὴν πᾶσαν αἴρεσιν τάνδρος τούτ' ἔστιν.

15.9.2 | But there has been much ambition among those who study Plato, competing with both his teachings and with Plato himself. For almost all beliefs of a man are held together by this.

15.9.3 | ἡ τε γὰρ τῶν ἡθικῶν δογμάτων ὑπόθεσις ἐπηκολούθησε τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ, τὸ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ νεανικὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς θεῖον σῶσαι δυνηθείσης, τά τε τῆς φύσεως πράγματα πάντα κατὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς διοίκησιν ἔσχε τὸ καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι δύνασθαι.

15.9.3 | For the foundation of ethical teachings follows the immortality of the soul, the great and shining youth of virtue, because the divine nature of the soul is able to be preserved. And all matters of nature are held according to the management of the soul, which can be managed well.

15.9.4 | ψυχὴ γὰρ πᾶσα, φησὶ, παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀψύχου, πάντα δὲ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖ ἄλλοτ’ ἐν ἄλλοις εἴδεσι γινομένη. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς σοφίας είς τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνήπται τῷ Πλάτωνι. πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ

15.9.4 | For the soul, he says, takes care of everything that is lifeless, and it moves through the whole sky, becoming in different forms at different times. Moreover, both knowledge and wisdom are connected to the immortality of the soul

μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως οἶεται δύνασθαι σώζεσθαι καὶ ζήτησιν καὶ μάθησιν, ἐξ ᾧ ἐπιστήμη γίνεται.

according to Plato. For all learning is a remembering, and it is believed that one cannot be saved or seek knowledge and learning in any other way, from which knowledge comes.

15.9.5 | εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, οὐδὲ ἀνάμνησις. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο, οὐδὲ μάθησις. πάντων οὖν τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων ἀτεχνῶς ἔξηρτημένων καὶ ἐκκρεμαμένων τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν θειότητός τε καὶ ἀθανασίας, ὁ μὴ συγχωρῶν τοῦτο τὴν πᾶσαν ἀνατρέπει φιλοσοφίαν Πλάτωνος.

15.9.5 | But if the soul is not immortal, then there is no remembering. And if there is no remembering, then there is no learning. Therefore, all of Plato's teachings are clearly connected and depend on the divine nature and immortality of the soul. Whoever does not agree with this completely overturns the whole philosophy of Plato.

15.9.6 | τίς οὖν ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγχειρήσας ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀποδείξει, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφέλεσθαι τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πάσης δυνάμεως; τίς δ' ἔτερος πρὸ Ἀριστοτέλους; τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οἵ μὲν ἐπιδιαμένειν συνεχώρησαν, οἱ δ', εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο, δύναμίν γε ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ κίνησίν τινα καὶ ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἀπένειμαν τῆς ψυχῆς·

15.9.6 | Who then was the first to try to argue against this, and to take away the immortality and all other powers of the soul? And who was there before Aristotle? For some of the others allowed the soul to continue existing, while others, if not this, assigned some power in the body and some movement and actions to the soul.

15.9.7 | ὁ δὲ, ὅσωπερ Πλάτων' ἀπεσέμνυνε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πρᾶγμα, ἀρχὴν γενέσεως καὶ θεοῦ παίδευμα καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων προστάτιν ἀποφηνάμενος, τοσῷδε ἐφιλονείκησε καθελεῖν καὶ ἀτιμάσαι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν μηδὲν ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχήν.

15.9.7 | But he, as much as Plato honored the matter of the soul, declaring it to be the beginning of creation and a teaching of God and the ruler of all things, so much did he strive to destroy and dishonor it, and he thought it was not necessary to say anything at all about the soul.

15.9.8 | οὔτε γὰρ πνεῦμα οὔτε πῦρ οὔτε ὅλως σῶμα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀσώματον, οἷον εἴναι τε ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀκίνητον εἴναι καὶ ως

15.9.8 | For neither is there spirit nor fire nor body at all, nor is it even incorporeal, as if it could exist by itself and move, but also not remain unmoving in the body and, so to

είπεν ἄψυχον. οἶον γὰρ τόδε ἐτόλμησεν, ἢ καὶ ἀπηναγκάσθη, ώς καὶ τὰς πρωτουργοὺς κινήσεις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ βουλεύσασθαι, τὸ διανοηθῆναι, τὸ προσδοκήσαι, τὸ μνημονεῦσαι, τὸ λογίσασθαι;

speak, lifeless. For this one dared to do this, or was even forced to, to take away the primary movements of the soul: the ability to decide, to think, to expect, to remember, and to reason.

15.9.9 | οὐ γὰρ ψυχῆς ταῦτά φησι τὰ κινήματα ὃ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς φασι, γραμματεύς. πάνυ γοῦν οὗτός ἔστι πιστὸς, ώς συνεικέναι τι περὶ τῶν ἔκτὸς, ὃ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς τοσοῦτον διημαρτηκώς ώς μηδ' ὅτι διανοεῖται παρακολουθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὸν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἄνθρωπός ἔστιν ὃ τούτων ἔκαστον ἐνεργῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἀκίνητος.

15.9.9 | For he, the scribe of nature, says that these movements do not belong to the soul, as they claim. Indeed, this one is very trustworthy, as he tries to explain something about the outside, while he himself has missed so much about his own soul that he cannot even follow what he thinks. For he says that it is not the soul, but the person who performs each of these actions, and the soul is unmoving.

15.9.10 | τούτῳ τοιγαροῦν ἐπόμενος Δικαίαρχος, καὶ τάκόλουθον ἱκανὸς ὡν θεωρεῖν, ἀνήρικε τὴν ὅλην ὑπόστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀόρατόν τι καὶ ἀφανές ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ δῆλον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀν διά γε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐνέργειαν δοίημεν εἴναι ψυχήν· αἱ δὲ κινήσεις αὐτῆς ἀφανοῦς οὕσης ἀναγκάζειν ἡμὰς δοκοῦσιν εἴναι τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὄμοιογεῖν.

15.9.10 | Therefore, following this, Dicaearchus, being capable of observing what follows, has taken away the whole essence of the soul. For it is clear that the soul is something invisible and hidden, so we cannot say that it is a soul based on the actions from the senses; but its movements, being unseen, seem to force us to agree that the soul is something.

15.9.11 | ταῦτα γὰρ ἄπας τις συνιέναι δοκεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντα, τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ὃν δήποτε τρόπον διανοεῖσθαι. ὅταν γὰρ ἵδωμεν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰς τούτου δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνθυμηθῶμεν δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνεργείας, ώς οὐ σώματος [οὕσας,] δίδομεν εἴναι τι ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτερον τὸ βουλευόμενον' τοῦτο δὲ εἴναι τὴν ψυχήν. ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιστεύσαμεν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς;

15.9.11 | For anyone seems to understand that these are the actions of the soul: to decide, to consider, and to think in any way. For when we see the body and its powers, and we reflect on such actions, we recognize that there is something else within us that is making decisions, and this is what we call the soul. Since from elsewhere we have believed about the soul?

15.9.12 | ἀν οὖν τις ἔξ ὧν μάλιστα ψυχὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα ἀφελόμενος ἐτέρῳ τινὶ προσάψῃ πράγματι, οὕτε ὅθεν οὔσα ἐμφαίνεται καταλέλοιπεν οὕτε ὁ τι χρήσιμος ἀν εἶναι δοκοίη. τίς οὖν ἡ βοήθεια τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι θέλοντι παρὰ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποκτιννύντος; τίς δὲ ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ τρόπου τῆς κινήσεως, καθ' ὃν αὐτοκίνητὸν αὐτήν φαμεν, παρὰ τῶν μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν αὐτῇ κίνησιν νεμόντων;

15.9.13 | ναί· ἀλλὰ κατά γε τὴν ἀθανασίαν τοῦ νοῦ φήσαι τις ἀν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν Πλάτωνι. καὶ γάρ εἰ μὴ πᾶσαν βούλεται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι, τὸν γε νοῦν ὅμοιογεĩ θεῖόν τε καὶ ἄφθαρτον εἶναι. τίς μὲν οὖν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὁ νοῦς, ὅθεν ὧν, καὶ πόθεν ἐπεισκρινόμενος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ποῦ πάλιν ἀπαλλαττόμενος, αὐτὸς ἀν είδείη· εἴ γέ τι συνίησιν ὃν λέγει περὶ τοῦ νοῦ, καὶ μὴ τὸ ἀπορον τοῦ πράγματος τῷ ἀσαφεῖ τοῦ λόγου περιστέλλων ἔξισταται τὸν ἔλεγχον, ὥσπερ αἱ σηπίαι τὸ δυσθήρευτον ἐκ τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ ποριζόμενος.

15.9.14 | πάντως δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις διαφέρεται Πλάτωνι. ὁ μὲν γάρ φησι νοῦν ἄνευ ψυχῆς ἀδύνατον εἶναι συνίστασθαι, ὁ δὲ χωρίζει τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν νοῦν. καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀθανασίας ὁ μὲν μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ δίδωσιν, ὡς ἄλλως οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον, ὁ δέ φησιν αὐτῷ μόνῳ χωριζομένῳ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο περιγίνεσθαι. καὶ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἡξίωσεν ἐκβαίνειν, ὅτι Πλάτωνι τοῦτο ἥρεσε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἀπορρήγνυσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡνάγκασεν, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἔγνω Πλάτων τὸ τοιοῦτο.” Ταῦτα

15.9.12 | If someone takes away the things that most clearly show the soul and attaches them to something else, they leave behind neither where it is shown to be nor what it might be useful for. So what help is there for someone wanting to say that the soul is immortal, if they are the one who kills the soul? And what is the teaching about the way of movement, by which we say it moves itself, coming from those who do not give it any movement at all?

15.9.13 | Yes, but when it comes to the immortality of the mind, someone might say it shares this with Plato. For even if they do not want the whole soul to be immortal, they agree that the mind is divine and uncorrupted. So what is the essence and nature of the mind, where it comes from, and how it connects with humans, and where it goes when it separates? If it understands anything about what it says regarding the mind, and does not make the argument unclear by avoiding the difficult parts, it would stand out like a worm finding its way through darkness.

15.9.14 | "Certainly, in these matters, he differs from Plato. For Plato says that the mind cannot exist without the soul, while this person separates the mind from the soul. Regarding immortality, Plato gives it to the soul, as it cannot be otherwise, but this person claims that it can exist only when separated from the soul. He did not think the soul should leave the body, because Plato liked this idea, but he forced the mind to break away from the soul, because Plato recognized that this was

μὲν ὁ Ἀττικός. συνάψω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ  
Πλωτίνου τόνδ’ ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον

impossible." This is what the Athenian says.  
I will also add what Plotinus has on this  
topic.

## Section 10

15.10.1 | "Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐντελεχείας ὄδ' ἂν τις  
ἐπισκέψαιτο πῶς περὶ ψυχῆς λέγεται. τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ συνθέτῳ εἴδους τάξιν ὡς πρὸς  
ὑλὴν τὸ σῶμα ἔμψυχον ἔχειν, σώματος δὲ  
οὐ παντὸς εἶδος, οὐδὲ ἡ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ  
φυσικοῦ, ὄργανικοῦ, δυνάμει ζωὴν  
ἔχοντος.

15.10.1 | Now, if someone were to examine  
the idea of actuality as it relates to the soul,  
they would find that the soul has a certain  
order in relation to the body, which is a  
living thing. This does not apply to every  
kind of body, nor to the body in general, but  
specifically to a natural, organic body that  
has the power of life.

15.10.2 | εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡ παραβέβληται  
ἀμοίωται, ὡς μορφὴ ἀνδριάντος πρὸς  
χαλκόν· καὶ διαιρουμένου τοῦ σώματος  
συμμερίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ  
ἀποκοπτομένου τινὸς μέρους μετὰ τοῦ  
ἀποκοπέντος ψυχῆς μόριον εἶναι, τὴν τε ἐν  
τοῖς ὑπνοῖς ἀναχώρησιν μὴ γίνεσθαι, εἴπερ  
δεῖ προσφυᾶ τὴν ἐντελέχειαν οὐ ἔστιν  
εἶναι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μηδὲ ὑπνον γίνεσθαι.

15.10.2 | If, then, it is compared in this way,  
it is like the form of a statue to bronze. And  
when the body is divided, the soul is said to  
share in that division, and when a part is  
cut off, the soul is considered to be a part of  
what was cut off. Also, the soul does not  
withdraw during sleep, if it is necessary for  
it to remain in its actuality; the truth is that  
it does not even fall asleep.

15.10.3 | καὶ μὴν ἐντελεχείας οὕστις, οὐδὲ  
ἐναντίωσιν λόγου πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας· ἔν δὲ καὶ  
ταύτὸν δι’ ὅλου πεπονθέναι τὸ πᾶν οὐ  
διαφωνοῦν ἔαυτῷ. αἱσθήσεις δὲ μόνον  
δυνατὸν ἵσως γίνεσθαι, τάς δὲ νοήσεις  
ἀδύνατον. διὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄλλην ψυχὴν τὸν  
νοῦν εἰσάγουσιν, ὃν ἀθάνατον τίθενται.

15.10.3 | And indeed, with actuality  
existing, there is no opposition of reason to  
desires. But the whole must be one and the  
same, not disagreeing with itself. It may be  
possible for sensations to happen, but it is  
impossible for thoughts to occur.  
Therefore, they introduce another soul,  
which they call the mind, and they consider  
it to be immortal.

15.10.4 | τὴν οὖν λογιζομένην νῆν ψυχὴν  
ἄλλως ἐντελέχειαν ἡ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον,  
ἀνάγκη εἶναι, εἰ δεῖ τῷ ὄνόματι τούτῳ

15.10.4 | Therefore, the rational soul must  
have a different actuality than this way, if it  
is necessary to use this name. Nor does the

χρῆσθαι. ούδ' ἡ αἰσθητικὴ, εἴπερ καὶ αὕτη τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπόντων τοὺς τύπους ἔχει, αὐτοὺς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος ἄρα ἔξει εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὕτως ἐνέσονται ὡς μορφαὶ καὶ εἰκόνες ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον ἄλλως δέχεσθαι, εἰ οὕτως ἐνεῖν. οὐκ ἄρα οὗσ' ἀχώριστος ἐντελέχεια.

sensitive soul, if it has the forms of the sensed things when they are absent, hold them without the body. If it does not, then they will exist like shapes and images. But it is impossible to accept it in any other way, if it exists like this. So, it is not an actuality that is separable.

15.10.5 | καὶ μὴν ούδὲ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν μὴ σιτίων, μηδὲ ποτῶν, ἀλλ' ἄλλων παρὰ τὰ τοῦ σώματος, ούδὲ αὐτὸ ἀχώριστος ἐντελέχεια. λοιπὸν δὲ τὸ φυτικὸν ἀν εἴη, ὁ ἀμφισβήτησιν ἀν δόξειν ἔχειν, μήποτε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐντελέχεια ἀχώριστος ἦ.

15.10.5 | And indeed, the desire for food or drink does not come from other things outside the body, nor is it an actuality that is separable. Therefore, the vegetative soul would be, and it would seem to have something to dispute, lest it ever be an actuality that is inseparable in this way.

15.10.6 | ἀλλ' ούδὲ τοῦτο φαίνεται οὕτως ἔχον. εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ παντὸς φυτοῦ περὶ τὴν ρίζαν, καὶ αὐξανομένου τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος περὶ τὴν ρίζαν, καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν φυτῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ δηλονότι ἀπολιποῦσα τὰ ἄλλα μέρη εἰς ἵν τι συνεστάλῃ· οὐκ ἄρα ἦν ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ ὡς ἀχώριστος ἐντελέχεια. καὶ γὰρ αὖ ἐστὶ πρὶν αὔξηθῆναι τὸ φυτὸν ἐν τῷ ὄλιγῳ ὅγκῳ.

15.10.6 | But this does not seem to be the case. For if the source of every plant is around the root, and as the other parts of the body grow around the root, and the lower parts in many plants, the soul clearly leaves the other parts to be gathered into one. Therefore, it was not in the whole as an inseparable actuality. For it also exists before the plant has grown in its small size.

15.10.7 | εἰ οὖν καὶ είς ὄλιγον ἔρχεται ἐκ μείζονος φυτοῦ καὶ ἔξ ὄλιγου ἐπὶ πᾶν, τί κωλύει καὶ ὅλως χωρίζεσθαι; πῶς δ' ἀν καὶ ἀμερής οὖσα μεριστοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἐντελέχεια γένοιτο μεριστή; ἢ τε αὐτὴ ψυχὴ ἔξ ἄλλου ζῶου ἄλλο γίνεται· πῶς οὖν ἡ τοῦ προτέρου τοῦ ἐφεξῆς ἀν γένοιτο, εἰ ἦν ἐντελέχεια ἐνός;

15.10.7 | If it comes from a larger plant and goes to a smaller one, what prevents it from being completely separated? How could an indivisible actuality become divided if it is part of the body? The same soul becomes another from another animal; how then could the soul of the previous one become the next, if it was the actuality of one?

15.10.8 | φαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν μεταβαλόντων ζῶων είς ἄλλα ζῶα. οὐκ

15.10.8 | This is clear from the changing animals into other animals. Therefore, the

ἄρα τῷ εἶδος εῖναι τινος τὸ εῖναι ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὐσία, οὐ παρὰ τὸ ἐν σώματι ἴδρυσθαι τὸ εῖναι λαμβάνουσα, ἀλλ' οὗσα πρὶν καὶ τοῦδε γενέσθαι, οἶον ζῶου, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν γεννήσει.

essence of something does not depend on its form, but it is a substance, not taking its being from being established in the body, but existing before this happens, like that of an animal; the body does not produce the soul.

15.10.9 | τίς οὖν ούσία αύτῆς; εἰ δὲ μήτε σῶμα μήτε πάθος σώματος, πρᾶξις δὲ καὶ ποίησις, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἔξ αὐτῆς, ούσία παρὰ τὰ σ' σματα οὗσα, ποία τίς ἔστιν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἦν φαμεν ὄντως ούσιαν εἶναι; τὸ μὲν γάρ γένεσις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ούσία, πᾶν τὸ σωματικὸν εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἄν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὁν, μεταλήψει δὲ τοῦ ὄντος σωζόμενον, καθ' ὅσον ἀν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνον." Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ Πλωτίνου διήλθομεν, συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ τὰ Πορφυρίων τοῖς πρὸς Βόηθον περὶ ψυχῆς είρημένα

15.10.9 | "What then is its essence? If it is neither body nor the condition of a body, but action and creation, and many things both in it and from it, what kind of essence is it, being apart from the substances? Or is it clear that what we say is truly essence? For generation is not essence; everything that is physical could be said to be becoming and perishing, but truly it is never being, preserved only by the change of being, as long as it is receiving from it." Since we have also gone through the ideas of Plotinus, it is not inappropriate to consider what Porphyry has said in his writings about the soul.

## Section 11

15.11.1 | "Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐντελέχειαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἴπόντα καὶ ἀκίνητον παντελῶς οὖσαν κινεῖν ὑπειληφότα ḥρτέον τέον πόθεν οἱ ἐνθουσιασμοὶ τοῦ ζῶου μηδὲν μὴν ξυνιέντος ὃν ὀρᾶ τε καὶ λέγει, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ μέλλον καὶ μὴ ἐνεστὸς βλεπούσης καὶ κατὰ ταύτῳ κινουμένης, πόθεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ζῶου συστάσεως αἱ τῆς ὡς ζῶου ψυχῆς βουλαί τε καὶ σκέψεις καὶ θελήσεις, ḥροπαὶ οὖσαι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ τοῦ σώματος."

15.11.1 | Regarding the soul being in its fullness and completely unmoving, it must be said where the movements of the animal come from, since nothing is understood from what it sees and says. And the soul looks at both the future and what is not present, while moving in the same way; from where, then, do the desires, thoughts, and wishes of the soul arise in the structure of the animal, being the powers of the soul and not of the body?

15.11.2 | Εἶθ' ἔξῆς ἐπιλέγει Τὸ δὲ βαρύτητι ἀπεικάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ποιότησι

15.11.2 | Then he goes on to say that the soul is represented by heaviness or by

μονοειδέσι καὶ ἀκινήτοις σωματικάς, καθ' ἄς ἡ κινεῖται ἡ ποιόν ἔστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἐκπεπτωκότος ἦν τέλεον ἡ ἐκόντος ἡ ἄκοντος τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀξίας, καὶ οὐδαμῶς καθεωρακότος ὡς παρουσίᾳ μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ζωτικὸν γέγονε τὸ τοῦ ζώου σῶμα, ὡς πυρὸς παρουσίᾳ θερμὸν τὸ παρακείμενον ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν δὲν καθ' ἐαυτό· καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολῇ πεφώτισταί γε ὁ ἀὴρ, σκοτεινὸς δὲν ἄνευ τῆς τούτου ἐκλάμψεως.

qualities that are uniform and unmoving in bodies, through which it either moves or what is underlying it is. It was either completely fallen or willingly or unwillingly of the value of the soul, and in no way was it seen as the presence of the soul made the body of the animal alive, just as the presence of fire makes the nearby water warm, even though it is cold by itself. And the air is indeed illuminated by the rising of the sun, being dark without its shining.

15.11.3 | ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ θέρμη τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ θερμότης ἦν τοῦ πυρὸς οὔτε τὸ πῦρ, οὔτε τὸ ἐναέριον φῶς τὸ σύμφυτον τὸ ἡλίῳ φῶς· ὡσαύτως δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἐμψυχία, ἥτις ἔοικε τῇ βαρύτητι καὶ τῇ περὶ σῶμα ποιότητι, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἐν τῷ σώματι κατατακθεῖσα, δι' ἣν καὶ πνοῆς τινος ζωτικῆς μετέσχε τὸ σῶμα.”

15.11.3 | But neither is the warmth of the water the heat of fire, nor is fire, nor is the light of the air the light that is naturally connected to the sun. In the same way, neither is the life of the body, which seems to be related to heaviness and the qualities around the body, the soul that is placed in the body, through which the body shares in some vital breath.

15.11.4 | Εἴθ' ἐξῆς μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει “Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήκασιν ἄλλοι αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν φέρει. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὁ ἐντελέχειαν τιθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν λόγος σώματος φυσικοῦ ὄργανικοῦ; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνης γέμων ὁ πνεῦμα πως ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἀποδιδοὺς, ἡ πῦρ νοερὸν, τῇ περιψύζει καὶ οἶον βαφῆ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀναφθὲν ἡ στομαθὲν, ὃ τε ἀτόμων ἄθροισμα θεὶς ἡ ὅλως ἀπὸ σώματος αὐτὴν δ τὴν γεννᾶσθαι ἀποφαινόμενος;” Όν δὴ λόγον ἐν Νόμοις ἀσεβῶν ἀσεβῆ εἶναι ἀπεφήνατο. αἰσχύνης οὖν πάντες οὗτοι πλήρεις λόγοι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ λέγοντι αὐτοκίνητον ούσιαν οὐκ ἄν τις, φησὶν, αἰσχυνθείη.

15.11.4 | Then he goes on to say, 'All the other things that others have said about it bring us shame. For how is it not shameful to place the soul as the completeness of a natural, organic body? And how is it not filled with shame to say that it somehow has a spirit, or a thinking fire, that is raised or thickened by the air, or to claim that it comes from the gathering of atoms or is entirely born from the body?' He declared that such reasoning is impious in the Laws. Therefore, all these words are full of shame. And he says that no one would be ashamed of saying that there is a self-moving essence.

## Section 12

15.12.1 | “Ἐτι τοῦ Πλάτωνος λέγοντος τὴν ψυχὴν διακοσμεῖν τὰ πάντα διήκουσαν διὰ πάντων, καὶ ταύτην ὑφ' ἡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διοικεῖσθαι συγχωροῖεν ἀν ἔκαστα, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ἡ ψυχὴν, καὶ δηλονότι ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄλογον, καὶ ἐκ τούτων συνάγοντος ὅτι πάντα κατὰ πρόνοιαν γίνεται, εἴ γε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμῖν Ἀριστοτέλης ὁμολογεῖ.

15.12.1 | Further, Plato says that the soul arranges everything and is present in all things, and that through it the others would agree to be governed in each case, and that nothing else is nature except the soul, and clearly that the soul is not irrational. And from this, he concludes that everything happens according to purpose, if it happens according to nature as well. Aristotle does not agree with any of this.

15.12.2 | οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὰ περὶ γῆν ὑπὸ μὲν φύσεως διοικεῖσθαι. εἶναι γὰρ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄλλας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας. τῶν ἔχοντων αἰτίαν τὴν εἰμαρμένην ὑποτίθησι, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ σελήνην τὴν φύσιν, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων φρόνησιν καὶ πρόνοιαν καὶ ψυχήν· τὸ μὲν γλαφυρὸν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις διαιρέσεσι παρεχόμενος, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον οὐ συνορῶν.

15.12.2 | For the nature is not the soul, and the things on earth are governed by nature. For each of the things has different causes. He proposes that those with a cause have a determined fate, while those under the moon have nature, and for human matters, there is reason, purpose, and soul. He presents the clear aspects in such divisions, but does not see the necessary connections.

15.12.3 | εἰ γὰρ μὴ μία τις εἴη δύναμις ἔμψυχος διήκουσα διὰ τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πάντα συνδοῦσα καὶ συνέχουσα, οὕτ' ἀν εὐλόγως τὸ πᾶν οὔτε καλῶς διοικούμενον εἶναι δύναιτο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἦν ἄρ' ἀβλεψίας καὶ πόλιν ἐλπίσαι ποτὲ καλῶς χωρὶς ἐνώσεως διαγενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ἡγήσασθαι πάγκαλον τῷ λόγῳ διαφυλάξειν, οἶνον περ φαίνεται, μὴ συνδήσαντα καὶ συναρμόσαντα ἐνός τινος ὁμοίου κοινωνίᾳ.

15.12.3 | For if there is not one living power that pervades everything and connects and holds all things together, then neither could the whole be reasonably or beautifully ordered. It would be foolish to hope that a city could ever exist well without unity, and to think that the whole could be considered beautiful by reason alone, as it appears, without being connected and joined together in a community of something similar.

15.12.4 | καὶ τοιοῦτον μέν τι πρᾶγμα τὸ διοικοῦν ἔκαστα εἶναι φησιν, οἶνον ἀρχὴν εἶναι κινήσεως, τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι ψυχὴν οὐ

15.12.4 | And he says that such a thing that governs each part is like a principle of motion, but he does not want this to be the

βούλεται· καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ δεικνύντος ὅτι τοῖς κινουμένοις ἄπασιν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἡ ψυχή· καὶ ὃ μὲν ἀν ἔργον εἴη ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ φρονίμου τὸ μηδὲν μάμάτην ποιεῖν, τοῦτο ἀνατίθησι τῇ φύσει, τοῦ δὲ ὀνόματος αὐτῇ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ μεταδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δυνάμεων, τῶν πραγμάτων λαμβανομένων."

## Section 13

15.13.1 | "Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸ κῦρος τῆς Πλάτωνος αἰρέσεως, ἡ περὶ τῶν νοητῶν διάταξις, ἡτίμασται καὶ προπεπηλάκισται καὶ παντοίως, τό γε ἔξὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστοτέλει, περιύβρισται. οὐ γὰρ δυνάμενος ἐννοῆσαι διότι τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θεῖα καὶ περιττὰ τῶν πραγμάτων παραπλησίου τινὸς δυνάμεως εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν δεῖται, τῇ δ' αὐτοῦ λεπτῇ καὶ ταπεινῇ δριμύτητι πιστεύων, ἥτις διαδῦναι μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἀλήθειαν ἰδεῖν ἐδύνατο, τῇ δ' ὄντως ἀληθείας ἐποπτεῦσαι τὸ πεδίον οὐχ οἴα τε ἦν, αὐτῷ κανόνι καὶ κριτῇ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν χρησάμενος, ἀπέγνω τινὰς εἶναι ἴδιας φύσεις, οἵας Πλάτων' ἔγνω, λήρους δὲ καὶ τερετίσματα καὶ φλυαρίας ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν τὰ τῶν ὄντων ἀνώτατα.

15.13.2 | τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄκρον τε καὶ ἔσχατον τῶν Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφημάτων ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν νοητὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀίδιον ούσιαν τὴν τῶν ἴδεων, ἔνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγῶν ἔσχατος τῇ ψυχῇ πρόκειται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μετασχῶν καὶ ἐφικόμενος αὐτῆς πάντως εὔδαιμων, ὁ δὲ ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ἀδυνατήσας θεωρὸς γενέσθαι πάντως ἄμοιρος εὐδαιμονίας καταλείπεται.

soul. Yet, even Plato himself shows that for all things in motion, the soul is the principle and source of motion. And whatever work belongs to a rational and wise soul, which is to do nothing harmful, this he attributes to nature, but he does not share the name of the soul with it, as if from names, but not from powers, taken from things.

15.13.1 | But the main point and the essence of Plato's doctrine, concerning the arrangement of the intelligible, is honored and has been greatly praised in many ways, while it is rejected by Aristotle. For he is unable to understand why the great, divine, and extraordinary things require a similar kind of power for recognition. Believing in his own subtle and humble sharpness, which could penetrate the truths of earthly matters and see their reality, he was not able to grasp the realm of true reality. Using his own standard and judgment, he denied that there are certain unique natures, like those recognized by Plato, and he dared to speak of the highest things as mere nonsense, trivialities, and foolishness.

15.13.2 | Therefore, the highest and ultimate point of Plato's philosophy is about this intelligible and eternal essence of the ideas, where the greatest effort and struggle is set before the soul. For the one who participates in and reaches it is completely happy, while the one who is left behind and unable to see it is entirely deprived of happiness.

15.13.3 | καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πλάτων' τε πανταχῇ διαγωνίζεται, δεικνὺς τὴν ἴσχὺν τούτων τῶν φύσεων· οὕτε γὰρ ὡντινωνοῦν ἀποδοῦναι φησιν οὗτον τε εἶναι καλῶς, ἀν μὴ τούτων μεθέξει, οὕτε γνῶσίν τινος ἀληθοῦς, ἀν μὴ τῇ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναφορᾷ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λόγου μετέσεσθαι τισιν, εἰ μὴ τὴν τούτων οὐσίαν διμολογήσειαν·

15.13.4 | οἱ τ' αὖ τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος συνιστάναι ἐγνωκότες τὸν πλεῖστον ἀγῶνα τῶν λόγων ἐν τούτῳ τίθενται πάνυ ἀναγκαίως. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτι τὸ Πλατωνικὸν ἀπολείπεται, εἰ μὴ τάς πρώτας καὶ ἀρχικωτάτας φύσεις ταύτας συγχωρήσεται τις αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ Πλάτωνος. ταῦτα γάρ ἔστιν οἵς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχει.

15.13.5 | νοήσας γὰρ θεὸν πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν ἀπάντων πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ κηδεμόνα, καὶ γνωρίζων ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τὸν τεχνίτην πρότερον νοῆσαι τοῦτο ὃ μέλλει δημιουργήσειν, εἴθ' οὕτω τῷ νοηθέντι κατόπιν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων προσάγειν τὴν ὁμοιότητα· ταύτὸν δὴ, τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νοήματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰ τῶν γενομένων παραδείγματα, ἀσώματα καὶ νοητὰ, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα ἀεὶ, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρώτως αὐτὰ ὄντα, παραίτια δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ εἶναι τοιαῦτα ἔκαστα οἵᾳ περ ἔστι, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ ὁμοιότητα, συνιδῶν ὃ Πλάτων ὄντα οὐ βᾶστα ὁφθῆναι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λόγω σαφῶς δηλωθῆναι δυνάμενα, αὐτὸς ὡς οὗτον τε ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν καὶ φρονῆσαι καὶ παρασκευάσαι τοὺς μέλλοντας

15.13.3 | And for this reason, Plato argues everywhere, showing the strength of these natures. For he says that it is not possible to truly give anything well unless one participates in these, nor to have any true knowledge unless it relates to these, and also that one cannot share in any discourse unless they agree on the essence of these.

15.13.4 | Those who understand Plato's ideas place the greatest struggle of words in this. For nothing of the Platonic remains if someone does not agree with these first and most fundamental natures beyond Plato. For these are what stand out the most compared to the others.

15.13.5 | For having thought of god as the father, creator, lord, and guardian of all things, and recognizing from the works the craftsman who first thinks of what he will create, then brings the likeness to the things that exist. Indeed, the thoughts of god are older than the things, the examples of what has come to be, which are formless and intelligible, always existing in the same way and in the same manner, primarily and truly being, and also being the reasons for the existence of other things like them, according to their similarity to these. Plato, seeing that being is not easily shown, nor can it be clearly expressed in words, believed that he could think and speak about these things, preparing those who would follow him, and organizing his entire philosophy around this. He says that the

έπακολουθήσειν πραγματευσάμενος ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφίαν εἰς τοῦτο συνταξάμενος, περὶ ταῦτα φησι καὶ τὴν τούτων νόησιν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, δι' ἣς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τέλος καὶ ἡ μακαριστὴ βιοτὴ παραγίνεται.”

15.13.6 | Τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀττικός. παρῆν δὲ καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείω ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης παραθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γραφῆς· πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑκτεθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθέντες μεταβησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν αἵρεσιν.

15.13.7 | Σωκράτους τοίνυν ἀκουστὴς ἐγένετο Ἀντισθένης. Ἡρακλεωτκός τις ἀνὴρ τὸ φρόνημα, ὃς ἔφη τοῦ ἥδεσθαι τὸ μαίνεσθαι κρεῖττον εἶναι· διὸ καὶ παρήνει τοῖς γνωρίμοις μηδέποτε χάριν ἥδονῆς δάκτυλον ἑκτείνειν.

15.13.8 | τούτου δὲ ἀκουστὴς γέγονε Διογενῆς ὁ κύων, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς θηριωδέστατα φρονεῖν δόξας πολλοὺς ἐπηγάγετο. τοῦτον Κράτης διεδέξατο· Κράτητος δὲ ἐγένετο Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς, ὁ τῆς τῶν Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων αἰρέσεως καταστὰς ἀρχηγός

15.13.9 | Ζήνωνα δὲ Κλεάνθης διεδέξατο, Κλεάνθην δὲ Χρύσιππος, τοῦτον δὲ Ζήνων ὁ ἔτερος καὶ οἱ καθεξῆς, λέγονται δ' οὗτοι πάντες διαφερόντως καὶ βίου στερροῦ καὶ διαλεκτικῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι. τά γέ τοι τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς φιλοσοφίας δόγματα ὕδε πως ἔχει

understanding of these and their wisdom and knowledge is what brings about the human purpose and the blessed life.

15.13.6 | Thus much from the Attic writer. There were also many more things to present from the explained writings of the man; however, being satisfied with what has been presented, we will move on to the teachings of the Stoics.

15.13.7 | Therefore, Antisthenes became a listener of Socrates. He was a man from Heraclea, who said that being mad is better than being pleased; for this reason, he also advised his friends never to stretch out a finger for the sake of pleasure.

15.13.8 | From him, Diogenes the Dog became a listener, who also brought many ideas about thinking in a very wild way. Crates taught him; and from Crates came Zeno of Citium, who became the founder of the school of Stoic philosophers.

15.13.9 | Zeno was taught by Cleanthes, and Cleanthes by Chrysippus, and then Zeno the other one, and those who came after. All of these are said to have cared greatly about a strong way of life and about dialectic. Now, the teachings of their philosophy are as follows.

## Section 14

15.14.1 | "Στοιχεῖον εἶναί φασι τῶν ὄντων τὸ πῦρ, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος, τούτου δ' ἀρχὰς ὅλην καὶ θεόν, ὡς Πλάτων. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἀμφω σώματά φησιν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἐκείνου τὸ πρῶτον ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀσώματον εἶναι λέγοντος.

15.14.1 | They say that the element of all things is fire, just like Heraclitus. But this one says that the beginnings are matter and god, as Plato does. However, he says that both are bodies, both the one that makes and the one that suffers, while that first maker is said to be an incorporeal cause.

15.14.2 | ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατά τινας εἰμαρμένους χρόνους ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, εἴτ' αὖθις πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι. τὸ μέντοι πρῶτον πῦρ εἶναι καθαπερεί τι σπέρμα, τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχον τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἴτιας τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐπιπλοκὴν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν εἰμαρμένην καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀλήθειαν καὶ νόμον εἶναι τῶν ὄντων ἀδιάδραστόν τινα καὶ ἄφυκτον. ταύτῃ δὲ πάντα διοικεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ὑπέρευ, καθάπερ ἐν εὔνομωτάτῃ τινὶ πολιτείᾳ."

15.14.2 | Then, according to certain fated times, the whole universe is said to be burned up, and then again it is arranged once more. However, the first fire is said to be like a kind of seed, having the reasons and causes of all things that have happened, are happening, and will happen. The connection and order of these things is said to be fated, along with knowledge, truth, and law, which are unavoidable and unchangeable for all beings. In this way, everything in the universe is governed by a higher order, just like in a very well-ordered state.

## Section 15

15.15.1 | Ὅλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον σὺν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ μέρεσι προσαγορεύουσι θεόν· τοῦτον δὲ ἔνα μόνον εἶναί φασι καὶ πεπερασμένον καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀΐδιον καὶ θεόν. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ πάντα περιέχεσθαι τὰ σώματα, κενὸν δὲ μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ποιὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι, τὸ κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν τὴν τοιαύτην διάταξιν ἔχον.

15.15.1 | They call the whole universe, along with its parts, a god. They say that this one is the only one, limited, living, eternal, and divine. For in this, all bodies are contained, and nothing empty exists within it. For what is made from all being is called such, having this kind of order according to its arrangement.

15.15.2 | διὸ κατὰ μὲν τὴν προτέραν

15.15.2 | Therefore, according to the earlier

ἀπόδοσιν ἀίδιον τὸν κόσμον εἶναί φασι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διαικόσμησιν γεννητὸν καὶ μεταβλητὸν κατὰ περιόδους ἀπείρους γεγονυίας τε καὶ ἐσομένας.

explanation, they say that the universe is eternal, but according to its arrangement, it is generated and changeable through endless cycles of events that have happened and will happen.

15.15.3 | καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔκ τῆς πάσης οὐσίας ποιὸν κόσμον ἀίδιον εἶναι καὶ θεόν· λέγεσθαι δὲ κόσμον σύστημα ἔξ ούρανοῦ καὶ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φύσεων· λέγεσθαι δὲ κόσμον καὶ τὸ οἰκητήριον θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἑνεκα τούτων γενομένων.

15.15.3 | And the universe made from all being is said to be eternal and divine; it is called the cosmos, a system made of heaven, air, earth, and sea, along with the natures within them. It is also called the cosmos, the dwelling place of gods and humans, and of those who have come into being for these reasons.

15.15.4 | ὃν γὰρ τρόπον πόλις λέγεται διχῶς, τό τε οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ ἔκ τῶν ἐνοικούντων σὺν τοῖς πολίταις σύστημα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος οἰονεὶ πόλις ἔστιν ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων.

15.15.4 | For just as a city is called in two ways, both the dwelling place and the system made up of the inhabitants along with the citizens, so too the universe is like a city made up of gods and humans, with the gods holding leadership and the humans being subject.

15.15.5 | κοινωνίαν δ' ὑπάρχειν πρὸς ἄλλήλους, διὰ τὸ λόγου μετέχειν, ὃς ἔστι φύσει νόμος· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα γεγονέναι τούτων ἔνεκα. οἷς ἀκολούθως νομιστέον προνοεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντα θεὸν, εὔεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, δίκαιον τε καὶ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἀρετάς.

15.15.5 | There is a community among each other because they share reason, which is by nature law; everything else has come into being for these reasons. Therefore, it is to be believed that the god who governs all is thoughtful, beneficial, good, and kind to humans, just, and possesses all virtues.

15.15.6 | διὸ δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται ὁ κόσμος, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιος ἡμῖν ἔστι. καθ' ὅσον δὲ είρομένω λόγῳ πάντα διοικεῖ ἀπαραβάτως ἔξ ἀιδίου προσονομαζεσθαι εἰμαρμένην· Ἀδράστειαν δὲ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδράσκειν· Πρόνοιαν δ', ὅτι

15.15.6 | Therefore, Zeus is said to be the universe because he is the cause of our living. As far as reason is concerned, everything is governed unchangingly by an eternal fate. 'Adrasteia' means that nothing can escape him. 'Pronoia' means that he

πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον οἰκονομεῖ ἔκαστα.

arranges everything for usefulness.

15.15.7 | ήγεμονικὸν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου Κλεάνθει μὲν ἥρεσε τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀστρων ὑπάρχειν, καὶ πλεῖστα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων διοίκησιν, ἡμέραν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ποιοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας.

15.15.7 | Cleantes thought that the sun is the leader of the universe because it is the largest of the stars and contributes the most to the governance of everything, making day and year and the other seasons.

15.15.8 | τισὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἔδοξε γῆν τὸ ήγεμονικὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου. Χρυσίππῳ δὲ τὸν αἴθέρα τὸν καθαρώτατον καὶ εἱλικρινέστατον, ἃτε πάντων εὔκινητότατον ὄντα, καὶ τὴν ὅλην περιάγοντα τοῦ κόσμου φοράν.”

15.15.8 | Some of those from the school of thought believed that the earth is the leader of the universe. Chrysippus thought that the aether is the purest and most genuine, since it is the most mobile of all things and surrounds the entire movement of the universe.

15.15.9 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιτομῆς Ἀρείου Διδύμου προκείσθω· πρὸς δὲ τὴν περὶ θεοῦ τῶν Στωϊκῶν δόξαν ἀπαρκεῖ παραθέσθαι τὰς Πορφυρίου λέξεις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Βόθηον ἀντιγραφεῖσιν αὐτῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς τοῦτον ἔχούσας ’τον τρόπον

15.15.9 | Let these things be taken from the Summary of Areius Didymus. To support the Stoic view about god, it is enough to present the words of Porphyry in the writings he copied for Boethus, having this kind of content.

## Section 16

15.16.1 | “Τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ ὄκνοῦσι πῦρ νοερὸν εἰπόντες ἀίδιον καταλείπειν, καὶ φθείρειν μὲν πάντα λέγειν καὶ ἐπινέμεσθαι, ὡς τοιοῦτον ὃν πῦρ οἶον τὸ ἡμῖν συνεγνωσμένον, ἀντιλέγειν τε Ἀριστοτέλει, παραιτούμενω τὸν αἴθέρα ἐκ πυρὸς λέγειν τοιούτου.

15.16.1 | They do not hesitate to say that god is an eternal, thinking fire, and that it destroys everything and gives it out again, saying that this fire is like the one we know. They also argue against Aristotle, who refuses to say that the aether comes from such a fire.

15.16.2 | ἀπαιτούμενοι δὲ πῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιδιαμένει πῦρ ἄλλοιον μὲν πῦρ οὐ λέγουσιν εἶναι, τὸ τοιοῦτον δ' εἰπόντες καὶ

15.16.2 | They demand how such a fire can remain, saying that it is not another kind of fire. By saying this and believing it, they

πιστεύειν αύτοῖς είποῦσιν ἀξιώσαντες, τῇ  
ἀλόγῳ ταύτῃ πίστει ἐπισυνάπτουσιν ὅτι  
καὶ ἀίδιόν ἔστι πῦρ, ἐκ μέρους καὶ τὸ  
αἰθέριον σβέννυσθαι καὶ ἀνάπτεσθαι  
τιθέντες. ἀλλὰ τὴν τούτων πρὸς μὲν τὰ  
αὐτόν ἀβλεψίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν  
ῥᾶθυμίαν τε καὶ καταφρόνησιν, τί ἄν τις  
ἐπιών ἐπὶ πλέον μηκύνοι;"

## Section 17

15.17.1 | "Ἄλλὰ τί δή ἔστι τὸ ὄν; Ἄρα ταυτὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ τέτταρα, ή γῆ καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ  
αἴ ἄλλαι δύο μεταξὺ φύσεις; Ἄρα οὖν δὴ τὰ  
ὄντα ταῦτά ἔστιν, ἥτοι ξυλλήβδην ἢ καθ' ἵν  
γέ τι αὐτῶν; καὶ πῶς, ἄ γέ ἔστι καὶ γεννητὰ  
καὶ παλινάγρετα, εἴ γε ἔστιν ὄραν αὐτὰ ἔξ  
ἄλλήλων γινόμενα, καὶ ἐπαλλασσόμενα, καὶ  
μήτε στοιχεῖα ὑπάρχοντα μήτε συλλαβάς;

15.17.2 | σῶμα μὲν ταυτὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἄν εἴη  
τὸ ὄν. ἀλλ' ἄρα ταυτὶ μὲν οὖ, ή δ' ὕλη  
δύναται εἶναι ὄν· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ παντὸς  
μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον, ἀρρωστίᾳ τοῦ μένειν.  
ποταμὸς γάρ η ὕλη ῥώδης καὶ ὁξύρροπος,  
βάθος καὶ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος ἀόριστος καὶ  
ἀνήνυτος."

15.17.3 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει Ὦστε  
καλῶς ὁ λόγος εἴρηκε, φὰς, εἴ ἔστιν ἄπειρος  
ἡ ὕλη, ἀόριστον εἶναι αὐτήν· εἴ δὲ ἀόριστος,  
ἄλογος· εἴ δὲ ἄλογος, ἄγνωστος. ἄγνωστον  
δέ γε οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι  
ἄτακτον· ὡς τεταγμένα γνωσθῆναι πάνυ  
δήπουθεν ἄν εἴη ῥάδια· τὸ δὲ ἄτακτον οὐχ  
ἔστηκεν· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μὴ ἔστηκεν οὐκ ἄν εἴη ὄν.

attach to this unreasonable belief that it is also eternal, claiming that the aether is both extinguished and ignited in part. But what can one say about their carelessness toward their own ideas and their laziness and disregard for the thoughts of the ancients?

15.17.1 | But what is being? Are the four elements—earth, fire, and the other two natures—what truly exists? Are these beings either taken together or in some way individually? And how can they be both generated and destroyed, if they can be seen coming from each other, changing, and neither existing as elements nor as combinations?

15.17.2 | A body cannot be what is being in this way. But perhaps the matter can be being; however, it is also impossible in every way, due to the sickness of remaining. For matter is like a flowing river, constantly changing and without a fixed depth, width, or length.

15.17.3 | And after a short time, he adds that if matter is infinite, it must be unlimited; and if it is unlimited, it is without reason; and if it is without reason, it is unknown. And since it is unknown, it must be chaotic; for things that are arranged can certainly be known from somewhere. But what is chaotic does not stand still; and whatever does not stand still cannot be said to be being.

15.17.4 | τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὅπερ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὀμολογησάμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ταυτὶ πάντα συνενεχθῆναι τῷ ὄντι ἀθέμιστον εἶναι. δοξάτω μάλιστα μὲν πᾶσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἐμοί. οὐκοῦν φημὶ τὴν ὑλὴν οὕτε αὐτὴν οὕτε τὰ σώματα εἶναι ὄν.

15.17.5 | τί οὖν δή; ἡ ἔχομεν παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλο τι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ὅλων; ναί· τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἴπειν ποικίλον, εἰ τόδε πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄμα πειραθείημεν διαλεγόμενοι.

15.17.6 | ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ σώματά ἔστι φύσει τεθνηκότα καὶ νεκρὰ καὶ πεφορημένα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, ἄρ' οὐχὶ τοῦ καθέζοντος αὐτοῖς δεῖ; παντὸς μᾶλλον.

15.17.7 | εἰ μὴ τύχοι δὲ τούτου, ἄρα μείνειεν ἄν; παντὸς ἡττον. τί οὖν ἔστι τὸ κατασχῆσον; εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἴη σῶμα, Διός σωτῆρος δοκεῖ ἄν ἐμοὶ δεηθῆναι αὐτὸν παραλυόμενον καὶ σκιδνάμενον.

15.17.8 | εἰ μέντοι χρὴ αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι τῆς τῶν σωμάτων πάθης, ἵνα κάκείνοις κεκυημένοις τὴν φθορὰν ἀμύνειν δύνηται καὶ κατέχῃ, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ δοκεῖ ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἢ μόνον γε τὸ ἀσώματον· αὕτη γὰρ δὴ φύσεων πασῶν μόνη ἔστηκε, καὶ ἔστιν ἀραρυῖα καὶ οὐδὲν σωματική. οὕτε γοῦν γίνεται οὕτε αὔξεται οὕτε κίνησιν κινεῖται ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καλῶς

15.17.4 | This was what we agreed upon before, that all these things combined with being are unchangeable. Let it be believed by everyone, but if not, then by me. Therefore, I say that neither matter itself nor the bodies are being.

15.17.5 | What then? Do we have anything else in the nature of all things besides these? Yes; this is nothing to say in a confusing way, if we first try to discuss it among ourselves.

15.17.6 | Since the bodies are by nature dead and lifeless and in motion and not remaining in the same place, should they not need something to hold them? Certainly, they do.

15.17.7 | If it does not happen, would it then remain? Certainly, it would be less likely. So what is it that holds it? If this is also a body, it seems to me that I should pray to the savior god for it, as it is falling apart and breaking apart.

15.17.8 | If it is necessary for it to be freed from the sufferings of bodies, so that it can defend those that are pregnant with decay and hold them, it seems to me that there is nothing else but the incorporeal. For this alone stands out among all natures, and it is indeed uncombined and not physical at all. It neither comes into being nor grows nor moves in any other way, and for these reasons, it rightly seems just to advocate

δίκαιον ἔφάνη πρεσβεῦσαι τὸ ἀσώματον.”

for the incorporeal.

## Section 18

15.18.1 | ‘Ἄρέσκει δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἀπὸ β τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης ἔξαιθεροῦσθαι πάντα, κατὰ περιόδους τινὰς τὰς μεγίστας εἰς πῦρ αἴθερῶδες ἀναλυομένων πάντων. Καὶ ἔξῆς ἐπάγει

15.18.1 | It pleases the elders that everything from this choice be lifted up, at certain times, into the fiery ether of all things being dissolved. And then it continues.

15.18.2 | “Ἐκ τούτων δὲ δῆλον ὅτι Χρύσιππος ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὐ ταύτην παρείληφε τὴν σύγχυσιν· ἀδύνατον γάρ· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀντὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς λεγομένην. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ περιόδους τῆς μεγίστης γινομένης φθορὰς κυρίως παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν φθορὰν οἱ τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀνάλυσιν τῶν ὅλων δογματίζοντες, ἢν δὴ καλοῦσιν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολῆς χρῶνται τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῆς φθορᾶς.

15.18.2 | From these things, it is clear that Chrysippus did not include this confusion regarding essence; it is impossible. But he spoke of the change instead. For those who mainly accept the decay that happens during the greatest cycles of the cosmos do not take the decay that they call 'purification by fire' into account. Instead, they use the term 'decay' in place of the natural change.

15.18.3 | ἄρέσκει γὰρ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν εἰς πῦρ μεταβάλλειν, οἷον εἰς σπέρμα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτου αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν διακόσμησιν, οὕτα τὸ πρότερον ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως οἵ πρῶτοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι προσήκαντο, Ζήνων τε καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Χρύσιππος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τούτου μαθητὴν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς σχολῆς Ζήνωνά φασιν ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως τῶν ὅλων.”

15.18.3 | For the Stoic philosophers, it is pleasing to transform the whole essence into fire, like into a seed, and then again to form the arrangement from this, as it was before. And this teaching was first and mainly brought forth by the elders of this school, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. For they say that Zeno, the student and successor of this school, held views about the purification of all things.

## Section 19

15.19.1 | “Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ προελθών ὁ κοινὸς λόγος, καὶ κοινὴ φύσις μείζων καὶ

15.19.1 | When the common reason has advanced to such an extent, and the

πλείων γενομένη τέλος άναξηράνασσα πάντα καὶ εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἀναλαβοῦσσα, ἐν τῇ πάσῃ οὐσίᾳ γίνεται, ἐπανελθοῦσα εἰς τὸν πρῶτον ῥηθέντα λόγον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἑκείνην τὴν ποιοῦσαν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν μέγιστον, καθ' ὃν ἀπ' αὐτῆς μόνης εἰς αὐτὴν πάλιν γίνεται ἡ ἀποκατάστασις.

common nature has become greater and more abundant, it finally dries up everything and takes it back into itself. It becomes present in all essence, returning to the first stated reason and to that resurrection which brings about the greatest year, during which the restoration happens from it alone back to itself.

15.19.2 | ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ διὰ τάξιν, ἀφ' οἵας διακοσμεῖν ὡσαύτως ἥρξατο, κατὰ λόγον πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν διεξαγωγὴν ποιεῖται, τῶν τοιούτων περιόδων ἐξ ἀιδίου γινομένων ἀκαταπαύστως. οὕτε γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς αἴτιαν καὶ πᾶσιν οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι οὕτε τοῦ διοικοῦντος αὐτά.

15.19.2 | Returning in order, it begins to arrange things in the same way as before, and according to reason, it makes the same process happen again, with such cycles being formed endlessly from eternity. For neither is there a cause for the beginning, nor is it possible for all things to be arranged.

15.19.3 | οὓσιαν τε γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις ὑφεστάναι δεῖ, πεφυκυῖαν ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰς μεταβολὰς πάσας, καὶ τὸ δημιουργῆσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς. οὕτα γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τίς ἔστι φύσις δημιουργοῦσα, τοιούτου τινὸς κατ' ἀνάγκην ὄντος καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀγεννήτου· γενέσεως γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ταύτης. ὃν τρόπον δ' ἀγέννητός ἔστι καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι ἀδύνατόν ἔστιν αὐτὴν, οὕτε αὐτῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς οὕτε ἔξωθεν τινος ἀναιρήσοντος αὐτήν."

15.19.3 | For there must be a substance that underlies what comes into being, which is naturally able to accept all changes, and the creator comes from it. For what kind of nature is there in us that creates, being something necessary and not born in the world? For it is not possible for there to be a beginning of generation in this nature. In the same way, it is ungenerated and cannot be destroyed, neither from itself nor by anything outside of it that would destroy it.

## Section 20

15.20.1 | "Τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων εἶναι ὁ μεθίησιν ἄνθρωπος πνεῦμα μεθ' ὑγροῦ, ψυχῆς μέρος καὶ ἀπόσπασμα, καὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ τῶν προγόνων κέρασμα καὶ μίγμα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν συνεληλυθός· ἔχον γὰρ τοὺς λόγους τῷ

15.20.1 | Zeno says that the seed is what a man releases, a spirit mixed with moisture, a part and fragment of the soul, and a blend of the seed of the ancestors and the parts of the soul that have come together. For having the same reasons as the whole,

ὅλω τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο, ὅταν ἀφεθῇ εἰς τὴν μήτραν, συλληφθὲν ὑπ' ἄλλου πνεύματος, μέρος ψυχῆς τῆς τοῦ θήλεος καὶ συμφυὲς γενόμενον, κρυφθέν τε φύει κινούμενον καὶ ἀναρριπιζόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου, προσλαμβάνον ἀεὶ εἰς τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ αὐξάνον ἔξ εἰαυτοῦ."

when it is released into the womb, it is conceived by another spirit, becoming a part of the female's soul and naturally joined. Hidden, it grows, moved and stirred by that spirit, always taking in moisture and growing from itself.

15.20.2 | Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγει 'Περὶ δὲ ψυχῆς Κλεάνθης μὲν τὰ Ζήνωνος δόγματα παρατιθέμενος πρὸς σύγκρισιν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φυσικούς φησιν ὅτι Ζήνων τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἴσθησιν, ἢ ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος. βουλόμενος γὰρ ἐμφανίσαι ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀναθυμιώμεναι νοεραὶ ἀεὶ γίνονται εἴκασεν αὐτὰς τοῖς ποταμοῖς, λέγων οὕτως 'ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαίνουσιν ἔτερα καὶ ἔτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ· καὶ ψυχαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται.'

15.20.2 | And after a short time, he adds, 'About the soul, Cleanthes, while presenting the teachings of Zeno for comparison with those of other natural philosophers, says that Zeno describes the soul as sensation or as a kind of vapor, just like Heraclitus. For he wants to show that souls, being vaporous, always become mental, comparing them to rivers, saying this: 'In these rivers, different waters flow in and out; and souls are vaporized from the moist things.'

15.20.3 | ἀναθυμίασιν μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως τῷ Ἡρακλείτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποφαίνει Ζήνων, αἴσθητικὴν δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι τυποῦσθαί γε δύναται τὸ μέρος τὸ ἡγούμενον αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων καὶ ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τῶν αἴσθητηρίων καὶ παραδέχεσθαι τὰς τυπώσεις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἵδια ψυχῆς ἔστι."

15.20.3 | Therefore, Zeno similarly describes the soul as vaporous, just like Heraclitus, but he says it is also sensory because it can be shaped by the part of itself that is considered to be real and existing through the senses and can receive impressions. For these things are proper to the soul.

15.20.4 | Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα 'Εἶναι δὲ ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ φασὶν, ὃ καλοῦσιν αἴθέρα, καὶ ἀέρα κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀναθυμιάσεις· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ψυχὰς προσπεφυκέναι ταύτῃ, ὅσαι τε ἐν ζῷοις είσι καὶ ὅσαι ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι· διαμένειν γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἀποθανόντων ψυχάς.

15.20.4 | And with other things, they say that the soul is in the whole, which they call ether, and air surrounding the earth and sea, and from these come vapors; and the other souls are attached to this, both those in living beings and those in the surrounding world; for the souls of the dead remain.

15.20.5 | ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄλου ἀΐδιον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς συμμίγνυσθαι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ ἐκείνην. ἔχειν δὲ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικόν τι ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃ δὴ ζωὴ καὶ αἴσθησίς ἐστι καὶ ὄρμή.

15.20.6 | Καὶ ἔτι μετ' ὄλγα “Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν γεννητήν τε καὶ φθαρτήν λέγουσιν οὐκ εύθὺς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένειν τινὰς χρόνους καθ' ἐαυτήν· τὴν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων μέχρι τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων πρὸς ποσούς τινας χρόνους.

15.20.7 | τὸ δὲ διαμένειν τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω λέγουσιν, ὅτι διαμένομεν ἡμεῖς ψυχαὶ γινόμενοι τοῦ σώματος χωρισθέντος καὶ εἰς ἑλάττω μεταβαλόντος ούσιαν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ ἀλόγων ζῷων ψυχὰς συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς σώμασι.

15.20.8 | Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ τῆς Στωϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας δόγματα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιτομῶν Ἀρείου Διδύμου συνειλεγμένα. πρὸς δὲ τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς ἄτοπον τῶν ἀνδρῶν δόξαν ἀπαρκεῖ τὰ παρὰ Λογγίνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμάς συντόμως ἀντειρημένα διὰ τούτων

15.20.5 | Some say that the soul of the whole is eternal, while the other souls mix together at their end. And every soul has something guiding within it, which is indeed life and sensation and impulse.

15.20.6 | And still a little later, they say that the soul is both generated and perishable; it does not immediately perish when it is separated from the body, but it remains for some time by itself. The soul of the serious ones lasts until everything is dissolved into fire, while the soul of the foolish lasts for a certain number of times.

15.20.7 | They say that the souls remain in this way, because we souls continue to exist after being separated from the body and changing into a lesser essence of the soul. But the souls of the foolish and irrational animals are completely destroyed with their bodies.

15.20.8 | Such are the teachings of Stoic philosophy, collected from the summaries of Areius Didymus. And regarding the strange beliefs of men about the soul, what has been briefly argued by Longinus against us is enough.

## Section 21

15.21.1 | "Συνελόντι δ' είπεῖν, πόρρω μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀφεστηκέναι τοῦ τὰ δέοντα λογίζεσθαι πάντες ἐφεξῆς ὅπόσοι τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα ἀπίφηντο. πῶς γὰρ ὄλως

15.21.1 | When I gather to speak, it seems to me that all those who have separated the soul from the body have moved far away from thinking about what is necessary. For

έγχωρεῖ παραπλήσιον εῖναί τινι τῶν στοιχείων τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν θεῖναι; ποῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς κράσεις καὶ μίξεις ἀνενεγκεῖν; αἱ κατὰ πολλοὺς γιγνόμεναι τρόπους ἄλλων μὲν ἀμυθήτων ἰδέας σωμάτων ἀπογεννᾶν πεφύκασιν, ἐν οἷς εἴ καὶ μὴ συνεχῶς, ἀλλ' οὕν πόρρωθεν ἰδεῖν ἔνι τὴν τῶν στοιχείων αἴτιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα τῶν πρώτων ἀφορμήν. τῶν δὲ περὶ ψυχῆν ἔχνος οὐδὲν οὔδε τεκμήριον ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐρίσκεται, κāν εἰ φιλοτιμοῦτό τις, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος καὶ Χρύσιππος, ἅπαντα λίθον κινεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔρευνᾶν δύναμιν σώματος εἰς γένεσιν τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς πράξεων.

15.21.2 | τί γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῖν λεπτότης πρὸ ἔργου γένοιτ' ἀν εἰς φαντασίας καὶ λογισμούς; τί δέ; τῶν ἀτόμων σχῆμα τοσαύτην παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ τροπήν, ὥστε φρόνησιν γεννᾶν, ὅταν εἰς ἐτέρου πλάσιν ἔγκαταμιχθῆ σώματος; οἵμαι μὲν ὡς οὐδ' εἰ τῶν Ἡφαίστου τις ὁν τύχοι τριπόδων καὶ Θεραπαινῶν, (ὧν φησιν Ὁμηρος τοὺς μὲν αὐτομάτους εἰς τὸν ἄγῶνα δι' αὐτῶν χωρεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνεργάζεσθαι τῷ δεσπότῃ, καὶ μηδενὸς οἴων οἴζωντες ἔχουσι πλεονεκτημάτων ἀπολείπεσθαι) μή τί γε δὴ τῶν ἔκ ταύτομάτου ψηγμάτων, καὶ αὖτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αἴγιαλῶν προσέοικε λίθοις, εἰς τὸ δύνασθαί τι περιττότερον ποιεῖν πρὸς αἴσθησιν.

15.21.3 | Ζήνωνι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κλεάνθει νεμεσήσειέ τις ἀν δικαίως οὕτω σφόδρα ὑβριστικῶς περὶ αὐτῆς διαλεχθεῖσι καὶ ταύτὸν ἄμφω τοῦ στερεοῦ σώματος εῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναθυμίασιν φήσασι. τί γὰρ, ὡς πρὸς θεῶν, κοινὸν ὅλως ἀναθυμιάσει καὶ

how can it be reasonable to say that something similar to the elements exists in relation to it? And where can one bring up the mixtures and combinations? These, occurring in many ways, have produced countless forms of bodies, in which, even if not continuously, one can see from afar the cause of the elements and the connection to the second and third of the first things. But there is no trace or evidence regarding the soul found in the bodies, even if someone tries hard, like Epicurus and Chrysippus, to move every stone and investigate all the power of the body in order to explain the actions concerning the soul.

15.21.2 | For what would the subtlety of the spirit do for us in terms of imagination and reasoning? And what about this? What power and change does the shape of atoms have compared to the others, so that it can generate thought when mixed into the form of another body? I think that even if someone were to be a servant of Hephaestus, with tripods and attendants (of whom Homer says that some move to the contest by themselves, while others assist their master, and that no living creature has any advantage over others), would it not be that some of the automatic movements, and again those resembling stones on the shores, could do something extra in relation to perception?

15.21.3 | "For someone might justly feel anger towards Zeno and Cleanthes for speaking so arrogantly about the soul, claiming that it is the same as the solid body. For what, by the gods, could be common to both the soul and the body?"

ψυχῇ; ποῦ δὲ ἔγχωρεῖ νομίσαντας τούτῳ προσεοικέναι τὴν θ' ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ούσιαν, τοῦτο μὲν φαντασίας καὶ μνήμας οἴους τε εἶναι σώζειν διαρκεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ ὀρμάς καὶ βουλήσεις τῶν λυσιτελούντων εἰς σύνεσιν αραγμάτων; ἡ τάρα καὶ τὸν θεοὺς καὶ τὸν διὰ πάντων παρήκοντα ὁμοίως ἐπιγείων τε καὶ οὐρανίων εἰς ἀναθυμίασιν καὶ καπνὸν καὶ τοιαύτην φλυαρίαν καταθήσομεν, καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς αἱσχυνόμεθα, οἱ καίπερ ἀκριβῆ σύνεσιν τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅμως τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τῶν Μουσῶν, ἣ κινεῖν Αὔτοὺς ἐπὶ ταπυτα πέφυκε, σεμνότερα είρήκασιπερὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναθυμιάσεις, οὐδὲ ἀέρας, οὐδὲ πνεύματα καὶ λήρους;" Ταῦτά σοι καὶ ὁ Λογγηπινος. ἐπάκουσον δὲ καὶ Πλωτίνου τὰ τοιάδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποτεινομένου

And how can they think that our essence is similar to that of other living beings, when one can preserve thoughts and memories, while the other is about the impulses and intentions that lead to understanding? Or shall we also place the gods and the one who is present in all things into the same category of smoke and nonsense, just like the earthly and heavenly beings? And are we not ashamed of the poets, who, even though they do not have a precise understanding of the gods, still speak more seriously about them, some from the common ideas of humans and others from the inspiration of the Muses, which naturally moves them to speak? And they do not talk about smoke, air, or spirits and nonsense?" These things are also said by Longinus. Listen also to Plotinus, who speaks similarly about these matters.

## Section 22

15.22.1 | "Εέ ἔστιν ἀθάνατος ἔκαστος ἡμῶν, ἣ φθείρεται πᾶς, ἣ φθείφεται πᾶς, ἣ τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἄπεισιν εἰς σκέδασιν καὶ φθορὰν, τὰ δὲ μένει είσαεὶ ἄπεισιν εἰς σκέδασιν καὶ φθορὰν, τὰ δὲ μένει είσαεὶ ἄπερ ἔστιν, αὐτὸς ὅδ' ἂν τις μάθοι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπισκοπούμενος.

15.22.1 | Each of us is either immortal, or everyone perishes, or some parts go into scattering and destruction, while others remain always in scattering and destruction. But some parts remain just as they are. This is what one might learn by observing nature.

15.22.2 | ἀπλοῦν μὲν δή τι οὐκ ἄν εἴη ἀνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴ, ἔχει δὲ καὶ σῶμα· εἴτ' οὖν ὡς ὅργανον ἡμῖν, εἴτε ἔτερον τρόπον προσηρτημένον, ἀλλ' οὖν διηρήσθω γε ταύτῃ, καὶ ἔκατέρου τὴν φύσιν τε καὶ ούσιαν καταθεατέον.

15.22.2 | A person is certainly not simple, but there is a soul within them, and they also have a body. Therefore, whether the soul is like an instrument for us, or connected in some other way, let us examine this and consider the nature and essence of each.

15.22.3 | Τὸ μὲν δὴ σῶμα, καὶ αὐτὸς συγκείμενον, οὕτε παρὰ τοῦ λόγου δύναται μένειν, ἡ τε αἴσθησις ὅρᾳ λυόμενόν τε καὶ τηκόμενον καὶ παντοίους ὀλέθρους δεχόμενον, ἐκάστου γε τῶν ἐνόντων πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ φερομένου, φθείροντός τε ἄλλους ἔτερον καὶ μεταβάλλοντος εἰς ἄλλο καὶ ἀπολλύντος, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ψυχὴ ἢ φίλα ποιοῦσα μὴ παρῇ τοῖς ὄγκοις.

15.22.3 | The body, being made up of parts, cannot remain as it is according to reason. Sensation sees it breaking down, melting away, and undergoing all kinds of destruction, as each part is affected by what is brought to it. One part is destroyed by another, changing into something else and perishing, especially when the beloved soul that creates is not present with the masses.

15.22.4 | κάν μονωθῆ δὲ ἔκαστον γινόμενον, ἐν οὐκ ἔστι, λύσιν δεχόμενον εἰς τε μορφὴν τοῦ ὕλην, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἀπλᾶ τῶν σωμάτων τὰς συστάσεις ἔχειν. Καὶ μέγεθος ἔχοντα, ἄτε σώματα ὄντα, τεμνόμενά τε καὶ εἰς μικρὰ θραυσμένα, καὶ ταύτῃ φθορὰν ἄν ύπομένοι.

15.22.4 | And when each part is isolated, it is not one, as it receives destruction into both form and matter, from which it is necessary for the simple bodies to have their compositions. And having size, since they are bodies, they can be cut and broken into small pieces, and in this way, they would endure destruction.

15.22.5 | ὥστε είμεν μέρος ἡμῶν τοῦτο, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἀθάνατοι, εἰ δ' ἄργανον, ἔδει γε αὐτὸς εἰς χρόνον τινὰ δοθὲν τοιοῦτον τὴν φύσιν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνθρωπος εἴη ἄν ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ὡς πρὸς ὕλην τὸς ὁ ἀνθρωπος εἴη ἄν ἡ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος ὡς πρὸς ὕλην τὸ σῶμα, ἡ κατὰ τὸ χρώμενον ὡς πρὸς ὄργανον. ἐκατέρως δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ .αὐτός.”

15.22.5 | So if this is a part of us, it is not the whole that is immortal. If it is an instrument, it must have been given such a nature for a certain time. But the most important thing is that a person is either in relation to matter as a whole, or in relation to matter as the body, or in relation to the instrument as it is used. In both cases, the soul is the same.

15.22.6 | “Τοῦτο οὖν τίνα φύσιν ἔχει; ἡ σῶμα μὲν ὃν πάντως ἀναλυτέον· σύνθετον γάρ πᾶν γε σῶμα· εἰ δὲ μὴ σῶμα εἴη, ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἄλλης, κάκείνην ἡ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἡ κατὰ ἄλλον σκεπτέον. πρῶτον δὲ σκεπτέον εἰς ὃ τι δεῖ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, ὃ λέγουσι ψυχὴν, ἀναλύειν.

15.22.6 | So what kind of nature does this have? If it is a body, it must be completely analyzed, for every body is made up of parts. But if it is not a body, but of another nature, we should consider whether it is in the same way or in another way. First, we should think about what this body, which they call the soul, needs to be broken down.

15.22.7 | ἐπεὶ γὰρ ζωὴ ψυχῇ πάρεστιν ἔξ  
ἀνάγκης, ἀνάγκη τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τὴν  
ψυχὴν, εἰ μὲν ἐκ δύο σωμάτων ἡ πλειόνων  
εἴη, ἥτοι ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν, ἡ ἔκαστον ζωὴν  
σύμφυτον ἔχειν· ἡ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ μῆ, ἡ  
μηδέτερον ἔχειν. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ αὐτῶν  
προσείη τὸ ζῆν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀν εἴη ψυχή.

15.22.7 | Since life is necessarily present in the soul, this body must have the soul. If it is made of two bodies or more, then each of them must either have life together or each one must have life separately. Or one might have life, while the other does not, or neither might have life. If life is indeed present in one of them, then that would be the soul.

15.22.8 | τί ἀν οὗν εἴη σῶμα, ζωὴν παρ'  
αὐτοῦ ἔχον; πῦρ γὰρ καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ  
γῆ ἄψυχα παρ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅτῳ πάρεστι  
τούτων ψυχὴ, τοῦτο ἐπακτῷ κέχρηται ζωὴ,  
ἄλλα δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα σώματα οὐκ ἔστι. οἷς  
δὲ δοκεῖ εἶναι στοιχεῖα, τούτων ἔτερα  
σώματα, οὐ ψυχαὶ ἐλέχθησαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ  
ζωὴν ἔχοντα. εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ζωὴν  
ἔχοντος ἡ σύνοδος πεποίηκε ζωὴν, ἄτοπον.

15.22.8 | What then could a body be that has life from itself? For fire, air, water, and earth are lifeless by themselves. And whatever of these has a soul, that is added to life; but other bodies besides these do not exist. Those that are thought to be elements are other bodies, and they have not been said to be souls, nor do they have life. But if life has been created from none of them, that would be strange.

15.22.9 | εἰ δὲ ἔκαστον ζωὴν ἔχει, καὶ ἐν  
άρκεῖ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον συμφόρησιν  
σωμάτων ζωὴν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ νοῦν  
γεννᾶν τὰ ἀνόητα. καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐχ ὀπωσοῦν  
κραθέντα ταῦτα φήσουσι γενέσθαι. δεῖ ἄρα  
εἶναι τὸ τάξον καὶ τὸ τῆς κράσεως αἴτιον·  
ῶστε τοῦτο τάξιν ἀν ἔχοι ψυχῆς.

15.22.9 | But if each one has life, then one is enough. It is even more impossible for a collection of bodies to create life and produce thought in the mindless. And indeed, they will not say that these things came to be by chance. Therefore, there must be order and a cause for the mixture; thus, this would have an order of the soul.

15.22.10 | οὐ γὰρ ὅτι σύνθετον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
ἀπλοῦν ἀν εἴη σῶμα ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀνευ  
ψυχῆς οὔσης ἐν τῷ παντὶ, εἴπερ λόγος  
προσελθὼν τῇ ὑλῇ σῶμα ποιεῖ, οὐδαμόθεν  
δ' ἀν προσέλθοι λόγος ἡ παρὰ ψυχῆς."

15.22.10 | For a body cannot be either composite or simple among existing things without a soul being present in the whole. If a reason comes to matter to make a body, then reason could not come from anywhere except from the soul.

15.22.11 | “Εἰ δέ τις μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ἀτόμους ἢ ἀμερῆ συνελθόντα ψυχὴν ποιεῖν λέγοι, τῇ ἐνώσει καὶ ὁμοιοπαθείᾳ ἔλέγχοιτ’ ἀν καὶ τῇ παραθέσει· μὴ δι’ ὅλου, οὐ γινομένου ἐνὸς, ούδὲ συμπαθοῦς ἔξ απαθῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐνοῦσθαι δυναμένων σωμάτων· ψυχὴ δὲ ἐαυτῇ συμπαθής· ἐκ δὲ ἀμερῶν σῶμα ούδε μέγεθος ἀν γένοιτο.

15.22.11 | If someone says that atoms or parts come together to create a soul, they could be refuted by connection and similarity, and by the arrangement. Not through the whole, nor from one thing becoming, nor from the feeling of the unfeeling, and not from bodies that cannot unite; but the soul is sympathetic to itself. And from parts, a body or size could not come to be.

15.22.12 | καὶ μὴν εἴ ἀπλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ σώματος, τὸ μὲν ὄσον ὑλικὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ζωὴν ἔχειν οὐ φήσουσιν· ὕλη γὰρ ἄποιον) τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τεταγμένον ἐπιφέρειν τὴν ζωήν· εἴ μὲν ούσιαν φήσουσι τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο εἶναι, οὐ τὸ συναμφότερον, θάτερον δὲ τούτων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστ’ αὖ σῶμα, οὐ γὰρ ἔξ ὕλης καὶ αὐτὸ, ἡ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀναλύσομεν.

15.22.12 | And indeed, if the body is simple, they will not say that the material part has life by itself; for matter is unformed. But the form brings life. If they say that this form is the essence, then the soul will be something different from both of these. And there is no body again, for it does not come from matter alone, or we will break it down in the same way again.

15.22.13 | εἴ δὲ πάθημα τῆς ὕλης, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ούσιαν φήσουσιν εἶναι, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἐλήλυθε λεκτέον αὐτοῖς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἡ ὕλη ἐαυτὴν μορφοῖ, ούδὲ ἐαυτῇ ψυχὴν ἐντίθησι. δεῖ ἀρά τι εἶναι τὸ χορηγὸν ζωῆς, εἴτε τῇ ὕλῃ ἡ χορηγία, εἴθ’ ὀτωούν τῶν σωμάτων, ἔξω δὲν καὶ ἐπέκεινα σωματικῆς φύσεως, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη σῶμα ούδεν ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ οὔσης.

15.22.13 | But if they say that the suffering of matter is not essence, then they must explain from where the suffering and life have come into matter. For matter does not shape itself, nor does it give a soul to itself. Therefore, there must be something that provides life, whether it is the matter that provides it, or something from outside and beyond the nature of bodies, since there would not be any body without a soul's power being present.

15.22.14 | ἢε γὰρ, καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις, καὶ ἀπόλοιτ’ ἀν ὡς τάχιστα, εἴ πάντα σώματα εἴη, κāν εἰ ὄνομα ἐνὶ αὐτῶν ψυχὴν τις θεῖτο. τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἀν πάθοι τοῖς

15.22.14 | For it flows, and in its form is its nature, and it would perish as quickly as possible if all bodies were the same, even if someone placed a soul within them. For

ἄλλοις σώμασιν, ὅλης μιᾶς οὕσης αὐτοῖς. μᾶλλον δὲ ούδ' ἀν γένοιτο, ἄλλὰ στήσεται ἐν ὅλῃ τὰ πάντα, μὴ ὅντος τοῦ μορφοῦντος αὐτήν.

they would suffer the same things as the other bodies, since they share the same matter. Moreover, it would not even come to be, but everything would remain in matter, without something that shapes it.

15.22.15 | τάχα δ' ἀν ούδ' ἀν ἡ ὅλη τὸ παράπαν εἴη. λυθήσεται δὲ καὶ τόδε τὸ ξύμπαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸ πιστεύσει σώματος συνέρξει, διδοὺς αὐτῷ ψυχῆς τάξιν, μέχρι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀέρι καὶ πνεύματι σκεδαστοτάτῳ, καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ εἶναι ἔχοντι οὐ παρ' αὐτοῦ. πῶς γάρ τεμνομένων τῶν πάντων σωμάτων ωτινιοῦν τις ἀνατιθεὶς τόδε τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἀνόητόν τε καὶ γφερόμενον είκῇ ποιήσει;

15.22.15 | Perhaps the matter would not even exist at all. And this whole thing would fall apart if someone believed it could come together as a body, giving it a rank of soul, up to the names, scattered in air and spirit, and having within it something that does not come from itself. For how could someone, while cutting up all bodies, place this whole thing in a way that is not foolish and makes it happen randomly?

15.22.16 | τίς γάρ τάξις ἐν πνεύματι δεομένω παρὰ ψυχῆς τάξεως, ἢ λόγος, ἢ νοῦς; ἄλλὰ ψυχῆς μὲν οὕσης ὑπουργὰ ταῦτα πάντα αὐτῇ εἰς ρίσσυστασιν καὶ ζώου ἐκάστου, ἄλλης παρ' ἄλλου δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ δόλον συντελούσης, ταύτης δὲ μὴ παρούσης ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη ταῦτα, οὐχ ὅτι ἐν τάξει.”

15.22.16 | For what order is there in a spirit that needs a rank from a soul, or in reason, or in mind? But these things are all helpers to the soul's being for the structure and life of each living thing, coming together from different powers into the whole. And without this presence in all things, none of these would exist, not even in order.

15.22.17 | “Μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγόμενοι ὡς δεῖ τι πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι κρείττον αὐτῶν ψυχῆς εἴδος, ἔννουν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ πῦρ νοερὸν τιθέμενοι, ὥσπερ ἀνευ πυρὸς ἢ πνεύματος οὐ δυναμένης τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν εἶναι, τόπον δὲ ζητούσης εἰς τὸ ἰδρυθῆναι, δέον ζητεῖν ὅπου τὰ σώματα ἰδρύσουσιν, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ ταῦτα ἐν ψυχῆς δυνάμεσιν ἰδρῦσθαι.

15.22.17 | They themselves testify, being led by the truth, that there must be something better than bodies, which is the form of the soul, placing spirit and fire as something intelligent. Just as without fire or spirit, the greater fate cannot exist among beings, seeking a place to be established, it is necessary to seek where bodies are established, as these must be established in the powers of the soul.

15.22.18 | εί δὲ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τίθενται, τὸ δὲ πολυθρύλητον αὐτοῖς πῶς ἔχει, εἰς δὲ καταφεύγουσιν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι τίθεσθαι ἄλλην παρὰ τὰ σώματα φύσιν δραστήριον; εἰ οὖν οὐ πᾶν μὲν πνεῦμα ψυχὴ, ὅτι μυρία πνεύματα ἄψυχα, τὸ δέ πως ἔχον πνεῦμα φήσουσι· τὸ πως ἔχον τοῦτο, καὶ ταύτην τὴν σχέσιν, ἢ τῶν ὄντων τι φήσουσιν, ἢ μηδέν.

15.22.18 | But if nothing is placed besides spirit for life and the soul, how does the many-sounding thing hold for them, into which they flee, being forced to place another active nature besides bodies? Therefore, if not every spirit is a soul, since there are countless lifeless spirits, then they will somehow say that there is a spirit. How does this spirit exist, and this relationship, will they say something about the beings, or nothing at all?

15.22.19 | ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν μηδὲν, πνεῦμα ἀν εἴη μόνον, τὸ δέ πως ἔχον ὄνομα· καὶ οὕτω συμβήσεται αὐτοῖς ούδε ἄλλο ούδεν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ τὴν ὕλην· καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ θεὸν καὶ ὄνομα τὰ πάντα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον. εἰ δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἡ σχέσις, καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τὴν ὕλην, ἐν ὕλῃ μὲν, ἀυλον δὲ αὐτὸ τῷ μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν συγκεῖσθαι ἐξ ὕλης, λόγος ἀν εἴη τις, καὶ οὐ σῶμα, καὶ φύσις ἔτερα

15.22.19 | But if there is nothing, then spirit would be only that, and somehow it has a name; and thus it will happen that they say nothing else but matter. Everything, including soul and god, would be that alone. But if there is a relationship of beings, and something else besides the underlying thing and matter, then in matter it would be, but it would not be made again from matter. There would be some reason, and not a body, and a different nature.

15.22.20 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε οὐχ ἥττον φαίνεται ἀδύνατον ὃν τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι σῶμα ὀτιοῦν. ἢ γὰρ θερμόν ἔστιν ἢ ψυχρόν, ἢ σκληρὸν ἢ μαλακὸν, ὑγρόν τε ἢ πεπηγός, μέλαν τε ἢ λευκόν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ποιότητες σωμάτων ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλοις. καὶ εἴ μὲν θερμὸν, μόνον θερμανεῖ, ψυχρὸν δὲ μονον ψύξει, καὶ κοῦφα ποιήσει τὸ κουφον προσγενόμενον καὶ παρόν, καὶ βαρυνεῖ τὸ βαρὺ, καὶ μελανεῖ τὸ μέλαν, καὶ τὸ λευκόν λευκόν ποιήσει.

15.22.20 | Moreover, it also seems impossible that the soul is any kind of body. For it is either hot or cold, either hard or soft, both wet and dry, black or white, and all the other qualities of bodies are different in different things. And if it is hot, it will only heat; if it is cold, it will only cool; and it will make the light thing lighter and the heavy thing heavier, and it will make the black thing black and the white thing white.

15.22.21 | οὐ γὰρ πυρὸς τὸ ψύχειν, ούδε

15.22.21 | For it is not the fire that cools,

τοῦ ψυχροῦ θερμὰ ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' ἡ γε ψυχὴ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν ζῷοις ἄλλα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἑναντία, τὰ μὲν πηγυῦσα, τὰ δὲ χέουσα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πυκνὰ, τὰ δὲ ἀραιὰ, μέλανα, λευκὰ, κοῦφα, βαρέα· καίτοι ἐν ἐδει ποιεῖν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ποιότητά τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ χρόαν, νῦν δὲ πολλά.

nor does the cold make things hot. But the soul, in other living things, does different things, and in the same thing, it does opposite things: it makes some things solid and others flow, some things thick and others thin, black, white, light, and heavy. And yet it should only do one thing, according to the body's different qualities and colors, but now it does many.

15.22.22 | “Τὰς δὲ δὴ κινήσεις πῶς διαφόρους, ἀλλ' οὐ μίαν, μιᾶς οὖσης παντὸς σώματος κινήσεως; εἰ δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐ σώματος ἡ προαίρεσις, οὐδὲ θῶς μὲν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐ σώματος ἡ προαίρεσις, οὐδέ οἱ λόγοι διάφοροι γε ὁ ντες, ἐνὸς οντος καὶ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ τοιούτου γε λόγου, ἡ δοσὶς δέδοται αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος θερμὸν αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν εἶναι.

15.22.22 | How can there be different movements, and not just one movement of the whole body? If this is true for some things, then the choice is not of the body, nor is the movement of the body. And the reasons are not different, while being one and simple for the body, and there is no such reason connected to it, or as much as is given to it by the creator to be hot or cold.

15.22.23 | τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν χρόνοις αὔξειν, καὶ μέχρι τοσούτου μέτρου, πόθεν ἀν τῷ σώματι αὐτῷ γένοιτο; ᾧ προσήκει μὲν αὔξεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀμοίρω τοῦ αὔξειν εἶναι, ἡ δοσὶς παραληφθείη ἀν ἐν ὅλης ὅγκῳ ὑπηρετοῦν τῷ δι’ αὐτοῦ τὴν αὔξην ἔργαζομένῳ· καὶ γὰρ εἴ ἡ ψυχὴ σῶμα οὕσα αὔξοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὴν αὔξεσθαι. προσθήκῃ δηλονότι ὁμοίου σώματος. εἰ μέλλει εὗς ἵσον ιέναι τῷ αὔξομένῳ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς. καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔσται τὸ προστιθέμενον, ἡ ἀψυχὸν σῶμα.

15.22.23 | But how can it grow over time, and to such a measure, from where would it come to the body itself? It should grow in a way that belongs to it, and it should be a part of the growth, or as much as can be taken in the whole volume that helps the growth being worked on through it. For if the soul is a body and grows, it must also grow itself. This means adding a similar body. If it is going to become equal to what is growing by it. And either the soul will be what is added, or it will be a lifeless body.

15.22.24 | καὶ εἰ μὲν ψυχὴ, πόθεν καὶ πῶς είσιούσης καὶ πῶς προστιθεμένης; εἰ δὲ ἀψυχὸν τὸ προστιθέμενον, πῶς τοῦτο ψυχώσεται καὶ τῷ πρόσθεν ὁμογνωμονήσει καὶ ἐν ἔσται καὶ τῶν

15.22.24 | And if it is a soul, from where and how would it come in and how would it be added? But if what is added is lifeless, how will it become alive and agree with what was there before, and be one and

αύτῶν δοξῶν τῇ πρώτῳ μεταλήψεται; ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ξένη ψυχὴ αὐτῇ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἔσται ὃν ἡ ἐτερα οἶδε· καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ ἄλλος ὅγκος ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἀπορρεύσεται αὐτοῦ, τὸ δέ τι προσελεύσεται, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔσται τὸ αὐτό;

share the same qualities with the first? But it will not be like a foreign soul that will be in ignorance of what the other knows. And just as our other mass, some of it will flow away from it, and some will come to it, yet nothing will be the same?

15.22.25 | πῶς οὖν ἡμῖν αἱ μνῆμαι; πῶς δὲ ἡ γνῶσις οἰκείων, οὐδέποτε τῇ αὐτῇ ψυχῇ χρωμένων; καὶ μὴν εἴ σῶμά ἔστι, φύσις δὲ σώματος μεριζόμενον εἰς πλείω, ἔκαστον μὴ τὸ αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν μερῶν τῷ ὅλῳ· εἴ τοσόνδε μέ· γεθος ψυχὴ, ὃ ἀν ἔλαττον ἦ, ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔσται, ὥσπερ πᾶν ποσὸν ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ εἶναι τὸ πρόσθεν ἡλλάξατο.

15.22.25 | How then do we have memories? And how does knowledge of familiar things happen, when they are never used by the same soul? And indeed, if it is a body, and the nature of a body is divided into parts, each part is not the same as the whole. If the soul is so much less, then it will not be a soul, just as any amount taken away from being will change what was there before.

15.22.26 | εἴ δέ τι τῶν μέγεθος ἔχοντων τὸν ὅγκον ἔλαττωθὲν τῇ ποιότητι ταύτὸν μένοι, ἡ μὲν σῶμα, ἔτερόν ἔστι, καὶ ἡ ποσὸν, τῇ δὲ ποιότητι ἐτέρᾳ τῆς ποσότητος οὕσῃ τὸ ταύτὸν ἀποσώζειν δύναται.

15.22.26 | If something that has size is reduced in quantity but remains the same in quality, then it is a body, and it is different. And in terms of quantity, it cannot preserve the same quality when it is of a different quantity.

15.22.27 | τί τοίνυν φήσουσιν οἵ τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα εἶναι λέγοντες; πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ἐκάστου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι, πότερον ἔκαστον ψυχὴ, οὐαί ἔστι καὶ ἡ ὅλη; καὶ πάλιν τοῦ μέρους τὸ μέρος;

15.22.27 | What then will those who say that the soul is a body say? First, concerning each part of the soul that is in the same body, is each part a soul, and what is it like compared to the whole? And again, is the part of the part?

15.22.28 | οὐδὲν ἄρα τὸ μέγεθος συνεβάλλετο τῇ ούσίᾳ αὐτῆς· (καίτοι ἔδει γε, ποσοῦ τινος ὄντος) καὶ ὅλον πολλαχῆ, ὅπερ σώματι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸν ὅλον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν.

15.22.28 | Therefore, size does not contribute to its essence; (and yet, it should, since it is something of quantity) and the whole cannot be present in many ways in a body, while being the same whole in more than one. And the part cannot exist

as the whole.

15.22.29 | εί δὲ ἔκαστον τῶν μερῶν οὐ ψυχὴν φήσουσιν, ἔξ αψύχων ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξει. καὶ προσέτι, εἰ ψυχῆς ἐκάστης τὸ μέγεθος ὠρισμένον ἔσται ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττόν γε, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔσται.

15.22.30 | ὅταν τοίνυν ἐκ συνόδου μιᾶς καὶ ἐνὸς σπέρματος δίδυμα γένηται γεννήματα, ἢ καὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῷοις, πλεῖστα, τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς πολλοὺς τόπους μεριζομένου, οὗ δὴ δλον ἔκαστόν ἔστι, πῶς οὐ διδάσκει τοῦτο τοὺς βουλομένους μανθάνειν ὡς ὅπου τὸ μέρος ταύτον ἔστι τῷ δλῷ, τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ούσιᾳ τὸ ποσὸν εἶναι ὑπερβέβηκεν, ἀποσον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐξ ἀνάγκης; οὕτω γὰρ ἀν μένοι τὸ αὐτὸν, τοῦ ποσοῦ κλεπτομένου, ἄτε μὴ μέλον αὐτῷ ποσότητος καὶ ὅγκου, ὡς ἀν τῆς ούσιας αὐτοῦ ἔτερόν τι οὕσης. ἀποσον ἄρα η ψυχὴ καὶ οἱ λόγοι.”

15.22.31 | “Οτι δὲ εί σῶμα εἴη η ψυχὴ, οὔτε τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, οὔτε τὸ νοεῖν, οὔτε τὸ ἐπίστασθαι, οὔτε ἀρεταὶ τὰὶ οὔτετιῶν καλῶν ἔσται, ἐκ τῶνδεδῆλον. εἴ τι μέλλει αἰσθάνεσθαι τινος, ἐν αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ εἰ διὰ πολλῶν αἰσθητηρίων πλείω τὰ είσιόντα εἴη, ἢ πολλαὶ περὶ ἐν ποιότητες, καν δι’ ἐνὸς ποικίλον, οἷον πρόσωπον.

15.22.32 | οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἡινὸς, ἄλλο δὲ ὁφθαλμοῦ, ἄλλὰ ταυτὸν δόμοῦ πάντων. καὶ εἰ τὸ μὲν δι’ ὄμμάτων, τὸ δὲ δι’ ἀκοῆς, ἐν τι δεῖ εἶναι είς δ ἄμφω· η πῶς ἀν εἴποι ὅτι

15.22.29 | But if they do not say that each of the parts is a soul, then a soul will exist for them from lifeless things. And besides, if each soul has a defined size for each part, either less than or greater than, there will be no soul.

15.22.30 | When twins are born from a single seed, or even, as in other animals, many offspring come from the seed being divided into many places, where each one is a whole, how does this not teach those who want to learn that where the part is the same as the whole, this has exceeded the amount in its essence, and must necessarily be separate? For thus it would remain the same, with the amount being stolen, since it does not belong to it in quantity and size, as if its essence were something different. Therefore, the soul and the reasons are separate.

15.22.31 | But if the soul were a body, then there would be neither sensing, nor thinking, nor knowing, nor any of the good qualities of things, as is clear from these. If something is going to be sensed, it must be one and the same in all respects; and if there are many senses for many things, or many qualities around one, even if it is through one, like a face.

15.22.32 | For there is nothing different from the nose and nothing different from the eye, but they are the same in all respects. And if one is through the eyes and

ἔτερα ταῦτα, μὴ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὄμοῦ τῶν αἰσθημάτων ἐλθόντων; δεῖ τοίνυν τοῦτο ὡσπερ κέντρον εἶναι, γραμμὰς δὲ συμβαλλούσας ἐκ περιφερείας κύκλου, τὰς πανταχόθεν αἰσθήσεις πρὸς τοῦτο περαίνειν, καὶ τοιοῦτον τὸ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον εἶναι ἐν ὄντως.

the other through hearing, there must be something they both go into; or how could one say that these are different, if they do not come together into the same sense? Therefore, this must be like a center, with lines coming together from the circumference of a circle, completing all the senses toward this, and that which understands must truly be one.

15.22.33 | εἰ δὲ διεστῶς τοῦτο γένοιτο, καὶ οἷον γραμμῆς ἐπὶ ἄμφω τὰ πέρατα αἱ σίσθήσεις προσβάλλοιεν, ἢ συνδραμεῖται εἰς ἔν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάλιν, οἷον τὸ μέσον ἡ ἄλλο· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρου αἴσθησιν ἔξει, ὡσπερ ἀν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἄλλου, σὺ δὲ ἄλλου αἴσθοιο.

15.22.33 | But if this were separated, and like a line where the senses touch both ends, or if they come together into one and the same again, like the middle or something else; then each would have a different sense for each, just as if I were sensing one thing and you were sensing another.

15.22.34 | καὶ εἰ ἐν εἴη τὸ αἴσθημα, οἷον πρόσωπον, εἰς ἔν συναιρεθήσεται, ὅπερ καὶ φαίνεται· συναιρεῖται γὰρ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς κόραις· (ἡ πῶς ἀν τὰ μέγιστα διὰ ταύταιν ὄρῶτο;) ὥστε ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν ἴοντα οἷον ἀμερῆ νοήματα γίνεσθαι. καὶ ἔσται ἀμερὲς τοῦτο, ἢ μεγέθει ὅντι τούτῳ συμμερίζοιτο ἀν, ὥστε ἄλλον ἄλλου μέρους καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ὅλου τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἴσχειν.

15.22.34 | And if the sense were one, like a face, it would come together into one, which is also clear; for it comes together even in those features. (Or how could the greatest things be seen through these?) So it would become even more like a leading thought, like separate ideas. And this would be separate, or if it were of a certain size, it would share with another, so that one would have one part and no one of us would hold the whole perception of what is sensed.

15.22.35 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἔστι τὸ πᾶν· πῶς γὰρ ἀν καὶ διαιροῦτο; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἵσον τῷ ἵσῳ ἐφαρμόσει, δτι οὐκ ἵσον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν παντὶ αἰσθητῷ. κατὰ πηλίκα οὖν ἡ διαιρεσίς; ἢ εἰς τοσαῦτα διαιρεθήσεται, καθ' ὅσον ἀν ἀριθμοῦ ἔχῃ εἰς ποικιλίαν τὸ

15.22.35 | But indeed, the whole is one; for how could it be divided? For what is equal does not fit with what is equal, since what leads is not equal to every sense. So is the division like clay? Or will it be divided into as many parts as there are numbers in the

είσιδὸν αἴσθημα;

variety of the entering sense?

15.22.36 | καὶ ἔκαστον δὴ ἔκείνων τῶν μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἄρα καὶ τοῖς μορίοις αὐτοῦ αἰσθήσεται. ἡ ἀναίσθητα τὰ μέρη τῶν μορίων ἔσται; ἀλλὰ ἀδύνατον. εἰ δὲ διτοῦν παντὸς αἰσθήσεται, εἰς ἅπειρα διαιρεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγέθους πεφυκότος, ἀπείρους καὶ αἰσθήσεις καθ' ἔκαστον αἰσθητὸν συμβήσεται γίγνεσθαι ἐκάστῳ, οἷον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπείρους ἐν τῷ ήγεμονοῦντι ἡμῶν εἰκόνας.

15.22.36 | And each of those parts of the soul will indeed sense with its own parts. Or will the parts be without sensation? But that is impossible. If it senses anything at all, it will be divided into endless sizes, and endless senses will happen for each sensed thing, just as there are endless images in what leads us.

15.22.37 | καὶ μὴν σώματος ὄντος τοῦ αἰσθανομένου, οὐκ ἀν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ γένοιτο τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ οἶον ἐν κηρῷ ἐνσημανθεῖσαι ἀπὸ δακτυλίων σφραγῖδες, εἴτ' οὖν εἰς αἷμα εἴτ' οὖν εἰς ἀέρα τῶν αἰσθημάτων ἐνσημανομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐν σώμασιν ὑγροῖς, ὅπερ καὶ εὔλογον, ὥσπερ εἰς ὕδωρ, συγχυθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται μνήμῃ·

15.22.37 | And indeed, since the body senses, it could not sense in any other way than like seals marked in wax from rings, whether in blood or in the air of the sensed things. If, therefore, it is like in wet bodies, which is reasonable, just as in water, it will be mixed, and there will be no memory.

15.22.38 | εἰ δ' ἔμμενοῦσιν οἱ τύποι, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλους ἐνσημαίνεσθαι ἔκείνων κατεχόντων, ὥστε ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις οὐκ ἔσονται, ἢ γιγνομένων ἄλλων ἔκεῖνοι οἱ πρότερον ἀπολοῦνται, ὥστε ούδεν ἔσται τὸ μνημονεύειν. εἰ δέ ἔστι τὸ μνημονεύειν καὶ ἄλλων αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐπ' ἄλλοις, οὐκ ἔμποδιζόντων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἀδύνατον τὴν ψυχὴν σῶμα εἶναι."

15.22.38 | If the types remain, which cannot be marked by others holding them, then there will be no other senses, or those that are being formed will lose the previous ones, so there will be nothing to remember. But if remembering exists and senses other things, without the previous ones getting in the way, it is impossible for the soul to be a body.

15.22.39 | “Ιδοι δ' ἀν τις καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλγεῖν αἰσθήσεως τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο. ὅταν δάκτυλον λέγηται ἀλγεῖν ἀνθρωπος, ἡ μὲν ὀδύνη περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον δήπουθεν, ἡ δὲ αἰσθησις τοῦ ἀλγεῖν δῆλον ὅτι

15.22.39 | One can see the same thing from the sense of pain. When a person says that a finger hurts, the pain is certainly around the finger, but the sense of pain clearly agrees that it happens around what is in

όμοιογήσουσιν ώς περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν γίγνεται. ἄλλου δὴ ὅντος τοῦ πονοῦντος μέρους, τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν αἰσθάνεται, καὶ δὴ ψυχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει.

15.22.40 | πῶς οὖν τοῦτο συμβαίνει; διαδόσει, φήσουσι, παθόντος μὲν πρώτως τοῦ περὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος, μεταδόντος δὲ τῷ ἔθεφῆς, καὶ τούτου ἄλλω, ἔως οὗ πρὸς τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν ἀφίκοιτο.

15.22.41 | ἀνάυκη τοίνυν εἴ τὸ πρῶτον πόνου ἥσθετο, ἄλλην τὴν αἰσθησιν τοῦ δευτέρου εἶναι, καὶ εἴ κατὰ διάδοσιν ἡ αἰσθησις, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου γε ἄλλην, καὶ πολλὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ ἀπείρους τὴν περὶ ἐνὸς ἀλγήματος γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἀπαξῶν ὕστερον τὸ ἡγεμονοῦν αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ γῆς ἐαυτοῦ παρὰ ταύτας.

15.22.42 | Τὸ δὲ ἀληθὶς, ἐκάστην ἑκείνων μὴ τοῦ ἐν τῷ δακτύσῳ ἀλγήματος· [άλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἐφεξῆς τῷ δακτύλῳ ὅτι ὁ ταρσὸς ἀλγεῖ, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι ἄλλο τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἄνωθεν, καὶ πολλὰς εἶναι ἀλγηδόνας· τὸ τε ἡγεμονοῦν μὴ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀλγήματος] αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἄλλὰ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκειν μόνον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαίρειν ἔαν, μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ὅτι ἀλγεῖ ὁ δάκτυλος.

15.22.43 | εἴ τοίνυν κατὰ διάδοσιν τὴν αἰσθησιν ὅγκου ὅντος, ἄλλου παθόντος, ἄλλου γνῶσιυ εἶναι. Παντὸς γὸρ μεγέθους, εἴ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἔστι, δεῖ τοιοῦτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθανόμενον, ἄλλο ἔστι, δεῖ τοιοῦτον τίθεσθαι τὸ αἰσθαόμενον, οἷον

control. When another part is in pain, the controlling spirit senses it, and the whole soul feels the same thing.

15.22.40 | How then does this happen? They will say that first the spirit around the finger suffers, and then it passes to what you mentioned, and from that to another, until it reaches what is in control.

15.22.41 | Therefore, if the first sense feels pain, there would be another sense for the second, and if the sense is through passing on, then the third would also be different, and there would be many senses and countless ones happening for one pain, and after all of these, the controlling sense would feel, and it would be separate from them.

15.22.42 | But truly, each of those does not feel the pain in the finger; rather, the second feels that the toe hurts, the third feels something else above, and there are many pains; and the controlling sense does not feel the pain in the finger, but rather in itself, and it knows only this, allowing the other senses to be happy, not knowing that the finger hurts.

15.22.43 | If then, through passing on, the sense of size is something, and another feels something else, there must be a different understanding. For every size, if one is something and another is something else, the sensing thing must be such that it

πανταχοῦ αύτὸ ἐαυτῷ τὸ αάτὸ εῖναι. Τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ὅωτων ἡ σώματι ποιεῖν προσήκει.”

is different; it must be set up in such a way that it senses itself everywhere. And this must relate to something else in the senses or the body.

15.22.44 | “Οτι δὲ ούδε νοεῖν οἶόν τε εί σῶμα ἡ εψχὴ διοιῦν εἴη δεικτέον ἐκ τῶνδε. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ αίσθάνεσθαιί ἔστι τὸ σώματι προσχρωμένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντισθαί ἔστι τὸ σώματι προσχρωμένην τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν, οὐκ ἄν εἴη καὶ τὸ νοεῖν τὸ διὰ σώματος καταλαμβάνειν, ἡ ταυτὸν ἔσται τῷ αίσθάνεσθαι.

15.22.44 | But that it cannot even think if the soul is anything connected to the body must be shown from these things. For if sensing is the soul being applied to the body, then understanding must also be the soul being applied to the body, grasping the sensed things. It would not be possible for thinking to be understood through the body, or it would be the same as sensing.

15.22.45 | Εἰ οὖν τὸ νοεῖν ἔστι τὸ ἄνευ σώματος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ πρότερον δεῖ μὴ σῶμα αῦ τὸ νοῆσον εῖναι, ἐπεὶ αἰσθητῶν μὲν ἡ αἴσθησις, νοητῶν δὲ ἡ νόησις. Εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔσονταί γε καὶ νοητῶν τινῶν νοήσεις καὶ ἀμεγέθων ἀντιλήψεις.

15.22.45 | If then thinking is the grasping of things without the body, it must be that the thinking thing is not the body, since sensing is for sensed things, but understanding is for understood things. But if they do not want this, then there will still be some understandings of things that can be thought and graspings of things that are not measurable.

15.22.46 | πῶς οὖν μέγεθος ὃν τὸ μὴ μέγεθος νοήσει καὶ τῷ μεριστῷ τὸ μὴ μεριστὸν νοήσει; ἡ μέρει τινὶ ἀμερεῖ αύτοῦ; εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐ σῶμα ἔσται τὸ νοῆσον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ ὅλου χρεία πρὸς τὸ θιγεῖν· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἵν τι.

15.22.46 | How then can something that is a size understand something that is not a size, and how can something that is divided understand something that is not divisible? Or is there some part that is indivisible? If so, then the thinking thing would not be a body. For it is not necessary to touch the whole; it is enough to touch even a part.

15.22.47 | εἰ μὲν οὖν συγχωρήσονται τὰς πρώτας νοήσεις, ὅπερ ἀληθές ἔστι, εῖναι τῶν πάντη σώματος καθαρωτάτων, αύτὸ ἐκάστου, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ νοοῦν σώματος

15.22.47 | If then they will agree on the first understandings, which is true, that there are the purest things of the body, each one must also know that the thinking

καθαρὸν ὅν, ἢ γιγνόμενον, γινώσκειν. εἴ δὲ τῶν ἐν ὑλῇ εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσουσιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χωρίζομένων γε τῶν σωμάτων γίγνονται, τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος.

thing, being pure or becoming pure, understands. But if they say that the understandings are in the forms of matter, and that they come into being when the bodies are separated, then the mind is separated.

15.22.48 | οὐ γάρ δὴ μετὰ σαρκῶν, ἢ ὅλως ὑλῆς ὁ χωρισμὸς, κύκλου καὶ τριγώνου· καὶ γραμμῆς καὶ σημείου. δεῖ ἄρα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σώματος αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίσαι. δεῖ ἄρα μηδὲ αὐτὴν σῶμα εἶναι. ἀμέγεθες δὲ οἷμαι καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ ἡ τούτων ἄρα νόησις, ὥστε καὶ προσιόντα τῷ ἀμερεῖ αὐτῆς ὑποδέξεται καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀμερῇ κείσεται.”

15.22.48 | For the separation is not with flesh, or with matter as a whole, like a circle and a triangle, and a line and a point. Therefore, the soul must also be separated from the body in such a way. Thus, it must not be a body itself. I think that both the beautiful and the just are also without size, and their understanding is therefore without size. So it will accept what is indivisible and will remain indivisible within itself.

15.22.49 | “Πῶς δ’ ἀν καὶ σώματος ὄντος τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀρεταὶ αὐτῆς σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία τε καὶ ἄλλαι; πνεῦμα τι γάρ, ἢ αἷμά τι, τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴη ἢ δικαιότης, ἢ ἀνδρεία, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἢ ἀνδρεία τὸ δυσπαθὲς τοῦ πνεύματος εἴη, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἢ εὐκρασία, τὸ δὲ κάλλος εύμορφία τις ἐν τύποις, καθ’ ἣν λέγομεν ἴδοντες ὠραίους καὶ καλοὺς τὰ σώματα.

15.22.49 | How then, if the soul is part of the body, can its virtues be temperance and justice, courage and others? For what is it, a spirit or some blood, that makes one temperate or just, or courageous, unless courage is the difficulty of the spirit, and temperance is balance, while beauty is some kind of harmony in forms, through which we say that we see bodies as beautiful and lovely?

15.22.50 | ἴσχυρῷ μὲν οὖν καὶ καλῷ ἐν τύποις πνεύματι εἶναι προσήκοι ἀν, σωφρονεῖν δὲ τί δεῖ πνεύματι; ἀλλ’ οὖν τούναντίον, ἐν περιπτύξει καὶ ἀφαῖς εὐ παθεῖν, ὅπου ἢ θερμανθήσεται, ἢ συμμέτρως ψύχεος ἵμερεῖ, ἢ μαλακοῖς τισι καὶ ἀπλοῖς καὶ λείοις πελάσει; τὸ δὲ κατ’ ἀξίαν νεῖμαι τί ἀν αὐτῷ μέλοι;

15.22.50 | Therefore, it would be fitting for a strong and beautiful spirit to exist, but what should it mean to be temperate in spirit? Rather, it seems the opposite, to feel well in situations and experiences, where it will either be warmed, or will desire to be moderately cooled, or will be surrounded by soft, simple, and smooth things. What then should I say about what is fitting for

it?

15.22.51 | πότερον δὲ ἀιδίων ὄντων τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νοητῶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐφάπτεται, ἢ γίνεται τῷ ἡ ἀρετῇ καὶ ὥφελεῖ καὶ πάλιν φθείρεται; ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ ποιῶν καὶ πόθεν; οὕτω γὰρ ἀν ἔκεινο πάλιν μένοι. δεῖ ἄρα ἀιδίων εἶναι καὶ μενόντων, οἴα καὶ τὰ ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ. εἰ δὲ ἀιδίων καὶ μενόντων, οὐ σωμάτων. καὶ δεῖ ἄρα καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἔσται, τοιοῦτον εἶναι· ἄρα μὴ σῶμα εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ μένει, ἀλλὰ ἢτι ἡ σώματος φύσις πᾶσα.”

15.22.51 | Does the soul connect with the eternal things of virtue and other intelligible things, or does virtue come to it and help it, and then again it is destroyed? But who creates this and from where? For that would remain the same again. Therefore, there must be eternal and unchanging things, like those in geometry. If they are eternal and unchanging, they are not bodies. And so, whatever it will be in, it must be of that kind; therefore, it must not be a body. For the nature of the body does not remain, but flows.

15.22.52 | “Εἴ δὲ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ποιήσεις ὁρῶντες θερμαινούσας καὶ ψυχούσας καὶ ὠθούσας καὶ βαρυνούσας ἔνταῦθα τάττουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, οἷον ἐν δραστηρίῳ τόπῳ ἰδρύοντες αὐτὴν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σώματα δυνάμεσι ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀσωμάτοις ταῦτα ἐργάζεται· ἔπειτα ὅτι οὐ ταύτας τὰς δυνάμεις περὶ ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοεῖν, τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, λογίζεσθαι, ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἐμφρόνως καὶ καλῶς ἀπαντα, ἀλλην ούσιαν ζητεῖ.

15.22.52 | If they see the actions of bodies that heat, cool, push, and weigh down, they place the soul here, as if they are establishing it in an active place. First, they do not realize that these bodies work through the powers within them that are not bodily. Then, they assume that these powers are related to the soul, but rather, they seek another essence, which includes thinking, sensing, reasoning, desiring, and caring for everything wisely and beautifully.

15.22.53 | τὰς οὖν δυνάμεις τῶν ἀσωμάτων μεταβιβάσαντες είς τὰ σώματα ούδεμίαν ἔκεινοις καταλείπουσιν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσι δύναται ἂ δύναται ἐκ τῶνδε δῆλον. ὅμολογήσουσι γὰρ ἔτερον ποιότητα καὶ ποσότητα εἶναι, καὶ πάν σῶμα ποσὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι οὐ πᾶν σῶμα ποσὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ τὴν ὕλην. ταῦτα δὲ ὅμολογοῦντες τὴν ποιότητα ὅμολογήσουσιν ἔτερον ούσαν

15.22.53 | Therefore, by transferring the powers of the incorporeal things into bodies, they leave nothing behind for those. That bodies can do what they can through these incorporeal powers is clear. For they will agree that there is a different quality and quantity, and that every body is a quantity, and yet not every body is a quantity, just like matter. By agreeing on these, they will also agree that the quality is

ποσοῦ, ἔτερον σώματος εἶναι.

a different kind of quantity, and that it is a different essence from the body.

15.22.54 | πῶς γὰρ μὴ ποσὸν οὗσα σῶμα ἔσται, εἴπερ πᾶν σῶμα ποσόν; καὶ μὴν, ὅπερ καὶ ἄνω που ἐλέγετο, εἰ πάν σῶμα μεριζόμενον καὶ πᾶς ἀφαιρεῖται ὅπερ ἦν, κερματιζομένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει ἡ αὐτὴ ὅλη ποιότης μένει, οἷον ἡ γλυκύτης ἡ τοῦ μέλιτος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον γλυκύτης ἔστιν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ, οὐκ ἀν εἴη σῶμα γλυκύτης. διοίως καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι.

15.22.54 | For how can something that is not a quantity be a body, if every body is a quantity? Moreover, as was said above, if every body is divided and everything is taken away from what it was, when the body is broken into parts, the same whole quality remains in each part. For example, the sweetness of honey is no less sweet in each part; it would not be a body of sweetness. The same goes for other qualities.

15.22.55 | ἔπειτα εἰ σώματα ἥσαν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὰς μὲν ἴσχυρὰς τῶν δυνάμεων μεγάλους ὅγκους, τὰς δὲ ὀλίγον δρᾶν δυναμένας ὅγκους μικροὺς εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μεγάλων μὲν τῶν ὅγκων μικραὶ, ὀλίγοι δὲ μικρότατοι τόν ὅγκων μεγίστας ἔχουσι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἄλλω τινὶ ἡ μεγέθει τὸ ποιεῖν ἀναθετέον ἀμεγέθει ἄρα.

15.22.55 | Then, if the powers were bodies, it would be necessary for the strong powers to have large sizes, and for the weaker powers to have smaller sizes. But if the small sizes of the large bodies have few powers, and the smallest sizes have the greatest powers, then something else must be responsible for making them, other than size; it must be something without size.

15.22.56 | τὸ δὲ ὕλην μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι σῶμα, ὡς φασιν, οὕσαν, διάφορα δὲ ποιεῖν ποιότητας προσλαβοῦσαν, πῶς οὐ δῆλον ποιεῖ τὰ προσγενόμενα λόγους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσωμάτους εἶναι; μηδ' ὅτι πνεύματος ἡ αἷματος ἀποστάντων ἀποθνήσκει τὰ ζῷα λεγόντων. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄνευ τούτων εἶναι, ούδ' ἄνευ πολλῶν ἄλλων, ὃν οὐδὲ ἀν ἡ ψυχὴ εἴη. καὶ μὴν οὕτε πνεῦμα διὰ πάντων οὕτε αἷμα, ψυχὴ δέ.

15.22.56 | But if matter is the same body, as they say, and it takes on different qualities, how is it not clear that the resulting things are themselves without bodies? Nor is it said that animals die when their spirit or blood leaves. For they cannot exist without these, nor without many other things, of which even the soul cannot exist. And indeed, neither spirit nor blood, but the soul.

15.22.57 | “Ἐτι εἰ σῶμα οὕσα ἡ ψυχὴ διηλθε διὰ παντὸς, κἄν κραθεῖσα εἴη, ὃν

15.22.57 | Moreover, if the soul is a body and it passes through everything, and if it

τρόπον τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἡ κρᾶσις. εἰ δὲ ή τῶν σωμάτων κρᾶσις ούδεν ἐνεργείᾳ ἔδειναι τῶν κραθέντων, ούδ' ἀν ἡ ψυχὴ ἔτι ἐνεργείᾳ ἐνείη τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀπολέσασα τὸ εἶναι ψυχὴ, ὡσπερ εἴ γλυκὺ καὶ πικρὸν κραθείη, τὸ γλυκὺ οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ ἄρα ἔχομεν ψυχήν.

were to be mixed, in what way would this mixing be like the mixing of other bodies? But if the mixing of bodies does not allow the mixed things to exist in action, then the soul would not still be active in the bodies, but only potentially; having lost its being, like if sweetness and bitterness were mixed, the sweetness would no longer exist. Therefore, we do not have a soul.

15.22.58 | τὸ δὲ δὴ σῶμα ὃν σώματι κεκράσθαι ὅλον δι' ὡς ὅπου ἀν ἡ καὶ θάτερον, εἶναι ἵσον ὅγκον ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ τὸ πάντα κατεχόντων, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὔξην γεγονέναι ἐπεμβληθέντος τοῦ ἑτέρου, ούδεν ἀπολείψει ὁ μὴ τέμη. οὐ γάρ κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη παραλλάξῃ κρᾶσις· (οὕτω γάρ φασι παράθεσιν ἔσεσθαι·) διεληλυθός δὲ διὰ παντὸς τὸ ἐπεμβληθὲν ἐπὶ σμικρότερον· ὅπερ ἀδύνατον, τὸ ἔλαττον ἵσον γενέσθαι τῷ μείζονι·) ἀλλ' οὖν διεληλυθός πᾶν τέμνει κατὰ πᾶν.

15.22.58 | But if a body is mixed with another body everywhere, it would have to be equal in volume to both, and everything would hold together, and there would be no increase when one is mixed with the other, nor would anything be left that is not cut. For mixing does not happen in large parts; (for they say it will be in layers); but when mixed, it would be divided into smaller parts, which is impossible, for the smaller cannot be equal to the larger. Therefore, everything cuts through completely.

15.22.59 | ἀνάγκη τοίνυν εἰ καθ' ὅτιοῦν σημεῖον, καὶ μὴ μεταξὺ σῶμα ἔσται· ὁ μὴ τέτμηται, εἰς σημεῖα τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ σώματος γεγονέναι, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. εἰς δὲ ἄπειρον τῆς τομῆς οὕσης (ὁ γάρ ἀν λάβης σῶμα διαίρετόν ἔστι) οὐ δυνάμει μόνον, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τὰ ἄπειρα ἔσται. οὐ τοίνυν ὅλον δι' ὅλου χωρεῖν δυνατὸν τὸ σῶμα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ δι' ὅλων ἀσώματος ἄρα."

15.22.59 | It is necessary, then, if there is any point, that there will not be a body in between; what is not cut must become points in the division of the body, which is impossible. And if there is an infinite amount of cutting (for whatever you take is a body that can be divided), it will only be potentially, but in action, the infinite will exist. Therefore, it is not possible for the body to occupy the whole by the whole, but the soul can occupy everything; therefore, it is without a body.

15.22.60 | "Τὸ δὲ καὶ φύσιν μὲν προτέραν τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα λέγειν, ἐν δὲ ψυχρῷ

15.22.60 | But it is also strange to say that the same spirit is nature before, and that it

γενομένην καὶ στομωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν γίνεσθαι, λεπτότεραν ἐν ψυχρῷ γενομένην· ὅ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ ἄτοπον· πολλὰ γὰρ ζῷα ἐν θερμῷ γίγνεται, καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχει οὐ ψυχθεῖσαν. ἀλλ' οὖν φασί γε προτέραν φύσιν ψυχῆς εἶναι κατὰ συντυχίας τὰς ἔξω γιγνομένην.

becomes a soul when it is made cold and thickened, becoming finer in the cold; which is indeed odd. For many living things are formed in warmth and have a soul that is not cooled. But they say that the nature of the soul comes first according to the external events that happen.

15.22.61 | συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ χεῖρον πρῶτον ποιεῖν, καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἄλλο ἔλαττον, ἢν λέγουσιν ἔξιν. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὑστατός, ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς δηλονότι γενόμενος, ἡ εἰ πρὸ πάντων νοῦς, ἐφεξῆς ἔδει ψυχὴν ποιεῖν, εἴτα φύσιν· καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ ὑστερὸν χεῖρον, εἴπερ πέφυκεν.

15.22.61 | It happens, then, that they first make the worse thing, and before that, something lesser, which they call habit. But the mind is last, clearly coming from the soul, or if the mind is first, then the soul should follow, and then nature; and always the later is worse, if it has indeed been formed.

15.22.62 | εἰ οὖν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν νοῦν ὑστερός καὶ γεννητὸς καὶ ἐπακτὸν τὸ νοεῖν ἔχων, ἐνδέχοιτο ἀν μηδὲ ψυχὴν μηδὲ νοῦν, μηδὲ θεὸν εἶναι· εἰ τὸ δυνάμει, μὴ ὄντος πρότερον τοῦ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ νοῦ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἥξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν. τί γὰρ ἔσται τὸ ἄγον, μὴ ὄντος ἐτέρου παρ' αὐτὸ προτέρου; εἰ δ' ἔαυτὸ ἥξει εἰς ἐνέργειαν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ βλέπον γε πρός τι ἥξει, ὁ οὐ δυνάμει, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ ἔσται.

15.22.62 | If, then, god is last for them according to the mind, and is generated and has the power to think, it would be possible that there is neither soul nor mind, nor god. If it is potential, and does not exist before it is actual and becomes mind, it will not reach action. For what will lead, if there is no other existing before it? But if it leads itself into action, that is odd; rather, it will lead toward something else, which is not potential, but will be in action.

15.22.63 | καίτοι τὸ ἀεὶ μένειν τὸ αὐτὸ, εἴπερ τὸ δυνάμει ἔξει, καθ' ἔαυτὸ εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἥξει, καὶ τοῦτο κρείττον ἔσται τοῦ δυναμένου, οὗν ὄρεκτὸν ὃν ἔκείνου. πρότερον ἄρα τὸ κρείττον καὶ ἐτέραν φύσιν ἔχον σώματος καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ὃν ἀεὶ πρότερον ἄρα καὶ νοῦς καὶ ψυχὴ φύσεως. οὐκ ἄρα οὕτως ψυχὴ ὡς πνεῦμα, οὐδὲ ὡς σῶμα. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐ σῶμα λέγοιτ' ἀν καὶ εἴρηται καὶ ἄλλοις ἔτερα, ἵκανὰ δὲ καὶ

15.22.63 | And yet, if the always remaining is the same, if it has potential, it will reach action by itself, and this will be better than what is merely potential, like something that desires that. Therefore, the better thing must exist first and have a different nature of body and always be in action. Thus, both mind and soul must exist before nature. Therefore, the soul is not like spirit, nor like body. But it could be said that it is

ταῦτα."

15.22.64 | "Επεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλης φύσεως, δεῖ  
ζητεῖν τίς αὐτῇ. ἢρ' οὖν ἔτερον μὲν  
σώματος, σώματος δέ τι, οἷον ἀρμονία;  
τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρμονίαν τῶν ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν  
λεγόντων ἔτερον τρόπον, ώήθησαν αὐτὸν  
τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι οἷον καὶ ἡ περὶ χορδᾶς  
ἀρμονία.

15.22.65 | ὡς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐντεταμένων  
τῶν χορδῶν ἐπιγίνεται τι οἷον πάθημα ἐπ'  
αὐταῖς, ὃ λέγεται ἀρμονία, τὸν αὐτὸν  
τρόπον καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος, ἐν  
κράσει ἀνομοίων γινομένων, τὴν ποιὰν  
κράσιν ζωήν τε ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ψυχὴν,  
οὖσαν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κράσει πάθημα. ὅτι δὲ  
ἀδύνατον, πολλὰ ἥδη πρὸς ταύτην τὴν  
δόξαν εἴρηται.

15.22.66 | καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἡ  
ψυχή, ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία ὕστερον, καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν  
ἄρχει καὶ ἐπιστατεῖ τῷ σώματι καὶ μάχεται  
πολλαχῆ, ἀρμονία δὲ οὐκ ἀν οὔσα ταῦτα  
ποιοῖ· καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν ούσια, ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία  
οὐκ ούσια· καὶ ὅτι ἡ κράσις τῶν σωμάτων,  
ἐξ ὧν συνέσταμεν, ἐν λόγῳ οὖσα, ὑγίεια ἀν  
εἴη· καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἔκαστον μέρος ἄλλως  
κραθὲν εἴη ἀν ψυχὴ ἐτέρα, ὥστε πολλὰς  
εἶναι· καὶ τόδε μέγιστον. ὡς ἀνάγκη πρὸ  
τῆς ψυχῆς ταύτης ἄλλην ψυχὴν εἶναι τὴν  
ποιοῦσαν τὴν ἀρμονίαν ταύτην, οἷον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῶν ὄργάνων, τὸν μουσικὸν, τὸν ἐντιθέντα  
ταῖς χορδαῖς τὴν ἀρμονίαν, λόγον ἔχοντα  
παρ' αὐτῷ, καθ' ὃν ἀρμόσει.

not body, and it has been said to be other things, and these are sufficient.

15.22.64 | Since there is also another nature, we must seek what this is. Is it something different from body, or is it something of body, like harmony? For this harmony, those speaking about Pythagoras believed it to be something like the harmony of strings.

15.22.65 | For just as when the strings are stretched, something like an experience happens to them, which is called harmony, in the same way, in our body, when different things mix together, this mixture produces life and soul, which is the experience of that mixture. And it has already been said that this is impossible in many ways regarding this idea.

15.22.66 | For indeed, the soul comes first, and harmony comes later. The soul rules and controls the body and struggles in many ways, but harmony cannot do these things. The essence is one thing, while harmony is not an essence. And the mixture of the bodies from which we are made, when understood, would be health. And if each part were mixed differently, there would be a different soul for each part, so there could be many souls. This is the greatest point: it is necessary that before this soul, there is another soul that creates this harmony, like in musical instruments, where the musician gives harmony to the strings, having a reason by which it fits together.

15.22.67 | οὕτε γὰρ ἐκεῖ αἱ χορδαὶ παρ' αὐτῶν οὕτ' ἔνταῦθα τὰ σώματα ἔσυντά εἰς ἀρμονίαν ἄγειν δυνήσεται. ὅλως δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐξ ἀψύχου ἔμψυχα ποιοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀτάκτων κατὰ συντυχίαν τεταγμένα καὶ τὴν τάξιν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς αὐτομάτου τάξεως τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἰληφέναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὕτε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος οὕτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δυνατὸν γενέσθαι. οὐκ ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀρμονία."

15.22.68 | Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Πλωτίνου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν περὶ ψυχῆς δόξαν, σωματικὴν φασκόντων αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αὐταρκῶς τά τε πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην ἔλην καὶ τὸν Περίπατον, τά τε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στωϊκῶν αἵρεσιν, ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ παρατέθειμαι, ὥρα πάλιν ἐπανελθόντα τῶν γενναίων φιλοσόφων ὁμοῦ πάντων τὰς θαυμαστὰς ἐπισκέψασθαι φυσιολογίας, ὅτε μάλιστα κοινῶς πάντες Ἐλληνες θεοὺς ὀρατοὺς, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας, τά τε ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ ἐσέφθησαν, καὶ τάς γε μυθικὰς καὶ ληρώδεις αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης διηγήσεις σεμνοτέραις δὴ καὶ φυσικαῖς ἀποδόσεσιν ἐπὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου μόρια μετενηρόχασι.

15.22.69 | διό μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶνδε δόξας ὁμοῦ συναγαγεῖν, τάς τε διαστάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ τύφου τὸ μάταιον ἐπιθεωρῆσαι. θήσω δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Πλουτάρχου γραφῆς, ἐν ᾧ τὰς περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων δόξας συναγαγὼν τοῦτον γράφει τὸν τρόπον "Περὶ ἡλίου.

15.22.67 | For neither do the strings by themselves create harmony, nor do the bodies here bring themselves into harmony. In general, these things make living beings from the lifeless, and those arranged by chance and disorder do not come from the soul, but their existence comes from a natural order. This cannot happen either in parts or in other things. Therefore, the soul is not harmony.

15.22.68 | These things come from Plotinus regarding the Stoics' belief about the soul, which they say is physical. But since I have chosen to discuss both Aristotle and the Peripatetics, as well as the Stoic views, as I have briefly presented, it is time again for the noble philosophers to examine the wonderful aspects of nature together. At that time, all Greeks commonly saw the visible gods, the sun, the moon, and the other stars, and they considered the other parts of the universe. They also spoke of their mythical and foolish stories about the many gods, which were indeed more serious and based on natural explanations regarding the elements and the parts of the whole universe.

15.22.69 | Therefore, it seems necessary for me to gather together the beliefs about these things, to examine their differences and the emptiness of ignorance. I will also present these from Plutarch's writing, in which he collects the views of both the elders and the young about all these matters, and he writes in this way: 'On the

Sun.'

## Section 23

15.23.1 | Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ὀκτωαιεικοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματείω τροχῷ παραπλήσιον τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα, κοίλην, πλήρη πυρὸς, ἥς κατά τι μέρος ἐκφαινούσης διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ, ὡσπερ διὰ πρηστῆρος αὐλοῦ· καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.

15.23.2 | Ξενοφάνης, ἐκ πυριδίων τῶν φαινομένων συναθροιζομένων μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς ἀναθυμιάσεως, συναθροιζόντων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ νεφῶν πεπυρωμένων.

15.23.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, ἄναμμα νοερὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης.

15.23.4 | Πλάτων, ἐκ πλείστου πυρός.

15.23.5 | Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος,  
Μητρόδωρος, μύδρον ἥ πέτρον διάπυρον.

15.23.6 | Ἀριστοτέλης, σφαῖραν ἐκ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος.

15.23.7 | Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος δίσκον ὑαλοειδῆ, δεχόμενον μὲν τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πυρὸς τὴν ἀνταύγειαν, διηθοῦντα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς· ὡστε προσεοικέναι ἥλιον τὸ

15.23.1 | Anaximander says that the Earth is like a cylinder, twenty times as long as it is wide, having a shape similar to a chariot wheel, hollow and full of fire. A part of this fire shows itself through an opening, just like through a pipe; and this is what he calls the Sun.

15.23.2 | Xenophanes says that the Sun is formed from fiery particles that gather together from the moist vapor, collecting the Sun from burning clouds.

15.23.3 | The Stoics say that the Sun is a mental fire coming from the sea.

15.23.4 | Plato says that the Sun comes from the greatest fire.

15.23.5 | Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Metrodorus say that the Sun is a burning mist or stone.

15.23.6 | Aristotle says that the Sun is a sphere made of the fifth element.

15.23.7 | Philolaus the Pythagorean says that the Sun is a glass disk, receiving the reflection of the fire in the cosmos, and sending the light to us. Therefore, the fiery

έν ούρανῷ πυρῶδες τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνόπτρου κατὰ ἀνάκλασιν διασπειρομένη πρὸς ἡμὰς αὔγῃ· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προσονομάζομεν ἥλιον, οἰονεὶ εἴδωλον είδώλου.

15.23.8 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο ἥλιους· τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον πῦρ ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἡμισφαιρίῳ τοῦ κόσμου, πεπληρωκός τὸ ἡμισφαίριον ἀεὶ καταντικρὺ τῆς ἀνταυγείας αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ φαινόμενον ἀνταύγειαν εἶναι, ἐν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἡμισφαιρίῳ, τῷ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ θερμομιγοῦς πεπληρωμένῳ, ἀπὸ κυκλοτεροῦς τῆς γῆς κατ' ἀνάκλασιν ἐγγιγνομένην εἰς τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ, συμπεριελκομένην δὲ τῇ κινήσει τοῦ πυρίνου. ὡς δὲ βραχέως εἱρῆσθαι συντεμόντα, ἀνταύγειαν εἶναι τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν πυρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

15.23.9 | Ἐπίκουρος, γήινον πύκνωμα, κισσηροειδὲς, καὶ σπογγοειδὲς ταῖς κατατρήσεσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνημμένον.”

## Section 24

15.24.1 | “Περὶ μεγέθους ἥλιου.  
Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἵσον εἶναι τῇ γῇ, τὸν δὲ κύκλον ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐκπνοὴν ἔχει, καὶ ὑφ' οὗ φέρεται,  
ἐπτακαιεικοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς.

15.24.2 | Ἀναξαγόρας πολλαπλασίονα  
Πελοποννήσου.

15.24.3 | Ἡράκλειτος, εὖρος ποδὸς  
ἀνθρωπείου.

light in the sky resembles the light spread to us from the mirror by reflection; and we call this the Sun, like an image of an image.

15.23.8 | Empedocles says there are two Suns: one is the original fire in the other hemisphere of the cosmos, always filling that hemisphere directly with its light; the other is the apparent reflection, in the other hemisphere, filled with the mixed warm air, created by the reflection from the round Earth into the crystalline Sun, being drawn in by the movement of the fire. To put it simply, the Sun is the reflection of the fire around the Earth.

15.23.9 | Epicurus says that the earthly substance is dense, like ivy, and sponge-like in its wear, burned by the fire.

15.24.1 | About the size of the Sun.  
Anaximander says that the Sun is equal in size to the Earth, and that it is a circle from which it breathes out and is carried, being seventy-two times larger than the Earth.

15.24.2 | Anaxagoras says it is many times larger than the Peloponnesian.

15.24.3 | Heraclitus says the width of a human foot.

15.24.4 | Ἐπίκουρος πάλιν φησὶν  
ένδεχεσθαι τὰ προειρημένα πάντα· ἡ  
τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκος φαίνεται, ἡ μικρῷ μείζω,  
ἢ ἐλάττῳ.”

15.24.4 | Epicurus again says that all the things mentioned before can be accepted; either it seems to be of such a size, or a little bigger, or smaller.

## Section 25

15.25.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος ἡλίου. Ἀναξιμένης  
πλατὺν ὡς πέταλον.

15.25.1 | About the shape of the sun. Anaximenes says it is broad like a petal.

15.25.2 | Ἡράκλειτος, σκαφοειδῆ,  
ὑπόκυρτον.

15.25.2 | Heraclitus says it is boat-shaped and slightly curved.

15.25.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ σφαιροειδῆ ὡς τὸν  
κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἀστρα.

15.25.3 | The Stoics say it is spherical like the universe and the stars.

15.25.4 | Ἐπίκουρος ἔνδεχεσθαι τὰ  
προειρημένα πάντα.” Τοιοῦτος μὲν αὐτοῖς  
ὁ μέγας τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν φαινομένων  
Θεὸς ἥλιος. Μωσῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑβραίων  
λόγια ούδεν τούτων περιεργάζονται.

15.25.4 | Epicurus accepts all the things mentioned before. Such is the great god of the heavens, the sun, to them. But Moses and the words of the Hebrews do not concern themselves with any of these.

## Section 26

15.26.1 | “Περὶ σελήνης. Ἀναξίμανδρος  
κύκλον εἶναι ἑννεακαιδεκαπλασίονα τῆς  
γῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου, πλήρῃ πυρὸς,  
έκλείπειν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τοῦ  
τροχοῦ. ὅμοιον δὲ εἶναι ἀρματείω τροχῷ,  
κούλην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀψίδα, καὶ πυρὸς πλήρη,  
ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοήν.

15.26.1 | About the moon. Anaximander says it is a circle fourteen times larger than the earth, full of fire, and it disappears during the turns of the wheel. It is like a chariot wheel, having a hollow rim, and full of fire, with one breath coming out.

15.26.2 | Ξενοφάνης νέφος εἶναι

15.26.2 | Xenophanes says it is a cloud that

πεπιλημένον.

is piled up.

15.26.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ μικτὸν ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ  
ἀέρος.

15.26.3 | The Stoics say it is a mixture of  
fire and air.

15.26.4 | Πλάτων ἐκ πλείονος τοῦ γεώδους.

15.26.4 | Plato says it is made mostly of  
earth.

15.26.5 | Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος,  
στερέωμα διάπυρον, ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ πεδία  
καὶ ὄρη καὶ φάραγγας.

15.26.5 | Anaxagoras and Democritus say it  
is a fiery solid, having in itself fields,  
mountains, and valleys.

15.26.6 | Ἡράκλειτος γῆν ὁμίχλῃ  
περιεχομένην

15.26.6 | Heraclitus says it is earth  
surrounded by mist.

15.26.7 | Πυθαγόρας κατὰ τὸ πυροειδὲς  
σῶμα.

15.26.7 | Pythagoras says it is according to  
the fiery body.

## Section 27

15.27.1 | “Περὶ μεγέθους σελήνης. Οἱ  
Στωϊκοὶ μείζονα τῆς γῆς ἀποφαίνονται, ὡς  
καὶ τὸν ἥλιον.

15.27.1 | On the size of the moon. The  
Stoics say it is larger than the earth, just  
like the sun.

15.27.2 | Παρμενίδης ἵσον τῷ ἡλίῳ· καὶ γὰρ  
ἀπ' φωτίζεται.”

15.27.2 | Parmenides says it is equal to the  
sun; for it is also lit by light.

## Section 28

15.28.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος σελήνης. Οἱ  
Στωϊκοὶ σφαιροειδῆ εἶναι ὡς τὸν ἥλιον.  
Ἡράκλειτος σκαφοειδῆ. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς

15.28.1 | On the shape of the moon. The  
Stoics say it is spherical like the sun.  
Heraclitus says it is boat-shaped.  
Empedocles says it is disk-shaped. Others

δισκοειδῆ. ἄλλοι κυλινδροειδῆ.”

say it is cylindrical.

## Section 29

15.29.1 | “Περὶ φωτισμοῦ σελήνης.  
Ἀναξίμανδρος ἕδιον αὐτὴν ἔχειν φῶς,  
ἀραιότερον δέ πως.

15.29.2 | Ἀντιφῶν ἴδιῳ φέγγει λάμπειν τὴν  
σελήνην· τὸ δ' ὑποκρυπτόμενον περὶ αὐτὴν  
ὑπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς τοῦ ἡλίου  
ἀμαυροῦσθαι, πεφυκότος τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου  
πυρὸς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον ἀμαυροῦν, ὃ δὴ  
συμβαίνειν καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα.

15.29.3 | Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι τὴν σελήνην.

15.29.4 | Ἡράκλειτος τὸ αὐτὸ πεπονθέναι  
τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην· σκαφοειδεῖς  
γὰρ ὅντας τοῖς σχήμασι τοὺς ἀστέρας,  
δεχομένους τε τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγρᾶς  
ἀναθυμιάσεως, θυμιάσεως, φωτίζεσθαι  
πρὸς τὴν φαντασίαν· μὲν τὸν ἥλιον, ἐν  
καθαρωτέρῳ γάρ ἀέρι φέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
σελήνην ἐν θολερῷ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
ἀμαυροτέραν φαίνεσθαι.”

15.29.1 | On the lighting of the moon.  
Anaximander says it has its own light, but  
somehow it is fainter.

15.29.2 | Antiphon says that the moon  
shines with its own light; but what is  
hidden around it becomes dim due to the  
sunlight hitting it, as the weaker fire is  
dimmed by the stronger fire, which also  
happens with the other stars.

15.29.3 | Thales and those who follow him  
say that the moon is lit by the sun.

15.29.4 | Heraclitus says that the sun and  
the moon are affected in the same way; for  
the stars are shaped like bowls, and they  
receive the light from the moist vapor and  
smoke, shining according to their  
appearance. The sun shines in clearer air,  
while the moon shines in cloudy air, which  
is why it appears dimmer.

## Section 30

15.30.1 | “Τίς ἡ ούσία τῶν πλανήτων  
ἄστρων καὶ ἀπλανῶν. Θαλῆς γεώδη μὲν,  
ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα.

15.30.1 | What is the substance of the  
wandering stars and the fixed stars? Thales  
says they are made of earth, while others  
say they are made of fire.

15.30.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πύρινα, ἐκ τοῦ πυρώδους, ὅπερ ὁ ἀήρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχων ἔξανέθλιψε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην διάκρισιν.

15.30.2 | Empedocles says they are made of fire, from the fiery substance that the air contains within itself, which it first separated.

15.30.3 | Ἀναξαγόρας τὸν περικείμενον ἄέρα πύρινον μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, τῇ δ' εύτονίᾳ τῆς περιδινήσεως ἀναρπάσαντα πέτρους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ καταφλέξαντα, τούτους ἡστερικέναι.

15.30.3 | Anaxagoras says that the surrounding air is fiery in its essence, and that it has seized rocks from the earth through its swirling motion and burned them, turning them into stars.

15.30.4 | Διογενής κισσηρώδῃ τὰ ἄστρα, διαπνοὰς αύτὰ νομίζει τοῦ κόσμου. πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖς μὲν λίθους, πίπτοντας δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν σβέννυσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν ἐν Αἴγαδι Ποταμοῖς πυροειδῶς κατενεχθέντα ἀστέρα πέτρινον.

15.30.4 | Diogenes thinks that the stars are made of a kind of ivy, and that they are breaths of the universe. He also believes that the same stars, which are hidden, often fall to the earth and are extinguished, just like the stone star that fell in the Nile.

15.30.5 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τοὺς μὲν ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας συνδεδέσθαι τῷ κρυστάλλῳ, τοὺς δὲ πλανήτας ἀνεῖσθαι.

15.30.5 | Empedocles says that the fixed stars are attached to crystal, but the wandering stars are free.

15.30.6 | Πλάτων' ἐκ μὲν τού πλείστου μέρους πυρίνους, μετέχοντας δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, κόλλης δίκην.

15.30.6 | Plato says that most of them are made of fire, but they also share in other elements, like glue.

15.30.7 | Ξενοφάνης ἐκ νεφῶν μὲν πεπυρωμένων, σβεννυμένους δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀναζωπυρεῖν νύκτωρ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἄνθρακας· τὰς γὰρ ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς δύσεις ἔξαψεις εἶναι καὶ σβέσεις.

15.30.7 | Xenophanes says that from burning clouds, they are put out each day and rekindled at night, just like coals; for the rises and sets are brightening and extinguishing.

15.30.8 | Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἔκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν, γῆν περιέχοντα ἄέρα τε καὶ] αἰθέρα ἐν τῷ

15.30.8 | Heraclides and the Pythagoreans say that each of the stars has a cosmos, surrounded by earth, air, and ether in the

άπείρω. ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς  
Ὀρφικοῖς ἔμφρεται· κοσμοποιοῦσι γὰρ  
τῶν ἀστέρων.

15.30.9 | Ἐπίκουρος οὐδὲν ἀπογινώσκει  
τούτων, ἔχόμενος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου.”

infinite. These teachings are found in the Orphic texts; for they create a cosmos from the stars.

## Section 31

15.31.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος ἀστέρων. Οἱ  
Στωϊκοὶ σφαιρικοὺς τοὺς ἀστέρας,  
καθάπερ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἥλιον καὶ  
σελήνην.

15.31.2 | Κλεάνθης κωνοειδεῖς.

15.31.1 | About the shape of the stars. The Stoics say that the stars are spherical, just like the cosmos, the sun, and the moon.

15.31.2 | Cleanthes says they are cone-shaped.

15.31.3 | Ἀναξιμένης ἥλων δίκην  
καταπεπηγμένων τῷ κρυσταλλοειδεῖ. ἔνιοι  
δὲ πέταλα πύρινα εἶναι, ὡσπερ  
κρυσταλλοειδεῖ. Τοιαῦτα τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς  
φιλοσόφοις τὰ περὶ ὧν φασι φαινομένων  
Θεῶν ἔξευρήματα. οἴα δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
παντὸς διειλήφασιν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς μάνθανε  
τοῦ Πλουτάρχου φωνῆς

15.31.3 | Anaximenes says they are like holes filled with crystal. Some say they are fiery petals, just like crystal. Such are the wonderful discoveries of philosophers about what they say are the appearances of the gods. They also discuss the whole universe in the same way, learning from the voice of Plutarch.

## Section 32

15.32.1 | “Πῶς συνέστη ὁ κόσμος. ὁ τοίνυν  
κόσμος περικεκλασμένω σχήματι  
ἐσχημάτισται· τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. τῶν  
ἀτόμων σωματων ἀπρονόητον καὶ τυχαίαν  
έχοντων τὴν κίνησιν συνεχῶς τε καὶ  
τάχιστα κινουμένων, εἰς ταύτο πολλὰ  
σώματα συνηθροίσθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

15.32.1 | How the universe was formed. The universe is shaped in this way, like a closed figure. The atoms, which are mindless and move randomly and quickly, come together into many bodies. Because of this, they have a variety of shapes and sizes.

ποικιλίαν ἔχοντα σχημάτων καὶ μεγεθῶν.

15.32.2 | ἀθροιζομένων δὲ ἐν ταυτῷ τούτων, τὰ μὲν ὅσα μείζονα ἦν καὶ βαρύτατα πάντων ὑπεκάθιζεν, ὅσα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ περιφερῆ καὶ λεῖα καὶ εύολίσθητα, ταῦτα ἔξεθλίβετο κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον τῶν σωμάτων, εἴς τε τὸ μετέωρον ἀνεφέρετο.

15.32.3 | ὡς οὖν ἔξέλιπε μὲν ἡ πληκτικὴ δύναμις μετεωρίζουσα, οὐκέτι δὲ ἥγεν ἡ πληγὴ πρὸς τὸ νετεωρον, ἐκωλύετο δὲ ταῦτα φέρεσθαι κάτω, ἐπιέζετο πρὸς τοὺς τόπους τοὺς δυναμένους δέξασθαι. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πέριξ.

15.32.4 | καὶ πρὸς τούτους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σωμάτων περιεκλᾶτο· περιπλεκόμενα δὲ ἄλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν περίκλασιν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐγέννησε. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἔχόμεναι φύσεως αἱ ἄτομοι, ποικίλαι οὖσαι, καθὼς εἴρηται, πρὸς τὸ μετέωρον ἔξωθούμεναι, τὴν τῶν ἀστρων φύσιν ἀπετέλουν.

15.32.5 | τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναθυμιωμένων σωμάτων ἐπέπληττε τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τοῦτον ἔξεθλιβε. πνευματούμενος δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν κίνησιν καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὰ ἀστρα συμπεριῆγεν αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν νῦν περιφορὰν αὐτῶν μετέωρον ἐφύλαττε. κάπειτα ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὑποκαθιζόντων ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μετεωριζομένων ὁ οὐρανὸς, πῦρ, ἄήρ.

15.32.6 | πολλῆς δὲ ὕλης ἔτι περιειλημμένης ἐν τῇ γῇ, πυκνουμένης δὲ

15.32.2 | As these came together, the larger and heaviest ones sank down, while the smaller, round, smooth, and slippery ones were pushed along in the gathering of the bodies, rising up into the air.

15.32.3 | When the striking force stopped lifting, the blow no longer pushed them upward. They were held back from moving down and settled in the places that could hold them. These were the surrounding areas.

15.32.4 | And around these, the crowd of bodies was gathered. As they tangled with each other in the surrounding area, they formed the sky. These atoms, which were of the same nature and varied, as mentioned, were pushed upward and made up the nature of the stars.

15.32.5 | And the crowd of rising bodies filled the air and crushed it. This air, moving with motion and surrounding the stars, carried them along and kept their current movement in the sky. Then, from the ones settling down, the earth was formed, and from those rising up, the sky, fire, and air were created.

15.32.6 | And with much matter still wrapped up in the earth, this matter

ταύτης κατὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων πληγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων αὔρας, προσεθλίβετο πᾶς ὁ μικρομερής σχηματισμὸς ταύτης καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν φύσιν ἐγέννα.

became dense from the blows of the winds and the breezes from the stars. Every small formation of this matter was crushed and produced the wet nature.

15.32.7 | ὅτε οὐδὲν δέ τι διακειμένη κατεφέρετο πρὸς τοὺς κοίλους τόπους καὶ δυναμένους χωρῆσαι τε καὶ στέξαι· ἡ καθ' ἐαυτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ὑποστὰν ἐκοίλαινε τοὺς ὑποκειμένους τόπους."

15.32.7 | Being fluid, it flowed into the hollow places that could hold and contain it; or the water, sinking by itself, filled the underlying spaces.

15.32.8 | Τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ θαυμάσιος αὕτῶν κοσμογονία. συνηῆπται δὲ τούτοις ἄλλῃ τις πλείστη λογομαχία, παντοίων πέρι προτάσεων ἀπορησάντων εἰ χρὴ τὸ πᾶν ἔν ἡ πολλὰ ἡγεῖσθαι· καὶ εἰ ἔνα τὸν κόσμον ἡ πλείους καὶ εἴτε ἔμψυχος οὗτος καὶ προνοίᾳ τυγχάνει θεοῦ διοικούμενος, εἴτε καὶ τάναντία· καὶ εἰ ἄφθαρτος ἡ φθαρτός· καὶ πόθεν τρέφεται· καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου ἥρξατο ὁ θεὸς κοσμοποιεῖν· περὶ τε τῆς τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ τίς ἡ αἵτια τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐγκλιθῆναι· περὶ τε τοῦ ἐκτὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου περιφερείας· καὶ τίνα τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη· περὶ τε οὐρανοῦ· καὶ πρὸς ἄπασι τούτοις περὶ τε δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων· περὶ τε ὅλης καὶ περὶ ἴδεῶν· περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τάξεως· ἔτι μὴν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀπόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες· καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων Διοσκούρων περὶ τε ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· καὶ περὶ ἔμφάσεως αὐτῆς· καὶ διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔτι περὶ ἐνιαυτῶν.

15.32.8 | Such is their wonderful creation of the world. Along with this, there is another great debate about many questions, wondering whether the whole is one or many, and whether the world is one or more, and whether it is alive and governed by the care of a god, or the opposite; and whether it is unchanging or changeable; and from where it gets its nourishment; and from what the god began to create the world; about the order of the universe; and what is the reason for its existence; about the outside of the universe; and what are the right and left parts of the world; about the sky; and concerning all these things about spirits and heroes; about matter and ideas; about the order of everything; also about the movement and motion of the stars; and where the stars get their light; and about those called the Dioscuri; about the eclipses of the sun and moon; and about their appearance; and why it appears to be earthy; and about its spots; and also about the years.

15.32.9 | ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διὰ μυρίων τοῖς

15.32.9 | All these things were prepared by

περὶ ὃν ὁ λόγος κατεσκευασμένα ἐπειδὴ τεμῶν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν ὄλιγοις συνεῖλεν, ἐπὶ ταύτων ὅμοι συναγαγών ἀποφάσεις καὶ τὰς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν, ἥγοῦμαι καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄχρηστα γενήσεσθαι αὐτὰ παρατεθέντα εἰς τὴν εὔλογον αὐτῶν παραίτησιν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρὸς σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐναντίοι κατὰ διάμετρον ἔστησαν, μάχας τε καὶ πολέμους, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξῆψαν, τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔκαστοι φιλοτιμίᾳ λόγων ἀπελέγχαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐποχὴν γεγονέναι πᾶς ὀστισοῦν δομολογήσει;

countless people regarding what the discussion is about. Since Plutarch, having cut through the matter, gathered the main points and their disagreements into a few, I think it will not be useless for us to present them for their reasonable rejection. For when they stood against each other in direct opposition, fighting and warring, they did not achieve anything more than each of them arguing with the pride of their own words. How could it not be reasonable for anyone to agree that we have a secure understanding about these matters?

15.32.10 | προσθήσω δὲ ἔξῆς τοῖς είρημένοις ὅσα καὶ περὶ τῶν προσγειωτέρων ἐπηπόρησαν· περὶ γῆς σχήματος, καὶ περὶ θέσεως καὶ ἐγκλίσεως αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔτι περὶ θαλάσσης· ὡς ἂν είδείης ὅτι μὴ περὶ μόνων τῶν μετεώρων καὶ μεταρσίων οἱ γενναῖοι διέστησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς περιγείοις διαπεφωνήκασιν. ἵνα δὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν σοφίαν ἀποθαυμάσῃς, προσθήσω καὶ ὅσα περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡγεμονικοῦ διεμαχήσαντο, οὐδὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιγνῶναι οἴας εἶνεν φύσεως δεδυνημένοι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνίωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν είρημένων.

15.32.10 | I will also add to what has been said about the things that relate to the earth. This includes the shape of the earth, its position and tilt; and also about the sea. So that you may know that the noble ones did not only disagree about the heavenly bodies, but also argued about the things on the ground. And to further amaze you with the wisdom of the wise, I will add what they debated about the soul and its ruling part, not even knowing what kind of nature they had. But let us return to the first things mentioned.

### Section 33

15.33.1 | "Εἰ ἔν τὸ πάν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοὰς ἔνα κόσμον ἀπεφήναντο, δὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ πάν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ τὰ σωματικά.

15.33.1 | If there is one whole. Some from the Stoia declared that there is one world, which they said is the whole and also the physical things.

15.33.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ κόσμον ἴνα, οὐ

15.33.2 | Empedocles said that the world is

μέντοι τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὁλίγον τι τοῦ παντὸς μέρος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀργὴν ὕλην.

not the whole, but rather a small part of the whole, while the rest is a useless matter.

15.33.3 | Πλάτων' δὲ τεκμαίρεται τὸ δοκοῦν, ὅτι εῖς ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐν τὸ πᾶν ἔκ τριῶν· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι τέλειον, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα ἐμπερέχῃ· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι ὅμοιον τῷ παραδείγματι, ἐὰν μὴ μονογενῆς ἦ· ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἔσεσθαι ἄφθαρτον, ἐάν τι ἔξωτέρω αὐτοῦ ἦ.

15.33.3 | Plato argues that there is one world and one whole made from three things: from not being perfect, if it does not contain everything; from not being like the model, if it is not unique; and from not being immortal, if something exists outside of it.

15.33.4 | πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πλάτωνα λεκτέον ὅτι οὐ τέλειος ὁ κόσμος, οὐδὲ γάρ τὰ πάντα περιέχει· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρωπός ἔστι τέλειος, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα περιέχει· καὶ πολλὰ παραδείγματά ἔστιν, ὡσπερ ἐπ'  
ἀνδριάντων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ζωγραφιῶν· πῶς δὲ τέλειος, εἴπερ τι αὐτοῦ περιδινεῖσθαι δύναται; ἄφθαρτος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ δύναται εἶναι, γεννητὸς ὁν.

15.33.4 | It should be said against Plato that the world is not perfect, for it does not contain everything. A human is perfect, but does not contain everything. There are many examples, like statues, houses, and paintings. How can it be perfect if something can move around in it? And it is not immortal, nor can it be, since it is created.

15.33.5 | Μητρόδωρος δέ φησιν ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐν μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ ἔνα στάχυν γεννηθῆναι καὶ ἵνα κόσμον ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ. ὅτι δὲ ἀπειρος κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀπειρα τὰ αἴτια εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν κόσμος πεπερασμένος, τὰ δὲ αἴτια πάντα ἀπειρα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος γέγονεν,] ἀνάγκη ἀπείρους εἶναι. ὅπου γὰρ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν αἴτια, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀποτελέσματα. αἴτια δὲ ἥτοι αἱ ἄτομοι, ἢ τὰ στοιχεῖα."

15.33.5 | Metrodorus says it is strange for one grain to be born in a large field and for a world to exist in the infinite. That the infinite is clear from the infinite causes. For if the world is limited, but all the causes are infinite, from which the world has come, then the causes must be infinite. Wherever all things have come from causes, there too are the results. The causes are either atoms or the elements.

## Section 34

15.34.1 | "Εἴ ἔμψυχος ὁ κόσμος καὶ προνοίᾳ διοικούμενος. [Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες

15.34.1 | If the world is alive and governed by intelligence. The others are all alive and

έμψυχον καὶ διοικούμενον.]

governed.

15.34.2 | Δημόκριτος δὲ] καὶ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ ἄτομα εἰσηγοῦνται καὶ τὸ κενὸν, οὕτ' ἔμψυχον οὔτε προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι, φύσει δέ τινι ἀλόγῳ.

15.34.2 | Democritus and Epicurus introduce atoms and the void, saying that neither is alive nor governed by intelligence, but rather by some irrational nature.

15.34.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης οὕτ' ἔμψυχον ὅλον δι' ὅλων, οὔτε μὴν αἰσθητικὸν,] οὔτε λογικὸν, οὔτε νοερὸν, οὔτε προνοίᾳ διοικούμενον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐράνια τούτων πάντων κοινωνεῖν—σφαίρας γὰρ περιέχειν ἔμψυχους καὶ ζωτικάς—τὰ δὲ περίγεια μηδενὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δ' εύταξίας κατὰ συμβεβηκός, οὐ προηγουμένως μετέχειν.

15.34.3 | Aristotle says that the whole is neither alive, nor sensory, nor rational, nor governed by intelligence. For the heavenly bodies share in all these things—since they are spheres containing living and vital things—while the surrounding things have none of these. The order of these things is by chance, not by prior participation.

## Section 35

15.35.1 | "Εἴ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος. Πυθαγόρας τε καὶ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ γεννητὸνύπὸ θεοῦ τὸν κόσμον καὶ φθαρτὸν μὲν, δσον ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει — αἰσθητὸν γὰρ εἶναι, διότι σωματικόν — οὐ μὴν φθαρησόμενόν γε, προνοίᾳ καὶ συνοχῇ θεοῦ.

15.35.1 | If the world is eternal. Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics say that the world is created by a god; and while it is perishable in nature—since it is sensory and physical—it will not be destroyed, due to the intelligence and unity of god.

15.35.2 | Ἐπίκουρος φθαρτὸν, ὅτι γεννητὸν, ὡς ζῷον, ὡς φυτὸν.

15.35.2 | Epicurus says that what is perishable is created, like an animal or a plant.

15.35.3 | Ξενοφάνης ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀίδιον καὶ ἄφθαρτον κόσμον.

15.35.3 | Xenophanes says that the world is uncreated, eternal, and imperishable.

15.35.4 | Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην

15.35.4 | Aristotle says that the part of the

τοῦ κόσμου μέρος παθητὸν, ἐνῷ καὶ τὰ περίγεια κηραίνεται.”

world under the moon is changeable, where even the things on Earth are made of clay.

## Section 36

15.36.1 | “Πόθεν τρέφεται ὁ κόσμος. Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰ τρέφεται ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φθαρήσεται· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιδέεται τροφῆς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀίδιος.

15.36.1 | Where does the world get its nourishment? Aristotle says that if the world is nourished, it will perish; but it does not need any food. For this reason, it is also eternal.

15.36.2 | Πλάτων, αύτὸν αὐτῷ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τοῦ φθίνοντος κατὰ μεταβολὴν τὸ τρέφον παρέχεσθαι.

15.36.2 | Plato says that the world provides itself with nourishment from what is changing and perishing.

15.36.3 | Φιλόλαος, διττὴν εἶναι τὴν φθορὰν, τοτὲ μὲν ἔξ οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς ḥυέντος, τοτὲ δὲ ἔξ ὕδατος σεληνιακοῦ περιστροφῆς τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποχυθέντος· καὶ τούτων εἶναι τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις τροφὰς τοῦ κόσμου.”

15.36.3 | Philolaus says that there are two kinds of destruction: sometimes from fire coming down from the sky, and sometimes from water that has been poured out by the movement of the air. And these are the sources of nourishment for the world.

## Section 37

15.37.1 | "Απὸ ποίου πρώτου ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς κοσμοποιεῖν. Οἵ φυσικοὶ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρξασθαί φασι τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κέντρου ἀρχὴ δὲ σφαιραῖς τὸ κέντρον.

15.37.1 | From where did god begin to create the world? Some natural philosophers say that the origin of the world started from the earth, just like the center of a sphere is the starting point.

15.37.2 | Πυθαγόρας ἀπὸ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου στοιχείου.

15.37.2 | Pythagoras says it comes from fire and the fifth element.

15.37.3 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν μὲν αἴθέρα

15.37.3 | Empedocles says that first the

πρῶτον διακριθῆναι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ πῦρ, ἐφ' ὃ τὴν γῆν, ἔξ οὐδὲν ἄγαν περισφιγγομένης τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς σφαίρας ἀναβλὺσαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἔξ οὗ θυμιαθῆναι τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν ἐκ τοῦ αἴθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἐκ τοῦ πυρός· πληθῆναι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων τὰ περίγεια.

ether was separated, then the fire, on which the earth rests. From the tightly compressed earth, water rises due to the movement of the sphere, from which the air is made fragrant. And the sky is formed from the ether, while the sun is made from fire, and the surrounding things are formed from the others.

15.37.4 | Πλάτων' ὀρατὸν τὸν κόσμον γεγονέναι πρὸς παράδειγμα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου· τοῦ δὲ ὀρατοῦ προτέραν μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὸ σωματοειθὲς, τὸ ἐκ πυρὸς μὲν καὶ γῆς πρῶτον, ὅδατος δὲ καὶ ἀέρος δεύτερον.

15.37.4 | Plato says that the visible world was created as a model of the intelligible world. First, the soul existed, and then came the physical body, made first from fire and earth, and second from water and air.

15.37.5 | Πυθαγόρας πέντε σχημάτων ὅντων στερεῶν, ἄπερ καλεῖται καὶ μαθηματικὰ, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κύβου φησὶ γεγονέναι τὴν γῆν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς πυραμίδος τὸ πῦρ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀκταέδρου τὸν ἀέρα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ εἰκοσαέδρου τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σφαῖραν.

15.37.5 | Pythagoras says that there are five solid shapes, which are also called mathematical. From the cube, he says the earth was made; from the pyramid, fire; from the octahedron, air; from the icosahedron, water; and from the dodecahedron, the sphere of the whole universe.

15.37.6 | Πλάτων' δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις πυθαγορίζει.

15.37.6 | Plato also agrees with these ideas of Pythagoras.

## Section 38

15.38.1 | “Περὶ τάξεως κόσμου. Παρμενίδης στεφάνας εἶναι περιπεπλεγμένας ἐπ' ἄλλήλαις, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ· μικτὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ σκότους μεταξὺ τούτων· καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τοίχου δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχον.

15.38.1 | About the order of the universe. Parmenides says that there are crowns twisted around each other, one made from the rare, and the other from the dense; and other mixed ones made from light and darkness between these; and what surrounds them is solid, like a wall.

15.38.2 | Λεύκιππος καὶ Δημόκριτος χιτῶνα κύκλῳ καὶ ὑμένα περιτείνουσι τῷ κόσμῳ.

15.38.3 | Ἐπίκουρος ἐνίων μὲν κόσμων ἀραιὸν τὸ πέρας, ἔνια δὲ πυκνά· καὶ τούτων τὰ μέν τινα κινούμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀκίνητα.

15.38.4 | Πλάτων' πῦρ πρῶτον, εἶτα αἰθέρα, μεθ' ὃν ἀέρα, ἐφ' ᾧ ὕδωρ, τελευταίαν δὲ γῆν ἐνίοτε δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα συνάπτει τῷ πυρί.

15.38.5 | Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον μὲν αἰθέρα ἀπαθῆ, πέμπτον δὲ σῶμα· μεθ' ὃν παθητὰ, πῦρ, ἀέρα, ὕδωρ, τελευταίαν δὲ γῆν. τούτων δὲ τοῖς μὲν οὐρανίοις ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν κυκλικὴν κίνησιν τῶν δ' ὑπ' τεταγμένων τοῖς μὲν κούφοις τὴν ἄνω, τοῖς δὲ βαρέσι τὴν κάτω.

15.38.6 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὴ διὰ παντὸς ἐστῶτας εῖναι, μηδὲ ὡρισμένους τοὺς τόπους τῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ πάντα πως ἀλλήλων μεταλαμβάνειν."

15.38.2 | Leucippus and Democritus describe the universe as wearing a circular cloak and a belt.

15.38.3 | Epicurus says that some worlds have a rare boundary, while others are dense; and among these, some are moving, and some are still.

15.38.4 | Plato says that first is fire, then ether, after that air, on which is water, and finally earth; sometimes he connects ether with fire.

15.38.5 | Aristotle says that first is the unchanging ether, and fifth is body; after that are the changeable ones: fire, air, water, and finally earth. Among these, the heavenly bodies have a circular motion, while those below have upward motion for the light ones and downward motion for the heavy ones.

15.38.6 | Empedocles says that the elements do not always stay in place, nor are their locations fixed, but rather everything somehow shares with each other.

## Section 39

15.39.1 | "Τίς ἡ αίτια τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐγκλιθῆναι. Διογένης, Ἀναξαγόρας, μετὰ τὸ συστῆναι τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐγκλιθηνάι πως τὸν κόσμον ἐκ

15.39.1 | What is the reason for the world to be tilted? Diogenes and Anaxagoras say that after the world was formed and the living things were brought up from the

τοῦ αὐτομάτου εἰς τὸ μεσημβρινὸν αύτοῦ μέρος, ἵσως ὑπὸ προνοίας, ὅντα τὰ μὲν ἀοίκητα γένηται, τὰ δὲ οἰκητὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, κατὰ ψῦξιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ εὔκρασίαν.

earth, the world somehow tilted by itself toward its southern part, perhaps by some providence, so that the uninhabitable areas would become habitable parts of the world, according to cooling, heating, and balance.

15.39.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, τοῦ ἀέρος εἴζαντος τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου ὄρμῇ, ἐπικλιθῆναι τάς ἄρκτους καὶ τὰ βόρεια ὑψωθῆναι, τὰ δὲ νότια ταπεινωθῆναι, καθὸ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον."

15.39.2 | Empedocles says that as the air follows the movement of the sun, the northern regions are tilted up and the southern regions are lowered, just like the whole world.

## Section 40

15.40.1 | "Περὶ τοῦ ἔκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου, εἴ ἔστι κενόν. Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ἔκτὸς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου κενὸν, εἰς ὃ ἀναπνεῖ ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἔξ οὗ.

15.40.1 | About what is outside the world, whether there is a void. Some, from Pythagoras, say that there is a void outside the world, into which the world breathes, and from which it comes.

15.40.2 | Οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοὶ, εἰς ὃ καὶ τῇ ἔκπυρώσει ἀναλύεται, ἀπειρον.

15.40.2 | But the Stoics say that it is infinite, into which everything is dissolved during the conflagration.

15.40.3 | Ποσειδώνιος οὐκ ἀπειρον, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὕταρκες εἰς τὴν διάλυσιν, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ κενοῦ.]

15.40.3 | Posidonius says it is not infinite, but as much as is self-sufficient for the dissolution, in the first work about the void.

15.40.4 | Πλάτων', Ἀριστοτέλης, μήτ' ἔκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου διάκενον εἶναι μήτ' ἐντός."

15.40.4 | Plato and Aristotle say that it is neither empty outside the world nor inside it.

## Section 41

15.41.1 | "Τίνα δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τίνα

15.41.1 | What is on the right of the world

άριστερά. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων', Ἀριστοτέλης δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη, ἀφ' ὃν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά.

and what is on the left? Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle say that the eastern parts are on the right of the world, from which the beginning of motion comes, and the western parts are on the left.

15.41.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, δεξιὰ μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν χειμερινόν.

15.41.2 | Empedocles says that the areas by the summer solstice are on the right, and the areas by the winter solstice are on the left.

## Section 42

15.42.1 | "Περὶ οὐρανοῦ, τίς ἡ τούτου Ἀναξιμένης τὴν περιφορὰν τῆς ἔξωθεν ζώνης εἶναι.

15.42.1 | About the sky, what is Anaximenes' idea of the movement of the outer zone?

15.42.2 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐξ ἀέρος συμπαγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς, τὸ πυρῶδες καὶ ἀερῶδες ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων περιέχοντα.

15.42.2 | Empedocles says that the sky is solid, made from compacted air under the fire, crystal-like, with fiery and airy parts surrounding each of the hemispheres.

15.42.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκ πέμπτου σώματος, ἢ ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ μίγματος."

15.42.3 | Aristotle says it comes from the fifth element, or from a mixture of hot and cold.

## Section 43

15.43.1 | "Περὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἥρωων. Παρακειμένως δὲ τῷ περὶ θεῶν λόγῳ τὸν περὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ἥρωων ἱστορητέον.

15.43.1 | About spirits and heroes. Next to the discussion about gods, the one about spirits and heroes should be told.

15.43.2 | Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων', οἱ Στωϊκοί, δαίμονας ὑπάρχειν ούσιας

15.43.2 | Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, along with the Stoics, say that there are

ψυχικάς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἥρωας τὰς κεχωρισμένας ψυχὰς τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μὲν τὰς ἀγαθὰς; κακοὺς δὲ τὰς φαύλας.

15.43.3 | Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἔγκρίνει.”

## Section 44

15.44.1 | “Περὶ ὅλης. “Γλη ἐστὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις μεταβολαῖς.

15.44.2 | Οὗ ἀπὸ Θαλέω καὶ Πυθαγόρα καὶ οἴ Στωϊκοὶ τρεπτὴν καὶ ἄλλοιωτὴν καὶ ῥευστὴν ὅλην δ' ὅλων τὴν ὅλην.

15.44.3 | Οἱ ἀπὸ Δημοκρίτου, ἀπαθῆ τὰ πρῶτα, τὴν ἄτομον καὶ τὸ κενὸν καὶ τὸ ἀσώματον.

15.44.4 | Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων’ τὴν ὅλην σωματοειδῆ, ἄμορφον, ἀνείδεον, ἀσχημάτιστον, ἄποιον μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴδιᾳ φύσει, δεξαμενὴν δὲ τῶν εἰδῶν, οἷον τιθήνην καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ μητέρα γενέσθαι. οἵ δὲ ὕδωρ λέγοντες, πῦρ, ἡ ἀέρα, ἡ γῆν τὴν ὅλην, οὐκέτι ἄμορφον αὐτὴν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ σῶμα· οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀμερῆ, καὶ τὰς ἀτόμους, ἄμορφον.”

spiritual beings. They say that the separated souls of bodies are also heroes; and the good ones are the good souls, while the bad ones are the wicked.

15.43.3 | Epicurus does not agree with any of this.

15.44.1 | About matter. Matter is what underlies generation, decay, and other changes.

15.44.2 | Only from Thales and Pythagoras and the Stoics do we see that all matter is changeable, altered, and fluid.

15.44.3 | Those from Democritus say that the first things are unchanging, the atom, the void, and the incorporeal.

15.44.4 | Aristotle and Plato say that matter is body-like, formless, shapeless, and without quality in its own nature, but it serves as a container for forms, like a mold or a mother. Those who say that water, fire, air, or earth is matter no longer call it formless, but rather body; while those who speak of the indivisible and the atoms call it formless.

## Section 45

15.45.1 | “Περὶ ἰδέας. Ἰδέα δέ ἐστιν οὐσία

15.45.1 | About ideas. An idea is an essence

άσώματος, αύτή μὲν ὑφεστῶσα καὶ καθ' ἔαυτὴν, εἰκονίζουσα δὲ τὰς ἀμόρφους ὕλας καὶ αἴτια γιγνομένη τῆς τούτων δείξεως.

that is incorporeal, existing by itself and in itself, and it represents the formless materials and is the cause of their manifestation.

15.45.2 | Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων' χωριστὰς τῆς ὕλης ούσιας τὰς ἴδεας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς φαντασίαις τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ νοῦ, ὑφεστώσας.

15.45.2 | Socrates and Plato believe that ideas are separate from the essence of matter, existing in the thoughts and imaginations of the divine, that is, of the mind.

15.45.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης εἶδη μὲν ἀπέλιπε καὶ ἴδεας, οὐ μὴν κεχωρισμένας τῆς ὕλης, ἔξω γεγονώς τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

15.45.3 | Aristotle left aside forms and ideas, but he did not separate them from matter, as being outside of what is created by the divine.

15.45.4 | Οἶ' ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος Στωϊκοὶ ἐννοήματα τὰς ἴδεας."

15.45.4 | I know that the Stoics took ideas from Zeno's thoughts.

## Section 46

15.46.1 | "Περὶ τάξεως Ξενοκράτης κατὰ μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴεται κίνει σθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας.

15.46.1 | About order, Xenocrates thinks that the stars move in a single appearance.

15.46.2 | Οἱ ἄλλοι Στωϊκοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐτέρων τοὺς ἐτέρους, ἐν ὅψει καὶ βάθει.

15.46.2 | The other Stoics put some above others, in height and depth.

15.46.3 | Δημόκριτος τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς πλάνητας, ἐφ' οἷς ἥλιον, Φωσφόρον, σελήνην.

15.46.3 | Democritus first talks about the fixed stars, and then about the wandering stars, among which are the sun, the morning star, and the moon.

15.46.4 | Πλάτων' μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν

15.46.4 | Plato, after the fixed stars, first

θέσιν πρῶτον Φαίνοντα λεγόμενον, τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου· δεύτερον Φαέθοντα, τὸν τοῦ Δῆός· τρίτον Πυρόεντα, τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεως· τέταρτον Ἔωσφόρον, τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· πέμπτον Στήλιβοντα, τὸν τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ· ἔκτον ἥλιον· ἕβδομον σελήνην.

15.46.5 | Τῶν μαθηματικῶν τινὲς μὲν ὡς Πλάτων', τινὲς δὲ μέσον πάντων τὸν ἥλιον.

15.46.6 | Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χῖος καὶ Κράτης ἀνωτάτῳ μὲν πάντων τὸν ἥλιον τετάχθαι· μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν σελήνην· ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀπλανῆ τῶν ἀστρων καὶ τοὺς πλάνητας."

## Section 47

15.47.1 | "Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων φορᾶς καὶ κινήσεως. Ἀναξαγόρας, Δημόκριτος, Κλεάνθης, ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς φέρεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας.

15.47.2 | Ἀλκμαίων καὶ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ τοὺς πλάνητας τοῖς ἀπλανέσιν ἐναντίους ἀπὸ γὰρ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀντιφέρεσθαι.

15.47.3 | Ἀναξίμανδρος ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλων καὶ τῶν σφαιρῶν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔκαστος βέβηκε, φέρεσθαι. Ἀναξιμένης οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν, περὶ αὐτὴν δὲ στρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας.

mentions the bright star called Cronus; second, the shining star of Zeus; third, the fiery star of Ares; fourth, the morning star of Aphrodite; fifth, the shining star of Hermes; sixth, the sun; seventh, the moon.

15.46.5 | Some of the mathematicians, like Plato, put the sun in the middle of everything.

15.46.6 | Anaximander and Metrodorus of Chios and Crates place the sun at the top of everything; after it, the moon; and below them, the fixed stars and the wandering stars.

15.47.1 | About the movement and motion of the stars. Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Cleanthes say that all the stars move from the east to the west.

15.47.2 | Alcmaeon and the mathematicians say that the wandering stars are opposite to the fixed stars; for they move from the west to the east.

15.47.3 | Anaximander says that the stars move under the circles and spheres, on which each one has gone. Anaximenes says that the stars do not move under the earth, but that they turn around it.

15.47.4 | Πλάτων' καὶ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ ἴσοδρόμους εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, τὸν Φωσφόρον, τὸν Στίλβοντα."

15.47.4 | Plato and the mathematicians say that the sun, the morning star, and the shining star are equal in distance.

## Section 48

15.48.1 | "Πόθεν φωτίζονται οἱ ἀστέρες. Μητρόδωρος ἀπαντας τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου καταλάμπεσθαι.

15.48.1 | Where do the stars get their light? Metrodorus says that all the fixed stars are lit up by the sun.

15.48.2 | Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀναθυμιάσεως.

15.48.2 | Heraclitus and the Stoics say that the stars are nourished by the smoke from the earth.

15.48.3 | Ἀριστοτέλης μὴ δεῖσθαι τὰ οὐράνια τροφῆς· οὐ γὰρ φθαρτὰ, ἀλλ' αἰδια.

15.48.3 | Aristotle says that the heavenly bodies do not need food; for they are not perishable, but eternal.

15.48.4 | Πλάτων' κοινῶς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἔξ αύτοῦ τρέφεσθαι."

15.48.4 | Plato says that the whole universe and the stars are nourished from it.

## Section 49

15.49.1 | "Περὶ τῶν καλουμένων Διοσκούρων. Ξενοφάνης τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένους οἷον ἀστέρας νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα.

15.49.1 | About the so-called Dioscuri. Xenophanes says that those appearing on the ships are like stars shining through the clouds according to their kind of movement.

15.49.2 | Μητρόδωρος τῶν ὄρώντων ὁφθαλμῶν μετὰ δέους καὶ καταπλήξεως εἶναι στιλβηδόνας."

15.49.2 | Metrodorus says that the eyes of those who see are shining with fear and amazement.

## Section 50

15.50.1 | “Περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου. Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς αελήνης αὐτὸν ὑπερχομένης κατὰ κάθετον, οὕσης φύσει γεώδους· βλέπεσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατοπτρικῶς ὑποτιθεμένην τῷ δίσκῳ.

15.50.2 | Ἀναξίμανδρος τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς διεκπνοης ἀποκλειομένου.

15.50.3 | Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σκαφοειδοῦς στροφὴν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν κοῖλον ἄνω γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ κυρτὸν κάτω πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν.

15.50.4 | Ξενοφάνης κατὰ σβέσιν ἔτερον δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς γίγνεσθαι. παριστόρηκε δὲ καὶ ἐκλειψιν ἡλίου ἐφ' ὅλον τὸν μῆνα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκλειψιν ἐντελῇ, ὥστε τὴν ἡμέραν νύκτα φανῆναι.

15.50.5 | Ἔνιοι πύκνωμα τῶν ἀօράτων ἐπερχομένων τῷ δίσκῳ νεφῶν.

15.50.6 | Ἀρίσταρχος τὸν ἥλιον ἴστησι μετὰ τῶν ἀπλανῶν, τὴν δὲ σελήνην κινεῖ περὶ τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας τάς ἐγκλίσεις σκιάζεσθαι τὸν δίσκον.

15.50.7 | Ξενοφάνης πολλοὺς ἡλίους τίναι καὶ σελήνας, κατὰ τὰ κλίματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀποτομὰς, καὶ ζώνας· κατά τινα δὲ καιρὸν

15.50.1 | About the eclipse of the sun.  
Thales was the first to say that the sun is eclipsed by the moon coming over it in a straight line, since it is naturally round; and this can be seen as if reflected in a disk.

15.50.2 | Anaximander says that the mouth of the fire is closed off.

15.50.3 | Heraclitus says that according to the curve of the boat, the hollow part goes up, while the rounded part goes down toward our view.

15.50.4 | Xenophanes talks about the extinguishing; and another one happens again toward the east. He also described a solar eclipse that lasts the whole month, and again a complete eclipse, so that the day appears as night.

15.50.5 | Some say that a thickening of the unseen comes with the disk of clouds.

15.50.6 | Aristarchus places the sun among the fixed stars, and the moon moves around the solar circle, and according to these inclinations, the disk is shadowed.

15.50.7 | Xenophanes says that there are many suns and moons, according to the slopes of the earth, and cuts, and zones; at

έμπιπτειν τὸν δίσκον εἴς τινα ἀποτομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ οἰκουμένης ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ οὕτως ὥσπερ κενεμβατοῦντα ἔκλειψιν ὑποφαίνειν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ἥλιον μὲν εἰς ἄπειρον προϊέναι, δοκεῖν κυκλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν."

certain times, the disk falls into a cut of the earth not inhabited by us, and thus it seems to show an eclipse as if it were disappearing. He also says that the sun moves into the infinite, seeming to be circled because of the distance.

## Section 51

15.51.1 | "Περὶ ἔκλειψεως σελήνης. Ἀναξίμανδρος τού στομίου τοῦ περὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπιφραττομένου.

15.51.1 | About the eclipse of the moon. Anaximander speaks of the opening around the wheel.

15.51.2 | Βηρωσσὸς κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμὰς ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ ἀπυρώτου μέρους.

15.51.2 | Berossus, regarding the return of the fireless part towards us.

15.51.3 | Ἡράκλειτος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σκαφοειδοῦς στροφήν.

15.51.3 | Heraclitus, regarding the turning of the boat-shaped object.

15.51.4 | Τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινὲς ἀνταύγειαν καὶ ἐπίφραξιν γῆς, ἢ τῆς ἀντίχθονος· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, κατ' ἐπινέμησιν φλογὸς κατὰ μικρὸν ἔξαπτομένης τεταγμένως ἵως ἀν τὴν τελείαν πανσέληνον ἀποδῷ, καὶ πάλιν ἀναλόγως μειουμένης μέχρι τῆς συνόδου, καθ' ἣν τελέως σβέννυται.

15.51.4 | Some of the Pythagoreans speak of a reflection and covering of the earth, or of the antipodes; but the later ones, according to the spreading of fire, say that it gradually goes out until it reaches the full moon, and then, similarly, it decreases until it is completely extinguished at the conjunction.

15.51.5 | Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ μαθηματικοὶ συμφωνοῦσι τὰς μὲν μηνιαίους ἀποκρύψεις συνοδεύουσαν αὐτὴν ἥλιῳ καὶ συμπεριλαμπομένην ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δὲ ἔκλειψεις, εἰς τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς ἐμπίπτουσαν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀστέρων γινομένης, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἀντιφραττομένης."

15.51.5 | Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and mathematicians agree that the monthly eclipses happen when the sun is covered and surrounded by it; but the eclipses occur when the shadow of the earth falls between both stars, especially when the moon is blocked.

## Section 52

15.52.1 | "Περὶ ἐμφάσεως αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται. Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι γεώδη φαίνεσθαι τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ περιουκεῖσθαι αύτὴν καθάπερ τὴν παρ' ἡμίν γῆν μείζοις ζῷοις καὶ φυτοῖς καλλίοσιν. εἶναι γὰρ πεντεκαιδεκαπλασίονα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζῶα, μηδὲν σωματικὸν ἀποκρίνοντα· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοσαύτην τῷ μήκει.

15.52.2 | Ἀναξαγόρας ἀνωμαλότητα διὰ τοῦ συγκρίματος, διὰ τὸ ψυχροειδὲς ἄμα καὶ γεῶδες· παραμεμιχθαι γὰρ τῷ πυροειδεῖ τὸ ζοφῶδες· ὅθεν καὶ ψευθοφαῆ λέγεσθαι τὸν ἀστέρα.

15.52.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, διὰ τὸ ἀερομιγὲς τῆς οὐσίας, μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς ἀκήρατον τὸ σύγκριμα."

15.52.1 | About its appearance and why it seems earthy. The Pythagoreans say that the moon appears earthy because it is surrounded by larger animals and more beautiful plants than those on our earth. For the creatures on it are fifteen times larger, not differing in body; and the day is as long as that.

15.52.2 | Anaxagoras explains the irregularity because of the mixture, due to it being both cold and earthy; for the dark part is mixed with the fiery part. Hence, the star is said to be falsely bright.

15.52.3 | The Stoics say that because of the air mixed in the substance, the mixture is not pure.

## Section 53

15.53.1 | Περὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων αὐτῆς. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς διπλάσιον ἀπέχειν τὴν σελήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου ἢ περ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

15.53.2 | Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὀκτωκαιιθεκαπλάσιον.

15.53.3 | Ἐρατοσθένης, τὸν ἥλιον ἀπέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σταδίων μυριάδας τετρακοσίας καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίας, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἀπέχειν τῆς γῆς μυριάδας ὅη

15.53.1 | About the distances from it. Empedocles says that the moon is twice as far from the sun as it is from the earth.

15.53.2 | The mathematicians say it is eight hundred times greater.

15.53.3 | Erathosthenes says that the sun is 400,000 stadia away from the earth, and the moon is 30,000 stadia away from the earth.

σταδίων.”

## Section 54

15.54.1 | Πέρι ένιαυτῶν. Ενιαυτός ἔστι Κρόνου μὲν ένιαυτῶν περίοδος λόγος δὲ δώδεκα, Ἀρεως δὲ δυεῖν, ἡλίου δὲ τριήμερος οὗ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἄφροδίτης· ισόδρομοι γάρ. σελήνης δὲ ἡμέραι λόγος. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ τέλειος μὲν ἀπὸ φάσεως εἰς σύνοδον.

15.54.1 | About the years. The year of Cronus is 29 years; that of Zeus is 12 years, that of Ares is 2 years, and that of the sun is 11 months; the same goes for Hermes and Aphrodite, for they are equal in their cycles. The days of the moon are 27. This is the complete cycle from new moon to full moon.

15.54.2 | Τὸν δὲ μέγαν ένιαυτὸν οὗ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὀκταετηρίᾳ τίθενται· οὗ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑννεακαιδεκαετηρίᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔξι ἑκατονταῖς. Ἡράκλειτος, ἐκ μυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων ἡλιακῶν. Διογενῆς, ἐκ πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακασίων ένιαυτῶν τοσούτων, ὅσων κατὰ Ἡράκλειτον ὁ ένιαυτός· ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ ψοζός·”

15.54.2 | The great year is said to be placed in the eight-year cycle; some in the thirteen-year cycle; others in the 60-year cycle. Heraclitus says it is 18,000 solar years. Diogenes says it is 563 years, as many as the year according to Heraclitus; others say it is 72.

15.54.3 | Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ μεταρσίων τοσαῦτα τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις πρὸς ἄλλήλους διεστασίασται. Θέα δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ γῆς.

15.54.3 | And concerning the heavenly bodies and the upper regions, there are so many differences among those who have been shown to each other. But regarding the earth and its matters.

## Section 55

15.55.1 | “Περὶ γῆς. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπόλετοι μίαν εἶναι τὴν γῆν.

15.55.1 | About the earth. Thales and those from him say that the earth is one.

15.55.2 | Ἰκέτης ὁ Πυθαγόρειος δύο, ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀντίχθονα.

15.55.2 | The Pythagorean Ikketes says there are two, this one and the opposite one.

15.55.3 | Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, τὴν γῆν μίαν καὶ πεπερασμένην.

15.55.4 | Ξενοφάνης ἐκ τοῦ κατωτέρου μέρους εἰς ἄπειρον ἔρριζωσθαι, ἐξ ἀέρος δὲ καὶ πυρὸς συμπαγῆναι.

15.55.5 | Μητρόδωρος τὴν μὲν γῆν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι καὶ τρύγα τοῦ ὕδατος, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον τοῦ ἀέρος.”

15.55.3 | The Stoics say that the earth is one and limited.

15.55.4 | Xenophanes says that from the lower part it is rooted into the infinite, and that it is made solid from air and fire.

15.55.5 | Metrodorus says that the earth is the foundation and the source of water, but the sun is from the air.

## Section 56

15.56.1 | “Περὶ σχήματος γῆς. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ, σφαιροειδῆ τὴν γῆν.

15.56.2 | Ἀναξίμανδρος λίθῳ κίονι προσφερῆ τῶν ἐπιπέδων.

15.56.3 | Ἀναξιμένης τραπεζοειδῆ.

15.56.4 | Λεύκιππος τυμπανοειδῆ.

15.56.5 | Δημόκριτος δισκοειδῆ τῷ πλάτει, κοίλην δὲ τῷ μέσῳ.”

15.56.1 | About the shape of the earth. Thales and the Stoics say that the earth is spherical.

15.56.2 | Anaximander adds a stone pillar to the things that rest on the ground.

15.56.3 | Anaximenes says that the earth is table-shaped.

15.56.4 | Leucippus says that the earth is drum-shaped.

15.56.5 | Democritus says that the earth is disk-shaped on the surface, but hollow in the middle.

## Section 57

15.57.1 | “Περὶ θέσεως τῆς γῆς. Οὗτος ἀπὸ Θαλέω τὴν γῆν μέσην.

15.57.2 | Ξενοφάνης πρώτην, εἰς ἄπειρον γὰρ ἐρριζῶσθαι.

15.57.3 | Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος τὸ μὲν πῦρ μέσον τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς ἐστίαν· δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀντίχθονα· τρίτην δὲ ἣν οἴκουμεν γῆν, ἐξ ἐναντίας κειμένην τε καὶ περιφερομένην τῇ ἀντίχθονι· παρ' ὅ καὶ μὴ ὄρασθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇδε τοὺς ἐκείνης.

15.57.4 | Παρμενίδης πρῶτος ἀφώρισε τῆς γῆς τοὺς οἰκουμένους τόπους ὑπὸ ταῖς δυσὶ ζώναις ταῖς τροπικαῖς.

15.57.1 | About the position of the earth. I say that from Thales the earth is in the middle.

15.57.2 | Xenophanes says that the first is rooted in the infinite.

15.57.3 | Philolaus the Pythagorean says that fire is the middle; for this is the hearth of everything. The second is the counter-earth; the third is the earth we live on, lying opposite and revolving around the counter-earth; because it is not seen by those here the ones there.

15.57.4 | Parmenides was the first to define the inhabited places of the earth under the two tropical zones.

## Section 58

15.58.1 | “Περὶ κινήσεως γῆς. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι μένειν τὴν γῆν.

15.58.2 | Φιλόλαος δὲ ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, κύκλῳ περιφέρερθαι περὶ τὸ πῦρ κατὰ κύκλου λοξοῦ, ὅμοιοτρόπως ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ.

15.58.3 | Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἔκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μὴν μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς,

15.58.1 | About the motion of the earth. Some say that the earth remains still.

15.58.2 | But Philolaus the Pythagorean says that the earth revolves in a circle around the fire at an angle, similarly to the sun and the moon.

15.58.3 | Heraclides of Pontus and Ecphantus the Pythagorean say that the earth moves, but not in a way that changes

τροχοῦ δίκην ἐν ἄξονι στρεφομένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς, περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέντρον.

its place, rather it rotates like a wheel around its own center, from west to east.

15.58.4 | Δημόκριτος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν πλάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν διά τε μικρότητα καὶ κουφότητα, πυκνωθεῖσαν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ βαρυνθεῖσαν καταστῆναι." Τούτων καὶ περὶ γῆς διαπεφωνημένων τοῖς γενναίοις ἀκουε καὶ τῶν περὶ θαλάσσης.

15.58.4 | Democritus says that at first the earth was wandering because of its small size and lightness, but over time it became dense and heavy and settled down." "While these things were being said about the earth, listen also to what was said about the sea.

## Section 59

15.59.1 | "Περὶ θαλάσσης, πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἔστι πικρά. Ἀναξίμανδρος τὴν θάλασσάν φησιν εἶναι τῆς πρώτης ὑγρασίας λείψανον· ἡς τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἔκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.

15.59.1 | About the sea, how it was formed and how it is bitter. Anaximander says that the sea is a remnant of the first moisture; most of it was dried up by fire, and what was left changed because of the burning.

15.59.2 | Ἀναξαγόρας τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς λιμνάζοντος ὑγροῦ περικαέντος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς πεοιφορᾶς, καὶ τοῦ λιπαοῦ λοιπὸν ὑποστῆναι. εἰς ἀλυκίδα καὶ πικρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

15.59.2 | Anaxagoras says that at first there was a wet substance that was heated by the sun, and then it became thick. Empedocles says that it turned into salt and bitterness.

15.59.3 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἰδρῶτα τῆς γῆς ἔκκαιομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον πλήσιν.

15.59.3 | Empedocles says that the sweat of the earth was burned by the sun, because it was mostly pressed down.

15.59.4 | Ἀντιφῶν ἰδρῶτα τοῦ θερμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὸ περιληφθὲν ὑγρὸν ἀπεκρίθη, τῷ καθεψηθῆναι παραλυκίσασα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἰδρῶτος συμβαίνει.

15.59.4 | Antiphon says that the sweat of the heat, from which the collected moisture was released, was paralyzed by being cooled down, which happens with all sweat.

15.59.5 | Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὸ διηθεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς c μετειληφέναι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάχους, καθάπερ τὰ διὰ τῆς τέφρας ὑλιζόμενα.

15.59.6 | Οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τοῦ στοιχειῶδους ὕδατος τὸ μὲν ἔξ αέρος κατὰ περίψυξιν συνιστάμενον γλυκὺ γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς κατὰ περίκαυσιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναθυμιώμενον ἀλμυρόν.”

15.59.7 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ θαλάσσης. ὅπως δὲ οἱ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου οὐρανίων τε πέρι καὶ αἰθερίων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων καταλήψεως φυσιολογεῖν ἐπαγγελάμενοι οὐδὲ τὰ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ἥδεσαν, μάθοις ἀν ἔξ ὧν καὶ περὶ τούτων ὡδέ πως διαπεφωνήκασιν.

15.59.5 | Metrodorus says that because it was filtered through the earth, it took on the thickness around it, just like what happens with things filtered through ash.

15.59.6 | Those who follow Plato say that the water from the air becomes sweet through cooling, but the water from the earth becomes salty through heating and evaporation.

15.59.7 | These things are about the sea. But those who talk about the whole universe, both the heavenly and the ethereal, and the nature of everything, do not even know what is about themselves. You would learn from these things how they have spoken about these matters.

## Section 60

15.60.1 | “Περὶ μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων’, κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἀνωτάτω λόγον, διμερῆ τὴν ψυχήν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν λογικὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον. κατὰ δὲ τὸ προσεχές καὶ ἀκριβές τριμέρη· τὸ γὰρ ἄλογον διαιροῦσιν εἴς τε τὸ θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν.

15.60.1 | About the parts of the soul. Pythagoras and Plato say that the soul is divided in two ways: in the highest sense, it has a rational part and an irrational part. In a more detailed and precise way, it is divided into three parts: the irrational part is further divided into the spirited part and the appetitive part.

15.60.2 | Οἵ Στωϊκοὶ ἔξ ὀκτὼ μερῶν συνεστάναι, πέντε τῶν αἰσθητικῶν, ὀρατικοῦ, ὀσφραντικοῦ, ἀκουστικοῦ, γευστικοῦ, ἀπτικοῦ· ἔκτου δὲ φωνητικοῦ, ἐβδόμου δὲ σπερματικοῦ, ὄγδου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἀφ’ οὗ ταῦτα πάντα

15.60.2 | The Stoics say that there are eight parts: five of the senses, which are sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch; the sixth is the vocal part, the seventh is the seed part, and the eighth is the ruling part itself, from which all these are arranged through their

τέτακται διὰ τῶν οίκείων ὄργάνων,  
προσφερῶς ταῖς τοῦ πολύποδος  
πλεκτάναις.

15.60.3 | Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος, διμερῆ  
τὴν ψυχὴν, τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ἔχουσαν ἐν τῷ  
θώρακι καθιδρυμένον, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον καθ'  
ὅλην τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ σώματος  
διεσπαρμένον.

15.60.4 | Ὁ δὲ Δημόκριτος πάντα μετέχειν  
φύσει ποιᾶς, καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν σωμάτων·  
διότι ἀφανῶς τινος θερμοῦ καὶ αἰσθητικοῦ  
μετέχει, τοῦ πλείονος διαπνεομένου.

own organs, similar to the workings of a  
many-legged creature.

15.60.3 | Democritus and Epicurus say that  
the soul is divided into two parts: the  
rational part, which is located in the chest,  
and the irrational part, which is spread  
throughout the entire body.

15.60.4 | But Democritus says that  
everything has a share in nature, even the  
dead bodies; because they somehow share  
in a hidden warmth and sensation, which is  
mostly present.

## Section 61

15.61.1 | “Περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ. Πλάτων’,  
Δημόκριτος, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ.

15.61.2 | Στράτων ἐν μεσοφρύῳ.

15.61.3 | Ἐρασίστρατος περὶ τὴν μήνιγγα  
τοῦ ἔγκεφάλου, ἦν ἐπικρανίδα λέγει.

15.61.4 | Ἡρόφιλος ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔγκεφάλου  
κοιλίᾳ, ἥτις ἔστι καὶ βάσις.

15.61.5 | Παρμενίδης ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ θώρακι.

15.61.6 | Ἐπίκουρος, οὗ Στωϊκοὶ πάντες, ἐν

15.61.1 | About the ruling part. Plato,  
Democritus, in the whole head.

15.61.2 | Straton in the midbrain.

15.61.3 | Erastistratus about the meninges  
of the brain, which he calls the dura mater.

15.61.4 | Hippocrates in the cavity of the  
brain, which is also the base.

15.61.5 | Parmenides in the whole chest.

15.61.6 | Epicurus, like all the Stoics, in the

ὅλη τῇ καρδίᾳ.

whole heart.

15.61.7 | Διογενής ἐν τῇ ἀρτηριακῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς καρδίας, σὺν τις ἔστι πνευματική.

15.61.7 | Diogenes in the arterial cavity of the heart, which is spiritual.

15.61.8 | Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἷματος συστάσει.

15.61.8 | Empedocles in the structure of the blood.

15.61.9 | Οὗτοί δ' ἐν τῷ περικαρδίῳ ὑμένι· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ διαφράγματι. τῶν νεωτέρων τινὲς διήκειν ἀπὸ φαλῆρος μέχρι τοῦ διαφράγματος.

15.61.9 | Some say in the pericardium; others say in the diaphragm. Some of the younger ones explained from the brain to the diaphragm.

15.61.10 | Πυθαγόρας τὸ μὲν ζωτικὸν περὶ τὴν κἀρδίαν, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν καὶ νοερὸν περὶ τὴν κεφαλήν."

15.61.10 | Pythagoras said that the vital part is around the heart, but the rational and thinking part is around the head.

15.61.11 | Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶνδε. ἄρα οὖν οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ σοι δοκοῦμεν κρίσει καὶ λογισμῷ τῆς τούτων ἀπάντων ἀνωφελοῦς καὶ πολυπλανοῦς ματαιοπονίας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰρημένων μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, μηδὲ γάρ ὅρᾶν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ αὐτόθεν συντεῖνον πρὸς ὡφέλειαν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν ἀνθρώποις) μόνης δὲ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν θεὸν εὔσεβείας ἔχεσθαι, καὶ διὰ σώφρονος βίου τῆς τε ἄλλης κατ' ἀρετὴν θεοφιλοῦς πολιτείας ἀρεσκόντως ζῆν σπουδάζειν τῷ πάντων θεῷ;

15.61.11 | Thus much about these things. Do you not think it is right for us to have moved away from all this useless and confusing effort through judgment and reasoning, and not to meddle with what has been said, since we cannot see anything useful in it that leads to benefit and good for people? Instead, we should only hold on to piety towards the creator god of all, and strive to live a life of virtue that is pleasing to the divine through a wise way of living?

15.61.12 | ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ σὺ βασκανίᾳ καὶ φθόνῳ τὴν ἀληθῆ μαρτυρίαν ἡμῖν προσέσθαι δι' ὅκνου φέρεις, φθάσει γέ σε

15.61.12 | But if you bring the true testimony to us with envy and jealousy, Socrates, the wisest of all Greeks, will again

πάλιν ὁ πάντων Ἐλλήνων σοφώτατος Σωκράτης τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ψήφους φιλαληθῶς ἔξενηνεγμένος. τοὺς γοῦν μετεωρολέσχας ἐκείνους μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυεν καὶ μηδὲν μαινομένων διαφέρειν ἔλεγεν, ἀπελέγχων αὐτοὺς διαρρήδην οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀνεφίκτων ὀρεγομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄχρηστα καὶ ἀνωφελῆ τῷ βίῳ κατατριβομένους. ταῦτα δέ σοι καὶ ὁ πρόσθεν μαρτυρήσει Ξενοφῶν, Σωκράτους ἐταίρων γνωριμώτατος, ὥδε πῃ γράφων ἐν Ἀπομνημονευμασίν

## Section 62

15.62.1 | "Ούδεις δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους ούδεν οὕτε ἀνόσιον, οὕτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. ούδε γάρ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπάντων φύσεως ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι, διελέγετο, σκοπῶν ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔχει, καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἔκαστα γίνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε.

15.62.2 | καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἵκανῶς ἥδη τὰ ἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες, ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν.

15.62.3 | ἔθαύμαζε δὲ, εἴ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις εὑρεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταύτα δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὅμοιώς διακεῖσθαι πρός

present the votes for us, having done so truthfully. He showed that those who talk nonsense are foolish and said they are no different from madmen, proving them clearly not only to be seeking the impossible but also wasting their lives on useless and unhelpful things. These things will also be confirmed to you by Xenophon, a well-known companion of Socrates, who writes this way in his *Memorabilia*.

15.62.1 | No one ever saw Socrates doing anything wrong or heard him say anything wrong. He did not discuss the nature of everything or other topics like most people do. Instead, he focused on how the so-called wise men understand the world and what causes each thing in the heavens to happen, and he showed that those who worry about such things are foolish.

15.62.2 | And first, he examined whether they thought they already knew enough about human matters and came to think about such things, or if they were ignoring human matters and focusing on the divine, believing they were doing what was appropriate.

15.62.3 | He was amazed that it was not clear to them that these things cannot be discovered by humans, since even those who think the most highly of themselves do not agree with each other about these matters, and even those who are mad feel

άλλήλους.

the same way towards one another.

15.62.4 | τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν σχλῷ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν δτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἔξιτητέον είς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὕθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὕτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι. τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ δὸν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀν ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄπαντα γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὕτ' ἀν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.

15.62.4 | For among the mad, some do not fear even terrible things, while others are afraid of things that are not frightening. Some do not think it shameful to say or do anything in a crowd, while others believe it is not right to appear among humans at all. Some honor nothing divine, like shrines or altars, while others worship random wood, stones, and wild animals. Among those who worry about the nature of everything, some think that only one thing truly exists, while others believe there are countless things. Some say that everything is always in motion, while others think that nothing ever moves. Some believe that everything comes into being and perishes, while others think that nothing ever comes to be or is destroyed.

15.62.5 | ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τάδε· ἢρ' ὥσπερ οἱ τάνθρωπινα μανθάνοντες ἡγοῦνται τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἀν μάθωσιν ἐαυτοῖς τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ ἀν βούλωνται ποιήσειν, οὕτω καὶ οἵ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὴν γνῶσιν αἷς ἀνάγκαις ἔκαστα γίγνεται, ποιήσειν ὅταν βούλωνται καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὠρας καὶ ὅτου ἀν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων; ἢ τοιοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γνῶναι μόνον ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔκαστα γίγνεται;

15.62.5 | He also considered this about them: just as those who learn about human matters believe that whatever they learn can be used for themselves and others as they wish, do those who seek the divine think that once they understand the necessities of how things come to be, they can make winds, waters, seasons, and anything else they desire? Or do they not hope for such things at all, but are satisfied just to know how each of those things comes to be?

15.62.6 | περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματευομένων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀεὶ διελέγετο, σκοπῶν τί εύσεβες, τί ἀσεβές· τί καλὸν, τί αἰσχρόν· τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον· τί

15.62.6 | Therefore, he spoke such things about those who deal with these matters. But he always discussed human affairs, considering what is pious and what is impious, what is beautiful and what is ugly,

σωφροσύνη, τί μανία.”

what is just and what is unjust, what is moderation and what is madness.

15.62.7 | Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς Σωκράτης. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἶ περὶ Ἀρίστιππον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ἔπειθ' ὑστερὸν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Χῖον ἐπεχειρήσαν λέγειν ὡς δέοι μόνα τὰ ἡθικὰ φιλοσοφεῖν· εἶναι γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα μὲν δυνατὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα· τοὺς μέντοι περὶ τῆς φύσεως λόγους πᾶν τούναντίον, μήτε καταληπτοὺς είναι μήτ', εἴ καὶ ὀφθεῖεν, ὅφελος ἔχειν τι.

15.62.7 | Thus spoke Socrates. After him, those around Aristippus of Cyrene later tried to argue that one should only philosophize about ethics. For they believed that these matters are possible and useful. However, they thought that discussions about nature are quite the opposite, as they are neither understandable nor, even if they were seen, would be of any benefit.

15.62.8 | μηδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι πλέον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ μετεωρότεροι τοῦ Πέρσεως ἀρθέντες ὑπέρ τε πόντου χεῦμ' ὑπέρ τε Πλειάδα, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅμμασι κατίδοιμεν τὸν πάντα κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν, ἥτις δή ποτέ ἔστιν.

15.62.8 | For nothing will be more for us, even if we were to rise higher than Perseus and pour out over the sea and the Pleiades, we would still see the whole universe with our own eyes, and the nature of all that exists, whatever it may be.

15.62.9 | οὐ γὰρ δὴ διά γε τοῦτο φρονιμωτέρους ἢ δικαιοτέρους ἢ ἀνδρειοτέρους ἢ σωφρονεστέρους ἡμάς ἔσεσθαι, μὴν οὐδὲ ἴσχυροὺς ἢ καλοὺς ἢ πλουσίους, ὃν χωρὶς οὐχ οἶόν τε εύδαιμονεῖν.

15.62.9 | For this reason, we will not be wiser, more just, braver, or more temperate, nor will we be stronger, more beautiful, or richer, without which it is not possible to be happy.

15.62.10 | ὅθεν ὄρθως εἶπε Σωκράτης ὅτι τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ὑπέρ ήμας εἴη, τὰ δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς ήμας. εἶναι γὰρ τὰ φυσικὰ μὲν ὑπέρ ήμας, τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον οὐδὲν πρὸς ήμας, μόνα δὲ πρὸς ήμας τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

15.62.10 | From this, Socrates rightly said that some things exist beyond us, while others have nothing to do with us. For natural things are beyond us, and those after death have nothing to do with us, but only human things are related to us.

15.62.11 | ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ χαίρειν αὐτὸν

15.62.11 | And in this way, he said goodbye

είπόντα τῇ Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ Ἀρχελάου φυσιολογίᾳ ζητεῖν ὅττι οἱ ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

while seeking in the natural philosophy of Anaxagoras and Archelaus whatever good and evil is made among those in the great halls.

15.62.12 | καὶ ἄλλως δὲ εἶναι τοὺς φυσικοὺς λόγους οὐχ χαλεποὺς ούδὲ ἀδυνάτους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ὑπεναντίους. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦν μηδ' εἶναι θεοὺς τὸ παράπαν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἄπειρον, ἢ τὸ ὄν, ἢ τὸ ἔν· καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νομιζομένους.

15.62.12 | And in another way, the natural arguments are not only difficult and weak, but also impious and opposed to the laws. For some deny that there are gods at all, while others speak of the infinite, or being, or the one; and they consider all these more than those who are believed to be.

15.62.13 | τήν τ' αὖ διαφωνίαν παμπόλλην οὔσαν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄπειρον ἀποφαίνειν τὸ πᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πεπερασμένον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀξιοῦν ἄπαντα κινεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καθάπαξ μηδέν.

15.62.13 | And again, there is a great disagreement; for some declare that the whole is infinite, while others say it is limited, and some believe that everything is in motion, while others say that nothing moves at all.

15.62.14 | καὶ μὴν εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο πάντων ἄριστά μοι δοκεῖ περὶ τούτων αύτῶν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις καὶ ὁ Φιλάσιος Τίμων είρηκέναι τάδε τίς γὰρ τούσδ' ὄλοῃ ἔριδι ξυνέκιε μάχεσθαι; Ἡχοῦς σύνδρομος ὄχλος. ὁ γὰρ σιγῶσι χολωθεὶσον ἐπ' ἀνέρας ὥρσε λάλην, ὀλέκοντο δὲ πολλοί.

15.62.14 | And indeed, if there is anything better than all these, it seems to me that Timon of Phlius has said these things in the Silli: 'For who has joined in this complete strife to fight? A crowd of Echoes. For the one who is silent, being angry, has stirred up a disease against the winds, and many perished.'

15.62.15 | ὅρᾶς ὡς ἥδη καὶ ἄλλήλους σκώπτουσιν οἱ γενναῖοι; τὴν γοῦν πρὸς ἄλλήλους φιλονεικίαν αύτῶν τάς τε μάχας καὶ τάς διαστάσεις ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ τοῦτον ὑπογράφει τὸν τρόπον φοιτᾷ δὲ βροτολογίδος ἔρις, κενεὸν λελακυῖα, νείκης ἀνδροφόνοιο καστηνήτη καὶ ἔριθος, ἢ τ' ἀλαὴ περὶ πάντα κυλίνδεται, αύτὰρ ἔπειταξ τε βροτοὺς στήριξε κάρη

15.62.15 | Do you see how the noble ones are already mocking each other? At least, the man who is mentioned shows how their rivalry, their battles, and their disagreements are still directed toward those mentioned. 'A strife that brings death to mortals wanders about, a hollow noise, the sister of deadly conflict, and a rival, which rolls around everywhere, and then it

καὶ ἐς ἑλπίδα βάλλει.

strikes both mortals and hope.'

15.62.16 | Άλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς τῶνδε πρὸς σφὰς αὐτοὺς ἀποδειγμένης στάσεως τε καὶ μάχης, τῆς τε μηδὲν ἡμῖν προσηκούσης, περιττῆς δὲ ἄλλως καὶ οὐ γνωστῆς παιδείας τε καὶ μαθήσεως τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων, ἐν οἷς εἰσέτι νῦν ἀποσεμνύνονται φιλοσόφων παῖδες, ἀπεληλεγμένων οὐχ ἡμετέραις, ταῖς δ' οἰκείαις αὐτῶν ἀποδείξειν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἵτίας εἰς φανερὸν τεθείσης, δι' ἣν τὰ τῶνδε αποστραφέντες τὰ Ἐβραίων λόγια προτετιμήκαμεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν περιγεγράφθω·

15.62.16 | But indeed, concerning the established position and conflict among these people, which has nothing to do with us, and also about the excessive and unknown education and learning of all the others, in which even now the children of philosophers are being honored, having been chosen not by our own, but by their own proofs; yet also, the cause has been made clear, through which we have turned away from the words of the Hebrews, let the teachings of the Evangelical Preparation be written down among these.

15.62.17 | τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐντελεστέρας πραγματείας, τῆς κατὰ τὴν Εὐαγγελικὴν Ἀπόδειξιν, ἥδη λοιπὸν ἐπισκεπτέον ἀφ' ἔτέρας λόγων ἀρχῆς, τῆς δὴ λειπούσης τῷ προβλήματι, τὴν διδασκαλίαν ποιησομένοις.

15.62.17 | But concerning the most complete work, which is based on the Evangelical Proof, we should now look at it from another starting point, since it is lacking for the problem, for those who are about to teach.

15.62.18 | λείπει δ' ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπιμεμψαμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι, τί δή ποτε ἀλλόφυλοι ὄντες καὶ ἀλλογενεῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις ἀποχρώμεθα, μηδὲν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὶ φαῖεν, προσηκούσαις· ἥ τί δὴ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀσπαζόμενοι λόγια ούχι καὶ τὸν βίον ἀκόλουθον τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς παρέχομεν νόμω.

15.62.18 | Therefore, it remains to respond to those who criticize us from circumcision, asking why we, being of different races and origins, make use of their books, which have nothing to do with us, as they themselves would say; or why we embrace their teachings and do not follow the way of life that they offer.

## Indexes

The person and place indices have been generated based on named entity recognition of the Greek text. As the text was translated, person names and place names were algorithmically identified in the text using the machine learning (ML) model UGARIT/grc-ner-xlmr.

Entries are sorted by transliteration, with the Greek form of the name in parentheses. Locations in the text are referred to using *book-section-paragraph* citations, which are standard for editions of this work. Some people or places will have more than one entry as the entries are based on forms found in the Greek text, which may be inflected or have varying accentuation. The transliterated form found in these indices may also be different than the spelling of the person or place name as it is rendered in the text. On the whole, despite these infelicities, it seemed better to be able to include person and place indices even if the names are not in complete agreement with the text of the translation.

The index of Bible references is generated based on a sentence-level semantic similarity analysis that semantically compared this translation of *Praeperatio Evangelica* to the text of the Bible. The analysis was performed using the model sentence-transformers/LaBSE. Where areas of the translation were found to be highly similar to particular Bible vereses, an association was made and recorded in the index. Due to the automated nature of this index, there will be associations with references that, while similar, are not direct allusions or quotations. As with the person and place indices, it seemed better to include this index despite its shortcomings.

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